

EARTH IN FLOWER

THE DIVINE MYSTERY OF
THE CAMBODIAN DANCE DRAMA



PAUL CRAVATH

Earth in Flower

The Divine Mystery of the Cambodian Dance Drama

បុព្វលោកយ

អាថ៌កំបាំងអធិទេពនៃរាំកម្ពុជា



Paul Cravath

ប៉ូល ក្រាវ៉ាត

Introduction by Kent Davis

រៀបរៀងដោយ ខឹង ដេវីស



DatASIA

ABOUT THE COVER

“Saem in Her Festival Attire” By Jean Despujols

In the 1930's, Saem was a dancer with Princess Wongat Say Sangvann's royal troupe in Phnom Penh. The princess married the youngest son of King Sisowath, Prince Yong Kath, when she herself was a royal dancer. Saem's skill impressed the princess, who adopted her as a foster child. In 1937, Despujols painted Saem on the Rainbow Bridge at Angkor Wat where special dance performances were held; she holds her right hand in the classic gesture symbolizing a flower.

Saem's "Cinderella story" embodies the history of the Cambodian dance tradition and the hope of Cambodia's future. In ancient times, girls from all levels of society pledged their service to temples and to learning the dance. Saem's devotion to the art led to her royal adoption. Her story speaks to the modern Spirit of Cambodia, empowering women and men from every level in society to participate in the Khmer Renaissance.

THE ARTIST - JEAN DESPUJOLS

In 1936, the Société des Artistes Coloniaux in Paris selected Despujols to travel throughout French Indochina to record his impressions on canvas and paper. His evocative works were only exhibited a few times until 1969 when they became part of the permanent collection of the Meadows Museum of Art at Centenary College in Shreveport, Louisiana. Special thanks to the Meadows Museum of Art for their kind permission to feature this artwork: www.centenary.edu/meadows



DatASIA

© 2007 DatASIA, Inc., Holmes Beach, Florida 34218.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system,
or transmitted, in any form without prior permission.

www.DatASIA.US

Production Credits

Cover: Kent Davis, Kristen Tuttle and Carol Yudofsky. Rear cover photos clockwise from top: Jaro Poncar, Kent Davis, Kent Davis, Prince William of Sweden (1915), Jaro Poncar, Kent Davis.

Layout and graphic design: Kristen Tuttle.

Index: Timlynn Babitsky, Sohodojo, Inc. - <http://sohodojo.com>

ISBN: 978-1-934431-28-3 (cloth: alk. paper)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Cravath, Paul.

Earth in Flower: The Divine Mystery of the Cambodian Dance Drama / Paul Cravath
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN: 978-1-934431-28-3 (cloth: alk. paper)

1. Dance—Cambodia.
2. Dance—Cambodia—History.
3. Drama—Cambodia.
4. Drama—Cambodia—History.
5. Cambodia—Social life and customs.
6. Geographic: Cambodia—Social life and customs.

Printed in the United States of America.

First Edition - 1,000 impressions.



ការច្នោះពុម្ពសៀវភៅប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រនេះដើម្បីឧទ្ទិសថ្វាយជូន
ព្រះអង្គម្ចាស់ក្សត្រីនរោត្តមបុប្ផាទេវី
ជាព្រះកត្តយសនៃការចូលរួមដ៏ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់របស់ព្រះអង្គ
ក្នុងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍, ការអនុវត្ត និង ការគ្រប់គ្រងជាដ៏រាប
នៃរបៀបប្រពៃណីបុរាណ
របស់ព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា

DEDICATION

This historic edition is dedicated to
Her Royal Highness Norodom Buppha Devi
in honor of her vital contributions in
developing, preserving and perpetuating
the classical dance tradition
of the Kingdom of Cambodia.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES & ILLUSTRATIONS	XI
PUBLISHER'S INTRODUCTION	XX
NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION	XXIII
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES	XXIII
AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.....	XXIV
AUTHOR'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	XXVIII
PREFACE	XXVII
CHAPTER I	
SOURCES OF THE STUDY	1
Historical Perspective of the Present Thesis	2
Structure of the Present Thesis	7
CHAPTER II	
THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF PRE-ANGKOREAN DANCE	13
Earliest Evidence of Dance in Southeast Asia.....	14
Cultural Similarities throughout Southeast Asia.....	15
Dance in Funeral Rites and Megalithic Cultures	16
Royal Genealogy Derived from <i>Apsaras</i>	21
The <i>Devarāja</i> , Source of the King's Power	23
Pre-Angkorean Temple Dance	24
Sculptural Evidence	27
Jayavarman II and Javanese Influence	28

CHAPTER III

ANGKOREAN DANCE: 802-1431	37
Angkorean Cosmology	38
Religious Syncretism	41
The Myth of the Origin of Dance	46
Temple Dance	49
Court Dance	54
The <i>Devatā</i>	56
The <i>Apsaras</i> Prior to Angkor Wat	58
The <i>Apsaras</i> of Angkor Wat	64
Twelfth Century Dance	70
Dance in the Reign of Jayavarman VII	73
The Dancer in Late Angkorean Bronze	81
Post-Bayon Period Dance	87
The Fate of Angkorean Dance	91

CHAPTER IV

KHMER DANCE: 1431-1981	99
The Fifteenth Century	99
The Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries	101
The 1688 Account of La Loubère	104
Dance in the Early Nineteenth Century	106
Dance in the Reign of Ang Duong (1841-1859)	110
Dance in the Reign of Norodom (1860-1904)	114
Thai Dancers at Norodom's Court	117
Early European Accounts of Dance	119
Dance in the Reign of Sisowath (1904-1927)	124
The Khmer Dancers in France	125
Condition and Finances of the <i>Lakhon</i>	128
Politics and Chanchhaya Pavilion	132
Dance Personnel and Activities	135
Non-Royal Dance	136
French Attitudes Toward the Dance	137
Dance in the Reign of Monivong (1928-1941)	138
The Contribution of Princess Say Sangvann	141
The Contribution of Khun Meak	145
The Water Festival	146
Monivong's Dancers	148
The Thai Perspective	152
Dance in the Sihanouk Era (1941-1970)	153
Relations with the French Government	153
The Contribution of Princess Kossamak	155
Occasions of Performance	159
Performance Locations	162

The “Friendship” Dance	163
Dance Personnel	165
Dance in the Republic (1970-1975) and After	168
The American Tour	170
Dance During the Siege	172
The Contribution of Chheng Phon	174
The End of the Republic	175
The Contribution of Mom Kamel	177
The Contribution of Phan Phuong	181
Classical Dance in Kampuchea	181
The School of Fine Arts	184

CHAPTER V

THE MYTHOLOGICAL FOUNDATION OF KHMER DANCE.....	193
The Myth of Liu Ye	194
The Myth of <i>Nāgī</i> Somā	195
The Myths of the Apsaras <i>Mera</i> and the <i>Nāgī</i> Earth Spirit	197
The Legend of Neang Neak and Preah Thong	198
The Primordial Maiden as Serpent	199
The Primordial Maiden as Tree Spirit	202
The Primordial Maiden and the Moon.....	203
The Primordial Maiden as Earth Spirit	204
The Unity of the Primordial Maiden.....	206
Complementary Dualism in the Dance Drama	207
The Dancer in Female Roles	208
The Dancer in Male Roles	212
The Dancer in Yakkha and Monkey Roles	213
The Archetype of the Androgyne	214

CHAPTER VI

THE MODERN REPERTOIRE OF THE DANCE DRAMA	221
The Dramatic Repertoire: Roeung	222
Dramatic Themes	265
The Dance Repertoire: Robam.....	267

CHAPTER VII

MUSIC, CHOREOGRAPHY & STAGING.....	293
Music History	293
The <i>Sralay</i>	297
The <i>Sampho</i>	299
The <i>Skor Torn</i>	301
The <i>Roneat</i>	301
The <i>Kong</i>	303
The <i>Chhing</i> and <i>Khrab</i>	304

Rehearsal Melodies	305
Musical Structure of Entrances and Exits	307
Dramatic Structure of Entrances and Exits	309
Pinpeat Melodies	311
The Chanters	315
CHOREOGRAPHY IN THE DANCE DRAMA	317
Khmer Choreography	317
The <i>Kbach</i>	318
The Hand Gestures	321
The Emotions	327
Floor Patterns	340
Style of Choreography	347
STAGING THE DANCE DRAMA	357
Staging Techniques	357
The <i>Kré</i>	358
Floor Plan	358
Representational Elements	358
Lighting and Curtains	361
Back Drops and Set Pieces	364
Scene Changes	366
Stage Attendants	366
CHAPTER VIII	
THE ROYAL DANCER: TRAINING & COSTUMES	373
DANCER TRAINING	373
Entrance to Training	373
Group Training	375
Role Training	376
Teaching Method	378
Mental Qualities of the Dancer	378
The Annual Awards Ceremony	381
Life Style of the Palace Dancers	382
DANCER COSTUMES	385
The Costume Room	385
The Costumes: Some General Distinctions	386
Masculine Role Costumes	390
Feminine Role Costumes	397
Headgear and Flowers	403
Masks	408
Hand Props and Fingernails	409

CHAPTER IX

THE RITUAL FUNCTION OF KHMER DANCE 415

Dance as a Traditional Offering 415

The Ceremony of Buong Suong 417

The Dancer and Spirit Mediumship 419

The *Sampho* Drum and the Spirit World 422

Face Makeup and the Spirit World 423

The *Tway Kru* Ceremony and *Bai Sei* Offerings 425

The *Sampeah Kru* Ceremony 427

Lakhon Khol and the Spirit World 433

Analogous Mask Empowerments 438

The Ritual's End 440

APPENDICES

I. The Royal Palace Theatre, ca.1910 445

II. Royal Palace Performance Programs 449

 Table 5: Selected Performance Sequence - King Monivong Reign..... 449

 Table 6: Selected Performance Sequence - 1941-1961 452

III. The Structure of Chorus, Orchestra and Dance Components 466

IV. Repertoire of the Pinpeat Orchestra 468

ABOUT THE AUTHOR 472

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Story Behind *Earth In Flower* 475

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY 484

BIBLIOGRAPHY 485



LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1: Symbolic Values of Body Ornamentation in Tantric Buddhist Iconography	80
TABLE 2: Cambodian Mythic Forms	200
TABLE 3: Symbols of Feminine-Masculine Dualism Associated with Khmer Dance Drama	209
TABLE 4: Incidence of Recurrent Motifs in Selected <i>Roeung</i>	243
TABLE 5: Sequence of Program Pieces in Selected Performances – King Monivong Reign	450
TABLE 6: Sequence of Program Pieces in Selected Performances – 1941-1961	452

ILLUSTRATIONS

During his Cambodian research in 1975, the author received images from the Khmer Republic's Ministry of Culture, the Royal Cambodia Ballet, the National Museum of Phnom Penh, King Sihanouk's publication *Nokor Khmer* (with many un-credited photos the publisher attributes to the magazine's director, Charles Meyer), and named individuals. The publisher has made every effort to identify original photographers and secure permissions. Many photos were replaced with modern equivalents when that was not possible or when better images were available.

The publisher gives special thanks to four photographers who provided multiple high-quality images for this work:

John Gollings
www.gollingspidgeon.com

Michael Greenhalgh - Artserve
<http://rubens.anu.edu.au/>

Jaro Poncar
www.poncar.de

Vittorio Roveda
Author/photographer – Images of the Gods



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1-1	Three <i>Devatā</i> in Dynamic Positions at Angkor Wat	9
2-1	Dong-son Male Dancer and Musician	14
2-2	The Lady of Koh Krieng, 7th-8th Century.....	29
3-1	Temple as <i>Mandala</i> , Angkor Wat.....	40
3-2	Vishnu Reclining under <i>Nāga</i>	42
3-3	The Sleep of Vishnu, Preah Khan	42
3-4	Vishnu Reclining on Reachisey With <i>Nāga</i>	43
3-5	Spirit of the Earth Witnessing for the Buddha	44
3-6	Mahāyāna Buddhist Hevajra.....	44
3-7	The <i>Nāga</i> -Churning of the Sea at Angkor Wat	47
3-8	Details of <i>Apsaras</i> from the Churning of the Sea.....	49
3-9	<i>Devatā</i> with <i>Apsaras</i> from the Bayon	57
3-10	Ninth-Century Flying Figure	58
3-11	Ninth-Century Dancer.....	59
3-12	Flying Figure in the Bayon – 13th Century.....	59
3-13	Bayon Dancer	60

3-14	Banteay Srei Dancer and Musicians.....	60
3-15	The Apsaras Tilottama.....	61
3-16	Dancers in the Style of the Baphuon.....	62
3-17	Tenth-Century <i>Devatā</i> at Banteay Srei	63
3-18	Details of Banteay Srei <i>Devatā</i>	63
3-19	Female Cham Dancer, Tenth Century	64
3-20	Creation of the <i>Apsaras</i> , Angkor Wat	65
3-21	Angkor Wat <i>Devatā</i> , West Gopura	65
3-22	Angkor Wat <i>Devatā</i> , Top Level	66
3-23	Two Angkor Wat <i>Devatā</i> , Cruciform Gallery North.....	66
3-24	Angkorean Dancers.....	67
3-25	Elements in the <i>Devatā</i> Headdress	68
3-26	Angkor Wat Bas Relief	70
3-27	Frieze of <i>Apsaras</i> from Preah Khan	71
3-28	Angkor Wat Dancers	71
3-29	Bayon Dancers on Lotus.....	74
3-30	New <i>Apsaras</i> Style from the Bayon.....	75
3-31	Angkor Wat Dancing <i>Apsara</i> on West Gopura.....	75
3-32	Bayon <i>Apsara</i> in Motion.....	75
3-33	Banteay Kdai <i>Apsaras</i> in Motion.....	76
3-34	Bayon <i>Apsaras</i> in Motion	76
3-35	Preah Khan Frieze with <i>Apsaras</i>	77
3-36	Bayon <i>Devatā</i>	78
3-37	Jayavarman VII	79
3-38	Bayon <i>Devatā</i> Smiling	80
3-39	Lokesvara with <i>Apsaras</i> from the Bayon	81
3-40	Bayon Style <i>Yoginī</i>	82
3-41	Bayon Style <i>Yoginī</i> (front)	82
3-42	Bayon Style <i>Yoginī</i> (back).....	82

3-43	Angkor Wat Style <i>Yoginī</i> (front)	83
3-44	Angkor Wat Style <i>Yoginī</i> (back)	83
3-45	Twelfth-Century <i>Apsaras</i>	84
3-46	Angkorean Dancing Figures	85
3-47	Twelfth-Century Musicians and Dancers	89
3-48	Bayon Ensemble With Dancers.....	89
4-1	Royal Dancers with King Monivong Funerary Urn, 1941.....	107
4-2	King Norodom, 1860-1904.....	115
4-3	Dancers at Phnom Penh, ca. 1903.....	117
4-4	Dancing Girls, ca. 1875.....	119
4-5	King Norodom and Guests Viewing <i>Kennari</i> Dance, July 1866.....	121
4-6	Dance Drama Rehearsal at Battambang, ca. 1885	122
4-7	Dance Drama Rehearsal at Battambang, ca. 1885	122
4-8	Late Nineteenth-Century Traveling Dance Troupe	124
4-9	Sisowath Prima Ballerina.....	127
4-10	Chanchhaya Pavilion of the Royal Palace, Phnom Penh.....	133
4-11	Khmer Dancer, ca. 1911	137
4-12	King Monivong and the Resident-Superior M. Le Vol, 1928.....	138
4-13	Two <i>Premières Danseuses</i> of Royal Troupe, 1928	139
4-14	Say Sangvann with Her Dancers.....	142
4-15	Star of Say Sangvann's Troupe, ca. 1937.....	143
4-16	Performance at Angkor Wat, ca. 1937	144
4-17	Cambodian Dancer as <i>Devatā</i> , ca. 1937.....	145
4-18	The Royal Palace Dancers, ca. 1932.....	149
4-19	Cambodian Royal Ballet, ca. 1929	149
4-20	Dance Rehearsal in Chanchhaya, ca. 1929.....	151
4-21	Student Dancers in the Palace, ca. 1931	151
4-22	The Royal Dancers at Angkor, 1964	157
4-23	Princess Buppha Devi, ca. 1967	160

4-24	Royal Ballet Group with Princess Buppha Devi	161
4-25	Richard Nixon in Chanchhaya Pavilion, 1953	163
4-26	Palace Dance School, ca. 1969	167
4-27	Neang Bunnak at Angkor Wat, Age Fourteen, 1949.....	168
4-28	Menh Kosni as Sita in New York, 1970.....	169
4-29	Dancers During the Republic, ca. 1973.....	173
4-30	Khao I Dang Dancers after Five Months of Training.....	179
4-31	Saroeurm Tes in the Royal Palace, ca. 1968.....	182
4-32	Young Dancers in Siem Reap	185
5-1	<i>Mukbalinga</i> Revealing the God, 7-8th C Takeo	205
5-2	The Mythical <i>Kennari</i> Bird-Women	211
6-1	Hanumān and Sovann Maccha, ca. 1937	223
6-2	Manimekhala and Ream Eyso	230
6-3	<i>Robam Tep</i> Manorom, ca. 1962.....	269
6-4	Dance of Gold and Silver Flowers	273
7-1	Angkorean Musicians	296
7-2	Cambodian Female Ensemble, 1874	296
7-3	Theatrical Performance, 1880	296
7-4	Cambodian <i>Pinpeat</i> Orchestra	297
7-5	Pinpeat Orchestra Performing <i>Reamker</i> in Antique Tapestry	298
7-6	The <i>Sralay</i>	299
7-7	The <i>Sampho</i>	301
7-8	The <i>Skor Thom</i>	301
7-9	The <i>Roneat Ek</i>	302
7-10	The <i>Roneat Thom</i>	303
7-11	The <i>Kong</i> in Angkor Wat Bas-Relief	304
7-12	The <i>Kong</i>	304
7-13	The <i>Chhing</i>	305
7-14	The <i>Sampeab</i>	310

7-15	The General Entrance-Exit Structure of Dances	310
7-16	Chorus Placement in Chanchhaya	317
7-17	Transitional Movements and <i>Kbach</i>	322
7-18	The Basic Khmer Hand Gestures.....	325
7-19	Classification of Khmer Hand Gestures.....	326
7-20	Conventionalized Gesture of Flower Blooming	326
7-21	Unclouded Love	328
7-22	Love Shared	328
7-23	Love Sworn.....	329
7-24	Pursuit and Evasion.....	329
7-25	Seduction.....	330
7-26	A Love Duet	331
7-27	A Love Duet with Gentle Resistance	331
7-28	Rām and Laks Smiling.....	332
7-29	Modesty and Smiling.....	333
7-30	Rāb Laughing	333
7-31	The Emotions in Khmer Dance	334
7-32	The Meeting of Laks and Rāb.....	335
7-33	Battle Between Sugrib and Bali	335
7-34	Standing Pose to Indicate Flying.....	336
7-35	Princess and Prince in Flight, Kneeling	336
7-36	Solo Flying	337
7-37	Rāb and Laks in Gesture of Defiance	338
7-38	Rāb Expressing Anger	338
7-39	Posture of Rām Expressing Anger	339
7-40	Rām and Laks Expressing Grief	340
7-41	Grief.....	340
7-42	Separation - “We must part.”	341
7-43	Separation - “Our hearts remain united.”	341

7-44	Separation - “Dry your tears.”	341
7-45	Separation - “Our sorrow is unbounded.”	341
7-46	Separation - “Adieu my beloved.”	341
7-47	Bronze Urn Found at Phnom Penh, ca. 4th Century	343
7-48	Bronze Dong-son Plaque.....	343
7-49	Exit and Spiral Patterns	344
7-50	Interweaving Dancers.....	344
7-51	Entrance Patterns.....	345
7-52	Spatial Relationships Between Female & Male Characters.....	346
7-53	Parallelism in the Flying Pose	350
7-54	Young Dancers at UBA	351
7-55	Distinctive Circular Walk Pattern	352
7-56	Dancer of Male Roles at UBA	353
7-57	Circular Movement for Two Dancers.....	354
7-58	<i>Kbach</i> Identified with Vishnu	354
7-59	Position of Sitting in Attendance for Male Roles.....	354
7-60	<i>Yakkha</i> Roles at UBA	356
7-61	The Royal Wagon Stage Property	361
7-62	Sugar Palm and Fine Leaf Tree from the Bayon.....	365
7-63	Coconut Tree from the Bayon.....	365
7-64	Princess Buppha Devi Dancing in Garden of Forest Trees	367
7-65	Dancer in Royal Palace Courtyard with Coconut Palm	367
7-66	A Scene from the Legend of Keo Monnoea and Preah Sothun	368
8-1	Teacher Placing Student in Flying Posture	379
8-2	Costumes of the Four Basic Character Types.....	388
8-3	Masculine Role Costume of a Prince	391
8-4	Four Basic Bracelets, ca. 1932.....	392
8-5	Masculine Role Bracelets.....	393
8-6	Attendants in Foreground, ca. 1931	393

8-7	Hanumān Making <i>Sampeah</i>	395
8-8	The Costume of <i>Krut</i> , King of the Birds	395
8-9	The Kennara and Kennari Bird-People, ca. 1880.....	396
8-10	Rāb in Disguise as the Eysei Approaching Sitā.....	397
8-11	Youthful Princess Buppha Devi in Feminine Role Costume.....	399
8-12	Feminine Attendant-Servant Role, ca. 1931.....	400
8-13	The <i>Kennari-Kennara</i> Bird-People, ca. 1931	401
8-14	Sovann Machha, ca. 1931	402
8-15	<i>Apsaras</i> Costume and Jewelry	403
8-16	The <i>Mkot</i> for Masculine Roles	404
8-17	The <i>Mkot</i> for Feminine Roles	405
8-18	The <i>Panntiereth</i> Headdress	407
8-19	Mask of the <i>Krut</i> Role	409
8-20	Stage Weapons for Humans and <i>Yakkha</i>	410
8-21	Close-Contact Combat Weapons for Rāb and Hanumān.....	411
8-22	Male Role Dancer with Artificial Fingernails.....	411
8-23	Modern Makeup technique.....	412
9-1	<i>Buong Suong</i> Ceremony.....	416
9-2	Dancer Makeup Seen Offstage.....	424
9-3	<i>Bai Sei</i> Offered to <i>Kru</i> of the <i>Lakhon</i>	427
9-4	Headgear of Five Major Characters	431
A-I	The Royal Palace Theatre, ca. 1910.....	446



“The Cambodians have shown us all that antiquity can contain.... It is impossible to see human nature brought to a higher state of perfection. We have only the Cambodians and the Greeks. They have found postures which we had not dreamed of, movements which were unknown to us, even in ancient times....”

Auguste Rodin, 1906

PUBLISHER’S INTRODUCTION

Like an elegant Khmer silk, *Earth in Flower* weaves the complex fields of dance, history, art, music, culture and religion into a captivating, coherent tapestry. Dr. Cravath’s study reveals spiritual subtleties about the Khmer relationship between heaven and earth, illuminates the Cambodian views of Masculine and Feminine balance in the universe, and showing how dance is essential to perpetuating Khmer cultural identity.

This book resulted from years of hard work and so many unlikely events that it is a miracle that it exists at all.

It is amazing that the new government of a country in the midst of a civil war, indeed *surrounded* by war, recognized the necessity of preserving ancient dance traditions.

It is amazing that their efforts attracted a competent scholar to collect and organize an esoteric body of research at such a troubled time and place.

It is amazing that one man spent more than a decade preparing this work; then, it essentially vanished for twenty years.

Finally, it is amazing that my life’s circuitous path led me where it did, and blessed me with the opportunity to complete the process of sharing his research. At the end of this book, I’ve added a more detailed account of these events for interested readers.

Preparing this book for publication has been a labor of love for me, as it

was for the author to create. It has been an exhilarating project that has rewarded me with many new friendships. True teachers are both mentors, who lead by example, and muses, who inspire students to seek knowledge. My gratitude goes to these special people who helped me make this book a reality:

Dr. Paul Cravath – www.EarthInFlower.com

I approached Paul as a researcher seeking guidance on my own project. Soon, we were both irresistibly drawn into a mission to complete the work he began in 1974. Despite the twenty year delay, Paul participated wholeheartedly. He found time for my demands in his busy schedule as a college professor, even when this meant many long, pre-dawn telephone proofing sessions from his home in Hawaii. Thank you, Paul, for letting me help you give your gift of history back to the Khmer people.

Mr. Bernard Krisher – www.CambodiaSchools.com

Since “retiring,” this remarkable man has secured donations to build more than 300 Cambodian schools. With his help, my wife Sophaphan and I built *Srei Devatā Secondary School* in Kampong Thom province, which opened in July 2006. His organization makes it easy for individuals to make a huge difference in many lives.

In Phnom Penh, Bernie’s staff, particularly Mr. Meng Dy, helped me immensely with translations and in arranging my audiences with Princess Buppha Devi for the dedication. Thank you, Bernie, for giving expression to our love for the Cambodian people.

Dr. Helen Jessup - www.KhmerCulture.net

Helen is a dynamo, with pro-active educational projects supporting the Cambodian National Museum, Heritage Watch, Reyum Institute, Angkor Wat preservation, and many key causes. Her credentials as a scholar, curator and author result in a demanding schedule, but Helen was always generous with her time, helping me with countless contacts and details in arranging this publication. You are an inspiration Helen, and I am grateful to you for opening so many doors for me.

Dr. Jaro Poncar – www.Poncar.de

A professor at the University of Applied Sciences Cologne, Jaro acquired his PhD in theoretical physics before gaining renown as a photographer. Since 1993, his brilliant imaging work has defined Angkor Wat and the Bayon for the world. Jaro's logistical support helped me capture thousands of images in Siem Reap and his global network of friends provided key photos to complete this book. Thank you, Jaro, for all your kindness.

I am grateful to have been small part of this book's story. I sincerely hope it inspires readers, writers, and heavenly dancers who live with us here on Earth, for years to come.

Kent Davis
Anna Maria Island, Florida
April 14, 2007



NOTES ON CONTENT AND TRANSLITERATION

In publishing *Earth in Flower* the intent was to remain true to Dr. Cravath's 1986 doctoral thesis without modifying, deleting or rewriting content which reflects attitudes or conventions of use that have changed in the past twenty years. At the time of original submission, the author had spent ten years immersed in his topic; his paper accurately reflects the prevailing academic standards of that time.

Modern historians may question some cited research; for example the Javanese connections of Jayavarman II described in Chapter 2. While newer theories conflict with some items, we chose to maintain the paper's integrity by presenting it as it was written between 1975 and 1985. The original also uses Sanskrit terms now referred to by Khmer words; original terms remain intact.

The thesis was completed before word processing gained popularity and the 659 page manuscript was manually typed. It contained eight languages and thousands of diacritical marks, most of which the author painstakingly added by hand. If, as Churchill observed, "Americans and English are two peoples separated by a common language" then even thornier issues arise when transliterating Asian tongues. Many phonetic methods are used to write Khmer, Chinese, Sanskrit or Thai in English. To simplify the typesetting process the publisher chose to keep French, German, Dutch and selected Sanskrit diacritical marks while eliminating Chinese characters and Pinyin tonal marks, as well all marks for transliterated Asian languages. Only the original alphabets or characters will reveal their true pronunciation and etymology.

Transliterations of Khmer spellings, when available, appear in parentheses following the phonetic transcription. Non-English terms are italicized throughout the text (e.g., *robam*) unless they appear in proper names (e.g., the dance Robam Tewet). In some cases, the author included alternate English renderings of Khmer and Thai words revealing hidden letters to help linguists locate the originals.

Grammatically, the Sanskrit words *apsara*, *apsaras*, *devatā*, *nāga* and *yoginī* may indicate singular or plural.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

My initial objective in undertaking this study was to document the history and performance style of the former Royal Ballet of Cambodia. My research in Phnom Penh convinced me that broadening the scope of my inquiry was essential to achieving the well-developed portrait that this dance tradition deserved. The resulting work necessarily went far beyond documenting the costuming, music, staging, training, choreography and history; by examining the inner dimensions of this tradition I discovered the dancer as not only an historical figure, but also as a ritual figure and an artistic figure portraying a mythic role in the Khmer court dance.

From January-August 1975, I conducted my field work in Phnom Penh and Bangkok, and over the next nine years I organized my primary documentation, interviewed refugee dancers in the United States, and conducted library research at the University of Hawaii and elsewhere. Personal observation of performances and scrutiny of earlier French studies expanded my view of the dance drama within a broad cultural framework. *Earth in Flower* reproduces, with only minor alterations, my complete text, originally submitted for a degree in Asian Theater in November 1984.

I chose to employ what was, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, a “new” interpretation of Southeast Asian history posited by Wilhelm Solheim and others towards understanding early Cambodian culture. This view rejected orthodox theories of an historical “Indianization” of Southeast Asia in favor of emphasizing a continuity of indigenous cultural forms and rituals from pre-Angkorean times. Indeed, while analyzing modern forms of the dance, any discernible Indian similarities became a “thin, easily flaking glaze” on the vast ritual-fulfilling body of Cambodia’s indigenous dance; hand movements do not function as a “language” of gesture but as an ornament to narration; both melodies and the instruments that create them are clearly autochthonous; choreographic patterns and the presentation of emotions refute Cœdès-like claims that they are done “exactly as in Indian choreography.” Cambodian dance was a tradition onto itself. My goal, therefore, was to define the truly “Cambodian” image, as opposed to “foreign,” “exotic,” or “derivative” alternatives.

In the protohistorical, early-Christian era, dance flourished in a culture dedicated to extensive navigation throughout the Indian Ocean and, at home, to the engineering of large stone works to control water and fertility. The Khmer dancer as a ritual performer in the court of that world is seen as early as the third century B.C. when dance appears to have been associated with large bronze drums, with funeral rites, with ancestor worship associated with stones, with a fertility cult likewise associated with stone structures, with a serpent/earth-spirit cult, and with a pattern of kingship incorporating communion with the ancestor/spirit realm in order to assure sufficient rains for the earth's fertility. Dance was primarily performed in temples dedicated to ancestral spirits residing in stones. With the adoption of Sanskrit and Brahmanic rites in the fifth century A.D., these deities, like the dancers themselves, often took on a Sanskrit name in addition to their original Khmer name. Dancers were highly respected "slaves" of the deity. It was a golden age for sculpture, and the quality of Sanskrit epigraphy was a match for the best India ever produced.

Earth in Flower presents a Jungian interpretation of the Feminine-centered mythology, the foundation of the dance drama itself. This is discernible in the performance repertoire and early Chinese accounts of the area, suggesting that the tension between Feminine and Masculine—cosmically, architecturally, and socially—was viewed as the source of continued fertility. Within this rich matrix of myth, the royal dancers traditionally acted as a ritual conduit to the nurturing energy of natural and ancestral spirits. Long associated with trance and spirit mediumship, their dances remained both an offering and an invitation to the spirits to assist in bringing rain, thereby perpetuating the fertility of the land through semi-mystical union with the king. Court dancers, as ritual artists, were members of the royal harem well into the twentieth century, and certain dances continue to function as sacred offerings even in modern times.

In the Angkorean period we see the elaboration of a Tantric symbology of the archetypal Feminine-Masculine contest and union: in architecture, in the bas-reliefs, in public celebrations, and in dance. Thousands of dancers served in the temples as an offering to the ancestral spirits, who could

influence the cosmic interaction, particularly, of earth and water. Angkor Wat, for instance, gave form to the Myth of the Churning of the Ocean by placing the king in union with the *nāga* earth spirit; from their interaction the waters poured forth on the land and myriads of *apsaras* dancers emerged as the embodiment of the highest spiritual energy that can be created through the union of Feminine and Masculine.

At Angkor, the dancer clearly emerges as an historical figure; however, the evidence negates overly romantic claims that the modern dance preserves Angkorean movements. At Angkor, she and her male counterparts served the temples; her art was practiced even by the monarch; she performed Buddhist dramas as early as the twelfth century; and ultimately she was abducted by conquering Thais when they overran the Angkorean civilization in the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries she performed indigenous, Khmer versions of the *Rāmker*; danced the *robam* in seventeenth-century funeral rites; and, by the nineteenth century, not only maintained an important ritual function within the court but also had become a powerful symbol of the monarchy and a pawn in French-Khmer political struggles. Her art reached its modern zenith during the reign of King Norodom (1860-1904), gaining European recognition in Paris starting in 1906. Finally, she achieved world acclaim during the Sihanouk era with numerous international tours during which the Cambodian dancers came to be recognized as one of the most refined performance troupes in Asia.

In its final form, *Earth in Flower* presents a comprehensive picture of the subtle nature of the dancers' mysterious elegance as well as their historical, ritual, political, and aesthetic power in traditional Cambodia. My sincere wish is that this knowledge will empower the Khmer people and their dance in the 21st century and beyond.

Paul Cravath
Honolulu, Hawaii
April 2007

AUTHOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Most grateful acknowledgment is hereby given to those responsible for making this study possible, beginning with Dr. James Brandon, chairman of my dissertation committee, as well as dissertation committee members W. Dennis Carroll, Edward A. Langhans, Roger A. Long and Alice G. Dewey.

Grants supporting my research included a National Defense Foreign Language grant, which allowed me to go to Cambodia in 1975; a JDR 3rd Fund grant to complete a period of research in Bangkok; and a Center for Asian and Pacific Studies (University of Hawaii) Research Fellowship during the period of writing the dissertation. To those invaluable sources of financial support, I am sincerely grateful.

This study was also made possible by a number of Khmers and others who took an interest. In Phnom Penh, everything achieved was due to the kindness and cooperation of Hang Thun Hak, Chheng Phon, Huot Kim Leang, Rene Pan Sothi, Kol Sa Im, Nuon Kan, Em Theay, and the teachers and students of classical dance at the University of Fine Arts.

In Bangkok I was greatly assisted by Chaturong Montrisart and Kun Kru Lamun Yamakupt in the Fine Arts Department, by Mattani Rutnin, by Colin Grafton and Terrence White, and by the staff of the Siam Society Library. In Washington, D.C., Sam and Vany Jackson, Phuong Phan, Tes Saroeurm, and James MacDonald were extremely helpful.

In New Orleans, Sean Ou and Betsy Martinez were unexpected treasures, and in Honolulu, members of the doctoral committee, Philip Jenner, Elizabeth Wichmann, the James Shigeta Fund, Demaris Kirchoffer, Freda Hellinger, Seang Seng, numerous friends, and my extraordinarily understanding parents all generously supported the completion of this thesis.

To those in the West, deepest thanks; to those in the East, sampeah; to all, Aloha.

Paul Cravath
Honolulu, Hawaii
August 1985

PREFACE

When Chief-of-State Norodom Sihanouk was deposed in 1970, the government of the new Republic of Cambodia continued to support a number of institutions previously of royal prerogative. One of these was the “Royal Ballet.” As the civil war intensified, and a Khmer Rouge victory appeared increasingly probable, the Ministry of Culture perceived that it was the caretaker of an art form which stood little chance of survival intact, should a communist regime come into power. The Ministry wished to document this embodiment of Khmer culture which it was protecting, but there was little money available, and cooperation with foreign scholars or foundations was made difficult by the ever-tightening circle of war surrounding Phnom Penh.

In 1973 I wrote to the Ministry proposing to undertake as comprehensive a study as possible of the classical dance drama and in March of 1974 was invited to do so. That decision was made by Mr. Hang Thun Hak, the most respected authority on the dance drama in Cambodia and at the time a political adviser to President Lon Nol. The war pressure increased, but I was unable to reach Cambodia until January 1975, eleven days after the Khmer Rouge began the siege of Phnom Penh on New Year’s Eve.

Rockets falling into the city almost hourly—one injuring a dancer within the palace grounds—had forced the “corps du ballet” into temporary inactivity, but the training classes at the Université des Beaux-Arts continued daily. I was able to watch rehearsals, conduct interviews with the aid of a tri-lingual translator provided by the Ministry, and gather written material—hampered only by the dancers’ understandable distraction. Although advised in writing by the American Embassy on 14 February to depart, I remained in Phnom Penh until the forced military evacuation to Bangkok on 5 April 1975.

In addition to that twelve-week foundation of direct observation in Cambodia, and some five months of less intense, comparative research in Bangkok, this dissertation is a synthesis of all available previous documentation of the classical dance drama in French and English. Chinese sources referring to the early historical period have been re-examined. Relevant Sanskrit and

Khmer epigraphy have been examined in French translation. Access to Dutch sources was limited to those in English translation.

The range of inquiry is limited to only a single form of theatre known during the Republic (1970-1975) as *lakhon kbach boran* (Ikhona kpa'ca purana) or “ancient drama,” but often called, as formerly, *lakhon lueng* (Ikhona hlwna), “the king’s drama.” Historically, the dance drama was also referred to as *lakhon preah karuna* (Ikhona brah karuna), “the drama of the king” or *lakhon preah riec traui* (Ikhona brah raja drabya), “drama which is the fortune of the king.”

Generically, the *lakhon* is a performance by non-speaking dancers to the accompaniment of an orchestra and a chorus of narrators. Almost all roles, including the masculine ones, are played by women. In 1975 it was performed only by the resident troupe of the “ex-palais royal” in Phnom Penh and by the student company of the Université des Beaux- Arts (UBA).

The purpose of this study is four-fold: to demonstrate that Khmer dance embodies indigenous cultural patterns dating from before the Christian era, to summarize the history of the dance drama in Cambodia, to describe the production elements in performance as of 1975, and to show the function of Cambodian dance within Khmer society. This study will not include either a musicological analysis or labanotation of movement.

Although the classical dance drama contains elements common to other performing art forms both in Cambodia and beyond, cross-cultural analogies will be of only secondary interest in the present study—the first written in English and the last examination of the dance drama as it existed in 1975. At that time it was one of the more refined theatre forms of Southeast Asia and, as one of the few remaining court traditions, one of the great performing arts of Asia.

The thesis of this study, stated in the most general terms, is that the royal dancers fulfilled a ritual function in the Khmer kingdom from pre-Angkorean times until the demise of the monarchy. In union with the king, the dancers—as his harem—continually provided a mystical regeneration of the fertility of the land, and their dances were offerings to the spirits of deceased kings to intercede with cosmic powers in providing rain.

The dancers’ hand gestures are traditionally considered to be flowers

and the dancers themselves the fairest flowers of the race. Embodying the energy of the fecund earth and in union with the king throughout his reign, they remained for hundreds of years the primordial Khmer symbol of the earth in flower.

Today Cambodia is a dry and barren land, ravaged by war and at the mercy of an ancient enemy (Vietnam). Classical dance selections are only a small item on proletarian entertainment programs. While we hope for rebirth, I have often heard in my mind the words of a French scholar writing of Khmer dance in an earlier bleak period: "I should have put all the verbs of this chronicle in the past."





INTRODUCTION: SOURCES OF THE STUDY

ការបង្ហាញ: ប្រភពនៃការសិក្សា

The rulers of Democratic Kampuchea, despite the barbarity of their 1975-79 control of Cambodia, attempted to re-educate the Khmer people in a number of areas including the knowledge of their past. Shortly before the demise of that regime at the hands of the Vietnam-led government of the People’s Republic of Cambodia, an official in the Foreign Ministry of Democratic Kampuchea, Ok Sakun, told a *Washington Post* reporter who had been allowed into the country to visit Angkor, symbol of the nation, “When we were children, the French told us that the Brahmans of India were responsible for these monuments—that they were not ours.” Another official, in speaking of the government’s radical education policies, said, “Our civilization is 8800 years old, and we have a tradition of being independent, sovereign and self-reliant. I would like to stress to you that the civilization of Angkor is not a copy of any civilization, not in its architecture, nor its engineering, or its irrigation.”¹

Compare their attitude with the opening statement of a folk dance publication prepared by the faculty of the Université des Beaux-Arts in 1969 when Norodom Sihanouk was still Chief-of-State: “The Khmer

civilization of which Cambodians of the present time are the trustees, was born about two thousand years ago,”² i.e., with the supposed beginning of Indian cultural influence in Southeast Asia.

The problem is that neither dating has much meaning. The royalists were trustfully repeating the theories of their former French colonial overlords, while the revolutionaries, in rejecting their definitions, resorted to a specificity that was compensatory and misleading. In broad scope, the conflicting views of Khmer “history” espoused by the revolutionary and by the colonially-educated bureaucrats illuminate the fundamental problem inherent in discussing any aspect of Cambodian cultural history: does one begin with an India-centric view or a Southeast Asia-centric view of cultural advancement? Or, if neither, how does one avoid the subtle prejudices which so often inform the past century’s scholarly interpretations of inadequate data? This chapter will briefly survey the primary historians and their points of view regarding the early cultural history of Cambodia and the region. The point of view operating in the historical segment of the present study regarding the relationship between Southeast Asian and Indian culture will be clarified. The chapter will then conclude with brief comments on the methodology and content of each chapter’s attempt to set forth the history and nature of Cambodian dance drama up to the present time.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE PRESENT THESIS

The historiography of Southeast Asia is a drama unto itself.³ The early historians—for the most part, individuals in the colonial service of the Netherlands, Great Britain or France—tended to manifest what has been called a “Europe-centric”⁴ bias from which we have only recently begun to free ourselves. Because the present thesis reflects a newer attitude, it is important to understand what is meant by that term. Wilhelm G. Solheim II has noted that a Europe-centric view is based upon the primary notion that

...Southeast Asian cultures lagged far behind those of the rest of the world and that all progressive culture change came into Southeast Asia from outside. Neolithic culture (horticulture and agriculture, polishing

of stone tools, pottery manufacture and other crafts) was presumably brought in by migrations from Japan and/or China. Metallurgy and the primary Southeast Asian art style, spread in Southeast Asia by the so-called Dongson (Bronze Age) Culture of northern Vietnam was said to have originated because of contacts with Chou China in the 3rd century B.C., or alternatively around the 8th century B.C. because of a migration from eastern Europe. Political organization leading to empires of one sort or another, monumental architecture, and writing (let's call it civilization) were brought in from India and China around 2000 years ago. The only culture truly of Southeast Asian origin was the Hoabinhian of northern Vietnam and farther afield, which was considered a late and very primitive Mesolithic culture....

This general conclusion that the Southeast Asian cultural region was backward was based not on an objective and independent analysis of the data, but on the prevailing philosophy of the late Victorian Age and the unconscious predisposition of the European and European-oriented archaeologists who were doing the research in and on Southeast Asian prehistory. The culture of western Europe was considered as the peak of civilization to that time, with the known cultural history which led to that peak—including the early historic Middle East to Greece to Rome—being the ideal path for culture to follow. The greater the difference and distance of a culture from that path, as expressed in the prehistoric artifacts and known history, the farther behind the ideal that culture was. What was known of Southeast Asian prehistoric artifacts and living ethnic groups indicated that they were very different from those of Europe, and thus were primitive.⁵

Southeast Asia has long been identified, on the basis of superficial similarities, with India. In the eighteenth century the area was known by such names as “India beyond the Ganges,” “Ultra-Gangetic India,” the “East Indian Islands,” and even “East India.”⁶ In the nineteenth century, to English writers at least, “its mainland part was called either Further India or the Indo-Chinese peninsula, while its islands, save for the Philippines, were usually dubbed the Indian Archipelago.”⁷

The Dutch called their empire Netherlands India, and when the area gained independence in 1949 it “perpetuated the erroneous concept of [its] Indian-ness”⁸ by taking the name Indonesia, “The Indian Islands.” Indian historians of the twentieth century, taking their cue from the Europeans, began to claim most of Southeast Asia as “Greater India,” a term popularized

by those historians who viewed “the early civilizations of Indochina and Indonesia as branches springing directly from the main trunk of Indian civilization.”⁹ Foremost among these was George Cœdès.¹⁰

The Cœdès canon at the time of his death (in 1969 at the age of 103) was enormous. His contribution to a knowledge of early Southeast Asia by way of translations, particularly regarding Cambodia, remains without equal. The editors of the *Journal of Southeast Asian History* have called him “the father of Early South-East Asian History.”¹¹

Cœdès’ point of view has been clearly stated. “It is interesting to note that even in prehistoric times the autochthonous peoples of Indochina seem to have been lacking in creative genius and showed little aptitude for making progress without stimulus from outside.”¹² In the introduction to his history of Southeast Asia in the early Christian era, the most comprehensive text on the subject to date, Cœdès stated that “my purpose is less to produce a history presenting all the details than to offer a synthesis showing how the various elements of the history are related.”¹³ Given all the details, alternate syntheses are possible.¹⁴

The debate concerning the nature of so-called “Indianization” is fundamentally relevant to any inquiry into the historical roots of Southeast Asian performing arts—including the Cambodian dance drama—inasmuch as Cœdès’ belief regarding them has been highly influential. In discussing the Indian epic literature, he wrote that

in all of the Indianized mainland, in Malaysia, and on Java, this epic and legendary literature, to which was added the Buddhist folklore of the *Jātakas*, still makes up the substance of the classical theater, of the dances, and of the shadow-plays and puppet theater. From one end of Farther India to the other, spectators continue to weep over the misfortunes of Rāma and Sitā and to be moved by the virtues of the Bodhisattva, and the theatrical performances they attend have retained their original character of pantomime: the positions and the movements of the arms and legs and the gestures of the hands constitute a silent language capable of suggesting a subject, evoking an action, or expressing a sentiment, exactly as in Indian choreography.¹⁵

The present study will demonstrate that, aside from the versions of the Indian epics being used as the textual basis for performance, Cœdès’ claim

is largely inaccurate.

In fairness to Cœdès, we must acknowledge that his translations and editing of Khmer epigraphy and his discovery of other primary materials remains an invaluable service to many areas of Southeast Asian scholarship. The present study is indebted to his collation of a vast body of data; as will be seen, however, a very different interpretation of the data will be formulated.

By comparison, the Dutch historians appear more sensitive to the probable nature of cultural interaction between Indian Brahmans and Southeast Asian courts. F.D.K. Bosch, for instance, held that the

awakened Indian spirit fecundated the living matter of [Southeast Asian] society, thus procreating a new life that was predestined to develop into an independent organism in which foreign and native elements were to merge into an indissoluble entity.¹⁶

While such an argument may appear persuasive, one also senses that it is inadequate when we consider the ruins of Cambodia's great Angkorean cities, to which there is nothing comparable in India.

A truly different interpretation of the prehistory of Southeast Asia, however, first appeared in the writings of the Dutch sociological historian J. C. van Leur, who called for a radical transformation in colonialist views. His untimely death in 1942 at the age of thirty-four limited his work to a doctoral dissertation and a handful of articles, and not until a collection of his work was translated into English in 1955 did he begin to have a broad influence. In a uniquely eclectic style, his writings "gave body to his heretical views by an astonishingly vivid evocation of an historically autonomous 'world of Southeast Asia.'" ¹⁷

Van Leur wrote that

all history, as a history of mankind, is of equal value. To allow a religious, a philosophical, or a biological attitude to prevail means to bring in a value judgment. To have a Christian concept of history, or a humanist one, or a progressive, or a racist, means to abandon the exact positivistic science of history.¹⁸

But few are free from “value judgment,” and van Leur himself was perhaps premature in attributing to Southeast Asia what the historian Harry Benda has called “a highly developed, well-integrated and virtually monolithic civilization.”¹⁹ Still, Benda himself stands in van Leur’s debt when he writes that “Southeast Asia’s history must be written ‘from within’, in other words, in terms of the area’s internal developments, and not in terms—or periodizations—derived from the history of other parts of the world.”²⁰ Van Leur’s criticism of India-centric views is perhaps encapsulated in his oft-quoted dictum that in Southeast Asia both Hinduism and Islam were a “thin, easily flaking glaze on the massive body of indigenous civilization.”²¹ In the present study, Khmer cultural elements that are clearly borrowed from an Indian context will be viewed from that perspective.

Until recently, the available archaeological data were inadequate to accomplish the ascendancy of a Southeast Asia-centric interpretation. All of that has been changed dramatically by Professor Wilhelm G. Solheim of the University of Hawaii, together with a widespread network of colleagues. Acclaimed as “Mr. Southeast Asia” by some and “the van Leur of prehistory” by the more subtle, he has advanced a series of

claims which uncompromisingly assert the primacy of Southeast Asians in all major Asian technical innovations and thus deny the region’s dependence upon diffusion from China, India, the far West or anywhere else. On the contrary, many things are held to have been transmitted to parts of China, Japan, and the coasts of the Indian Ocean by Southeast Asian sailors and traders.²²

In order to demonstrate the nature of Southeast Asian culture prior to the fourth century A.D., Chapter II of this study will briefly summarize the work of Solheim and his associates.

Acknowledging these influences, the present study assumes that historical scholarship must begin from the premise that the culture of Southeast Asia, like all cultures, regardless of age, material stature, or relationship with neighboring cultures, has an inherent unity, integrity, and unique identity. Sanskrit and Brahmanism provided a language for the

transformation of the indigenous spiritual symbology of Southeast Asia. For Khmer dance drama, India may have provided a literary medium for mythological expression, and in a much later period the Thai influenced it as well. But in form, in structure, in spirit, and in the selective process operative in its evolution, the dance drama—like the culture in which it flowered—is exclusively a reflection of the Cambodian people. Beyond that, only the world as a whole may lay claim to it.

STRUCTURE OF THE PRESENT DISSERTATION

Accounts by envoys preserved in the Chinese dynastic annals and the increasing number of Sanskrit and Old Khmer inscriptions thereafter, provide the basis for reconstructions of pre-Angkorean history. From these, Chapter II will present an image of the function of Khmer dance from the fifth to the ninth centuries under a Brahmanic influence.

Dancers and musicians carved in bas relief on the temple walls during the Angkor period (Fig. 1-1), conventionally dated from 802 to 1431, furnish the primary data for Chapter III. The epigraphy further illuminates the status of singers, dancers and musicians involved in temple ritual.

Chapter IV will describe as completely as possible the fortunes of the royal dancers through the multi-demise of Angkor, kingdom, and republic, up to the present time. Late nineteenth-century accounts by a number of French explorers who passed through Cambodia, recent re-dating of texts, and Khmer oral traditions regarding the artistic evolution of the Khmer dancers into the performers we know today are examined in this section. Written descriptions of the dance drama by French colonial officers around the turn of the century have been invaluable to this study; the best is a twenty-five page article published in 1911 by Adhémard Leclère entitled *Le théâtre cambodgien*.

Further commentary was offered by a group of French scholars whose interest in the dance drama was tangential to their study of the sculpture and architecture of the Khmer Empire. Best known of these works is George Groslier's *Danseuses cambodgiennes anciennes et modernes*, published in 1913—a 175-page discourse on the dancers themselves as

living embodiments of Angkorean sculpture. The romanticism inherent in this approach is common to numerous, brief re-countings of performances seen by other colonial bureaucrats and travelers who were guests of the Cambodian king in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the 1920s a more scholarly approach to the dance drama can be seen in the writings of Sappho Marchal and Jeanne Cuisinier. Each undertook to delineate the form by describing and cataloguing a number of production elements such as hand gestures and character roles. In 1930 Cuisinier assisted Samdach Chaufea Thiounn, a former Cambodian Prime Minister, in the preparation of *Danses cambodgiennes* which was re-published in 1956 by the Institut Bouddhique in Phnom Penh and remains the most complete study to date of the classical dance drama.

Danses cambodgiennes is also representative of a small body of scholarship produced by the Cambodians themselves who have, in general, been concerned with performance descriptions rather than with analysis. Since the dance drama lay under the king's patronage until 1970 and could be viewed only by royal invitation, scholarly criticism, whether Cambodian or foreign, was inappropriate. Consequently, from 1930 to the present, there are only brief photo-journalistic treatments of the dance drama, the most informative being a twenty-four page pamphlet entitled *The Royal Cambodian Ballet* published by the Ministry of Information in 1963, virtually the only publication of any significance on the subject written in English. Two photographic studies from different periods have provided visual documentation: Raymond Cogniat's *Danses d'Indochine* (1932) and Charles Meyer's "Cambodian Dances" in *Nokor Khmer* (1970).

Chapter V stands apart as a survey of the mythological foundation of the dance drama repertoire and, particularly, of the four major groupings of roles—female, male, monkey, and *yakkha* (giant or ogre). The chapter takes as its focus the five forms of a "Myth of the Primordial Maiden," the first having been recorded in the third century A.D. in the area that is today Cambodia. The story of this myth is still performed in the contemporary repertoire of the dance drama.

The dramas (*roeung*) and the dances (*robam*) performed today or in recent



1-1. **Three *Devatā* in Dynamic Positions at Angkor Wat, 12th Century.**
Photo by Kent Davis.

memory within the classical tradition will be summarized in Chapter VI. Plot résumés gleaned from performance programs in the Royal Palace Library were the primary source of data used in creating this survey of the repertoire.

Chapters VII and VIII describe production elements, divided somewhat arbitrarily between those which are teacher-focused (music, choreography, and staging) in Chapter VII and those which are dancer-focused (life style, training, and costumes) in Chapter VIII.

The final chapter will describe those elements of performance—such as ritual function within the court and the dancer’s face makeup—which appear to be vestiges of ancient, indigenous rites for the purpose of renewing the society and assuring the fertility of the soil. Specifically the nature of communication between the royal dancers (as the King’s harem) and the world of ancestral spirits (*neak ta*) will be examined.

Sources of information contained in the latter chapters include an array of eye-witness accounts, my own observations, and interviews with dance teachers. Foremost among these was Chheng Phon, a professor at the Université des Beaux-Arts (often called, after 1970, the University of Fine Arts, but usually just “UBA”). Surviving all disasters, he became Minister of Culture and Information in the early years of the Vietnamese regime in Phnom Penh. Hopefully the following chapters reflect his compassionate objectivity.



ENDNOTES

- 1 Elizabeth Becker, "A Firsthand Report from Angkor Wat," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 December, 1978, p. 15.
- 2 Hang Thun Hak, et al., *Folklore Khmer* (Phnom Penh: l'Université Royale des Beaux-Arts, 1969), p. 1.
- 3 An introduction to the more elder players, who until very recently continued to perform major roles, is available in D.G.E. Hall's *Historians of South East Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), hereinafter cited as *HSEA*.
- 4 A term coined in 1948 and given currency in D.G.E. Hall's *History of South-East Asia* (1955). See John R. W. Small, "On the Possibility of an Autonomous History of Modern Southeast Asia," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 2, No. 2 (1961), p. 72. This journal hereinafter cited as *JSAH*.
- 5 Wilhelm G. Solheim II, "Reflections on the New Data of Southeast Asian Prehistory: Austronesian Origin and Consequence," *AP*, 18, No. 2 (1975), pp. 146-47.
- 6 B. Harrison, "English Historians of 'The Indian Archipelago': Crawford and St. John" (Hall, *HSEA*), p. 245.
- 7 D.G.E. Hall, "The Integrity of Southeast Asian History," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 4, No. 2 (Sep. 1973), p. 159.
- 8 D.G.E. Hall, "The Integrity of Southeast Asian History," p. 159.
- 9 George Cœdès, *The Making of Southeast Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p. 55. This text translated by H. M. Wright from *Les Peuples de la Péninsule Indochinoise* (Paris: Dunod, 1962) will be cited hereinafter as *MSA*.
- 10 Cœdès' view of Indian historiography is significant. "Curiously, India quickly forgot that her culture had spread over such vast domains to the east and southeast. Indian scholars have not been aware of this fact until very recently; it was not until a small group of them...studied with the professors of the Universities of Paris and Leyden that they discovered, in our works...the history of what they now call, with justifiable pride 'Greater India'" (*The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* [Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1968], p. xvii). Translated by Susan Brown Cowing from *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1944; revised 1964), this text is hereinafter cited as *ISSA*.
- 11 *JSAH*, 4, No. 2 (1964), p. 1.
- 12 *MSA*, p. 13.
- 13 *ISSA*, p. xv.
- 14 The one which—for its well-reasoned and impartial scholarship—has most influenced the present study is Anthony Christie's "The Provenance and Chronology of Early Indian Cultural Influences in South East Asia," in *R. C. Majumdar Felicitation Volume*, ed. H. B. Sarker (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay), 1970, pp. 1-14. Christie acknowledges that his conclusions are "far removed from the presently accepted view."
- 15 *ISSA*, p. xvii.
- 16 "The Problem of the Hindu Colonisation of Indonesia," *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology* (The Hague: M. Nijoff, 1961), pp. 20-21. This paper was initially delivered as an

- inaugural address at the University of Leiden on 15 March 1946.
- 17 Smail, p. 72.
 - 18 *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History*, trans. James S. Holmes and A. van Marle (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1955), p. 31.
 - 19 Harry J. Benda, "The Structure of Southeast Asian History: Some Preliminary Observations," *JSAH*, 3, No. 1 (1962), p. 118.
 - 20 Benda, p. 118.
 - 21 van Leur, p. 169.
 - 22 I. W. Mabbett, "The 'Indianization' of Southeast Asia: Reflections on the Prehistoric Sources," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 8, No. 1 (Mar. 1977), pp. 5-6. Part Two of this synthetic study is "The 'Indianization' of Southeast Asia: Reflections on the Historical Sources," *JASAS*, 8, No. 2 (Sep. 1977).



INDEX

A

- accents, 300–1, 334, 355
accessories, 112, 118, 360, 394, 396
accompaniment, types of, 289, 304, 306, 318, 329
action, types of, 47, 48, 261, 308, 355
actors, 105, 121, 182, 215, 363
actresses, 130, 182, 383, 389, 424
adoration, 82, 83, 86
Afro-Asian Dance Festival, 171
Ainus, 15
Albert Sarraut Museum, 142
altar, 57, 385–86, 406, 408–10, 421, 426–32, 435, 437
ancestors, 15, 17–19, 28, 55, 205, 439. *See also neak ta*
 communication with, 19
 home of, 19
 spirits of, 10, 18–19, 23–24, 41, 50, 57, 424, 438–39
 worship of, 50, 439
ancestral spirits, 10, 18–19, 23–24, 41, 50, 57, 424, 438–39
Ang Duong, King, 108–14, 117, 119, 263, 373
anger, 81, 119, 226, 239, 250, 261, 308, 324, 337
Angkor, 386. *See also* Angkor Wat; Angkorean dance
 architecture of, 48
 art of, 38, 69
 bas-reliefs of, 64, 294, 298, 303, 334
 bronze sculptures of, 351, 424
 cosmology of, 38, 40, 45
 court of, 88, 100
 dance skill in, 55
 dancers of, 28, 91–92, 105, 168, 366
 fall of, 91
 great city of, 37, 197
 hydraulics system of, 40
 iconography of, 45, 56
 kingdom of, 23, 30, 38
 kings of, 20–21, 23, 43, 45, 50, 54, 72
 lineage of, 114
 religious beliefs in, 45
 ruins of, 262
 sculpture of, 7, 28, 63, 144, 209, 334, 398, 406
 temples of, 39, 41, 61, 64, 205, 366
Angkor Thom, 38, 40, 48, 56
Angkor Wat, 20, 62–64, 67, 69, 70, 72, 142–43, 157, 363. *See also* Angkor
 apsaras of, 13, 41–42, 64
 bas-reliefs of, 64, 303
 dancers of, 168
 devatā, 65–68
Angkorean Dance, 91, 104–5, 406
animistic spirits, forms of, 20
Anorchak, King, 244
Ant Dance, 286, 352
Antār, 26
Anurudh, Prince, 240–41, 314
Apsara Dance, 150
apsaras, 21–22, 30, 39, 48–49, 60–62, 64–66, 69–73, 87, 92, 93, 208–9, 233, 240–41, 269, 276–77, 295, 336, 401, 406
 of Angkor Wat, 13, 41–42, 64

- dance of, 74, 318
 dancers, 86, 186, 207
 flying, 28, 59, 60, 62
 headdress, 403
 areca flowers, 44, 67–69, 74, 86, 104, 112, 199,
 252, 281, 328, 339, 347, 352–56, 359,
 364, 375
 Aryan Brahmanism, 41
 Asoreiphat, 234
 Assachay, 245
 Assam, 17
 astrologers, 261, 374, 424
asura, 40, 47, 61
 Ata, 25
 Atichavong, King, 245
 Avalokitesvara, 44
 Axe Dance, 285
 Ayutthaya kings, 91, 100, 104–5
- B**
- Bacson culture, 17
bai sei, 386, 426, 429–30, 436
 Bakheng temple, bas-reliefs of, 58–59
 balance, 25, 40, 48
 in Angkorean art, 38
 exquisite form and, 351–52
 of male and female, 40
 training in, 376
balang, 357, 360
 Bali, 17–19, 224
 ballerinas' names, 25, 171
 ballet, 92, 113, 120, 134–35, 139, 147, 158, 381,
 389, 440
Baloem, 311
 bamboo, 301–2, 305, 348, 363, 420, 426
banchok, 306–7, 314, 321, 376
 Banchos, 289
 Bangkok, 86, 104, 108, 114, 118–19, 173, 232,
 268, 342, 352, 366, 421, 429, 437
 Banteay Chhmar, 70
 Banteay Srei, 59, 62
 Bao Dai, 154–55
 Baolut, 288–89, 311, 314, 418
 Baphuon bas-reliefs, 62, 84
 bas-reliefs, 7, 13, 28, 38, 46, 48, 56, 58, 60, 62,
 64, 67, 69–70, 72, 81, 295, 303, 354,
 365, 405
 Angkorean, 57, 157
 Baphuon, 62, 84
 Battambang, 114, 120, 152, 179
 battle scenes, 314, 332, 358, 363, 408
 Bāli, 275, 394
 Bayon, 87
 apsaras, 74, 76
 devatā, 77–79, 81
 period, 84
 beat, music/dance and, 261, 281, 303, 305, 320,
 348, 355–56
 belts, 69, 80, 386, 390, 392–93, 396–97, 402, 410
 gilded silver type of, 397
 silver filigree type of, 390
 Benda, Harry, 6
 Beng Vieng temple, 55
 Benjamin, Geoffrey, 39
 Bhagavata Purana, 46
 Bhavavarman, King, 27
bhlena cham. See *phleng cham*
 bird-human creatures, 314, 395–96,
 401, 409
 birds, 44, 202, 252, 265, 276, 390,
 394–95, 404, 408–9
 bird-women, 211, 241, 395, 398
 birthday, 129–30, 133, 148, 159, 233, 433
 king's, 133, 148, 159, 433
 black monkey, 224, 271, 275, 394
 blackbird, 236, 275, 395–96
 Bloesch, Jean-Daniel, 179
 boats, 15, 16, 37, 104, 194–95, 200,
 234, 238, 261, 302–3
 body
 angles and, 351
 energy and, 351–52
 movement of, 347, 349
 ornamentation of, 79, 81
 positions of, 376
 posture and, 318, 376
 spirit and, 232
 suppleness of, 175
 type of, 376
 bodyguard, 162, 253, 255
 Bois, George, 125–26
 Boisselier, Jean, 62
bomor, 421–22
 Bonh Om Touk, 146–47

- Bosch, F. D. K., 5
 Bosseba, Princess, 253
 Botum, Princess, 249
 Bouillevaux, 110
 bow, 194–95, 201, 240, 247–48, 250–51, 261, 277, 332, 334, 439
 Bowring, John, 86, 353
 boys, 87, 108, 113, 143, 227, 231, 284, 376
 bracelets, 257, 390, 392, 398, 406–7
brah thona. *See* *preah thong*
 Brahmanism, 6, 29
 Brahmans, 201, 236, 239, 424
 Bronze Age. *See* Dongson culture
 bronzes, 14, 38, 81, 84, 85
 brothers, 61, 111, 118, 139, 245, 248, 252–53
 Brunet, Jacques, 289, 293–94, 317, 437, 439
 Buddha, 41–45, 72, 84, 159, 161, 257–58
 Buddhist inscriptions, 52, 55
 Buddhists
 folklore of, 4
 practice of, 81, 86
 Bunchhou, 255
 Bunchhouy, 255
 Bunloy, 253, 266
 Bunnak, Neang, 167–68
buong suong, 130, 159, 268, 344, 417–18, 427
 ceremony of, 288, 417, 440
 performance of, 289
 ritual of, 246, 270, 309, 417
 tevoda and, 417, 419, 437
 Buppha Devi, Princess, 159–60, 165, 168–69, 181, 365, 367, 381, 399
 burials, 15, 17
 Byers, Barbara, 179
- C
 calmness, 337, 380
 Cambodia
 aboriginals of, 210, 248
 ancestral spirits in, 18
 ancient, 81
 apsaras of, 86, 318
 bronzes of, 84
 ceremonies of, 69, 438
 chronicles of, 91
 dancers of, 119, 128, 181, 382, 415, 419, 423
 funeral rites in, 16, 17
 heart of, 37
 history of, 1, 4, 13, 28, 106, 108, 118–19, 152, 194, 244
 image of, 202
 kings of, 22, 92, 99, 124, 154, 248
 lakhon nai of, 119
 music of, 183, 294, 297
 mythology of, 200–1, 203
 nang sbek of, 438
 royal court of, 101, 119, 412
 symbol of, 153, 169
 syncretism of, 41
 theatre of, 122, 235
 Cambodian dance, 128, 181, 194, 321
 classical form of, 317
 dancers and, 119, 128, 145, 415, 419, 423
 drama, 2, 4, 18
 scholars of, 112
 tradition, 134
 Cambodian Dance Troupe, 181
Cambodian Dances (Meyer), 8
 Cambodian mind, 38
 Cambodian New Year, 87
camren. *See* female singers
 candles, 162, 285, 300, 362–63, 408, 423, 426, 428–31, 435–36, 439
 cat, 25, 250–51, 256
cha, 306, 309–10, 312
 chains, 390, 392, 394, 397–98
 Chakdomukh Hall, 163, 358, 364–65
 Chakrapongs, Prince, 382
 Chakravong, Prince, 254
 Cham people, 73, 123, 198, 421
 Champa, 28, 56, 61, 63, 73, 123, 196, 204, 315, 421
 Chan Korup, 241–42, 266
 Chanchhaya, 132–33, 150, 162, 357–58, 361–62, 364, 429
 Chanchhaya Pavilion, 316
 Chao Anou, King, 118
 Chao Chorm Manda Ampa, 118
 Chap Robam, 270–71
 Chau Yeung, Princess, 254–55
 Chawiwat, Aunt, 118–19
 Chenla. *See* Zhenla
chet chean, 312

- chet choeng*, 311–12
 Chettabot, 260
 Chey Chet, King, 249
 Chey Chet, Prince, 250–51, 266
 Chey Sain, Prince, 237, 239, 281
 Chey Toat, Prince, 257
chhakry, 312
 Chhayya, Princess, 253
 Chheng, Chet, 222, 233, 253, 255, 257, 262,
 268, 271–72, 276–77, 280, 283–84,
 286, 288
 Chheng Phon, 184
chhing, 60, 304–5, 316
chin lomphat, 288, 312
 China, 3, 6, 14, 15, 21, 115, 119, 165
 China, People's Republic of, 381
 Chinavong, 235
 Chinese dances, 381–82
 Choet Chhing, 289
 choral chants, 306, 315–16, 324
 choreographers, 63, 319–20, 326–27, 347, 352
 choreography, 315
 chorus, 121, 131, 133, 150, 272, 305, 315–18,
 323, 326
chos touk, 312
 Chou Chuk, 260–61
 Christie, A. H., 195, 202
 Chruï Changwar, 382
 Chulalongkorn, King, 90
chut, 306–7, 309–10, 312
chwia, 280
 classical dance, 115, 123, 139, 169–70, 172–73,
 175, 178, 181, 183, 193, 269, 278,
 297–98, 301, 309, 327
 Cambodian form of, 317
 dance troupes of, 115–16, 170,
 173–74, 176, 181, 429
 drama and, 8, 193, 207, 415
 Khmer form of, 112, 114, 141, 145, 153,
 180, 221, 347
 Khmer troupe of, 180
 music of, 311
 Thai form of, 268, 319
 clowns, 126, 130, 166, 213, 251, 279, 390, 396
 Cock Dance, 237–38, 280–81
 Cœdès, George, 4, 5, 18, 25, 27, 48, 81, 87, 88,
 100, 105–6, 109, 231, 248, 251, 268
 Cogniat, Raymond, 8
 colors, 112, 282, 389, 394, 397, 401–3, 409, 424,
 435
 consciousness, 201, 215, 337, 352
 cosmos, 39, 194
 costume(s), 385, 387
 colors and, 389, 403
 of dancer-princess/prince, 387
 fundamental Khmer dance, 388
 heavy type of, 387
 for masculine roles, 390, 394, 396
 types of, 207–8, 386
 coup, 142, 169–70
 couples, 252, 329, 345–46, 349
 court dance, 54, 88, 99, 113–15, 128, 134
 modern Khmer, 106
 tradition and, 90, 100, 109
 court dancers, 91, 100–1, 123, 128–29, 134, 136,
 153, 170, 176, 409, 412
 crocodile, 238, 258
 crown, 395, 398, 400–1, 403–9, 432. *See also*
 mkot
 Cuisinier, Jeanne, 8, 136
 curtain, 362, 364
 curve(s), 112, 342
 of fingers, 352
 of spine, 350–51
 D
 Daha, King, 252
damnoeur. *See chhakry*
 dance(s). *See also* dance drama; dance
 performances; dance troupes; dancers;
 robam
 ancient forms of, 136, 387
 comic type of, 255
 court form of, 54, 88, 99, 113–15, 128, 134
 cultural context of, 38
 dragon in, 233, 284
 duets in, 223, 232–33
 earliest evidence of, 14
 education for, 146, 184
 expressive types of, 306, 318, 320, 324, 326
 female form of, 166
 of female slaves, 54
 final, 174, 285
 folk form of, 170, 172, 175, 183, 416

- formal type of, 70, 178
 function of, 15, 17, 38
 funeral rites and, 16
 of gold, 272
 Khmer classical form of, 112, 114, 141, 145, 153, 180, 221, 347
 of Khmer-American Friendship, 164
 of Khmer-Chinese Friendship, 164
 with large scarf, 282
 mistresses of, 166
 movements of, 290, 301, 312, 324, 434
 of the *nāgas*, 272, 315
 pavilions for, 119, 125, 132, 162, 359
 personnel for, 165
 of picking flowers, 272
 popular types of, 113, 269, 286
 provincial schools for, 184
 rehearsal for, 150, 420
 ritual in, 40, 105, 140, 268
 sacred forms of, 164, 268, 271, 288–89, 295, 311, 416–17, 440
 skill in, 55
 spirits and, 13, 428
 students of, 166, 179, 276, 419
 style of, 158, 434
 teachers of, 10, 150, 152, 221, 289, 334, 386, 435
 temple and, 13, 49, 53
 tradition in, 124, 129, 169, 173, 184, 186
 training for, 158, 170, 321, 382
 of welcome, 270–71
 dance drama, 7, 8, 55, 72, 91, 106, 138, 173–74, 198–99, 205, 208, 221, 266, 294, 317, 422, 432–33. *See also roeung*
 performances of, 157, 305
 repertoire of, 8, 339
 scholarly criticism of, 8
 dance performances, 130, 162, 364. *See also*
 classical dance; dance(s); dance troupes; dancers
 classical types of, 178, 183, 295
 dance pieces, 222, 269, 271
 dance segments, pure, 306–7, 318
 dance tradition, classical, 169, 184
 dance troupes, 56, 108, 116, 123, 359, 429. *See also*
 also dancers
 for classical dance, 115–16, 170, 173–74, 176, 181, 429
 non-royal, 136
 private, 136
 provincial, 146
 dancers, 24–27, 49–58, 72–74, 108–13, 125–26, 128–44, 154–59, 164–72, 176–82, 306–11, 342–49, 351–58, 362–68, 374–87, 401–8, 416–26. *See also* dance troupes
 as beautiful, 50, 63, 159
 as celestial, 13, 21, 39, 48, 84, 269, 276
 classical type of, 122–23, 139, 146, 181–82, 231, 349, 366, 381, 403
 as earthly, 39, 59
 as featured, 181
 male and female, 51
 mature status of, 148, 170, 352, 375
 modern type of, 69, 424
 ordinary type of, 131, 402
 physical perfection of, 50
 pre-Angkorean, 27
 première, 131, 381
 as spiritual, 25
 temple and, 25–27, 51, 53, 63, 88, 103
 trained, 419, 438
 young, 57, 91, 116, 150, 170, 180–81, 236, 279, 286, 350, 359, 375, 381, 384, 386, 432–33
 dancing figures, 58, 62, 81
 Danielou, Alain, 297
Danses cambodgiennes, 8, 135
Danses d'Indochine (1932), 8
Danseuses cambodgiennes, 67, 136–37, 407
 Darachak, King, 242
 Dayak keluri, 14
 Dayak of Borneo, 15
 Decoux, Jean, 287
 deities, 20, 24–26, 41, 44, 214, 294, 314. *See also*
 divinities
 Delaporte, Louis, 120
 delusion, 81
 Democratic Kampuchea, 1, 177–78
 demons, 40, 43, 44, 46, 90, 113, 130, 232, 436.
 See also asura
 departures, 125, 176, 195, 226, 235, 240, 246, 308, 312, 343, 429
 desire, 81

- despair, 145, 311, 313, 359
 Despujols, Jean, 143
deva, 40, 47, 311
devarāja, 13, 23, 24, 29, 40, 50, 73, 205, 207
devatā, 68
devatā, 9, 28, 56–60, 62, 64–70, 73, 77, 145, 258, 354, 402
 of Angkor Wat, 65–68
 of Bayon, 77–79, 81
 headdress of, 68, 69
 diadem, 391, 398, 400, 403
 diamonds, 246, 390–91, 397, 404
 disguise, 229, 239–40, 252, 255, 261, 266, 307, 408
 divinities, 28, 66, 93, 106, 230, 269, 323, 393, 400, 406. *See also* deities
 dolmens, 18
 Dongson culture, 3, 14
 Dong-son drums, 14, 15
 dramas, 8, 61, 161, 168, 184, 221, 223, 232–33, 248–50, 253, 257–58, 265, 267–68, 283, 289, 313, 357–58. *See also* dance drama; *roeuung*
 Dravidian deities, 41
 dreams, 38
 drought, 40, 43, 57, 289, 416–17, 421
 drums, 52, 74, 294, 297–98, 300–1, 311–12, 422–23. *See also* Dong-son drums; *sampho* drum

 E
 Earth Spirit, 20, 43, 53, 57, 69, 204–5, 340
 East Indian Islands, 3
 École
 Botum Reachea, 382
 de Danse Royale, 382
 des Beaux-Arts, 137, 139
 Malika, 382
 Norodom, 382
 Edmonds, I. G., 92
 education, royal, 55
 eggs, 384, 386, 426, 435
 elephants, 88, 255–56, 352, 429–30
 emotions, 293, 327, 329, 332, 334–35, 337
 energy, 39, 45, 74, 86, 87, 174–76, 181, 205, 211, 337, 347–48, 351–52, 380, 385
 ensemble, 298, 300, 304, 381, 401
 pinpeat, 297, 299, 303, 305
 entrances, 121, 133, 143, 246, 286, 306–10, 316, 343, 358, 366, 377, 418
 envy, 81
éopang music, 312
 Europeans, 103, 113, 295, 353
 Europoids, 15
 evil, 211, 266–67
 exercises, 344, 375–76
 exile, 90, 235, 245, 249, 251, 260, 265–66
 exits, 286, 307–9, 311, 315–16, 335, 340, 342, 345–46, 358, 360, 368, 377
 expressive dance, 306, 318, 320, 324, 326
eysei, 209, 212–13, 234–37, 241, 244, 253–54, 257, 259–60, 266, 312–13, 339, 381, 390, 396, 408, 430–33, 436, 439

 F
 Fa Ngom, King, 90
 fabrics, 385, 387–88, 394
 face makeup, 10
 faces, 44, 120, 424–25
 family, 50, 54, 111, 113, 147, 150, 180, 252–53, 261, 265, 374, 384, 420
 Fan Dance, 270, 410
 Fan Xin, 195
 Fan Zhan, King, 22
 fecundity cult, 45
 female(s). *See also* feminine roles; girls; women
 characters as, 345–46, 349
 chorus of, 315, 317
 governors as, 398, 400, 406
 roles and, 8, 105, 156, 174, 208, 211–12, 270, 272–73, 277, 320, 387, 398, 430, 436
 serpent as, 48
 servants and, 225–26, 238
 teachers as, 431
 female dancers, 25, 26, 50, 109, 113, 146, 171, 181, 270, 281, 360
 costumed as men, 105
 at court, 205, 434
 female singers, 26, 50
 female spirits, 45
 Feminine and Masculine, union of, 39, 45, 47, 86, 205, 208, 265

- feminine principle, 28, 38, 41, 45, 233, 342, 425
 feminine roles, 390, 397–98, 400, 404–5, 407–8, 423, 430, 433
 fertility, 10, 17, 20, 24, 45, 104, 194, 200, 204, 207, 213, 267, 415, 425, 439
 figures, dancing, 58, 62, 81
 film, 158, 173, 262, 327, 366
 fingernails, 411
 fireworks, 144, 147, 174
 fish, 37, 46, 223, 249
 flight, 265, 280, 283, 320, 335–36, 377, 380, 441
 floor patterns, 286, 293, 340, 343, 345–46
 flower blooming gesture, 326
 flowers, 258, 273, 275–76, 324, 360
 balang and, 360
 dance of gold/silver, 86, 150, 411
 enemy and, 327
 gold and silver types of, 272
 foot, 70, 336, 348, 350, 354–56
 France, 2, 114, 124–26, 128, 164–65, 272, 287, 402
 French authorities, 137, 139, 142
 French government, 141–42
 Friendship Dance, 163–65, 283, 287
 Funan, 21, 22, 25, 27, 44, 194–96, 204, 439
 funerals, 105–6, 118, 424
- G
- gandharva*, 26
 garden, 232, 235–36, 239–40, 250, 252, 266, 275–76, 307, 309, 365
 gender, 86, 208, 281, 285, 349
 genealogy, 18, 20, 23, 54
 generals, 390–92, 406
 gestures, 103, 177, 204, 309, 318–19, 321, 324–26, 326, 329, 337, 339, 348–49, 356, 364, 420, 436. *See also* hand gestures
 giants, 121, 186, 226, 313, 355, 376–77, 387, 392. *See also* *yakkha*
 gifts, 25, 26, 50, 231, 250, 257, 367, 374, 416, 419
 girls, 87, 92, 111, 113, 121, 131, 146, 184, 231, 238, 252, 255, 284, 360, 376, 387
 Giteau, Madeleine, 84
 goddess of seas, 233
 of wisdom, 203
 Goddess, of the Seas, 233
 gods, 39, 46, 50, 61, 92, 105, 247, 250, 261, 268–71, 276, 280, 289, 309, 377, 390.
 See also deva; neay rong ek
 gold, 85, 86, 126, 140, 256, 261, 280, 357, 385, 390, 393, 397, 402, 406, 409, 418, 423–24
 gongs, 294, 297, 303–4
 government, 1, 143, 150, 154–55, 169, 173, 184
 governors, 148, 390–92, 398
 grief, 261, 339
 Groslier, Bernard, 26, 104
 Groslier, Bernard-Philippe, 39, 48, 54
 Groslier, George, 7, 66, 129–30, 129–30, 132, 134, 136, 137, 223, 265, 319, 359, 375, 377–78, 383–84, 383–84, 389, 402, 409, 411, 423
 group dance, 346, 353–54, 431, 433, 438
 large, 270, 329, 401
 groups, 7, 26, 47, 67, 82, 87, 104, 115–16, 120, 143, 146, 165, 288, 349, 377, 394–96
 guests, 103, 120, 148, 156, 161–62, 234
 guidance, 116, 135
- H
- hair, 14, 67, 74, 111, 258, 288, 387, 392, 394, 406–7, 439
 Hall, D. G. E., 50
 hand gestures, 8, 293, 321, 323–24, 326, 343, 352–53. *See also* gestures
 Hang Thun Hak, 166, 440
 Hanoi, 125
 Hanum, 211, 213, 223–24, 227, 394, 410
Hanumān, 210–11, 213–15, 223, 225, 227–28, 275, 394–95, 410
 harem, 20, 104, 111, 113, 124, 130, 134, 150, 374–75, 382, 424–25
 of king, 10, 104, 130, 375
 Harihara, 41
 harmony, 38, 39, 294, 329, 342, 347, 416, 440
 harp, 87, 88, 294–95, 298
 headdress, 25, 67–69, 183, 389, 405–6, 429–30, 432–33
 of *apsaras*, 403
 of *devatā*, 68, 69
 heaven, 57, 64, 86, 92, 276, 362

heel, 64, 74, 355–56
 hermit, 225, 227, 234, 390, 410
History of Ayudhya, 90
History of the Suí, 16
 Hoabinhian culture, 3, 15, 16
 homage, 86, 258, 427–28
 horse, 250–51
 Hun Tian, 195, 200, 202, 204, 244
 hunter, 236, 260–61
 hyperflexion, 352–53

I

iconography, 55, 63, 87
 of Angkor, 45, 56
 of Khmer, 42, 61
 incense, 300, 416, 420, 426, 428–31, 436
 India, 17, 28, 102, 165, 196, 204, 295, 299, 301, 318, 402
 bronze and, 14
 dance in, 323
 deities of, 41, 45
 Funan and, 22
 Khmer dance drama and, 7, 27
 king in, 22, 253
 musical instruments and, 294, 303
 mythology of, 46–48, 60
 religious beliefs of, 45
 Southeast Asia and, 3, 5, 6, 41
 Indian names, to Khmer gestures, 196, 323
 Indochina, 4, 125, 143, 159, 204
 Indo-Chinese peninsula, 3
 Indo-Khmer history, 248
 Indonesians, 15
 Indra, 92, 93, 239–40, 242, 250, 258, 261, 277, 431
 Indradatta, 25
 Indrajit, 224
 inscriptions, 19, 25–27, 51–56, 87, 88, 196
 Buddhist form of, 52, 55
 Sanskrit form of, 7, 49
 Institut Bouddhique, in Phnom Penh, 8
 instruments, 50, 100, 178, 294–95, 297–305.
 See also musical instruments
 interaction, 38, 45, 87, 269
 invocations, 106, 268, 417, 420, 429, 439
 to spirits, 167, 313, 431–32, 435
 irrigation systems, 38

Islam, 6, 123

J

jackets, 387, 390, 394, 396–97
 Japan, 3
 Java, 18, 28, 280
 Javanese *wayang kulit*, 438
 Jātaka, 4, 56, 229, 258
jātaka story, 56, 72
Jayarajadevi, 56
 Jayavarman I, King, 24
 Jayavarman II, King, 13, 19, 23–25, 29, 30, 58, 294
 Jayavarman III, King, 19
 Jayavarman V, King, 54
 Jayavarman VII, King, 51, 56, 70, 73, 77, 87
jet jhina. *See chet choeng*
 jewelry, 86, 112, 126, 130–31, 166, 177, 387–88, 390, 393–98, 400, 402–4, 407, 420, 434
 jewels, 126, 129, 233, 254
jhina. *See chbing*
Journal of Southeast Asian History, 4
 jungle, 91, 227, 232, 250, 255
jupalaks, 227

K

Kambu Svayambhuva, 22, 197, 199
 Kambuja, 22, 23, 197, 287
 Kampuchea, 182, 184
 Kampuchea, People's Republic of, 169
 Kandin, 25
 Kang Tai, 21, 22, 194, 204
 Kanurat, King, 232
 Kaundinya, 22, 23, 195–96
kbach, 293, 313, 318–21, 318–22, 350, 353–54, 377–79, 398
 banchok (fast cadence), 321, 376
 chet choeng, 377
 choet (flight), 377
 lia, 377
 mul, 315, 377
 mul (for princes/gods), 315, 377
 rongvoel (slow cadence), 376
 trak, 315
kbach poses, angularity of, 350
 Kenlong, 252

- kennara*, 211, 314, 395, 398
kennari, 211–12, 241, 264, 314, 336
 Kessar, Neang, 236, 275
 Ketsoriyong, Princess, 239–40
 Ketumala, King, 92
 keys, 118, 302–3
 Khao I Dang, 260
 dance group, 178–79
 troupe, 180–81
 Khemarin Palace, 162
khblom, 311, 313
khbluma. *See khblom*
 Khmer, 25, 27, 30, 69, 87, 91, 99, 100, 125, 130,
 138, 141, 145–46, 318, 323, 345,
 349–50
 aesthetic of, 327
 art of, 28, 46, 77, 99
 artists of, 92, 100
 ballet, 169, 171
 beliefs of, 40, 86, 205, 207, 422, 439
 choreographic style of, 324, 327, 337, 340,
 353, 355
 civilization, 88, 100
 court, 91, 117, 358
 culture of, 13, 18, 138, 170, 222
 empire of, 7, 73
 iconography, 42, 61
 kings of, 19, 22, 24, 101–4, 198, 403
 music of, 293–95
 myths of, 45–46, 267
 people of, 1, 2, 20, 22, 27, 39, 46, 49, 50, 86,
 88, 91–93, 99, 100, 111, 115, 117,
 120, 124, 260, 294–95
 royal dancers of, 157, 440
 scholars of, 30, 115, 298, 312, 324
 sculpture of, 41
 stage, 208, 211, 324, 327, 334, 337, 342, 355,
 366, 387, 389
 style of, 158, 351, 358, 381
 Khmer dance
 choreography of, 69, 172, 324, 327, 337,
 340, 353, 355
 classical form of, 112, 114, 141, 145, 153,
 180, 221, 347
 contemporary form of, 41
 costumes of, 386
 at court, 110, 114, 124, 139–40, 146, 387
 court dancers of, 140
 court forms of, 110, 114, 124, 139, 146, 387
 expert of, 93, 108
 fortunes of, 99, 124
 function of, 7, 324
 hand gestures in, 321, 323
 integrity of, 145
 repertoire, 210, 267
 technique of, 146
 tradition of, 100, 102, 140, 248
 Vietnamese elements in, 112
 Khmer dance drama, 7, 87, 214–15, 265, 267,
 315–16, 332, 400
 Khmer dancers, 7, 79, 81, 86, 91, 93, 101, 120,
 125, 129, 137, 157, 171, 251, 293,
 326, 329, 350, 352, 355, 357, 382–83,
 419, 421, 440, 441
 Khmer *lakhon*, 207, 214, 307, 318, 357, 438
 Khmer New Year, 263, 434–35
 Khmer Rouge, 170, 172, 174, 177–78, 181, 417
khmer thbanh, 313
 Khobut, Prince, 262
 Khop Khat, 289
 Khun Tanh, Princess, 117
 king(s), 19, 20, 47–51, 54–55, 108–11, 113–18,
 123–26, 128–30,
 137–41, 145–48, 152–55,
 196–200, 234–37, 247–56, 259–61,
 373–75, 382–85
 of Angkor, 20–21, 23, 43, 45, 50, 54, 72
 birthday of, 133, 148, 159, 433
 of Cambodia, 22, 92, 99, 124, 154, 248
 colonial overlord and, 133
 dance drama and, 8, 132–33, 137–38,
 140–41
 dancers of, 19, 102, 110, 118, 137, 147–48,
 154, 158, 161, 168, 247, 416–17,
 419
 death of, 17, 20
 function of, 19, 48, 50, 108
 harem of, 10, 104, 130, 375
 of Khmer, 19, 22, 24, 101–4, 198, 403
 post-Angkor, 101
 power of, 24
 role of, 50
 spirit union with, 20
 spirit world and, 13, 18–20, 45

twentieth-century, 72
 vanquished, 247–48
 King of the Giants. See Rāb.
 King Rajendravarman II, 23
 Koh Krieng, Lady of, 28
 Kok Thlok, 20
 Kom Vean, 289
kong, 303–4
konsai, 313
 Kossamak, Princess, 139, 145–46, 150, 152–59,
 162–63, 165, 176, 267, 270, 275, 376,
 381
 Krao Nay, 289
kraw nai (kraunai), 313, 432, 436
kraw nak (kraunaka), 313
 Kray Thong, 238–39
kré, 328, 357–58, 365
kreas ram, 315
 Krihsna, Princess, 260
 Krongcrut-Sorikan, King, 231
kru, 155, 289, 309, 311, 313, 316,
 425–29, 432–38
krut, 208, 240, 315, 394–95, 408–9
 Kukrit, Pramoj, 118–19, 188
 Kulachak, King, 232
 Kumbhakar, 224
kun lun, 22

 L
lakhon, 118–19, 128, 137, 169–70, 213, 247, 268,
 347, 357, 373, 382, 384, 438
lakhon kbach boran, 186, 193, 437, 440
lakhon khol, 109, 433–35, 437–38, 440
 dance troupes, 156, 376, 435
 performances, 435, 437
 troupes, 156, 376, 435
lakhon nai troupe, 118–19, 361
lakhon thai, 119
 Lanka, 223–25, 224, 311, 316
 Lao dance traditions, 90, 123, 387
 Laos, 15, 27, 90, 115, 123, 136, 182, 299
 Laotian Ballet, 283, 313
Le théâtre cambodgien, 7
 leaf gesture, 324
 Leak Sinnavong, 167, 235–36, 274
 Leclère, Adhémard, 120, 123, 230–31, 235,
 247–49, 270, 281, 283, 359–61

len dukdamban, 88
 Leur, J. C., van, 5, 6
lia, 283, 306, 310, 314
 life power, 18–20, 24
linga, 18, 19, 20, 205
lingam, 20, 23, 42, 50, 58, 205
 Lokesvara, 44, 53, 73, 81
lomphat phay, 313
lon neak ta, 88
 Long Song Mon, 289
 Lord of the Mountain, 24
 lotus, 23, 60, 67, 74
 Louis XIV, 104
 love, 25, 72, 116, 231, 234–37, 239,
 241–42, 245, 247–48, 250–57, 259,
 264, 266, 278, 280–81, 327–28
 lovers, 212, 231, 240, 328–29, 336, 339, 358
 Luang Prabang, 102, 123, 159
 lyrics, 164, 270, 273, 276–81, 285, 312, 384

 M
 MacDonald, Malcolm, 92
 Machha, Sovann, 312
 magic
 power, 39, 204, 227, 229, 267
 wand, 231–32, 259, 409
 Mahā, 27, 43, 44, 73, 83, 230
 Mahāyanā Buddhism, 81, 83
 maidens, 206, 270, 274, 280
 makeup, 86, 411
 Malaya, 14, 136, 210, 245, 421–22
 Malayo-Polynesians, 16
 Malaysia, 4, 115, 165
 male(s). *See also* masculine form; masculine roles
 characters as, 328, 345–46, 349, 352
 dance teachers as, 166
 musicians as, 26, 50–51, 126
 roles as, 8, 105, 113, 168, 186,
 212–13, 353–55, 387–91, 394,
 396–98, 400, 403–4, 423, 430,
 433
 singers as, 26, 317
 male dancers, 26–27, 40–41, 45, 50–52, 61–62,
 108, 112–13, 156, 166, 171, 181, 376
 mallets, 302–3
 Man Soun, Princess, 117
 Manimekhala, 211, 215, 229–33, 247, 268, 312

- Marchal, Sappho, 8, 130, 232
 market, 249, 255–56, 439
 marriage, 69, 199, 200, 204, 229, 231–32, 238,
 245, 252–53, 432
 Marseille, 124–26
 Masculine and Feminine, union of, 39, 45, 47,
 86, 205, 208, 265
 masculine form
 of costumes, 394, 396
 of roles, 387–91, 394, 396–97, 400, 404, 423,
 430, 433
 masculine roles, 8, 105, 113, 168, 186, 212–13,
 353–55, 387–90, 394, 396–98, 400,
 403–4, 423, 433
 masks, 25, 213, 300, 363, 385, 387, 389–90, 393,
 396, 406–9, 421, 426–40
 Māra, 43
 Mearadey, 235
 medium, to spirit world, 25, 106, 214, 298,
 419–20, 433–34, 437, 439–40
 Megalithic culture, 16–18
 Mekhala, 208, 211–12, 229–30, 233, 266, 271,
 284, 339, 366, 418
 Mekong, 163, 172, 358, 384
 delta, 21
 River, 37, 364
 Mela, 250–51
 Melanesian art, 15
 melodies, 102, 246, 276, 287–90, 293, 301–2,
 304, 306–10, 312–15, 366
pinpeat form of, 311–15
preah thong form of, 246, 311
reo form of, 308–10, 314
 Merā, 22, 23, 197, 199, 203, 207
 mercury, 17, 85, 86
 Mesolithic culture, 3
 Metri, Queen, 261
 Meyer, Charles, 8
 mime, 53, 109, 115, 315, 319, 321, 326, 436
mkot, 391, 395–96, 398, 400–401, 403–9, 430,
 432, 436
 modesty, 324, 331, 387–88
 Mom Kamel, 177–78, 180
 Monivong, King, 111, 139–40, 146, 148, 150,
 152, 154, 159, 174, 238, 244, 253–54,
 259, 272, 382
 monkey(s), 8, 144, 178, 186, 194,
 213–14, 223, 235, 271, 306–7, 332,
 336, 349, 355, 385,
 387–90, 392, 427, 433, 436
 as black, 224, 271, 275, 394
 role as, 8, 113, 144, 156, 166, 208, 213,
 311, 314, 376–77, 408, 426, 432,
 435–36
 as white, 223–24, 235, 275, 395
 monsoon, 37, 40, 204
 monuments, 1, 25, 28, 73
 moon, 44, 47, 49, 85, 86, 193, 196, 198, 200,
 203–6, 320, 424
 Mora, Neang, 241–42
 Moss, Stanley, 158–59
 motherhood, 200, 206, 249
 Mouhot, Henri, 110
 Mount
 Mahendra, 24, 30
 Mandara, 46
 Meru, 405
 mountain, 18–20, 23, 24, 29, 47, 48, 211–12,
 327, 381, 405, 439
 mountain-temples, 19, 24
 Moura, J., 116, 120, 305
 mourning, official period of, 155, 159
 mouthpiece, of *sralay*, 299
 movement(s)
 conventionalized forms of, 325–27
 of dancers, 4, 112–13, 286, 293, 300, 307,
 311–13, 315, 318–24, 331, 340,
 342–43, 348–49, 351, 353,
 355–56, 360, 375–78, 380, 384,
 398, 420, 435–36
 restrained forms of, 327, 332
 transitional forms of, 320, 322
 Mucilinda, King, 43
mudrā, 318, 323
 Muongs, 15
 Mus, Paul, 19, 198, 204
 music, 27, 53, 88, 100–1, 116, 283,
 293–95, 305–15, 320–21, 355–56,
 366, 377–78, 426–27, 431–32,
 435–39
 for exit, 306–10
 introductory style of, 309
 structure of, 306–7
 musical instruments, 26, 50, 294, 297, 299, 303,

420, 422. *See also* drums; percussion;
sampho drum; string instruments
 musicians, 50, 52, 88, 92, 115, 130–31, 135,
 166, 175, 178–79, 293, 300, 310–11,
 315–16, 382, 426–27
 myth, 8, 46–48, 72, 193–95, 197, 200, 202–3,
 206, 272
 mythologems, 200, 203, 206–7
 N
 nails, 411
 names, of dancers, 167–68
nang sbek, 118, 181, 184, 437, 439–40
nartaka, 53
nāg, 53, 72, 195–97, 199, 201, 203, 205–7, 209–
 10, 212, 245, 248
nāga, 20, 22, 42, 43, 46, 48, 53, 59, 90, 197–98,
 202, 208, 210, 212, 245, 248, 260, 342
 dance, 283
 earth spirit, 53
 king, 22, 43, 198–201, 246
 kingdom, 228, 246
nāgā, 196, 209
neak, 10, 20, 57, 417, 419–20, 431,
 434–35, 439
neak ta, 10, 20, 419, 431, 434. *See also* ancestral
 spirits
Neak Ta Kai, 434, 437
 Neang Mora, 241–42
 Neang Neak, 198, 200, 202–3, 245–46
 Neang Thorani, earth spirit, 69
neay khen yak, 394
neay rong ek (gods and kings), 390
 necklaces, 80
 Neolithic culture, 2
ngai-lan, 88
 Ngarngor, 25
ngo, 212, 229, 390, 396, 408, 410
 Nokor Khmer, 8, 143
 Nol, Lon, 168–70, 172–73
 Nongleak, Princess, 155
 Norodom, 114–20, 123, 125–26, 128, 132, 158,
 375
 Norodom, King, 120–21, 255, 289, 374
 Norodom Sihanouk, 1, 92, 153, 361
 Norodom Sorya Roeungsi, Princess, 238
 Norodom Suramarit, 153
nritakā, 53

nritta, 53
nrityagita, 53

O

o pileap, 313
 Obek Khaom, 175, 386
 objects, precious, 48
 oboe, 167, 274, 297. *See also* *sralay*
 ocean, churning of, 46–48, 64, 72, 86
 offerings
 to ancestors, 439
 for assistance, 288
 dance as, 159, 434, 437, 440
 dancers as, 50
 dancers making of, 386, 406, 418, 428–29,
 431
 musicians and, 422, 430
 sacred types of, 26, 45, 421, 424, 429–30,
 435–38
 slaves as, 54
 by student dancers, 428, 432
 symbolic forms of, 344
 to *tevoda*, 57
 of young girls to king, 373
 ogres, 121, 194, 213, 265, 267, 336, 376, 387,
 389–90, 392. *See also* *yakkha*
 opposites
 tension of, 208, 347
 union of, 77
 orchestra, 116, 121, 168, 300, 316, 420, 422,
 435–36
 percussion type of, 295
pinpeat, 293, 295, 297–98, 301, 303, 305
 Osa, Princess, 240–41
 overture, 270–71, 435

P

padhama. *See* *preah bathum*
 pairs, 61, 232, 239, 267, 301, 304–5, 346, 390–
 92, 394–95, 397, 430
paja, 421
pakchham, 428, 430
 palace
 dance troupe of, 128, 136, 152,
 154–56
 dancers of, 101, 129–30, 146, 148, 154, 174,
 176–78, 234, 241, 260, 262, 375,

- 378–79, 382, 437
- dances of, 440
- performance programs of, 222–23, 229, 231, 233, 262, 264, 268, 272–73, 279–80, 283–84, 286, 288, 313
- performances in, 222, 229, 231, 233, 255, 262, 269, 273, 280, 283, 286, 288, 359
- programs in, 222–23, 226, 234, 241, 246, 264, 268, 272, 279, 283–84, 313
- troupe of, 128, 136, 152, 154–56
- women in, 116, 125, 130, 142, 155, 256, 376
- panntiereth*, 403, 406
- Pannyi, 252–53
- pantomime, 53
- pants, in costumes, 386, 388, 390, 394–96
- Papuan negroids, 15
- parallels, 104, 343, 350–51
- parents, 59, 116, 212, 215, 242, 246, 254, 259–60, 265, 373–74, 425
- Paris, 124, 126, 135, 181
- parrot, 236, 275–76
- Parrot Dance, 275
- partners, 345–47, 349, 375, 395
- paste, 300, 302
- pathum*, 315
- pauluta*. *See* Baolut
- Pavie, 103, 108, 120, 123, 407
- Pavilion of Dancers, 362–63
- pāya si*. *See* *bai sei*
- Peacock Dance, 285
- peat*, 298
- Pelliot, Paul, 202, 248
- People's Republic of Cambodia, 1
- percussion, 295, 298
- instruments for, 51, 52, 297, 316
- orchestras for, 295
- performance(s)
- elements of, 290, 301, 315, 415, 422
- programs for, 10, 148, 156, 162, 164, 167, 225–26, 251, 255, 279
- repertoire of, 136, 193, 198, 277
- performers, 115, 122, 130, 140, 174, 178–81, 212, 305, 349, 382, 427, 433–34
- pinpeat*, 179
- pey*. *See* *sralay*
- Phan Phuong, 180–81
- Phimeanakas mountain-temple, 20, 56
- phleng aut*, 311
- phleng cham*, 315
- phleng chhung*, 312
- phleng phleh*, 313
- phleng svaa*, 314
- phleng trak*, 315
- Phnom Penh, 37, 90, 91, 104, 108, 110, 115, 119–21, 120, 125, 129–30, 136, 142, 145, 152, 172–74, 182, 286
- Phon, Chheng, 119, 136, 174–75, 184, 266, 268, 276, 288–90, 306, 309–11, 361, 380–81, 418, 441
- phoumea doeur yut*, 313
- Phuong Phan, 279, 284, 314, 318, 320–21
- Phya Nay, Prince, 256
- pinpeat*, 298–99
- ensemble, 297, 299, 303, 305
- melodies, 311–15
- orchestra, 293, 295, 297, 301, 303, 305
- performers, 179
- Pisnoukar, 92
- pity, 239, 241–42
- planes, conjoined, 39, 350
- players, 52, 299, 300, 303
- plot, 104, 185, 222, 224, 229, 234, 237, 249, 262, 320, 332, 348, 358–59
- poets, of Angkorean court, 47
- poisons, five, 81
- Pol Pot, 169, 177–78, 183, 297
- Polynesians, 15
- ponhea dour*, 313
- Porée, Guy, 430
- postures, 112, 175, 307, 318, 320, 337, 349–50, 353
- power
- magic form of, 39, 204, 227, 229, 267
- spiritual form of, 25, 138, 197, 203, 213
- Prasat Khna temple, 52
- Prasat Kravan, 50
- Prathom, 314
- preah*, 228
- Preah Bat Promateat, King, 235
- Preah Bat Santrea, King, 257
- Preah Bat Srey Sanh Chey, King, 261
- preah bathom*, 314

preah bathum, 311
 Preah Chan Korup, Prince, 173, 241
 Preah Chau Damrei Sar, King, 256
 Preah Chinavong, Prince, 234–35, 239, 249, 257
 Preah Khan, 42, 51, 53, 70, 71
 Preah Khan temple, 51
 Preah Ko, 50
 Preah Phirun, Prince, 260
preah reach damnoeur, 315
 Preah Saing, 168, 263, 377
 Preah Sang, Prince, 212, 228–29, 396, 408
 Preah Somut, Prince, 135, 231–32
 Preah Soriyavong, 234, 236
 Preah Sovannahang, 239–40
 Preah Theat temple, 52
 Preah Thong, 150, 198–99, 203, 244–49, 266,
 271, 289, 311, 313
preah thong, 313
 legend, 248
 melody, 246, 311
 musical pieces, 289
 Preah Vesandar, 260–61, 361
 Preah Vorachhun, 233
pream chenb, 315
pream chol, 315
 première danseuse, 128, 135, 155, 159, 166–67,
 179, 288
 prestige, 102, 113, 128, 152, 169–70, 174, 176,
 383
priay, 45
 pride, 30, 81, 215, 378–80
 priestess, 421
 priests, 51, 54, 73, 103
 Primordial Maiden, 193, 199, 200, 202–4,
 206–7, 210
 princess roles, 115, 128, 270, 360, 378, 385, 435
 private troupes, 124, 150, 152
 prizes, 138, 158, 381–82
 Prom Sokhom, 317
 Promarith, King, 254
 promises, 237–38, 257, 260, 288, 376
 Przyłuski, Jean, 196
puok khen yak, 394
 puppets, 439–40
 pure dance, 105, 156, 233, 306, 318, 320, 324,
 326
purohita (chief priest), 50

Q

queen, 54, 106, 199, 223, 236, 249–51, 259–61,
 265, 271, 276,
 381–82, 397–98, 400, 429, 431
 Queen Mother, 153–54, 327
 quicksilver, 86

R

rabam, 104–6
 Rachana, Princess, 229
 rain, 41, 45, 204, 417, 419, 422
 Rajendravarman II, King, 23, 54
ram, 26. *See also* male dancers
ram kreas, 315
 Rama II, King, 118
 Rama III, King, 90, 118–19, 119
 Rama VI, King, 119
 Ramadhipati, King, 92
rapam, 25–26, 26
 Rāb, *yakkha* king, 209–10, 213–15,
 224–26, 267, 307–8, 312–13, 334,
 337–39, 393, 397, 408, 410, 430, 432,
 434–36
 Rām, 70, 101, 208, 210, 213–15,
 223–28, 267, 275, 287, 307, 309,
 312–13, 327, 337, 380, 389, 402, 408,
 430
 legend of, 72, 214
 stories of, 209–10
 Rāma, 4
 Rāmāyana, 27, 72, 108, 172
 Rāmker, 72, 101–2, 123, 146, 210, 212, 214,
 223–25, 228, 233, 267, 275, 308,
 313–14, 332, 353, 359, 396, 433
 Rāmlaks, 224–25, 227–28
 Rea Srey Yaolac, Princess, 135
 Ream Eyso, 211, 229–30, 232–33, 334, 409, 418
 Reay, 289
 rebirth, 17, 347
 Recchana, Princess, 168
 refugees, 169, 174, 178
 rehearsals, 120, 122, 124, 144, 155, 172, 175–76,
 299–301, 305–7, 350, 374, 377–78,
 384, 392, 427–28, 434, 437
 rejection, 339
 religion, 25, 45, 128, 177
 religious syncretism, 41, 44

- reo*, melody, 308–10, 314
 repertoire, 10, 113, 123, 156, 182, 184, 221–22, 237, 242, 244, 247, 255, 265–69, 272, 281, 286–89
 Republic, 126, 168–70, 173–76, 269, 287, 427
 of Cambodia, 1
 of China, 164–65, 381
 of Kampuchea, 169
 Reu Reay, 289
 rhythm, 38, 39, 48, 55, 64, 166, 285, 298, 301, 305, 311, 348, 375, 377–78, 426
riey, melodies, 308–9
 rites, 53, 194, 436–37, 439–40
 rivalry, 91
 rivers, 37, 118, 122, 132, 147, 176, 212, 234, 238
rmam neak, 27
ro, melodies, 308, 310
Robam
 Apsaras, 277, 342, 365, 401
 Bach Phkar Chuon Par, 273, 314
 Baolut, 288
 Barami, 288
 Kanb Phkar, 272
 Lao, 283, 313
 Mkaw, 233, 271–72, 284
 Moen, 280–81
 Preah Noreay Baimpeat, 263, 353
 Preah Thong, 288
 Ream Eyso, 288
 Sarahbarom, 288
 Sek Sarika, 275
 Tewet, 274, 306, 312
 Tiyae, 288
 Voracchun, 288
robam, 8, 57, 105–6, 109, 221, 233, 267–77, 281, 284, 287–89, 310, 316, 344–45, 348–49, 357–58, 366, 389, 401
Robam, Bach Phkar Chuon Par, 314
 rockets, 174, 176, 289, 417
roeung, 8, 221–22, 267–68, 306, 345–46, 349, 357, 365–66, 376, 391, 431. *See also* dance drama; dramas
 role groups, 376–78, 389, 433
 roles
 female types of, 8, 105, 156, 174, 208, 211–12, 270, 272–73, 277, 320, 387, 398
 feminine types of, 390, 397–98, 400, 404–5, 407–8, 423, 433
 masculine types of, 8, 105, 113, 168, 186, 212–13, 353–55, 387–90, 394, 396–98, 400, 403–4, 423, 433
 monkey types of, 8, 113, 144, 156, 166, 208, 213, 311, 314, 376–77, 408, 426, 432, 435–36
 princess types of, 115, 128, 360, 385, 435
 yakkba types of, 286, 313, 315, 349, 355, 407, 409, 432
roneat, 301–5, 378
roneat dek, 303
roneat ek, 301–4
roneat thom, 302–3, 305
 roofs, 120, 359, 362
 rows, 77, 345–46, 363, 436
 Royal Ballet, 113–14, 126, 134, 145, 147, 153–54, 157–59, 163, 165–66, 168–69, 183, 228, 234, 382
 Royal Cambodian Ballet, 8, 109, 130, 168
 royal dance, 50, 108, 134, 299, 415
 royal dance troupe, 90, 108, 110, 131–32, 135, 137, 152
 royal dancers, 7, 10, 19, 28, 90, 103, 109, 116–17, 125–26, 134–35, 137, 140–42, 147–48, 153–54, 159, 163–65, 373, 375, 377, 379, 381, 383, 385–87, 389, 391, 393, 395, 397, 399, 401, 403, 405, 407, 409, 411
 royal family, 25, 135, 159, 162, 376, 382
 Royal Palace, 37, 125, 130, 168–69, 177, 179, 181, 197, 229, 257, 348, 416, 440
 administration, 139, 141
 library, 10, 148, 156, 222
 performance programs, 381
 royal troupe, 90, 99, 108, 115, 119, 130, 137, 139, 268, 279, 317, 376
 royalty, 24, 139, 162, 390, 395–96
rpam, 26
rua, 307–10. *See also chut*
 ruler, 1, 28, 29, 194–95
rung ram, 132
rup, 419, 434–37

 S
 Sabre Dance, 286
 sacred dances, 164, 268, 271, 288–89, 295, 311, 416–17, 440
 sacred sword, 107, 114, 134, 246
 sacred trees, 17, 18, 194, 202

- sacrifice, 439
 Sadā, 50
 Sadāsiva, 50, 51
 sadness, 311–13, 324
 Saigon, 107, 140
saing, 228–29
 Sakun, Ok, 1
 Salamar, 314
 salutations, 340, 355, 435–36, 440
 Samal, King, 229
sampeah, 177, 264, 309, 353, 355, 405, 433
 final, 310, 324, 346
 salutation in, 327, 348
sampeah kru, 313, 381, 386, 427–29, 431, 433, 437
 annual form of, 427, 429, 437
 ceremony of, 315, 380–81, 386, 432, 440
sampho drum, 299–301, 309, 316, 334, 348, 378, 422–23, 431, 436. *see also* drums
sampot, 61, 62, 129, 386, 388–89, 391, 394, 397–98, 402, 424
 common, 374
 cotton, 394, 396
 lamé, 397
 special, 374
 Sanchchey, King, 261
 Sangkhamorta, 252
 Sangvann's troupe, 144–45, 154
 Sanskrit, 6, 27, 50, 52, 223
 inscriptions, 7, 49
 names, 25, 27, 44
 old Khmer inscriptions and, 7
 terms, 39, 40, 53, 56, 58, 321
sarabarom (*sārahpārama*), 311, 314
sarika, 395
 Sathukar, 289, 426, 432
 Saunpady, Princess, 135
 Say Sangvann, Princess, 139, 141–43, 145–46, 154, 380
sbay, 397, 401–2
 scarf, dance with, 282, 411
 scenes, 45, 46, 60–62, 74, 147, 154, 162, 224–27, 233, 235–37, 240–42, 250–51, 258–61, 266, 316, 357–60, 366
 sculpture, Angkorean, 144, 209, 334, 398, 406
 Sdok Kak Thom, 50
 sea, 17, 46, 194, 199, 230
 sea of milk, churning of, 46–48, 86
 seamstresses, 166
 search, 23, 77, 125, 231, 236–37, 240–41, 244, 251, 254–55, 258, 265
sen sra, 315
 Seng Houm, 250
 sentiments, 270, 325, 329, 339
 separation, 112, 339
 sequences, in dances, 46, 132, 233, 309, 311, 320–21, 329, 349, 356, 430
 warm-up forms of, 375–76
 serpent, 20, 46–48, 53, 69, 156, 193, 197, 199–201, 205, 271
 dance of, 156, 271
 form of, 199, 200, 206
 servants, 130, 162, 231, 239, 247, 249–52, 257, 260–61, 265, 360, 363, 382–84, 398, 406
 set pieces, 157, 348, 357, 365–66
 sexes, 18, 121
 shadows, 129, 439
 shaman, 422–23
 shield, 286, 410
 Shiva, 22, 24, 26, 41, 42, 53, 81, 200, 205, 318, 439
 temple, 26–27
 Vishnu and, 208–9
 Shivaism, 41
 shoulders, 14, 42, 67, 111–12, 353–54, 387–88, 394, 397–98, 402
 Siam, 92, 106, 152, 196, 296
 signals, 310–11
 Sihanouk Era, 136, 153, 159, 167–68, 173, 241, 255, 272, 379, 406–7, 411
 Sihanouk, King, 92, 145, 153–55, 159, 161–65, 172–73, 176, 179, 184, 234, 277, 374, 381–83, 417
 Sihanouk, Norodom, 1, 92, 153, 361
 silk, 103, 385, 390, 394, 397–98
 silver, 85, 86, 237, 256, 374, 397, 411
 flowers of, 86, 150, 272, 411
 Simun (*simiana*), 314
 singers, 26, 50, 52–54, 87, 116, 131, 136–37, 141, 166, 179, 247, 299, 305, 311, 317
 Sinuon, 273, 314
 Sisowath Monivong, King, 17, 86, 118, 125–26,

- 128–29, 131, 133–36, 138, 141–42, 158, 233, 358, 374
- reign of, 131, 133–35, 138–39, 145, 382
- sisters, 240, 247–48, 252, 254, 381–82
- Sitā, 4, 56, 208–10, 214–15, 224–28, 287, 307–9, 312–13, 316, 327, 339, 389, 402, 430
- skirts, long, 61, 62
- skor thom*, 301, 378
- sla thor*, 428–30
- slaps, 339
- slaves, 13, 25, 27, 52, 54, 249
- sacred types of, 13, 25, 27, 52, 54, 249
- sleep, 199, 200, 202, 226, 232, 234, 254
- smeu*, 306–7, 309–10, 312, 426
- smile, 77, 79, 256, 324, 329, 331, 356, 380
- deep form of, 77, 79
- smiling, 329
- society, 201, 274, 284, 347, 375, 380, 382, 384
- soldiers, 177, 195, 244, 279, 287, 387, 389, 394, 408
- Solheim, Wilhelm G., 2, 6, 15
- soloists, 156, 315–17
- Somā, 22, 23, 196, 197, 199, 203, 206
- Sophannarith, King, 239–40
- Soppalak, 241
- Sorincha, Queen, 249
- Soriyavongs, 234
- Sotinnachak, Prince, 242, 244
- sounds, 55, 183, 275, 297, 299, 300, 302, 304, 324, 334, 366
- Sounpady, Princess, 126, 128
- Southeast Asia, 2–6, 17, 18, 21, 23, 25, 41, 72, 87, 102, 150, 194, 197, 200, 202, 248, 295, 352, 378, 415, 424, 438
- art style of, 3
- bronze invention in, 14
- Cambodian culture and, 2, 6, 323
- circle of, 15
- culture of, 2, 3, 6, 14, 342
- dance of, 353
- history of, 2–6, 3, 4, 15, 294
- Indian culture and, 2
- mainland of, 29, 57, 123, 266, 272, 294, 299
- music of, 89, 115, 303
- people of, 3, 5, 6, 22, 39, 214, 318
- performing arts of, 4
- prehistoric artifacts of, 3, 17
- religion of, 18, 19
- society of, 5
- traders of, 6
- Souvinichar, 250–51
- Sovann Machha, 223–24, 378, 400, 406
- Sovann Machha-Hanumān dance, 312
- Sovanna, Princess, 237
- space, 347–49, 380
- spatial configuration, 345
- spirals, 342–43
- spirit(s). *See also* ancestors; *neak ta*
- ancestral types of, 10, 18–19, 23–24, 24, 41, 50, 57, 424, 438–39
- animistic types of, 159
- awakening of, 5, 436, 438
- of dance, 431
- dancers and, 421, 425, 438, 440
- dangerous types of, 419
- of earth, 20, 43, 53, 57, 69, 204–5, 204–5, 340
- of house, 41
- invitation to, 439
- invocations to, 167, 313, 431, 435
- king's union with, 20
- living types of, 432
- local forms of, 45, 420
- in masks, 431, 436, 440
- monkey roles and, 436
- of music, 300, 422, 436
- musical instruments and, 299
- neak ta* and, 10, 20, 419, 431, 434
- puppets and, 439–40
- rehearsals and, 300
- ritual offerings to, 430, 436, 440
- salutation to, 427
- in sampho drum, 300, 423, 431
- of serpent, 20, 197
- of stones, 20
- as territorial, 88, 419
- trees and, 20, 45
- spirit mediums, 25, 106, 214, 298, 419–20, 433–34, 437, 439–40, 440
- spirit world, 23, 25, 38, 41, 101, 374, 415, 422–23, 425, 433, 440–41
- ancestors and, 10, 18–19, 20, 23–24, 41, 45, 50, 57, 424, 438–39
- spiritual power, 25, 138, 197, 203, 213

- Sra Lao, 420
sralay, 167, 274–75, 275, 278, 297–99, 299, 304, 314–16, 315–16
sramocha, *see* Ant Dance
 staging, 113, 244, 357, 359, 363–66
 standing
 of dancers, 60, 62
 positions, 351, 353–54
 star dancer, 135, 139, 143, 147, 166
 Stern, Philippe, 57, 77
 stones, 69, 200, 203, 205, 212, 223, 241, 420, 439
 inscriptions on, 13
 spirits of, 20
 string instruments, 295, 298
 struggle, 135, 137, 141, 174, 211, 213–14, 247, 265, 267, 289, 334
 student dancers, 150, 170, 277, 279, 381, 432, 438
 students, 117, 150, 155, 158, 166, 175, 178–79, 185, 319, 375–76, 378, 382, 386, 421, 427–29, 431
 subsidies, 134, 142
 Sugrib and Bali, 224
 Sumalarith, King, 259
 Sumatra, 196, 387
 sun, 44, 47, 85, 86, 127, 164, 203–4, 327, 384
 Suryavarman I, King, 50
 Suryavarman II, King, 51, 72
 Sutharot, Prince, 126, 128
 Svay, Madame, 183
 Svayambhuva, 22
 sword, 224, 235, 238, 241–42, 250–52, 286, 334, 410, 418
 as sacred, 107, 114, 134, 246
 Sword Dance, 286, 410
 syncretism, 39, 41, 45
 synopses, 221, 224, 234, 236, 238
- T
- Ta Prohm, temple of, 51
 tail, 46, 394, 396, 398
 Taksin, King, 272
 tales, mythic, 200, 222
 Tang Tok, 163
 Tantric Buddhism, 44, 79, 81
- teachers, of dance
 elder dancers as, 352, 382
 groups of, 119, 158
 as respected, 115, 152, 158
 teaching methods of, 159, 378
- teeth, blackening of, 111, 424
- temple(s)
 court and, 49
 dance and, 13, 24, 49, 53
 as feminine/masculine, 40
 mountains as, 19, 40
 ornamentation of, 67
 personnel of, 51–53
 rituals in, 7, 72
 services of, 27
 slaves and, 13, 25, 27, 52, 54, 249
 walls of, 7, 13, 39, 73
- tension, of opposites, 208, 332, 345, 418
- Tep Manorom, 156, 269, 274, 309, 353
- tep robam*, 268, 289, 431–33
 function of, 438
 ritual of, 311, 313
- tepthida*, 418
- Tes, Saroeurm, 181
- tevoda*, 274, 311
 dance of the, 271
 invocation to, 167
 spirit of, 57, 250–52, 261, 288, 417–19
- Tewet dance, 274, 310
- Thai dance, 105–6, 355, 360
 Lao dance and, 347, 350
- Thai *lakhon*, 152, 438
- Thai *robam*, 106
- Thai-Khmer dance, 105
- Thailand, 14, 85, 88, 90, 105–6, 109, 114–15, 118–19, 136, 141, 152, 178, 246, 251, 268, 299, 302, 321, 326, 353, 411, 421
 court of, 90, 104, 112, 118, 387–88, 411
 dancers of, 90, 117–18, 314, 350, 356, 437
 kings of, 90, 99, 107, 114, 272
 lakhon of, 152, 438
- Thanh Hoa, 17
- Thao Sourikane, King, 236
- Theara Vaddey, Princess, 245
- theatre, 88, 110, 120–21, 136, 162, 170, 176, 266, 294, 363, 376
- theatricality, 156–57, 269, 364
- Thierry, Solange, 416

- Thiounn, 126, 133, 135, 315, 377, 379, 390, 396, 404, 428–30
- Thiounn, Samdach Chaufea, 8
- Thong, Sang, 229
- Thorani, Neang, 43
- throne room, 130, 134, 162, 383, 385, 417
- Tian, Hun, 195, 197, 200, 202, 204, 244
- Tibet, 15
- Tip Sangvar, Princess, 259–60
- Tittaru, 25
- toes, 355–56
- Tonle Sap River, 37
- torso, 41, 351, 354–56
- Tos Muk, 435–36
- Tossamok, Prince, 240
- Tossavong, King, 234
- Tosschak, King, 254
- tossing flowers, 273–74, 314
- tour, 128, 135–36, 138, 143, 180, 357–58, 385
 foreign, 163, 165, 366
 of United States, 179
- tourists, 136, 142–43, 145
- tower, 20, 67, 73, 197–98, 200
- tradition, 1, 103, 109, 112, 115, 121, 135, 141, 144, 154, 156, 290, 319, 323, 365–66, 388
- training, 117, 135, 146, 159, 170, 179, 227, 259, 318–19, 373–77, 380, 386, 412
 in arts, 55
- trak*, 436
- trance, 18, 19, 25, 421–22, 424, 433, 440
 as sacred, 421
 state of, 19, 419, 434
- trancelike motion, 209
- transcendence, 77, 200–1, 207, 423
- transitional movements, 320, 322
- Travan Ulloka, 52
- tree spirits, 20, 45
- trees, 20, 26, 193, 198, 200, 202–3, 205, 235, 237, 245, 324, 364–66, 423, 439
 jransyan, 52
 spirits of, 20, 45
- troupe
 all-male types of, 113, 433–34
 of dancers, 136, 142
 provincial type of, 136, 143, 146
- tunes, 246, 273, 290, 305–6, 311–12, 314–15, 360, 420
- tway kru*, 289, 425–27
- U
- underworld, 200–2, 223
- union, of symbolic forces, 20, 22, 40, 41, 45, 47, 48, 77, 197, 200–1, 203, 206, 246, 254, 267, 287, 425
- United States, 158, 165, 170–71, 175, 177, 179–81, 211, 240, 284, 350
- Université des Beaux-Arts (UBA), 1, 10, 170, 173–74, 176, 225, 270, 305, 311, 317, 319, 323, 343, 352–53, 363–64, 376–78
- Université Royale des Beaux-Arts, 166, 173, 440
- University of Hawaii, 6
- upper-body costume pieces, 402
- upstage, performers' positions, 328, 343, 348, 358
- V
- Valmiki, 102
- Vap Anandana, 54
- Vap Myan, 54
- Vat Svay Andet, 433–35
- Vāsudeva, 55
- Veal Kantel, Cambodian village of, 27
- Veddo-Australoids, 15
- Vesandar, 261, 266
- Vessantara *jakatā*, 260
- Veyakan, 232
- Vientiane, Lao kingdom of, 118
- Vietnam, 106, 114–15, 154–55, 169, 178, 294
 opera of, 112
 people of, 106, 110, 136, 177
- Vimana Chanta, Princess, 231
- vina*, musical instrument of, 26, 50, 294
- Vishnu, 41, 48, 72, 263, 285, 353, 364, 409, 429, 439
- Vishnu legends, 72
- Vishnuism, 41
- Vishvakarman, *see* Pisnoukar
- Vong Sovann, Prince, 236–37, 314
- Vorachhun, 230, 232–33, 247, 268, 271, 284, 409, 418
- Vorchan, Princess, 257
- W
- wagon, 360–61
- waist, 61, 67, 110, 112, 204, 386

- Wales, H. G. Q., 17, 18
 war, 170, 175, 198, 248, 260, 264, 266
 Washington D. C., 180–81, 279, 284, 288
 Wat Phnom, 173
 Wat Preah Keo, 161, 257, 417
 water, 17, 18, 37, 38, 40, 41, 46–48, 52, 147,
 196, 200–1, 204, 238, 258, 261, 271,
 311–12, 415–16, 428
 waters
 drinking, 278
 jasmine, 435–36
wayang purwa (shadow play), 439
 wear, 61, 386, 388–89, 392, 394, 396–98, 400–1,
 407, 409, 427, 429
 weeping, in dance drama, 324
 weight, 351, 356, 389, 404–6
 welcome, 135, 271
 white, 86, 106, 256, 358, 360, 386, 390, 430–31,
 435
 white dove, dance of the, 288
 White Elephant King, 255
 White, Peter T., 184
 wife, 139, 174, 195, 229, 235, 239, 241–42, 244,
 247–48, 250, 254, 256–57, 260–61,
 300, 382
 first, 116–17, 150, 159, 250, 382–83
 William, Prince, 127
 wings, 281, 387–88, 390, 394, 396, 398, 404, 408
 wisdom, 203, 213–14, 285
 goddess of, 203
 wisdoms, five, 81
 women, 28, 50, 51, 54, 55, 103–5, 109, 113, 117,
 120, 129–30, 134–35, 139, 201, 247,
 249, 382–83, 386. *See also* female(s);
 feminine roles; girls; women
 as bird-women, 211, 241, 395, 398
 in palace, 116, 125, 130, 142, 155, 256, 376
 Wongat, Princess, 141
 worship, 44, 53, 380, 439
 of ancestors, 50, 439
 of sky spirits, 44
 of water, 41
 worshippers, 108, 285
- wrist
 dancer's, 112, 337, 352, 390, 432
 jewelry for, 390, 398, 407
- X
 xylophones, 297, 301–2
- Y
yak ek, 393. *See also* giants; ogres.
yakkha, 8, 209–10, 213–14, 232, 234–37, 240,
 249–50, 254, 259–60, 267, 285–87,
 307, 315, 332, 336, 376–77, 390, 392,
 408, 410, 427, 433, 436.
 See also giants; ogres
 armies, 394
 king of, 213, 234, 239, 244, 250–51, 264
 kingdom, 244
 masks, 408–9, 430
 roles, 286, 313, 315, 349, 355–56, 407, 409,
 432
yakkin, 229
yakkhini, 398, 410
yaksa, 265
yaksi, 265
 Yani, 289
 Yarann, 252
 Yasovarman, King, 24, 50, 55, 59
 Ye, Liu, 194–95, 197, 201–4, 206
yeaks, 264, 287. *See also* *yakkha*
yiké, 115, 136, 175, 178, 181, 255
 troupe, 178, 184
yoginī, 82, 83
yong, 422
 Yong Kath, Prince, 141
yonī, 20
 Yunnan, 15
 Yutsorivong, King, 239
- Z
 Zarina, 148, 264, 367
 Zhenla, 21–23, 27, 29, 41
 lineage, 21
 Zhou Dagan, 86, 88, 103, 197, 230





THE DIVINE MYSTERY OF THE CAMBODIAN DANCE DRAMA

Since the dawn of recorded history, Khmer royal families nurtured a dance style unique to their Asian kingdom. Spiritually, their graceful dancers embody the essence of the Khmer race, balancing masculine and feminine forces of the universe to ritualistically effect the mystical regeneration of their land. For more than a thousand years they ensured fertility, life and growth; the dancers truly were and always will be the realization of Cambodia's earth in flower.



A POLITICAL TWIST OF FATE

In 1970, a military coup deposed King Sihanouk; for the first time in history the state was responsible for perpetuating the dance tradition. Though surrounded by war, and in the midst of civil war, the struggling Khmer Republic desperately sought to preserve this cultural treasure. In 1974, their Ministry of Culture engaged University of Hawaii researcher Paul Cravath to document the esoteric history of the Royal Cambodian Ballet.

EXTRAORDINARY ACCESS

Cravath arrived in Phnom Penh as an ever-tightening circle of war gripped the capital city. He became one of the only Westerners in history to gain access to royal dancers, teachers and archives. In earlier times, this privilege was unthinkable; the dancers were the king's personal property. Contact by anyone outside the royal household was forbidden, under penalty of death.

LOST HISTORY REVEALED

In April 1975 Phnom Penh fell to the Khmer Rouge, initiating one of the worst genocides in human history. Cravath, one of the last Westerners to leave, escaped with his research intact. After 10 years of preparation, he submitted his doctoral thesis in 1985. Only a handful of scholars saw the document. Now, at the dawn of the Khmer Renaissance, this historic knowledge is available to the public for the first time as *Earth in Flower*.

www.EarthInFlower.com

