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A COMPARISON OF THE REAMKER MURAL PAINTING IN THE ROYAL PALACE OF CAMBODIA AND THE RAMAKIEN MURAL PAINTING IN THE GRAND PALACE OF THAILAND

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พัลลา ชาน: การเปรียบเทียบจิตรกรรมฝาผนังเรื่องเรียมเกร์ในพระบรมมหาราชวังประเทศกัมพูชา และจิตรกรรมฝาผนังเรื่องรามเกียรติ์ในพระบรมมหาราชวังประเทศไทย (A COMPARISON OF THE REAMKER MURAL PAINTING IN THE ROYAL PALACE OF CAMBODIA AND THE RAMAKIEN MURAL PAINTING IN THE GRAND PALACE OF THAILAND) อ.ที่ปรึกษา: อาจารย์ ดร.ใกล้รุ่ง อามระดิษ, 250 หน้า

เรื่องเรียมเกร์ ซึ่งเป็นวรรณคดีที่มีอิทธิพลสูงยิ่งต่อศิลปวัฒนธรรมเขมรในทุกๆด้าน มีที่มาจากมหากาพย์เรื่องรามายณะของอินเดีย หลักฐานจากศิลาจารึกและรูปเคารพแสดงให้เห็นว่ามหากาพย์เรื่องนี้ปรากฏในกัมพูชาตั้งแต่คริสต์ศตวรรษที่ ๗ อย่างไรก็ตาม เชื่อกันว่าตัวบทวรรณคดีเรื่องเรียมเกร์ที่เก่าแก่ที่สุดซึ่งไม่สมบูรณ์และมีสองส่วนนั้นแต่งขึ้นระหว่างคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ ๑๖ และ ๑๘ เมื่อมีการสร้างวัดพระแก้วมรกตขึ้นที่พระบรมมหา ราชวังกรุงพนมเปญในค.ศ. ๑๘๘๕ เรื่องรามเกร์ได้รับเลือกมาวาดเป็นจิตรกรรมฝาผนังที่พระระเบียงรอบพระอุโบสถและเป็นเรื่องเรียมเกร์ที่จบสมบูรณ์เพียงเรื่องเดียวในกัมพูชา วิทยานิพนธ์เรื่องนี้มุ่งศึกษาที่มาของจิตรกรรมฝาผนังเรื่องเรียมเกร์ โดยการเปรียบเทียบกับจิตรกรรมฝาผนังเรื่องรามเกียรติ์ในพระบรมมหาราชวังของประเทศไทยทั้งในด้านเนื้อเรื่อง การจัดองค์ประกอบของจิตรกรรมฝาผนัง และลักษณะภาพ รวมทั้งจะวิเคราะห์ปัจจัยหลักที่ส่งผลต่อความคล้ายคลึงและความแตกต่างที่พบจากการเปรียบเทียบจิตรกรรมฝาผนังทั้งสอง

การศึกษาพบว่าเนื้อเรื่องตอนต่างๆของจิตรกรรมฝาผนังเรื่องเรียมเกร์มีที่มาจากหลายแหล่ง ทั้งจากจิตรกรรมฝาผนังเรื่องรามเกียรติ์ในพระบรมมหาราชวังประเทศไทย จากวรรณคดีไทยเรื่องรามเกียรติ์ จากวรรณคดีเรื่องเรียมเกร์ส่วนที่ ๑ และส่วนที่ ๒ จากภาคหนึ่งของตัวบทเรื่องเรียมเกร์ตอนไวยราพณ์สะกดพระราม และจากเรื่องเรียมเกร์ฉบับมุขปาฐะต่างๆ ถึงแม้ว่าเนื้อเรื่องตอนต่างๆของจิตรกรรมฝาผนังเรื่องเรียมเกร์โดยหลักจะนำมาจากจิตรกรรมฝาผนังเรื่องรามเกียรติ์ แต่การนำเสนอกลับแตกต่างกันโดยสิ้นเชิง ในด้านตัวละคร แม้ตัวละครส่วนใหญ่ในจิตรกรรมฝาผนังเรื่องเรียมเกร์จะตรงกับตัวละครในจิตรกรรมฝาผนังเรื่องรามเกียรติ์ แต่ก็พบความแตกต่างที่สำคัญหลายลักษณะ ที่เด่นชัดมาจากปัจจัยสำคัญ ๓ ประการ คือ ความผิดพลาดของจิตรกรผู้วาดเมื่อมีการส่งผ่านเรื่องจากวัฒนธรรมหนึ่งไปสู่อีกวัฒนธรรมหนึ่ง การวาดภาพตัวละครโดยไม่มีชื่อตัวละครกำกับไว้ รวมทั้งแรงบันดาลใจทางสังคมวัฒนธรรมและลีลาการวาดและบริบทการวาดของจิตรกรแต่ละคน การศึกษายังพบว่าภาพสถาปัตยกรรมที่ปรากฏในจิตรกรรมฝาผนังเรื่องเรียมเกร์ได้รับแรงบันดาลใจมาจากสิ่งก่อสร้างในประเทศกัมพูชามากกว่าจะมาจากภาพสถาปัตยกรรมในจิตรกรรมฝาผนังเรื่องรามเกียรติ์ ในขณะที่ภาพทิวทัศน์น่าจะรับอิทธิพลมาจากจิตรกรรมฝาผนังเรื่องอื่นๆของไทย ส่วนการจัดองค์ประกอบของจิตรกรรมฝาผนังเรื่องเรียมเกร์สะท้อนลักษณะเฉพาะตัวแบบเขมรอย่างชัดเจน บุคคล ๓ คนที่มีความสำคัญในการรับอิทธิพลไทยในการสร้างจิตรกรรมฝาผนังเรื่องเรียมเกร์ได้แก่ พระบาทสมเด็จพระนโรดมผู้ทรงสร้างวัดพระแก้วมรกตที่กรุงพนมเปญ ออกญาเทพนิมิตมัก ผู้เป็นหัวหน้าจิตรกรและสถาปนิก และสมเด็จเจ้าพระคุณนิล เตียง ผู้เป็นที่ปรึกษาหลักในการสร้างวัด บุคคลทั้งสามล้วนเดินทางไปและ/หรือได้รับการศึกษาที่กรุงเทพฯเป็นเวลาหลายปี อิทธิพลไทยในจิตรกรรมฝาผนังของกัมพูชาถือเป็นหนึ่งในแนวโน้มหลักของการรับอิทธิพลไทยในสมัยการฟื้นฟูประเทศกัมพูชาหลังจาก "ยุคมืด" นอกจากในงานจิตรกรรม อิทธิพลไทยยังปรากฏชัดเจนในศิลปะและวัฒนธรรมด้านอื่นๆของกัมพูชา เช่น พุทธศาสนา วรรณคดี การละคร ดนตรี สถาปัตยกรรม และพระราชพิธีบางอย่าง

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PHALLA SAN: A COMPARISON OF THE REAMKER MURAL PAINTING IN THE ROYAL PALACE OF CAMBODIA AND THE RAMAKIEN MURAL PAINTING IN THE GRAND PALACE OF THAILAND. THESIS PRINCIPAL ADVISOR: KLAIRUNG AMRATISHA, PhD., 250 PP.

The Reamker, which has been enormously influential in all aspects of Cambodian arts and culture, is the Cambodian version of the Indian Rāmāyana epic. Evidences from inscriptions and iconography show that this epic has existed in Cambodia since the 7th century. However, the oldest surviving Reamker text, which is incomplete and composed of two compositions is said to have been written between the 16th and 18th centuries. When the Temple of the Emerald Buddha was built in the Royal Palace in Phnom Penh in 1895, the story of Reamker was selected to be painted on the galleries of the temple and became the only complete version of Reamker in the country. This thesis attempts to explore the sources of inspiration of the Reamker Mural Painting by comparing the Reamker Mural Painting and the Ramakien Mural Painting in the Grand Palace of Thailand in terms of the story, the compositional organization of painting, and the iconography. In addition, the thesis also analyzes the key factors related to similarities and differences found from the comparison.

The results show that the Reamker Mural Painting's episodes were composed from Ramkien Mural Painting in the Thai Grand Palace, the Thai Ramakien text by King Rama I, the Reamker I and II texts, the segment of Reamker text called "Kāl Vaiyarāb(ṇ) Saṇtaṃ Yak Braḥ Rāma Pān," and the Reamker oral versions. Although, the painted episodes were adopted from the Thai Palace Mural, the presentations in the painting are completely different. Most of characters in the Cambodian Palace Mural are identical with the Thai Palace Mural, but important differences can also be found. The distinctions came from three key factors: the mistakes were created by the muralists when the painting was transferred between one culture to another; the depictions of characters without ascribing them names; the socio-cultural inspiration and individual context and style. The findings also indicate that the architecture was inspired by the buildings in Cambodia itself rather than from the Thai Palace Mural. The landscapes were adopted from other paintings, not from the Thai Palace Mural. The compositional organization, on the other hand, reflects typical Cambodian characteristics. The main factor for the Thai influences on the Reamker Mural Painting lie in the three key persons responsible for the construction of the Temple and the creation of the mural painting. King Norodom who built the temple, Ukñā Tep Nimit Mak who was the chief painter and architect in cooperation with Venerable Nil Teang who was the supervisor of the temple's construction were brought up and/or studied in Bangkok for many years. This is one of the key trends of Thai influence on Cambodia during the restoration time after the 'dark age'. The Thai influence is detectable in other arts and culture of this period, namely, Buddhist religion, literature, dance drama, music, architecture and some royal ceremonies.

Field of Studies Southeast Asian Studies Student's signature S. Phalla
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale

"*Probably no work of world literature, secular in origin, has ever produced so profound an influence on the life and thought of a people as the Rāmāyaṇa.*" [1]

Arthur Antony Macdonell

Rāmāyaṇa is one of the great ancient Sanskrit epics which is believed to be composed by the sage Vālmīki between 400-200 B.C.[2] The *Rāmāyaṇa* narrates the story of Rāma, ranging from accounts of intrigue at court to wanderings in the forest, and culminating in the great battle when Rāvaṇa is defeated and punished for his abduction of Rāma's wife, Sitā. The epic is traditionally divided into seven major *kāṇḍas*, or books: *Bālakāṇḍa* (childhood), *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* (Ayodhyā city), *Araṇyakāṇḍa* (wilderness), *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* (Kiṣkindhā city), *Sundarakāṇḍa* (beauty), *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (war), and *Uttarakāṇḍa* (epilogue). Scholars generally agree that much of the first book and most of the last book, the *Bālakāṇḍa* and *Uttarakāṇḍa*, are later additions to the work's original core, represented by books two through six.[3] The story of *Rāmāyaṇa* have been disseminated in many versions and languages, in diverse artistic forms and with varied purposes not only throughout India but also to other regions of the world until it has become a part of the world culture. In Southeast Asia, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is known by many names such as Reamker in Khmer, Ramakien in Thai, Phra Lak Phra Lam in Lao, Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin in Indonesia, Hikayat Seri Rāma in Malay, Rāma

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[1] Arthur Antony Macdonell, "'Ramaism' and 'Ramayana,'" Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 10 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, 1919) cited in Rober P. Goldman (ed. and tran.), The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An Epic of Ancient India, Vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 3.

[2] Garrett Kam, Ramayana in the Arts of Asia (Bangkok: Asia Books, 2000), p. 4.; H. B. Sarkar, "The Ramayana in Southeast Asia: A General Survey," Asian Variations in Ramayana, K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar (ed.) (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1994), p. 206.

[3] Rober P. Goldman, "Rāmāyaṇa: Bāla Kāṇḍa," Indian's Great Epics: South Asian C142/ Religious Studies C166. Vol.2. (Berkeley: University of California, 2002), p. 11.

Thagyin in Burma[4], and Maharadia Lawana in Philippines[5]. Each tradition has added to, removed from or modified the epic, presumably in accordance with local preferences and knowledge, over the course of time and space until every version has its own special flavor, environment and distinctive context and style.

In Cambodia, the *Rāmāyaṇa* has exercised its influence for more than a millennium. The earliest known evidence was from the seventh century Sanskrit inscription K. 359 from Veal Kantel in Stung Treng province, which mentioned the a daily uninterrupted recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* donated to the sanctuary.[6] The Rāma statue, stylistically dated to the sixth-seventh century, was also found in Takeo province. From the seventh century onwards, a number of allusions to the Rāma saga appeared in inscriptions as well as iconography and the story became the popular theme for the bas-relief of many of the Angkor temples such as the bas-relief of Bantey Srei, Baphuon, Phimai, Bantey Samre, Thommanon and Angkor Wat. Nevertheless, neither Sanskrit nor Khmer literary versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of the Angkor period have survived today.

The earliest literary texts known as *Rāmakerti* (The Glory of Rāma), also transcribed phonetically as *Reamker*, were written between the 16th and 18th centuries. In 1937, the Institute Bouddhique of Phnom Penh collected the scattered *Reamker* manuscripts and published them in 16 booklets which consisted of two compositions, numbered 1-10 and 75-80 respectively.[7] Focusing on the linguistic aspect of the *Rāmakerti*, Saveros Pou, a Khmer linguist, proposed that the first composition could be dated to sixteenth-seventeenth centuries and the second composition to the eighteenth century. Both versions were anonymous and unfinished

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[4] John Brockington, The Sanskrit Epics (Leiden; Boston; Koln: Brill, 1998), p. 515.

[5] Jaun R. Francisco, "The Ramayana in the Philippines," The Ramayana Tradition in Asia (Madras: Sahitya Akademi, 1980), p. 155.

[6] François Bizot, Rāmaker ou l'Amour Symbolique de Rāma et Setā (Paris: EFEO, 1989), p. 26.; Jean Filliozat, "The Ramayana in Southeast Asian Sanskrit Epigraphy and Iconography," Asian Variations in Ramayana, K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar (ed.) (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1994), p. 194.

[7] Judith M. Jacob (tra.), Reamker (Rāmakerti): the Cambodian Version of the Rāmāyaṇa (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1986), p. xii.

texts and were written in beautiful Khmer verses.[8] According to Pou, the sources of *Rāmakerti I* came from the Old Khmer Versions which were composed of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa which was reviewed by the Khmers and also contained elements of the Javanese or South-Indian Rāmāyaṇa. The later *Rāmakerts* are closer to the Thai *Rāmakien* than the *Rāmakerti I*.[9] Apart from the "classical" *Reamker* texts, there exist popular versions of *Reamker* which were recited by narrators or storytellers in public performances. All of them were recorded and published during the last quarter of the twentieth century.[10]

The influence of the *Reamker* on the art and life of the Khmer people has been more profound than that of any other story. There is a profound association between the Reamker and almost every type of performance in Cambodia, especially the Sbek Thom (Large shadow play) and the Lkhon Khol (Masked dance) where the influence can easily be seen. The story of Rāma is also a favorite theme for frescoes on monastery walls. When the temple of the Emerald Buddha was built in the Royal Palace in Phnom Penh in 1895, the story of *Reamker* was selected to be painted on the galleries of the temple. Interestingly, the *Reamker* mural painting in the Royal Palace had become the first complete version of *Reamker* in the country.[11] As mentioned earlier that the *Reamker* texts are incomplete, the main question to be asked is definitely on what source the mural painting was based. Although there are a number of studies which focus on the Reamker mural painting, this question did not seem to catch the interest of the Khmer scholars. Only two studies by French scholars have attempted to answer this question. Madelein Giteau, a specialist in Khmer art, mentioned shortly in her *Iconographie du Cambodge Post-Angkorien* that Cambodian court painting was

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[8] See Saveros Pou, "Rāmakerti I (XVIe-XVIIe siècles): Texte Khmer Publié," Publication de l' Ecole Française D'extrême-Orient, Vol. CXVII (Paris: Ecole Française D'extrême-Orient, 1979); Saveros Pou, "Rāmakerti II (Deuxième Version du Rāmāyaṇa Khmer): Texte Khmer, Traduction et Annotations," Publication de l' Ecole Française D'extrême-Orient, Vol. CXXXII (Paris: Ecole Française D'extrême-Orient, 1982).

[9] Saveros Pou, "Rāmakerti – The Khmer (or Cambodian) Rāmāyaṇa," Selected Papers on Khmerology (Phnom Penh: Reyum, 2003), pp. 243-245.

[10] See F. Bizot, Reong Reamker Nei Ta Chak (The Reamker Story of Ta Chak) (Phnom Penh, 1973); Alain Daniel, Étude d'un Fragment du Ramker (Ramayana Cambodgien) Dit par un Conteur (thèse de 3ème cycle. Université de Raris III, 1982); and Pi Bunin, Reamker Poal Doy Ta Soy (The Reamker Told by Ta Soy) (Phnom Penh: Buddhist Institute, 2000).

[11] Another complete version is the oral version recited by Ta Chak but this version was published in 1973.

influenced by the Thai paintings in term of characters and architectures. As Giteau noted:

> It [the mural painting of the temple of the Emerald Buddha] was executed along the cloisters wall surrounding the sanctuary; the whole is divided in four quadrants by the axial doors. They were painted like the frescos of the cloisters of the Wat Phra Keo of Bangkok ..... Clothing and the ornaments are those which the dancers of the royal ballets wear. The influence of Thailand is notable in the presentation of characters as well as architectures ..... For the majority, the palaces preserve the chimney roofs and rising crown, but some adopt the pediments of the type Angkorien and of crowning in form of prang comparable with those which one sees in Bangkok, at the Royal Palace and Wat Phra Keo.[12]

Around twenty years after the work of Giteau came out, Jacqueline and Guy Nafilyan who worked on the mural paintings in the Cambodian Buddhist temples confirmed Giteau's idea about the Thai influence. They wrote:

> The influence of Thai art on Cambodian painting infiltrates in several ways, essentially three.
> - The first and the most obvious changing of the geographical location. The area of Battambang and Siem Reap were under the authority of Bangkok from 1794 to 1907. That implies the presence of craftsmen, expertise and materials coming from Bangkok during more than one century. The painting of the monasteries of these areas is strongly marked by Thai art.
> - The second Cambodian artists were sent to improve their knowledge in Thailand. We previously said that Okñā Tep Nimit Mak went to improve his painting knowledge in Bangkok before he was ordered to execute the fresco along galleries of the temple of the Emerald Buddha.
> - The third they referred to iconographical handbooks consisting of canonical texts with collections of models. This way was also followed by other artistic disciplines such as the dance, the theater, the craftsman of goldsmith and weaving, etc...[13]

Although Giteau's hypothesis sounds very convincing, the evidences to support her idea are few and she never talked about the story. The Nafilyans, on the other hand, provide very interesting information about the influence of Thai art on Cambodian painting but it concerns only the causes of influence. So far, no in-depth comparative study of the Reamker mural painting in the Cambodian Royal Palace and the Ramakien mural painting in the Thai Grand Palace has been done, thus the question about the

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[12] Madelein Giteau, Iconographie du Cambodge Post-Angkorien (Paris: EFEO, 1975), p. 290.
[13] Jaqueline and Guy Nafilyan, Peintures Murales des Monastères Buddhiques au Cambodge (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose/UNESCO, 1997), pp. 65-66.

complete version of the painted Reamker story in the Royal Palace remains unanswered. This thesis attempts to answer this question through the detailed analysis of the Reamker Mural Painting in the Royal Palace of Cambodia and the Ramakien Mural Painting in the Grand Palace of Thailand in terms of the story, the compositional organization of painting, and the technique of painting. The socio-cultural context of the creation of both paintings will also be examined in order to find the key factors responsible for the similarities and differences between the Reamker and Ramakien mural paintings.

1.2 Objectives

The main objectives of this thesis are:

- To compare the Reamker Mural Painting in the Royal Palace of Cambodia and the Ramakien Mural Painting in the Grand Palace of Thailand in terms of the story, the compositional organization of painting, and the technique of painting.

- To analyze the key factors related to the similarities and differences found from the comparison.

1.3 Hypothesis

The Reamker mural painting at the Royal Palace of Cambodia are generally derived from three main sources, namely, the Reamker I and II texts, the Reamker oral versions, and the Ramakien mural painting in the Grand Palace of Thailand. The influence of Thai court painting can also be seen in several aspects of the characters architectures and landscapes. However, the compositional organization reflects typical Cambodian characteristics. The main factor for the Thai influences on the Reamker mural painting lies on the three key persons responsible for the construction of the Temple and the creation of the mural painting. King Norodom who built the temple, Tep Nimit Mak who was the chief painter, and Venerable Nil Teang who was the supervisor of the temple's construction were brought up and/or studied in Bangkok for many years.

1.4 Significance and Usefulness of the Research

This study will provide:

- A more profound understanding of Cambodian art and culture.
- A more profound understanding of Cambodian-Thai relations.
- A reference for the future comparative study of Cambodian and Thai art and culture.

1.5 Literature Review

There have been, so far, a number of studies about the Reamker mural painting in the Royal Palace of Cambodia and the Ramakien mural painting in the Grand Palace of Thailand. The important ones are as follows:

1. The Reamker Painted by Chet Chan, Phnom Penh: Reyum, 2001. In this book, a version of Reamker based on the Royal Palace murals which was composed by Thioun, the Minister of the Royal Palace during the early 20th century, was published for the first time in Khmer and English. Thiounn wrote this text just after the paintings had been completed. The narrative represented a textual version of the painted representation. Thiounn's text was published again in Khmer and French in the two books compiled by Sakou Samoth, entitled Recueil du Rāmker, Phnom Penh: Angkor, 2007 and Rāmker: Fresques des Galeries de la Pagode d'Argent du Palais Royal, Phnom Penh, Phnom Penh: Angkor, 2007.

2. François Bizot. Rāmaker: L'amour symbolique de Rām et Setā, Paris: EFEO, 1989. This book deals largely with the translation and explanation of the Reamker narrated by Mi Chak. It also provides 166 photographs of Reamker mural painting from the Royal Palace.

3. Kak Chanthat. Kamnou Boran Rioeng Reamker Nov Thaev Prah Vihear Prah Keo Morakot (Prah Barom Reachvaeng) (Reamker Traditional Painting along Galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in the Royal Palace), Phnom Penh, 1996. In her

work, Kak Chanthat makes the summary of the Ramayana and Reamker published by Buddhist Institute (number 1-10 and 75-80) and provides a list of characters in the Reamker mural painting as well as subtitles of painted story. The techniques of wall preparation and colored production for painting are also given.

4. Jaqueline and Guy Nafilyan. Peintures Murales des Monastères Buddhiques au Cambodge, Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose/UNESCO, 1997. The second chapter of this book deals with the themes of traditional painting in Buddhist monasteries such as the Jataka, the life of the Buddha and Reamker. The author also attempted to investigate the Thai, Chinese and Western influence on Cambodian traditional painting, including the Royal Palace mural, and explained the key factors responsible for those influences.

5. Prince Subhadradis Diskul, Charles S. Rice and Janine J. Groy. The Ramakian [Rāmāyana] Mural Painting along the Galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, Bangkok: The Government Lottery Office of Thailand, 1995. This book begins with a brief history of the temple of the Emerald Buddha and mural paintings along the galleries. The authors make an argument about the source of the Ramakian that it is probably derived from the southern Indian version rather than Valmiki's Sanskrit text. Though the theme comes from the Hindu epic, the characters and settings in the painting as well as the technique are all Thai. Then the summary of the Ramakian by King Rama I is provided. The rest of the book is devoted to 178 photographs of the Ramakien painting accompanied by Reamakien poems composed in the reign of King Rama V.

6. Nitta Hangvivat. The story of Ramakian from the Mural Paintings along the Galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, Bangkok: Sangdad Publishing, 2002. The author provides a brief history of mural painting and then illustrated 48 photographs of Ramakien mural with the text based on the verse composed by Rama I.

CHAPTER II

THE CAMBODIAN AND THAI VERSIONS OF RĀMĀYAṆA

This chapter will be divided into three main parts. The first part gives a short introduction of the great Indian epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The second part offers a brief survey of the Cambodian versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* while the third part deals with a general background of the Thai versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

2.1. The Rāmāyaṇa

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, one of the most popular and influential Indian epics, is believed to be originally composed in Sanskrit by the sage Vālmīki. Until the present, scholars have vigorously debated the controversial question regarding the original date of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Robert P. Goldman suggests a date for the oldest parts no later than the middle of the 6th century B.C. but not before the beginning of the 7th century, so the composition originated sometime between 750 and 500 B.C.[1] Whereas John Brockington's statement is that the first stage belongs to the period from about the 5th to 4th century B.C.[2], while other scholars agree upon a time between 400-200 B.C.[3] Whatever the year may actually be, the Rama story gradually grew over the centuries until it reached epic proportion.

The story of *Rāmāyaṇa* has been disseminated throughout India in many different versions and languages, in diverse artistic forms and with varied purposes. Sculptural representations are found in temples perhaps as early as the 5th century A.D.[4] However, the oldest *Rāmāyaṇa* text, according to G. H. Bhatt, appears to date from the eleventh century A.D. and it survives in several thousand partial and complete

[1] Robert P. Goldman, "Rāmāyaṇa: Bāla Kāṇḍa," p. 15.

[2] For more detail of the problems of Rāmāyaṇa date see John Brockington, The Sanskrit Epics, pp. 337-379.

[3] Garrett Kam, Ramayana in the Arts of Asia, p. 4.; H. B. Sarkar, "The Ramayana in Southeast Asia: A General Survey," p. 206.

[4] John Brockington, The Sanskrit Epics, p. 496.

manuscripts.[5] The poem consists of 20,000 stanzas in total[6] and is traditionally divided into seven major *Kāṇḍas* or books. The first book, the *Bālakāṇḍa*, narrates Rāma's birth, youthful exploits and marriage. Book two, the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, introduces accounts of the court trickery in the town of Ayodhyā. As a consequence, Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa have been exiled in the forest. The third book, *Araṇyakāṇḍa*, depicts the exile's life – the hospitable, respectful sages and the hostile Rākṣasas of the Daṇḍaka forest – culminating in the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa, the king of Rāskṣasa. The forth book, the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, narrates the events in or relating to the Vānara capital Kiṣkindhā when Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa make a pledge of alliance with the exiled Vānara Sugrīva to get rid of Sugrīva's brother, Vālin, who is the legal king of Kiṣkindhā. Book five, called the *Sundarakāṇḍa*, describes the account of the beauties of Lankā by opening with a long account of Hanumān's fantastic leap and his wandering unnoticed through Lankā. Entering Rāvaṇa's magnificent palace, he searches in vain for Sītā, until eventually he discovers her in the Aśoka grove. The sixth book, the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, is devoted to the final battle between the armies of Rāma and Rāvaṇa. The seventh book, the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, is set in Ayodhyā after Rāma's victorious return, but after some gossip about Sītā virtue, Rāma orders her exiled to Vālmīki's hermitage. Rāma recognizes his sons, Kuśa and Lava, through their singing of the Rāma story. Sītā is recalled and publicly re-affirms her purity by calling on the Earth to swallow her in testimony; the Earth embraces Sītā and disappears with her.

As Robert P. Goldman points out, scholars have generally accepted that much of the first book and most, if not all, of the last book of the epic, the *Bālakāṇḍa* and *Uttarakāṇḍa*, are later additions to the work's original core, represented by Books Two through Six.[7] The basic purpose for addition of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, according to John Brockington, is to provide a curious audience with information on Rāma's birth, youthful exploits and marriage, while at the same time giving to Rāma the enhanced status that was by then being assigned to him.[8] The supplement of *Uttarakāṇḍa*, on the

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[5] G. H. Bhatt (ed.), The Bālakāṇḍa: The first book of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa: The National Epic of India (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1960) cited in Robert P. Goldman (ed. and tra.), The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An Epic of Ancient India, p. 5.

[6] John Brockington, The Sanskrit Epics, p. 4 1.

[7] Robert P. Goldman, "Rāmāyaṇa: Bāla Kāṇḍa," p. 11.

[8] John Brockington, The Sanskrit Epics, p. 380.

other hand, attempts to fill in some of the questions left unanswered at the end of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*; more specifically, it can be seen as the realization of the prediction made by Maheśvara that Rāma, after taking charge of the kingdom again, will establish the Ikṣvāku dynasty, celebrate an Aśvamedha and, after gaining unparalleled fame, deservedly go to heaven.[9]

So far, the *Rāmāyaṇa* text has come down to us in two major regional recensions, the northern and the southern, each of which has a number of versions defined generally by the scripts in which the manuscripts are written.[10] According to John Brockington, the Northern recension presents on the whole a more polished version than the Southern.[11] However, Goldman asserts that the versions of North are somewhat less homogeneous than those of South.[12] Thus, we are not sure now which hypothesis is more precise. The Northern recension may conveniently be spoken of as having two regional subrecensions belonging to the Northeast and Northwest, respectively. The three major recensions and subrecensions differ considerably among themselves; approximately one-third of the text of each of them is common to neither of the two.[13]

The *Rāmāyaṇa* has been enthusiastically adopted by the literatures of virtually every language of modern India. As Goldman points out, such as that of Kamban's Tamil masterpiece and Tulsi Das's Rāmcaritmānas, works derived from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are still regarded as among the greatest pieces in the literary traditions of important languages. Furthermore, the character of Rāma, as delineated by Vālmīki, became an exemplary hero for the authors of the Rāmopākhyāna, the Dasaratha Jātaka and other Rāmāyaṇa-devived Jātaka, and the Jain Rāmāyaṇas.[14]

The story of *Rāmāyaṇa* has been diffused not only all over the cultures of Indian Subcontinent but also to other regions of the world until it has become a part of the

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[9] Ibid., p. 393.
[10] Robert P. Goldman, "Rāmāyaṇa: Bāla Kāṇḍa," p. 6.
[11] John Brockington, The Sanskrit Epics, p. 396.
[12] Robert P. Goldman, "Rāmāyaṇa: Bāla Kāṇḍa," p. 6.
[13] Ibid., p. 6.
[14] Ibid., pp. 24-25.

world culture. In South East Asia, according to Filliozat, the most ancient document seemingly implicating the knowledge of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the most ancient Sanskrit inscription found at Vo Canh, on the coast of central Vietnam, and dated palaeographically to the end of the third century A.D. Filliozat believes this inscription to suggest the Vālmīki Sanskrit version itself as the source text.[15] In addition, in south Vietnam (at Tra-Kieu), the ancient Champa, there is a 7th-century temple devoted to Vālmīki and the inscription there mentions both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Avatāras of Viṣṇu.[16] In the 9th century, the *Rāmāyaṇa* was sculpted on the wall of Chandi Loro Jongrang at Prambanan in central Java.[17]

Besides epigraphical and iconographical evidences, in Southeast Asia, the *Rāmāyaṇa* appears in oral versions as well as written texts and is known by many names such as Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin of Yogīśvara from the early 10th century;[18] Rāmakerti (or Reamker) in Khmer dated to 16th-17th century;[19] A Malay version called Hikāyat Serī Rāma is a popular version transmitted orally to Indonesia between the 13th and 17th century;[20] The oldest Laotian version called the Phra Lak Phra Lam was composed between the 18th and mid-19th century;[21] the first extant of a complete Thai version of Rāmāyaṇa called the Ramakien was composed by King Rama I in 1798;[22] in Burma the oldest extant version is the Rāma Thagyin of 1775; in Philippines, it is called Maharadia Lawana having appeared in Maranao literature at a date set for it in 17th-19th century.[23]

In Southeast Asia now, the *Rāmāyaṇa* has appeared in many forms of expression such as literature, folklore, sculpture, painting, mask dance, dance drama and puppet theater. Each tradition has added to, removed from or modified the epic, presumably in

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[15] Jean Filliozat, "The Rāmāyaṇa in South-East Asian Sanskrit Epigraphy and Iconography," pp. 192-193.

[16] Ibid., p. 193.

[17] Lokesh Chandra, "Rāmāyaṇa, the Epic of Asia," The Ramayana Tradition in Asia (Madras: Sahitya Akademi, 1980), p. 649.

[18] John Brockington, The Sanskrit Epics, p. 514.

[19] Pou Saveros, "Rāmakerti – The Khmer (or Cambodian) Rāmāyaṇa," p. 240.

[20] John Brockington, The Sanskrit Epics, p. 514.

[21] Ibid., p. 514.

[22] S. Singaravelu, "The Rāma Story in the Thai Cultural Tradition," Journal of Siam Society, pp. 55-56.

[23] Jaun R. Francisco, "The Ramayana in the Philippines," p. 177.

accordance with local preferences and knowledge, over the course of time and space until every version has its own special flavor, environment, distinctive context and style.

2.2 The Cambodian Versions of Rāmāyaṇa

As mentioned before, the story of Rāma has been in Cambodia for longer than a thousand years. The earliest known evidence was from a Sanskrit inscription [K. 359] from Veal Kantel, Stung Treng province, dated to 7th century A.D. In the inscription, a daily uninterrupted recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* donated to the sanctuary is mentioned.[24] The Rāma statue, stylistically dated to 6th-7th century, was also found in Takeo province. It should be noted that in ancient Cambodia the principal protagonists in the *Rāmāyaṇa* were considered to be gods, for instance, the Rāma statue which was mentioned above. Besides, the inscription [K. 637] of Prah Khan temple, built in 1191, also bears witness to this. As it inscribes:[25]

... *kamraten jagat*[26] *rāmadeva* ... (Prah Rāma)
... *kamraten jakat lakṣmaṇa*... (Prah lakṣmaṇa)
... *vraḥ bhagavatī*[27] *sītā* ... (Goddess Sītā)

Even today, to recite the Reamker story, the storyteller must perform some ritual gestures such as lighting candles and burning incense sticks.

From seventh century onwards, the story of Rāma became the popular theme for the bas-reliefs of many of temples built in the Angkor period,[28] namely, the bas-relief of Bantey Srei (Siem Reap, A.D. 967), Baphuon (Siem Reap, mid-11th century), Phnom Rung (Buriram, circa 11th century), Phimai (Nakhon Ratchasima, late 12th century),

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[24] François Bizot, Rāmaker ou l'Amour Symbolique de Rāma et Setā, p. 26.; Jean Filliozat, "The Ramayana in Southeast Asian Sanskrit Epigraphy and Iconography," p. 194.

[25] G. Coedès, "Études Cambodgiennes XXXIX: l'épigraphie des monuments de Jayavarman VII," BEFEO, Vol. XLIV (Hanoi, 1951), p. 114.

[26] *"kamraten jagat"* is an epithet of "god."

[27] *"vraḥ bhagavatī"* is an epithet of "goddess."

[28] There are three classifications of Cambodian history: (1) the Pre-Angkor Period from 6th/ 7th to 9th *c.*, (2) the Angkor Period from 9th *c.* to 14th/ 15th *c.*, (3) Mediaeval/ Post-Angkor Period from 14th/ 15th *c.* to 18th *c.*

Angkor Wat (Siem Reap, first half of the 12th century), Thommanon (Siem Reap, 12th century), Chau Say Tevoda[29] (Siem Reap, 12th century), Bantey Samre (Siem Reap, 12th century), Ta Prohm[30] (Siem Reap, 12th century), Banteay Kdei[31] (Siem Reap, 12th-13th), and Banteay Chmar[32] (Uddor Meanchey, 12th-13th). Nevertheless, neither Sanskrit nor Khmer literary versions of the Rāmāyaṇa of the Angkor era have survived today.

The earliest literary texts known as the *Rāmakerti* (The Glory of Rāma), also transcribed phonetically as the *Reamker*, were believed to be composed during the so-called medieval epoch of Khmer history, a period of flourishing Theravada Buddhism in Cambodia. Nevertheless, a few numbers of texts have survived until today. In 1937, the Institute Bouddhique of Phnom Penh collected the scattered *Reamker* manuscripts and published them in 16 booklets which comprised two compositions, numbered 1-10 and 75-80 respectively.[33]

Regarding these *Reamker* manuscripts, some understood that these 16 fascicules are supposed to be one literary work group and the text has lost some parts in the middle i.e. from number 11 to number 74 (sixty-four volumes in total). However, when one reads the story they will realize that although some episodes are absent from the text, their narration would not have filled sixty-four fascicules due to the fact that the narrative of the first composition (number 1-10) is almost finished or probably finished when compared with the main story of *Rāmāyaṇa* because all Rāvaṇa[34]'s ten sons and generals have been killed except Rāvaṇa still alive. On the other hand, these two compositions, number 1-10 and 75-80, are not the same. Judith Jacob points out that the first composition is much older than the second, as may be seen from even a cursory look at the language, vocabulary and phraseology of the two. The first is written in a variety of traditional meters while the second is written in a less ancient meter and in a

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[29] Siyonn Sophearith, "The Life of the Rāmāyaṇa in Ancient Cambodia: A Study of the Political, Religious and Ethical Roles of an Epic Tale in Real Time," Udaya, No. 6 (Phnom Penh: Friends of Khmer Culture, 2005), pp. 126-127.

[30] Ibid., p. 118.

[31] Ibid., p. 119.

[32] Ibid., p. 104.

[33] Judith M. Jacob (tra.), Reamker (Rāmakerti): the Cambodian Version of the Rāmāyaṇa, p. xii.

[34] Rāvaṇa is transcribed phonetically as Rāb(ṇ) in Khmer. As for Thai, Rāvaṇa is called Daśakaṇṭha.

much more verbose style.[35] Focusing on the linguistic aspect of the *Rāmakerti*, Saveros Pou, a Khmer linguist who collated and edited middle period manuscripts,[36] proposed that the first composition could be dated to 16th-17th centuries and the second composition to the 18th century. Both versions were written in beautiful Khmer verses, anonymous and unfinished texts.[37] Regarding the question of the incomplete version of *Rāmakerti*, Sophearit raises the convincing questions relating to vernacularization and localization. As he notes:

> Why is it "incomplete"? To what extent should we consider it a complete text? Which version should be considered the complete version? Do we have to use the critical edition of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa as the complete version, a text which is itself a scholarly compilation? .... The story is transmitted orally and the authority of the written text is based on its oral genealogy. Similarly, Cambodian storytellers also learnt the story by heart or from the palm-leaf manuscripts. These narrations were performed in shadow theater and masked dance drama and sometimes, particular episodes are performed for specific religious events. In addition to their religious function, these performances also entertain the audience. It is therefore necessary for narrators and performers to make their material relevant to their audience. To accomplish this, narrators and performers modify and express the concepts of the story in a way that the audience may be better able to understand and be entertained. This is to say that the episodes of *Rāmāyaṇa* performed are the *Rāmāyaṇa* for those people at that time and place. The texts were written for the performances; therefore only some episodes have been selected and developed.[38]

Sophearit's hypothesis also agrees with Pou who points out that *Rāmakerti* texts were composed for recitation on various occasions throughout the whole community. But most of them meant for the stage.[39] However, the whole story of Rāma could not be put on the stage so some important episodes were selected. This is the reason why we have incomplete versions of these *Rāmakerti* texts. The same pattern occurred in Thai society during the Ayutthaya period where some segments of principal episodes had been selected to compose the recitation in connection with the shadow-play and other

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[35] Judith M. Jacob (tra.), Reamker (Rāmakerti): the Cambodian Version of the Rāmāyaṇa, p. xii.

[36] These texts slightly differ from that of the Institute Bouddhique. For the texts, Pou consulted other MSS, chiefly those of the Bibliothèque Nationale and of the Ecole Française D'extrême-Orient and was thus able to make many corrections to the printed text and to add about 100 stanzas. See Judith M. Jacob (tra.), Reamker (Rāmakerti): the Cambodian Version of the Rāmāyaṇa, pp. xii-xiii.

[37] See Saveros Pou, "Rāmakerti I (XVIe-XVIIe siècles): Texte Khmer Publié"; Saveros Pou, "Rāmakerti II (Deuxième Version du Rāmāyaṇa Khmer): Texte Khmer, Traduction et Annotations."

[38] Siyonn Sophearith, "The Life of the Rāmāyaṇa in Ancient Cambodia: A Study of the Political, Religious and Ethical Roles of an Epic Tale in Real Time," pp. 96-97.

[39] Saveros Pou, "Rāmakerti – The Khmer (or Cambodian) Rāmāyaṇa," p. 241.

dramatic performances.[40] By contrast, the first extant of the complete version of the Thai Ramakien by King Rama I during the Bangkok period is said to be composed for the political motives.[41]

Concerning the sources of *Rāmakerti*, Pou believes that *Rāmakerti I* came from the Old Khmer Versions which were composed from the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa which was reviewed by the Khmers and also contained elements of the Javanese or South-Indian Rāmāyaṇa. The later *Rāmakertis* are closer to the Thai *Rāmakien* than the *Rāmakerti I*.[42] *Rāmakerti I*, Pou adds, took apart Vālmīki's epic, sorted out its elements (episodes and characters), re-examined them with the eyes of Buddhist Upāsaka[43], trimming off drastically what was immaterial to their spiritual view, and shaped a new abridged epic colored with Buddhist thoughts.[44] Jacob also states that the reverence with which Cambodians regard the character of Rāma is not merely the same as Indian beliefs, that he is a god, living on earth in order to quell evil. In the *Reamker*, Rāma is presented as being more than that: he is the Buddha himself.[45]

Among other surviving Khmer written texts, those of most significance for the present study are *Lpoek Nagar Vatt* (Poem of Angkor Vatt), *Traibhed Traitāyug* (Texts deal with cosmogony), *Vaiyarāb(ṇ) Saṇdam Braḥ Rāma* (Vaiyarāb(ṇ) magically puts Rāma to sleep) and *Paṇṭāṃ Bālī*[46] (Bālī's last words for advising his brother).

The *Lpoek Nagar Vatt* is the poem describing the Rāmāyaṇa bas-reliefs of the Agkor Wat temple. The date of manuscript is debatable: Gnuk Them suggests the date in 1598 A.D.[47]

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[40] See S. Singaravelu, "The Rāma Story in the Thai Cultural Tradition," Journal of Siam Society, Vol. 56, Part 1, 1968, p. 55.

[41] See Kittisak Kerdarunsuksri, Ramakien in Modern Performance: The Reflection of an Identity Crisis (7th International Conference on Thai Studies, Amsterdam, 4-8 July 1999), p. 2.

[42] Saveros Pou, "Rāmakerti – The Khmer (or Cambodian) Rāmāyaṇa," pp. 243-245.

[43] Somebody believes in and practices Buddhism.

[44] Saveros Pou, "Rāmakerti – The Khmer (or Cambodian) Rāmāyaṇa," p. 243.

[45] Judith M. Jacob (tra.), Reamker (Rāmakerti): the Cambodian Version of the Rāmāyaṇa, p. ix.

[46] This written text is housed in the EFEEO library in Paris. However, I have been unable to consul this text.

[47] Gnuk Them, "Yobal Neng Karponyal Khlah Ampi Tarang Pravattikal Nei Aksarsastr (Some Opinion and Explanation on Literatures Date)," Journal of National Institute of Pedagogy, Vol. 2 (Phnom Penh: 1959) cited in Khing Hoc Dy, Lpoek Angkor Vat (Poem of Angkor Vat) (Phnom Penh: Angkor, 2006), p. xi.

while Pou philologically dates it from 1620 A.D.[48]

Traibhed Traitāyug mainly consists of two parts. The first part called *Traibhed* relates to the creation of the three worlds by *ṛṣi* (hermit). As for the second part, *Traitāyug,* deals with the *yuga* called *Traitā* when demons began to pester the world with their mischief. Therefore, *ṛṣi* went to invite the god Nārāyaṇa (Visṇu), who is lying on the ocean, to come and combat the demons in order to establish *dharma*. Nārāyaṇa left the ocean and took birth in the womb of Queen Kausalyā as a human prince, then received the name of Rāma.[49] According to Pou, this treatise was composed – or compiled in 1619 *saka* (or 1687 A.D.) – at the height of Theravādin faith in Cambodia, and contemporary with *Rāmakerti I*.[50]

Vaiyarāb(ṇ) Saṇdam Braḥ Rāma is one of the Reamker episodes, which is separately composed around 17th-18th centuries.[51] The text narrates Vaiyarāb(ṇ), a demon king of Pātāla (subterranean region), as he comes to help Rāvaṇa fighting Rāma. He makes a sleeping potion with which to capture Rāma. Hanumān volunteers to guard Rāma from Vaiyarāb(ṇ) by keeping Rāma's pavilion in his mouth. However, Vaiyarāb(ṇ) succeeds in putting everyone to sleep and captures Rāma to his realm. Hanumān tries to free Rāma and kills Vaiyarāb(ṇ). This episode is narrated after Rāma's army crossing the causeway to Laṅkā. Thus, it could be that the episode of *Vaiyarāb(ṇ) Saṇdam Braḥ Rāma* aids in filling in the missing part of the Cambodian *Reamker*.

Besides the texts mentioned above, there also exist popular versions of *Reamker* which were recited by narrators or storytellers in public performances. In ancient Cambodia and even today, countless numbers of oral versions are widespread in the country but a few oral versions were recorded, by accident. One was published in 1973 by François Bizot who was able to record a complete version of the recital of the

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[48] Saveros Pou, Etudes sur le Rāmakerti (XVIe-XVIIe siècle) (Paris: EFEO, 1977) cited in Khing Hoc Dy, Lpoek Angkor Vat (Poem of Angkor Vat) (Phnom Penh: Angkor, 2006), p. xi.

[49] Saveros Pou, "Portrait of Rama in Cambodian (Khmer) Tradition," Ramayana Traditions and National Cultures in Asia (Lucknow: Directorate of Cultural Affairs, 1989), p. 5.

[50] Ibid., p. 5.

[51] Khing Hoc Dy, Sastra Reamker Kal Vaiyarā(ṇ) Sandam Yak Prah Ramā Ban (Reamker Manuscript: Vaiyarā(ṇ) magically puts Rāma to sleep) (Phnom Penh: Angkor, 2004), p. 6.

popular text by the professional storyteller Ta Chak.[52] According to Jacob, the narrative is firmly in the Khmer (and Thai) Rāma tradition although details are different.[53] For instance, during the time of constructing the causeway to Laṅkā, there is the depiction of Hnumān playing chess and then he quarrels with another monkey called Nila-aeka, and the impersonation of Sītā by Puññakāya, who floats as if dead down to river for Rāma to see. Another example, Brahma and Indra reconcile Rāma and Sītā by re-marrying them. These incidents are not mentioned in the *Rāmakerti* Text. According to Bizot, the Ta Chak's version can be philologically dated to the 18th to 19th centuries.[54]

Another text in prose was recited by Ta Krud of part of the Reamker. Unfortunately, I have been unable to consult his text. However, according to Jacob, this was the subject of a thesis by Alain Daniel.[55] In volume 1 he discussed the presentation of the scenes and gave a translation. Volume 2 contains the text and a detailed translation, phrase by phrase, with a commentary on certain key words.[56]

The third work was made by Pi Bunin who recorded the story recited by Ta Soy in the late 1990s.[57] Unfortunately, the story is unfinished because Ta Soy passed away before ending his narrative. This oral version is distinguished from the *Rāmakerti* Text by a certain number of points which are not found in the latter, for example, the story commences with the lives of Isūr (Śiva) and Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) in Kailāsa Heaven and the origins of various other principal characters from the story of Reamker. Another example is the episode of the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa. It is Rāvaṇa himself who transforms into the golden deer to lure Sītā. In the *Rāmakerti* Text, Rāvaṇa orders another demon called Mahārīk to change himself into a golden deer to trick Rāma and Sītā. The Ta Soy's oral version is used for libretti in a dance drama (Lkhon Khol),

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[52] See François Bizot, Reong Reamker Nei Ta Chak (The Reamker Story of Ta Chak); François Bizot, Rāmaker ou l'Amour Symbolique de Rāma et Setā.

[53] Judith M. Jacob, The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide (Oxford New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 34.

[54] In his article Bizot puts the date in XVIIIth to XIIth centuries. I think the date is perhaps incorrect typing; it should be XVIIIth to XIXth centuries. See F. Bizot, "The Reamker," Asian Viriations in Ramayana (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1994), p. 264.

[55] The Text of a prose recitation by Ta Krud of part of the Reamker is the subject of a thesis by Alain Daniel, Étude d'un Fragment du Ramker (Ramayana Cambodgien) Dit par un Conteur (thèse de 3ème cycle, Université de Paris III, 1982).

[56] Judith M. Jacob, The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide, p. 34.

[57] See Pi Bunin, Reamker Poal Doy Ta Soy (The Reamker Told by Ta Soy).

which is traditionally performed during the funerals of eminent monks, or performed to alleviate drought and to drive out disease and misfortune.

The influence of the *Reamker* on the arts and life of the Khmer people has been more profound than that of any other story. Apart from the sculptures in many of the temples of Angkor, the story of Rāma is a favorite theme for frescoes on the monastery walls. There exists a profound association between the *Reamker* and almost every type of performance in Cambodia. The Sbek Thom (Large shadow play) and the Lkhon Khol (Masked dance), which are considered sacred arts and performed only during great festivals, anniversaries and funerals of high-ranking religious or lay personalities, perform only the *Rāmakerti* story. The *Rāmakerti* is also popular and important in social life. In some villages, there exists Anak Tā, a spiritual being, called Kaṃheṅ which is another Hanumān's name. This name existed since the middle period of the Cambodian history. Furthermore, when seasonal rain fails to fill ponds, lakes, and streams and to soak the farmland deeply, so that the prospect of a drought looms disturbingly up; villagers get together to have parts of *Rāmakerti* performed. The most popular selection episode is the so-called "*Kumbhakārṇa Dap Dịk*," literally means "Kumbhakārṇa uses his body stopping the water."[58] On the other hand, when one face a trouble in life, they can go to a monastery and ask to "consult sacred texts" or *Kaṃbī*. These consist of all Buddhist texts and the *Rāmakerti*. The monk performs a short invocatory and auspicious ceremony, then hands the individual a stick, which he or she slips between any two pages of the texts. The monk opens the book to that place, read out the passage of text, and interprets it to the audience. In the case of *Rāmakerti* text, there are several portentous episodes, for instance: the winning of Sītā's hand by Rāma (portends success), the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa (portends bad luck) and the episode of Bibhek joining Rāma's camp (portends hope).[59]

[58] During the great battle of Laṅkā, Kaumphakārṇa was commissioned by his brother Rāvaṇa to cut off the water supply to the host of monkeys on Rāma's side. He magically assumed his most gigantic shape and lay down cross the river. Then, Hanumān and Aṅgad were sent by Rāma to sort out the danger. They performed magical tricks to rouse the giant from the riverbed and consequently succeeded in "releasing" the bountiful water and rescuing all creatures.

[59] Saveros Pou, "Indigenization of Rāmāyaṇa in Cambodia," Selected Papers on Khmerology (Phnom Penh: Reyum, 2003), pp. 338-339.

2.3 The Thai Versions of Rāmāyaṇa

Rāmāyaṇa is well-known to the Thai people as *Ramakien*. According to Chamlong Sarapadnuke, the name *Ramakien* is derived from the term *Ramakīrti*,[60] literally means "the Glory of Rāma." The *Ramakien* has been much appreciated by the Thai people and has been deeply embedded in Thai society for centuries. Some of the cities, towns, villages, mountains, and lakes have been associated with a number of legends connected with Rāma's life. For instance, there is a well-known folktale prevalent in Lopburi, a town some 154 km. to the north of Bangkok, of a certain powerful giant who was killed by Rāma. The giant died lying flat on his back and became a huge mountain with a sedge arrow still sticking in his breast.[61] The other legends, Rāma created Lopburi on his return to Ayodhyā and gave it as a reward to his monkey general Hanumān. Lopburi in Sanskrit means Lavapuri is believed to have been name after Rāma's son Lava. A road in Lopburi is named Phra Rāma, and a locality is called Khidkhin (Kiṣkindhā), the forest where Hanumān, the monkey king Sugrīva and his brother Vālin lived.[62]

The fundamental sources of the Thai *Rāmakien* might be resulted from its geographical location as well as its historical background. According to Phya Anuman Rajadhon, when the Thai people began to inhabit the Menam valley as well as the northern region of the Malay Peninsula, they would have come in contact with several elements of the Indianized civilization of the areas.[63] Thus, the Rāma story was no doubt one of the popular elements, which they adopted. Of Indianized states' civilization, the influence of the Khmers can be traced fairly clearly due to considerable apparent evidences of the Khmer art artifacts and sanctuaries scattered in Thai soil. According to M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, the Khmer influence spread from Cambodia into the northeastern and central parts of Thailand. During the eleventh century when Vaishnavism came to the fore, many scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* were discovered in

[60] Chamlong Sarapadnuke, "Rāmāyaṇa in Thai Theatre," The Ramayana Tradition in Asia (Madras: Sahitya Akademi, 1980), p. 245.

[61] Phya Anuman Rajadhon, Life and Ritual in Old Siam, William J. Gedney(tra.) (HRAF Press New Heaven, 1961), p. 71.

[62] Santosh N. Desai, Hinduism in Thai life (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1980), p. 64.

[63] Phya Anuman Rajadhon, A Brief Survey of Cultural Thailand, p. 3-8.

Thailand especially those carved on stone pediments and lintels of the Khmer or Lopburi towers.[64] On the other hand, the Phimai temple in Nakhon Ratchasima province of northeastern Thailand and built in early 12th century, there are a number of pediments and lintels of the sanctuary that were carved with episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* – for instance, the humiliation of Sūrpaṇakhā[65], the building of the causeway to Laṅkā, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa entwined by the Nāga-noose from the arrow of Indrajit,[66] and the final battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa.[67] Furthermore, at Phnom Rung temple in northeastern Thailand, probably constructed about the end of the 11th century, a number of *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes have been sculpted, such as the scenes of Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā and Rāma killing Mārīca.[68]

Those reliefs, therefore, perhaps shed some light on the initial foundation of the Thai *Rāmakien* and later it merged with Rāma story from other countries to conform to the Thai society. As King Ram VI and Sathien Koset (Phya Anuman Rajadhon) point out, "the stories of Rāma transmitted by the Khmers to the Thai immigrants have been transformed and extended to suit the taste and the character of the Thai."[69]

With the emergence of Sukothai kingdom in first half of the 13th century, the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* might have been already well-known in Thailand due to the fact that the name of the third great king of the Sukothai dynasty, Rāmkhamhaeng (Rāma the Brave), was named after the epic hero, Rāma. According to Christian Velder, the first document in Thai language and Thai letters, the stone of King Rāmkhamhaeng of 1292, contains an allusion to the legend of Rāma. When it enumerates geographic locations it names the cave of Rāma near the Sampat River in the vicinity of Sukhothai. Another

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[64] M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, "Rāmāyaṇa in Sculpture and Paintings in Thailand," The Ramayana Tradition in Asia (Madras: Sahitya Akademi, 1980), pp. 672-673.

[65] Siyonn Sophearith, "The Life of the Rāmāyaṇa in Ancient Cambodia: A Study of the Political, Religious and Ethical Roles of an Epic Tale in Real Time," p. 118.

[66] M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, "Rāmāyaṇa in Sculpture and Paintings in Thailand," p. 673.

[67] J.J. Boeles, "A Rāmāyaṇa Relief from the Khmer Sanctuary at Pimai in North-east Thailand," The Journal of Siam Society, Vol. 57, Part 1, 1969, p. 173.

[68] M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, "Rāmāyaṇa in Sculpture and Paintings in Thailand," p. 674.

[69] Phrabat Somdet Phra Mongkutklao, Bokoet Ramakien (The Origin of Ramakien) (Bangkok, 1960) and Sathien Koset, Upakon Ramakien (The Elements of the Ramakien) (Bangkok, 1952) cited in Christian Velder, "Notes on the Saga of Rama in Thailand," The Journal of Siam Society, Vol. 56, Part 1, 1968, p. 33.

cave nearby is known as Sītā cave.[70] The other evidence of *Rāmāyaṇa* in Sukhothai period, according to Subhadradis Diskul, are stucco decorations around the Ubosot (ordination hall) of Wat Kaew, a large Buddhist monastery at Kampaengpet, a Sukhothai town in northern Thailand. They might present the scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* but unfortunately most of them have now fallen down.[71]

Around 15th century, the Sukhothai kingdom was annexed by the southern kingdom of Ayutthaya which became the new Thai kingdom. Ayutthaya, the capital from 1350-1767, was named after Ayodhyā, the city of Rāma in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Moreover, King Rāmathipatī (Rāma the Sovereign), Ayutthaya founder, derived his name from Rāma, hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The custom was adopted by several subsequent Ayutthaya monarchs.[72] The kings not only adopted the name from *Rāmāyaṇa*, but they also followed the model of Rāma. For instance, a stone inscription, discovered in 1930 in the center of the old city of Sukhothai, bears the text of an edict issued by a king of Ayutthaya. Scholars believe that the inscription – according to its date 1397 A.D. and some collateral evidence in the text – belongs to King Rāmarājādhirāja, called Rāmarāja in abbreviated form. The inscription tells us something about Rāmarāja's stately progress from Ayutthaya to Sukhothai. After that the king proceeded to Sukhothai, where he made it known that he intended to cleanse the region following the example of Rāma, "whose greatness is proverbial." Rāma, the hero in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, was the "ideal king" whose paradigm all monarchs supposed to imitate; as Rāmarāja bore the same name.[73]

During the Ayutthaya period, the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* was very well-known and a number of Thai literatures have been composed from the episodes of *Rāmāyaṇa* through out the period. According to Sathien Koset, in the time of king Rāma Thibodi in the 15th century, two verses relating to the royal consecration of water refer to Rāma and his brother Lakṣmaṇa. Rāma's victory over the demons in Laṅkā is mentioned in a poem composed during the reign of king Borom Trai Lokanat (15th century). King Daśaratha

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[70] Christian Velder, "Notes on the Saga of Rama in Thailand," p. 34.
[71] M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, "Rāmāyaṇa in Sculpture and Paintings in Thailand," p. 675.
[72] Patamini Limited, Ramakien: The Thai Ramayana (Bangkok: Naga Books, 1993), p. 6.
[73] A. B. Griswold and Na Nagara Prasert, "On Kingship and Society at Sukhodaya," Change and Persistence in Thai Society (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 74-76.

and Sītā are mentioned in some verses composed during the reign of king Phra Nāray Maharat (1656-1688 A.D.), while another poem of the same period speaks of Rāma and his sacred arrow subduing the demons in Laṅkā. King Janaka's discovery of Sītā and Rāma's mutilation of Sūrpaṇakhā are mentioned in a Lakhon text, belonging to the 18th century A.D.[74] Apart from these scattered references to the particular characters and episodes of the Rāma legend in various Thai literary works, there are also several early texts known as Kham Phāk Rāmakien and Bot Lakhon Rāmakien dealing with specific episodes of the Rāma legend, and some of them are believed to have been composed during the Ayutthaya period for the purpose of recitation in connection with the shadow-play and other dramatic performances.[75] According to Subhadradis Diskul, almost all Thai written versions of *Rāmāyaṇa* in Ayutthaya period disappeared because the loss of Ayutthaya.[76]

The war with the Burmese leading to the destruction of the capital city of Ayutthaya in 1767 left the king and his court with the need to retrench and create a new capital at Thonbori for his new dynasty. According to S. Singaravelu, the new King called Taksin (1767-1782 A.D.) is known to have composed a Lakhon (dance drama) version of the story, but this version only deals with certain adventures of Hanumān in Laṅkā and with the story of Rāma's son known as Makuṭ.[77] During this period, Phraya Mahanuphap also mentions in one of his Nirat poems a scene in which Rāma kills the demon Mārich, the golden deer.[78]

Therefore, since the Sukhothai till the Thonbori period, the complete version of the Thai *Rāmakien* has never come down to us. Dealing with this account, King Vijiravudh (Rāma VI) – in his article "Bokoet Ramakien" (The Origin of Rāmakien) – argues that when Ayutthaya was burned in 1767, almost all works of Thai literature were lost. This is the reason why the Thais do not have any complete version of the

[74] Sathien Koset, Upakon Ramakien cited in Christian Velder, "Notes on the Saga of Rama in Thailand," pp. 34-45.
[75] S. Singaravelu, "The Rāma Story in the Thai Cultural Tradition," p. 55.
[76] M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, "Rāmāyaṇa in Sculpture and Paintings in Thailand," p. 676.
[77] S. Singaravelu, "The Rāma Story in the Thai Cultural Tradition," p. 55.
[78] Christian Velder, "Notes on the Saga of Rama in Thailand," p. 35.

story of Rāma dating back to earlier times.[79] Nevertheless, another possibility is that almost all Rāma episodes, as mentioned above, have been composed during that time for shadow-play and dramatic dance purposes; therefore only a number of specific scenes have been selected.

After founding the Chakri Dynasty and the capital city of Bangkok, King Phra Phuttha Yotfa (1782-1809), also known as King Rama I, initiated the task of collecting all the available materials pertaining to the Rama story from the surviving oral and written sources, and in 1798 A.D., he composed the most comprehensive Thai literary version known as the *Ramakien* [80] for dramatic dance purpose. Rama I's version is considered the most famous Thai version of the epic and the only one that carries the story from the beginning to the end. The text[81] is composed in Thai verses and consists 2,976 pages; and there are about 52,086 verses in it.[82] This version is amalgamation of several legends and tales about Rāma. It is probably because of them that the *Ramakien* is considered unique. Regarding to the sources, which were used by King Rama I and his intimates to compose the *Ramakien*, remain obscure. Christian Velder believes that the writers, under the orders of the king, used the Sanskrit version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, a version in Hindi, one in Tamil and one in Bengali. Also many stories were reproduced that do not belong to the Indian tradition.[83] Velder's supposition is similar to the book published by Patamini Limited. However, the latter has a further few sources: the Malay Hikayat Sri Rāma, the Siamese prose work, Narai Sip Pang (Ten Incarnations of Visṇu), and certain sections of the Laotian Rāma Jātaka, a former folk tale.[84] Whereas the co-writers, Swami Satyananda Puri and Charoen Sarahiran, they argue that although, so far as the plot is concerned, it thoroughly coincides with the main story of *Rāmāyaṇa*, the details, nevertheless, so deviate from the original that we entirely lose its sight and induce ourselves to think we are reading a quite different narration of Rāma.[85]

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[79] Phrabat Somdet Phra Mongkutklao, Bokoet Ramakien cited in Christian Velder, "Notes on the Saga of Rama in Thailand," p. 35.

[80] S. Singaravelu, "The Rāma Story in the Thai Cultural Tradition," pp. 55-56.

[81] The king Rāma I' s Rāmakien was published in 4 volumes, entitled Rāmakien Prarachaniphon Ratchakanthi I (The Rāmakien of the First Reign).

[82] Thanit Yubo, Introduction to Khon (Bangkok: Department of Fine Arts, 1953), p. 105.

[83] Christian Velder, "Notes on the Saga of Rama in Thailand," p. 36.

[84] Patamini Limited, Ramakien: The Thai Ramayana, pp. 11-12.

[85] Swami Satyananda Puri and Charoen Sarahiran, The Ramakirti (Ramkien) or the Thai Version of the Ramayana (Bangkok: Phra Chandr Press, 1940), p. 5.

All the authors above, they only provide their hypotheses respectively, but they fail to offer the evidences of their analyzing approaches for concluding those theories. Another work is done by Desai in his book called "Hinduism in Thai Life." It is a very interesting work. Desai makes a comparison of Thai *Ramakien* with the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, the Versions of Rāma story in India – such as Daśaratha Jātaka, Jain Rāmāyaṇa, Tamil Rāmāyaṇa, Bengali Rāmāyaṇa and Kashmiri Rāmāyaṇa – and Rāma story in other countries of Southeast Asia – such as Indonesian Rāmāyaṇa, Malayan Rāmāyaṇa, Cham Rāmāyaṇa, Cambodian Rāmāyaṇa and Laotian Rāmāyaṇa. Finally, Desai has come to the conclusion that at first glance, the Thai *Ramakien* and Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa appear almost identical. But this apparent resemblance does not go very far. No doubt the plot of the story, both in Thai *Ramakien* and Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, is the same – namely, the abduction of his wife Sītā and the war for her recovery. However, in describing the plot, the Thai story has changed considerably. It differs from the Vālmīki versions in respect to (a) characters, (b) organization, (c) episodes, e.g., details and descriptions and (d) emphasis. Desai continuously proposes that the Thai story is rooted mainly in the non-Brāhmanical, non-Vālmīki versions of the Rāma story. The Rāmakien agrees considerably with the Serat Kāṇḍa of Indonesia and the Hikāyat Seri Rāma of Malaya. The Thai story has also taken some important elements from Khmer Reamker. Furthermore, the Jain Rāmāyaṇa, the Kamban Rāmāyaṇa in Tamil, the several Rāmāyaṇas in Bengali and Bhatta's Rāmāyaṇa in Kashmiri, taken together, account for several characteristics in which the Thai *Ramakien* differs from the Vālmīki. [86] What Desai has suggested is more convincing because it seemingly agrees with the Thai scholars who believe that the basic sources of the Thai *Ramkien* version came from eastern coast of south India and reached the Menam valley together with the shadow-play through the Malay Peninsula from Srī Vijaya empire, whence it went on to Java.[87] This view seems to be also supported by the fact that there is a great deal of similarity between the shadow-play versions of the Malay Peninsula and the Thai literature and dramatic versions in regard to several motifs and episodes of the Rāma story.[88] These

[86] Santosh N. Desai, Hinduism in Thai life, pp. 63-115.

[87] Prince Dhaninivat, The Nang (Bangkok: The Fine Arts Department, 1956), pp. 5-6; Prince Dhaninivat and Dhanit Yupho, The Khōn (Bangkok: The Fine Arts Department, 1962), pp. 5-6; Phya Anuman Rajadhon, Thai Literature in relation to the diffusion of her cultures (Bangkok: The Fine Arts Department, 1963), p. 10.

[88] S. Singaravelu, "The Rāma Story in the Thai Cultural Tradition," pp. 56-57.

accounts inspire me to recall the earlier known texts of Thai literatures, particularly in Ayutthaya period. Almost all specific episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* have been purposely composed through linking with the shadow-play and dramatic performance; and some of these texts are said to be used by King Rama I as a part of references for composing his *Ramakien* version. Thus, undoubtedly, King Rama I's *Ramakien*, more or less, is influenced by Indonesian and Malaya Rāmāyaṇa as well as the Old Khmer Rāmāyaṇa as result of its geographical location and the historical background.

Although, the *Ramakien* was taken from external various Rāma stories, the sentiments in the story and even certain details have been changed in order to suit with the time. Since the king was involved in many wars, Rama I's *Ramakien* was based from his own experiences at war while various descriptions of love scenes merely explained what happened in those days.[89] As Desai points out, the Rama I's version also includes many Buddhist ideas and attitudes about life, such as the system of Karma and Karmic retribution, to explain many problems and conflicts. Although an incarnation (avatāra) of Visṇu or Nārāyaṇa, Rāma in the Thai story is subordinate to Śiva and both the gods are below Lord Buddha. Although with some deification, the Thai look upon Rāma primarily as a good human being, a king endowed with bravery, greatness and supernatural powers. But they reserve their love, *Bhakti*, for Gotama Buddha alone.[90]

King Rama I's version is the main source for all major versions of the Thai *Ramakien* which have been subsequently composed, except the one written by king Rama VI.

The Rama I's version is very long and rather difficult to put on the stage. Thus, Rama II (1809-1824), a noted patron of the arts who took particular delight in dance and drama performance, directed the composition of another version of the *Ramakien* in verse form.[91] This version is shorter and similar to the work of Rama I. The story begins with Hanumān giving Sītā a ring from Rāma. It omits the death of Rāvaṇa and Rāma's

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[89] M.L. Manich Jumsai, History of Thai Literature, p. 129.
[90] Santosh N. Desai, Hinduism in Thai life, p. 115.
[91] Peter Holmshaw, A Golden souvenir of the Ramakien and Thai Classical Dance (Honkong: Pacific Rim Press, 2003). p. 17.

return to Ayodhyā. Some war scenes are omitted also. The episodes with Sītā's sons are included.[92] This version is very popular and regarded as the best Thai dramatic poetry.[93] After these two versions, king Rama IV, who reigned from 1851 to 1868, also wrote part of the *Ramakien* based on the work of Rama I; it is one long episode starting with Rāma's exile in the forest. King Rama V, who reigned from 1868 to 1910, had some artist inscribe commentaries on those murals which decorate the galleries of the Royal Chapel of the Emerald Buddha Temple in Bangkok. Unlike the other Thai version, the one written by king Rama VI (1910-1925), is based on Vālmīki's story, written with the aid of an English translation of the Sanskrit work. Among the episodes included are the following: the loss of Sītā, Rāma meeting the monkeys and bears, the burning of Laṅkā, and the war. Parts of the Uttarakāṇḍa, the final section of the Sanskrit text, are also included.[94]

The book published by Patamini Limited notes that the Surviving *Ramakien* fragments from the Ayutthaya period, and versions composed during the Bangkok period, were mostly composed in verse, and almost exclusively for dramatic performances. Prose versions for reading pleasure were composed only during this century. Latter-day prose versions tend to be hybrids drawn from different sources, each edition subtly different as compilers sought to clarify or dramatize certain episodes or incidents.[95]

Like in Cambodia, the epic continuously exerts its influence in many aspects of the contemporary Thai society although the majority of the people practice Buddhism. Besides being an important literary work, the Rāma saga is the cultural prototype. The popularity of the story has inspired numerous Thai art forms. The story of Ramakien is the theme for the Nang (shadow play) and Khon (mask dance drama) performance in the squares of towns and villages. The epic is also depicted in bas-reliefs and mural paintings on the walls of Buddhist temples,[96] and comprise illustrative materials for

[92] Theodora Helene Bofman, The Poetics of the Ramakien (Northern Illinois University: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1984), p. 4,

[93] Subhadradis Diskul, "Rāmāyaṇa in Sculpture and Paintings in Thailand," p. 677.

[94] Theodora Helene Bofman, The Poetics of the Ramakien, pp. 4-5.

[95] Patamini Limited, Ramakien: The Thai Ramayana, p. 12.

[96] Wat Po in Bangkok has 150 bas-reliefs, depicting various scenes from the Ramakien.

religious manuscript cabinets and talismanic tattoos. The stories of Rāma also play a certain role in the superstitions of the people. The books of the fortune-tellers are filled with hints to the legend. The magic incantations of the source are often the model for more recent magic. One special incantation may be cited: Khatha Huojai Hanumān "the magic of Hanumān's heart." The people also believe that whoever was able to read the complete epic in seven days and seven nights could make the heavens rain for three days and nights.[97]

[97] Christian Velder, "Notes on the Saga of Rama in Thailand," p. 38.

CHAPTER III

THE BRIEF HISTORIES OF THE RAMAKIEN MURAL PAINTING AND THE REAMKER MURAL PAINTING

This chapter will be divided into three parts. The first part deals with the brief history of the relations between Cambodia and Siam in the 19th century. In the second part, the brief histories of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in Bangkok and the Ramakien mural painting will be offered. The third part devotes to the brief histories of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in Phnom Penh and the Reamker mural painting.

3.1 Cambodia's Relations with Siam in the 19th Century

"Cambodia is a small country. We [Vietnam] should maintain it as a child. We will be its mother; its father will be Siam. When a child has trouble with its father, it can get rid of suffering by embracing its mother. When the child is unhappy with its mother, it can run to its father for support."[1]

Emperor Gia Long

The complete version of the Reamker Mural Painting in the Royal Palace of Cambodia was the outcome of Cambodia's relations with Siam. Therefore, the historical relations of the two kingdoms are noteworthy to investigate.

From the fall of Angkor in the mid-15th century, the political turmoil and anarchy in Cambodia shook the foundations of Khmer culture and opened up many gaps, more and more widely, for foreign infiltrations, Siamese in particular. Between the early 17th and the mid-19th centuries, Cambodian history can be seen as a tug-of-war between the Thai and the Vietnamese. In early 19th century the country was the scene of fighting between these two powers.[2] From the Thonburi period, when King Taksin

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[1] Institute Buddhique, manuscript chronicle from Wat Srolauv cited in David P. Chandler, A History of Cambodia (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1998), p. 116.

[2] Ian Mabbett and David Chandler, The Khmers (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995), p. 218.

came to power in Siam, he had a military campaign in Cambodia three times. He was moved to do so in part because, according to Eng Sut, in 1768 the Cambodian King refused to resume tributary payments to Siam, on the ground that Taksin was non-royal, a usurper, and half Chinese.[3] In the 1770s, dynastic wars and factional quarrels among the Cambodians themselves had killed off most of the Cambodian royal family[4] including the Cambodian King Ang Non, but his son named Ang Eng survived.[5] By 1783, Vietnamese attacks forced Ang Eng, nine years old at that time, to take refuge in Bangkok with the newly enthroned founder of the Chakri Dynasty, King Rama I, who provided him with a house.[6] As John Tully points out, the Cambodian situation then was a fateful flight for Siam to re-establish its suzerainty over Cambodia after it had lapsed following a Burmese military victory over Ayutthaya in 1767.[7] It might be that from King Rama I's point of view, as long as the Cambodian king was retained in his hand, he believed that the Siamese had authority over Cambodia. Thus, when Cambodian leaders in the early 1790s asked Rama I to send him back as King, Rama I refused, on the grounds that if Ang Eng died there the Cambodian royal family would become extinct.[8]

For over a decade following Ang Non's death, the Cambodian throne was vacant, with the power in the hands of a pro-Siamese regent, Baen.[9] In 1794 when Ang Eng reached his majority, Rama I provided him, in Bangkok, with official royal title that David Chandler understands as a gesture which in effect permitted Ang Eng to be King, and represented a new kind of Thai control over the Cambodian court. Ang Eng

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[3] Eng Sut, Ekasar Maha Puras Khmer (Khmer Chronicles: The Khmer Heroes) (Phnom Penh, 1969) cited in David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," Journal of Siam Society, Vol. 60, Part 1, 1992, p. 156.

[4] David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," p. 156.

[5] John Tully, A Short History of Cambodia: From Empire to Survival (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2006), p. 72.

[6] David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," pp. 156-57.

[7] John Tully, A Short History of Cambodia: From Empire to Survival, p. 72.

[8] Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Phraratchaphongsawadan Krung Ratanakosin Ratchakan Thi 2 (the Royal Chronicle of the Second reign of the Bangkok period), Vol. I (Bangkok: 1961) cited in David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," p. 157.

[9] John Tully, A Short History of Cambodia: From Empire to Survival, p. 72.

was then allowed to go back to Udong where he was crowned by Cambodian officials.[10] Rama I also used Ang Eng's coronation as an excuse to remove the north western quarter of Cambodia from Ang Eng's control, bestowing the governorship on a Cambodian official named Baen, who had served as de facto ruler of northern Cambodia, under loose Thai supervision, through most of the 1780s. The region consisted of the extensive provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap and included most of Cambodia's frontier with Siam.[11]

King Ang Eng died in 1796 and his advisor, Pok, became Regent with full powers to act for Ang Eng's six-year-old son, Prince Ang Chan.[12] In 1806 Ang Chan, 15 years old at that time, was crowned in Bangkok and returned to Cambodia, to Udong. However, Rama I did not let all of Ang Chan's family return to Cambodia, only his mother and one daughter. His brothers, Ang Phim, Ang Sngoun, Ang Im and Ang Duong, were kept in Bangkok.[13]

Ang Chan is a key figure in this period of Cambodian History. During his reign (1806-1835), he led his country away from Thai influence and into direct Vietnamese control. One reason that Ang Chan did so was probably because he saw the short-term advantages that Chandler calls the playing of one patron off against the other. The pace of his alienation from Bangkok accelerated after Rama I's death in 1809.[14] Ang Chan refused to go to Bangkok for Rama I's funeral because he, according to Chandler and Tully, was angry with King Rama II who appointed Baen's son, after Baen's death, as ruler of Battambang where Ang Chan seems to have thought that this province would revert to Cambodia after Bean's death.[15] Then Rama II's response to this rebuke was to appoint Ang Chan's brothers Ang Snguoun and Ang Im as Uphayorāj and Uparāj without consulting Ang Chan. Then they came to Cambodia. This made Ang Chan

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[10] David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," p. 157.

[11] Ibid., p. 157.

[12] Treng Ngea, Pravatisastr Khmer (the History of Cambodia) (Phnom Pehn: The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, 2003), p. 238.

[13] Michael Vickery, History of Cambodia: The beginning of the 19th century, the handout to be taught in the Faculty of Archaeology, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, 4th April 2000, p. 2.

[14] David Chandler, A History of Cambodia, p. 119.

[15] John Tully, A Short History of Cambodia: From Empire to Survival, p. 72; David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," p. 159.

angrier with the Siam.[16] Thus, Ang Chan ignored Rama II's order to levy troops to help in a war against Burma. From then on, Ang Chan's court polarized into pro-Thai and anti-Thai factions. His brother Ang Snguon, whom Rama II named Viceroy of Cambodia, was openly pro-Thai; in early 1811, he fled to the northwest, and formally offered his allegiance to Rama II.[17] Ang Chan was afraid he would start a rebellion, and he asked for Vietnamese soldiers for protection. As Michael Vickery points out, this may have been the beginning of Ang Chan's pro-Vietnamese policy, which continued throughout his reign.[18]

Soon after that, in 1811-1812 conflict broke out inside Cambodia between Thai and Vietnamese expeditionary forces. The Thai supported one of Ang Chan's dissident brothers; the Vietnamese responded to Ang Chan's requests for help.[19] Ang Chan took his family and fled to Vietnam; and his brothers returned to Bangkok with the Thai army. After the withdrawal of Thai army, Gia-Long sent Ang Chan back to Udong with Vietnamese protection.[20] As Chandler notes, the event in Cambodia in 1811-1812, provided Vietnam most of benefits, for although the Thai had failed to capture Ang Chan and to place Ang Snguon on the throne, Ang Chan himself had merely exchanged one form of dependency for another, and his three brothers, in Bangkok, were now political threats to him. Ang Chan had purged his court, for the time being, of its pro-Thai faction, but at a price, for the political and economic controls which the Vietnamese now began to impose on his country were painful and expensive.[21] The Vietnamese strongly asserted their influence on the Cambodian royal court. Twice a month, wearing Vietnamese bureaucratic costumes supplied by Hué, the king and his entourage had to visit a Vietnamese temple near Phnom Penh – to where Ang Chan had moved in 1812 – and bow before a tablet bearing the Vietnamese emperor's name.[22] According to Treng Ngear, although Ang Chan relied on Vietnamese support, he still

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[16] Michael Vickery, History of Cambodia: The beginning of the 19th century, p. 2.

[17] David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," p. 160.

[18] Michael Vickery, History of Cambodia: The beginning of the 19th century, p. 2.

[19] David Chandler, A History of Cambodia, p. 119.

[20] Michael Vickery, History of Cambodia: The beginning of the 19th century, p. 2; G. Coedès, The Making of South East Asia, H. M. Wright (tra.) (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1966), p. 200.

[21] David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," pp. 160-161.

[22] David Chandler, A History of Cambodia, pp. 119-20.

sent tribute to Bangkok.[23] From Chandler's point of view, these missions accomplished several Cambodian objectives. They helped to forestall Thai military interference, provided useful political and military intelligence, and probably allowed Ang Chan to maintain liaison with his brothers. Another benefit of the missions were luxury goods – principally embroidered silk – which the Thai awarded the ambassadors. In any case, Chandler adds, there is no reason to suppose that these missions, which were well-known to the Vietnamese, represented a change of heart. As Ang Chan showed in 1833-1834, his anti-Thai biases remained intact.[24]

In 1832 there was a Thai invasion, and Ang Chan fled to Vietnam. The Thai general (named Bodin, who had also fought in Laos) brought Ang Chan's brothers Ang Im and Ang Duong (Ang Snguon had died in Bangkok in 1823) to Phnom Penh; and the Thai army continued on to fight the Vietnamese in Chaudoc. But when general Bodin tried to go farther into Vietnam he was defeated.[25] During the time of military campaign in Cambodia, as Chandler mentions, the depth of Cambodia's treachery surprised Bodin, who also realized now that Ang Im and his brother, Ang Duong, who had both been in Thailand for over twenty years, had little knowledge of Cambodia and very little Cambodia support. To prepare Ang Im for the throne, Bodin gave him some responsibilities in Battambang, where the Thai-appointed governor had recently died. Ang Duong was given a smaller province that had formerly belonged to Cambodia. The princes took up their posts in 1834.[26]

Again, as in 1811, the beneficiaries were the Vietnamese. When Ang Chan died in 1834, the Vietnamese managed to prevent both brothers, who were vassals of Siam, from coming to power, and placed a daughter of the late king (he left no sons), the Princess Ang Mei, on the throne as nominal ruler under the suzerainty of Vietnam.[27] Now the situation in Cambodia became worse than before because the new ruler had no

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[23] Treng Ngea, Pravatisastr Khmer (the History of Cambodia), p. 238.

[24] David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," p. 161.

[25] Michael Vickery, History of Cambodia: The beginning of the 19th century, p. 3.

[26] David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," p. 162.

[27] G. Coedès, The Making of South East Asia, p. 200; John Tully, A Short History of Cambodia: From Empire to Survival, p. 74.

power. As Tully notes, even more than Ang Chan, Ang Mei was a puppet, dancing for her life to tunes sung by Vietnamese advisors.[28] Ang Mei spent her twelve-year reign under various forms of house arrest, and had little influence on events. Administration now powering the capital fell into the hands of Vietnamese bureaucrats sent up from Saigon to manage Cambodia as a possession of Vietnam. Tributary missions to Siam seem to have stopped. Provincial governors, however, remained at their posts, and for the time being offered no significant resistance.[29]

In 1840 the Vietnamese tried to persuade Ang Im and Ang Duong, one after the other, to come to Phnom Penh and be king. Ang Im believed them and went. He was taken to Vietnam where he died. Fearing Ang Duong's complicity, the Thai arrested him, and confined him to Bangkok.[30] In the absence of a monarch, some of the rebel leaders invented titles and seals of office for themselves far higher than they would otherwise have obtained.[31] Thus, Cambodian officials requested that the Thai send Ang Duong back to become king; and Ang Duong was brought back again with General Bodin.[32] Nonetheless, he could not be formally crowned before 1847.

According to Michael Vickery, when Minh Mang, a Vietnamese king, died and was replaced by Thieu Tri in 1841Vietnamese policy began to change. Thieu Tri did not have the same policy to conquer Cambodia as his father Minh Mang. He ordered Vietnamese troops to return to Vietnam, and negotiations began between Vietnam and Thailand.[33] However, John F. Cady's argues that the reason that Vietnam did so was to free troops for possible duty against the French, whose ships had recently shelled the coast of central Vietnam.[34] However, no matter what the reasons were, the point is now

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[28] John Tully, A Short History of Cambodia: From Empire to, p. 74.

[29] David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," p. 163.

[30] Michael Vickery, History of Cambodia: The beginning of the 19th century, p. 3; David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," p. 163.

[31] David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," p. 165.

[32] Michael Vickery, History of Cambodia: The beginning of the 19th century, p. 3

[33] Ibid., p. 3.

[34] John F. Cady, The Roots of French Imperialism in Eastern Asia (New York: Ithaca, 1954) cited in David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," p. 167.

the Vietnamese and Thai began negotiating for peace. The negotiation between Vietnamese and Thai took place in December 1845 and both sides agreed to make Ang Duong king.[35] Soon after the negotiation, Vietnamese release Mei, relinquished the royal regalia,[36] and withdrew their troops.[37] According to Adhemard Leclère, Ang Duong was crowned in late 1847 under supervisions of Thai and Vietnamese representatives.[38] Nonetheless, as Vickery points out, this does not mean Cambodia was totally independent. According to international rules at that time Cambodia was a protectorate under both Thailand and Vietnam. Ang Duong had to send tribute to Vietnam every three years, and to Thailand every year. He was not able to take back any of the territory which had been lost to Thailand or to Vietnam.[39]

Scholars agree that Ang Duong's reign, in comparison with those before him and the interregnums between them, was peaceful and secure, and revolts that flared up were crushed with relative ease. However, Ang Duong was forced by events to accept the occupation of Khmer territories for the last fifty years by the Siamese. Thus from the beginning of his reign, the new sovereign found himself in a kingdom whose territory had been greatly diminished, was almost ruined economically and did not enjoy full independence as both neighbors maintained a certain claim to a so-called "joint sovereignty" over the Kingdom. The rice fields and vegetable gardens were lying fallow and the irrigation channels were, in greater part, destroyed, while most villages had been seriously damaged and the works of art from the period of Angkor had either been stolen or destroyed. There was insecurity everywhere as misery pushed the farmers into crime.[40] From such a state of ruin and general anarchy, the new monarch began the enterprise of re-establishing peace, security and some economic activity before launching himself into the immense task of the national reconstruction of his kingdom.[41]

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[35] Adhemard Leclère, Pravattisastr Prates Kampuchea Chaptang Pi Satavat Ti Muoy Nei Krissakarach Rahot Mak (A History of Cambodia since the First Century Era), Tep Mengkhean (tra.) (Phnom Penh: Document Center of Cambodia, 2004), p. 380.

[36] Chan had taken the regalia with him to Saigon in 1812. See David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," p. 166.

[37] David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," p. 166.

[38] Adhemard Leclère, Pravattisastr Prates Kampuchea Chaptang Pi Satavat Ti Muoy Nei Krissakarach Rahot Mak (A History of Cambodia since the First Century Era, p. 380.

[39] Michael Vickery, History of Cambodia: The beginning of the 19th century, p. 3.

[40] Julio A Jeldres, The Royal House of Cambodia (Phnom Pehn: Monument Books, 2003), p. 20.

[41] Ibid., p. 22.

Ang Duong tried to ameliorate his people's condition by lightening taxes and restricting corvée two times when there was no agricultural work, and considerably replaced it by paid labor. For the economic development Ang Duong constructed roads the most important of which was the one going from Udong to Kampot seaport with a branch to Phnom Penh.[42] It was in his reign, by 1853, that the Khmer currency was established by minting silver coins replacing the Siamese and Vietnamese currency.[43]

From Chandler's point of view, Ang Duong's administrative successes were due in part to the fact that he had greater control over the provinces than either Ang Chan or Ang Mei. Because of his own unquestioned loyalty to Rama III, the Thai encouraged Ang Duong to staff provincial posts with men who had been loyal to him, and to the Thai. By starting from scratch, Ang Duong restored some of the reciprocity between the capital and the countryside that had broken down in the 1830s, if not before.[44]

Although infrastructure of the kingdom had been re-established, the king probably still concerned about the fate of his kingdom that was sitting in between the tiger and crocodile, Siam in the north and Vietnam in the South. It would be shared by these two neighbors someday. Thus, Ang Duong decided to call for a third power to counterbalance them. According to G. Coedès, in 1854 Ang Duong sent an emissary to the French consul in Singapore to ask for French aid. France sent a mission in 1855, but it failed owing to the mismanagement of its leader, the consul de Montigny; and the following year Ang Duong, who felt that his strength was failing, asked the Court at Bangkok to send his eldest son to help him.[45]

After King Ang Duong died in 1860, his eldest son, Ang Vatey (later Norodom), 26 years old, was selected to be king.[46] Because of the situation was insecure, Norodom could not be formally crowned before June 1864. Norodom was born, brought up, and

[42] J.K. Gupta, A History of Cambodia: From the Earliest Time to the End of the French Protectorate (Saigon, 1960), p. 259.

[43] Julio A Jeldres, The Royal House of Cambodia, p. 22.

[44] David P. Chandler, "Cambodia's relations with Siam in the Early Bangkok Period: The Politics of a tributary State," p. 168.

[45] G. Coedès, The Making of South East Asia, p. 200.

[46] Eng Sut, Ekasar Maha Puras Khmer (Khmer Chronicles: The Khmer Heroes), p. 1098.

educated in Bangkok.[47] However, the prince probably came back to Cambodia with his father on the time when Ang Duong crowned as the king of Cambodia in 1847. In 1848, Ang Duong sent Norodom, who just had his topknot saved, back to Bangkok for his education.[48] Since that time Norodom and his brothers, Sisowat and Sivotha, were retained in Bangkok as hostages or sureties for the good behavior of his father.[49] When Norodom entered the monk-hood, as all Theravada Buddhist boys must do for a period, Mungkut (the future King Rama IV), then a monk, had been his godfather.[50] The prince had lived much of his life, at least more than ten years, in Bangkok, and all agree that his residence in the Siamese court had left a profound mark upon him. His taste for Siamese music, for the Siamese language, and for Siamese women persisted throughout his life.[51]

At the time of Norodom's succession, Cambodia felt into a familiar pattern of instability. Cham insurgents marched on the capital.[52] Moreover, one of Norodom's brothers, Sivotha and his uncle, Snang Sor, rebelled and took control of most of northern Cambodia. This rebellion lasted until Sivotha died in 1891. When the rebellions began Norodom ran away to Bangkok, but was brought back with Thai protection in 1862.[53] During this difficult time the French signed their first treaty with Cambodia which established the French Protectorate. This treaty was signed on 11 August 1863, and was called a "Treaty of Friendship and Commerce" between the Emperor of France and the King of Cambodia.[54] Michael Vickery and Milton E.

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[47] Frank Vincent, The Land of the White Elephant: Sights and Scenes in South-East Asia 1871-1872 (Oxford, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 278.

[48] Adhemard Leclère, Pravattisastr Prates Kampuchea Chaptang Pi Satavat Ti Muoy Nei Krissakarach Rahot Mak (A History of Cambodia since the First Century Era), p. 383; Eng Sut, Ekasar Maha Puras Khmer (Khmer Chronicles: The Khmer Heroes), pp. 1073-74; Manich Jumsai, History of Thailand and Cambodia (Bangkok: Chalermnit Press, 1987), p. 111; D.G.E. Hall, A History of South-East Asia (Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1981), p. 492.

[49] Frank Vincent, The Land of the White Elephant: Sights and Scenes in South-East Asia 1871-1872, p. 278.

[50] Lawrence Palmer Briggs, Aubaret and the Treaty of July 15, 1867 between France and Siam, p. 123 available at http:/www.jstor.org; Sasagawa Hideo, "Post/colonial Discourses on the Cambodian Court Dance," Southeast Asian Studies, Vol 42, No. 4, 2005, p. 121; Eng Sut, Ekasar Maha Puras Khmer (Khmer Chronicles: The Khmer Heroes), p. 1087.

[51] Milton E. Osborne, The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia: Rule and Response (1859-1905) (Ithaca and London: Conell University Press, 1969), p. 177.

[52] John Tully, A Short History of Cambodia: From Empire to Survival, p. 82.

[53] Michael Vickery, History of Cambodia: The Second half of the 19th century, the handout to be taught in the Faculty of Archaeology, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, 16th May 2000, p. 1.

[54] Ibid., p. 1.

Osborne point out that the French were interested in Cambodia as a source of food for their colony in Cochinchina, and because they believed that the Mekong River would be a good trade route for ships to China. The wish to restrict Siam's expansion, and what were believed to be British interests working through Siam, Osborne adds, dominated much of French thinking on Asia throughout the 19th century. As for the Cambodian side, according to Vickery, Norodom was afraid of the Thai, the Vietnamese, and Cambodian rebels, and he hoped that the French could protect him from his enemies.[55] Unsurprisingly, King Mongkut of Siam was furious at what he saw as his vassal's ingratitude. Norodom tried to placate Mongkut by arguing that the French had bullied him into signing the treaty before he had time to read the Khmer text. Thus, in December 1863, Norodom sign a secret treaty with the Siamese king.[56] The French found out about this treaty and were angry.[57]

Later on, the French were able to persuade the Thai to agree to crown Norodom as king, and in June 1864, Thai officials brought the coronation objects to Udong and Norodom was crowned jointly by representatives of Thailand and France.[58] Three years later Thai interference ended when they signed a treaty with France in July 1867. In this treaty they gave Cambodia to France, but they were able to keep Battambang and Siem Reap; and the 1863 Thai treaty with Cambodia was abolished.[59] Earlier, King Norodom had protested against the granting by the French of these two provinces to Siam but he could not do so much to regain them. The provinces were only returned to Cambodia in 1907.[60]

In 1866, Norodom removed his capital from Udong to Phnom Penh and the subsequent construction of the Royal Palace.[61] For Norodom, Phnom Penh had the obvious advantages of a desirable commercial location and the security of the presence

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[55] Michael Vickery, History of Cambodia: The Second half of the 19th century, p. 1; Milton E. Osborne, The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia: Rule and Response (1859-1905), p. 176.

[56] John Tully, A Short History of Cambodia: From Empire to Survival, p. 83.

[57] Michael Vickery, History of Cambodia: The Second half of the 19th century, p. 1.

[58] Michael Vickery, History of Cambodia: The Second half of the 19th century, p. 1; John Tully, France on the Mekong: A History of the Protectorate in Cambodia, 1863-1953 (Boston: University Press of America, 2002), p. 20.

[59] Michael Vickery, History of Cambodia: The Second half of the 19th century, pp. 1-2.

[60] Julio A Jeldres, The Royal House of Cambodia, p. 27.

[61] Ibid., p. 28.

there of the French and distance from the border with Siam. From this time, therefore, Phnom Penh developed as a political and commercial center.[62] It was under the King's personal supervision that the Temple of the Emerald Buddha was built.

On June 1884, the French – by a coup of force invaded the Royal Palace and pointed bayonets at the king's throat – forced the King to sign a new treaty which consolidated their position in Cambodia by forcing the King to give up control of public revenue, customs taxes and public works. The King was to confine himself to ceremonial duties and transfer the real powers of government to the French Resident Superior in Phnom Penh. French Residents were also appointed to each province of Cambodia thus effectively controlling the local administration.[63] Soon after this new treaty there were very violent revolts all over the country against the French. In the incidents several thousand French soldiers died. Finally, the French realized that King Norodom had inspired the revolt, and they negotiated with him to stop.[64]

After 1887 Cambodia was generally peaceful. Norodom depended on the French for money, and there were also some princes and officials who did not like Norodom, so his position was not very strong. Many provinces were not under central control. In 1897, when Norodom was very sick, the French made a new law which gave the French resident more power over the king; and in that year all five parts of French Indochina, Tongking, Annam, Cochinchina, Cambodia, and Laos were placed under a new organization, the Indochina Federation, with its capital in Hanoi under a Governor-General.[65]

King Norodom's death in 1904 was succeeded by his pro-French brother, Sisowat. Since the Treaty Protectorate in 1863, Cambodia remained under the French colonial rule for 90 years. It regained the independence in 1953 by the Royal Crusade of King Norodom Sihanouk, Norodom's great-grandson.

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[62] Michel Igout, Phnom Penh Then and Now (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1993), p. 3.
[63] Ibid., pp. 27-28.
[64] Michael Vickery, History of Cambodia: The Second half of the 19th century, p. 3.
[65] Ibid., p. 3.

Thus, we can see that the disarrayed situation then caused the Cambodian royal families being split into two sides; while one side sought reinforcement from Vietnam, the other took refuge in Siam. It is more understandable that the Thai hegemony over Cambodia was more powerful than those of Vietnamese due to the fact that there was a sharp cultural divide between Cambodia and Vietnam. As John Tully points out, although both countries were based economically on wet rice cultivation, Vietnam was a Sinitic society and shared much of its powerful northern neighbor's cultural, social and political institutions. Vietnam, like China, based its system of government and administration on the principles of Confucius. Its people generally ascribed to the tenets of Mahayana Buddhism. Nevertheless, Siam shared an Indianised cultural tradition with Cambodia and both countries practiced Theravada Buddhism, mixed with residual Hindu and animist influence.[66] This is how the Siamese influence successfully penetrated into Cambodia, particularly the Royal Court. According to the history, during the 19th century at least two monarchs who were responsible for the restorations of the country were King Ang Duong and his son King Norodom. The two kings spent much of their lives in Thailand, so the Thai cultural influence is undeniable. Since the reign of King Ang Duong, the Cambodian court had been under the influence of Siamese arts and culture. The Siamese influence is detectable in Cambodian Buddhism. After centuries of political unrest, Ang Duong largely succeeded in restoring national unity, legal reform, infrastructure development, and rehabilitation of the court. Besides, Ang Duong still cared much about the reformation of Buddhism. He gave alms and built monasteries. The King gathered round him scholars of Buddhism and literature and encouraged them to write, to teach those who wanted to learn, and to revise and update texts. He personally trained monks and laymen as well.[67] Remarkably, in 1854 Ang Duang had petitioned the Thai king to send a complete version of the Tripitaka (Buddhist canon) in the pure form of Pali recently championed by the monastic reformers of that country, on the ground that nothing of the sort existed in Cambodia. Led by Maha Pan (1824-1894), a Khmer based at Wat Bawornivet, Bangkok, a delegation of eight monks representing Mungkut's rationalist and reformist Dhammayut subsequently arrived at the royal court of Udong, carrying bundles of some eighty

[66] John Tully, A Short History of Cambodia: From Empire to Survival, p. 70.
[67] Judith M. Jacob, The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide, pp. 65-66.

sacred writings. Thus, under royal patronage the Dhammayutika Nikaya was established in Cambodia ever since and Maha Pan became its first chief.[68]

The Siamese influence, on the other hand, can be also seen in the classical literature. King Ang Duong was himself a distinguished scholar and poet. He knew Pali and the canonical texts well and wrote poetries. One of his well-known compositions is the narrative poetry called Neang Ka kei (Lady Ka Kei). Although this story is identical with the Kakati Jātaka as well as Sussonati Jātaka and some episodes are different from the Siamese story of Ka Ki, the Cambodian story of Ka Kei was adopted from the Siamese. Bearing witness to this at the end of the Cambodian story of Ka Kei the writer notes that "the story of [Cambodian] Ka Kei was translated from the Siamese [Ka Ki]."[69] Moreover, during that time the meters, according to Judith Jacob, called Pad Bāky 7 (seven-syllable meter) and Pad Bāky 9 (nine-syllable meter) that were used for composing poems were also borrowed from the Siamese. These meters were very popular with the court poets of the 19th century and continued to be used in the 20th century.[70]

Besides, the rebirth of Cambodian classical dances in the 19th century owes a lot to Siam. Phim and Ashley Thomson point out that Khmer kings who had been raised in Siam, including King Ang Duong and his sons, brought many Siamese to the court, some of whom were apparently dancers.[71] When Ang Duong became king, he found that classical dancing was on the verge of total disappearance. The few dancers that remained at the court still preserved the classical tradition but had introduced some rather unorthodox differences. Ang Duong therefore undertook to return to the royal dances their original meaning and classical beauty, as well as to restore them to their level of dignity in the votive ceremonies to the gods and the solemn palace festivals. This renewal and reorganization was carried out with utmost care, and most of the

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[68] Ian Harris, Cambodian Buddhism: History and Practice (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2006), p. 106; Khing Hoc Dy, Mealipad Aksarsil Khmer Satavat Ti 19 (Anthology of Khmer Literatures in 19th century) (Phnom Penh, 2003), p. 13.

[69] See Khing Hoc Dy, Khing Hoc Dy, Mealipad Aksarsil Khmer Satavat Ti 19 (Anthology of Khmer Literatures in 19th century), pp. 23-36.

[70] Judith M. Jacob, The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide, pp. 45 and 54.

[71] Toni Samantha Phim and Ashley Thomson, Dance in Cambodia (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 40.

changes introduced at that time have remained until today.[72] After reforming and establishing the choreographic side of the ballet, the King turned his attention to the costumes. Until then, the dancers had worn the Angkorean costume, almost unchanged from that of the stone figures in the great temples. It consisted mainly of a light Sampot, often draped round the waist and leaving leg movements completely free.[73] The reforms undertaken by Ang Duong demanded heavy pieces of silver and gold-braided silk, either because the semi-nudity of the dancers was no longer suited to the morals and beliefs of the time, or more probably in imitation of the Siamese. This new addition completely changed the appearance of dancers and, by greatly limiting their freedom of movement, was to have a considerable effect on the future of Khmer choreography.[74]

During Norodim's reign, no doubt, the Siamese influence on Buddhism and literature that was transplanted to Cambodian soil since the reign of King Ang Duong remained intact, although there was interference of the French colonial to prevent the Siamese domination. In regard to the court dance, Norodom always remained accessible to outside influence. In the early part of his reign he was eclectic in support of numerous Southeast Asian musical traditions, allowing performers from Laos, Burma, China, Vietnam, Malaysia and, of course, Thailand to reside in the Capital under royal favor.[75] As noted earlier, King Norodom who had been brought up at the royal palace in Bangkok had been fond of Thai language, which therefore was used for the performances.[76] Furthermore, a repertoire of the dance, according to Moura, performed the Thai Ramakien; it was not the Cambodian Reamker.[77] In general, there were many more Thai functionaries at Norodom's court than had been at that of Ang Duong. Like

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[72] Julio A. Jeldres, The Royal Palace of Phnom Penh and Cambodian Royal Life (Bangkok: Post Books, 1999), p. 97.

[73] Ibid., p. 97.

[74] Ibid., p. 97.

[75] Paul Cravath, Earth in Flower: An Historical and Descriptive Study of the Classical Dance Drama of Cambodia (A Ph.D dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1985), p. 155.

[76] Adhémard Leclère, Le Théâtre Cambodgien (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1911) cited in Sasagawa Hideo, "Post/colonial Discourses on the Cambodian Court Dance," p. 421.

[77] J. Moura, Le Royaume du Cambodge, Tome II (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1883) cited in Sasagawa Hideo, "Post/colonial Discourses on the Cambodian Court Dance," p. 420.

his father, Norodom maintained a great number of women, concubines or dancers, of Thai origin in his court.[78]

These evidences are enough to show that since the middle of the 19th century every aspect of Cambodian arts and culture had been under the Siamese influence. Therefore, it is not surprise that King Norodom built his new Palace and the Temple of the Emerald Buddha with the Reamker mural painting similar to the Thai Grand Palace. As American traveler, Frank Vincent, who visit the Cambodian Royal Palace in 1872 describes that ".... the Palace was superior in every aspect, excepting size, to that at Bangkok...."[79]

[78] Adhémard Leclère, Le Théâtre Cambodgien (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1911) cited in Paul Cravath, Earth in Flower: An Historical and Descriptive Study of the Classical Dance Drama of Cambodia, p. 159.

[79] Frank Vincent, The Land of the White Elephant: Sights and Scenes in South-East Asia 1871-1872, p. 278.

3.2 The Construction of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in Bangkok and the Ramakien Mural Painting

On 6 April 1782, shortly after ascending the throne in succession to King Taksin, King Rama I of the present dynasty moved the capital to the east bank of Chao Praya River (Picture 1). The King named the capital "Ratanakosin" – the Jewel of Indra – known as "Krung Thep," meaning "the City of Gods."[80] The city has remained the capital ever since. On 6 May 1782, the King began construction of his palace. The lengths of the walls of the palace which was expanded in the Second Reign were 410 meters on the northern side, 510 meters on the eastern side, 360 meters on the southern side and 360 meters on the western side, and remain unchanged until the present day (picture 2).[81] Simultaneously, King Rama I also had a Buddhist temple built in the northeast corner of the Royal Palace compound. According to Subhadradis Diskul, the tradition of constructing a Buddhist temple in the precincts of the Royal Palace has existed in Thailand since the Sukhothai period.[82] The temple's official name is Wat Phra Sri Ratanasasdaram[83] but it is called the Temple of the Emerald Buddha because the Ubosot (ordination hall) contains the Emerald Buddha that King Rama I had obtained from the city of Vientiane in Lao in 1778.[84] Though it is now obvious that the image is made of a single piece of jade, the name Emerald has stuck on from familiarity.[85] The construction of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha began in 1783 and was completed in 1785[86] and it was celebrated alongside the Royal Palace all at the same time (picture 3).[87]

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[80] Office of the National Environment Board, Krung Rattanakosin: The Grand Palace and the Temple of the Emerald Buddha (Bangkok, 1991), p. 5.

[81] Nitta Hangvivat, The Temple of the Emerald Buddha and the Grand Palace (Bangkok: Sangdad Phueandek Publishing, 2004), p. 7.

[82] M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, History of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha (Bangkok: the Bureau of the Royal Household, 1982), p. 17.

[83] Ibid., p. 7.

[84] Ibid., pp. 17-19.

[85] Prince Dhaninivat Kromamun Bidyalabh Bridyakorn, The Royal Palace (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 1963), pp. 17-18.

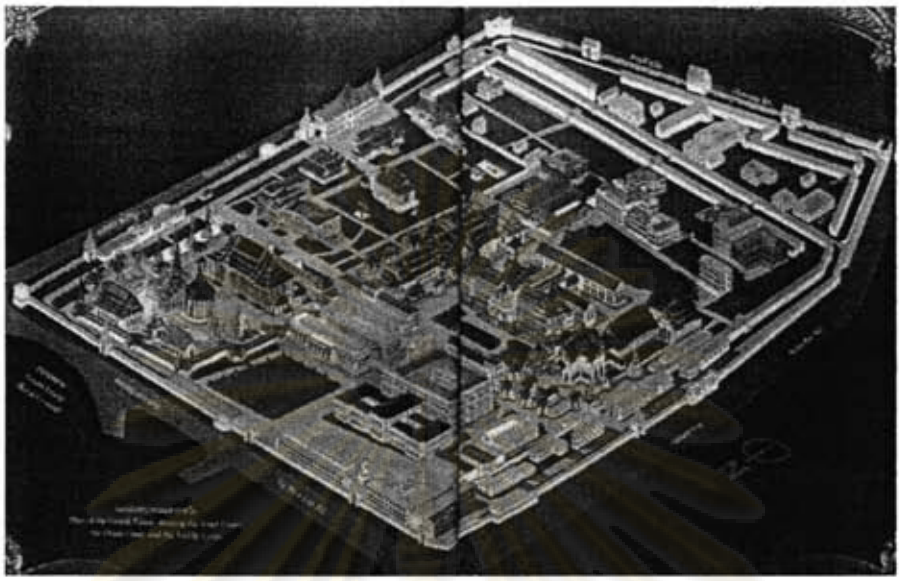
[86] Nitta Hangvivat, The Temple of the Emerald Buddha and the Grand Palace, p. 7.

[87] The Bureau of the Royal Household, Grand Palace (Bangkok, 2005), p. 20.

Picture 1 King Rama I (1782-1809), the founder of the Grand Palace and the Chakri Dynasty.[88]

Picture 2 The Grand Palace of Thailand (View from the east). Here, we can see the Suthaisawan Prasat Throne Hall.

[88] This picture taken from the Bureau of the Royal Household, Grand Palace, p. 128.



Picture 3 Plan of the Grand Palace of Thailand. The Temple of the Emerald Buddha is situated at the northeast corner of the palace precinct.[89]

Unlike other Buddhist monasteries, there is no monk residing in this royal chapel. The Temple of the Emerald Buddha is the place where the monarch performs charitable functions and major national ceremonies. According to the Bureau of the Royal Household, twice a year during the early days of the Ratanakosin Period servants of the Crown took part in Drinking the Water of Allegiance Ceremony in this Royal Chapel, in the fifth and the tenth months.[90]

The Ubosot

The Ubosot or Ordination Hall, the largest and most important structure of the temple, was built for housing the Emerald Buddha which is regarded as the palladium of the Siamese Monarchy.[91] The Ubosot faces to east and locates at the southern part of the temple's precinct. It was built in rectangular shape and sheltered by three-tier roof with extension in the front and rear. The base of the Ubosot is curved. According to Sonthiwan Intralib, this curved style is characterized by the style of Ayutthaya

[89] This picture taken from the Bureau of the Royal Household, Grand Palace, pp. 30-31.
[90] The Bureau of the Royal Household, Grand Palace, p. 219.
[91] Prince Dhaninivat Kromamun Bidyalabh Bridyakorn, The Royal Palace, pp. 17-18.

architecture.[92] The foundation floor was laid with gray marble, while the exterior walls were covered with tiles, decorated with designs and adorned with white, red, blue, and yellow glass. The roof on the other hand was covered with glazed tiles and decorated with Chofa[93], meaning sky tassel[94], and gables with the depictions of Nārāyaṇa mounting on Garuḍa, a mythical bird (picture 4).

Since the chapel was built (1785), it has never been allowed to fall into decay. Because according to the Buddhist teachings regarding the virtue of gratitude and in good tradition, every monarch takes upon himself the restoration of both the Grand Palace and the Temple of the Emerald Buddha to ensure their lasting embellishment every fifty years up until the bicentenary of the capital.[95] During the previous renovations, the chapel underwent many changes both to the interior and exterior, but in the present reign major renovations were carried out without disturbing the ancient characteristics.[96]

Picture 4 The Ubosot (view from the northeast).

[92] Sonthiwan Intralib, An Outline of the History of Religious Architecture in Thailand (Bangkok: Silpakorn University, 1986), p. 41.

[93] The Cambodian also identically calls "Jahvā." This term was likely adopted from Thai.

[94] K.I. Matics, Introduction to the Thai Temple (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1992), p. 51.

[95] The Bureau of the Royal Household, Grand Palace, p. 29.

[96] Nitta Hangvivat, The Temple of the Emerald Buddha and the Grand Palace, p. 64.

The Galleries

The temple of the Emerald Buddha complex is surrounded by the cloisters form a covered gallery (picture 5). This type of gallery enclosing a central sacred area is also frequent in Thai monastic architecture. According to Rita Ringis, the concept was originally derived from the ancient Khmer architecture, although the construction materials and methods differ.[97] The enclosed galleries consist of seven gates: two gates on the east, one gate on the south, three gates on the west, and one gate on the north. There is a different name in each gate:

- Gate Number 1 which is called the Koeysadet (Front) Gate is located at the eastern side in front of Prasat Phra Thep Bidorn. It is the most important and the only gate that has a pointed crown on top.

- Gate Number 2 is called Na Wua Gate. It is one of the eastern gates, which is directly opposite the Ubosot.

- Gate Number 3 called Phra Sri Ratanasasada Gate, the southern gate, connects to the middle zone of the Grand Palace.

- Gate Number 4 or Hermit Gate is one of the three western gates and located at the back of the Sahathai Samakhom Building.

- Gate Number 5 or Koeysadet (Rear) Gate is the middle amongst the three western gates.

- Gate Number 6 named Sanam Chai Gate is another western gate facing Sanam Chai, a small area of lawn.

- Gate Number 7 called Viharn Yord Gate is the northern gate opposite Viharn Yord.

[97] Rita Ringis, Thai Temples and Temple Murals (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 37-38.

Picture 5 The galleries surrounding the Temple of the Emerald Buddha.

The Mural Paintings

There are two main places where the paintings have been executed: the interior wall of the Ubosot and the galleries surrounding the Temple of the Emerald Buddha. Although the mural painting inside the Ubosot is not included in this study, it is useful to give some information.

The interior walls of the chapel consist of mural painting depicted scenes from the Life of the Lord Buddha, the Buddhist Cosmology (or the Three Worlds) and the Jātaka, the former births of the Buddha. Subhadradis Diskul points out that the scene of Buddhist Cosmology on the western wall and that of the Enlightenment of the Buddha on the eastern wall, were painted in the reign of King Rama I. At that time they were probably portrayed on the upper part of the lateral walls the assembly of celestial beings, a feature typical of the late Ayutthaya and early Bangkok painting styles. The walls between the windows, Subhadradis Diskul adds, were decorated with scenes from the Life of the Buddha. King Rama III had the lateral walls repainted. Above the windows on both the north and the south were depicted scenes from the Life of the Buddha whereas between the windows various scenes from the Jātaka were shown. On

the lower part of the northern wall a royal procession on land is depicted and the southern side shows a riverine procession. These paintings still exist.[98]

As for the mural paintings on the walls of the galleries surrounding the Temple of the Emerald Buddha complex, the story of Ramakien has been selected for representation (picture 6). The paintings were executed in the reign of King Rama I following the Thai version composed at his command.[99] Regarding the reason why Rama I decided to compose the complete version of Ramakien and had it executed in his temple, many researchers tried to explain them in terms of political reason. According to Kittisak Kerdarunsuksri, King Rama I aimed at employing the story as a tool to legitimize his power since he named his dynasty "Chakri." Kittisak claims that this name, undoubtedly, is the equivalent of God Visṇu and his weapon. For this reason, King Rama I was comparable to the god; he was a divine-king who reincarnated to suppress the people's suffering. Obviously, the setting of the story, which was elaborately described, was the newly constructed capital, Bangkok. The description of glittery decoration of new buildings showed the determination to measure up the glory of Bangkok to that of Ayutthaya.[100] As for Charles Keyes, he makes the connection with the Khmer influence regarding the ideas of Rāma as the "ideal" king on the Siamese rulers, including Rama I. In this connection Keyes notes that "the mural paintings depicting the Ramakien .... have their prototype in the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat."[101]

[98] M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, History of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, pp. 17-19.

[99] Subhandradis Diskul and Charles S. Rice, The Ramakian [Rāmāyaṇa] Mural Paintings along the Galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha (Bangkok: The Government Office of Thailand, 1995), first page of the brief history of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha...(Note: this book has no page numbers, so reference will be to its content).

[100] Kittisak Kerdarunsuksri, Ramakien in Modern Performance: The Reflection of an Identity Crisis, p. 2.

[101] Charles F. Keyes, "The Case of the Purloined Lintel: The Politics of a Khmer Shrine as a Thai National Treasure," National Identity and Its Defenders (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2002) cited in Frederick B. Goss, A Study of the Role of "Anucha", the Younger Brother, in Ramakien and Parallels with Thai Historical Narratives (A M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2007), p. 99.

Picture 6 The Ramakien Mural Paintings along the galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha.

The mural paintings in the time of King Rama I did not last very long because of the dampness of the walls caused by the humid climate. The paintings had been restored successively in the reign of King Rama III for the fiftieth anniversary of Bangkok in 1832, in the reign of King Rama V for the centenary celebration in 1882, and in that of King Rama VII for the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Bangkok in 1932.[102] According to Prince Subhandradis Diskul, the restoration between 1929-1931 was exquisitely carried out by well-known artists, but unfortunately the paintings did not survive very long. In 1970 there was another major restoration when experts in many fields were invited to investigate the ways to prevent these works of art by scientific methods. The restoration was carried out from 1970 to 1981 in order to be finished in time for the bicentenary celebration of Bangkok in 1982 in the reign of the present king, King Rama IX.

[102] Subhandradis Diskul and Charles S. Rice, The Ramakian [Rāmāyana] Mural Paintings along the Galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, first page of the brief history of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha.

3.3 The Construction of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in Cambodia and the Reamker Mural Painting

One year after succeeded to the throne, Norodom in 1865 had the capital moved to Phnom Penh about 35 km. to the south of Udong (picture 7). The city has remained the capital ever since. Actually, Phnom Penh is not a new capital which had been selected for the first time. The founding of Phnom Penh dates back to the 15th century and the fall of Angkor (1431) when the Khmer King, Ponhea Yat, abandoned Angkor forever and sought a more peaceful location for his residence which would be safe from the Siamese invaders.[103] The permanent establishment of the capital in Phnom Penh did not take place for several centuries as the kings frequently changed their place of residence. It was not until 1812, King Chan, again, moved his palace from Udong to Phnom Penh because it strategically situated close to his patron, Vietnam.

Picture 7 King Norodom (1860-1904), the founder of the Royal Palace in Phnom Penh.[104]

[103] Michel Igout, Phnom Penh Then and Now, p. 3.
[104] This picture taken from Julio A. Jeldres, The Royal House of Cambodia, p. 25.

The site chosen to build the palace had the auspicious qualities necessary for the quarters of the king because the site where the four water ways converge had the perfect blend of the movements of the planets and the cycles of the seasons to make the living environment of the king peaceful, healthy and prosperous.[105] King Norodom had decided to construct a new palace from the moment he arrived at Phnom Penh. Started in 1865, the Palace was officially opened on 14 February 1870.[106] As Frank Vincent described the Royal Palace was similar to the Grand Palace in Bangkok. It might be that the similarity took place only when the Royal Palace just was built, but now only the walls remain the same because since both Thai and Cambodian palaces have been constructed some buildings were modified or toppled down and some new buildings were added to. The Royal Palace compound is 435 meters long by 421 meters wide.[107] It is smaller than the Thai Grand Palace. The Royal Palace in Phnom Penh differs from the Grand Palace in Bangkok in its orientation which is to the East and not the North as in Bangkok (picture 8).

Actually, the tradition of construction for the royal temple in the palace has existed in Cambodia since the Angkor period.[108] However, the tradition seems to have been lost when it felt into the dark age. It might be that the concept was transplanted onto Thai soil and it was re-imported by the Cambodian monarch. Although the idea was adopted from the Thai tradition, the practice was not the same. In Cambodia the Temple of the Emerald Buddha and the Royal Palace were not built at the same time. The Royal Temple was started in 1895 – almost thirty years later than the Royal Palace – and inaugurated a few weeks before the death of King Norodom (April 24th, 1904).[109] On the other hand, the Royal Temple was built at the south of the Royal Palace and it is originally not located in the precinct of Royal Palace but it was probably included into

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[105] Julio A. Jeldres, The Royal Palace of Phnom Penh and Cambodian Royal Life, p. 23.

[106] Michel Igout, Phnom Penh Then and Now (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1993), p. 40.

[107] The Ministry of Royal Palace, Preah Borom Reach Veang Chatomuk Monkul (Phnom Penh, 2004), p. 22.

[108] The existence royal temple which remains today is Phimean-akas; actually, the earlier shrine on the site of Phimean-akas was perhaps existed since the 9th century in the reign of king Yasovarman I (889-c. 915) but it was modified or re-constructed by Suryavarman I (r. 1002-1049). See Michael D. Coe, Angkor and the Khmer Civilization (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), p. 112.

[109] Jacques Nepote and Marie-Henryane Gamonet, "Le Ramayana au Palais de Phnom-Penh: Une Vision du Politique et de la Royauté au début du XXè s." Péninsule, No. 40 (Paris: Etudes Orientales/Olizane, 2000(1)), p. 11.

the palace compound at the time of construction. Thus, now we can see the temple sitting inside the palace enclosure (picture 9).

The temple's formal name is Wat Ubosoth Ratanaram, but it is called the "Temple of the Emerald Buddha" due to the fact that the main Buddha image[110] housed inside is made of emerald. The temple is also called the "Silver Pagoda" by the French who taking its name from the silver floor of the temple.

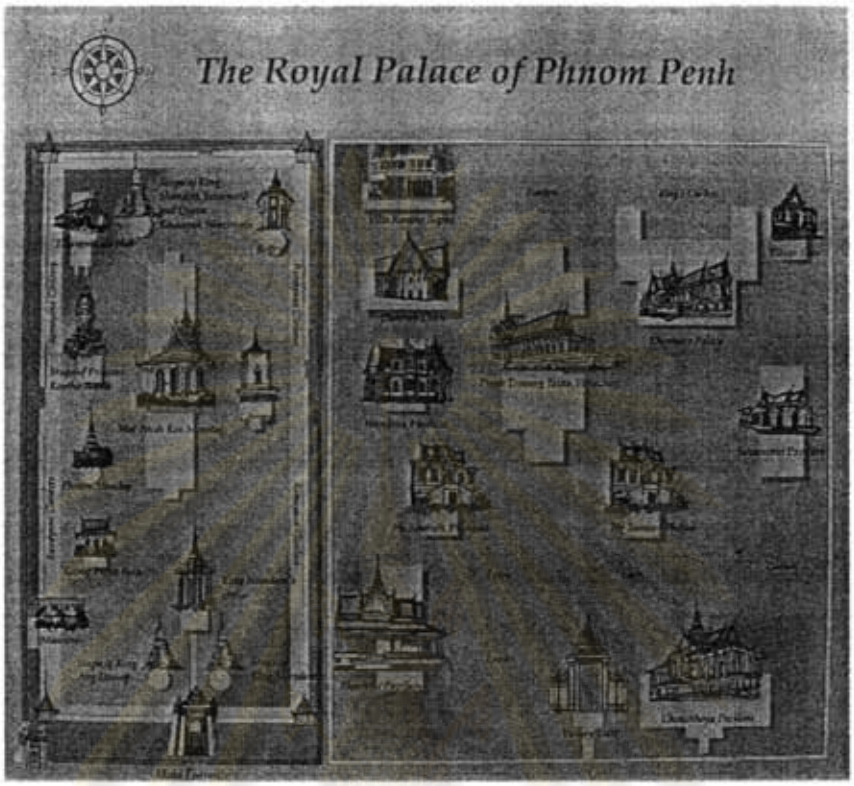
The temple serves as the place where the Cambodian monarchs can listen to sermons offered by Buddhist monks who are invited from other monasteries. It is also a site where the royal family and mandarins used to perform royal ceremonies throughout the year according to the traditions of Buddhism.[111] The temple differs from other Buddhist pagodas because monks do not reside within its premises. Nonetheless, King Norodom Sihanouk resided at the temple for three months during his royal ordination which began on 31 July 1947.[112]

Picture 8 The Royal Place of Cambodia (view from the east). Here, it is the Chanchhaya Pavilion (the Moonlight Pavilion) served as a training place for the Royal Ballet and as a Royal Tribune.

[110] The Emerald Buddha image was built in the reign of King Norodom to store in the chapel. See Eng Sut, Ekasar Maha Puras Khmer (Khmer Chronicles: The Khmer Heroes), p. 1204.

[111] Chum Ngoeun, Guide to Wat Preah Keo Morokat (Phnom Penh: Royal Palace, 1996), p. 1.

[112] Julio A. Jeldres, The Royal Palace of Phnom Penh and Cambodian Royal Life, p. 39.



Picture 9 Plan of the Royal Palace of Cambodia. The Temple of the Emerald Buddha is located at the south of the palace. Originally, the temple did not sit in the palace compound, but its walls perhaps connected with the palace's walls at the time of construction the temple.[113]

Vihear

The Vihear or Ordination Hall, the principle building of the temple, was built between the years 1892 and 1902. However, the weather and age contributed to the gradual deterioration of the fabric of the temple, to the point of near collapse. Thus, in 1962, the new concrete chapel was built in the same place as the old wood and brick one, using the same architectural style.[114] The Vihear faces toward east and situates at the center of north/south and east/west door axis. It was built in rectangular structure and covered by the multi overlapping roofs with a shaped-pointed spire. The foundation floor was laid with marble, while the interior floor was covered by silver tiles which

[113] This picture taken from Julio A. Jeldres, The Royal Palace of Phnom Penh and Cambodian Royal Life, p. 21.

[114] Julio A. Jeldres, The Royal Palace of Phnom Penh and Cambodian Royal Life, p. 39.

individually handcrafted by Khmer silversmiths. The roof on the other hand sheltered by glazed tiles and adorned with Jahvā (or sky tassels) and gables are decorated with the royal insignia (picture 10).

Picture 10 The new Vihear was built in 1962 (view from the southeast).

The Galleries

The Temple of the Emerald Buddha of Cambodia is enclosed by galleries the same as the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in Thailand (picture 11). This type of monastic architecture – although it had been appeared in the ancient Khmer architecture – is unusual for the Cambodian Buddhist monasteries. It is likely a recycling of idea; thus, such architecture style, no doubt, was adopted from the Khmer's ancient architecture through the Thai Royal Temple. However, the difference can be distinguished from the division of the cloisters' door. The cloisters of the Cambodian Royal Temple are divided into four quadrants by four axial doors – the southern, the western, the northern and the eastern door. The eastern door is the main entrance which is the common tradition for the religious sites since the ancient time. There is no name for those doors as the Thai Royal Temple, but they are named for the direction at which they are facing.

Picture 11 The galleries enclosing the Temple of the Emerald Buddha

The Mural Paintings

The old Vihear was decorated with mural paintings depicted the scenes from the Life of the Buddha and the Last Ten Jātaka. Regrettably, these paintings disappeared along with building. There is no painting in the new chapel.

The walls of the galleries are covered with mural paintings depicting the Reamker story (picture 12). The researchers agree that King Norodom's decision to order the Reamker paintings in his temple were influenced by the Ramakien mural of the Grand Palace in Bangkok.[115] This theory sounds interesting because King Norodom, as noted earlier, who was the founder of the temple of the Emerald Buddha and the Reamker mural Painting, was born and brought up in the royal court in Bangkok. Thus, every respect in the Thai Grand Palace, undoubtedly, fascinated him. Interestingly, Jacques Nepote and Marie-Henryane Gamonet go beyond this theory. They point out that the King had the Reamker painted here because of political motives: firstly, to legitimize his power. For this reason, they give an example, when the Siamese dynasty was fragile King Rama I composed the Ramakien and had it executed in his temple.

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[115] Madeleine Giteau, Iconographie du Cambodge Post-Angorien, p. 290; David Henley, Cambodia's Cultural Arts. Available at www.cpamedia.com; Ian Harris, Cambodian Buddhism: History and Practice, p. 90.

This motive seems to concur with J. M. Cadet who claims that "throughout Southeast Asia, for wherever the struggle for power was fiercest the Rāmayaṇa was most in demand."[116] Secondly, Norodom intentionally uses the Reamker painting as a tool to convey a precise cultural message to teach the future generations.[117] These theories are unconvincing because if King Norodom attempted to do so like Jacques Nepote and Marie-Henryane Gamonet's hypothesis, he might have the Reamker painted in his palace since the beginning of his reign like King Rama I did. On the other hand, King Norodom was legitimately crowned king, not a usurper. Thus, he did not need to legitimize his power. From my opinion, the main purpose of Norodom constructing the temple and Reamker mural painting was to make merit for himself in the next life. Furthermore, Norodom selected the Reamker to paint here because he adopted the idea from the Grand Place of Thailand.

The mural paintings along the galleries stretch around 604 meters of the wall, reaching a height of 3.56 meters and thus occupy a surface of 2,000 square meters.[118] The paintings were painted between 1903 and 1904 under the supervision of well-known artist and architect, Okñā Tep Nimit Mak.[119] Unfortunately, the weather and micro-organisms have gradually eroded the paintings. In October 1985 the Cambodian government therefore signed an agreement with the Directorate of State Enterprise of Poland, enabling Polish specialists to set up a project to preserve and restore the damaged frescos. From 1985 to 1992, these Polish specialists worked on repairing and renovating the paintings.[120]

The entire constructions as well as mural paintings of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha were co-supervised by supreme patriarch monks, venerable Nil Teang, and Okñā Tep Nimit Mak. They both were educated in Bangkok; they might be the key

[116] J. M. Cadet, Ramakien: The Thai Epic, Illustrated with the bas-reliefs of Wat Phra Jetubon, Bangkok (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1970), p. 31.

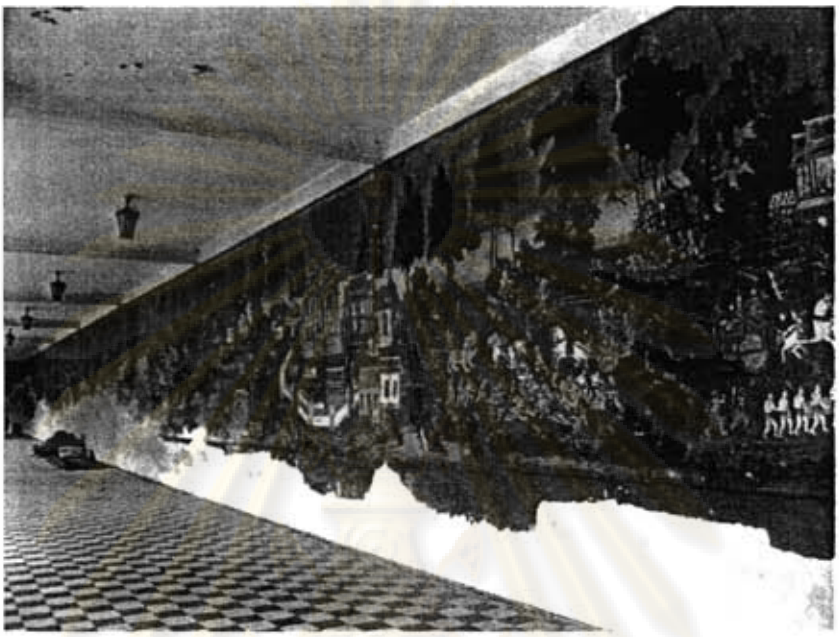
[117] Jacques Nepote and Marie-Henryane Gamonet, "Le Ramayana au Palais de Phnom-Penh: Une Vision du Politique et de la Royauté au début du XXè s.," pp. 12-13.

[118] Julio A. Jeldres, The Royal Palace of Phnom Penh and Cambodian Royal Life, p. 47.

[119] Georges Groslier, Kamnur Khmer Tang 76 (76 Drawings of Cambodia), Nut Narang (tra.) (Phnom Penh: CEDORECK, 2003), p. 6; Jacques Nepote and Marie-Henryane Gamonet, "Le Ramayana au Palais de Phnom-Penh: Une Vision du Politique et de la Royauté au début du XXè s.," p. 13; Madeleine Giteau, "Les Peintures Khmères de l'École de l'Oknha Tep Nimit Mak," Udaya, No. 3 (Phnom Penh: Apsara, 2002), p. 39.

[120] Julio A. Jeldres, The Royal Palace of Phnom Penh and Cambodian Royal Life, p. 49.

persons who introduced the Thai influence as well. It is, therefore, useful to brief their biographies here.



Picture 12 The Reamker mural paintings along the galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha.

Okñā Tep Nimit Mak

Mak was born in 1856 in Phnom Penh. He was a grandson of a sculptor and son of a Mandarin. When he was twelve years old, Mak was ordained as a novice in Wat Botum Vaddei where he studied arts with a painter and draftsman-architect, Yous, for six years from 1868 to 1874.[121] Once he left the pagoda in 1875, his talents as a painter, sculptor and architect were noticed by the royal court, where he worked for about more than ten years before being promoted as the architect of the Royal Palace in 1897 with the position of Okñā and the title Tep Nimit. For this reason he became the project supervisor of the constructions of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha.[122] According to Jacqueline and Guy Nafilyan, Okñā Tep Nimit Mak was sent to study in Bangkok

[121]Georges Groslier, Kamnur Khmer Tang 76 (76 Drawings of Cambodia), p. 6.

[122] Jacques Nepote and Marie-Henryane Gamonet, "Le Ramayana au Palais de Phnom-Penh: Une Vision du Politique et de la Royauté au début du XXè s.," p. 15.

before he was ordered to carry out the painting project along the galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha.[123]

Venerable Nil Teang [124]

Teang was born in 1823 and when he was 8 years old he came to live with his uncle who worked for the royal court. When he was 11 years old, he was ordained as a novice and went to study in Bangkok. His talents fascinated the Siamese King. Thus, in 1844 when Teang came to age 21, King Rama III permitted him to be ordained as a monk in Wat Prha Keo of the Grand Palace in Bangkok. When he was 25 years old he became well-known teacher in Bangkok. Soon after, Teang came back to Cambodia where he became a Buddhist mentor of the King Ang Duong's royal family and was promoted as a Supreme Patriarch in 1857.

In 1895 when King Norodom started the project of construction of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, Venerable Nil Teang was selected as a superintendent of the project from the beginning until the constructions were finished.[125]

[123] Jacqueline and Guy Nafilyan, Peintures Murales des Monastères Bouddhiques au Cambodge, p. 66.

[124] This biography is summarized from Kak Chanthat, Kamnou Boran Rioeng Reamker Nov Thaev Prah Vihear Prah Keo Morakot (Prah Barom Reachvaeng) (Reamker Traditional Painting along Galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in the Royal Palace) (Phnom Penh, 1996), pp. 188-192.

[125] See also Jacques Nepote and Marie-Henryane Gamonet, "Le Ramayana au Palais de Phnom-Penh: Une Vision du Politique et de la Royauté au début du XXè s.," pp. 13-14.

CHAPTER IV
AN OVERVIEW OF THAI AND CAMBODIAN TRADITIONAL PAINTINGS

This chapter will be divided into two parts. In the first part, an overview of the development of Thai traditional paintings from the Sukhothai period until the Ratanakosin period will be given. The second part deals with a brief survey of Cambodian traditional paintings between 11th and 19th-20th centuries.

4.1 Thai Traditional Painting

Painting in Thailand is considered as one of the charming arts of great interest. Although the hot and humid climate of the tropics has damaged almost all earlier work, a few isolated specimens of the earlier paintings have still survived. The murals today are the product of a long process and tradition. For any length of time, it may be attributed to a variety of schools both historical and regional in character. These schools obviously obtained their variant qualities from the political conditions in which the unification of the kingdom took place. Beyond the broad geographical divisions, there existed numerous different workshops producing more or less original work, and the influence of certain masters of renown, which was sometimes carried far afield by their pupils.[1] The Thai schools of painting, according to Jean Boisselier, differ little from one another in regard to developing technique, and it is most unusual to find securely dated works before the end of the Ayutthaya period. In relation to their composition and style, the painting of Thailand can be classified into four schools. They are Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, Ratanakosin (or Bangkok) and Lan Na (capital, Chiang Mai).[2] The first

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[1] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, Janet Seligman (tra.) (Tokyo, New York and San Francisco: Kodansha International, 1976), p. 73.

[2] Actually, some suggest another school called Thonburi School, which is the transition between Ayutthaya and Ratanakosin. However, it is rejected by Boisselier and other scholars since it was very short lived – lasting a mere fifteen years – and is represented by a small handful of paintings. On the other hand, these paintings would not appear to differ in any way form those of late Ayutthaya and the early years of Bangkok, the whole vast group of paintings in the Thonburi monasteries dating after the foundation of Bangkok.

three are essentially historical in character, while the last extends over many centuries and is primarily regional.[3]

Thai paintings were mostly executed in interior wall of the Bot and Vihan, or sometimes, in the Chedi, crypt, and remote cave. Most often the topics were:[4]

- Episodes from the life of the historical Buddha
- Scenes from various Jātaka tales, especially the final ten incarnations of the Bodhisatva
- Awe-inspiring elements of Buddhist cosmology, a continuation of the form of illustration accompanying the Trai Phum text visualizing heavens, hells and the earth.

Other literary themes depicted were a few stories of Thai heritage, for example:

- The tales of Sang Thong, the prince of the golden conch shell
- The famous Ramakien
- The Lokasanthan text, attributed to monks of the first reign of the Chakri dynasty, which explains birth, life, and death of humans and animals.

Generally, the wall facing the principle Buddha image is usually decorated with the story of the Buddha subduing Mara, the force of evil. On the wall behind the image, the upper part depicts either Buddha's descent from the Tavatimsa Heaven or Trai Phum, the Three World of Buddhist Cosmology, while the lower part frequently depicts the infernal regions. Arranged in tiers along the side walls above the windows are figures representing the Buddhist pantheon, while the lower is usually ornamented with narrative paintings of Buddhist subjects, though occasionally of folklore or literary themes.[5] Although these compositions can be found in the Thai monasteries very often, Klaus Wenk argues that it is not possible to discover any other principles of general

[3] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, p. 73.

[4] K.I. Matics, Introduction to the Thai Mural (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1992), pp. 1-2.

[5] The Working Group for the Publication of Rattanakosin Painting, Rattanakosin Painting (Bangkok, 1982), p. 29; Klaus Wenk, Mural Paintings in Thailand (Zürich: Iñigo Von Oppersdorff Verlag, 1975), pp. lviii-lix.

validity regarding the localization of certain themes of painting which would specify that they are always in the same place and facing in the same direction.[6]

4.1.1 The Sukhothai School

The evidence of the oldest linear design made in Thailand is an engraving of a male figure belonging to Dvāravatī art; it may have been done in the 9th or 10th century. Regarding this rare art object, Silpa Bhirasi asserts that although it is interesting as archaeology, for artistic value, when considering the magnificence of the Dvāravatī statuary, it does not represent an outstanding work. The style of this seated figure is a crude realism. Until now it seems as if this is the only example of such kind of art and so it has no relationship with the later engravings and murals (picture 13).[7]

Picture 13 A man with four auspicious signs.
Engraving on stone, Dvāravatī style, 9th or 10th century.[8]

Interestingly, on the ceiling of a narrow stairway at Wat Sri Chum in Sukhothai province, are sixty-four stone slabs incised with Jātaka, one hundred Jātakas in total, and identifying inscriptions in the Sukhothai script. Scholars who have profoundly conducted the study on Thai painting agree that they have been laid the influence of

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[6] Klaus Wenk, Mural Paintings in Thailand, p. lviii.

[7] Silpa Bhirasi, The Origin and Evolution of Thai Murals (Bangkok: Silpakorn University, 1959), p. 13.

[8] This picture taken from Silpa Bhirasi, The Origin and Evolution of Thai Murals, p. 11.

Ceylon on these works and there has even been talk of possibility that Singhalese monks may actually have worked on certain parts, due to the fact that the Indianized figures, the linear style, and the detailed representation of jewelry and ornament (picture 14).[9] Besides the Singhalese influence, Boisselier and Sonia Krug can also trace the Khmer-oriented influence.[10] According to Boisselier, these homogeneous stone slabs may be regarded as the earliest repository of Thai iconography.[11]

Picture 14 Kukkura Jātaka, engraving on a stone slab in the tunnel Wat Sri Chum, about end of 13th century.[12]

Combining the Singhalese style with the new grace of the Sukhothai period are some fragments of murals at Wat Chedi Chet Thaew at Si Satchanalai in Sukhothai province, dated to the beginning of 14th century, which are images of the Buddhas of the Past, arranged in horizontal registers, one above the other, alternating with adoring gods in an attitude of veneration. The colors utilized are a uniform red for the outer garments and white for the flesh tints, whereas the contours and details are drawn in red-brown or black.[13]

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[9] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, p. 75; Elizabeth Lyons, Thai Traditional Painting (Bangkok: The Fine Arts Deparment, 1989), p. 18; Silpa Bhirasi, The Origin and Evolution of Thai Murals, p. 13; Sonia Krug, "The Development of Thai Mural Painting," The Artistic Heritage of Thailand (Bangkok: Sawaddi Magazine/National Museum Volunteers, 1979), p. 172.

[10] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, p. 75; Sonia Krung, "The Development of Thai Mural Painting," p. 172.

[11] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, p. 75.

[12] This picture taken from Silpa Bhirasi, The Origin and Evolution of Thai Murals, p. 11.

[13] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings (Bangkok: River Books, 2000), p. 19.

Picture 15 The image of the Buddha under Nāga.
The mural painting in Chedi of Wat Chedi Chet Taew, Sukhothai, School of Sukhothai, about the beginning of the 14th century.[14]

Scholars correspondingly assert that the refined style of drawing reflects an aesthetic achievement comparable to that of the statues of the Buddha from the most splendid period of Sukhothai, while the style and ornaments of the adoring celestial beings are strictly related to the Ceylonese drawings (picture 15).[15] Furthermore, Boisselier adds that this evidence, though slight, is enough to show the important place that painting must have played in the Sukhothai kingdom.

4.1.2 The Ayutthaya School

The capital of Ayutthaya was seriously sacked by the Burmese two times, once in 1569 and again in 1767, after which it was finally abandoned, the capital still possesses a few interesting early paintings despite its ruins. Bosselier divided the development of the mural painting in the Ayutthaya School into two periods: the first, the early period, covers roughly the last three quarters of the 15th century; the second

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[14] This picture taken from Silpa Bhirasi, The Origin and Evolution of Thai Murals, p. 75.

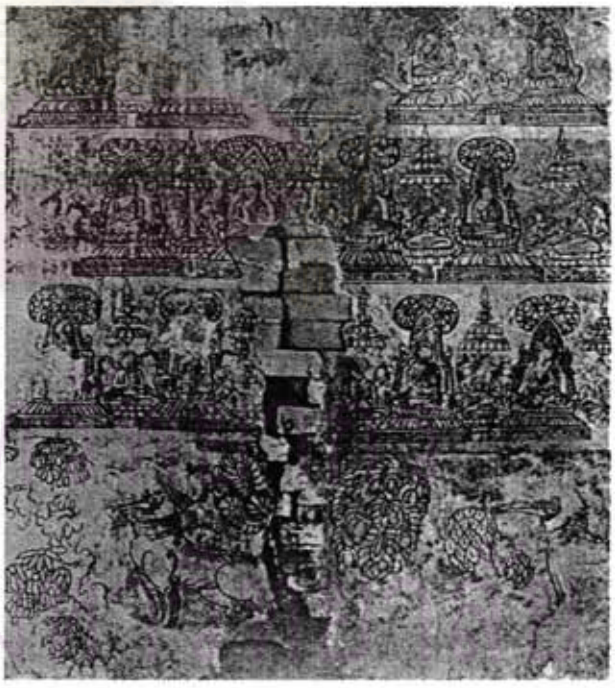
[15] Silpa Bhirasi, The Origin and Evolution of Thai Murals, p. 13; Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, p. 74; Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 19; Steve Van Beek and Luca Invernizzi Tettoni, The Arts of Thailand (Hongkong: Periplus, 1999), p. 121.

and more recent period, unfortunately separated from the first by a gap of nearly two centuries, extends from the mid-17th century to about the time of the fall of the capital.[16]

The First Period

There are two groups of paintings in earlier period, according to Santi Leksukhum, one of which is the reliquary crypt of Wat Mahathat at Ayutthaya being executed at the time of the construction of the Wat, around 1374, and the others found in the principal Stupa of Wat Rajaburana at Ayutthaya, dated around 1424.[17]

On the wall facing the entrance into the chamber of the reliquary crypt of Wat Mahathat, there is an aureole that was painted behind the principal image, which has disappeared. To the left of the original place of image, the wall is divided into three registers on which it is possible to recognize fourteen Buddhas of the Past, alternating with disciples. On the opposite wall, there were analogous compositions, almost all of them now effaced but which bring up to twenty-eight the number of the Buddhas of the past depicted, including Gautam Buddha (picture 16).[18]



Picture 16 Buddhas in the past. Mural painting in a Chedi of Wat Mahathat, Ayutthaya, School of Ayutthaya, Around 1374.[19]

[16] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, p. 76.
[17] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 24.
[18] Ibid., p. 24.
[19] This picture taken from Silpa Bhirasi, The Origin and Evolution of Thai Murals, p. 79.

The most important and best preserved wall paintings from this period were found in the principal Prang of Wat Rajaburana, which shows close similarities to the art of Sukhothai (Wat Sri Chum)[20] (picture 17). On two of the walls on the first level, the style of the paintings suggests the participation of Chinese artists through the techniques of painting where distemper is employed, as well as in the brushstrokes, the costumes, and the treatment of clouds.[21] On the second level, the painted surface is divided into registers: in the upper parts, there are Buddhas of the Past; lower down, the register is divided into compartments that present moments in the life of the historical Buddha surrounded by his disciples and other elements, which make it possible to identify the episodes.

Picture 17 Divinities in the crypt inside the big Prang of Wat Rajburana, Ayutthaya, School of Ayutthaya, 1424 A.D.[22]

Eighty disciples, twenty on each wall, are depicted in this succession of scenes.[23] In relation to the compositions divided into rows and occasionally squares of the painting

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[20] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, p. 77; Silpa Bhirasi, The Origin and Evolution of Thai Murals, p. 14.

[21] Santi Leksukhum points out that on the south and the west walls, Chinese children and adults are shown clothed in the costumes of the royal court; this was a good omen, according to their belief. On the other two walls, flying divinities are depicted with their hands joined in prayer. Thai art was influenced by Chinese art, as can be seen by these costumes, the depiction of clouds, the use of distemper paint, and the brushwork. See Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 254.

[22] This picture taken from Silpa Bhirasi, The Origin and Evolution of Thai Murals, p. 79.

[23] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 25.

here, according to Sonia Krug, they are similar to that of Ajanta in India and Pagan in Burma. She also points out that the stiff, rather heavy characteristics of the figures themselves, as well as the moustaches and eyebrows of the disciples, reflect a strong Khmer-Lop Buri style. Moreover, the individual paintings precisely follow the sculptures, particularly the votive tablets, of Lop Buri and U Thong, which had been Khmer cultural centers but became part of the Ayutthaya Kingdom.[24] In the lower register, 60 of the 547 Jātakas are presented in single scenes. The principal figure in each scene is the Bodhisatva in his various former existences, when he was a monk, a king, or even an animal – but always carrying out meritorious acts in order to achieve the supreme Full Enlightenment.[25]

In the fresco, the artist applied white color as the background, which, with time, has become cream colored; red was used for the clothing of the persons depicted, and black for the lines and contours. Finally, in order to enhance the gilded tint of the figures, a yellow ocher was applied before the application of the gold leaf. The contours of these works, executed in rapid strokes using a small brush, without retouching or alteration, exhibit the skill and technique of great masters.[26]

One might wonder why the mural was executed here and not in the chapel? Santi offers a convincing answer that the wall painting in these walled crypts were not executed in order to be viewed and identified by the faithful; rather, they were intended as homage to the Buddha, the crypt itself having been designed to preserve objects of value.[27]

From these frescos and additional vestiges it would appear that until approximately the middle of the 16th century, or even later, murals consisted primarily of separate horizontal rows of Buddha figures and disciples. These figures which tended to be large and fairly static, were separated from each other by non-iconic symbols of the Buddha, such as multi-tiered umbrellas, flames or leaf-shaped fans, Bodhi trees or

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[24] Sonia Krug, "The Development of Thai Mural Painting," p. 173.
[25] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 25.
[26] Ibid., p. 25.
[27] Ibid., p. 25.

Chedis.[28] Furthermore, characteristics found in the wealth of murals of Ayutthaya dating from the ancient period include single scenes, illustrations of legends, a technique of flat tones, and a restrained palette limited to red, yellow ocher, and gilding.[29] Boisselier believes that Ayutthaya painting appears to have been a direct continuation of that of Sukhothai, although there is a complete absence of Lopburi work.[30]

The Second Period

During this period, the basic accounts of the Buddhist religion became more developed, with the employment of more scenes, details, types of decoration and realistic images. Thus, in the scenes of the Life of Buddha as well as in the Jātaka are to be found elements of landscape, houses and other buildings, and, especially, sawtooth bands. This period is separated from the preceding period by a hiatus of nearly two centuries. From the end of the 15th century until the middle of 17th century, nothing survives except miniatures illustrating various texts. The oldest of these miniatures dates from the middle of the 17th century and illustrates texts grouped under the name of Samut Trai Phum meaning the Three Worlds.[31]

The number of paintings dating from the recent period of Ayutthaya, according to Santi, is modest; those in the Pavilion Somdet Phra Buddha Kosacharn in Wat Buddhaiswan were probably painted at the end of the 17th century or at the beginning of the 18th century. They represent the Ten Great Jātaka, the Three Worlds, the Rāmāyaṇa, and less common subjects such as the legendary voyage of Pra Buddhakosachan to Ceylon, various Buddhapadas, a royal procession, and a stupa adored by both gods and men.[32] Nevertheless, the most valuable wall paintings of the recent period are preserved in the temples of the monasteries around the city itself. In the temple of Wat Mai Prachumphon, the paintings, which date from the second quarter of the 17th century, offer a highly original iconography. On the northern wall, there are Chedis probably

[28] Sonia Krug, "The Development of Thai Mural Painting," p. 174.
[29] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 25.
[30] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, p. 84.
[31] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 26.
[32] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, p. 84.

symbolizing the Buddhas of the Past, alternating with venerating divinities that occupy a register above the windows. Behind the principal statue, which presents the Buddha surrounded with a nimbus culminating in the multiple heads of Mucalinda, King of Nāga, there is a scene illustrating the Sixth Week after the Enlightenment. After that, the Jātakas and the Life of the Buddha are illustrated by a number of scenes to which the artists have added colors new to their palettes: a dark green, which is a mixture of yellow and indigo, and an ocher yellow. The composite colors of this period combine somber green and red with white for the bodies of the persons depicted and, in the background, black and brown for contours and details.[33]

Besides, there are various monasteries consisting of admirable paintings that Boisselier and Santi term them to be from the provincial workshop; they are categorized in the Ayutthaya School as well. The two remarkable groups can be seen at Phetburi province, one of which is the Ubosot of Wat Yai Suwannarm, generally ascribed to the first half of the 17th century (picture 18), and the other is the painting in the Ubosot of Wat Koh Keo Sutharam (picture 19), dated to 1734.

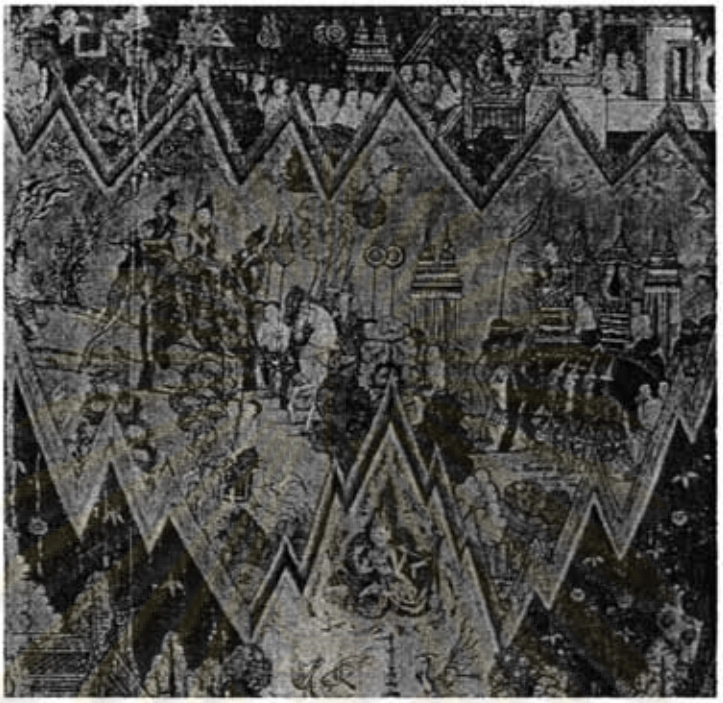
Other than these, the paintings that survive at Thung Yang, Uttaradit province, in the Vihan Luang of Wat Pra Boromathat, restored at the end of the reign of Boromkot (1732-1758), must certainly be the most northern of the Ayutthaya School.[34] Present-day Bangkok, a prosperous town during the Ayutthaya period, also sits in a monastery called Wat Chong Nonsi where its painting was executed in Ayutthaya era around third quarter of the 17th century (picture 20). Around the same time as those of Wat Chong Nonsi, there existed another remarkable mural painting of the School of Ayutthaya, which is the painting in Ubosot of Wat Prasat at Nonthaburi.[35]

[33] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 27.
[34] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, pp. 84-90; Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, pp. 27-49.
[35] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, pp. 27-35.

Picture 18 These celestial beings are shown kneeling, with joined hands and faces turned toward the altar where the principal Buddha is located. Floral motifs of various colors decorate the spaces between the sawtooth bands.
Mural painting in Ubosot of Wat Yai Suwannaram, Phetchaburi, School of Ayutthaya, the first half of the 17th century.[36]

Picture 19 The scene of seven weeks of the Buddha after the enlightenment alternating with Chedis. Mural painting in Ubosot of Wat Koh Keo Suttharam, Phetchaburi, School of Ayutthaya, 1734.[37]

[36] This picture taken from Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 41.
[37] Ibid., pp. 46-47.



Picture 20 King Angati with his retinues are returning from his conversation with the hermit; Nārada Jātaka. Each episode is separated by sawtooth bands. The colored designs with a border are painted on a light surface.
Painting in Chapel of Wat Chong Nonsi, Bangkok, School of Ayutthaya, 3rd quarter of the 17th century.[38]

In the school of Ayutthaya, from possibly during the 17th century, according to Sonia Krug, there was some point changes that occurred in the murals. The first changes were not very dramatic – instead of rows of Buddha images, an entire wall might be covered with rows of heavenly beings called Thep Chumnum (the celestial assembly), all knelling in reverence and facing the Buddha images. The earliest known example of figures of this type is the murals at Wat Yai Suwannaram in Phetburi. The figures, nearly two feet high (about 60 cm.) are separated horizontally by floral bands and vertically by zigzag lines, two of earliest artistic motifs found in the murals. They include Garuḍa, Yaksas, a derivation of the non-human nature spirits from India, and Devas.[39]

[38] Ibid., pp. 30-31.
[39] Sonia Krug, "The Development of Thai Mural Painting," pp. 175-76.

Moreover, Sonia Krug also points out that the most remarkable changes in the murals appear in the compositions and coloring of the narratives, which eventually became the dominant feature of Thai mural painting. By the 18th century we find complex compositions treating religious, mythical, historical or mundane subjects illustrated with small, lively figures of many colors using gestures that are codified symbols representing specific actions or emotions. The earliest extant of these polychrome murals are in the Abbot's residence at Wat Buddhaisawan in Ayutthaya. The composition is formed of grouped figures spread over the entire wall surface, each group illustrating a different subject. The colors, except for the palace scenes which are dominated by red, are subdued. The fineness of the lines, the rhythm and delicate gestures of the figures show a direct relationship to the sculpture of Sukhothai. Some of the remaining Jātaka scenes display a certain similarity in theme and stylistic detailing to the later murals in the Bangkok temples. The presentation of gods, heroes, demons and ladies of the court in both these and the later murals bears a resemblance to that of the classical theater.[40] The scenes are framed with finely detailed landscapes in which the trees, rocks and water are treated in a very Chinese manner. According to Elizabeth Lyons, the artist has probably copied and adapted these bits from porcelain or decorative screens.[41] Sonia Krug, however, argues that this is possibly the result of direct contacts with China due to the fact that the introduction of a variety of colors in the murals.[42]

Sometimes during the 15th century the shadow play was introduced into Thailand from Java. These flat-bodied puppets are generally viewed in profile. Their flexible limbs and angular joints exhibit many of the same exaggerated postures found in the painted figures of the murals. In addition, many of these same features occur in the dance dramas of Thailand which evolved in the 17th and 18th centuries.[43] Sonia Krug believes that many of the stylized positions of the later figures were derived directly from dance postures – all of which tends to explain the theatrical qualities found in the later mural.

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[40] Sonia Krug, "The Development of Thai Mural Painting," pp. 176-77.

[41] Elizabeth Lyons, "A Note on Thai Painting," The Arts of Thailand, Theodore Bowie (ed.) (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1960), p. 170.

[42] Sonia Krug, "The Development of Thai Mural Painting," p. 177.

[43] Ibid., pp. 175-177.

4.1.3 The Ratanakosin School

This school is intermingled with the remarkable works which were produced during the Thonburi Period. The most remarkable of these are two manuscripts which illustrate the Trai Phum. From a preliminary text tells us that they were executed at the command of King Phraya Taksin and under the guidance of the Supreme Patriarch, then residing at Wat Rakang (Thonburi), that the two manuscripts were written in 1776. One of these manuscripts is preserved in the National Library at Bangkok; the other one, in better condition, is in Berlin Museum.[44] The work, the one preserved in the National Library, consists of four sections: the Life of the Buddha; various Great Jātakas; the Trai Phum in aversion that differs slightly from the classical text; the geography of Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean. The Trai Phum alone represents about half of the whole manuscript.[45] Boisselier believes that these two manuscripts exhibit all the tendencies which were to dominate the wall painting of the school of Ayutthaya, except the problem of composition is simplified by the fact that the question of decorating the backgrounds did not arise. The treatment of the characters shows the clear contrast between heroes and villains, which is so characteristic, and the scenes of the infernal regions display those morally uplifting horrors which were to play so important a part in the art of the first half of the 19th century. In the landscapes, trees, rocks and water continue on occasion to reflect the Chinese influence, while as regards figures, the attire of Moslems, Chinese and Europeans of the 17th and 18th centuries perpetuate the classic note of exoticism.[46]

The school of Ratanakosin was in every respect heir to Ayutthaya, but it is also characterized by a considerable outburst of artistic activity borne by the aspirations of the Chakri dynasty not simply to restore past grandeur, but to surpass it in every sphere.[47] According to Sonia Krung's observation, on the upper registers rows of divine assembly, Thep Chumnum, separated by decorative or floral bands replaced the rows of Buddha figures of the earlier mural. A feathery zigzag line separated the top row from

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[44] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 50.
[45] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, p. 92.
[46] Ibid., p. 92.
[47] Ibid., p. 94.

the male hermit-like figures, Withayathon, above it. These Withayathon are depicted flying and dancing among the clouds and sometimes running off with fair maidens under their arms.[48]

Beneath the Thep Chumnum on the two side walls scenes from the life of the Buddha were painted, while the Victory over Mara or Enlightenment episode occupied the entire front wall facing the images. The Tosachat, the last ten Jātakas, were portrayed between the windows. The lower registers might portray scenes from the everyday life of the people or less frequently, scenes from the Ramakien (picture 21).[49]

Picture 21 A zigzag line separates the top row of Withayathon from the assembled divinities, while the story of Life of the Buddha and Jātaka occupy the spaces between the windows.

The interior wall of Buddhaisawan Chapel, National Museum, Bangkok, School of Ratanakosin, 2nd quarter of the 19th century.

The wall behind the Buddha images depicted the scenes from the Trai Phum. The lower registers pictured grotesque creatures suffering for their misdeeds in the many variants of hell. Above these were featured the woods and animals of the mythical Himaphan Forest located in the Himalaya Mountains below the heavens of the gods.

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[48] Sonia Krug, "The Development of Thai Mural Painting," pp. 181-82.
[49] Ibid., p. 182.

The palaces of the gods are supported by mountain peaks, with the tallest peak supporting Indra's palace.[50]

The technique and style of painting begun in Ayutthaya was refined to such a degree that a school of painting developed in Bangkok, probably by many of the artists who had worked in Ayutthaya, synthesized all the other schools into what became the classical period of traditional mural painting. This period lasted from the end of the 18th to the third quarter of the 19th century and spanned the first three reigns of the present Chakri dynasty.[51]

These murals form a continuous narrative in which a single character may appear in multiple scenes of the same story. Figure no more than twenty to twenty-five or thirty centimeters high, attired in clothing similar to that of the Ayutthaya period, wander among palaces and hermitages whose soaring spires and multi-layered roofs bear a marked resemblance to the royal architecture of the Ayutthaya and early Bangkok periods. In contrast to the monochrome figures on the largely chalk-white backgrounds of the Ayutthaya painting, the light colored figures in these murals appear to float against a dark background. A wealth of miniature details reveals an insight into the life and customs of the people.[52]

The main characters, inspired by classical dance and combining both grace and majesty,[53] are portrayed in a highly stylized manner, 'frozen' in graceful attitudes and gestures. No matter how dramatic an episode, the faces of celestial or noble beings remain always serene. Emotions are expressed by hand gestures. For example, the arm delicately raised with the hand touching the forehead signifies lamentation or weeping.[54] Their gestures, according to Santi, are those traditional to classical dance.[55] Graceful

[50] Ibid., p. 182.
[51] Ibid., p. 182.
[52] Ibid, p. 182.
[53] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 190. Actually, the cloth and ornamentation of the classical dance originally adopted from monarch.
[54] Rita Ringis, Thai Temples and Temple Murals, p. 92.
[55] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 191.

inclination of the body, frequently in an S-shaped curve or semi-profile, with the face in full profile, is also characteristic (picture 22-24).[56]

Picture 22 King Rama VII in his coronation attire.[58]

Picture 23 The Thai Mask Dance.[57]

Picture 24
Character in mural painting,
Ubosot of Wat Bang Yikan, Thonburi,
School of Ratanakosin,
2nd quarter of the 19th century.[59]

[56] Rita Ringis, Thai Temples and Temple Murals, p. 92.
[57] This picture taken from The Crown Property Bureau, Khon: Thai Masked Dance: Sala Chalermkrung (Bangkok, 2006), p. 23.
[58] This picture was taken from the photo exhibition in the National Museum of Bangkok.
[59] This picture taken from Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 142.

Common people, on the other hand, were considered to be morally inferior and quite incapable of controlling their emotions. They are often shown with their heads twisted around, their bodies at awkward angles and their faces frozen in grotesque expressions. In their portrayal the muralist was free to express his own sense of humor and zest for life. The most sacred and symbolic scenes may contain deftly inserted vignettes of people engaged in their daily activities of working, playing, cooking, gossiping, gambling and flirting. Such scenes are not infrequently ribald in content. Foreigners, too, are outside the hierarchy and are portrayed quite individualistically. They appear in their native dress. Musicians, dancers, courtiers and persons of the upper class may be treated either in the manner of royalty or of the common people, depending upon their rank.[60]

So completely do these small paintings cover entire wall surface that there appears to be a continuous flow of color and movement. There is, however, a definite separation of segments within the flowing, abstract mass. Subject matter or scenes within the same story are separated by a zigzag line a flowing ribbon motif, a floral or decorative band, or landscape or architectural details. The feathery zigzag line of Ayutthaya paintings is largely replaced by the more sophisticated techniques of irregular palace rooftops, crenellated palace walls, jagged mountain ranges, flowering trees, rocks or cliffs.[61]

Sonia Krug points out that the compositions were outlined with the fine, dark, smooth-flowing lines that are the most important feature of the paintings, and then filled in with tempera paint which dries quickly to a flat, solid finish. Details and ornamentation were then carefully applied. It creates a two-dimensional appearance without vanishing point, without light and without shadow.[62] According to Elizabeth Lyons, this technique is identical with the Indian and early Islamic.[63] Time is not stopped at any particular moment and the eye is free to move up, down or to the side. There is an aerial perspective allowing the viewer to stand directly in front of a palace,

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[60] Sonia Krug, "The Development of Thai Mural Painting," p. 183.
[61] Ibid., p. 183.
[62] Ibid., p. 183.
[63] Elizabeth Lyons, Thai Traditional Painting, p. 15.

look down into a courtyard or, if the action requires it, do both at the same time. Distance is an illusion created by placing figures one on top of another or by overlapping them. One is able to wander at will throughout an enticing world filled with magical charm.[64]

By the second half of the 19th century the traditional themes had passed through all the stages of development to reach the point of a national art style. With the achievement of the excellence of expression attained during this period, the muralist appears to have entered a point of imitation rather than of innovation. Most critics concur that no important paintings in classical style may be dated after 1850 and that a general decline occurred after 1875 – a decline which may be partly attributed to influences from the West.[65]

Picture 25 The mural painting in the gallery of Wat Phra Keo shows the employment of the three-dimensional perspective and vanishing point.
School of Ratanakosin, second quarter of the 19th century.

It must be remembered that the Court set the standards and fashions of taste. As nearly all artists were attached to the Court, the official taste quickly found expression. King Mongkut (Rama IV, 1851-1868) was intensely interested in the world outside of Thailand and encouraged the study of Western culture and science. This led to

[64] Sonia Krug, "The Development of Thai Mural Painting," p. 183.
[65] Ibid., pp. 183-84.

economic expansion and a viable role in international relations.[66] Thus, in art it created a preoccupation with Western techniques and vogues. It became fashionable to employ light and shade and three-dimensional perspective which figures were made to appear smaller as they receded into the distance.[67] The brilliance of chemical colors, some of which had an element of instability, threw the traditional color harmony of the composition out of balance. The natural solidity and flat plane quality of the wall surface is aesthetically lost when it is seemingly pierced by deep vistas. Deprived of those distinctive characteristics which constituted their chief charm the paintings lost their unique individuality. After the sixth reign, 1910-1925, there was little interest in mural painting of any sort (picture 25).[68]

4.1.4 The Lan Na School

The kingdom of Lan Na, in the north of Siam, possessed great natural wealth as well as an original culture and flourished over many centuries. Its important centers included Chiang Mai, Lamphun, Lampang, Prae, Nan, and Chiang Rai. In 1296, King Mangrai for his residence chose Chiang Mai, which later became the capital of Lan Na. The works of art of Chiang Mai region, inspired by Buddhism, are marked by the influence of the neighboring countries: Burma to the west and Lan Chang to the east, and the kingdom of Sukhothai in the south. Occupied in 1557 by the Burmese, Chiang Mai regained its independence in 1764.[69]

The earliest painting of the Lan Na School is the banner found in the crypt of Wat Dok Ngoen, convincingly dated, contemporary with that of Ayutthaya, to the mid-16th century. Its subject is the Descend of the Buddha from the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods. With its warm tones, among which yellow ochre predominates, Boisselier believes that this banner may well be one of the earliest known polychrome paintings.[70] According to tradition, the people of Lan Na place them in the crypts of Chedis like

[66] see Abbot Low Moffat, Mongkut, the King of Siam (New York: Cornell University Press, 1961).

[67] Silpa Bhisasri, Appreciation of Our Murals (Bangkok: the Fine Arts Department, 1959), pp. 12-14.

[68] Sonia Krug, "The Development of Thai Mural Painting," p. 184.

[69] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 101.

[70] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, p. 125.

votive tablets. These objects of piety served to honor both the artists' parents and dead relatives. They could thus acquire merit both for themselves and for their families.[71]

The most eminent of the monasteries of Chiang Mai, according to Boisselier, is Wat Pra Singh. It was founded in 1345 to house the ashes of King Kham Fu (1328-1335) and the deeply venerated image of Pra Buddha Sihing, but the Bot seems to not have been built until 1806 or 1811. The paintings would appear to date from that time but have been considerably restored, mainly in 1863.[72] Two subjects are depicted: to the right of altar there is the story of Prince Sang Thong, the prince of golden conch, and on the opposite wall the story of Suwannahong, the golden Haṃsa.[73] The choice of subjects is interesting: both come from apocryphal Jātaka, the former from the famous collection, the Paññāsa Jātaka (the Fifty Jātaka). This collection was particularly celebrated in Chieng Mai, where many traditions suggest that it may have been composed. Despite many restorations, the paintings stand as typical of the proclivities of the school and provide enough information to distinguish it from that of Ratanakosin.[74]

Another interesting and typical painting of Lan Na School was executed in the cruciform Ubosot of Wat Phumin near Nan. The building went up in 1596 and was restored between 1867 and 1875.[75] The most celebrated of these paintings, executed on one side of the entrance, illustrates a scene in which a young man is declaring his love to a young girl. The scenes of the Life of the Buddha are shown on the upper part of the walls, and the Nemi Jātaka is the only Jātaka included. On the other hand, the paintings illustrate another non-canonical Jātaka, a story known by the name of the hero, Kantthana Kumān.[76] These paintings are very much in the tradition of the school and lay great stress on the details of contemporary life. They therefore constitute a valuable, and often racy, record of Thai life and of the European presence in Thailand. The

[71] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, pp. 26-27.
[72] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, p. 126.
[73] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 107.
[74] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, p. 126.
[75] Ibid., p. 128.
[76] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 107.

anecdotal interest helps one to overlook the awkwardness of many of the postures and the rather sketchy character of the composition.[77]

Picture 26 Everyday Scene. Women wear the typical Lan Na fashion chat with men, while the European soldiers, recognized by their facial hair, mixing with the Thai soldiers, known by their hairstyle, are marching past.
Mural painting, Wat Phumin, Nan, School of Lan Na, 3rd quarter of 19th century.[78]

In general, the architectural settings in these paintings, according to Boisselier, are inspired rather by buildings of the nineteenth century in Chiang Mai than by more or less imaginary palaces. The dress is naturally that of Lan Na and the adornments and princely costumes are strongly influenced by Burmese fashions, but, more than this, it is most noticeable that life is viewed in an entirely different way. There is something engaging about the painting of the north, about the seeking after characteristic attitudes and types, the evident fascination with physical beauty and the rejection of everything that might seem to verge on caricature. In the art of Chiang Mai the desire to individualize, a definite fondness for local color are not confined to the subsidiary scenes, but involve all the characters, whatever their rank. Lan Na society appears to have been less exclusive than that of Bangkok and there is no sign of the fundamental opposition between heroes and villains that characterizes the art of Ratanakosin.

[77] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, p. 128.
[78] This picture taken from David K. Wyatt, Reading Thai Murals (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2004), p. 43.

Attitudes may not always be as carefully considered and sometimes be graceless and awkward, but faces are always cleanly drawn and are not bound by stylizations, so that, all in all, the paintings attributed to the Northern school as a whole possess and undoubted charm (Picture 26).[79]

4.2 Cambodian Traditional Painting

While the Thai have the long history of paintings from its origin until present day, traces of the painting in Cambodia completely disappeared since 10th century and it abruptly appeared again about one or two last centuries when the kingdom was under the Siamese hegemony. Thus, for almost nine centuries we do not know what the painting might have been like. This big gap creates no connection between the paintings of these two periods, so we can distinguish from them easily. To provide easier understanding, I will term the 10th century painting *Gaṃnūr Purāṇ*, meaning "Ancient Painting," while the 18th or 19th century painting is called *Gaṃnūr Paepthmī* or *Gaṃnūr Samay* literally "Modern Painting." Please bear in mind that the term "Modern Painting" here does not refer to the Western painting style, which was introduced to the Cambodia during 1940s.

4.2.1 *Gaṃnūr Purān* "Ancient Painting"

The Khmer term *Gaṃnūr* means "Drawing" or "Painting" or "Bas-relief" as well. For example, the indigenous people who live in Siem Reap still call, for instance, the bas-relief of the third cloister of Angkor Wat "*Gaṃnūr*." Before the falling of Angkor in the mid-15th century, Hinduism had been practiced and flourished in Cambodia. During that time countless Hindu temples were constructed and adorned with fine ornaments and bas-reliefs. Although the carving then had played very important role in those religious buildings, the *Gaṃnūr* (drawing or painting), undoubtedly, was necessary as well because prior to sculpting, in my opinion, they had to draw their sketches of sculpting in advance. On the other hand, during that time paintings were probably also employed for decorating the aristocrats' residences, kings'

[79] Jean Boisselier, Thai Painting, pp. 126-128.

palace as well as religious scriptures. Bearing witness to this, Zhou Daguan, a Chinese emissary who had visited Angkor in 1296-97, wrote in his record:

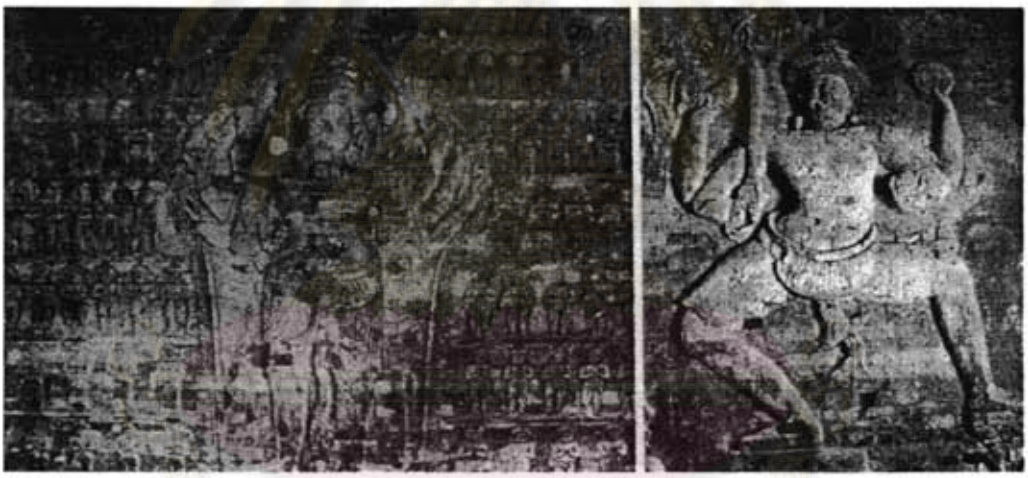
> The Royal Palace, officials' residences, and great houses all face east. The palace lies to the north of the gold tower with the gold bridge [Bayon], near the northern gate way. It is about five or six li[80] in circumference. The tiles of the main building are made of lead; all the other tiles are made of yellow clay. The beams and pillars are huge, and are all carved and painted with images of the Buddha.[81]

Unfortunately, those paintings, over the course of time, vanished along with the Palace. Nevertheless, at least we still have worthy evidence of ancient Cambodian mural having been like. Painted on the brick surface of the interior wall of the Hindu Temple called Neang Khmau, Takeo province, dated to the 10th century, is the mural of Visṇu, Visṇu in his dwarf avatar taking three strides to create the world, and a representation of his consort Laksmī. The trait of the painting's characters and even its theme are identical with the brick-carved relief decorating on the interior wall of the Prasat Kravan in Siem Reap, dated back to the same period. In the mural, only Visṇu's images are clear enough to recognize his manner. He has four hands, others have two hands or eight hands, holding his attributes such as disc, club, conch, and probably earth. He is shown bear torso; he wears a conical headdress with diadem, armlets, and knee breeches with folded hem hanging from the front of the waist. His fashion probably is categorized in the Koh Ker style. His physical appearance is depicted as very strong with muscles and as a human being (picture 27-28).

[80] 5 to 6 li equal 2. 5 to 3 kilometers or 1.7 to 2 miles.

[81] Zhou Daguan, A Record of Cambodia: The Land and Its People. Peter Harris (tra.) (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2007), p. 49.

Picture 27 The interior wall painting of the temple of Neang Khmau, Takeo, 10th century.[82]



Picture 28 Brick-carved relief in the interior wall of Kravan temple, Siem Reap, 10th century.

Since the 10th century until 19th century, we did not have any evidence of the paintings survived. Interestingly, by the early 20th century Ukñā Tep Nimit Mak in corporation with his colleague, Ukñā Reach Prasoe Mau, had created diagram models for their students in the School of Cambodian Arts[83] by imitating those of figure found

[82] This picture taken from Jean Boisselier, Le Cambodge (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie, 1966), Pl. LXIII.

[83] The School of Cambodian Arts was established in 1918 by Georges Groslier, a French painter, from the French Colonial Administration. Recently, it is called "The Royal University of Fine Arts."

in the bas-reliefs, for instance, Rāvaṇa, Visṇu mounted on Garuḍa, Varuṇa (the God of Rain) mounted on Haṃsa (the mythical bird), etc. At that time, they called these graphic arts *Gaṃnūr Purān* "Ancient Drawing," [84] due to the fact that their manner looks like the ancient carvings (picture 29-30).

Picture 29 Portrait of Rāvaṇa on the bas-relief of Angkor Wat, Siem Reap, first half of the 12th century.

Picture 30 The diagram model of Rāvaṇa created by Tep Nimit Mak and his colleague.[85]

Simultaneously, they drew the figure of characters that found in Mask Dance Drama, for instance, Rāma, Laksmṇa and some of monkey generals. These new fashioned figures were called *Gaṃnūr Paepthmī* or *Gaṃnūr Samay*, literally "Modern Drawing," because their characteristics, particularly their attire and headdress, is just renovated and is removed far from the "Ancient Drawing" but it is identical with Mask Dance Drama (picture 31-32).

[84] We know it from the captions of the drawings. See Georges Groslier, Kamnur Khmer Tang 76 (76 Drawings of Cambodia) (Phnom Penh: Cedoreck, 2003).

[85] This picture taken from Georges Groslier, Kamnur Khmer Tang 76 (76 Drawings of Cambodia), p. 26.

Picture 31 Rāvaṇa's mask for Mask Dance.[86]

Picture 32 The graphic art model of Rāvaṇa rendered by Tep Nimit Mak and his colleague.[87]

Through these models, we can see that Mak and Mau attempted to classify between the "Ancient Drawing" and "Modern Drawing" and it should also be noted that the artists who lived in the end of 19th and early 20th centuries are still remembered for their Ancient Drawing. Therefore, through these evidences, though slight, it possibly allows us to suppose that the primary characteristic of the ancient Cambodian mural is certainly not distinctive from the carving found in the ancient Khmer temple. On the other hand, those bas-reliefs and murals, more or less, influenced the paintings in the 19th and 20th centuries.

4.2.2 *Gaṃnūr Paepthmī* or *Gaṃnūr Samay* "Modern Painting"

By early 14th century, during the period when the Angkor Empire was beginning to weaken, the powerful Siamese Kingdom in the north of Angkor called Sukhothai was

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[86] This picture was taken by Darren Campbell in 1999.

[87] This picture taken from Georges Groslier. Kamnur Khmer Tang 76 (76 Drawings of Cambodia), p. 25.

flourishing and started to dominate the Khmer Kingdom. With the Siamese influence, Theravāda Buddhism gradually infiltrated into Cambodia and has constantly embedded itself in Khmer society ever since. The relations of cultural influence with one another were not only religion but also language and arts.[88] The variation of the religion was the cause of change from "Prasat" (Hindu Sanctuary) to "Vihear" (Main Buddhist Sanctuary)[89] and the religious stories which had been sculpted perhaps turned to be the painting as well. According to the French scholar, Madeleine Giteau, many Buddhist monasteries, like in Thailand at least since the 17th century, had their walls decorated with painted fresco, especially those localize along Tonle Sap, Bassac, and Mekong River.[90] If excluding the mural painting in Prasat Neang Khmau, the oldest fresco known in Cambodia are those of Vat Catudis, in Udong; then those one owed at the school of Okñā Tep Nimit Mak which is the cloisters of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in Phnom Penh and, in province, Wat Sisowatt Ratanaram on the Bassak River, and Wat Phnom Del on the Mekong River. None goes up beyond the end of the 19th century.[91] Among those four temples, two of the frescoes in Wat Phnom Del and Wat Chatudis, disappeared. Not only temples and their paintings but also others work of arts which were produced during the middle period of Cambodian history almost vanished. There are many theories concerning the loss of these heritages, one of which accused the ideology of Theravāda Buddhism. According to Theravāda Buddhism's philosophy of the impermanence of all things, there are a great deal of art objects, including painting, being made from perishable objects, for instance, wood, cloth and paper. These kinds of things no longer survive in such a hot and humid climate in Cambodia. Secondly, if there had been, the Khmer Rouge would have destroyed them in their horrifying campaign to rid the country of all traces of Buddhism. Another thing also contributed to the destruction of mural paintings which is related to the economic condition of villager once it improved. Villagers prefer new temples and paintings to the old ones, so they topple the old down to construct or paint or repaint the new temples and murals. This is the more understandable since greater merit is to be gained by taking on new work than by patching up a crumbling building. Therefore, these

[88] Ang Choulean, Eric Prenowitze, and Ashley Thompso, Angkor: Adit-Pachappan-Anagat (Angkor: Past-Present-Future) (Royal Government of Cambodia: Apsara, 1998), p. 72.

[89] Ibid., pp. 74-76.

[90] Madeleine Giteau, Iconographie du Cambodge Post-Angorien, p. 381.

[91] Ibid., p. 271.

tendencies probably caused the lack of evidence for studying the painting in Cambodia. As far as I know, the monasteries where the paintings have been survived until today are those of galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, Wat Chen Dam Dek (Phnom Penh), Wat Kiensvay Krau (Kandal), Wat Sisuwatt Ratanaram, Wat Mahaleap (Kampong Cham), Wat Samret Jayaram (Kampong Cham), Wat Svay Sach Phnom (Kampong Cham), Wat Raka Kandal (Kratie), Wat Kampong Tralach Loe (Kampong Chnang), Wat Bo (Siem Reap), Wat Bagang (Siem Reap), Wat Kdei Doem (Kampong Thom), and Wat Suriya (Bodhisatva).

Pictorial Themes

Like the bas-reliefs of Hindu temples, the themes of paintings are mainly derived from the religious texts of Buddhism. The main theme which was popularly depicted is the story of the Life of the Buddha. It is considered as the most important story among the Buddhist countries. In Cambodia, the episodes of the Life of the Buddha were sculpted on the temples since the Angkor era, for example, the pediments of Prasat Palilay (Siem Reap), 12th century, and Nakor Bachay temple (Kampong Cham), about 16th century (picture 33).

Picture 33 The Great Departure: Prince Siddhattha renounces the world to follow an ascetic life.

The carving on pediment of Nakor Bachay temple, Kampong Cham, about 16th century.

The story of the Life of the Buddha is vividly told in the Buddhist scripture called Paṭhamasambodhikathā.[92] The text, according to George Coedès, seems to be derived from a text produced in Ceylon around the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. In the course of time, this text reached as far as Southeast Asia and became the inspiration for artists, Khmer, Burmese and Thai.[93] In Cambodian Buddhist monasteries, the narrations of Buddha's life, though not all, are illustrated from his birth to Niravāna (picture 34). Interestingly, in Southeast Asia many episodes of the life of the Buddha which were selected for paintings agree with each other; it appears to be the common tradition of the region.[94]

Picture 34 The Great Departure: Prince Siddhattha who leaves his wife and son for following an ascetic life is accompanied by his charioteer and a large number of celestial beings. Mural painting, Wat Kampong Tralach Krom, Kampong Chnang, early 20th century.[95]

[92] Sonthiwan Intralib, Thai Traditional Paintings (Bangkok: Amarin, 1994). p. 37.

[93] George Coedès, "Une Vie Indochinoise du Buddha," Mélanges d'Indianisme à la Mémoire de L. Renou (Paris: 1968) cited in Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 164.

[94] Madeleine Giteau, Iconographie du Cambodge Post-Angorien, p. 273.

[95] This picture taken from Jacqueline and Guy Nafilyan, Peintures Murales des Monastères Bouddhiques au Cambodge, p. 36.

The former lives of the Buddha called Jātaka was also popular for the fresco theme. The canonical collection of Jātakas, according to E.B. Cowell, contains 547 stories,[96] while the total collection of the 550 stories is described by V. Fausbol.[97] In Cambodia, some Jātakas appeared on the sculpted pediments of the temples since the Angkor period, for instance, the Sīlānisaṅgha Jātaka on the pediment of the Tanai temple[98] (Siem Reap), the end of 12th century (picture 35), and the Vessantara Jātaka on the pediment of 12th century temple of Ta Phrom (Takeo).

Picture 35 The Bodhisatva rescues the people who have their ship sunk, Sīlānisaṅgha Jātaka.
The stone carving on pediment of Tanai temple, Siem Reap, the end of 12th century.

Of 547 Jātaka tales, the last ten former lives of the Buddha, known as Dasa Jātakas (Dasajāti in Khmer) enjoy great popularity not only in Cambodia but also Thailand, Lao and Burma. Dasa Jātakas depict the Bodhisatvas' practice of the ten Buddhist perfections (Dasa Pāramī) such as Temiya practices the Pāramī of Renunciation of the world, Mahājanaka practices Pāramī of Perseverance, Sāma practices Pāramī of Benevolence, Nemi practices Pāramī of Resolution, Mahosadha

[96] See E.B. Cowell, The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births, Vol. I-V (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2005).

[97] See V. Fausbol, Buddhist Birth Stories or Jātaka tales (London: Trubner & Co, Ludgate Hill, 1880).

[98] Mireille Bénisti, "Kamnat Padimasastr Khmer: Jhut Pi Kanlaeng Taktang Ning Neaveachar (Note on Khmer Iconography: Two Episodes Related to Shipped Traveling), Ang Choulean (tra.), Udaya, No. 4, (Phnom Penh: Apsara, 2003), pp. 64-65.

practices Pāramī of Wisdom, Bhūridatta practices Pāramī of Moral Precepts, Chandkumāra practices Pāramī of Forbearance, Mahānāradakassapa practices Pāramī of Equanimity, Vidhurapaṇḍita practices Pāramī of Truth, and Vessantara practices Pāramī of Charity. Among these ten Jātaka tales, only Vessantara Jātaka, the last former life, has been completely executed in several panels from the beginning to the end, while the others were provided only one panel for one Jātaka. The main episode of each Jātaka which has been selected for painting very often shows the practice of Bodhisattva's perfection. So this is the reason that almost all Cambodian, Thai and Lao monasteries depict the same episode of these ten Jātakas (picture 36-37).

Picture 36 Sāma Jātaka, mural painting, Wat Kampong Tralach Krom, Kampong Chnag, early 20th century.[99]

Picture 37 Sāma Jātaka, mural painting, Wat Bang Yikhan, Thonburi, School of Ratanakosin, 2nd quarter of the 19th century.[100]

Picture 36-37 Sāma is wounded by the arrow of King Pilyakkha. This episode has been executed so often in both Thai and Cambodian murals that it has become the symbol of the entire Jātaka.

[99] This picture taken from Jacqueline and Guy Nafilyan, Peintures Murales des Monastères Bouddhiques au Cambodge, p. 78.

[100] This picture taken from Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 142.

Apart from these ten Jātakas, we also have another Jātaka called Devadhamma, being illustrated in the chapel of Wat Tep Pranam, Kandal province (picture 38).[101] Unfortunately, this temple was destroyed in the Khmer Rouge Regime.

Picture 38 Devadhamma Jātaka, mural Painting, Wat Tep Pranam, Kandal, around late 19th century.[102]

Besides the Buddhist religious texts, the artists also employed the stories from other sources such as the story of Reamker from Indian epic Rāmāyaṇa, Prah Chinavong and Saṅkh Silp Jay are folklores which are widespread in Southeast Asia. One should not surprise to see the Reamker story being executed in Buddhist monastery because in Indochinese peninsula Rāma is considered as a Bodhisatva.[103] In Cambodia, there are only three temples where the complete story of Reamker has been executed: the galleries of the temple of the Emerald Buddha, Wat Bo (Siem Reap), and Wat Phnom Chisor (Takeo).[104] Unfortunately, the latter was destroyed during the military campaign in early 1970s. The painting in Wat Bo, according to Madeleine Giteau, was

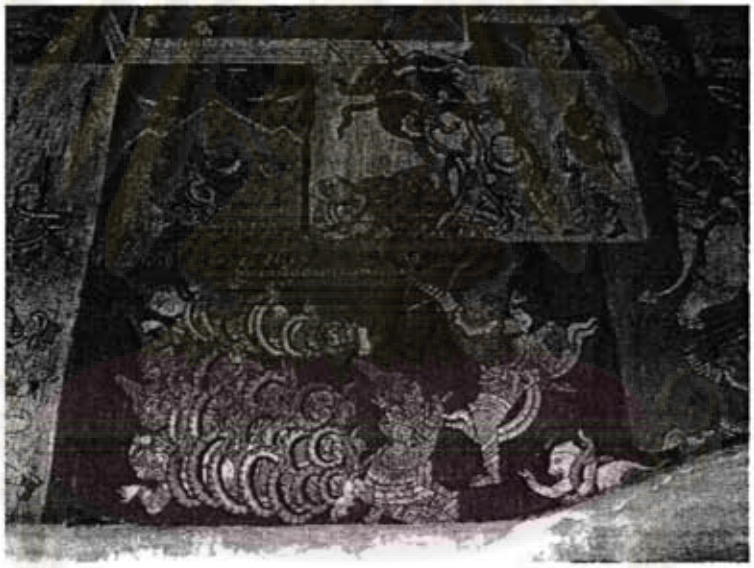
[101] Madeleine Giteau, Chefs-d'Oeuvre de la Peinture Cambodgienne dans les Monastères Buddhiques Post-Angkorienne (Torino: CESMEO, 2003), p. 87.

[102] This picture taken from Madeleine Giteau, Chefs-d'Oeuvre de la Peinture Cambodgienne dans les Monastères Buddhiques Post-Angkorienne, p. 87.

[103] Madeleine Giteau, "Les Peintures du Rāmāyaṇa Cambodgien au Monastère de Vat Bho (Siem Reap)," Indologica Taurinensia, Vol. XXV (Torino: 1999), p. 179.

[104] Madeleine Giteau, Iconographie du Cambodge Post-Ankgorien, pp. 289-90.

executed between 1920 and 1924.[105] Nevertheless, Marie Gamonet who interviewed some people such as puppet makers, artists and monks living in Siem Reap points out that the painting was rendered during 1887-1890 or at least not later than 1900. However, both researchers agree with the painter who executed the mural at Wat Bo, which are Ta Peul and his nephew, Kong Dith; they both were well-known as the shadow theater puppet cutters.[106] Thus, one can see the characteristic of painting in Wat Bo are identical with those of the shadow play (picture 39). The episodes of epic represented in Wat Bo, according to Marie-Henryane Gamonet and Jacques Népote, are close to the popular version of Reamker in Siem Reap, known as Ta Chak. However, these episodes are also close to Traibhed: "these texts in prose show us the origin of the Hindu gods and the main characters of Ramakerti as well as the summarized version of this epic." In addition, the text by Thiounn also helps us to read of the paintings on the



Picture 39 The Reamker, mural painting, Wat Bo, Siem Reap, between late 19th and early 20th centuries.

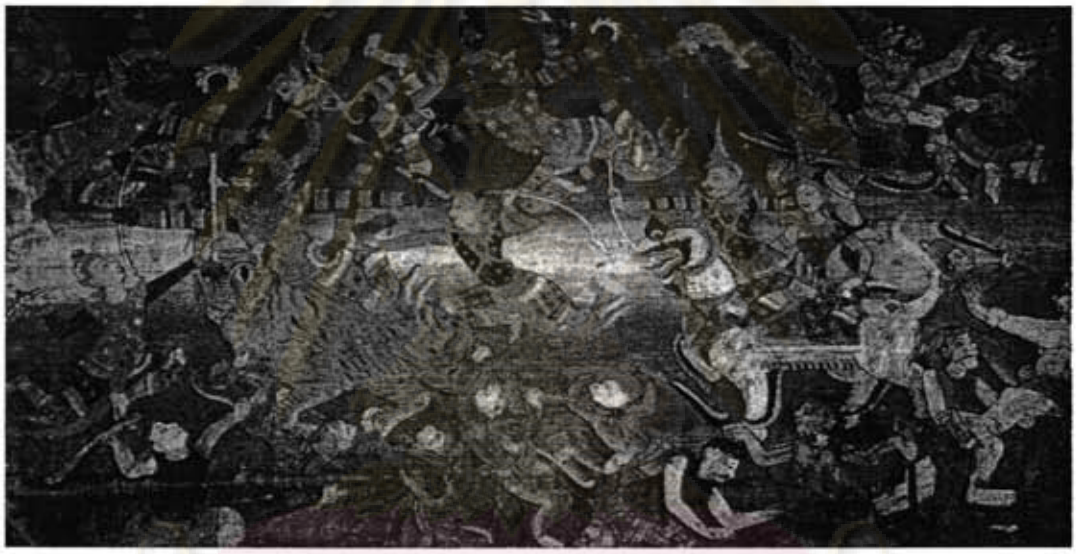
eastern and southern walls. The episodes of the western and northern walls on the other

[105] Madeleine Giteau, "Les Peintures du Rāmāyaṇa Cambodgien au Monastère de Vat Bho (Siem Reap)," p. 181; also see Madeleine Giteau, "Note sur l'Iconographie des Peintures Murals du Monastère de Vat Bho (Siem Reap)," Udaya, No. 5 (Phnom Penh: Friends of Khmer Culture, 2004), p. 19.

[106] Marie Gamonet, "The Ramayana Painting in Wat Bo, Siem Reap," Wooden Architecture of Cambodia: A Disappearing Heritage (Phnom Penh: Center for Khmer Studies, 2006), pp. 170-72; Madeleine Giteau, "Les Peintures du Rāmāyaṇa Cambodgien au Monastère de Vat Bho (Siem Reap)," p. 181.

hand can be found in the Thai Ramkien of Rama I and some are painted on the walls of temple of Wat Mai of Luang Prabag in Laos.[107]

The illustrations of the story of Prah Chinavong can be seen only in the Sala Chan, the dining hall, of Wat Kean Svay Krau (Kandal).[108] The story was executed on wooden plates around early 20th century. However, only one panel remains today (picture 40). Whereas the story of Sańkh Silp Jay was executed only in the chapel of Wat Prah Nirpean (Kampong Speu) about early 20th century.[109] Regrettably, the temple has also disappeared (picture 41).



Picture 40 The story of Prah Chinavong, mural painting, Wat Kean Svay Krau, Kandal, early 20th century.

[107] Marie-Henryane Gamonet and Jacques Népote, "Introduction aux Peintures du Ramayan de Vat Bo, la Chapelle des Gouverneurs de Siem Reap," Peninsule, No. 45 (Paris: Etudes Orientales/ Olizane, 2002 (2)), pp. 25-26.

[108] For detail see Michel Jacq-Hergoulc'h, Le roman source d'Inspiration de la Peinture Khmère à la Fin du XIXe et au début du XXe siècle (Paris: EFEO, 1982).

[109] See Madeleine Giteau, Chefs-d'Oeuvre de la Peinture Cambodgienne dans les Monastères Buddhiques Post-Angkorienne, pp. 89-95.

Picture 41 The story of Sankh Silp Jay, mural painting, Wat Prah Nirpean, Kampong Speu, about early 20th century.[110]

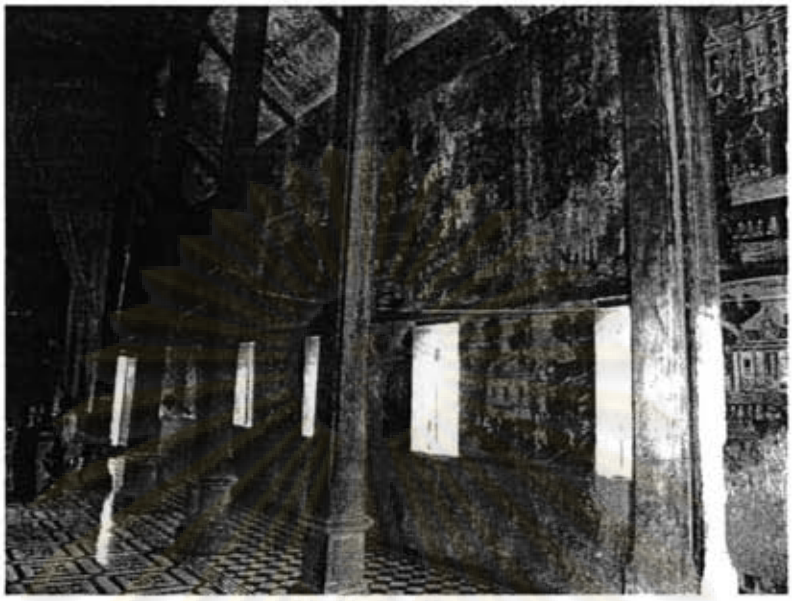
General Composition

Generally, paintings of the Cambodian monasteries were composed on the interior walls: on the height parts of the walls for the most important episodes of the Life of the Lord Buddha, while the sites between the windows are illustrated representations of scenes from the Ten Great Jātaka. Sometimes the friezes of the temple are occupied by the divinities in attitude of reverence toward the principal Buddha image of the temple (picture 42).[111] Such representation, that is not peculiar to Cambodia, has been initially found in Thai monasteries since the first half of the 17th century, Ayutthaya period, at Wat Yai Suwannaram in Phetburi (picture 18).[112]

[110] This picture taken from Madeleine Giteau, Chefs-d'Oeuvre de la Peinture Cambodgienne dans les Monastères Buddhiques Post-Angkorienne, p. 90.

[111] For detail see San Phalla, Kamnur Nautam Wat (Mural Painting on Buddhist Monasteries) (Phnom Penh: Reyum, 2007).

[112] Silpa Bhirasi, The Origin and Evolution of Thai Murals, p. 16.



Picture 42 The interior wall of the Vihear: the upper part shows the kneeling divinities paying respect to the main Buddha image (invisible). Beneath the assembled divinities it shows the story of the Life of the Buddha, while the last Ten Great Jātakas occupy the wall between the windows.

Mural painting, Wat Kampong Tralach Lei, Kampong Chnang, early 20th century.

Commonly, in the narrative murals there is a type of continuous action, although the scenes do not merge into each other. The important episodes are separated by naturalistic means such as a row of trees and rock, a river and wall, except the murals at Wat Kdei Doem, they are divided by yellowish frame and Wat Bo is unique because each scene is distinguished from one to another by colors of their own background. The episodes are separated by means of zigzag line found in Thai paintings has never appeared in the Cambodian paintings.

Character Manner and Landscape

The common trait of characters, particular the high ranking people, is that their overall manner resembles of Cambodian classical dance, combining grace and majesty (picture 43-45). This peculiar characteristic helps to distinguish the royal personalities from persons of lower rank or from simple functionaries or the common people, who exhibit a more natural comportment.

Picture 43 H.M. King Sisowath Monivong in his coronation attire.[113]

Picture 44 The Cambodian classical dance.[114]

Picture 45 The main characters in the Reamker mural painting. Mural painting, the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, Phnom Penh, 1903-1904.

[113] This picture taken from Julio A. Jeldres, The Royal House of Cambodia, p. 43.
[114] This picture was taken by Chan Vitharin in 1997.

Male divinities, kings, and prince-heirs are adorned in the same manner. They wear sharp-pointed tiaras with ear-shaped ornament attached to both sides of it, embroidered long-sleeved shirt adorned with epaulettes and embroidered collar, long-trousers with ornamented motif covered by knee-brocade called "Chang Kben,"[115] bangles, and anklets. Their shirt covers with jeweled sashes hanging from both shoulders crisscrossing the chest with pendant on the middle. Their waist is wrapped with a waistband and decorative cloth hanging from the front of the waist. Similar ornamentation appears on the child prince as well but he is given a simple diadem. Whereas female divinities, queens, princesses and women of high rank are embellished by tall pointed headdress with diadem attaching with ear-shaped ornaments at both sides. They wear undergarment, sometimes not, and are obliquely covered with long embroidered cloak across the chest through left shoulder going down to the back of knees, brocade skirt, armlets, spiral bracelets, and anklets. On their cloak, it is ornamented by embroidered collar, jeweled sash hanging from the left shoulder across the chest, and pendant. Such male and female manners can be found in the mural at Wat Kiensvay Krau, Wat Suriya, Wat Bagang and those belonging to the school of Ukñā Tep Nimit Mak, for in stance, the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, Wat Sisuwatt Ratanaram, Wat Kampong Tralach Loe. For the other temples, however, such as Wat Samret Jayaram, the persons of high rank are shown with nude torso both male and female, while in Wat Mahaleap men and women sometimes wear shirt and sometimes not, but the other characteristic almost as the same as the other monasteries (picture 46-47). Except Wat Kdei Dem, while female high ranks cover with cloak, male are presented in both aspects: bare torso as well as wearing shirt. Wat Bo, on the other hand, depicts men with wearing shirt, while women are illustrated in nude trunk. In addition, the physical body of protagonist that had been strong and was depicted in realism found in the mural of Prasat Neang Kmau, now has changed to be supple with a lesser realism. Their gestures express their sentiments and are those traditional to classical dance. Thus, a hand raises up to a cheekbone, as if to wipe away a tear, indicates a profound sadness.

[115] A lower garment, in which a piece of cloth is wrapped around the body and passed through the legs to form baggy knee breeches.

Picture 46 The male characteristic

Picture 47 The female characteristic.

Picture 46-47 Mural painting, Wat Mahaleap, Kampong Cham, early 20th century.

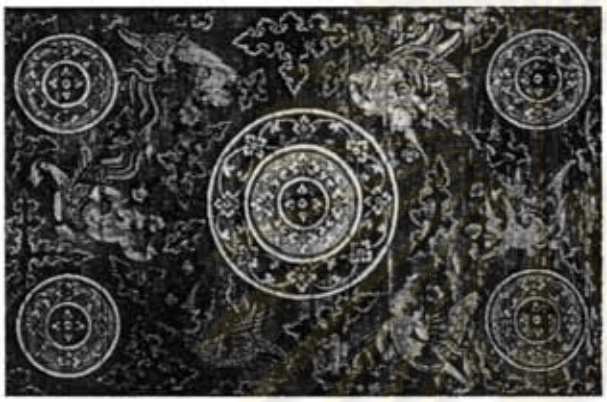
All the characters are shown in small scale, about thirty to thirty-three centimeters high, and always depicted in the same size regardless of the same or different distance. Together with the religious themes there was also a tendency towards the realistic and even earthly representation of everyday scenes, especially with regard to the common folk, as distinguished from the formal style used for royal or divine activities. Nevertheless, the Cambodian painting has never shown the erotic scenes, which was infused in the Thai painting.[116]

Generally, for the style of the painting, the primitive technique was employed. There is no western perspective, a vanishing point on the horizon. The composition is a combination of mass and line. The figures are drawn with an even, flowing contour, then filled in with flat color and the detail and ornament applied. Buildings, furniture, chariots, and other elements are done in the same way.

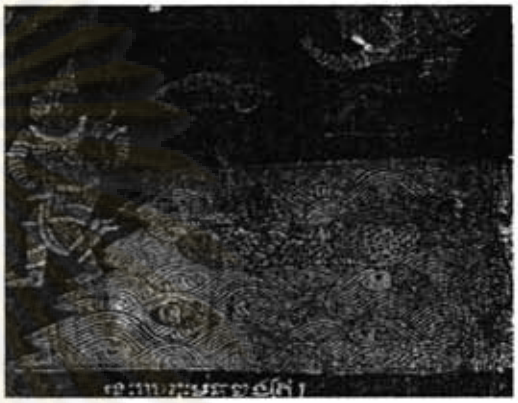
The landscape on the other hand is treated in a very conventional manner concerned with the idealistic and also realistic. The muralist used the light blue color for the sky and the white or light grey tone for representing the floating clouds. The depiction of the clouds sometimes shows Chinese influence in the style particularly the decoration on the ceiling of the temple, for example, Wat Mahaleap (picture 48). Water

[116] Madeleine Giteau, Chefs-d'Oeuvre de la Peinture Cambodgienne dans les Monastères Buddhiques Post-Angkorienne, p. 127; also see David K. Wyatt, Reading Thai Murals (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 2004), pp. 72-77.

is sometimes shown in application of light blue as the same as the sky but sometimes is represented in a stylized and symbolic manner by application of a blue color as a background, but occasionally a direct wall is also used as a background, and then superimposition of sinuous parallel lines of light blue color, imitating waves and



Picture 48 Mural painting, Wat Mahaleap, Kampong Cham, early 20th century.



Picture 49 Mural painting, Wat Bo. Siem Reap, between late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Picture 48-49 The clouds and water show the Chinese influence in the style.

sometimes breaking up into foam. Fish and other marine animals, real or mythical, are shown between these wave. According to Marie-Henryane Ganonet and Jacques Népote, this technique was influenced by Chinese (picture 49).[117]

The artist applied many colors for the vegetation but most of them were green. The two methods of representing foliage were employed: the application of a mass of deep green or the superimposition of a light green upon a background of a darker green. The play between the bright light and dark colors creates an effect of depth. In some places, for instance, the painting at the temple of the Emerald Buddha and Wat Kampong Tralach Krom (Kampong Chnang), destroyed during the Khmer Rouge Regime, the artists are also concerned with the naturalism; they carefully outlined the details of trunks, branches, stalks, and even leaves, which were characteristic of the particular tree being painted. In some part of the landscape, one can see the western perspective, a vanishing point on the horizon, being employed, for instance the temple

[117] Marie-Henryane Gamonet and Jacques Népote, "Introduction aux Peintures du Ramayan de Vat Bo, la Chapelle des Gouverneurs de Siem Reap," pp. 25-26.

of the Emerald Buddha and Wat Kampong Tralach Krom. The introduction of the perspective, according to Jacqueline and Guy Nafilyan, was not direct from French, but it was indirect through the Thai influence on the Cambodian artist.[118] Rocks are treated with great imagination. Generally steep, with high ridges and furrows, they exist in the various landscapes along with vegetation. In the mural of Wat Catudis, There is the depiction of the twisted forms of trees and shrubs growing on a group of rocks. Such landscape is evidence of the influence of Chinese art (picture 50). In Thai, the same treatment of landscape appeared toward the end of the Ayutthaya period and into the Ratanakosin period, in lacquered works as well as in murals.[119] Since this kind of scenery was rarely shown in the Cambodian painting, we do not know for sure, therefore, that the Cambodian artist was familiar with the Chinese technique through the Thai painting or through the model, for instance, on books or Chinese ceramic or decorative screens, which existed in Cambodia during that time. Nevertheless, one should not be surprised to find in Cambodian painting the Chinese architectures, Chinese merchants in the market and Chinese people participating in any activities. In Cambodia, there have been relations with Chinese, regardless of trade or diplomatic relationships, which goes back to the Angkorian period, probably earlier than this, as described in Zhou Daguan's record.[120] Chinese immigration continuously flows into Cambodia even today. At the end of 19th century, they occupied some part of Cambodian economy and by means of money took part in construction of some religious buildings.[121] This comes to explain how the Chinese images had been expressed in the Cambodian painting (picture 51).

[118] Jacqueline and Guy Nafilyan, Peintures Murales des Monastères Bouddhiques au Cambodge, p. 70.

[119] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 232; and also see Elizabeth Lyons, Thai Traditional Painting, p. 15; Elizabeth Lyons, "A Note on Thai Painting," p. 170.

[120] See Zhou Daguan, A Record of Cambodia: The Land and Its People, pp. 70-71.

[121] Jacqueline and Guy Nafilyan, Peintures Murales des Monastères Bouddhiques au Cambodge, pp. 66-67.

Picture 50 Twisted form of trees growing from among steep and furrowed rocks show the Chinese influence. Mural painting, Wat Catudis, Kandal, late 19th century.[122]

Picture 51 The mural shows a Chinese merchant buying a forest animal from a Khmer hunter, mural painting, Wat Bo, Siem Reap, late 19th - early 20th centuries.

As we could see from the discussion above, although those murals were painted with different stories, by different artists and in different locations, the characteristic of the painting style, particularly the clothes and ornamentation of the character, is almost the same. Their trait is completely different from *Gaṃnūr Purān* "Ancient Painting," yet it is identical with the Thai painting. Although it looks like the Cambodian classical dance, the main preliminary source of inspiration was certainly influenced by the Thai

[122] This picture taken from Jacqueline and Guy Nafilyan, Peintures Murales des Monastères Bouddhiques au Cambodge, p. 75.

painting. As note earlier, after the falling of Angkor in the end of 14th and early 15th century the Thai hegemony was gradually dominated on the Cambodian society and it became more powerful by the 18th and 19th century. The most famous Khmer artist, monks[123], and princes had stayed and studied their professions in Bangkok; therefore, when they came back they applied to Cambodia the techniques of the Thai painting.[124] Another key factor came from the changing of the geographic location; for instance, Battambang and Siem Reap were under the authority of Bangkok for more than a century (1794-1907). During this time, Thai implied the presence of craftsmen and materials from Bangkok. Thus, the painting of the monasteries of these areas was strongly marked by Thai art. In the Siem Reap area, a local source of inspiration was the shadow theatre which was renowned in this province and had been added to the painting; the painting of Wat Bo is a good example. Last but not least, the Cambodian artists imitated models of iconographies on paper manuscripts or handbooks, which had been brought from Thailand.[125]

As pointed out above, this style of painting was called by Ukñā Tep Nimit Mak and his colleague, perhaps including their pupils and simultaneous artists, *Gaṃnūr Paepthmī* or *Gaṃnūr Samay* "Modern Drawing." Nevertheless, later on about 1940s when the Western painting was introduced into the School of Cambodian Arts by a Japanese professor, Suzuki, who had been studied his painting in Frace, [126] the artists turned to call it *Gaṃnūr Purān* "Ancient Painting" or "Traditional Painting" until recently. At the same time, they call the Western painting, which was just introduced in to Cambodia, that *Gaṃnūr Samay* "Modern Painting." It means that the "Modern

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[123] Monks were also the key person who had brought the Thai influence to Cambodia because the artists then were often monks.

[124] Madeleine Giteau, Iconographie du Cambodge Post-Angorien, p. 40; Touch Chhoung, Battambang Samaiy Lok Machas (Battambang during the Time of the Lord Governor), (Hawaii: East-West Centre, 1994), pp. 159-60; Anne Hansen, "Khmer Identity and Theravāda Buddhism," History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia, John Maston and Elizabeth Guthrie (ed.) (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2004), p. 55; Jacqueline and Guy Nafilyan, Peintures Murales des Monastères Bouddhiques au Cambodge, p. 66.

[125] Jacqueline and Guy Nafilyan, Peintures Murales des Monastères Bouddhiques au Cambodge, pp. 65-66; Bernard Dupaigne and Khing Hoc Dy, "Les Plus Anciennes Peintures datées du Cambodge: Quatorze Épisodes du Vessantara Jātaka (1877)," Arts Asiatiques, Tome XXXVI (Paris: EFEO), p. 27.

[126] Actually, Khmer was familiar with the Western painting through the French protectorate (1863-1953) before the arriving of Suzuki. For detail see Reyum, The Culture of Independence (Phnom Penh, 2000); Ingrid Muan, Citing Angkor: The "Cambodian Arts" in the Age of Restoration 1918-2000 (A Ph. D dissertation, Columbia University, 2001); San Phalla, Kamnur Nautam Wat (Mural Painting on Buddhist Monasteries).

Painting" will become the "Ancient Painting" or "Traditional Painting" when there is another new style of painting being introduced.

Since the Western painting has been introduced into Cambodia, the Traditional Painting has gradually lost its popularity. The Buddhist monasteries, which had been decorated with the Traditional Painting,[127] are now executed with the Modern Painting instead. Recently, Traditional Painting still exists in the academic curriculum to be taught in the Cambodian Fine Arts School and some Non Government Organizations which work on arts and culture only.

[127] According to my survey on the mural paintings in the Cambodian monasteries, there is no traditional painting being executed in Buddhist temples from 1950s onward.

CHAPTER V

A COMPARISON OF THE REAMKER MURAL PAINTING AND THE RAMAKIEN MURAL PAINTING

This chapter, which focuses mainly on a comparison of the Reamker mural painting and the Ramakien mural painting, will be divided into five parts. The first part deals with the comparison of the general compositional organization of the mural paintings in both royal temples. The comparison of painted episodes from the beginning to the end is offered in the second part. The third part is devoted to the comparison of presentations of episodes in the mural paintings. The comparison of iconography provides in the forth part, while the fifth part gives the comparison of architectures and landscapes.

5.1 General Compositional Organization

The Ramakien mural paintings along the galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in the Grand Palace of Thailand are divided into 178 sections, referred to as rooms in Thai. The story, panel number 1, commences from the right side of the northern gate, Viharn Yord Gate, then continuously proceeding around by following a clock-wise direction, and ends at the left of the same gate, in panel 178. These 178 panels, understood as the main murals, are preceded by another 80 paintings comprising the stories of Nārāyaṇa's incarnation before his descent to earth as Rāma, and the origins of various other principal characters from the Ramakien painted on pillars and corridors leading in from the entrances.[1] Among them there are a few numbers of stories that are difficult to identify.[2] Interestingly, the early parts of the story, which describe King Daśaratha's consort giving a birth to Rāma as well as Rāvaṇa's wife delivering Sītā and her adoption by the hermit Janaka, are not illustrated in the main murals but on the side panels.

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[1] Naengnoi Suksri, The Grand Palace (Bangkok: River Books, 1998), p. 28.

[2] These stories were painted on the corner corridor of east gallery opposite the northern Golden Chedi. I could not find any books or documents related to them; so it might be that these stories are unknown to Thai researchers as well.

Although the paintings are separated into panels, the episodes are continuously depicted within a single panel from the beginning to the end. However, the muralist was keen enough in separating the main scenes from one another by using the devices like vegetation and boulders as well as water. This method was not just created but has been around since the end of the Ayutthaya period. From my observation, the wall surface is composed of three portions: the lower, central and upper. A remark about the composition should be made here. The lower part represents the folk-life, often having nothing to do with the main story but its humorous comic element could make visitors delighted and release the tension from the alternative viewing of war scenes; such a scene is quite popular within Thai religious paintings. The processions of troops going for or coming back from the battles are sometimes executed here as well. This portion is ceremonial in the presentation of the procession of Rāvaṇa and Indrajit's remains moving to the crematorium. The main episode at the central part sometimes occupies both the foreground and background as well, for instance, the scene of king Janaka plowing the field to find Sītā, the scene of Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā, the scene of Rāma's army building the causeway to Laṅkā, etc.

The central portion on the other hand presents the main themes of the epic and most episodes that have been selected for illustration here always take place in the city, which is symbolized by the tremendous palace complex.[3] These palace complexes sit close to each other and they are separated by means of foliages and rocks or a river. They occupy almost all the vertical wall surface. A small number of episodes from battles, protagonists wandering in forest, hermits' life, and royal encampments are occasionally displayed here as well.

Since the Western perspective has been employed, the pictures at the upper part become smaller and blurrier creating the effect of a broadened sphere of landscape. This portion decorates the landscape with forests, mountains, rocks, rivers and wild animals. With wonderful scenery, the highland people or farmer make their living from the natural resources such as hunting, fishing and gathering. Here, the majority of battles also take place. Other than this, there sometimes exists other cities, hermitages and

[3] Either the Thai Palace Mural or the Cambodian Palace Mural, a palace or temple complex symbolizes the city.

ordinary folk dwellings as well. Frequently, Rāma's army camp is situated here. It seems that the central and lower portion serve as urban zone while the upper part serves as rural area or forestry.

The organization of the painting here was probably a common tradition of the Thai murals. As Suphadradis Diskul and Charles S. Rice point out:

> In Thai religious paintings, the central portion is always occupied by the religious theme. However, in the lower part and sometimes the upper as well, folk-life is represented, often having nothing to do with the main story.[4]

However, it seems to me that the composition here was not well organized due to the fact that some important episodes are present at the upper part and their figures are too small and unclear to identify, while the lesser important scenes are illustrated finely and clearly at the central portion.

As for the Reamker mural paintings along the galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in the Royal Palace of Cambodia they are not divided into sections (or rooms) as the Thai Palace Mural. Nonetheless, they could be separated.[5] The story starts from the right side of the eastern gate continuously stretching around by following a clock-wise direction and finishes at the left side of the same gate. Such composition can be also seen throughout the Cambodian Buddhist monasteries.

The episodes are continuously depicted within a single panel from the beginning to the end. Like the Thai Palace Mural, the main scenes are separated from one another by vegetations and boulders or occasionally a river. The vertical wall surface can be also separated into three portions, the lower, the central and the upper. The lower part displays the daily life of people and also some main episodes such as battle scenes, processions of soldiers, protagonists wandering in forest, hermits' life and hermitages.

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[4] Subhandradis Diskul and Charles S. Rice, The Ramakian [Rāmāyana] Mural Paintings along the Galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, first page of the brief history of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha...(Note: this book has no page numbers, so references will be to its content).

[5] To conveniently make comparisons of the episodes between the Cambodian Palace Mural and the Thai Palace Mural, in the next part, I will divide the entire mural into small panels.

Sometimes, there exist army' s encampments sited in this portion, for instance, Bharata and Śatrughna during their campaign in battle with the demon Kambandhabhanurāja/ Khonthannuraj also have their military camp settle here. Regrettably, this part has nearly faded away recently.

Almost all palace complexes and Rāma's army encampments occupy the central portion more than the other. From one palace complex or soldier's campsite to another they are filled up with one or two other scenes, for example, warfare scenes, military processions, the wandering of princes and monkeys in the forest and hermits' life. Sometimes, folk-life can be found here as well. Thus, the central portion is not extremely distinctive from the lower part.

The upper part is filled with dry and flavorless landscape. It is probably because of the use of the perspective technique from European was unfamiliar to the Cambodian muralist at the time of composition. The scenery is composed of huge trees, rocky mountains, wild animals and birds. All these elements appear quite close to viewers. Flying demons and monkeys as well as the combat scenes in air, occasionally, take place here, for instance, the combat between Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyu when Rāvaṇa abducts Sītā; monkey commanders fighting Vaiyobhakkha/Asura Vāyubaktra for taking Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa back.

Painting Captions

In the Thai Palace Mural, the 178 sections of the Ramakien have the explanation of the story written in Thai underneath, while poems composed in the reign of King Chulalongkorn are carved on marble slabs attached to pillars supporting the roof of the galleries. Religious paintings include a short explanatory caption, according to Marie Gamonet, that seems to be a tradition throughout Southeast Asia.[6] The captions, of course, facilitate the visitor's understanding of the story considerably, although they are quite brief. Today, such religious stories are learned from television or movies or books; yet in pre-modern times there were no such aids to help the people to absorb such

[6] Marie Gamonet, "The Ramayana Paintings in Wat Bo, Siem Reap," p. 172.

religious stories. Thus, from early time communities resorted to having pictures painted on the walls along with captions of public buildings, where people could see them and learn from them.

Like the Thai Palace Mural and other Southeast Asia religious murals, one can identify episodes in the Cambodian Palace Mural by their captions written beneath each episode. According to Kak Chanthat, there are 511 captions.[7] Regrettably, most of them including the mural are being gradually eroded by the weather and micro-organisms because of poor conservation.

The main story of Thai Palace Mural starts from the right side of the northern gate then continuously proceeding around and ends at the left of the same gate. One might wonder why the story starts from the northern gate since it is a lesser important gate in comparison to the main gate in the east? As noted earlier, the mural paintings followed the Ramakien version composed by King Rama I. Although the paintings were repainted in the King Rama III's reign and have been many times restored, most of episodes, if not all, probably remain the same as before (the mural in the time of King Rama I). If so, the beginning of the story perhaps starts from the main eastern gate, not from the northern gate, because, according to the Ramakien version by Rama I, the story begins with the episode of Nārāyaṇa's incarnation as a boar to kill a demon called Hiran.[8] This narration is depicted on the side panel of the eastern gate and it is followed by subsequent stories of Nārāyaṇa's incarnations and the births of various principal characters found in the Rama I's version. The story on the side panel ends at the northern gate, which are the births of Rāma and Sītā and the next episode is transferred to the main panel, which is hermit Janaka plowing the field to find Sītā. On the other hand, the muralist had these episodes painted at the side panels and are not related to important or less important episodes, but it does relate to the earthly and heavenly. In human belief, the heaven always stay above the earth. Since these episodes depict the

[7] See Kak Chanthat, Kamnou Boran Rioeng Reamker Nov Thaev Prah Vihear Prah Keo Morakot (Prah Barom Reachvaeng) (Reamker Traditional Painting along Galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in the Royal Palace), pp. 93-161.

[8] This demon name does not exist in the Reamker mural painting's caption.

life of heavenly beings, it is no doubt that the muralist illustrated them at the high level of the side panels which represent the heavenly realm.

If so, the composition of the Thai Palace Mural seems to agree with the Cambodian Palace Mural, which the story starts from the eastern gate of the galleries. However, they still have a slight difference, which is the last point of the painted story. The painted narrative of the Thai Palace Mural ends at the northern gate, while the Cambodian Palace Mural finishes it at the eastern gate. Again, the Thai and Cambodian Palace Murals still keep the same ancient tradition, which is the depiction of the story by following clock-wise direction, "Pradaksina." In Hindu tradition the "Pradaksina" is a procession to honor the deity by proceeding with a circumambulation following a clock-wise direction. It is an important part of temple's activity and the movement of worshipers take place, in general, in the most open and public part of the temple.[9] This tradition has probably been diffused in Southeast Asian countries since the time they adopted Indian civilization, regardless of whether it was directly or indirectly. In Cambodia and Thailand, although Theravada Buddhism played very important role as their state religion, the tradition is still visible. Interestingly, the tradition is not employed, now, in Hindu context anymore but in the Buddhist context. This should not be surprising because in Southeast Asia Hinduism and Buddhism have been intermingled since the beginning of the Indian cultural propagation. Thus, the similarity of the compositional organization does not mean that the Cambodian Palace Mural adopted it from the Thai Palace Mural but the tradition has embedded in Cambodia since ancient times.

Although the organization of composition for the vertical wall surface were influenced by the Thai Palace Mural, the detail of elements is to some extent different due to the fact that each artist always has his own context and style as well as his own local source of inspiration. Thus, they added to, removed from or otherwise modified it presumably in accordance with their preferences and knowledge. As we can see, unlike the Thai Palace Mural, the lower part of the Cambodian Palace Mural not only displays the daily life of people and the procession of the troops but also some main episodes

[9] Vittorio Roveda, Sacred Angkor: The Carved Reliefs of Angkor Wat (Bangkok: River Books, Undate. 2002?), p. 80; Madeleine Giteau, History of Angkor (Paris: Kailash Editions, 1997), p. 66.

such as battle scenes, protagonists wandering in forest, hermits' life and army's encampments. By contrast, the presentations of the ceremonial procession of dead bodies in the Thai Palace Mural do not exist in the Cambodian Palace Mural.

The central part of the Thai Palace Mural on the other hand mostly is occupied by the palace complexes. These palace complexes sit close to each other and they are separated by means of foliages and rocks or a river. However, the Cambodian Palace Mural, apart from the palace complexes, illustrates Rāma's army encampments. From one palace complex or soldier's campsite to the other, it is filled up with one or two other scenes, for example, warfare scenes, military processions, the wandering of princes and monkeys in the forest or hermits' life.

Furthermore, the upper part of the Thai Palace Mural shows the beautiful and brilliant landscape by employing a three-dimensional perspective and vanishing point that create distance and spatial scenery. The broad landscape consists of wild animals, folk-life and their dwellings, battle scenes, cities, hermitage, Rāma's army camps. This presentation is completely different from the Cambodian Palace Mural. Since the domination of Western technique was not strong as that in the Thai Palace Mural, the landscape is modest and all elements appear quite close to visitors. Here only wild animals, birds and a few combat scenes are shown.

5.2 The Painted Episodes

In this part, I will make a comparison of the episodes that have been selected for paintings in the Cambodian Royal Palace and the Thai Grand Palace. The comparison attempts to find out to what extent that the painted episodes in the Reamker Mural Painting in the Royal Palace of Cambodia follow the episodes in the Ramakien Mural Painting in the Grand Palace of Thailand. Nevertheless, since the episodes of the Cambodian Palace Mural were not taken from the only one source, I have to look more to other sources, particularly the Reamker version which was published by the Buddhist Institute[10] and the Ramkien version written by King Rama I[11]. Here, the representation of the episodes of the Cambodian Palace Mural will be a little more fully treated since it is the principal subject in this thesis, which attempts to explore the sources that the Cambodian Palace Mural follows. The rest may be dismissed in a few words.

To provide easier understanding, I will divide the entire representation of the Cambodian Palace Mural into small panels like the Thai Palace Mural and each panel will be numbered. The length of each panel is unequal from one to another. It depends on the number of episodes and their importance, for instance, the panel showing Rāma's army constructing the causeway to the island of Laṅkā is three or four times bigger than the usual panel. The classification of the number of episodes into a panel is inspired by the Reamker version written by Thiounn.[12] Nevertheless, the distinction is unavoidable. In my classification I add to or remove from the Thiounn's classification when I find out that it is not available or related to the painting. Another distinction is that Thiounn numbers his classification of episodes by following the chronology of the story, but my classification numbers will keep following the subsequent presentation of the mural since the muralist sometimes executed the last incident prior to the earlier one.

[10] There is another similar work of Reamker being compiled by Pou Saveros. However, I decided to choose the Reamker version of the Buddhist Institute since readers are more familiar with it than Saveros's compilation. Thus, throughout this thesis whenever I use "Reamker Text," it refers to Buddhist Institute Version.

[11] Throughout this thesis the terms "Ramakien Text," refer to King Rama I's version.

[12] Thiounn was the Minister of the Cambodian Royal Palace. In 1903, he composed the Reamker story in conjunction with the Reamker mural paintings along the galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in the Royal Palace in Phnom Penh.

In this thesis, the Sanskrit name will be used for some main characters and places. However, both Khmer and Thai names will be provided if the Sanskrit name does not exist. The Khmer name will be put before the Thai name and they are separated by slash symbol (/). For the Cambodian side I will follow Thiounn's version. As for the Thai side I will follow the names in list of characters by King Vajiravudh (Rama VI) in his article entitle "Notes on the Siamese Theatre"[13] because it is more precise than the others.

As mentioned early, the Cambodian Reamker Text is incomplete. The first segment, numbered 1-10, starts from Rāma killing the ogre Kākanāsūra, who, in the form of a crow, has destroyed Viśvāmitra's sacrifice and finishes at Rāvaṇa sending messengers to ask his friend, Mūlbalaṃ, to bring reinforcements. The second segment, numbered 75-80, begins with the ogress Ātulay/Atura Pisāch, Rāvaṇa's relative, coming to trick Sītā to draw a portrait of Rāvaṇa and ends with Sītā descending to the subterranean realm. Rāma then writes a message and sends it to Bibhek at the city of Laṅkā. I will categorize, therefore, the entire comparison into three parts: first part is conducted from the starting point of the painted story to the presentation of Rāvaṇa sending messengers to ask his friend, Mūlabalaṃ, to bring reinforcements. The other part starts from when Mūlabalaṃ comes to Laṅkā to the ogress Ātulay/Atura Pisāch asks Sītā to draw a portrait of Rāvaṇa. The last part begins from this point to Bharata, Śatrughna, Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ, Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava and the King of Kaikēya go with their troops to pay homage to Rāma in the city of Ayodhyā.

In this comparison, if the same episode has been depicted in both Cambodian and Thai Palace Mural, I will provide the summary of that scene. Nevertheless, I will give a detailed explanation if a different episode has been presented. In every scene I will put the panel number before or after it. Please keep in mind that the panel number belongs to the Cambodian Palace Mural only; it is not equivalent to the panel number of the Thai Palace Mural. From one panel to another it is separated by a semicolon.

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[13] Mahā Vajirāvudh, "Notes on the Siamese Theatre," The Siamese Theatre: Collection of Reprints from Journal of Siam Society (Bangkok, 1975).

5.2.1 The First Part

In the Thai Palace Mural, in addition to the real story of Ramakien, there are murals relating to episodes of Nārāyaṇa's story before his reincarnation as Rāma; the origin of the Rāma dynasty commencing with the foundation of the town of Ayodhyā; the birth of Rāvaṇa which is the story of Nontok[14] who died in order to be reborn as Rāvaṇa; the birth of Mandodarī who later becomes Rāvaṇa's consort; the birth of Aṅgada the son of Vālin and Mandodarī; the origin of the monkey race with the birth of Vālin, Sugrīva and Hanumān; later, five hermits perform a ceremony to ask for the sons of Daśaratha, then there appear four lumps of divine rice; Mandodarī who lives with Rāvaṇa in the town of Laṅkā smells of the fragrance and asks her husband to find out the source. Rāvaṇa's cousin Kākanāsūra transforms herself into a crow and takes half of one lump for Mandodarī; later, the three queens of Daśaratha give birth to four sons: Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna; Mandodarī also gives birth to a daughter, Sītā, but Bibhek, Rāvaṇa's younger brother, predicts that she will destroy the demon race. Thus, Sītā is put in a bowl and set adrift on the ocean until found by the hermit Janaka, who is the king of Mithilā.

These episodes are executed on the columns and the walls leading from the gates excluding from the main mural which is illustrated along the galleries. Among them only the last two episodes that appear in the Cambodian Palace Mural: Mandodarī gives birth to Sītā, but Bibhek predicts that she will destroy the demon race. Thus, Sītā is put in a bowl and set adrift on the ocean; Sītā then is adopted by the hermit Janaka.

The main episode of the Thai Palace Mural commences with King Janaka plowing the field to find Sītā and then he gives up the hermit life to return to Mithilā with his adopted daughter, Sītā, and is accompanied by his royal household officials.

Nevertheless, the story of the Cambodian Palace Mural – if we exclude the murals of Nārāyaṇa's story and the origin of the principal protagonists on pillars and

[14] The name of this demon is not available in the Thiounn's version, but it can be found in Ta Chak version, the demon is called "Nandaka-akaṅkhamāsūr," and he is called "Āgaṃṇigamārasūr" in Ta Soy version.

corridors – starts a bit earlier than the Thai Palace Mural. It begins with the ruler of Ayodhyā, King Daśaratha, sending his four princes, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna, to study with hermits (1); then it follows the four princes studying with hermits and convincing that the four princes have finished their studies, the hermits then lead them back to the city of Ayodhyā. At that time, the father of Queen Kaikēyī, who was King of the city of Kaikēya, sends a royal messenger asking that Bharata and Śatrughna be sent to reign over his city. Then the two princes depart to Kaikēya (2); King Kaikēya prepares the coronation ceremony for Bharata and Śatrughna when they arrive in the city of Kaikēya (3).

These three episodes are existed in neither the Reamker Text nor the Thai Palace Mural. They are taken from the Ramakien Text.

Panel number 4 illustrates King Janaka and his attendant finding a baby girl who is floating in the river. Because the hermit king does not know how to take care of a baby, he puts the girl back in the trunk and buries it. Chronologically, this episode should be executed after the panel number 5 which presenting Daśaratha's consort, Mandodarī, delivers a baby, Sītā. After Sītā's birth, it is predicted that she would be the cause of the destruction of the town Laṅkā. Therefore, Rāvaṇa orders a servant to take a baby girl, put her in a trunk, and throw in the river.

These episodes do not appear in the Reamker Text; they are taken from the Thai Palace Mural but in the Thai Palace Mural the episodes are executed on the wall leading from the north gate, not on the main murals.

In the next representation, the demon king sends Kākanāsūra, in the form of crow, to peck at the hermits and chase them away. The hermits decide to send Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra to go and ask for help from Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (6); when Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa come to the forest they shoot arrows killing Kākanāsūra. Then Svāhuḥ/Svāhu and Mahārīk/Mārich come to take revenge on the two brothers but Svāhuḥ/Svāhu is killed except Mahārīk/Mārich running off to the Laṅkā (7).

The presentation of the killing ogre Kākanāsūra is distinctive from the Reamker Text. In the Reamker Text, it is only Viśvāmitra who goes to ask for help from Rāma Lakṣmaṇa. In addition, the illustration of the battle between the two princes and Svāhuḥ/Svāhu and Mahārīk/Mārich is not mentioned in the Reamker Text as well. On the other hand, these two scenes are not executed in the Thai Palace Mural. Thus, they are taken from the Ramakien Text.

The way that Janaka finds Sītā is also different from the Reamker Text. After burying the trunk with the baby for sixteen years, Janaka decides to go and find it. Since he has forgotten where he has buried the trunk, Janaka takes Usabharāja, the holly bull of Śiva, to plough the ground and look for it. When he finds the trunk and opens it, he discovers that the girl inside has grown into extremely beautiful virgin whom Janaka names Sītā (8). Yet, in the Reamker Text, Janaka finds Sītā adrift while he holds the royal plowing ceremony without telling why Sītā is here. The similar presentation can be found in the Thai Palace Mural, but the way that Cambodian muralist expresses the narration is different from the Thai Palace Mural. The Cambodian Palace Mural shows Janaka employing the bull Usabharāja assist searching for Sītā while the Thai Palace Mural illustrates Janaka plowing for the discovery of Sītā.

Coming next, panel number 9, is the representation of the bow contest. King Janaka announces that whoever is clever and strong enough to lift the bow would be given Sītā as his Queen. The hermit Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra lead Rāma to try to lift the bow which he did easily. King Janaka then prepares the wedding of Rāma and Sītā. In the Thai Palace Mural, however, the scene of the bow contest and the marriage of Rāma and Sītā are separately executed. In addition, previous to the illustration of the bow contest, there exist three more scenes: King Janaka assembles with his royal court officials to decide in finding a husband for Sītā; King Janaka sends messengers to invite various kings to joint in lifting the heavy bow; Sītā and Rāma look at each other before the test of lifting the bow. Prior to the marriage of Rāma and Sītā scene, there are two other depictions such as Bharata and Śatrughna take leave of King Kaikēya to return to the town of Ayodhyā; Bharata and Śatrughna ask for permission to go and join Rāma's wedding in the town of Mithilā.

Thus, the representation of the bow contest in the Cambodian Place Mural was not taken from the Thai Palace Mural, but it followed the Ramakien Text.

After the marriage of Rāma and Sītā, both Cambodian and Thai Palace Murals share the same illustration which is the depiction of the quarrel between Rāma and Rāma-isūra/Rāma-Sura on the way back to Ayodhyā (10). However, the Cambodian Place Mural was perhaps adopted this episode from the Reamker Text rather than from the Thai Palace Mural due to the fact that the Thai Palace Mural depicts Rāma with four arms like Visṇu when he receives the bow from Rāma-isūra/Rāma-Sura, while the Cambodian Palace Mural presents Rāma in proper manner.

In the Cambodian Palace Mural, the story of Kaikēyī – the second Queen of King Daśaratha, asked the king to give his kingdom to Bharata which caused Rāma to bid his parents farewell for going to become a hermit in the forest[15] (11) – comes prior to the scenes of the water buffalo, Dundubhi, kills his father, Darabhā (12); later, Dundubhi is slain by Vālin, the monkey king. Vālin beats and banishes his brother, Sugrīva (13).

The arrangement from panel 11 to 13 is contrary to the Thai Palace Mural but seemingly harmonizes with the Reamker Text. In the Thai Palace Mural, the depiction of Dundubhi killing his father Darabhā and Vālin executing Dundubhi and banishing his brother, Sugrīva, from the town of Kiṣkindhya come before the presentation of Queen Kaikēyī asking Daśaratha to give Bharata the throne. Besides, there are a number of scenes that do not exist in Cambodian Palace Mural such as Dundubhi challenges to god Śiva; Dundubhi challenges Vālin at Kiṣkindhya; a hunchback maid persuades Kaikēyī to deprive Rāma of his throne; Bharata threatens to kill his mother, Kaikēyī, as being the cause of King Daśaratha's death owing to his grief over Rāma's banishment; The cremation of King Daśaratha's remains. Queen Kaikēyī and Bharata are forbidden to attend the ceremony.

[15] According to the story, when this incident occurred, Bharata and Śatrughna are not staying in Ayodhyā but in the painting we see Bharata and Śatrughna sitting behind Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa while Kaikēyī asks for throne for Bharata. The distinction probably comes from muralist's misunderstanding or another Reamker version that is unknown to us.

Afterward, the depictions of panel 14 and 15 are related to the Thai Palace Mural: Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā meet a hunter called Kūkhan and they ask Kūkhan to help them cross the river. On the other bank, they meet a hermit who tells them the way to an ashram where they can stay. At that time, the three Queens of King Daśaratha and along with Bharata and Śatrughna come to invite Rāma to return to Ayodhyā but Rāma refuses; the three princes meet a demon called Virādha who wants to fight for Sītā. Rāma shoots arrows, killing this demon.

The Ramakien Text narrates that after killing Virādha, Rāma's party stops to rest, sending Lakṣmaṇa to pick fruit in the forest. He suddenly sees a sword which he picks up. An ogre called Kumbakās comes and says that the sword is his. Lakṣmaṇa and the demon begin to fight, and Lakṣmaṇa kills Kumbakās. Lakṣmaṇa then takes the sword and offers it to Rāma in homage. This episode is executed in the Cambodian Palace Mural in panel 16 but it has not been present in the Thai Palace Mural. Together in this panel, there exists another episode depicting Rāma's party meeting the goddess called Saurī/Sauvarī whom Śiva has punished by making her guard an eternal flame. Rāma pities her, and therefore shoots an arrow putting out the fire, thus freeing the Saurī/Sauvarī to return to Kailāsa Heaven. This episode has not been mentioned in either the Reamker Text or the Ramakien Text. It is probably followed another Reamker version which is unknown to us. The Thai Palace Mural, instead of executing the episode of Lakṣmaṇa killing Kumbakās/Kumbha-kās, shows another scene, Rāvaṇa killing Jiuha[16], his brother-in-law, that has not been rendered in the Cambodian Palace Mural.

Next, from panel 17 to 21, both the Cambodian and Thai Palace Murals show the same episodes: Sūrpaṇakhā, Rāvaṇa's younger sister, goes out into the forest and tries to woo either Rāma or Lakṣmaṇa. When they refuse her advances, she becomes furious. She tries to hit Sītā. Lakṣmaṇa, in order to punish the ogress, cuts off her nose and ears. Sūrpaṇakhā complains to her brother (17); Sūrpaṇakhā's brothers, Khara, Bañātū[17]/Dūṣaṇa and Trīsira, come one after another to fight with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa

[16] The demon is not existed in the Cambodian Palace Mural or other Cambodian sources.

[17] This demon's name is not existed in Thiounn text, so I use the name from the Cambodian Palace Mural's caption.

but they are subsequently put to death. Sūrpaṇakhā then goes to tell Rāvaṇa about Sītā's beauty (18); Rāvaṇa asks Maharīk/Mārich to disguise himself as a golden deer in order to attract Sītā. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa follow the deer, and Rāvaṇa, disguised as a hermit, abducts Sītā. In the sky, they meet a bird called Jaṭāyu who fights Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa pulls a ring from Sītā's fingers and hurls it at the bird, breaking his wing and wounding the bird so badly that it falls to the ground (19); Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa try to follow Sītā. Jaṭāyu informs them about Sītā's abduction by Rāvaṇa. Then Jaṭāyu dies. Rāma shoots an arrow which cremates the body of Jaṭāyu. Later, along the way, Rāma meets a demon with face of a horse called Assamukhī/Akṣamūki. Rāma kills Assamukhī/Akṣamūki and continues on, meeting a giant called Kambula/Kumbala who has been sent to earth as punishment. Rāma frees him by killing him, allowing him to return to heaven (20); Hanumā meets Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and offers to be their ally. Hanumā then brings Sugrīva to meet Rāma. With Rāma's help, Sugrīva fights against his brother, Vālin. Vālin realizes that Rāma is an incarnation of Visṇu. Vālin had once given an oath to Visṇu not to take a maiden that Śiva had given to Sugrīva as his wife. Vālin broke that oath and now realizes that he must die as punishment (21).

After the death of Vālin, the Thai Palace Mural presents the scene of Rāma arranging the cremation of the remains of Vālin; Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa giving up hermit life and divinities coming to offer them laic clothing. This scene has not been illustrated in the Cambodian Palace Mural.

The stories of panel 22 and 23 vary from the Thai Palace Mural. In the Cambodian Palace Mural, Hanumān and Aṅgada are sent to invite MahāJambū, another monkey king, to be Rāma's ally (22); when they meet MahāJambū, they act insolently and do not show the proper respect. MahāJambū is very angry and he puts the two monkeys in an iron cage. During the night, Hanumān and Aṅgada tear apart this cage and fly upwards to knock the tower off of MahāJambū's palace. The two monkeys lift up the bed on which MahāJambū is sleeping, and fly with it to pay homage to Rāma (23). Nevertheless, in the Thai Palace Mural the companion, who goes with Hanumān to meet MahāJambū, is Sugrīva not Aṅgada. In addition, both Hanumān and Sugrīva are not arrested and put in an iron cage as in the Cambodian Palace Mural. These two

scenes, which are depicted in the Cambodian Palace Mural, correspond to the Reamker Text. Thus, it could be concluded that the episodes, undoubtedly, are taken from the Reamker Text.

Subsequently, the selected episodes from panel 24 to 32 in the Cambodian Palace Mural are comparable with the Thai Palace Mural: Rāma sends Hanumān, Aṅgada and Jambūbān to search for Sītā and to find the way to Laṅkā (24); on their way to find Sītā, the three monkey soldiers and their army meet a monster, Āsopākklān/ Paklan, who was originally a divinity but was cursed by Indra. They send him back to heaven (25); Hanumān sends a nymph, Butmālī/Butsamalī, who was also cursed by Indra back to heaven. He then makes himself huge so that his tail forms a bridge on which all the monkeys can cross the sea (26); a bird, Sampāti, flies up in the air with Hanumān, Aṅgada and Jambūbān and shows them the way to the Luṅkā. The monkeys and their troops decide to wait on the shores of the sea while Hanumān flies alone to the island of Laṅkā. In the middle of the ocean, Hanumān meets a demon[18] whom he kills before continuing on to Laṅkā (27); Hanumān changes himself into the form of a tiny white monkey and goes to ask the hermit Ghobut/Gomuda (28); Rāvaṇa tries to woo Sītā, who is living in a garden outside the town of Laṅkā. Sītā tries to hang herself, but Hanumān saves her and gives her Rāma's ring (29); before Hanumān returns back, he destroys the garden of Asoka and Hanumān kills Sahassakumāra[19] (30); Hanumān is captured by Indrajit, Rāvaṇa's son, and he is punished in various ways (31); Hanumān finally tricks Rāvaṇa into believing that his death can only be caused by fire. Hanumān then burns the town of Laṅkā. Hanumān goes to ask a hermit to put the fire out on his tail. Hanumān then flies back to Aṅgada and Jambūbān and together they go to meet Rāma (32).

When Hanumān set fire to Laṅkā, the Thai Palace Mural shows Rāvaṇa and his relatives escape from the fire into the mountains, and Rāvaṇa invites divine beings to

[18] In the Cambodian Palace Mural, this demon is depicted as an ogre form while the Thai Palace Mural shows in ogress form.

[19] In the Cambodian Palace Mural, Sahassakumār is the name of one of Rāvaṇa's sons. This agrees with the Reamker Text rather than the Thai Palace Mural. In the Thai Palace Mural, Sahassakumār is referred to Rāvaṇa's thousand sons.

build him a new town. These two incidents have not been rendered in the Cambodian Palace Mural.

Coming next, panel 33, is slightly different from the Thai Palace Mural. The Cambodian Palace Mural shows Bibhek predicting Laṅkā's horoscope because Rāvaṇa learned that Rāma is coming with his troops while in the Thai Palace Mural Bibhek foresees Rāvaṇa's nightmares. However, both the Cambodian and Thai Palace Murals depict the same incident, which is Rāvaṇa beating and banishing Bibhek when hearing the prophecy that demon will lose the war.

The parallel episodes, again, can be seen from panel 34 to 38. It is the presentation of Bibhek being captured by Rāma's monkey soldiers and brought to Rāma. He asks to stay with Rāma and to see the strength of Rāma's army (35); then begins with Hanumān capturing Rāvaṇa's spy, Sukkhasāna/Sukrasāra. Rāvaṇa then changes his form into that of a hermit in order to go and spy among the troops of Rāma (36); then follows by Rāvaṇa asking his niece, Puññākāy/Benya-kāya, to transform herself into the image of Sītā. She then floats the stream to Rāma's camp to convince him that Sītā is dead (37); the stories go successively to Rāma going to bathe in the river. He finds Sītā's corpse floating in the water. Rāma grieves for his wife, but Hanumān asks permission to burn the body as proof. Puññākāy/Benya-kāya tries to escape, but Hanumān catches her. Rāma orders Hanumān to take her back to Laṅkā (38).

We should notice that after the scene of Rāvaṇa banishing Bibhek from Laṅkā, there appears in the Thai Palace Mural a representation of one of the stones, moved to show the strength of Rāma's army, falling in the city of Laṅkā. This has not been presented in the Cambodian Palace Mural.

Afterward, it is the presentation of the building of the causeway to Laṅkā (39). In this incident, the Thai Palace Mural is more elaborate than the Cambodian Palace Mural. In addition to the episode, Thai muralists add the depictions of Rāvaṇa instructing his daughter, Suvaṇṇamacchā, who is half human-half fish, to destroy the

causeway; Suvaṇṇamacchā gives birth to a son, Macchānubva, whose father is Hanumān. Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva, another demon who related to Rāvaṇa, finds the boy and raises him as his stepson; Hanumān kills a demon called Bhānurāj[20] who hid himself under the ground while Rāma's army crosses the ocean to Laṅkā. Nonetheless, together with the presentation of the construction of the causeway to Laṅkā, the Cambodian Palace Mural shows the incident of Hanumān playing chess with another monkey during the time of construction of the causeway. This incident has not been executed in the Thai Palace Mural or mentioned in the Ramakien Text. According to many distinctions, therefore, it could be concluded that the depiction of the building of the causeway to Laṅkā in the Cambodian Palace Mural was not taken from the Thai Palace Mural or the Ramakien Text. Interestingly, this incident has been found in the Reamker story of Ta Chak. As the story puts:

> Braḥ Nārāy(ṇ)rāmā (Rāma) orders the monkey army to continuously build the causeway .... Hanumān plays chess with his hands, while he uses his feet to catch the rock[21] ....

It should be noticed that after the scene of the construction of the causeway to Laṅkā, there are two incidents that have not appeared in the Thai Palace Mural but are found in the Ramakien Text, which are the depictions of Rāma's army, after crossing the ocean, building a royal encampment near the city of Laṅkā. Rāma then sends Hanumān to the Mārakaṭdh/Marakat Mountain (40); Hanumān kills a monster called Kumkāsūra/Kumbhāsura, Rāvaṇa's commander, while he arrives the Mārakaṭdh/ Marakat Mountain (41).

Subsequently, the showing of Rāma sending Aṅgada as his envoy to Rāvaṇa is to a certain extent distinct from the Thai Palace Mural. In this incident, the Cambodian Palace Mural illustrates it in three panels from 42 to 44. Firstly, Rāma sends Aṅgada to take a letter to Rāvaṇa. When he arrives at the city of Laṅkā, Rāvaṇa's Queen, Mandodarī, offers the monkey food since he is her son from her earlier union with Vālin. Aṅgada refuses to eat the food (42); thereafter coming with the presentation of

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[20] This name has not been existed in the Cambodian Palace Mural. However, in the Reamker story of Ta Chak, the demon is called "Kumbaṇḍ." See F. Bizot, Rioeng Reamker Nai Ta Chak (The Reamker Story of Ta Chak), p. 95.

[21] See F. Bizot, Rioeng Reamker Nai Ta Chak (The Reamker Story of Ta Chak), pp. 96-97.

Aṅgada reads the letter to Rāvaṇa by coiling his tail into a seat higher than the throne of Rāvaṇa. When hearing the letter, Rāvaṇa is furious and jumps up to slap Aṅgada's face, but Aṅgada also kicks Rāvaṇa so that he falls down to the ground. Aṅgada then flies off (43); lastly, on his way back to Rāma, Aṅgada kills four demons called Kaṃbāndha[22] (44).

Nonetheless, for the same event, the Thai Palace Mural shows only one panel, which is Aṅgada breaking the gate of town of Laṅkā and then coiling his tail into a seat to deliver Rāma's message.

The story in panel 45 was taken from the Thai Palace Mural; it is the representation of Sugrīva volunteering to destroy the many-tiered umbrella that Rāvaṇa set up in Laṅkā to block the sun from Rāma's army.

Thereafter, there is an episode called "Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva magically puts Rāma to sleep." The presentation of the episode is quite similar to the Thai Palace mural from a cursory look but it is different in detail. The story is executed from panel 46 to 54 and can be summarized: Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva is invited to help Rāvaṇa fight Rāma (46); He goes to the forest in order to make a sleeping potion with which to capture Rāma (47); Hanumān volunteers to guard Rāma from Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva by keeping Rāma's pavilion in his mouth. However, Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva succeeds in putting everyone to sleep (48); Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva takes Bibhek to leave at the Bhnaṃ Randaḥ (Thunderbolt Mountain), takes Lakṣmaṇa to leave at Bhnaṃ Bejra (Diamond Mountain) and takes Rāma to the region of Pātāla, Underworld Realm, where he puts him in a cage. Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva also catches Vaiyavet/Vayavik, his nephew, putting in a cage. Then Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva ordered water to be boiled in order to make a soup from his two captives (49); Hanumān goes to bring Bibhek and Lakṣmaṇa back and thereafter pursuing Rāma at Pātāla (50); when Hanumān comes to the region of Pātāla, he meets Macchānubva and the two begin to fight. Hanumān soon realizes that he is fighting his own son. The two stop fighting and Hanumān continues on. Hanuman met elephants and then Siṅha (mythical lion-like figure), fights and kills them

[22] This name is not found in the Thai Palace Mural.

all (51); Hanumān succeeds in entering Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva's town through the help of Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva's sister called Tārāghuon/Birākuan, whose son, Vaiyavet/ Vayavik, had been captured by her brother (52); Hanumān learns of Rāma's place of captivity from her and kills Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva (53); Hanumān then brings Rāma back to their encampment (54).

The structure and plot of the story is close to the Thai Palace Mural or The Ramakien Text. Nevertheless, there are two elements that can be distinguished between the Cambodian Palace Mural and the Thai Palace Mural or The Ramakien Text. The first distinction is the name of the new main protagonists such as Vaiyarāb(ṇ), Macchānubva, Tārāghuon and Vaiyavet, while in the Thai Palace Mural they are called Mayarāv, Macchānu, Birākuan and Vayavik. Another is the presentation of Vaiyarāb(ṇ) taking Bibhek to leave at the Bhnaṃ Randaḥ, Thunderbolt Mountain, and taking Lakṣmaṇa to leave at Bhnaṃ Bejra, Diamond Mountain. The two components have not appeared in the Reamker Text or the Thai Palace Mural or the Ramakien Text. Therefore, from where is the episode taken? As my observation shows, there are two related Reamker versions that are noteworthy to look into. First, the segment of the Reamker treatise entitled "Kāl Vaiyarāb(ṇ) Saṇtaṃ Yak Braḥ Rāma Pān" (Vaiyarāb(ṇ) magically puts Rāma to sleep). It is philologically dated in seventeen-eighteenth century.[23] The text inscribes:

> .... After Rāma's army going off to sleep, Vaiyarāb(ṇ) enters Hanumān's mouth, taken Bibhek out, and attempts to kill him but he is fearful to waist him the time. He then goes back to take Lakṣmṇa to leave at the driven route of the Braḥ Āditya, the Sun God, and takes Rāma, put in an iron cage, to Pātāla .... [24]

In addition, the name of the new principal protagonists have been employed in the text – for instance, Vaiyarāb(ṇ), Macchānu, Bhirāghuon and Vaiyavek.

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[23] Khing Hoc Dy, Sāstrā Rāmkert Kāl Vaiyarāb(ṇ) Saṇtaṃ Yak Braḥ Rāma Pān (Rāmkert Manuscrip: Vaiyarāb(ṇ) magically put Rāma to sleep), p. 6.

[24] Ibid., p. 13

Thus, according to the incident and the name of a demon called Vaiyarāb(ṇ) can be proved that the Cambodian Palace Mural, more or less, is more related to this treatise than the Thai Palace Mural.

Another related text is the Reamker version recited by Ta Chak. It is the most complete version of the Khmer Rāmāyaṇa. Although it came to us in a later recension, Shmeliova makes comparison of the three versions of the Khmer Reamker – the Reamker published by the Buddhist Institute, the oral version of Ta Chak recorded by Bizot, and the Poem of Angkor Vat (Lpoek Angkorvat) – coming to the conclusion that the Reamker of Ta Chak is older than the Reamker published by the Buddhist Institute.[25] Although, Shmeliova's finding is not convincing, the date of Ta Chak's version, undoubtedly, is much older than the Cambodian Palace Mural. The text describes:

> .... Rāvaṇa orders Virulmegha and Virulacaṃpāng to capture Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. After monkey army going off to sleep, the two monsters take Lakṣmaṇa to leave at the Diamond Light Mountain and take Bibhek to leave at the Thunderbolt Mountain. Whereas Rāma is put in an iron cage and given away to Vaiyarāb(ṇ), the king of Pātāla ....[26]

Although, the name of the demons who arrest Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Bibhek are strange to us, the incident and the place where the demons take the three protagonists are almost the same in the Cambodian Palace Mural. Interestingly, besides Vaiyarāb(ṇ), it is the name of his sister, Tārāghuon, which is completely as the same as the name of Vaiyarāb(ṇ)'s sister in Cambodian Palace Mural as well.

Overall, it is possible to say that the Cambodian Palace Mural adopted some parts from the two versions and combined them together to be the source of their mural. Another possibility is that the two recensions, transferred from one generation to another over the course of time and space, were probably intermingled and become another new version, probably unknown to us, which was adopted by the Cambodian muralist to be their source.

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[25] See I. Shmeliova, "The Three Versions of the Khmer Ramayana," Tenggara, Vol. 42 (Kuala Lumpur, 2000), pp. 48-56.

[26] F. Bizot, Rioeng Reamker Nai Ta Chak (The Reamker Story of Ta Chak), pp. 171-73.

Now we continue to treat panels 55 to 61, which feature the episode of Kumbhakarṇa, Rāvaṇa's younger brother, going to battle. It is a quite complicated episode because it is merged with a number of elements such as the Reamker Text, the Ramakien Text and oral versions, probably unfamiliar to us. The painted story subsequently presents: Rāvaṇa orders Kumbhakarṇa to lead the troops into battle against Rāma. Bibhek volunteers to try to stop his elder brother but it is vain (55); Sugrīva then volunteers to fight against Kumbhakarṇa. Kumbhakarṇa tricks him into pulling up a large tree to show his strength. Having exhausted himself pulling up the tree, Sugrīva is caught by Kumbhakarṇa (56); Hanumān and Aṅgada are sent to rescue him (57); Kumbhakarṇa goes to perform a magical ritual to render his lance more powerful. Hanumān transforms himself to an eagle, rendering the ceremony unsuccessful. Thereafter, Kumbhakarṇa fights against Lakṣmaṇa. The latter is hurt by Kumbhakarṇa's lance (58); Hanumān goes for medicine to cure Lakṣmaṇa's wound and he then flies to stop the sun from rising. He hits the Sun God's horses since the Sun God keeps moving his chariot. Lakṣmaṇa is finally recovered (59); Kumbhakarṇa uses his body to stop the river water from reaching Rāma's army. Bibhek advises Rāma to send Aṅgada and Hanumān to disturb Kumbhakarṇa and free the waters. Hanumān changes his form into that of a crow, while Aṅgada changes into the rotting corpse of a dog. The two monkeys float near the nose of Kumbhakarṇa. The crow (Hanumān) picks open the corpse of the dog (Aṅgada), and the smell is so bad that Kumbhakarṇa jumps up and runs away, causing the waters to run freely again (60). Again, Kumbhakarṇa goes to meditate to become even stronger but he is disturbed by Hanumān, who transforms himself into heavenly divinity dancing in front of Kumbhakarṇa. Lastly, Kumbhakarṇa fights against Rāma and the former is killed (61).

The organizational plot of the Cambodian Palace Mural goes in harmony with the Thai Palace Mural. Nevertheless, the detail of a few incidents and characters are different, that I will treat them one by one. First, it is the presentation of Sugrīva being caught by Kumbhakarṇa. Hanumān and Aṅgada are sent to rescue him. In the Thai Palace Mural, however, the Hanumān alone manages to liberate Sugrīva. Interestingly,

the harmonious depiction of the Cambodian Palace Mural can be found in the oral version recited by Ta Chak and Ta Soy.[27]

Another is the illustration of Kumbhakarṇa going to perform a magical ritual to render his lance more powerful. In the Cambodian Palace Mural, the lone figure of Hanumān is sent to destroy Kumbhakarṇa's ritual by transforming himself into an eagle, while the Thai Palace Mural shows Hanumān and Aṅgada in the form of a dead dog and a devouring crow to go to disturb Kumbhakarṇa's ritual. I can not find the source more related to Cambodian Palace Mural than Ta Soy's recension, which narrates that "Hanumān and Aṅgada are sent to disturb Kumbhakarṇa's ritual by changing their forms in to a bear and an eagle."[28]

Third is the representation of Hanumān flying to stop the sun from rising. He hits the Sun God's chariot horses since the Sun God keeps moving his chariot. This episode is more comparable to the Reamker Text[29] than the Thai Palace Mural. In the Thai Palace Mural, Hanumān is burned to ashes while he flies off to plead the Sun God for stopping his journey. He is brought to life, however, by the Sun God's godly incantation. The Sun God pities Hanumān, so he decides to travel behind the clouds the entire day. This would keep the sunbeams from shining on the earth.

Fourth, the most interesting scene shows Kumbhakarṇa using his body to stop the river water from reaching Rāma's army.[30] In the Cambodian Palace Mural, Aṅgada and Hanumān manage to disturb Kumbhakarṇa and free the waters by changing their form into that of a crow and a rotting corpse of a dog (picture 52), while the Thai Palace Mural depicts Hanumān in his real form chasing Kumbhakarṇa a way from the river (picture 53). The episode – also called by villager that "Kumbhakarṇa Dap Dik,"

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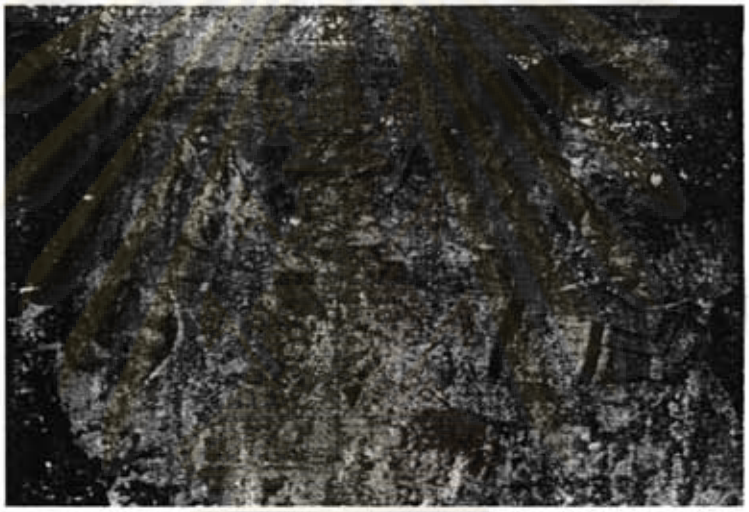
[27] See F. Bizot, Rioeng Reamker Nai Ta Chak (The Reamker Story of Ta Chak), pp. 136-38; Pi Bunnin, Reamker Bol Doy Ta Soy (The Reamker Ricited by Ta Soy), pp. 35-36.

[28] See Pi Bunnin, Reamker Bol Doy Ta Soy (The Reamker Ricited by Ta Soy), pp. 38-40.

[29] See Judith M. Jacob and Kuouch Haksrea (tra.), Reamker (Rāmakerti): The Cambodian Version of the Rāmāyaṇa.

[30] Remarkably, the painting's caption mistakenly inscribes this episode that "Kumbhakarṇa transforms himself into the rotting corpse of a dog to disturb Rāma from curing Lakṣmaṇa). See See Kak Chanthat, Kamnou Boran Rioeng Reamker Nov Thaev Prah Vihear Prah Keo Morakot (Prah Barom Reachvaeng) (Reamker Traditional Painting along Galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in the Royal Palace), p. 115.

literally means "Kumbhakarṇa stopping the water" – is very popular in Mask Dance (Lakhon Khol) of the Cambodian villagers, especially in the time of drought. Villager believes that after they have performed the episode the rain will fall. For instance, the villagers of Vat Svay Andet, Kandal Province, still remember that, because during a drought from 1962 to 1966, they performed this scene and such a heavy rain began to fall that the performance had to be stopped. A few years ago as well, in the face of severe drought, the village decided to perform the scene of Kumbhakarṇa stopping the water. As soon as the scene was finished, rain returned to the village.[31] Interestingly, the episode is narrated in Thiounn's version.[32]



Picture 52 Kumbhakarṇa uses his huge body to stop the water while Aṅgada and Hanumān manage to disturb Kumbhakarṇa and free the waters by changing their form into that of a crow and a rotting corpse of a dog. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

Picture 53 While Kumbhakarṇa uses his body to stop the water, Hanumān in his real form comes to chase Kumbhakarṇ a way from the river. (Thai Palace Mural)

[31] Reyum, Catalogue of the Exhibition (Phnom Penh, 1999), p. 13.
[32] Reyum, The Reamker Painted by Chet Chan (Phnom Penh, 2002), p. 22.

Last is the depiction of Kumbhakarṇa going to meditate to become even stronger but he is disturbed by Hanumān, who transforms himself into heavenly divinity dancing in front of Kumbhakarṇa. The incident has not existed in either the Thai Palace Mural or other Cambodian written sources. It probably came from an anonymous oral version.

Afterward, it is the illustration of Indrajit, the beloved son of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī, going to battle. It is probably the longest and most brutal battle in the story, which is occupied from panel 62 to 77. Coming first, it is the depiction of the battle between Indrajit and Lakṣmaṇa. Neither side can win or lose and eventually both sides withdraw from the battlefield (62); then follows the warfare between Rāma and a monster called Munkakānda/Mankarakarṇa, who comes to help Rāvaṇa fight Rāma, but he is killed (63); Jambūbān then transforms himself into that of a bear to disturb Indrajit's meditation. A young ogre called Virulamukha/Viruṇyamukha goes to battle with Indrajit to fight against Lakṣmaṇa (64); thereafter, Virulamukha/Viruṇyamukha changes his form into that of Indrajit and goes to fight. The real Indrajit flies up and hides in the clouds with his bow (65); while Lakṣmaṇa and Virulamukha/Viruṇyamukha (in the form of Indrajit) are fighting, the real Indrajit shoots serpent arrows down from the clouds, tying up Lakṣmaṇa and his troops. Rāma shoots an arrow into heavens calling Garuḍa, the king of birds, to destroy the serpents (66); Indrajit goes to perform a magic ritual to enchant another bow. Rāvaṇa sends another demon called Asukambandha/Asura Kampan to go and fight the forces of Rāma (67); Lakṣmaṇa kills Asukambandha/Asura Kampan in the battle (68); Indrajit disguises himself as Nārāyaṇa riding a three-headed elephant. He bewitches his soldiers, changing them so that they resemble the divinities and dancing girls. Rāma sends Lakṣmaṇa to fight. When Lakṣmaṇa sees Indrajit in the form of Nārāyaṇa, accompanied by his dancers, he is amazed and stands and stares. Indrajit takes this opportunity to shoot arrows which hit Lakṣmaṇa and all the monkey troops, knocking them unconscious. Hanumān, realizing that Nārāyaṇa is really Indrajit in disguise, rushes to stab the elephant that Nārāyaṇa is riding on. But Indrajit lashes out at Hanumān, beating him unconscious. When Rāma learns what has happened, he weeps bitterly (69); Sītā hears the demon in Laṅkā boasting that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa have been killed. She prays to be allowed to float down to the battle field where she weeps, unseen, by the side of Rāma (70); Rāma sends

Hanumān to look for medicine to heal Lakṣmaṇa (71); when Lakṣmaṇa is healed, they return to their royal encampment. Indrajit then goes to perform a magic ceremony (72); again, Lakṣmaṇa fights against Indrajit. Indrajit tells the female demons Sukācāra/ Sukhāchara to change her form into that of Sītā. Indrajit then kills her in front of Lakṣmaṇa in order to deceive him. The truth is revealed when Rāma sends Sugrīva, Hanumān and Aṅgada to verify it again at the battlefield (73); Rāvaṇa orders Indrajit to lead his troops into battle again. Rāma once again sends Lakṣmaṇa to fight. Indrajit performs a magic ceremony but he is attacked by Lakṣmaṇa (74); Indrajit goes to see Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī, weeping and leaving his wife and child. He then goes off to fight again. He is killed by Lakṣmaṇa. When his head falls down, however, Aṅgada has to receive it with the tray of Brahma. Otherwise the whole universe would be consumed by fire according to benediction that Brahma gave to Indrajit (75); Aṅgada takes the head of Indrajit and goes to pay homage to Rāma with it. Rāma tells Aṅgada to fly up into the sky with the head. Rāma then shoot an arrow, obliterating the head of Indrajit completely (76); when Rāvaṇa learns of Indrajit's death, he is furious and leads his troops into battle. However, the demon troops are defeated by Rāma's forces and they flee back to Laṅkā (77).

Remarkably, the presentation of the entire episode is almost the same as the Thai Palace Mural. There are, however, a few distinctions being found. Firstly, in the presentation of a monster called Asukambandha/Asura Kampan going for battle, the Cambodian Palace Mural illustrates Asukambandha/Asura Kampan being killed by Lakṣmaṇa, while the Thai Palace Mural shows the demon being put to death by Hanumān. Another variation is that the Cambodian Palace Mural displays Indrajit transforming himself into Nārāyaṇa and bringing heavenly dancers to trick Lakṣmaṇa and the latter is shot by Indrajit when he is unaware. The same episode is illustrated in the Thai Palace Mural. Indrajit disguises himself not as Nārāyaṇa but as Indra. The presentation of the Thai Palace Mural agrees with the Ramakien Text as well as the Cambodian sources. Nevertheless, if we examine the characteristic of Nārāyaṇa in the Cambodian Palace Mural, he is blended with the traits of Nārāyaṇa and Indra. Although he has four arms and holds Nārāyaṇa's attributes, he has green complexion and mounts on three headed elephant, Airāvata. It should be, therefore, concluded that the

Cambodian muralist perceives Nārāyaṇa and Indra to be the same god. Thirdly, a slight distinction is related to the sex of a demon called Sukācāra/Sukhāchara, who transforms his/herself into that of Sītā. In the Cambodian Palace Mural, the demon is depicted as a female while the Thai Palace Mural illustrates the demon as a male. The last variation appears prior to the ultimate battle of Indrajit. In the Cambodian Palace Mural, when Indrajit knows that the next warfare he will have to die, so he goes to see Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī, weeping and leaving his wife and child, but in the Thai Palace Mural Indrajit goes to asks for nursing at his mother's breast. These variations do not mean that the Cambodian Palace Mural follows the other source instead of the Thai source but since the story has been transmitted from one country to another, the corruption is hardly avoidable. In addition, the Cambodian Palace Mural presents Rāma telling Aṅgada to fly up into the sky with the head and then he shoots an arrow, obliterating the head of Indrajit completely. This incident has not been expressed in the Thai Palace Mural, but it is found in the Ramakien Text. On the contrary, the presentation of the cremation of Indrajit's remains in the Thai Palace Mural has not been appeared in the Cambodian Palace Mural.

5.2.2 The Second Part

We continuously look on the representation of panel 78. After Rāvaṇa is defeated by Rāma's force, he invites his friends, Mūlabalaṃ and Sahassaṭejaḥ. The banquet for the two great demons is held in the town of Laṅkā. Sahassaṭejaḥ then sends his commander Dasarāksmī[33] into battle. Rāma sends Aṅgada to fight and he kills Dasarāksmī.

The presentation of this episode is similar to the Thai Palace Mural, but the Cambodian muralist was confused between Mūlabalaṃ and Sahassaṭejaḥ. In the Cambodian Palace Mural the demon Mūlabalaṃ is equal to Sahassaṭejaḥ in the Thai Palace Mural. By contrast, the Sahassaṭejaḥ in Cambodian Palace Mural is Mūlabalaṃ in the Thai Palace Mural. The problem of this confusion will be discussed more in the part on the comparison of iconography. In this episode, the illustration of Aṅgada

[33] This demon's name is not found in the Thai Palace Mural.

slaying the demon Dasarāksmī is shown neither in the Thai Palace Mural nor inscribes in the Ramakien Text. The source of this episode is unfamiliar to us.

Subsequently, from panel 79 to 81, although the narratives are identical with the Thai Palace Mural, the name of the Mūlabalaṃ and Sahassaṭejaḥ, as noted above, are contrary to the Thai Palace Mural. As one can see below:

Rāvaṇa, Mūlabalaṃ/Sahassaṭejaḥ and Sahassaṭejaḥ/Mūlabalaṃ lead their troops into battle. Mūlabalaṃ/Sahassaṭejaḥ takes many beautiful women with him. On the road, thunderbolt break Rāvaṇa's chariot apart. Rāvaṇa immediately returns to the city of Laṅkā (79); Rāma sends Lakṣmaṇa into battle against Sahassaṭejaḥ/Mūlabalaṃ. As they fought, Sahassaṭejaḥ/Mūlabalaṃ managed to stab Lakṣmaṇa with his spear, but he recovered by the help of Hanumān. Then Lakṣmaṇa puts Sahassaṭejaḥ/Mūlabalaṃ to death (80); Hanumān tricks Mūlabalaṃ/Sahassaṭejaḥ by transforming himself into an ordinary white monkey and asks Mūlabalaṃ/Sahassaṭejaḥ to join his forces. Mūlabalaṃ/Sahassaṭejaḥ agrees and invites the monkey to ride on the back of his chariot. Hanumān then transforms himself huge and kills Mūlabalaṃ/Sahassaṭejaḥ (81).

Next is the scene of Rāvaṇa inviting his friend Saeṅ-āditya to come and help (82); Bibhek knows that Saeṅ-āditya has a powerful magic sunglass which he has given to Brahma for safe keeping. Rāma orders Aṅgada to go and ask for the sunglasses from Brahma. At the same time, Saeṅ-āditya has sent one of his commanders to go and get the sunglasses from Brahma, but it was already gone. Saeṅ-āditya then goes to fight Rāma and he is killed (83); thereafter, Rāvaṇa fights against Rāma but the former is defeated and has to flee back to the city of Laṅkā (84); Rāvaṇa asks his friend, Sattāḷuṅ, and his nephew, Trīmegha, to the town of Laṅkā (85); Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa fight against Sattāḷuṅ and Trīmegha. Rāma kills Sattāḷuṅ. Trīmegha flees the battlefield and Rāma sends Hanumān to pursue him (86).

The illustration from panel 82 to 86 was followed the Thai Palace Mural.

Coming next is panel 87, which is the depiction of Trīmegha asking to take refuge with King Kālanāga in the region of Pātāla, but the King refuses. Trīmegha then runs to hide at the bottom of the ocean. Hanumān chases after Trīmegha and kills him. The illustration has not been executed in the Thai Palace Mural, except at the spot of Hanumān killing Trīmegha. It is, however, described in the Ramakien Text.

Afterward, it shows Rāvaṇa going to meditate in a mountain cave. Rāma sends Hanumān, Sugrīva and Nilananda/Nilanala to disturb Rāvaṇa's meditation (88); Hanumān takes the water which has been used to wash the feet of Puññākāya/Benya-kāya and sprinkle it at the mouth of the cave. The rock surrounding the cave then breaks open, and Sugrīva, Hanumān and Nilananda/Nilanala slap and beat Rāvaṇa. Still Rāvaṇa does not break off his meditation (89); Hanumān hypnotizes Mandodarī, bringing her to the mountain and putting her down in front of Rāvaṇa. Mandodarī screams loudly and Rāvaṇa, hearing her cries, jumps up and flees back to Laṅkā with her (90); Rāvaṇa invites his friends, the demons Sathāsūra/Śraddhāsura and Virulacampāṅ/Viruṇyachampang, to help fight Rāma (91); Sathāsūra/Śraddhāsura rides ahead on his chariot, leading his troops into battle. Virulacampāṅ/Viruṇyachampang follows behind with his troops (92); Hanumān tricks Sathāsūra/Śraddhāsura into calling down weapons from heaven. The weapons are all seized by Aṅgada and the monkey soldiers who are waiting. Sathāsūra/Śraddhāsura is at last killed by Hanumān (93); Rāma goes to fight Virulacampāṅ/Viruṇyachampang. Rāma kills many of the demon troops but Virulacampāṅ/Viruṇyachampang flees from the battlefield (94); Virulacampāṅ/Viruṇyachampang run to hide with Rānarinda/Wanarin, a heavenly maiden, in the forest, but she refuses to let him stay there and Virulacampāṅ/ Viruṇyachampang runs to hide in the ocean (95); Hanumān changes his form into a beautiful man and asks Rānarinda/Wanarin where Virulacampāṅ/Viruṇyachampang is. When she tells Hanumān, the monkey goes to the sea and makes himself huge combing the ocean until he finds Virulacampāṅ/Viruṇyachampang. Hanumān then beheads Virulacampāṅ/Viruṇyachampang (96); Hanumān carries Rānarinda/Wanarin up to Kailāsa Heaven. Hanumān then brings the demon's head to Rāma (97); Rāma and his troops return to their camp (98); Rāvaṇa invites Mālīvarāja Brahma, his great-uncle, to judge his dispute with Rāma. He hopes that Mālīvarāja will use his sacred words to

curse Rāma and cause his defeat; Mālīvarāja, who is honest, judges the case outside the town of Laṅkā in the presence of Rāvaṇa, Rāma, Sītā, and divine beings. He decides in favor of Rāma and puts a curses Rāvaṇa instead (99); Rāvaṇa returns to the city of Laṅkā (100) Rāvaṇa performs a ritual to destroy the divine beings who came as witness for Rāma. The ritual is stopped by the divine Vālin on the order of Śiva (101); Rāvaṇa fights against Rāma. He tries to kill his brother, Bibhek, with his lance. Lakṣmaṇa tries to protect Bibhek and is struck. He loses consciousness (102); Hanumān goes to seek medicine to cure Lakṣmaṇa. Hanumān goes to collect the urine of the holy bull, Usabharāja, and goes to take the metal pestle from Kālanāga, the King of the Pātāla realm (103); He then goes to steal a stone mortar from Rāvaṇa. Before leaving, he ties Rāvaṇa's hair to that of his wife, Mandodarī (104); when Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī awake, they see that their hair is tied together and they can not untangle themselves. They ask a hermit called Ghoputa/Gomuda what they should do. The hermit tells Mandodarī to slap Rāvaṇa's head three times and that then their hair will untangle (105); After curing Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma leads his troops going back to their encampment (106); after that, Rāvaṇa asks his elder stepbrother, Thāppanāsūra, to come to the town of Laṅkā (107); Thāppanāsūra fights against Rāma. The arrows of Thāppanāsūra kill many of monkey soldiers. Rāma shoots arrows which break apart Thāppanāsūra's chariot and kill all the demon soldiers (108); Thāppanāsūra enlarges himself to block the light, and in the resulting darkness he eats all the remaining monkey soldiers. Sugrīva turns into a huge monkey with eight arms and cuts off Thāppanāsūra's arms. Rāma then shoots an arrow killing him (109); Rāvaṇa and Gujagīrīvan/Dasagirivaṇ and Gajagīrīdhara/Dasagiridhrara, sons of Rāvaṇa and a female elephant, go into battle against Rāma. Many arrows are shot and many troops on both sides die. A demon called Mahodhara/Mahodara brings the elixir of life, produced by Mandodarī, to Rāvaṇa. The elixir brings all the dead monsters back to life (110); Bibhek knows of Mandodarī's ritual and tells Rāma to shoot an arrow that turn into a net, catching all the reviving dead soldiers (111); Rāma sends Hanumān, Jambūbān and Nilaphāta to go to disturb the ongoing of Mandodarī's ritual (112); Hanumān changing his form into that of Rāvaṇa and taking Mandodarī from the ritual's pavilion to a place where they can make love (113).

Noticeably, the selected episodes from panel 88 to 113 were taken from the Thai Palace Mural. Nevertheless, the depiction of catching the reviving dead soldiers in panel 111 is slightly distinctive from the Thai Palace Mural. The Cambodian Palace Mural shows the reviving dead people, surrounded by a net, in the form of ordinary soldiers while the Thai Palace Mural presents them in the form of Rāvaṇa's friends and relatives who had died in the previous war, for instance, Kumbhakarṇa, Indrajit, Mūlabalaṃ/ Sahassaṭejaḥ, Sahassaṭejaḥ/Mūlabalaṃ, Saeng-āditya, Thāppaṇasūra, etc. The representation of the Thai Palace Mural is more compliant with the Ramakien Text than the Cambodian Palace Mural.

The Subsequent presentation is Gajagīrīvan/Dasagirivaṇ and Gajagīrīdhara/ Dasagiridhrara saying goodbye to their foster father, Assakānda/Asakan, and going to help Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa meanwhile asks Mandodarī to perform a ritual to produce the elixir of life to revive all the dead soldiers (114).

The depiction of panel 114 is contrary to the Thai Palace Mural. In the Thai Palace Mural, the illustration of Gajagīrīvan/Dasagirivaṇ and Gajagīrīdhara/ Dasagiridhrara come to help Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī performs a ritual to produce the elixir of life is executed after the scene of Rāma killing Thāppanasūra. This presentation precisely follows the chronological pattern of the Ramakien Text.

The picture on panel 115 shows Mandodarī weeping beside Rāvaṇa in their palace after Mandodarī realizes that she had been tricked in to making love to Hanumān in the form of Rāvaṇa. This presentation has not been executed in the Thai Palace Mural but it is found in the Ramakien Text.

Next is the depiction of Rāvaṇa going to warfare against Rāma. Rāma shoots arrows at Rāvaṇa but is unable to kill him. Rāvaṇa is immortal because his heart is kept safely out of his body (116); Hanumān and Aṅgada are sent to steal Rāvaṇa's heart from the hermit Ghoputa/Gomuda, Rāvaṇa's spiritual mentor (117); Hanumān and Aṅgada go to meet the hermit Ghoputa/Gomuda. Hanumān pretends to abandon Rāma and asks Ghoputa/Gomuda to take him to Rāvaṇa. On one of the days appointed for the hermit to

bring Rāvaṇa's heart to Rāvaṇa so that he can refresh it, the hermit asks Aṅgada to carry the tray in which Rāvaṇa's heart is kept (118); once he has the tray containing the heart, Hanumān orders Aṅgada to hide it and presents a false one to the hermit. Hanumān and the hermit enter the town of Laṅkā and Ghoputa/Gomuda presents Hanumān to Rāvaṇa (119); Hanumān goes out to fight against Lakṣmaṇa in order to deceive Rāvaṇa (120); when Hanumān has won this battle, Rāvaṇa is extremely happy and gives Hanumān the wife of Indrajit as well as many possessions. Hanumān then asks for permission to go and fight again (121); this time Rāvaṇa accompanies Hanumān to the battlefield to watch. When they reach the battlefield, Hanumān shows Rāvaṇa his heart which has been kept by Aṅgada (122); Rāvaṇa then returns to the city of Laṅkā, while Hanumān gives Rāvaṇa's heart to Rāma (123); Rāvaṇa then knows that he has to die. He weeps and tells his Queens, their attendants, and all his relatives (124); Rāvaṇa lead his troops into battle for the last time, changing himself into the form of Brahma. No longer immortal, Rāvaṇa is killed by Rāma when Hanumān also crushes his heart at the same time (125); Bibhek brings the remains of Rāvaṇa back to the town of Laṅkā. Rāvaṇa's Queens along with their attendants and all demon soldiers weep and are filled with regret (126); Bibhek leads Sītā, Mandodarī and Āggīnāga/Aggī to pay homage to Rāma. However, Rāma refuses to acknowledge Sītā as his Queen since she had been in the city of Laṅkā for twelve years (127); Sītā performs an ordeal of walking on fire to prove her faithfulness to Rāma. She is not burned because she is innocent of any wrong-doing (128).

These illustrations from panel 116 to 128 are followed the Thai Palace Mural.

After the scene of Sītā's ordeal by fire, the Thai Palace Mural presents the magnificent procession of Rāvaṇa's remains moving to the crematorium, which has not been shown in the Cambodian Palace Mural.

Interestingly, the Cambodian Palace Mural depicts the episode of Rāma arranging for the coronation of Bibhek as King of Laṅkā (129) prior to the scene of Bibhek cremates the remains of Rāvaṇa (130) while the Thai Palace Mural organizes these two episodes in contrasting to the Cambodian Palace Mural. Chronologically, the

Cambodian Palace Mural is more compliant with the Ramakien Text than the Thai Palace Mural. Anyway, the Cambodian and Thai Palace Murals show the same scene which is Rāma and his party rest in a garden outside the town of Laṅkā (131).

Later, panel 132 displays another demon called Assakānda/Asakan, Rāvaṇa's friend, calling up his army to Laṅkā; Assakānda/Asakan fights against Rāma. Every time his body is struck by Rāma's arrow, it doubles in number. Bibhek tells Rāma to shoot Assakānda/Asakan again and at the same time causes his body to be hurled out into the ocean (133); when Rāma is leaving Laṅkā, Bibhek follows him and ask him to destroy the causeway that he built across the straits to Laṅkā (134); a demon called Panlaikāl, who is the son of Rāvaṇa and Kāla Āgī, lived in the Pātāla realm, follows Rāma's army. Hanumān transforms himself into a buffalo and fights Panlaikāla. The latter is killed (135).

The depictions from panel 132 to 135 were adopted from the Thai Palace Mural.

Previous to Rāma's return to Ayodhyā, the Thai Palace Mural shows a few incidents that have not been executed in the Cambodian Palace Mural: Rāma's army arrives at the town of Kiṣkindhya. Nilphāta, who reigns as a Vice-King of Kiṣkindhya, comes out to greet him; Rāma sends Hanumān and Kūkhan to Ayodhyā to bring the news of his return; Bharata and Śatrughna prepare to burn themselves to death if Rāma does not return after his fourteen years banishment. Hanumān and Kūkhan stop them and inform them of Rāma's approach; Rāma rewards his brothers and his monkey soldiers; Rāma gives the town of Ayodhyā to Hanumān. Hanumān does not accept it, so Rāma builds a new town for him.

Although, the Cambodian muralist did not express these events as in detail as the Thai artist, they summarize these episodes into only one panel, which shows Rāma going to Kiṣkindhya. After that he goes to meet hermit and then Kūkhan, who is a hunter and Rāma's friend. Rāma then returns to Ayodhyā and holds a celebration for his troops. Indra sends Bisṇukār/Visu-karma, the God of Construction, to build a beautiful palace in Ayodhyā for Rāma (136).

Some incidents are depicted in this panel conforming to the Thai Palace Mural as well as the Ramakien Text. However, one part shows Indra sending Bisṇukār/Visu-karma to erect a beautiful palace in Ayodhyā for Rāma has seemingly diverged from the Ramakien Text. In the Ramakien Text, it is Śiva, called down by Rāma, who sends Bisṇukār/Visu-karma to construct the palace but for Hanumān not for Rāma.

Then, the panel 137 displays Mahāpāl/Mahāpāl Bedhāsura, Rāvaṇa's friend, coming to visit Rāvaṇa at the town of Laṅkā. After learning that Rāvaṇa is dead, he orders his army to besiege Laṅkā. Bibhek comes out from the town of Laṅkā to fight against Mahāpāl/Mahāpāl Bedhāsura. Hanumān, ordered by Rāma to help Bibhek, kills Mahāpāl/Mahāpāl Bedhāsura. This presentation was taken from the Thai Palace Mural.

After killing Mahāpāl/Mahāpāl Bedhāsura, in the Thai Palace Mural, there is a presentation of Āphaiṇāsūrīvaṅsa/Bāināsuryavanśa, the son of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī, being born. Bibhek, who has taken Mandodarī for his wife, thinks that Āphaiṇāsūrīvaṅsa/Bāināsuryavanśa is his son. Āsūraphāt, the son of Hanumān and Puññākāya/Benya-kāya, is also born. This illustration does not appear in The Cambodian Palace Mural.

The same presentation of the Cambodian and Thai Palace Murals can be found in the panel 138, which shows Hanumān, who is now the ruler of the town Nubgīrī/Nop Burī, going out to relax in the garden with his female attendants. Since he is monkey, Hanumān tries to scratch his head with his foot causing the women watching this to laugh. Hanumān feels embarrassed and goes into the forest to become a hermit. He transforms himself to appear as human.

After the presentation above, there are two incidents that have not been executed in the Cambodian Palace Mural: Āphaiṇāsūrīvaṅsa/Bāināsuryavanśa learns from his chief attendant that Bibhek is not his father. He then takes leave of Laṅkā to study with the hermit; Āphaiṇāsūrīvaṅsa/Bāināsuryavanśa and his chief attendant, Varaṇīsūra, go to the town of Mullīvan/Malivan. They inform Cakravit, the demon ruler and friend of Rāvaṇa, that Rāvaṇa has been killed.

The panel 139 presents Cakravit and Āphaiṇāsūrīvaṅsa/Bāināsuryavanśa coming to attack Laṅkā and Bibhek goes out to fight them but is captured and imprisoned. Āphaiṇāsūrīvaṅsa/Bāināsuryavanśa is crowned the ruler of Laṅkā. Āsūraphāt, Hanumān's son, takes leave of his mother, Puññākāya/Benya-kāya, to seek his father. This scene was adopted from the Thai Palace Mural.

Again, the scene in the Thai Palace Mural that has not been executed in the Cambodian Palace Mural is the scene of Āsūraphāt finding his father, Hanumān. They then come to inform Rāma what happened at Laṅkā.

The depiction that has been painted in the Cambodian Palace Mural as well as the Thai Palace Mural is Rāma sending his two younger brothers, Bharata and Śatrughna, with the monkey army to help Bibhek and to fight against Cakravit. Nilaphāta transforms himself into a bridge for Bharata and Śatrughna's army to cross over to the town of Laṅkā. Bharata sends Jambūbān as his envoy to Āphaiṇāsūrīvaṅsa/ Bāināsuryavanśa. Āphaiṇāsūrīvaṅsa/Bāināsuryavanśa comes out with his army to fight against Bharata and Śatrughna, but he and Varaṇīsūra are caught by Āsūraphāt, Yāmalīvet/Yāmali-Varṇa and Kānayuvet/Kanyuvēk. The latter two are the sons of Indrajit and are on the side of Rāma. The two captives are led to meet Bharata and Śatrughna and then they are killed (140).

The next episode is the presentation of Cakravit inviting a hermit to make lustral water for him after he has a bad dream. This scene is rendered in the Thai Palace Mural but we have not found it in the Cambodian Palace Mural.

Panel 141 depicts Bibhek being released from the cage. Hanumān changes his form to become as big as Brahma and destroys the two defenses of fire and venom protecting the town of Mullīvan/Malivan. The commanders of both defenses are killed. In this presentation, the Cambodian muralist also adds the incident that of Hanumān transforming himself into Garuḍa to kill the serpents, which are created by magic words of Kālasūra, one of the two defenders of the town of Mullīvan/Malivan. The addition can not be seen in the Thai Palace Mural but it appears in the Ramakien Text.

The next two scenes have been displayed in both the Cambodian and Thai Palace Murals: Bharata and Śatrughna's army encamp outside the town of Mullīvan/Maliván. They send Nilananda/Nilanala with a letter for Cakravit asking him to surrender, but the demon refuses. Nilananda/Nilanala shows his power by flying up and cutting off the tower of Cakravit's palace before returning (142); Afterward, Cakravit sends his son Sūriyābhab into battle against Śatrughna. The monster Meghasūra, a commander of Sūriyābhaba, changes his form into that of a mountain encircling Śatrughna's army while Sūriyābhab tries to enchant his lance. Śatrughna kills Meghasūra with an arrow but Sūriyābhab throws his lance at him, causing him to pass out. After Śatrughna has recovered, he shoots an arrow killing Sūriyābhab. Cakravit then sends his second son, Panlaicakra/Pralayachakra, to go out to fight. The first fight with Bharata and Śatrughna is indecisive. Panlaicakra/Pralayachakra then leaves to perform a ritual to increase his power, but Bharata sends Aṅgada, Āsūraphāt and Jambūbān to destroy the ritual of Panlaicakra/Pralayachakra (143).

The Thai Palace Mural, when Śatrughna is wounded by Sūriyābhab's lance, shows the scene of Nilaphāta volunteers to seek various kinds of medicine to cure Śatrughna. This incident has not been happened in the Cambodian Palace Mural.

Panel 144 depicts Panlaicakra/Pralayachakra coming back to fight again and managing to capture Śatrughna. However Sugrīva, Hanumān, and Nilaphāta fight the demon and manage to take Śatrughna back. Bharata then shoots an arrow which kills Panlaicakra/Pralayachakra. This presentation differs from the Thai Palace Mural. In the Cambodian Palace Mural, Panlaicakra/Pralayachakra captures Śatrughna by his hands while the Thai Palace Mural shows Panlaicakra/Pralayachakra shooting an arrow which turns in to a Makara (a crocodile with elephant trunk). The Makara carries Śatrughna up to the sky. Bharata orders Sugrīva, Hanumān, Aṅgada and Nilaphāta to look for Śatrughna. Hanumān changes himself into the eagle and destroys the Makara, so that Sugrīva can take Śatrughna back.

Panel 145 displays Cakravit fighting against Bharata and Śatrughna while his commanders battle: Mahāmegh[34] fights with Nilaphāta, Nandayubhakkh[35] fights with Nila-aeka, Cakrasūra[36] fights with Nilananda/Nilanala, and Mahākāla[37] fights with Hanumān. This presentation has been found neither in the Thai Palace Mural nor the Ramakien Text. The source of this presentation is anonymous.

Nonetheless in the Thai Palace Mural, the illustration of Nanyu-baktra, Cakravit's third son, fighting against Śatrughna and the former being killed has not appeared in the Cambodian Palace Mural.

The Subsequent depictions found in both Cambodian and Thai Palace Murals is the depiction of Cakravit asking his friend, Vaiṭāl, another demon, who rules a town under the ground to come and help him. Vaiṭāl fights against Bharata and Śatrughna but without any decisive result (146); Vaiṭāl goes back to his subterranean town to perform the ritual of strengthening his club's magic. During that time Bejaṭhitrā/Petra is sent out to fight by Cakravit. He is killed by Aṅgada. Nilaphāta and Āsūraphāt meanwhile go to disrupt the magic ceremony of Vaiṭāl (147); Vaiṭāl rides his chariot in pursuit of Nilaphāta and Āsūraphāt. Nilaphāta changes his form into that of a demon and approaches Vaiṭāl, saying that he is a messenger from Laṅkā. Vaiṭāl let Nilaphāta rides on the back of his chariot. Nilaphāta changes his form back to that of a monkey as huge as Brahma. He kills Vaiṭāl and cuts off the monster's head, taking the head back to Bharata and Śatrughna in homage (148); When Cakravit learns that Vaiṭāl has been killed, he goes to fight Bharata and Śatrughna. Bharata and Śatrughna shoot arrows wounding Cakravit, but he recites magical chants which enable him to take the arrows out again. Then Cakravit flees back to his city (149); Cakravit comes out to fight Bharata and Śatrughna one more time (150); Cakravit knows that he must die. He weeps and bids farewell to his queen and his daughter (151); Cakravit leads his troops into the battle. Bharata shoots an arrow hitting Cakravit. Before his death, he sees that both Bharata and Śatrughna are related to Viṣṇu. He then asks for pardon and dies (152); the

[34] This demon's name is not found in the Thai Palace Mural.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.

ministers of the city of Mullīvan/Malivan lead Cakravit's queen and daughter to pay homage to Bharata and Śatrughna. They ask permission to prepare the funeral of Cakravit, and Bharata and Śatrughna agree (153).

Next, it is the scenes of Bharata and Śatrughna taking leave the city of Mullīvan/ Malivan for the city of Laṅkā (154) and Bibhek leading his Queens, with Puññākāya/Benya-kāya and Indrajit's Queen to meet Bharata and Śatrughna in the town of Laṅkā (155). These two incidents have not been shown in the Thai Palace Mural but they are described in the Ramakien Text.

Panel 156 presents Bharata and Śatrughna and their army going back to Ayodhyā. Hanumān transforms himself into a bridge for the army to pass from Laṅgkā to the mainland. Rāma rewards Bharata, Śatrughna and the monkey soldiers for their successful service; Vaiyavet/Vayavik and Macchānubv come to upper world to pay homage to Rāma. Along the way to Ayodhyā, they meet Jambūbān, but since they do not know each other they begin to fight. Hanumān is sent to stop the fighting (157). These two presentations were taken from the Thai Palace Mural.

Next in the Ramakien Text, there is an episode, Rāma cutting the fish-tail from Macchānubv, that has not been presented in the Cambodian Palace Mural but it is executed in the Thai Palace Mural.

5.2.3 The Third Part

The third part starts from the panel 158 which is Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa going out into the jungle to relax. Sītā, who is pregnant, goes out to bathe at a pond. Ātulay/Atura Pisāch, an ogress who relates to Rāvaṇa, disguises herself into one of Sītā's maids. She tricks Sītā into drawing the portrait of Rāvaṇa. She then hides herself inside the portrait so that it cannot be washed off. When Rāma comes back, Sītā hides the portrait underneath their bed, but Rāma finds it and because of his anger, orders Lakṣmaṇa to kill her and bring back her heart. Lakṣmaṇa takes Sītā out of the town, but he cannot kill her because of her faithfulness to Rāma. Indra then comes down to help Lakṣmaṇa by

leaving a dead deer beside a path. Lakṣmaṇa cuts out the deer's heart and brings it back to Rāma, pretending that it is Sītā's (158); Indra then transforms himself into a buffalo and leads Sītā to the hermitage of Vajjimariddhi/Vaj-mṛiga. Sītā gives birth to a son and divinities come down to attend her during the delivery. Sītā then leaves her baby son with the hermit while she goes to draw the water. In the forest, Sītā sees a monkey carrying her baby just like a human mother. Missing her baby, Sītā runs back and takes her son with her to draw the water. When the hermit looks for the baby and cannot find him, he is very frightened and magically creates another baby and puts him in the hammock as a replacement. When Sītā returns from drawing water, she sees the new baby in the hammock and is very surprised. She begs the hermit to let her keep the new baby to be her playmate of her son. The hermit then names Sītā's son Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and the other boy Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava (159); the two boys grow up to be very powerful. One day, then ten years of age, Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava topple a very large tree with their magic arrow, causing a loud noise. Rāma hears the noise and performs a ritual of releasing a horse followed by Hanumān. If anybody tries to ride the horse, that person should be caught and punished. Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava try to ride the horse. Hanumān, who pursues the horse, tries to catch them. However, Hanumān is caught and tied by the two brothers. They write on Hanumān's forehead that only his master can let him loose (160).

The incidents in these three panels precisely follow the Reamker Text. Interestingly, they have been found in the Thai Palace Mural as well.

Next, it is the episode of Rāma sending Bharata and Śatrughna to go and see what has happened to Hanumān. They then find Hanumān being tied up in the forest. When they try to untie him, they cannot (161); with his arms still tied, Hanumān flies to Rāma who knows how to free him (162). These two episodes have not been seen in the Thai Palace Mural but they are ascribed in the Reamker Text.

The next five panels are taken from the Reamker Text and have been presented in the Thai Palace Mural as well: Bharata and Śatrughna lead their troops into the battle

against Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava (163); Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ is captured while Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava runs away. Bharata and Śatrughna lead Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ in chains to pay homage to Rāma (164); Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava comes to rescue his brother. With the help of a celestial nymph and a magic ring given by Sītā, Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ can escape and return to the forest with Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava (165); Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna all go to catch Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava. When they meet the two boys, each side shoots many arrows back and forth. All the arrows on Rāma's side turn into delicious foods, while the arrows of Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava turn into garlands of flowers as if in homage to Rāma. Startle, Rāma asks the boys who they are and he realizes that he is fighting his own sons (166).

After that, Rāma pursues Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava to the ashram of the hermit where he meets Sītā (167). This incident has not been depicted in the Thai Palace Mural. Nevertheless, the next representation of Rāma asking Sītā to go back to Ayodhyā in panel 168 is available in the Thai Palace Mural as well. These episodes are available in the Reamker Text.

The representation of episodes in the Cambodian Palace Mural that have not been available in the Thai Palace Mural but they exist in the Reamker Text: after Sītā refusing to go back, Rāma takes his two sons back with him to the city of Ayodhyā. When Rāma arrives at the city of Ayodhyā, the three Queens of Daśaratha, Kauśalyā, Kaikēyī and Sumitrā come to greet the two boys. Afterward, Rāma holds the ceremony of pouring lustral water for his sons (169); the procession accompanies Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava to meet Sītā (170); Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava implores their mother to come and live in Ayodhyā, but still Sītā refuses (171); Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava then return to Rāma. Rāma thinks of a device to trick Sītā into returning (172).

Coming later, the presentation of panel 173 is similar to the Thai Palace Mural. It is the scene of Rāma pretending to be dead and entering the body of an urn on a cremation pavilion. Then Hanumān goes to tell Sītā of Rāma's death. Sītā comes back

to pay homage to Rāma's remains. When Sītā is praying on the cremation platform, Rāma suddenly jumps out of the urn and tries to grab her. However, Sītā runs off and asks the earth to open up for her so that she can descend to Nāga (serpent)'s world under the ground and live there.

The two subsequent depictions are not found in the Thai Palace Mural such as the incidents of Hanumān descending to subterranean to implore Sītā's return to the city of Ayodhyā (174) and Bibhek coming to meet Rāma and telling Rāma to leave the city for a period of time in the forest, so that Sītā will come back (175).

The incidents from panel 173 to 175 are completely taken from the Reamer Text.

Continuously, it is the presentation of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān leaving the city to wander in the forest where they reach the city of a demon called Kuvenayaksa/Kuvenurāj. A demon Trīpakpakānda/Trīpakkan, Kuvenayaksa/ Kuvenurāj's son, leads his troops into battle to try to capture the three wanderers, but Trīpakpakānda/Trīpakkan is killed by Lakṣmaṇa (176); Kuvenayaksa/Kuvenurāj tries to gain revenge for his son but he is slain by Rāma (177); later, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān meet a monster called Kumbandharāja/Kumbhanurāj, a divinity who was cursed into becoming a demon by Śiva. Rāma sends Kumbandharāja/Kumbhanurāj back to heaven (178); the monkey commanders of Rāma, who are ruling over various cities of the kingdom, come to the city of Ayodhyā and do not find Rāma there. They set out to look for him (179); Vaiyobhakkha/Asura Vāyubaktra, who is half demon and half bird, carries away Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with his claws, but they are save by the monkey commanders (180); when Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and their monkey commanders are taking bath in a pond, a demon called Nandakāla/Nanda-kāra, one of Uṇṇārāja/Anurāj commanders who guards the pond, with his troops manage to catch Aṅgada and Nilaphāta, but the other monkey commanders kill the demon troops. Nandakāla/Nanda-kāra goes to tell the demon Uṇṇārāja/Anurāj (181); Uṇṇārāja/Anurāj leads his troops to fight Rāma. When Rāma shoots arrows hitting Uṇṇārāja/Anurāj, he does not die. Rāma asks the hermit Kosak/Kosop why this is so, and the hermit tells him that only a certain

kind of weed can kill Uṇṇārāja/Anurāj. Rāma then shoots weed-arrow at Uṇṇārāja/Anurāj and kills him (182); Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa lead their monkey commanders back to the city of Ayodhyā. Śiva sends the divinities with a chariot to invite Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna to Kailāsa Heaven (183); Sītā then is also invited by Śiva to Kailāsa Heaven (184); at the Kailāsa Heaven, Śiva reconciles Rāma and Sītā and then re-marries them (185).

The presentations from panel 176 to 185 are not mentioned in the Reamker Text, so they are taken from the Thai Palace Mural.

Next, it is the depiction of Rāma and Sītā returning from the Kailāsa Heaven and coming to pay homage to their mothers, Kauśalyā, Kaikēyī and Sumitrā (186). This presentation has not been executed in the Thai Palace Mural but it is found at the Ramakien Text.

Panel 187 displays Rāma sending Bharata, Śatrughna, Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava to liberate the city of Kaikēya, the city of Bharata's maternal grandfather, that is invaded by a demon Kambandhabhanurāja/Khonthannuraj and his son, Viruṇāphāt; Kambandhabhanurāja/Khonthannuraj and his army go into the forest and destroy the retreats of various hermits in order to obstruct their penance. Bharata, Śatrughna, Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ, Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava and their troops encamp close to the city of Kaikēya (188); Jambūvarāja is sent as an envoy to Kambandhabhanurāja/ Khonthannuraj (189); Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava fight against Kambandhabhanurāja/Khonthannuraj and Viruṇāphāt. The latter two are killed (190); Bharata, Śatrughna, Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ, Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava and their troops then enter the city of Kaikēya and invite the King Kaikēya to come back to his city. King Kaikēya organizes a banquet for Bharata, Śatrughna, Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ, Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava and their troops (191); Bharata, Śatrughna, Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ, Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava and their troops return back to Ayodhyā to pay homage to Rāma (192).

The presentations in the Cambodian Palace Mural from panel 187 to 192 were taken from the Thai Palace Mural, but they were organized in disorder. The chronological organization can be found in the Thai Palace Mural: Kambandhabhanurāja/Khonthannuraj and his army go into the forest and destroy the retreats of various hermits in order to obstruct their penance; Kambandhabhanurāja/ Khonthannuraj and his son, Viruṇāphāt, come with their army to attack the town of Kaikēya; Rāma sends Bharata, Śatrughna, Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava to help the king of Kaikēya; The army of Bharata and Śatrughna besieges the town of Kaikēya, which had been taken by Kambandhabhanurāja/Khonthannuraj and Viruṇāphāt. Jambūvarāja is sent as an envoy to the two demons; Kambandhabhanurāja/ Khonthannuraj and Viruṇāphāt are killed by Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava; After the fighting, Bharata, Śatrughna, Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava enter the town of Kaikēya and invite King Kaikēya to come back and rule the town as before; Bharata, Śatrughna, Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ, Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava and their army return to the town of Ayodhyā. They are rewarded by Rāma.

Of these presentations, noticeably, there is a scene in the Thai Palace Mural, Kambandhabhanurāja/Khonthannuraj and Viruṇāphāt coming with their army to attack the town of Kaikēya, which has not been painted in the Cambodian Palace Mural. On the contrary, the depiction of King Kaikēya holding a feast for Bharata, Śatrughna, Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ, Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava and their army in the Cambodian Palace Mural has not been found in the Thai Palace Mural.

Conclusion

The findings from the comparison of painted episodes show that the presentations in the Cambodian Palace Mural in the first part is a bit complicated because it is merged with many sources such as the episodes from the Ramakien Text, the Thai Palace Mural, the Reamker I Text, the segment of Reamker text called "Kāl Vaiyarāb(ṇ) Saṇtaṃ Yak Braḥ Rāma Pān (Vaiyarāb(ṇ) magically puts Rāma to sleep)," and the oral versions, for example, Ta Chak's version, Ta Soy's version and anonymous

oral versions. Of them, the episodes from the Thai Palace Mural are huge influence. Some episodes, from a cursory glance, are quite related to the Reamker Text. However, if we do a thorough examination this misguided expectation would be undermined. The distinction is found from the components of the incidents and the organization of plot of the story. For example, the episode of Janaka finds Sītā. In the Reamker Text, Janaka is a king of the city of Mithilā and he finds Sītā a drift in the river while he holds the royal plowing ceremony. He then brings her to his palace. On the other hand, the text does not tell us why Sītā is here. Yet, in the Cambodian Palace Mural Janaka takes of leave the throne for a hermit life in the forest, and he finds Sītā floating but he can not care for her because he is a hermit. Thus, he buries her under the ground. After burying the baby for sixteen years, Janaka decides to go and find it. Since he has forgotten where he has buried her, Janaka takes Usabbharāja, the holly bull of Śiva, to plough the ground and look for it. When he finds her, he discovers that the girl has grown into extremely beautiful virgin (8). Moreover, the Cambodian Palace Mural also shows the origin of the Sītā who was born to Mandodarī, Rāvaṇa's consort. After Sītā's birth, it was predicted that she would be the cause of the destruction of the town of Laṅkā. Therefore, she was placed in a bowl and set a drift in the ocean. Another example is the episode of Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā. In the Reamker Text, the episode of Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā is described prior to the incident of a monkey king called Vālin killing a water buffalo, Dundubhi. By contrast, the Cambodian Palace Mural expresses the episode of Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā after the scene of Vālin killing Dundubhi. Thus, it can presume that these episode, undoubtedly, were taken from the Thai Palace Mural.

Nevertheless, there exist some episodes that are harmonized with or possibly were taken from the Reamker Text such as the story of Kaikēyī, the second Queen of King Daśaratha, who asks the king to give his kingdom to Bharata (11); Dundubhi kills his father, Darabhā (12); Vālin kills Dundubhi (13); Hanumān and Aṅgada are sent to invite Mahājambū to be Rāma's ally (22); Mahājambū puts Hanumān and Aṅgada in an iron cage. During the night, Hanumān and Aṅgada tear apart this cage and fly up to break the tower off of Mahājambū's palace. The two monkeys lift up the bed on which Mahājambū is sleeping, and fly with it to pay homage to Rāma (23); when Bibhek is curing Lakṣmaṇa who is wounded by Kumbhakarṇa's lance, Hanumān flies to stop the

sun from rising. He hits the Sun God's horses since the Sun God keeps moving his chariot (59).

Besides the Thai Palace Mural, the Ramakien Text and the Reamker Text, this part combines with other sources both oral and written sources. Firstly, the depiction of Rāma's army builds the causeway to Laṅkā (39). Together with this presentation, the Cambodian Palace Mural shows the incident of Hanumān playing chess with another monkey at the time of construction of the causeway. This incident has not been executed in the Thai Palace Mural or mentioned in the Ramakien Text. By contrast, in the Thai Palace Mural, other different episodes have been merged in the scene of construction of the causeway to Laṅkā as well. According to many distinctions from one another, therefore, it could be concluded that the depiction of the building of the causeway to Laṅkā in the Cambodian Palace Mural was not taken from the Thai Palace Mural or the Ramakien Text. The source of this incident, undoubtedly, was taken from the oral version coming from the Reamker story, for instance, Ta Chak's version. Secondly, the episode called "Vaiyarāb(ṇ) magically put Rāma to sleep," illustrated from panel 46 to 54, is the least amalgamated two sources: the treatise called "Kāl Vaiyarāb(ṇ) Saṇṭaṃ Yak Braḥ Rāma Pān" (Vaiyarāb(ṇ) magically put Rāma to sleep) and the oral version similar to Ta Chak's version. It is possible to say that these two recensions – transferred between one generation to another generation over the course of time and space and did not come down to us – were probably intermingled and became another new version that the Cambodian muralist used as the source. Thirdly, it is the presentation of Sugrīva being caught by Kumbhakarṇa. Hanumān and Aṅgada are sent to rescue him (57). Although we do not know for sure of its source, at least there exist similar episodes that can be found in the oral version recited by Ta Chak and Ta Soy. Fourthly, it is the illustration of Kumbhakarṇa going to perform a magical ritual to render his lance more powerful. In the Cambodian Palace Mural, Hanumān lonely is sent to destroy Kumbhakarṇa's ritual by transforming himself into an eagle (58). The source of this episode is anonymous, yet it is more comparable with the episode found in Ta Soy's recension, which narrates that "Hanumān and Aṅgada are sent to disturb Kumbhakarṇa's ritual by changing their forms in to a bear and an eagle". Fifthly, it is the episode of Kumbhakarṇa using his body to stop the river water from reaching

Rāma's army. Aṅgada and Hanumān manage to disturb Kumbhakarṇa and free the waters by changing their form into that of a crow and a rotting corpse of a dog (60). It is the most popular episode among the Cambodian Villagers' Mask Dance Drama. They have this episode performed when their village is facing drought. Interestingly, the episode is narrated in Thiounn's version. Besides Thiounn's version, this episode probably going to have in a written text which narrated by Ta Soy as well because he is the one of narrators of Mask Dance troop of Vat Svay Andet where the episode has been selected to perform very often. Unfortunately, Ta Soy passed away before finishing his recitation, particularly in the episode of Sītā being exiled and the last part of Kumbhakarṇa scene.[38] Lastly, the depiction of Kumbhakarṇa going to meditate to become even stronger is disturbed by Hanumān, who transforms himself into heavenly divinity dancing in front of Kumbhakarṇa. The incident has not existed in either Thai Palace Mural or other Cambodian written sources. The source of this scene is anonymous.

Although the majority of the episodes in this part were taken from the Thai Mural, some principal protagonist names follow the Reamker Text. Interestingly, in Thiounn' s version who had his Reamker Version composed in conjunction with the Cambodian Palace Mural – right after the Cambodian Palace Mural is completed – modified the Thai character names that use in the Cambodian Palace Mural's captions into the Cambodian names found in the Reamker Text. This proves that although the Thai hegemony strongly dominated the Cambodian muralist, the Reamker Text was still appreciated by some Khmer people during that time.

For the second part, on the other hand, all the episodes are followed the Thai Palace Mural. Nevertheless, some distinctions are hardly avoidable, for instance, the representation of Rāvaṇa inviting his friends, Mūlabalaṃ/Sahassṭejaḥ and Sahassṭejaḥ/ Mūlabalaṃ. Sahassṭejah/Mūlabalaṃ then sends his commander Dasrāksmī into battle. Rāma sends Aṅgada to fight and he kills Dasrāksmī (78). The presentation of Aṅgada slaying the demon Dasrāksmī is shown neither in the Thai Palace Mural nor inscribed in the Ramakien Text. The source of this episode is unfamiliar to us. Another distinction

[38] See Pi Bunnin, Reamker Bol Doy Ta Soy (The Reamker Ricited by Ta Soy). p. gh.

can be found in the panel 144. The Cambodian Palace Mural shows Panlaicakra/ Pralayachakra capturing Śatrughna with his hands while the Thai Palace Mural shows Panlaicakra/Pralayachakra shooting an arrow which turns in to a Makara (a crocodile with elephant trunk). The Makara carries Śatrughna up to the sky. Bharata orders Sugrīva, Hanumān, Aṅgada and Nilaphāta to look for Śatrughna. Hanumān changes himself into the eagle and destroys the Makara, so that Sugrīva can take Śatrughna back. The last difference is found in the presentation of Cakravit fighting against Bharata and Śatrughna while his commanders battle: Mahāmegha fights with Nilaphāta, Nantyubhakkh fights with Nila-aeka, Cakrasūra fights with Nilananda/Nilanala, and Mahākāla fights with Hanumān. This presentation has been found neither in the Thai Palace Mural nor the Ramakien Text. The source of this presentation is anonymous.

The third part – panel 158 to 175, from the ogress Ātulay/Atura Pisāch asking Sītā to draw a portrait of Rāvaṇa to Sītā descending to the underworld, the land of the Nāgas, and Hanumān following Sītā and pleading for her return – precisely follows the Reamker Text. As in the Reamker Text Rāma and Sītā are not reconciled. Therefore, they probably are not satisfied with such separate conclusions because it is not portentousness when the two principal protagonists, Rāma and Sītā, could not be reconciled. Again, they took the last episodes of the Thai Palace Mural, from panel 175 to 192, to complete the story of the Cambodian Palace Mural, so that it makes the Cambodian Palace Mural conclude in a magnificent outcome, which is the re-marrying of Rāma and Sītā.

Readers should bear in mind that although the Cambodian Palace Mmural is influenced by the Thai Palace Mural, the expression such as selected episodes, chronological organization of the plot are sometimes similar and sometimes different. Most different is perhaps the compositions of the episodes that will be treated in detail in the next part. The same episode, for instance, is sometimes executed in detail in the Cambodian Palace Mural but in lesser detail in the Thai Palace Mural and vice versa the detail can be found in the Thai Palace Mural but the sketchy depiction in the Cambodian Palace Mural. On the other hand, some episodes that have appeared in the Cambodian Palace Mural do not exist in the Thai Palace Mural. On the contrary, some scenes have

been illustrated in the Thai Palace Mural are not present in the Cambodian Palace Mural. Some elements have been added to, removed from or otherwise modified in accordance with muralist's preference and knowledge.

5.3 Presentations of the Episodes in the Mural Paintings

As we already saw from the comparison of the painted episodes above, many of them were taken from the Thai Palace Mural. On the part below, I will select five principal scenes – which are the Royal Court, Ceremony to Lift the Great Bow, the Building of the Causeway to Laṅkā, the Last Battle of Rāvaṇa, and Sītā's Ordeal by Fire – for making a thorough comparison. The comparison attempts to find out how the Thai and Cambodian muralists compose those scenes and to what extent the Thai Palace Mural's composition influences the Cambodian Palace Mural.

5.3.1 The Royal Court

In the real Royal Court, the king always requests the present of his royal household officials or royal guests in the audience to be inside the throne hall or in the audience hall. However, in the mural paintings[39], the way that muralist expresses the aspect of the Royal Court is different from reality. As for the painting, if the city is depicted, it is symbolized by the palace or temple complex, and the palace or temple complex is supposed to be the throne hall, audience hall, ordination hall or assembly hall. When an assembly or a sermon is taken place, the king or Buddha or Bodhisatva (the future Buddha), presides over the meeting by sitting inside and central of the opened wall building on the throne or upper level seat while the other participants sit beside on lower level seats and on the floor. Such a composition, viewers can see the picture in two dimensions, which are the fine decoration of the whole building and the entire characters in the building as well. The concept and composition are quite related to the bas-relief of the ancient Khmer temple. Since the perspective technique did not yet influence the Khmer carver, we can see in the assembly scene that seated people were illustrated as row upon row of figures showing the same attitude (picture 54). Therefore, it might be that the composition in the Thai mural paintings, more or less, was inspired by the bas-relief of the ancient Khmer temples since their histories are very close to one another. The composition has become a tradition for the muralist, who

[39] The painting here is referred to the traditional mural painting which is not influenced yet by the modern perspective from Europe.

works from the traditional painting, and has been widespread in the country. One can see, for instance, the scene from the Buddha preaching in the Tavatimsa Heaven of the Thrity-three, the mural painting of Wat Rajasittharam, Thonburi (picture 55) and the scene from Nemi Jātaka where Nemi is talking with the gods assembled in the Heaven of the Thirty-three, the mural painting of Wat Suwannaram, Thonburi.

Picture 54 A hermit gives a sermon to the hosts of divinities and hermits. Bas-relief of Bayon temple, Siem Reap, 13th century.

Picture 55 Buddha preaching in the Tavatimsa Heaven flanked by the host of deities sitting in a row and showing the same attitude. The composition is quite identical with the bas-relief above.
Mural painting, Ubosot of Wat Rajasittharam, Thonburi,
end of 18th century, Ratanakosin School.[40]

[40] This picture taken from Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 179.

The composition has been changed gradually since the Thai muralist adopted the perspective technique from the Europeans. The mural painting in the Grand palace of Thailand is a good example of this new trend. The presentation of the Thai Palace Mural is distinct from the other Buddhist sanctuaries. Did the variation of the composition take place since the time of renovation? It is not the case because if they were modified by that time at least, if not all, some original compositions would still be preserved. Nevertheless, the scenes of royal assembly, here, throughout the painting are almost the same. In the painting, the kings preside over assembly by sitting on the balcony and sometimes seated in front of the main closed wall mansion while his subjects sit prostrate on ground floor. The same composition can be found when Rāma assembles his army in his encampment during the battle at Laṅkā. Only the kings' wife or his brother, very rarely, has a seat beside the king; whereas the king' s brothers and sons sit on carpet or at a high level seat on the ground (picture 56).

Picture 56 King Janaka assembles with his ministers to find a husband for Sītā. The king presides over the meeting by sitting on the balcony, while his officials sit prostrate on the ground floor. (Thai Palace Mural)

As for the Cambodian Palace Mural, since the perspective was still unfamiliar to the artist, the composition of royal assembly is different from the Thai Palace Mural. In either palace or encampment, the kings preside over the meeting by sitting in rows inside the opened building flanked by court ladies, king's wives, brothers and sons, high

ranking commanders and officers. The kings' seat is higher than their subjects and always in the center of building. However, there are some officers, probably minor officer, and soldiers sitting on the ground as well (picture 57). This composition is more similar to the mural painting in other Thai Buddhist monasteries than the mural painting in the Grand Palace of Thailand. Since the complex recycling of ideas is common to the region, the Cambodian muralist perhaps adopted the model from the Thai Buddhist monasteries rather than from the bas-relief of ancient Khmer temple itself.

Picture 57 Rāvaṇa has an audience with his ministers. The composition here is similar to the bas-relief of the Bayon temple as well as the painting of Wat Rajasittharam. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

It might be useful to mention here, according to my observation, the Cambodian Palace Mural shows monkey generals or monkey soldiers serving as Rāma's servants fanning him in the encampment, while this aspect quite rarely appears in the Thai Palace Mural. However, I myself can not find any precise answer for these different illustrations. Thus, this question will be opened to future study.

5.3.2 Ceremony to Lift the Great Bow

King Janaka had a bow which was very heavy. The king announced that whoever was clever and strong enough to lift the bow would be given Sītā as his Queen. Kings from many cities came to try to lift the bow, but none of them managed to lift it. The hermit Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra led Rāma to try to lift the bow and he did so easily. King Janaka then prepared the wedding of Sitā and Rāma.

In the Thai Palace Mural, the incident takes place inside the palace complex. The two hermits, Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, followed by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, approach the ceremony pavilion while Sitā looks at Rāma from her chamber's window. At the center of the place complex sit a lodge with a pointed roof and opened wall, where the ceremony takes place. On the stage, at the center of the lodge, Rāma is managing to lift the bow up in his right hand and raise his left leg. It seems he attempts to hit someone with the bow yet not attempting to draw the bow as the story said. This attitude is always seen in the Thai mask dance drama in the combat scene. Not far from him, king Janaka, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā are looking toward Rāma. The ceremony is accompanied by Brahmins playing conch shells, musicians playing elephant ivory instruments and trumpets, and the Thai classical orchestra. It is also participated in by Indra, divinities, hermits, princes and royal household officials (picture 58-59).

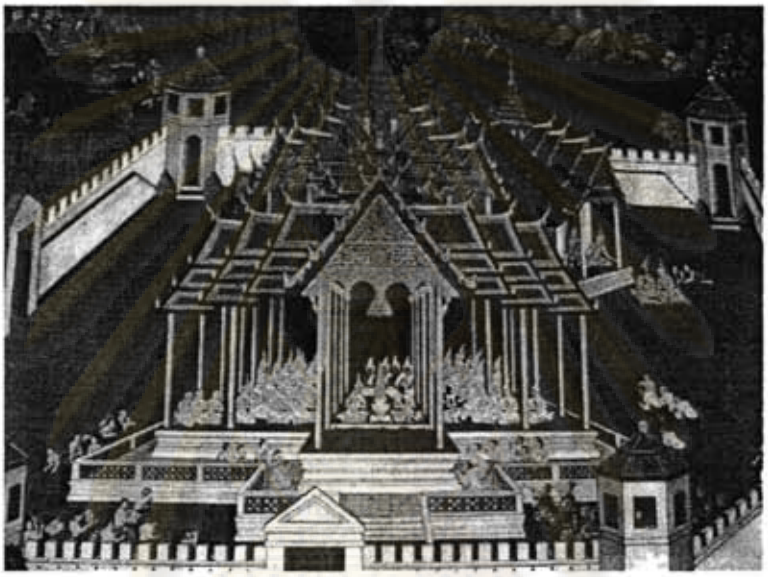
After his victory in the bow contest, the wedding ceremony of Rāma and Sitā is arranged. However, the ceremony is not composed on the same panel or close to the bow contest panel. The two presentations are separated by the two more panels, namely, the scene of Bharata and Śatrughna take leave of Bharata's maternal grandfather, the king of Kaikēya, to return to the town of Ayodhyā and the episode of Bharata and Śatrughna ask for permission to go and join Rāma's wedding in the town of Mithilā.

Picture 58 The two hermits lead Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to the ceremony place while Sītā looks at Rāma from her room (left); the ceremony of bow contest (right). (Thai Palace Mural)

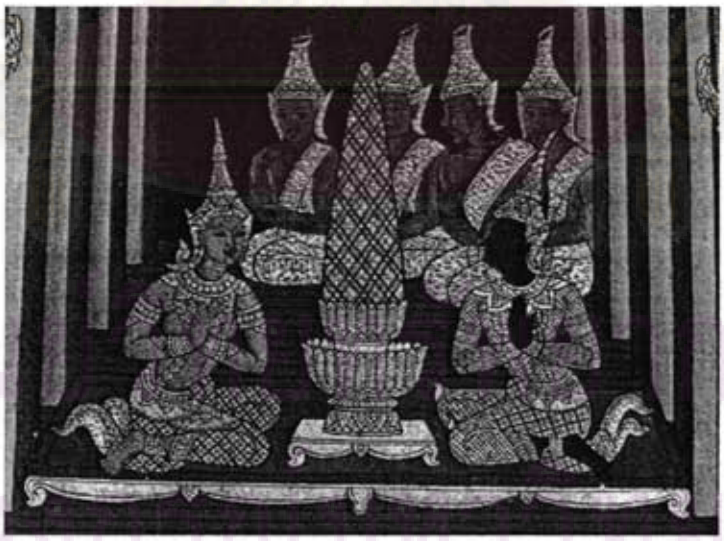
Picture 59 Rāma lift the heavy bow. (Thai Palace Mural)

The presentation of the wedding ceremony is held in the opened wall chamber with two additional covered roofs, which are situated in the foreground of the palace complex. At the center of the ceremonial hall, the groom and bride sit beside a tray with pedestal called Phan Phum with their joined hands and looking each other. In the background, there sit four hermits and they seemingly have no function related to the ceremony. The couple is flanked by Indra, a host of deities and their royal families. The Brahmins, officers and court ladies sit on the basement of the pavilion while the others and orchestras sit on the ground floor. All the participants sit with joined hands, except

the four hermits, toward the couple (picture 60-61). A similar depiction of the wedding ceremony can be seen in other mural paintings in Buddhist monasteries in Thailand from the scene of the life of the Lord Buddha, which is the marriage of Prince Suddhodana and Princess Mahāmāyā. For instance, the mural painting in Wat Buddhaisawan in National Museum of Bangkok and the wedding of Prince Siddhattha and Princess Bimbā at Wat Khongkharam, Ratchaburi.



Picture 60 The marriage of Rāma and Sītā. (Thai Palace Mural)



Picture 61 Rāma and Sītā reverence the Phan Phum, a tray with pedestal, while the four hermits at the back sit quiet. (Thai Palace Mural)

Through these depictions, we can see that the wedding ceremony is very simple; it seems that there is no special ritual for the marriage. This seemingly agrees with what John Bowring, a British envoy who came to the court of Siam in the reign of King Rama IV in 1855, stated that "No religious rites accompany the marriage, though bonzes are invited to the feast."[41] In addition, H.G. Quaritch Wales who conducted the research on the Siamese ceremonies puts:

> There was no religious ceremony of marriage at any time in the life of a concubine, and really no such ceremony is practiced by any class of Siamese. The tying of the wrists with colored cords is not peculiar to marriage, and the feast in which the monks participate is a housewarming feast, and not a marriage ceremony.... Marriage in Siam, for both prince and commoner, is a non-religious civil contact, and is made binding by the handing over of the bride by the parents and the commencement of her common life with the bridegroom.[42]

Their statements are convincing because if there was any special religious ritual that occurred in the weddings, it would be depicted in the paintings like the Cambodian Palace Mural, since some famous artists were closely related to or even worked in the royal court. Thus, all royal traditions taking place in the royal court would not be able to be kept out of the artists' sight.

Unlike the Thai Palace Mural, the scene of bow contest and the marriage of Rāma and Sītā in the Cambodian Palace Mural are composed in a single panel and the ceremony of the bow contest is held outside but close to the place complex. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa led by Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra are walking to the ceremonial pavilion, which is situated at the back of the principle building. In front of the pavilion, Rāma stands by raising his right leg and holding the bow in his right hand in shooting posture. The position is very similar to the posture of the warrior in the bas-relief of the Angkor Wat temple. In the ceremony, Lakṣmaṇa sits on ground close to Rāma while the two hermits, king Janaka, Sītā and court ladies subsequently sit in row inside the pavilion.

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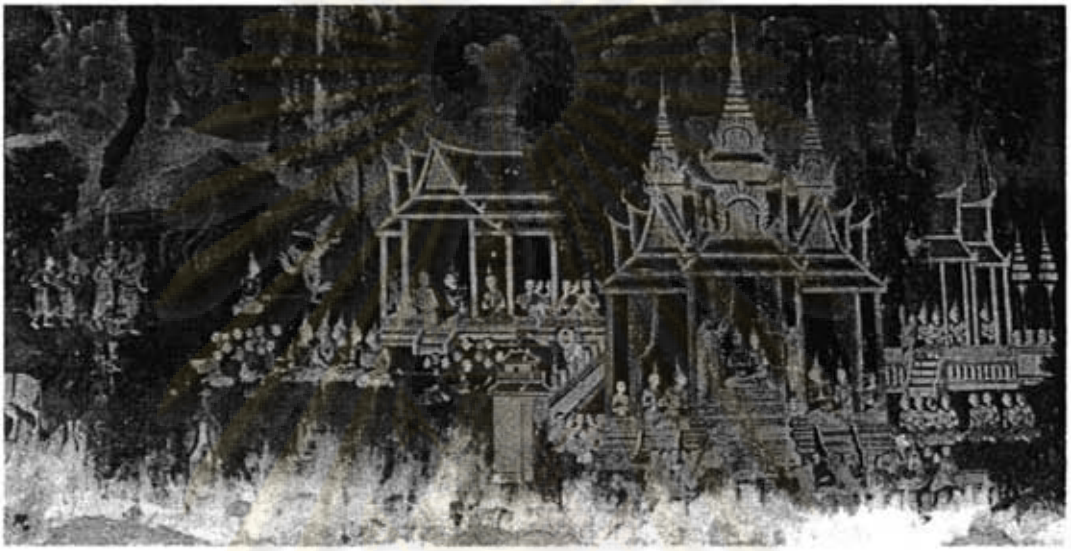
[41] John Bowring, The Kingdom and People of Siam (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 118.

[42] H.G. Quaritch Wales, Siamese State Ceremonies: Their History and Function (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1992), p. 48.

On the ground, there are some princes and officers; some are talking while the others are watching the performance (picture 62).

The marriage of Rāma and Sītā is arranged inside the principal building with three pointed roof without wall. In the center of the hall, the couple sits side by side in a



Picture 62 Rāma is shooting an arrow in the bow contest (left); the wedding of Rāma and Sītā (right). (Cambodian Palace Mural)

higher level seat with their joined hands and holding a sacred sword while the two hermits, Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, pour the lustral water on them. King Janaka and his wife and king Daśaratha and his consort sit beside the two standing hermits but in lower level. There is no orchestra as in the Thai Palace Mural but there are Brahmins who play conch shells and probably small trumpets. Also, there are some other participants such as princes, officials and court ladies sitting on the ground (picture 63). A similar representation is executed in Wat Kampongtralach Krom, Kampong Chnang, in the scene from Vessantara Jātaka which is the marriage of Vessantara and Madri and Wat Sisowath Ratanaram, Kandal, the wedding of Buddha's parents, King Suddhodana and Queen Mahāmāyā, in the story of the life of the Buddha. The presentation of pouring or sprinkling the lustral water – a Hindu religious ritual – as well as the groom and bride holding a sword – represented the fertilization and prosperity for the new couple[43] – are

[43] The sword symbolizes male and female organs; the blade represents the male while the sheath belongs to the female. When the blade is put into the sheath, it represents the sexual intercourse between male and female; then the fertilization will take place.

found in the Cambodian royal wedding or even in the ordinary people's marriage (picture 64). Thus, like the Thai, the Cambodian muralist adopted the composition from the Cambodian royal court's wedding ceremony to express the mural. According to the tradition, it is the Brahmin who pours the lustral water on the groom and bride. However, to comply with the story, in the mural painting of the Cambodian Royal Palace, the painter modifies a little bit from Brahmin to hermit since the hermit's position is more crucial and higher than Brahmin in the Reamker story.

Picture 63 Hermits Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra pour lustral water on the Rāma and Sītā. The couple holds a sword which symbolizes the fertilization and prosperity. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

Picture 64 The Cambodian wedding ceremony. The groom and bride hold a sword while their relatives tie their wrists with the sacred thread.

5.3.3 The Building of the Causeway to Laṅkā

Rāma ordered Sugrīva to make a road across the sea to Laṅkā, using all the monkey troops to carry stones and drop them into the sea. While they were building the causeway, Nilaphāta quarreled with Hanumān. Lakṣmaṇa finally had to step in and stop their fight. Meanwhile the Queen of the fish, Suvaṇṇamacchā, who is half human-half fish, ordered her fishes to destroy the causeway. Seeing that many of the stones put down by the monkeys were quickly disappearing, Hanumān dove into the water and saw Suvaṇṇamacchā. Hanumān caught her and they fell in love. Suvaṇṇamacchā then ordered her fishes to help build the road. Hanumān and Suvaṇṇamacchā had a child called Macchānubva who had the body of a white monkey and the tail of fish. A demon called Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva asked to adopt Macchānubva and took him to live under the sea in the city of Pātāla.

In the Thai Palace Mural, the building of the causeway to Laṅkā is a beautiful and colorful scene. The presentation of this event is probably the biggest one because it occupies four panels. On the first panel, Rāma's army builds a causeway to Laṅkā. On the lower panel, monkey generals are breaking up the rocks by using a hammer or their hands while the other monkey soldiers are carrying stones by a cart towards the sea. Whereas in the upper portion, Hanumān hung rocks on every hair of his thick pelt and then he drops them on Nilaphāta; Hanumān quarrels with Nilaphāta and Sugrīva steps in to stop their combat.

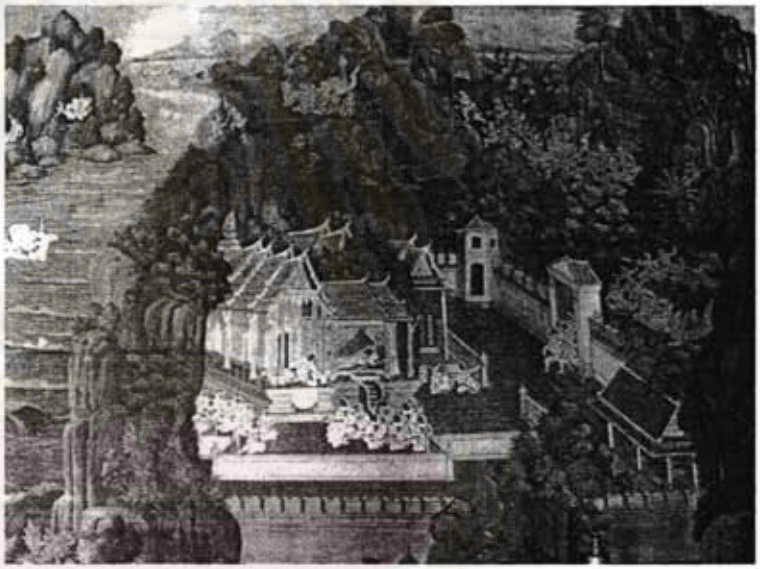
Another panel, Rāvaṇa orders Suvaṇṇamacchā to destroy the cause way. In the upper-left panel sits Laṅkā city which is built on an island that continuously touches up the horizon. This helped visitors imagine how big Laṅkā is. In front of the city complex, there exists an open shelter erected on the bank of the sea. At the hut, Rāvaṇa is ordering Suvaṇṇamacchā, who lies on a stone with the palms of the hands joined, to destroy the road. The upper-right sits another small island where Hanumān is making love with Suvaṇṇamacchā and close to the couple, it shows Suvaṇṇamacchā meeting a demon who comes to invite Suvaṇṇamacchā to meet Rāvaṇa. The foreground of the panel represents many aquatic creatures: large and small fishes, sharks, a huge mythical

sea monster, half demon-half snake, and a couple of half fish-half humans. They are carrying away the boulders being dumped into the sea by the monkeys. Here, Hanumān is shown in three actions: Hanumān killing a huge fish, Hanumān fighting with a big mythical sea monster with one hand and pointing to Suvaṇṇamacchā who is supervising the destruction with another hand, and Hanumān catching Suvaṇṇamacchā (picture 65).

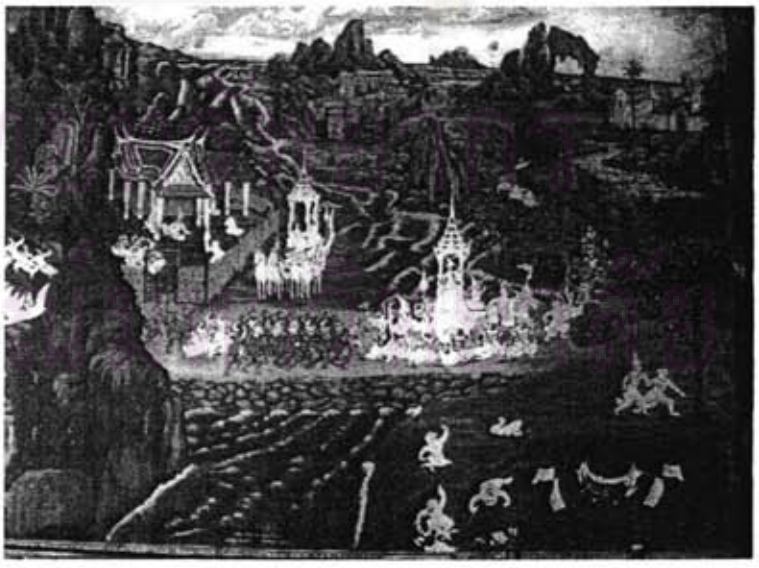
The foreground of third panel is occupied by the kingdom of Pātāla which is separated from the sea by boulders and vegetation. In the palace, we see the demon king, Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva, sleeping in his chamber on the right of principal palace; as the story told us, while he was sleeping he dreamed about what an angel told him, that he will have a strong son. On the right of the bedroom, Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva sits on the balcony of the main palace while his officials sit on the floor in front of him with joined palm hands. Of them, there is a fortuneteller who is interpreting Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/ Mayarāva's dream. At the gate of the palace, Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva is just coming back from the seashore bringing along with him his adopted-son, Macchānubva. On the upper-right of the panel, there exist a procession to accompany Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva to the seashore and the procession stops near the bank while Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva walks to the shore and finds Macchānubva. At the far upper-right, Suvaṇṇamacchā gives birth to Macchānubva, on the seashore with the help of angels and heavenly maidens (picture 66).

After successfully constructing the causeway, Rāma's army crosses the ocean to Laṅkā. This scene is composed in the fourth panel. At the lower part, a demon called Bhānurāj hides himself under the road while Hanumān goes into the earth and beheads the demon. On the upper portion, Mātulī, Indra's charioteer, with the Bechayant chariot sent to Rāma by Indra, waits Rāma outside the camp while Rāma assembles with his army in the camp. We also see Rāma mounted on the chariot stationed in the middle of procession and marching across the ocean by a new road toward the new campsite at the far upper part (picture 67).

Picture 65 Hanumān fights Nilaphāta while Sugrīva stops them combat (left); the city of Laṅkā (right above); Hanumān fights sea monsters (right bellow). (Thai Palace Mural)



Picture 66 Mayarāva asks a fortuneteller to interpret his dream (below); Mayarāva and his army go to the shore while he find Macchānubva (above); Suvaṇṇamacchā gives a birth to her baby (far above). (Thai Palace Mural)

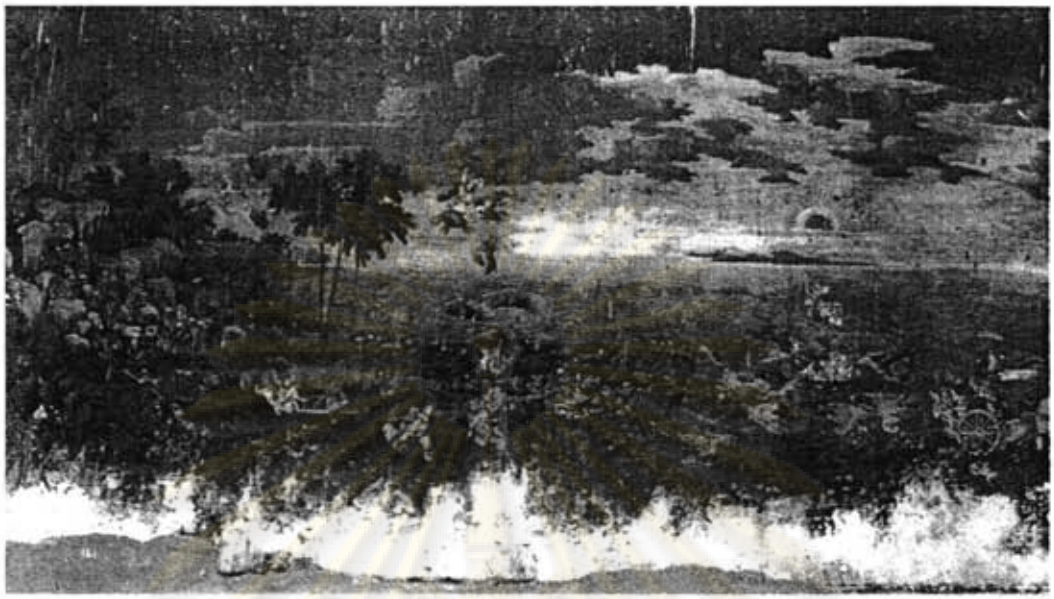


Picture 67 Rāma and his army cross the ocean toward Laṅkā (above); Hanumān kills a demon called Bhānurāj (bellow). (Thai Palace Mural)

Both Thai and Cambodia muralists seem to consider this event as the most important one. Like the Thai Palace Mural, this scene is three or four time bigger than the usual panel. Nevertheless, the composition is different from the Thai Palace Mural because the scene of the building of the causeway to Laṅkā and Rāma's army across the ocean to Laṅkā are intermingled to be a single scene. On the other hand, the three scenes in the Thai Mural, namely – Rāvaṇa instructs Suvaṇṇamacchā to destroy the causeway; Suvaṇṇamacchā gives birth to Macchānubva and Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva finds the boy and raises him as his stepson; Hanumān kills the demon Bhānurāj – do not appear in the Cambodian Palace Mural. In the Cambodian Palace Mural, the ocean is more colossal and the construction looks more active than the Thai Palace Mural. On the left-upper part, a mass monkey army, carrying a rock or boulder on their shoulder or hands, alone or with their partner, marches toward the causeway. Nilaphāta brings stones and drops them on Hanumān who uses one of his hands for catching the stones while playing chess with the other hand. This incident does not appear in the Thai Mural. Not far from here, Hanumān collects a huge load of stones and then drops them all down on Nilaphāta and the combat between Hanumān and Nilaphāta. On the left-lower portion, from left to right, Sugrīva orders Hanumān and Nilaphāta to construct the road; Sugrīva stops the fighting of Hanumān and Nilaphāta; Lakṣmaṇa comes to help Sugrīva to stop their combat.

The central scene presents different species of fish carrying rocks away by their mouths. Hanumān approaches from the air and catches Suvaṇṇamacchā.

The right portion shows the long and ceremonial procession of Rāma's army across the causeway toward the camp at the other side of the ocean. Rāma's army not only crosses the sea by land but also by sea. Not far from the procession, we also see a Chinese junk loaded with group of monkey soldiers wearing Chinese hats. The junk tows another small boat (picture 68-70).



Picture 68 A mass of monkey army carry rocks toward the bridge while Hanumān is playing chess and then Hanumān quarrels with Nilaphāta (left); while the marine animals carry rocks away, Hanumān approaches from the air and captures Suvaṇṇamacchā (right). (Cambodian Palace Mural)

Picture 69 Hanumān plays chess with one hand while he catches the stone with the other hand. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

Picture 70 Rāma's army crosses the causeway to Laṅkā while the other monkey army crosses the sea by junk. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

The popularity of the episode of the construction of the causeway to Laṅkā is not only presented in the painting in the last few centuries but also in the bas-relief of ancient temples, for instance, on the lintel of sanctuary of Phimai temple in northeast Thailand, built in late 11th to late 12th centuries and the bas-relief at Prambanan in Central Java, possibly early 9th century. The representation of this episode of both temples are in general agreement, which is the destruction of the causeway by the action of sea monsters carrying away the rocks dumped into the sea by the monkeys. According to J.J. Boeles, this important incident is not mentioned in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa and, therefore, another version must have been followed, the origin of which is uncertain.[44]

5.3.4 The Last Battle of Rāvaṇa

Rāvaṇa led his troops into the battle for the last time, changing himself into the form of Brahma (or Indra in the Thai Ramakien). When Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa saw Brahma approaching them, they stood and stared, overcome with awe. Hanuman quickly informs Rāma that the image of Brahma was really Rāvaṇa in disguise. Rāma then raised his bow and shot the arrow at Rāvaṇa, knocking him from his chariot and changing his form back into that of demon. Rāvaṇa called Bibhek to come to his side and the two brothers talked and wept together until Rāvaṇa died.

On the upper portion of the Thai Palace Mural, both antagonists align against each other and are ready for battle. Rāma's army stands at the left side while Rāvaṇa's soldier stations at the right side. Rāma valiantly stands on heavenly chariot with Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān, which is surrounded by monkey army. Rāma's chariot is driven by Mātulī, Indra's charioteer, and drawn by horses. Rāma seemingly does not attempt to shoot arrows at his enemy because, as mentioned in the story, he sees the god Indra approaching him not Rāvaṇa. Whereas Rāvaṇa in the form of Indra fearlessly stands on his chariot – driven by his charioteer and drown by mythical animals, Siṅhas – stands ready to shoot an arrow at Rāma. Rāvaṇa's chariot is led by the demon army. Here, the battle does not start yet because the two enemies remain aggressively standing

[44] J.J. Boeles, "A Rāmāyaṇa Relief from the Khmer Sanctuary at Pimai in North-East Thailand," The Journal of Siam Society, Vol LVII, Part 1, 1969, p. 169.

and staring at each other. The symmetrical composition is explicit in the illustration. This composition is prevalent in battle scenes regardless of Thai or Cambodian Palace mural.

On the lower part, the battle is almost finished. On the left, Rāma stands on his vehicle and shoots arrows at Rāvaṇa while on the right side, Rāvaṇa is mortally wounded by Rāma's arrow and falls down on his broken chariot. His army is frightened and attempts to run away. Rāvaṇa tumbles on the ground with an arrow deep into his chest while Bibhek sits and weeps in front of his brother. In the middle of the fighting, Hanumān uses his two hands and one leg to crush Rāvaṇa's heart box. The foreground of the scene shows Rāvaṇa lying dead on the ground while his queens, Mandodarī and Āggīṇāg/Aggī, Bibhek, armies and court ladies cry over him (picture 71).

The composition of Rāvaṇa's last battle does not look brutal and vigorous because the armies of both sides do not fight with each other except Rāma and Rāvaṇa.

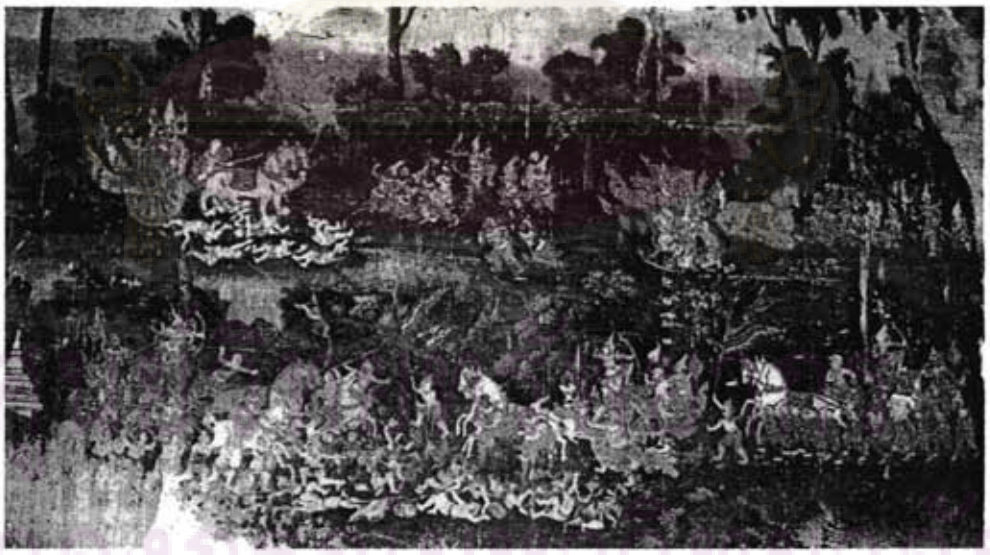
In general, the composition of this battle in the Thai and Cambodian Palace Murals looks similar, where the upper part shows the battle just starting while in the lower part, both antagonists vigorously combat each other. Nevertheless, they are to a certain extent different in detail, for instance, Rāvaṇa is in the form of Brahma in Cambodian Palace Mural while in the Thai Palace Mural Rāvaṇa is shown in the form of Indra.

On the left of upper level, Rāvaṇa in the form of Brahma sits on his chariot, driven by a demon and drawn by Siṁhas as the same as the Thai Palace Mural, while his soldiers are lied dead on the earth. On the middle, Rāma, surrounded by his seated companions, stands on the ground and shoots arrows at Brahma. On the right, Rāvaṇa with a mortal wound sits beside Bibhek near his broken chariot. The two brothers weep together. Near the spot, Rāma instructs Bibhek to go to meet Rāvaṇa before he dies.

At the lower part, unlike the Thai Palace Mural, both enemies drastically and brutally fight with one another. Monkeys use their mouths to kill the demons while the

demons kill monkeys with swords or spears; some of them die and the others are wounded. On the left, Rāvaṇa stands on his vehicle and shoots arrows at Rāma. On the right side, Rāma mounts his chariot followed by another chariot occupied by Lakṣmaṇa but none of them seems attempt to answer Rāvaṇa (picture 72).

Picture 71 Rāvaṇa in the form of Indra, right, shoot arrows at Rāma, left (above); Rāvaṇa is mortal wound and at the same time Hanumān crush Rāvaṇa's heart (middle); Rāvaṇa's consorts and Bibhek cry over him (lower). (Thai Palace Mural)



Picture 72 Rāma, right, shoots arrows at Rāvaṇa who is in the form of Brahma riding on the chariot, left (above-left); Rāvaṇa with mortal wound sits beside Bibhek and they weep together (above-right); Rāvaṇa, left, shoots arrows at Rāma, right, while the demons and monkeys brutally kill each other (below). (Cambodian Palace Mural)

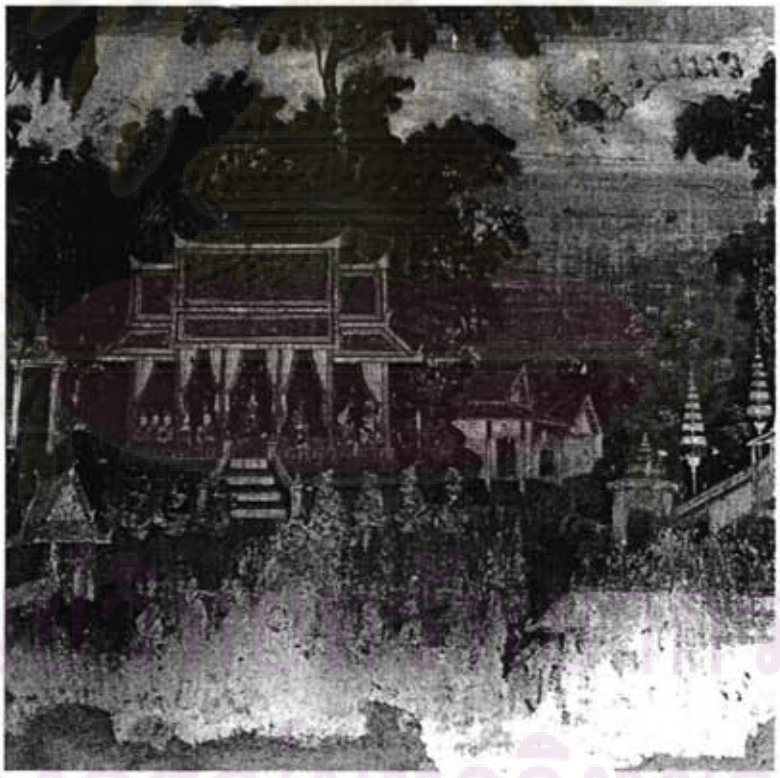
5.3.5 Sītā's Ordeal by Fire

After the death of Rāvaṇa, Bibhek led Sītā to meet Rāma. However, Rāma refused to acknowledge Sītā as his Queen, since she had been in the city of the demon for twelve years by then and Rāma feared that she had not been faithful to him. Therefore, Rāma decided to test the fidelity of Sītā by making her walk through fire. Indra led beautiful women down to earth. When Sītā stepped in the fire, lotus flowers immediately grew out of it, supporting her feet so that they did not burn. Seeing this, Rāma agreed to take Sītā back as his Queen.

In the Thai Palace Mural, the incident is ceremoniously held; it gathers the host of divinities, hermits, Kinnars, Garuḍa, demons and Rāma's armies to be Sītā's witness. At the central of the assembly, Sītā walks through fire with joined hands and lotus flower growing out to support her feet. The fire is surrounded by low fences consisting of four entrances and at each corner of the fence are decorations with five tier umbrellas. Close to the spot, Hanumān is fanning a fire. At the right part, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa sit inside the pavilion but Rāma is higher than his brother while monkey armies sit on the earth outside the pavilion. At the left of the panel, Brahma, Indra, deities, Kinnars and Garuḍa sit and stand on the stone while some divinities, hermits and demons sit on the ground (picture 73).

As for the Cambodian Palace Mural, the presentation of the episode is in smaller space and not ceremonious like the Thai Palace Mural. The foreground of the panel presents Sītā walking through fire with the support of the lotus flower; she is flanked by heavenly dancers. Here, we also see two commander monkeys sitting very quietly while the other monkey armies bring firewood and put it into the fire. At the background, Rāma sits in center of the pavilion and greets Indra who sits beside Lakṣmaṇa and another monkey. Behind Rāma, there are Mandodarī, Āggīṇāg/Aggī and their servants subsequently sitting in line. In front of the camp, Bibhek and other monkeys sit on the ground. On the upper portion, Indra leads the host of heavenly angles flying down toward the event (picture 74).

Picture 73 Sītā's ordeal by walking through the fire with the participations of the hosts of deities, demons and Rāma's army.



Picture 74 Sītā walks through the fire. She is flanked by heavenly dancers (almost vanished) (below); in the pavilion Rāma greets Indra who leads the host of angels to be the witness (above and far-above). (Cambodian Palace Mural)

Conclusion

Thus, we can see that even though the majority of episodes were taken from the Thai Palace Mural, the compositions are completely different. One of the distinctions came from the cultural inspiration of different society. For instance, the scene of marriage of Rāma and Sītā was inspired by the real ceremony of Cambodia and Thailand respectively. Another variation was made by the artists who always have their own style to compose the mural paintings. The third differentiation was caused by the muralists who composed the mural paintings by following the different source, for example, the presentation of Rāma's army constructing the causeway to Laṅkā.

Since almost all episodes from the epic have been selected for presentation, of course, some similar compositions cannot be avoided, for instance, the presentation of Hanumān guarding Rāma from Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva by transforming himself into a gigantic monkey to keep Rāma's pavilion in his mouth; Sugrīva enlarges his body into a colossal form to kill Thāppanāsūra; Hanumān transforms himself as a bridge for Bharata and Śatrughna's army to pass from Laṅkā to the mainland. At the first glance these presentations in the Thai and Cambodian Palace Murals appear almost identical, but the detail of the compositions, undoubtedly, is not the same since the Cambodian muralists have their own charm, context and style as mentioned above.

5.4 Iconography

The Reamker or Ramakien consists of three main types of protagonists: the humans as well as divinities, the demons, and the monkeys. The humans can be mainly classified into two types such as the high ranking persons and the common people. The demons and the monkeys on the other hand can be also divided into two kinds: the demon and monkey kings (or commanders) as well as the demon and monkey soldiers. As we can see in each group, there exist numerous characters so that it is impossible to study them all. Thus, for the human type, only the persons of high rank and divinities will be selected to study. As for the demon and monkey types, only principal characters, particularly the kings and commanders, will be treated thoroughly, while the common characters will be provided only the lists of their main characteristics.

5.4.1 Humans and divinities

For people of high rank and divine figures, both Thai and Cambodian Murals share the same characteristic, which is the combination of the royal ballet[45] and monarchal manners, which was discussed in previous part already (picture 22-24 and 43-45).

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa

Rāma is the son of King Daśaratha and his Queen Kauśalyā while his younger brother, Lakṣmaṇa, is the son of King Daśaratha and another Queen, Sumitrā. Rāma is an epic hero and well known for his personal happiness to keep his father's promise. He remains faithful to his wife and loves all his brothers and followers equally, while Lakṣmaṇa is a symbol of self-sacrifice and loyalty.

In the Cambodian Palace Mural, Rāma's complexion is depicted as green while Lakṣmaṇa presented in flesh colored skin, the same as in the Thai Palace Mural. This

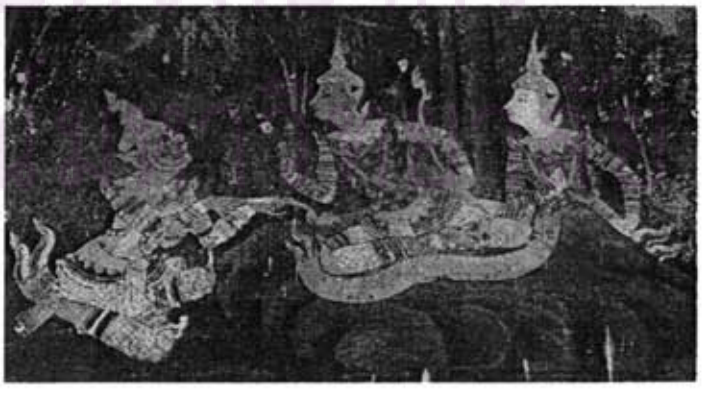
[45] We should bear in mind that the royal ballet's dress and ornamentations were originally adopted from the monarch's.

characteristic might be originally inherited from the Indian mural, but perhaps the Cambodian Palace Mural adopted it from the Thai Palace Mural. Their traits and adornments as well as their attributes, Rāma holding a bow and Lakṣmaṇa possessing a sword, are also identical with the Thai Palace Mural. Nonetheless, there exist some different presentations as well. In the Thai Palace Mural, Rāma is depicted with four arms as Viṣṇu in the scene of Rāma defeating the demons called Rāma-isūra/Rāma-Sura on the way back from Mithilā to Ayodhyā (picture 75-76) and the presentation of Rāma killing Kumbhakarṇa. In these two scenes, the Cambodian Palace Mural presents Rāma in proper manner. Nonetheless, both the Thai and Cambodian Palace Murals depict Rāma with four arms in the scene of Rāma killing Vālin and the scene of Hanumān taking Mahājambū to meet Rāma. Another, the distinction can be seen when Rāma was exiled to wandering in the forest by intrigue of his stepmother. In the Thai Palace Mural, before leaving the palace, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa change their princely clothes to the hermitic clothes which are represented by tiger skin cloth and fish tail-like headdress, while in the Cambodian Palace Mural, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa remain in their princely attires when they wander in the forest. Lastly, In the Thai Palace Mural Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are sometimes depicted with bare torso, while this trait has never existed in the Cambodian Palace Mural.

Picture 75

Picture 75-76 In the scene of Rāma defeating Rāma-isūra/ Rāma-Sura, the Thai Palace Mural depicts Rāma in the form of Nārāyaṇa (above), while the Cambodian Palace Mural illustrates Rāma in proper appearance (below).

Picture 76



Bharata and Śatrughna

Bharata and Śatrughna are half brothers of Rāma; Bharata is the son of King Daśaratha and Kaikēyī, while Śatrughna is the son of King Daśaratha and Sumitrā. These two brothers remain faithful to his brother, Rāma, even when their mother tries to have one of them coronated King of Ayodhyā instead of Rāma.

The distinction between these two protagonists in the Cambodian and Thai Palace Mural can be seen from their complexion. In the book entitled "The Reamker Painted by Chet Chan" which was published by Reyum, Bharata is described with dark earth colored skin and Śatrughna with flesh colored skin,[46] while the Thai text describes Bharata with red complexion and Śatrughna with light purple colored skin.[47] Practically, in the Cambodian Palace Mural these two princes are treated almost the same manner; while Bharata is present with dark earth colored skin, Śatrughna is depicted with light earth tone complexion. Whereas the Thai Palace Mural, Bharata is depicted almost the same as in the Cambodian Palace Mural, which is the dark earth colored skin; except Śatrughna is represented with a light purple complexion. In addition, the two brothers possess a bow as their attributes which are presented in both murals.

Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ amd Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava

Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ is the son who Sītā gives birth to after she has been cast out of Ayodhyā, while Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava is conjured up by the hermit.

Although the Cambodian and Thai episodes of Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava are identical with each other, the depictions of the characteristic of the two royal children are variant from one another at some points. The Thai Palace Mural depicts the two royal children with green complexion and bare torsos. The depiction of green complexion of these two princes can be found in Indian Mural as well; they have their head shaved but their topknot is kept. As for the Cambodian Palace Mural, Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava are depicted with flesh colored

[46] Reyum, The Reamker Painted by Chet Chan, p. 52.
[47] Mahā Vajirāvudh, "Notes on Siamese Theatre," p. 11.

skin; this depiction, was no doubt created by the Cambodian muralist. They wear shirt but they have a topknot as the Thai Palace Mural. Traditionally, in both Cambodian and Thai societies, a topknot signified child hood. The sacrality of hair stemmed both from the Indic reverence for the head as the supreme locus of power, and animist believers view of hair as a lair of evil spirits. To ward off such bad spirits, Khmer and Thai traditionally kept their children's heads shaved from birth to puberty, allowing only a topknot to grow.[48] This tradition has been prevalent in both Cambodian and Thai society even today (picture 77-80). Thus, although they have the topknot the same as the Thai Palace Mural, it was inspired by the Cambodian culture itself; it was not from the Thai Palace Mural. Besides, the Cambodian and Thai Mural share the same idea which is the depiction of Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava using the bow for their attribute. Again, the presentation in the Cambodian Palace Mural was perhaps inspired rather by the texts than by the Thai Palace Royal.

Picture 77 The two princes with the topknot, which reflects Thai socio-cultural attributes. (Thai Palace Mural)

Picture 78 A Thai prince during the reign of King Rama V, dressed for the tonsure ceremony which marked the official coming of age for both.[49]

[48] Penny Edwards, "Restyling Colonial Cambodia (1860-1954): French Dressing, Indigenous Custom and National Costume," Fashion Theory, Vol. 5, Issue 4 (Berg, 2001), p. 394; also see Ang Choulean, Brah Ling (Phnom Penh: Reyum, 2004); Ang Choulean, Preap Chan Mara and Sun Chan Dep, Damnoe Jivit Manuss Khmer (The Rites of Passage in the Life of Khmer People) (Phnom Penh: Hanuman Tour, 2007).

[49] This picture taken from William Warren and Luca Invernizzi Tettoni, Arts and Crafts of Thailand (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994), p. 16.

Picture 79 The mural depicts the two royal children with the topknot. This is a good example of the cultural inspiration. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

Picture 80 A royal princess, daughter of King Ang Duong, with a topknot decorated with a small pointed headdress.[50]

[50] This picture taken from Julio A. Jeldres, The Royal Palace of Phnom Penh and Cambodian Royal Life, p. 123.

Brahma and Indra

Brahma is one of the gods of the Hindu Trilogy and his distinguishing characteristic is four heads, while Indra is the regent of the Firmament and his individual trait is his green complexion.

The Thai Palace Mural, in the presentation of Brahma being called down to arbitrate the quarrel of Rāvaṇa and Rāma, illustrates Brahma with white colored skin. He has four heads, circled by aureole, wearing four pointed headdress with diadem, and eight arms. He is also present in bare torso; he wears a brocade garment that looks like the Indian fashion (picture 81). However, once Brahma leads a host of divinities to be a witness of Sītā's ordeal by fire, he is shown in flesh colored skin. He has four heads, surrounded by a halo, wearing a four pointed headdress and has only four arms. He is illustrated with a bare torso and wears a proper cloth like the other human characters. Indra on the other hand is depicted with a green complexion, bare torso, and wears a pointed headdress which is accompanied by a halo. He is presented with seven heads and wears a shirt in the episode of Rāvaṇa transforming himself into that of Indra to fight Rāma in his last battle. In the Thai Palace Mural, we can distinguish Indra from Rāma by recognizing that Indra is depicted with a bear torso and his head is round by an aureole.

As for the Cambodian Palace Mural, unlike the Thai Palace Mural, Brahma is depicted with flesh colored skin, four heads wearing a four pointed headdress, and has two arms in the episode of Brahma being invited to judge the conflict between Rāma and Rāvaṇa (picture 82); he is depicted with six arms when Rāvaṇa transforms himself into Brahma to fight Rāma in his last battle. Indra on the other hand is presented in green colored skin, but there is no aureole to be depicted as in the Thai Palace Mural. Thus, the characteristic of Indra is extremely identical with Rāma; if there is no caption accompanying the scene, we can not distinguish between Indra and Rāma.

Picture 81 The Thai Palace Mural

Picture 82

The Cambodian Palace Mural

Picture 81-82 Brahma is invited to judge the conflict between Rāma and Rāvaṇa. The Thai Palace Mural depicts Brahma with eight hands and wearing a brocade garment similar to the Indian fashion (left), while the Cambodian Palace Mural shows him with only two hands and adorned with the classical dance attire (right).

Sītā

Sītā born to Mandodarī and Rāvaṇa; she, however, was set adrift in the current because it was predicted that she would be the cause of the destruction of demon's clan. The girl was adopted by the hermit king, Janaka, who is the ruler of the city of Mithilā. Sītā is a royal lady endowed with all virtue who is steadfast in her honesty and loyalty. Her courage led her to pursue her husband to the forest.

In the Thai Palace Mural, Sītā is depicted with fleshy complexion. She is adorned with a pointed headdress and golden jewelry such as a collar, sash, armlets, bangles and ankles, yet she is shown with a nude torso. This characteristic can be seen in the paintings of the ancient period of the School of Ayutthaya up until the early part of the School of Ratanakosin.[51] Interestingly, while low-ranking court ladies are depicted with a conventional short hairstyle, Sītā is shown wearing long hair (picture

[51] Santi Leksukhum, Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 190.

83). This hairstyle is not a normal fashion in the Thai society at that time. Thus, this aspect tells us a new tendency toward the Western influence in the Thai court at that time. Through the Thai Palace Mural, princesses and queens are depicted in the same manner as Sītā, except low ranking court ladies, as mentioned above, remained in keeping a short hairstyle (picture 84). Furthermore, when Sītā pursued her husband to the forest the Thai Palace Mural depicts her in hermitic cloth like Rāma.

Picture 83 Sītā's hair fashion (Thai Palace mural)

Picture 84 The low-ranking court ladies' hairstyle (Thai Palace mural)

The trait of Sītā in the Cambodian Palace Mural is to some extent different from the Thai Palace Mural that one can be identifiable. In the Cambodian Palace Mural, Sītā is depicted with flesh colored skin. She is adorned with sharp-pointed tiaras and golden jewelry similar to the Thai Palace Mural. However, her torso is obliquely covered with embroidered cloth. Even though, she wears a headdress, we can recognize her head has been shaved or clipped short and kept with only a tuft of hair like a topknot. This hairstyle, according to Penny Edwards, was probably adopted from Siam and had become firmly implanted in Khmer culture by the 19th century.[52] Not only women but it

[52] Penny Edwards, "Restyling Colonial Cambodia (1860-1954): French Dressing, Indigenous Custom and National Costume," p. 394;

was also employed for men. During that time, some people not only shaved or clipped their hair short but also pulled out their hair. As Touc Chhoung notes:

> Both male and female were fond of the short hairstyle called "Phkā Thkūv" hairstyle .... During the time of Kathathon Nhunh [Battambang's lord governor by second half of 19th century], the female dancers had to pull their hair around the topknot and applied the elephant grease to prevent from growing forever.[53]

Thus, Sītā's characteristics in the Cambodian Palace Mural were inspired locally rather than from outside. Her manner can be representative of princesses and queens throughout the Cambodian Mural (picture 85-87). Moreover, when Sītā followed Rāma to the forest, she remains in her princely cloth.

Picture 85 Sītā with her head shaved and only a topknot is kept. (Cambodian Palace Mural).

Picture 86 One of royal consorts of King Ang Duong (r. 1845-1860). This hairstyle was fashionable at that time.[54]

[53] Touch Chhoung, Battambang Samaiy Lok Machas (Battambang during the Time of the Lord Governor), p. 58.

[54] This picture taken from Julio A. Jeldres, The Royal Palace of Phnom Penh and Cambodian Royal Life, p. 123.

Picture 87 Court ladies' hair fashion. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

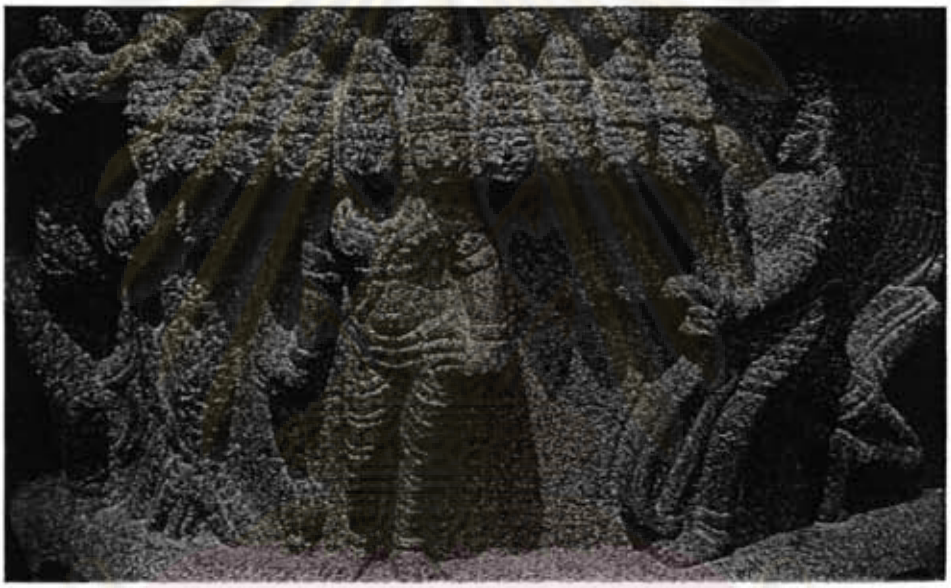
5.4.2 Demons

If excluding the head, the characteristic of the demons are closely identical to human beings or divinities. However, certain characters are immediately recognizable due to special physical attributes often described in the text of the story. For example, it is hard to misidentify Vaiyobhakkha/Asura Vāyubaktra, the demon whose body is half demon-half bird. Rāvaṇa on the other hand would also at first be unmistakable since he is depicted with a headdress and many faces, while his body has many arms. Since the demons' headdress style and skin color are rich, some demons, unmarked by special features, are often distinguishable either because of their headdress or because of their skin color. Generally, demon's face is depicted with eyes wide open, a broad smirk and curvy fangs.

Rāvaṇa

Rāvaṇa is the King of demons who rules over the town of Laṅkā. He is a dictatorial ruler who regards his own interests as greater than the public. His behavior reveals how much he is obsessed with power, scheming, indulging himself in sexual desire. After hearing of Sītā's beauty, he decides to abduct her from her husband. This leads to disaster of his clan, his subjects and his city.

Although Rāvaṇa is described as having ten heads and twenty arms, the paintings seem not to follow this rule. In the Thai Palace Mural, Rāvaṇa is depicted with green colored skin, with only seven heads[55], and twenty arms, but sometimes sixteen arms, fourteen arms, ten arms, eight arms, four arms, or only two arms. The way that the muralist depicted the heads of Rāvaṇa should be noticeable. Traditionally, in Indian bas-relief or even painting Rāvaṇa's ten heads are depicted by means of lining up horizontally; one main head connects to the body, while the other nine heads subsequently link up the main head one after another, five heads to the left and four heads to the right or vice versa (picture 88). Nonetheless, the bas-relief of ancient



Picture 88 This picture shows how the Indian artist depicted Rāvaṇa's ten heads. Contemporary carving on a stone mortar, Crafts Museum collection (Delhi, India).[56]

Khmer temples – particularly the Rāmāyaṇa bas-relief of the pediment of Banteay Srei temple (second half of the 10th century) and the northwest of the third cloister of Angkor Wat temple (first half of the 12th century) – depicts Rāvaṇa's ten heads composing of three receding tiers vertically: the top consisting of two faces and the middle as well as the lower bear four face respectively (picture 89). The similar composition can be seen in The Thai Palace Mural. It might be that the compositional style of the bas-reliefs influenced the Thai Palace Mural. Nevertheless, it is still doubted because Rāvaṇa in the

[55] In the painting we can see only five heads; the other two heads are at the back.

[56] This picture taken from Garrett Kam, Ramayana in the Arts of Asia (Bangkok: Asia Books, 2000), p. 5.

bas-relief of Angkor Wat or Banteay Srei has ten heads but Rāvaṇa in the Thai Palace Mural comprises only seven heads – two human faces on the top, the four demon faces in the middle and a large demon face for the lower part. As noted earlier, scholars believe that the Thai mural paintings since the second period of Ayutthaya School have been influenced by the mask dance drama, so it is possible that the characteristic of Rāvaṇa in the Thai mural paintings was indirectly influenced from the bas-relief of Khmer temples through the mask dance drama. In this sense we should note on the mask crown of Rāvaṇa which is used in the performance. The Rāvaṇa mask crown consists of three tiers and it originally bears ten heads or faces: the lower tier consists of a large demon face and the other three small demon faces, two seen from both sides and one from the back; the middle tier bears four demon faces and the top tier comprises two human faces (Picture 90). However, when it was transferred to the painting, the three small demon faces at the lower tier automatically disappeared and only seven heads remained (picture 91).

Picture 89 Ten headed Rāvaṇa depicted in the pediment of Bantey Srei temple, Siem Reap, second half of the 10th century.

Picture 90 Rāvaṇa mask for Thai mask dance.[57]

[57] This picture taken from The Crown Property Bureau, Khon: Thai Masked Dance: SalaChalermkrung (Bangkok, 2006), p. 76.

Picture 91 Rāvaṇa with seven heads and twenty arms. (Thai Palace Mural)

The Cambodian Palace Mural depicts Rāvaṇa with a green complexion, with seven heads, and six arms, but sometimes, four arms or only two arms. The characteristic of Rāvaṇa is identical with the Thai Palace Mural. The way that Cambodian muralist illustrated Rāvaṇa's head was perhaps influenced by the Thai Palace Mural rather than by the bas-relief of Angkor Wat directly (picture 92). Because if it was directly influenced by the bas-relief of Angkor Wat, Rāvaṇa should be depicted with ten heads rather than seven heads. Bearing witness to this, Okñā Tep Nimit Mak drew diagram models for teaching his students in the School of Cambodian Arts by copying the portrait from the bas-relief of Angkor Wat directly, Rāvaṇa was depicted with ten heads (picture 30).[58] However, another possibility is that the Cambodian Palace Mural was inspired by the Cambodian mask dance (picture 32).

[58] See Georges Groslier, Kamnur Khmer Tang 76 (76 Drawings of Cambodia), p. 26.

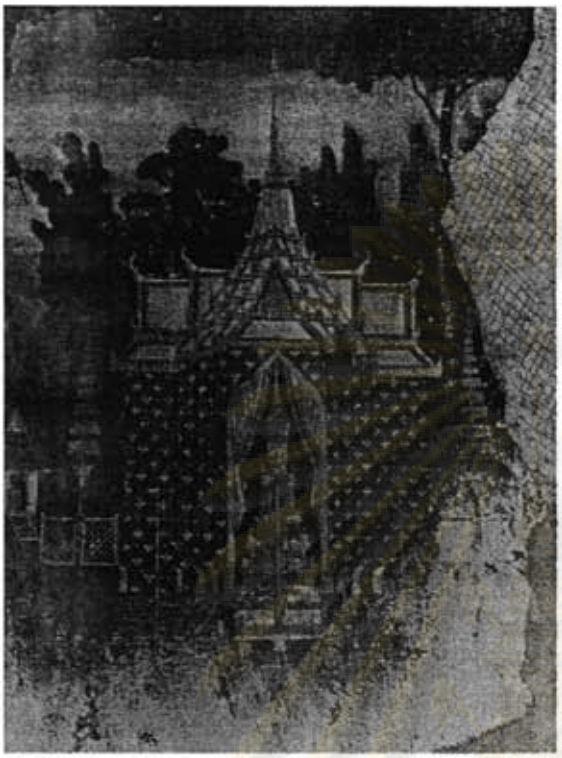
Picture 92 Rāvaṇa depicted with seven heads and two arms.
(Cambodian Palace Mural)

During the ultimate combat between Rāvaṇa and Rāma, Rāvaṇa is killed by the latter. The Thai Palace Mural shows Rāvaṇa's funeral rite being held in great splendor and magnificence, which is similar to the cremation ceremony of Thai monarchs in the real society. Here, we can see the ceremonial procession of Rāvaṇa's corpse moving to the crematorium. At the funeral site, there are certain kinds of art performances for celebration of the ceremony, for instance, Thai traditional boxing, shadow theater, classical dance, puppet shows, folk dance, circus, and Chinese theater (picture 93).

Picture 93 Rāvaṇa's funeral rite depicted very ceremoniously. (Thai Palace Mural)

By contrast, Rāvaṇa's funeral rite in the Cambodian Palace mural is so quiet. There is no art performance and the urn containing Rāvaṇa's corpse is left alone in the crematorium with only two guardians. This aspect seems to reflect the Cambodian sentiment towards the treatment of unrighteous people such as Rāvaṇa; even though he passed away, nobody mourns the loss of him and participates in his funeral rite. Anyway, Rāvaṇa is still considered to be a monarch. His corpse, folded up in the fetal position, is placed in a brass or golden urn which is housed in the opened crematorium facing towards the four Orients, symbol of the ideal capacity of the king of "Cakravaltin," "Universal Monarch." This tradition can be prevalently seen in the funeral rite of the sovereigns in Southeast Asia (picture 94-95).[59]

[59] Madeleine Giteau, Chefs-d'Oeuvre de la Peinture Cambodgienne dans les Monastères Bouddhiques Post-Angkoriens. p. 105.



Picture 94 Rāvaṇa's urn is put in a magnificent four-faced crematorium sheltered by roofs with a sharp pointed spire representing the Mount Meru. However, there are only two people guarding his pyre and a few people walk past.

Picture 95 The funeral pyre of King Norodom Suramarit, Phnom Penh, 24th August 1960.[60]

Bibhek

Bibhek is Rāvaṇa's younger brother. He is very smart and well versed in astrology. When Rāvaṇa abducted Sītā from Rāma, it was he who suggested that the Demon King return her to her husband for fear of war. Felling angry, Rāvaṇa banished him from Laṅkā. Bibhek thus submitted himself to Rāma.

Both Cambodian and Thai Palace Mural depict Bibhek in the same manner, with green colored skin and holding a slate and club (picture 96-97). Thus, his characteristic in the Cambodian Palace Mural, undoubtedly, was influenced by the Thai Palace Mural. Nonetheless, he is shown using a different weapon when he goes into battle. The Thai

[60] This picture taken from Madeleine Giteau, Chefs-d'Oeuvre de la Peinture Cambodgienne dans les Monastères Buddhiques Post-Angkorienne, p. 106.

Palace Mural shows him using a bow in the battle, while Bibhek employs his club in the Cambodian Palace Mural.

Picture 96 Bibhek in the Thai Palace Mural

Picture 97 Bibhek in the Cambodian Palace Mural

Kumbhakarṇa

Kumbhakarṇa is another Rāvaṇa's younger brothers. He is the most righteous and good-hearted demon. However, because of his loyalty to his brother, he proposes to fight against Rāma.

The Cambodian Palace Mural shows Kumbhakarṇa's traits are more identical with the Thai Palace Mural, which feature him with green colored skin and uncrowned, and holding the spear as an attribute. The distinguishing characteristic of Kumbhakarṇa is that he looks like a demon court attendant rather than a prince. Kumbhakarṇa's trait in the Cambodian Palace Mural was perhaps inspired by the Thai Palace Mural.

Indrajit

Indrajit is the beloved son of Rāvaṇa and his Queen, Mandodarī. He is borne with the name Indrajit after he defeats Indra in a battle. Because of his supreme supernatural powers, he plays a key role in the battles of Laṅkā. Indrajit is a model of a warrior who has strength and power but misuses them. The situation is also that he cannot resist his father's orders. He therefore is led to destruction.

Again, the presentation of Indrajit character – even he changes from his princely attire to the priest cloth while he does meditation – in the Cambodian Palace Mural was adopted from the Thai Palace Mural. He is illustrated with green complexion and possesses the bow as his main attribute (picture 98-99). The different presentation can be seen only when he changes himself into the form of Nārāyaṇa in the Cambodian Palace Mural, while the Thai Palace Mural depicts him in the form of Indra.

Picture 98 Indrajit depicted in the Thai Palace Mural.

Picture 99 Indrajit shown in the Cambodian Palace Mural.

Mūlabalaṃ and Sahassatejaḥ

In the Ramakien Text, Mūlabalaṃ is the friend of Rāvaṇa and the younger brother of Sahassatejaḥ.[61] Sahassatejaḥ is the king of Pāngtāl, while Mūlabalaṃ is the viceroy of Pāngtāl. Though not originally a sworn ally of Rāvaṇa, Sahassatejaḥ was drawn into the war on account of his brother Mūlabalaṃ.[62] According to the text, Rāvaṇa sent messengers to ask Mūlabalaṃ to bring reinforcements. However, the Thai Palace Mural shows the Rāvaṇa's messengers paying homage to Sahassatejaḥ, while Mūlabalaṃ unequally sits a bit far from Sahassatejaḥ, since he is the viceroy (picture 100). This should be understood that since Sahassatejaḥ is the king of that city, when the messengers arrive in his town, they must have an audience with Sahassatejaḥ in advance before going to meet Mūlabalaṃ. However, the Cambodian Muralist misunderstood that the demon with whom Rāvaṇa's messengers have an audience is Mūlabalaṃ, while another demon sitting behind him is Sahassatejaḥ. The mistaken interpretation can be seen in the Cambodian Palace Mural. Although the identical composition and characters were executed, the Cambodian Muralist mistakenly identified Sahassatejaḥ and Mūlabalaṃ. In the Cambodian Palace Mural Rāvaṇa himself goes to invite Mūlabalaṃ directly. It presents Rāvaṇa having an audience with Sahassatejaḥ but the caption erroneously describes that he has an audience with Mūlabalaṃ, while Mūlabalaṃ (understood as Sahassatejaḥ) sits behind him (picture 101). Thus, readers should bear in mind that Mūlabalaṃ in the Cambodian Palace Mural is Sahassatejaḥ in the Thai Palace Mural, while Sahassatejaḥ in the Cambodian Palace Mural is Mūlabalaṃ in the Thai Palace Mural. Since the Reamker Mural Painting in the Royal Palace is the encyclopedia for artists and students learning the traditional painting, the misinterpretation has been transferred to them from one to another generation, particularly the aged professors of the School of Arts in Cambodia and their

[61] Ray A. Olsson (tra.), The Ramakien: A Prose Translation of the Thai Ramyana (Bangkok: Rraepittaya Company Limited Partnership, 1968), p. 240; Subhandradis Diskul and Charles S. Rice, The Ramakian [Rāmāyaṇa] Mural Paintings along the Galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, mural 82 (Note: this book has no page numbers, so reference will be to mural numbers).

[62] Mahā Vajirāvudh, "Notes on Siamese Theatre," p. 20.

apprentices.[63]

Picture 100 Rāvaṇa's messengers have an audience with Sahassatejaḥ, while Mūlabalaṃ sits a bit far from the king. This presentation made in the Cambodian Muralist confused Sahassatejaḥ to be Mūlabalaṃ. (Thai Palace Mural)

Picture 101 This picture shows Rāvaṇa's invitation of Mūlabalaṃ (actually Sahassatejaḥ), while Sahassatejaḥ (actually Mūlabalaṃ) sits behind the king. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

[63] I myself also had this experience because I am a former student of the Cambodian Arts School and my specialization was "traditional painting." Another example, Chet Chon (he is one of my professors), who is well known and an expert in instructing the traditional painting in the Cambodian Arts School, he painted the main characters in the Reamker for exhibition and publication for a book. Of those characters, Sahassatejaḥ was also painted, but the character is called Mūlabalaṃ. See Reyum, The Reamker Painted by Chet Chan (Phnom Penh, 2002), p. 93.

Sahassatejaḥ is described as having white skin, a thousand heads and two thousand arms.[64] Practically, paintings are not really executed with a thousand heads and two thousand arms, so the Thai Palace Mural depicts Sahassatejaḥ with only seventeen faces and fourteen arms or sometimes eight arms. His seventeen heads are composed in five tiers: a large demon face is depicted in the first tier; the second to fourth tiers consist of four demon faces respectively, while the top has two human faces. Sahassatejaḥ is illustrated in white complexion as the story told us. Mūlabalaṃ on the other hand is shown with green colored skin and uncrowned. His characteristic looks like that of a demon soldier rather than the viceroy.

The Cambodian Palace Mural illustrates Mūlabalaṃ, just like Rāvaṇa, with six arms or two arms and seven faces: one large face at the lower tier, four faces at the middle and two faces at the top. Mūlabalaṃ is distinguished from Rāvaṇa by his flesh colored skin. Sahassatejaḥ is depicted with a fleshy complexion and uncrowned, which looks like that of a soldier demon as well.

Cakravit

Cakravit ruled over the city of Mullīvan/Malivan and is a friend of Rāvaṇa. When he leans of Rāvaṇa death, and meets with the slain demon King's son Āphaiṇāsūrīvaṅsa/Bāināsuryavanśa, Cakravit decides to go with his troops and seek revenge.

Cakravit is described as having white skin, four faces and eight arms.[65] He, however, is depicted in the Thai Palace Mural with five faces – a large face and the other four faces on his crown – and eight arms or six arms or two arms (picture 102). He has white colored skin. Whereas the Cambodian Palace Mural, Cakravit is depicted with a flesh colored skin, only one face and eight arms or only two arms (picture 103).

[64] Ray A. Olsson (tra.), The Ramakien: A Prose Translation of the Thai Ramyana, p. 240.
[65] Mahā Vajirāvudh, "Notes on Siamese Theatre," p. 19.

Picture 102 Cakravit is depicted with five heads and eight arms. (Thai Palace mural)

Picture 103 Cakravit is presented with one head and eight arms. (Cambodian Palace mural)

The Main Characteristics of Other Demons

The Cambodian Palace Mural	**The Thai Palace Mural**
- Rāmma-isūra, green, crowned	- Rāma-Sura, green, crowned
- Bīrādha, dark flesh, uncrowned, his body covered with long spirally curly hair	- Virāva (or Pirāp), dark brown, uncrowned, his body covered with long spirally curly hair
- Sūrpanakhā, a female demon, green, uncrowned	- Sūrpanakhā, a female demon, green, uncrowned
- Khara, green, crowned	- Khara, green, crowned
- Bañātū, flesh, crowned	- Dūṣaṇa, purple, crowned
- Trīsira, flesh, crowned, three faces four arms	- Trīsira, white, crowned, three faces, six arms
- Mahārīk, flesh, uncrowned	- Mārich, white, crowned
- Assamukhī, a female demon,	- Akṣamūki, a female demon,

flesh, uncrowned	black,[66] a horse-like mask, uncrowned
- Kambula, (?), uncrowned; had a body only down to the waist	- Kumbala, light green, crowned; had a body only down to the waist
- Āsopākkaḷān, green, uncrowned	- Paklan, dark ocher,[67] uncrowned
- Sahassakumāra (a prince), green, a young boy with a topknot	- Sahassakumāra (Thousand Princes), variously colored, all crowned
- Sukkhasān, green, uncrowned	- Sukrasāra, green, uncrowned
- Vaiyarāb(ṇ), green, crowned	- Mayarāva, light purple, crowned
- Muṅakakānd, flesh, crowned, four arms	- Mankarakarṇa, green, crowned
- Virulamukha, (?)	- Viruṇyamukha, green, a young boy with a topknot
- Asukmbandh, earth, uncrowned	- Asura Kampan, green, uncrowned
- Saeṅ-āditya, dark red, crowned	- Saeṅ-āditya, red, crowned
- Sattāḷuṅ, dark red, crowned	- Sattāḷuṅ, light red, crowned
- Trīmegha, light reddish brown, crowned	- Trīmegha, dark red, crowned
- Satthāsūra, dark earth, crowned	- Śraddhāsura, bright red, crowned
- Virulacampāṅ, light blue, crowned	- Viruṇyachampang, Dark blue, crowned
- Thāppanāsūra, light red, crowned	- Thāppanāsūra, light red, crowned
- Gajagīrīvan, dark earth, with a trunk for nose, crowned	- Dasagirivaṇ, green, with a trunk for nose, crowned
- Gajagīrīdhara, dark earth, with a trunk for nose, crowned	- Dasagiridhrara, dark red, with a trunk for nose, crowned
- Assakānd, green, uncrowned	- Asakan, green, crowned
- Panlaikāl, dark green, crowned	- Banlaikal, dark red, crowned

[66] Akṣamūki is described as having green colored skin. See Mahā Vajirāvudh, "Notes on Siamese Theatre," p. 22.

[67] Paklan is described as having green colored skin. See Mahā Vajirāvudh, "Notes on Siamese Theatre," p. 22.

- Mahāpāl, flesh, crowned	- Mahāpāl Bedhāsura, green, uncrowned
- Āphaiṇāsūrīvaṅsa, green, crowned	- Bāināsuryavanśa, green, a young boy with a topknot
- Sūriyābhaba, dark flesh, crowned	- Sūriyābhaba, red, crowned
- Panlaicakra, light blue, crowned	- Pralayachakra, light purple, crowned
- Vaiyaṭāl, light grey blue, crowned	- Vaiyaṭāl, pale indigo blue, crowned
- Vaiyavet, dark purple, crowned	- Vayavik, dark purple, crowned
- Ātulay, a female demon; flesh, coronet	- Atura Pisāch, a female demon; light red, uncrowned
- Kuvenayaksa, flesh (?), crowned	- Kuvenurāj, white, crowned
- Trīpakpakānda, (?), crowned	- Trīpakkan, green, crowned
- Kumbandharāja, brown, crowned	- Kumbhanurāj, bright red, crowned
- Vaiyobhakkha, green, crowned, is an Asura down to the waist, but the lower part of his body is that of an eagle.	- Asura Vāyubaktra, green,[68] crowned; half demon-half bird
- Uṇṇārāj, flesh, crowned	- Anurāj, light yellow, crowned
- Kambandhabhanurāj, green, uncrowned	- Khonthannuraj, green, crowned
- Viruṇāphāt, green, uncrowned	- Viruṇāphāt, green, crowned

5.4.3 Monkeys

The monkey characters can be categorized into two types which are the common soldier monkeys as well as the monkey kings and commanders. Common troop monkeys are all depicted identically and are rendered like monkeys found in nature. The bodies of the monkey kings and commanders on the other hand take a more human form while their faces show the stylized monkey form which is undoubtedly taken from the mask dance drama. In both Thai and Cambodian Palace Murals, the individual monkey kings and commanders are recognizable by the color of their skin as well as by the

[68] Asura Vāyubaktra is described as having white colored skin. See Mahā Vajirāvudh, "Notes on Siamese Theatre," p. 21.

headdress they crown. For instance, the two brothers, Vālin and Sugrīva, can be differentiated by their complexions although they wear the same type of headdress. In addition, Vālin and Aṅgad are shown with identical green colored skin, yet they are distinguishable because of their specific headdress.

Hanumān

Hanumān is individually recognized by the white colored skin with diamond body hair. He has the magic power to transform himself and can vanish at will. His yawns will yield stars, the sun and moon. Blessed with immortality, he can be brought back to life by a current of wind. As Rāma's general, he was intelligent and loyal to Rāma. His courage and his sense of judgment benefit his work. He volunteered to carry out difficult tasks others would not dare attempt. He is also known as a gallant lover who carried out lots of affairs. Hanumān represents the ideal soldier skilled both on the battlefield and in the game of love. His virtues are in his undying sense of gratitude and honesty to his superior.[69]

In the Thai Palace Mural, Hanumān is depicted with white colored skin and uses trident or sword as his attribute. Normally, he has two arms but he enlarges himself into a gigantic form with four faces and eight arms when he shows his strength in front of Rāma and Bibhek before constructing the causeway to Laṅkā; when he fights against Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva; once he kills Trīmegha (picture 104); when he destroys the commander who defense the town of Mullīvan/Malivan. Hanumān is also depicted with four arms when he fights against Mūlabalaṃ/Sahassatejaḥ. Whereas the Cambodian Palace Mural presents Hanumān with white complexion, one head and two arms throughout the painting (picture 105). However, both murals show Hanumān possessing a sword as his attribute.

Moreover, the Thai Palace Mural depicts Hanumān wearing a shirt and crown when he pretends to stay at Rāvaṇa's side for stealing Rāvaṇa's heart and once

[69] The Crown Property Bureau, Khon: Thai Masked Dance: Sala Chalermkrung, p. 51.

he becomes the king of Nubgīrī/Nop Burī City, while the Cambodian Palace Mural shows him with bare torso but wearing the crown, the same as the Thai Palace Mural.

Picture 104 Hanumān, with four faces and eight arms, kills Trīmegha. (Thai Palace Mural)

Picture 105 Hanumān depicted with one head and two arms when killing Trīmegha. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

Vālin

Vālin is a son of Indra and Kāla-achnā[70] and a half brother of Sugrīva. Indra built the City Kiṣkindhya as his residence. On one occasion, Śiva has Vālin carry a container with a beautiful maiden inside to Sugrīva, but Vālin took her as his own consort. Vālin is a man of great ability but his indulgence in sexual desire results in a lack of virtue. He was never defeated by anyone, not even Rāvaṇa. His death was caused by Nārāyaṇa's arrow only.[71]

In the Cambodian Palace Mural, Vālin's characteristics are identical with the Thai Palace Mural, which feature green colored skin and wear a pointed headdress. His characteristic, undoubtedly, was influenced by the Thai Palace Mural.

[70] This name is not found in either the Cambodian Palace Mural's caption or the Thiounn's version.

[71] The Crown Property Bureau, Khon: Thai Masked Dance: Sala Chalermkrung, p. 56.

Sugrīva

Sugrīva is a son of the Sun God and Kāla-achnā.[72] Sugrīva was a regent of Kiṣkindhya. He had conflict with Vālin and was thus banished from the City. Then he submitted himself to Rāma, asking him to help get rid of his half brother who had broken his promise and engaged in immoral acts. He then became a ruler of Kiṣkindhya. Sugrīva is a brave warrior, adhering to justice, duty and disregarding personal relationships.

In the Thai Palace Mural, Sugrīva is depicted with red complexion, while the Cambodian Palace Mural shows him as reddish brown monkey. Interestingly, in the presentation of Sugrīva fighting against Thāppanasūra, both the Thai and Cambodian Palace Murals illustrate Sugrīva in almost the same manner which he transforms himself into a gigantic form with four faces and eight arms (picture 106-107). His trait in the Cambodian Palace Mural perhaps was inspired by the Thai Palace.

Picture 106 The Thai Palace Mural

Picture 107

The Cambodian Palace Mural.

Picture 106-107 Sugrīva killing Thāppanasūra. Sugrīva is depicted in almost the same manner in both murals, except for his colored skin and main attributes.

[72] Ray A. Olsson (tra.), The Ramakien: A Prose Translation of the Thai Ramyana, pp. 24-25.

Aṅgada

Aṅgada, prince of Kiṣkindhya, is the son of Vālin by Mandodarī whom Vālin forcibly took from Rāvaṇa. His dying father commanded him to provide service for Rāma, and he became one of Rāma's generals.

Both Thai and Cambodian Palace Mural depict Aṅgada with the same green colored skin and even a similar fashion of headdress. His characteristic, undoubtedly, was adopted from the Thai Palace Mural.

Nilaphāta and Nila-aeka

Nilaphāta is the son of the god Kālī,[73] but adopted as a nephew by King Mahājambū. He started out with Rāma's force, but quarreled with Hanumān during the time of constructing the causeway to Laṅkā, whereupon Rāma made him regent of Kiṣkindhya, with orders to send constant supplies to the front. Nila-aeka on the other hand is the incarnation of the god Bināya.[74]

The Thai and Cambodian Palace Mural depict these two monkeys' colored skin in contrast to each other. The Thai Palace Mural illustrates Nilaphāta with black colored skin and Nila-aeka with reddish brown complexion, while the Cambodian Palace Mural shows Nilaphāta as reddish brown monkey and Nila-aeka with black colored skin. However, both Thai and Cambodian Palace Mural share the same depiction of the two monkeys as uncrowned.

Macchānubva and Āsūraphāta

Macchānubva is the son of Hanumān and Suvaṇṇamacchā, half human-half fish. However, he was adopted by a demon Vaiyarāb(ṇ)/Mayarāva as a stepson.

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[73] This name is not found in either the Cambodian Palace Mural's caption or the Thiounn's version.

[74] Mahā Vajirāvudh, "Notes on Siamese Theatre," p. 24. This name is not found in either the Cambodian Palace Mural's caption or the Thiounn's version.

Macchānubva's half brother is Āsūraphāt who is the son of Hanumān by Puññākāya/Benya-kāya, Bibhek's daughter.

The two murals show these two fantastic creatures being identical with each other. Macchānubva is depicted as the same as his father, Hanumān, but he has a fish tail being inherited from his mother, Suvaṇṇamacchā, while Āsūraphāt is illustrated with a monkey face as well as curly hair and body of demon. The two brothers are uncrowned. Nonetheless, there exists a slight distinction between the two murals for illustrating Āsūraphāt's main traits. The Cambodian Palace Mural depicts Āsūraphāt with white colored skin and bare torso, while The Thai Palace Mural shows him with a light yellow complexion and wearing shirt.

The Main Characteristics of Other Monkeys

The Cambodian Mural	**The Thai Mural**
- Mahājambū, sepia, crowned	- Mahājambū, dark blue, crowned
- Jambūvarāja, sepia, crowned	- Jāmbuvarāja, bright red, crowned
- Khunanila, dark blue, uncrowned	- (?)
- Usabha-Hanumān, ocher, uncrowned	- Usubha-Sararām (?), dark blue, uncrowned
- Jambūbāna, red, uncrowned	- Jambūbāna, dark rose, crowned
- Nilabejra, light blue, uncrowned	- Nilarāj (?), sea green, uncrowned
- Sattabālī, light green, uncrowned	- Śatabali, white, uncrowned
- Khunajība, light yellow, uncrowned	- Nilapāsan (?), light yellow, uncrowned
- Nilakhāndha, red, uncrowned	- Nilakhanda, dark red, uncrowned
- Kesabānara, pink, uncrowned	- Nilakesi (?), rose, uncrowned
- Khunanala, flesh, uncrowned	- (?)
- Nilananda, white, uncrowned	- Nilanala, light red, uncrowned
- Bibitra-bānara, grey, uncrowned	- Vimala-vānar (?), black, uncrowned

Conclusion

General speaking, the primary traits of the three character types – humans and divinities, demons as well as monkeys – are identical with the Thai Palace Mural. These three character types have their own specific characteristics, but they also share a number of common traits. The form of the bodies of all three types of protagonists generally seems to reference the human body. The demon, for instance, is depicted with the body and limbs of human beings and is also adorned with attire identical to that of humans as well. The bodies of monkey kings and commanders are generally distinguished from those of humans and demons by their bare torsos and the characteristic spiral markings on their skin which represents their fur. The hands and feet of monkeys seem to mix human and monkey characteristics. Characters are most often depicted with their head in profile, while their trunks are shown frontally. The protagonists are also shown with only three-quarters of the face. Full-face representation, although it does occur, is unusual in both Cambodian and Thai Palace Murals.

All three types of characters can take a variety of skin colors, some of which distinguish the individual figure and some of which do not. Figure within all three types of characters can wear various types of headdresses which have attached ear-shape ornaments. The head is the most distinctive feature which is differentiated in general from each type of character of the other two. Human heads are presented as oblong or oval shaped, while monkey heads are more often rendered round. Monkeys have a characteristic snout-like nose coupled with a large spiral marking on each of their cheeks. Demons on the other hand have a bulbous nose and rounded ears which keep a human form, although their bulging eyes, ornamental eyebrows, mouths, and moustaches are similar to those of the monkeys. The cheeks of the demons are marked by a simple doubled curving line rather than the characteristic spiral found on the monkeys' cheeks.

Nonetheless, since the transformation from one country to another, the individual differentiation is unavoidable. The distinctions can be seen from the

ornamentation and decoration of the protagonists. Firstly, in the Cambodian Palace Mural, the jeweled sashes of male characters, including demons and monkeys, hang from their embroidered collar crisscrossing the chest and encircling their waist (picture 108). Whereas the Thai Palace Mural presents male protagonists' dual jeweled sashes hang from their embroidered collar, one sash is much like that in the Cambodian Palace Mural extending down to the waist and encircling it while the other sash hangs much like a necklace extending down to the chest level (picture 109).

Picture 108 The decoration of characters' jeweled sashes in the Cambodian Palace Mural

Picture 109 the decoration of characters' jeweled sashes in the Thai Palace Mural.

Moreover, the Cambodian Palace Mural depicting the male's decorative cloth hanging from the front of the waist splits its tip into two parts and with the end of each part separated into a stylized fish tail-like shape (picture 110), while in the Thai Palace Mural this decorative cloth is sometimes split up as the Cambodian Palace Mural but sometimes not (picture 111). On the other hand, female (or sometimes male) characters are shown with bare torso in the Thai Palace Mural, while they are depicted in covering with embroidered cloak or shirt in the Cambodian Palace Mural. It is likely that the cloth and ornamentation of protagonists in the Cambodian Palace Mural are more related to the Cambodian mask dance drama than the Thai Palace Mural.

Picture 110 The decorative cloth hanging from the front of the waist of the male characters in the Cambodian Palace Mural.

Picture 111 The decorative cloth hanging from the front of the waist of male characters in the Thai Palace Mural.

Secondly, in the Thai Palace Mural the muralist played with light and shading upon some characters, roundness, which is reflected through the influence of Western technique, while the Cambodian Palace Mural depicts the figures as two-dimensional, flat.

Lastly, the depictions of the characters' skin color and appearance are occasionally different from each other. For example, the Thai Palace Mural depicts Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava with green colored skin, while the Cambodian Palace Mural shows them with a flesh like complexion. Another example of a distinctive form is a demon called Cakravit. The Thai Palace Mural illustrates Cakravit with white skin, five heads and eight arms, while the Cambodian Palace Mural shows him with flesh like complexion, one head and eight arms.

The cause of variation comes from many factors, essentially three:

- The first as we know the Ramakien Palace Mural has the numerous characters. They have different appearances, names, colored skins, and ornamentations. At that time there was, of course, no aid of camera to help the artists construct the mural, nor were there even printed books with colored pictures. The artists have to remember them through learning in the traditional way by relentless repetition until they can remember the key characteristics of the images. The book published by Reyum notes:

> .... how traditional painters could remember the ways in which each of the myriad characters of the Reamker is painted. One answer to this question lies in the traditional training of an apprentice by a master. The apprentice once learned the repertoire of his master into the painter's hand.[75]

Thus, when the knowledge was transferred from one culture to another, the mistakes were not avoidable. The good example is the mistaken depiction of the demons Mūlabalaṃ/Sahassatejaḥ and his brother, Sahassatejaḥ/Mūlabalaṃ, which was discussed already.

- The second variation happened very often for the monkeys. Although all monkeys are depicted in the paintings, their names are not mentioned except a few monkeys such as Hanumān, Sugrīva, Aṅgada, Mahājambū, Jambūbān, Nila-aeka, Nilaphāta, Nilananda/Nilanala, Āsūraphāta, Macchānubva, and Jaṃbūvarāja. As a consequence, not many of them bear the same name and the same color skin at the same time. For instance, some characters have the same name but their skin colors are different, while a number of monkeys are depicted with the same complexion but they bear different names. On the other hand, some monkey characters appear in the Cambodian Palace Mural but they are not seen in the Thai Palace Mural and vice versa. Thus, their exact names together with their characteristics, no doubt, were unclear to the Cambodian muralists. By contrast, the majority of demon kings or generals are identical to the Thai Palace Mural. This is because those demons directly lead the troops for battles and their names as well as their appearances appear at the same time in the text or even the paintings.

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[75] Reyum, The Reamker Painted by Chet Chan, p. 112.

- The third is the socio-cultural inspiration and freedom. This caused dramatic variation from the Thai Palace Mural. Every artist, of course, has their own culture, local environment and self-determination, so when they painted they relied on many of these elements. Although the source was introduced from the Thai Palace Mural, the Cambodian artists added to, removed from, or modified the characteristics presumably in accordance with their own preferences and knowledge. A good example can be seen in the attire and decoration of the mural characters. As mentioned earlier, the cloth and ornamentation in the Cambodian Palace Mural look more identical with the Cambodian royal ballet and monarch than the Thai Palace Mural due to the fact that the artists were closely related to or even worked in the royal court. Another worthy example is projected onto the characteristics of Rāmalakṣm(ṇ)/Makuṭ and Japalakṣm(ṇ)/Lava. Although the Cambodian Palace Mural depicts the two royal children with topknots the same as the Thai Palace Mural, it was inspired by Khmer culture itself rather than by the Thai Palace Mural.

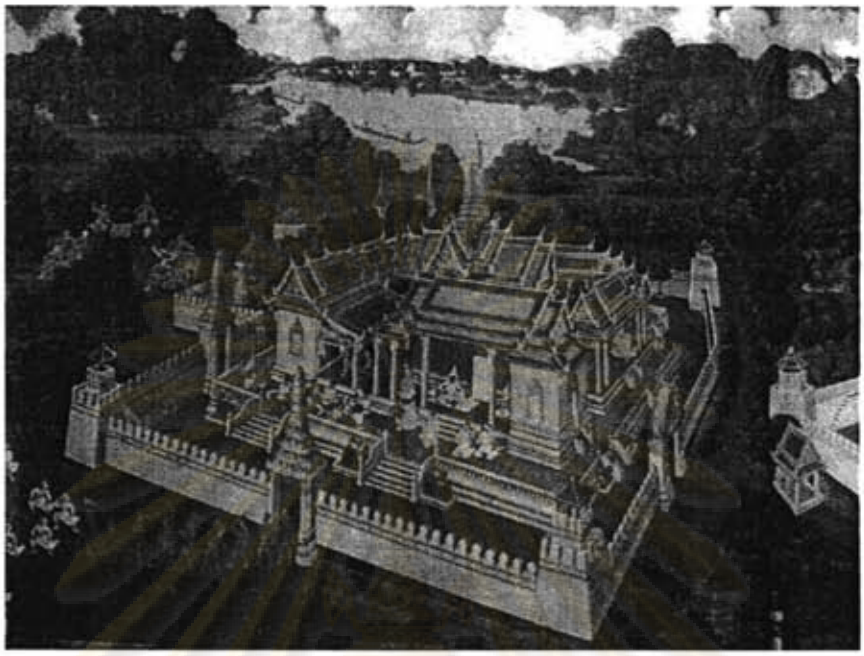
5.5 Architectures and Landscapes

There are few different types of buildings being depicted in the murals. Yet, the most principal and delicate architectures are those of palaces and encampments. The palaces serve as the residence of the monarchs and their royal households, while the camps provide temporary habitation for Rāma's army during the battle in Laṅkā. On the other hand, the numerous chariots are depicted throughout the murals, which serve for the royal vehicle, funeral ceremonies, and warfare. Apart from these elements, landscapes also play an important role in paintings. The sceneries aid to enhance the poetic value of the total image.

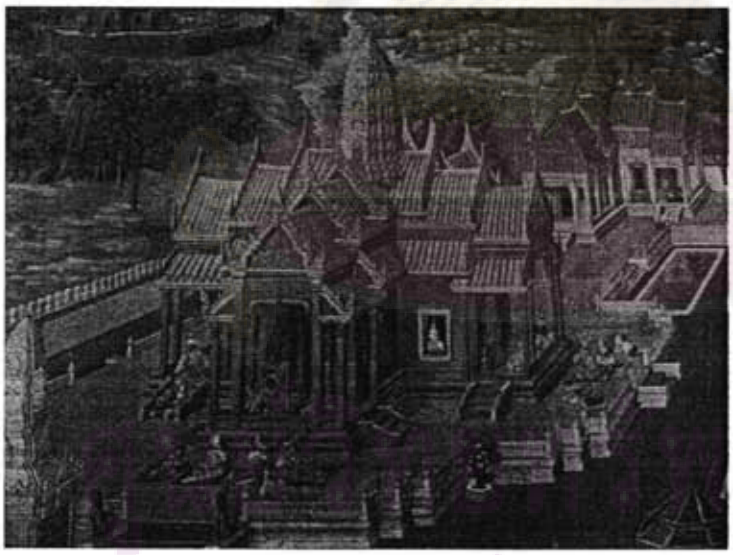
5.5.1 Palaces

In the Thai Palace Mural, the entire city is represented by the palace complex, showed in three-dimensional perspective, which is enclosed by irregular shaped masonry walls with fortifications that are remarkably similar to those in the recent Grand Palace. The palace complex mainly consists of a principal building, two or more subsidiary edifices – closed or directly connected to the main building – and opened wall pavilions, which are mostly erected on a single terrace. The buildings are sometimes presented from the front side but sometimes show from a three-quarter angle. The lower structure of the buildings is that of masonry, while the upper structure is composed of wood and terra cotta tile, but rarely does the whole structure of buildings seem to be made from stone (picture 112).

Almost all main buildings are depicted in a cruciform plan composed by a square sanctuary and the four porch-like antechambers attached to the four sides of the cell. The buildings are covered by glittering multiple-tile roofs with the lofty corncob-shaped tower (picture 113-114) or slim, tiered, and tapering spires (picture 115-116) or four-faced Brahma tower (picture 117). Each front porch of the buildings consists of triangular gable-board embellished by gilded ornaments framing mythical animals or various Hindu gods, reminders of the Hindu heritage of Thai art. At the apex of the triangular gable, springing skywards from each of the triple



Picture 112 The palace complex. A principal building surrounded by subsidiary pavilions. The buildings, palace wall, gates and fortifications are inspired by those architectures in the existent Grand Palace. Here, it is a good example of the employment of the three-dimensional perspective. (Thai Palace Mural)



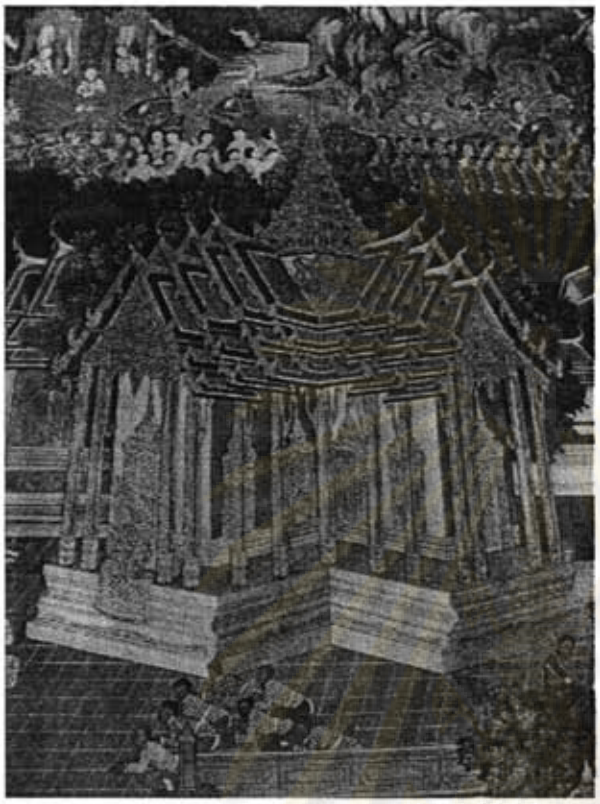
Picture 113 A cruciform-structure Prasat covered by multiple-tile roofs with the lofty corncob-shaped tower. (Thai Palace Mural)

Picture 114 Prasat Phra Thep Bidon (the Royal Pantheon), the Grand Palce of Bangkok.

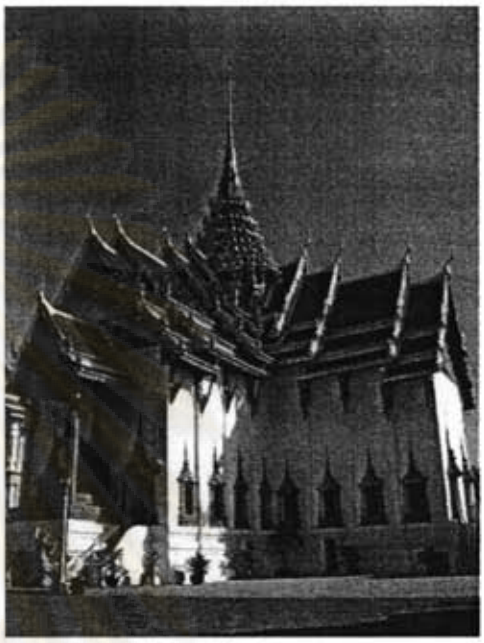
roof ridges, it is called Chofa (or sky tassel). This curved and gently tapering structure is said by some to resemble the profile of a stylized bird, perhaps Garuḍa, vehicle of the Hindu god Visṇu, perhaps Haṃsa, the celestial goose, vehicle of the Hindu god Brahma. Either interpretation suggests the presence of the protective powers of these gods.[76] Undulating downwards from the Chofa at the apex, forming both sides of the gable, are the sinuous bodies of Nāga, or mythical serpents, surmounted by multiple- or leaf-like shapes called Bai Raka[77]. According to Rita Ringis, this type of roof and gable decoration, typical of monastic and royal architecture, is pervaded with an ancient symbolism. The Chofa, if it is Garuḍa, the divine bird, represents the solar elements. The Nāga are guardians of the waters, symbols of the rainbow, and thus represent the aquatic elements. On royal and monastic architecture, the harmonious balance of these solar and aquatic elements frames carvings of gods (divine force), and of lush and prolific vegetation, invoking through the magic potency of this symbolism harmony and abundance in nature. But both of these symbols, the bird and the serpents, bear additional symbolism as protectors. Undoubtedly the typical Thai gable-boards, with their protective Hindu elements, are derived from the architectural symbolism of the Khmer.[78] The doorways and windows' shutter are decorated with gilded ornament and framed with a crown-like shape and the ridge of column is also embellished with gilded carving.

The principle buildings are depicted in the mural being remarkably identical with those of Royal Pantheon (Prasat Phra Thep Bidon) and Dusit Maha Prasat in the Grand Palace. Silpa Bhirasri and Rita Rigis believe that these Greek-cross-planned Prasat with their telescoped roofs as well as domical towers, are possibly derived from the ancient Khmer temple structure.[79] On the other hand, the palace's roof in the Thai Palace Mural, which is decorated with four-faced Bhrama tower, was inspired by the Bayon temple in Cambodia (picture 117).

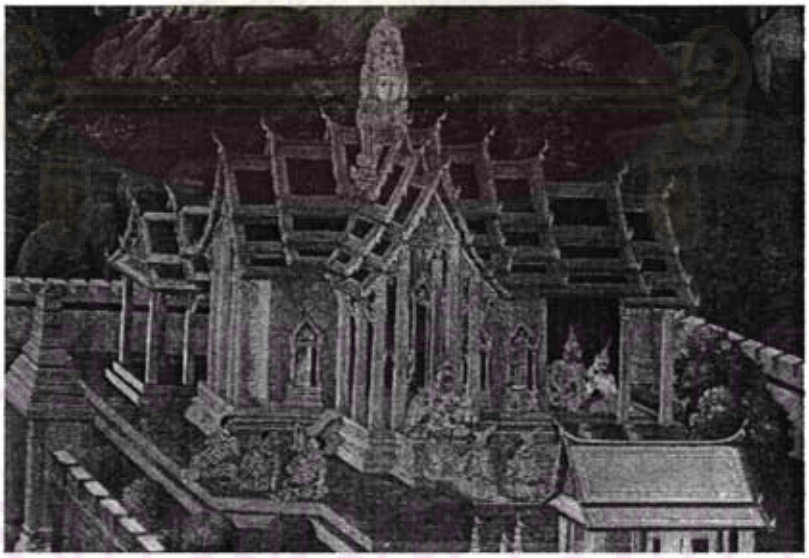
[76] Rita Ringis, Thai Temples and Temple Murals, p. 79.
[77] The Cambodia also calls "Pai Rakā."
[78] Rita Ringis, Thai Temples and Temple Murals, p. 79.
[79] Silpa Bhirasri, Thai Buddhist Art (Architecture) (The Fine Arts Deparment: Bangkok, 1963), pp. 7-22; Rita Ringis, Thai Temples and Temple Murals, pp. 42-48.



Picture 115 A Greek-cross-planned palace sheltered by glittering telescoped roofs with tapering spire. (Thai Palace Mural)

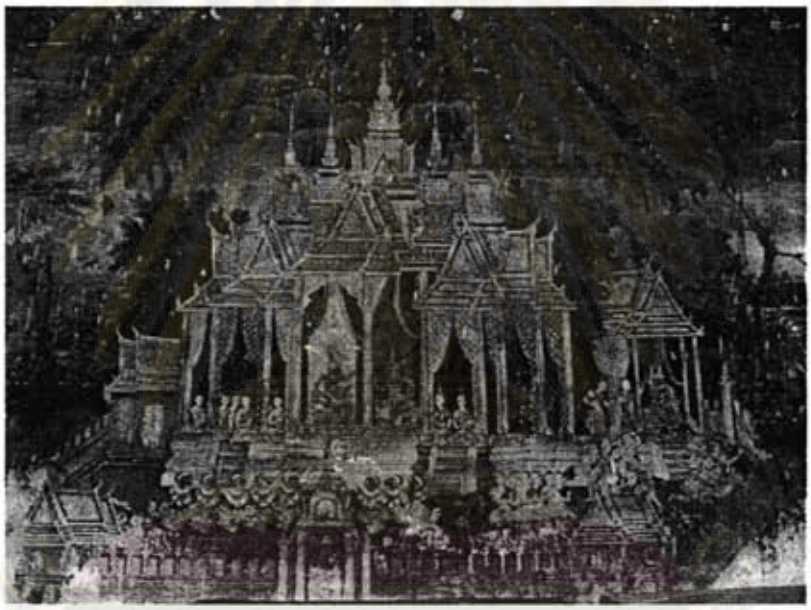


Picture 116 Dusit Maha Prasat, Grand Palace of Bangkok.



Picture 117 A cruciform-structure edifice covered by multi-tile roofs with the four-faced Brahma tower is reflected the influence of the Bayon temple. (Thai Palace Mural)

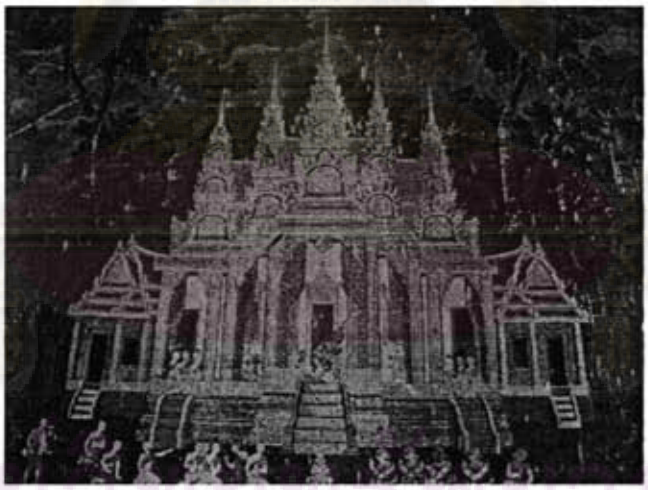
Like the Thai Palace Mural, the Cambodian Palace Mural depicts the whole city through a miniature palace complex, but they are shown in two-dimensions. The palace complexes are always enclosed by irregular shape masonry walls with fortifications like the Thai Palace Mural. In the precinct of the palace, there are a principal building and one or two subsidiary buildings, close to or flank of the main building. These buildings, including the main one, sometimes have wall sometimes not and most of them are presented from the front side, except a few that are viewed from a three-quarter angle. The entire structure of the buildings is made from wood and covered by terra cotta tiles, except their foundations seem to be made from stonework (picture 118).



Picture 118 A Palace Complex. The principal open building is flanked by two subsidiary pavilions. The palace is enclosed by a masonry wall with fortifications. The use of a three-dimensional perspective was not asserted in the painting yet. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

Although, we do not see the rear view of the main building, they are probably erected in a cruciform plan or at least in cruciform roof setting at square or rectangular plan. The upper structure of the buildings is more complex than the Thai Palace Mural. The palace architectures are covered with the multiple roofs surmounted by one or three or five tall spires. This concept, undoubtedly, was inspired by the ancient Khmer sanctuaries which were always built in one or three or five towers that represented the

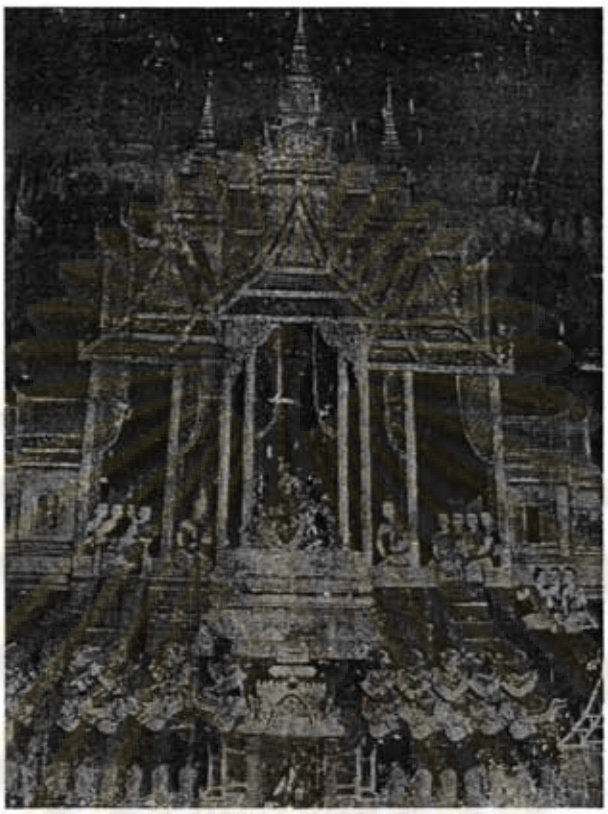
Mount Meru.[80] This concept was prevalent in the ancient Khmer tradition. The spires of palaces are mainly illustrated in four types: the first type is composed of three receding pediments found in Angkorian temple topped one on another with a pointed finial atop (picture 119). Another type, the spire rises up from only one pediment or gable (picture 120-124). The third style, two pediments are alternately surmounted by two four-face Brahmas with finial on top (picture 125), while the last type, the crown is depicted in the shape of ancient Khmer tower (picture 126). Madeleine Giteau notes that the latter type is comparable to those that one can see in Bangkok, the Grand Palace and Wat Phra Keo.[81] I do not dispute her due to the fact that the palace with the Prang on top in the Cambodian Palace Mural was inspired by the architectures found in the Thai Grand Palace or the Thai Palace Mural, but if we compare them together in terms of shape the palace's spire in the Cambodian Palace Mural is more identical with the ancient Khmer tower than those found in the Thai Grand Palace or the Thai Palace Mural. Therefore, it means that the palace's tower in the Cambodian Palace Mural was directly adopted from the ancient Khmer tower itself rather than from the Thai architectures or the Thai Palace Mural.



Picture 119 A palace surmounted by five-spire roofs and each spire composed of three receding pediments found in Angkorian temple topping one on another with a pointed finial atop. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

[80] In terms of metaphysical geography in Hindu concept, Mount Meru, the home of the gods and guardians, is enclosed by four concentric ranges of continents that diminish progressively in size, and are separated by seas. Beyond these mountain ranges is the great cosmic ocean on which four major continents face the four cardinal points of Mount Meru. Beyond the continents is the boundary wall of rocky mountains enclosing the universe.

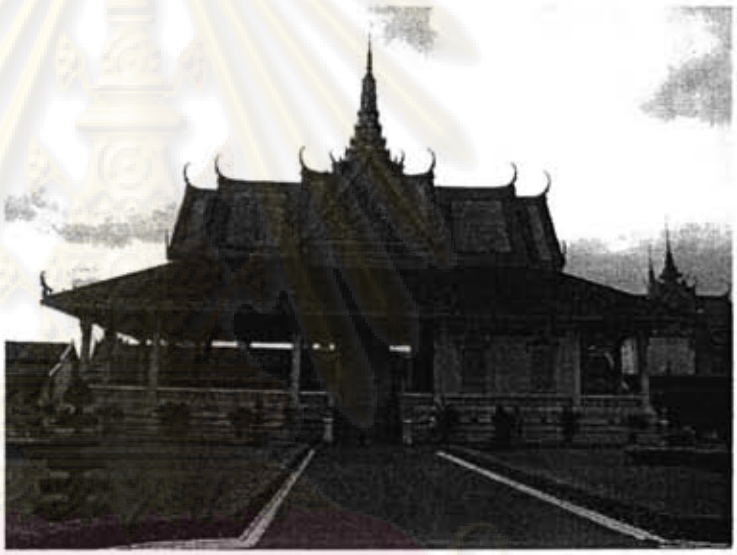
[81] Madeleine Giteau, Iconographie du Cambodge Post-Angorien, p. 290.



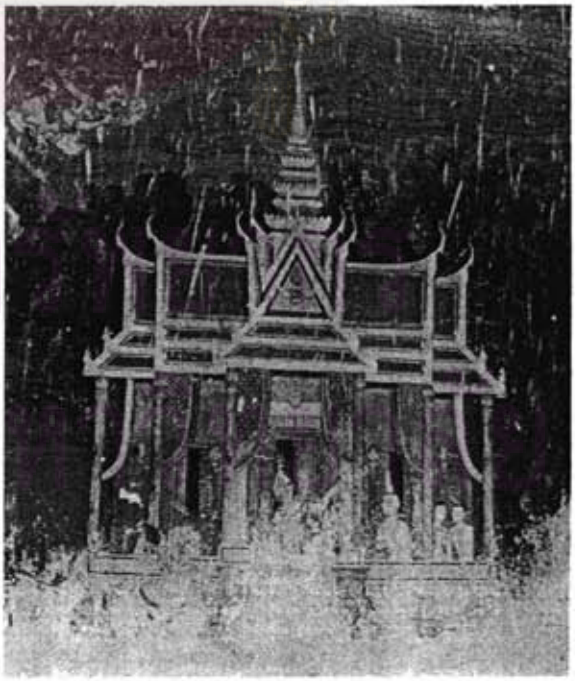
Picture 120 A Prasat covered by three-spire roofs. Each spire rises up from a pediment. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

Picture 121 Preah Tineang Tevea Vinichay, the Throne Hall, Royal Palace of Phnom Penh.

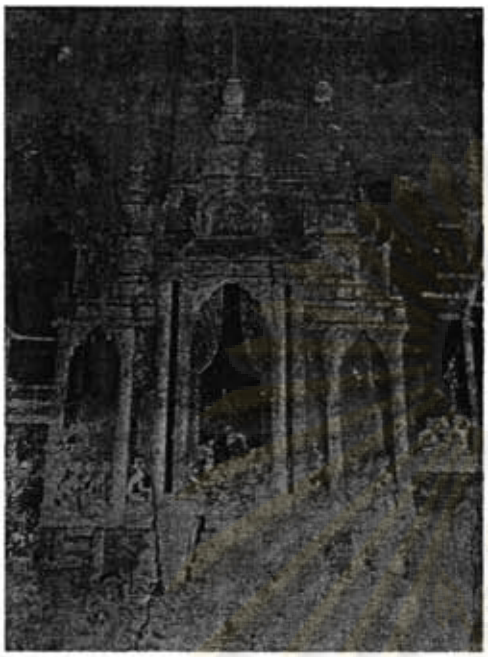
Picture 122 A building sheltered by telescope roofs with a short tower rising up from pediment, Bayon temple, Siem Reap, late 12th and early 13th century.



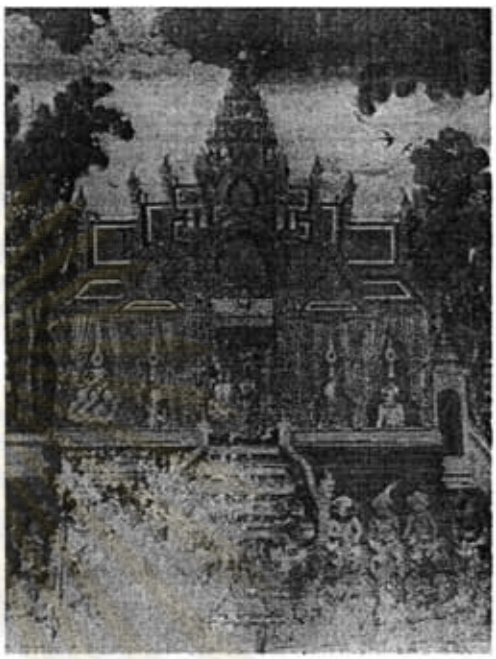
Picture 123 Phochani Pavilion, Royal Palace of Phnom Penh.



Picture 124 A building covered by two-overlapping roofs with a tapering spire.
(Cambodian Palace Mural)



Picture 125 A palace with three-spire roofs. Each spire is composed of two pediments alternately surmounted by two four-faced Brahmas with finial on top.
(Cambodian Palace Mural)



Picture 126 A palace covered by multi-roofs with ancient Khmer tower.
(Cambodian Palace Mural)

Some Prasats are adorned with sky tassels and triangular gable-boards – framing both sides by the undulating form of the Nāgas with Bai Raka on their backs – the same as the Thai Palace Mural. Interestingly, some palaces are decorated with a crowned Garuḍa head or Nāgas instead of sky tassels, which is not present in the Thai Palace Mural. The doorways and windows are framed by a gilded crown-like shape, while occasionally the whole column and basement are embellished with gilded carving. The interior of the palaces are decorated with Western objects such as the mirrors in gilded frame or chandeliers. Such kinds of decorative equipment, according to Madeleine Giteau, have been used in Europe since around 1900.[82]

Therefore, Prasats depicted in the Cambodian Palace Mural were not influenced by the Thai Palace Mural but they were inspired by the architectural elements in Cambodia itself, for instance, those of the chapel of the Emerald Buddha, Preah Tineang

[82] Madeleine Giteau, Iconographie du Cambodge Post-Angorien, p. 290.

Tevea Vinichay (the Throne Hall), Chanchhaya Pavilion (the Moonlight Pavilion), and the Phochani Pavilion. However, it might be that those existing architectures were to a certain extent influenced by the Thai architectural elements i.e. cruciform or rectangular planned structures with their telescoped roofs are built in the traditional Khmer style, while their tall shaped-pointed spires were probably adopted from Thai architectures.

5.5.2 Encampments

The Rāma's encampments in the Thai Palace Mural are depicted in one or more wooden buildings surrounded by wooden bastions and fortifications. The camp's structures are distinguished between Prasat by their roofs without soaring spire or Prang atop. The pavilions are viewed from the front side or from a three-quarter angle or from above. The principal pavilions are presented in many styles such as a square-shaped foundation covered by a twin-roof (picture 127), a Greek-cross-structure sheltered by two overlapping roofs (picture 128), a rectangular structure covered by two overlapping roofs (picture 129), a rectangular shape with multiple roofs (picture 130), a rectangular structure with a triple-roof (picture 131), a rectangular plan with extended porch (or T-like shape) sheltered by two overlapping roofs (picture 132), and less often, a cruciform structure with the stylized overlapping roofs (picture 133). The latter is comparable to those of Prasat but there is no crown. All the pavilions are sheltered by terra cotta tile and are rarely covered by the traditional thatch; their roofs slope and are adorned with triangular gables and sky tassels. The interior walls are occasionally embellished with gilded ornaments. Some buildings have a wall, while some pavilions do not have a wall but use curtains with gilded floral decoration instead.

The pavilions are depicted here similar to those of Thai traditional house, Ho Trai (Library), and Sala (Rest Pavilion).

Picture 127 A square-shape foundation covered by a twin-roofs. (Thai Palace Mural)

Picture 128 A Greek-cross-structure sheltered by two overlapping roofs. (Thai Palace Mural)

Picture 129 A rectangular pavilions covered by two overlapping roofs. (Thai Palace Mural)

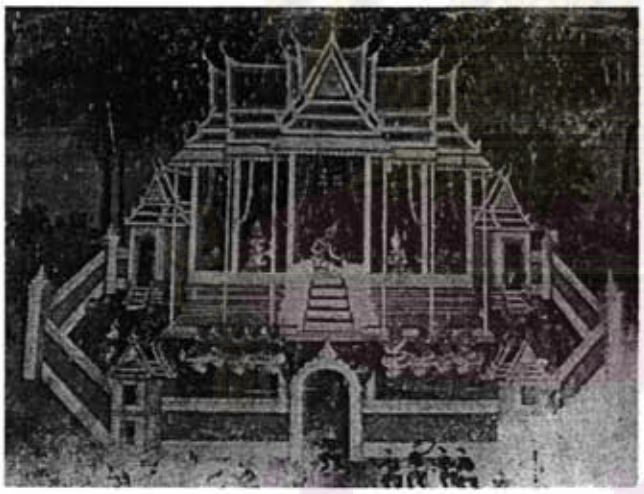
Picture 130 A rectangular shaped camp with multiple roofs. (Thai Palace Mural)

Picture 131 A rectangular pavilion with a triple-roof (Thai Palace Mural)

Picture 132 A rectangular plan with extended porch (or T-like shape) sheltered by two overlapping roofs. (Thai Palace Mural)

Picture 133 A cruciform structure with stylized overlapping roofs. (Thai Palace Mural)

The Cambodian Palace Mural depicts the Rāma's temporary encampment with one principle building flanked by two small subsidiary pavilions; they are enclosed by wall with fortifications. Unlike the Thai Palace Mural, the camp's bastions and lower structure of some pavilions are built in brick covered by mortar, while the upper structure is made of wood and terra cotta tile. This is an impossible task when considering that they must make the camp from stonework while they lead their troop to invade another country and even the warfare takes place in the forest. Nevertheless, these masonry pavilions come to explain to us the Cambodian social tendency towards the so called "civilization" or "modernization," which was introduced by French colonialism in that time.[83] By contrasting the richness of pavilion styles that are found in the Thai Palace Mural, The Cambodian Palace Mural shows only two types of main pavilion: building in the rectangular plan sheltered by cross-shaped overlapping roofs (picture 134-135), and the rectangular structure covered by two overlapping roofs (picture 136-138).

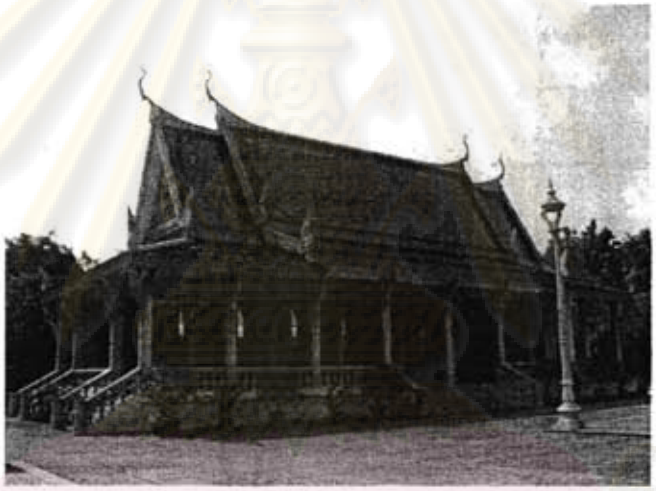


Picture 134 A rectangular planned pavilion with cross-shaped overlapping roofs. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

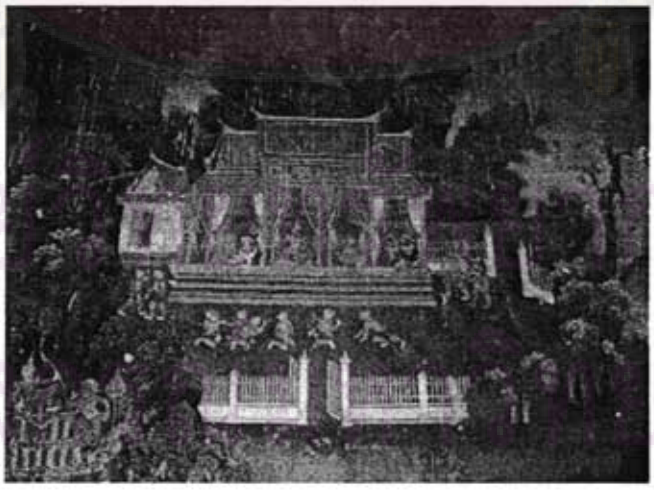
Picture 135 Ho Samran Phirun, Royal Palace of Phnom Penh.

[83] Since the French imposed their colonial on Cambodia, they started to build their residences in masonry. Sooner it became fashionable and was followed by the Cambodian nobles who were fond of modernization. Thus, the traditional wooden houses in downtowns were gradually substituted by stonework buildings. As Michel Igout points out, "Norodom's policy of modernizing his capital was the construction of solid houses with brick walls and tiled roofs … Phnom Penh expanded, with buildings constructed of stone. A new town, a town of concrete, was established while the traditional city, the city of thatch and bamboo, gradually disappeared." See Michel Igout, Phnom Penh Then and Now, p. 7.

Picture 136 A pavilion with two overlapping roofs found in the bas-relief of Bayon temple, Siem Reap, late 12th to early 13th century.



Picture 137 Dhammasala Hall, Royal Palace of Phnom Penh.



Picture 138 A rectangular encampment with two overlapping roofs.
(Cambodian Palace Mural)

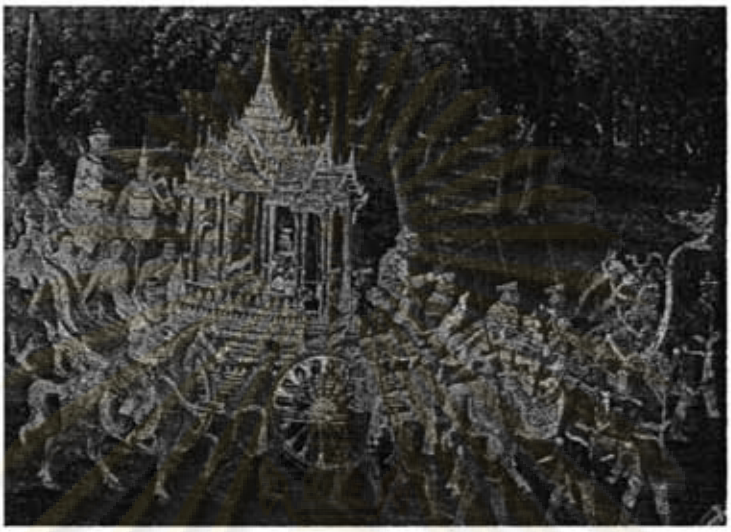
All the pavilions are sheltered by sloped tile roofs adorned with triangular gables and sky tassels. The pavilion's columns and foundations are occasionally enhanced with decorative ornaments. The interior is decorated with archaic rectangular fans and chandeliers. Some buildings have wall, while some pavilions do not have wall but use floral decorative curtains instead. Like the Thai Palace Mural, there is no crown rising from the roofs and the encampments are viewed from the front except a few being projected from a three-quarter angle.

Rāma's military camps which are depicted in the mural can be found within the precinct of the Royal Palace, for instance, Dhammasala Hall (the hall is where Buddhist monks recite sacred texts), Ho Samran Phirun (the pavilion where one sleeps in peace), and Ho Samreth Phimean (the Bronze Palace). Therefore, it can be concluded that although the structure of the camp styles shown in the Cambodian Palace Mural are to a certain extent identical with the Thai Palace Mural, they are certainly inspired by already existent buildings in Cambodian itself – particularly the precinct of the Cambodian Palace – rather than the Thai Palace Mural.

5.5.3 Chariots

The most delicate and splendid thing in both the Thai and Cambodian Palace Murals is the royal chariot. In the Thai Palace Mural the chariot can be categorized into two main types: the chariot Puspuka, chariot with miniature palace or towering spire roof on top, and the chariot without Puspuka. The body of the chariot Puspuka is composed in an open boat-shape surmounted by a tapering spire palace or towering spire roof; it is fully adorned with multiple Nāgas and fine gilded or polychrome ornamentation that creates the effect of magnificence being appropriate for monarch or holy images. The chariots have two or four or even six wheels and are dragged by two or four horses (picture 139). However, the chariot Puspuka on which Sītā rides to see Lakṣmaṇa who is hurt by Indrajit's arrow in the battlefield and the chariot on which Rāvaṇa drives during fleeing from the fire in Laṅkā are able to move at their wish without horses or lions (picture 140). Moreover, when Indrajit and Rāvaṇa are deceased,

their corpses are put in the urns and moved to the crematorium by the chariot Puspuka. Yet, this time the chariots are



Picture 139 Chariot Puspuka drawn by four horses. (Thai Palace Mural)

Picture 140 Chariot Puspuka are able to move at will without horses or lions. (Thai Palace Mural)

not drawn by animals or moved by magical power but by the manpower (picture 141-142). This aspect reflects the socio-cultural dimensions of Thailand, in which the chariot is employed to convey the urn containing the body of royal family members to crematorium. One can see the existent chariot Puspukas being exhibited in the National

Museum of Bangkok. They are said to have been built during the reign of King Rama I (1782-1809) for the funeral ceremonies of King Rama I's father and sisters.[84]

Picture 141 Chariot Puspuka employed to convey the urn containing the body of Indrajit to crematorium. It is drawn by men. (Thai Palace Mural)

Picture 142 One of royal chariots said to be used in processions of royal funeral rites, National Museum of Bangkok.

The chariot without Puspuka on the other hand is modeled on the chariot of Puspuka as well, but smaller and they have only two wheels, except Sahassatejah's chariot comprised of four wheels and its scale is also as the same as the chariot Puspuka. On the body of the chariots the throne-like seat comes to replace the miniature

[84] This information is cited from the label of the royal chariot exhibition in the National Museum of Bangkok.

palace (picture 143). The demon's and human's chariots are almost the same but they are distinguished by the animals that draw those chariots. On demons side, their chariots are drawn by Siṅha, a lion-like animal, sometimes two or four or even eight, while the human's chariots are pulled by two or four horses. This concept is comparable to the bas-relief of the third enclosure of Angkor Wat temple, in which the demons' chariots are dragged by Siṅhas, while the divinities or humans' chariots are pulled by horses (picture 144).

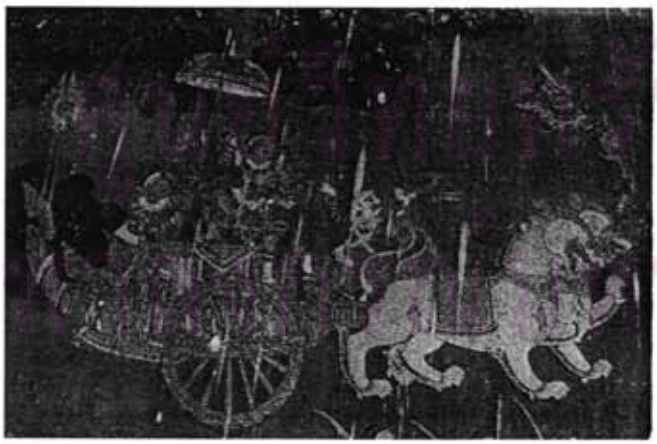
Picture 143 Chariot without Puspuka drawn by two Siṅhas, which represent the demon side. (Thai Palace Painting)

Picture 144 A scene from Rāmāyaṇa: a demon's chariot drawn by two Siṅhas, Angkor Wat temple, Seam Reap, first half of the 12th century.

The presentation of both chariot types in the Cambodian Palace Mural on the other hand is almost as the same as the Thai Palace Mural, although the detail of ornamentation is to a certain extent different (picture 145-146). The similarity can also be seen from the idea of distinguishing the animals that drag the chariots: the ogres' vehicles are pulled by Siṅha, while the horses draw the humans' chariots. The concept was perhaps adopted from the Thai Palace Mural rather than from the Angkor Wat's bas-relief. However, the difference is that the Cambodian Mural depicts chariots being drawn by two horses or two Siṅhas throughout the mural. In Cambodia the chariot had been employed for parading the new king through the street to meet his people on the day of coronation. Thus, it might be that the chariots in the Cambodian Palace Mural were inspired by the existent royal chariots in Cambodian Royal Palace itself rather than by the Thai Palace Painting (picture 147).

Picture 145 A chariot Puspuka drawn by two horses. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

Picture 146 A procession of King Norodom Suramarit and Queen Sisowath Kossomak on the coronation's day, March 6th , 1956, Phnom Penh.[85]



Picture 147 A chariot without Puspuka drawn by two Siṅhas. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

[85] This picture taken from Madeleine Giteau, Chefs-d'Oeuvre de la Peinture Cambodgienne dans les Monastères Buddhiques Post-Angkorienne, p. 109.

5.5.4 Landscapes

At the end of the Ayutthaya period, Thai painting elements featuring vegetation drawn on colored backgrounds had begun to appear in composition at the same time as sawtooth bands. The appearance of vegetation can be seen representing the two characteristic tendencies – realistic and idealistic – of the School of Ayutthaya. However, the remarkable mastery of vegetation in pictorial compositions was even more evident in the productions of the Ratanakosin School.[86] Since the Western technique started to assert its influence on painting, the conventional technique come to considerably lose its fundamental peculiarity. Those characteristics of idealization or conventionalization of the real appearance of natural, human and animal forms has become much more naturalistic. The most prominent Western influence can be seen at the mural painting in Wat Prah Keo. The landscape was painted employing the Western technique: three-dimensional perspective, vanishing-point on the horizon as well as acidic chemical pigments (picture 148).

Picture 148 The employ of three-dimensional perspective and acidic chemical color enhance the image to become much more realistic. (Thai Palace Mural)

[86] Santi Leksukhum. Temples of Gold: Seven Centuries of Thai Buddhist Paintings, p. 227.

To fit the actual nature the variety of colors has been applied. The natural vegetation is presented with the details of trunks, branches, stalks, and even leaves, which are characteristic of the particular tree being painted (picture 149). To represent foliage artist employed the application of a mass of deep color and then superimposed a light colored tone upon it or lighter colors – even detail of leaves, shoots, buds or flowers – can be added upon a light tone once or twice more when the parts of the foliage catch the sunlight. The play between the bright light and dark colors creates an effect of depth. Another component of landscape is rocks which are treated in a very naturalistic way and the same method is followed for foliage. They are executed in the forms of angular hills, pointed peaks, rounded boulders; they appear along with trees and shrubs, which often bear flowers in dazzling colors enhancing the poetic value of the total image. Even though the Western influence was powerful we may still trace Chinese character in the forms of furrowed rocks along with the twisted forms of trees and bushes.

Picture 149 The trees and water are very naturalistic and are clearly differentiated from the rocks. Rounded boulders and furrowed rocks along with the twisted forms of trees and bushes trace the Chinese influence. (Thai Place Mural)

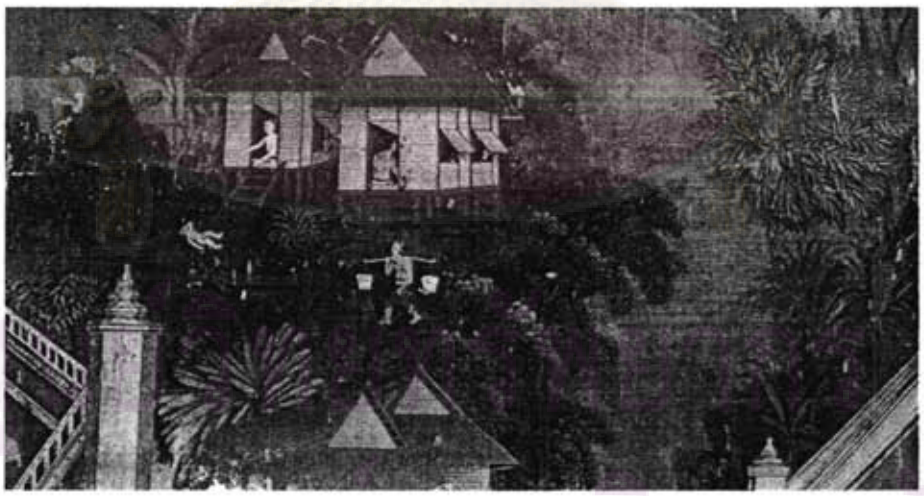
The sky plays a dominant role in the landscape, permitting a better representation of distances and the overall spatial organization of the landscape. The clouds floating in the sky – tones being flexible with a certain times – whose size, gradually diminish and vanish on the horizon, which create an effect of depth. The water on the other hand is also depicted in a realistic manner but some sea animals are still shown idealistically and mythically. Interestingly, to enhance visibility of the ocean the muralist illustrated those kinds of aquatic invertebrates and crustaceans along with the rocks at the shore, for instance, corals, oysters, starfish, conches, barnacles, clams, cockles, mussels, and sea-cucumbers. The muralist was perhaps familiar with these marine animals through the Western postcards rather than from the animals in the Thai sea itself (picture 150).

Picture 150 These kinds of aquatic invertebrates and crustaceans testify to the Western influence through the postcard. (Thai Palace Mural)

By contrasting the beautiful and brilliant landscape with the employment of Western technique in the Thai Palace Mural, the landscape in the Cambodian Palace Mural is depicted in modest, somber colored tone and conventional manner, although the Western influence infiltrated some parts of the painting. Most of vegetations are depicted in idealistically, which is the application of dark colored tone as a background and then overlays the light color upon it by using brushstrokes to imitate foliage (picture 151). Nevertheless, like the Thai Palace Mural foliage is occasionally treated in the

realistic manner by minutely detailing trunks, branches, stalks, and even leaves with traits from real trees (picture 152).

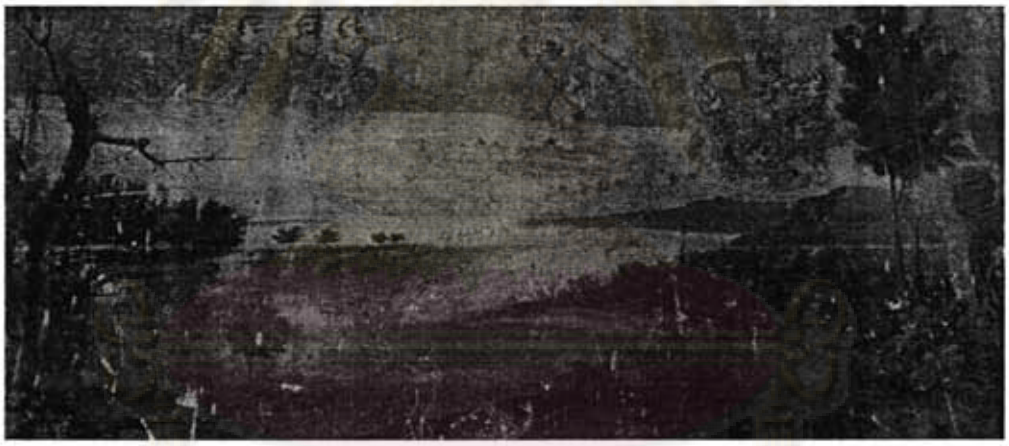
Picture 151 The trees are idealistically portrayed by employing a very conventional technique, which is the application of dark green color as a background and then superimposing the light green tone upon it. The elements in the scenery appear quite close to us. However, the birds look very realistic. (Cambodian Palace Mural)



Picture 152 In contrast to the picture above, here the trees are very realistic. Nonetheless, the water is treated in a very conventional manner.

(Cambodian Palace Mural)

Boulders are illustrated in angular or rounded shapes with three dimensions along with trees and shrubs but they are shown with no diminishing side from different distances. Occasionally, the landscape that is composed of water, trees and mountains is presented in perspective, with a vanishing-point on the horizon (picture 153). Generally, the sky and clouds, the color being inflexible at certain times, are depicted in simple manner, which is the application of blue color on the upper part, while the light blue occupies the lower part as horizon; whereas the clouds are depicted in white or light blue color scattering over some parts of the sky. While the water in the Thai Palace Mural becomes realistic, the Cambodian Palace Mural shows it in idealistic manner by application of a blue color as a background and then overlay of light blue curved (or straight) parallel lines coming from brushstrokes (picture 154). This stylized water was probably adopted from Chinese characteristics indirectly through Thai paintings in other places, not through the Thai Mural Painting. The aquatic animals are shown with both realistic and idealistic traits.



Picture 153 The perspective allows the assertion of the scenery. Here we can see the vanishing-point in the horizon. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

Picture 154 The water is treated in a very conventional manner, while the marine animals are depicted as realistic and idealistic. (Cambodian Palace Mural)

Conclusion

The evolution of Thai painting since the mid-19th century was fascinated with the West and was accompanied by the introduction of three dimensions, perspective and the modeling of figures through play of light and shadow.[87] The result was a degree of realism in the traditional idealist concept.[88] Although the Ramakien mural painting in the Grand Palace was repainted in the reign of Rāma III, it has been many times restored since then. Thus, the adoption of Western color and technique is unavoidable. Regarding Western influence, Silpa Bhirasri critically notes that the adoption of the Western influence without understanding has affected for the worse traditional painting techniques such as perspective, atmospheric values and the use of chemical colors which, clashing with each other, destroying the harmony of the paintings.[89] What he mentioned seems to be true because if we look at the architectures, for instance, the buildings are slightly altilt and the proportions are sometimes jarred. The muralists were not precise painters in employing the Western perspective; they seem to be more primitive painters than polished craftsman. The influence of Western technique can be apparently seen on buildings and landscapes, while the chariot has seemingly kept the conventional conception.

The Western influence on the Reamker mural painting in the Cambodian Royal Palace, on the other hand, is so poor if compared with the Ramakien mural painting in the Thai Grand Palace. In the Cambodian Palace Mural, only a few places of landscapes have applied Western perspective, a vanishing point on the horizon, while the buildings and chariots continued to employ the primitive technique. Ingrid Muan points out that although French colonization was already established in Cambodia and there was even an English painter – who came to Phnom Penh through the close links maintained between the Cambodian and Thai courts – serving in the court, there was no French or English involvement in this project. She adds that it was Tep Nimit Mak who was in complete charge of the design and execution of the painting following the wishes of the

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[87] Steve Van Beek and Luca Invernizzi Tettoni, The Arts of Thailand, p. 162.

[88] The Working Group for the Publication of Rattanakosin Painting, Rattanakosin Painting, p. 31.

[89] Silpa Bhirasri, Appreciation of our Murals, p. 13.

king.[90] The Western influence, therefore, was not directly from the French presence in Cambodia, but a direct consequence of Thailand's influence on the Cambodian artists during the time that they were trained in Thailand.

The architectures depicted in both Thai and Cambodian Palace Murals were inspired rather by buildings in their own countries than by anywhere or imaginary buildings. This happened not only in Thailand and Cambodia but also everywhere because the local environment is the preliminary and main source of artists' inspiration. Thus, although the structures of palaces or encampments shown in the Cambodian Palace Mural are identical with the Thai Palace Mural, they were certainly inspired by the existing buildings in Cambodian itself – particularly the precinct of the Cambodian Palace – rather than the Thai Palace Mural.

As for chariots, although they appeared on the bas-reliefs of the ancient Khmer temple, their forms are different from the chariots found in the Cambodian Mural Painting. The chariots in the mural are more developed and delicate than the chariots found in the bas-relief. Interestingly, these chariot types have been found in the Cambodian royal court itself, which has been used for parading the new king through the street to meet his people on the day of his coronation. The chariot style evolved from the ancient Khmer chariots itself or might have been adopted from the Thai chariot's style. Nevertheless, no matter what they are, the important point is that the chariots in the Cambodian Palace Mural were inspired by the royal chariots used in the Cambodian Royal Palace itself; they were not from the Thai Palace Painting.

Additionally, the landscapes show the differentiation between the two murals as well. In the Thai Palace Mural, the landscape is depicted in the modern and naturalistic style with the play of light and shade as well as perspective technique that create the effect of depth and brilliant scenery. Even though the Western influence was powerful at that time, we can still trace Chinese influence in the forms of furrowed rocks along with the twisted forms of trees and bushes. On the contrary, since the Cambodian muralists were not influenced by the Western technique yet, the Cambodian Palace

[90] Ingrid Muan, Citing Angkor: The "Cambodian Arts" in the Age of Restoration 1918-2000, pp. 31-32.

Mural's scenery is illustrated in a conventional and idealistic manner. The landscape is modest and somber and the elements in the scenery appear quite close to us. As note earlier, the Thai Palace Mural has been repainted many times since it was originally painted. Therefore, it is difficult to determine with certainty whether the depiction in the original painting is exactly the same as those seen today. So, I can not judge from what we have seen today whether or not the Thai Palace Mural's landscape influenced the Cambodian Palace Mural.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

The result from this study reveals that the episodes of the Reamker mural painting along the galleries of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in the Royal Palace of Cambodia was hybridized by many sources, essentially five – slightly different from my hypothesis – such as the mural painting in the Grand Palace of Thailand, the Thai Ramakien, the Reamker I and II texts, the segment of Reamker text called "Kāl Vaiyarāb(ṇ) Saṇtaṃ Yak Braḥ Rāma Pān (Vaiyarāb(ṇ) magically puts Rāma to sleep)," and the Reamker oral versions. Of them, the episodes from the Thai Palace Mural have a huge influence.

As noted earlier, the entire painted episodes are divided into three parts. The first part – from "King Daśaratha sending his four sons to study with the hermits" to "Rāvaṇa sending messengers to ask his friend, Mūlabalaṃ, to bring reinforcements" – is merged with the Thai Ramakien, the Thai Palace Mural, the Reamker I text, the segment of Reamker text called "Kāl Vaiyarāb(ṇ) Saṇtaṃ Yak Braḥ Rāma Pān, and the oral versions, for example, Ta Chak's version, Ta Soy's version and anonymous oral versions.

For the second part, the painted episode starts from "Mūlabalaṃ coming to Laṅkā" to "the ogress Ātulay asking Sītā to draw a portrait of Rāvaṇa." This part completely follows the Thai Palace Mural. However, there exist a few numbers of episodes being added to – the source is anonymous – and some elements being modified.

On the other hand, the third part – from "Sītā drawing a portrait of Rāvaṇa" to "Bharata, Śtrughna, Rāmalaksm(ṇ), Japalaksm(ṇ) and the King of Kaikēya going with their troops to pay homage to Rāma in the city of Ayodhyā" – are intermingled with the Reamker II text, the Thai Palace Mural and the Ramkien text.

Although the majority of the episodes were adopted from the Thai Palace Mural or the Ramakien text, some principal characters still bear the names after the Reamker text. Furthermore, chronological organization of incidents are sometimes similar and sometimes not. Some selected episodes that have appeared in the Cambodian Palace Mural – for example, Rāma killing the crow Kākanāsūra – do not exist in the Thai Palace Mural. By contrast, some incidents, which have been illustrated in the Thai Palace Mural – for instance, King Janaka assembling with his ministers to decide in finding a husband for Sītā – are not present in the Cambodian Palace Mural. The same episode, on the other hand, is occasionally depicted in detail in the Cambodian Palace Mural but lesser detail in the Thai Palace Mural and vice versa.

The difference can be also seen from the presentations in the mural paintings. Nonetheless, since countless episodes have been chosen for presentation, of course, some similar compositions are no doubt inspired by the Thai Palace Mural. From a cursory look, those compositions appear very close to the Thai Palace Mural, yet obviously the detail presentations are not the same due to the fact that the Cambodian artist expresses their own charm, context and style. On the other hand, the composition of the royal assembly, for instance, was not influenced by the Thai Palace Mural but perhaps by the mural paintings in Thai Buddhist monasteries. This should underline that the Cambodian muralists at that time were not to be trained only in Bangkok but many places in Thailand.

In general, the manner of three character types – human as well as heavenly beings, demons and monkey – are mainly influenced by the Thai Palace Mural. Nevertheless, since the transformation takes place between one culture to another culture, the distinction is hard to avoid. Firstly, the cloth and ornamentation of the characters in the Cambodian Palace Mural are more comparable with the Cambodian royal ballet and Cambodian monarch than the Thai Palace Mural. Secondly, since European techniques have influenced the Thai Palace Mural, the Thai muralist played with light and shading upon characters that created the effect of roundness, while the Cambodian muralist portrayed the character figures in a two-dimensional state that created the effect of flatness. Lastly, the depictions of the characters' complexion and

appearance are occasionally the same but sometimes not. For instance, the demon called Mahārīk/Mārich is depicted with white colored skin and wearing a crown in the Thai Palace Mural, while he has fleshy complexion and is uncrowned in the Cambodian Palace Mural.

These differences came from three essential factors. Firstly, as one can see there consist of countless characters in the epic. They have different names, characteristics, colored skins, and ornamentations. When those elements were transferred to Cambodia, over the course of time, the original version was impossible to stay static. The mistakes were mainly derived from the muralists' masters and again the muralists themselves. The second distinction was generated by the depiction of characters in painting without telling their names. The mistake appears very often for the monkey characters due to the fact that those monkey commanders – except a few monkeys such as Sugrīva, Hanumān, Aṅgada – have never directly led the troops to battle by themselves. Although they are depicted in the painting, their names have never been mentioned together with their portraits. Thus, those monkey commanders were unclearly identified by the Cambodian muralists. Lastly, are the socio-cultural inspiration and individual context and style. Individually, each artist has his or her own culture, environment and style, so whenever and wherever the muralist painted, undoubtedly, he or she had to rely much on these elements. Therefore, although the Thai Palace Mural is the main source of inspiration, when it was transferred to Cambodia the muralists added to, removed from or changed the characteristic presumably in accordance with their own preferences and knowledge.

From the beginning my hypothesis was that the architectures and landscapes were influenced by the Thai Palace Mural as well. However, the findings from the research undermine my prediction. The introduction of three dimensions, perspective and modeling of the figures through play of light and shadow since the mid-19th century have brought about a dramatic change in the Thai Palace Mural and have caused a clear distinction between the Thai Palace Mural and Cambodian Palace Mural. The result of Western influence injected a degree of realism in the traditional idealist concept that one can obviously see on architecture and landscapes. In contrast, during that time the

Western technique had not yet asserted its influence on the Cambodian Palace Mural. Thus, one cannot see the Western influence on architecture in the Cambodian Palace Mural except for a few places of landscape that show the Western perspective. However, it might be that this technique was indirectly introduced to the Cambodian Palace Mural through the Thai Palace Mural.

The models of architecture, palaces and encampments, that are depicted in the Cambodian Palace Mural were rather inspired by existing buildings in Cambodia itself – particularly the architecture of buildings inside the Cambodian palace compound – although to some extent they are identical with the Thai Palace Mural. Thus it should be understood that in anytime and anyplace the local environment seems to be the main and preliminary sources of inspiration for the artist. For the landscapes, on the other hand, the Thai Palace Mural depicts them in the modern and naturalistic style with the play of light and shading as well as a perspective technique that creates the effect of depth, vanishing points in the horizon and brilliant scenery. By contrast, the landscape in the Cambodian Palace mural is shown in conventional and idealistic manner. The scenery is modest and somber. The elements in the scenery appear very close to visitors. Thus, the landscape in the Cambodian Palace Mural was not influenced by the Thai Palace Mural. However, it might be that the Cambodian muralists adopted it from elsewhere because, as noted earlier, the Cambodian muralists were trained in different places, regardless of whether it was in Cambodia or Thailand.

The findings from the research also show that the general compositional organization in the Cambodian Palace Mural is similar to the Thai Palace Mural, because the painted story starts from the eastern gate of the galleries. Nonetheless, the ending points of the painted story are slightly different from each other. While the painted narrative of the Thai Palace Mural finished at the north gate, the painted story of the Cambodian Palace Mural ends at the east gate. Again, the Thai and Cambodian Palace Murals employ the same tradition, which is the depiction of the story by following a clock-wise direction called "Pradaksina." This Tradition is embedded in the culture of Southeast Asian countries since the time they have adopted the Indian civilization, regardless of whether it was direct or indirect. In both Cambodia and

Thailand, although Theravada Buddhism plays very important role as their religion, other important traditions are still kept alive. Interestingly, one tradition is not employed, now, in Hindu context anymore but in the Buddhist context. This because in Southeast Asia Hinduism and Buddhism have been merged since the beginning of the Indian cultural propagation. Therefore, in this sense the concept of the compositional organization in the Cambodian Palace Mural was not influenced by the Thai Palace Mura; the idea has come from its own tradition.

In summary, the Thai Royal Temple influenced the Cambodian Royal Temple mainly in three elements or aspects: the concept of construction of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha with the Reamker mural painting along the galleries of the temple, the painted episodes and the characters in the mural painting. As one can see from the Cambodian history and the history of the construction of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in the Royal Palace of Cambodia, the main factor for the Thai influences on the construction of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha and the Reamker mural painting lies on the three key persons who are responsible for these projects. King Norodom who was the founder of the Royal Palace and the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, Ukñā Tep Nimit Mak who was the chief painter and architect in cooperation with supreme patriarch Venerable Nil Teang who was the supervisor of the temple's construction, all of whom were brought up and/or studied in Bangkok for many years. This influence is one of the significant trends responsible for bringing some aspects of Thai culture which are quite similar to Cambodian culture (or in other words – received from Old Khmer Culture) to mix with Cambodian culture for the restoration of the royal court and culture during the time of King Ang Duong and King Norodom. The Thai influence can also be seen in other arts and culture of this period such as literature, drama, music, architecture, Buddhist religion and some royal ceremonies too. This is the condition of influence in general, while the three Thai educated Cambodian aristocrats are the primary reason for influence in particular.

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