**Rāmāyaṇa in SE Asia  
(visual)**

**contents page**

general bibliography 2

Trà-kiệu pedestal and early Cam sculpture 4

reliefs and murals from Cambodia 7  
including Angkor Vat (p. 11) and Baphuon (p. 14)

reliefs at Prambanan and elsewhere, Java 22  
including Javanese reliefs in museums (p. 37)

Javanese metalwork 39

sculptural reliefs from Central Vietnam (ancient Campā) 41

sculptural reliefs from Laos 43

sculptural reliefs (including bronzes) and paintings from Thailand 44

various items from Myanmar 54

various items (18th century onwards) from Laos 56

various items from China 58

lontar mss from Bali, etc. 59

uncertain items (location or implication) 60

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[repr. in Krishnamoorthy, Mukhopadhyaya and Nath 1991-93: lviii-lxxii.]

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Roveda, Vittorio 2015: *In the Shadow of Rama: murals of the Ramayana in mainland Southeast Asia* (Bangkok: River Books). **own copy**

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Vatsyayan, Kapila 2004: “The *Rāmāyaṇa* theme in the visual arts of South and Southeast Asia”, in Bose 2004: 335-54. **own copy**

**object (and medium)** Trà-kiệu pedestal and early Cam sculpture

**location (original/present)** Trà-kiệu, Mỹ Sơn, etc. (southern Vietnam)

**date** 7th to 10th centuries

**studies** Baptiste, Pierre 2008: “The dancers and musicians of Tra Kieu: pedestal or base?”, in *Interpreting Southeast Asia’s past: monument, image and text: selected papers from the 10th International Conference of EASEAA,* ed. by Elisabeth A. Bacus, Ian C. Glover & Peter D. Sharrock (Singapore: NUS Press): 46-54. **download**

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Trần Kỳ Phương 2018: “Lotus Pedestal”, in *Vibrancy in Stone: Masterpieces of the Đà Nẵng Museum of Cham Sculpture,* ed. by Trần Kỳ Phương, Võ Văn Thắng, and Peter D. Sharrock (Bangkok: River Books): 128–129. **Sackler NB1014.B39 BAO 2018; scan**

**notes see** on inscription of Prakāśadharman in “12. Southeast Asia (verbal)” document.

**Trà-kiệu pedestal**(Đà Nẵng Museum of Cham Sculpture )

Trà-kiệu extends along the south bank of a tributary of the Thu Bon river, surrounded by a near rectangle of ramparts. It is the ancient Siṃhapura, capital of the minor state of Amarāvatī, and the find-spot both of the Vālmīki inscription of Prakāśadharman (c. 657-687) and of the Trà-kiệu pedestal (Quảng Nam museum inv.no. 22,2). The pedestal is now but may not originally have been the base of a liṅga and yoni; each side bears a relief panel which according to Trần Kỳ Phương 2000 (refuting an earlier interpretation by Coedès) shows a scene from the Bālakāṇḍa; he argues for the pedestal and the inscription being related and so dates the reliefs to the late 7th century. He has also noted a comparable pedestal from Hà Trung, Qu̓ang Trị (Trần Kỳ Phương 2018).

Reliefs:

Rāma stringing the bow (in 5 subsections; based on CE 1.64.30, 66.1-11, 12-19, 20-27) Tran 2000: pl. 41

messengers sent by Janaka to inform Daśaratha (in 2 subsections; 1.67.1-19, 68.1-7),

preparations for the wedding (in 3 subsections; 1.72.1-6, 17-21 and 22-23),

apsarases and gandharvas dancing and singing in celebration (cf. 1.72.24-27).

Tran 2008: “Such open-air structures would have had pedestals richly carved with motifs. The Tra Kieu *Rāmāyaṇa* pedestal is square in plan (190 × 190 cm in width and 54 cm in height). Its four sculpted scenes are taken to represent the ‘Wedding of Sītā’ from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Figure 5.8), because the inscription of King Prakasadharma speaks of erecting a temple to Vālmīki, the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* I (Tran 2000: 56) have therefore dated the Tra Kieu *Rāmāyaṇa* pedestal to 657-687 CE. I have also proposed that because of the smaller dimensions and the light material structure of Point B (it may have been an open-air temple) this is where the Tra Kieu *Rāmāyaṇa* pedestal belonged.”

John Guy in Baptiste + Zéphir 2005:147 “Le programme iconographiques de la base du grand piédestal à *liṅga* de Trà Kiệu, conservé au musée de *Đ*à Nẵng, présente diverse scènes du marige de Sītā inspirées du *Rāmāyaṇa* de Vālmīki. La transmission d’une version aussi précise du célèbre épique indien prouve sans équivoque que des recensions écrites étaient en circulation parmi les élites d’Asie du Sud-Est, phénomène également attesté à Java”. [citing Tràn 2000 in footnote]

Chau 2022: 309 – “Based on inscriptions and other visual arts related to the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Campā, there is sufficient visual evidence that the Trà Kiệu pedestal depicts characters from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but which specific stories and scenes from the epic remains subject to debate.” She also prefers a 10th century date for it.

**Mỹ Sơn** is a cluster of abandoned and partially ruined Hindu temples constructed between the 4th and the 14th century A.D. by the kings of Campā (Chiêm Thành in Vietnamese). The temples are dedicated to worship of Śiva under various local names, particularly Bhadreśvara. Mỹ Sơn is located near the village of Duy Phú, in Duy Xuyên district of Quảng Nam province, Central Vietnam, 69 km SW of Da Nang, and approximately 10 km from the historic town of Trà Kiẹ̆u (Siṃhapura). The temples are in the valley of the Thu Bon river, roughly 2 km wide, surrounded by two mountain ranges, which from the 4th to the 13th century AD was a site of religious ceremony for kings of the ruling dynasties of Champā, as well as a burial place for Cham royalty and national heroes.

stone tympanum showing Śiva subduing Rāvaṇa found at ruined brick temple F1, Mỹ Sơn (7th-8th century) now in site museum [sources – Guy (ed.) 2014: 72; Dhar 2016: 39; Dhar 2019b: 365-67]

Noppe and Hubert 2003 illustrate on p. 88, fig. 102, a Rāma holding bow within niche, sculpted sandstone in high relief, 7th century, h. 80cm. (private collection) from Campā kingdom; same piece shown in Hubert 2005 pp. 56-57, figs. 47-48, with details h. 75 cm. Mỹ Sơn E1 style, 7th-8th century

Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti from village of Thanh Phước, near Huế, bricked into a pagoda wall, stylistically belonging to 10th century (Dhar 2019b: 367-69, based on image in *BEFEO* 1914: 85-96)

**Khương Mỹ temple** (Quảng Nam, Central Vietnam; 40 km SE of Mỹ Sơn) of uncertain date but probably between 900 and 975: restoration work in November 2000 uncovered on lower part of S face of S tower a group of narrrative bas-reliefs with Rāmāyaṇa scenes above which are badly preserved inscriptions identifying the scenes and characters shown (Levin 2008).

for inscriptional evidence **see** entry on Trà Kiẹ̆u inscription (C 173) in “12. Southeast Asia (verbal)”, which includes at the end a listing of some other inscriptions

**object (and medium)** reliefs and murals

**location (original/present)** Cambodia (Angkor and elsewhere)

**date** 7th century onwards (including modern)

**studies** Bhandari, C.M. 1995: *Saving Angkor* (Bangkok: White Orchid Press).  
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Finot, L. 1910: “Les Bas-reliefs de Bapuon”, *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l’Indochine,* année 1910: 155–161, pls. XIV–XVIII. **scan**

Fletcher, Roland, and others 2015: “Angkor Wat: an introduction”, *Antiquity* 89: 1388-1401. [*excellent overview*] **download**

Freeman, Michael and Claude Jacques 1999: *Ancient Angkor* (London: Thames and Hudson). **Sackler VWa Fre**

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Giteau, Madeleine 1967-68: “Two tenth-century bas-reliefs depicting the *Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti*”, *ALB* 31-32: 593-99. **photocopy**

Giteau, Madeleine 1975: *Iconographie de Cambodge post-Angkorien* (Paris: EFEO).   
 **photocopy, notes; analyse?**

Giteau, Madeleine 1999: “Les peintures du *Rāmāyaṇa* Cambodgien au monastère de Vat Bho (Siem Reap)”, *Indologica Taurinensia* 25: 179-245. **own copy**[*modern paintings, executed between 1920 and 1924 by Ta Peul and his nephew***]**

Giteau, Madeleine 2003: *Chefs-d’oeuvre de la peinture cambodgienne dans les monastères bouddhiques post-angkoriens / Capolavori della pittura cambogiana nei monasteri buddhisti di epoca post-angkoriana*, Orientalia 9 (Turin: CESMEO). **own copy**

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Loizeau, Rachel 2021: “Rāmāyaṇa in Khmer sculpture with special reference to the Yuddhakāṇḍa, 10th-12th centuries” in Dhar 2021a: 85-102. **own copy (vol.)**

Ly, Boreth 2005: “Picture-perfect pairing: the politics and poetics of avisual narrative program at Banteay Srei”, *Udaya* 6: 151-85. **download**

Mannikka, Eleanor 1994: “The Battle of Lanka at Angkor Wat: a visual metaphor”, in Dehejia (ed.) 1994: 127-38. **own copy**

Maxwell, Thomas S. 2006: *Of gods, kings, and men: the reliefs of Angkor Wat*, photographs, Jaroslav Poncar; text, T.S.M. (Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books).  
 **SOAS FND.L /994325**[The Battle of Lanka: Rama and Ravana, pp. 87-107 (the text just outlines the narrative but there are good photos, with pp 94-106 entirely photos)]

Maxwell, Thomas S. 2007: “The Stele inscription of Preah Khan, Angkor: text with translation and commentary”, *Udaya* 8: 1-113. **download**

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[extremely detailed plans and elevations of entire monument]

Nafilyan, Jacqueline and Guy 1997: *Peintures murales des monastères bouddhiques au Cambodge* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose). **Sackler, 3rd floor Vwg Naf; notes**

Narayanan, Vasudha 2013: “Who is the strong-armed monkey who churns the ocean of milk?”, *Udaya: Journal of Khmer Studies* 11: 3-28. **download**

Parmentier, Henri, 1912: “Catalogue du Musé khmèr de Phnom Péñ”, *BEFEO* 12: 1-60. **download**

Przyłuski, J. 1921-23, “La légende de Rama dans les bas-reliefs d’Angkor Vat”, *Arts et Archéologie Khmère* I: 319-330 including pll. 19-22. **Per. 247189 c.2**[comments on: Viṣṇu consenting to descend as Rāma, Sītā’s *svayaṃvara,* death of Virādha, death of Kabandha, alliance of Rāma and Sugrīva, duel between Vālin and Sugrīva, Rāvaṇa quelled by Śiva (no locations noted)]

1. Rooney, Dawn F. 2006: *Angkor: Cambodia’s wondrous Khmer temples* (Hong Kong: Odyssey). **Bod. (stack); various temple plans scanned**

Roveda, Vittorio 1999: *Narrative reliefs from the SW & NW corner pavilions of Angkor Wat* (London: SOAS [doctoral thesis]). **download**

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Soutif, Dominique 2010: “Le pendentif inscrit du musée national du Cambodge: une «bague de Rāma» datant du règne de Jayavarman VII (K. 1277)?”, *Arts Asiatiques* 65: 121-32. [also discusses reliefs of Hanumān giving/receiving ring to/from Sītā] **download**

Srivastava, K.M. 1986: “The temple of Banteay Srei in Kampuchea”, *Arts of Asia* 16.6: 138-45. **scan**

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**general notes** Angkor (ancient Yaśodharapura) was the sprawling capital of the Khmer empire from the 9th to the 15th century with an elaborate water management network. Angkor was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1992.

Dhani Nivat 1943 is a note in support of Martini 1938 dealing with a bas-relief on the walls of Aṅkor Vat, identifying it as Rāma **shooting** from the bow at Sītā’s *svayaṃvara* (**not** as Arjuna at Draupadī’s)

for *Lpoek aṅgar vatt* **see** entry in “SE Asia (verbal + general)” within entry for *Rāmakerti I + II*

mural painting of Rāmakien panels at Wat Bho, Siem Reap, at Krishnan 2010: 50 (own photo); extensive illustration in Roveda 2015: 83-147

Rachel Loizeau’s Singapore conference abstract:

THE LEGEND OF RAMA AT BAPHUON AND ANGKOR WAT TEMPLES

The Veal Kantel inscription (7th century CE) mentioning the daily recitation of the *Ramayana* and a statue of Rama from the Phnom Da group (circa 7th century CE) indicate the popularity of the Epic in the ancient Khmer kingdom though the sculptural carvings are few before the narrative development of iconographic program of the Baphuon temple dedicated to Siva. The *Ramayana* is depicted along with the *Mahabharata*, the Krishna *lila*, puranic stories and secular themes. The artist did not choose the expanded mode of continuous narration despite the panels’ horizontal format and the large space devoted to the ornamentation. Nevertheless, it seems that the story of Rama as it is depicted on the walls of the main entrances of the second level of the pyramidal temple follows a chronological progression from the east to the north where the story ends with the battle of Rama and Ravana. A century later, the *Ramayana*, along with the Krishna *lila* and puranic myths, are abundantly depicted at Angkor Wat temple, a rare monument dedicated to Vishnu. New episodes of the Rama legend are introduced such as the fight of Valin and Mayavin, the defection of Vibhishana, the attack of Kabandha or the ordeal of Sita. These themes are commonly illustrated in many temples built during this period, but at Angkor Wat the emphasis is on the Epic’s main battles which are depicted in large compositions according to the importance given to the martial themes in the monument’s iconographic program.

Cambodia photos (JLB):

DSCF0631.JPG:  *more precise caption:* Rāma carried into battle by *vānara*

DSCF0523: *Roveda 2002: 200-2, fig. 195 cf. Fig. 198; cf. 60, fig. 44 and 2005: 96-99, fig. 4.2.108 identifies as Aniruddha and Bāṇa*

*0527* Virādha at Angkor Vat, also ill. at Krishnan 2010: 48 + 52 (own photo)

0538 *identified by Roveda 2002: 80, fig. 72 as Aṅgada fighting Narāntaka*

0541 *78, fig. 69 as Nīla killing Prahasta*

0542-43 *76, fig. 67 as Rāma on Hanumān*

**Phnom Dà** (Angkor Borei dist.,Takéo prov., Cambodia; c. 3.5 km S of Angkor Borei): statue of Rāma as standing archer (one of a stylistically united group of 4 among 7 stone images of Viṣṇu or an *avatāra,* found in caves at foot of mount), c. 600 A.D. or mid C7 [Dowling], 189 × 70 × 34 cm. [image in SE Asia folder, sites folder, visual background (non ORA)]  
 Nat. Mus. of Cambodia Ka.1638

**Angkor Vat**

*Angkor Vat celebrates the achievements of Sūryavarman II (1113-c.1150), erected by him probably as his funerary monument; therefore scenes from Ayodhyākāṇḍa intrigues and Uttarakāṇḍa problems not used (inappropriate, especially given the way he acceded to the throne by killing his uncle Dharaṇīndravarman I); Śūrpaṇakhā and other amorous episodes also absent, as are Jaṭāyus and Saṃpāti; abduction by Rāvaṇa shown only on one half-pediment. Never fully completed.*

The transformation of Angkor Wat from a Hindu temple into a Buddhist monastery in the XIV-XV century ... Roveda 2002: 255

4th enclosure, W *gopura*, central porch, pediment:

battle for Laṅkā: Roveda 2002: 194

4th enclosure, E *gopura*, S half-pediment:

Sugrīva fighting Vālin: Roveda 2002: 197

4th enclosure, E *gopura*, central portal, S-facing pediment:

? Rāma and Sītā seated in majesty: Roveda 2002: 202

4th courtyard, S ‘library’, W half-pediment on N:

*vānaras* fight Kumbhakarṇa: Roveda 2002: 198

Long panels:

3rd enclosure, E gallery, S wing, Churning of milk-ocean:

*asuras* include prominent multi-headed demons; *devas* overshadowed by Hanumān, may include Vibhīṣaṇa: Roveda 2002: 49-52, figs 34-36, 38  
 Jean Filliozat (1983: 201-2) plausibly identifies the monkey at the right of the Churning of the Ocean frieze at Angkor Vat as Vālin.

3rd enclosure, E. gallery, half pediment, Aṅgada at Rāvaṇa’s court Loizeau 2021: 93, fig 4.6

3rd enclosure, W gallery, N wing, Battle for Laṅkā (51.25 m long): Roveda 2002: 77-80

*Roveda identifies, starting from N end of relief*:  
 Rāma on Hanumān’s shoulders, attended by Lakṣmaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa: Roveda 2002: 79, fig. 67

Nīla killing Prahasta: Roveda 2002: 79, fig. 69

Aṅgada killing Mahodara and elephant: Roveda 2002: 79, fig. 71

Rāvaṇa on chariot *(?? Roveda: 4 legs*): Roveda 2002: 79, fig. 68

Aṅgada bites horse of Narāntaka: Roveda 2002: 79, fig. 72

Aṅgada attacking Vajradaṃṣṭra and lions: Roveda 2002: 79, fig. 70

Hanumān fighting Nikumbha and horse: Roveda 2002: 79, fig. 73

Sugrīva killing Kumbha with 2 spotted monsters: Roveda 2002: 79, fig. 74

3rd enclosure, SW corner pavilion:

half-pediment: abduction by Rāvaṇa: Roveda 2002: 204

S 3 (*Rāma killing Mārīca*), S 5 (*Rāvaṇa and Kailāsa; front view of Rāvaṇa;* N.B. *variant tradition: Rāvaṇa tries to move Kailāsa to Laṅkā*), S 8 (*death of Vālin*): Roveda 2002: 99, 106-7, 116-18

Pilaster reliefs at base of doorways, esp. of Cruciform Pavilion and doors leading into corner pavilions and *gopuras* of 3rd enclosure:

3rd enclosure, E *gopura*, W door:  
Virādha attempts to abduct Sītā: Roveda 2002: 220

3rd enclosure, NE *gopura ?* corner pavilion ?, E-facing pediment, half-pediments:  
N, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in forest: Roveda 2002: 204  
S, Virādha’s attempt to abduct Sītā [*similar composition to S library but identification more plausible*]: Roveda 2002: 204

3rd enclosure, N *gopura*, S half-pediment:  
Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in forest: Roveda 2002: 204

3rd enclosure, N *gopura*, N half-pediment:  
Hanumān and Rāvaṇa: Roveda 2002: 204

3rd enclosure, NW corner pavilion:  
N 1, N 3, N 5, N 6, N 7, N 8, N 9, N 10, N 12:  
 [MB, JLB: *Rāma is shooting at wheel above his head, watched by Sītā, Viśvāmitra, Janaka, queens and others; Rāma is looking directly at the wheel, not at a reflection; at bottom, a procession of horses, chariots, warriors: probably disappointed suitors, but no Rāvaṇa; see Roveda 2002: 156-61 and 265n.34*]

3rd enclosure, NW corner pavilion, pediment:  
Rāma and Hanumān: Roveda 2002: 202

NW pavilion, bas-relief gallery:

R. seated on Puṣpaka in return to Ayodhyā Siyonn 2005: 138, fig. 43

Tapestry reliefs (*interlaced medallions, images sometimes combined into narrative, thought to have been produced by stencils; Coedès identifies by grid with letters for vertical rows and numbers for horizontal*):

3rd enclosure, W *gopura*, S lateral entrance, wall P 91:

rows 10-13: death of Vālin: Roveda 2002: 229-30

row 14: alliance of Rāma and Vibhīṣaṇa: Roveda 2002: 230

rows 15-17: battle for Laṅkā (mostly Hanumān and Rāvaṇa): Roveda 2002: 230

rows 17-18: Hanumān and Sītā exchange tokens: Roveda 2002: 230

3rd enclosure, W *gopura*, S lateral entrance, S jamb P 84:

A3, B 1-2, C 2, D 2: alliance with Vibhīṣaṇa: Roveda 2002: 231

3rd enclosure, W *gopura*, S lateral entrance, W jamb P 85:

C3-E4: Lakṣmaṇa wounded by Indrajit’s spear: Roveda 2002: 231-32

3rd courtyard, N ‘library’:

Rm reliefs much eroded: Roveda 2002: 197

3rd courtyard, S ‘library’, right half-pediment:

Virādha attempting to abduct Sītā (?? *identification*): Roveda 2002: 197

2nd enclosure, W *gopura*, N lateral portal, E-facing pediment:

death of Vālin: Roveda 2002: 206

2nd enclosure, SW corner pavilion, S doorway, pediment:

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa bound by *nāgapāśa*: Roveda 2002: 206

2nd enclosure, S *gopura*, N face:

lower pediment:

Lakṣmaṇa wounded by Rāvaṇa’s spear, Hanumān with mountain, unidentified standing figure: Roveda 2002: 206, fig. 208; Loizeau 2021: 93-95, fig. 4.9

upper pediment:

death of Kumbhakarṇa (badly eroded): Roveda 2002: 206

2nd enclosure, SE lateral portal, N-facing pediment:

death of Vālin: Roveda 2002: 206

2nd enclosure, NE subsidiary door / N enclosure gallery E lateral portal, pediment:

*Roveda identifies as Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma enter realm of dead; I think it is Mahīrāvaṇa*: Roveda 2002: 208

1st enclosure and main shrine:

“Based on the reliefs that have survived, it would seem that the primary, pedimental reliefs of the 1st enclosure and its magnificent central tower, are devoted to the exploits of Vishnu and Krishna, while Rama’s stories occupy a subsidiary position in the half pediments”: Roveda 2002: 217

“One can see how columns and pillars taken from other sites of the temple have been used to support lintels and pediments”: Roveda 2002: 212

1st enclosure, NE courtyard, pediment:

Sītā’s purification by fire: Roveda 2002: 212

main shrine, W pediment, half-pediment on left:

*vānaras* fighting ? Kumbhakarṇa: Roveda 2002: 215

main shrine, main E pediment, half-pediment on left:

Rama and Lakṣmaṇa in forest with *vānaras*: Roveda 2002: 215

main shrine, N pediment, half-pediment on right:

death of Vālin: Roveda 2002: 215

central shrine, N portal, interior doorway, E jamb P 2:

rows 1-3: death of Vālin: Roveda 2002: 233

row 4: death of Mārīca: Roveda 2002: 233

row 5: Virādha’s attempted abduction: Roveda 2002: 233

rows 6-9: battle for Laṅkā: Roveda 2002: 233

central shrine, N portal, interior doorway, W jamb P 2:

rows 1-3: Sītā’s purification by fire: Roveda 2002: 233

rows 4-5: Hanumān, Sītā and Trijatā in *aśokavana*: Roveda 2002: 233

central tower, N face, lower pediment:

Hanumān with *rākṣasas*: Angkor: Roveda 2002: 212

[further identified images in *Angkor National Museum Bulletin* 7 (2016)]

**Banteay Samre** (mid 9th century on; at SE corner of East /Thnal Baray): relief of abduction of Sītā, at Krishnan 2010: 51 (own photo; cf. others); Vālin wrestling with Dundubhi at Krishnan 2010: 55 (own photo; cf. Loizeau 2021: 89-90) and 130; death of Kabandha at Krishnan 2010: 87; seduction of Rṣyaśṛṅga (?) at Siyonn 2005: 105, fig. 2; Kumbhakarṇa fighting *vānaras*, ref. at Giteau 1995: 70

3rd enclosure, N *gopura*, pediment

Rāma on chariot fights Rāvaṇa: Roveda 2005: 137, fig. 4.4.93

2nd enclosure, S *gopura*, central porch:

N façade, pediment above entrance: Rāma watches monkeys building causeway   
 [*much damaged*] Roveda 2005: 394, CD 10.0371;  
 [*details*] Roveda 2005: 131, 134, 300-1, figs 4.4.73, 7.117: Laur 2002

S façade, pediment: *vānaras* [*Hanumān with mountain ??*]: Laur 2002

S portico, pediment: R. pulls spear out of L. while Hanumān brings herb mountain  
 Roveda 2005: 136, 139, 394, fig. 4.4.90, CD 10.0370

2nd enclosure, N *gopura*, central porch:

S façade: upper pediment: *Yuddhakāṇḍa* Laur 2002

S façade, inside: Rāma with *vānaras*: Laur 2002

N façade, pediment: Rāma fights Rāvaṇa: Siyonn 2005: 133-34, fig. 37; Laur 2002

2nd enclosure, N *gopura*, S face:

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa carried into battle by *vānaras*: JLB photo (2009): 631

1st enclosure, W *gopura*:

monkeys fight Kumbhakarṇa Roveda 2005: 133, 135, 394-95, figs 4.4.87, 10.383

1st enclosure, N *gopura*, inner face, E half pediment:   
Rāma shoots golden deer JLB photo (2009): 626

N ‘library’, E gable end:   
Vālin fights Sugrīva; death of Vālin [*Rāma not shown*]: JLB photo (2009): 617

S ‘library’, W face, pediment:  
Sītā’s purification by fire Roveda 2005: 140, 396, fig. 4.4.104

central sanctuary, exterior, S porch, SE corner pilaster base:   
abduction JLB photo (2009): 634;  
 Roveda 2005: 122-23, 394, 396, figs 4.4.28, 10.403; Laur 2002

central tower, S lintel:

monkey killing buffalo (? Vālin killing Dundubhi) JLB photo (2009): 635;   
 Roveda 2005: 396, fig. 10.413; Roveda 2010a: 130, fig.13; Siyonn 2005: 124, fig. 20

central tower, pilaster:  
Kabandha grasps Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa by ankles; Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa attack Kabandha with swords: Roveda 2005: 122, CD 4.4.032; Loizeau 2010 (2): 86-87, fig. 10

W face, N side, E side of doorway:   
Vālin fights Sugrīva [*no Rāma; no death*]: JLB photo (2009): 636

pediments (location not given):  
Vālin fights Sugrīva, bites Sugrīva’s behind: Roveda 2005: 299, 301, fig. 7.110  
seated Rāvaṇa: Roveda 2005: 198, fig. 5.12

Lakṣmaṇa wounded by Rāvaṇa’s javelin Siyonn 2005: 133, fig. 36

Agni restoring S. to R. Siyonn 2005: 134-35, fig. 39

half pediment:

alliance between Vibhīṣaṇa and Rāma Loizeau 2021: 92, fig. 4.5

**Bakong**, Roluos group (9th century and later), dedicated 881 by Indravarman I  
[Roluos is ancient Hariharālaya]

central sanctuary, N façade, pediment: Rāma in *nāgapāśa*  
(but identified as Lakṣmaṇa in *nāgapāśa* at Freeman and Jacques 1999: 201)  
 JLB photo (2009): 667; Roveda 2005: 135; Loizeau 2021: 93-95, fig. 4.8

**Baphuon (c. 1060 A.D.)**, in Angkor Thom, NW of the Bayon

begun by Sūryavarman (1002-49), completed by Udayādityavarman II (1050-66); a typical 3‑storey Śaiva temple; external walls of pavilions decorated with *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs, esp. on 2nd storey.

There is a great variety of stories from the *Ramayana*, with many not found at Angkor (Roveda 2002: 243)

Loizeau 2021: 91 – “The *Yuddhakāṇḍa* was a great source of inspiration for the Khmer artists from 12th century, except for the prior extensive set of narrative bas-reliefs sculpted on the walls of the gateways of the second level of the Baphuon (11th century). The Baphuon is an exceptional monument in many respects and the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* has a prominent place. However, if we look more carefully, the number of episodes is very limited. Rāma and his allies waged three major battles against Kumbhakarṇa, Indrajit, and Rāvaṇa. . . . . . . At the Baphuon, the story of Kumbhakarṇa is depicted at length on the external wall of the western gateway. The two other battles are pictured on the exterior wall of the northern gateway. Indrajit aims at the two princes who are captured by the *nāgapāśa* (serpent noose) and rescued by Garuḍa. Finally, Rāvaṇa confronts both Rāma and his faithful friend, Hanumān.”

death of Tāṭakā and Viśvāmitra’s sacrifice (E pavilion) Loizeau 2016: 33 (fig. 2)  
 cf. Krishnan 2010: 83

fight between Vālin and Sugrīva, death of Vālin, Hanumān gives Sītā Rāma’s ring,

3 fights by Hanumān against rākṣasas (S pavilion) Loizeau 2016: 34 (fig. 3)

Kumbhakarṇa’s awakening, fight with vānaras and death (W pavilion)

Giteau 1995: figs 1-2; Loizeau 2016: 35 (figs 4 + 4a)

Indrajit snares R. + L. in *nāgapāśa,* Garuḍa frees them, R. + L. pay homage to Garuḍa, Rāvaṇa reports event to 2 women (N pavilion, W side) Loizeau 2016: 35 (fig. 5)

meeting of R. + L. with Hanumān (?), fight between Vālin and Sugrīva, death of Vālin

(N pavilion, W side) Loizeau 2016: 35 (fig. 6)

battle between R. on Hanumān’s back and Rāvaṇa in chariot, Sugrīva fights a rākṣasa,

R. in chariot fights Rāvaṇa, Hanumān flies above with boulder (N pavilion, E side)

Loizeau 2016: 36 (figs 7 + 8)

Rāma and Hanumān in battle for Laṅkā: Roveda 2002: 243

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa entangled in *nāgapāśa*: Roveda 2002: 243

? Garuḍa ? Hanumān frees R + L from *nāgapāśa*: Roveda 2002: 243

exploits of Kumbharṇa: Roveda 2002: 243

Rāma’s alliance with Sugrīva: Roveda 2002: 243

disconsolate Sītā in *aśokavana*: Roveda 2002: 243

Sītā and Hanumān exchange tokens: Roveda 2002: 243

? Sītā in fire: Roveda 2002: 243

Jaṭāyus, Saṃpāti: Roveda 2002: 242

pillar fragment:

archer aiming at bird on pole: Roveda 2002: 160, fig.142; 266n.34

2nd enclosure

Rm carvings on all 4 entrances: Laur 2002

W *gopura*: Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa ?as boys in forest:  
 Roveda 2002: 243, fig. 256; Roveda 2005: 117-18, fig. 4.4.05  
 Rāma shoots golden deer: Roveda 2005: 127, 365, fig. 4.4.46  
attempts to awaken Kumbhakarṇa:  
 Roveda 2005: 133, 365, fig. 4.4.83; Siyonn 2005: 133, fig. 35

E *gopura*: Hanumān attacks Rāvaṇa in his chariot: Roveda 2002: 243, fig. 258  
Rāma shoots deer with *rākṣasa* head: Roveda 2005: 121, 123, fig. 4.4.22

Indrajit shoots Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa from sky; Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa lie bound (together) by *nāgapāśas*; Garuḍa approaches:   
 Siyonn 2005: 131, fig. 30; Roveda 2005: 132, 135, fig. 4.4.81

*E gopura*: N lateral room, inner wall, upper register:  
Rāma shoots Tāṭakā through head; Viśvāmitra sacrifices:  
 Loizeau 2010b: 83, fig. 3; Roveda 2005: 118-19, fig. 4.4.06

N *gopura*: vertical series of Rm panels: Nafilyan 1997  
2nd level, *nāgapāśa* episode Loizeau 2021: 92-94, fig. 4.7  
2nd level, final battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa Loizeau 2021: 97, fig. 4.11  
(displaced block) Rāvaṇa fights from monster-drawn chariot:  
 Roveda 2005: 136, 139, 365, figs 4.4.97, 10.220  
(displaced block) Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa comfort weeping Sugrīva:  
 Roveda 2005: 122, 124, fig. 4.4.35

*W gopura*, inner wall, 2nd level:  
death of Kumbhakarṇa Loizeau 2021: 96, fig. 4.10

displaced blocks:

Hanumān offers token to Sītā in *aśokavana*: Roveda 2005: 129-30, figs 4.4.62-63

? suitor test, archer shoots towards high target: Roveda 2002: 160, fig.142; 266n.34; Roveda 2005: 118-19, figs 4.4.09-10

**Pre Rup (mid 10th century)**, just south of East/Thnal Baray

state temple of Rājendravarman II, dedicated in 961/2 A.D.

lintel: Rāma carried in battle by a monkey [*unfinished*]:  
 Roveda 2005: 139, 345, fig. 10.102=CD 4.4.091

**Bayon (late 12th century)** for Jayavarman VII (1181-c.1220), in centre of Angkor Thom

Inner gallery, NW (room 18):

Churning of milk ocean (Rm influence): Roveda 2002: 52

inner gallery, room 22:  
Rāvaṇa shakes Kailāsa; Śiva presses foot on Rāvaṇa’s head [*front view*]: Roveda 2005: 160, 162, fig. 4.5.53

central tower, NW face:   
Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and a kneeling monkey: Roveda 2005: 129-30, fig. 4.4.59

**Chau Say Tevoda (c.1150)**, east of Angkor Thom, south of Thommanon

N ‘library’, pediment:  
death of Vālin; installation of Sugrīva: Roveda 2005: 128, 130, fig. 4.4.51

E *gopura*:

some Rm carvings visible on a few lintels: Laur 2002

pediment: kneeling Hanumān before S., surrounded by rākṣasīs (?)   
 Siyonn 2005: 126-7, fig. 23

W *gopura*, S face:  
Sītā’s purification by fire: Roveda 2005:140, fig. 4.4.105; Loizeau 2021: 98-99, fig. 4.14

**Preah Khan (1191)**, NE of Angkor Thom

central tower, N complex:  
Kabandha holds Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa by legs: Roveda 2005:122, 124, fig. 4.4.34 = CD 4.4.033

inner enclosure, pediment showing Rāma’s return to Ayodhyā  
 Freeman and Jacques 1999: 175

pediment, Khara attacking Rāma (?) Siyonn 2005: 118, fig. 12

pediment, fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa Loizeau 2021: 97-98, fig. 4.13

W *gopura* 3, pediment:  
Rāma in chariot shoots Rāvaṇa; monkeys attack Kumbhakarṇa: Roveda 2005:406, CD 10.0478; detail: 139, CD 4.4.094; Laur 2002

W *gopura* 3, W side, lintel:  
Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa meet kneeling *vānara*: Roveda 2005:406, CD 10.0477

W *gopura* 3, E door, half-pediment:  
Vālin fights Sugrīva: Roveda 2005:130, 406, CD 10.0475 = 4.4.049

W complex:  
Hanumān meets despairing Sītā: Roveda 2005: 130-31, fig. 4.4.68

N complex, W side:  
Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa return to Ayodhyā on *haṃsa*-borne *puṣpaka*:  
 Roveda 2005: 141, 143, fig. 4.4.110

detached lintel, Hanumān offers ring to despairing Sītā Roveda 2005: 130-31, fig. 4.4.67

detached lintel, standing on shoulders of a vānara, Rāma shoots at Rāvaṇa: Roveda 2005: 136, fig. 4.4.9

stele inscription (K.908 of 1191) likens Jayavarman VII to Rāma (A57-58) for building a *caṅkrama* (causeway) and alludes to R. + L. in *nāgapāśa* (A60) and Daśaratha descending from heaven briefly (A 61)

**Ta Prohm (end 12th century)**, c. 1 km E of Angkor Thom, on S edge of East/Thnal Baray; stele gives date of 1186 in reign of Jayavarman VII

W gate:  
Dundubhi and Vālin fighting Roveda 2010a: 130, fig.14; Krishnan 2010: 130  
Kabandha grasps Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa by the legs:Roveda 2005: 124, fig. 4.4.34

**Preah Pithu(12th-13th C)**,group of 5 temples, NE of the Bayon

temple ‘U’:  
suitor test: archer aims at high target: Roveda 2005: 118-19, fig. 4.4.11

temple Y:  
fight between Vālin and Sugrīva; battle for Laṅkā: Roveda 2005: 451

Vālin fights Sugrīva; Rāma shoots at Vālin: Roveda 2005: 128, 130, fig. 4.4.50

**Thommanon (end 11th—1st half 12th C)**

*maṇḍapa*, S façade, pediment:  
Rāvaṇa shakes Kailāsa; Śiva presses foot on Rāvaṇa’s head [*back view*]: Roveda 2005: 160, 162, 371, fig. 4.5.52

*maṇḍapa*, E door, lintel:

Rm scene: Sītā in *aśokavana* guarded by 2 *rākṣasīs* (Sunnary 1972: 158-59) Laur 2002

*maṇḍapa*, N face, lintel:  
Indrajit releasing *nāgapāśa* (?), R. + L., *vānaras* (Sunnary 1972: 160-61)

sanctuary, E face, E pediment of *antarāla*:  
L. bound by *nāgapāśa* with Garuḍa behind (Sunnary 1972: 161-2)

W face, upper pediment:  
Sītā seized by Virādha (?) (Sunnary 1972: 164-5)

library, E façade:   
Kabandha grasps Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa by the legs: Roveda 2005: 371

“library”, pediment:  
R. + L. + S. in Daṇḍaka forest (?) Siyonn 2005: 115, fig. 8

pediment:

R. shooting golden deer (?) Siyonn 2005: 121, fig. 15

semi-pediment:

Sugrīva with his four companions Siyonn 2005: 122, fig. 18

**Banteay Srei** (consecrated on 22 April 967, and therefore first built at the end of the reign of Rajendravarman II, who died in 968); c. 25 km NE of main Angkor group; buildings in outer enclosure added in C13-14.

Roveda has challenged accepted date: “On the basis of brief analysis of the visual narratives I question the accepted date of 967 for the entire Banteay Srei temple and I suggest that – as we see it today – the temple is the result of a series of elaborate reconstructions. I assume that the date 967 refers to the temple initially built in brick, the ruins of which are still visible today in the wall of the first enclosure and its western gopura (first enclosure) only. Later interventions brought in the western gopuras of the second and third enclosure with a visual narrative resembling that of the Baphuon’s reliefs (1060). The two libraries were probably among the last to be executed or re-built (c.1070–1120?), and embellished with narrative reliefs of the most advanced type. Inevitably, during the re-making of the temple, older parts were re-used, notably sandstone elements used earlier in the 967 building, not an uncommon practice in Khmer temple building.” (Roveda 2002b: 49)

small pediments and lintels:

S library, E façade, tympanum:

Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa:   
 JLB photo (2009): 644; Roveda 2002: 243, fig. 262; Roveda 2005: 160, 162, figs 4.5.47-50  
 (also ill. at Jessup and Zephir 1997: 127, fig. 5, Siyonn 2005: 139, fig. 44, Kam 2000: 37, Laur 2002, Ly 2005:161 fig.11, and Krishnan 2010: 52 [own photo], etc.)

“Some images in the pediments of Banteay Srei may have been literally copied at Angkor Wat. The Banteay Srei Ravana (in the act of shaking Mount Kailasa) is the same [as] that in Angkor’s south-western corner pavilion (S. 5)”

[*We dispute Roveda’s contention; BACK VIEW, stepped mountain, Umā clings to Śiva, quite unlike AW S. 5*]: Roveda 2002: 244

E *gopura*, outer E side, detached pediment (superstructure gone), tympanum:

abduction by Virādha: Laur 2002

W *gopura*, E face:  
Vālin fights Sugrīva; death of Vālin JLB photo (2009): 650; Roveda 2005: 125, fig. 4.4.38

2nd enclosure, W *gopura*, E façade, lintel tympanum:

Sugrīva and Vālin: Laur 2002; Ly 2005: 165 fig.16

Central shrine, W façade, lintel above false door:

Virādha with spear abducts Sītā, shot by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa  
(“foliage cutting across the scene horizontally is interspersed with four equidistant *garuda* heads” Laur 2002)  
 JLB photo (2009): 648-49; Roveda 2002: 242, fig. 261; Roveda 2005: 347, fig. 10.113;   
 Ly 2005: 169 figs 21-22

[*Virādha or Rāvaṇa*] Roveda 2002: 244

[*Kam: Holding a spear, Ravana abducts Sita and flies away with her on a monster headed creature (right), but Jatayu intervenes and tries to rescue Sita (left)*: Kam 2000: 117]

Central shrine, N façade, lintel above false door:

Sugrīva and Vālin; both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa take aim

JLB photo (2009): 647; Roveda 2005: 125, fig. 4.4.39; Laur 2002; Ly 2005: 166 figs 17-18

detached relief:  
Virādha abducts Sītā [*spear broken*]; Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa both attack him [*weapons not visible*] JLB photo (2009): 639; Roveda 2005: 120, fig. 4.4.14; Siyonn 2005: 116, fig. 9

*also*: Sugrīva and Vālin fight [*Roveda: ferocious hand-to-hand combat*]: Roveda 2002: 244

[*? same as one on central shrine?*  *Kam:* *Amidst swirls of vegetation representing a forest, Rama aims his arrow as Sugriva and Vali fight with each other*]: Kam 2000: 127

Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa return to Ayodhyā in *puṣpaka*: Roveda 2002: 244

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**Sambor Prei Kuk, S group** (mainly 7C)  
[*Sambor Prek Kuk (Kampong Thom province, on E bank of Tonle Sap): ancient Īśānapura, capital of Chenla kingdom, with northern and southern groups built under Īśānavarman I (r. 616-37); site of inscription relating to erection of statue of Jaimini (i.e. Vālmīki)*]

enclosure wall, medallion kneeling Hanumān presents object to Sītā:  
 Siyonn 2005: 126-27, fig. 22

**Preah Vihear** (early 9th century onwards)

[*On Cambodia–Thailand border, recently best approached from Thailand because of landmines; disputed territory; known to Thais as* Khao Phra Viharn; *site of inscription (K. 383) which mentions Sūryavarman II’s installation by the purohita Divākara; built on a north-south axis; listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2008*]

3rd *gopura*, S door, lintel:  
Rāma returns to Ayodhyā on *haṃsa*-borne *puṣpaka*:  
 Roveda 2005: 140, 143, 356-57, figs 4.4.106, 10.165

**Tuol Pallank** (now in Battambang Provincial Museum), lintel, mid 10C  
Rāvaṇa at Kailāsa; Rāvaṇa has 1 head, 10 arms Giteau 1967-68: 595-96

**Bhumi Ur Ta gi** (Battambang prov., now in Bodhi Val Pagoda Museum), lintel, 10 C  
Rāvaṇa at Kailāsa; Rāvaṇa has 10 heads, 20 arms; front view; Śaiva context, including monkey-headed Nandikeśvara Giteau 1967-68: 595-99

**Prāsāt Khna Sen Keo** (Prāsād Khnār Saen Kaev, Kompong Thom province, 11th century)  
reliefs on walls of *maṇḍapa* (**see** Loizeau 2010: 5-6 for details)

**Prāsād Paṅguoy** (Bângkôy; on route between Aṅgkor and Kok Ker), eastern lintel of east entrance to North prāsād shows R. + L. + S. seated on a mountain and fallen lintel nearby shows *vānaras* fighting Kumbhakarṇa (**see** Boulbet et Dagens 1973: 31)

**Vat Baset** (Battambang prov.)

detached lintel: combat of Vālin and Sugrīva, c. 1075-1125, 69 × 152 × 35 cm.   
(own photo; ill. at Jessup and Zephir 1997: 250-51, no. 63 and McGill 2016: 70-71, no 32)  
 Guimet MG18218

**Banteay Chmar** (Banteay Mean Chey prov.; 110 km NE of Angkor): temple built in reign of Jayavarman VII (late C12 to early C13)

E pavilion, lintel:  
Brahmā visits Vālmīki; mating crane shot by hunter:  
 Roveda 2005: 116-17, 439, 442, figs 4.4.01-2, 10.794; Siyonn 2005: 104, fig.1

E pavilion, N inner door, pediment:  
Rāma shoots Rāvaṇa: Roveda 2005: 136, 139, 439, 442, figs 4.4.101, 10.799

2nd enclosure, pediment:  
Rāvaṇa shakes Kailāsa: Roveda 2005: 443, fig. 10.803

the temple has two internal pediments identified (Green 2013) as showing Rāmāyaṇa scenes – a seated Rāvaṇa flanked on right by two small figures (figs 1-3, but claimed to be Hevajra in Sharrock 2015a and 2015b) and Rāma killing Śambūka (fig. 13, interpreted however by Roveda as Kṛṣṇa beheading Śiśupāla) – also other reliefs showing Rāma killing Rāvaṇa, perhaps Rāma, Sītā and the golden deer, Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa (or multiheaded Agni?) and possibly more (Green 2013)

from Sharrock 2015b:

p. 99 – on lintel at east entrance to central sanctuary “It depicts the introduction to the classic Sanskrit version of the *Ramayana* epic, where its author Valmiki recounts how he was weeping at the sound of a sarus crane that had just lost its mate to a hunter’s arrow, when Brahma appeared and told him that it he had so much feeling for a bird, he should go and write the story of Rama. Sadly the absence of security in Banteay Chhmar in the recent past has led to the heads of Valmiki and the hunter being hacked off by a looter. The heads were still present in a 1962 photograph taken by Michael Vickery.” [small before and after photographs (b+w) at foot of page]

pp. 104-6 – Hevajra / Rāvaṇa pediment; notes (p. 105) “But Ravana appears unmistakably on the fire shrine of the next section of Banteay Chhmar where he has a tower of 20 fierce heads and his legs are braced sideways as he shakes Shiva’s mountain. This is the standard form of Ravana in the art of the Angkor Wat and Bayon periods. But the deity in the ‘hall with dancers’ has Hevajra’s eight heads and they are the exact ix of smiling and fierce heads described in the *Hevajra-tantra.*”

p.107 – “The ‘hall with dancers’ has an innovative convention of a bearded harpist signalling a Brahmanical epic as in the Valmiki scene at the entrance to the hall. On a wall facing the ‘Hevajra’ pediment, there is a lintel with Hanuman, Sita and Rama seated around Shiva. This lintel may be illustrating a version of the *Ramayana* when Shiva is asked why he does not defend his devotee Ravana from destruction by Rama, and the god replies nothing can be done once a god (Vishnu in the form of Rama) has decided upon destruction.”

p.108 – “Yet another *Ramayana* scene appears above another doorway in which Rama’s brother Lakshmana finally killed Ravana’s seemingly invincible son Indrajit in the battle of Lanka, and three goddesses instantly blossom like flowers on the island tree above them.” [plus photo by David Green]

p.109 [continuous with previous quote] “Proceeding towards the central sanctuaries and face-towers, there is a dramatic pediment of the polycephalic and angry Ravana (sundered here by the force of nature rther than Shiva) who crouches and applies the power of multiple arms to Shiva’s mountain.” [there is a large crack across centre of sculpture] lower on p. 109 notes that Maxwell has read an inscription on door of fire shrine as *śaka* 1138(= 1216 A.D.), so dating this part at least of complex.

**Vat Ek** (5 miles/12 km N of Batambang, built early C11)  
E entrance of main sanctuary: meeting of Hanumān with Sītā (*rākṣasīs* round her)   
 Roveda 2005: 129-30, fig. 4.4.64, (cf. Filliozat 1983: 200)

**Prāsāt Kuk Khvet** (Ke Koh village, Kampong Cham, perhaps C12)  
E. entrance lintel shows Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in *nāgapāśa* surrounded by *vānaras* and in centre Garuḍa. Dalet 1935: 155-6 + plates XXX-XXXI

**Beng Mealea**(c. 40 km E of Angkor, C12 by style): some Rāmāyaṇa carvings

**Siem Reap, Vat Bo (end 19th C)**

Hanuman et Angada prisonniers sont enfermés dans une cage Nafilyan 1997: 12 pl.12

l’épreuve de l’arc: Giteau 1975: pl.114

le char de Lakṣmaṇa: Giteau 1975: pl.115

**Siem Reap, Vat Prah Enkosei**

Buddha paré, 1: Giteau 1975: pl.55

Buddha paré 2: Giteau 1975: pl.63

**Battambang, bas-reliefs**

[*SW of Siem Reap, on river Stung Sangker, one-third of way towards Gulf of Thailand*]

**Vat Damrei Sar (19/20th CC)**:

combat de Lakṣmaṇa contre Indrajit: Giteau 1975: pl.96

**Vat Kdol (19/20th CC)**

Reine des Poissons: Giteau 1975: pl.97

Valin ? et un ascète: Giteau 1975: pl.98

Hanuman réconforte Sītā: Giteau 1975: pl.99  
Kumbhakarṇa dams river with his body Giteau 1995: fig. 6

**Silver Pagoda, Royal Palace, Phnom Penh:** modern murals by Oknha Tep Nimit Mak (cf. Giteau 2003)

**Vat Phnom Chisor (Ta Kèo province):** 20th-century Rāmakerti paintings, destroyed during the coup that created the Khmer Republic under Lon Nol in 1970 (cf. Giteau 2003).

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**Phnom Dà** statue of Rāma as standing archer: **see** above

Flying Hanumān bronze, 10th century, Koh Ker style, 15.2 × 15 × 7 cm., from eastern pavilion of **Prāsāt Ceṅ** (Koh Ker, Preah Vihear prov.) Cleveland 1987.43

Sculpture in the round of Vālin and Sugrīva from **Prāsāt Ceṅ** (Koh Ker, Preah Vihear prov.), 2nd quarter of C10, sandstone, 2.87 m. high, in National Museum of Cambodia (Ka 1664) [Filliozat 1983: 200; Loizeau 2021: 87-88; illustrated at Jessup and others 2006: 58 no. 33]

Sculpture of Gaṇeśa, C7-8, 29 × 25 inches (National Museum of Cambodia, returned by Denver Art Museum [**q.v.**])

military standard in monkey form (Hanumān?) from **Prasat Phnom Bayang**, Takeo,   
late C12 – early C13, bronze, 17.7 cm. high, in National Museum of Cambodia (Ga 5472) [illustrated at Jessup and others 2006: 96 no. 71]

**Shadow puppet** of Hanumān wooing Punnakay/Benyakai, 1973, 146 × 103 cm.  
(ill. at McGill 2016: 192-3, no. 102) Guimet MA3708

**Shadow puppet** of Rāvaṇa in his palace, 1973, 176 × 138 cm. Guimet MA3645  
(ill. at McGill 2016: 215-6, no 107)

**object (and medium)** reliefs

**location (original/present)** Prambanan (and elsewhere), Java, Indonesia

**date** mid 9th century onwards

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**notes** For derivation of Prambanan reliefs not from Kakawin but from proto-HSR **see** Robson 1980: 12-13, citing Stutterheim (unlike Panataran reliefs, which do represent Kakawin, so had by that time become the predominant version). **photocopy**cf. Saran and Khanna 2004: 137-38 (correspondences between *HSR* and Prambanan)

An inscription (D.28 in the Nasional Museum, Jakarta, often called the Śivagṛha inscription) dated *śaka* 778 (= 856 A.D.) records, as seems very probable, its consecration by Rakai Pikatan to celebrate his victory over his enemy Bālaputra, after possibly a lengthy period of construction (Jordaan 1996: 23-25; cf. Christie 2015: 52-53); the OJ part of this inscription (the Sanskrit part is illegible) is the first example of OJ poetry influenced by Sanskrit *kāvya* poetics, while Rakai Pikatan is referred to in the later parts of the *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin*.

**“**While the captions of Kats's 1923 book were those of P.V. van Stein Callenfels (which had previously also been used by Maria Lulius van Goor in her **Korte Gids** [Short Guide] of 1919 and in the reprint of 1924), the captions in Kats's separate publication of [1925] are slightly different because of their accommodation to some of Stutterheim's views.” (Roy Jordaan by e-mail, 24 Apr 2017)

“Hanoman becomes more prominent in later times also in Java, at least in East Javanese temple reliefs (but he never reached the status of a god, and I do not see erotic tendencies). Whether there was a corresponding textual tradition is still a matter of further research.” (Willem van der Molen by e-mail to MB on 25th July 2017)

Raghavan 1975: 102-3 – “. . . *the stones being swallowed by the fishes.* It has been pointed out that this incident is known to two Indian Sanskrit sources on the *Rāmāyaṇa-*story, the Prākṛt poem *Setubandha* of Pravarasena and the play *Bālarāmāyaṇa* of Rājaśekhara. But it must be mentioned that in neither the Prākṛt poem [VII.9] nor the play [VII.52] is any such incident described; but in the course of the rhetorical description of the sea, both works have a fancy, one among several of the kind, that some rocks thrown into the waters disappeared into the mouths of a whale or whales.

**Prambanan** (Central Java)**:**

Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan: relief of encounter with Tāṭakā at Krishnan 2010: 77 + 82; of Śūrpaṇakhā rejected by Lakṣmaṇa, at Krishnan 2010: 85; of death of Kabandha, at Krishnan 2010: 87.   
Listing of subjects of reliefs at Suryanarayan 2008: 6.

Levin 2000 notes that the Loro Jonggrang sculptors conveyed meaning by same gestures and postures as those prescribed in *nāṭya* and that the *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin* has now been dated to early 10th C, only a few decades after Loro Jonggrang.

Ramseyer 1977 p. 57 – The story of Rāmāyaṇa forms the thematic basis not only of numerous temple reliefs in Java and Bali, performances of the *wayang wong* (*wayang* with human actors) and a special genre of shadow play—*wayang rāmāyaṇa—,* but also of innumerable paintings and more recent dramatic creations (the subject of the *kècak* dance, the Rāmāyaṇa ballet).

Saran and Khanna 2004: 137-38 – notes correspondences between *HSR* and Prambanan.

Saran and Khanna 2004: 200 “The presence of mourning women in the battlefield is another Javanese touch. ... The Prambanan Ramayana ... dedicates several reliefs to this subject when Kumbhakarna and Ravana die. The mourning of Dasharatha’s death by his widow Kaushalya is also shown, even though he did not die in battle.

Levin 2009: 3 + n.9 – [*Prambanan has no depiction of Rāvaṇa being killed*] “In parts of Southeast Asia Rawana’s death is considered inauspicious and therefore its portrayal is taboo. In Malaysia, when it is interpreted, it is always accompanied by rituals to ensure that the spirits will be appeased and not be disturbed by the portrayal of death. Of greatest relevance to Loro Jonggrang is that Rawana’s death is rarely performed in Java as the death of a ruler would infer the passing of the legitimacy of the government in power.”

Levin 2009: 9 – Similar ending, with Rāma, Sītā, Lava and Kuśa united, found in Bhavabhūti’s *Uttararāmacarita*. [MB: *inter alia in various SE Asian versions*]

Levin 2009: 10 – [Artists] “may have created a version of the *Ramayana* that heightened its significance on the surfaces of sacred shrines embodying aspects of a deceased ruler. The story of Sita and her need to fulfill her earthly obligations [*returning to Ayodhyā rather than escaping to Earth*], the expanded details of Rama’s execution of *artha* and *dharma*, and the continuation of the next generation may have particularly reverberated with the donors of this temple complex.”

Totton 2013: 144 — “. . . The *Ramayana* narrative reliefs begin on Candi Siwa and continue on Candi Brahma . . . . . . All of the narrative panels are placed approximately five inches from the floor and are no more than thirty inches high. Although viewers today bend down to peer at the scenes, the very low placement of these reliefs suggests that ninth-century worshippers would have had to slowly “walk” before these reliefs on their haunches — much like servants and subordinates of Javanese aristocrats have done for centuries in order to keep their heads below their superiors — to fully appreciate all the details of each scene.”

Śaiva Prambanan can be seen as a Sañjaya response to Caṇḍi Borobudur, begun by the Śailendras, though probably completed under Sañjaya patronage. Also relevant in relation to royal patronage is an early-10th-century gold bowl of a type produced for royal distribution as part of the Wonoboyo hoard (found c. 5 km east of Prambanan); this is decorated with scenes in repoussé work centring on Sītā’s abduction (van der Molen 2003; Levin 2008: 96-98).

Stutterheim 1925: I Plates; II Discussion.

Plates 1-87 include dispersed panels later replaced on Brahmā temple; reproductions are far clearer than any others we have.

Śiva temple

**Kats 1925**, *modified by MB and JLB, spelling regularised*

1 The petition to Viṣṇu for help against Rāvaṇa. Viṣṇu is sitting on the world snake which arises out of sea in which numerous animals may be seen. Garuḍa offers Viṣṇu a lotus. [cf. Saran and Khanna 2004: 38; Vogel 1921 / 1996]

2 Viśvāmitra visits Daśaratha who is in the garden of his palace with his chief wife, his 4 sons and his daughter. 2 crows steal *pāyasa* (so Jordaan pending).  
 [cf. Saran and Khanna 2004: 38-39]

3 Daśaratha greets Viśvāmitra. [cf. Saran and Khanna 2004: 39]

4 Rāma kills the giantess Tāṭakā.   
 [cf. Saran and Khanna 2004: 40; Loizeau 2010b: 82, fig. 2]

5 All have arrived at Viśvāmitra’s cloister. The hermits make offerings while Rāma defeats the *rākṣasas*, shooting Mārīca into the sea and killing the other.  
 [cf. Saran and Khanna 2004: 40-41]

6 Viśvāmitra, Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma and Janaka. Urged by Viśvāmitra, Rāma agrees to bend the magical bow [*wonderboog*] of Janaka. He does this in the second part of the scene where Sītā may also be seen. [cf. Saran and Khanna 2004: 41]

7 After his marriage, Rāma with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa go on their journey home. On the way they meet Paraśurāma, who has heard that Rāma had bent Janaka’s bow, and who challenges Rāma to fight to the death and to bend his bow.  
 [cf. Saran and Khanna 2004: 41-42 (panels 7-8)]

8 Rāma bends Paraśurāma’s bow and thereby defeats him.

9 Daśaratha has decided to dedicate Rāma as king. Kaikeyī [*snuggling up amorously to Daśaratha*] claims from him the banishment of Rāma and the appointment of her son Bharata as king.

[*Identification of figures disputed by Jordaan (private communication) but confirmed by Stutterheim’s reproduction: figure on left is clearly male (Jordaan: female): body, headdress, ornaments, halo; 2 pairs of birds on roof emphasise what is happening — 1 pair are billing; other pair has each bird looking directly at one figure. Daśaratha is always shown without beard. Only other possibility is that the figures represent Rāma and Sītā happily anticipating their installation amidst preparations and before aborted installation.*]

10 **Bharata is consecrated king** accompanied by music and dancing.  
 [cf. Saran and Khanna 2004: 42-43 (panels 9-10)]

11 After Rāma’s banishment Daśaratha and Kausalyā are left sorrowing in the palace.

12 Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa leave the capital.

13 Preparations for cremating Daśaratha’s body; Kausalyā and Bharata are seen giving presents to *brāhmans*.

14 Bharata finds Rāma in the wilderness and tries to induce him to return and be king. Rāma refuses but gives Bharata his sandals.

15 Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa are seen going through the forest. Sītā is stolen by Virādha but rescued by the brothers.

16 Rāma, Sītā and crow [as Kats]: Sītā has hung some venison to dry on the branches of a tree, here seen with 2 mandrils [*neusapen*] looking from between the branches. A crow tries to steal some meat and Sītā tries to drive it away. The crow attacks Sītā who runs to Rāma who shoots his Brahmā arrow at the crow. The bird flies away but is followed everywhere by the wonderful Brahmā arrow and at last returns to Rāma. The arrow must however hit its mark somewhere and Rāma gives the crow the choice of where it will be struck. The crow asks that one of its eyes may be pierced. The arrow pierces the head of the crow, which is, however [*helaas*] broken off.

[*Kats’s description applies only to the right-hand half of the panel: left-hand half has Rāma and Sītā seated in hut with naked wild man (?ascetic) seated on ground beside them*.]

17 Giantess Śūrpaṇakhā has transformed herself into a beautiful lady and sends presents to Rāma to win his love.

*or:* Sītā is picking flowers close by, as in *Kakawin*: Levin 2000: 67

18 Rāma has sent Śūrpaṇakhā to Lakṣmaṇa who also sends her away. [*or is that Rāvaṇa??* [***No Khara episode; no mutilation***] [cf. Loizeau 2010b: 85, fig. 7]

19 Sītā guarded by Lakṣmaṇa while Rāma follows golden deer.

20 Rāma shoots golden deer. Mārīca appears from stricken deer.

21 Sītā abducted by Rāvaṇa [1 head, 2 arms], upsetting his *brāhman*’s sunshade, rice pot and fly whisk. [cf. Krishnan 2021: 125, fig. 6.1]

22 Duel between Rāvaṇa [multi-armed / headed] and Jaṭāyus. **Sītā gives ring to Jaṭāyus [*an incident seen only in the modern wayang stories*:Kats]**

23 **Dying Jaṭāyus gives Sītā’s ring to despairing Rāma.**

24 Rāma **shoots Kabandha while Lakṣmaṇa watches. [No long arms. Kabandha has face in stomach, but normal head as well]** The celestial being who had been imprisoned in his body ascends to heaven **seated on lotus.** [cf.Loizeau 2010b: 87, fig. 9]

25 Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa go further through the forest and **shoot a crocodile, really a heavenly nymph upon whom a curse has fallen** [*Kats thinks this incident borrowed from MBh, where it is narrated of Arjuna; but N.B. Hanumān and Kālanemi* ?]

26 Meeting between Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān. Then they go separate ways.

27 Lakṣmaṇa brings water to thirsty Rāma; **the water is shown as being produced by Sugrīva’s flood of tears**. Rāma meets Sugrīva and promises help.

28 Seven *sāls* [not on snake]

29 First fight between Vālin and Sugrīva while Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa look on.

30 Rāma shoots Vālin.

31 Sugrīva enthroned as king, wife beside him, monkeys take their pleasure.

32-33 Rāma, Sugrīva and Lakṣmaṇa meet and hold council.

34 Sugrīva respectfully suggests sending out search parties; internal scene with *vānaras*

35 Hanumān listens concealed to *rākṣasas* abusing Sītā

36 ?? Hanumān speaking to Sītā and attendant surrounded by luxury items

37 Hanumān having his tail bound in rags

38 Hanumān jumping free and setting fire to house roof with his tail

39 Hanumān back from Laṅkā tells Rāma, Sugrīva and Lakṣmaṇa of his exploits

40 Rāma angry at non-appearance of Ocean; Ocean appears and placates him.  
**no Vibhīṣaṇa**

41 Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva watch as *vānaras* build causeway; **sea creatures try to remove rocks**. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sugrīva and monkeys cross causeway.

**Saran and Khanna 2004**: 37-78 *captions, with alternatives.*

1 The gods approach Vishnu for help against Ravana.

2 The anticipated visit of the sage Vishwamitra to Dasharatha’s court.

3 Vishwamitra in King Dasharatha’s court.

4 Rama kills the demoness Tadaka.

5 Rama defends the hermitage against Maricha and Subahu.

6 Rama wins Sita’s hand.

7, 8 Confrontation with Parashurama.

9, 10 Kaikeyi demands that her son Bharata and not Rama be consecrated as *yuvaraja*, even as preparations for Rama’s consecration are taking place.

11 Dasharata and Kaushalya grieving.

12 Rama, Sita and Lakshmana leaving for their forest exile.

13 The cremation of Dasharatha.

14 Bharata receives Rama’s sandals.

15 The killing of Viradha.

16 The punishing of a bird.

17,18 The Shurpanakha episode. [*Most authorities identify figure on right as Śūrpaṇakhā; alternative* Sītā is picking flowers close by, as in *Kakawin*: Levin 2000: 67; *Sītā comforted by Rāma, 18 left, with ‘attendant’ as beautiful Śūrpaṇakhā’s rākṣasa alter ego; is that Lakṣmaṇa or Rāvaṇa ??* ***no******Khara episode*** MB]

19, 20 Rama shoots Maricha disguised as a golden deer.

21 Ravana, disguised as a holy man, seizes Sita.

22 Jatayu’s valiant effort to rescue Sita.

23 The dying Jatayu gives Sita’s ring to Rama.

24 Rama kills Kabandha.

25 [*Rāma shoots crocodile; richly-dressed woman identified [but without conviction] by Saran and Khanna as Śabarī*]

26 Rama and Lakshmana meet Hanuman.

27 Rama and Lakshmana meet Sugriva [*tears*].

28 Rama displays his strength.

29 Sugriva’s duel with Vali.

30 Rama shoots Vali.

31 Sugriva regains the throne.

32-33 Rama discusses the future course of action with Lakshmana and Sugriva.

34 Sugriva’s apology to Rama. Rama dispatches Hanuman to Lanka.

35 Hanuman begins his search in Lanka.

36 Hanuman meets Sita.

37, 38 Hanuman, his tail set alight by *rakshasas*, burns down Lanka.

39 His mission complete, Hanuman reports to Rama.

40 Rama and the God of the Seas, Sagara [*cf. Jordaan 2009:* goddess]

41 The construction of the causeway.

42 Rama and Lakshmana and the monkey army led by Sugriva joyfully arrive in Lanka.

Brahmā temple

**Saran and Khanna 2004**: 37-78 *captions, with alternatives.*

1 Vibhishana defects to Rama’s camp and a strategy to rescue Sita is planned.   
[cf. Fontein 1997: 195]

2 Rama’s envoy Angada on his way to Ravana’s palace. [cf. Fontein 1997: 195

3 Angada in Ravana’s court. [*identification? vānara not sitting on coiled tail, not higher than Rāvaṇa; perhaps attacked by rākṣasas*; cf. Fontein 1997: 195-96]

4 Monkeys on the march.

5 On the eve of battle. [*? bearded Vibhīṣaṇa advising army*; cf. Fontein 1997: 195]

6 Indrajit attacks Rama and Lakshmana with *nāgapāśa*. [*? watched by bearded Vibhīṣaṇa*; cf. Fontein 1997: 195]

7 Preliminary battle between Rama, Lakshmana and Ravana. [cf. Fontein 1997: 195]

8 The awakening of Kumbhakarna. [cf. Fontein 1997: 195]

9 The fall of Kumbhakarna. [cf. Fontein 1997: 195]

10 The lamentation for Kumbhakarna. [cf. Fontein 1997: 195]

11 Queen Mandodari and Sita being informed of the triumph of Rama and the death of Ravana. [cf. Fontein 1997: 195; Levin 2000, pl.49]

12 Mandodarī and 3 concubines mourn dead Rāvaṇa. [*final battle, killing not depicted*;   
cf. Fontein 1997: 195; Levin 2000: 154]

13 Agastya in Ayodhyā [*reciting deeds of Rāvaṇa:* **see** Levin 2009: 3-4, Levin 2011: 154-55]

14 Rama and Sita reunited. [cf. Fontein 1997: 196; Levin 2011: 156]

15 Rama enthroned in Ayodhya. [cf. Fontein 1997: 196; Levin 2011: 156]

16 Scandalous gossip concerning Sita. [cf. Fontein 1997: 196; Levin 2011: 156]

17 Lakshmana escorts Sita to the forest. [cf. Fontein 1997: 197; Levin 2011: 157]

18 Lakshmana reveals to Sita the purpose of their journey. [cf. Fontein 1997: 197; Levin 2000, pl.48; Levin 2011: 157]

19 Sita wanders alone in the forest. . [cf. Fontein 1997: 197; Levin 2011: 157-58]

20 Sita arrives in Valmiki’s hermitage [or: *Sītā giving birth while Śatrughna sleeps; Vālmīki performs birth ritual, Levin 2009*] . [cf. Fontein 1997: 197; Levin 2011: 158]

21 Sita gives birth to 1 child. . [cf. Fontein 1997: 197; Levin 2011: 158]

22 Celebrations in connection with the birth. . [cf. Levin 2011: 158-9]

23 Sita with her child gathering fruit in the forest. . [cf. Fontein 1997: 197; Levin 2011: 159]

24 Rama’s brothers in combat with a *rakshasa* [*identification tentative; or Lava and Kuśa fight demon? or Lava and Kuśa fight Rāma’s brothers?*]. [cf. Fontein 1997: 198; Levin 2011: 159]

25 Rama hears of his sons from his brothers; sets out himself. [cf. Levin 2011: 161]

26 Rama meets his sons as wandering ascetics. [cf. Levin 2011: 161-62]

27 Lava and Kusha sing the story of Rama as composed by Valmiki in the presence of their father. [cf. Fontein 1997: 198; Levin 2011: 162-63]

28 Valmiki recounts to Rama all that has happened.   
[cf. Fontein 1997: 198; Levin 2011: 163]

29 Rama reunited with his sons. [cf. Fontein 1997: 198; Levin 2011: 163]

30 A scene of celebration sages feast. [cf. Levin 2011: 163]

Viṣṇu temple

1,2 Rāma, Sītā, Lava and Kuśa in Ayodhyā [Levin 2011: 163]

**Musée Guimet** MA 51, from Prambanan (C8-9): Agastya: standing statue, volcanic stone

**Panataran** (highlands of East Java, c. 12 km NE of Blitar, on SW slope of Kelud volcano; also known as Palah): built over a period of more than two and a half centuries; its earliest associated date is 1197, and the latest is 1454. The main temple of Candi Panataran (Candi Induk, dating from 1347, and thought to be the personal temple of King Hayam Wuruk, the great king of Majapahit) ascends in three large terraces that bear sculptured reliefs on their walls (106 *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on the first terrace in counterclockwise order starting and ending on the north side).

Saran and Khanna 2004: **own copy; analyse 126-30; cf. Kats 1925: notes**

Markel 1989: 64 – “... ... The reliefs on the first terrace illustrate episodes from the Old Javanese rendition of the Indian epic, the *Ramayana.* The scenes begin with the arrival on the island of Lanka of the monkey-general Hanuman, who was engaged in a scouting mission in search of the kidnapped Princess Sita, and end with the death of the gargantuan demon, Kumbhakarna (Fig. 8 [= Hanumān burning Laṅkā]). The story is illustrated by 106 narrative panels carved in low relief with figures in the style of the puppets used in Balinese shadow theatre (*wayang*).”

Stutterheim 1925: Plates 105-210 reproduce Panataran panels.

Panataran reliefs celebrate the achievements of Hanumān, popular hero in E Java (cf. Klokke 2006: 395, 400; Kieven 2013: 221-35)

For derivation from Kakawin (unlike Prambanan reliefs, which do not represent Kakawin) **see**Robson 1980: 12-13 (**photocopy**).

**Kats 1925**, *modified by MB and JLB, spelling regularised: numbering as on site*

94 Hanumān marching through Laṅkā

[Stutterheim 1928: 105: Hanumat auf seinem Spähergang auf Laṅkā]

95 Rāvaṇa with 2 wives.

96 treasure chamber in Rāvaṇa’s palace

97 Hanumān hidden in tree under which stands watchmen [?? or Rāvaṇa]

98 Rāvaṇa threatens Sītā Saran and Khanna 2004: fig. 3

99 Sītā comforted by *rākṣasī* [? Trijaṭā] Saran and Khanna 2004: fig. 4

100 Hanumān addresses Sītā and Trijaṭā Saran and Khanna 2004: fig. 5

101 Sītā and Trijaṭā in 3-storey pagoda after Hanumān has left

102 demon (*buta*)

103 rocks

104 Hanumān standing

105 Hanumān and *buta*

106 female *buta*

1 *buta*

2 Hanumān attacked by 3 *butas*

3 *butas* fight Hanumān

4 Hanumān defeats *butas*

5–6 Hanumān kills many *butas* (5: Hanumān standing on a heap of demon corpses; 6: demon killed by Hanumān’s magic)Saran and Khanna 2004: 126, fig.6

7 fleeing *buta* passes shrine

8 fleeing *buta*

9 *buta* reports to Rāvaṇa

10 Rāvaṇa’s minister or general

11 2 *butas* march out

12 2 *butas* attack

13 gigantic Hanumān stands on gate lintel; *buta* beneath Saran and Khanna 2004: fig. 7

14 Hanumān belabours *butas* with tree trunk

15 *buta* reinforcements

16 Hanumān defeats *buta* and elephant

17 fleeing *butas*

18 dead *butas*

19 Hanumān defeating *buta* chief

20 reinforcements

21 fleeing messenger

22–23 messenger reports to Rāvaṇa and council

24–25 giant *buta* sent with companions

26 giant *buta* arrives

27 *butas* attack

28 *butas* dead and wounded

29 Hanumān defeats giant

30 messenger flees

31–32 *butas*

33 Hanumān assailed by weapons

34 Hanumān defeats [Akṣa]

35 Hanumān on way to sea

36 Hanumān bathes in sea Saran and Khanna 2004: fig. 8

37 Hanumān flies back to battle ground

38 frightened wildlife

39 Hanumān destroys *aśokavana*

40 Hanumān awaits new enemies

41 *buta* corpses

42 Indrajit rides out to battle on multi-headed horse, accompanied by *butas*

43 Hanumān hit by Indrajit’s snake-arrow Saran and Khanna 2004: fig. 9

44 snake arrow winds itself round Hanumān [*Hanumān like a roll of carpet*] Saran and Khanna 2004: 10 [*? or no. 45*]

45 Indrajit returns; *butas* carry captive Hanumān

46 Hanumān brought before Rāvaṇa

47 Rāvaṇa’s minister

48 Indrajit

49 Hanumān’s tail set ablaze; he springs free

50 Rāvaṇa startled, draws sword Saran and Khanna 2004: fig. 11 [*? or no. 53*]

51 Laṅkā set ablaze

52 Hanumān on roof of blazing building

53 Rāvaṇa and wives flee

54 Hanumān flies through city

55 Hanumān takes leave of Sītā and Trijaṭā Saran and Khanna 2004: fig. 12

56 Hanumān jumping over sea

57 Hanumān greeted by Jāmbavān and *vānaras*

58 Hanumān reports to Rāma and Sugrīva

59 Sugrīva and other monkey leaders

60–64 march to Laṅkā:

60 *vānaras*

61 Aṅgada

62 Hanumān and Sugrīva

63 monkeys with provisions

64 Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma

65 *vānaras* bring boulders to build causeway

66 Hanumān and Sugrīva throw boulders into sea

67 Aṅgada and other *vānara* chiefs

68 Hanumān and Sugrīva

69 Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma

70 *vānara* army with standards and war gong

71 *vānara* army with banners

72 *vānara* soldiers

73–75 *vānara* chiefs

76 Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with *vānaras*

77–78 *vānara* troops on march

79 Rāvaṇa’s court

80–81 Rāvaṇa orders generals to attack

82–84 Rāvaṇa’s troops on march

85–90 battles

91 Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān

92 Kumbhakarṇa defeating *vānaras*

93 Aṅgada prepares to attack

[Stutterheim 1928: 210: Aṅgada striking Kumbhakarṇa (*from above / behind*)]

(Panataran cont.)

Saran and Khanna 2004: 125-29 *captions, with Kats’ alternative numbering [as site].*

3 Ravana threatening Sita. Kats 1925: 98

4 Sita weeping in agony. Kats 1925: 99

5 Hanuman seated before Sita; Trijata in attendance. Kats 1925: 100

6 Hanuman annihilates his adversaries. **IDENTIFY** Kats 1925:

7 Hanuman defending himself through magical powers. Kats 1925: 13

8 Hanuman bathes in the sea. Kats 1925: 36

9 Hanuman, his thigh pierced by an arrow. Kats 1925: 43

10 Hanuman encoiled in *nagapasha.* Kats 1925: 44 *or ?45*

11 Ravana and his wives fleeing. Kats 1925: 50 *or ?53*

12 Hanuman bids Sita farewell. Kats 1925: 55

illustrations of Rāmāyaṇa reliefs at Panataran in Hall 1996 [two; **download**], Krishnan 2021: 128, fig. 6.4

**Borobudur** (8th-9th cent.) relief of Siddhārtha winning his bride (≈ shooting 7 sāls) at Krishnan 2010: 57

*Caption of Borobudur relief V&A IM.172-1926, room 18*

The Buddha competes in an archery contest

plaster cast of original relief of 700-800

Borobudur, Java

This relief depicts a scene from the life of the Buddha. It shows Prince Siddhartha competing with other young men for the hand of the Princess Yashodhara. He stands in the centre of the group, balancing an arrow and shaded by an umbrella of royalty. On the extreme right sits his father, King Shuddhodhana.

[*Composite, showing a figure strenuously ?? succeeding / failing to string bow; archer shooting through 7 stout trees; several male figures with / without arrows; kneeling diminutive female figure holding child on lap*] Borobudur relief V&A IM.172-1926

The caption’s identification of the king as Shuddhodhana is puzzling: it seems more natural at a *svayaṃvara* for the figure to represent the potential bride’s father rather than the suitor’s father. The panel is clearly a composite, so how many of the figures represent Siddhartha, and how many are the unsuccessful suitors?  The parasol marks out the central figure as Siddhartha, and the one shooting the arrow through the trees is also obviously him, but is the one on the left trying to string the bow also him, or an unsuccessful suitor?  Is the kneeling female figure with the child on the left of the group intended as a [future!] view of Yaśodharā and Rahula?

**See** also for Borobudur: Foucaux, Ph. Ed. (trans.) 1884-92: Le Lalita Vistara: développement des jeux, contenant l’histoire du Bouddha Çakya-mouni depuis sa naissance jusqu’à sa prédication, 2 vols, Annales du Musée Guimet 6 (1884) and 19 (1892). **(Ind) per. gen. d. 94; photocopy***Lalita Vistara* has story of Śakyamuni demonstrating his strength and mastery of weapons, defeating other contestants in front of both fathers in Kapilavastu *inter alia* by lifting and stringing bow (noise frightens citizens), shooting through 7 *tālas* and iron figure of boar (cf. Arjuna in *MBh* 1,125.23), arrow disappearing into earth, and winning bride Gōpā; at beginning of contest Śakyamuni has thrown elephant corpse a great distance. Foucaux 1884: 124-42

Javanese tradition has pinpointed the site of Kĕḍaton in the village of Sĕntonorĕjo near Mojoagung as the spot where the royal palace of the Majapahit empire (1293-1520) once stood and excavations in 1930 and 1941 by the Dutch Oudheidkundige Dienst strongly support it (Gomperts and others, 2018).

**Trowulan** (Mojokerto regency, E. Java): SE gate (popularly called Bajangratu, “royal dwarf”) built in 14th century has a relief of Hanumān fighting a *rākṣasa* on the door frame (in same style as Panataran); on detached reliefs from here (or area) see further below.

**Surawana temple, Kediri,** E. Java (built c. 1400) claimed to have Rāmāyaṇa reliefs: **see** piece from Jakarta Post, 22 Aug 2008 in “visual background (non-archive)” folder, **but** contrast Worsley 1986: 337 “. . . There are bas-reliefs on both the foot and the upper section of the temple base [Photo 2]. In both cases they extend along the foot and the upper part of the walls of the western porh and staircase. The reliefs on the foot appear to represent **Tantri** stories or scenes from other similar compendiums of tales. On the larger reliefs on the upper section of the base, scenes from three narratives are depicted. They are the **Arjunawiwāha,** the **Sri Tañjung** and the story of Bubuksa and Gagak-Aking.”

**Penanggungan (**E. Java; E of Mojoagung; c. 50 km S of Surabaya**)**: Rāmāyaṇa reliefs on second level of a terraced sanctuary, one of 81 located mainly on the N and W slopes of the mountain;

Saran and Khanna 2004: 130 — “The last assortment of Ramayana reliefs found in East Java are minor in comparison to Panataran and are carved into the second level of a terraced sanctuary on Mt Penanggunan. Above the terrace are three altars. ... This sanctuary is one of the 81 monuments and lies hidden on its wooded slopes. The reliefs depict the following scenes: Wibhishana kneeling before Rama; Kumbhakarna being aroused from his sleep; while on the pilasters on either side of the steps is depicted a threatening Sugriva, and Kumbhakarna fighting the monkeys.”

cf. Kieven 2013: 313-15 (from p. 313) — “The two long panels on the second terrace illustrate scenes from the *Ramayana*. On the left side of the staircase Rama teaches Wibhisana, the brother of the demon king, the *asta brata*, the eight rules for a righteous king. They are accompanied by Lakshmana, the monkey king Sugriwa, his general Hanuman, and Anggada. On the right panel the demon king, Rahwana, orders the waking up of his other brother, Kumbhakarna. On either side next to the staircase, the left pillar portrays Sugriwa with Hanuman standing behind him, while the right pillar depicts Kumbhakarna who faces the threat of the two monkeys. The third terrace has no long relief panels, but the pillars next to the staircase are again decorated with figures of the *Ramayana* story: on the left-hand side, Sugriwa with Hanuman, the latter on his way to fly across the ocean to Lengka (fig. 10.12); on the right-hand side, Rahwana, who faces the monkeys. [34 The *Ramayana* reliefs have been described and interpreted by Stutterheim (1938:29), but he does not describe the relief panels of the lower terrace. See also Van Romondt 1951:35.] Thus in the depictions on the two upper terraces there is a division between the left side featuring Rama with his followers and the right side featuring the demons.”

**Mantangan mosque** (Tahunan dist., Jepara regency, C. Java): Bennett 2021: 116 —  
“The changing cultural landscape is evident in the widespread destruction of pre-Islamic places of worship with their associated iconography. Renovations of the 16th century Mantingan Mosque in Jepara, Central Java, in 1978-1981, revealed the recycling of stone reliefs, depicting the *Ramayana* epic, apparently from a Hindu temple.383 The *Ramayana* figures had been deliberately defaced and their reverse sides finely carved with the non-figurative decoration for which the mosque is justly famous today.”

383 Replicas of the carved stones depicting the *Ramayana* epic were cast in fiberglass during the restoration project and are now stored in the Ronggowarsito Provincial Museum, Semarang, Central Java.”

Bennett 2021: 252 — “Fig. 2.10. Three figures, including Rama, standing by water, from *Rāmāyaṇa* narrative relief, reverse side of elephant simulacrum panel, presumably 1400- 1500, Mantingan Mosque, Jepara, Central Java, stone.” [not shown in download]

**Javanese reliefs in museums:**

Saran and Khanna 2004: 116-17

**Jakarta** Museum Pusat: relieffrom E Java (c. C11):   
Jalatunda sanctuary [built for king Udayana, C10] relief:   
returning Hanumān leading *vānaras* to report to Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva   
 (**see** Fontein 1973, Saran and Khanna 2004: 116-18)

**MFA Boston**, SE Asian Art on display (also ill. at McGill 2016: 126, no. 62):

**67.1005** Relief representing scenes from the Ramayana: Śūrpaṇakha [?]; Sītā welcomes Rāvaṇa; abduction (cf. Fontein 1990: 150-1)

tuffa, E. Java, Majapahit period, C11-12; 39.3 × 77.4 cm /15.5 × 30.5 in

*‘*A two-part narrative in which the scenes are divided by a tree that runs vertically just right of center. In the left-hand scene, the heroine Sita stands in a courtyard, her face turned away from a standing priestly figure who holds a staff and a begging bowl. A seated woman watches from a porch, and the head of another figure emerges from an opening in a building at the rear of the courtyard. In the right-hand scene, Sita is carried away through the clouds by the demon Ravana, who rides on Puspaka. The priestly figure in the left segment is Ravana in disguise. Sita turns her head because he has made lewd advances. When she rejects him, he abducts her and takes her to his kingdom on Lanka.’

**1977.750** (now identified in MB 2012 as Hanumān and Benjakai):   
Hanuman and Sita [*Hanumān has prominent fangs*]; carved clay brick, probably from Trowulan, E Java, Majapahit period, C14-15; 31.5 × 19.3 cm. / 12.4 × 7.6 in.  
**re** MB 2012 n.7 – Carved figures of Hanumān, with erect tail and prominent front teeth (here portrayed as a devotee of Śiva), produced in E Java between the 13th and 16th CC, lend weight to this suggestion (Klokke 1994: 187, pls 11, 12 = next 2 items).

**Mpu Tantular** museum, Surabaya, from E Java, C13-16:

carved figure of Hanumān, with erect tail and prominent front teeth, portrayed as a devotee of Śiva (**see** Klokke 1994: 187, pl. 11).

**Mojokerto** museum, no.43, from E Java, C13-16:

carved figure of Hanumān, with erect tail and prominent front teeth, portrayed as a devotee of Śiva (**see** Klokke 1994: 187, pl. 12).

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terracotta plaque with Rāmāyaṇa scene (rākṣasa – ? Kumbhakarṇa – fighting vānaras), 13th-14th century, 25.2 × 40.8 cm. Met. Mus. 1986.507

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painted wood statue of Rāvaṇa riding bird “Wilmana”, North Bali, 1800-1900,   
96.5 × 46.4 × 45.7 cm. (ill. at McGill 2016: 218-9, no. 108) San Francisco 2010.18.2

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20th-century paintings and puppets from Bali at Krishnan 2010: 144-55; puppets and masks from West Java ill. at Krishnan 2010: 156-65; puppets from Java ill at McGill 2016: 172-3, nos 83-84; from Bali and Java at McGill 2016: 219-222, nos 110-112

multiple examples of Javanese shadow puppets from late 1700s onwards in British Museum and in Wereld Museum [many illustrated on their websites]

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Sītā’s trial by fire, painted cotton, Kamasan (Bali), 1850-1900, 124.5 × 154.9 cm.  
(ill. at McGill 2016: 139, no. 73) San Francisco B78M1

cotton hanging: Hanumān and other vānaras fight Kumbhakarṇa, Bali, C19,   
132.7 × 177.2 cm. (also ill. at McGill 2016: 182-3, no. 94) Philadelphia 1952-60-2

**object (and medium)** Javanese metalwork

**location (original/present)** Central Java, Indonesia

**date** 10th century onwards

**studies** van Duuren, David 2004: “Een teruggevonden Indo-Javaans Unicum: de ‘Kris van Knaud’”, *Aziatiache Kunst* 34.2: 2-19. **download**

Krom, N.J. 1920: *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaanse Kunst* (‘s-Gravenhage: Martinus Mijhoff), 2nd edn 1923. **download (2nd edn)**

Levin, Cecelia 1999b: “Classical Javanese gold reflects some new light on the Ramayana”, in *Precious metals in early South East Asia: proceedings of the second seminar on gold studies,* ed. by Wilhelmina H. Kal: 39-44 (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute).   
[on Wonoboyo bowl; cf. van der Molen] **photocopy; MB checked**

van der Molen, Willem 2003b: “Rama and Sita in Wonoboyo”, *BKI* 159.2-3: 389-403.   
[on Wonoboyo bowl; cf. Levin 1999b] **photocopy**

Scheurleer, Pauline Lunsingh 2005a: “The finds from Muteran and Wonoboyo”, in *Indonesia: the discovery of the past,* ed. Endang Sri Hardiati and Pieter ter Keurs (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers): 52-67. **part scanned**

Scheurleer, Pauline Lunsingh 2005b: “De schat van Wonoboyo”, *Aziatische Kunst* 35.4: 14-41. **download**

**notes**

**gold bowl from** **Wonoboyo** (now in JakartaNational Museum, MNI 8965): part of treasure found under a layer of lava in a rice field near Wonoboyo (c. 5 km N of Prambanan), early C10, 14.4 x 9.3 cm. —

Mārīca killed by Rāma, returns to *rākṣasa* form; Rāvaṇa in form of mendicant abducts Sītā; Rāvaṇa reverts to multi-headed form (heads in 1 circle); Jaṭāyu intervenes in abduction (**see** Levin 1999b, van der Molen 2003b and Scheurleer 2005a+b)

**Knaud kris** 27.8 × 8.5 × 1.2 cm, iron with copper veneer, blade decorated on both sides with scenes and motifs from Rāma story, dated 1342. Said to be a treasured royal heirloom, presented at royal palace, Yogyakarta, in 1884 or 1885 to Charles Knaud by the ruler for curing his son of serious illness. It had been thought lost, but in fact remained in Knaud’s family (van Duuren 2004: 1-2). Studied by N.J. Krom (1920: 315-6, 2nd edn 456-7) from photographs only. Wereld Mus. TM-6046-1

Area of damage to copper veneer reveals figures scratched on underlying iron, deciphered as Śaka 1264 = AD 1342. [*MB: the area of damage seems to have a neat edge; no figures seem to have been damaged and they seem designed to fill the shape of the space; no fragments of any figures from the original copper layer remain, and it is difficult to suggest what motif(s) could have filled the space; is it significant that the space neatly reveals the dating*?]

[*MB: Possible additions to van Duuren’s identification of the aśokavana scenes:*

1: *Does the upright object in front of Sītā in the first scene correspond to the jar of Sītā’s bathing water into which Hanumān drops the identifying ring token?* Malay, *HMR*: Overbeck 1933: 123  
 Malay, *HSR*: Zieseniss 1928: 38 / Burch 1963: 62

2: *Does the next scene (not identified by van Duuren) show Sītā gazing into the mango tree in which can be barely glimpsed the tiny Hanumān feasting, preparatory to destroying it in full size in the next scene*? Malay, *HSR*: Zieseniss 1928: 38 / Burch 1963: 63

3: *Is Indrajit, shooting his nāga-arrows to capture Hanumān in the next scene, shown as himself as half-nāga*?]

Van Duuren identifies several other items of Vaiṣṇava imagery (conch, several *nāgas*), along with imposing figure of Rāma, accompanied by 2 unidentified dwarf attendants, at the hilt, apparently staring at the golden deer (back legs broken off) (van Duuren 2004: 9 *fin*-11)

Van Duuren points to the close similarity between figures on the *kris* to the style of Panataran carvings (e.g. the dwarf *rākṣasas* et al.), leading him to suggest some close association between them. van Duuren 2004: 11-12

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bronze mirror handle, Java, late 11th-12th century, 14.5 cm. high; scenes shown: Rāma killing Mārīca, Rāma talking with Sugrīva or Hanuman, possibly others  
 Met. Mus. 1987.142.29

Cirebon, Java: metal kris board with two wayang figures R. + S. and a *kalā* head, C19,  
c. 65 × 31 cm. Wereld Mus. TM-1772-826

**object (and medium)** sculptural reliefs

**location (original/present)** Central Vietnam (ancient Campā)

**date** 10th century

**studies** Baptiste, Pierre, and Thierry Zéphir (eds) 2005: *Trésors d’art du Vietnam: la sculpture du Champa, Ve-XVe siècles* [exhibition catalogue] (Paris: Musée Guimet).  
 **Sackler VWdc Bap**

Boisselier, Jean 1952: “Précisions sur la statuaire du style d’Aṅkor Vắt”, *BEFEO* 46: 227-52. **download**

Boisselier, Jean 1963: *La statuaire du Champa: recherches sur les cultes et l’iconographie* (Paris: EFEO / Adien-Maisonneuve). **Bod. 172 d. 220;** pp. 191-92 + figs 115-17 **photocopied**

Dhar, Parul Pandya 2019b: “Pride and penitence of an anti-hero: Rāvaṇānugraha as motif and metaphor in India and Campā”, in *Champa: territories and networks of a Southeast Asian kingdom,*  ed. by Arlo Griffiths, Andrew Hardy and Geoff Wade (Paris: Études thématiques de l’EFEO): 355-73. **download**

Griffiths, Arlo, Amandine Lepoutre, William A. Southworth and Thành Phần 2012: *Văn khắc Chămpa tại Bảo tàng Điêu khắc Chăm – Đà Nẵng /The inscriptions of Campā at the Museum of Cham Sculpture in Đà Nẵng (Hồ Chí Min*h City: VNUHCM Pub. House). **download**

Griffiths, Arlo, Marine Schoettel and Margau Tran Quyet Chinh 2017: “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā, IX: Les bas-reliefs du Rāmāyaṇa de la tour sud de Khương Mỹ”, *Arts Asiatiques* 72: 17-38. **download**

Guillon, Emmanuel 2001: *Cham Art: treasures from the Dà Nang Museum, Vietnam* (London: Thames and Hudson). **Sackler VWd Gui; pp. 132-33 scanned**

## Hubert, Jean-François 2005: *The art of Champa,* trans by Anna Allanet (London: Parkstone). **Sackler VWd Hub;** *not useful*

Levin, Cecelia 2008: “Recasting the sacred heroes: a new discovery of sculptural epic narration from ancient Champa”, in *Interpreting Southeast Asia’s Past: Monument, Image and Text, selected papers from the 10th International EASEAA Conference,* ed. by Elisabeth A. Bacus and others (Singapore: NUS Press): II, 85-99.  
 **St Hugh's College Library Folio 959.01 INT; photocopy + download**

Mus, Paul 1933: “Cultes indiens et indigènes au Champa”, *BEFEO* 33.1: 367-410. **download**

Mus, Paul 2011: *India seen from the east: Indian and indigenous cults in Champa,* trans. I. W. Mabbett, 2nd edn, (Caulfield: Monash University Press). [1st edn 1975] **(Bod.)**[trans. of Mus 1933]

Noppe, Catherine, and Jean-François Hubert 2003: *Art of Vietnam* (New York: Parkstone Press). **Bod. MO4.BOO416; p. 88 scanned**

Sterne, Philippe 1942: *L’art du Champa (ancien Annam) et son évolution* (Toulouse: Les frères Douladoure). **Sackler VW Ste / Bod.**

**notes** Sandstone relief of Rāma (?), 7th century, 80 cm. illustrated in Noppe and Hubert 2003: 88 (**scan**)

Close to basement of southern temple (out of three) at Khương Mỹ (Quảng Nam province; 40 km SE of Mỹ Sơn) a set of around ten sandstone sculptural reliefs from 10th or early 11th century of the Rāma story, with a text in old Cam above the reliefs naming the figures (Griffiths and others 2012: 239; Griffiths and others 2017). Scenes shown are: the sighting of the golden deer, its pursuit by Rāma, the abduction of Sītā, the intervention by Jaṭāyus, an *aśokavana scene,* and Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa searching for Sītā; only the upper half remains of a panel showing a ten-headed Rāvaṇa addressing Sītā in the *aśokavana.* A frieze of vānaras carrying musical instruments is carved below these narratives. Levin (2008: 92-3) sees analogies to representations on early Cōḻa temples rather than to Java. She also notes sculptures from this period of Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa, e.g. from temple of Kỳ Thạch Phu Nhân (Levin 2008: 95 + fig 7.17).

Bas-relief in sandstone of line of *vānaras*, measuring according to Parmentier 1919: 102-103 maximally h. 60 cm × w. 75 × d. 38, dated *śaka* 9th or 10th century (9th-11th century A.D.); text (C 152) in 1 line over 2 faces: (front) *{5} (la)ṅk(ā)pura(madhya)vānarasena* (lateral) *praha(raṇa).* It probably originates in Quảng Nam province. The relief-block with the inscription entered the collection of the “Cam Garden” in Tourane before 1899, moved in 1900 to Saigon, where it was held at the Musée de la Société des Études indochinoises under no. S. 25, and in 1918, it was transported back to Tourane, where it became part of the collection of the Cham Museum ([Parmentier 1919](https://isaw.nyu.edu/publications/inscriptions/campa/bibliography/#parmentier-1919): 103). Arlo Griffiths identified the bas-relief at the Museum of Cham Sculpture at Đà Nẵng in 2009.

on group of 4 bas-reliefs from near Mỹ Sơn and Trà-kiệu (Quảng Nam province),   
**see** Boisellier 1963: 191-92 (**photocopied**), Guillon 2001: 132-33 (cf. below), Baptiste 2005 (see below), and most fully Griffiths and others 2012: 237-39 (**download**).

Guillon 2001: 132-33 — **122 Ramayana Episode** / My Son A! style, (Trà Kiêu?), 10th century /  
Sandstone, height 57 cm. [45.2]

This fragment is of unknown provenance but is one of four reliefs which are probably from Quang Nam province, since another is preserved at Hoi An (formerly Fai-Fo). Its date, however, is confirmed by the undeciphered inscription along its upper border which, on palaeographic grounds, cannot be earlier than the 10th century. The reliefs are so far the only examples of *Ramayana* episodes recorded in Cham art. p.132

[on p. 133 identifies 3 figures shown on angle fragment as R. with bow, L. and Hanumān]

Pierre Baptiste in Baptiste + Zéphir 2005: 116 [re Thạch Hàn (Quảng Trị province), dated 10th century] “ Les petits bas-reliefs qui apparaissent au niveau inférieur du soubassement, illustrant des passages du *Rāmāyaṇa* et du *Mahābhārata,* associent le divers protagonistes à des evocations d’architectures, certes éloignées de celles figurant à Khương Mỹ où elles sont plus spécifiquement cham, mai d’un traitement similaire.”

Hubert 2005 [no findspots or present locations noted] illustrates:

ill. 47 (p. 56) Rāma, high-relief, sandstone, h. 75 cm., My Son E1 style, C7-8; with detail at ill. 48 (p.57)

ill. 120 (p. 122) Sugrīva, free-standing, sandstone, h. 35 cm. Tra Kieu style, C10  
 [wearing a crown, hiding/holding genitals with right hand)

ill. 122 (p.124) Hanumān, free-standing, clay, h. 40 cm., Tra Kieu style, C10

ill. 123 (p.125) Sugrīva, free-standing, sandstone, h. 47 cm., Tra Kieu style, C10

**object (and medium)** sculptural reliefs

**location (original/present)** Laos

**date** 11th-13th century

**studies** Cœdès, Georges 1956: “Nouvelles données sur les origines du royaume khmèr: la stèle de Văt Luong Kău, près de Văt P’hu”, *BEFEO* 48.1: 209-20. **download**

Parmentier, Henri 1914: “Le temple de Vat Phu”, *BEFEO* 14.2: 1-31. **download**

**notes** Vat Phu temple complex (Champasak Province), in the southwestern tip of Laos (at the base of mount Phu kao, some 6 km / 3.7 miles from the [Mekong](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mekong)), is essentially an outlier of the Khmer empire and, though originating as a Śaiva temple (converted to Theravada Buddhism later) has some Rāmāyaṇa reliefs, including one of Rāvaṇa, Sītā and Hanumān. Surviving structures date from the 11th to 13th centuries. The 5th-century Skt inscription of Vat Luong Kau records that the Chenla (Zhēnlà) king Devānīka (whose name is that of one of Rāma’s ancestors) visited Vat Phu, lists his exploits, comparing them with those of *Mahābhārata* heroes, and names the pool that he had constructed Kurukṣetra (cf. JLB 1998: 515).

from Jacques 1962 – Devānīka’s inscr. at Văt Luong Kău not only names D.’s *tīrtha* as Kurukṣetra but its author was inspired by MBh.; *ślokas* 11-13 of inscr. as edited by Cœdès actually borrow (in large part quote) from the *Tīrthayātrāparvan,* MBh. (CE) 3.81.173-76.

**object (and medium)** sculptural reliefs (including bronzes) and paintings

**location (original/present)** Thailand

**date** 11th-12th centuries (and later)

**studies** Boeles, J.J. 1969: “A Rāmāyaṇa relief from the Khmer sanctuary at Pimai”, *JSS* 57.1: 163-69 + 8 figs. p**hotocopy + download**[= Phimai, but consistently Pimai in article; “... the Khmer sanctuary at Pimai, situated on the right bank of the Mun river some 350 kilometres by road from Bangkok [*Thailand*]” – from reference in an earlier article (*JSS* 56.2)]

Cadet, J.M. 1982: *The Ramakien: the stone rubbings of the Thai epic*, illustrated with the bas-reliefs of Wat Phra Jetubon, Bangkok (pbk. edn Tokyo: Kodansha International; Bangkok: Central Department Store, 1st edn. 1971, new edn 1975). [Paperback edn: 1982]. [*A retelling of the Thai version of Vālmīki’s* *Rāmāyana*] t**yped extracts; also in BL**

Chirapravati, M.L. Pattaratorn 2013: “Funeral scenes in the Rāmāyaṇa mural paintings at the Emerald Buddha Temple”, in *Materializing Southeast Asia's Past: Selected Papers from the 12th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists*, 2 vols (Singapore: NUS Press) II, 221-32. **download**

Diskul, M.C. Subhadradis 1980: “Rāmāyaṇa in Sculpture and Paintings in Thailand”, in Raghavan 1980: 670-80. **own copy**

Fais, Ruben 2016: “The Rāmakien Paintings from Cardu Museum of Siamese Art of Cagliari: Epics Subjects and Their Links to Divine Kingship”, in *Cross-cutting South Asian Studies: an interdisciplinary approach,* ed. by Serena Bindi, Elena Mucciarelli and Tiziana Pontillo (New Delhi: DK Printworld): 389-434. **scan**

Ly, Boreth 2009: “Protecting the Protector of Phimai”, *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 64/65: 35-48. **download**

McGill, Forrest and M.L. Pattaratorn Chirapravati 2005: *The kingdom of Siam: the art of central Thailand, 1350-1800* (Ghent: Snoeck). **Sackler TWc San**[catalogue of exhibition at Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, July-October 2005]

Phattrachai, Sukanya 1987: “Rama and Northeastern Mural Paintings”, *Muang Boran (Bangkok)* 13.1: 51-56. **Bodleian (Nuneham) – disregard**

Pholkerd, Sommatra 2004-05: “Phimai Sanctuary: archaeological and cultural studies”, *BDCRI* 64-65: 345-47. [summary of Deccan College thesis] **download**

Prapandvidya, Chirapat, 2007: “Phimai (Vimāya) temple in Thailand”, paper presented at conference on Buddhism and 21st Century, Bodhgaya, February 2007. **download**

Rooney, Dawn F. 2008: *Ancient Sukhothai: Thailand’s Cultural Heritage* (Bangkok: River Books). **own copy**

Roveda, Vittorio 2010a: “Dundubhi (Torapi) in *Ramayana* narratives of Cambodia and Thailand”, in Krishnan (ed.) 2010: 122-31. **own copy**

Smitthi, Siribhadra, and Elizabeth Moore 1992: *Palaces of the Gods: Khmer art and architecture in Thailand* (Bangkok: River Books; repr. London: Thames & Hudson, 1997).   
 **Sackler; pp. 247, 249, 275, 297, 299 + 303 photocopied**

*The Story of Ramakian, from the mural paintings along the galleries of the temple of the Emerald Buddha (* Bangkok: Sangdad Pueandek Publishing Co., n.d.) **own copy**

Suriyavudh Suksavasti, M.R. 1991: “Sema with a scene from Ramayana: change of tradition and style in 12th century northeastern Thailand”, *Muang Boran (Bangkok)* 17.1: 105-10. **[p.109 (English summary) photocopied]**

Varasarin, Uraisi 1986: “The Rāmāyaṇa story from Phnom Rung and Phimai temples, Thailand”, *Second International Ramayana Conference, Thailand, April 1986,* 33-42 [+ 11 ill.] (Bangkok: Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge).  **scan**

Woodward, Hiram 2005: *The Art and Architecture of Thailand: from prehistoric times through the thirteenth century,* 2nd edn (Leiden: Brill). [*for background*] **parts downloaded**

**notes** Phimai etc. — **see** JLB photos

**Phimai** (end of 11th century):

*maṇḍapa*, S door, lintel: warrior on shoulders of *vānara* fights single-headed *rākṣasa* in monster-drawn chariot: Roveda 2005: 471, CD 10.0942

*maṇḍapa,* W face, lintel and pediment: Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa bound by Indrajit’s *nāgapāśa*; Garuḍa appears: Smitthi and Moore 1992: 247;   
 Roveda 2005: 132, 135, 468-69, figs 4.4.78-80 [80=CD 10.0929], 10.92

*maṇḍapa*, E door, lintel: Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa ferried across river: Roveda 2005: 119, 468, figs 4.4.12, 10.925

*maṇḍapa*, E door, damaged pediment: monkeys fight Kumbhakarṇa: Roveda 2005: 135, 468, CD 4.4.085, CD 10.0927

central tower, W face, lintel: monkeys build causeway with sage’s blessing; sea creatures ? pass boulders to *vānaras*: Roveda 2005: 131, 134, 470, figs 4.4.71-72=CD 10.0935-36 (sea creatures destroy causeway) Boeles 1969: figs 1, 2

central tower, W face, damaged pediment: Virādha with spear abducts Sītā, shot by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa: Roveda 2005: 470, CD 10.0940

detached lintel: Rāma, watched by Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, confronts 8 warriors [? Khara]: Roveda 2005: 472, CD 10.0958

lintel in site museum: Sugrīva and Lakṣmaṇa on palanquins borne by *vānaras*: Roveda 2005:128, 130, fig. 4.4.53

detail of lintel, showing mutilation of Śūrpaṇakhā Siyonn 2005: 117, fig. 10

lintel showing *setubandha* [? same as above ?] Siyonn 2005: 129, fig 25

lintel + pediment, R + L. in *nāgapāśa* Siyonn 2005: 131, fig. 31

**Phnom Rung** (11th-12 centuries):

enclosure 1, E gallery, N door, pediment: monkeys fight Kumbhakarṇa:   
 Roveda 2005:133, 474, fig.4.4.86, CD 10.0968

*antarāla*, N face, pediment: Rāma kills deer, Rāvaṇa approaches Sītā in hermitage, abducts Sītā in chariot, attacked by bird, watched by 2 monkeys in tree: Roveda 2005: 123, 199, 476, figs 4.4.23, 25, 26, 5.13; Smitthi and Moore 1992: 297

central tower, pediment: Vālin fights Sugrīva; Rāma shoots Roveda 2005:130, CD 4.4.047

central tower, S face, pediments:   
Virādha with spear abducts Sītā; attacked by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa: Roveda 2005: 120, 476, fig. 4.4.19  
? Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva carried on single palanquin: Roveda 2005: 128, 130, fig. 4.4.52  
Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa return to Ayodhyā on *hamṣa*-drawn *puṣpaka*:  Roveda 2005: 141, 143, figs 4.4.108-9

central tower, W face, pediment and lintel: Sītā taken with illusory severed heads of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in *haṃsa*-drawn *puṣpaka* to see Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa bound together by *nāgapāśa*: Roveda 2005: 131-32, 134-35, 476, figs 4.4.74-76, 4.4.82, CD 10.0986;   
 Smitthi and Moore 1992: 275, 299

*maṇḍapa*, S face, pediment: Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa struggle in grip of humanoid Kabandha’s arms: Roveda 2005: 123, 474, fig. 4.4.20 = CD 10.0975

pediment, abduction of Sītā Siyonn 2005: 121. fig. 16  
[other reliefs: Kumbhakarṇa fighting *vānaras* S. taken in Puṣpaka to view R + L. Siyonn 2005: 132, fig. 33

**Kamphaeng Phet** (Kamphaeng Phet province): “Eight slate boundary stones incised with floral motifs and scenes of the *Ramayana* once stood on pedestals around the ordination hall <of Wat Phra Non> found but have been removed for safekeeping and are now displayed in the Kamphang Phet National Museum.” Rooney 2008: 226 [dating to Ayutthaya period]

**Kamphaeng Yai** (Si Sa Ket province, 11th-12th centuries temples):  
tower, S face, lintel: Hanumān presents token to Sītā, attended by *rākṣasīs*: Roveda 2005: 129-30, 482, figs 4.4.65, 10.1026

**Prāsāt Kū Kradōn** (Kaset Wai dist., Roi Et, Thailand): “An entirely pictorial lintel there, probably of the second half of the eleventh century, bears a scene from the Rāmāyaṇa.” (Hiram Woodward, *The Art and Architecture of Thailand,* HdO (Leiden, Brill, 2003): 129; illustrated in *Muang Boran Journal* 3.2. (1977): 58 [**Bod.**] – perhaps showing Hanumān presenting the ring to Sītā)

**Wat Phra Jetubon, Bangkok** (also called Wat Pho; 18th century or possibly earlier) – reliefs

Cadet 1982:

**p.19** Although the *Ramakien* provides the most important theme in Thai literature, it has yet to be translated directly into English. This version of the epic does not represent an attempt to remedy this deficiency. It is neither a translation — for which neither the Thai at my command nor the time at my disposal were sufficient — nor is it a summary, as it deals principally with the central episode of the story. It can best be described as a renarration of the *Ramakien* of King Rama I, based upon the bas-reliefs of Wat Phra Jetubon, and as such is as faithful to its sources as brevity permits. ... The Wat Phra Jetubon bas-reliefs deal only with the central episode of the story.

**p.32** ... Unfortunately, any early written versions of the *Ramakien* (the Thai for ‘The story of Rama’) were lost when Ayudhia was destroyed by the Burmese in 1767. As it is, the earliest known written rendering (*ca.*1775) is that of King Taksin of Thonburi, while the version now accepted as the classic in Thailand is that of his successor, the founder of the dynasty now ruling, King Rama Jakri I.

**p.34** The rubbings illustrating this volume are taken from the marble bas-reliefs of one of Bangkok’s oldest temples, Wat Phra Jetubon. This temple predates the founding of the capital by a number of years but was extensively restored in 1825 at the order of the third monarch of the dynasty now reigning, King Rama Jakri III. The bas-reliefs, comprising 152 panels measuring approximately 45 centimeters square, are set in the outer wall of the gallery of the chapel known as the Phra Ubosot. They depict a related series of episodes from the *Ramakien*, and the skill with which they have been executed has produced a unique, if minor, work of art.

Something of a mystery surrounds the origin of these reliefs. It has been generally accepted that they were made to the order of King Rama III during the restoration of Wat Phra Jetubon, but there are now reasons to suppose they were executed in the old capital, Ayudhia, at an earlier date, and only brought to Bangkok later, perhaps in Rama III’s reign.

[*This view disputed on grounds of style (Chinese-type clouds) by art historian Ling Achirat Chaiyapotpanit, Silpakorn University, personal communication*]

*List of bas-relief panels, with our comments and amplification based on Cadet’s commentary* (*drawing on Ramakien*) [*from abduction to death of Mūlaphalam and Sahatsadecha only*]

*The abduction of Nang Seeda*

1. Phra Ram returns with the magic deer and meets Phra Lak.

*Phra Ram agitated, carrying carcass of deer; Phra Lak apologetic. Totsagan has been warned by Nang Monto that Phra Ram is an incarnation of Narai.* [*Rāvaṇa depicted throughout with 1 main head, wearing tall pointed headdress with small multiple heads ranged around it*]

2. Totsagan abducts Nang Seeda.

*Totsagan* depicted *throughout with 1 main head, wearing tall pointed headdress with small multiple heads ranged around it.*

3. The bird Sadayu attacks Totsagan. *Sadayu kills Totsagan’s demon-bodyguards and 2000 lions drawing his chariot, then boasts that he can only by killed by being struck by Phra Isuan’s ring. Totsagan wrenches the ring from Nang Seeda’s finger and hurls it at Sadayu, mortally wounding him; Sadayu gives ring to Phra Ram as proof.*

4. Hanuman and Sukreep pay homage to Phra Ram with Phra Lak in attendance.

5. Sukreep challenges Palee. [*Sukreep and Palee fight with swords* (*and Hanumān regularly carries and uses a sword*)]

6. Phra Narai fires at Palee. *Ongkot is Palee’s son by Nang Monto.*

7. Palee, fighting with Sukreep, catches Phra Narai’s arrow.

*Hanuman’s journey to Longka*

8. Phra Ram, with Phra Lak and Hanuman, orders the Longka reconnaissance.   
*Phra Ram entrusts Nang Seeda’s breast cloth and Phra Isuan’s ring to Hanuman as recognition tokens; Hanuman asks for something more personal* (*anyone could have picked them up*) *so Phra Ram tells him to remind Nang Seeda of their first meeting at Mithila, when their eyes met and they saw love bloom like forest flowers after rain.*

9. Sukreep and Ongkot and other generals receive their orders.

10. Hanuman leads the monkeys towards Longka.

11. Baklan sees the sleeping monkeys.

12. Baklan fights with Ongkot.

13. Ongkot sends Baklan to heaven.

14. Hanuman makes love to Butsa Malee.

15. Hanuman returns Butsa Malee to heaven.

16. The monkeys meet the bird Sampatee.

17. Hanuman kills Pee Sua Samut.

18. Hanuman meets the hermit Nart.

19. Hanuman bursts his cell.

20. The leech sticks to Hanuman’s chin.

*The burning of Longka*

21. Hanuman flies to Longka.

22. Hanuman kills four watchmen.

23. Hanuman kills the guardian of Longka.

24. Hanuman comes on Totsagan sleeping with Nang Monto.

25. Demon torchbearers light Totsagan’s way.

26. Totsagan rides out to visit Nang Seeda.

27. Totsagan pleads with Nang Seeda.

28. Nang Seeda attempts to hang herself.

29. Hanuman delivers his message to Nang Seeda.

30. Hanuman devastates Totsagan’s park.

31. Hanuman kills the watchmen of the park.

32. Hanuman annihilates Totsagan’s seven-faced sons, the Pan Sahatsa Kuman.

33. Intorachit fires snake arrows at Hanuman.

34. Hanuman is attacked by Intorachit’s snake arrows.

35. Hanuman kills Intorachit’s soldiers.

36. Hanuman kills Intorachit’s retainers.

37. The executioner breaks a spear on Hanuman.

38. The attempt to pound Hanuman in a mortar fails.

39. Hanuman tears the head off an elephant.

40. Totsagan sets fire to Hanuman.

41. Hanuman sets fire to Longka.

42. Totsagan flees burning Longka with his wives.

43. Pipeck and Intorachit flee with their wives.

44. Kumpagan is saved by his wives.

45. Courtiers listen to Totsagan.

46. Totsagan orders the rebuilding of Longka.

47. Subjects prostrate themselves before Totsagan.

*The banishment of Pipeck*

48. Messengers fly to Phra Isuan.

49. Phra In and Phra Witsanukam rebuild Longka.

50. Totsagan tells Pipeck his dreams.

51. Pipeck interprets Totsagan’s dreams.

52. Pipeck flees Longka.

53. Nilek captures Pipeck.

54. Pipeck is led before Phra Ram.

55. Phra Ram and Phra Lak hear Pipeck’s story.

56. Pipeck relates his story.

57. The monkey army assembles.

58. Pipeck swears the oath of allegiance.

59. Phra Ram calls a council of war.

60. The monkey generals receive their orders.

61. Pipeck and Sukreep take up their positions.

62. The monkeys engage in mock battle.

63. A spy watches the mock battle.

64. Hanuman changes himself into a mountain and catches the spy.

65. Phra Ram informed of the spy’s capture.

66. Sukreep, Pipeck, and Hanuman inform Phra Ram of the spy’s capture.

67. Sukrasan is beaten.

68. Sukrasan flies back to Longka.

*The impersonation of Nang Seeda*

69. Totsagan orders Benyagai to assume the appearance of Nang Seeda.

70. Benyagai goes by chariot to see Nang Seeda.

71. Benyagai discusses the situation with her mother, Dreechoda.

72. Benyagai studies Nang Seeda.

73. Phra Ram and Phra Lak weep over ‘Seeda’s’ body.

74. Sukreep, Pipeck and Hanuman express their grief.

75. Hanuman seizes the fleeing Benyagai.

76. Benyagai is interrogated by Sukreep.

*The building of the causeway*

77. Phra Ram orders the building of the causeway to Longka.

78. Sukreep, Hanuman and Nilapat receive their orders.

79. Sukreep, Hanuman and Nilapat on their way to the strait.

80. Nilapat collects rocks for the causeway.

81. Nilapat throws the rocks at Hanuman.

82. Hanuman collects rocks.

83. Hanuman attaches the rocks to his body.

84. Hanuman unloads the rocks on to Nilapat.

85. Sukreep comes between Hanuman and Nilapat.

86. Phra Ram pronounces judgement on the two monkeys.

87. Nilapat, Pipeck, Hanuman and Sukreep attend Phra Ram’s judgement.

88. Hanuman collects boulders for the causeway.

89. The monkeys throw the rocks into the strait.

90. Sukreep advises Hanuman to examine the sea bed.

91. Hanuman discovers and catches a mermaid.

92. Hanuman makes love to Supanna Matcha.

93. Phra Ram rides over the causeway to Longka. [*Phra Ram in chariot*]

94. The monkey generals salute Phra Ram.

*The investment of Longka*

95. Prakontan leads Hanuman to the enchanted plain.

96. Hanuman discovers the giant Panurat.

97. Hanuman decapitates Panurat.

98. Hanuman brings Panurat’s head to Phra Ram.

99. Phra Ram praises Hanuman.

100. Ongkot confronts Totsagan.   
 *Ongkot sits on tail*

101. Four guards try to seize Ongkot.

102. Ongkot breaks down the palace gate.

103. Totsagan’s nephews ride to the underworld.

104. Maiyarap, Lord of the Underworld, receives Totsagan’s nephews.

105. Maiyarap smashes his chariot.   
 ? *Whose*

106. Maiyarap conducts magic rites.

107. Maiyarap enters the sleeping Hanuman’s mouth.

108. Maiyarap flies to the Underworld with Phra Ram.

109. Hanuman fights with Matchanu.

110. Pirakuan’s weight breaks the scales.

111. Hanuman fights Maiyarap.

112. Hanuman returns with Phra Ram and the head of Maiyarap.

*The defeat of Kumpagan and Intorachit*

113. Totsagan persuades Kumpagan to fight the monkey army.

114. Demon courtiers attend Totsagan.

115. Kumpagan rides out to do battle.

116. Two demon generals accompany Kumpagan.

117. Ongkot fights the demons of Kumpagan’s army.

118. Hanuman grapples with Kumpagan’s demon generals.

119. Kumpagan dies in Pipeck’s arms.

120. Phra Narai fires his arrow at Kumpagan.

121. Intorachit fires his Nakabat arrow.

122. Phra Ram’s army is overcome by Intorachit’s snake arrows.

123. The bird Krut releases Phra Lak.

124. Pipeck advises Phra Ram to fire an arrow to summon the bird Krut.

125. Phra Ram fires his Paladjan arrow.

126. Wiranyamuk is caught in the diamond net.

127. Wiranyamuk is trussed and beaten.

128. Wiranyamuk is released by the monkeys.

129. Hanuman, Ongkot and Sukreep attack Intorachit.

130. Phra Lak fires his Akanivat arrow.

131. Intorachit is hit by Phra Lak’s arrow.

132. Nang Monto gives Intorachit her breast, while Totsagan looks on.

133. Intorachit rides out to battle.

134. Intorachit and Phra Lak come face to face.

135. Phra Lak fires his Promat arrow at Intorachit.

136. Ongkot catches Intorachit’s head in a diamond bowl.

137. Totsagan gives a feast for Sahatsadecha and Mulplam.

138. Classical dancers entertain the royal guests.

139. Demon notables at their revels.

140. Demon soldiers drink deep.

*The final battles*

141. Sahatsadecha, with his concubines, rides out to battle.

142. Two demon generals accompany Sahatsadecha.

143. Mulplam takes the field.

144. Two generals accompany Mulplam.

145. Phra Ram and Phra Lak ride out to meet Sahatsadecha.

146. Mounted on woodland beasts, the monkeys charge Mulplam.

147. Phra Lak, aided by Hanuman, fights with Mulplam.

148. Hanuman pulls the spear from Phra Lak’s wound.

149. Mounted on Hanuman’s shoulders, Phra Lak shoots at Mulplam.

150. Phra Lak’s arrow kills Mulplam.

151. Hanuman grapples with Sahatsadecha, who is trying to escape with his concubines.

152. Hanuman kills Sahatsadecha.

(rubbings of some reliefs done c. 1960 in Asian Art Mus., San Francisco, F2015.31.1-3,   
ill. at McGill 2016: 134-5, nos 67-69; cf. p. 207 fig. 71; photos of some in Shastri 2021: 394-405)

[i.e. *from abduction to death of Mūlaphalam and Sahatsadecha only*]

**Wat Phra Non, north Aranyik area, Kamphang Phet** (C15-16):

Eight slate boundary stones incised with floral motifs and scenes of the *Ramayana* once stood on pedestals around the ordination hall but have been removed for safekeeping and are now displayed in the Kamphang Phet National Museum [*also spelled Kamphaeng*]. Visual Thailand: Rooney 2008: 226

**Bahn Ma, Sawang Deang Din dist., Sakon Nakorn province**

A 12th-century *sema* (S1206, stolen in 1981 but photographed before its loss) shows Sītā being abducted by Rāvaṇa on one side and on the other side possibly Kubera (who curses Tumburu to be reborn as Rāvaṇa in some versions) Suriyavudh Suksavasti 1991

“It is possible to observe the spread of both Cambodian styles and political power up the tributaries that flow southward into the Mun— for instance, in the area around **Prâsât Kû Kradô̦n (Kaset Wisai district, Roi Et)**. An entirely pictorial lintel there, probably of the second half of the eleventh century, bears a scene from the Rāmāyaṇa.” [*fn ref.* – Illustrated, MBJ 3, no. 2 (Jan.-March 1977), p. 58] Woodward 2005: 130

**Phitsanulok (< Viṣṇuloka)   
Wāt Nāṅg Phaya:** monastery built 2nd half of C15; C19 murals showing last part of battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa  
**Rāṭ Burāṇa:** C15 Sukhothai-period temple with some Rāmakīen murals in *ubosot* from time of Rāma IV (1851-68).  
*ubosot* murals  
Rāvaṇa in battle scene: JLB photo: 206

Śūrpaṇakhā complains to Rāvaṇa: JLB photo: 205

abduction: JLB photo): 204

Lakṣmaṇa returns from Kiṣkindhā with *vānaras*: JLB photo: 203, cf. 207

Hanumān reports to Rāma: JLB photo: 201-2

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in chariots march with provisioned *vānaras* towards Laṅkā: JLB photo: 199-200

Hanumān carrying Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in palms of hands [*? rescue from Mahīrāvaṇa* N.B. *in Olsson only Rāma abducted*]: JLB photo): 195-97

[? *identified as*] Hanumān with Rāvaṇa’s external heart [*apparently Indrajit*]:   
 JLB photo: 194

Hanumān makes love to woman: JLB photo: 193

led by sage Kobut, Hanumān pretends to defect to Rāvaṇa: JLB photo: 192

**Bangkok, Wat Phra Kaeo (Temple of Emerald Buddha)**  
The murals of the Rāmakīen gallery (Phra Rabiang, a covered corridor, walled on one side, surrounding the temple) were commissioned by Rama I to illustrate his *Rāmakīen*. The murals were erased and completely repainted under Rama III (1824-51) and frequently restored since. The murals are divided into 178 panels with brief synopses of the scenes below.

mural paintings:  
 Janaka, ploughing, finds adult Sītā in golden casket on lotusJLB photo (2013): 62  
 Hanumān (enormous) uses tail as bridge for *vānaras* to cross; (smaller, in corner)   
 makes love to *apsaras* JLB photo (2013): 63

**Bangkok, Wat Suthat**  
1st half C19 (commissioned by Rāma I); mural paintings from Rāmakīen (illustrations in Shastri 2021: 305-92)

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McGill and Pattaratorn Chirapravati 2005: 159-60 – descr. of item 62 (ill.) gable decoration with Vishnu (or Rama) mounted on the mythical bird Garuda, surrounded by demons, approx. 1650-1750, found at Wat Mae Nang Plum, Ayutthaya. Wood with traces of lacquer, gilding, and mirror inlay. h. 300 cm., w. 317 cm.

items in National Museum, Bangkok:

green glazed ceramic plaque of Hanumān approaching S., no provenance or date but perhaps from a stūpa basement 99/1337/2555 = JLB photo: 65

cabinet door panels, screens (inc. Sītā hanging self, meeting with Hanumān, death of Vālin): JLB photos: 67-74

2 folded illustrated mss of Thai Rāmakīen, C19, 66.7 × 14.3 cm. Christie’s 21.09.06: 213

2 folios from an ill. Ramakien, C19, 27.9 × 17.1 / 27.9 × 21.6 cm. Bonhams 22.03.24: 837

ms. with 63 paintings of combat scenes from Thai Rāmakīen, 1800-40, 22.2 × 49.5 × 6.3 cm.  
(= McGill 2016: 88-89, no. 46) San Francisco 2006.27.9

divinatory ms. with Rāma story illustrations, 1800-50, 36.8 × 12.1 × 5.4 cm.  
(= McGill 2016: 232-3, no. 121) San Francisco 2008.89

ms. of excerpts from Buddhist texts with Rāma story illustrations, 1857, 8.3 × 35.5 cm.  
(= McGill 2016: 44-45, no. 10) San Francisco 1993.27  
[**note also** similar volume in Thai royal collection in Bangkok National Museum]

illustrations from a ms., 19th cent., 10.8 × 36.2 cm. Sackler (Harvard) 1984.541

set of gouache paintings, 19th cent. (?), varying sizes, captions below in Thai   
(some also in English) Wellcome Foundation 579957i-579963i

5 tempera paintings on paper, 2nd half C19, 37 × 88 cm., showing: Hanumān captures fleeing Benyagai, building the causeway, Kumbhakarṇa sharpens and magics his spear, Indrajit injures Lakṣmaṇa, death of Indrajit Cardu Mus., Cagliari 644-8

ms. with scenes from *Rāmakīen* or *Rāmakerti* (ff. 1-157)*, Vessantara Jātaka* (ff. 158-83) etc.   
(ff. 184-203), 1880-1900, 23 x 35.5 cm. on European paper, Thai Ratanakosin style,   
pencil captions in Khmer script BL Or. 14859

illustrated Rāmāyaṇa ms., C20, 3.5 × 26 × 1.5 cm. Rietberg 2016.38

cloth painting of Hanumān supporting Buddha flanked by 2 disciples (?), 1825-75,   
207.6 × 88.9 cm. (= McGill 2016: 195, no. 104) San Francisco 2015.28

cloth painting of R. + L. on chariot about to shoot, C19, 59.5 × 43 cm. in frame  
 Olympiar 11.11.15: 235

manuscript cabinet, lacquered and gilded wood, 1st half C19, 161.3 × 101.3 × 87.3 cm.  
 Philadelphia 1974-155-1

manuscript cabinet, lacquered and gilded wood, 1800-50, 156.2 × 96.5 × 79.4 cm.  
(also ill. at McGill 2016: 80-81, no. 41) San Francisco 2006.27.41

double manuscript cabinet, lacquered and gilded wood, 1850-1900, 135.9 × 146 × 54 cm.  
 San Francisco 2006.27.42

manuscript cabinet, lacquered and gilded wood, late C18 – early C19, 158.8 × 86.5 × 79.1 cm.  
 Met. Mus. 1971.139

manuscript box, lacquered and gilded wood, late C19, 11½ × 32⅛ × 9¼ in.  
 Wisconsin 2005.43.2

manuscript chest, lacquered and gilded wood, C19, 28.5 × 78.5 × 23 cm.  
 Ader 11.06.18 = 13.02.19: 209

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**motifs (not) in verbal texts**

*Rāvaṇa attempts to deceive Sītā with illusory severed heads of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa*

Sītā taken with illusory severed heads of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in *haṃsa*-drawn *puṣpaka* to see Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa bound together by *nāgapāśa*; *vānaras* flying around, heads of heavenly bodies around edge:

*Visual Khmer: Thailand, Phnom Rung, central tower, W door, pediment + lintel reliefs*, *11/12 C*

Roveda 2005: 131-32, 134-35, 476, figs 4.4.74-76, 4.4.82, CD 10.0986; Smitthi and Moore 1992: 275, 299; JLB photos (2013): 362-63

**not in Olsson**

Rāvaṇa creates illusory heads of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa [*deaths of rest of army not mentioned*]: Old Javanese, *Kakawin*: Santoso 1980: 17.4-21

[*One head in Bhaṭṭi 14.1*]

Rāvaṇa told by Sītā she will believe Rāma dead only when she sees his head in Rāvaṇa’s hands, beheads 2 victims, adorns heads with diadems, takes them to Sītā: Malay, *HSR*: Zieseniss 1928: 41 / Burch 1963: 68

**analogue** – Olsson 1968: 227-29

No presentation of head/s of Rāma / Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to Sītā.

Indrajit causes *rākṣasa* awaiting execution for cowardice to assume form of Sītā, decapitates him/her and throws head to Rāma who mourns until undeceived by Vibhīṣaṇa.

*vānaras* build causeway with sage’s blessing; sea creatures intervene: *Visual Khmer: Thailand, Phimai, central tower, W face, lintel relief, end 11 C*

Roveda 2005: 131, 134, 470, figs 4.4.71-72=CD 10.0935-36; Boeles 1969: figs 1, 2; JLB photo (2013): 313

[*verbal source for sage ?; not in Olsson 1968*]

sages and divine beings watch building of causeway with approval: epics, *VR* (4 N): 6, App.14

*Mūlaphalam and Sahatsadecha feasted and entertained on arrival*

[*verbal source* ? *not in Olsson 1968: 240*]

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Chandavij, Natthapatra and Promporn Pramualratana 1998: *Thai puppets & Khon masks* (London: Thames and Hudson). [a River Books product] **AAAW TT Nat**

**Khon** [= ‘mask’] is Thai dance drama. In earlier forms all characters wore masks; now only demons and monkeys wear masks; humans and angels wear elaborate headgear. Originally 4 hours long, now cut to one hour fifteen minutes, staged publicly twice every week at Bangkok’s Sala Chalermkrung Royal Theatre (former cinema set up over 50 years ago by king Rama VII); attracts mostly tourists: *Times of India*, 2 March 2008

theatrical mask of Hanumān, Thailand, 1876, 22 × 24 × 25 cm.   
(ill. at McGill 2016: 171, no. 82) Smithsonian (Nat.Mus. Nat. Hist.) USNM 27378

theatrical mask of Rāvaṇa, Thailand, 1876, 57 × 28 × 23 cm.  
(ill. at McGill 2016: 219-24, no. 114) Smithsonian (Nat.Mus. Nat. Hist.) E54232

shadow puppet of Rāvaṇa riding chariot, Thailand, 1850-1900, 193.5 × 142 cm.  
(ill. at McGill 2016: 223, no. 113) Smithsonian (Nat.Mus. Nat. Hist.) 2006.27.115.2

**object (and medium)** various

**location (original/present)** Myanmar

**date**

**studies** Green, Alexandra, and T. Richard Blurton (eds) 2002: *Burma: art and archaeology* (London: British Museum). [for general background] **(IND) Burma 1 c 3**

Pattaratorn Chirapravati M.L. 2013: “Funeral scenes in the Rāmāyaṇa mural painting at the Emerald Buddha Temple”, in *Materializing Southeast Asia's Past: Selected Papers from the 12th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists*, 2 vols (Singapore: NUS Press) II, 221-32. **download**

Rooney, Dawn F. 2012: “The Rama Story in Burma: a visual depiction”, *Lotus Leaves* 14.2: 7‑14. **download**

Stadtner, Donald M., and Michael Freeman 2005: *Ancient Pagan: Buddhist plain of merit* (Bangkok: River Books). **(IND) Burma 1 d 25; pp. 142-5 scanned**

Thaw Kaung, U 2010: “In search of Rama: a visit to Tha-Khut-ta-nai”, in *Aspects of Myanmar History and Culture* (Yangon: Gant-gaw-Myaing Sarpay). **BL / SOAS**

**notes** Nat Hlaung Kyaung temple, Pagan, thought to have been built by Anawratha (= Aniruddha, 1044-77), has images of *avatāras* in exterior niches on its outer wall; two on the north wall are identifiable as Rāma with his bow and Balarāma with his plough, one on the rear wall is Vāmana, and on the south wall are Narasiṃha and Vāmana. King Kyanzittha (1084-1113) claims in two inscriptions at Mya Kan, Bagān (Pagān), and on the Kyaik Tha Lan pagoda (present Mya Thein Tan pagoda; inscription dated 1098 and housed in the University of Rangoon Library) near Thaton, to have been born in the family of Rama of Ayodhapur. [Phetleik pagoda in Pagan, prob. also from Anawrahta’s reign has a terracotta plaque with a *Dasaratha Jātaka* scene.]

Paintings in the *tondi* of the Abeyadana Temple, Pagan, of king Kyanzittha’s period include a figure of Rāma riding Hanumān (Thaw Kaung 2002: 137)

Earliest [known] wood carvings in Myanmar [destroyed by fire in 1960s] from *ubosot* of Moda Kyaung (Moda’s monastery), Mandalay, dated to c. 1864: see Ohno 1999 plates and “Burmese Rāmāyana carvings” in “Further Notes (visual)”. Other wood carvings from the second half of the 19th century are in the Pakhan monastery (built in reign of king Mindon, 1853-78), the Shwe-inbin monastery in Mandalay (1896) and on door leaves at the Shwe-Nandaw monastery in Mandalay (rebuilt in 1880).

In middle of C19 the story of Rāma was depicted in a continuous series of 347 stone relief sculptures (about 35 cm square) round the base of the *stūpa* of Maha Loka Marazein (also known as Paya-Gyi, ‘Big Pagoda’) about 5 miles north of Thakhuttanai village (Monywar district of Sagaing division), built in 1846-49 during the reign of King Bagan (1846-1853), of the Konbaung Dynasty. Each relief plaque is carved from Taung-Oo sandstone and they were added to the base of the pagoda only after it was finished, so probably c. 1850. [some illustrations of rubbings in Rooney 2017]

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double spread from Rāmāyaṇa ms, C18 (?), 52.5 x 42 cm. Asiatic Society, Kolkata  
[ill. in Aitken 2022: 77]

*parabaik* illustrating the Rāma story, c. 1850, 53.98 × 20.96 cm.; overall width 5.28 m.  
 Seattle Art Museum 57.132

*parabaik* with scenes from Rāma story, c. 1870, 53 × 22 × 5 cm., on 16 sides, brief captions  
 in Burmese in pencil below BL Or. 14178   
(https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or\_14178\_f001r; also ill. at   
McGill 2016: 127-9, no. 63)

*parabaik* with scenes from Rāma story (94 leaves, 12 paintings), C19, 14 × 67.5 cm.   
(each page) Zacke 10.03.23: 647

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embroidered and appliqué hanging, Rāmāyaṇa scene, 18th-19th century,   
163 × 180 cm. Christie’s 12-14.03.01: 922

appliqué hanging of Rāma hunting golden deer and abduction of Sītā, 19th century   
 Harvard (Sackler) 1930.442

embroidered hanging with scenes from Burmese Rāma story, c. 1850-1900   
(ill. at McGill 2016: 52-53, no. 16) San Francisco 1989.25.1

hanging (*kalaga*), appliqué and embroidery on velvet by U Paw Hnyun, with scenes from Burmese Rāma story, c. 1870-85 Met. Mus. 2021.91

hanging (*kalaga*) of brocaded silk, with appliqué, embroidery, gold couching and sequins  
before 1855 V&A 05828(IS)

hanging (*kalaga*) of appliquéd and embroidered velvet, scenes from Burmese Rāma story,  
late C19 V&A IS.8-1952

hanging (*kalaga*) of appliquéd and embroidered velvet, scenes from Burmese Rāma story,  
c. 1890 V&A IS.134-1964

papier-mâché mask, gold with mirror work, C19 V&A IM 45-1939

statuette of *yakṣa* with mask from Rāmāyaṇa play, 1890s (?), 52 cm. BM 1983,0630.1

silver repoussé bowl with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, C19, height 16 cm. Bonhams 29.03.18: 29

silver offering bowl with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, c. 1900, height 19 cm. Bonhams 19.04.23: 546  
[many other similar items on Bonhams’ website]

water-bowl (*pala*) in silver with Rāmāyaṇa scenes in relief, C19, Rangoon, height 17 cm., diameter 27 cm. V&A IM.344-1910

water-bowl (*pala*) in silver with Rāmāyaṇa scenes in relief, late C19, from Sagaing.

*dha* (curved sword), its silver inlay including Ramayana scenes, C18, 60 cm.  
 Tennants 7.09.16: 397

Burmese sword (*dha*), inlaid in silver with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, C19/C20, 89.5 cm.  
 Lempertz 16.06.18: 434

ivory sword hilt carved with Rāvaṇa grasping S., 1700-1800, 17.5 × 3.8 × 4.3 cm.  
 Rijksmuseum AK-MAK-306

**object (and medium)** various

**location (original/present)** Laos

**date** 18th century onwards

**studies** Aves, Edward, and Steven Vickers 2014: *The rough guide to Laos,* 5th edn (London: Rough Guides). **Bod.**

Ratnam, Kamala 1974: “The Ramayana in Laos”, *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture* 3:179-242. **Ind. Inst. Or. ser. F 1/95(3)**

**notes** Vat Xieng Thong, Luang Prabang: walls of main temple or *sim,* built in 1560 by King Setthathilat, were later decorated with stencilled gold motifs on a black or dark blue background showing, among other stories, episodes from the *Phra Lak Phra Lam,* while the funerary carriage hall (built in 1962) has teakwood panels carved with figures of Rāma, Sītā, Rāvaṇa and Hanumān. (**source**: Aves and Vickers 2014: 114-16)

Vat Mai, Luang Prabang (built 1796): main roof beam carved with episodes from Lao Rm.: Rāvaṇa’s birth; Nārāyaṇa disguised as an *apsaras* deceives Nonthok into pointing finger at and so killing himself; Nang Savaha (Svāhā) informing on her mother, Nang Atchana (Añjanā), to Khodom that Vālin and Sugrīva are not his sons; Vāln defeating Rāvaṇa; Rāvaṇa as giant crab; S. asking R. to get golden deer; Rāvaṇa kills Jaṭāyus, R + L search for S.; fight between Vālin + Sugrīva; Hanumān commissioned to search for S.; building causeway; Rāvaṇa propositioning S. (**source**: Ratnam 1974: 185 + plates 22-40)  
 Parmentier 1988: 335 [add. note by M.G.] – “le porche Est est richement décoré; sous le toit, les poutres son sculptées de scène du Râmâyana inspirées du Ramakien Thaï (cf. H. Marchal, *L’art décoratif au Laos,* Arts Asiatiques, t. X., fasc. 2, 1964, p. 22-23, Pl. LIV).”

Vat Pa Ké, Luang Prabang (built 1803, reconstructed 1851-53) with contemporary murals by Nai Khien taken from the Thai *Rāmakien*. Scenes shown: Thosokontho, king of Nankga, in his city; Ayodhyā along with the major figures of narrative; city of Kiṣkindhā; births of Vālin (by Indra on Nang Khaisi), Sugrīva (by Sūrya on Nang Khaisi), secret betrayed by sister Savaha, cursed by mother Nang Khaisi, then married by Vāyu and gives birth to Hanumān; childhood of Hanumān; Viśvāmitra gets help of R. + L. to kill crow (= Tāṭakā); Sītā born as daughter of Rāvaṇa and Muntho; suitors attempt to lift bow but only Pha Lam succeeds; marriage of R. + S.; R. breaks stone = Ahalyā; 3 huts of R + L. + S. in forest; L. kills Kumbhakarṇa with sword; Thosokontho cuts Siṃha’s tongue protecting Laṅkā and so kills him; Siṃha’s widow, Samanakha in form of beautiful woman propositions R. and is beaten up; she reports this to Rāvaṇa, who goes to see; abduction of S.; Jaṭāyus killed by Rāvaṇa; R. + L. meet Hanumān and Sugrīva; Bharata and Śatrughna weep over Daśaratha’s urn and Bharata drives out Kaikesi, then Bharata and Śatrughna set out in search of R.; meeting of Bharata and R.; Virādha episode; fight between Thorapha and Thoraphi; Vālin challenges Thoraphi; Sugrīva goes to block cave; R. + S. + L. cross a river in a boat; fight between Vālin and Sugrīva. (**source**: Ratnam 1974: 193-201 + plates 3-16)  
 Parmentier 1988: 336 [add. note by M.G.] – [on mural paintings, ridiculed by Parmentier] “Certaines scènes, telles que celle qui représente Sîtâ repoussant Râvana sont réellement belles. Ces peintures murales disposées en registres illustrent le Râmâyana lao. Au Laos, il n’existe pas, à notre connaissance, une autre représentation aussi développée de cette épopée.”

Vat Xieng Muon, Luang Prabang (built 1851) –Parmentier 1988: 337 [add. note by M.G.]   
“Les vantaux de la façade Nord représentent des divinités gardiennes tenant un arc ou joignant les main dans un geste de vénération. Deux de ces vantau récents sont sculptés, symétriquement, de la même scène figurant Vālin descendant d’un arbre pour venir défier le buffle Torapī.”

At Vat Up Mong in Vientiane, the paintings illustrate the Lao version, the Phra Lak-Phra Lam, and are executed in popular style.

**object (and medium)**

**location (original/present)** China

**date**

**studies** Ecke, Gustav and Paul Demiéville 1935: *The twin pagodas of Zayton: a study of later Buddhist sculpture in China* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press).  
 **Sackler CWa Eck;** *checked*

Guy, John 1993-94: “The lost temples of Nagapattinam and Quanzhou: a study in Sino-Indian relations,” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 3: 291-310. **Sackler Y 152; checked** [notes within “Further Notes (visual)”]

Guy, John 2000: “Tamil merchant guilds and the Quanzhou trade”, in *The Emporium of the World: maritime Quanzhou, 1000-1400,* ed. by Angela Schottenhammer (Leiden: Brill):   
283-308. **download**

Lee, Risha 2009: “Rethinking Community: the Indic carvings of Quanzhou”, in *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: reflections on the Chola naval expeditions to Southeast Asia,* ed. by Hermann Kulke, K. Kesavapany and Vijay Sakhuja, 240-70 (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies). **photocopy; study, analyse**

**notes** 2reliefs of monkeys (? Hanumān) from Quanzhou illustrated at Krishnan 2010: 42.

Ample evidence of trade between China and South Asia from early centuries A.D. but nothing at all convincing for knowledge on Rāma story in Quanzhou or elsewhere. “The presence of a Tamil-speaking merchant community in the port city of Quanzhou was confirmed in 1956 by the discovery of a Tamil-Chinese bi-lingual inscription dated April 1281” (Guy 2000: 295).

In context of Hindu temple in Quanzhou with Hanumān relief, Zhang (2010: 43/45 n.14) cites Hara (Hara 1983: 348-49) for raising possibility of Rāma story being brought to Japan by a Hindu.

Chieng Hung (Yunnan province, SW China): mural paintings of Phra Lak Phra Lam. [source: Sahai 1996: II, 51 – “I noticed in one of the monasteries around Chieng Hung, the chief town of Sipsong Phanna in Yunnan province the mural paintings of *Phra Lak Phra Lam* on the walls of a Buddhist monastery. The story of the deformed child Lul Lu is depicted prominently in these paintings.”]

**object (and medium)** lontar mss from Bali, etc.

**location (original/present)** Bali (Australian collections)

**date** 19th-20th century

**studies** Guy, John 1982: *Palm-leaf and Paper: illustrated manuscripts of India and Southeast Asia* (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria). **Sackler IWgc Mel**

**notes** from Guy 1982: 72-3 on catalogue nos. 50abcd – four folios from an illustrated ms of the *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin,* showing scenes from Rāma’s search for Sītā; text in Old Javanese in Balinese script; ink on European paper watermarked “J. Whatman 1811”, so quite possibly produced for a European customer; each folio 37.5 × 46.8cm.; Bali, early to mid 19th century; collection of D.J. Stuart-Fox.

“Catalogue nos. 50a and b (24r. and 25v.) depict the beauty of the mountain of Suwéla, north of the city of Leṅkā, a scene of heavenly pleasures, . . . ”  
“Catalogue no. 50c depicts Rāwaṇa’s attempt to win Sītā’s acceptance by convincing her that both Rāma and his brother Lakṣmaṇa are dead, presenting the illusory heads of both before her.”  
“Catalogue no. 50d. In his attempts to persuade Sītā to be his consort “in pleasures and power”, Rāwaṇa offers her all manner of exotic gifts:  
 Let tigers, rhinoceroses, lions be carried in cages . . . (Cpt.XVII, stanza 14)”  
[four servants carry a caged animal]

Guy 1982: 80 – cat. no. 54. ill. leaves from a *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin* ms.; text in High Balinese in Balinese script; illustrations by Ida Bagus Adayana; lontar palm-leaf; 26 folios, 14 illustrated, each 3.5 × 34.3 cm.; dated 16 June 1976; Peliatan, Bali; collection of A. Forge.

Guy 1982: 81 – cat. no. 55. ill. leaves from a *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin* ms.; text in High Balinese in Balinese script; lontar palm-leaf; 9 folios, each 3.7 × 49.6 cm.; Bali, c. 1970; collection of A. Forge.

*lontar* with stories from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, n.d.  
 Baltimore Museum of Art 1947.37

Lombok: painted wooden storage box for lontar mss with Ramāyaṇa scenes 1875-1900,   
11.2 × 53.9 × 7.1 cm. Wereld Mus. TM-274-2

drawing on fabric: Rāmāyaṇa episode, C19, 86.4 × 243.8 cm.  
 Baltimore Museum of Art 1947.39

painting on cotton: Sītā’s ordeal, Indonesia, 1850-1900, 124.5 × 154.9 cm.  
 San Francisco B78M1

*ider-ider* showing mustering of *vānara* army, C19-early C20, 225 × 71 cm. BM As1950,+.2

valance for a temple or royal pavilion [*ider-ider*] showing Sinta’s ordeal, late C19,   
42.4 × 278 cm. National Gallery of Australia 87.1084

**location uncertain**

Thailand/Laos/Cambodia, 1750-1825, wooden pediment with Rāma standing on a monkey (one of pair, other showing Maiyarap), ill. at Mcgill 2016: 42, no. 6  
 San Francisco 2011.67.a-c

Cambodia/Thailand, 1900-50, cloth painting, Hanumān carries a lady (? Benyakai)  
(ill. at McGill 2016: 192, no. 101) San Francisco B60D30+,a

Thai/Cambodian, pair of temple doors depicting Rāmāyaṇa scenes, C19, 243.8 × 61 × 6.4 cm. Cornell 2000.178.001-2

**implication uncertain**

Kats 1927: 579 – “But also in more distant places the story of Rāma’s adversity and Sītā’s fidelity has had in all times a great many admirers. . . . . . . , while pictures of this story have also found their way to the north of Celebes and other parts of the Archipelago.”

Is this simply a rather vague reference to the 18th-century textiles showing the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa exported from the Coromandel coast to Indonesia (examples found in Sulawesi and Bali; details within “10. visual (India)”) — or does it refer to something else?