

DE GRUYTER

MICHAEL FALSER

ANGKOR WAT

A TRANSCULTURAL HISTORY OF HERITAGE

VOLUME 1: ANGKOR IN FRANCE



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FROM PLASTER CASTS TO EXHIBITION PAVILIONS

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VOLUME 2: ANGKOR IN CAMBODIA



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Acknowledgements

It was more or less exactly twenty years before this present publication, more precisely at around six o'clock in the morning on 13 July 1999, that I first saw Angkor Wat. I approached the site via the southern connection road from the nearby tourist hub of Siem Reap. Sitting on the open rear of a truck with the smiling Cambodian team members of the French Baphuon temple restoration project around me, I watched as the temple's majestic towers emerged from the huge trees in the magic matutinal mist that lay over the deep green moat around the site. It is not exaggerated to call this precise moment one of the most impressive experiences in my life.

At this point I was pursuing a double degree in architecture (with a focus on historic preservation) and art history (with a focus on South Asia) in Vienna, and I had already travelled with my backpack to India's Taj Mahal, Myanmar's Pagan site, Indonesia's Borobudur temple, and China's Great Wall. But my story with Angkor Wat was of a different nature from the beginning. More precisely, it was during my year as an Erasmus student at the *École d'architecture Paris-La Villette* in 1998/99 that I successfully applied for a three-month internship with the famous *École française d'Extrême-Orient* (EFEO), the institute that was founded in the colonial time period around 1900 to explore and preserve the cultural heritage of *le Cambodge* in French *Indochine*. When I arrived in Cambodia, it was the extremely charismatic director of the EFEO's field office at Siem Reap/Cambodia, Pascal Royère, who introduced me to the Khmer temples in and around Angkor Park, and the challenges of architectural preservation and cultural heritage management. It is to him – tragically posthumously († 2014) – that my first and most sincere thank-you is formulated.

Shortly after this first visit to Angkor, a fellowship from Vienna University helped me to return for my master's thesis in art history under the direction of Professor Deborah Klimburg-Salter, holder of the chair of Asian art history. I am grateful for her support then and ever since. During this 2001 visit I temporarily joined the German Apsara Conservation Project (GACP), whose work since the mid-1990s had been concerned not only with the famous decorative surfaces of the twelfth-century Angkor Wat temple in the heart of Angkor Park but also with the final consolidation of the Preah Ko temple some kilometres to the south-east of the archaeological reserve. My research project was to unfold and correlate both the original ninth-century architectural construction and the early twentieth-century French restoration history of this fascinating pre-Angkorian brick temple. It not only resulted in my thesis and some years later in my first monograph on Khmer architecture (Falser 2006) but also influenced my upcoming Angkor

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From 2009 onwards my on-site and archival research into Angkor Wat's career as a transcultural heritage icon was a particularly complex and multi-sited endeavour in Europe and Asia. In France, the most important sources came from the Paris headquarter of the EFEO itself, with its magnificent library and archive. In this context, my sincere thanks go to Professor Bruno Dagens and Professor Claude Jacques (†2018) for sharing their profound knowledge about the cultural and intellectual history of Angkor (Park); to Franciscus Verellen (EFEO director 2004–2014) for giving me free access to all necessary archival sources; to Pierre-Yves Manguin, Christophe Pottier, Olivier de Bernon, and Pierre Pichard for their scientific support; and to Isabelle Poujol (director of the photographic archive) and Rachel Guidoni and Cristina Cramerotti (library and archive) for their patient help in identifying and providing written and visual material for this publication.

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It's not surprising that some of the most precious moments of personal encounter and of research into collections, archives, and libraries occurred in Southeast Asia. While international players overseeing developments at

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Michael Falser
Vienna-Heidelberg, 20 September 2019

Introduction

1. Angkor Wat: A transcultural history of heritage

1.1. Angkor Wat in Paris: A French *lieu de mémoire*?

A black-and-white photograph features prominently in the 1984 volume *La République*, the first of the French historian Pierre Nora's giant project called *Les Lieux de mémoire* (seven volumes from 1984 to 1992) (Fig. Intro.1a). In this photo three 'European' protagonists – a lady dressed in white, an elegant gentleman in a tailcoat and top hat, and a white-bearded gentleman in military uniform – are seen walking together along a paved pathway towards the foreground. A crowd of (mostly) men is gathered around them; almost all are dressed in black and some are wearing elegant tailcoats, the mark of an 'Occidental' gentleman. Others in the group are identified as 'Oriental' because of their Asian facial features, their uniforms and cone-shaped hats, and the fact that

they are holding flat round umbrellas over the couple dressed in white. To the left, in the middle ground, a similar group of 'Asian' guards carrying shields and swords delimit the distinguished group on the pathway from the background. There, an impressive architectural structure, seemingly constructed in stone and clearly identifiable as twelfth-century Angkorian style, frames the scene.

There are a number of ways that one might interpret this image. For instance, were it not for the distinctly 'un-tropical' coniferous vegetation in the far background and the lack of Asian officials and spectators in the representative centre of the scene, it could easily pass as a typical press photograph to cover a politically motivated sight-



Figure Intro.1a "Le maréchal Lyautey fait visiter l'Exposition coloniale au duc et à la duchesse d'York. Au fond, le temple d'Angkor", as it was published in Pierre Nora's *Lieux de mémoire* in 1984 within Charles-Robert Ageron's contribution "L'exposition coloniale de 1931: Mythe républicain ou mythe impérial?" (Source: Nora 1984, 586–87; © Roger-Viollet, Paris)

seeing visit to the temples of Angkor paid by a high-ranking European general and his wife. As indicated in Nora's publication, the caption "Le maréchal Lyautey fait visiter l'Exposition coloniale au duc et à la duchesse d'York. Au fond, le temple d'Angkor" still leaves the reader in no little uncertainty about the actual site. Although the words "temple d'Angkor" might be understood as a reference to the original site in Cambodia, the term "exposition coloniale", in combination with the presence of the French host and his British guests (in fact the future British King George VI and his wife), clarifies that the photograph must have been taken at an exhibition on French-metropolitan soil, more precisely in Paris of 1931. Is it a far-fetched interpretation that the representation of Angkorian temple architecture and Indochinese staffage figures served here as a backdrop for the larger political message that the French-colonial *mission civilisatrice* had appropriated Cambodia's Buddhist Angkor Wat temple into its own, secularised canon of a *patrimoine culturel*? In fact, both topics – the "colonial exhibition" and the French "notion of heritage" – served as prominent markers within Nora's *Lieux de mémoire*. The first term appeared in the previously mentioned volume entitled *La République* and the latter in *La Nation*. And although Charles-Robert Ageron, the author of the first article in Nora's book, mentioned that the goal of the Colonial Exhibition of 1931 was to "materialise on [the] metropolitan soil of France her remote presence in all the parts of the Empire" (Ageron 1984, 570), his proposed "lecture de l'Exposition" was more ambiguous. He summarised it as a "theatre of shadows, not a faithful reportage" that tried – ultimately in vain – to "constitute a colonial mentality" but that – supposedly more successfully – helped in "the birth of the republican myth" of France's universal leadership (Ageron 1984, 576, 585, 590). It is highly relevant for our following argumentation that Ageron had obviously thought very little about the function of and concrete agency behind this giant pavilion *à la Angkorienne*, the construction of which he described without further exploration as somewhere between "free interpretation" and "strict realism" (Ageron 1984, 574) – with no comment about the 'original' temple site ten thousand kilometres to the east of Paris (Figs. Intro.1b,c).

In Nora's book, the second term, "cultural heritage", was discussed in the contribution *La notion de patrimoine*, written by the famous French art historian André Chastel. Here Chastel conceptualised cultural heritage as an elitist enterprise developed by leading intellectuals and emerging

state institutions in order to canonise the "moral richness of the [French] nation" (Chastel 1986, 411) and move it towards a rather univocal and monolithic "patrimoine national". In what he considered an attempt to "déconcerter les Occidentaux", the author deplored the "menace" and dissolution of a nation-based concept of cultural heritage caused by a "vague and invasive global notion [...], a new post-industrial phase [and by] the notion of a universal cultural heritage" (Chastel 1986, 405, 434). Furthermore, he lamented that this new notion included "Third World countries" whose "tradition-bound manners [were] not comparable to the order of monumental symbols of the Occidental sphere" (Chastel 1986, 445). That (also French) colonialism had brought (violently, in many cases) a Eurocentric notion of cultural heritage to many of Chastel's so-called "Third World countries" – with dramatic consequences that have been felt from the decolonising period to this day, including in Cambodia – was not mentioned by either Chastel or Ageron, nor was the fact that 'Oriental pavilions' (like the above-quoted Angkor Wat version of 1931) in European exhibitions were built primarily to visualise Europe's hegemonic claims on non-European cultural properties.

But why would the 1931 Exhibition to celebrate the French-colonial endeavour picture so prominently in a postmodern publication project? The first volume in Nora's series was issued in 1984 and introduced by his preface "Entre mémoire et histoire: La problématique des lieux". Here, Nora's appreciation of the so-called "memory-nation" of the French Third Republic – a period from 1870 to 1940 that forms the temporal framework of the first volume of this book – was expressed in a supposed harmonious unity with French colonialism, and Nora saw his project's overall goal as being to artificially re-create this memory of the nation.¹ But Nora's project began in 1984 at the end of the Cold War, during the last breath of decolonisation and right before the Internet revolution. When Nora's project ended in 1992 the world had changed completely. With its first peak around 1900 and its second, more impactful one in the post-1990 era, the process of globalisation (in French: *mondialisation*) was characterised by an explosion of global mass migration, by the transfer and exchange processes of people, knowledge, and information, and by the accelerated movement of goods, objects, and images – and all that over long distances and between whole continents, like Asia and Europe (in our case, between the countries of Cambodia and France). In light of these

¹ "The nation's memory was held to be powerfully unified; no more discontinuity existed between our Greco-Roman cradle and the colonies of the Third Republic than between the high erudition that annexed new territories to the nation's heritage and the schoolbooks that professed its dogma. [...] The memory-nation was thus the last incarnation of the unification of memory and history [...] *Lieux de mémoire* originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory, that we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries [...], because such activities no longer occur naturally." [italics, MF] (Nora 1984, XXII–XXIV, this translated English version is from: Representations, 26 (Spring 1989), 11, 12)

in transcultural entanglements within the discipline of art and architectural history, in the 2009 volume *Memory, history, and colonialism: Engaging with Pierre Nora in colonial and postcolonial contexts*, the Indian art historian Monica Juneja, Professor of Global Art History at Heidelberg University (see below), formulated a robust critique of Nora's concept. She criticised Nora's aim of writing "a history of France through the medium of its memories", as the French nation, constructed as a "fixed canon, a focal point of agreement" of a supposed homogeneous identity, was crystallised at different sites where a "consensual notion of patrimony enveloped the notion of heritage" (Juneja 2009, 12, 18). As a consequence, a multifaceted heritage construction with varying stakeholders in different times and places in relation to one concerned object was excluded. Drawing on the question of how colonial regimes canonised pre-colonial buildings as heritage and how this affected postcolonial-nationalist heritage configurations (which is

also an underlying question of this book), Juneja conceptualised a multi-layered, transcultural approach to cultural heritage. And she posed a number of questions that are also useful as regards Nora's (Ageron's) entry about 'Angkor-in-Paris':

What forms of hegemonisation were involved as historical [also colonial, MF] monuments in nineteenth-century France were made to embody a narrative of national unity and identity? How did such projects work to evacuate monuments of their specific local or regional, historical, or religious associations, of residual meanings that lay beyond the bounds of scientific language? What forms of contestation, assimilation, appropriation, destruction, or coexistence of older and newer histories and memories ensue? How are these constantly negotiated by the different actors involved in the process of casting a [also colonial, MF] monument as patrimony? (Juneja 2009, 23)

1.2. The Heidelberg Cluster of Excellence *Asia and Europe in a Global Context* and the project *Heritage as a Transcultural Concept*

This book is the result of a research project *Heritage as a Transcultural Concept: Angkor Wat from an Object of Colonial Archaeology to a Contemporary Global Icon*,² which I personally conceived with my dual background as an architectural historian and a preservation architect, and which I carried out as project leader within a collaborative research structure at Heidelberg University between 2009 and 2013, resulting in a *Habilitation* manuscript in 2014. The research topic was developed further until 2018 through various international workshops and conferences, publication projects (see below), grants and fellowships (such as from the *Gerda Henkel Stiftung* and the *Centre Allemand d'Histoire de l'Art* in Paris) and visiting professorships at the universities of Vienna, Bordeaux-Montaigne, Paris-Sorbonne and Kyoto. In order to situate this book's central approach of transculturality, a short introduction to this initial research structure is useful.

The Cluster of Excellence *Asia and Europe in a Global Context* was established in 2007 as a new research platform at Heidelberg University to bring classical areas studies of South and East Asia on the one hand, and of modern European history on the other, into an interdisciplinary dialogue.³ It was part of the Excellence Initiative, which was initiated by the German Federal and State Governments and (still is) carried out by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the German Council of Science

and Humanities [*Wissenschaftsrat*]. It was the formulated aim of the Heidelberg Cluster to enhance the understanding of the multi-layered interactions between and within Asia and Europe – an area of great significance for academia as well as for contemporary society and politics – by examining the processes of exchange between cultures and establishing the concept of transculturality as a new methodological approach in the humanities and social sciences. With its thematic focus on Asia and Europe in a global context and having established as a first step a morphology of flows and circulations between Asia and Europe, the Heidelberg Cluster concentrated, in a next step, on exploring the specific dynamics of transcultural interactions. In this context, four different research groups (RA) worked towards a comprehensive understanding of highly complex processes and aspects such as: the generation and circulation of knowledge and the practices by which it is embodied between diverse epistemic communities (RA-C); its manifestations in the socio-political realm (RA-A); its propagation, contestation and defence through media and publics (RA-B), as well as its embeddedness in specific historical contexts; and, eventually, its narrative transformation into cultural memory (RA-D). Research Area D – entitled *Historicities and Heritage* and therefore the most important reference structure for the present research and book project – focused on how objects, texts, languages

² Its original homepage is today still available under: <http://www.asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de/en/research/d-historicities-heritage/d12.html> (retrieved 2 January 2019).

³ Its actual home is found under: <http://www.asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de/en/home.html> (retrieved 2 January 2019).

and spaces have been constituted and reconfigured through their mobile histories. By a close analysis of processes of transformation that unfold through extended contacts between cultures, various projects – including the present one – endeavoured to elaborate both the spatial and temporal dimension of transcultural phenomena. Research in this section contributed to substantiating the hypothesis that transcultural processes have been a formative characteristic of social formations over centuries, even pre-dating the advent of modern communication and global capital (commonly termed *globalisation*). The overall challenge here was to examine the nature of the shifts that circulatory practices of the past undergo in the present; to investigate how people in specific contexts experience, cope with and represent these changes; and to query the modes and arguments, concrete practices and techniques through which the experience of past societies is remembered, selected and cast into narratives, or into a body of objects, knowledge and practices canonised as heritage.

Within the Heidelberg Cluster's established professorships (including those in Intellectual History, Cultural Economic History, Visual and Media Anthropology and Buddhist Studies), the present research and book project was embedded within Global Art History.⁴ This unit's underlying observation was and still is that art history has so far been one of the disciplines most firmly rooted in hermetic and regionally limited analytic frameworks but that such a paradigm has precluded insights into the cultural dynamics and entanglements that lay *beyond* that which is transmitted through discourses of cultural purity and originality, and the forms of cultural essentialisms they sustain. The overall agenda here included a deconstruction of disciplinary models within art history that have marginalised experiences and practices of entanglement. The search for new frameworks involved investigating the formation of art and visual practices as polycentric and multi-vocal processes. The term 'global' – used in this book project in the subtitle of the second volume – is understood not as an expansive frame to include 'the world'; rather, it draws on a transcultural perspective to question the taxonomies and values that have been built into the discipline of art history since its inception and have been taken as universal. Beginning in the ancient past, objects of art, migrant artists – and modern-day architects in our case – and travelling visual regimes (museums, exhibitions, etc.) have invariably created an open public sphere of shared meanings and forms of articulation only contingently limited by territorial and cultural formations that crystallised with the formation of nation states. By reconstituting its units of analysis, and by replacing fixed regions by mobile contact zones with shifting frontiers and viewing time as non-linear and

palimpsestic, the new approach of Global Art History enables a conceptualisation of visual practices as mutually constituted through processes of reconfiguration and through engagements between the local and the canonical, and through negotiations between multiple centres of production. In this book those centres to negotiate Angkor Wat between Asia and Europe will be primarily found in Cambodia and France, but also in Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia and India, and Great Britain and Germany. At the same time new fissures and boundaries that cut across existing national and geographical units call for being investigated. Fractured public spheres where a shared vocabulary about art and cultural heritage does not find resonance have been a site of conflict and controversy, which in turn become global issues – such as, in our case, during decolonisation and the Cold War and in global heritage politics. In this collaborative research environment at Heidelberg University, the present research and book project – with its focus on heritage as a transcultural concept and on architectural histories and conservation politics in their global entanglements – helped to locate the European and the non-European in a common field to help evolve a non-hierarchical conceptual framework and language that historicises difference without essentialising it.

From an abstract, methodological viewpoint, my research project investigated the formation of the modern concept of cultural heritage by charting its colonial, post-colonial-nationalist and global trajectories. This investigation – the results of which will be presented in the present two volumes consisting of twelve chapters and two epilogues – consisted of researching the case study of the Cambodian twelfth-century temple of Angkor Wat (see its general description in the next section) as different phases of its history unfolded within the transcultural interstices of European and Asian projects and conceptual definitions. These started with the temple's supposed discovery in the jungle by French colonial archaeology in the nineteenth century (chapter IX) and with its multi-form representation history in French museums and colonial and universal exhibitions (chapters I to VIII, compare Nora's above-pictured Angkor Wat replica in the International Colonial Exhibition in Paris of 1931). And the investigation continued with Angkor Wat's canonisation as a symbol of cultural inheritance by Cambodia's neighbours of Siam and India (epilogue I) and its canonisation as a symbol of Khmer national identity during the struggle for decolonisation (chapter X), under the postcolonial regimes of the Khmer Rouge and during Vietnamese occupation (chapter XI). Finally, the investigation considers Angkor Wat as a global icon of contemporary heritage schemes under UNESCO's World Heritage label (chapter XII) and as an archaeological reserve with an ambivalent process of local appropri-

⁴ The actual homepage is reached under: <http://www.asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de/en/research/hcts-professorships/global-art-history.html> (retrieved 2 January 2018).

tion (epilogue II). Compiled into the present publication of more than one thousand written pages in two volumes and with more than 1,200 illustrations, this book project investigates the temple's material traces and architectural forms as well as the literary and visual representations (many of which were previously unpublished) of the structure, with a view to analysing global processes of transfer and translation as well as the recent proliferation of hybrid forms of art, architecture and cultural heritage.

The concept of heritage, as I use it here as a starting point, relates to material structures, institutional complexes and practices and at the same time carries a powerful emotional charge emanating from the idea of belonging and shared cultural meanings, especially in the context of a young nation. Its origins go back to the European Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, in the wake of which secularising and nation-building processes followed. The concept travelled as a form of colonial modernity (through France in our case) to the non-European world (to Cambodia and Indochina), where it worked to create new identities for alien cultural objects and situated them in a distinct discursive frame that was equally constitutive of the modern disciplines of architectural history and conservation. Yet today this concept is increasingly undermined through the workings of globality and digitality. So this book deals with the modern processes of cultural appropriation, exclusion and ascription that marked the transcultural relationships centred on the Angkor Wat complex. By questioning diffusionist master narratives that constituted their units of analysis in terms of a metropolitan *Leitkultur* and a recipient culture on the periphery, this study privileges a transcultural approach that investigates both the entanglements and the inner pluralities in each of the units. It draws attention to the ways in which local agencies (for example, during Cambodia's short period of independence in the 1950s and 1960s) engage with 'universalising' concepts and debates on their own terms. Such processes are seen here to create a 'third space' (see a debate of this often-quoted term below) in which the monument comes to be refracted through the prism of the new

visualities being examined here with an extraordinary amount of illustrations. A rethinking of the concept of heritage is called for in this publication, one that will release it from the bonds of the European Enlightenment and overcome its old-fashioned parameters (Fig. Intro.2a).⁵ The workings of heritage between the global and the local, or better a synchronous, multi-sited investigation of both levels (some research calls this the 'glocal' level), also complicate its function as a cohesive expression of the national level in between – in the end we have to address the possibility of pluralising the meanings and workings of the concept. In order to a) analyse transfer, translation, exchange and – most important – hybrid innovation processes that are a product of cultural flows between Europe and Asia and b) to question their long-established asymmetries and map their creative potentials, the very nature of cultural heritage provides an ideal field for the intended methodological approach (Fig. Intro.2b). While culture in general can be differentiated into social, mental and material aspects, the concept of cultural heritage participates in all of these three levels. At the *social level* it encompasses all variations of identity constructions (regional, national, global), institution building, and social practices – and the vision of cultural heritage plays a strong role here: its identification, selection, protection, presentation and administration is always regulated by institutionalised authorities and scholarship (e.g., museums, research institutes, governmental conservation agencies). As a value-based, *mental construct* cultural heritage (national, colonial, universal) is a projection in the name of 'authenticity' that itself dominates preservation and conservation norms, standards and real actions on site. *Material culture* comprises artefacts including architecture – and historic monuments are a selection of the built environment to be 'produced', often 'archaeologised'⁶ and preserved in the condition of a ruin, and protected by practices and techniques of preservation/conservation (Pl. Intro.1). The intended methodology simultaneously analyses these three levels of culture through the lens of the (translingual) concepts of cultural heritage, (transnational) institutions and (transcultural) practices of

⁵ In the conference *Kulturerbe: Denkmalpflege transkulturell*, which I conceived and carried out in 2011 in collaboration with the German *Arbeitskreis Theorie und Lehre der Denkmalpflege*, this Eurocentric notion of the concept of cultural heritage and its affiliated practice of architectural preservation was investigated. The original homepage of the event can be found here: <http://www.asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de/en/research/d-historicities-heritage/d12/konferenz-kulturerbe-denkmalfpflege-transkulturell.html> (retrieved 2 January 2019). The conference proceedings were published in 2013 at transcript/Bielefeld under the title *Kulturerbe und Denkmalpflege transkulturell. Grenzgänge zwischen Theorie und Praxis* (see Falser/Juneja 2013a).

⁶ In the international workshop 'Archaeologising' Angkor? *Heritage between local social practice and global virtual reality*, which I conceived and carried out in 2010 in collaboration with the *Interdisciplinary Centre for Scientific Computing (IWR)* at Heidelberg University, the production process of so-called 'archaeological' sites through different institutional and physical strategies was investigated. The original homepage of the event can be found here: <http://www.asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de/en/research/d-historicities-heritage/d12/angkor-workshops/2010.html> (retrieved 2 January 2019). The conference proceedings were published in 2013 at Springer/Heidelberg-New York under the title 'Archaeologising' heritage? *Transcultural entanglements between local social practices and global virtual realities* (see Falser/Juneja 2013b).

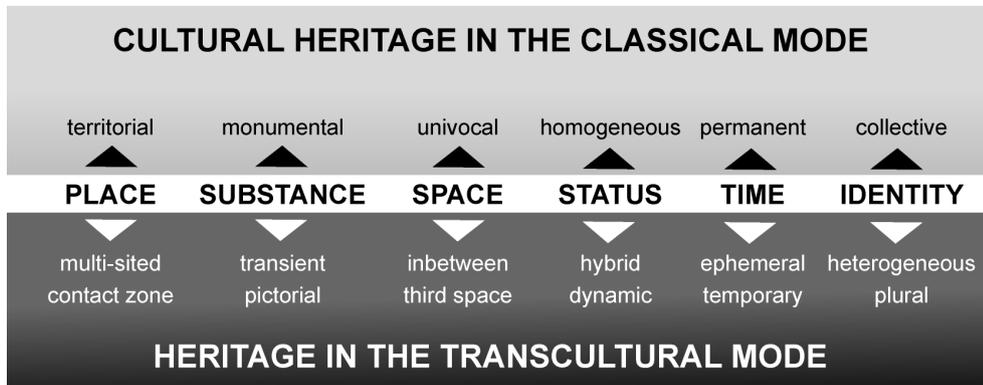


Figure Intro.2a Chart from the 2013 publication *Kulturerbe: Denkmalpflege transkulturell* to describe the 'trans-cultural' approach towards heritage beyond the Europe and non-Europe divide (Source: Falser/Juneja 2013a, 25; © Michael Falser 2019)

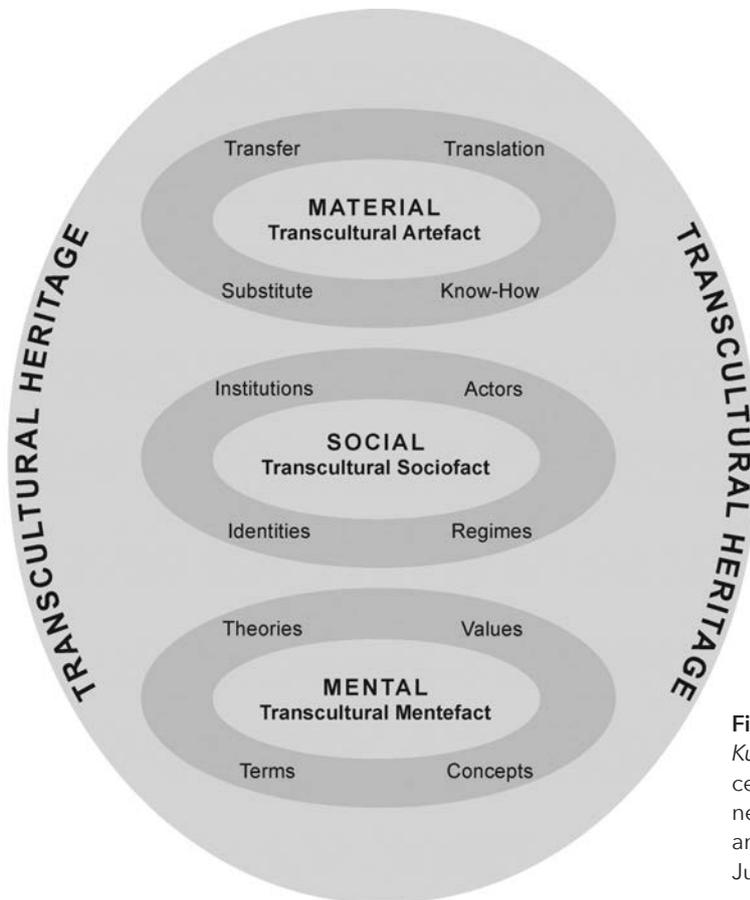


Figure Intro.2b Chart from the 2013 publication *Kulturerbe: Denkmalpflege transkulturell* to conceptualise 'artefacts/architectures' as interconnected between social realms, mental spheres and material/physical strategies (Source: Falser/Juneja 2013a, 27; © Michael Falser 2019)

historic preservation between France and Cambodia and beyond in (post)colonial and globalised times – with reference to Angkor Wat.

Colonial, postcolonial and contemporary sources relating to Angkor Wat will comprise here of visual representations, written forms of discourse and material remains on site and abroad (in France and worldwide). These sources

overlap with and influence one another, and their evaluation calls for a dual and synchronous approach, deploying the methods of (art) history and architecture, conservation and building archaeology. Textual material on Angkor Wat comprises of (primarily French but also English and German) travel and expedition literature (often available in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* in Paris), ideological writ-

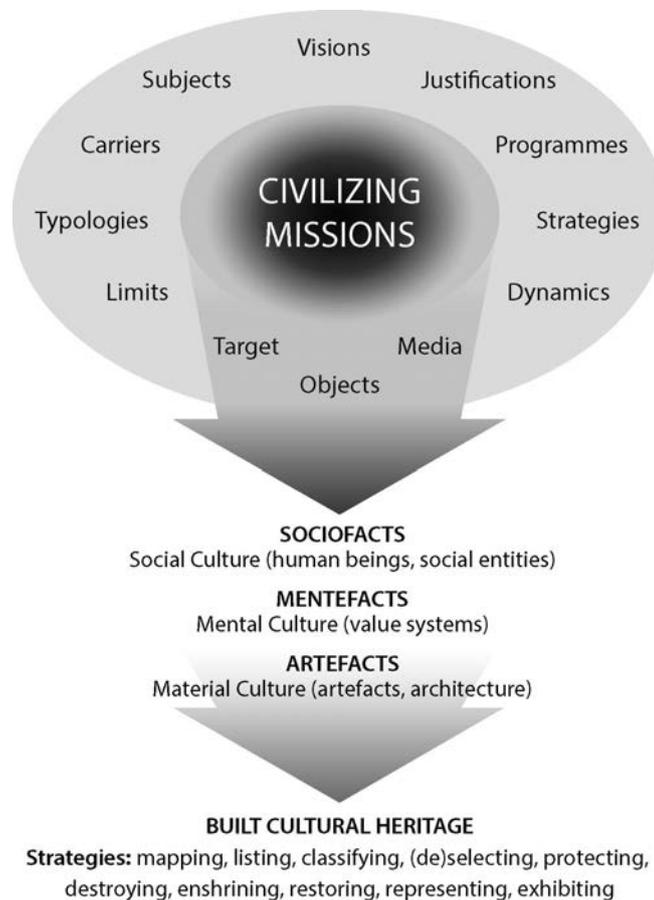


Figure Intro.3 Chart from the 2015 publication *Cultural heritage as civilising mission: From decay to recovery* to explain the relationship between civilising missions, the appropriation of artefacts and the affiliated strategies to map, restore and represent architecture as 'built cultural heritage' (Source: Falser 2015a, 15; © Michael Falser)

ings, political and administrative documents and scientific works, literary expressions and political media that articulated the French *mission civilisatrice* in Indochina (exploring the archives of France's overseas history in Aix-en-Provence or of the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* in Paris), planning materials from the various museum projects and universal and colonial exhibitions in France (often found in the various city archives in Paris and Marseille), the first Cambodian nationalist journals and media, Marxist-communist pamphlets of the Khmer Rouge (sometimes surviving in national archives, libraries, museums and research centres in Cambodia) and the art historical analyses and conservation reports of Western academics and experts of

the French-colonial period through to the World Heritage commissions of UNESCO, ICOMOS and ICCROM with its archives in Paris and Rome (Pl. Intro.2, Fig. Intro.3).⁷ Visual representations range from sketches, architectural drawings, and photographs to virtual models from the same sources and additional databases. Material remains and objects will include archaeological findings, sculptures, architectural fragments and entire temple structures on site and their plaster cast models off site – e.g., in different states of increasing perfection from small exhibition models up to 1:1-scale accessible exhibits like the hybrid Angkor Wat structures produced for a dozen universal and colonial exhibitions in Paris and Marseilles between 1867 and 1937.

⁷ In the international workshop 'Rebirthing' Angkor? *Heritage between decadence, decay, revival and the mission to civilise*, which I conceived and carried out in 2011, the relation between cultural heritage as a concept and its appropriation through ideological systems and cultural-political agendas was investigated. The original homepage of the meeting can be found here: <http://www.asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de/en/research/d-historicities-heritage/d12/angkor-workshops/2011.html> (retrieved 2 January 2019). The proceedings were published in 2015 at Springer/Heidelberg-New York under the title *Cultural heritage as civilising mission. From decay to recovery* (see Falser 2015a–c).

2. The temple of Angkor Wat and its affordance qualities and actionable capacities

Built in the early twelfth century CE in the Khmer capital of Angkor, Angkor Wat as a religious building complex – the world’s largest, located in Cambodia, one of the world’s youngest and smallest nation states – is often subject to superlatives. A central and difficult question here remains: How one can describe in an unbiased manner a building complex for which the written and visual sources (and here we will focus primarily on written and visual material from the nineteenth to twenty-first centuries) seem to rely heavily on comparisons with global ‘supericons’ such as the Egyptian pyramids or St. Peter’s basilica in Rome? The attribution of these superlatives continues, as Angkor Wat is today considered the star attraction in the world’s largest and most-visited ‘archaeological park’. Additionally, Angkor Park was placed on UNESCO’s exclusive World Heritage List in 1992.

Instead of tackling the superlatives applied to Angkor Wat in the vast number of written and visual sources, this introduction will follow another line of enquiry. Because ‘describing’ a building is never a neutral act but is always ‘inscribed’ in the time- and culture-related mindset of the author, we must conceptualise the ‘coming to terms’ with Angkor Wat as a *transcultural process* per se. This consideration must start with the author of this book himself. The position of engagement with the Southeast Asian temple complex called Angkor Wat can only be assumed by the author in the full and explicit consciousness of his limited and biased preconfiguration: in this case, that is, by my own methodological key assumptions and thematic choices (both conscious and subconscious) and the fact that my reasoning and final conclusions are informed by the ‘Western’ disciplines of art and architectural history and cultural heritage studies, which are, from a conceptual point of view, themselves influenced by the above-mentioned *global and transcultural turn*. As an obvious consequence of these biases, the following study is neither formulated from the viewpoint of a Khmer-speaking Cambodian national citizen with his/her regionally embedded cultural and political mindset, nor is it motivated by the religious belief com-

mon to the pilgrims who visit the site or to the Buddhist monks from the local monasteries. Furthermore, operationalising the ‘describing’ of Angkor Wat as a *transcultural process* involves one other crucial observation: both the historic, nineteenth-century and the contemporary sources that frame the site using aesthetic, structural and cultural superlatives have one specific (Non-Cambodian) geographic and cultural-political origin that virtually all subsequent enquiries to this day refer to or build upon – (post)colonial France.

In order to read my own bias and that of my sources through a transcultural lens, the following introduction will not pretend to be neutral: first (in 2.1.), I will approach, from my particular viewpoint as an art/architectural historian and trained preservation architect, the spatial-architectural configuration of Angkor Wat with a small selection of accompanying – primarily French – architectural plans and photographs. This section not only gives the reader an initial idea of the building complex in relation to subsequent architectural enquiries, but its concrete references to different book chapters will also introduce the reader to the quoted material’s historically embedded production process – to be more precise, to its use as a visual framing device for the various ‘Angkor Wat projects’ between Asia and Europe from the 1860s up to this day. In this sense, the unusual amount of visual material in this book – more than 1,200 illustrations are provided about Angkor Wat and its wider context – functions, in combination with the ever-changing cultural-political rhetoric and applied physical strategies at play, as a kind of *visual anthology* with which to map the transcultural trajectory of Angkor Wat as a global ‘icon’. The second part of this section (2.2.) will investigate why Angkor Wat has enjoyed such an astonishing career through a particularly French context into a global space. Under the rubric of *architectural, performative and patrimonial affordance*, a small selection of French(-colonial) building descriptions will be used to formulate my answer to this question.

2.1. Angkor Wat, approaching its architectural configuration

With the twelfth-century Angkor Wat temple complex described as the “apogee of all Khmer art” (Jacques 1990, 107) and a manifestation of “the power and influence of Angkor” (Jacques/Freeman 2000, 11; compare MacDonald 1958, Stierlin 1971, to Legendre 2001), official historiography until today places the beginnings of the Angkor era in the ninth century CE. This dating is based on surviving stone inscriptions (often the only written sources available) proclaiming King Jayavarman II’s sovereignty as ‘king of the world’ in 802 CE and placing his capital in the present

day Roluos area located to the southeast of what shortly thereafter became the wider Angkor region. This overall area is in a fertile, irrigated range in the northwest of present-day Cambodia (Fig. Intro.4a) – between the Phnom Kulen (mountains) to the northeast and the Tonlé Sap (the Great Lake) to the southwest (Pl. Intro.3). Certainly, Cambodia’s history reaches back far earlier than this starting point of Angkor proper, and small independent states existed even before the Khmer. In fact, Chinese sources report commercial exchange activities from the first centu-

Introduction

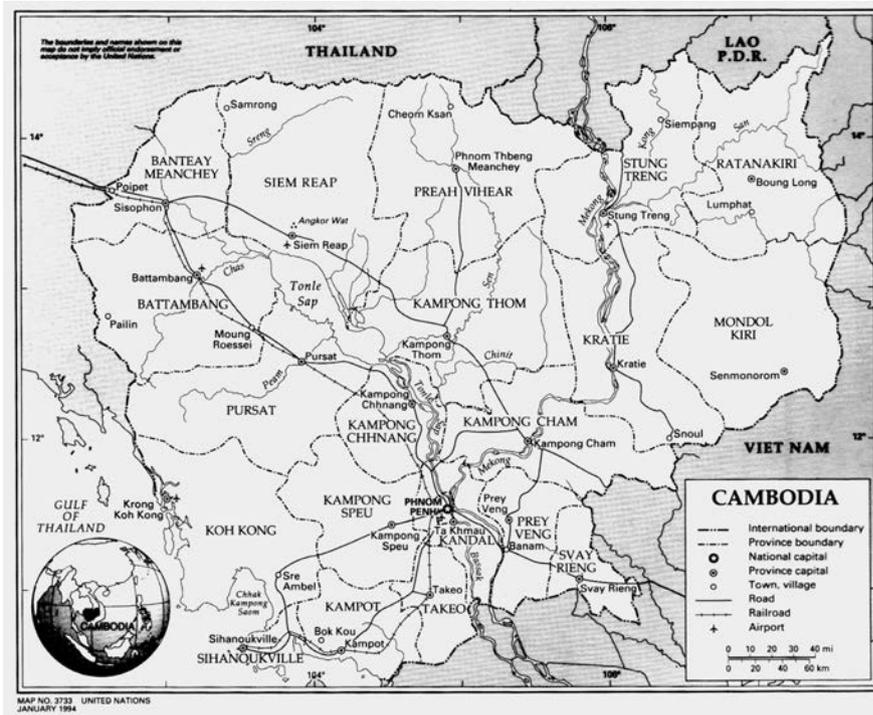


Figure Intro.4a A map of Cambodia after its national rebirth in the early 1990s, with Angkor Wat in the northwest (Source: Doyle 1995, 12)



Figure Intro.4b A map of ancient Kambuja/Cambodia with the pre-Angkorian areas of Funan and Tchen-La, and other archaeological sites, such as Sambor Prei Kuk and Angkor (Source: Coedès 1963, 168)



Figure Intro.5 The inner section of the ninth-century brick-and-stone temple of Preah Ko in ancient Hariharalaya (today Roluos area), as photographed by Franziska Gatter/GACP during an archaeological investigation campaign of the author in 2001 (Source: Falser 2006, Fig. 21; © Michael Falser/GACP)

ries of the Christian era with a region called *Funan*, which was strategically placed between the Mekong river delta and the gulf of present-day Thailand (Fig. Intro.4b). This region also came in commercial contact with the wider Indian hemisphere by progressively importing the religions of Hinduism and Buddhism, affiliated cultural elements such as Sanskrit script and, important for this study, artistic as well as spatial and architectural concepts for emerging temple sites. The inland kingdom of Chenla emerged on the site where King Isanavarman I established Sambor Prei Kuk in the sixth century CE with small individual brick temples in the first, so-called pre-Angkorian style (Pl. Intro.4a, compare Pl. IX.7a,b). With Jayavarman II and his successors, including Indravarman I, the city of Hariharalaya near Angkor was enhanced after the ninth century with a giant water tank [*baray*] and temples that displayed characteristics – spatial, architectural and functional-symbolic – that were already relevant for Angkor Wat (Pl. Intro.4b, compare Pl. IX.4, 6). With the temple of Preah Ko (Fig. Intro.5) – and its (almost) symmetrical arrangement of six sandstone-embellished brick towers [*prasat*] on a raised platform at the end of an axial passageway, accessed through an entry gate [*gopura*] and flanked with lateral buildings – the character of a ‘private’ temple of royal worship was established (Falser 2006, 2007). Closed for public gatherings or processions, the gods – and kings after their apotheosis – resided here, represented as statues on pedestals in small cellas, to grant blessings to their people. With the nearby Bakong temple (see Fig. IX.61b), a type of ‘state temple’ was built

using a combination of the three main building materials of the Angkor era (laterite, brick and sandstone). The form of a stepped and terraced pyramid with lower and scale-reduced tower configurations around a central tower at the top was meant to symbolise – like at Angkor Wat’s *massif central* (see below) – Mount Meru, the residence of the gods. In subsequent years, King Yasovarman moved to the Angkor area just a few kilometres northwest to found his capital with the Bakheng hill temple, protective dikes and the East Baray 7.5 by 1.8 kilometres in dimension, (Pl. Intro.5). After a short interlude at nearby Ko Ker, the kings returned to Angkor and added their characteristic mountain temples (for instance, Pre Rup in brick). In a rare exception, the small-scale architectural jewel of Banteay Srei (already in full sandstone like almost all later temples) was built a few kilometres north of Angkor (see Fig. IX.47). Around 1000 CE Suryavarman I built the Western Baray (8 kilometres by 2.2 kilometres) and added his Royal Palace (compare Fig. X.8a, Pl. X.3b) inside the city of Angkor Thom. The giant mountain temple of the Baphuon (see Fig. IX.74) was added nearby by one of his successors.

Suryavarman II reigned between 1113 and approximately 1150 CE. He was not only the initiator of Angkor Wat (see below) but also the patron of a whole series of other buildings in what art history today calls the ‘high-classical Angkor Wat style’, including the temples of Thommanon (compare Figs. IX.31, 67a–d), Preah Pithu, Chau Say Tevoda, Banteay Samré (Figs. IX.60a,b, 62) and Beng Malea. He also led a number of military expeditions, most

importantly against the Cham to the east of present-day Vietnam, and he brought the power and influence of Angkor to an apogee. One of his successors, Jayavarman VII (r. 1181–1218), is stylised today as the most important king of the Angkor era (see chapter X, compare Pl. IX.24a; Figs. X.4–5, Pl. X.2a,b). As the first great converted king to follow the *Mahayana* school of Buddhism (the important *Bodhisattva* figures were depicted extensively), he consolidated Angkor's power outside his kingdom, and he also initiated a giant building programme inside his capital. He fortified Angkor Thom with a surrounding dike and a wall with impressive gates (see Figs. IX.72–73) and added the Bayon temple in the axial centre of the city (see Figs. X.55a,b, compare X.58), as well as smaller marvels such as the water temple of Neak Pean (see Figs. IX.32a–e, 58a,b), giant structures such as Preah Khan with its famous round-columned 'library' (see Figs. IX.44a–g) and other sites such as Ta Prohm, Banteay Kdei, the so-called Elephant Terrace and diverse 'hospitals'. After Jayavarman VII, other kings modified or embellished already existing sites (including Angkor Wat, see below), but no structures have survived from the fourteenth century onwards, since both residences and Buddhist pagodas were built in the perishable material of wood. At this point, conflicts with the emerging Thai kingdoms to the west intensified until the famous sacking of Angkor in 1431. As a reaction, more defensible cities like Lovek – where King Ang Chan also resided in the mid-sixteenth century CE (see his role in 'restoring' Angkor below) – and Oudong were founded, and better commercial networks moved southwards to the area where the modern-day capital of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, would be situated later. Angkor, however, was never entirely abandoned, and Angkor Wat always continued to be an active site of regional and 'international' Buddhist pilgrimage and of personal as well as cultural-political affirmation for all Cambodian kings and the country's population up to the present day.

A closer look at the archaeological map shows how Angkor Wat proper (for short summaries see, among many others, Jacques 1990, 107–128 or Jacques/Freeman 2000, 46–67) was integrated into the southeast of the earlier city plan around Phnom Bakheng (Pl. Intro.5, compare Pl. IX.13, 17b). Located roughly one kilometre to the north, Angkor Thom's southern gate was constructed later. The question of whether the wider site of Angkor Wat was intended as a new capital as a whole, an additional city planning or just as a larger agglomeration around the central temple site is an ongoing debate that has recently gained new momentum through light detection and aerial ranging studies (Lidar, compare Fletcher et al. 2015). Although Suryavarman II can be identified as the initiator of the building project of Angkor Wat, it is also clear that he was already dead and had gone through his apotheosis when the temple was finalised around 1180 CE. Posthumously, he acquired the name *Parama-Vishnuloka* [literally: 'the king who has gone

to the supreme world of Vishnu', the god who acts as the preserver of the world order and fighter to restore harmony in the Hinduist trinity]. 'His' architectural project of Angkor Wat was intended to eternally venerate his glory and memory. Although Angkor Wat's Vishnu-dedicated temple name *Vrah Visnuloka* or *Brah Bisnulok* was found on a seventeenth-century inscription, since the nineteenth century the appellation *Angkor Wat* (in French *Angkor Vat*, or more precisely in Khmer *Nokor Vat* from the Sanskrit-Pali composite *nagara-vata*) has become widely accepted. Often translated as 'pagoda of the capital', the 'city which became a pagoda' or 'enclosure of the royal residence', the more specific denomination "residence of a king, but of a dead and divinised king" has been long accepted (EFEQ 1929, 10). Inscriptions inside the bas-relief galleries of Angkor Wat name Brah Bisnukar as the architect, although he most probably only finalised the overall project after the death of Suryavarman II.

Angkor Wat's 'practical' positioning between the previous capital of (later fortified) Angkor Thom to the north and the north-south-oriented access road to the west has often been understood to be determined by the remaining space available and the site's proximity to the Siem Reap River in the east, which was useful for the transport of the immense masses of building material (compare Pl. Intro.5). The overall ensemble of Angkor Wat covers about 200 hectares within an immense rectangle of roughly 1,300 metres in the north-south and 1,500 metres in the east-west expansion (Pl. Intro.6). The central site is framed by a peripheral and shallow moat (compare Pl. XI.33b), itself approximately 190 metres in width and being accessed by descending stone steps. The main entrance is oriented towards the west (contrary to other Angkorian sites with their usual orientation to the east), probably because of the temple's dedication to Vishnu, who was associated with the western direction, or perhaps because of the site's function as a funerary-temple (see the discussion about that interpretation below) and the fact that the west was seen as the direction of the sinking sun and therefore a symbol of death. The moat is crossed from the main western entrance by a paved bridge made of laterite and stone and is decorated by Naga snake balustrades and protecting lion sculptures (Fig. Intro.6, compare Figs. IX.75–77, 78a, 79). From the east, the moat is crossed via another access road. Having passed the moat over the western bridge, the visitor approaches the outermost, so-called 'fourth' enclosure of the inner site, itself made of a laterite wall of about 800 metres north-south and about 1,030 metres east-west, and four entry pavilions in the four cardinal directions in the corresponding axes of the central tower (compare Pl. Intro.6). The western entry – greatly admired since the first French-colonial reception onwards (compare Pl. IX.11d, Fig. IX.78c) and already replicated and 're-presented' in the Paris-based Indochinese Museum in the mid-1880s (compare Pl.III.14a–d) – has an overall length of 230 metres and is structured by three gates with towers. In its

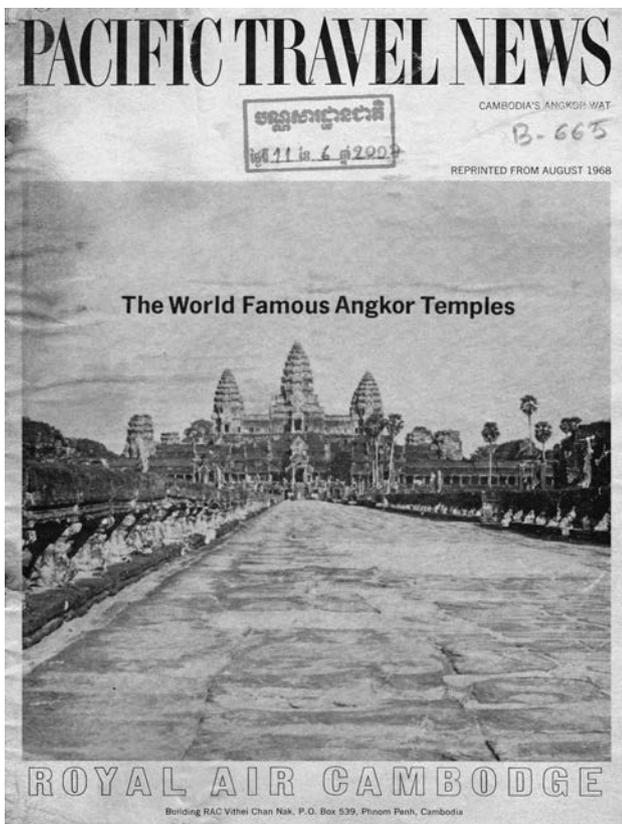
2. The temple of Angkor Wat and its affordance qualities and actionable capacities



Figure Intro.6 The western entry of Angkor Wat as photographed by Jaroslav Poncar in 1995 (Source: © Jaroslav Poncar)



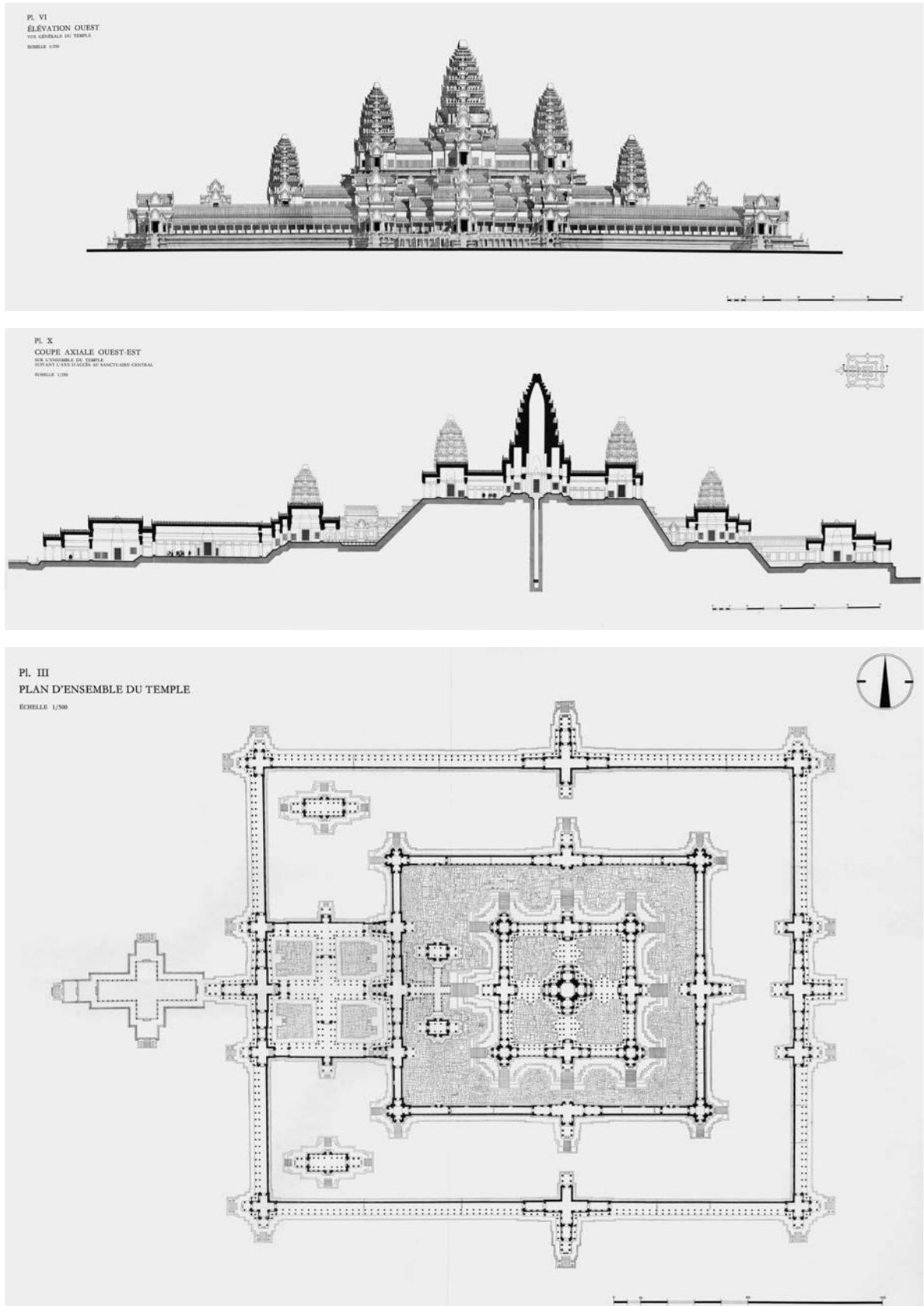
Figure Intro.7 Angkor Wat's central passageway, seen from the temple's western entry gate towards the central mountain temple, as photographed by Jaroslav Poncar in 1995 (Source: © Jaroslav Poncar)



southern aisle, important statues, such as the great Vishnu, are exposed for popular worship (compare Pl. EpII.15b). After passing through the narrow gate, the spectacle towards the temple's central massif suddenly opens up to a vista (Fig. Intro.7) that was restored in one of the first French archaeological actions on the site (compare Figs. IX.11a–c, 12, 13) and that has since been iconised in scientific publications, popular guidebooks and various propaganda material (Fig. Intro.8, compare above many others Figs. VII.6; IX.17a,b, 33a, 68, 78b; Pl. XI.10a, 14, 19a, 20, 27a). The stone-paved central passageway of almost 400 metres in length and 1.5 metres in height is framed by a Naga snake balustrade and accentuated by six pairs of staircases reaching to the earth-surfaced areas in the north and south where two so-called 'library' buildings and two water basins are situated (compare Fig. IX.22a; Pl.XI.37a). The passageway (elevated by 1.5 metres) leads to a cruciform terrace that is elevated by a series of columns over twelve stairs on three sides and serves as an introduction to the main platform to the temple on three stepped levels or en-

Figure Intro.8 The world-famous Angkor Wat vista as advertised by Royal Air Cambodge on the cover page of *Pacific Travel News* of 1968 (Source: Pacific Travel News, August 1968, cover)

Introduction



Figures Intro.9a–c Western elevation, cross-section from west to east and ground plan of the inner section of Angkor Wat, as published in the 1969 EFEO publication *Angkor Vat: Description graphique* (Source: Nafilyan/EFEO 1969, plans VI, X and III; © EFEO Paris)



Figure Intro.10 The inner section of Angkor Wat, as seen from the northwestern corner, photographed by Jaroslav Poncar in 2002 (Source: © Jaroslav Poncar)

closures to form a classical mountain temple configuration over a solid core (Figs. Intro.9a–c, compare Pl. XI.26a). Simply put, this inner section of Angkor Wat is a giant pyramid of three levels, each with galleries, axial entry gates and corner towers (compare Figs. X.14; XI.24). Its outermost, ‘third’ enclosure constitutes the first elevated level of the overall *massif central*, with a socle of more than three metres in height. On a plan of 200 metres in the east-west and 180 metres in the north-south direction, this enclosure carries all-around galleries with solid stone walls towards the interior side. Those walls (with blind windows on the court side) are covered by the famous bas-reliefs with a height of 2 metres and an overall length of more than 600 metres (Fig. Intro.10, compare Fig. IX.55a, Pl. XI.27b). The galleries themselves are accentuated with four angle pavilions and accessed from the outside over three staircases on the northern and southern sides, and five on the eastern and western sides. Towards the exterior, the vault structure of the galleries rests on square pillars and an attached half-vault system on small pillars (Pl. Intro.7a, compare Figs. IX.64a, 65k, 66e, 89b). The western gate of the third enclosure opens to a cruciform gallery. Originally, this gallery comprised the famous ‘1,000 Buddha Hall’ (compare Fig. IX.8d), which was partly evacuated before 1970 and destroyed by the Khmer Rouge between 1975 and 1979. With four inner courts and lateral staircases leading to the adjacent elevated ‘library’ structures to the north and south (compare Fig. Intro.9c), the cruciform gallery rises in the east with a stepped staircase (Pl. Intro.7b, compare Pl. IX.11b and XI.28a,b) towards the ‘second’ enclosure. This enclosure is of an additional height of 6 metres, has an overall plan of 115 metres in east-west and 100 metres in north-south direction and can be reached via various access staircases (Pl. Intro.8a). It receives natural light through the characteristic wood-imitating window balusters (Pl. Intro.8b) and is itself accentuated by four corner pavilions with individual corner towers that add one more element to the impressive overall elevation of Angkor Wat

(compare Fig. Intro.9a). The western section of the inner court, with its two lateral small libraries, leads to the ‘first’ enclosure (or third level with a socle of 11 metres in height and a square plan of 60 by 60 metres) around the symmetrical central massif to form the inner pyramidal mountain temple section with eight steep staircases (Fig. Intro.11, compare IX.8c, 33b). Its upper level again comprises galleries, with the four corner towers and cardinal axes to the central tower reached through small three-nave galleries with lateral staircases leading to the central five-tower quincunx configuration (compare Fig. IX.88c). Finally, the central tower or sanctuary rises to an overall height of 65 metres over the spectacular surroundings (Fig. Intro.12, compare Fig. Intro.1c) and is reached through a complex cruciform and interconnecting space. It has a central cella under which a 25-metre deep pit is placed to contain a (today pillaged) treasure (compare Figs. VII.31b; IX.48a,b). Although this space is empty today, it may have been dominated originally by a giant statue of the Vishnu-divinised King Suryavarman II (compare Figs. IX.8c, XI.22b; Pl. XII.3a) and later, in the Buddhist period, by a standing Buddha inside the added walls. Since then, the peak of the central tower of Angkor Wat has become an icon of Cambodia’s ancient grandeur (Pl. Intro.9a,b).

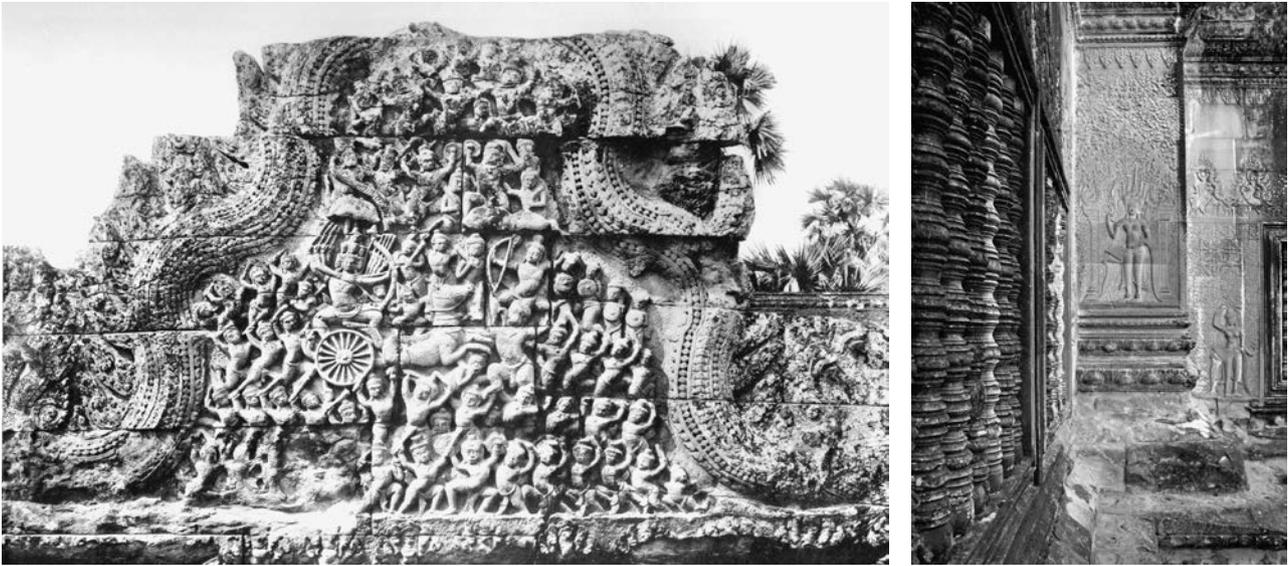
While the architectural setting is without a doubt ‘spectacular’, the decoration of the temple is no less famous: besides the elaborate pediment fields and inner walls decorated in the classical-Angkorian style of floral patterns and depictions of mythical and Hindu-religious scenes (Fig. Intro.13a, compare Figs. III.31b; Pl. III.14–15; Fig. IX.18b, 33d), several hundreds of the famous *apsaras* (dancing celestial maidens, compare Figs. X.44, 48c and our debate in chapter X) and *devatas* (divinities) cover the upper and lower architectural facades (Fig. Intro.13b, compare Figs. III.33, 34 and VI.12c). Even more famous are the several hundred, metre-long bas-reliefs on the outer walls of the ‘third’ enclosure. The overall pictorial programme of those giant picture books, stretching over almost 2,000 square



Figure Intro.11 The steep staircases leading up to the third level of Angkor Wat, as photographed by Jaroslav Poncar in 2002 (Source: © Jaroslav Poncar)



Figure Intro.12 Angkor Wat in an aerial photograph with a view towards the temple's northeastern elevation, taken by Jaroslav Poncar in 2002 (Source: © Jaroslav Poncar)



Figures Intro.13a,b Decorative schemes of Angkor Wat, historic photograph of a pediment field with a mythical battle scene (left), and *apsara* figures on the adjacent walls (Source: EFEO 1930, 222; and Falser 2010)



metres, have attracted a great deal of discussion from the very earliest days of French colonialism onwards and have contributed greatly to the fame of this temple (see below). From the east to the north, and the west to the southern sides, scenes include a portrait-like image of King Suryavarman with his entourage (Pl. Intro.10a, compare Pl. X.26a), but the long series of battle scenes, including the so-called ‘historic gallery’ that depicts a military parade with the king riding on his elephant (Pl. Intro.10b), are more dominant. These are accompanied by scenes from Hindu sources (notably the two great epopees of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*) depicting all the great gods of the Brahmanic pantheon and include the so-called Heaven and Hell gallery on the eastern south side (compare Fig. III.43) and the famous scene of the “Churning of the milk ocean” to the southern east side, with a total length of 45 metres and God Vishnu at its centre (Pl. Intro.10c, compare Fig. IX.87a).

Angkor Wat – with its main entrance to the west – was never entirely completed, as some decorative schemes were left unfinished in the ‘less important’ (eastern and therefore less visible) sections of the temple (Fig. Intro.14). Missing elements such as the northeastern part of the famous bas-reliefs galleries were added later, as were the fallen or never executed columns inside Angkor Wat. Both interventions were almost certainly commissioned by King Ang Chan in the mid-sixteenth century CE (see below).

Figure Intro.14 Unfinished carvings on the upper eastern outside facades of Angkor Wat (Source: © Falser 2010)

2.2. Angkor Wat's affordance qualities and actionable capacities: Architectural, performative, patrimonial

No other building of this size and cultural importance had a comparable 'success and career' in the global, Euro-Asian discursive and investigative arena from the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries. Not only did Angkor Wat *in* Cambodia – covered in the second volume of this book – become the unquestioned architectural masterpiece of the world's most impressive, French-made archaeological park; it also became, as a site of religious veneration and royal affirmation since its construction, the cultural-political focal point for the whole nation of Cambodia. Unique in the history of modern nation states, the iconised silhouette of Angkor Wat has been included on the Cambodian flag and money since the nineteenth century (see Fig. Intro 9b; Pl. XI.1–j; Fig. EpI.1a, Pl. EpI.1a–l). However, as can be seen in the first illustration in this book, which shows Angkor Wat *outside* of Cambodia – discussed in the first volume of this book – this monumental site was also a highly 'mobile' one that stretched beyond geographical borders and nation-bound orders. To this day, Angkor Wat is the largest non-European building ever to have been replicated on the European continent, and arguably on the planet. And this replication even happened several times, and in different scales and versions in Marseille and Paris. Culminating with the inscription of Angkor Park onto the prestigious World Heritage List of (again, Paris-based) UNESCO, Angkor Wat as the Park's largest stone building 'still in religious use' is certainly one of the world's most 'trans-cultural' heritage products. Tracing its global trajectory forms the overall narrative of this book.

Why was Angkor Wat's global career from the very beginning so intimately bound to a French context? This question leads us to an additional hypothesis: In a process

of familiarisation, that is, of 'coming to European (French) terms with a non-European building' (see below our discussion of the linguistic process of 'translation'), Angkor Wat provided very specific *affordance qualities*, which resonated strongly with the French-colonial mindset between the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries. These affordance qualities not only helped to produce and reproduce the processes of aesthetic, cultural and architectural superlatives applied to the temple in various written, visual and physical sources. They also offered a set of *actionable capacities* that triggered specific on-site as well as off-site 're-actions' and strategies – both rhetorical, such as in colonial heritage politics, *and* physical, including concrete interventions of conservation, restoration, reconstruction, replication – to appropriate Angkor Wat.⁸ This appropriation process involved transforming a site with religious origins (the original, twelfth-century intentions and forms of ritual 'use' of which were still obscure and could only to be speculated upon in the late nineteenth century) into a secularised artefact within a constructed canon of art and architectural history. Once it was acknowledged as a unique masterpiece using the normative value judgements of the Western disciplines of art and architectural history, Angkor Wat was transformed into an icon of cultural heritage – or better, a 'to-be-inherited' icon within the French-colonial cultural-political mindset, as the French term *patrimoine culturel* suggests (chapters I to IX). Those strategies of 'cultural heritage-making' and the associated claims of cultural inheritance migrated, as explored in the second half of this book, from the French-colonial into the Cambodian postcolonial psyche between the 1950s and the 1980s (chapters X and XI).

⁸ In his groundbreaking "theory of affordances", James Gibson described "how environmental features such as substance, surface and layout" are perceived as "values and meanings" and afford a potential utility – in other words, "different kinds of behaviour": for example, physical-geometrical, stand- or walk-on-able features of the ground afford visually-guided locomotion, enclosures afford concealment, and "graspable, detached objects afford manipulation" (Gibson 1977, 67). More recent studies refer affordance to "actionable properties [we call them 'actionable capacities', MF] between the world and an actor", and set it in relation to the "cultural constraints and conventions" at play in-between (Norman 1999). An affordance-based approach in the field of architectural theory investigates the "relationships between built environments and humans over time, especially with respect to the form, function and meaning of architectural elements" and "explores the connection between the initial intentions or objectives of the design [in the case of Angkor Wat, those original intentions are unknown today and needed to be reconstructed, MF] with how the artefact [was] actually used" later. What is called an "artefact-user affordance" therefore investigates how individual properties of the artefact (size, space, distance, form, shape, weight, geometry, material etc.) and those of the user can determine whether a specific affordance exists, and of what quality (Maier/Fadel/Battisto 2009, 394–97). Or as Ian Hodder's more recent analysis of entanglement of archaeological objects and humans had it: "Materials afford certain potentials" (Hodder 2012, 49). Also, the attribution of symbolic meaning, derived from the reading of architectural form, depended on the past experiences, present normative beliefs and aesthetic preferences from, and associated cultural images produced by the observer. Therefore, a specific relationship between the object and its observer – in our case during the French-colonial encounter before and after 1900 with the twelfth-century temple of Angkor Wat – determined what affordances existed and which specific behaviours and actionable capacities (reactions and applied strategies) were possible.

In a final step, this formation merged at a decisive threshold around 1990 with a globalised ‘heritage-scape’ (chapter XII and epilogues I/II).

A quick periodisation of the scientific literature

What was it that Angkor Wat afforded to the French before and after 1900? And which specific (cultural, aesthetic, political, normative) French preconfigurations enabled colonial and metropolitan France to enter into a specific relationship with the twelfth-century temple complex? In order to engage with this question, a small selection of French-colonial building descriptions about Angkor Wat will be quoted. This introduction is not the place to engage with the detailed critical enquiry of the enormous amount of French (cum international) literature about Angkor and Angkor Wat. This enormous task will be attempted within each of the twelve chapters and two epilogues in the context of their specific thematic take on Angkor Wat. However, in order to identify a useful choice of French sources for this short introduction, a quick periodisation of the written material available is necessary.

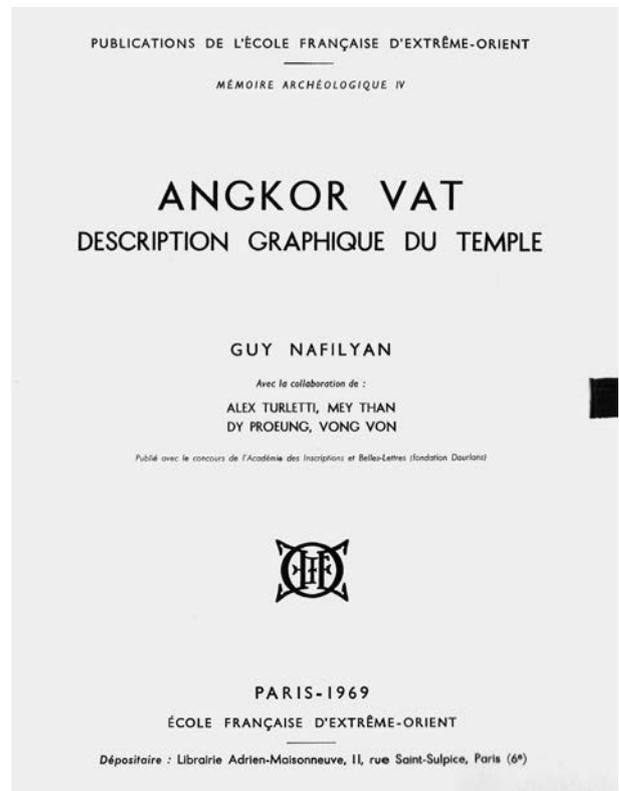
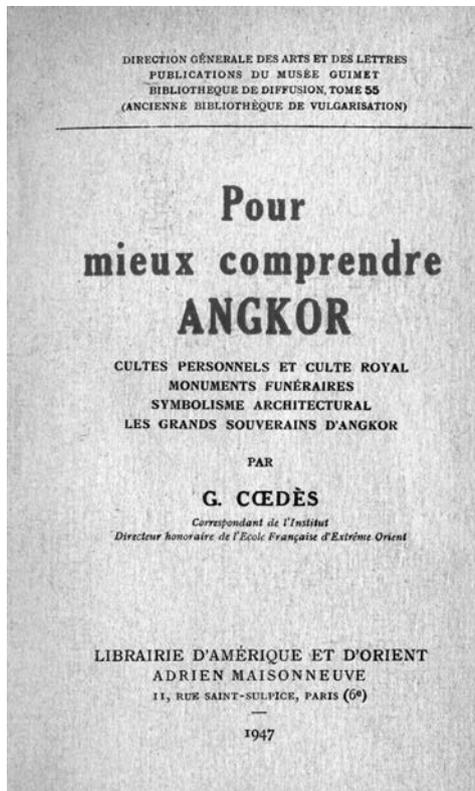
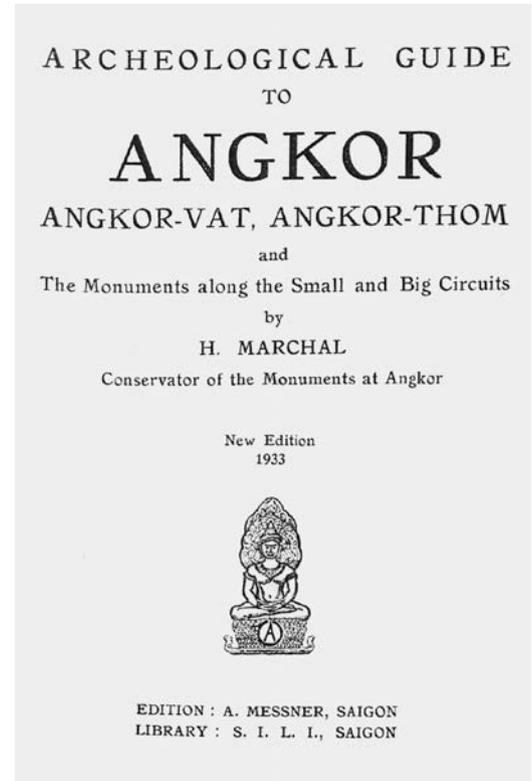
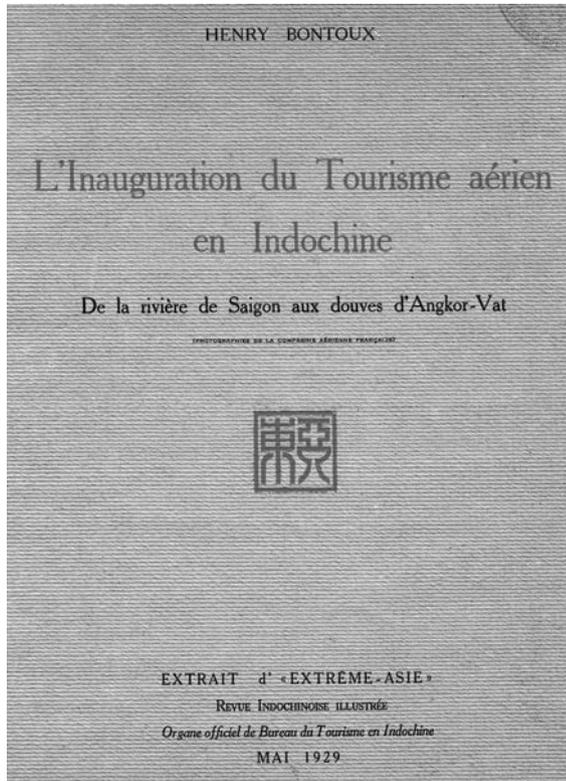
After the formative years of French scientific literature about Angkor between the 1850s and 1900 (with Mouhot 1863, 1864, 1868 and Delaporte 1880 to Fournereau 1890), we can see an explosion of more systematic engagement in the wake of the so-called ‘retrocession’ of 1907 of Cambodia’s northwestern provinces – including Angkor – from Siam back to the French-colonial protectorate of *le Cambodge* (compare Fig. VI.1a; Pl. IX.2, 3, 6, 7, 9). Here, the protagonists of the *École française d’Extrême-Orient* (EFEO), the scientific state agency tasked since 1898/1900 with identifying and classifying, protecting and presenting all the (in) tangible cultural heritage of French-colonial Indochina and beyond, took the leading role. In this context, Angkor Wat’s specific ritual, religious and cultural-political function in relation to its spatial organisation was hotly debated, and the epigraphist and later director of the EFEO (1929–47), George Coedès, was an important figure in this process until the 1960s.

A first consolidation of the scientific knowledge about Angkor can be located around 1930: for our investigation, the three-volume project *Le temple d’Angkor Vat* between 1929 and 1932 about the temple’s architecture (EFEO 1929), ornamental sculpture (EFEO 1930) and bas-relief galleries (EFEO 1932), was a milestone (visual material from this project has already been quoted above). Within a typically Western periodisation model, Angkor Wat was, after long debates, ultimately attributed the highest position – as ‘classical’, the most mature – in the established canon of Angkor’s architectural and sculptural arts from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries CE (above all Stern 1927, Coral-Rémusat 1940). Additionally, the institutional and spatial configuration of Angkor as a *Parc archéologique* had been planned since the 1910s and was finally decreed in 1925/30 by the French-colonial administration (see chapter IX).

Angkor Wat was thus turned into a picture-perfect highlight of the park’s prescribed itinerary for the burgeoning global tourist industry (Fig. Intro.15a), and scientific knowledge was turned into classic reading for the *grand public* (Figs. Intro.15b,c). In a long line of general conservators of Angkor Park – which began in 1907/8 with a former militiaman and archaeological amateur, Jean Commaille – the Beaux Arts-trained architect Henri Marchal stands out as one of the most influential and productive. From the 1920s up to the early 1950s, he sought not only to conserve and restore Angkor Wat but also to describe and propagate the temple’s architectural qualities (see below). From the 1940s onwards, a gradually reformulated paradigm in archaeological work from conservation to restoration and reconstruction (called ‘anastylosis’) gained momentum at Angkor Park. This mission continued far into Cambodia’s period of national independence (see also chapter IX) and under Bernard Philippe Groslier, who was the most ambitious and visionary – and the last – overseer of the *Conservation d’Angkor*, not least in his abandoned plan of a “*reprise totale*” of Angkor Wat (Groslier 1958b; see Fig. IX.91). The 1969 EFEO publication *Angkor Vat: Description graphique du temple*, under the direction of Guy Nafilyan (Nafilyan/EFEO 1969), provided a complete set of drawings of the temple which included overall site plans and floor, section, elevation plans as well as smaller decorative details (Fig. Intro.15d, visual material was quoted in Figs. Intro.9a–c, Pl. 5, 6; compare Figs. IX.88a–c). This project was the last scientific achievement in relation to Angkor Wat of the French before they were forced to leave at the beginning of Cambodia’s twenty-year period of brutal unrest between 1970 and 1989.

The third – now international, but not exponentially more insightful – wave of publications about Angkor (Wat) fit with Cambodia’s UN-led national rebirth around 1990 and with the nomination of Angkor Park as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1992. At this important threshold, which would catapult Angkor into the global space of heritage culture, the 1990 publication *Angkor* was written by the French epigraphist, EFEO member and historian of ancient Cambodia, Claude Jacques (Jacques 1990, compare Dagens 1989), as a kind of summary of the theretofore accumulated (art) historical knowledge about Angkor (see Pl. XII.4). Jacques and his book form a useful starting point for the following discussion, as he implicitly referred to what we will identify as Angkor Wat’s three most important *affordance qualities* and *actionable capacities*, which emerged during the specific French-colonial encounter with the site. First, Jacques’ outspoken admiration of the *architectural quality* of Angkor Wat employed emotionally loaded but in fact never critically contextualised superlatives:

The twelfth century counts as the apogee of Khmer art. [...] the most balanced, the most harmonious, the most perfect of all Khmer temples [is] Angkor Wat. [...]. It is



Figures Intro.15a–d Bontoux's project to launch *The opening of aerial tourism in Indochina: From Saigon River to Angkor-Vat on a straight wing between Saigon and the moat of Angkor Wat with a hydrofoil airplane* (15a); Henri Marchal's *Guide archéologique aux temples d'Angkor* of 1928, English version of 1933 (15b), George Coedès' *Pour mieux comprendre Angkor* of 1943, second edition 1947 (15c), and Guy Nafilyan's *Angkor Vat: Description graphique du temple* of 1969 (15d; compare Fig. EpII.14) (Source: Bontoux 1929, cover; Marchal 1933, cover; Coedès 1947, cover; Nafilyan/EFEO 1969, cover)

also the largest of all. [...] How to describe Angkor Wat without running the risk of betraying its beauty?" [italics MF] (Jacques 1990, 107, 112, 116)

Second, Jacques, with all his individual affection for the site, praised Angkor Wat's spatial and picturesque setting. More precisely, he perceived the temple's instructive, visual narration patterns along its 'spectacular' bas-relief galleries as a kind of *performative quality* for processions and celebrations to valorise an element that is so dear to all French rhetoric on culture: *grandeur*.

Angkor Wat, this is also the beauty of its finely chiselled bas-reliefs [...] One must taste the quality of the soft light that illuminates these galleries across the window bars. Imagine the temple with all its enclosed idols in those sanctuaries [...] served by hundreds of priests. And what a spectacle must have offered by all the famous festivities in such a setting that breathes *la grandeur*! (Jacques 1990, 120)

Third, Claude Jacques framed his whole book on ancient Angkor with an additional element: one of his concluding appendices, entitled "L'École française d'Extrême-Orient et Angkor" mapped out the supposedly altruistic action of his long-dead compatriots⁹ and emphasised a historically derived and still valid *heritage/inheritance claim*:

It is impossible to separate the name of Angkor from the name of the French School of Asian Studies, as both have been tied together since the creation of this institution. However, it is a rather difficult task to estimate today the whole range of accomplished work. (Jacques 1990, 168)

While Jacques concluded his résumé of ancient Angkor with this particular ex-French-colonial claim over the 'Angkor-as-cultural-heritage' construction, his book was prefaced by the missionary words of the acting director general of UNESCO, Federico Mayor, who wanted to "save Angkor for humanity, at all costs" (Jacques 1990, 5). Reading between the lines, we see that this helped to transfer the previous French-made *patrimonial quality* of Angkor into a globalised, actionable presence, especially as he ap-

pointed Jacques to be his 'Special Angkor Advisor' and would indeed push the site 'at all costs' onto the World Heritage List shortly thereafter (see chapter XII). As we shall investigate in the following, Angkor Wat's *architectural, performative and patrimonial affordance qualities* resonated in a particularly strong manner and therefore shone through in various building descriptions from the French-colonial period.

Angkor Wat's architectural affordance

Angkor Wat's architectural affordance quality resulted from the prominence of French Beaux-Arts architectural composition aesthetics at the time, an aesthetic that resonated strongly with the supposedly 'classical' architectural layout and spatial composition scheme of the twelfth-century Cambodian temple. In a unique transcultural constellation, French Beaux Arts-trained architects, from both ends of the Euro-Asian arena in the French-colonial endeavour with Angkor Wat between the 1880s and the 1930s, helped to systematise and propagate the (to be restored) recreation and (to be replicated) representation of the architectural qualities of the temple.

In Cambodia, Beaux Arts-trained architects, such as Lucien Fournereau, produced and published the first comprehensive set of drawings of Angkor Wat through the filter of Beaux-Arts aesthetics (see Fournereau 1890, Fournereau/Porcher 1890, compare Pl. III.9–13; Fig. VI.9). Furthermore, many of the officially recruited *conservateurs des monuments d'Angkor* and their French team collaborators had gone through the same architectural (though not archaeological or conservation) formation in France.¹⁰ The most representative among the Angkor Conservators was certainly Henri Marchal (Paris 1876–Siem Reap 1970), who was in charge of Angkor Park over several intervals between 1919 and 1953 (compare chapter IX, see him depicted on Fig. IX.69). When Marchal studied at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris around 1900 and shortly after set off for Phnom Penh as "sous-inspecteur des Bâtiments civils en Indochine" before he joined the EFEO in the 1910s,¹¹ Beaux-Arts architectural composition guidelines were already being taught and codified, for example in Julien Guadet's famous four-volume *Eléments et théorie de*

⁹ In this context, he identified three decisive *conservateurs des monuments d'Angkor* and labelled each with different altruistic attitudes: the first, Jean Commaillé, was an almost natural "start with Angkor Wat: *à tout seigneur tout honneur* – Pay honour to whom honour is due"; Henri Marchal, full of "wholehearted devotion for the temples of Angkor"; and finally Bernard Philippe Groslier and his team, full of "admirable courage" during the last French actions before civil war broke out in 1970, which forced "the EFEO to leave those monuments of Angkor, over which it alone had kept watch for more than sixty years" (Jacques 1990, 168–70).

¹⁰ As indicated in the EFEO database, Beaux Arts-trained architects working for the *Conservation d'Angkor* were, among others, Jean de Mecquenem, Henri Mauger, Henri Marchal, Jacques Lagisquet, Paul Revéron, George Trouvé, and Maurice Glaize; see: <https://www.efeo.fr/biographies/cadrecambod.htm> (retrieved 19 July 2018).

¹¹ Marchal's Beaux-Arts dossier of his education and professional career can be found in digital version under <http://agorha.inha.fr/inhaprod/ark:/54721/00282545> (retrieved 19 July 2018).

l'architecture of 1901 to 1904, or later in Edouard Arnaud's *Cours d'architecture et de constructions civiles* of 1928. In his discussion of the "general guidelines", Guadet, himself professor of architectural theory at the School, set out the "general principles for all [Beaux-Arts] studies": all "composition needed an idea" from where "the proceeding from the whole to the parts, from the building masses to the details is advanced easily if the great point of departure was *judicious*" (Guadet 1901, 95–105, italics MF). Guadet's following of the "great rules of composition" (Guadet 1901, 117–130) demanded that the overall great idea and programme of a building be transposed into a clearly comprehensible composition scheme under the law of "symmetry", with the different volumes culminating in (or radiating from) an inner point of axially and/or concentrically composed gravity "as a pictorial manifestation of the originating idea".¹² This sounds like a veritable checklist for Marchal's approach to describing the building of Angkor Wat. In 1925, when Marchal turned in his appraisal "L'architecture d'Ankor-Vat" for publication, he certainly drafted the temple's spatial qualities against his own normative background of architectural Beaux-Arts aesthetics. To the twelfth-century temple of Angkor Wat, he ascribed the qualities of an harmonious ensemble of architectural originality, a maximum equilibrium in its masses, and a "*judicious* [compare Guadet, italics MF] balancing of all its elements", all of which, he declared, merited even the "Grand Prix de Rome".¹³ Marchal also referred to the fact that this prize came with a stay at the *Académie de France* in Rome and the obligation to finally send in an *envoi*. This was the exercise of a reconstruction drawing of sites and urban ensembles of classical antiquity, which the *École* and Academy professors saw as the authoritative design precedents for inspiration and emulation:

It is evident that the plan of Angkor Wat, realised by a Khmer architect, bears witness to a *perfect knowledge of*

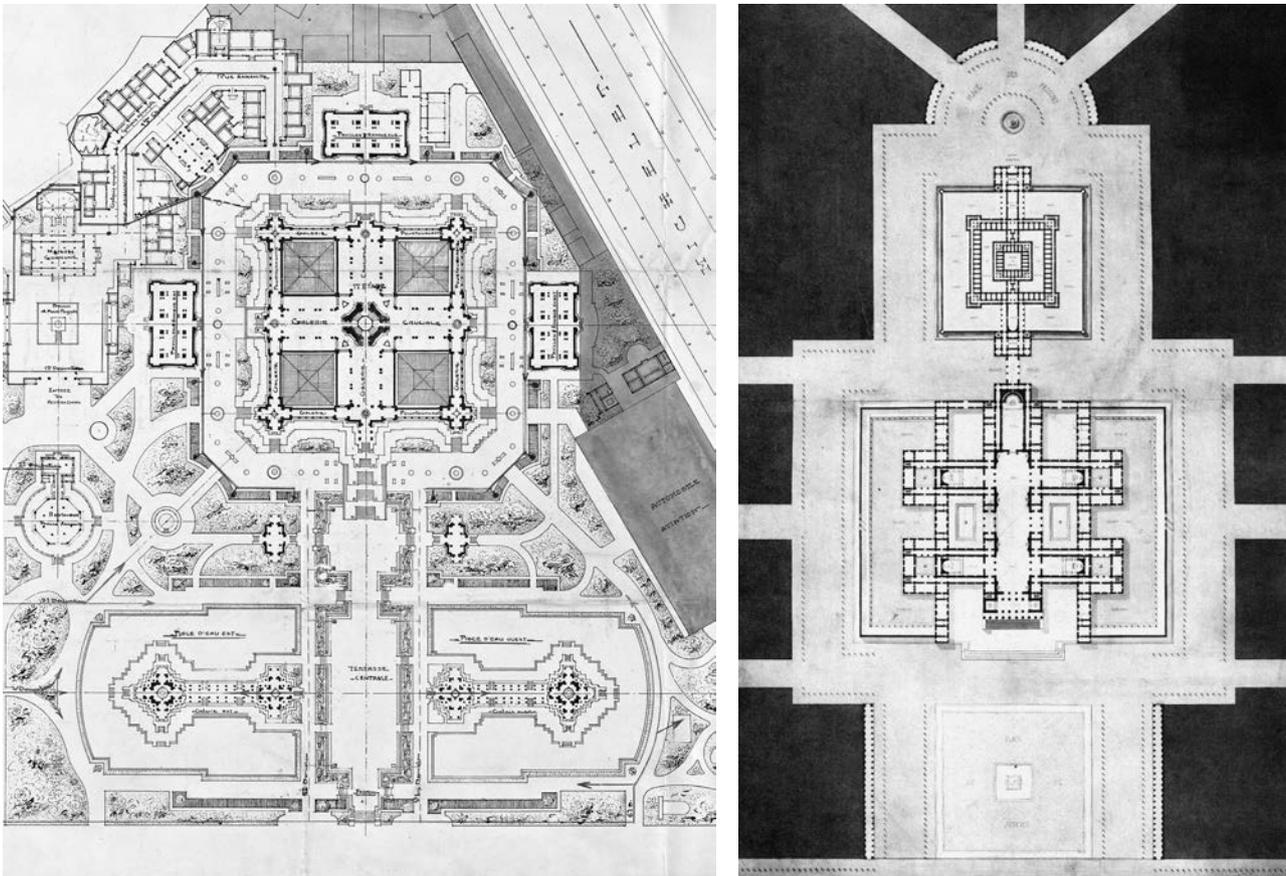
the laws of perspective and the presentation of the ensemble. Furthermore, the plan is very simple, a quality that necessitates long apprenticeship and conceptual confidence. *The temple of Angkor Wat is the one that speaks most clearly with the visitor and is the one less distanced of all Khmer monuments from a European mentality. [...] with its qualities of clarity, unity and simplicity, it cannot leave people of Greek-Latin civilisation untouched. With its balanced volumes, plan composition and moulded profiles, it takes its place side-by-side with monuments of our classic occidental art. [...] At Angkor Wat, all parts are placed within a larger inner logic: the height of its foundations, the spaces of the inner courts and the length of its passageways allow a necessary graduation to produce the impression of majesté et grandeur. Not a minor element is left for hazard and the ensemble is realised intentionally to express an architectural ideal. [...] Our admiration of Angkor Wat is based on the maximum effect of an equilibrium of its masses and a judicious balancing of all its elements. The plan of Angkor Wat is reminiscent of the great plans of the Grand Prix de Rome over the last fifty years: skilful symmetric layouts and perspectives produced through vast spaces of greenery, pools and a paved passageway that leads progressively to a central motif as the centre of the composition.* [italics MF] (Marchal 1925 n.p.)

Simultaneously, and ten thousand kilometres west of the 'original' site of Angkor Wat, Beaux-Arts architects – most often with a solid professional experience in the state-controlled building industry in French Indochina and certainly a good knowledge of Angkor – were employed to physically 're-create' the famous single temple of Angkor Wat for the Paris colonial and universal exhibitions in 1889, 1900, 1931 and 1937 and for those in Marseille in 1906 and 1922 (see chapters IV to VIII).¹⁴ One of the most interesting of these architects, Auguste Delaval, equally studied at the

¹² In his summary essay "Just what was Beaux-Arts architectural composition?", David van Zanten "define[d] Beaux-Arts composition in the abstract as encompassing three things: (1) a technique of progressive design elaboration that started with an idea and ended with a spatial form, which (2) posed certain selections among choices of shape and relationship, obliging the designer to take a philosophical stand, which thus (3) generated something that, at the last step, was adjusted to flash into three-dimensions as a pictorial manifestation of the originating idea" (van Zanten 2011, 23–24; compare for a more detailed analysis van Zanten 1980). Guadet, who won the Rome Prize himself in 1864, defined 'study' as synonymous with 'proportions' and considered it the second, or decorative, part of architecture, the first being the 'compositional' and the third being the 'constructional' (compare Guadet 1901, 100).

¹³ In his analysis of the Beaux-Arts Rome Prize competition of the 1820s (see below), Neil Levine commented on the commission's obvious focus on the plan drawings, and its vocabulary to praise projected facade elevations for their simplicity, nobility, unity or beauty of appearance combined with a *judiciousness* (see Marchal's 1925 quote with the same term) and suitability of character in style and decoration; and to comment on the decoration with terms of correctness, good taste, fine proportions, purity of style, based on well-chosen models and attention to detail (Levine 1982, 109). I would like to thank David Sadighian from Harvard University for his precious information on Beaux-Arts internationalism.

¹⁴ Those Beaux-Arts architects were: Daniel Fabre for the 1889 Exhibition in Paris (see chapter IV), Alexandre Marcel for 1900 Paris (chapter V), Auguste-Henri Vildieu for 1906 Marseille (chapter V), Auguste Delaval



Figures Intro.16a,b Auguste Delaval's final plan of a recomposed Angkor Wat replica for the National Colonial Exhibition of Marseille 1922 (left), and the ground plan of Abel Blouet's 1821 *Prix de Rome*-winning project of a palace of justice (right). (Source: © Archives nationales d'outre-mer ANOM, Aix-en-Provence; Middleton 1982, 114, © ENSBA Paris;)

École des Beaux-Arts in Paris from 1895 as student of Paul Blondel (himself a 'Rome Prize winner'), Georges Scellier de Gisors and Alphonse Defrasse. He left (like Henri Marchal) France for Vietnam to take up the role of "inspecteur des Bâtiments civils en Indochine"¹⁵ in 1905. When plans for the *Exposition Nationale Coloniale de Marseille* were declared in 1913 with the intention of taking place in 1916 (it finally opened in 1922), Delaval was chosen to build the first near full-scale replica of Angkor Wat. Our study will, for the first time, show that Angkor Park's first conservator general, Jean Commaille, was also involved in 1915 with reconstruction sketches of the towers of Angkor Wat (Fig. VI.4a,b) and was exchanging letters with Delaval between Angkor and France to discuss the 'correct' execution of the

Angkor Wat replica. Additionally, Delaval's creative visions to enact Angkor Wat in Marseille used the 1890 drawings of Lucien Fournereau (compare Figs. VI.5b, VI.9), who also followed the Beaux-Arts approach of symmetry in well-balanced building masses. As a consequence, Delaval introduced a new gate-like entry to flank the central passageway (Fig. Intro.16a), leading towards a culminating central tower (compare Figs. VI.5a, 7a,b, 8,17).

The importance of the Beaux-Arts composition scheme for Delaval's interwar project indicates a comparative example that was carried out for the *Prix de Rome* competition almost one hundred years earlier (Fig. Intro.16b). Delivering a usual set of large-scale drawings in 1821, Abel Blouet (he finally won against Henri Labrouste to

for 1922 Marseille (chapter VI), Charles and Gabriel Blanche for 1931 Paris (chapter VII), and Paul Sabrié for 1937 Paris (chapter VIII). Some of the EFEO architects, including Henri Marchal visiting the 1889 Exhibition or Jean Boisselier visiting the 1922 Exhibition, were, as they mentioned themselves (see chapter VI), initiated into the wonders of Angkor through the Angkor Wat replicas they saw in France.

¹⁵ <http://agorha.inha.fr/inhaprod/ark:/54721/00276230> (retrieved 5 August 2018).

come in second) presented his version of a palace of justice with a courthouse ensemble and a prison complex being attached to the north. Within the overall plan, which, as in other comparable competitions of that period as well, “always presented the strongest visual image in terms of graphic design, [...] the cross-axial scheme [so similar to Delaval’s composition for the Angkor Wat ensemble for the 1916/1922 Marseille National Colonial Exhibition!, MF] lent itself most readily to the expression of variety within unity and the balance of major and minor elements that the *Académie* usually sought. In its ideal form of a Greek cross, it was the plan-type preferred perhaps, above all others, for representational buildings of a lofty and didactic character” (Levine 1982, 95). However, when Delaval obviously reworked classical Beaux-Arts composition schemes of large scale in the ground plan drawing his Angkor Wat ensemble for 1922 National Colonial Exhibition, the School’s “fossilised theory” – with its excessive “cult of grand compositions” and of “grandeur” (Lucan 2012, 193, 198, 202)¹⁶ – had already been heavily critiqued for years. Its “abuse of symmetry” (Gro-mort 1924, 1) was considered an element of the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, this architectural affordance quality – and indeed actionable capacity – of Angkor Wat in the French-colonial context would be ‘back-translated’ (see both terms below) to independent Cambodia when King Sihanouk’s state architect Vann Molyvann – himself the first Cambodian to pass an *École-des-Beaux-Arts* formation in Paris – appropriated the temple’s layout and spatial composition scheme for his 1962 design of the Phnom Penh National Stadium (see Pl. X.14, Figs. X. 33–35). Likewise, in 1996, the study *Angkor Vat par la règle et le compas* mapped out the temple’s architectural symmetries (Dumont 1996, compare Manikka 1996). The author of this study was René Dumont, previously not only *Conservateur adjoint des Monuments d’Angkor* but also professor at Phnom Penh’s *Université des Beaux Arts*, whose un-

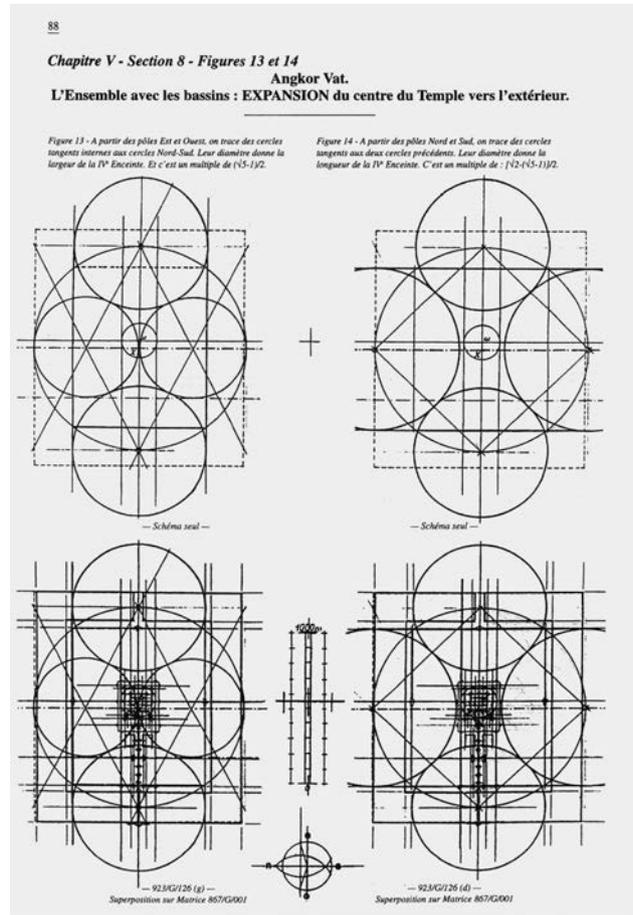
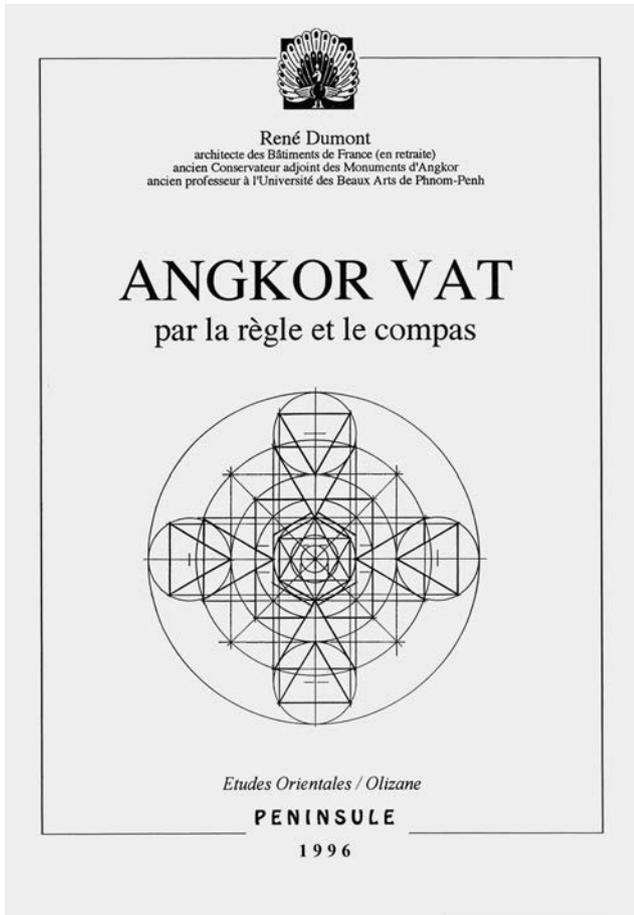
derlying aesthetics from his post-war position implicitly migrated, as we argue here, back onto the twelfth-century Cambodian temple (Figs. Intro.17a,b).

Angkor Wat’s performative affordance

The French admiration for and engagement with Angkor Wat was not merely afforded by the temple’s architectural features. A second important element was its religious and ritual, or performative, quality, which triggered theoretical debates and also concrete enactment strategies for both the ‘original’ and the replicated versions of Angkor Wat. Just shortly after the Siamese retrocession of Angkor to French *Cambodge* in 1907, George Coedès in 1911 published his short remark “The great temple of Angkor Wat” in the English *Buddhist Review*. From his ‘point of view’, “the great lines of the plan [...] and the central tower immediately produced [an] idea”. It was as if he were responding to the above-quoted Beaux-Arts aesthetics of architectural compositions. But now, Coedès also focused on the temple’s original religious and subsequent devotional function: the plan produced the “idea of a sanctuary, of a ‘Holy of Holies’” (Coedès 1911a, 10). Although he reminded his readers about Angkor Wat’s “Brahmanic origin” (see below), Coedès instantly switched to the recently rediscovered Buddhist inscriptions, which he declared to be “for the most part votive” despite the fact that they had been engraved into the temple’s walls and pillars from the sixteenth century onwards when post-Angkorian kings like Ang Chan were returning to the site to honour their ancestors (see below). By quoting one of the earliest Frenchmen ever to visit the site in the seventeenth century, and with a view to the surviving Buddhist statues on site, Coedès speculated on the performative quality – or was fascinated by the imagined notion – of a site where people from all “Indochina” (a geographical or an anything but neutral French-colonial term¹⁷) would flock together for political consultation and cultural reassurance:

¹⁶ In his chapter “The end of the École des Beaux-Arts system” (Lucan 2012, 190–207) Jacques Lucan focused on the post-1900 architectural developments and the fact that the School’s once innovative composition schemes were considered outdated as they became – Delaval’s implicit compository reference to projects like the one of Blouet of 1821 are self-explanatory – more and more homogenised. Rome Prize winners after 1900 started to focus in their restorations drawing, “informed by serious archaeological scholarship”, on larger ensembles and urbanist questions, like Henri Prost on the Hagia Sophia Church in Constantinople 1907/08, or Ernest Hébrard (the designer of EFEO’s Louis Finot museum in Hanoi, compare Fig. VIII.24a) on the Diocletian Palace of Split (1909). Later, Hébrard became urbanist architect in French Indochina and Prost in French Morocco.

¹⁷ The term *Indo-Chine* (many English and German publications until after 1900 used the terms *Further India* or *Hinterindien*, compare James Fergusson’s 1876 book *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* or Adolf Bastian’s 1866 *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*) was used probably for the first time by the geographer Conrad Malte-Brun and most prominently introduced in his 1810 œuvre *Précis de la géographie universelle* to describe an area of mainland Southeast Asia that was culturally informed by both Indian and Chinese influences. However, *Indochine française* was a political, colonial term to describe what in 1887 became the Indo-chinese Union of French Indochina (compare Hahn 2013 with Bertrand/Herbelin/Klein 2013).



Figures Intro.17a,b René Dumont's 1996 study *Angkor Vat par la règle et le compas* with a focus on concentric and symmetrical composition schemes (Source: Dumont 1996, cover, 88)

Angkor Wat had become for the Buddhists of Indo-China [sic] one of the most popular places of pilgrimage, and about 1664, Monseigneur Chevreuil, a missionary in Cochinchina could write that "the Temple of Onco was as famous amongst the Gentiles of five or six great kingdoms as St. Peter's at Rome. Here they come to consult on their doubts and here they receive decisions about them with as much respect as Catholics receive oracles for the Holy See. Siam, Pégu, Laos, Ternacerim and some other kingdoms come here for pilgrimage" (Coedès 1911a, 11 and EFEO 1929, 18; quoting Chevreuil 1674, 145).

Building on his 1911 studies *Les bas-relief d'Angkor Vat* (Coedès 1911b) and *Note sur l'apothéose au Cambodge* (Coedès 1911c), the construction of Angkor Wat (Coedès 1920) and referring to his own introduction to the EFEO's third volume on the temple (EFEO 1932), Coedès summarised his reflections on Angkor Wat in his famous essay "Angkor Vat, temple ou tombeau" of 1933. Creating a curious moment that crystallised French preoccupation with the performative quality of Angkor Wat, this essay was a

fervent response to Jean Przyluski's essay "Pradaksina et prasavya en Indochine" in the same year. There, Coedès' French colleague attributed to Angkor Wat the "funerary function of a tomb", where ritual ceremonies to venerate the mortal remains of a king (Sanskrit: *prasavya* as opposed to *pradaksina*, to circumambulate the relics of a god in a clockwise direction) were – with the bas-reliefs in a supposed didactical arrangement to the left-hand side in order to "offer a well-prepared *tableau* of the late king to the *spectateur*" – also accessible to the "ordinary visitors walking around the monument" (Przyluski 1933, 328). Coedès, however, saw this attributed "utilitarian function [as] a complete misunderstanding". In his opinion, the "plan and the decoration [was] to be read from the interior, from the viewpoint of the god living inside [as] a celestial palace with the central image of the god [Vishnu] with which the king after his death identified himself" (Coedès 1933, 309). In the end, he agreed with the term "funerary temple" [*temple funéraire*] to describe Angkor Wat. Within the pancolonial network to exchange knowledge of archaeological and conservation practice in Southeast Asia (French Indochina on the one and the Dutch East Indies on the other side, see

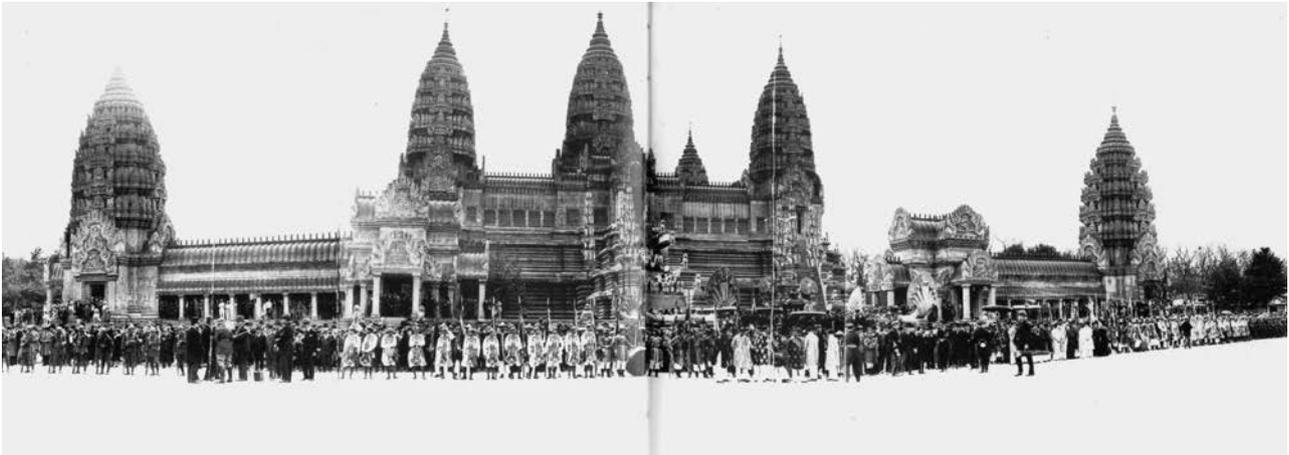


Figure Intro.18 Procession during the opening of the 1931 International Colonial Exhibition in Paris, as depicted in Figure Intro.1 (Source: Borgé-Visnoff 1995, 184)

chapter IX), this term had been introduced by Coedès' colleague F.D.K. Bosch in 1932 (Bosch 1932, 19).

In the very same moment of transcultural simultaneity (see this term introduced below) French intellectuals in the 1920s and 1930s were engaged in a scientific debate about how and whether exclusive ritual ceremonies by local monks or subsequent kings, religious processions with Buddhist pilgrims from 'all transregional quarters', or parades and gatherings of cultural-political self-assurance took place at the original twelfth- to sixteenth-century site. At the same moment, Angkor Wat's performative affordance quality unfolded its actionable capacity back in the French-colonial motherland. There, as I shall suggest, living notions of popular piety in laicist France and the scientific admiration and imagination of a *cult-cum-culture formation of ancient Angkor Wat* merged with political strategies to publicly visualise the civilising mission of imperial France. In universal and colonial exhibitions (see the first volume of this book), Przulski's reading of Angkor Wat's performative function from the outside and Coedès' interpretation of the temple's symbolic function from the inside came to an overlap. Secular visitors to the giant Angkor Wat replicas made by Beaux-Arts architects, most prominently in Marseille 1922 and Paris 1931 (see chapters VI and VII), circulated along the spectacular central passageway (Figs. VI.16a, VII.22c) and through the didactical inner galleries and exhibition halls where they were educated on France's enormous task of lifting annexed colonies such as *le Cambodge* into modernity. In the uppermost levels of the didactic *parcours* (compare Figs. VI. 21b, 22a/b; VII.28–32) the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* exhibited – in the *salle des ancêtres* (Fig. VI.23a) – its own 'self-sacrificing' work of restoring Indochina's temple heritage, after which the visitor entered the innermost 'idea' of the building, a sort of archaeological cella or *salle du dieu* (Fig. VII.34), where Vishnu (Angkor Wat's dedicat-

ed god on display in the central tower) seemingly gave the French-made replica of Angkor Wat its symbolic sanction from the inside out (Pl. Intro.11, compare Pl. VII.8, 16). In the meantime, the temple's giant bas-relief came back to life in the form of disguised Khmer guards and Khmer Ballet dancers who staged re-enactments of the historic processions for the president of the French Republic, the *commissaire général* of the event and his guests, the press reporters and the greater public (Fig. Intro.18, compare Fig. Intro.1a; Fig. VII.44 and Pl. VII.15b). Once again, this performative scenario migrated back to the 'real' site when French-colonial personalities such as Maréchal Joffre were honoured with historic processions (see Fig. VI.13b). Later, the postcolonial state leader King Sihanouk also performed stately grandeur (see Pl. X.16a, 20), staged himself in reinvented state processions as an Angkorian king (Fig. X.8a, compare Fig. X.51) and produced films such as *Crépuscule* or *Le cortège royal* (see Pl. X.26a). In later years Angkor Wat's performance quality also afforded a propagandistic stage set for the militarist regimes of the 1970s and 1980s (compare Fig. XI.11, Pl. XI.14, 15, 20), and ultimately its ceremonial character became instantly global after 1990 (see Pl. XII.10).

Angkor Wat's patrimonial affordance

The central question and premise of this book revolves around the question: What is it that has made and continues to make Angkor Wat a global and transcultural icon of cultural heritage? Taking into consideration the temple's above-mentioned architectural and performative affordances, a third and crucial element may help us to explain its unparalleled and ambivalent success story: Angkor Wat's *patrimonial affordance*. In their 2015 article "Mémoire et patrimoine: Des récits et des affordances du patrimoine", Joël Candau and Maria Ferreira convincingly developed a

checklist of those “patrimonial elements” for a cultural object that – in confrontation with a concrete patrimonial regime – increase the probability of the latter’s success in the “casting of the past” (after Appadurai 1996/2003, 30, compare Appadurai 2015): besides emotional ties, a sentiment of valence and emergency, intellectual, aesthetic, economic and political interests, the authors refer to the object’s quality to afford a “sort of narrative, a presentable and admissible self-story” [*un récit de soi racontable et recevable*] as well as “discourse and the sentiment of sharing” [*un discours sur le partage – un sentiment du partage*] (Candau/Ferreira 2015, 23, 24, 33, compare Fabre 2013) for the concrete professional actors involved in the institutional process of and the concrete actions taken towards the patrimonialisation of the object concerned.

One curious element of this is the fact that Angkor Wat’s patrimonial affordance had already affected the French historiographical imagination of the temple’s earliest construction history. As already mentioned above, a typically Western periodisation model was applied to formulate pre-, classical and post-Angkorian eras,¹⁸ with the Siamese sack of Angkor in 1431 seen as a decisive threshold and rupture between the latter two stages. In this context, French researchers from the late nineteenth-century onwards have conceptualised Khmer history after the mid-fifteenth century – including Khmer art and architectural history – in a clearly categorised and qualificatory reference to a supposed ‘golden age’ of twelfth-century Angkor. From this conceptual framing, all of the ‘post-Angkorian’ kings’ artistic realisations must have necessarily had a lower quality, as much as all of those actors’ decisions and actions inevitably must have stood in a clear normative consciousness of the humble inheritance of past (and not present or even future) *grandeur*. And this historiographical strategy had and still has considerable consequences for our site of enquiry: after the rather late correction of the chronology of the building constructions in the Angkorian period (Stern 1927), which finally placed Angkor Wat not at the end but in very centre of the chronological timeline, the temple was further monumentalised as *the* perfect, high-classical architectural and artistic masterpiece, which

was carried out by one architect, under one royal patron, for one commemorative purpose, and in relation to one (Hinduist) religion. The site itself supposedly became – according to French researchers – a veritable piece of cultural heritage immediately after its own completion. As a result, two panels that were added later in the northeastern corner of Angkor Wat’s spectacular bas-relief galleries, as well as some strange, roundish columns still standing within the inner sanctuary (where those were ‘originally’ never used) were seen as a challenge to this conception. Early remarks about the added columns (Fig. Intro.19) that were obviously taken from the temple’s western entry section, such as those made by the first conservator of Angkor, Jean Commaillé, classified them as insensitive recent repair actions taken by the ignorant monks living on site. As a consequence, those monks were declared unworthy inheritors of the ancient masterpiece.

Taking up earlier speculations about the “crude and incomplete character” of the tardy bas-reliefs (as the eminent scholar Étienne Aymonier called the execution of those two bas-relief panels, see Aymonier 1904, 235), correcting his own first misleading dating efforts (Coedès 1911b) and adding a supposed involvement of “Chinese craftsmen” (Goloubew 1924) into consideration, George Coedès came into the picture once more. His article “La date d’exécution des deux-bas-reliefs tardifs d’Angkor Vat,” published only in 1962 in the *Journal asiatique*, is a good example of the continuing fascination of French scholarship with Angkor Wat’s patrimonial affordance quality (Pl. Intro.12). Evaluated with reference to the normative assumption of the nineteenth-century art history tradition, the open decorative surfaces at twelfth-century Angkor Wat were seen as “unfinished” and “not yet completed” elements “to be added” to the *Gesamtkunstwerk* called Angkor Wat. Coedès’ translations of two inscriptions underneath the decorative panels identified the Buddhist king Ang Chan as the royal patron behind those artworks, which had been “carried out by royal artisans” between 1546 and 1564 CE in a Vishnuit style, “as in the past”.¹⁹ They were deemed to have “conserved the tradition in a natural subordination to the predecessors by using the old composition lines” of the neigh-

¹⁸ As we shall explore in chapter III, in the two neighbouring museums in the Trocadero Palace in Paris (both established around 1878: Viollet le Duc’s *musée de Sculpture comparée* and Louis Delaporte’s *musée Indo-chinois*, see Pl. III.6, Figs. III.11 and 28), the same periodisation model was applied to rediscover French-gothic architecture. In the following art historical comparison, Angkor Wat and Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris, both constructed in the first half of the twelfth century CE, were depicted as two ‘classical’ buildings representing the most important and iconic ‘medieval’ buildings of two nation-states, Cambodia and France (compare Pl. X.14).

¹⁹ Summarising both inscriptions in the eastern section of the northern gallery and in the northern section of the eastern gallery, Coedès’ translation was: “S. M. Mahavisnuloka [Suryavarman II] had *not yet completed* two panels. When S. M. Brah Rajaonkara Paramarajadhiraja Ramadhipati Paramacakravartiraja [Ang Chan] ascended the throne, he charged Brah Mihidhara and the royal artisans to sculpt a story on the panels [...] *finalising the work* was enforced [and] the galleries and balustrades were *solidly finished, as in the past*” [italics, MF] (Coedès 1962a, 237).



Figure Intro.19 The original columns from Angkor Wat's western central passageway that were moved to 'repair' the eastern portion of the entry to the temple's central tower, an action supposedly executed by the sixteenth-century king Ang Chan (Source: © Michael Falser 2010)

bouring panels (Coedès 1962a, 240–42). Having reigned at the new Khmer capital at Lovek, Ang Chan was likewise poured into this patrimonial mould, and the French-colonial regime styled itself as the rediscoverer, preserver, continuer and finally, ‘inheritor’ of Angkor (see below). Not only was Ang Chan already included in the performative tradition of “high dignitaries for the Buddhist clergy coming to Angkor Wat for pilgrimage” of the deified ancestors,²⁰ Ang Chan’s victorious “push-back of the [Siamese] enemy” from the Angkorian territory²¹ (as the French did in 1907 with the region’s ‘retrocession’ to French-colonial *Cambodge*) also allowed him to “discover [...] the old capital [of Angkor Thom, MF] until then captured by the forest and effaced from human memory”. This “motivated – rather naturally – the king’s restoration work at this temple [of Angkor Wat], which at this time was already seen as a national sanctuary [*sanctuaire national*]” (Coedès 1962a, 240–42; compare Boisselier 1962, 247). After Coedès’ short study, research about the ‘post-Angkorian’ layer over Angkor Wat continued (above others see Lewitz 1970–73, Giteau 1975, 93–111, Jacques 1999, Roveda 2001, 55–66). However, it was only in the groundbreaking photographic studies by Jaroslav Poncar, then a member of the German Apsara Conservation Project (GACP), that the overall pictorial programme of the temple could be fully explored (Pl. Intro.12). In his book *Of gods, kings and men: The reliefs of Angkor Wat* (first published 1995) Poncar also covered the two late bas-reliefs in the northeastern corner, and the art historian Thomas Maxwell concluded that these sixteenth-century reliefs broadly “follow[ed] the same compositional principles and iconographic symbolism as the originals” and that the “sculptures followed old original tracings or sketches left on the blank panels by Suryavarman’s artists two centuries before”. Altogether, Maxwell referred again to the “great prestige and awareness of tradition attached to this work” and judged it as a “respectful act of restoration, [...] an initiative conforming to the traditional concept of merit accruing to a king who restores the temples of his predecessors, [and] one aspect of a conscious desire to reclaim their heritage on the part of the Khmer elite who evidently nurtured a sense of exile after the transfer of the capital from Angkor to the region south of the Tonle Sap” (Maxwell in Poncar 2006; compare Maxwell in Poncar 2013, 264–275). Until today, Angkor Wat’s patrimonial affordance can be seen in the word choice used to describe the supposed “restorative programs” carried out in the post-Angkorian context of “deeds of piety performed at Angkor Wat” (Polkinghorne/Pottier/Fischer 2013, 603, 624).

Taking the mid-nineteenth-century context of European colonialism as the starting point for our story and following what James Clifford has called the “salvage paradigm, reflecting the desire to rescue something ‘authentic’ out of destructive historical changes” (Clifford 1989, 73), we have seen that Angkor Wat provided French-colonialism with a sense of self-justification and self-representation as the torchbearer of a progressive modernity, as well as an active *mission civilisatrice* to rediscover the lost, though salvaged and then restored, cultural *grandeur* of the supposedly ‘degenerated Orient’ (Falser 2015a,c). As we shall explore in the first chapter of this book, the famous and often-quoted “profound admiration” of the “splendid ruins” of Angkor Wat expressed in 1860 by the French naturalist Henri Mouhot came alongside a (little quoted) remark on Cambodia’s civilisational status as one of “barbarism and profound darkness” and a call for colonial France’s “conquest” for the benefit of the country’s “instant regeneration” (Mouhot 1864, vol. I, 282, 275). De Lagrée’s, Francis Garnier’s, Lucien Fournereau’s and Louis Delaporte’s missions to Angkor before 1900 produced the same self-justifying rhetoric (compare Fig. I.7, Pl. IX.5), while the first actions of the EFEO to ‘salvage’ Angkor Wat after 1900 resulted in the forced relocation of the active monastery in front of the temple in order to re-establish the temple’s ‘original idea’ and great vista (see Figs. IX.11–13, 17a,b). In this earliest act of a scientifically and institutionally embedded patrimonialisation, Angkor Wat as a living Buddhist site was ‘archaeologised’ back to its imagined architectural origins – in other words, it was ‘re-Hinduicised’ into a dead, commodified and *ex lege* protected ruin (compare Falser/Juneja 2013b).

However the applied strategies of salvage had one additional effect: they not only helped the active inscribing of the rescuer *into* the object’s aesthetic (and not religious) and normative, institutional and legal configuration of cultural heritage and patrimony [*patrimoine culturel*]; they also, through a series of performative actions, appropriated Angkor Wat through an act of cultural inheritance [*héritage culturel*] on site *and* overseas. When the temple as a replicated cultural icon was brought over ten thousand kilometres – together with greater numbers of original Khmer sculptures for French museums (see chapter III) – into the Paris International Colonial Exhibition of 1931, it became part and parcel of France’s own national mindset of cultural *grandeur*. As the organisers proclaimed in the famous journal *L’Illustration* in May 1931, the “Français d’Asie” had taken their self-appointed “custodian role” over the heritage reserve called *Parc archéologique d’Angkor* in colonial Cambodia. And they conceived of themselves as

²⁰ After Khin Sok’s French study of the Cambodian chronicles (published in the EFEO series in 1988), Ang Chan’s return to Angkor was not identified (Khin Sok 1988, 149–60, 252–53), but his devotional practice as a fervent Buddhist stood in clear continuity with his Angkorian predecessors.

²¹ Hence the name of the nearby city of Siem Reap, probably meaning the ‘defeat of the Siamese’.

“the legitimate inheritors of the ancient Khmer civilisation” (see full quotes in chapter VII). A few years earlier in 1929, the prestigious EFEO publication *Le temple d’Angkor Vat* proclaimed that the original site had now reached the status of a “universal celebrity”, just as it had supposedly gained the highest “prestige as a national sanctuary” (EFEO 1929, 5, 17) in the post-Angkorian era (see Coedès’ above-quoted 1962 remark about Ang Chan).

In the short era of Cambodian post-independence, the colonial-made iconicity of Angkor Wat amalgamated with the site’s renewed status as a ‘national’ icon: in a unique moment of decolonised ‘sentiment of sharing heritage’, King Sihanouk and Charles de Gaulle met in 1966 to celebrate “both nations’ conjoint efforts to rebirth Angkor”, as the general conservator of Angkor Park, Bernard Philippe Groslier, intoned it during the gigantic *son-et-lumière* show at Angkor Wat (see chapter X for the full text, compare Pl. X.23). Just twenty-five years later, the rhetoric of shared

heritage resurfaced again, this time under the notion of international solidarity at the end of the Cold War era. Once again, Angkor Wat’s patrimonial affordance took central stage: On 30 November 1991 UNESCO’s director general, Federico Mayor, in his *Appeal for Angkor* on the temple’s central passageway, asked “the international community as a whole to put the stamp of universal solidarity on the rebirth of Angkor” (Mayor 1991a, see full quote in chapter XII; compare Pl. XII.10), which was hastily nominated in 1992 to the World Heritage List of endangered properties. However, when the unprecedented, international set-up of an emergency help structure was in fact institutionally perpetuated far beyond any threat scenario, UNESCO’s globalised slogan of the ‘cultural heritage of humanity’ turned – as chapter XII and the epilogue II of this book will argue – into a *neocolonial dispossession strategy*, employed against a fully independent heritage regime in the newly established nation-state called Cambodia.

3. Preliminary reflections to Volume 1: *Angkor Wat in France – From Plaster Casts to Exhibition Pavilions*

3.1. From exotic fantasies in garden landscapes to ‘spectacular’ pavilions in universal and colonial exhibitions

The story of architectural representations of non-European cultures certainly did not begin with the era of universal and colonial exhibitions since 1851. With even earlier precursors we locate this phenomenon in the eighteenth century when – parallel to European expansionism – detailed travel reports, and historical, philosophical, and scientific treatises on the ‘Other’ (in our case, the so-called ‘Orient’) were increasingly available. This triggered the creation of exotic architectural fantasies for Western artificial garden landscapes where decorative clichés were assembled to form paradise-like illusory worlds. This Orientalist approach – even more acute in concrete situations of early colonial entanglements – was characterised by the “inclusion of realistic elements and stage props with a negation of concrete site-, time- and social-specific reference”. The subjects were staged in an ambiguous “some-where and some-time” and “the visual media in their massive reproducibility helped to create and consolidate the synthetic imaginary world of exoticism” (Polling 1987, 20, 23). This process also perpetuated stereotypes and essentialisms about the ‘Other’ while European domination was in the ideological foreground. In this phase of “poetic exoticism”

(Koppelkamm 1987), when written descriptions of the Orient were often translated into architectural representations and canonised in pattern books (Fig. Intro.20), ‘real’ architectural details from existing Asian building structures began to play a role.²²

Napoleon’s colonial and scientific crusade to Egypt in 1798 and the subsequent publications on Egyptian antiquity (compare Fig. IX.4), along with the emerging disciplines of art history, archaeology, ethnography, and geography, triggered a new phase of “academic Orientalism” (Koppelkamm 1987). Increasingly in Europe, which had itself entered the age of architectural historicism, a detailed knowledge of the periods, styles, constructions, and materials of (Far) Eastern architecture was used to create exact physical quotations. Nevertheless, these interpretations remained subordinate to European functionality and to different aesthetic notions of symmetry and scale; their original context often remained absent from the picture (Fig. Intro.21). The height of European colonial expansionism during the second half of the nineteenth century was also the age of mass spectacles: the format of a “universal exhibition”²³ was born in London in 1851, and the first of these exhibi-

²² For example, the famous Brighton Pavilion, the summer residence of the Prince Regent (later King George IV) was designed by John Nash and completed around 1820, and elements of Indian and Chinese architecture were space- and time-compressed to form one single hybrid ensemble.

²³ Instead of the common terms “World Exhibition” or “World’s Fair”, I will use the term “Universal Exhibition” throughout, which is closer to the French term “Exposition Universelle”.

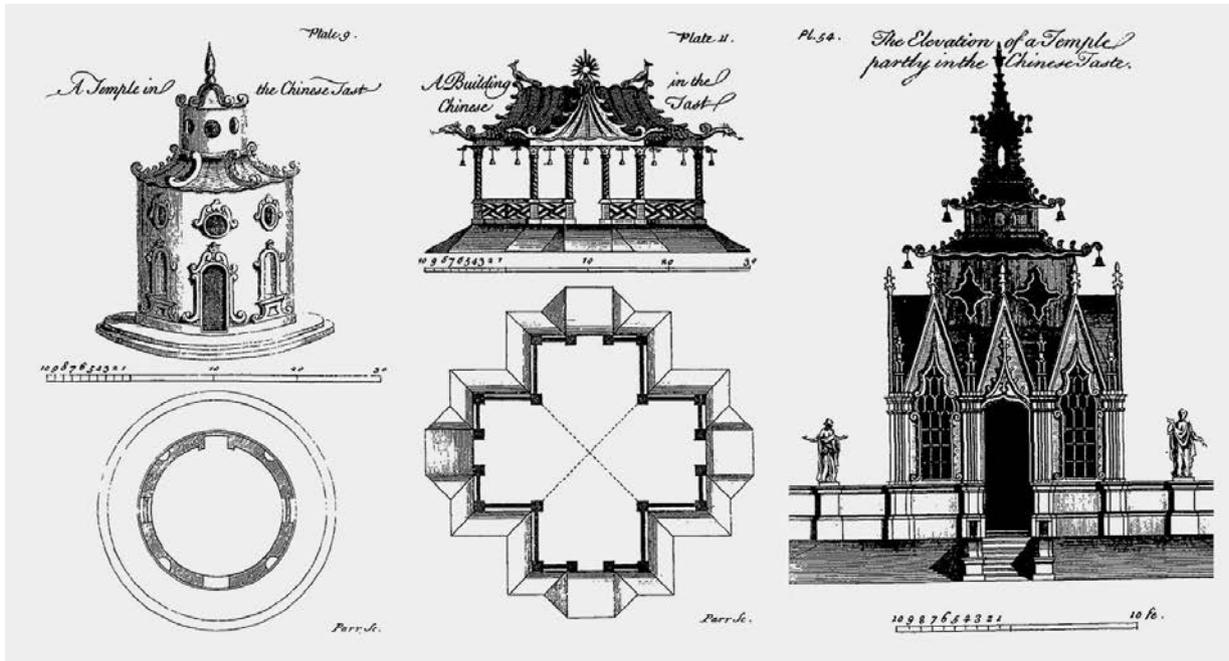


Figure Intro.20 'Oriental' architecture in William Halfpenny's 1752 *Rural architecture in the Chinese taste* being designs entirely new for the decoration of gardens, parks, forests, insides of houses etc. (Source: Halfpenny 1752, plates 9, 11, 54)

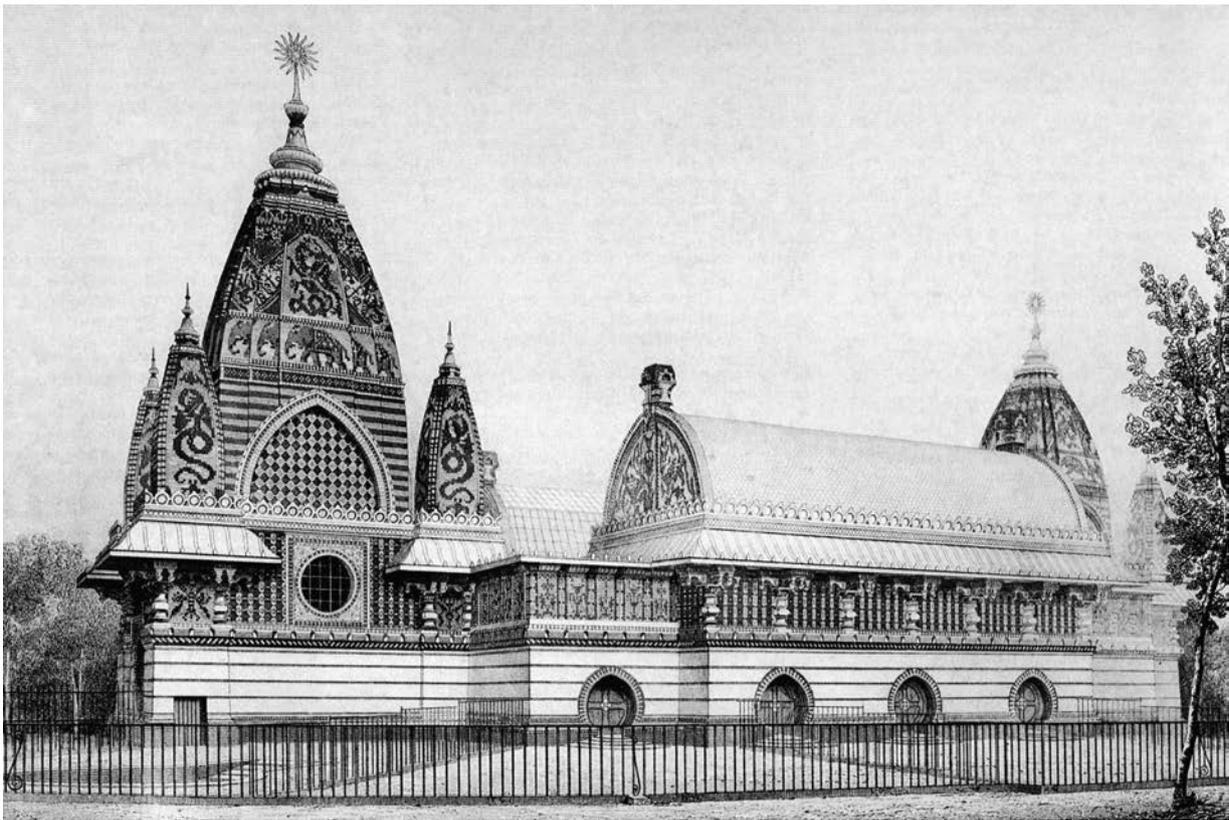


Figure Intro.21 The *Elefantenhaus* in the Zoological Garden in Berlin, in an 1873 drawing by the architects Hermann Ende and Wilhelm Böckmann (Source: Koppelmann 1987b, 179)

tions between London and Paris visualised the grand narratives of the leading (English or French) nations under the paradigms of culture, progress, humanity, and universalism. This came with the strategy to classify the entire world civilisation into hierarchising taxonomies along Eurocentric standards. With their flexible location, limited time frame, and ephemeral materialisation, universal exhibitions were also perfect to stage the ‘Oriental and colonial periphery’ at the very centre of Occidental colonial power. In a phase of “documentary realism”, the “mimetic act” (Beaucheac/Bouchart 1985, 7) to stage ‘authentic and exact’ representations of architectural highlights from the colonised East became a crucial strategy.

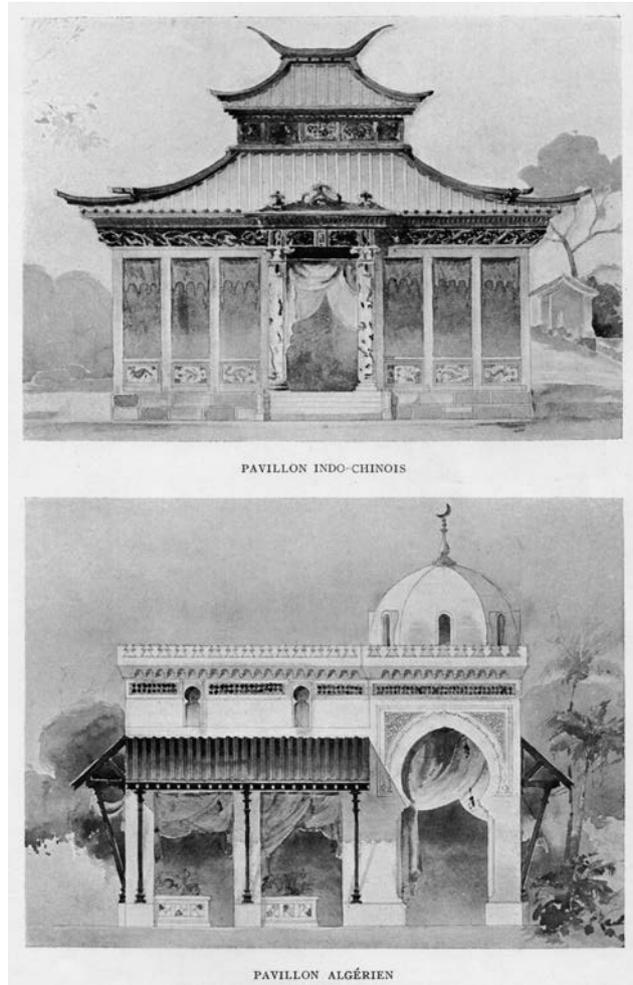
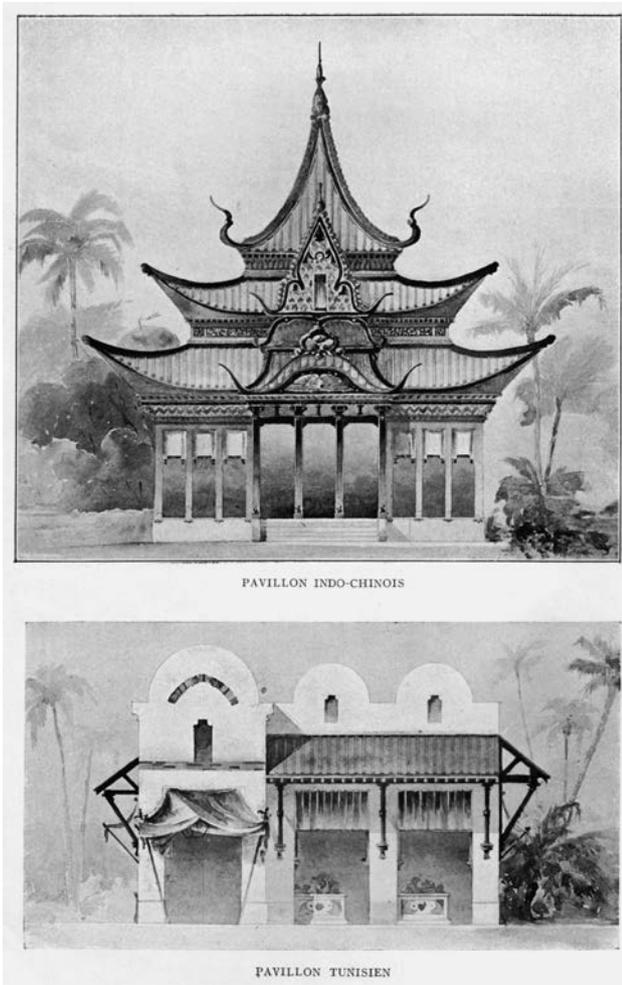
The ‘national pavilion’ was the new medium that could best transport imperial ideologies and narratives of national progress. It was born as an architectural concept during the second Parisian Universal Exhibition of 1867 (see chapter I). The global touch was a crucial element from the beginning when so-called ‘Oriental nations’ (compare Fig. I.17) were represented in hybrid ensembles with architectural references to their glorious archaeological pasts and almost never to their supposedly poor cultural presence.²⁴ Three characteristics of the pavilion concept are particularly important for the purposes of this study: first, despite being labelled ‘national’, some pavilions (like ‘Mayan-Aztec Mexico’, see Fig. I.18 or IV.5b; ‘Pharaonic Egypt’, see Fig. I.19; or ‘Angkorian Cambodia’, see Fig. IV.9, as it was called in the 1889 Exhibition) were often condensed and fossilised versions of a re-imagined civilisation of antiquity. Second, these ‘Oriental’ pavilions, where the European concept of a modern nation functioning under the paradigm of progress merged with the concept of civilisation, were most often constructed with an articulated colonial interest by the hosting European nation (Figs. Intro.22a,b; compare again Fig. Intro.1). Third, how these pavilions of Oriental antiquity were constructed reveal the politics of appropriation relative to forms of non-European architecture that were to be incorporated into the coloniser’s own canon of cultural heritage.

When the first analyses of universal and colonial exhibitions emerged in the postmodern 1980s, it was noted

that France’s typically Saint-Simonian grasp on those events involved the merger of nationalistic optimism and industrialism with cultural “paternalism” (Ory 1982, 18). The primacy of progress in the Beaux-Arts rather than in industry and science always came with a retrospective view on France’s own *patrimoine* to reconstitute itself as the crowning endpoint of a universal civilising past. The typically French “notion of the Encyclopaedia (a notion of total knowledge)”, the “idea of France as civiliser” (Greenhalgh 1988, 20, 115; compare Benedict 1983, Falser 2015a) and the focus of the arts as the highest achievement of human civilisation also stood in relation to the French invention of the architectural – in our case Oriental – pavilions. As space-, time-, and scale-compressed physical models and “lifelike reproductions of an authenticated past” they were placed in the “exhibitionary complex” of the *exposition universelle* to visualise the colonially appropriated world in a “totalising order” (Bennett 1988, 81, 88, 92; compare Bennett 2004; Barth 2002, 10–11).

Important for our above-introduced ‘trans-cultural’ approach to bridge clear-cut territorial nation-state borders as much as disciplinary borders of the so-called ‘Area Studies’ (Europe or Asia), these ephemeral pavilions also had very concrete consequences for the ‘real’ sites outside the exhibited European model world (Falser 2013h). Timothy Mitchell’s paper “The world as exhibition” described the function of the facade-like pavilions and stage settings, especially those from the Orient, as “the West’s great external reality”: they not only sought to exhibit the world using a “reality effect” but also “to order up the world [itself] as an endless exhibition” – in an “act of political decidedness [of] colonial nature” (Mitchell 1989, 218, 226–27). Coming back to Nora’s 1931 Angkor Wat-in-Paris example (compare Figs. Intro.1a–c), the exhibition pavilions, now with the claim to be ‘picture-perfect copies’ – would also re-project a “frame of visual order” (Mitchell 1989, 228) back to their ‘originals’ (and often less perfect, sometimes ‘ruined’) Far Eastern counterparts. As a consequence, this visual frame would not only be searched for and even expected by later visitors to the ‘real’ site but was also, as we shall see in volume 2, reiterated, reproduced, and ultimately ‘real-

²⁴ This was explained in the comment *Architecture des nations étrangères*, published in 1870 by the Orientophile, Beaux-Arts architect-photographer Alfred Normand. With a typically French emphasis on industry and art in the universal exhibitions in order to “exchange concepts and methods between all people, and to appreciate the general status of artistic and industrial progress”, Normand described the “veritable specimen of temples, palaces, houses, schools and farm buildings of every country” as “types and reflections of civilisation [...] the most lucky innovations” of the whole exhibition (Normand 1870, 1, 2). Alongside European pavilions, the Egyptian pavilion “ranked high among all nations and first among the Oriental nations”, because of its “tasteful configuration and its artistic and archaeological richness” (Normand 1870, 3). Reminding the reader of the French discovery of ancient Egypt and in a typically Beaux Arts-influenced appreciation of architectural idea, proportion, scale, harmony and colouration (compare our remark on a Beaux Arts-like ‘architectural affordance’ of Angkor Wat!), Normand admitted that the Egyptian pavilion was (compare all our ‘Angkor Wat-in Paris’ constructions) built by a French architect in Paris, supposedly using “precise information and numerous photographs and plaster casts” (Normand 1870, 3, 4, 5); compare with a postcolonial critique like *Colonizing Egypt* (Mitchell 1988).



Figures Intro.22a,b Sketches for the French-colonial ‘Oriental pavilions’ of the *Exposition coloniale* in the *Grand palais des Champs-Élysées* in Paris 1906 (Source: Grand palais 1906, n.p.; private collection Michael Falser)

ised’ when surviving ancient structures were brought back to their supposed ‘original’ appearance through modern disciplines like archaeology, historic preservation and cultural heritage politics. In this sense, universal and colonial exhibitions were far more than just “laboratories for *new* architectural forms and compositions [italics MF]” back in the emerging non-European nations of the ‘Orient’ (Çelik 1992, 5) or in the European colonies (Leprun 2010, 51). They had important consequences in the far-reaching restoration measures used to preserve Asia’s architectural past: *Back-translating* the idealised and temporary model versions of universal and/or colonial exhibitions (see this term later in this introduction), vast temple sites like Angkor were subsequently turned themselves into “outdoor architectural museums” (Kaufman 1989, compare Schrenk 1999; see Pl. Intro.22) or *themed parks* (see this term explained later in this introduction), like in our case the *Parc archéologique d’Angkor*. At these sites, we argue in this publication, the temple structures were gradually restored and

preserved themselves as ahistoric pavilion-like exhibits similar to those seen in Occidental exhibitions, and they became “architecturally frozen in an ambiguous and distant past” (Çelik 1992, 56, 190) as cultural heritage icons. This relationship between the ephemeral exhibition pavilions on the one hand (in volume 1) and the long-term archaeological sites of Oriental antiquity on the other (in the second volume) has motivated the structure of this publication. With the world’s largest religious stone monument – Angkor Wat – at the centre of our investigation, we claim that this above-formulated transcultural phenomenon has never before been discussed in such depth. However, a few earlier studies were useful for this argumentation. Michael Diers argued that these official ephemeral representations most often exhibited the best recorded, documented, and preserved monuments of their time. As a result, the “ephemeral monument stood as a short-term form of the [real] monument” and, through its mass media propagation and circulation, guaranteed the perpetual

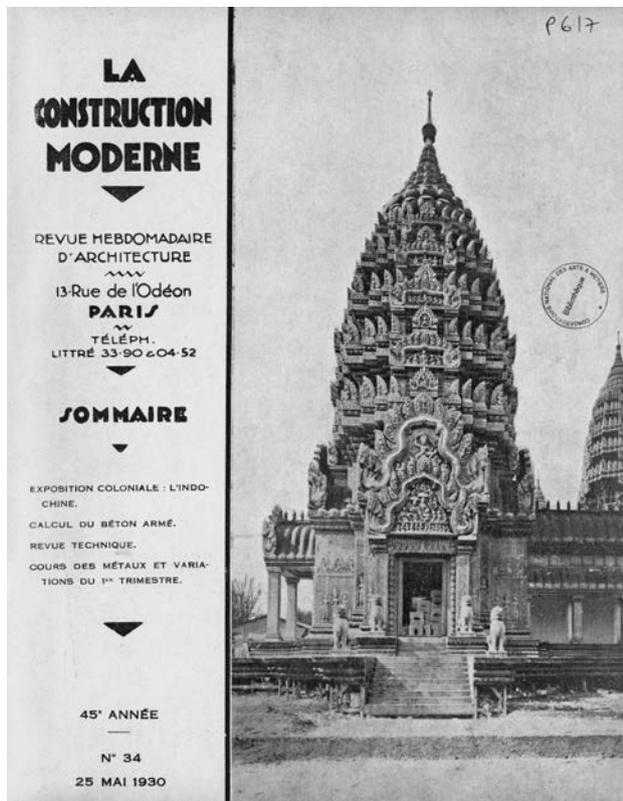


Figure Intro.23 Constructing Angkor Wat during the 1931 Colonial Exhibition: picture-perfect decorative surface behind a wooden scaffold with attached lightweight fibre-board casts called *staff* (Source: *La Construction Moderne*, 25 May 1930, cover)

iconisation of the latter. Thus, ephemeral Angkor pavilion architectures on display in French exhibitions helped to turn the real temple progressively into an icon of *patri-moine culturel* and pre-visualised its picture-perfect status that (French-colonial) physical – archaeological, architectural, restorative – interventions were seeking after. Diers highlighted the concrete materiality of the ephemeral: “From the monument, only the form, size and dignity, the decoration and the iconographic details are borrowed – as regards the raw material, the ephemeral is usually just a

coulisse construction out of glue and cardboard” (Diers 1993, 7, 8; compare Daufresnes 2001). The differentiation of the “exhibitionary styles [from] realism, hyperrealism [to] reconstruction” (MacDonald 1997, 5) – in other words, the degree to which the ephemeral pavilion representation borrowed from the source, and whether they were “original creations, stylised interpretations or exact restitutions” (Courthion 1931, 37, compare Zahar 1931 in chapter VII) – was often discussed in journals of contemporary art. They were also treated as contemporary building projects – for example, in technical journals like *Construction moderne* – and discussed next to issues like reinforced concrete or metal installations (Fig. Intro.23, compare Figs. VII.18, 19), but without any mention of the causality between the technical execution of the ephemeral pavilions and the ideological intentions behind them.

Both the question of the technique, depth, and accuracy of the ‘translation’ (see below) of monuments from Oriental antiquity to ephemeral pavilion structures in Western exhibitions, and the colonial-political reverse effect that the latter had on the original site, is rarely investigated in architectural historiography. This is surprising when one considers the fact that general literature on the history of universal and colonial exhibitions has gained great popularity over the last thirty years.²⁵ Two publications, however, have approached the above-mentioned desideratum of transcultural inquiry from different directions and at different moments. In her monograph *Le Théâtre des colonies* (1986), Sylvaine Leprun investigated the “scenographic construction modes” of the colonial exhibitions under the terms “ductile Orientalism” and “three-dimensional ethnology”, which have helped to “model this Oriental spectacle [of] ephemeral temples [and] animated panoramas” (Leprun 1986, 6, 17, 18, 20, 56). In her chapter “Facettes archéologiques: Une identité en trompe-l’œil”, Leprun added her stylistic investigations of these “playful animations” (Leprun 1986, 85, 94). She differentiated between the architectural strategies of “identical figurations/strict copies, composite assemblage of synthetic representative images [and] identifiable buildings made of interpreted signs on an archaeological basis” (Leprun 1986, 6, compare Courthion 1931). The topic was also addressed in Patricia Morton’s 2000 monograph *Hybrid modernities*, which focused on

²⁵ This literature ranges from a focus on ethnographic representations and folkloristic shows (for example, Çelik 1990, Bancel 2002, Hale 2008, Blanchard 2011) to establishing comprehensive inventories (Mattie 1998, Kretschmer 1999, Wörner 2000, Geppert 2006/2010, Finding 2008, Greenhalgh 2012). In France, this trend comprises a repetitive, lionizing of the French exhibitions’ achievements and often contains little postcolonial critique or transcultural inquiry (Bouin/Chanut 1980, Bacha 2005, Mathieu 2007, Chalet-Bailhache 2008, Demeulenaere-Douyère 2010), but the latest research tends to be more interested the technical making-of of these mass spectacles (above others, Carré et al. 2012). Closer to our topic, a special image-based fascination with the representation of colonial Indochina can be observed (Beautheac/Bouchart 1985, 44–48, Archives municipales de Marseille 2006, Baudin 2006, Grandsart 2010) that even includes a veritable “Angkormania” (Demeulenaere-Douyère 2010, 202–205) and a nostalgic “rehabilitation of the last vestiges” from the last mass spectacles depicting imperial France (Aldrich 2005, Ageron 2006).

the colonial politics and cultural taxonomies (or rather civilising hierarchies) of the pavilion representations, and on the architectural building techniques used for the exhibited colonies during the 1931 Colonial Exhibition in Paris. In her section on “Indochina” (Morton 2000, 234–51), the specific technique of plaster casts based “on a set of molds taken at Angkor and housed at Musée Indochinois” (Morton 2000, 239) was indicated (compare Dumont 1988 below); however, her story was just a rough outline and based on official and secondary sources only. As a result, Morton left unmentioned the incredible colonial efforts,

the logistical set-up and the concrete construction processes and construction materials (most importantly plaster casts, see below) through which those ephemeral architectural pavilions were produced. Neither was the ‘trans-cultural’ role of those replicas investigated to help their ‘originals’ to become iconic heritage sites, nor were the colonial practices considered which gradually incorporated sites like ‘the real Angkor’ into the canon of French *patrimoine*, a French *lieu de mémoire* (see above Nora/Ageron 1984), or in 1992 even into a UNESCO World Heritage Site in independent Cambodia (chapter XII).

3.2. The rediscovery and re-evaluation of plaster casts

The rediscovery of the ontological value of architectural plaster casts can be dated to the mid-1980s when universal and colonial exhibitions became a topic in art and architectural history.

In their 1985 Zagreb symposium proceedings, entitled *Originals and substitutes in museums*, the value of plaster casts and their function in architectural models had become a subject of discussion for the *International Committee for Museology* (ICOFOM). Contributions appreciated the value of museum substitutes in their function as a democratised “réappropriation patrimoniale” of original artworks (Deloche in Sofka 1985a, 35–40).²⁶ As plaster casts were similar to the technique of photography as a substituting device to bring together the whole world of art to form a ‘history of world art’ (in contrast to the analytical approach of ‘global art history’ discussed here), André Malraux’s idea of a *musée imaginaire* was brought up, itself not entirely free from colonial implications.²⁷ Without mentioning the implications of ownership rights, different target audiences, and implicated power structures, a list of “justifications for substitutions” (Desvallées in Sofka 1985a, 93–99) was proposed: above others, the impossibility of exhibiting the original (huge dimensions making it impossible to move), the propagation of knowledge about a distant original, or the interpretation of the original in order to make it better understood by the intended audience (e.g., through simplifying, scale-change). A “typology of

copies” defined the *degrees of resemblance* between the original and its substitute in the case that an original was “not exactly reproduced”: combined quotations from different originals as “pastiche”; an “artistic comment”; completion or restoration to an original as “reconstruction”; scale-changing “models and maquettes”; and material-changed “wax models, electrotypes, photocopies, holograms, anastylis and plaster casts” (van Mensch in Sofka 1985a, 123–26). In the 1987 French conference on *Le moulage*, contributions addressed the plaster cast’s materiality, European history, legitimacy for conservation and restoration in exhibition spaces, artistic and archaeological collections, and their status as art objects *sui generis*. Maybe for the first time and in direct relation to the ephemeral staging of Angkor Wat at the 1931 Colonial Exhibition in Paris, René Dumont, previously *Conservateur adjoint des Monuments d’Angkor* before the French left the site around 1970 (see his 1992 publication in this introduction, Figs. Intro.17.a,b), gave a first rough chronology of the career of the plaster casts from Angkor in (post)colonial France (Dumont 1988). In a crucial shift in attitude after the dramatic de-evaluation and disposal of the plaster casts from Angkor by the same museum (see chapter III), Albert le Bonheur, the director of the *musée Guimet* (the institution that had inherited the original artefacts and casts from Delaporte’s *musée Indochinois* in the 1930s) praised the reluctantly salvaged, but still poorly stored plaster casts of Angkor as “unique

²⁶ The idea of exchanging artworks as plaster cast copies in European museums goes back to a convention signed between European monarchs during the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1867 (see chapters I and III).

²⁷ How contested this concept of “réappropriation patrimoniale” was can be explained in our case. In his text Malraux included Khmer art fragments from the Parisian *musée Guimet*, decontextualised from their original religious context, in his concept of a new “humanisme universel” (Malraux 1952, 66). Not only did he not mention that some of his original Khmer-as-‘universal art’ examples of the *musée Guimet* in Paris had been stolen at a time when Angkor was still in Siamese territory (see chapters II and III) and not, at the time of Malraux’s original 1947 publication, on French-Cambodian territory. He also omitted the fact that he himself had been imprisoned in French-colonial Phnom Penh for his attempts in the early 1920s to steal original bas-reliefs from the ninth-century Khmer temple of Banteay Srei. This incident caused a crisis in Indochinese French-colonial politics at the time (compare the reference to Malraux in the UNESCO-debate about Angkor after 1992 in epilogue II).

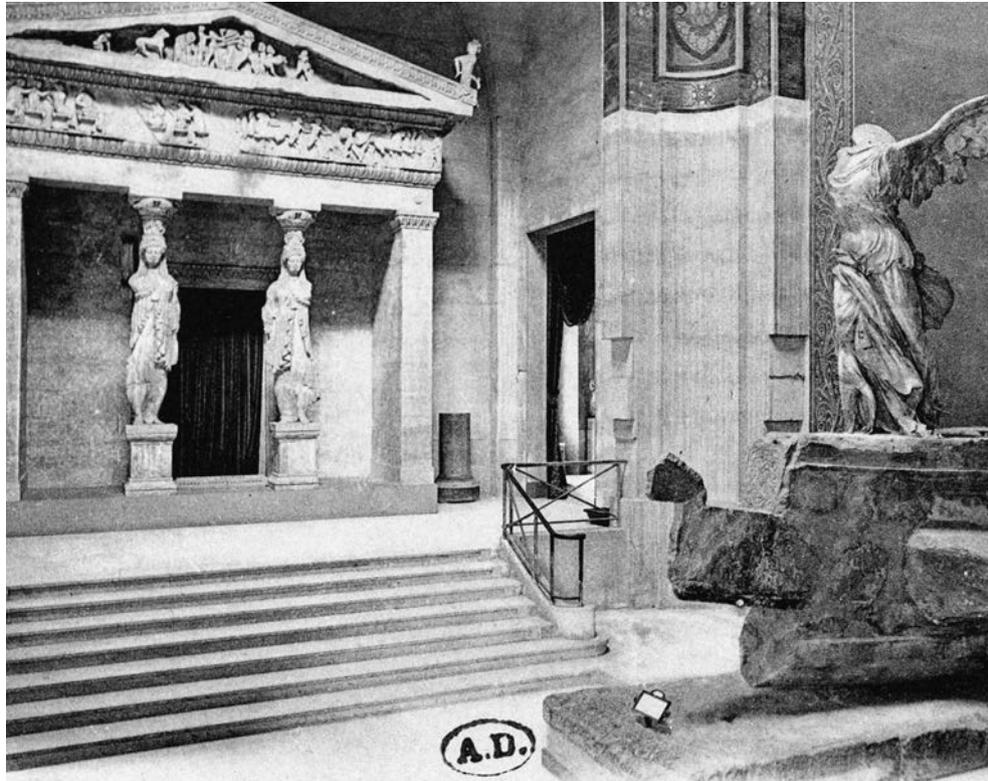


Figure Intro.24 A postcard of the Louvre with the *Le façade du Trésor des Cnidiens* as plaster cast reconstitution (left) with the famous *Victoire de Samothrace* as original fragment (right) (Source: © musée des Arts décoratifs, collection Maciet)

and extremely important documents for the art of Angkor” (Association 1988, 124). Blurring the lines between colonial heritage and the new approach of universal heritage, the French ICOMOS president, Michel Parent, evoked the old notion of French responsibility for both the original site of Angkor and for the French Angkor plaster cast collection: “There are now two sites of Angkor in this world. It is [one] *patrimoine universel*” (Association 1988, 125).

If the 1980s saw a rising, mostly British, interest in the nineteenth-century techniques of reproducing artworks and cultural heritage (Baker 1982/2007, Harrod 1985, Fawcett 1987), French publications in the 1990s addressed the history of plaster casts as once valid media in museum displays side by side with archaeological originals (Rionnet 1996, Actes de rencontres 1999) (Fig. Intro.24). The colonial implications in the use of plaster casts, however, were never debated. In a 1999 Paris conference on replicated antique statues and the history of archaeology (Lavagne/Queyrel 2000), the constantly shifting status of the “originality” of plaster casts as either objects of art and/or science was addressed, as much as the fact that casts were in a “contested status at every stage of their history, because the processes of reproduction embodied in casting [were] inevitably disputed, their definition always provisional” (Beard 2000, 158, 162; compare Scherkl 2000, Klamm

2010). A special dossier entitled *Les moulages en plâtre*, published in the journal *Les nouvelles du patrimoine*, looked at architectural replicas from London, Brussels, and Paris (Van den Driessche 2000). And with the 2001 publications *Le plâtre: L’art et la manière* (Barthe 2001) and *Le musée de sculpture comparée: Naissance de l’histoire de l’art moderne* (Pieri 2001), the plaster cast in historic French collections had finally regained its place in the canon of French art historiography and as *patrimoine culturel* sui generis. However, the discussion never left the European continent or even introduced the topic of European colonialism. This changed with the Musée d’Orsay’s exhibition and publication *À fleur de peau: Le moulage sur nature au XIXe siècle* about “moulage sur nature – moulage sur culture.” Three contributions to the special section entitled *Au service de la science* (Teneuille/Bajac 2001, 88–119) contextualised the use of plaster casts not only in light of their supposedly neutral function as *aide-mémoire* in artistic procedures but also relative to their ‘colonial’ function in establishing comparative racial and cultural, and altogether Euro- and anthropocentric taxonomies (Figs. Intro.25a,b). During the nineteenth-century expansionist waves of brutal European colonialism, plaster casts of ‘primitive species’ executed during the expeditions into unknown worlds played a crucial role in the “complete appropriation of the



Figure Intro.25a A plaster cast of Adolphe Victor Geoffroy-Dechaume (*moulage sur nature*) of parts of an original female body (about 1840–45) (Source: © musée de Sculpture comparée, Claire Lathuille/CAPa/Fonds Geoffroy-Dechaume, MMF)



Figure Intro.25b A plaster cast by Alexandre Pierre Marie Dumoutier (*moulage sur nature*) of a head of Matua Tawai, a New Zealander of Ikanamawi (1838) (Source: © musée de l'Homme, laboratoire d'anthropologie, Paris)

reality of the world” (Papet 2001, 90). However, the link between the display modes of the “tableaux vivants” and “comparative galleries” of colonial ethnography and anthropology with those of colonially appropriated archaeological sites in French museum and exhibition spaces was not yet established. The same was true for the emerging interest of the conservation sciences when the conservator of the *musée Guimet*, Pierre Baptiste, spoke about the importance of the Parisian plaster cast collection from Angkor (Baptiste 2002, compare Baptiste 2013). In 2005 the conference volume *Histoire de l'art et musées* addressed the tragic fate of plaster casts museums, especially Viollet-le-Duc's initial concept for the *musée de Sculpture comparée* (Viéville 2005, 155–71), but Delaporte's *musée Indo-chinois* in the same Trocadero Palace (see chapter III) remained undiscussed (Pressouyre 2007, L'art 2007, Mersmann 2011).

At this point in time, Anglo-Saxon research on the (post)colonial implications of architectural plaster cast museums (for example Fash 2004) had overtaken the French discussions.²⁸ Likewise, the substantial 2010 edited volume *Plaster casts: Making, collecting and displaying from classical antiquity to the present* (Frederiksen/Marchand 2010)

included a section called *Casting nations: The national museum*, which focused on the plaster cast courts of the South Kensington Museum (Bilbey/Trusted 2010 referring to Bilbey/Cribb 2007) and its colonial mission as a “three-dimensional imperial archive” (Baker 2010, quoting Barringer 1998, 11).

At this point my own methodology on this topic came to the fore, as developed at Heidelberg since 2009 and primarily discussed in the first volume of this book and again in the first section of chapter XII. It conceptualises architectural plaster cast museums and the ephemeral reconstitutions of Far Eastern architecture during the universal and colonial exhibitions in the French *métropole* as two entangled parts of a transcultural process in which the colonialisised ‘Orient’ was not only gradually appropriated in its physical nature, but also incorporated in the coloniser's own expanding realm of a *patrimoine culturel* (as a first summary paper Falser 2011, compare Falser 2013a,c,e,h).

As a matter of fact, the 2010s brought a lot of dynamics into this contested field of research. The conference *Le Moulage: Pratiques historiques et regards contemporains* was held in November 2012 as a joint venture between the

²⁸ In the meantime in France, several masters and PhD theses on the Parisian *musée Indo-chinois'* plaster cast collection from Angkor have been completed or were in the process of completion (above others Houe 1992, Combe 2000, Legueul 2005, Philippe 2011/2013). Some results of this research using precious archival data formed the basis for new initiatives in the 2010s (see below).

musée des Monuments français in the Trocadero Palace and the *Quai Branly* ethnographical museum in Paris. Although enquiries into neighbouring fields and regions (like Mesoamerica or Africa) were made, France's greatest colonial prestige object, Angkor and its representation in France, was still not included (Lancestremère et al. 2016). Finally, the impressive musée Guimet exhibition *Angkor: Naissance d'un mythe – Louis Delaporte et le Cambodge* (Baptiste/Zéphir 2013, Baptiste 2013) in 2013 contributed largely to the public understanding of the value of plaster casts from Angkor (Pl. Intro.13, compare Pl. III.17–18). However, the underlying master narrative was rather 'good old mother France and its colonial heroes in their role of salvaging and propagating Angkor'. The contested nature of Angkorian casts in the colonial processes of the appropriation of Asian temple architecture for European museums was only mentioned in my contribution (Falser 2013g, compare Falser 2015e). In a unique moment for French art history, the restored plaster casts of Angkor were exhibited 'side by side' (see below this expression used by Foucault in 1967) with their 'originals' (see Pl. III.17). However, a crucial change of the casts' ontological status as previous secondary sources 'of Khmer art' into the present one as primary sources of a highly contested, colonial-time museum collection practice and history was unfortunately

not brought to the forefront. At this point in time, German-language scholarship got more involved in this topic of plaster casts and cultural imperialism because the *Humboldt Forum* in Berlin's new-old city castle is actually planning to exhibit original ethnographica and plaster casts side by side in a (highly contested) world art parcours. At the 2015 conference *Casting: A way to embrace the digital age in analogue fashion*, convened by the Berlin State Museums and their plaster cast workshop [*Gipsformerei*], I could, for the first time, re-establish the competitive and contested history of the plaster cast collections of Angkor between Paris and Berlin (Falser 2016b, compare Falser 2012/14, 2015e, 2017b, 2019; see chapter III and Figs. III.41–44, Pl. III.15). How the German plaster casts of Angkor will be exhibited in Berlin is, by the time of writing, still an unsolved discussion (Pl. Intro.14a,b; compare Falser 2017c, 2018). At this point in time, the European history of "plaster monuments" was finally made an entangled transatlantic story (Lending 2017). The transcultural dynamics of how Western architectural replicas influenced the re-making of 'real' sites, such as those archaeological ones in Non-Europe during the time of European imperialist expansion (compare Falser 2013h), are, however, not yet sufficiently conceptualised or mapped out on a global scale (Falser forthcoming1).

3.3. Translational turns, colonial politics of translation, and the technique of plaster casts

An analysis of the hidden power constellations existing within the translation processes between cultures – in this case between Asia and Europe – is an emerging feature in (trans)cultural studies since the last decade, such as in the Heidelberg Cluster of Excellence 'Asia and Europe in a Global Context' (see above). But the prevalent focus has been on texts and images; the techniques of direct material translation – such as through plaster casts – were discussed only rather recently. Although the historico-cultural significance of this form of physical copying and exhibition in European museum collections has been rediscovered in the last decade (see above), the analysis of its relevance in the context of colonial translation politics remained a desideratum until very recently. The first volume of this book publication will focus entirely on the politico-cultural history of those French plaster casts that had been made from the Cambodian temple of Angkor Wat during early French explorative missions and subsequently displayed in museums and at universal and colonial exhibitions. The overall hypothesis of this part of the book is that those plaster casts were a powerful tool used to 'mobilise' the 'immobile'

temple site of Angkor Wat (as art history defines it, see chart Fig. Intro.2a) over intercontinental distances. Additionally, they served to represent the temple in the French *métropole* as a salvaged architectural masterpiece of French-colonial *Cambodge*, and therefore gradually to appropriate, or better to 'translate', this non-European site into France's own canon of a *patrimoine culturel*. With regard to volume one, it is useful to conceptualise plaster casts within the larger cultural phenomenon and practice of 'translation'. In the second volume we will see how this physical, aesthetic and normative canonisation strategy was 'back-translated' into Cambodia (see this term explained below) as the real temple of Angkor Wat was – with the picture-perfect vision and physical version already 'at hand' in exhibitions in France – gradually assimilated to its equivalent role model on temporary stage ten thousand kilometres away (chapter IX). Additionally, we will explore how Angkor Wat as a French-made icon of cultural heritage was further negotiated in the various postcolonial regimes (chapters X and XI), before it became a truly *global icon*²⁹ after 1990 (chapter XII and epilogue II).

²⁹ In using the term 'global icon', I'm borrowing from Bishnupriya Ghosh's 2011 monograph *Global icons: Apertures to the popular*.

The ‘translational turn’ of the last decade³⁰ has addressed the shift from a linguistic perspective centred on the analysis of the written text, to a broader concept. This includes a) translations’ metaphorical character and scientific perspective describing innumerable human interactions and connections inside and between cultures (culture as translation – culture as text); and b) the use of the term *translation* to describe power relations in any kind of cultural contact situation and process(es) of exchange and transfer (translation as ‘trans-cultural’ practice). The second approach is more useful when focusing on the French colonial strategies for appropriating Indochinese cultural heritage. It allows us to conceptualise colonial history in general as a “politico-cultural translation history in an uneven power relation” (Bhatti 1997, 5). Further, it helps us to read the applied “orientalising translation styles [as] associated with hierarchical representations of other cultures as primitive or inferior to a normative ‘western’ civilisation, and, on the other side, as an ‘appropriate’ style that downplays the distinctiveness of other world views and claims universal validity for what may in fact be domestic categories of thought” (Sturge 2009, 68). Viewed from this perspective and explained by Ovidia Carbonell in his article “The exotic space of cultural translation”, cultural theory

deals with the relationship between the conditions of knowledge production in one given culture, and the way knowledge from a different cultural setting is relocated and reinterpreted according to the conditions in which knowledge is produced. They are deeply inscribed within the politics, the strategies of power, and the mythology of stereotyping and representation of other cultures. (Carbonell 1996, 79)

Using *power* as the key term in the colonial context became a rather classical approach in postcolonial studies. In our case it implies considering an asymmetry in translational flows of knowledge accumulation and a partial representation of the colonised source text. The dominant authority, network, or regime controls the (often institutionalised) translation process, which is “not simply an act of faithful reproduction, but, rather, a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration, and fabrication – and even, in some cases, of falsification, refusal of information, [and] counterfeiting” (Tymoczko/Gentzler 2002, xxi). Taken together it is a manipulation of the parts being (or not being) translated as “orientalised” texts in order to conform them to the expectations of the occidental target culture. In contrast to this postcolonial critique of cultural appropriation through translation, an additional appreciation of the mere ontological status of translations let them also stand as new texts for a (Western) audience, and as

“continuers of the [Eastern] originals” (Hermans/Koller 2004, 26). Thus, the ‘translated’ Angkor pavilions for the French *métropole* between 1867 and 1937 were not only simple pastiche works or precise replicas but highly creative, architectural products *sui generis*.

But how can we conceptualise the “translatability” of material culture (Budick/Iser 1996) – in this case, the specific power and translation structure within the process of plaster casting [*moulage en plâtre*]? Technically speaking, “the first stage in the production of a cast [*moulage*] is the taking of plaster moulds from the original, using a separating agent to prevent the plaster sticking to the surface. Since all sculpture, other than that executed in very low relief, has projections and undercutting, these moulds were invariably made in many pieces. The piece moulds would then be enclosed in an outer casing, the interior coated with a separating agent and the wet plaster poured in. The divisions between the piece moulds produce a network of casting lines on the completed plaster cast” (Baker 1982/2007). This would be cut away from the dried plaster afterward. Using a special plaster or a lightweight fabric and plaster mix (in French called *staff*), the negative form of the mould or cast could generate multiple castings. A later development introduced gelatine into the process, allowing for up to sixty castings. And a special imprinting technique [*estampes*] that was primarily applied to the casting of large architectural surfaces (in this case bas-reliefs, pediments, pilasters, etc.) was the result of moulding with potter’s clay for one or two castings only (Pl. Intro.15a–c).

In order to explore the hypothesis that plaster casts were a powerful tool in the French colonial appropriation of the built heritage of Angkor, Georges Didi-Huberman’s reflections on imprints [*empreintes*] in relation to power – namely, that the process of impression leaves the trace of an original object in a foreign medium – are especially useful. Whereas the original object will naturally alter its physical appearance over time (e.g., aging, patina and decay), the trace of an object might technically be fixed as a permanent, anachronic marker – an unchangeable imprint represented by a moulding as the basis of plaster casting. This moment of direct and intimate contact with the original (in the process of translation) imbues the imprint/moulding with authenticity and authority (Didi-Huberman 1999, 14–69). Comparable to the process of coinage (see Figs. EpI.1a,b), the possession of representative mouldings – in this case, those taken from the large Khmer Temple of Angkor Wat (Fig. Intro.26, compare Pl. Intro.10b) – acts as a kind of central key or generic code for authentic retranslations. Re-materialisation empowers the owner (the colonial agent) to translate and circulate exact, licensed, and valuable copies of the object in any desired place, context, time frame, function, and for an audience and political intention

³⁰ In a summary this turn was discussed in Bachmann-Medick 2009 (third edition), 238–83.



Figure Intro.26 The *atelier de moulage* in the *musée Sarraut* (today the National Museum) in Phnom Penh/Cambodia in the 1920s, led by George Groslier, with a large panel from the galleries of Angkor Wat (compare Pl. Intro.15b) (Source: National Museum of Phnom Penh, Cambodia)



Figures Intro.27a,b The home of George Groslier (the director of the *musée Sarraut* and father of Bernard Philippe Groslier, Angkor Park's last French Chief Conservator until the early 1970s), photographed in the late 1920s with the cast copy of Angkor Wat's bas-relief (compare Fig. Intro.26 and Pl. Intro.10b, 15b, 16) (Source: Personal archive Kent Davis)

determined by the representatives of power – in this case, for museums or universal/colonial exhibitions in France (compare Fig. III.31,32,36,40) as well as for various uses in the French protectorate of Cambodia (Fig. Intro.27a,b; compare Pl. Intro.15b). Elements of those ‘historic translations’ and those recently added in a postmodern reflex haunt Cambodia’s presence until today (Pl. Intro.16a–c). To place such translation practices in their proper historico-cultural context, it is necessary to situate them using the following general questions (Frank 2004), which will help to guide us through the study in volume one of the French plaster casts of Angkor and their intended European audience:

1. What was or was not translated (characteristics of the source, material context)?
2. When or how frequently and under what circumstances did the translation occur (temporal context)?
3. Where and over what distance did the translation occur (spatial context)?
4. Who was/were the translator/s (agency, mediation, institutional context)?
5. How was the translation carried out (resources, medium, techniques, processes)?
6. Why was an object translated (motives, expectations, context of operation)?
7. For whom was an object translated (target audience and culture, demand, circulation, reception)?
8. What was the result or the end product of translation (hybridity, mistranslation, intranslatability)?
9. To what extent did these translations to Europe/France create a reverse effect towards the original source in Asia/Cambodia (source-target relationship, semantic changes, expectations)?

3.4. From *translation* to architectural *transfer* and *transcultural* heritage

In the article “The metonymics of translating marginalised texts”, Maria Tymoczko asked how a translator makes non-canonical or marginalised literature understood by his or her audience³¹ by providing either “popular or scholarly translations”:

[...] the former are usually severely limited in their transfer intent and minimally representative of the metonymic aspects of the original, while the latter allow a good deal of meta-translation to proceed, presenting quantities of information through vehicles such as introductions, footnotes, appendices, parallel texts, and so forth. In a scholarly translation the text is embedded in a shell of paratextual devices that serve to explain the metonymies of the source text, providing a set of contexts for the translation. In the case of a popular translation, by contrast, the translator typically focuses on a few aspects of the literary text, which are brought to a broad segment of the target audience. (Tymoczko 1995, 18)

Tymoczko’s “popular or scholarly translations” mirrored what Walter Benjamin defined in his 1923 analysis *Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers* [“The translator’s task”] as “free or literal” translations³² – they depended on the translator’s choice of the unit of translation. Translation, however, not

only leads to new translation products but also – as mentioned above with reference to the multiple Angkor Wat copies – has concrete consequences for the original text itself: the translation “canonises the foreign text, validates its fame by enabling its survival”, in fact “creates it [and] reconstitutes it” and “freezes it, shows its mobility and its instability” (Venuti 1992, 7, 9, 11). The source text and its translation form a dynamic and mutual “source-target” relationship (Chesterman 1997, 8), in which popular/scholarly or free/literal translations reconfigure the original differently: Both individual translators and whole institutional complexes can be seen as veritable “cross-cultural mediators” (Bassnett 2011). Thus, we argue that source texts and their translations function within a mutually dependent, *trans-cultural framework* that touches, from a generalising viewpoint, upon the three different major ‘levels’ of culture: social culture (institutions like museums), mental culture (cultural stereotypes, norms, values), and material culture (artefacts, architecture) (compare Fig. Intro.2b). In the colonial case examined in our context in which translation happened not only between two languages but between totally different cultures or encyclopaedias, a European hegemonic “translation privilege” (Lepenies 1993, 66) stereotyped and mythologised the Asian source as the primitive and exotic Other (altogether as ‘the Orient’). Addition-

³¹ She judged that “metonymic aspects” (the recognition of the whole by readings its associative parts) were essential in assimilating new literal formats or variations. The translator had to “either make some decisive choices about which aspects to translate – that is, do a partial translation of the literary information in the text – or seek a format that allows dense information transfer through a variety of commentaries on the translation” (Tymoczko 1995, 18), often defined as ‘paratextual devices’ (see these strategy primarily discussed in chapter III about museum spaces).

³² For the differentiation between *Treue* (“fidelity”), *Wörtlichkeit* (“literalness”), or *Freiheit* (“freedom”) by choice, in an “ideal echo of the original”, a “virtual translation between the lines, [an] interlinear version”, see Benjamin 1923.

ally, this influenced the self-representation of the Own and the Self as the Occident within a dynamic “process of strangeness and familiarisation” (Carbonell 1996, 79, 84). In a typically colonial process of “code-switching” (Kittel 2004, 24, 25), original objects from the so-called Orient passed – by often violent extraction from their socially, and in the case of the Buddhist monastery of Angkor Wat, religiously embedded use-value at their original site and their transfer (*trans-latio*) over long distances and through different cultural-political orders and borders – into their new “representation [as] classified artefacts” (Bachmann-Medick 1997, 7; compare Krapoth 1998) within a new target culture.³³ Their new, institutionalised settings were, as in our case, often ethnographic or art/architectural museums or temporary exhibitions, artificially themed heritage reserves and archaeological parks back in their ‘original’ place.³⁴ A crucial question for the ‘translatability’ of architecture relates to its size, accessibility, and ownership. The history of how singular original fragments from architecture were appropriated for European museums (for example, the ‘Elgin Marbles’ from the Athens Parthenon for the British Museum) is certainly well known. In classical art history, however, architecture is generally defined as ‘immobile’. But this study on Angkor Wat will prove the contrary: also large architectural objects can be highly ‘mobile’ and can even travel back and forth between continents, in various repetitions and over centuries. However, Angkor Wat’s ‘trans-cultural’ trajectory over 150 years between 1860 and 2010 can only be traced, if our explanatory terms to describe the involved *transfer-translation operations*³⁵ are profoundly reconsidered. This includes our evaluation criteria (such as ‘original and copy’, permanence and the ephemeral, see chart Fig. Intro.2a), the operational parameters of process (such as agency, know-how, funding, infrastructure, and changing political contexts) as much as the techniques employed (such as plaster casting, photography, cartography, etc.). All this needs to be brought into a new disciplinary ‘frame-work’ between global art history and global heritage studies.

If we keep in mind that the process of ‘re-presenting’ Angkor Wat in France was primarily informed through a kind of *mimetic operation* within the medium of plaster casts, the above-introduced term of *substitution* explains another facet: following definitions from the *Oxford English Dictionary* the Latin word *substitutio* implies an “action of placing something or someone in place of another [and/or] the appointment of a person as alternative heir”. So applying a legal perspective – in which substitution means the “nomination of a person as being entitled [to] an *inheritance*” – to colonial translation as a practice to appropriate elements of Oriental material culture, the “action or act of putting one thing in place of another” allows the translating (colonial) agency to ‘inherit’ the object through the “transfer of any associated rights and duties”. Let’s revisit the phenomenon of code-switching to transform individual objects and even whole sites like Angkor Wat from their original, religious use-value into displayed architectural masterpieces in temporary exhibitions overseas or into protected objects in archaeological reserves. In the first volume, where the seventy year-long translation of Angkor Wat into French-colonial museum and exhibition spaces (1867–1937) will be mapped, we will see how these physical processes, the concrete agency behind them, and the varying museographical end products helped to transcribe Asian architecture into a European normative system. Also, monumental architectures like Angkor Wat were used as a powerful means with which to make tangible the Western notion of the East as an ineffective and chaotic land made up of ancient and powerful but lost civilisations (compare again Fig. 1 in this introduction). While partial or full-scale reconstitutions of the once glorious architecture were represented in Occidental displays in ideal or restored condition, the ‘original site’ was canonised as an ‘eternal ruin’, not least to satisfy the Western voyeuristic curiosity about the Far East. This truly transcultural scenario introduced *cultural heritage* as a concept that simultaneously reconstituted the original and enabled its survival (compare again Clifford’s “salvage paradigm” (Clifford 1989, 73). This con-

³³ This tension within the code-switching from a present-day ‘use-value’ [*Gebrauchswert*] of an object into a historical ‘age value’ [*Alterswert*] of a historical monument [*ein gewordenes Denkmal*] was for the first time conceptualised in the groundbreaking analysis about *Der moderne Denkmalkultus* (1903) by the art historian and first general conservator of the Austrian Habsburg empire, Alois Riegl (compare Falser 2005).

³⁴ These museum and exhibition spaces were themselves “cultural translations [...] by the virtue of their job in representing [alien] cultures through the medium of objects[:] a translation from the originating world of the objects into a new network of meanings and interpretations” (Sturge 2007, 131).

³⁵ Taken from the vocabulary of translation studies, these transfer operations may comprise and combine “repetition through identical text processing, recycling, borrowing, copying, the compilation of various text fragments, adoptions and, finally, large-scale collages and pastiches, ranging from a mishmash of fragments to the mimicking [of] a certain style in a virtuoso manner *à la manière de* with the risk of overinterpretation”. Altogether these procedures represent overlapping strategies of free or literal and popular or scholarly translations, switching and combining “principals of equivalence” (similarity) and “contiguity” (referential connection) (Van Gorp 2004).

cept mirrored the European nation's self-representation as the guardian of a progressive modernity on the one hand and of a *mission civilisatrice* towards the 'degenerated Orient' and its threatened cultural heritage on the other (Falser 2015a, compare Pl. Intro.2). In this process, Oriental architecture was gradually included in the coloniser's own canon and practice of cultural heritage (French: *patrimoine culturel*), which was also 'constructed' using similar strate-

gies of architectural museum display back home (Pl. Intro. 17a,b). As a hypothesis of the first volume of this book suggests, these monumental translations represent not just the most spectacular modern-day operations in the field of material culture between the Asia and Europe. They are also unique case studies with which to open up the classical field of architectural historiography with a truly trans-cultural and global perspective (Pl. Intro.18).

4. Preliminary reflections to Volume 2: *Angkor Wat in Cambodia – From Jungle Find to Global Icon*

4.1. From back-translation to third space

When Richard Brislin in 1970 introduced his concept of "back-translation for cross-cultural research", Cambodia entered a crucial cultural-political threshold, from a rather soft decolonisation into a second phase of unforeseen violence, spanning from the *coup d'état* against king and state leader Norodom Sihanouk (1970) and republican civil war (1970–75) to Khmer Rouge auto-genocide (1975–79) and Vietnamese occupation (1979–89). In order to check the quality of translations from one, original language into another, Brislin proposed to "evaluate the equivalence between source and target versions" through a third text (we come back to this very term below) in form of a back-translated version from target to source in order to compare semantic shifts. "Good translations" would therefore be achieved, if a) both translators involved (the one source-to-target and the other back-from-target-to-source) "may have shared a set of rules" for their actions; if b) the "back-translator [would be] able to make sense out of a poorly written target language version", and if c) "many of the grammatical forms of the source [would have been] retained from source to target versions". At best, "bilingual translators" with a high "familiarity [and] competence" in both linguistic realms would, according to Brislin, guarantee the highest "equivalence of meaning", scale and performance of both translations (Brislin 1970, 185–86, 191, 213). Building on the first volume of this book publication, *Angkor in France*, in which we aim at mapping the physical 'translations of Angkor Wat' for French-colonial museum and exhibition spaces between 1867 and 1937, the second volume will 'go back to the source' of those translations: *Angkor in Cambodia*. Doing this within a core period between 1900 and 2000, however, means that any wish to return to a so-called 'original' site (as classical art and architectural historians, guide book writers, tour guides and heritage politicians love to term it) will fail. As we shall see in the first volume: 'Angkor-Wat-in-France' became a target of different politics of canonisation following the coloniser's own cultural understanding (high against low culture, ancient grandeur against present decadence, the primitive against the civilised, colonial salvage and civilising mis-

sion, etc.). At this moment, "the invention of the idea of the original coincide[d] with the period of early colonial expansion, when Europe began to reach outside its own boundaries for territory to appropriate". But if the "metaphor of the colony as a translation, a copy of an original located elsewhere on the map" is a valid figure of thought in our context (Bassnett/Trivedi 1999, 2, 5), what did it mean to apply the established taxonomies of 'Angkor-Wat-in-France' back to its 'real' twin site in Cambodia? By taking up Brislin's initial approach, we argue here that the entangled nature of the French-colonial endeavour, both in the *métropole* and *le Protectorat français du Cambodge* since 1867, had turned Angkor (Wat) in Cambodia itself into a 'site of back-translation' – one that would "give some insight into aspects of the structure, if not the meaning of the original": With the whole aesthetic background from various museum and exhibitions displays in France being projected on it as a basis for further archaeological, architectural and restoration measures, it would "never [ever] be the same as the original" (after Baker 2011, 7).

What theorists had identified already in 1970 as the challenge of "decentring", aiming at "eliminat[ing] the distinction between source and target language" by focussing on a "dynamic equivalence" of shared "cultural symbols" (Werner/Campbell 1970, 398–99), can be applied for our case study: the back-translation of secularised Angkor Wat in France (the Occidental target culture and audience) to where the 12th-century religious temple had originally been built (the 'Oriental' source) produced what we conceptualise in this book as *a new semantic umbrella – a third text* – over Angkor (Wat), and *a new 'frame-work' – a third space* – for the ongoing physical manipulations at and cultural-political uses of the site. And all this happenend in the name of *cultural heritage*. As already mentioned above, this study aims at overcoming the old-fashioned and rather static operational terms of art and architectural history and heritage studies, such as original vs. copy; ancient vs. modern and contemporary; centre vs. periphery; either European or Asian etc. Especially in the second volume, we will focus on the "in-between spaces" (as the often-cited

Homi Bhabha termed it in his 1994 book *The location of culture*³⁶ where those dichotomies and binaries got constantly fabricated and questioned, re-negotiated, appropriated, recycled and hybridised within an ongoing process of cultural translation, back-translation and re-translation. This conceptualising of the ‘cultural heritage called Angkor Wat’ as a multi-sited and multi-layered complex foregrounds the concrete agency of the diverse ‘translators’ and ‘readers’, as well as their varying strategies.

Taking Said’s groundbreaking 1978 study on *Orientalism*³⁷ one step further, Niranjana’s 1992 publication *Siting translation* reminded us on the “coercive machinery” and “conceptual economy” of imperial knowledge production processes. And within this machinery, translation figured prominently within the applied technologies and power practices in the “fixing of colonised cultures, making them static and unchanging rather than historically constructed”. With the particular help of disciplines like art history, normative and aesthetic concepts like “the original” were established for selected and often stereotyped (and at the same time simplified) cultural elements³⁸ of the ‘other’. More relevant for the second part of this book, Niranjana’s study also advocated for a more dynamic, multi-sited – we call it ‘trans-cultural’ – approach that would read the “historicity of translation” as a *continued process* from often originally colonial, subsequently postcolonial and lately even neocolonial activities in which the coloniser, the colonised, the decolonised and eventually the re-colonised were all together active agents in the ongoing circles of round-trip translations (Niranjana 1992, 1–4, 7).³⁹ Just as the versions of Angkor Wat in French museums and exhibitions until the 1930s were ‘multiple’ (chapters I to VIII in volume 1), the uses of the temple as cultural heritage in Cambodia were and in fact remain ‘multi-sited’ and ‘multi-layered’, as volume 2 aims to show: it ‘travelled’ from be-

ing an architectural masterpiece inside a French-colonial archaeological park (chapter IX) and a national icon during Cambodia’s decolonisation (chapter X) to a cultural hostage during Cold War politics (chapter XI) and finally to a fetish object for UNESCO’s neocolonial heritage agenda (chapter XII). This progression has yielded strange local effects that persist into the present (see epilogue II).

In covering the next hundred years after establishing the French protectorate of *le Cambodge*, until the above-mentioned threshold of 1970, one focus of this study will be placed on bringing the various involved figures out of their often invisible role as veritable ‘back-translators’ (compare Venturi 1995, Breger/Döring 1998, Bartsch 1998): acting as cultural brokers between the European and Asian projects *à la Angkorienne*, those architects and engineers, archaeologists, conservators and politicians can indeed be conceptualised as ‘bi-lingual’ actors. On the one side, those actors were ‘expatriate’ Khmer-speaking French colonialists, like Henri Marchal setting up Angkor Park with his Cambodian colleagues (see him in Fig. IX.69); or Bernard Philippe Groslier as a close friend of the Cambodian king and *chef d’état* (see both on Fig. X.2) securing the French monopole over Angkor during Cambodia’s independence. On the other side, those actors could also be ‘indigenous’ postcolonial and French-speaking Cambodians: like state architect Vann Molyvann turning Angkor into a national property with his Cambodian co-workers (see him in Fig. X.28); or Norodom Sihanouk himself assisting UNESCO director general Federico Mayor to make Angkor World Heritage (see both Fig. XII.10a). At the end of France’s monopolistic grasp over the site in about 1970, the back-translation called Angkor Wat seemed to have reached its highest *architectural, performative and patrimonial equivalence* (compare our discussion about the temple’s *affordance qualities*) to both its re-imagined twelfth-century original

36 “We should remember that it is the ‘inter’ – the cutting edge of translation and renegotiation, the in-between space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture. It makes it possible to begin envisaging national and anti-nationalist histories of the ‘people’. And by exploring this Third Space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves” (Bhabha 1994, 38–39).

37 Said’s dichotomous concept of the discursive, scientific and imperialist construction of a “difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, ‘us’) and the strange (the Orient, the East, ‘them’)” (Said 1978, 43) was criticised as too static, even if his 1993 study *Culture and imperialism* gave the “Third World” a certain agency.

38 As Homi Bhabha puts it: “The stereotype is not a simplification because it is a false representation of a given reality. It is a simplification because it is an arrested, fixated form of representation that, in denying the play of difference (that the negation through the Other permits), constitutes a problem for the representation of the subject in significations of psychic and social relations” (Bhabha 1983, 27).

39 Or as Niranjana explained it with her case study of the colonial translation studies of William Jones of the Asiatic Society in British India, being so similar to the French-speaking engagement and ongoing institutional validity of the *École française d’Extrême-Orient* at (post)colonial Angkor: “The most significant nodes of Jones’s work are (a) the need for translation by the European, since the natives are unreliable interpreters of their own laws and culture; (b) the desire to be a lawgiver, to give the Indians their ‘own’ laws; and (c) the desire to ‘purify’ Indian culture and speak on its behalf. [...] Colonial relations of power have often been reproduced in conditions that can only be called neo-colonial, and ex-colonials sometimes hunger for the ‘English book’ as avidly as their ancestors. [...] The term historicity thus incorporates questions about how the translation/re-translation worked/works, why the text was/is translated, and who did/does the translating” (Niranjana 1992, 13, 37, 7).

‘source’ and to its picture-perfect nineteenth- and twentieth-century ‘target’ versions in France as a temporarily materialised spectacle in French universal and colonial exhibitions (compare Pl. Intro.11 with Figs. IX.78a–c).

Through all chapters, the enduring presence and impact of the French pre-, high-, past- and even neocolonial readings and ongoing translations and back-translations of Angkor – always in astonishing complicity with Cambodia’s Francophile elites – will be an important feature. But the ongoing French influence over ‘Angkor-in-Cambodia’ is just one part of the story. The first part of this book investigates the process of “translating Europe’s Others” (after Asad/Dixon 1985; compare Asad 1973, 1986, 1988), the construction history of a colonised “Third World culture” for a Western target audience, or, more precisely in our case, the selective establishment and presentation of a “canon” of Cambodia’s ancient art and architecture in French-colonial museums, exhibitions and archaeological displays (Angkor Park itself included!). In response to volume 1, the second part of this book turns its focus in the other direction. It asks not only about the “ever-widening circles to affect what various ‘Third World’ readers themselves c[a]me to see as apt representations of their own culture” (Dingwaney 1995, 6)⁴⁰ but also about the role of those ‘indigenous users’ in helping to establish or eventually transform colonial-made (back)translations of Angkor, sometimes by “couching their claims in European terms” (Ramirez 2006, 372). Elements in this process around the above-quoted 1970 threshold are for example: King Sihanouk reading from his “native point of view” (after Gottowik 1998)⁴¹ from Bernard Philippe Groslier’s French 1958 book *Angkor: Hommes et pierres* during Sihanouk’s own (French!) 1969 film *Crépuscule* (Pl. Intro.19a–c, see chapter X and the series of Pl. X.25). Another interesting case here is the French-trained Cambodian draughtsman Dy Proeung’s work for the EFEO’s 1969 publication *Angkor Vat: Description graphique du temple* and his exhibition the temple (like in a French-colonial exhibition, compare Fig. Intro.1)

as a small-scale model for, again, Norodom Sihanouk after 1990 (Pl. Intro.20a,b; compare Pl. EpII.29a–c). A similar process was at play when the Republican leader Lon Nol hastily formulated – again in French – his doctrine of *Néo-Khmerisme* in 1974 with borrowed terms from French studies on the Angkorian past (Lon 1974). It seems that until then Angkor (Wat) as cultural heritage and identity construction – and also as a concrete architectural site – survived better in its French translation than in ‘original’ Khmer. After 1970 the heritage regime over the site would switch into global English (and almost never Khmer!) translation, and this remains the case today. More recent examples of ‘indigenous users’ of French translations of Angkor are the protagonists of the national Cambodian Angkor protection agency APSARA (established only after 1995 with the help of French experts) as they play their role as indigenous watchdogs of so-called ‘traditional and vernacular’ heritage in and around Angkor Park; or local monks still following French-colonial pattern books of ‘traditional’ pagoda design and Angkor Wat-styled reliefs (Pl. Intro.21a,b; see both contexts explained in epilogue II).⁴²

By “mapping the third space” (compare Bachmann-Medick 1998) or dynamic “contact zone” (after Pratt 1992) where cultural translations, back-translations and re-translations of Angkor (Wat) were and still are renegotiated and appropriated – and “age” differently since their first ‘editions’ (Eco 2001, 22) – , the second volume of this study will show how typically Orientalist stereotypes of Angkor Wat’s past *grandeur* and present salvage affected Cambodia’s past-colonial scene. With different sorts of an “Orientalism in reverse” (after Al-Azm 1980) at play, the ‘Angkor Wat as cultural heritage’ formation was far from being uniform or ‘shared’ in its meaning. To the contrary, it was even more disputed as before: it was either further ‘archaeologised’ (after Falser/Juneja 2013b) under an ongoing French regime after Cambodian independence in 1953 (chapter IX) and essentialised as Khmer neo-nationalist and even Buddhist-socialist (chapter X); or ideologically

⁴⁰ “The stakes for critical (and oppositional) readings of Western translations of non-Western cultures are, therefore, very high, since these translations affect not simply the ways in which non-Western cultures are perceived and discussed in the ‘First World’, but also how they are subsequently recuperated in various parts of the ‘Third World’ as well” (Dingwaney 1995, 6).

⁴¹ In his contribution “about the indigenous reception of ethnographic texts” (compare Clifford/Marcus 1986, Clifford 1988, Fabian 1983/1995), Volker Gottowik’s introductory example about how indigenous children in the Brazilian jungle got confronted forty years later with ‘ethnographic pictures’ about their recent (still primitive?) ancestors as published by Claude Lévi-Strauss’ *Tristes tropiques* from 1955, is interesting in comparing with Sihanouk’s reading of Groslier’s ‘archaeological gaze on ancient (great, but vanished?)’ Angkor. In this sense relevant for our case study, Gottowik explores the involved reading processes of estrangement, familiarising, mimicking/adopting/essentialising and/or eventually creative appropriation of Western descriptions about the ethnographic other (Gottowik 1998, 65–68, 75–79).

⁴² During my visit at the Wat Bo temple and monastery site near Siem Reap in 2010, the depicted monk presented his traditional pagoda design works and his monastery’s moulding workshop, and referred to the 2005 publication *Kbach, A study of Khmer ornament* by Chan Vitharin (Chan 2005), which was itself, in fact, based on many French-colonial studies in ‘traditional’ Khmer ornamentation patterns, such as George Groslier’s *Arts et archéologie* series from the early 1920s.

downgraded (like during the Marxist Khmer Rouge regime), re-colonised through age-old enemies (by invading Vietnam) or hijacked in the 1980s by other intercultural reference claims of inheritance and emergency salvage (such as from ‘Buddhist’ Japan, ‘Hinduist’ India or ‘social-

ist’ Poland; see chapter XI); instantly globalised around 1990 as part of a new ‘humanity’ slogan of conjoint world cultures (chapter XII); and finally (see epilogue II) hybridised on the local level into a curious *heritage conglomerate* (see this term explained below).

4.2. A ‘heterotopia’ called Angkor Park: An ‘enacted utopia’ of cultural heritage?

The present epoch [is] above all the epoch of space. *We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed.* We are at a moment, I believe, when our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects with its own skein. [...] There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilisation, real places – places that do exist and that are formed in every founding of society – which are *something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.* [italics MF] (Foucault 1986, 22, 24)

Michel Foucault in *Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias*
(originally *Des Espaces Autres*, 1967)

The above-formulated approach of ‘cultural (back)translation’ helps to conceptualise the entangled nature of the diverse representations of ‘Angkor Wat in France and in Cambodia’, with closer attention paid to the various involved ‘translators and readers’. In order to comprehend the multi-sitedness of Angkor Wat as a configuration of ‘interconnected sites and simultaneous time frames’ across whole continents into global space, an additional explanatory model is called for. In the late 1960s the past-colonial French influence over politically independent Cambodia and, more precisely in our case, the French monopolistic regime to turn the *Parc d’Angkor* into a picture-perfect archaeological reserve, reached its apogee. Ten thousand kilometres westwards in Paris, one of the greatest French philosophers, Michel Foucault, talked in 1967 on *Des es-*

paces autres [On other spaces] and thereby introduced his concept of *heterotopia*.⁴³ As we shall see, his concept was also updated by (architectural) historians until today to reflect the ‘global’ challenge of their discipline,⁴⁴ a scale that Foucault already addressed in his reflections when he touched upon “la totalité du monde” (Foucault 1984, 47).

But before exploring Foucault’s explanatory model in more detail, it is worth mentioning that his own biography was in a curious manner ‘connected’ with Angkor: mirroring the “side-by-side” scenarios of a decolonising process in the former French territories in Asia and Africa (compare the quote above), Foucault (he lived from 1926 to 1984) was an almost exact contemporary of the most ambitious and visionary, but also the last, French *Conservateur des monuments d’Angkor*, Bernard Philippe Groslier (he

⁴³ In December 1966 Foucault had already talked about *Les hétérotopies* in the radio of *France-Culture* in a slightly different and longer version (see Foucault 1994/2009b), and both versions were recently reconstructed from various archival sources (Defert 1997 and 2009). In a letter in early March 1967, Foucault confirmed, from his writing retreat in Tunisia, that he was rather surprised to be invited by French architects, as his very first thoughts about a new science called “heterotopology” did not cover architecture per se. However, this thematic connection continued, and the first official French version of his 14 March 1967 Paris talk was published, with his consent just before his death in 1984, in the context of the *Internationale Bauausstellung* in West Berlin (Foucault 1984), where new urban construction and architectural preservation areas were presented ‘side by side’. The first English translation of the shorter French version was published in the US-American journal *Diacritics* in 1986 (this version will be used here, see Foucault 1986), and translated into German for the catalogue of the *documenta X* exhibition in Kassel/Germany in 1997.

⁴⁴ Samples of architectural reflections include Edward Soja’s 1996 book on *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other real and imagined spaces*, in which he, in a full chapter on “Heterotopologies: Foucault and the geohistory of otherness”, investigated Foucault’s “trialectic of space-knowledge-power [in relation] to two other spatial disciplines, architecture and urban planning” (Soja 1996, 145–63, here 148). In his 1998 article “Writing architectural heterotopia” Henry Urbach mentioned the “display of incoherencies, fissures and contradictions” in heterotopic configurations (Urbach 1998, 348); and Gordana Fontana-Giusti in the 2013 book *Foucault for architects* again summarised Foucault’s approach (Fontana-Giusti 2013, 135–37).

lived from 1926 to 1986). On the one, French, side the famous philosopher reflected upon the phenomenon of the simultaneity and spatial connectivity of sites across long distances. More precisely, Foucault would do this on 14 March 1967 for the inviting *Cercle d'études architecturales* in Paris after a comment that he had written, interesting in our comparison, from his retreat in the Tunisian village of Sidi Bou Said near Tunis, the actual capital the ex-French-colonial *protectorat de Tunisie* (1881–1956). Living in decolonising Tunisia between 1966 and 1968, Foucault found himself situated close to the large archaeological zone of the ancient Phoenician-Roman city of Carthage, which he had visited with great interest.⁴⁵ Like Angkor, this site had been investigated, mapped and protected by French-colonial archaeologists and administrators; promoted in the country's early national era (when Foucault was there); made UNESCO World Heritage shortly after (in this case in 1979) and finally renegotiated in UNESCO's 'World-Heritage-in-Danger' politics around 1990.⁴⁶ On the other, postcolonial Cambodian, side the French archaeologist Groslier at the same moment in time 'enacted interconnectedness' through the applied practice of archaeology and architectural conservation. More precisely and most prominently, with his vision of a "reprise totale" of Angkor Wat (compare chapter IX, Groslier 1958b), Groslier – consciously or not and until he abruptly left Cambodia in early 1973 – 'back-translated' the picture-perfect, 1:1-scaled, ephemeral test version of the same temple from the 1931 Exhibition at Paris to the 'original' twelfth-century site itself. From the trial-and-error beginnings of 1907/8 to the first heydays of temple reconstruction in the 1930s and 1940s up to Groslier's elaborated heritage regime of the *Conservation d'Angkor* in the 1960s with more than 1,000 workers, the French at their artificial *Parc archéologique d'Angkor* did indeed realise – in the realm of cultural heritage – what Foucault called, in a more abstract sense, an 'enacted utopia'.

In his rather short 1967 paper, Foucault labelled his own present epoch – contrary to the nineteenth century with "history" and its "themes of accumulating past [as] its great obsession" – as "the epoch of space [being characterised by] simultaneity, juxtaposition, the near and far, the

side-by-side and the dispersed, [within] a network of points and intersections, [and] relations among sites (Foucault 1986, 22, 23). As examples of those interconnected sites, he first elaborated on "utopias as sites with no real place [where the concerned] society would be presented in its perfected or upside-down-turned form". Being related to utopias, Foucault introduced "heterotopias" [*hetero* = other; *topos* = site] as "counter-sites" or "effectively enacted utopias" in which all "the real sites found within a culture were simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" (Foucault 1986, 24; see full quote above).⁴⁷ With his elaborated 'six principles of heterotopia', Foucault provides us with a suitable category, even a checklist and, above all, telling examples to investigate the multi-sited – transcultural – nature of the heritage formation of Angkor... one being interconnected between multiple French *and* Cambodian, European *and* Asian, sites and projects.

As regards his first principle, Foucault stated that principally all cultures constitute heterotopias: In "so-called primitive societies, [...] crisis heterotopias [would come as] privileged, sacred or forbidden places reserved for individuals [...] in a state of crisis". In modern societies those sites would be replaced by "heterotopias of deviation", as places where behaviour would be "deviant" in relation to the general norms of society. "Along the borderline" of both primitive and modern versions "rest homes, psychiatric hospitals, prisons and retirement homes" qualified for Foucault's first principle (Foucault 1986, 24, 25). With "leisure as a rule" added to the modern-day characteristics, Foucault's first principle suits our transcultural constellation: visitors of museum spaces and ephemeral exhibition sites in France, as much as local inhabitants or practicing Buddhists in, and/or transregional pilgrims and international tourists to an originally sacred but also secularised and institutionally protected 'archaeological park' of Angkor would necessarily adapt their behaviour patterns 'beyond the norms' of daily live. Additionally, coping with a status of 'crisis' – as the salvage paradigm to fight threat and decay has it – is in fact the sine qua non motivation of any museum or heritage reserve.

Following Foucault's second principle, each heterotopia can, "according to the synchrony of the culture[s] in which

⁴⁵ In the chapter *The heterotopia of Tunisia* inside her book *Foucault's Orient: The conundrum of cultural difference. From Tunisia to Japan*, Marnia Lazreg refers to Foucault's much appreciated visits to the archaeological site of Carthage and followed herself: "In many ways, Foucault's perception and experience of Tunisia was a form of heterotopia characterised by its own temporality, history, politics, and anthropology" (Lazreg 2017, 161, 160).

⁴⁶ The connection between Angkor and Carthage came up again around the 1990s when both sites were included in UNESCO's 'Heritage-in-Danger Listing' politics, with the French-trained Tunisian research director of the National Institute of Archaeology and Art in Tunis, Azedine Beschaouch, being involved in both projects (see chapter XII).

⁴⁷ His original French text sounded like this: "[...] *des sortes de contre-emplacements, sortes d'utopies effectivement réalisées* dans lesquelles les emplacements réels, tous les autres emplacements réels que l'on peut trouver à l'intérieur de la culture sont à la fois représentés, contestés et inversés, des sortes de lieux qui sont hors de tous les lieux, bien que pourtant ils soient effectivement localisables" [italics MF] (Foucault 1984, 47).

occurs” (Foucault 1986, 25), have one or multiple functions. This fits our case, as between museums, exhibitions and the heritage park, the ‘trans-cultural’ configuration of Angkor itself always had a self-stabilising, self-assuring and self-justifying function for each regime’s *raison d’être*, for political education agendas and cultural narratives. Those comprised colonial self-justifying civilising missions until the 1960s (chapter IX), national narratives of age-old cultural *grandeur* (chapter X), various Cold War ‘inheritance claims’ over Angkor in the 1980s (chapter XI), UNESCO’s ‘Heritage of Humanity’ and ‘World Heritage in Danger’ politics around 1990 (chapter XII) and the international set-up over Angkor Park until today. It is safe to say that Angkor Park counts today as *the heritage utopia par excellence*, where the topos of salvaging archaeological pasts for ever-new ideological presents and imagined futures has been functionalised for the last 150 years (compare Falser 2015a,c). As we shall see, all those previous functions are still present at Angkor Park today (see epilogue II).

If heterotopias, as a third principle, are “capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible” (Foucault 1986, 25), then our transcultural enquiry into the entangled ‘exhibitionary complexes’ (after Bennett 1988) *à la Angkorienne* in the Euro-Asian contact zone mirrors this observation rather perfectly. As we shall see in the first volume of this book, museums and universal/colonial exhibition sites merged various places of the world into one juxtaposed, space-and-time compressed, “endless spectacle of the [whole] world-as-exhibition” (Mitchell 1989, 19). More precisely, sculptures/casts and architectural fragments from Angkor stood on display in museum spaces, such as the *musée Indochinois* in Paris, with other artefacts from, for example, the Borobudur/Prambanan sites from back-then Dutch-colonial Java (see Figs. III.28, 36, 48a,b). Even more ‘spectacular’, Angkor-styled pavilions found themselves, as in the famous 1931 International Colonial Exhibitions, standing ‘side-by-side’ with a mud mosque from *Afrique Occidentale Française* or the Roman ruins from back-then Italian-colonial Libya (Fig. Intro.28). On the other side of this entangled relationship, Foucault’s example of the “garden [...] to represent the totality of the world” (compare our remarks on ‘Oriental pavilions’ in Western pleasure gardens or universal/colonial exhibitions, see above) is reflected in the very name and concept of Angkor “Park”. But Foucault’s reflections reach even further: today,

Angkor Park (nominated in 1992), the temples of Preah Vihear (in 2008) and the seventh-century temple zone of Sambor Prei Kuk (in 2017) – all of them built from different periods in time – are now standing side-by-side with other sites in a “universalising heterotopia” (Foucault 1986, 25), namely UNESCO’s World Heritage List (Fig. Intro.29): above so many others, the ninth-century Indonesian sites on Java (inscribed 1991), the sixteenth-century mud complexes from Mali’s old Djenné towns (nominated 1988), the Leptis Magna archaeological park in Libya (inscribed 1982), and the Mayan temples in Mexico, the Forum Romanum in Italy and the Great Wall of China.

According to his fourth principle, Foucault compared heterotopias with nineteenth-century institutions of a typically Western modernity, like archives, museums and libraries as “places outside of time [in their function] to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes”. Foucault also called out transitory festivities and fairgrounds, and vacation villages to “rediscover timeless Polynesian life”⁴⁸ as examples of sites with an endless “accumulation [of] various slices of time [qua] heterochronies” (Foucault 1986, 26). All those were once present in temporary colonial and universal exhibitions with their replicas of global antiquities next to ethnographic displays. However, his observation also fits here with the archaeological reserve of Angkor Park in the second volume: temples from the pre-Angkorian ninth to the Angkorian eleventh to thirteenth centuries CE, different religious (Hindu to Buddhist) contexts and different functions (from ancient out-of-use ruins to active monasteries like Angkor Wat) were and still are historically and aesthetically flattened and synchronised, and *ex lege* merged through various heritage schemes into one single protected and homogenised heritage reserve. Here, the accumulation and display of temporal and physical layers was achieved in the physical practice of unearthing the archaeological strata from different epochs of Khmer civilisation. And the presentation of these different layers in a park-like setting produces a simultaneous and all-comprising experience of visual consumption, made available for globalised heritage tourism along predefined itineraries for sunrise to sunset spots.

“Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable”, as Foucault’s fifth principle had it (Foucault 1986, 26). Limited access by permission and compulsory (paid) entries along legally determined and controlled border-

⁴⁸ In his longer French text version, Foucault referred here to the village Sidi Bou Said near the archaeological site of Carthage at the same Tunisian maritime coastline, where, further north, “the *Club Méditerranée*” had already established its “vacation villages at Djerba” with similar neo-primitive “straw huts [*paillotes*]” (Foucault/Defert 2009b, 25, 31). Those versions had already been used in universal and colonial exhibitions (such as in Marseille 1922 or Paris 1931) to display ‘authentic indigenous people’ from the French colonies next to the Angkor Wat replica (compare Figs. VI.15a,b; VII.22c, 24b), and they came up again in the late 1990s when the global heritage schemes at Angkor Park aimed at staging again neo-vernacular good life in neo-traditional farms and eco-villages (see below and epilogue II).

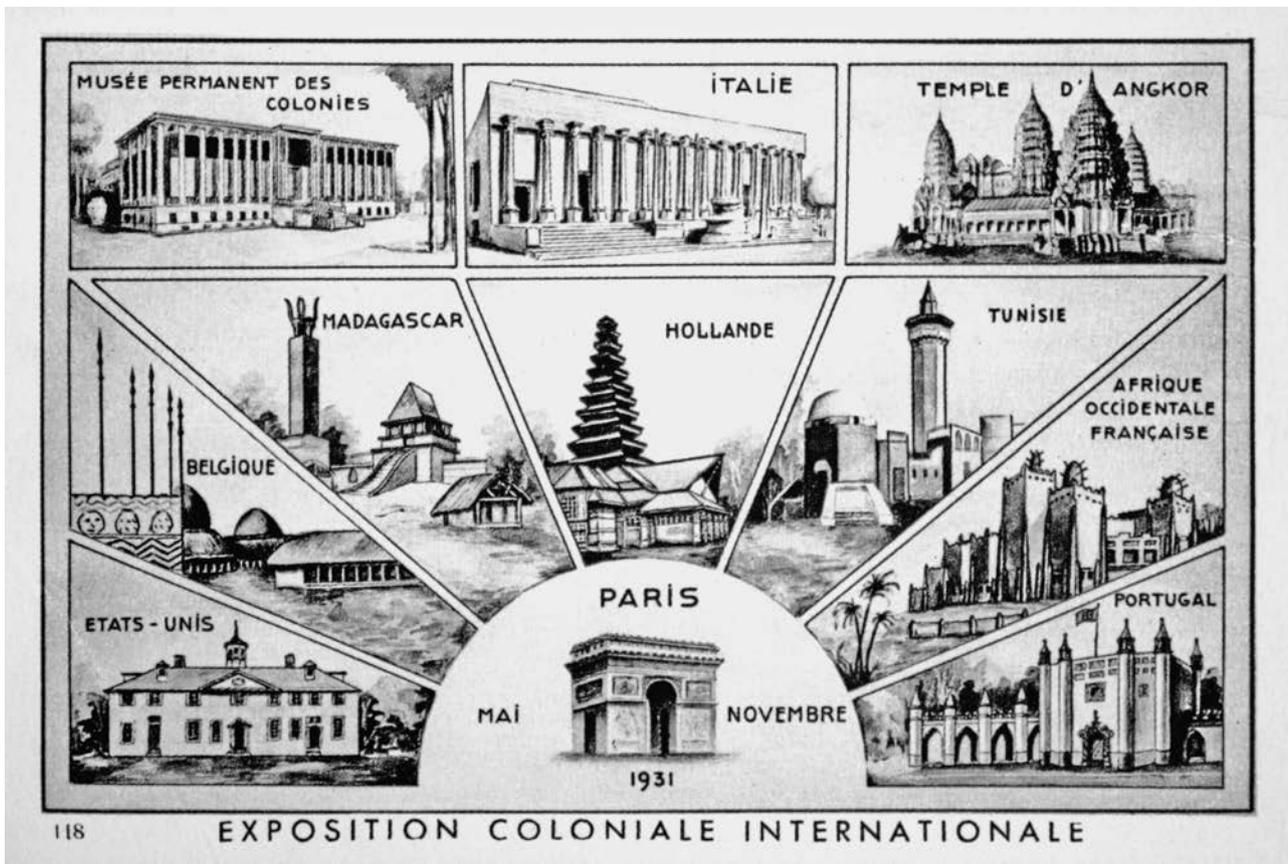


Figure Intro.28 A postcard about the 1931 International Colonial Exhibition in Paris with its various colonial heritage icons, radiating from the *Arc de Triomphe* of the French capital (Source: © Archives nationales d'outre-mer ANOM, Aix-en-Provence)

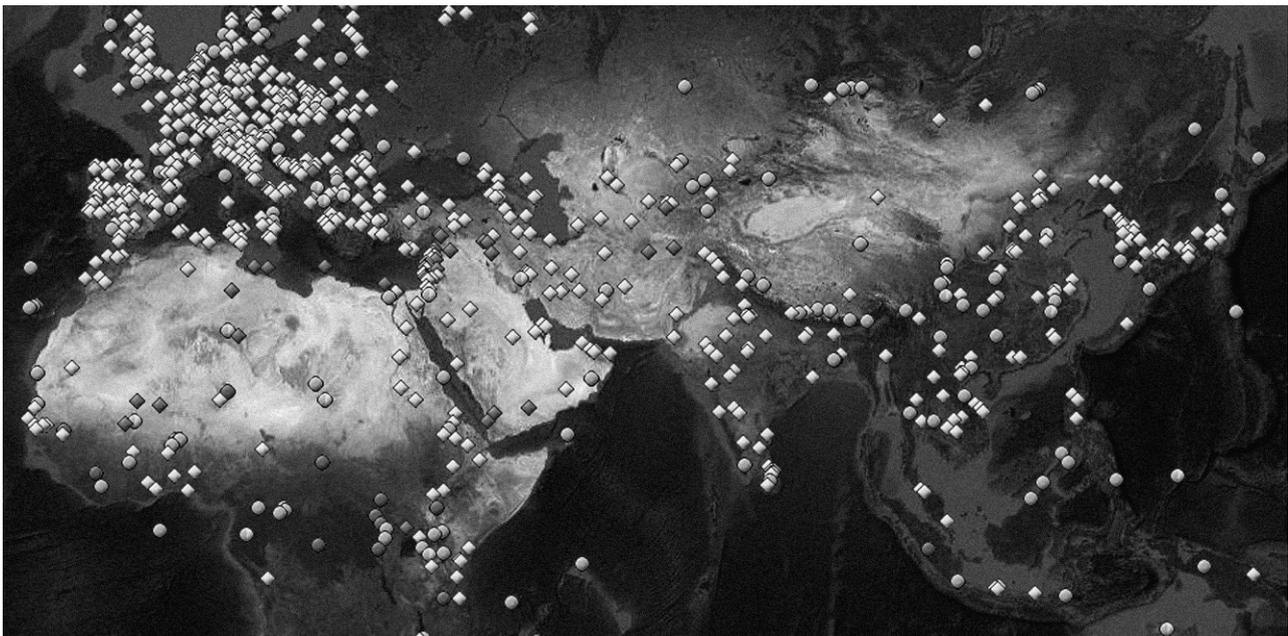


Figure Intro.29 Screenshot from the online map of all inscribed sites of UNESCO's World Heritage List in September 2018, section between Europe and Southeast Asia (including Angkor in the lower right section) (Source: © UNESCO Paris)

lines make both museums and universal/colonial exhibitions, and archaeological parks, qualify for this criterion. In the case of Angkor Park, the discussion about ‘what is inside and outside of the protection perimeter’ or so-called ‘core and buffer zones’ of the world heritage site of Angkor is an ongoing feature from 1900 until today (see chapters IX and XII; compare Pl. IX.10a,b and 13 with Pl. XII.8 and 15–17). This includes ambivalent strategies of ‘how to treat the local population and religious stakeholders’ within the enacted – archaeologised and dead? – heritage reserve. How contested the ‘space in-between’ the conception of Angkor Park as secure, *longue durée* storage of preserved temples (compare Foucault’s fourth principle of heterotopia), and its colonial-exhibition-like ethnographic exploitation approach is, may best be indicated by the recent denomination of Angkor as a “Living Museum” (see epilogue II) (Pl. Intro.22).

According to Foucault’s sixth and last principle, heterotopias serve either as “spaces of illusion” or of “compensation”, as they are “regulated [on] a rigorous plan” and as “perfect, meticulous and well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed and jumbled”. In this context, Foucault called “brothels and colonies [...] two extreme types of [such] heterotopias” (Foucault 1986, 26). Interestingly, he addressed (only in the French unabridged version of his text) the “nineteenth and twentieth-century colonies” where the colonial agents “dreamt about a hierarchised and military society” (Foucault/Defert 2009b, 34).⁴⁹ In this short remark, he explicitly mentioned *the* colonial protagonist who fostered France’s early twentieth-century colonial endeavour and, even more important in our context, who officially opened the perfect heterotopic mix between fairground, festivity and colony, the 1931 International Colonial Exhibition 1931 in Paris: Maréchal Lyautey (see him, in Pierre Nora’s *Lieux de mémoire* of 1984, depicted ‘side by side’ with the British guests of honour, Cambodian guards and the Angkor Wat replica in the background, compare Fig. Intro.1a). In our case, cultural heritage as a) a modern-day Western concept and an ideologically exploited tool during Europe’s era of imperialist expansion, and b) a multi-sited conglomerate of well-arranged museums, temporary fairgrounds and delimited heritage reserves like Angkor Park qualify for this principle: both versions provided and still provide an illusion of the mastery of, and/or a compensation for the destructive effects of the project of modernity as a whole. From a higher conceptual viewpoint on heterotopias, Angkor exhibition scenarios in the French *métropole* as much as Angkor Park as spatial

configuration have since their inception always served the various – colonial, postcolonial, international and global – regimes as Janus-faced sites for the illusion of – and at the same time the compensation for the (real or imagined) loss of – cultural grandeur. With the *Parc archéologique d’Angkor*, initiated after Siam’s 1907 retrocession of the area and decreed in 1925/30, the French regime in colonial *Cambodge* could finally present an iconic heritage site that surpassed Dutch-colonial Borobudur on Java or British-colonial archaeological sites in India.⁵⁰ Until about 1970 Angkor Park would compensate France (as a kind of cultural capital) for what it had lost in political influence during the decolonising process of Indochina. At this moment the world’s largest archaeological reserve would equally help to foster the cultural self-understanding of independent Cambodia as the smallest newborn nation-state in Asia (chapter X). In the time that followed, Angkor Park was taken diplomatic hostage by the dystopian and later exiled Khmer Rouge regime between 1975/79 and 1989. And it was enmeshed in various inheritance claims from Asian countries like Japan and India (see chapter XI), as it became shortly after a self-assuring factor in the United Nations’ questioned role at the end of the Cold-War period when Angkor became *the* prestige project of UNESCO’s heritage programme (see chapter XII). As a consequence, World Heritage Angkor became a global test site, market place and vanity fair for so-called (ad hoc) heritage experts from Japan and China to France, Germany, Italy and the United States, etc., with their laptop-ready PowerPoint presentations about the latest heritage management schemes and ‘training the locals’ sessions (compare epilogue II).

I would like to close the full circle of the transcultural history of Angkor-as-heritage with the observation that many of the French-made museum and universal/colonial exhibition scenarios of picture-perfect Angkor (Wat) were ‘back-translated to the real spot’ and crystallised within a *colonial heritage utopia called Angkor Park*. Conceptualising Foucault’s heterotopia as interconnected spaces and time frames that constantly add up and finally ‘juxtapose’ within a *palimpsestic configuration* in the present takes us to the provocative hypothesis of chapter XII and epilogue II: many the French-colonial strategies for Angkor Park itself re-emerged around and after 1990, were recycled and finally hybridised into a new, rather *neocolonial heritage utopia called World Heritage of Angkor*.⁵¹ It may be safe to say that – with the unique architectural, performative and patrimonial affordance quality of historic Angkor

49 “C’est ainsi qu’à la fin du XIX^e et au début encore du XX^e siècle, dans les colonies françaises, Lyautey et ses successeurs ont rêvé de sociétés hiérarchisées et militaires” (Foucault/Defert 2009b, 34).

50 At the same time, it was often called France’s late Asian compensation for the loss of Pondicherry in India or Alsace-Lorraine in the French-German border zone (in 1871).

51 From this viewpoint, ‘colonial’ and ‘neocolonial’ Angkor Park would both qualify as heterotopian sites whose inter-related “spatialities of order” [are] legible” today (Topinka 2010, 54; compare Winter 2007a, 63–66).

Wat (see above) *and* now the one of the whole French-colonial-made archaeological reserve set-up itself – Angkor Park was more suited than any other heritage site for UNESCO’s ‘universal’ civilising mission in the medium of cultural heritage (Falser 2015a,c). Using Kevin Hetherington’s 1997 interpretation of Foucault’s concept in his book *The badlands of modernity: Heterotopia and social ordering*, we see that an instantly globalised Angkor Park was arguably the perfect “site of alternate ordering” (Hetherington 1997, 9). In this sense, it was an ‘enacted utopia’ for a global ‘heritage-of-humanity’ community as envisioned in the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention – at precisely the moment around 1990 when the old Cold War blocks collapsed and a new global era commenced. From this viewpoint, both the colonial and the global Angkor Park were preferred targets of a kind of “utopic engineering” process, as Hetherington summarised it from an abstract point of view:

Within the process of the utopic engineering of social space, certain sites will be more amenable to this utopic practice than others. They will become nodes in a network of social spaces that have a degree of centrality and influence within that set of relations. [...] In other words, within a society and the social order through which it represents itself, certain new sites, or newly interpreted sites, will emerge that offer an alternative expression of social ordering to that which currently prevails. Within modern societies, that alternate ordering is often autopic one that looks to how society might be improved in the future (Hetherington 2001, 51).

However, as unique as the ‘success story’ of the international salvage campaign of Angkor Park may have been around 1990 (as UNESCO bureaucrats like to sell it until today), the ‘neocolonial’ aspect was evident in a) the site’s rushed nomination process being pushed through by individual actors against all odds; b) the perpetuation of an international control and coordination mechanism over Angkor Park *beyond* any time-limited emergency action; and c) the installation of the same months *before* any local protection system could be set up institutionally and be made operational. As a result, Angkor Park is not only the world’s largest archaeological heritage reserve but is arguably the only one on the planet in which a national agency is not a fully independent actor on its own site: until today, not a single major temple in Angkor Park – why not its unquestioned masterpiece, Angkor Wat, to start with in the first place? – is independently managed by a Cambodian team!

As a result of this neocolonial nature after 1990, the world heritage site of Angkor today can be conceptualised as a new, multi-layered and multi-sited “hyper-heterotopia” (Marinelli 2009, 425):⁵² one that can be read *from the outside* as an updated version of a “hyper-colonial” concession-style’ (after Rogaski 2004, 11) where different international projects care for their different temple restoration projects individually (compare Pl. EpII.7–9), propagate ‘their typical way of practice’ (Figs. Intro.30a–c), but share information in order to have the whole international system functioning. A neocolonial reading *from the inside* indicates that Angkor Park comes, since 1995, with a new national protection agency and its local actors who partially mimic old colonial

⁵² With his study “Making concessions in Tianjin: Heterotopia and Italian colonialism in mainland China” Maurizio Marinelli investigated the historic colonial and presently commodified Italian concession in Tianjin (in place between 1860 and 1945). What he called the site’s present-day status of a “hyper-heterotopia” is also valid for the present status of Angkor Park: “a hyphenated space, something in between which lives and breathes both historically and emotionally between different worlds, [which] still maintains the symbolic sanitised order of colonial power but not its semantics: a localised globality and a globalised locale, a third, liminal, interstitial space that exists ‘in between’ competing cultural traditions, national boundaries, historical periods and also critical methodologies of seeing and understanding” (Marinelli 2009, 425; quoting Bhabha 1994, 218). In his analysis of historical Tianjin (Marinelli 2009, 402–412), Marinelli also describes the concession with attributes that also apply to both the French-colonial and neocolonial set-up of Angkor Park, now with different international conservation teams at play: the process of “multiple imperialisms with both foreign-foreign and foreign-indigenous practices and representations”; the different “emotional experiences” attached to the multi-layered, “internal and external spaces” (in our case, Angkor Park as an on-site archaeological and administrative practice or as a metaphor and “showcase” of colonial mastery and cultural prestige); the specific “habitus of colonial agency” (after Bourdieu 1984) and during international “co-presence”; the “annihilation of the previous spatial organisation of the site” and the “use of new building codes, architectural styles [and] of a new set of regulations” (like over-writing or “re-naming” the indigenous spatial use patterns at Angkor with a new circulation system over Angkor Park); and the issue of “extraterritoriality” (in our case, the ongoing special status of Angkor Park as a protected reserve after 1925/30, its special status during Japanese occupation around 1940 or as ‘national property’ during Cambodia’s independence, the debate of a ‘neutral zone’ for Angkor Park during the Cold War confrontation (see chapter XI), and its delimitation as UNESCO World Heritage in 1992). Elements of the present commodification of ‘ex-colonial Tianjin’ also apply to present-day Angkor Park: “Tianjin today tries to sell the ex-colonial built forms for progress, obscuring other narratives of forced relocation of the tenants and expropriation of their lodgings. [...] Tianjin is re-packaging the colonial past and selling it as the beginning of its internationalization” (Marinelli 2009, 420).

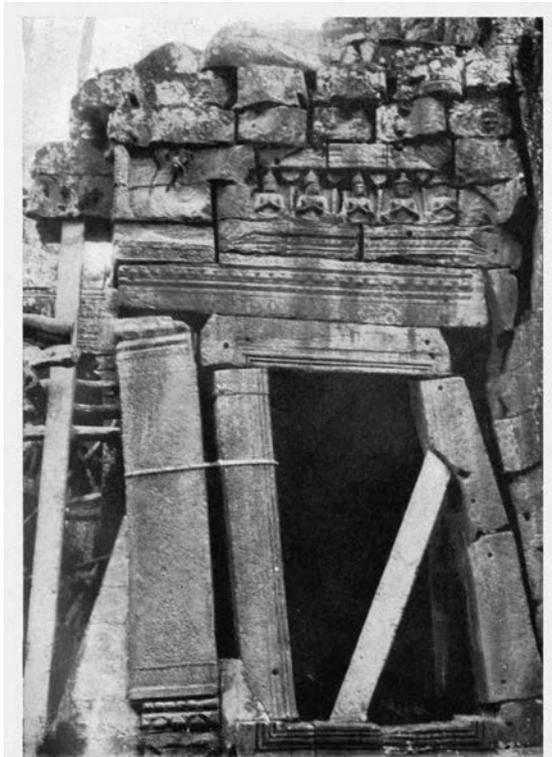


Fig. 16. — Ancienne méthode de travail, Consolidation par étais et liens

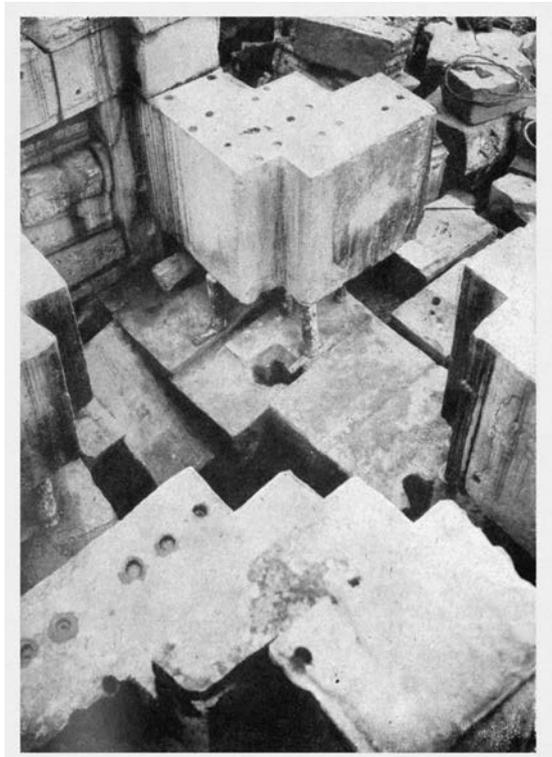
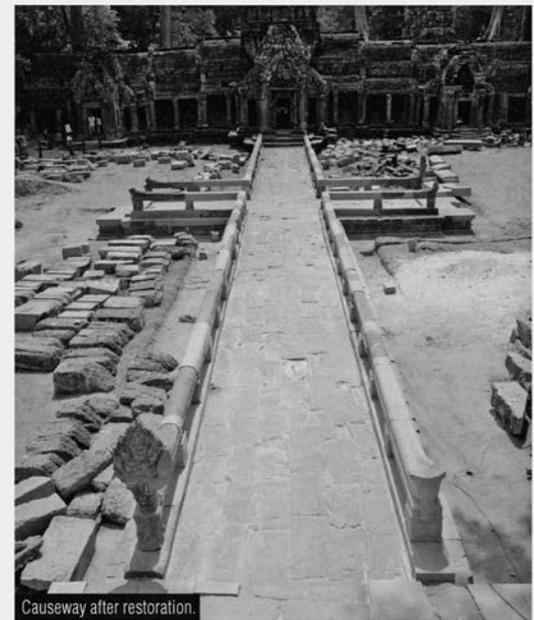


Fig. 17. — Nouvelle méthode de travail, reconstruction par anastylose



Figures Intro.30a–c Temple restoration in the technique of anastylosis of the *École française d'Extrême-Orient*, as propagated in Maurice Glaize's guidebook *Les monuments du groupe d'Angkor* of 1948 (above); and the propagation of the recent work of the *Archaeological Survey of India* at Ta Prohm (a site originally conceived by the EFEO as a heavily overgrown and 'romantic' ruin), as presented in the 2013 *World Heritage Journal* special issue on *World Heritage in Cambodia* (below, compare both illustrations with Pl. EpII.9a, b and 10c) (Source: Glaize 1948, 54, 55; World Heritage, special issue 68 (June 2013), 36)

strategies of establishing an archaeological landscape with a “spatialised alterity at various scales” (Samuels 2010, 71).⁵³ In our case, those scales include the neo-picturesque in low-tech horse-cart tourism, the neo-traditional in re-invented housing and farming styles, or the neo-vernacular in resettled eco-villages. Severe criticism from ethnographers, anthropologists and cultural heritage theorists against this on-

site corrosion process in the form of a social, religious and cultural alienation from an originally Buddhist site, however, has increased in recent years (above others, Miura 2015, Brumann/Berliner 2016). To stay with Foucault’s wording: Did the enacted utopia of Angkor Park finally turn into a “degenerate utopia” of a cultural heritage Disneyland (after Silverman 1980,⁵⁴ compare White/Faramelli/Hancock 2018)?

4.3. From world heritage back to world’s fair: Angkor Park as a theme park?

The stated *neocolonial character* over present-day Angkor Park has, effectively, a *twofold reverse effect* that reaches even further back along our enquiry of the ‘Angkor-as-heritage’ formation between European and Asian projects... back into the findings in volume 1: not only were old elements of French-colonial Angkor Park recooked on the spot, practices from French universal and, more important, colonial exhibitions also resurfaced when Angkor was architecturally staged and performed in Paris between 1878/89 and 1931/37 and in Marseille 1906/22 (see chapters II–VIII). Taking our methodological approach of ‘cultural (back) translation processes within our Euro-Asian contact zone’ one step further into the formation of a kind of *back-back-translation*, and applying Foucault’s heterotopian, multi-sited concept of the simultaneous and palimpsestic ‘near and far or side by side’ to the current situation, will finally lead us, in epilogue II, to the last hypothesis of this publication: the ‘enacted utopia’ of present-day Angkor Park with its neocolonial characteristics finally closes the full global circle within its transcultural trajectory and be-

comes itself a universal and (neo)colonial exhibition. In order to approach this hypothesis, a new research field needs to be considered, which also helps to bridge the old-fashioned conceptual divide between so-called ‘original’ heritage sites with their supposedly stable and ‘authentic’ (here archaeological) monuments on the one side, and artificial (often ephemeral) architectural re-creations on the other: *Theme Park Studies*.⁵⁵

In his 2002 essay “The past as a theme park” the post-modern father of critical heritage studies, David Lowenthal, reminded us (by referring to his ground-breaking 1985 book *The past is a foreign country*) that *all* cultural heritage constructions per se, be they produced in “theme parks in the present [or in] landscapes of the past as we see them, are an artifice, an invention, a construct, an illusion”; the applied “Arcadian tricks” to simulate order and control, as much as to “conflate” various time layers into one coherent and flattened display, are in fact, to take some of Lowenthal’s examples, similar in “themed gardens of the Middle Ages”, eighteenth-century European landscape gar-

⁵³ In his 2010 article “Of other scapes: Archaeology, landscape, and heterotopia in Fascist Sicily”, Joshua Samuels suggested to define heterotopia, “for archaeological purposes, as real spaces that, by juxtaposing incommensurate spatial, temporal, or social systems, generate a jarring, disorienting, or disturbing alternate ordering. These spaces are most usefully understood as generating new kinds of meaning, rather than foreclosing them” (Samuels 2010, 68). Applying this definition to heterotopic – archaeological – landscapes that emerged through land reforms, building projects and resettlement programmes by the Italian Fascist regime to present-day Angkor Park means the following: a supposedly “voluntary resettlement of farmers to new rural farmhouses for hygienic improvement [and] as vehicles of moral hygiene” (Samuels 2010, 72–73) were applied justifications for neo-traditional housing and farming showcases inside, and the so-called Run Ta-Ek eco-village planning outside Angkor Park (see epilogue II).

⁵⁴ In his “interpretive topology – from utopia/dystopia to heterotopia” Hugh Silverman quoted a 1977 paper by the French philosopher Louis Marin on “Disneyland: A degenerate utopia” (see the comparison between the American theme park and the Angkor archaeological park below: “A degenerate utopia, writes Marin, is a fragment of the ideological discourse realised in the form of a myth or a collective fantasy”) (Silverman 1980, 173).

⁵⁵ Interestingly, the architectural fabrication processes of themed environments were particularly rich in research material, for example from studies on “fairground architecture” (Braithwaite 1968) and “merchandised architecture” (Wassermann 1978), all the way to Walt Disney’s *Imagineering* (Imagineers 1996/2005), the “special effects in scripted places” like Las Vegas (Klein 2004), and from *Dreamworld architecture* (Herwig/Holzherr 2006) and the 2010 *Dreamlands* exhibition in Paris Centre Pompidou (Dreamlands 2010) to “theme park designing” (Younger 2016).

dens,⁵⁶ the “ruins [like] Masada as a produced icon of national identity” for Israel (compare the role of Angkor Park for the Cambodian nation-state) and in actual theme parks being “reshaped by global demands thousands of miles away” (Lowenthal 2002, 14, 11, 16, 18). In the same edited volume, Terence Young localised “theme park landscapes in the era of commerce and nationalism”, defining them as secularised “pilgrimage sites within today’s mass culture” (compare the performative affordance of Angkor Wat for the French-colonial regime, as introduced above). In his study – and this is also an issue in our second epilogue about contemporary Angkor Park – “native people” are often an “impediment” for a conflict-free and harmonious display, and “local and regional identities are steadily eroded and lost to park operators pursuing profit and national allegiance” (Young 2002, 3, 10). In the same year Margaret King defined theme parks as “hybrid descendants of world’s fairs, museums, and the architectural follies and pleasure gardens”, as “a total-sensory-engaging environmental art form” and as a “social artwork designed as a four-dimensional symbolic landscape”. According to her, theme parks would “distil cultural values and ideas (and not artefacts)” and evoke “impressions of places and times (real and imaginary)”. Additionally, theme parks would tell cultural narratives that the visitors could totally immerse themselves in by walking through a camera-ready “series of vignettes and sequences of themed stage-sets” with “material artefacts foreshortened as icons and images, free of contradictions [and] without claims of authenticity” (King 2002, 2–3, 5, 9). King made theme parks an American invention, with Disneyland/Anaheim, California, from 1955 as the first and until today most important example. However, how far removed was the making of Walt Disney’s *imagined theme park* called *Magic Kingdom* (compare Imagineers 1996, 2005), one may ask with an ironic twist, from the late-colonial reinvention of the glorious *kingdom of Angkor* in form of an ‘archaeological park’? This happened roughly at the same moment in time, with comparable infrastructural, visual and physical devices (bonded areas; entry booths; prepared picturesque vistas; park-like itineraries, etc.), and partly for the same clientele of the emerging global culture-cum-leisure-tourism, but the two were

13,000 kilometres apart from each other. Interestingly, the Disney-Angkor connection continues until today, as visitors as much as cinemagoers are immersed in the same ‘lost-in-the-jungle’ scenarios where Indiana Jones’ ‘Temple of the Forbidden Eye’ became part of a discovery walk at Disney World (Pl. Intro.23a) or where Lara Croft in the film *Tomb Raider* (compare Winter 2000/2002) would walk in 2001 through real but enhanced Angkor (Fig. Intro.31, Pl. Intro.23b).

It was in this sense that the 2010 volume *Staging the past: Themed environments in a transcultural perspective* re-directed a Western-centric take on theme parks towards “global cultural entanglements” within the Euro-Asian contact zone⁵⁷ and added the issue of “cross-cultural theming” of the “past of one’s own and of the exotic Other” into the research agenda. Hence, the definition of “themed environments” was conceptually enlarged to “blur the boundaries” between all forms of “spatialising history” to include open-air museums, sites of historical re-enactments, live performances on picturesque stages, shows of ‘traditional’ cultures, cultural theme parks (Pl. Intro.24a,b) and *colonial exhibitions* (Schlehe/Hochbruck 2010, 7–16).⁵⁸ In his contribution “The presence of pastness” Cornelius Holtorf – important for our argumentation – added “ruins, other archaeological sites and artefacts that evoke the past” to the list of themed environments (in fact, Alois Riegl’s ‘age-value’ from 1903, compare Falser 2005/2008b). He argued that “seeing a historical narrative, [...] seeing the ruin’s pastness” will be the decisive moment to indicate the “similarities between themed environments and cultural heritage: both a successfully themed environment evoking the past *and* [my emphasis] a famous archaeological site or artefact will need to be staged appropriately in order to possess the property of being past”. As a consequence, “the boundary between what is genuinely old and what is artificially new [will] lose its meaning” (Holtorf 2010, 36, 37). Through this methodological lens it becomes evident that archaeology/conservation as a practice and ‘authentic’ monuments in *archaeologically themed spaces* (like the French-colonial *Parc archéologique d’Angkor* from 1925/30 and the world heritage site of Angkor since 1992) run through similar processes to get “branded” as aesthetic products (Holtorf 2007).⁵⁹

⁵⁶ In the same volume, additional papers reflected on those entanglements between landscape/pleasure gardens, theme parks and the picturesque (Schenker 2002, Harwood 2002), which also played an important role when archaeological parks, such as Angkor Park, were established and designed (see Falser 2013d, compare Weiler 2013).

⁵⁷ In this sense Joy Hendry, in her 2000 publication *The Orient strikes back: A global view of cultural display*, studied Japanese and Chinese theme parks (in a side remark, she mentions the Angkor Wat model in Bangkok’s Grand Palace) (Hendry 2000, 119, see our discussion in epilogue I; compare Schlehe/Uike-Bormann 2010, Weiler 2016). For the interconnectedness of Asia in Europe and Europe in Asia, see Ravi/Rutten/Goh 2004.

⁵⁸ One definition of themed environment is “[...] all themed material forms that are *products of a cultural process aimed at investing constructed spaces with symbolic meaning* and at conveying that meaning to inhabitants and users through symbolic motifs” [italics MF] (Schlehe 2010, 9; after Gottdiener 2001, 5).

⁵⁹ Both count as equal features in our globalised “experience society and popular culture” (Holtorf 2005,



Figure Intro.31 Film set of *Tomb Raider* with an artificial fishing village in front of Angkor Wat in 2000 (Source: Winter 2002, 335)

In his 2007 book *The themed space: Locating culture, nation, and self*, Scott Lukas underlined the “unifying nature that characterises a theme”. He expanded the scientific enquiry on “theming” to the combined “use of immersive landscapes, the [applied] technologies, holistic/connected architectures [and] human performances” and to the underlying and often-used “cultural stereotypes made possible by colonialism”. In this sense, Lukas investigated the same “behind-the-scenes” techniques to “stage authenticity” (after MacCannell 1973/89), and the same involved actors and political-ideological-economic motivations for his theme park studies (Lukas 2007, 2, 7, 14, compare Lukas 2008/2014), which are also central in our inquiry about the making and

constant re-making of Angkor Park. In his 2016 edited volume Lukas defined *themed space* as constituted by “an overarching narrative, symbolic complex, or story”, and *immersive space* as motivated by “the idea that a space and its multiple architectural, material, performative, and technological approaches may wrap up or envelop a guest within it” (Lukas 2018, 3–15). Like this, the topic of theme parks, universal/colonial exhibitions and “themed spaces as ruins” (like Angkor Park) came to an overlap. In this sense, Colonial Williamsburg (a decisive place for the history of US-American independence in the seventeenth century) was termed “a living museum”, like Angkor Park (see Pl. Intro.22), and both may count as “imagineered historical places”.⁶⁰

2009a; compare Planel/Stone 1999). To the contrary, Paulette McManus’ short paper “Archaeological parks: What are they?” still focussed on the “authenticity” of monuments, a non-profit and educational approach, and “conservation rather than public service at the core of purpose” as the major criteria (McManus 1999, 57, 59).

⁶⁰ Colonial Williamsburg was transformed with a certain Beaux-Arts signature in the 1920s and 1930s (the same moment when the French-colonial Angkor Park was decreed and produced through Beaux-Arts architects) into “Colonial Williamsburg” or “the Revolutionary City”. It counts today as the “world’s largest living history museum” (Kerz 2016, 195, compare Lounsbury 1990). Kerz herself brought her case study into our above-quoted methodological approach: “Colonial Williamsburg is also a *Foucauldian heterotopia* that nar-

Even more challenging is a case study on *The Lost City* as an artificial entertainment landscape as part of the Sun City resort in South Africa in comparison to the ways that (inter)national conservation teams today keep on selling the old colonial myth of ‘Angkor lost and found in the jungle’ (Pl. Intro. 25a,b; compare Figs. I.7, II.1a–c; III.16a,b; VI.2a–d; IX.7a; Pl. IX.24b; Pl. XI.33a).⁶¹

With a view on their worldwide extension, political exploitation, “hyper-commercial interpenetration” and the “imperial eye” of their planners, Susan Davis introduced the term of global “media conglomerates” (Davis 1996, 408, 405, 417) for artificial theme parks. Many of her observations correspond with our observation of a neocolonial and super-commercialised set-up of Angkor Park and its ‘branded’ cultural icon, Angkor Wat (Pl. Intro.26a,b). As an archaeologically themed total environment with often over-restored temple architecture Angkor Park today comes with pavilion-like fetishes of international competition, facade-oriented spatial landscape markers inside a carefully packaged pilgrimage site of global and regional

mass tourism, or picturesque stages for folkloristic performances full of cultural stereotypes and narratives. Aesthetically, Angkor Park and Angkor Wat reconnect to where they started in our transcultural history: archaeologically themed universal and colonial exhibitions. Yet, with an ever-more and faster import and test-like application of global heritage schemes, and the site’s amalgamation into a whole tourist district beyond classical park boundaries – including restructured Siem Reap city with its *Cambodian Cultural Village* (see Pl. Intro.24b,c, compare Pl. EpII.24), and a whole network of other archaeological sites in the wider vicinities – Angkor has mutated into a totally new, both fascinating and shocking, *transcultural heritage conglomerate*. The overall aim of this book is to map and contextualise its more than 150 year-long multi-sited (heterotopian) formation process between European and Asian projects – in two volumes of text and, for the first time ever in such detail, with more than 1,200 plans and illustrations as a kind of visual anthology besides the written analysis.

rates and hence (re)produces the ideas of the American nation 365 days a year by *including stories of achievement and bravery while excluding those of failure and misery* [italics MF] (Kerz 2016, 198). And indeed, with its restored, reconstructed and partially re-invented structures inside an open heritage reserve, and with ‘local’ populations being a living part of the picturesque scenario (others were relocated), the “imagined historical place” of Colonial Williamsburg (Francaviglia 1995) can serve as a comparable example to historic and contemporary Angkor Park.

⁶¹ The same “three-component-mythic narrative discourse” (van Eaden 2016, 212, compare Hall 1995) is at work in *Lost City*: the legend of a pre-modern idyllic tribe with its magnificent palace brought to an end by a disaster, leaving only an enchanted ruin as archaeological evidence of former greatness. Leaving the secure hotel zone to walk a ‘bridge of time’ as a threshold to the archaeologically themed and timeless space (compare the same set-up between the tourist hub of Siem Reap along a highway into Angkor Park), visitors ‘re-discover’ and immerse themselves in a para-colonial romance with the Lost City, made with ruined facades and columns from glass-fibre-reinforced concrete, before they get rewarded with a fresh beer (compare with Fig. IX.25, Pl. Intro.26b).

Plates



Plate Intro.4a The “archaeological map of ancient Cambodia” as published by Étienne Lunet de Lajonquière in his 1909 *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*, just two years after the Siamese 1907 retrocession of northwestern Cambodia, including Angkor, to the French protectorate *Le Cambodge* (Source: Lajonquière 1909, carte 1; © EFEO Paris)

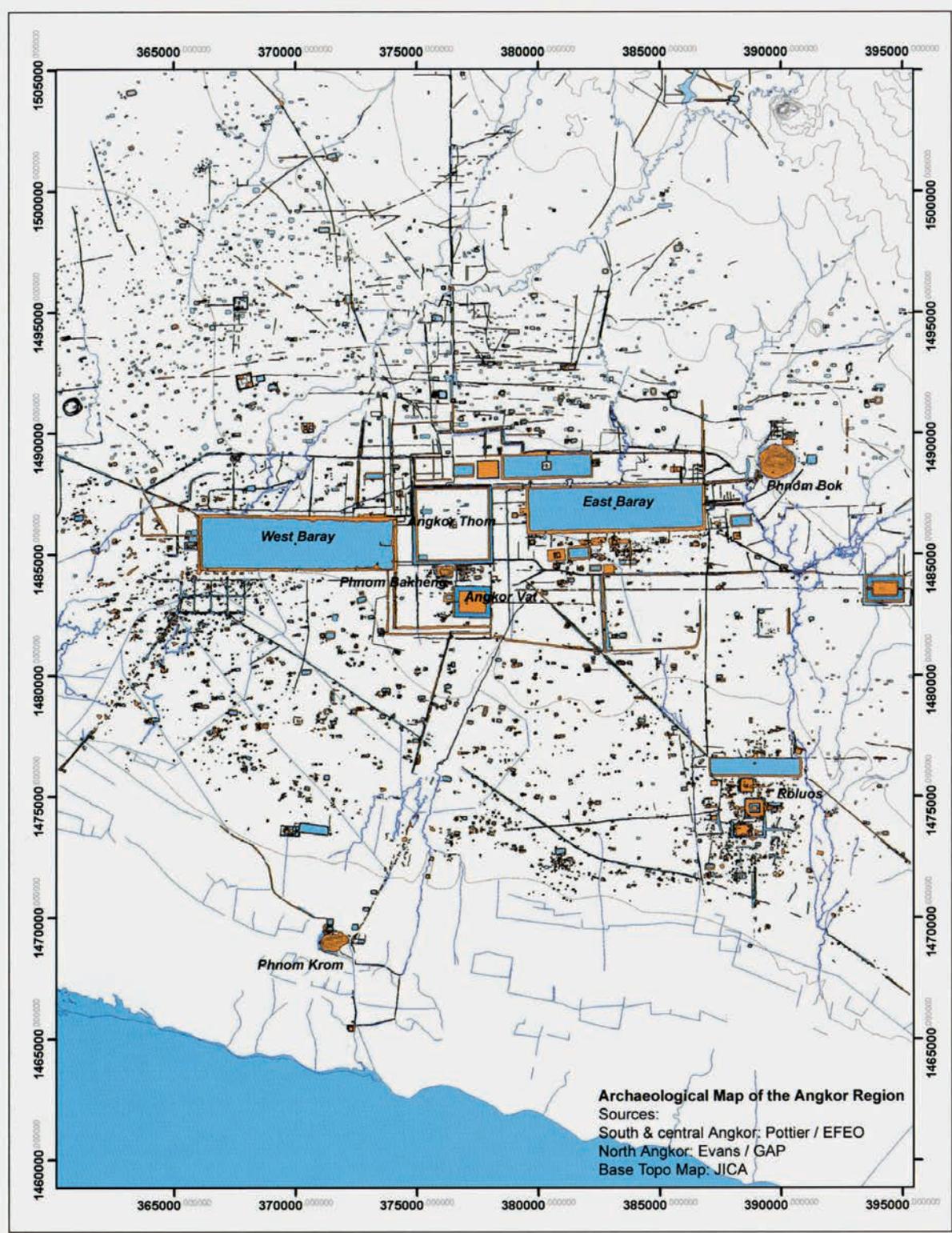


Plate Intro.4b The updated archaeological map of the Angkor region with pre-Angkorian *Hariharalaya* (today Roluos) to the southeast of Angkor (Source: Frings 2002, 84; © Greater Angkor Project with Pottier/EFEO, Evans/GAP and JICA)

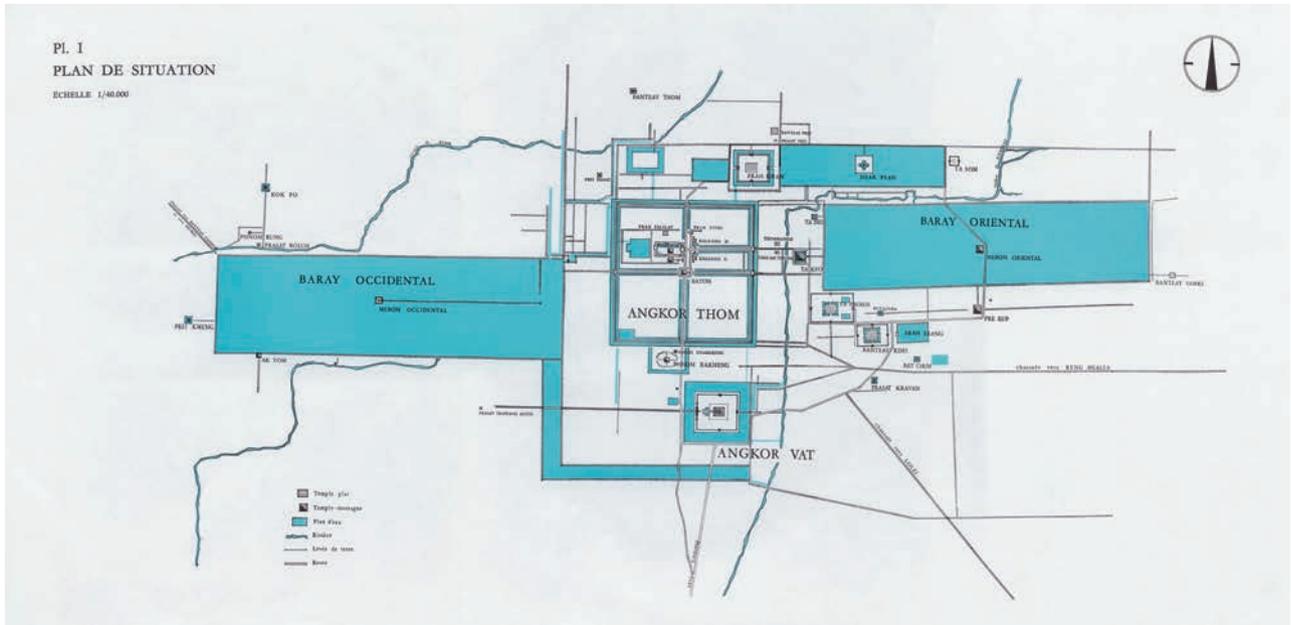


Plate Intro.5 Angkor Wat inside the ancient city plan, as published in the 1969 EFEO publication *Angkor Vat: Description graphique* (Source: Nafilyan/EFEO 1969, plan 1; © EFEO Paris)

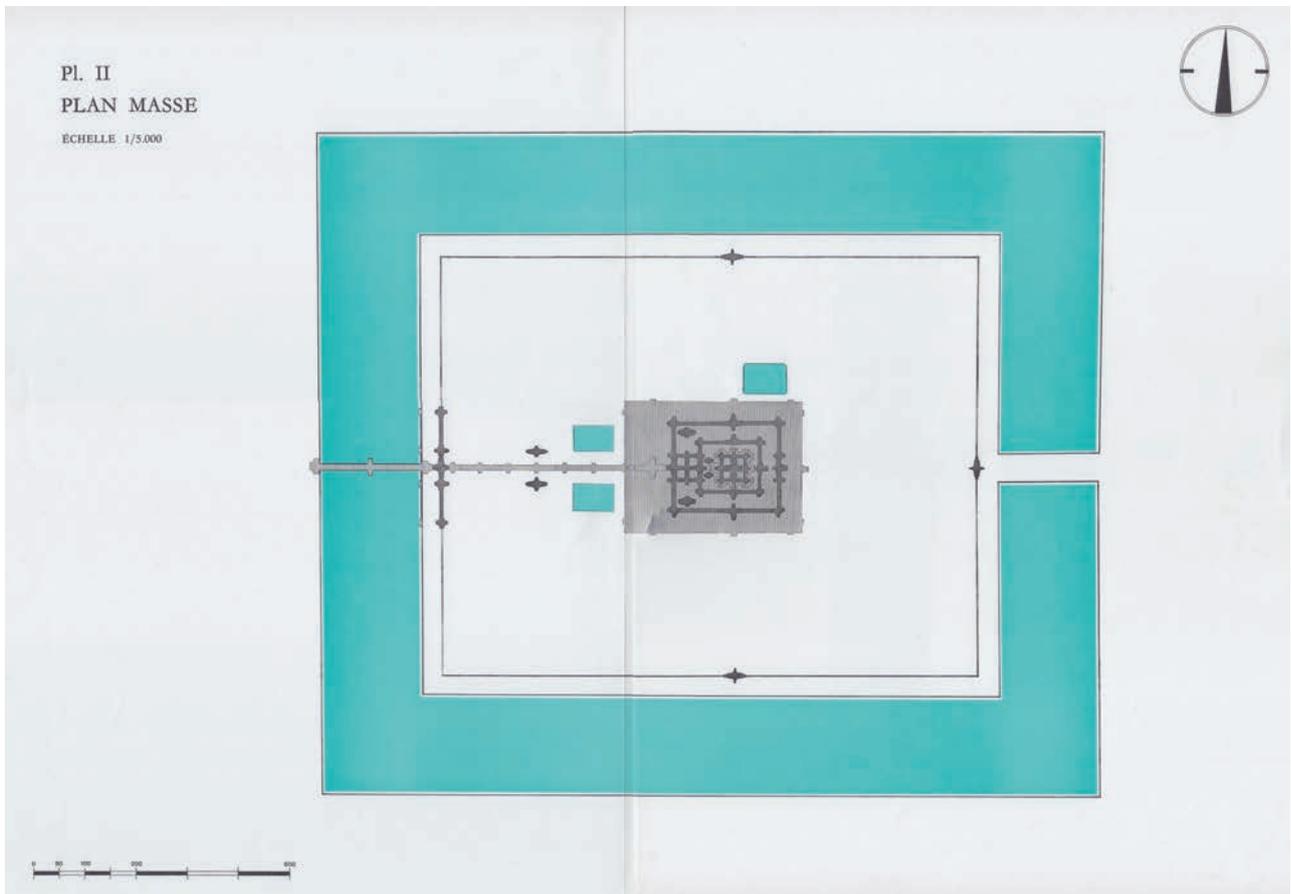


Plate Intro.6 Plan of Angkor Wat as published in the 1969 EFEO publication *Angkor Vat: Description graphique* (Source: Nafilyan/EFEO 1969, plan 2; © EFEO Paris)



Plate Intro.7a View into the southern bas-relief gallery of Angkor Wat, compare Fig. III.43 (Source: © Michael Falser 2010)



Plate Intro.7b View towards the inner cruciform gallery staircase of Angkor Wat (Source: © Michael Falser 2010)



Plate Intro.8a View towards the second enclosure as seen from Angkor Wat's eastern access system with a new staircase for visiting tourists (Source: © Michael Falser 2010)



Plate Intro.8b Photograph to show the play of sunlight and shadow through the wood-imitating window balusters of Angkor Wat (Source: © Michael Falser 2010)



Plate Intro.9a The central section of Angkor Wat as depicted in tourist propaganda material during Cambodia's independence of the 1950s and 1960s, "with compliments of Sokhar" (the *Société Khmère des auberges royales*) and a dancing Apsara, performed by King Sihanouk's daughter Bopha Devi, compare chapter X (Source: Cambodia guide of the 1960s, undated, inner cover illustration; private archive Michael Falser)



Plate Intro.9b 500 Riels banknote of Cambodia in 2010 (Source: Private archive Michael Falser)



Plate Intro.10a–c King Suryavarman II (top and centre) as depicted in the bas-relief galleries of Angkor Wat; and the famous scene of the “Churning of the milk ocean” (in two parts) inside the temple’s eastern gallery (Source: © Michael Falser 2010 (above); © Jaroslav Poncar 1995)



Plate Intro.11 A postcard from the 1931 International Colonial Exhibition in Paris, with the light concept of “éclairage Jacopozzi” above the Angkor Wat replica by “Blanche architects” (Source: private collection Michael Falser)



Plate Intro.12 A section of the northern bas-relief gallery (eastern part), of the sixteenth century CE, as photographed by Jaroslav Poncar (Source: © Jaroslav Poncar)

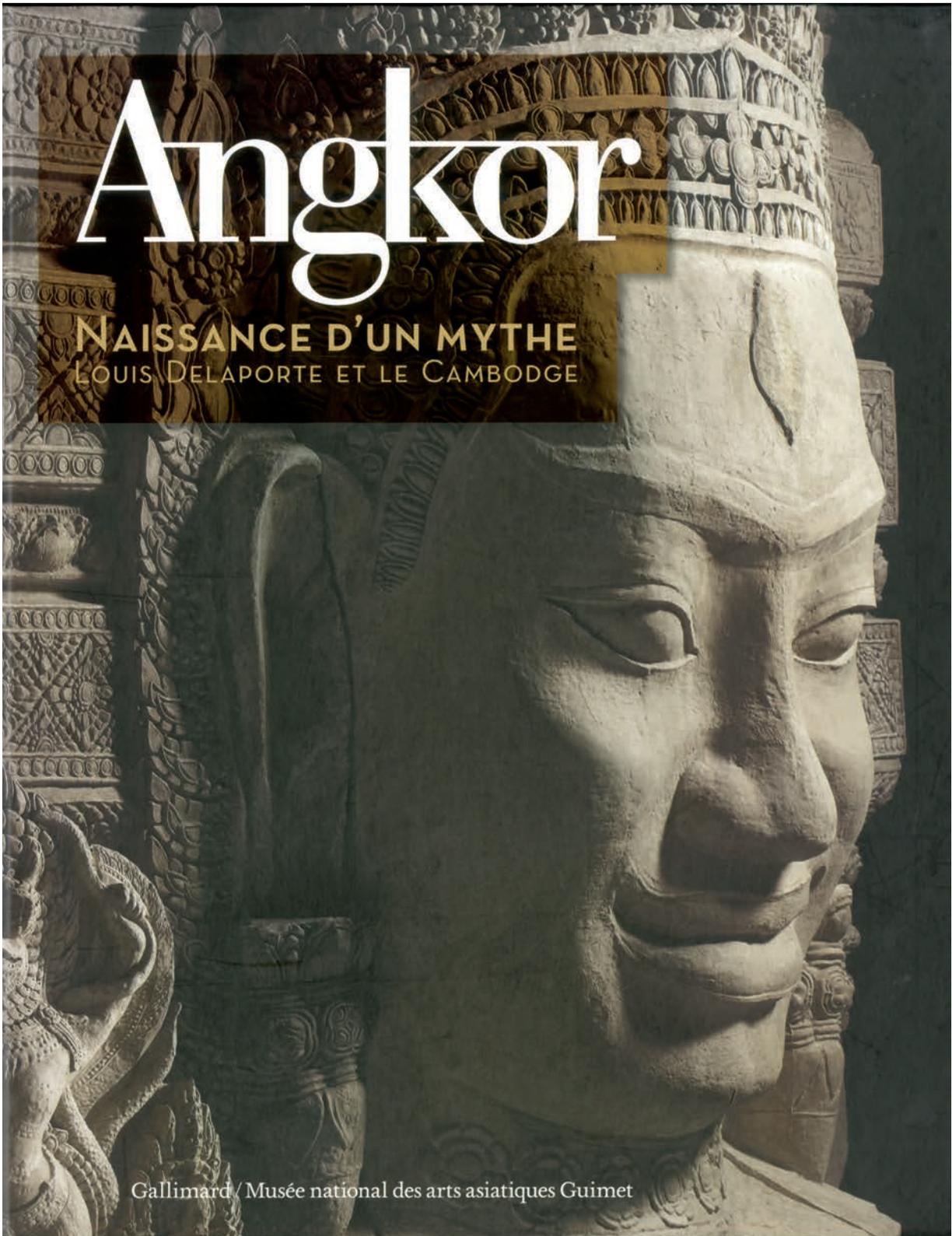


Plate Intro.13 Cover of the *musée Guimet* exhibition *Angkor: Naissance d'un mythe – Louis Delaporte et le Cambodge* in Paris 2013 (Source: Baptiste/Zéphir 2013, cover)



Plate Intro.14a The copies of the original plaster casts from Angkor Wat for the former Ethnographic Museum of Berlin, recently rediscovered and restored for the future *Humboldt Forum* (Source: © Michael Falser 2013)

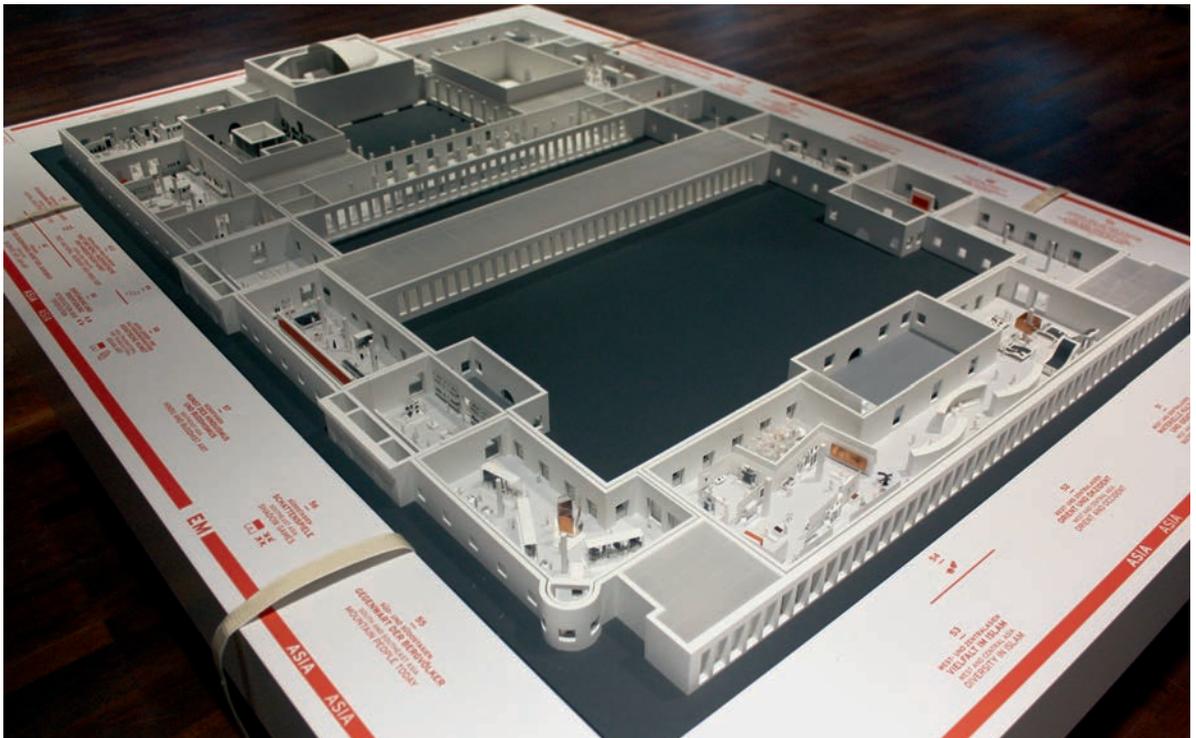


Plate Intro.14b The 2016 model of the Berlin *Humboldt Forum* with the intended walk through ethnographic world art; see the section of Southeast Asia in the central left wing with a new display of the Berlin casts of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat (Source: © Michael Falser 2016)

Plates



Plates Intro.15a–c The modern production process of plaster casts of/for decorative elements and of/for architectural surfaces (above left), surviving casts from Angkor Wat (above right, compare Pl.Intro.10b and 16a) and the storage of lightweight decorative elements (French: *staff*) (below), photos taken at *Maison Auberlet*, successor of the original *Auberlet & Laurent*, which executed the decoration of the 1:1-scale version of Angkor Wat at the International Colonial Exhibition in Paris 1931 (Source: © Michael Falser 2010)



Plates Intro.16a–c Cast copy versions from Angkor Wat's bas-relief galleries surviving and being re-used/appropriated in Phnom Penh today; above: multiplied bas-relief in today's National Library (compare Pl. Intro.10b and Fig. Intro.26, 27); below: contemporary office and bank buildings (compare Pl. Intro.10a) (Source: © Michael Falser 2010, 2011)



Plates Intro.17a,b Viollet-le-Duc's original *musée de Sculpture comparée* today (renamed *musée des Monuments français*), which sought to canonise French architectural heritage of the 'medieval' times using the plaster cast technique (compare the historic photograph on Fig. III.11); below: the back side of the facade-like plaster cast montage of medieval architecture inside the *musée des Monuments français* in 2011 – a materialised metaphor for the 'constructedness' of cultural heritage, compare Pl. Intro.13 and Pl. III.17–18 (Source: © Michael Falser 2011)

Angkor Vat à Saint-Denis 20-24 octobre 2010

**La reproduction du temple d'Angkor Vat à la Basilique de Saint-Denis
Un événement national • Une très belle œuvre • Un lieu exceptionnel...**

Tandis que le peuple khmer rend gloire à ses divinités et à ses rois par les temples qu'il construit à Angkor au XII^e siècle, l'Occident bâtit ses grandes cathédrales, dont la première, celle de Saint-Denis, lieu d'inhumation des rois, voit s'élever sa façade en 1140. Cette exposition se tient à la rencontre de deux routes du patrimoine de l'humanité, à l'est et à l'ouest.

Programme :

- **Inauguration** de l'exposition le mercredi **20** octobre à 18h, suivie d'une réception offerte par la mairie de Saint-Denis (sur invitation).
- **Visite de la reproduction du temple à la cathédrale** de 10h à 16h, les jeudi **21**, vendredi **22**, samedi **23** et dimanche **24** octobre. Maquette de M. Ouk Vannary. Exposition de photos de Savary Chhem Kieth, Nouth Narang, l'AAA, Mikael Wyss, panneaux de l'Unité d'Archéologie de Saint-Denis.
- **Visite du site archéologique de Saint-Denis** le jeudi **21** à 15h30, vendredi **22** à 14h30 et samedi **23** octobre à 15h30.
- **Conférences** le vendredi **22** à 16h30 (salle du Conseil à la mairie) par François Legrand, ingénieur général: "L'eau et Angkor Vat" et par Jean-Jacques Dupuis, architecte: "L'architecture angkorienne", tous les deux de l'"Association des Amis d'Angkor".
- **Film** le vendredi **22** à 14h30 et le samedi **23** octobre à 11h à "L'Ecran", avec la participation du réalisateur Didier Fassio: "L'aventure du Baphuon", 100 ans de restauration de l'un des premiers monuments de la glorieuse cité d'Angkor.
- **Danse classique khmère** le samedi **23** octobre de 15h à 15h30 avec "Le Cabaret des Oiseaux".
- **Repas-Buffer** le samedi **23** à 12h30 et dimanche **24** octobre à 13h30 au réfectoire de la Maison d'Education de la Légion d'Honneur (prix: 20 euros; inscription avant le jeudi **21** au soit en téléphonant au 01 48 47 05 81, au 01 42 49 64 61 ou au 01 48 31 38 80.
- **Visite de la basilique** pendant les **4 jours** (tarif réduit).
- **Rencontre inter-associations** le dimanche **24** octobre, de 10h à 16h sur le parvis de la basilique. Stands de: "Enfants d'Asie", "Les Amis d'Angkor", "Accueil Cambodgien", "TuK Meas - Pirogue d'or", "Centre Kramngoy", "SIPAR", "Unité d'Archéologie".
- **Messe paroissiale** le dimanche **24** octobre à 10h (jour de la fête de Pehoun Ben, jour des défunts).
- **Célébration interreligieuse** le dimanche **24** octobre à 12h: Hindouisme avec le Swami Veeta-mohananda, de l'ashram de Grètz, les chanteuses indiennes Naren et Sarada, le Vénérable moine bouddhiste khmer Yos Hut Khemacaro et des moines des pagodes de la région parisienne, le Père Daniel Pizivin, vicaire général du diocèse de Saint-Denis, et une représentation des Khmers Islam.
- **Rencontre** avec des participants de nos voyages d'insertion le dimanche **24** octobre à 15h, salle Saint-Denis, esplanade de la basilique: échanges, photos, réactions, etc.
- **Assemblée générale** de "Accueil Cambodgien" dimanche **24** octobre de 16h30 à 17h30.
- **Clôture** le dimanche **24** octobre à 17h30.



Plate Intro.18 Entangled heritage constructions? A 2010 exhibition of a model of Angkor Wat inside France's icon of a *patrimoine culturel*: the cathedral of Saint-Denis near Paris (Source: courtesy Bernard Berger 2013)



Plates Intro.19a–c Norodom Sihanouk himself as actor in his 1969 film *Crépuscule* (compare Pl. X.25a–o), sitting in front of Angkor Wat, reading Bernard Philippe Groslier’s 1958 book *Angkor: Hommes et pierres* and explaining the historical Indian-Khmer cultural connection to his guest, an Indian princess (his real wife) (Source: Bophana Film Archive, Phnom Penh; YouTube)



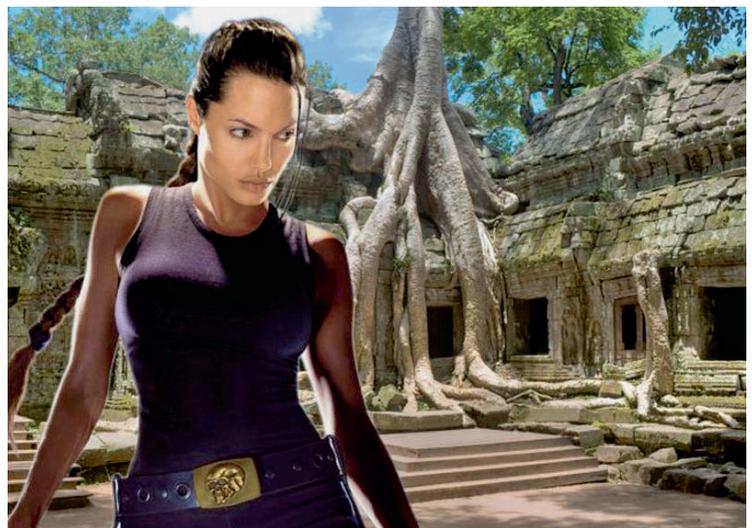
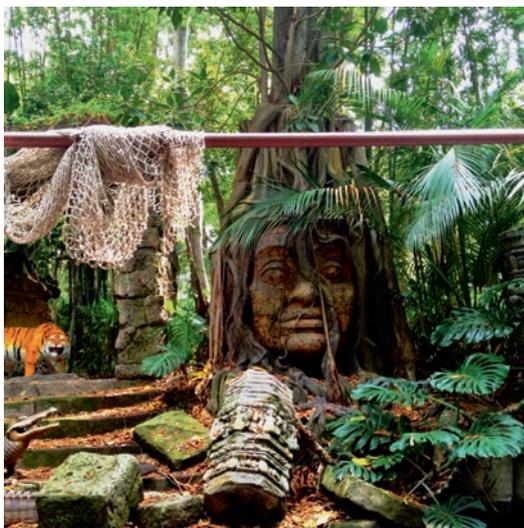
Plates Intro.20a,b Dy Proeung with King Norodom Sihanouk and his wife in the early 1990s to visit his large-scale model of Angkor Wat in Phnom Penh (above); and in 2010 sitting in front of his Angkor Wat model at his workshop at the Preah Ko temple, in Roluos to the southeast of Angkor (below, compare Pl. EpII.29c) (Source: courtesy Dy Proeung; © Michael Falser 2010)



Plates Intro.21a,b A Buddhist monk at Wat Bo near Siem Reap in 2010, presenting 'his' drawings of traditional design patterns (above) and his monastery's mouldings workshop of Angkorian temple decoration, like the famous scene 'Churning of the milk ocean' (compare Pl. Intro.10c) on Angkor Wat's eastern bas-relief gallery (Source: © Michael Falser 2010)



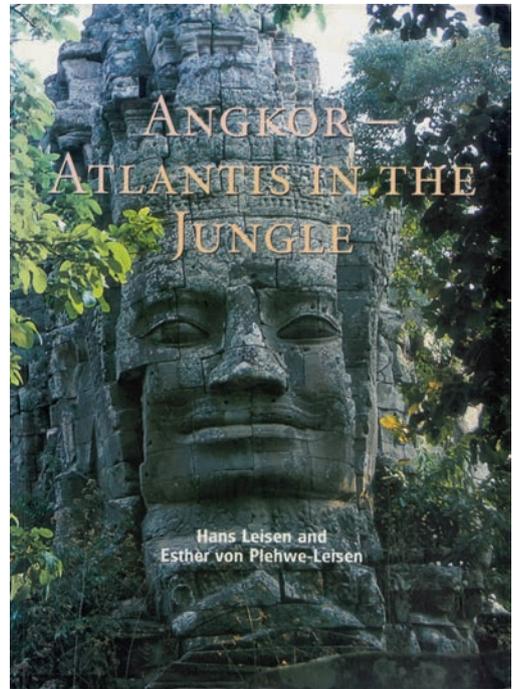
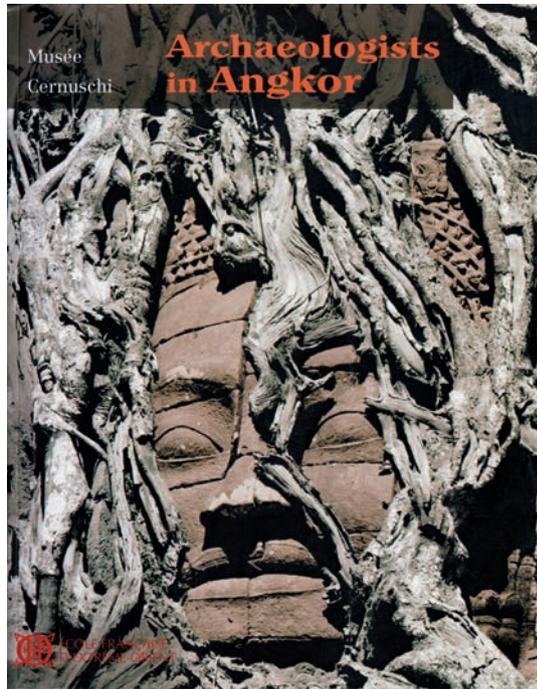
Plate Intro.22 Cover of the May 2002 themed issue of *Museum International*, entitled *Angkor, a living museum* (Source: Museum International, 213/14 (May 2002), cover)



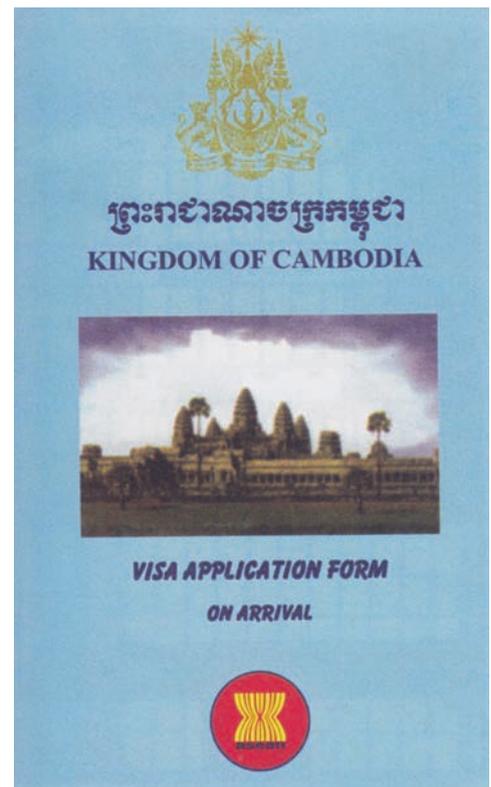
Plates Intro.23a,b Indiana Jones' *Temple of the Forbidden Eye* as today staged in Disneyland/Anaheim (left), and a photomontage/film still of Lara Croft (Angelina Jolie) walking through Ta Prohm temple in the 2000 film *Tomb Raider* (Source: Internet, Youtube)



Plates Intro.24a–c Temple site of Trowulan/West Java as replicated in the *Taman Mini Cultural Theme Park* in Jakarta (above left); a stylised Bayon face tower in the *Cambodian Cultural Village* at Siem Reap (above right), and a stylised new ‘gate of Angkor Thom’ in Battambang (Source: © Michael Falser 2015, 2010)



Plates Intro.25a,b 2011 photo catalogue of the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* in 2011 (left), and 2001 booklet *Angkor: Atlantis in the jungle* as published by the German Apsara Conservation Project (Source: EFEO/Cernuschi 2011, cover; Leisen/Plehwe-Leisen 2001, cover)



Plates Intro.26a,b Angkor Wat as branded cultural heritage icon, as advertisement for *Angkor Beer* in the *Royal Air Cambodge* journal of 1997 (left); and on Cambodia's official visa card of 2010 (right) (Source: Royal Air Cambodge, 10 December 1997, 17; personal archive Michael Falser)