ANGKOR WAT

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ANGKOR WAT

A TRANSCULTURAL HISTORY OF HERITAGE

VOLUME 1:

ANGKOR IN FRANCE.
FROM PLASTER CASTS TO EXHIBITION PAVILIONS

DE GRUYTER

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Volume 1: Angkor in France.
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Für Katharina

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 Wat project. In this context, I would like to thank Hans Leisen, professor of stone conservation at Cologne University of Applied Sciences and GACP's project director; Simon Warrack, stone conservator; and the project photographer, Jaroslav Poncar, for their shared on-site experience; ongoing support with background information, scientific data, and photographs; and their friendship, which without a doubt laid the solid foundation of this present work. Later internships at UNESCO's World Heritage Centre in Paris and at its regional branch in Bangkok also provided me with important insights into global heritagisation processes at Asia's archaeological sites. Here, my thanks go to Minja Yang and Richard Engelhardt.

The most important institutional support for this project was provided by the Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context" at Heidelberg University, funded by the German Research Council (DFG). Here, I had the privilege of embedding the research that I conducted as a project leader since 2009 in the internal research area of "Heritage and Historicities" while I was affiliated to the chair of Global Art History (see introduction). In this context, I wish to thank primarily the DFG itself and, of course, my former Heidelberg colleagues – above many others, Professor Monica Juneja, Professor Rudolf Wagner, and Katharina Weiler and Brigitte Berger-Göken. As I worked towards finalising in 2013/14 what the German system calls a *Habilitation* (a professorial qualification manuscript), I was rewarded with fellowships from the German Centre of Art History in Paris (thanks go to then director Professor Andreas Beyer and to the Gerda Henkel Foundation) and from the Berlin-based Forum of Transregional Studies, funded by the Florence Max-Planck-Institute of Art History (thanks go to Professor Gerhard Wolf and Hannah Baader).

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.

Additional research took me to the French National Archives in Paris (many thanks go to Christiane Demeulenaere-Douyère and Nadia Bouzid); the Archive of French Overseas History in Aix-en-Provence (I am particularly grateful to Anne-Isabelle Vidal and Isabelle Dion); and to Marseille (many thanks to Isabelle Aillaud from the Municipal Archives, to Ann Blanchet from the *Musée d'Histoire de Marseille*, to Véronique Raguseo from the *Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône*, to the Chamber of Commerce of Marseille, and to other libraries). Many other Paris-based institutions and affiliated specialists also deserve my thankful mention: the Musée Guimet (Pierre Baptiste, Thierry Zéphir, Jérôme Ghesquière, Dominique Fayolle-Reninger); the *École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts* (Monique Antilogus, Emmanuel Schwartz); the *Cité de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine* (Emmanuelle Polack); the UNESCO archive and UNESCO-affiliated experts (Jens Boel, Adèle Torrance, Lyndel Prott); the *Institut d'Histoire de l'Art* – INHA (Jérôme Delatour); the French National Library and the Historical Library of Paris; ICOMOS International (with the affiliated expert Henry Cleere (†)); the Musée Branly, the *Conservatoire numérique des Arts et Métiers*, and the Sorbonne libraries; the château de Compiègne archive and the Hennebont archive (Jacques Guilchet); the owners of and the researchers studying the private archives of Louis Delaporte, Bernard Philippe Groslier, and Charles Meyer (Jérôme Hayaux du Tilly, Julie Philippe, Brigitte Groslier-Lequeux); and Monsieur Leboufnoir of Auberlet & Laurent in Montrouge near Paris.

Other important sources were provided during my research in Europe and overseas by the Heidelberg University Library; ICCROM in Rome (many thanks to Stefano de Caro, Jukka Jokilehto, Joe King, Gamini Wijesuriya, Alison Heritage, Anna Stewart, and, for the research library and archival material, to Paul Arenson, Daniela Sauer, and Maria Mata Caravaca); the Asia and Ethnography Museums; the Plaster Cast Ateliers of the State Museums, all in Berlin (thanks to Martina Stoye, Beate Ebelt, Toralf Gabsch, Bertold Just (†), Thomas Schelper, and Wibke Lobo); by the archives of the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Royal Geographic Society, both in London; the Leiden, Berkeley, and Cornell University collections; the archive of the *École d'Athènes* in Athens/Greece; by Professor Fani Mallouchou-Tufano from the Technical University of Greece; by the Québec-based architect Pierre Guertin; and by Professor David Chandler from Monash University/Australia.

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 Angkor included actors from the EFEO (thanks to Bertrand Porte from the Phnom Penh National Museum) and the GACP (see above), from the World Monuments Fund (thanks to John Sanday), and from the UNESCO branches in Bangkok and Phnom Penh (Philippe Delanghe), as well as various researchers (above many others Henri Locard from the Royal University of Phnom Penh, Anne Gouillou, Fabienne Luco, and Keiko Miura from Waseda University in Tokyo), many Asian and Cambodian institutions and individual protagonists contributed extremely important perspectives to counterbalance the global heritage narrative over Angkor. In the Phnom Penh context, great thanks go to architect and former head of APSARA, Vann Molyvann († 2017), and his wife, Trudy; the ex-conservator of Angkor Park, Pich Keo; Ang Choulean from the Royal University of Fine Arts; Ly Daravuth from the Reyum Gallery Centre; Youk Chhang and Kok Thei-Eng from the Documentation Centre of Cambodia; the Bophana Audiovisual Resource Centre (with Cheav Engseang, Than Thanaren, Chea Sopheap, and Gaetan Crespel); the Khmer translator Saur Sokhalay; and the staff of the Cambodian National Library and National Archives. In the wider Siem Reap-Angkor context, I would like to express my thanks to my dear friend Khun Phally; Khoun Khun-Neay († 2017), Ly Vanna, and Sim Bunthoeun from/for APSARA; Peter Willers from CMAC; Krisna Uk and Daraneth Um from the Centre of Khmer Studies; Dy Proeung with his plaster model atelier; and Long Nari, Nginn Pek (†2017), and his son Tek Touch from the GACP team. Further research brought me to Battambang to meet the son of the sculptor Tan Veut, Voeuth Savann; to Bangkok/Thailand (thanks to Professor Sunait Chutintaranond, then director of the Asian Studies Institute at Bangkok's Chulalongkorn University, and to his former student Anan Krudphet, who translated from Siamese for me); and to Java/Indonesia with its Borobudur and Prambanan sites.

With more specific regard to this enormous publication project itself, I wish to thank the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the Gerda Henkel Foundation for their important financial support; the patient copy editors Angela Roberts and Kristie Kachler for making my non-native English writing a bit less German; and certainly Katja Richter, Anja Weisenseel, and Jan Hawemann for overseeing the logistics of publishing and designing this ever-growing book with DeGruyter in Berlin.

Supporting an almost ten-year-long project is always a great challenge to the private environment of every researcher, and for this I have to thank my family and, most important, my partner. It is to her that this book is dedicated.

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-

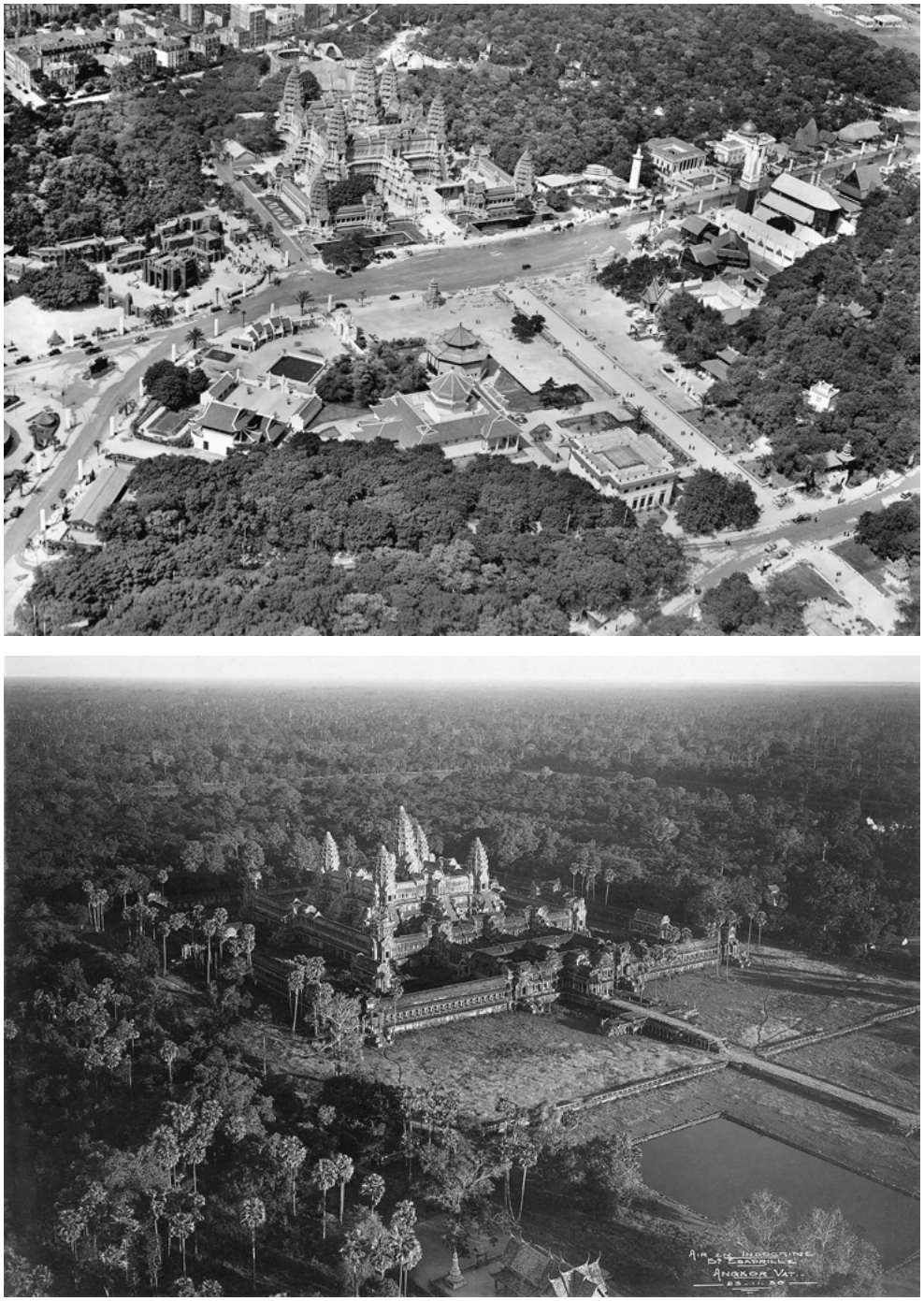
Figure Intro.1a "Le maréchal Lyautey fait visiter l'Exposition coloniale au duc et à la duchesse d'York. Au fond, le temple d'Angkor", as it was published in Pierre Nora's *Lieux de mémoire* in 1984 within Charles-Robert Ageron's contribution "L'exposition coloniale de 1931: Mythe républicain ou mythe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



Figures Intro.1b,c Angkor Wat as a full-scale replica during the 1931 International Colonial Exhibition in Paris (above), and Angkor Wat in Cambodia as photographed in 1936 by the French-colonial military aviation service for Indochina (below) (Source: 1b © Roger-Viollet, Paris; 1c © EFEO Archive, Paris)

changes, Nora's approach from the late 1980s required a decisive correction. Coming back to the two above-quoted entries of Nora's book, we must now completely re-conceptualise the reading of such temporal pavilion architectures 'from the Orient' through which 'Occidental' propaganda could underscore Europe's hegemonic claim over Asia – and with it, the nation-state-based concept of cultural heritage appears to be old-fashioned and too static.

In the groundbreaking 1989 Paris exhibition *Magiciens de la terre* the 1931 Exhibition was used in a critique of ethnographic practices within the contemporary art scene (Martin 1989). Building on the growing academic interest

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, postcolonial-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 appropria-

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-denkmalpflege-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).

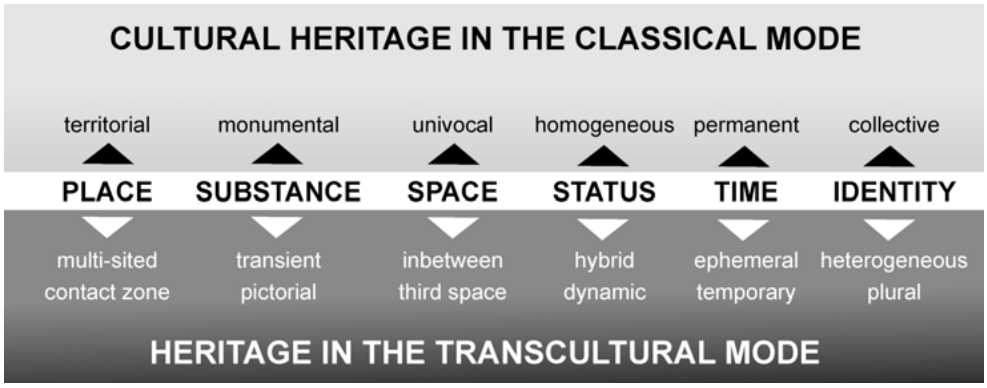


Figure Intro.2a Chart from the 2013 publication *Kulturerbe: Denkmalpflege transkulturell* to describe the 'trans-cultural' approach towards heritage beyond the Europe and non-Europe divide (Source: Falser/Juneja 2013a, 25; © Michael Falser 2019)

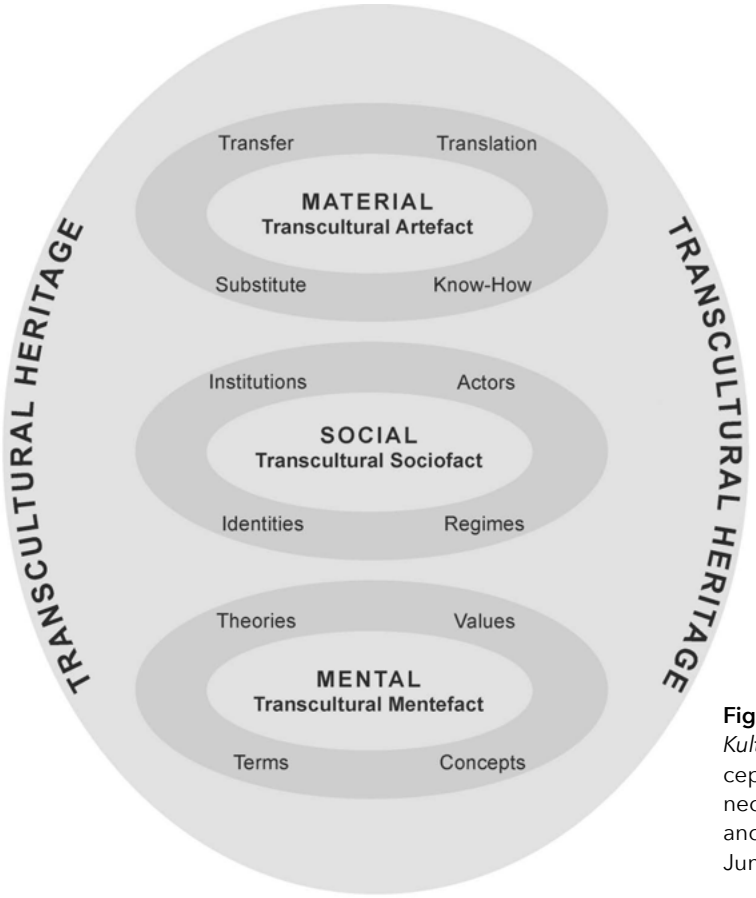


Figure Intro.2b Chart from the 2013 publication *Kulturerbe: Denkmalpflege transkulturell* to conceptualise 'artefacts/architectures' as interconnected between social realms, mental spheres and material/physical strategies (Source: Falser/Juneja 2013a, 27; © Michael Falser 2019)

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 civilizing 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 common 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-

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

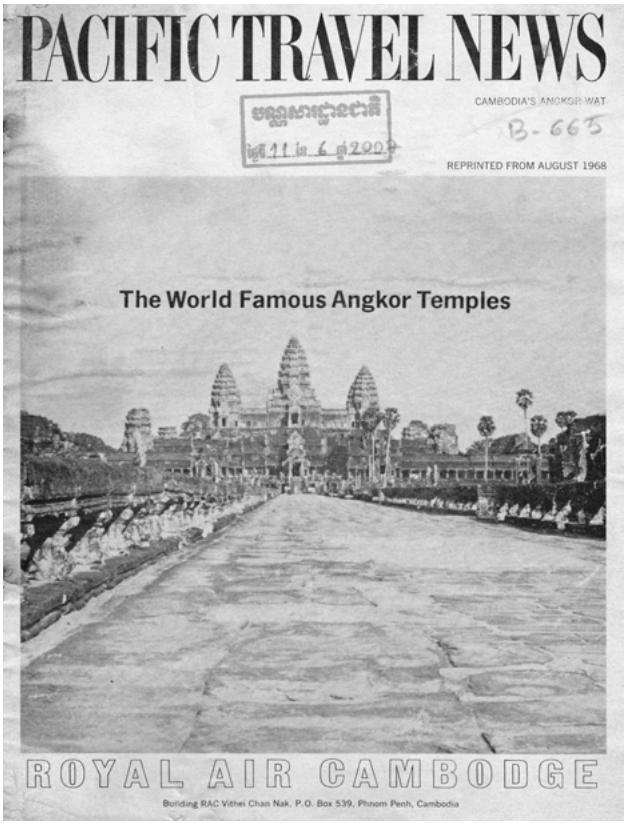
importantly against the Cham to the east of present-day Vietnam, and he brought the power and influence of Angkor to an apogee. One of his successors, Jayavarman VII (r. 1181–1218), is stylised today as the most important king of the Angkor era (see chapter X, compare Pl. IX.24a; Figs. X.4–5, Pl. X.2a,b). 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 defendable 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 (EFEO 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

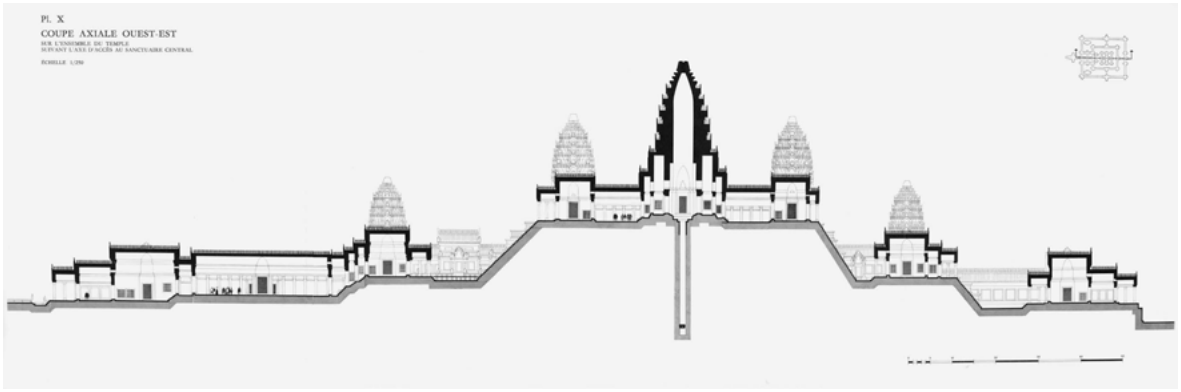
Figure Intro.6 The western entry of Angkor Wat as photographed by Jaroslav Poncar in 1995 (Source: © Jaroslav Poncar)

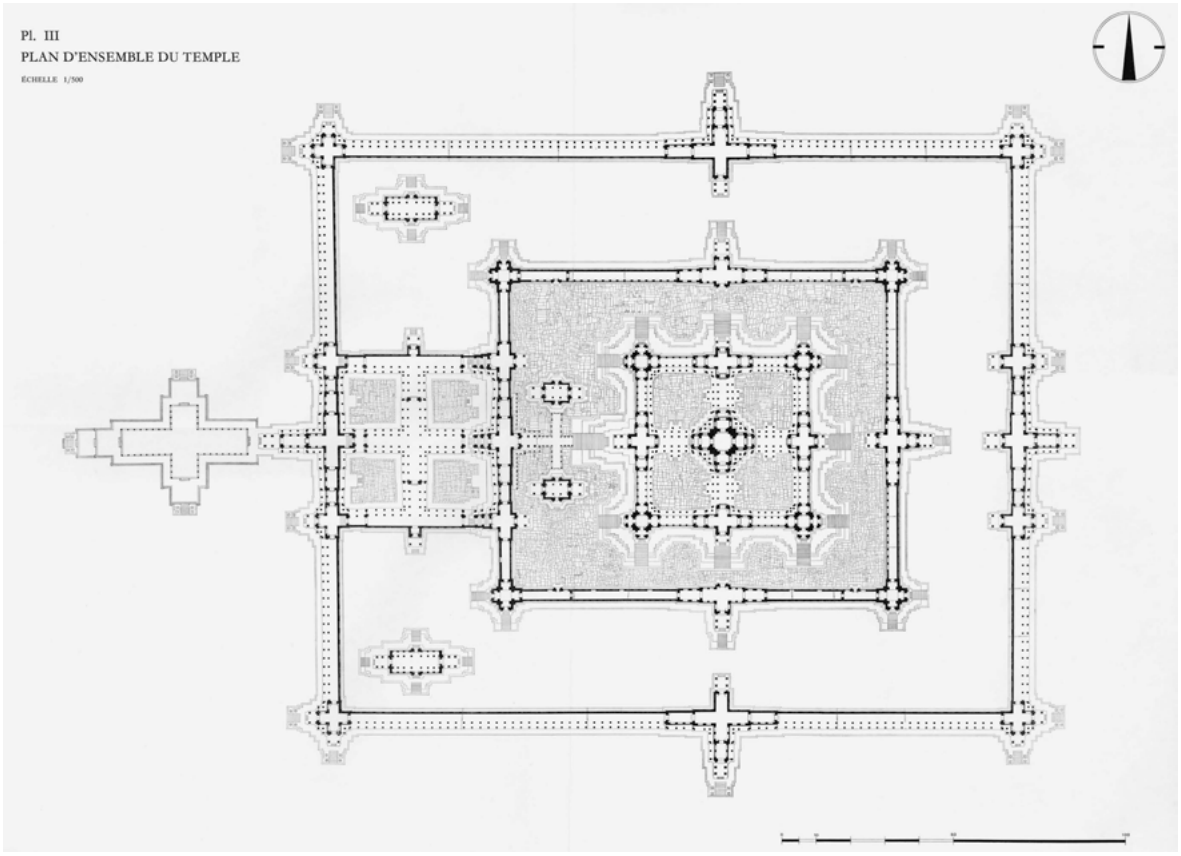
Figure Intro.7 Angkor Wat's central passageway, seen from the temple's western entry gate towards the central mountain temple, as photographed by Jaroslav Poncar in 1995 (Source: © Jaroslav Poncar)



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)





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)

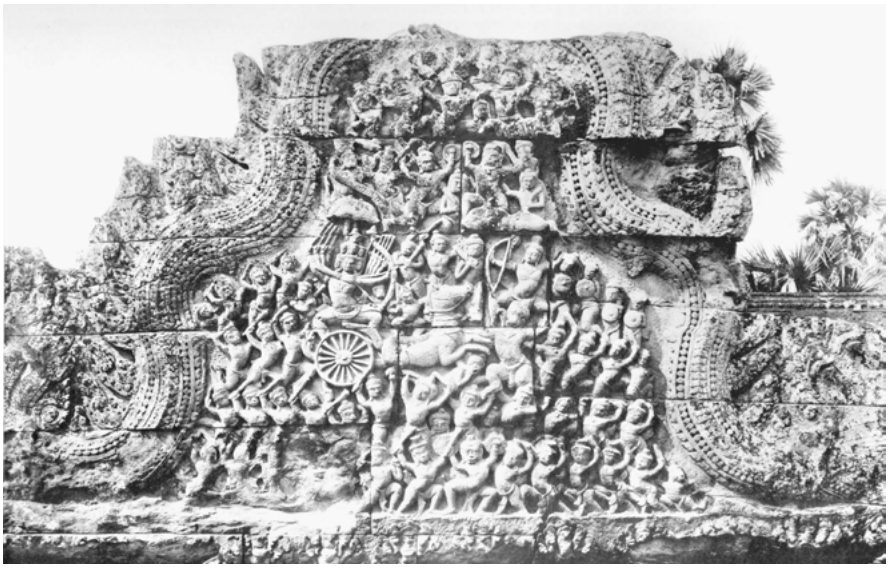
Figure Intro.10 The inner section of Angkor Wat, as seen from the northwestern corner, photographed by Jaroslav Poncar in 2002 (Source: © Jaroslav Poncar)

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**).

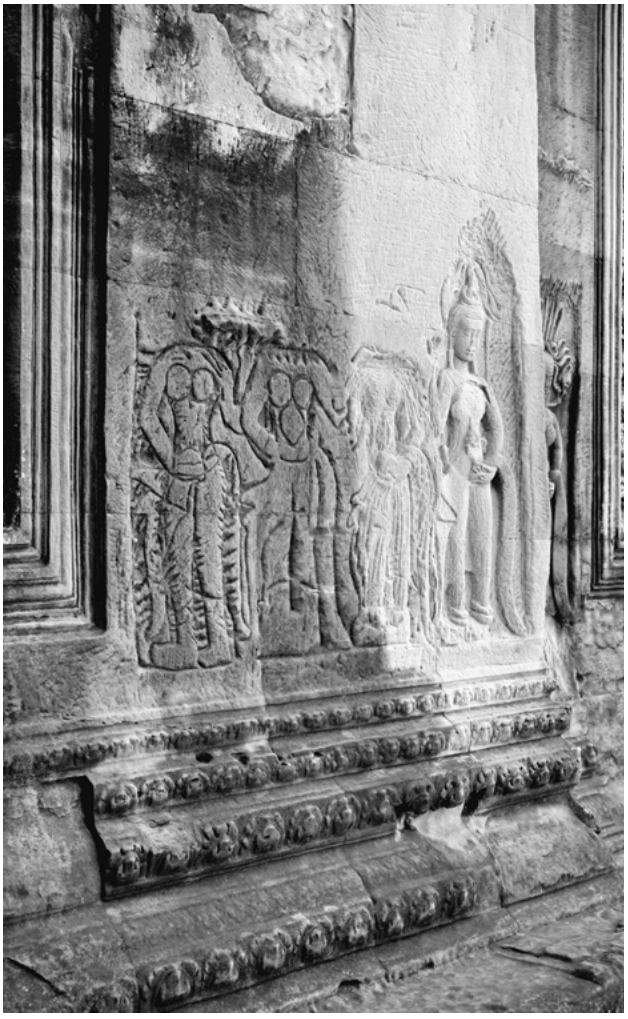
While the architectural setting is without a doubt 'spectacular', the decoration of the temple is no less famous: besides the elaborate pediment fields and inner walls decorated in the classical-Angkorian style of floral patterns and depictions of mythical and Hindu-religious scenes (**Fig. Intro.13a**, 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 discoursive 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

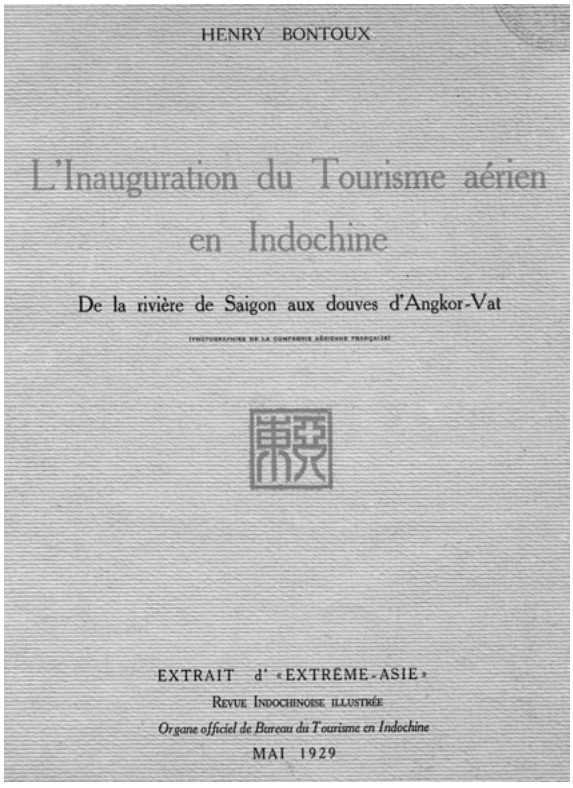
What was it that Angkor Wat afforded to the French before and after 1900? And which specific (cultural, aesthetic, political, normative) French preconfigurations enabled colonial and metropolitan France to enter into a specific relationship with the twelfth-century temple complex? In order to engage 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.

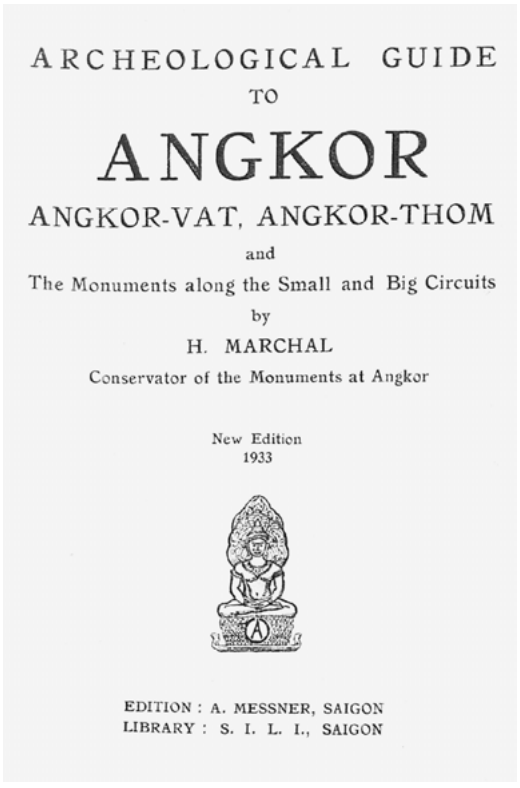
After the formative years of French scientific literature about Angkor between the 1850s and 1900 (with Mouhot 1863, 1864, 1868 and Delaporte 1880 to Fournereau 1890), we can see an explosion of more systematic engagement in the wake of the so-called 'retrocession' of 1907 of Cambodia's northwestern 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.

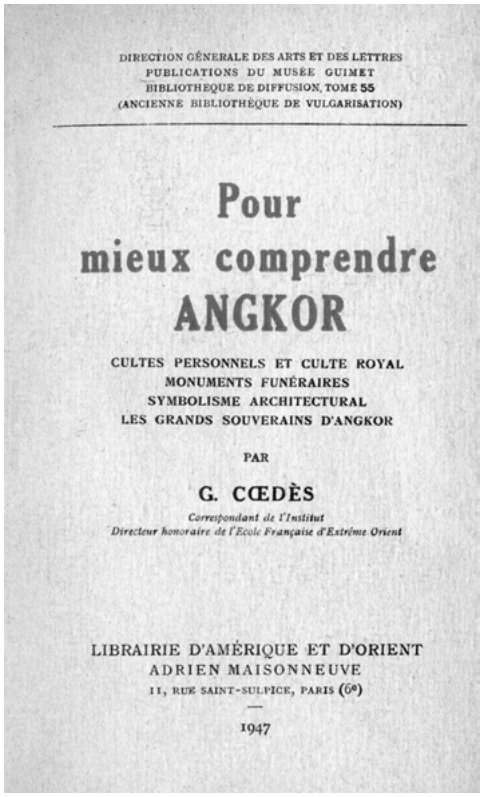
A first consolidation of the scientific knowledge about Angkor can be located around 1930: for our investigation, the three-volume project *Le temple d'Angkor Vat* between 1929 and 1932 about the temple's architecture (EFEO 1929), ornamental sculpture (EFEO 1930) and bas-relief galleries (EFEO 1932), 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: Boutoux 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 compatriots[9] 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 appointed 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 Commaille, 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 Revèron, 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:

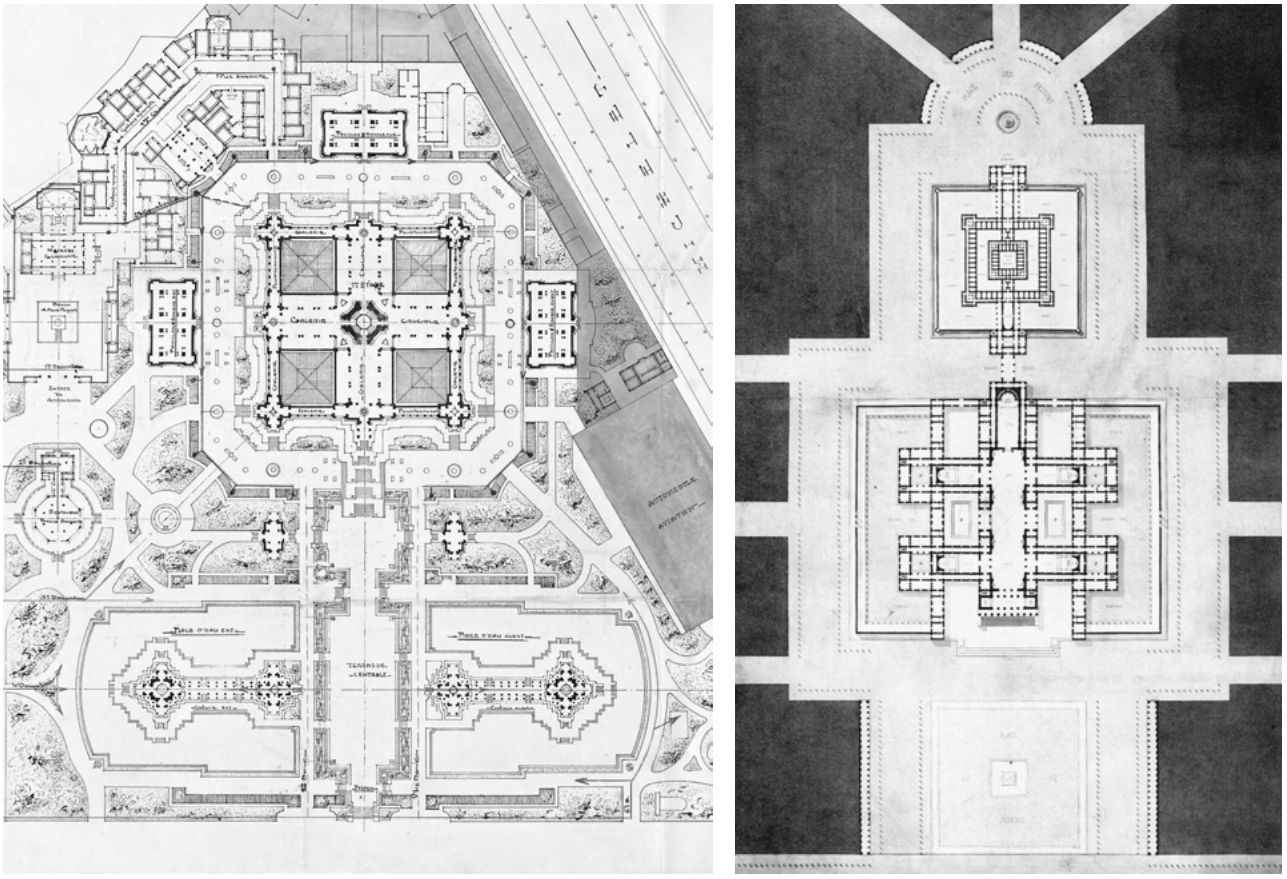
> It is evident that the plan of Angkor Wat, realised by a Khmer architect, bears witness to a *perfect knowledge of the laws of perspective and the presentation of the ensemble*. Furthermore, the plan is very simple, a quality that necessitates long apprenticeship and conceptual confidence. *The temple 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" (Gromort 1924, 1) was considered an element of the nineteenth century.

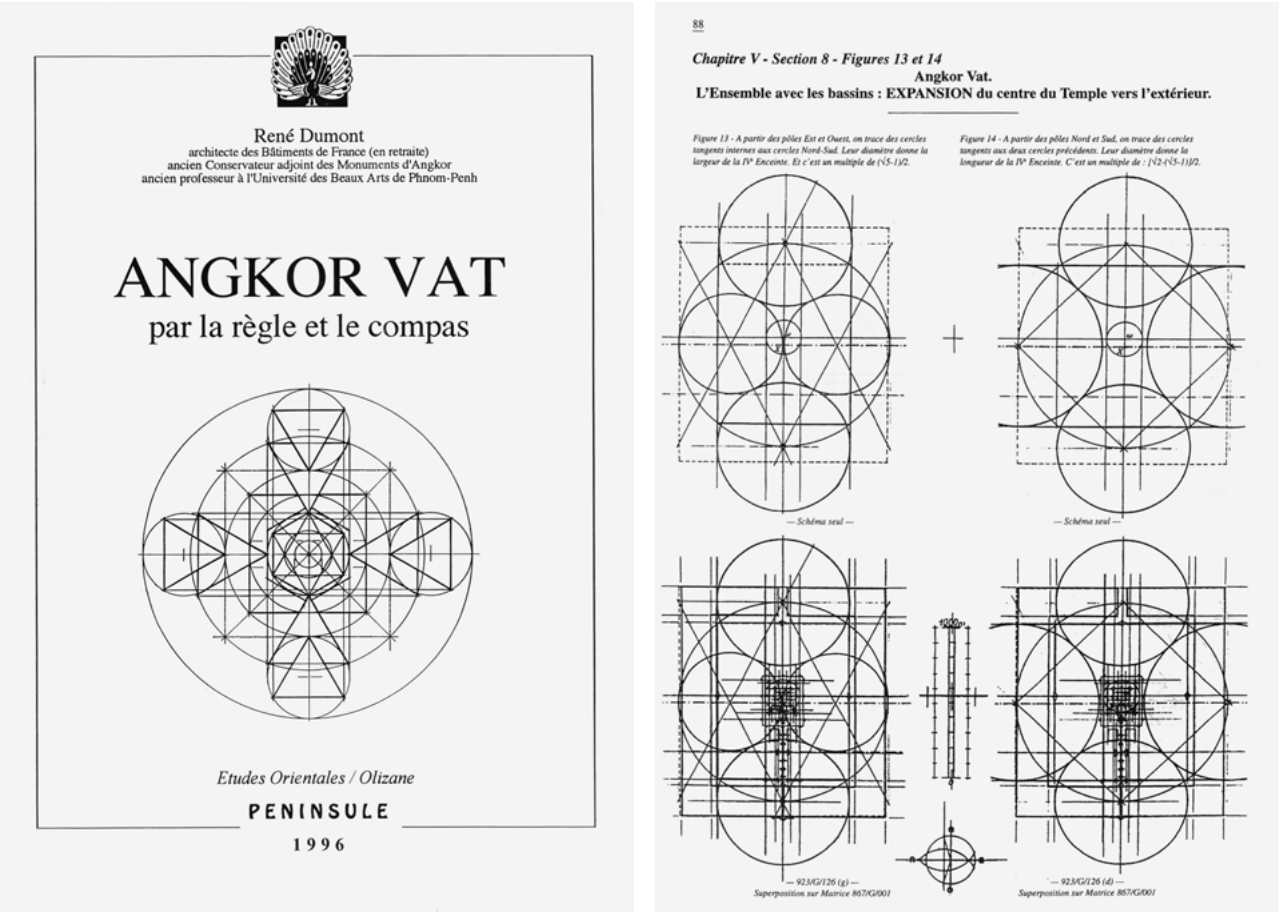
Nevertheless, this architectural affordance quality – and indeed actionable capacity – of Angkor Wat in the French-colonial context would be 'back-translated' (see both terms below) to independent Cambodia when King Sihanouk's state architect Vann Molyvann – himself the first Cambodian to pass an *École-des-Beaux-Arts* 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 compass* 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 underlying 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 term[17]) 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 Indochinese 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 compass* 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 Chevreüil, 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

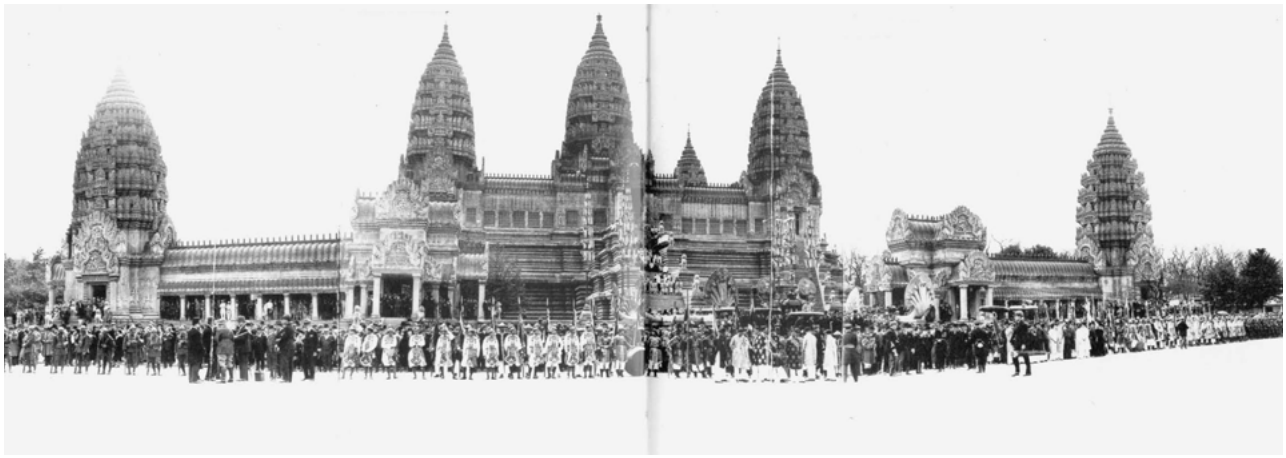


Figure Intro.18 Procession during the opening of the 1931 International Colonial Exhibition in Paris, as depicted in Figure Intro.1 (Source: Borgé-Visnoff 1995, 184)

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), Przyluski'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 dedicated 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 Commaille, 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 territory[21] (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 orginals" 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 treaties 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".

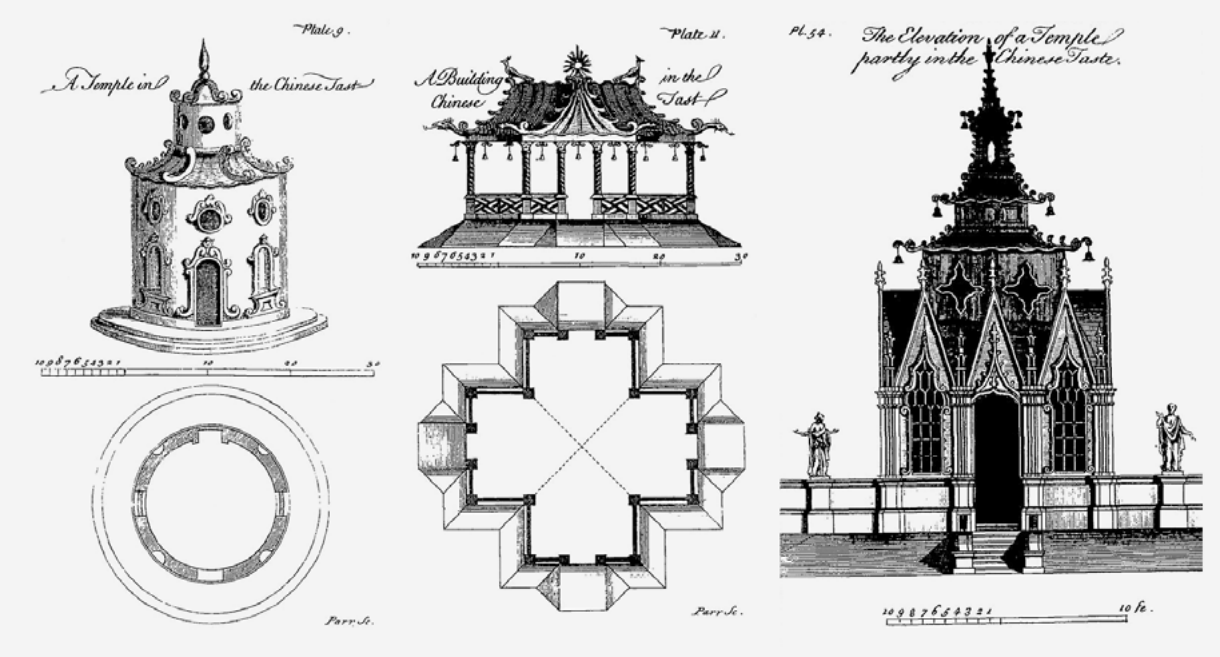


Figure Intro.20 'Oriental' architecture in William Halfpenny's 1752 *Rural architecture in the Chinese taste being designs entirely new for the decoration of gardens, parks, forests, insides of houses etc.* (Source: Halfpenny 1752, plates 9, 11, 54)

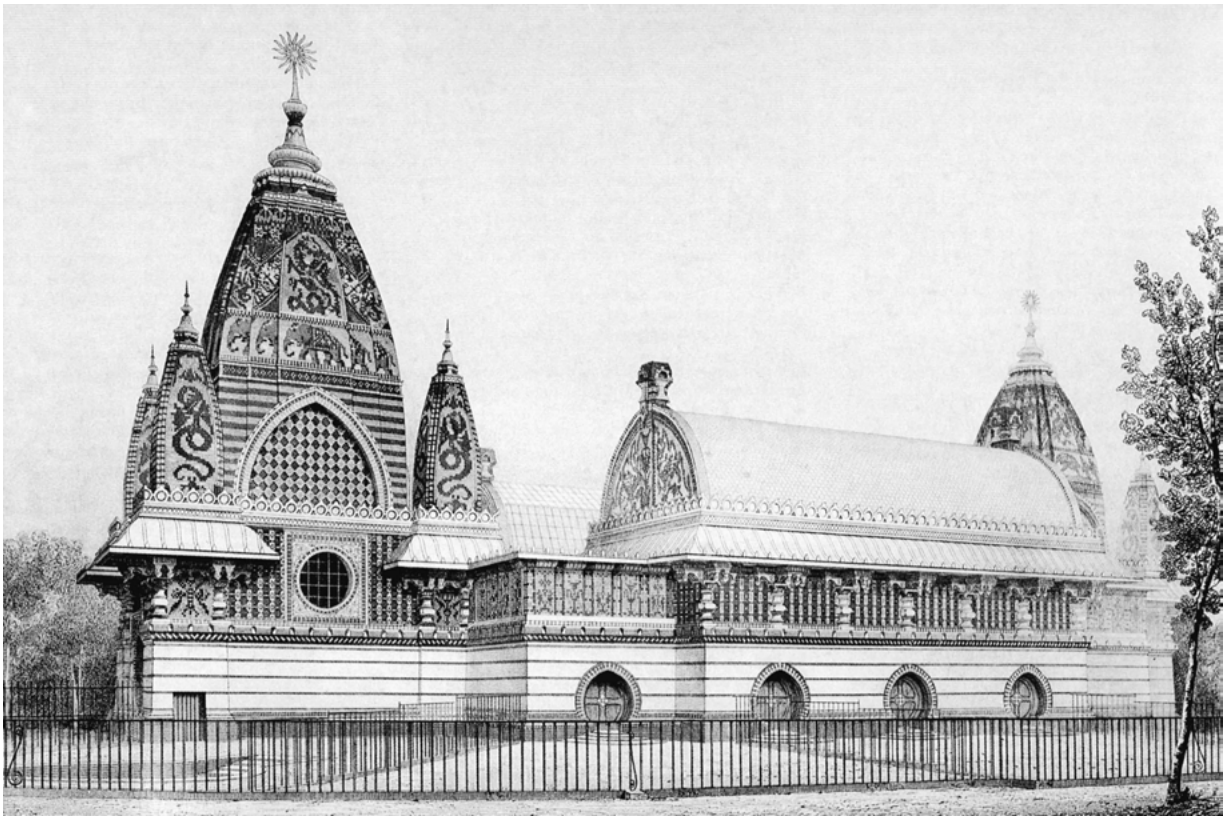


Figure Intro.21 The *Elefantenhaus* in the Zoological Garden in Berlin, in an 1873 drawing by the architects Hermann Ende and Wilhelm Böckmann (Source: Koppelmann 1987b, 179)

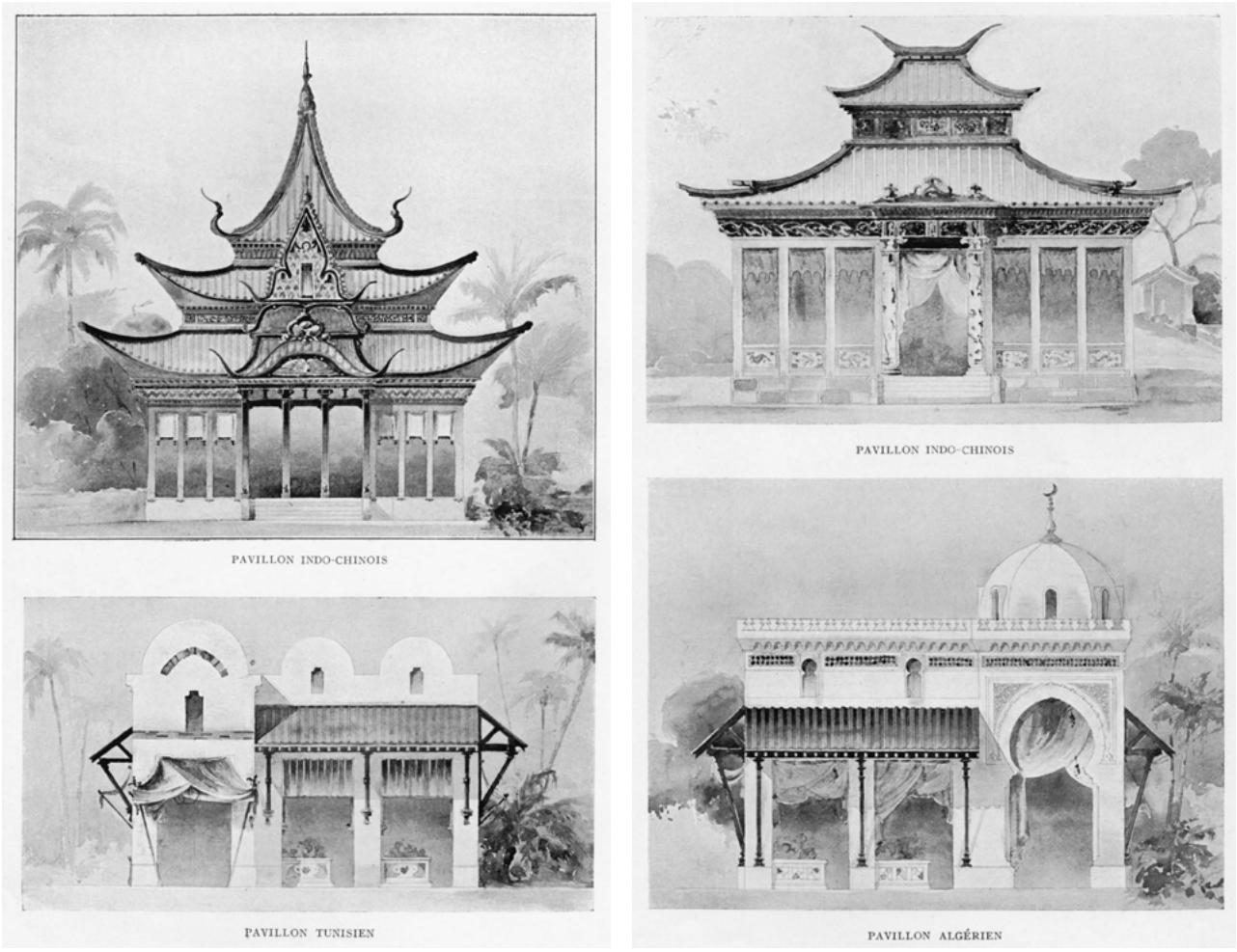
tions between London and Paris visualised the grand narratives of the leading (English or French) nations under the paradigms of culture, progress, humanity, and universalism. This came with the strategy to classify the entire world civilisation into hierarchising taxonomies along Eurocentric standards. 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" (Beautheac/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-Elysées* 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 *patrimoine 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'oeil", 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, anastylosis 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).

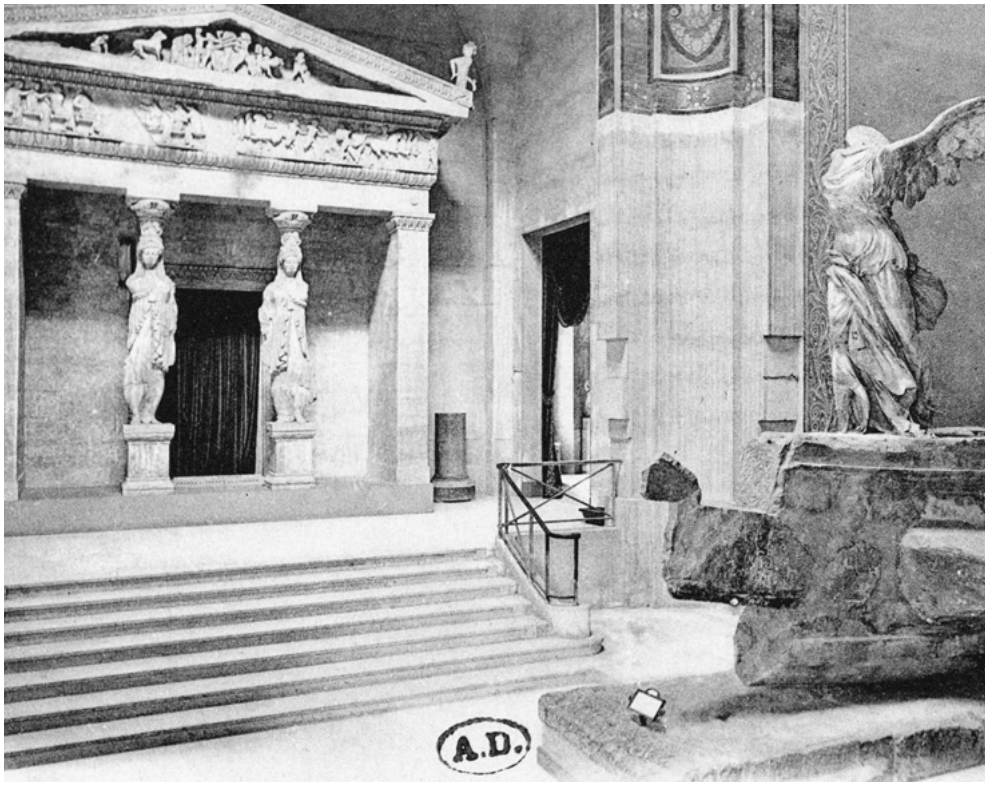


Figure Intro.24 A postcard of the Louvre with the *Le façade du Trésor des Cnidiens* as plaster cast reconstitution (left) with the famous *Victoire de Samothrace* as original fragment (right) (Source: © musée des Arts décoratifs, collection Maciet)

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)

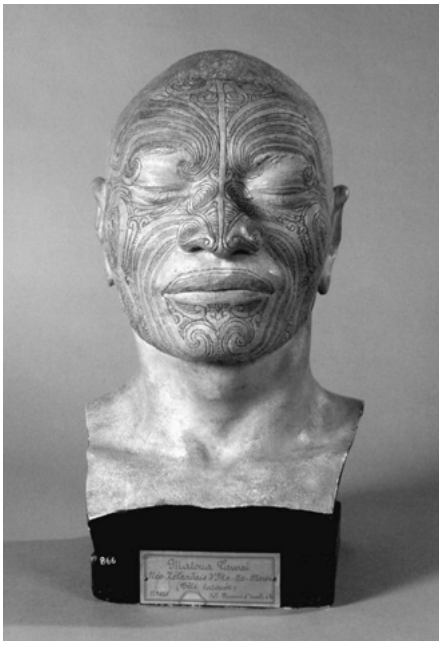


Figure Intro.25b A plaster cast by Alexandre Pierre Marie Dumoutier (*moulage sur nature*) of a head of Matua Tawai, a New Zealander of Ikanamawi (1838) (Source: © musée de l'Homme, laboratoire d'anthropologie, Paris)

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 colonialised '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 decade[30] 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 *trans*lation to architectural *trans*fer and *trans*cultural 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 audience[31] 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" translations[32] – 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-cultured 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 cultural*), which was also 'constructed' using similar strategies 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 transcultural 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 mission, 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 elements[38] 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 being 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 abovementioned 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" (Naranjana 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 appositional) 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 'socialist' 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 espaces 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).

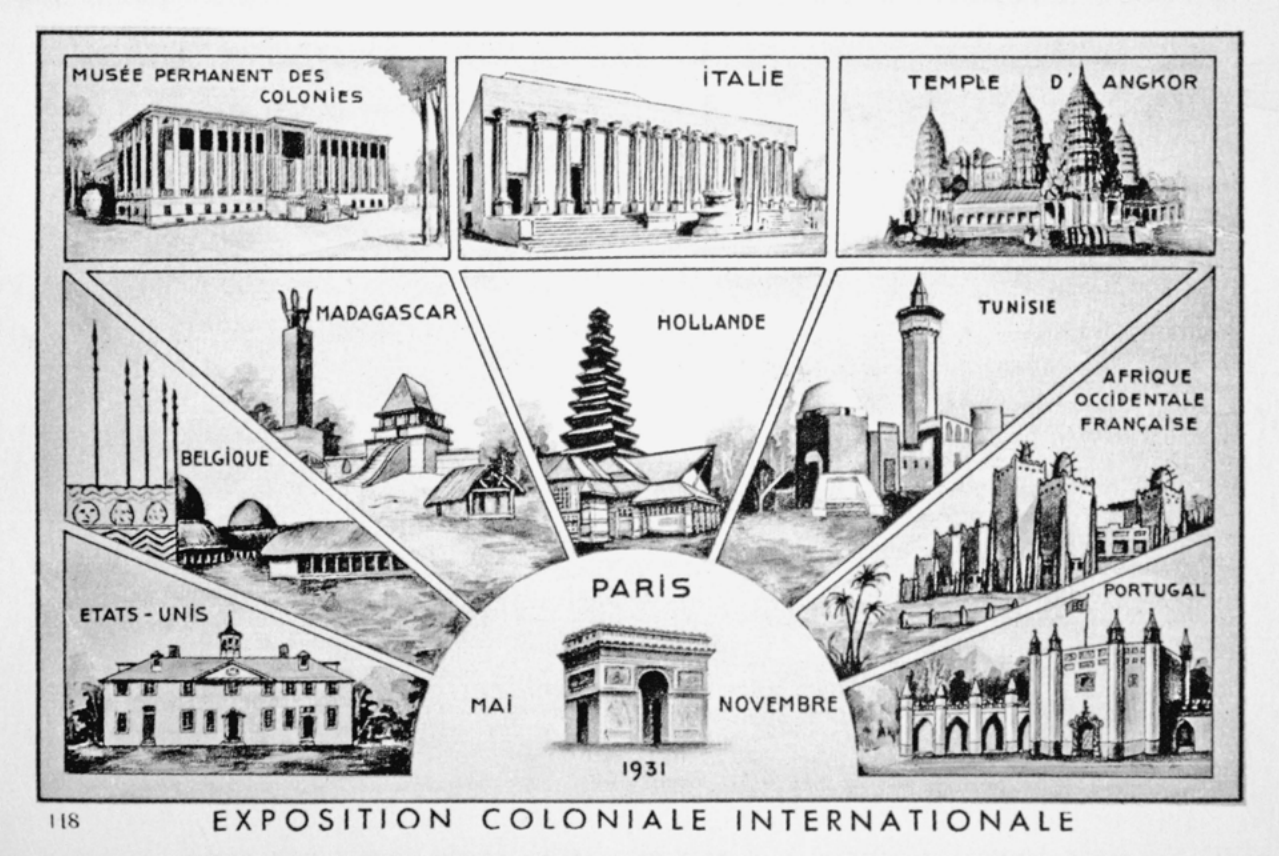


Figure Intro.28 A postcard about the 1931 International Colonial Exhibition in Paris with its various colonial heritage icons, radiating from the *Arc de Triomphe* of the French capital (Source: © Archives nationales d'outre-mer ANOM, Aix-en-Provence)

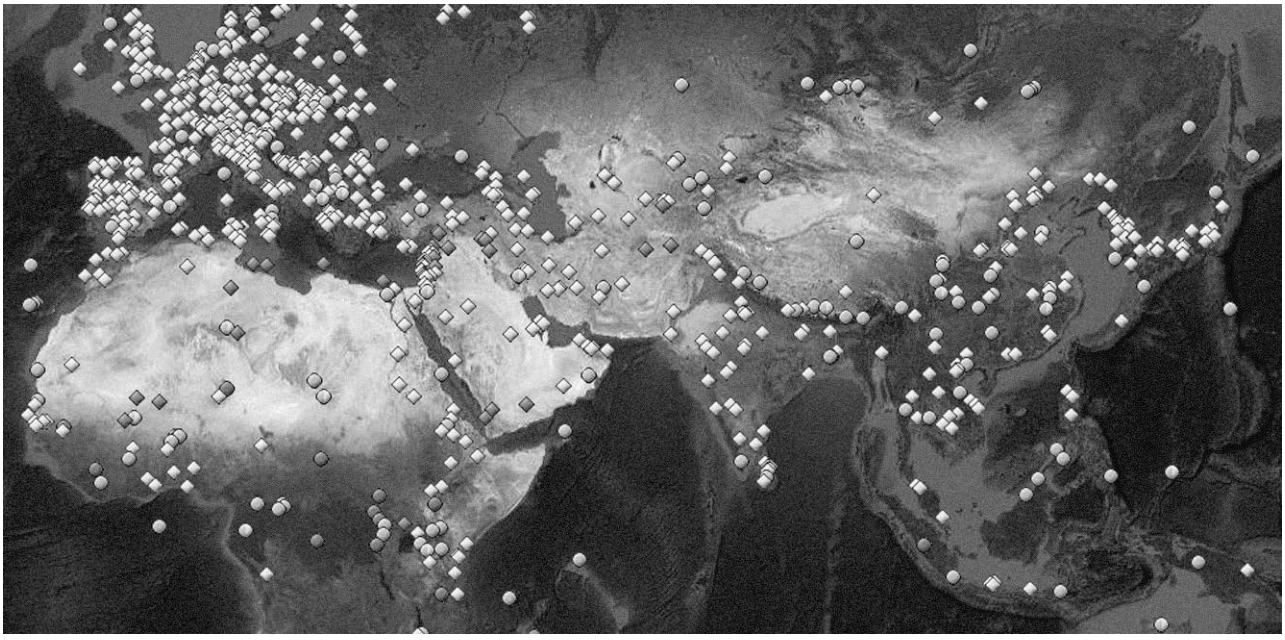


Figure Intro.29 Screenshot from the online map of all inscribed sites of UNESCO's World Heritage List in September 2018, section between Europe and Southeast Asia (including Angkor in the lower right section) (Source: © UNESCO Paris)

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 delimitated 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 hiéarchisées 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).

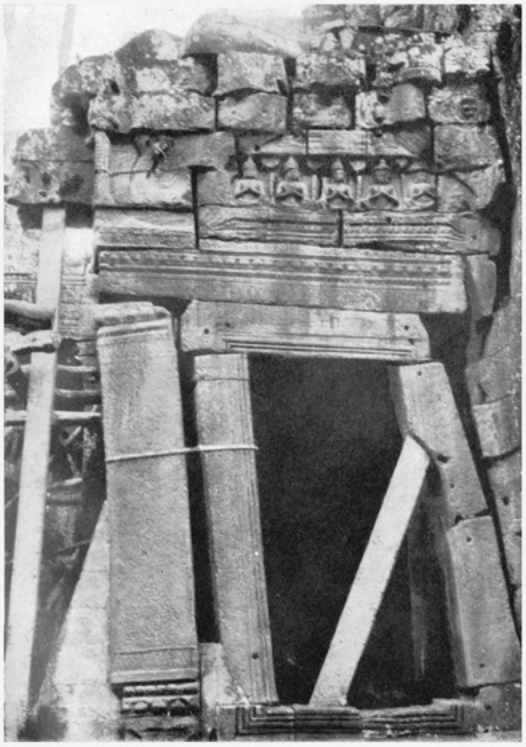


Fig. 16. — Ancienne méthode de travail, Consolidation par étais et liens

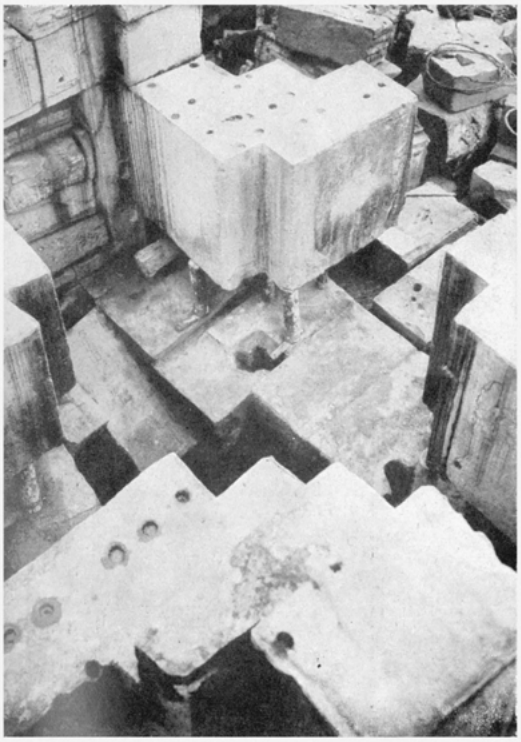
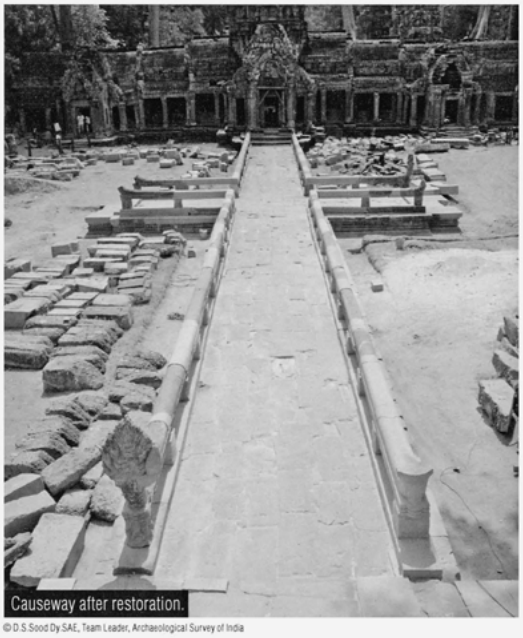


Fig. 17. — Nouvelle méthode de travail, reconstruction par anastylose



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 becomes 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 *imagineered 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* redirected a Western-centric take on theme parks towards "global cultural entanglements" within the Euro-Asian contact zone[57] 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 "imagineered 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).

Lost in Translation? The Mekong Mission of 1866 and the Plaster Casts from Angkor at the Parisian Universal Exhibition of 1867

1. Mouhot's civilising vision from Angkor Wat's central passageway

> The pagoda of Angkor Wat and the ruins of Angkor Thom were not rediscovered by Mouhot, as one says. And there is a simple reason for this: they had never been forgotten nor lost. (Bouillevaux 1874, 131)

There were, of course, many accounts of the glorious temples of Angkor before direct French-colonial impact on Indochina. These included the famous report of the Chinese delegate Zhou Daguan from around 1300 (rediscovered in Abel-Rémusat 1819; compare Philpotts 1996, Smithies 2001), accounts from the post-Angkorian period (see especially Vickery 1977), Portuguese reports from 1600 onwards (Groslier 1958), a first plan of Angkor Wat made by a Japanese visitor in the 1630s (Peri 1923; compare Pl. IX.1), accounts from Cambodia as a tributary kingdom under Siamese domination until the mid-1860s (see especially Chandler 1973, 1976a, 1983; compare the epilogue to this volume), and reports from random, short European visits up to 1850, such as that of the French missionary Charles-Émile Bouillevaux (Bouillevaux 1858, 1874, 1879; see the introductory quote above).

However, it was the report based on the 1860 visit of the French amateur naturalist and anthropologically inclined explorer Henri Mouhot that was propagated by French historiography as proof that a French citizen was the first to 'discover Angkor'. Mouhot's report became a far-reaching, strategically exploited document telling Europe about Angkor and "using Angkor to popularise the French presence within Indochina in the Metropolitan opinion" (Dagens 2005a, 279). Ironically, especially as regards the extreme pride France later took in Angkor, Mouhot had spent many years of his early life in Russia, and his travels to the Upper Cambodian temples of Angkor (which from 1794 to 1907 was part of British-influenced Siam) and to the Laotian border zone were, after many fruitless petitions to uninterested French ministries, originally commissioned (but not financed) by London's Royal Geographic Society.[1] The colonial-expansionist movement towards Southern China via the Mekong River first gained momentum with the British in India and Burma to the southwest and with the French in Cochinchina, a region including Saigon in the southeast of the Indochinese Peninsula. Mouhot's report on his three-week stay at Angkor in January 1860 was first published in French in the popular *Tour du Monde* in 1863, in revised form in English in 1864 under the monograph title *Travels in the central parts of Indochina*, and re-edited in French in 1868.[2] Finally, it was republished in both languages in 1989 as Cambodia was on its way to being 'reborn' as the youngest Asian nation-state under UN supervision and French leadership, and as the myth of Angkor entered a new stage of a global commodification through cultural heritage politics (see chapters XI and XII in the second volume of this book).

Overlooking for the moment the interesting variations in the different publications, the significance for this study lies in the fact that French-colonial propaganda and the mass media did not simply posthumously make Mouhot (who died in Laos near Luang Prabang on 10 November 1861) into the 'discoverer of Angkor' and a compatriot and hero; it is even more important and often overlooked that Mouhot himself formulated his architectural hymn to Angkor using a unique blend of a French colonialist and missionary rhetoric:

> Ongcor […] one is filled with profound admiration, and cannot but ask what has become of this powerful race so civilised, so enlightened, the authors of these gigantic works? One of these temples [Ongcor Wat] – a rival to that of Solomon, and erected by some ancient [*Oriental*, in Mouhot 1863, 299] Michel Angelo – might take an honourable place beside our most beautiful buildings. It is grander than anything left to us by Greece or Rome, and presents a sad contrast to the state of barbarism in which this [Cambodian] nation is now plunged. […] European conquest, abolition of slavery, wise and protecting

1 On the detailed context of Mouhot's involvement in the British interest in Cambodia and his private initiative, see Pym 1966, xi–xxii. His maps of Cambodia and the greater Angkor regions were never published and are until today stored at the archive of the Geographic Society in London (see chapter IX).

2 A new comment was published by Chovelon 2001.

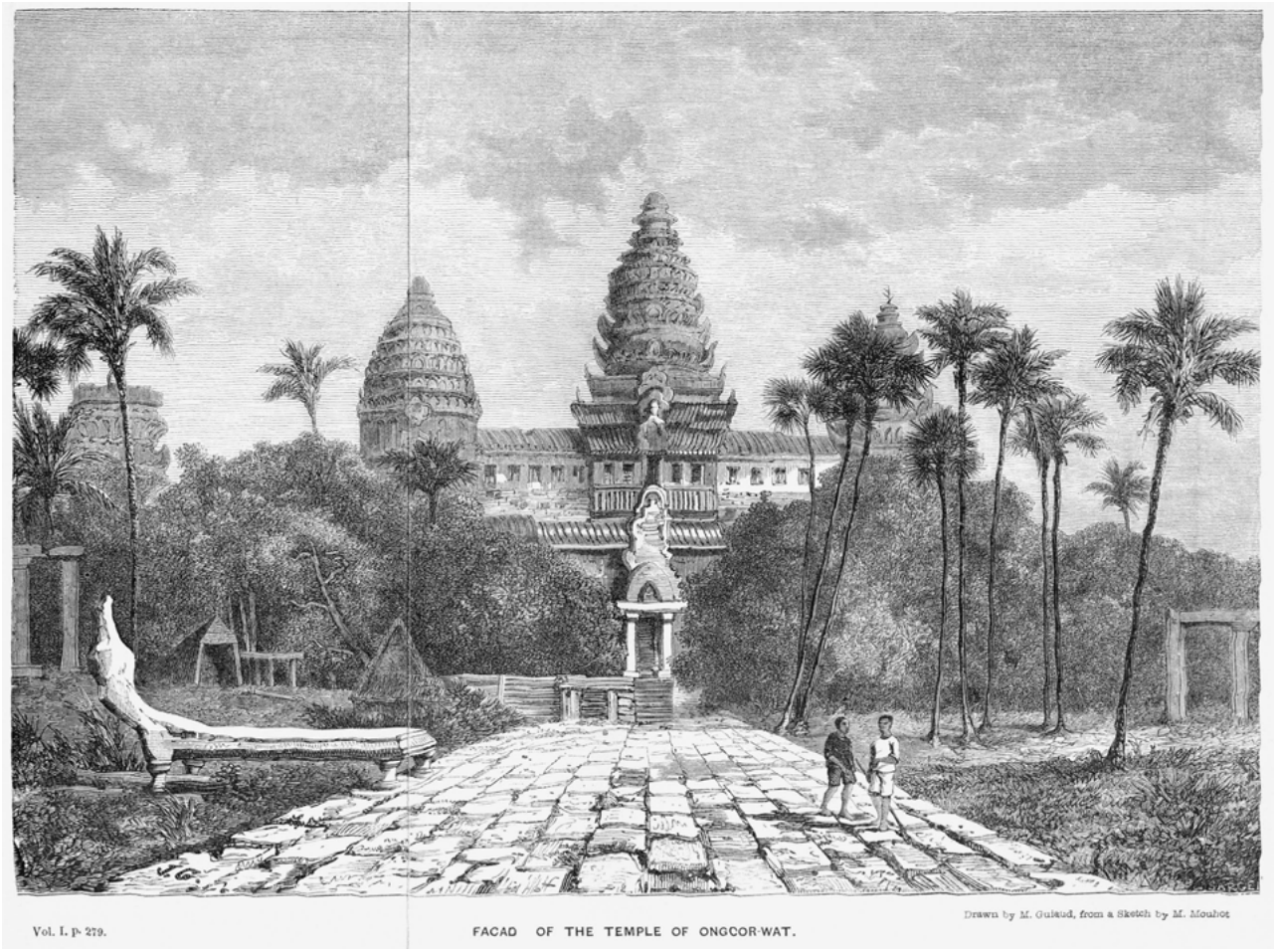


Figure I.1a Angkor Wat's central passageway in Mouhot's 1864 publication *Travels in the central parts of Indochina* (Source: Mouhot 1864, between 278 and 279)

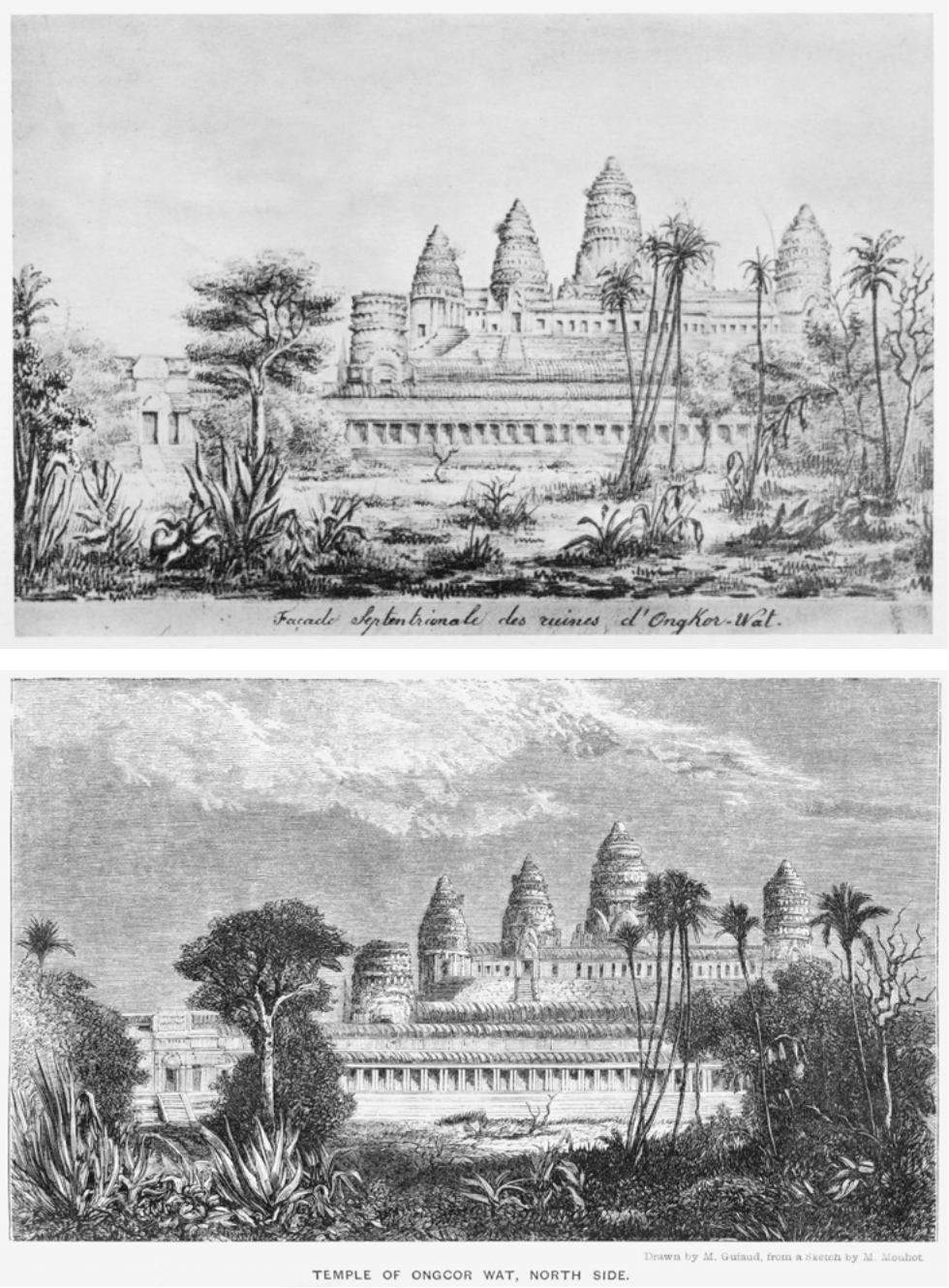
> laws, and experience, fidelity, and scrupulous rectitude to those who administer them, alone would bring the *regeneration* of this state. It lies near to Cochin China, the subjection of which France is now aiming, and in which she will doubtless succeed: under her sway it will become a land of plenty. I wish her to possess this land [of Angkor], which would add a magnificent jewel to her crown. […] *The temple of Ongcor [Wat] is the most beautiful and best preserved of all the remains, and is also the first which presents itself to the eye of the traveller* […] *Suddenly* [while standing in the passageway of Angkor Wat, MF]*, and as if by enchantment, he seems to be transported from barbarism to civilisation, from profound darkness to light.* [italics MF] (Mouhot 1864, 275, 277–79, 282)

In this description of the view from Angkor Wat's central passageway towards its central and elevated towers (**Fig. I.1a**), Mouhot's aesthetic and moral notion of transformation from "barbarism to civilisation, from profound darkness to light" – or as he described it in the earlier 1863 French version "On se croit transporté de la barbarie à la civilisation, des profondes ténèbres à la lumière" (Mouhot 1863, 298) – results in his call for French-colonial action in favour of the "regeneration" of Cambodia as a "nation", the present degenerate status of which had become visible in the supposedly decayed condition of what had been its previous architectural *grandeur* (**Fig. I.1b,c**).

Mouhot's 1863 French version was appropriated only a few months later to serve Francis Garnier's more political colonial-expansionist imperative to penetrate onto "barbarian soil":

> Above others, considering the question [of colonial conquest] from a higher viewpoint, should a country like France, when she puts her feet on an alien and barbarian soil, limit and content herself with the mere goal and motivation of the extension of her commerce? *This generous nation, whose opinion reigns [over] the whole of civilised Europe and whose ideas have conquered the world, has received by Providence a much higher mission: a mission for the emancipation and the call to light and liberty of these races and people which are still enslaved by*

1. Mouhot's civilising vision from Angkor Wat's central passageway



Figures I.1b,c The north side of Angkor Wat's central massif, in Mouhot's original sketch (above) and in his 1864 publication (below) (Source: Pym 1996, Pl. VIII and Mouhot 1864, 288)

ignorance and despotism. Should France turn out *the flame of civilisation in her hands* as regards the profound darkness of Annam? […] Should it turn away from the most beautiful part of her œuvre? […] Cochinchine […] a new empire of the East Indies [*Indes-Orientales*] emerges in the shadow of our national pavilion. [italics MF] (Garnier 1864, 44, 45)

Educated in the naval college at Brest and in 1863 made *inspecteur des Affaires indigènes* in Saigon's twin city, Cholon, in the French colony of Cochinchina, Garnier was one of the first leading political figures to formulate a version of the French *mission civilisatrice* in Indochina. He saw this mission as establishing a French "East Indies" that would compensate for the loss of French possessions of Canada

and India to Great Britain (Osborne 1995, compare Lacouture 2005); he died on a military mission to Hanoi in 1873 defending this vision. Although this first French expansionist movement into Indochina was propagated to a certain extent by the hesitant central French government of the Second Empire (1852–70), the leading advocates for expansion were single admirals and officers in the French navy who were developing a militant doctrine of colonisation, and members of the geographical movement around the *Société de la géographie*, which had been based in Paris since 1821. Its supporters ranged from the Marquis de Chasseloup-Laubat, *ministre de la Marine*, to Vice-Admiral Bonard, *gouverneur commandant* in Cochinchina, who had negotiated a treaty for a French protectorate over lower Cambodia with the newly ruling King Norodom. In 1862 Bonard had already undertaken a journey to Angkor on Siamese territory. In his 1863 report in the *Revue maritime et coloniale*, he used his observations to argue for the restoration of decayed Cambodian architecture as a monument to the *grand empire* in the service of French expansionist intentions (Bonard 1863; compare Dagens 2008, Klein 2013).

However, the specific dual character of the French colonial mission a) to propagate and (re)introduce civilisation to Indochina on a universal scale, and b) to position the French modern nation as the re-discoverer, protector, and ultimately, the inheritor and continuer of the far-distant and extinct high civilisation of Angkor, has its roots in a specifically French context (Falser 2015a[3]). Very generally speaking, *civilisation* (singular!) emerged, most probably during the eighteenth century, as a distinctive term to "connote the [constitutional, political, administrative, moral, religious, and intellectual] triumph and development of reason" and to "capture the essence of French achievements compared to the uncivilised world of savages, slaves, and barbarians" (Conklin 1997, 14, compare Costantini 2008). The French Revolution and the Declaration of the Human Rights triggered an intended institutionalisation of apparently universal principles and contributed to the self-conception of France as a *grande nation* and a superior civilisation made up of the "foremost people of the universe" both at home and as an empire abroad. This made the term *civilisation* appear to signify a universal vision and fostered concrete desire for an active mission. France's first post-revolutionary colonial enterprise was Napoleon's political and cultural crusade to Egypt in 1799.

> The inclusion of a 'scientific task force' clearly distinguished the Egyptian expedition from the plans for civilising savages that colonial administrators had begun to elaborate before the Revolution. Napoleon transformed what was latent in Enlightenment discourse into a blueprint for cultural change […] On the banks of the Nile, then, the idea, if not the term, of a special French mission to civilise had been born with the Republic. The word 'civilisation' also appears to have acquired many of the overtones that would be associated with the term *mission civilisatrice* – that is, the inculcation of new needs and wants, and the spread of French institutions and values deemed to be universally valid […] To an important degree, Napoleon's decision to bring all of French civilisation to Egypt was determined by the view that he and his contemporaries held of the country as the original cradle of *les lumières* […] Napoleon's characterisation of his campaign was one designed *to bring civilisation back to its origins*. [italics MF] (Conklin 1997, 18–19)

In a differently embedded transfer situation, bringing civilisation back from civilised Europe at least to where it once equally blossomed seemed to have been realised in Cambodia one hundred years after Napoleon's project in Egypt: now, the archaeological resurrection, architectural preservation, technological and aesthetic mastery, and touristic propagation of Angkor through the efforts of a *mise en valeur* became the central cultural-political task of the French in 'their' Indochina after the temples had been 'retroceeded' from Siam in 1907.[4] In a Far East version of Napoleon's crusade to co-opt Egypt's antiquity, Garnier convinced the governor of the colony, admiral de la Grandière, the co-negotiator of the French-Cambodian Treaty, of the expansionist and commercial importance of the Mekong River to the Southern Chinese province of Yunnan. At this time, de Lagrée had (as we shall see in the following analysis) already undertaken preliminary archaeological investigations at the Angkorian temple sites located just a few kilometres north on Siamese territory in order to anticipate France's political claim on the region. In the meantime G. le Mesle had already formulated his wish, in the August 1866-issue of the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, to "explore the immense temple of Ang-Kor [sic]" and to "send to France some important fragments of this architecture […] worth to be on display next to the *souvenirs* from Ninive and Thebes" (Le Mesle 1866, 139).

3 A more detailed discussion about the French notion of a *mission civilisatrice* in particular, and the nexus to cultural heritage (from colonial and globalised times), was discussed in the book *Cultural heritage as civilizing mission. From decay to recovery* (Falser 2015a–c).

4 This dramatic episode will be discussed in detail in the first section of chapter VI.

2. Footnote 2 on page 48, or: The explorative mission to the Mekong River (1866–68)[5]

> Des moulages en soufre de ces bas-reliefs ont été envoyés par le commandant de Lagrée à l'exposition universelle de 1967, et figurent aujourd'hui à l'exposition permanente des colonies (Palais de l'Industrie, pavillon XIV). Ils permettent de juger des dimensions et du relief de ce genre de sculpture. (Garnier 1873, Vol. I, 48)

The quite unspectacular footnote cited above gives us an important indication of how the first casts of the temple of Angkor Wat appeared on the European (French) stage.[6] These casts mark the beginning of the astonishing 'career' of the physical representations of Angkorian temple architecture in France, which began quietly during the 1867 Universal Exhibition in Paris and reached, as we shall see in the following chapters, its peak with the *musée Indo-chinois* in the Parisian Trocadero Palace (1880s to 1925/37) and with the colonial exhibitions in Marseille (1906, 1922) and Paris (1931). It ended exactly seventy years later during the Parisian International Exhibition in 1937 with the small and, again, 'silent' reconstitution of an Angkorian-style pavilion in the middle of the Seine River at a moment when the French-colonial project found itself in deep crisis.

This annotation was a three-line footnote (#2) that appeared in the six-hundred-page first volume (*Partie descriptive, historique et politique*) of the publication entitled *Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine* on page 48, paragraph 3 of *Angcor Wat* within Section IV (*Description du groupe de ruines d'Angcor*). After being circulated between 1871 and 1873 in different chapters inside the famous *Le Tour du Monde: Nouveau journal des voyages* (Garnier 1871–73), the book was only published in 1873 (due to the Franco–German War of 1871, as reported by different sources) under the aegis of the admiralty of the ministers Admiral Rigault de Genouilly and later Vice-Admiral Pothuau.

The Marquis de Chasseloup-Laubat, minister of the French navy under Napoleon III and president of the Parisian *Société de géographie*, announced this mission to Indochina in 1865, and it was led by the commander (*capitaine de frégate*) Ernest Doudart de Lagrée (1823–68). On 11 August 1863 de Lagrée acted as the crucial mediator between the Cambodian king, Norodom I, and the French in the neighbouring French colony of *Cochinchine* concerning the installation of the French protectorate of Cambodia. However, no word about the northern Siamese provinces of Angkor and Battambang was made in the treaty. Participants in de Lagrée's mission included Francis Garnier, lieutenant, inspector of indigenous affairs, member of the agricultural and industrial committee of Cochinchina, and the author responsible for the book's 1873 publication after de Lagrée's sudden death during the mission in 1868; Louis (Marie Joseph) Delaporte, *enseigne de vaisseau* and draughtsman for the publication; the two medical doctors Eugène Joubert (also geologist for the mission) and Clovis Thorel (also botanist for the mission); Louis-Marie de Carné, attaché of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the two interpreters Séguin and Alexis Om; and finally thirteen other participants who were responsible for the functioning and security of the mission (Garnier 1873/I, 11; *Revue maritime et coloniale* 17/1866, 252; Julien 1886, 219–21; compare Gomane 1994).

The mission's aims, according to Pierre de la Grandière, the governor of Cochinchina, in his instructions on 25 May 1865 in Saigon, were (a) to explore the Mekong River, particularly the fairly unknown borderland between Cochinchina and Laos, the navigability of which was intended to guarantee the political and commercial penetration of the French from their Indochinese colony into the Southern Chinese province of Yunnan, and (b) to collect political and commercial, geological and botanical, astronomical and meteorological, anthropological and ethnological, and, finally, historical and cultural information on the region (Garnier 1873/I, 14–20) (**Pl. I.1**).[7] As a consequence, the visit to the temples of Angkor – at this time on foreign land located just a few kilometres north, across the French-Siamese borderline over the *Tonlé Sap* Lake – was a short side trip of a few days, albeit one that would be extremely relevant in the years and decades to come. Besides a larger map of the official itinerary within the closer Indochinese area into China, a close-up map charted the mission's visit to Angkor (**Pl. I.2**). As Villemereuil quoted in his 1883 collection of de Lagrée's reports, the latter had established a quite overburdensome work schedule for the mission's stay at Angkor:

5 Elements of the following paragraphs were published by the author in the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* (Falser 2014).

6 Parts of these findings, along with results from the research about the 1867 Universal Exhibition and the first *musée Khmer* have been published in Falser 2014c.

7 Also, the first *commandant en chef* and *premier gouverneur-amiral de la Cochinchine*, Louis Adolphe Bonard, had discussed the position of Angkor on a first sketch map in relation to the commercial and strategic importance of the Mekong River (Bonard 1863).

> 1. Make a plan of the town and determine the buildings to be studied in detail; 2. Copy, *without exception* [sic], all ancient inscriptions by noting their finding places; 3. Represent in plans, sections and elevations the principle buildings, by retracing, *as detailed as possible* [sic], the smallest details; 3. Mould the bas-reliefs which make not to great difficulties […]; 5. Observe with attention all signs which could indicate either the absolute or the relative age of each monument; 6. Study the general mode of the construction and, in particular, these of bridges, arches and roads; study the mechanical means being employed, how had the foundations been made, the coloration of the buildings, gildings, platings; 8. [sic] [Study] the distribution of the buildings, the orientation of their different parts, research the traces of habitations [*habitations particulières*], and, if needed, opening some forest aisles; 9. Researching the provenance of diverse building materials; if possible, finding the ancient quarries. (Villemereuil 1883, 464; compare Dagens 1989, 143–44)

Inside the 1873 publication with its three volumes containing more than 1,000 written text pages, 250 illustrations, 70 plates, and various maps and architectural plans (it was Napoleon III's small-scale Indochinese version of the giant publication made of Napoleon Bonaparte's crusade to Egypt), the account of the Angkorian temples was quite prominently placed in the arc of suspense created through the scientific description. This placement in the narrative was meant to establish the great myth of Angkor within the French project of Indochina. However, as we shall see later, many details were omitted.

Volume 1 of this 1873 publication presented descriptive, historical, and political information regarding the mission itself, including a list of the different sites visited during the mission (with a fifty-page description of the temples of Angkor) and a general description of different regions, inhabitants, and customs. It closed with a short essay on French-colonial politics in Indochina. Containing more than five hundred pages, volume 2 referred to the scientific observations and special investigations of the different members of the commission: geology and mineralogy by Joubert; anthropology, agriculture, and horticulture by Thorel; and a study of the Indochinese vocabulary by de Lagrée and Garnier. The third part of the whole publication comprised of two sections, the first of which contained maps and architectural plans by Lagrée, Delaporte, and Garnier. The second was a kind of illustrated travel description called *Album pittoresque du voyage d'exploration en Indochine*, which was entirely written by Delaporte and included geographical indications, illustrations, and sketches – among them one of the earliest plans of Angkor Wat after the Mouhot publication of 1864 (see below).

Even if the visit to Angkor was at this point meant only as a side programme for this primarily commercial, political, and geographical mission, its placement at the start of the two-year expedition made its documentation a spectacular and even *natural* opening for the publication in 1873. As Garnier put it in the preface: "Our first visit after we left Saigon was at the magnificent ruins of Angcor [sic] which has in the last few years attracted the attention of the Orientalists, and quite naturally I placed de Lagrée's studies on the Cambodian monuments at the beginning of the book" (Garnier 1873/I, i–ii). After a brief look back at previous geographical discoveries in Indochina in chapter 1, the reader of chapter 2 (*Composition, organisation et ressources de la mission – son départ pour le Cambodge et les ruines d'Angkor*) of the first volume of the publication was introduced to the reasons for this prominent first stop of the mission: Leaving Saigon on 5 June 1866 on gunboats number 32 and 27, the mission spent a two-week preparatory stay in *Campong-Luong* at the Great Lake *Tonlé Sap* waiting for a letter of agreement for the supposedly "scientific and peaceful mission" to come from Chao Phya Bhudhara Bhay, Siam's minister of the north provinces of Siem Reap and Battambang (dating Bangkok 13 June 1866 [see Villemereuil 1883, 120]). On 21 June, the mission boarded a gunboat for the ruins of Angkor across the Cambodian-Siamese border near the northeastern section of the lake. This trip was to provide a "definitive consecration" of de Lagrée's private studies of the temples (Garnier 1873/I, 22), which had been undertaken only a few months before the mission itself (see below). This was the reason, confirmed by Garnier in a footnote at the beginning of chapter 3 (*De Compong-Luong à Angcor Wat – Notions générales sur les monuments cambodgiens ou khmers*), why the fifty-page description of the Angkorian temples in chapter 4 referred entirely to de Lagrée's private notes, which "were rediscovered" after his sudden death during the expedition and only slightly altered and retrospectively augmented with some descriptions and later insights by Garnier (Garnier 1873/I, 23). As a consequence, large parts of the information on Angkor in the first volume of the 1873 publication were not the result of the explorative mission itself. This may apply to the descriptions and impressive drawings by Louis Delaporte in the attached *atlas* section and may also explain the hybrid mix of detailed maps and architectural drawings of the temples on the one hand, and the interpretative, exoticised, and even invented illustrations of a 'forgotten temple ruins forlorn in the jungle'-aesthetic on the other. The illustrative collage was even more complicated: in volume 1 a third type of perspective illustration of Angkor Wat and other temples was 'transcribed' (and again occasionally slightly altered) for the publication as wood engravings made from original photographs taken during the mission by the Saigon photographer Émile Gsell (com-

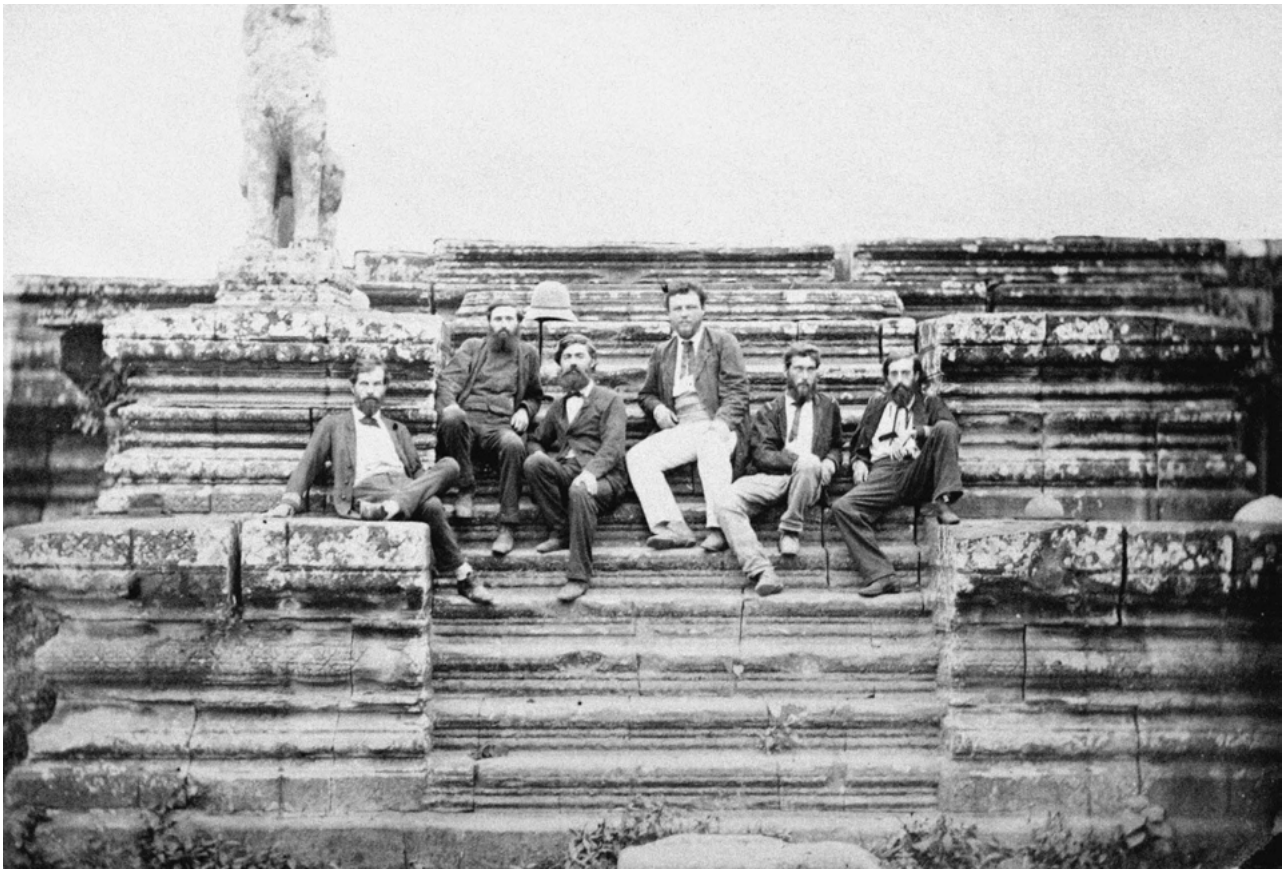


Figure I.2a The main protagonists of the 1866–68 Mekong mission as photographed on the staircase of Angkor Wat by Émile Gsell; from left to right: De Lagrée, de Carné, Thorel, Joubert, Delaporte, Garnier (Source: Gsell 1866, © INHA, Paris)

pare Bautze 2013). These photos survive to this day in an undated photo album called *Vues des ruines d'Angkor Wat et d'Angkor Thom* (Gsell 1866).[8]

After the book had outlined the travel procedures of the mission to the citadel *Siemréap*, as well as its continuation on the horse carts and elephants provided by the Siamese governor, the first map of the publication provided the reader with a *Carte des environs d'Angcor* by de Lagrée and Garnier.[9] Inside this chapter of Garnier's book, there was a section on the main building materials of the temples (including sandstone, brick, and laterite), the main architectural features (walls, vaults, towers, columns, causeways, and terraces), the principal motifs of decoration, and the general disposition of the buildings (gates and cruciform galleries); in addition, the six main protagonists of the mission were shown on a staircase at Angkor Wat after the photography by Gsell (**Fig. I.2a**). An official photograph of Louis Delaporte, our later main protagonist to propagate Angkor in France, was published in her wife's posthumous, *nom de plume* publication (Beauvais 1929) after his death in 1925 (**Fig. I.2b**). Finally, fourteen pages of description (Garnier 1873/I, 44–57) in chapter 4 (*Description du groupe de ruines d'Angcor*) brought the reader, after a short visit to the temples of *Mont Crôm* and *Athvéa* (§1,2), right into the temple of *Angcor Wat* (§3). The schematic overall plan of the temple was provided in a drawing by Laederich, the *premier maître mécanicien de la Marine* (**Fig. I.3**). Few years after Mouhot's first version published in 1863 (**Fig.**

8 This album has no date and place of publication but has survived in the *Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art* (INHA) in Paris. It contains sixty-two photographs on 42×31 cm formatted "albuminated paper" most of which have never been published publicly. Most probably it was intended as a private album for Gsell as indicated by his handwritten note inside the manuscript: "Le souvenir de tant de milliers d'années mortes. Un souvenir de quelques semaines d'amitié bien vivante – qui survivra – 19–20 avril 18xx (Commission d'exploration du Mékong dirigée par Ernest Doudart de Lagrée, Angkor Wat, 1866)."

9 How this map was used for what would decades later be called a *Parc d'Angkor* is discussed in chapter IX.

Figure I.2b Louis Delaporte in official uniform (Source: Beauvais 1929, between 162 and 163)

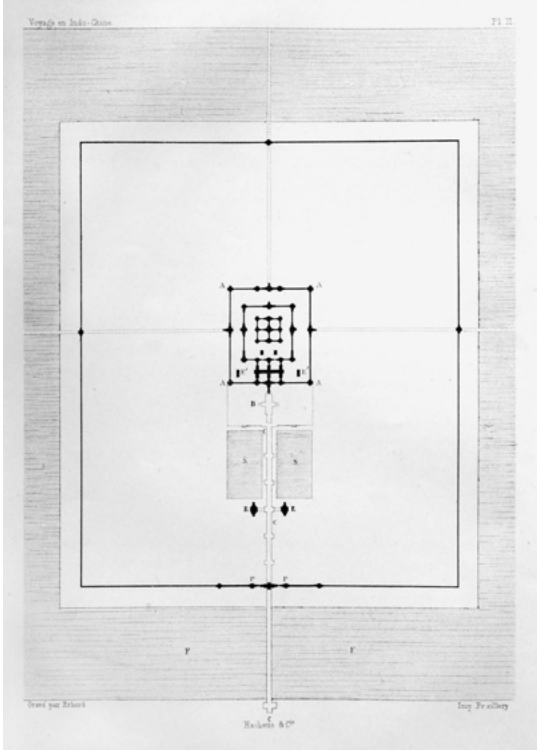


Figure I.3 Site plan of the overall Angkor Wat temple from the 1873 Garnier publication (Source: Garnier 1873, vol. 1, plate II; © Heidelberg University Library)

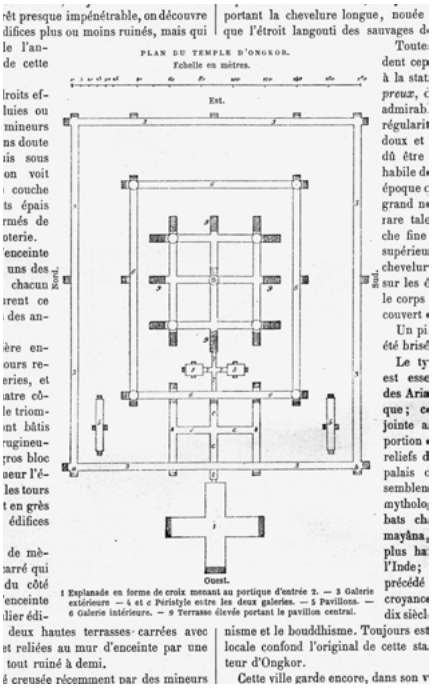


Figure I.4a The map of the inner floor plan of Angkor Wat from Mouhot's French 1863 publication (Source: Mouhot 1863, 302)

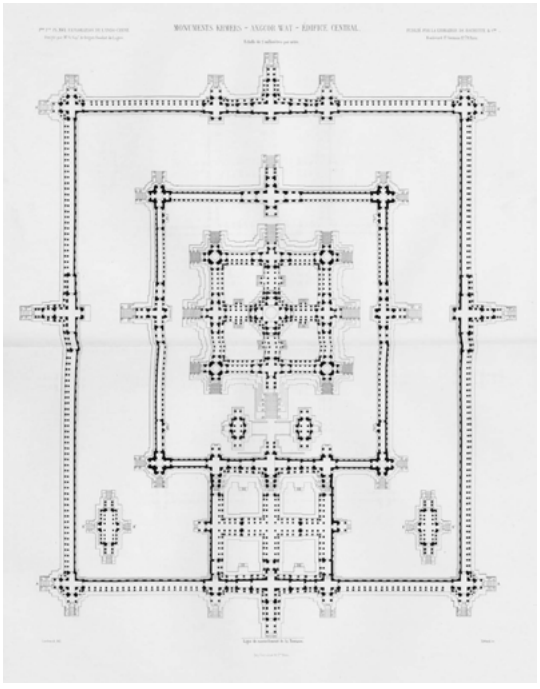
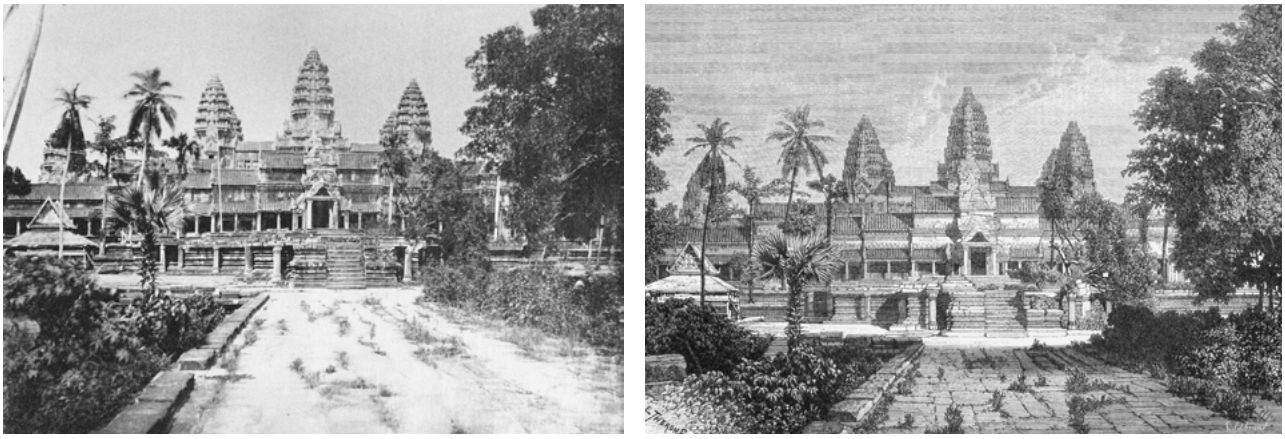


Figure I.4b The map of the inner floor plan of Angkor Wat from Garnier's 1873 publication (Source: Garnier 1873, vol. 1, plate XVI; © Heidelberg University Library)



Figures I.5a,b Angkor Wat's central passageway with wooden houses of the active monastery on the compound of Angkor Wat: a) in an 1866 photograph of Gsell; b) transferred into the Garnier publication of 1873 (Source: Gsell 1866, © INHA, Paris; Garnier 1873, vol.1, 45; © Heidelberg University Library)

I.4a), a detailed inner floor plan of Angkor Wat set the standard of precision for the years to come (**Fig. I.4b**, compare Fig. VI.9). In fact, this latter version was probably more building on a slightly older British version of John Thomson of 1867 (see later in this chapter). In the French 1873 publication the reader was then guided through the western entry gate of the third enclosure towards the *façade principale* of the second enclosure. It is important to note that all the architectural photographs of Angkor Wat in the above-mentioned Gsell album of 1866 (Gsell's photographs are today stored at the *musée Guimet* in Paris) were transformed into wood engravings for the 1873 publication (**Figs. I.5a,b**) – all except the one showing the perfectly proper site of a Buddhist monastery with the stilted wooden houses of caretaking monks north of the central passageway in front of the second enclosure (**Fig. I.6a**). Ironically, an undated French postcard (**Fig. I.6b**) hinted at the endangered status of those wooden houses (to be removed by French archaeologists after 1907, compare chapter IX, Figs. IX.8, 11, 12). The reason for the Garnier's omission of this important illustration by Gsell is easily explained, and it initiated a topos that has remained a persistent feature in the Western narrative about the Angkorian temple site,[10] from Mouhot's first commentary (compare Pym 1966, Dagens 2005a/2008, Edwards 2007, 20–22) to the onsite restoration work of the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* (EFEO) between 1908 and the late 1960s (see chapter IX), up to this very day (see chapter XII). Garnier's description of Angkor Wat perpetuated the image of a temple that "fell into ruins even before its completion" and that – despite being in reality an "object of general veneration" as a transregional pilgrimage site and the site of the Siamese government's restorative measures during its political mandate ending in 1907 – became overgrown with dense tropical vegetation and remained unprotected by the local population and the supposedly powerless monks on the site (Garnier 1873/I, 54, 57). In sharp contrast to picturesque drawings of a local crowd on Angkor Wat's causeway (**Fig. I.7**) or of the site from a kind of aerial perspective with the author (Garnier or Delaporte?) himself drawing the scene and being watched by a local 'primitive' (**Fig. I.8**), Garnier's publication offered another, purely scientific take in order to inaugurate the temple's reinvented status as an undeniable architectural masterpiece. For the first time, European readers encountered precise views of Angkor Wat's main elevation (**Fig. I.9a**) and details from its decorative elements (**Fig. I.9b**), vaulting systems, and balustrades (compare III. Fig.38) in scaled architectural drawings.

After a description and illustration of the ruined entry gates, the text led the reader up the staircase to the first level and to the central entry towards the cruciform gallery and the lateral rectangular galleries of the bas-reliefs with an almost uninterrupted overall length of over 800 metres (twice 178 metres north-south, respectively 223 metres west-east, according to the author's calculations). It was exactly at that point – in combination with an illustrated close-up of a bas-relief (from a Gsell photograph) on the following page (**Fig. I.10**) and the well-placed indication of the supposedly badly preserved, partly unrecognisable, and therefore inaccessible condition of some bas-reliefs – that an unspectacular footnote #2 on page 48 gave the first indication that samples of these decorative panels were

10 Many examples of these observations had been collected in a rather early stage in Naudin 1928 and Malleret 1934, compare Rooney 2001.

Figure I.6a The view from the central passageway towards the inner temple of Angkor Wat with its active monastery in an 1866 Gsell photograph (Source: Gsell 1866; © INHA)

Figure I.6b An postcard depicting the houses in front of Angkor Wat with the remark: "Cambodia-Angkor Wat: The villages of the monks which will soon disappear" (Source: Despierre 2008, 136)

Figure I.7 Locals on the passageway of Angkor Wat as they were depicted in the 1873 Garnier publication (Source: Garnier 1873, vol. 1, plate VI; © Heidelberg University Library)

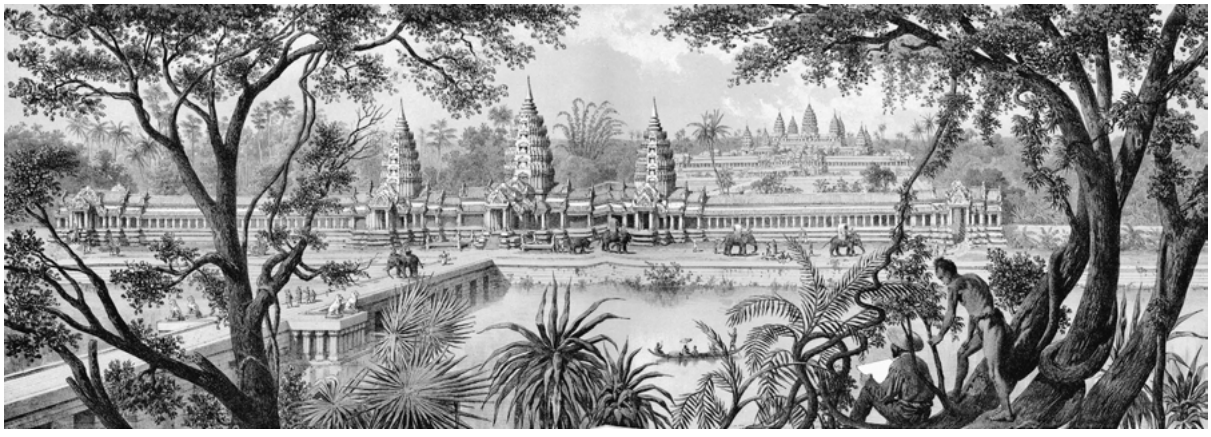
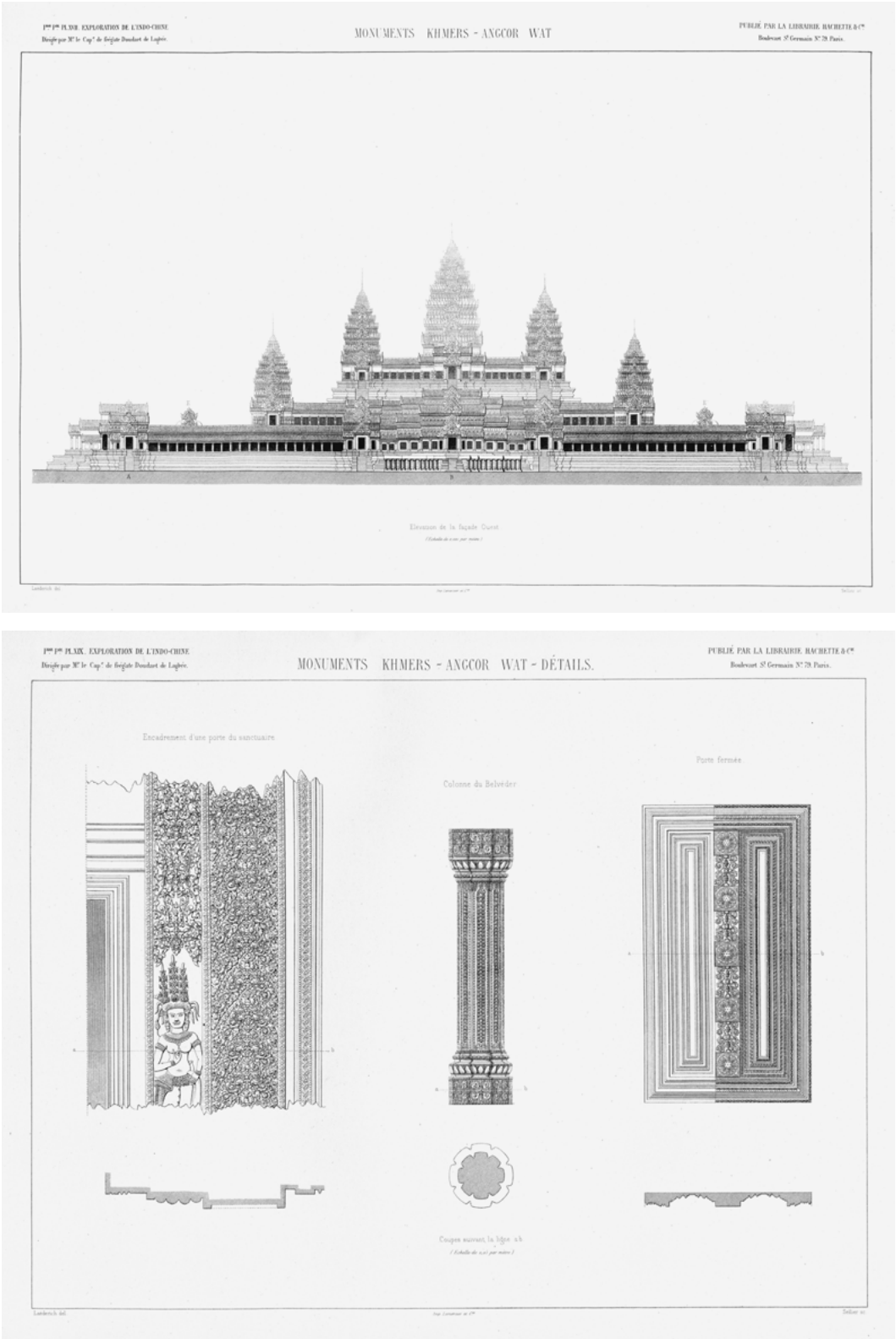


Figure I.8 A local inhabitant watching Delaporte drawing Angkor Wat (Source: Garnier 1873, vol. 1, plate V; © Heidelberg University Library)



Figures I.9a,b Angkor Wat's inner main elevation (above), and decorative elements in plan and elevation of door frames, columns and blind doors (below), as depicted in Garnier's 1873 publication (Source: Garnier 1873, vol. 1, plates XVII and XIX; © Heidelberg University Library)

Figure I.10 Depiction of a detail on a bas-relief of Angkor Wat (as plaster-cast replica, compare Pl. Intro.10a,b, 12) in Garnier's 1873 publication (Source: Garnier 1873, vol. 1, page 49; © Heidelberg University Library)

copied in "sulphur casts"[11] and sent by de Lagrée to the 1867 Parisian World Exhibition.[12] Later, they went to the *Exposition permanente des colonies* in the *palais de l'Industrie* (compare introductory quotation).

On 1 July 1866, after no more than one week on the site, the mission left Angkor Wat and travelled by elephant to Siem Reap and finally by boat over the Great Lake back to Compong Luong (Garnier 1873/I, 154). On 6 July the commission was presented to King Norodom I in Phnom Penh and attended a Khmer ballet, which provided yet another picturesque motif for the publication. After this stay in the Cambodian capital, the mission left for the Cambodian-Laotian frontier near Stung Treng where the Mekong River proved to be unnavigable. The mission continued to Bassac and the Khmer temple of Wat Phou and finally reached Luang Prabang, where it visited the site of Henri Mouhot's death in 1861 and where his tombstone was erected in May 1867. By this time French historiography had already hailed Mouhot as the French discoverer of Angkor Wat, despite the facts that his journey to the temple had been hosted by the British and the Catholic chaplain Bouillevaux had already visited the site in 1850 (Bouillevaux 1858, 1879). However, in 1867 the casts taken of the bas-reliefs at Angkor Wat were already on their way to the most important public spectacle of the 1860s in Paris: the *Exposition universelle de 1867*.

The public historiography addressing France's supposedly peaceful interest in Angkor during the 1860s was, and still is, defined by this master narrative of an official mission. It was the commandant Arthur Bonamy de Villemereuil who published a short version of de Lagrée's manuscripts in the 1879 *Mémoires* of the *Société académique indo-chinoise de France* and who re-edited all the surviving documents with his own annotations, interpretations, and cross-references in a giant, almost nine-hundred-page book, *Explorations et missions de Doudart de Lagrée*, in 1883. With this document, it is only possible to find out more about these first plaster casts taken of Angkor and, indeed, of their deeply political context. After de Lagrée's reports on the history of Cambodia, Villemereuil compiled a detailed list of "political and diplomatic documents concerning the contemporary situation in Cambodia" that shed light on France's and especially de Lagrée's ambitious colonial visions. He continued with de Lagrée's writings about the "archaeology of Cambodia", his collection from Cambodia (with a full list of his harvest from his stay including plaster casts), his private letters about his travels, and finally with documents detailing the Mekong mission. In the selection of historical documents on Cambodia, Villemereuil quoted the Treaty of 11 August 1863 with the French-Cambodian protectorate (no word about Angkor was mentioned), signed by Chief Commander of Cochinchina, de la Grandière, in the Palace of Oudong, then still the capital of Cambodia (Villemereuil 1883, 89–93). The next document cited was the Cambodian-Siamese Treaty of 1 December 1863 in which Cambodia had silently reconfirmed its status as "a tributary state of Siam" (§1) and its cession of the provinces of "Pratabong and Nakon Siamrap" (Battambang and Siem Reap including Angkor) since 1795 (§8.1) (Villemereuil 1883, 95–101). In the following twenty-five pages, Villemereuil provided a unique insight into de Lagrée's fierce protest against Cambodia's politics towards Siam in the case of Angkor.[13]

11 The *moulage du soufre* was one of many different options for moulds and was included in the most popular manuals in the nineteenth century. As indicated in the 1829 *Manuel du mouleur* by Lebrun, which was constantly republished until and after the date of the Mekong expedition, this procedure of sulphur casts was mainly used for the copying process of small-scale medals (Lebrun 1829, 187–88).

12 After the description of the architecture and decor of Angkor Wat, Garnier gave the reader similar, but much briefer information on five other temple sites: *Mont Bakheng, Angcor Thom* (with a clear focus on the five entry gates to the city and the *Baion* temple), the *Loley-Preacan-Bakong* site (near Roluos village to the southeast of Siem Reap), *Méléa* and *Preacan* (outside the Angkor area), and *Pnom Bachey* (near Kampong Cham, northeast of Phnom Penh). The latter site is important for this chapter because it is here that we find the second indication in the book suggesting that casts from a temple's sculptures were sent to France – this time, as was explained, only to the Permanent Colonial Exhibition in Paris (Garnier 1873/I, 93).

13 Compare with our analysis in chapter VI and in the epilogue I of the first volume.

In two letters, one to de la Grandière on 12 December 1863 from Kompong Luong and one shortly after to the Cambodian king ad personam, de Lagrée accused Siam of attempting to gain and keep control over Angkor, a territory which, according to him, should have been inside the French protectorate, not least to "guarantee Cambodia's freedom under France's protection" (Villemereuil 1883, 102–6). In a letter dated 20 May 1865, sent from the same spot close to the border, de Lagrée openly gave his opinion on the situations: "The Cambodians do not attach great importance to the treaty with Siam […] I confess that I, personally, do not feel enthusiasm either. It seems to me that our treaty is, forthrightly affirmed, entirely insufficient. Did we really come to Cambodia not to touch upon it? That we should really pawn our future [in Cambodia] with a [single] formal paragraph seems pointless to me!" (Villemereuil 1883, 123). Villemereuil also mentioned one of the most important documents in this context, dating from 8 January 1866. In *The memoir of M. de Lagrée on the illegitimacy of the Siamese claims to the possession of Battambang, Angkor, and the Cambodian parts of Laos*, de Lagrée declared that Siam's eighteenth-century intentions were "insidious" and furthermore that the "secret treaty of 1863" between Cambodia and Siam was a "violent and shameful extortion" and "spoliation"; he requested the "immediate determination of Cambodia's territorial limits which had been so urgently demanded by the Bangkok court" (Villemereuil 1883, 115–19). This (and not an amateurish interest in archaeology, as the official story has it) was the real reason that de Lagrée undertook two journeys to the Cambodian-Siamese border zone in early 1866, months before the Mekong mission.

His "second voyage in March 1866" (Villemereuil 1883, 225) resulted in the compilation of a larger dossier on the Cambodian archaeological sites, including "Angkor et les monuments de la région Nord du Cambodge" (Villemereuil 1883, 220–61). The tragic incident that occurred on 4 March 1866 during de Lagrée's eight-day visit to Angkor was never circulated in the French official historiography (the British reported about it, compare Kennedy 1867, 307–8) but was well described in Lagrée's lengthy internal report to de la Grandière dating Phnom Penh 5 April 1866. Initially, he had just planned to go to Angkor for two days to prepare the itinerary for the forthcoming mission, but he was confronted with a great disappointment on arrival:

> *Upon my arrival in Angkor, I learnt that we had been anticipated. An agent from the English consulate in Bangkok, and a skillful photographer were already at work.* They had arrived with ministerial orders from the authorities of this country […] and the English consul even had a letter from the Siamese king himself. Some days after their arrival, a Siamese mandarin came with an express order to come to help them and to draw the *grande pagode* [of Angkor Wat, MF]. In fact, the agent was called Mr. Kennedy and the photographer Mr. Thompson [sic] from Singapore; the mandarin was the superintendent of the pagodas of Angkor. These gentlemen did not tell me that they were on an official mission, but that might have been well the case. They asked me for some information (of course, I said nothing) about the French explorative project, which had already been well known for several months in Bangkok. *I do not have to say how embarrassed I was to see that we had been outstripped at Angkor.* How much reason there is to fear now that, as a result of our much-delayed expedition, the English will foreclose us at the heights of the River [Mekong]! From Bangkok the distance to Yunnan is shorter […] we may encounter some bad consequences: the English are not the ones to prepare an easy route for those arriving after them. [italics MF] (Villemereuil 1883, 446–50, here 446–47)

The French failed to publish an accurate illustration of Angkor Wat before Great Britain[14]: the Scot photographer John Thomson (after having visited and portrayed King Mongkut in Bangkok) and his travel companon Henry George Kennedy had reached Angkor Wat already on 26 February 1866 (Kennedy 1867, 306). One year later in 1867, Thomson published his photographic album *The antiquities of Cambodia: A series of photographs taken on the spot, with letterpress descriptions* in Edinburgh. It pictured a plan of Angkor Wat, "from a survey by the author" (Thomson 1867, 12), as Thomson proudly indicated with a more detailed depiction than by Mouhot and therefore a good source for the 1873 Garnier publication (**Fig. I.11**). Additionally, the publication featured sixteen photographs, including Angkor Wat's main inner entry (**Pl. I.3**), architectural elements, and selected bas-reliefs.[15] It is interesting to note that in this highly competitive race for scientific primacy over Angkor, which in 1866 was on Siamese territory,

14 The photographic race between the French (with Gsell) and the British (with Thomson) to depict Angkor is told in a detailed way in Jim Mizerski's 2015 monograph *Cambodia captured. Angkor's first photographers in 1860's colonial intrigues* (Mizerski 2015, especially 47–107; compare Franchini/Ghesquière 2001, Piemmattawat 2015).

15 According to Thomson, he and Consul Kennedy, themselves informed about Angkor by Mouhot's English account, had left Bangkok in January 1866 with photographic apparatus, sketch material, and astronomical instruments (Thomson 1867, compare Thomson 1875, 1877). Already in the year of 1866 had Thomson left his unpublished *Notes of a journey through Siam to the ruins of Cambodia* for the Royal Geographic Society in London (compare Mizerski 2015), the same institution which supported Henri Mouhot.

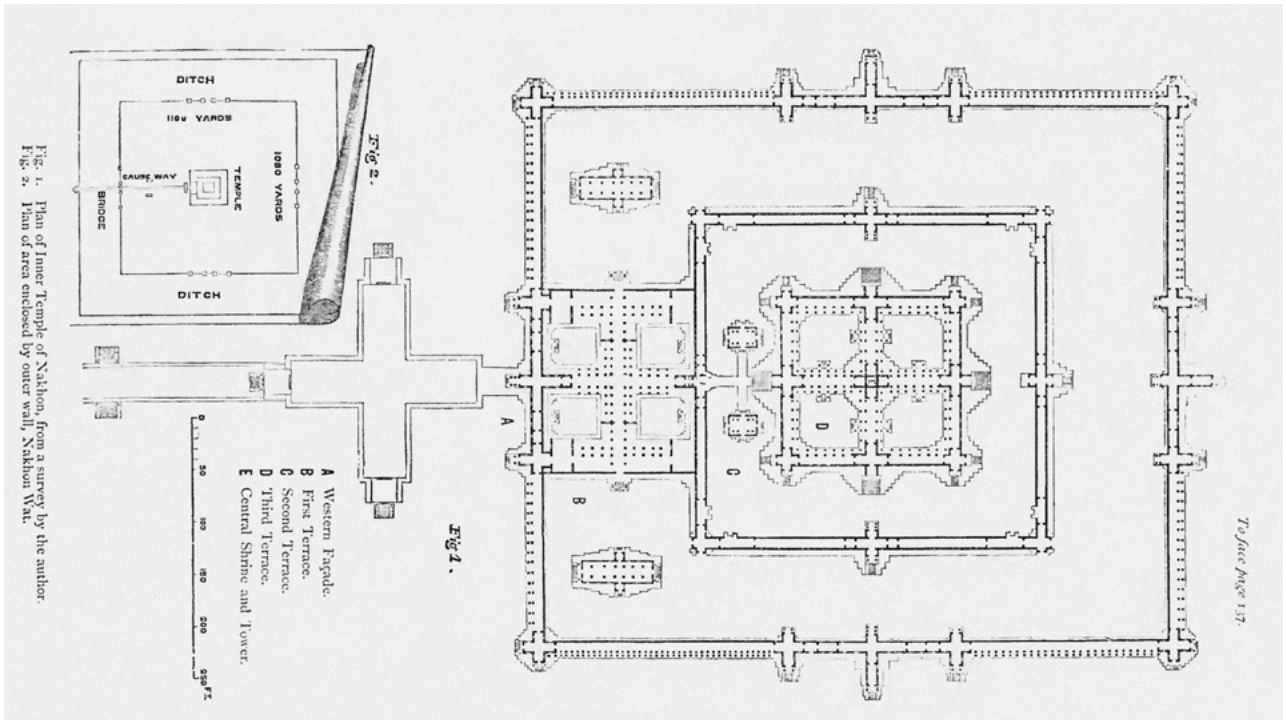


Figure I.11 Plan of Angkor Wat, taken by John Thomson in 1866, published in his 1867 publication *The antiquities of Cambodia – A series of photographs taken on the spot, with letterpress descriptions* and reprinted in *The straits of Malacca, Indo-China and China* of 1875 (Source: Thomson 1867, 12)

suitable *ad-hoc recording techniques and translation methods* were considered decisive. As a result, de Lagrée decided to change his plans and to extend his stay in Angkor to check out the situation, undertake studies, and acquire as much information as possible in order to be at least the first to send home physical proofs from the temple. De Lagrée was, as he himself admitted in his report, "neither well prepared for really serious work [in situ] nor well equipped with suitable instruments. […] Saigon had not been able to deliver either plaster for the moulds or paper for imprints, [his] draughtsmen from Saigon, Lefèvre, was missing, and taking any photographs was impossible". In addition, in light of the authoritative presence of the English, the locals seemed reluctant to help a Frenchman. "Leaving Angkor at the same moment as the English", de Lagrée had at least taken "the exact measures of Angkor Wat for a floor plan, […] moulds from a certain number of sculptures with cement and with all the sulphur which [he] was able to find in the region". From ten kilometres away he had used little suitable earth for imprints [*estampes*], only to find that "on his return many of the pieces had been broken in the carriages". He copied some minor inscriptions and also took away some original pieces, such as sculptures and architectural elements. In a letter to his sister-in-law, dated Kompong Luong 16 April 1866, de Lagrée again reported on his excursion to Angkor (Villemereuil 1883, 450–51), but he was already at work on the French monopolistic myth about the discovery of Angkor: "[He] had seen beautiful things, […] had gone where no European had been before, […] had seen totally unknown ruins and met the savages." Back home, he had "evidence for [his] observations with his drawings, mouldings, sculptures, objects, and old potteries – [but he judged them] altogether too fragile to be transported to France", because he had already exhibited his harvest from Angkor at Saigon where he "had won a medal for [his] plaster casts and sculptures". In an account spanning several pages (Villemereuil 1883, 305–11), Villemereuil described "The art objects which had been collected by Captain de Lagrée in Cambodia" in April 1866 and which were then sent to Paris – two full months *before* the famous Mekong mission itself! Villemereuil commented on its afterlife:

> In the report and the letter of 5 and 16 April 1866 […] M. de Lagrée tells us about the difficulties he encountered to mould [*mouler*] the bas-reliefs of *Angkor Wat* and to transport these fragile *œuvres* in oxcarts where many of them were destroyed. To these casts [*moulages*], he added these from Phnom Bachey and [original] objects of stone, bronze, *terre cuites*, and wood which he had collected all around. These *specimens de l'art des Khmer* constituted a collection which was unique in its genre [Footnote 1] and was in one of the first exhibitions in Saigon that the objects merited highest distinction.

> [Footnote 1: It is in fact the first time in Europe that such a thing was exhibited. Today, this collection is distanced, without any possible comparison, through this of the *musée Khmer* being organised in the Trocadero by M. Delaporte and composed of remarkable pieces brought by him from Cambodia in 1873.] From here, this collection was sent to France where it was shown in the Universal Exhibition of 1867 in Paris, and later disposed in the *Exposition permanente des colonies*. The brothers of M. de Lagrée made him an homage in this institution which still possesses this collection in a sensibly reduced version. In all these transports, many of the *moulages* had been broken and it is due to the infinitively patient work of the conservator M. Aubry-Lecomte that some of these casts could be reconstituted. Thanks to the courtesy of the actual conservator, M. de Nozeilles, by the help of the specialist M. Feer, Indianist at the *Bibliothèque nationale*, and of M. Delaporte and Harmand as the brave explorers of Cambodia and Indochina, we could study this collection and add some details to the original list which was a copy sent from Saigon at the same moment as the collection itself by M. Vial, *capitaine de frégate* and *directeur de l'intérieur* in Cochinchina. (Villemereuil 1883, 305)

The original collection of de Lagrée had, according to the author, mostly come from Phnom Bachey (near Kampong Cham on the French side of Cambodia from de Lagrée's first excursion) and Angkor Wat (second excursion, see above). It had most probably comprised of nineteen entries of original sculptures, fifteen 'sulphur' casts (six from Angkor Wat including parts from the bas-reliefs of the internal galleries; however, two had disappeared), and twelve cement casts (eleven from Angkor Wat, four already lost) of bas-reliefs and inscriptions, and four religious and civil manuscripts. By the time of the 1883 publication, however, half of de Lagrée's collection "did not exist anymore".[16]

De Lagrée's harvest from Cambodia was shipped from Saigon on the *La Creuse* in September 1866. Its arrival in Paris was reconfirmed by Aubry-Lecomte who fixed the heavily deteriorated collection, the bad condition of which was primarily the result of its hasty execution due to colonial rivalry in Angkor between France and Great Britain during these few days in 1866. On 15 July 1867 – at the height of the Universal Exhibition in Paris, which was also attended by Siam as a sovereign monarchy – the French–Siamese Treaty reconfirmed in §4 that "the provinces of Battambang and Angkor (Nakhon Siem Reap) [would] stay on the side of the Siamese kingdom" and that the frontiers between both nations on Cambodian territory would be "delineated as soon as possible by a joint commission of Siamese and French officers" (Villemereuil 1883, 121–23, here 122).[17] However, this arrangement would not last long.

3. The polysemy of objects, white spots on the map, and the casts from Angkor: The Universal Exhibition of 1867 and its classification system

After the first exhibitions claiming universality were held in London in 1851/1862 and Paris in 1855, the Parisian Universal Exhibition of 1867 formed France's second exhibition. Under the title *Exposition universelle d'art et d'industrie* (1 April to 3 November 1867), it attempted to display, and at the same time to prove, the direct relation, entanglement, and intertwined character of art works and industrial products as the central human creative spheres within the great project of universal progress. This approach tried to merge the traditions of art and industrial trade exhibitions from the eighteenth century onwards. As in the showcase of the Second Empire under Napoleon III, the main protagonists mirrored the background of the exhibition, which was under the strong influence of Saint-Simonian universalism. Frédéric Le Play, engineer and state counselor, was elected *commissaire général* after his experience as the organiser of the 1855 Exhibition. Michel Chevalier, who had also been involved in both the 1855 Paris Exhibition and the French participation at the 1862 London Exhibition, was the crucial mediator in French–English free trade politics and was a well-known theoretician in political economy, co-editor of the *Journal des débats*, and a senator under

16 In his 1879 publication Villemereuil listed in the 1866 transportation to Paris sixteen imprints of inscriptions (ten already lost), twenty-six mouldings of inscriptions (twenty-two already lost), and three notebooks (Villemereuil 1879, 53). In this publication, Appendix I gave a slightly different list of de Lagrée's harvest from Cambodia that was reconfirmed by Aubry-Lecomte: "eight cement and five sulphur mouldings of bas-reliefs, four sulphur mouldings of inscriptions, eight sculpture debris, one fragment of a Buddha statue, six diverse heads in granite, one pendant of baked clay, five pottery debris, and two bronze statue debris" (Villemereuil 1879, 62–65).

17 Villemereuil even mentioned in a footnote that a special "Carte de délimination du Cambodge et de Siam, 31 mars 1868" (the same month of the death of de Lagrée) was stored at the French Ministry of the Navy and reconfirmed the "French loss of Angkor as a material fact" (Villemereuil 1883, 123).

Figure I.12 Aerial drawing of the *Champs-de-Mars* of the 1867 Universal Exhibition in Paris (© Archives nationales, France)

Napoleon III. For the 1867 Exhibition, he was elected a member of the *Commission impériale* and director of the international jury for the selection, coordination, and commendation of the displayed products of the exhibition.

Besides an annex for the agricultural and horticultural exhibition on the *Île de Billancourt*, the central site of the exhibition comprised the fifty-hectare *Champs-de-Mars* built by engineer Jean-Baptiste Krantz with architect Lépold Hardy. It was transformed (for the first time in the history of universal exhibitions) into a park for pavilion-like displays around a giant *palais de l'exposition* with a floor plan comprising two circular edges, a rectangular intermediate section including a central garden, and with overall dimensions of 490 by 380 metres (**Fig. I.12**). The general goal of all universal exhibitions in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was to stage, certainly against the politically motivated backdrop of the hosting nation, what was supposed to represent a globally valid ideal of the concept of civilisation, with all regions, nations, and their products present on site. As a consequence, the layout and internal systems of classification of the 1867 *palais de l'exposition* are one of the key points of this section's main question: How can one classify and embed a cultural product – in this case the first casts or original specimens of Angkorian art in Europe – into a valid exhibitionary model of world civilisation if its cultural, geographical, and artistic origin and status were still represented by floating white spots on the mental and physical map of the exhibition's host nation?

A guide for exhibitors and visitors written by Henri de Parville brought the problem and challenge for the layout of the exhibition into stark relief. In order (a) to overcome the earlier tradition of separate expositions (or separate sections) of industrial products and Beaux-Arts displays, and (b) to counterbalance the increasing homogenisation of the exhibited product range of the different nations (a side effect of the earlier events), Parville called for the "substitution" of universal with international, partialised exhibitions [*expositions internationales partielles*, Parville 1866, 12]. This new display system was to take into consideration both national particularities and entities, and the useful comparability of the products. However, in order to be both an "instruction for the labourer, a study of the industrialist and the scholar", the event had to first be a "spectacle for the majority" [*C'est la masse qui fait loi*] (Parville 1866,13). Astonishingly similar to a strategy to 'juxtapose the near and far' through a network of interconnected points to be experienced simultaneously by the visitor (compare Foucault's heterotopian concept in the introduction to this book), Parville explained the final arrangement of the 1867 Exhibition. It followed the "principle of a Pythagorean table with a double entry where a series of fields could at the same time be crossed

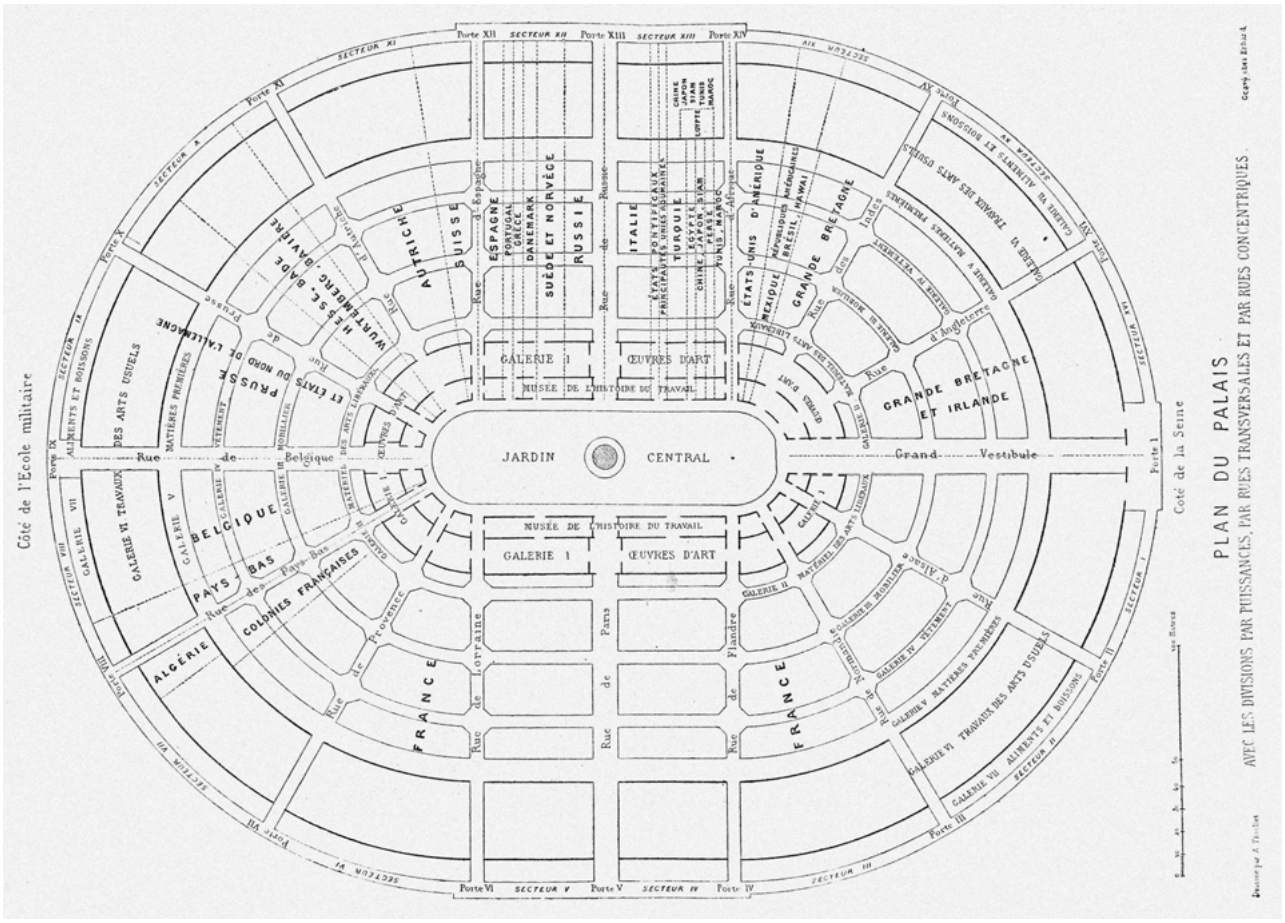


Figure I.13a Schematic floor plan of the 1867 Universal Exhibition
(Source: L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée, vol. 2, 205; © Heidelberg University Library)

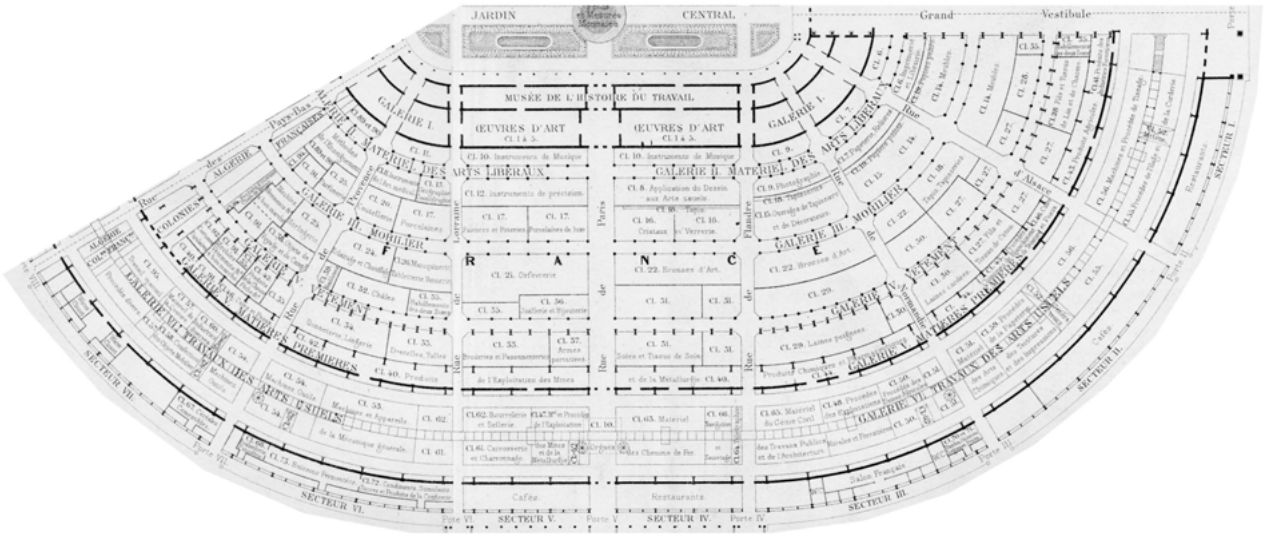


Figure I.13b French section of the 1867 Universal Exhibition; left edge:
The thin French colonial section (Source: © Bibliothèque historique de Paris;
detail from a larger map)

longitudinally and transversally" (Parville 1866, 18) – that is, a radiating arrangement of nations and, across nations, a longitudinal, gallery-like display of objects of the same nature. A schematic floor plan of the 1867 Exhibition revealed twenty-four different radiating compartments organising nations and groups of nations according to their attributed importance (**Fig. I.13a**). From a total of about 150,000 square metres, France alone took up more than 60,000 square metres (including the sections *Algérie* and *Colonies françaises* at the western edge), followed by Great Britain with a bit more than 20,000 square metres. 'Less important' nations from Asia like China, Japan, and Siam, for example, shared only one miniscule spoke in this materialised wheel of civilisation.

For practical reasons, the building had to be built on one single ground level. As one open space it was flooded with natural light, organised with several entries on the sides with radiating corridors from the edge to the central garden, and built using an interior modular assembly system of lightweight partitions that could easily react to the individual arrangement of the national and thematic sections. Following the modified grid as "a veritable chessboard" (Parville 1866, 40) made possible a parallel and even overlapping arrangement of artistic *and* industrial products. Following the above-mentioned double-entry system of objects, the classification scheme was naturally the central key to the complete depiction of the world. It introduced a new thought pattern that arranged the objects and products in developmental narratives that traced developments from physical to intellectual needs (from food, clothing, and furniture to art) and from raw materials to industrially processed products. However, the innermost core of the exhibition before the central garden was occupied by the exhibition *Histoire de travail*, which displayed a compressed global history of the production of art. Here France displayed her history of art from the Gauls to the French Revolution.

The official *Système de classification* was attached to the *Règlement général*, which was decreed by Napoleon III and signed by Eugène Rouher, the minister of state and vice-president of the *Commission impériale*, in July 1865. It contained ten groups with a total of ninety-five classes (Exposition universelle de Paris 1867c, 581–602). Special attention was paid to the artistic product line from its practical perspective at the outer and larger edge of the exhibition plan, to its applied and 'civilised' character in the inner core of the exhibition (**Fig. I.13b**). Here we will focus on (a) the inner part of the central ring with its section of "Material and applications of the liberal arts" (Group II in gallery II: *matériel et application des arts libéraux*), which materialised intellectual achievements, and (b) the neighbouring inner ring that was occupied by the pure art objects themselves (Group I in gallery I: *œuvres d'art*), which was intended to illustrate the most refined degree of civilisation. When it came to the section on the French colonies, the double system of classification for each object (according to its national affiliation and product classification) brought additional unintended facets to the intentional "polysemy of the objects" (Barth 2007, 21). At the same time it caused a contradiction in the object's proper assignment within the classifying narrative of civilisation. The question remained: Where were cultural and even artistic objects from the colonies to be put if the dichotomy of the civilised *métropole* (the European motherland) and the colony that was still to be civilised – as the central goal of the colonial *mission civilisatrice* – had to stay intact? Could Angkorian sculptures from the extinct Khmer empire of the ninth to thirteenth century CE be displayed in the same section as a contemporary French Beaux-Arts painting? And an even more difficult question was where to put plaster casts from sculptures of forgotten ruins that could not be dated and located exactly and that did not even belong to the young French colony in Indochina. In any case, by definition of the *Règlement général* (*Disposition des œuvres d'art*) in §1.1, *copies* of pieces of art were excluded from the Beaux-Arts Group I. Seen from the geographical-political assignment of the exhibition's display, however, Angkorian objects should have appeared in the small Siamese sections, exactly opposite of the large French section (**Figs. I.14a,b**). But that was, of course, unthinkable for the French host whose imperial ambitions for the much-desired Cambodian temples on Siamese territory were made manifest in this display.

The French-colonial section of the exhibition was represented by the French War and Navy Ministry and figured as an extremely thin spoke-like attachment to the south-east 'wheel' of the vast display of the French *métropole*. The commission for its organisation was established by Prosper de Chasseloup-Laubat, *ministre de la Marine et des colonies*, in accordance with Le Play and Rouher and included its president Zaepffel, *directeur des Colonies au ministère de la Marine*, and its vice-president Aubry-Lecomte, *commissaire-adjoint de la Marine* as well as *Conservateur de l'Exposition permanente des colonies* in the *palais de l'Industrie*. It was also Chasseloup-Laubat who oversaw the conditions and financial handling of the products from the colonies that found their way to the Parisian exhibition.[18] In the case of the French possessions in Asia and in correspondence with de la Grandière, *gouverneur de la Cochinchine*, the shipping on the transport route from Saigon to Suez by sea was managed by the Ministry of the Navy, whereas the overland route from Suez to Alexandria (the Suez Canal only opened in 1869!) and again by sea from Alexandria to Paris (most probably via Marseille as the colonial port and fur-

18 Excerpt of the correspondence between Chasseloup-Laubat, Le Play, and Rouher concerning the role of the *ministère de la Marine et les colonies* for the 1867 Exhibition; see CARAN F12/2981.

Figures I.14a,b The indoor presentations of Siam during the 1867 Universal Exhibition (Source: Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée, vol. 1, 333; Grand Album 1868, 35; © Heidelberg University Library)

ther on by train) was paid for by the Imperial Commission of the 1867 Exhibition. Along with a special section on Algeria, all the other French colonies from all four regions of the world were packed into a coherent space that was too small to properly distinguish the colonies' different cultural characteristics.[19] For the installation of the Asian colony of *Cochinchine*, Chasseloup-Laubat sent Fauque de Janquières, *capitaine de vaisseau*, to Paris.

Studying the official *Catalogue des produits des colonies françaises* with a focus on the Indochinese colony of *Cochinchine* and the new *protectorat de Cambodge* and looking for products that were sent by the ongoing de Lagrée/Garnier mission, we can see that the listed entries to some extent appear quite logical and are, for our purposes, quite interesting. Following the narrative of 'high' European and 'low' Asian civilisation, the large majority of products from Cochinchina and Cambodia appeared in the higher-numbered groups of raw material and products – for example, rice, pepper, tea, and sugar in Group VII (food products) or different types of wood in Group V (products of extractive industries). Group IV (clothes) mentioned *costumes annamites* (product number 291 in Class 35) with the name of the sender "Comité agricole, de Lagrée, Bordot" (Exposition 1867a, 19) and Group III (furniture and other housing objects) indicates porcelain and annamite pottery (product number 151 in Class 17 from "De la Grée" [sic] (Exposition 1867a, 11) or a candleholder with mother-of-pearl incrustations (product number 204, in Class 26) from "Francis Garnier" (Exposition 1867a, 14). However, in the most 'civilised' section containing art objects (Group I), Cochinchina together with *all* other French colonies was represented by only six entries compared with almost 1,400 entries in the entire colonial catalogue: there were no oil paintings in Class 1, and only one "decorative painting" was entered in Class 2 (paintings and drawings), sent by "Garnier, Comité agricole" (Exposition 1867a, 2). Finally, between and bridging the sections of the arts and the applied arts was Group II (materials and applications of the liberal arts [*matériel et application des arts libéraux*]), which brings us to our central findings. This group comprised of eight classes (6 to 13) almost all of which included entries from Cochinchina (Exposition 1867a, 2–9): Class 6 (products of the printing industry and book trade) with "one Cambodian manuscript on paper" and "four manuscripts on palm leaves" sent by "De la Grée"; Class 9 (prints and photographic camera) with "photographic albums from Cochinchina and Cambodia" sent from the "Scientific commission of Cambodia" (most probably with the album by Émile Gsell on Angkor, see above); Class 10 (musical instruments), Class 12 (instruments of precision and material of scientific instruction) with money and calculation instruments; and Class 13 (maps and instruments of geography and cosmography) with an "atlas of the French colonies and map of Cochinchina" provided by the *ministère de la Marine*. It is Class 8 (application of drawings and modelling in the common arts [*application du dessin et de la plastique aux arts usuels*])[20] that brings us to the casts of Angkor. Entry number 89 from Cochinchina reads:

19 They covered America with *Martinique, Guyane, Guadeloupe, St. Pierre et Miquelon*; Africa with *Sénégal, Côte d'or* and *Gabon, Réunion, Mayotte* and *Madagascar*; Oceania with *Tahiti* and *Nouvelle-Calédonie*, and, finally, Asia with the *Établissements français dans l'Inde* and *Cochinchine* (Aymar-Bression 1868, 591, Notices 1866).

20 The official text of Class 8 included the following objects and products: "Dessins industriels. Dessins ob-

> *Moulages en soufre pris dans les ruines d'Angkor* [sulphur casts for the ruins of Angkor] – *fragments en grès et en poterie de statues décoratives d'Angkor* [italics MF] – Tête en bronze d'une statuette du Bouddah, provenant de la colonie de Phoum-Morcai, province de Kouposédi – un fragment de tête et une statuette en bronze, provenant de Phoum-Bachq – trois fragments de statues en grès (De Lagrée). (Exposition 1867a, 5)

Rounding out the entries in the catalogue of the French colonial section, de Lagrée (as well as the later mission of de Lagrée/Garnier) had sent – sometimes in combination with the local 'agricultural committee' or the 'scientific commission', the body responsible for assembling a collection representative of Cochinchina for the 1867 Exhibition – quite a large variety of objects and products to France.[21] These varied from daily decorative household objects, descriptive material like maps, photo albums, and books to original minor decorative artwork. The final and most interesting aspect of what was sent included *original* Angkorian sculptures and fragments along with cast *copies* (of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat as it was specified in the given footnote in the Garnier publication, see above). These arrived directly from the site and had to be incorporated into a colonial display, which opened only a short time later in April 1867. Taking into consideration the difficulty of packing and transporting these objects by elephants and small barges from the site to the Cambodian Great Lake and their shipping to Saigon (and from there by a French steamboat from Saigon to Marseille over a land bridge between the Red Sea and Alexandria), one can imagine their arrival *à la dernière minute* on the *Champs-de-Mars*. The lack of time for a conceptual partition of the different objects may be one explanation for why *all* objects from Angkor, both original *and* copies, landed in the colonial section of Group II/Class 8.

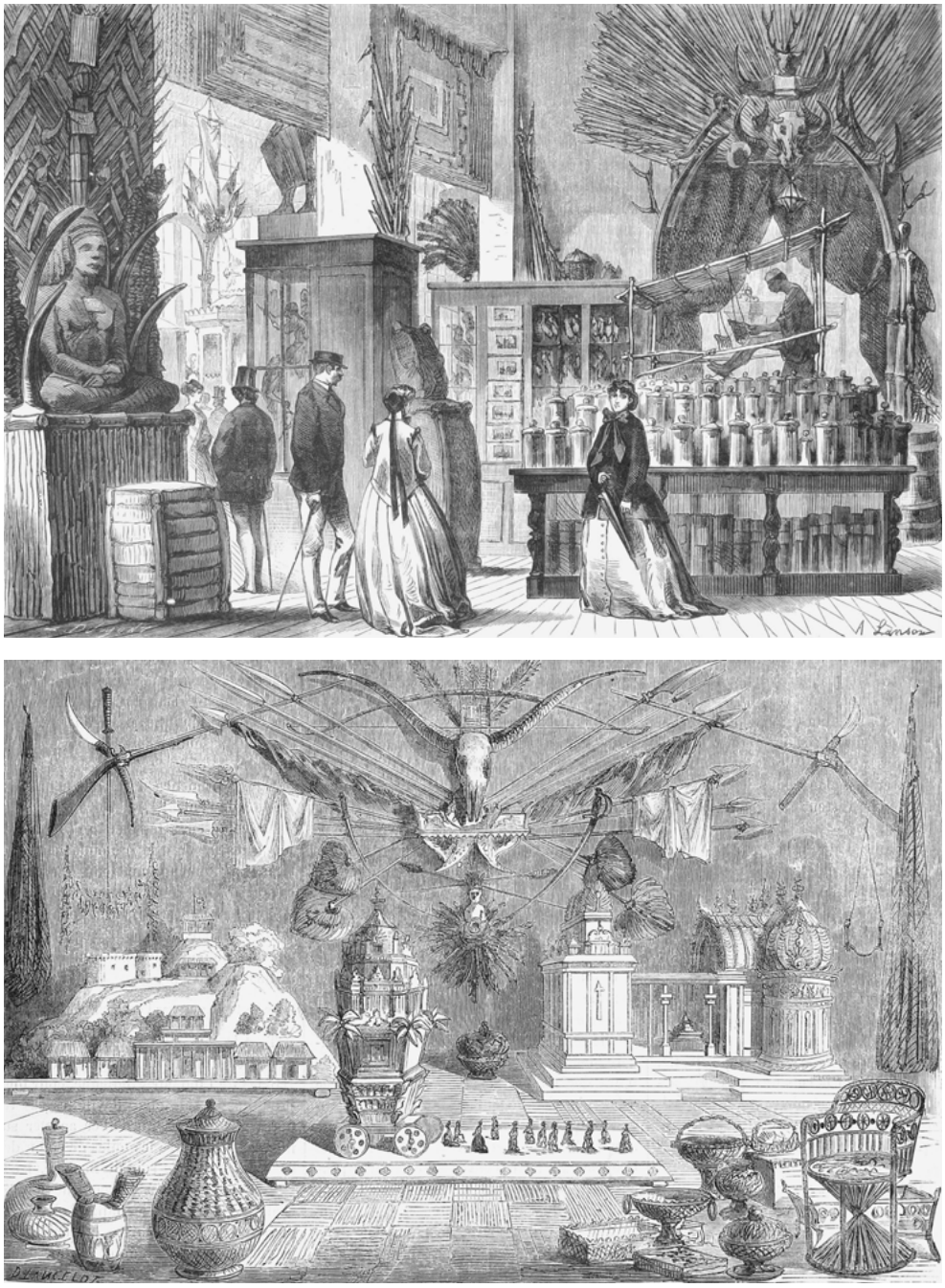
Thus, due to their nature as copies, the bas-reliefs from Angkor Wat were classified in the more technical section featuring techniques for the reproduction of art instead of in the art section. As a consequence, these objects were totally 'lost in the translation' within the rigid classifying system as far as – compared to the exhibitions to come – their purely artistic, picturesque, and exotic character was concerned. Thus far, no concrete illustrations and photographs of the Angkorian display in 1867 have been found for this research, and only a very few are available that give one a general impression of the French-colonial section (**Pl. I.4a–c**). A strange and striking contrast was created by juxtaposing Angkorian casts, as evidence of European high-tech reproduction techniques, with low-tech ethnographic displays that served a Eurocentric narrative about simple-minded natives of Cochinchina. This impression was nicely circumscribed by Jules Delaval's 11 November 1867 report on "The French colonies" in the journal *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*. Published engravings were also circulated in different media to show the picturesque presentations of the French posessions (**Figs. I.15a,b**):

> In the growing colony of Cochinchina, the Annamite race follows the Chinese positivism. The chatter of the mind [*folle du logis*] dreams less about divinities; the hand prefers to be used for a more useful work; it guides the buffalo into the rice fields; it weaves silk and cotton; the china-grass for the clothing of the family. It leads the boat through the meandering canals and rivers which flood the area; it prepares the fish to dry; it chisels gold and silvers for jewelry, incrusts mother-of-pearl furniture for sell or the own house. From these works of the indigenous, the European spirit brings back their procedures and advices for use; it collects with curiosity the debris of old civilisations which, in unknown ages, have reigned over the country. *In the glass boxes of the liberal arts section one can see paintings, sculptures and vestiges of architecture which make an interesting contrast to the contemporary art without character* [italics MF]. (Duval 1867b, 387)

Some months earlier on 28 May 1867 in the *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, the same author had already published one of the very few detailed critiques of the display in the French-colonial section. As Duval wrote, the colonial section was quite similar to the "small nations" in the rest of the exhibition and was very difficult to find in the ordering system. Occupying only a very thin spoke in the exhibition's floor plan (a radiating form of a wheel on which the most central compartments represented the most civilised status), the colonies "arrived empty-handed when it came to contributing to the sections of artworks, the liberal arts, and applied common arts". Their natural as well as their historical and political units were "cut into pieces", and even "their names were lost in the crowd" (Du-

tenus, reproduits ou réduits par procédés mécaniques. Peintures de décors. Lithographies ou gravures industrielles. Modèles et maquettes pour figures, ornements, etc. Objets sculptés. Camées, cachets et objets divers décorés par la gravure. Objets de plastique industrielle obtenus par des procédés mécaniques: réductions, photosculptures, etc. Objets moulés" (Exposition universelle de Paris 1867c, 582).

21 The internal correspondence of the jury for Group II/Class 8 also mentioned "De la Gré" [sic] in the section "Colonies françaises". In the same class, Viollet-le-Duc (see chapter III about his concept of a *musée de Sculpture comparée*) reconfirmed that he sent some "spécimens" of his works – indeed, as much as Henry Cole, first director of the South Kensington Museum from 1857 to 1873 and British commissioner for the Paris Exhibitions of 1855 and 1867. (CARAN F12/3095, also F12/3037)



Figures I.15a,b *Exposition des Colonies Françaises* and *Exposition des Indes Françaises* in the 1867 Universal Exhibition (Source: Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée, vol. 2, 385 and 172; © Heidelberg University Library)

val 1867a, 1). Finally, standing before the objects from Indochina, Duval dated the "detached fragments of Angkor" to "1500 BCE". In this context, it is not totally clear whether he paralleled the *moulages* from Angkor with neighbouring displays of Native American Indians (which could not be reconfirmed as belonging within Class 8)[22] or referred

22 However, in the same section of Group II/Class 8 within the display of French India (*Inde française*), Ranayanartagou, *Chef de service de Chandernagor*, was responsible for a "collection of moulded statuettes representing all Indian types of people" (Exposition 1867a, 5) that was most probably very small as depicted in the journal *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée* in volume 2 on page 172.

to "redskin" figures on the bas-reliefs from Angkor Wat themselves, but his original French comment does serve to illustrate our argument about the vague and embedded status of the Angkorian products in the 1867 Exhibition:

> […] *des fragmens* [sic]*, détachés par les soins de M. de Lagrenée* [sic] *des ruines du temple d'Angkor, dans le Cambodge, nous reportent en des siècles et des pays que la science historique n'a pas encore éclairés* [italics MF]. Les calculs les plus timides font remonter à quinze cents ans avant l'ère chrétienne ces bustes de granit, modelés avec un art que les Grecs de la meilleure époque ne désavoueraient pas. Tout auprès des moulages pris sur des sculptures du même temple, figurent des guerriers, coiffés de panaches de plumes retombant sur la tête à la manière des Peaux-Rouges. Serait-ce un nouvel anneau de cette chaîne de traditions que les érudits s'appliquent à établir entre les peuples de l'Asie et ceux de l'Amérique, avec l'espoir de démontrer la communauté d'origine? (Duval 1867a, 2)

Moulages appeared not only in Class 8 as a supposedly 'neutral' method with which to copy and circulate original artworks (or indeed to appropriate them in the colonial context), but also 'at the other end' of Group II in Class 13 (*Cartes et appareils de gégraphie et de cosmographie*) where their highly contested purpose in the colonial game of appropriating, classifying, and displaying the 'civilisation' of the whole planet became much more evident. Next to galvanoplastic reproductions from the war ministry, the *Société d'ethnographie* installed an "ethnographic collection of nude images of different human races" along with "sculptures and plaster casts of the principle characters of ethnographic groups" (Exposition universelle de 1867b, 45,46; compare Cordier's ethnographic installation in the *Musée permanent* later in this analysis with Fig. Intro.25b).

4. The relevance of plaster casts around the 1867 Exhibition: The French 'art industry' and 'industrial arts' around 1860

It would be too simple to conclude with the statement that the first material translation of the Angkorian temples for the European continent in 1867 was a pure mistranslation as far as the mode of a 'correct' embeddedness was concerned. The fact that the *moulages* of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat were not directly integrated into the European display mode of the exotic Other within the picturesque staging of extinct civilisations (we will return to this point) might only mean that they were temporarily 'lost in translation'. In fact, they were not simply 'parked' in a useless compartment of the 1867 Exhibition; on the contrary, they were displayed in a very prominent section that perfectly mirrored the then hotly debated question of how industrial technology could contribute to the popularisation of art, and thereby educating the public in it. And further, their display raised the question of how art could continue to play an important role in the beginning of the age of mechanical reproduction without supporting a devalorisation of its own notion of authenticity, originality, and artistry. It was in this section that the question was debated – of which role *copies* of artworks (from a technological point of view seen as artworks themselves) played in this celebrated "new temple of industry" in the 1867 Exhibition to display an "abridged version of the human genius" (Dubois 1867, 3,4, 60).

In order to approach this topic, the profile of the relevant section inside the 1867 Exhibition has to be sharpened and contextualised. As it was listed in the *Catalogue officiel* from the Imperial Commission on Group II (Material and application of the liberal arts), Class 8 (Application of drawings and modelling to the common arts) comprised of "artistic works that served the industry as model and ornamentation" in six different forms: (1–4) designs and patterns for print, weaving, embroidery, and furnishing, (5) patterns and models for the ornamentation and decoration, and, most important, (6) "designs and objects of industrialised sculpture obtained by mechanical procedures".[23]

As Edmond Taigny, member of the admissions committee of Class 8, stated, the displayed physical products had no significant role in this group, and the patterns and models, no intrinsic value; their importance and merit depended only on their artistic inspiration (Exposition universelle de 1867b, 27). Studying the following list of 251 entries for Class 8, one can see that de Lagrée's sulphur casts of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat in the neighbouring French-colonial section found their unexpected European equivalents with the following highly 'exotic' French names (Exposition universelle de 1867b, 28–36): *chromolithographies, photographies estampées en relief, imitations de peinture par la gravure typograpique, procédés de sculpture sur plâtre, groupe en relief de carton-plâtre peint, gravures paniconographiques, photosculptures*, and finally, *galvanoplastie*. In summary, these different mechanical techniques could reproduce or even multiply two- or three-dimensional

23 Original: "Les dessins et objets de plastique industrielle obtenus par des procédés méchaniques (réductions, agrandissement, photosculptures)" (*Exposition universelle de 1867b*, 27).

original objects (from images to sculptures, pieces of architecture to whole models) in different materials, and on one-to-one or eventually reduced or enlarged scales. Many guidebooks to the 1867 Exhibition found especially admirable descriptions of the displayed products that underscored the "superior reputation of the French industry" (Guide officiel 1867, 35). The Angkorian exhibit was placed in this prominent group, but it was certainly not 'discovered' in this 1867 Parisian event.

None other than Victor Baltard, the great French Beaux-Arts architect, contributed a fourteen-page essay on the *Procédures et enseignement de l'art industriel* in the summarising Class 8 comment of the *Rapports du jury international* under director Michel Chevalier. More than half a century before Walter Benjamin's famous 1935 essay on the *The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction*, Baltard acknowledged the tremendous development in the "art of reproduction of graphical or sculptural artworks" and its great advantages for the industry. But he also argued critically from the artists' point of view, describing its process as a *translation* in which the salient merits of the original should not be distorted. Out of all displayed procedures in Class 8, he nevertheless preferred the most direct "mechanical reproduction processes, such as plaster casts", because their (im)print/proof [*épreuve*] from the original was direct, "precise and absolute" (Baltard 1868, 143, 148).[24] Still, Baltard defended the concept of the artistic original and suggested that the new techniques could help to "transport from one language to the other", to "propagate good artworks", and to make them "tangible and understandable for everybody", whereas mechanical reproductions would only "bring an effect, may interest the spectators, but never really touch their inner feelings" (Baltard 1868, 144, 145). Baltard's juxtaposition of effect, interest, and reproduction versus feeling and the original in relation to plaster casts and original artwork would prove correct at the end of the European career of plaster casts from Angkor. About seventy years after the date of this publication, the pavilion-like plaster cast display of Angkor in the 1937 Paris Exhibition was rendered almost pointless (see chapter VIII).

Eugène Dognée's publication *Les arts industriels à l'Exposition universelle de 1867* advanced an impressive analysis of the relevance of industrial arts. After a compressed theoretical discussion on art and industry, he provided an eight-hundred-page annotated catalogue that grouped all related (im)print media products in the 1867 Exhibition. According to Dognée, "severe accusations" had been made that works of art were currently suffering from an "increasing monotonous similarity", which was accelerated by the effect- and commerce-oriented great exhibitions that provided a never-ending "empire of trends [*empire des modes*] and the gilded vulgarity of products" (Dognée 1869, 8–9). However, these accusations simply ignored the "great social conflicts" that had led to the "social progress" in which the exhibitions developed and boosted the revolution of "egalitarian ideas and practices" (Dognée 1869, 10–13). Dognée posited that "art was not banned in these industrial advancements, rather it declared the indispensable condition for the success of industrial progress" (Dognée 1869, 18–19). A great exhibition like that held in Paris in 1867 was nothing less than a "comparative study" that brought together a "temporary concentration of works of/for the people of all countries, […] bringing justice to the disturbed distance" between them (Dognée 1869, 20). In a short excursus on the 1867 Exhibition, Dognée formulated his regret that the "courte durée" of the event could only produce "some archaeological pastiches of ancient monuments", whereas the whole of "civilisation" had brought together their "spécimen" of all human creativity (Dognée 1869, 23–24). Finally, he came to his central thoughts on the industrial arts in which the techniques of mechanical reproduction, such as plaster casts, played a central role. The products of the industrial arts would find their ideal in the balanced association of the "useful and the beautiful". Despite not being unique creations but reproductions, the multiplication of which had been obtained mechanically, the industrial arts stuck to its "special mission" of fabricating objects that served a useful purpose in everyday life but that were, nevertheless, "artfully adorned". The expression "*se revêtant d'une parure artistique*" in relation to the above-mentioned mechanical qualities brings Dognée's analysis quite close to direct research about the European history of the plaster casts from Angkor. Once (and in 1867 for the first time in Europe) they were introduced not as objects of art per se, but as *spécimens* of a reproducible procedure that could be used to embellish useful products. Their (almost postmodern) function as decorative elements would be predefined as "useful" for the hybrid architectural reconstitutions of Angkor as objects of public instruction and political propaganda in the exhibitions that were to come. This is even more significant when we take into account Dognée's final comment that the old-day "splendours of Beaux-Arts galleries" at the 1867 Exhibition had almost entirely lost their "novelty appeal" (Dognée 1869, 38). In his eight-hundred-page product catalogue divided into sections on animal, vegetable, and mineral raw materials (from wool, leather, silk, and ivory to wood, cotton, and fibre and finally stone, earth, and metals), plaster casts were categorised in the mineral section under the subdivision "earth". As an intermediate product in an artistic process, Dognée referred to plaster casts as "economical reproductions of expensive

24 See Didi-Huberman's theoretical thoughts on the nature of imprints as mentioned in the introduction of this monograph.

sculptures" (Dognée 1869, 520) that could a) find their way, "hidden under a golden sheet", into luxurious apartments, b) be a "more useful application [for the] popularisation of good models for art schools", or c) be most useful for the "cheap and faithful popularisation [and] diffusion of the best works of art of antiquity and the younger era […] without the necessity of difficult travels" – that is, the reproductions could be featured in the displays of museums containing masterpieces from "all regions and all times". Dognée concluded, "Plaster casts have to fulfil an exemplary role. In the 1867 Exhibition they proved worthy of their glorious participation in the artistic education of the people" (Dognée 1869, 523–24). As an important example of this, he quoted the galvanoplastic reproductions in the South Kensington Museum in London that were part of a "radical reform of the public taste". It was precisely this approach in the relation to the London museum that Louis Delaporte would share in his similar vision to create an Indochinese Museum in Paris with plaster casts from Angkor on display (see chapters II and III).

Dognée shared his opinion about the South Kensington Museum with his British colleague Richard Redgrave who, as art director of the museum, praised its "splendid and unequalled contribution of reproductions of objects of art" to the 1867 Exhibition. These reproductions included a giant plaster cast of the door of the Spanish cathedral of Santiago de Compostella and "electrotypes from the coronation plate in the Tower" (Redgrave 1868, 151). Referring to the plaster casts that France had produced of the Trajan column from earlier copies in London (compare chapter III on the South Kensington Museum) and to British moulds coming from objects in the Parisian *musée de l'Artillerie* in the context of the 1855 Exhibition, Redgrave finally concluded his own report on Class 8 of the 1867 Exhibition: "Thus there are indications to show that the movement is progressing, and we may hope that shortly a system of interchanges will be set on foot by which our own and all other collections for increasing the taste in and feeling for good art will be rendered more complete, and spread into manufacturing localities where, from the necessary rarity of fine objects, such art could not otherwise be seen and studied" (Redgrave 1868, 168). And, indeed, in this he proved correct; through the strong efforts of Henry Cole, whose energetic negotiations during the 1867 Exhibition helped to acquire a large collection of plaster casts for the South Kensington Museum, the *Convention for promoting universally reproductions of works of art for the benefit of museums of all countries* was signed the same year in Paris by the aristocratic leaders of European nations, including Great Britain's Albert Edward, Prince of Wales; the Prussian Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm; Prince Napoleon of France; Csar Alexander of Russia; the archdukes of Austria, Karl Ludwig and Rainer Joseph; representatives of Hesse, Saxony, Belgium, Sweden and Norway, and Italy; and Prince Frederik of Denmark. The convention was a groundbreaking development for the intended low-cost circulation of art objects and entire "historical monuments" through the medium of plaster casts for display in museum collections, and it occurred at a singular moment when a pan-European exchange network seemed possible above the emerging egocentric representation of each *Kulturnation* (culture nation). The convention read like this:

> Throughout the world every country possesses fine historical monuments of art of its own, which can easily be reproduced by casts, electrotypes, photographs, and other processes, without […] damage to the originals.
> **(a)** The knowledge of such monuments is necessary to the progress of art, and the reproductions of them would be of a high value to all museums for public instruction.
> **(b)** The commencement of a system of reproducing works of art has been made by the South Kensington Museum and illustrations of it are now exhibited in the British section of the Paris Exhibition, where may be seen specimens of French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Swiss, Russian, *Hindoo* (italics MF), Celtic, and English art.
> **(c)** The following outline of operations is suggested:
> **I.** Each country to form its own commission according to its own views for obtaining such reproductions as it may desire for its own museums.
> **II.** The commissions of each country to correspond with one another and send information of what reproductions each causes to be made, so that every country, if disposed, may take advantage of the labours of other countries at a moderate cost.
> **III.** Each country to arrange for making exchanges of objects which it desires.
> **IV.** In order to promote the information of the proposed commissions in each country and facilitate the making of reproductions, the undersigned members of the reigning families throughout Europe, meeting at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, have signed their approval of the plan, and their desire to promote the realisation of it. The following Princes have already signed this Convention…[25]

To conclude, within the international flows of copies, these 'immobile' and internationally renowned icons of cultural heritage (from single precious objects to architectural elements and whole "historical monuments" from all over Europe and the world) became highly mobile and – to fol-

25 This text is today displayed in a facsimile reproduction in the Architectural Courts in the Victoria & Albert Museum (formerly South Kensington Museum, compare Figs. III.23 and Pl. III.4–5).

low our transcultural methodology (compare chart Fig. Intro.2a) – increasingly lost their fixed local identity, exploitable national affiliation, and the relevance of legal ownership. At this moment, the modern colonial enterprise was just developing, and the appropriation of art and architectural manifestations in colonised territories (like India and Indochina) for the European heritage market was about to begin.

5. The *palais de l'Industrie* after 1855: A laboratory for the *Exposition permanente des colonies* and the *Union centrale des beaux-arts appliqués à l'industrie*

What is particularly interesting in Redgrave's report is his detailed, up-to-date knowledge about the French roots of the practice of taking plaster casts of art objects. This knowledge was made clear when he brought one important institution into the debate – the *Union centrale des arts appliqués à l'industrie*, which had organised their first exhibition in 1865 in the *palais de l'Industrie*, the site of the Universal Exhibition of 1855. The 1855 Universal Exhibition will not be discussed in detail here for the simple reason that at that time the contact zone with Cambodia or Angkor was not yet fully established: the colony of Cochinchina was only founded after the Treaty of Saigon in 1862 and the establishment of the protectorate of *Cambodge* in 1863; this did not include Angkor, which lay to the north on Siamese territory. However, the central building of the 1855 Exhibition played a crucial role insofar as two institutions residing in this building after 1855 helped to predefine certain display characteristics of cultural heritage in general and of the plaster casts from Angkor in particular.

On 23 October 1855 (some two weeks before the official closing of the 1855 Exhibition), a handwritten four-page report from the *ministère de la Marine et les colonies* (*direction des Colonies, Bureau du régime politique et du commerce*) discussed the "necessity to create a space for the conservation of the colonial products after the universal exhibition and to launch the project for a permanent location for an exhibition of these products". Its author was the *conseiller d'état* and *directeur des colonies*, Mestro. He was worried about these products from the colonies that had been displayed in an annex of the palace and were cared for by the Department of the Navy but afterwards taken away and publicly sold or bought by the state. Mestro mused on a possible site for a "permanent exhibition", which had to comprise not only the already institutionalised popularisation of the commercial opportunities in Algeria[26] but also that of the colonies further away, the "richness of soil" of which should be put "constantly in front of the eyes of the public" (Mestro 1855). He was successful in this project; the *Exposition permanente des produits de l'Algérie et des colonies* was founded by decree of Chasseloup-Laubat, the minister of the colonies, in 1858 (Palais de l'Industrie 1875, xii). In 1859 the collection found a home in the *palais de l'Industrie* – with Aubry-Lecomte, *sous-commissaire de Marine*, as its conservator and with a small local committee overseeing the different sections of Algeria, Guadeloupe, Senegal, and Guyane. A *Guide du visiteur* from 1860 reconfirmed the installation of the exhibition within seven bays inside the southern gallery of the *palais de l'Industrie*'s first floor, accessible by gate XII of the building.

The display focused on four major thematic groups: vegetable products, minerals, animal products, and "indigenous industries and ethnography" (Cardon 1860, 8). The latter – we might call it 'performative' – approach to the representation of the French colonies' products and *patrimoine*, even if Cochinchina was not yet displayed, was especially crucial for the representation modes of Angkor in future universal exhibitions. As the guidebook described, the visitor to the *Exposition permanente* was confronted with a strange display of different colonies at the entry to the exhibition's gallery, which combined an ethnographic staging with original archaeological findings to form a hybrid ensemble. The scene comprised of two faked warriors framing the entry, one from Gabon holding three spears, a

26 The *Exposition permanente des produits de l'Algérie* had been a small collection of samples that were assembled in a small subsidiary building of the war ministry in order to provide minor information to the employees and a small, curious public. After its display at the London Exhibition of 1851, it was, after a time in the *rue de Bourgogne*, finally installed in 1854 for the public as the *Exposition algérienne* in the city palace Hôtel Sesmaisons in *rue de Grenelle-Saint-Germain*. The collection was organised into several rooms displaying a "véritable encyclopédie algérienne" (Ministère de la guerre 1855, 8) with a strong focus on agricultural and industrial products and a very small section of '(applied) arts' with daily utensils, carpets, small furniture, and some paintings. A short-lived single *Exposition permanente des Colonies* without Algeria was installed in *rue de Rivoli*. At the moment when the two different administrations of Algeria and the colonies were merged into one ministry, these two exhibitions were also united inside the *palais de l'Industrie* (Cardon 1860, 5; Blum 1894, 7).

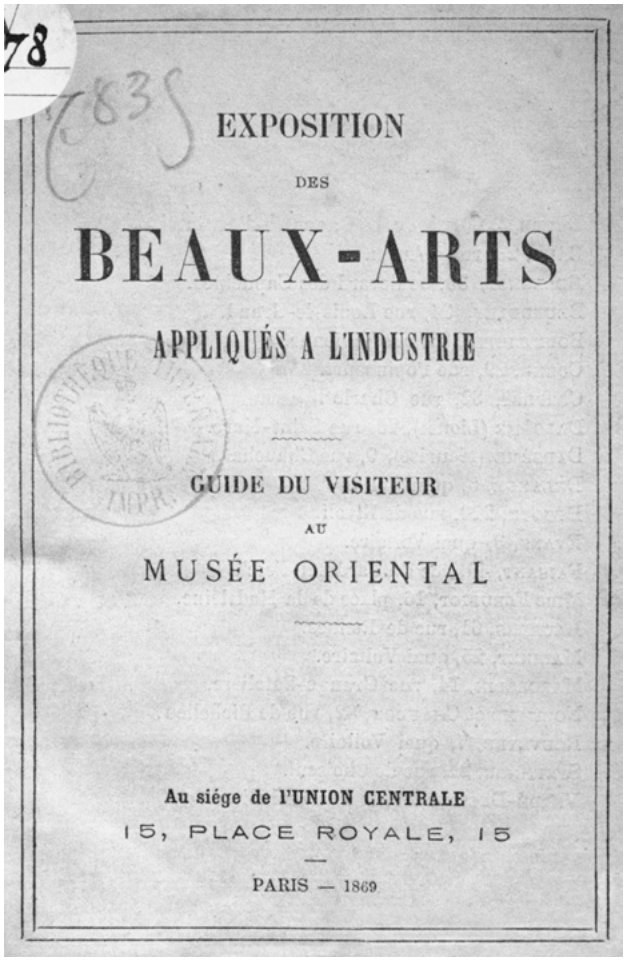


Figure I.16 Official guide of 1869 to the *Musée oriental* at the *Union centrale des beaux-arts appliqués à l'industrie* in Paris (Source: Union centrale 1869b, cover)

sword, and a buckler, and one from Guyane with a costume of liana and algae. The idols of Shiva [*le Cupidon indien*] and Buddha, which according to the guidebook had been found during archaeological excavations of the mosque of Rangoon in the *Indes Occidentales*, were placed at their feet, and the whole display was framed by sugar cane from the colonies of Mayotte and Réunion (Cardon 1860, 8).

This combination of colonial products, *patrimoine*, and ethnography inside the exhibition found its apex in the display of sixteen lifelike busts and bodies of indigenous "Algerian types" by Charles Cordier, the French ethnographic sculptor who was also to garnish the ethnographic gallery of the National History Museum in Paris (later *musée de l'Homme*) with a similar display (Margerie 2004). Calling these busts "*spécimens des beaux-arts*", the guidebook quoted a catalogue that summarised the approach of the artist: also interesting for "the anthropologist, the ethnographer, anatomist, philosopher, and historian", his art was "not a simple individual episode, a pure fantasy" but was part of the description of the "great movements of humanity"; his "faithful reproductions of the types of different races [were] necessary to throw light on the study of the biological and moral sciences, and to give them a solid basis through the sculpting which [serving this approach, MF] had never a more profound signification, a more general interest" (Cardon 1860, 97–98, quoting Trapadoux 1860). Together with its colonial-political mission and economic propaganda, two highly important facets of the *Exposition permanente* migrated into the displays of Angkor in future universal exhibitions: a) the combination of lifelike ethnographic staging *together* with artistic sculptural interpretations as "*reproductions fidèles*" of the colonised Other, and, b) their function of describing the advancement of humanity. According to the important footnote in Garnier's 1873 publication, it was also the context and display mode of the *Exposition permanente* into which the sulphur casts from Angkor by de Lagrée were transplanted after their seven-month display in Group II/Class 8 of the 1867 Exhibition at the *Champs-de-Mars*.

In the same year (1858) that the larger *Exposition permanente des colonies* was created, the French *Société du progrès de l'art industriel* was founded to assist the fusion of the applied arts with industrial developments. Its first *Exposition de l'art industriel* was opened in the *palais de l'Industrie* in 1861 with a focus on drawings and models for the application of art in relation to mechanical reproductions (compare Group II/Class 8 in the 1867 Exhibition). The *Société l'Union centrale des beaux-arts appliqués à l'industrie* was founded in 1864, and its bylaws defined its final goal as being "to foster these cultures of art which served the realisation of the beautiful and the useful" and to support those works of art that helped "augment the public taste for the beautiful". As it was defined in §5 of the foundation text, the institution was convinced of the advantages of the "universalisation of the applied arts into industry" (Union centrale 1865, 35). Once again, the Department of Science and Art of the South Kensington Museum in London was the major reference. The first exhibition of the *Union centrale* took place in 1865 in the *palais de l'Industrie*, two years before the Universal Exhibition of 1867. In the galleries, the great nave, and its lateral pavilions, original works of art were displayed next to industrial reproductions, and their different conceptual distinctions and artistic values were blurred and merged. The nine groups of applied arts, which covered themes from the decoration of housing and furniture to issues of education, highly influenced the classification system of the universal exhibition two years later. The first group contained "all works of art composed in the area of industrial reproduction" and also included many examples of the plaster cast technique. Additionally, the 1865 exhibition catalogue covered the special section of a *musée rétrospectif* with the exhibited periods stretching from antiquity to the Renaissance. As the Union's president Ernest Guichard pointed out in the preface, the 1865 Exhibition had been organised for the French industry as a preparative undertaking towards the "European competition"

of the 1867 Universal Exhibition (Union centrale 1869a, v–vi). Despite this focus on French products, a specific section on the Middle Ages to the Renaissance also covered Roman and Assyrian antiques as well as "Oriental Art", including bronzes, lacquerware, faience, and porcelain from India, Persia, China, and Japan. With its 'original' works of art, this section on Oriental art mutated into a special *Musée oriental* that was displayed at the Union's headquarters at the *place Royale* (**Fig. I.16**). As the *Guide du visiteur* from 1869 speculated, the museum's eight rooms (including a *grand salon*) finally received, once the 1867 Exhibition had closed its doors, the original ethnographical art objects from French India and Cochinchina that had belonged to the *ministère de la Marine et des colonies* and had most probably originated partly from de Lagrée's missions to Angkor (Union centrale 1869b, 41).

Despite the institution's early approach of evaluating plaster casts as *original* products of the applied fine arts, the *Union centrale* also hosted exhibitions of plaster casts that were conceived as copies of French architectural *patrimoine*. Its fifth exhibition in 1876 in the *palais de l'Industrie* displayed objects from the archives of the *commission des Monuments historiques* with Viollet-le-Duc (see his role as the founder of the *musée de Sculpture comparée* in chapter III). Besides drawings and photographs of French monuments (including Roman and Arabic architecture in Algeria), the visitor could explore almost one hundred full-scale plaster casts from French historic monuments, including twelfth-century architectural sculpture from the collection of Geoffroy-Dechaume (Union centrale 1876, 91–98). Only a few months later this collection would find its home inside the *palais de Trocadéro* of the Universal Exhibition of 1878. Together with the ethnographic character of the *Musée permanente des colonies*, with its colonial-political and economic approach, and the exhibitions of the *Union centrale des beaux-arts appliqués à l'industrie*, with their focus on industrially applied arts,[27] the *palais de l'Industrie* was a test laboratory for the staging of French and colonial cultural heritage in the medium of plaster casts. When de Lagrée's plaster casts and originals were finally displayed in the *Musée permanente des colonies*, it was reported that the brothers of Doudart de Lagrée (who by that point was already dead) allowed the following lines to be installed above his Angkor collection: "Mort victime de son zèle pour la science" [Died a victim of his zeal for the sciences] (Villemereuil 1879, 62).

6. Back to Egypt: The exotic architectures in the park of the 1867 Exhibition and the role of plaster casts

Although the 1867 Exhibition was already the second universal exhibition in Paris after 1855, it was the first ever in France to introduce freestanding pavilions outside the central exhibition building. Small 'national' pavilions and shop-like installations inside the *palais de l'exposition* had already been a feature of earlier universal exhibitions. As an illustration of the interior of the 1867 Exhibition *parcours* illustrates, the spatial arrangement also confronted the visitor with a densely packed series of representations of the Far East including Siam, the de facto legal owner of Angkor at that moment (compare Figs. I.14a,b). The settings in the newly introduced park, constructed by the engineer Jean-Charles Alphand with the landscape architect Jean-Pierre Barillet-Deschamps, enabled the architects of the more than thirty freestanding pavilions and almost twenty installations of 'nations' to create larger individual structures. They were sometimes even embedded into veritable architectural ensembles including a surrounding garden (compare Fig. I.12). As regards the predefined parameters for the different Angkorian pavilions in the later universal and colonial exhibitions, it was this outdoor 1867 Exhibition that triggered several cultural dynamics and processes that can be summarised in five aspects: the processes of (a) the iconisation of cultural heritage, (b) the stereotyping of one's own culture and of the 'alien-exotic Other', (c) the fossilisation of an imagined civilising strata, (d) patrimonialisation, and e) architectural hybridisation (compare Normand 1870).

Representing a nation (or, to a lesser degree, a cultural-political entity like the Vatican) or an institution (like the Suez Canal Company) within one single pavilion brought with it the problem of choosing those cultural elements that were considered representative of the nations' dominant features. This choice required a selection process initiated by the decision makers, which in many European cases included either national commissions composed of leading cultural-political and scientific representatives or just one national commissioner alone. The major reference for the cultural self-definition of emerging nation-states after 1800 was cultural heritage and, not surprisingly, most pavilions used the vocabulary of the already established canon of 'national heritage', which consistently excluded and eliminated all cultural elements outside the chosen representative framework. Taking into consideration that universal exhibitions during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were the largest public media events of the time –

27 In 1877, the *musée des Arts décoratifs* was founded and in 1880 both institutions were merged into the *Union centrale des Arts décoratifs*.

attracting millions of international and increasingly mobile visitors – these pavilions were also part of an emerging trend that can be called 'cultural heritage tourism'.

As a result, national pavilions were conceived as universally recognisable eye-catchers that depicted each nation's iconised 'national cultural heritage' characteristics in highly exclusive, temporarily built, and scale-compressed architectural models. Each individual European nation – or emerging Asian nation-state like China, Japan, and Siam – chose (or was helped by architects of the hosting nations to choose) representative characteristics for its pavilion in a process of cultural self-stereotyping. However, non-invited, non-participating, or even de facto non-existent nations or cultural entities were not necessarily absent. Keen to represent as many nations or cultures as possible in order to render a universal exhibition truly 'universal', the hosting nation quite often financed and built foreign pavilions using an architect of its own choice who imagined and invented the building style of the 'cultural other' in a process of stereotyping the foreign, alien, and exotic. In relation to both the pavilions of independent nation-states and the structures developed by the hosting nation itself, the processes of nationalising and (self-)stereotyping cultural heritage fostered a fossilisation of the displayed cultural strata within the stylistic appearance of each pavilion. Very often the emergence of cultural nationalism, with its investigations into the 'own' and/or 'alien' cultural strata of ancient and extinct civilisations, was aligned with the disciplines of art history and archaeology. As a result, the pavilions were styled, preferably using the architectural language of 'antiquity', according to different motivations: European modern nation-states tended to link their newborn cultural consciousness to the roots of the cultural strata of their 'own', occasionally reinvented, distant past. On the other hand, to label and 'fossilise' a European colony from Africa, the Americas, and Asia with an archaeologically reconstructed stylisation of an extinct civilisation helped the colonising *métropole* to detach the colonial entity from its own contemporary, but supposedly primitive, decadent, and uncivilised present. In the case of colonialism, the process of 'patrimonialisation' came with the material translation and transfer of the colonialised country's cultural heritage into the centre of a universal or colonial exhibition. It helped the colonising motherland within its *mission civilisatrice* – this was also true for modern nation-states within their 'own' antiquity – to reinvent itself as a highly civilised inheritor of the past and to connect itself with the past as a righteous 'continuer' of a distant 'high' civilisation. Finally, most of the pavilions from the 1867 Exhibition onwards were built as architectural hybrids. The following case study will demonstrate in particular (as the long career of reconstitutions of Angkor in the next chapters demonstrates generally) that archaeologically appropriated originals – ranging from sculptures to whole architectural parts together with copied originals from the original site and occasionally multiplied by mechanical reproduction with the use of drawings, plaster casts, and photographs – were integrated into hybrid-picturesque pavilions. These were in their very core always constructed with contemporary building techniques and modern materials. As a picturesque stylistic hybrid from the outside, it exhibited in its richly decorated inner showroom a mix of original archaeological findings, new architectural models, and life-size ethnographic installations along with geographical maps, photographs, and scientific publications.

With the plans of the southwestern outdoor section of the 1867 Exhibition as a reference – its geographical direction was turned upside down on this map for a better readability (**Pl. I.5a–c**) – we will focus primarily on the *Parc Égyptien* inside the Oriental section. Approaching this ensemble from the south, the visitor passed the Italian section created by the Italian architect Cipolla to the northeast along with several smaller buildings, including the archaeological reconstitutions of the *Maison toscan* and the *Palais pompéien* with an inner display of bronze reproductions of archaeological findings from Herculaneum. Directly opposite, in the southwest, the Vatican staged a ruined entryway to the subterranean 'Roman catacombs'. Having reached the crossing of the *Avenue d'Orient* and the *Grand Boulevard* and looking to the northeast down the *Grand Boulevard*, the visitor had before him a hybrid collage of 'oriental constructions' (**Fig. I. 17**): to the right the mosque of the Turkish ensemble, in the centre and to the left the Arab-style *palais*, the *écuries*, and the *temple de Phile* of the *Parc Égyptien*. Continuing along the avenue and turning left (northwest) on the *Avenue des Etats-Unis*, the visitor would bypass the pavilions of the *Compagnie du canal de Suez* and of Romania to reach the strange pre-Columbian *temple de Xochicalco* – the highly disputed Mexican pavilion. In actual fact Mexico had not been invited to contribute as a nation because of the anti-monarchist tensions that had recently erupted in the country. The Austro-Mexican emperor Maximilian, installed as monarch by Napoleon III (the host of the 1867 Exhibition) had just been executed by Mexican nationalists under Benito Juarez on 19 June in the same year. Thus, the arrangement of peaceful nations inside the 1867 Exhibition did not necessarily mirror the political realities but focused instead on reconstructing an apolitical pavilion-like model of the civilisation of humankind (**Fig. I.18**). This archaeological hybrid from Mexico was built as a private project by Léon-Eugène Méhédin, who had taken plaster casts and pictures of the same building as a photographer for the French *Commission scientifique du Mexique pour l'archéologie*. Turning south in front of the *Missions évangeliques* and passing the large Moroccan, Chinese, and Japanese sections to the right along the *Avenue d'Orient*, the visitor came across the *écuries pour éléphants* (the Siamese installation of the stalls containing real elephants!) and moved left to return to where he had started at the Egyptian Park, which comprised of four buildings and the *temple de Phile* (*temple de pharaon* or *temple d'Edfou* in other sources), its most interesting element (**Fig. I.19**).

Figure I.17 General view of the 'oriental constructions' in the 1867 Universal Exhibition (Source: Grand album 1868, 85; © Heidelberg University Library)

Figure I.18 Pavilion of Mexico, temple of Xochicalco (Source: Chalet-Bailhache 2008, 23)

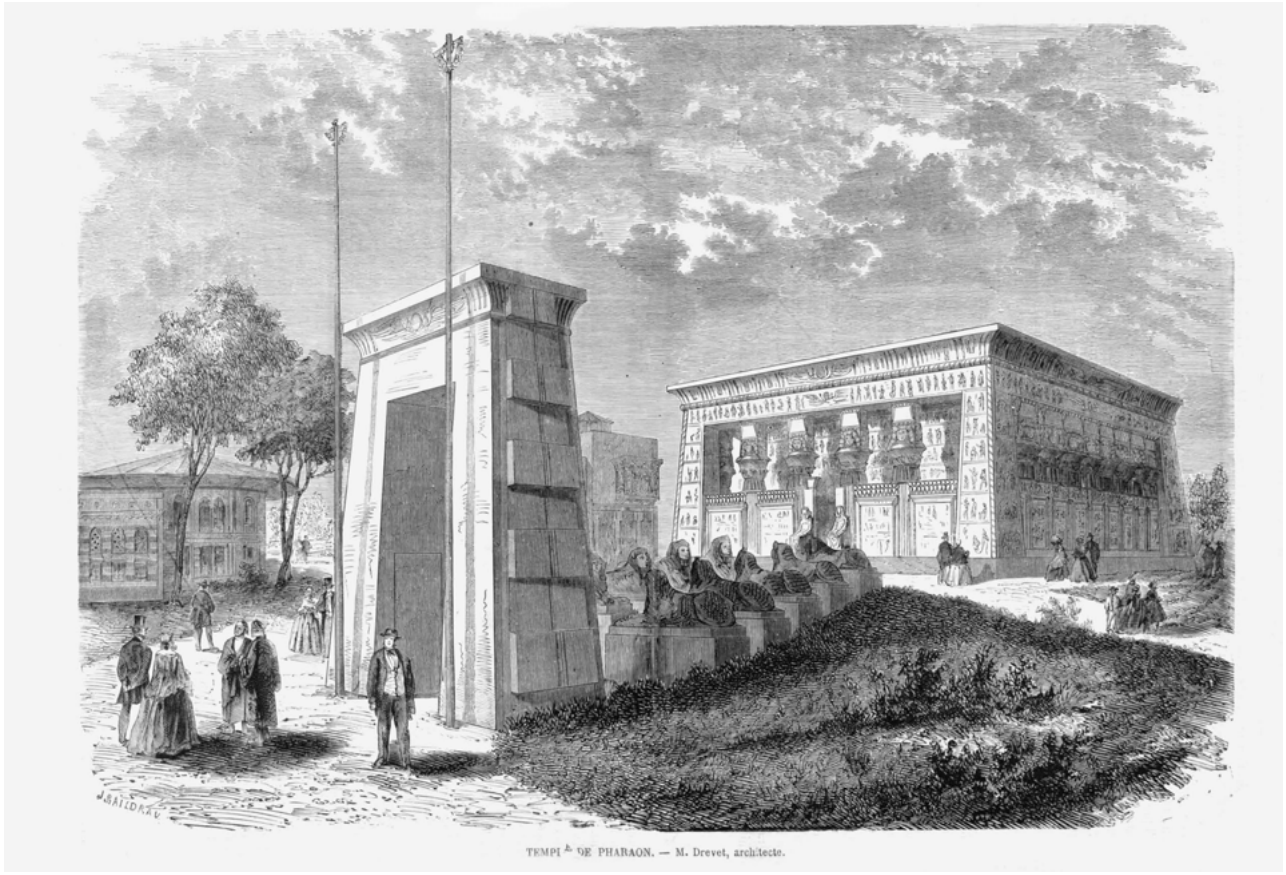


Figure I.19 *Temple du Pharaon* of the Egyptian ensemble of the 1867 Universal Exhibition (Source: Exposition universelle de 1867 illustré, vol. 1, 57; © Heidelberg University Library)

It is this temple structure that not only contributed to all five of the processes enumerated above; its conceptualisation, style- and space/scale-compressed composition, and architectural construction methods would, from an abstract point of view, be surprisingly influential for, if not similar to, the Angkorian reconstitutions in future universal and colonial exhibitions.[28] Additionally, this pavilion's construction mode was one of the best documented in the earliest history of 'French' Orientalist pavilion constructions for universal exhibitions (compare Normand 1870, as discussed in the introduction). This is due to the detailed one-hundred-page report *Exposition universelle de 1867: Description du Parc égyptien* by Auguste Mariette-Bey, an eminent French archaeologist in Egypt, member of the international jury of the 1867 Exhibition and of the *Commission vice-royale égyptienne*. The 'Egyptian Park' in Paris was under the organisation of Charles Edmond, *Commissaire général de l'Exposition Vice-Royale égyptienne*, who was working in the name of the Egyptian viceroy Ismael Pacha. The ensemble comprised four structures: the temple, "both museum and specimen of the Pharaonic art"; the *palais* "in Arabic style" built by the architect from the Egyptian government, E. Schmitz, with an apartment for the Egyptian viceroy and a hall with an exposed relief plan of Egypt; the two-story *Okel* in the style of an Upper-Egyptian caravansary with a public café, some rooms for "indigenous Egyptians", their boutiques and ateliers, and a study room upstairs for the Egyptian commission and the secretariat of the *Société anthropologique de Paris*; and, finally, the *écuries*, which provided the stables for two donkeys and two dromedaries (Mariette 1867a, vi). Officially working for the Egyptian *commission vice-royale*, Jacques Drevet, the architect of the temple, was one of the typical French "Orientalist architects" (Declety 2003, 62, 65), along with his French colleague Alfred Chapon, who built the *palais du Bey de Tu-*

28 Compare with the 1:10-scale plaster cast model of a gate in Angkor Thom for the 1878 Exhibition (see Fig. II.12, compare Falser 2013b); or the *pagode d'Angkor* of 1889 with its *Allée de Sphinx* (see Pl. IV.5).

nis, the *jardin chinois*, the Suez pavilion, and the Siamese and Japanese buildings.

According to Mariette's report, the overall site of the temple measured eighteen metres wide by forty-eight metres long from the entry gate to the back of the temple structure. Mariette himself preferred to call the structure a "chapel" or a "museum" to display the collection of Egyptian antiquities from the Museum of Boulaq/Cairo, which he had developed in 1858 to replace the older national museum. Generally speaking, the site was a spatially compressed version of similar 'real' Egyptian sites like Karnak or Edfu; the temple was temporally and stylistically compressed because, as Mariette elucidated in a separate publication called *Aperçu de l'histoire d'Égypte* from the same year (Mariette-Bey 1867b), it aimed to combine three major time periods from old Egyptian civilisation in one building. The visitor entered the site through a "Ptolemaic" pylon and advanced along a small *allée des Sphinx* (with five copies on each side) towards the two sitting sculptures of Ramses II (all copies from the "XIIIth dynasty", about sixteenth century BCE) placed at the entry to the inner temple. Measuring nine metres high, eighteen metres wide, and fifteen metres long, the temple building was encircled by a series of columns on each side (dating in style from the "introduction of the Christian era"), which created a circular corridor (dated "XVIIIth or XIXth dynasty", about thirteenth century BCE). Finally, the inner hall was arranged in the style of an ancient tomb (from the "Vth dynasty", about 2500 BCE) to represent the oldest style of Egyptian art. Functioning as a museum, it displayed a large collection of original sculptures, the accurate and natural lighting of which was, in contrast to the collage of authentic building parts that composed the structure, only made possible by non-authentic openings in the ceiling and the facades.

As he explained, Mariette presented the visitor with an "idea of Egyptian art with its three most characteristic epochs". To achieve this he "substituted a pure reproduction and simple building" with what he called an "étude d'archéologie égyptienne", "restitution", and "imitation" (Mariette 1867a, 10, 11) that was based on the temple of Philae in Upper Egypt near Aswan. However, Mariette abandoned the attempt to obtain *all* architectural and decorative elements from the real site in plaster casts as exact copies for Paris because of a lack of time, missing infrastructure (transport facilities), and destructive humidity at the site that was detrimental to a longer casting campaign. As a side effect of creating an imitation and interpretation rather than a mere copy of a real temple, Mariette bypassed the archaeologically obvious necessity of rebuilding the de facto ruins onsite (just behind the temple, the Vatican was represented by a ruined entry to the catacombs), and called his project a "savant effort" to reconstitute "an Egyptian temple at the time of its most perfect state of conservation".

After this explanation of his "archaeological study", Mariette obviously felt obliged to prove the degree of authenticity of its single elements and made the following astonishing list of the state-of-the-art techniques used for an exact material translation of architecture, a list that we will also encounter in the reconstitutions of Angkor: all parts were photographed and meticulously measured; almost all architectural elements, such as the bas-reliefs and columns were copied (sometimes "restored or made anew") by plaster casts and applied to the structural core as a masonry construction by the Parisian contractor M. Celeri; important details were taken in "almost 400 paper mouldings" [*éstampages en papier*] by the Parisian Godin; the ten sphinxes and the Ramses II statues on either side of the entry were moulded from originals at the Louvre Museum in stucco and multiplied by a newly applied technology using a mix of "Portland cement and integrated broken fragments of marble" by the Parisian *entrepreneur cimentier* Chevalier; the decorative work on almost all the exterior facades including the twenty-two columns was modeled after plaster casts by the Parisian *maison Bernard et Mallet*; and the existing colours were "sampled" in situ and executed as "archaeological paintings" by the Parisian painter Bin (Mariette 1867a, vi–vii, 11–28). "The architecture of the ancient kingdoms became an accepted symbol" (Çelik 1992, 116) as an iconised *pars pro toto* of Egyptian heritage, and the Pharaonic antique style became the obligatory stereotype in depictions of Egypt for the following universal exhibitions (as was likewise the case with Angkor as a representation of Cambodia). This was certainly the case in 1878 when Mariette, now promoted to commissioner general, built another Pharaonic version. In a kind of "denial of coevalness" (after Fabian 1983), the fossilisation of Egypt's stratum of antiquity served to disconnect the represented country from its contemporary culture. This "archaeologizing" strategy (Falser/Juneja 2013b) would in fact perfectly match those Eurocentric politics at play in French-colonial *Cambodge* and later in the new-born nation state of Cambodia to turn a religious and active temple site of Angkor Wat into an architectural masterpiece within an archaeological and dead heritage reserve (see chapters IX, XII). Charles Edmond, the 'French' commissioner of the Egyptian section, had disqualified the Arabic architectural style as "arbitrary and capricious […] without any system worth being displayed" in order to praise the effort to "reconstitute by [scientific] thinking the oldest ideas of human civilisation" (Edmond 1867, 177, 18). The terms "reproduction fidèle" (Marini 1867, 58) or "idée plus complète [de l'art égyptien]" (Launey 1867, 423) used in relation to the Egyptian pavilion were the recurring Occidental descriptive features for Orientalised pavilion projects in universal and colonial exhibitions. In reality (and also in the case of Angkor), these ephemeral and strictly surface-oriented structures were strange architectural hybrids where all kinds of 'exact and authentic copies' from the original site – translated by the techniques of drawings, photographs, paper mouldings, and plaster casts – had been attached to a hidden core of contemporary building construction (brick, concrete, reinforced concrete, wooden scaffoldings). Through the exhibi-

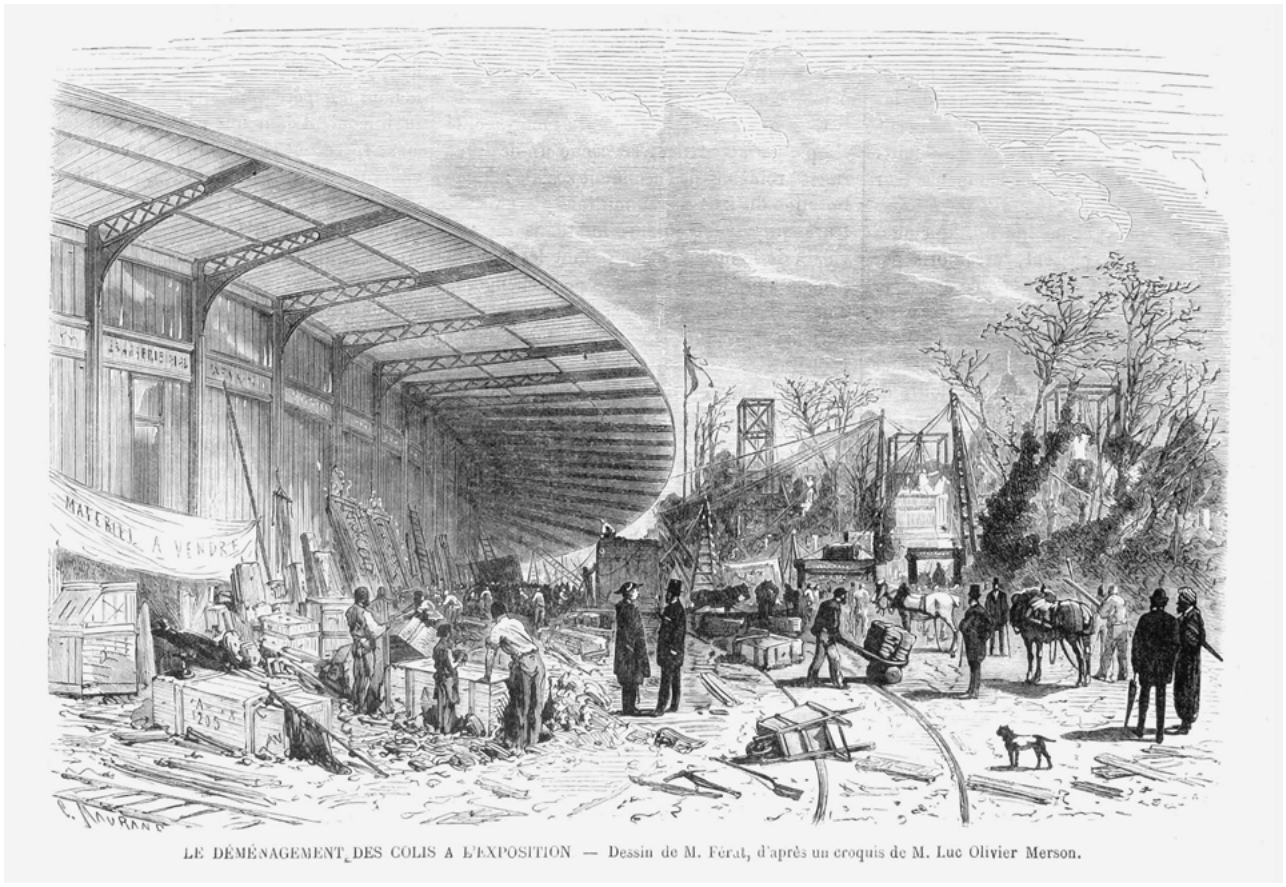


Figure I.20 *Deménagement* of the ephemeral event called the Universal Exhibition (Source: Exposition 1867 illustrée, II, 28.11.1867, 469; © Heidelberg University Library)

tion of original specimens in their interior showrooms, the borderlines between the concepts of original, reproduced, reconstituted, copied, interpreted, and reinvented works of art became fluid, permeable and undistinguishable, and resulted overall, as a final product, in a new creative exhibit of contemporary architectural and political-cultural practice.

When the 1867 Universal Exhibition was finally closed, the "spectacle" of the ephemeral pavilions was, as in all other following exhibitions in the future with Angkor on display, completely dismantled (**Fig. I.20**). However, it left a "durable memory" which would last within the French *imaginaire*:

> Que reste-t-il aujourd'hui de l'Exposition universelle de 1867? Autant vaudrait demander ce que sont devenues les neiges d'antan. […] C'est aujourd'hui surtout qu'on peut comprendre l'œuvre de reconstruction que nous avons menée à terme. Nous avons réédifié ce qu'on a détruit: et, à cause de cela même, notre œuvre restera: car elle gardera le *souvenir durable* de ce qu'on ne verra plus, c'est-à-dire *du spectacle qui laissera dans l'esprit des hommes l'impression la plus profonde de tout ce siècle, rempli pourtant de prodiges*. [italics MF] (L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée, vol. 2, 470)

II *La Porte d'Entrée* from Ethnography to Art: Delaporte's Missions to Angkor, his *Musée Khmer* and the Universal Exhibition of 1878[1]

1. Cracking the translation code of Khmer temple architecture: Delaporte's mission to Angkor in 1873

> Additional funds are necessary from the Beaux-Arts section […]. They will certainly be useful for the Colony itself, which also provides support with great goodwill: all this will indeed help to make better known and *bring back from oblivion all those marvels once produced, its old civilisation*. These funds will help to collect precious material for the reconstitution of its history, and in short, *to attract attention of scholars, artists and of all France to shed light on a French country with an undoubtedly great future* […] The goal of the excursion to the Khmer ruins is, above all, to collect, *for being sent later on to the museums in France*, the greatest possible amount of sculptures, art objects, casts from bas-reliefs, reproductions of inscriptions, and other artistic and archaeological specimens from the explored monuments. [italics MF]
>
> *–Louis Delaporte to the Cochinchinese governor Dupré (Saigon, 14 July 1873)*

In the year 1873, when the impressive publication *Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine 1866–68* was finally published, the first really comprehensive French mission to Angkor took place. The planning, execution, and outcome of this *mission scientifique aux ruines des monuments khmers de l'ancien Cambodge* to collect Angkorian objects for "our national museums" (Delaporte 1874, 2516) was published in April 1874 by Louis Delaporte, its restless *spiritus rector*, in a detailed six-page report for the *Journal officiel de la République Française*. This report was addressed to the main sponsors of the mission, the *ministre de la Marine et des colonies* and the *ministre de l'Instruction publique, des cultes et des beaux-arts*. Most important, the 1874 report provides us with a detailed list of what can be contextualised as the first massive material translation of Angkor for the French public. Its objects were, in a first step made since August 1874, displayed in the small *musée Khmer* in the *palais de Compiègne*, seventy-five kilometres northwest of Paris.

Even though Delaporte's project focused entirely on Angkor, the preparatory correspondence shows that the arguments he advanced in seeking funding for this undertaking were quite similar to the political and commercial goals of the de Lagrée–Garnier mission in 1866–68. In an undated seven-page draft letter (most probably from 1872), Delaporte scrutinised the "usefulness of an explorative mission to the basin of Tonkin and its neighbouring regions". He referred to the Tonkin-Yunnan area as "rich in carbon", to the importance of the "Yang-se-king route for the European trading interests" (indeed, he mentioned the earlier Mekong mission as a reference), and to the goal of "making our merchants aware of these regions' products and industries". And he deemed the future results highly relevant to parallel inquiries of the "geographical societies in London and Berlin" and the "commercial networks [already] established by German and American agents". As a concluding remark, he calculated that the mission would take one year, with costs totalling 30,000 francs.[2] In an earlier letter from 1873 to Admiral Dupré – who was at that time *gouverneur général du Cochinchine* and had the lofty ambition of incorporating the province of Tonkin into the French colonies in Indochina where Garnier had just died on the battlefield after capturing Hanoi (Dupuis 1885, Dutreb 1924) – Delaporte listed his efforts to finance his mission. He mentioned his unsuccessful approaches to the ministers of commerce, the navy, and the colonies, and even of foreign affairs, and formulated his idea "to make plaster casts and to obtain original specimens [*échantillons*] of the Khmer ruins by permission of the Cambodian king […] to be sent back to France where they would easily find the best places within the collections of the Louvre".[3] As a major political player in the French-colonial project and also co-sponsor of the 1873 publication, the *Société de géographie de Paris* was considered one suitable financial partner. Delaporte had already contacted the society in

1 Parts of this section were published in Falser 2013b and 2014.

2 Louis Delaporte, Utilité d'un voyage d'exploration du bassin de Tongkin et des régions. 7 p., undated letter (ANOM INDO GGI 11795).

3 Delaporte to Dupré, Paris 3 January 1873 (ANOM INDO GGI 11795).

1872.[4] Along with the support of the *ministre de la Marine* Admiral Pothuau and its *directeur des Colonies* Baron Benoist d'Azy, Delaporte's major political-cultural liaison was the *direction des Beaux-arts* under the *ministre de l'Instruction publique, des cultes et des beaux-arts* Jules Simon. This *direction* was the Third Republic's newly installed institution to oversee art production for the state (Genet-Delacroix 1996) under its first director Charles Blanc. Delaporte was granted 10,000 francs to "gather, during [his] stay in Cambodia, statues, bas-reliefs, columns, and other architectural elements and sculptures of archaeological and art historical interest and to deliver them to a French outpost from where these fragments would be transported to France by boats of the state".[5]

On 20 May 1873, well equipped with art works as French gifts for the Cambodian king and his mandarins, Delaporte left France on his *mission d'exploration du Tonkin* to Cochinchina, where he arrived five weeks later. Several letters to Dupré dating up to mid-July 1873 confirm Delaporte's efforts to establish, upon his arrival in Saigon and with the help of Chomereau Lamothe, the general secretary of the Cochinchinese government, a suitable personnel for his project. Including a diplomatic side visit to the Cambodian king in Phnom Penh with help by Jean Moura (*lieutenant de vaisseau* and French *représantant du Protectorat du Cambodge* in Phnom Penh), it now entirely focused on Angkor. With a patriotic undercurrent in his 1873 letter, which was dated conspicuously to Bastille Day (14 July), Delaporte placed his archaeological mission right in the ideological centre of the French-colonial *mission civilisatrice*. The funds provided by the Beaux-Arts directorate would (see the full introductory quote above) help (a) to salvage the marvels of the ancient Khmer civilisation, which had entirely sunk into oblivion; (b) to reconstitute its history by the collection of precious materials; and (c) to "attract the attention of the savants, artists, and all France to shed light on this *French country* [italics MF] with a grand future". As regards the process of material translation, Delaporte's aim "to collect the largest possible number of sculptures, art objects, casts of bas-reliefs, reproductions of inscriptions, and other artistic and archaeological specimens"[6] never distinguished between original objects or their substitutions in plaster; the choice between original or copied *échantillons* for France depended apparently on their 'translatablility' as regards size, weight, transport, and infrastructure. Inside French *Cambodge*, "removal of specimens" from ruins like those close to Compong-Soai caused "no difficulties" for Delaporte as long as he counted them as "abandoned ruins from the cult". Nor did Delaporte care about the legal ownership of these Angkorian properties, which were until 1907 *not* placed 'within a French country' (as Delaporte had it in the above quoted letter) but were on Siamese territory, as he mentioned himself in his report of 2 April 1874 in the *Journal officiel de la République Française*:

> On 13 September we arrived at Angkor Thom. I found the mission being installed in a grand bamboo hut right in the centre of the ruins […] The province of Angkor is today part of the kingdom of Siam. Therefore, our relationship to this new area was certainly different than to the mandarins inside [French] Cambodia. During his passage to Siem Reap, the centre of this province, Bouillet already had a meeting with the governor. *This mandarin was totally shocked by our arrival and decidedly declared that the installed orders of the king of Siam forbade all removal of statues or sculptures from the monuments of Angkor. These orders had been known to us in advance. As a consequence, Bouillet reassured the mandarin that we only wished to visit and study the ruins, to collect inscriptions, and to take casts of the sculptures and bas-reliefs.* In order to level these difficulties, I had brought on board of our gunboat some gifts for the governor, and as a reaction he consented to provide us guides and assistants for our task. [italics MF] (Delaporte 1874, 2546–47)

Delaporte's report in the *Journal officiel* listed all the major participants in the sixty-man expedition who were collected on one gun- and one steamboat. These included Félix Gaspard Faraut, *conducteur des ponts et chaussées* in Cochinchina and special assistant for the excursion to the ruins, together with three mechanists from the navy charged with drawing architectural plans; the engineer-hydrograph Bouillet; the civil engineer and geologist Ratte; and the naturalist Jullien from the Natural History Museum in Paris (all three came from France with Delaporte himself); the naturalist and navy medical doctor Jules Harmand; a dozen sea- and militiamen; three interpreters; and, last but not

4 In her detailed analysis, Julie Philippe quotes a source from the archive of the *Société de géographie* indicating that the *vice-amiral* Fleuriot de Langle presented Delaporte's idea on 19 July 1872 to the Society, which granted Delaporte 56,000 francs in the same year (Philippe 2013, 47; compare Philippe 2011).

5 *Chef du bureau des beaux-arts* Aléxandre to Delaporte, Paris 12 May 1873 (ANOM INDO GGI 11795). A similar *Arrêté du ministère de l'Instruction publique, des cultes et des beaux-arts* was issued on 7 May 1873 (CARAN F17/2359); see Zéphir 2013, 42 and 43.

6 Delaporte to Dupré, Saigon 14 July 1873 (ANOM INDO GGI 11795). The detailed list of sites (from "Compong Svai to Lovec, Préacan, Mélea, from Pnom Culen to Angcor-Wat, Angcor-Thom and the surrounding temples like Pnom Crom to Ko Ker") and questions of the personnel were mentioned in the letters dated to 5, 14, and 17 July.

least, the *capitaine d'infanterie de Marine* Auguste Filoz, contracted as a specialist to execute moulds of the Khmer sculptures and bas-reliefs of the Bayon and Angkor Wat temples (**Fig. II.1a**). For the latter undertaking, the mission brought with them lifting jacks, *saws*, levers for the "manoeuvring of the stones", and "plaster and cement" for the mouldings (Delaporte 1874, 2516). As a starting point for his report, Delaporte repeated the typical colonial narrative about the Khmer temples sites: they were located "between the 10th and the 17th degree on northern latitude and the 100th and 105th eastern longitude" and were perfect in their execution as markers of a once powerful civilisation of "longue durée"; they contained remarkable artworks; they had been partly destroyed by war, abandoned for centuries, left in a state of complete disintegration, and were deserted, ignored, and even feared by the indigenous population who viewed the sites with "superstitious terror"; and, finally, they were covered by a devastating vegetation … and it was only with an "axe in the hand" that one could reach the temples.

The collection of "twenty carriages" full of original pieces from the temples of Beng Mealea and Preah Khan on the Cambodian side was under the care of Faraut, and the "detachment of the sculptured surfaces from big stone blocks required", in the middle of trees and liana and under conditions of constant bad weather, "a slow and exhausting use of the saw [sic!]" (Delaporte 1874, 2546).[7] This account is evidence of Delaporte's forceful detachment of original temple material. However, the transportation of the largest objects caused considerable problems. In a letter from Mealea to Dupré dated to 2 September and later depicted in his 1880 publication *Voyage en Cambodge*, he described how seventy to eighty Cambodians helped with the excavations. Some objects were cut into pieces with stone saws, fourteen ox carts were needed to bring the original giant statue of the Preah Khan to the neighbouring village of Stung, and rafts of bamboo sticks were used to transport smaller objects on the small river (**Fig. II.1b**).[8] After Delaporte's and Ratte's return from Phnom Bok temple with three sculptures, including one four-faced Brahma statue (Croizier 1875, 98, 113), the mission arrived in Angkor Thom on 13 September 1873. Since they were on controlled Siamese territory, the major obstacle was yet to be solved (or silently bypassed): as Delaporte indicated (see quotation above), the Siamese Mandarin in the nearby village of Siem Reap was "shocked" by the arrival of such a large French mission and strictly "prohibited any removal of statues and sculptures from the Angkor site" (Delaporte 1874, 2546–47). In order to improve the situation, Étienne Aymonier (himself working at the same time on another – linguistic – 'translation' project in form of the first Cambodian dictionary) was called from Phnom Penh to come with royal recommendation letter. Jean Moura was asked to organise suitable junks and diesel oil. To appease the Mandarin, Delaporte had also loads of wood delivered for the Siamese king's intended palace nearby.[9] Although his staff silently continued to remove originals from the site (**Fig. II.1c**), he assured the mandarin that they were appropriating sculptures, inscriptions, and architectural pieces from the temples without directly violating property rights, as they were only making reproductions (substitutes) of and conserving the originals – namely, by using the technique of making moulds and plaster casts.

As reconfirmed in a *dépêche télégraphique* sent at the beginning of October 1873, Delaporte was indeed preparing to remove one large sculptural ensemble of thirty big stones with two giants and a balustrade from a "locally abandoned monument" (as he referred to the Preah Khan near Angkor Thom) for a future "great effect in Paris". Today the ensemble is housed in the *musée Guimet*.[10] If the official story as published on 2 April 1874 in the *Journal Officiel* (see quote above) sounded like a full success, then Delaporte's internal *Note complémentaire du Compte rendu de la mission aux ruines des monuments Khmers de l'ancien Cambodge* (today preserved in the French National Archives) reveals a different, less glorious version of this giant transfer/translation operation. Not by accident did Delaporte introduce the document by saying that he had "reserved for this additional note some details particularly interesting for the Direction des Beaux-Arts", but did "not consider it useful to be made public":

> Arriving at the eastern causeway of Preah Khan, I was struck by the imposing effect of the two giants, one of which with five heads was holding in his ten hands the nine-headed dragon. Only a single element was missing. Certainly being a bit rough and deteriorated over time and through the contact by the trees, it appeared to me so remarkable that I decided to spare no efforts to bring it back to France. With unprecedented efforts, we finally succeeded to transport the thirty heavy stones of the group to the banks of the river five kilometres away. The Governor who had previously consented to send barges was shocked by such a considerable mass and refused to have it removed. I immediately sent out our steamboat to organise other barges at Phnom Penh. The day they arrived the mandarin had finally given his consent to give us ten pirogues to transport our stone blocks to the lake.

7 Delaporte's need of "some stone saws, which could not be found or fabricated on site" was even telegraphed to Phnom Penh and Saigon (Dépêche télégraphique, 30 August 1873; ANOM INDO GGI 11795).
8 Delaporte to Dupré, Méalea 2 September 1873 (ANOM INDO GGI 11795).
9 Delaporte to Dupré, Méalea 2 September 1873 (ANOM INDO GGI 11795).
10 Moura to Dupré, Dépêche télégraphique, Phnom Penh 2 October 1873 (ANOM INDO GGI 11795).

Figure II.1a

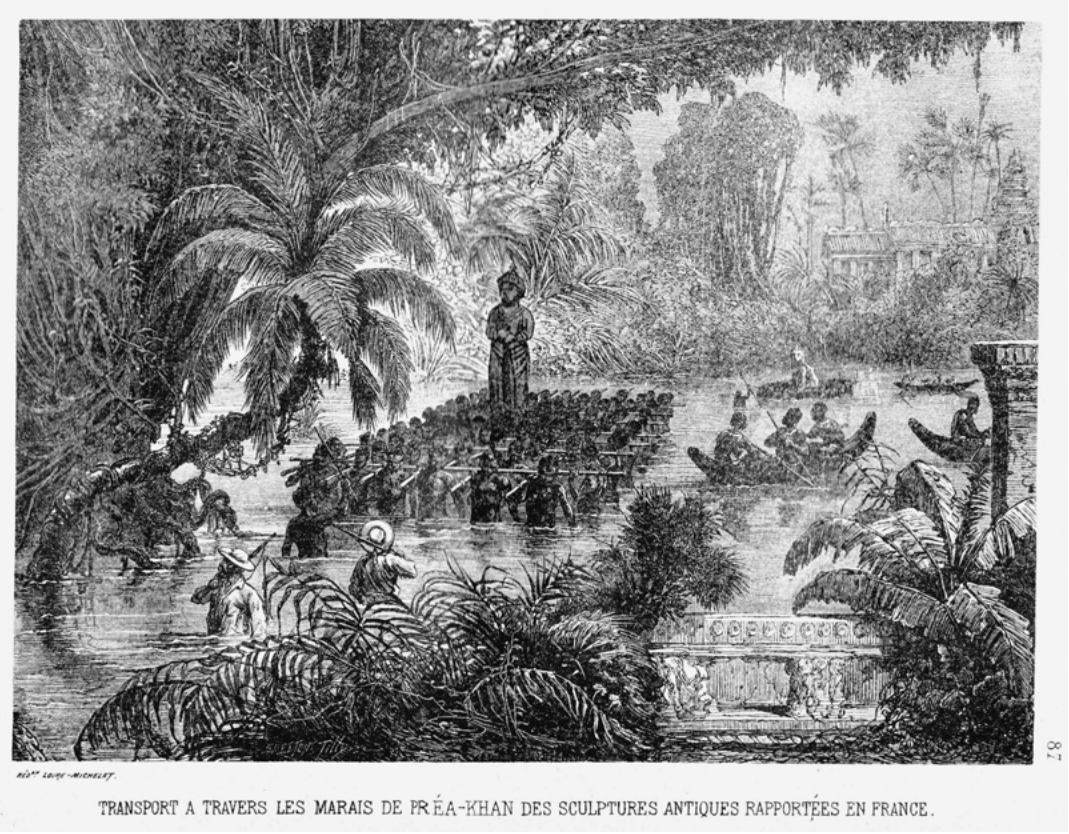
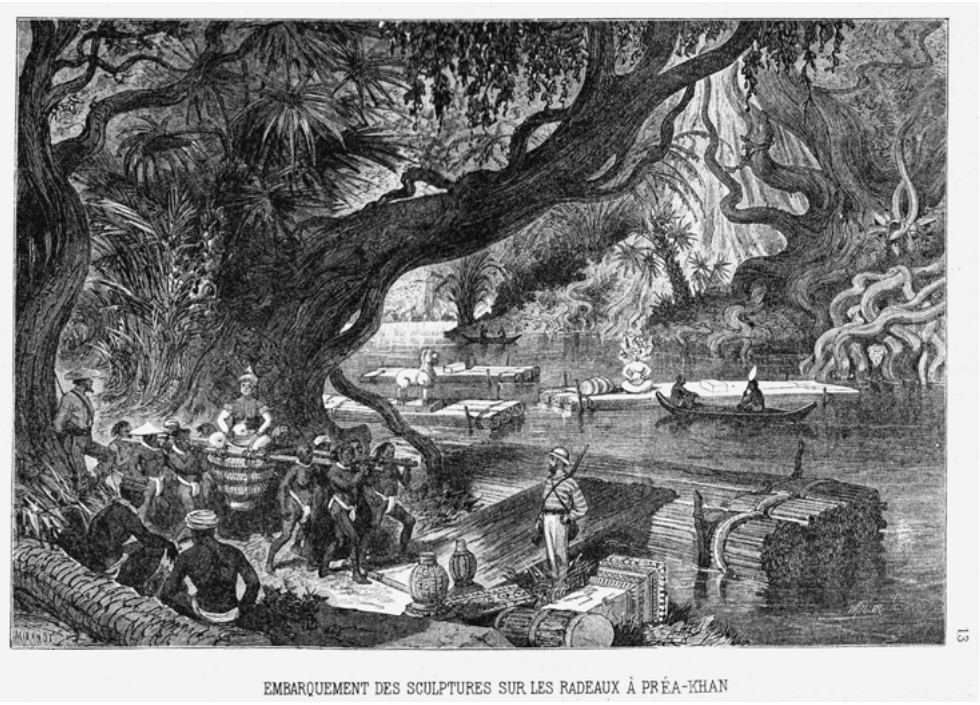


Figure II.1b



Figures II.1a–c Delaporte's mission at the ruins of Angkor and the transport of original sculptures to the French *métropole* (Source: Delaporte 1880, 367, 87, 13)

> One half of them were loaded on the gunboat, the other half on the barges from Phnom Penh. I myself was in such a bad state of health that I could not observe them during the voyage. The barge with the nine dragon heads was partially filling up with water and sank in the lake. A raft transporting a great lion from Preah Khan, a very nice and rare object, was also abandoned by the locals at the mouth of the Stung River.[11]

Besides visits to almost all the known sites in the Angkor area and the execution of measured drawings, detailed indications, and photographs from the Bayon temple for a "reconstitution complète" back in the French motherland (see the discussion of Delaporte's *musée Indo-chinois* later in chapter III), Jullien also made a test series of moulds from the bas-reliefs of the Bayon, and the head of the famous statue of the Leper King. Filoz was installed at Angkor Wat. However, due to limited resources (the mission's stock of plaster and cement had been completely decimated by the constant rain), the options for a massive material 'translation' were limited. Additionally, almost all of the mission's participants fell severely ill, and Delaporte decided to return to Phnom Penh and Saigon. Filoz was left behind on the site with one interpreter and some workers for his month-long undertaking of the moulding of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat. With the help of Aymonier the original objects and moulds were transported on several smaller skiffs to the larger boats of the mission, which reached Saigon on 13 October. Moura in Phnom Penh was charged with retrieving the original sculptures that had already been removed but were left behind in Angkor, and Delaporte decided to cancel the second part of the mission to Tonking due to his very bad health and "the latest political status in this country". Taking the next available *pâquebot* for France, he left Ratte and Jullien in Saigon to wrap up "our sculptures" (Delaporte 1874, 2547) and to load them on the state carrier *Aveyron* for France.

Never before in the modern history of the Khmer temples and Angkor Wat had such a 'massive material translation' of the Cambodian temple site for the European continent been attempted. Delaporte closed his 1874 report listing the "results of the mission" with the following six paragraphs: (a) the "acquisition" of about seventy original sculptures and architectural fragments, the most important

11 Louis Delaporte, *Note complémentaire du Compte rendu de la mission aux ruines des monuments Khmers de l'ancien Cambodge* (CARAN F21/4489/3a). For the valuable insight into this truly delicate issue, I am grateful for the information provided by Julie Philippe who has studied Delaporte's correspondence, today preserved in the private archive of the Delaporte family in Loches (Delaporte's birthplace in 1842) in detail (see Philippe 2011 and 2013; compare Tournemire 2013, Baptiste 2013a–c).

of which were a group of two crouching giants, several Buddha statues, and architectural fragments of pilasters, columns, capitals, doors, windows, cornices, sculptures bases etc.; (b) a moulding of the head of the famous Leper King and of a large fragment of the bas-reliefs of the Bayon temple (by Jullien); (c) thirty-four moulded panels of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat, forty-five mouldings from other temples by Filoz; (d) the recent discovery of more than ten ruins; (e) executed plans, drawings, and photographs of twenty remarkable ruins; and (f) a collection of copied inscriptions from around Angkor Wat (taken care of by Moura). The final paragraph of the report recalls Delaporte's vision for an "installation [in France] of the artistic collection of [this] mission" to the once powerful Angkorian region – at this moment still on Siamese territory, but in Delaporte's view a "region whose destiny was to be bound to France" (Delaporte 1874, 2548).

Back in France and in front of the *Société de géographie*, which had financed his trip to Angkor, Delaporte expressed his patriotic civilising vision of surveying the "unexplored regions of central Indochina", including the "ancient Cambodian provinces". Those had been just recently abandoned to Siam but today energetically reclaimed by King Norodom and which were, by the Cambodian heart of their inhabitants, their race, and language determined to come back to France [*redevenir françaises*]" (Delaporte 1875, 200). In 1877 Delaporte published a thirty-four-page description in the *Revue des deux mondes* on his mission to Angkor. In the passage on the work at Angkor Wat, he mentioned "one village and several monasteries, pilgrims, and monks" and the "dull superstition of the modern populations" on the site (Delaporte 1877, 451–52), but he focused primarily on the heroic French mission against the resistant Siamese, on the dense vegetation, the heat, the pouring rain, and the health problems that accompanied gathering original and copied specimens from the forgotten ruins of Angkor in Cambodia. He went on to claim that Cambodia itself had, with this initiative, finally "entered the domain of science for archaeologists, language scholars, Indianists, and Sinologists". In short, they had created "a scientific edifice on Indochina to rival what English Indianists had patiently created on their grand Asian colony" (Delaporte 1877, 455). This missionary undertone was again heard in his 1880 publication *Voyage au Cambodge*, and it once again proved the high political importance of the plaster casts from Angkor to the foundation of the French *mission civilisatrice* in Indochina.

Soon to provide a precious first-hand source of one of the major agents of this translation project of Angkor, the travel and working notes of Auguste Filoz were published in his 1889 account *Cambodge et Siam, voyage et séjour aux ruines des monuments kmers* [sic]. They counterbalanced the master narrative of the 1873 mission to Angkor that Delaporte had eternalised in the enthusiastic descriptions and imaginative engravings of his 1880 publication *Voyage en Cambodge* (see above).[12] More important, this publication certainly provides a) one of the most detailed accounts of the exhausting process of physical translation (i.e., moulding) work at Angkor Wat, and b) a rare account of the 'real other voices' – the monks – at the lively and far from abandoned temple site of Angkor Wat (see Fig. IX.7c):[13]

> *I hope that the hatred provoked through the Delaporte mission will not fall back on us.* I put on my uniform and, with two other Annamites, I visited the chief of the monks. Informed of our arrival, he (so to say a kinsman of the king of Siam) received us at the entrance of his hut and invited me to sit down with him. Our approach seemed to flatter him. *During our conversation he vivaciously complained (as the interpreter told us) about the Delaporte mission, which had stolen many idols and pillaged the whole country. And he said that it would be the best solution for us to leave instantly.* I answered without trouble that the mission had always acted in conformation with the authorities and had paid for all provided help. Our host replied, not without indignation, that Delaporte had never come to see him. […] I tried to convince the chief of the monks that our works are more helpful than menacing as we intend rather to clean and repair the sculptures rather than to deface them. His tone got milder as we went on. [Later] *a group of monks with ceremonial scarfs came to visit us* […] *They wanted to know the goal of our work. Of course, the moulding process was unknown to them.* I put a layer of cement on the ground; then, I put some oil on the imprints [*empreintes*], which I applied to the cement. This demon-

12 Delaporte complimented Filoz twice in his 1880 publication. In the paragraph "moulage de bas-reliefs" in chapter 6, he referred to Filoz's work at Angkor Wat. Left behind by Delaporte's mission, Filoz stayed on site for six weeks only to see his moulds destroyed in an accident on his return to Saigon. Delaporte also comments that "several very interesting plaster casts" of Filoz's work were finally shown at the Universal Exhibition in 1878 at the Trocadéro. However, in a footnote Delaporte detailed the failed translation efforts: Filoz had, above other objects, made fifty-four panels of thirty-two uninterrupted metres from the "galerie des combats" at Angkor Wat. Unfortunately, these had been executed in papier mâché [*carton pâte*] and suffered heavily from the humid climate at the site, but they were still of "great archaeological interest" and were stored in the "atelier de l'École des Beaux-Arts" in Paris for future use in Delaporte's *musée Khmer* (Delaporte 1880, 203, 251).

13 Compare the report of Carpeaux of his 1901 and 1904 missions to the Bayon temple (Carpeaux 1908) as discussed in chapter IX).

> stration had a good effect. *I finally explained to these men that, thanks to a mission like that of Delaporte, France possesses – for the instruction of her children and of the history of the genius of man – the specimen of the works of all people, which it conserves in splendid palaces.* 'Does this mean that there exist even more beautiful monuments than ours?', asked one of the monks. I responded to him with all sincerity that there were only few. 'These monuments', added the monk, 'are not the works of human beings, but of angels'. [italics MF] (Filoz 1889, 71–72, 73, 75)

Auguste Filoz, *capitaine, chevalier de la Légion d'honneur, officier d'Académie, membre de la société des Orientalistes*, (as he was announced in the book title) travelled from Toulon, France, to Saigon and Phnom Penh via the newly opened Suez Chanel and reached Angkor after Delaporte's mission (according to Filoz comprising 150 participants in total!) had already installed their tents inside Angkor Thom near the Bayon temple. In his travel notes, Filoz dedicated an entire eighty-page section entitled *Séjour aux ruines* to his work on the mouldings. Delaporte and his colleagues – at this point all severely ill – left the site in twenty-seven ox carts, and Filoz was left behind with three Annamites and one soldier. They installed themselves right next to the monastery with its "one hundred pretty constructions by the monks and their servants" inside the compound of Angkor Wat. What one comes to understand (see quote above) in reading this account is that Delaporte was, according to Filoz's astonishingly unbiased report, quite detested by the monks for having "looted" [sic!] Angkorian temple sites and "the whole country" without "even contacting the chief monk" at the largest monastery of the region – an oversight that was disrespectful and unthinkable in the local culture. At this point, in an attempt to explain the copying nature of the moulding technique, Filoz defended Delaporte and his own mission to bring some specimens of this (even for France) incomparable cultural site before the French public as one representative element of the global "history of human genius". A unique feature of Filoz's report is that the voices of the local monks are heard through their questions about 'the other' (France and its monuments) and through their own explanations of the divine status of their temple "built not by human beings but by angels" (Filoz 1889, 75).

Filoz judged that large parts of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat were too fragile for him to use cement for his moulds, and he proposed (in theory) the use of moistened tissue paper. However, as he mentioned himself, his more than forty "carton-pâte" moulds (Chinese paper and glue) of "the beautiful bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat" were only a second choice to "spare his limited stock of cement" (Filoz 1889, 86). In reality, these paper moulds never really dried properly and were destroyed by humidity and insects. Filoz's report is also a document of his personal struggle during this 'translation project'. He was ill, was attacked by mosquitos and the penetrating smell of bat guano and his hands were burning from working with cement (a procedure that also caused considerable damage to the original surfaces of the temple!).[14] He was constantly observed by helpful but vigilant monks, and he even fell from a scaffold in the northern gallery. Relief came with a three-day cremation ceremony on-site and, best of all, with the unexpected visit of his "good old friend Étienne Aymonier from Phnom Penh", with whom he "shared a bottle of Bordeaux" (Filoz 1889, 76–78). After these first trials, Filoz's successful moulds (which also finally reached France) were executed using several layers of cement under a thin coating of coconut oil, and they were cast from various parts of the galleries of Angkor Wat and from the temples of Bayon and Phnom Krom, and Preah Khan in the Compong-Soai province. On 30 October 1873 and after thirty-six days, Filoz and his three colleagues left Angkor Wat for Siem Reap with eight ox carts. This removal was not without incident, for the monks were very angry that they could not check Filoz's "considerable harvest", and the group also had a serious accident on the way due to a tiger attack (as they called it) during which damage was inflicted on "a considerable part of the moulds" (Filoz 1889, 109). Back in Phnom Penh, Filoz showed his mouldings to Moura and Aymonier and was even presented to the Cambodian king, Norodom I, on 17 November – just before his planned return to Angkor: "this time with appropriate material, indispensible provisions, and tools" (Filoz 1889, 162).

In December 1873, with Delaporte's report in his hands, Charles Blanc, the *Directeur des beaux-arts*, pledged his support with another 1,000 francs for Félix Faraut's return to the Angkorian region to finalise his work. This was "evidently of an interest of the first order, as much for the general history of the Asian civilisations as for the special history of fine arts".[15] As *conducteur des ponts et chaussées en mission scientifique dans le royaume de Siam*, Faraut was responsible for visiting Khmer temples in the Battambang–

14 I am grateful for the information provided by the stone conservator Simon Warrack who worked for many years for the *German Apsara Conservation Project* at Angkor Wat (see epilogue II). According to his observations it seems quite obvious that large parts of the famous bas-reliefs and tympana of Angkor Wat were damaged during the recurring executions of plaster casts and the even more destructive cement mouldings. However, this problem was not mentioned in the recent catalogue of the *musée Guimet* (see Pl. Intro.13), which celebrated Delaporte as the great discoverer of Angkorian temple art (compare Baptiste/Zéphir 2013, there within Baptiste 2013c, Leisen 2013, Falser 2013g).

15 Blanc to Dupré, Palais Royale 6 December 1873 (ANOM INDO GGI 11795).

Siem Reap region and for drawing detailed plans and elevations from the Delaporte mission, but he had to return in June 1874 for health reasons.[16]

Around the turn of the year 1873/74, 102 boxes containing moulds and original objects from the Delaporte-Filoz mission (like elements of the Naga balustrade as seen in the first original exhibit in the 1878 Exhibition, see Fig. II.21) arrived in Paris via the colonial port of Marseille.[17] To Delaporte's surprise, the Louvre Museum refused to display the cultural harvest from Angkor, and it remained unpacked in the courtyard of the museum for several weeks where it suffered under the harsh winter climate.[18]

2. The *musée Khmer* in Compiègne

Correspondence between the *Directeur des beaux-arts* under the *ministère de l'Instruction publique* and the *ministère des Travaux publics* indicates that the idea of installing the objects from Delaporte's mission in the *palais national de Compiègne* some eighty kilometres northeast of Paris was already percolating in February 1874. This was close to the castle of Pierrefonds, which was at that time under idealistic reconstruction by the architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (Delaporte's later competitor in obtaining exhibition space in the Trocadero palace; compare chapter III); both sites, Compiègne and Pierrefonds, were conceived "to attract visitors". Indeed, it may have been the close proximity of the collection to his own restoration project that had occasioned Viollet-le-Duc's visit to Delaporte's museum and formed his pejorative view of Khmer art.[19]

However, a note dated to the same month suggested that Delaporte's findings might be displayed in the *Exposition permanente des colonies* in the *palais de l'Industrie* before their travel to Compiègne.[20] Delaporte was in direct contact with the Beaux-Arts and state architect Lafollye,[21] who was charged with adapting the *palais* for the *Musée oriental*. Different spatial configurations were proposed by the architect. Finally, the *palais de Compiègne* was turned into a veritable transcultural *parcours des visiteurs* (**Pl. II.1a,b**)[22]. Upon entering the *cour d'honneur* in the southwest, the visitor was supposed to turn immediately into the left wing of the castle, passing the *corridor de la régie* and the *magasin des tapis*, which were – according to a plan of the *Directeur général des beaux-arts* Marquis de Chennevières-Pointel – reserved for plaster casts from Mexico from the mission of Léon Méhé-

16 In a letter dated to Saigon 9 June 1874 written to the *directeur de l'Interieur* under the new *governeur de la Cochinchine* Le Myre de Vilers, Faraut summed up his mission: in late January he had left Saigon with three Annamites and had gone to Phnom Penh, taking "the European M. Thomas" with him along with letters of recommendation from the Cambodian king for the Siamese provinces. He reached Battambang province and finally Siem Reap on 18 April for "his most important work". Under continual rain and with a high fever, he returned exactly one month later and reached Saigon, with his drawings and paper imprints of decorative ornamentation of the temples, on 3 June 1874 (ANOM INDO GGI 11796 – Mission Faraut: Exploration d'Angkor, 1874–1882).

17 A six-page inventory *État du contenu des caisses renfermant les objets rapportés par la mission du Cambodge dirigée par Mr le lieutenant de vaisseau Delaporte pendant les mois de Juillet, Août, Septembre, Octobre 1873* containing a detailed list of all items ranging from Buddha heads, several entries of original fragments of the Naga balustrade (as the first original exhibit in the 1878 exhibition, see Fig. II.21), and moulds such as those from the famous sculpture of the Leper King have survived in the Archive of the French National Museums in the Louvre, along with different bills of transports and plaster casts between Chennevières, the acting *Directeur des beaux-arts*, to Villoz, *secrétaire général des musées nationaux* (AMN Z4 – Arrivée des objets apportés par Louis Delaporte du Cambodge).

18 In a letter dated to 27 January 1874, from the secretary general of the *musées nationaux* to the director of fine arts, the objects were judged as valuable exhibits, but the inavailability of space in the Louvre for new collections was also mentioned (CARAN F21/4489, quoted in Baptiste/Zéphir 2008, 14).

19 Although no direct correspondence between these two protagonists has been located for this research, Viollet-le-Duc left the following important remark in his written œuvre: in the conclusion of his 1875 publication *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* (also covering central Asia, Buddhist India, and the Far East), the staged voice of the "Architect" judged Khmer art, after his attested visit to the "palais de Compiègne", an "art of decadence" rather than "primitive art", the Angkorian ruins being, after all, just "insignificant" leftovers in the middle of the vast Asian continent (Viollet-le-Duc 1875, 356, 357).

20 These early letters date from 25 February 1874 (CARAN F21/4490 – Palais de Compiègne, 1874–1879).

21 Joseph-Auguste Lafollye (1828–91) also adapted the *château de Pau* near the French-Spanish border and the *château de Saint-Germain* for national collections. Additionally, he was involved in the architectural planning for universal exhibitions in Vienna 1873 and Paris 1878 (Delaire 1907, 309).

22 The plans were, for the first time, published in Falser 2014.

din (see his role during the 1878 Exhibition). At the end of the narrow corridor, the visitor was to turn right, into the large, rectangular and columned vestibule [*salle dite des colonnes*], the central space of what the plan called the "musée d'antiquités orientales" (Pl. II.1a). Crossing this central space, the visitor might turn right into the south-eastern gallery to leave the exhibition via the *escalier d'Apollon* towards the *cour d'honneur*, or, alternatively, take the north-eastern section of the *escalier d'honneur* adjacent to the central space to reach the first floor with the second exhibition space in the *salle des gardes* (Pl. II.1b). On this level Lafollye also indicated the exhibition space of the *salle de fêtes*, which would hold a few canvases removed from the Louvre and from the *musée Gallo-Romain*.[23] In April 1874, seventeen other boxes of moulds from Angkor arrived. These were 'back-translated' in Paris into six-hundred-kilogram plaster casts and shipped by waterway to Compiègne where they were unwrapped in the presence of Delaporte in mid-May 1874.

Finally, on 18 August 1874 the first *musée Khmer* on the European continent was inaugurated by Chennevières-Pointel.[24] However, for Delaporte this event was just one transitional point in his larger vision, a vision that shined through in two of his letters to Chennevières sent just a day before the opening. Delaporte thanked Chennevières for his upcoming visit, but at the same time he asked for six more months to finalise his architectural drawings. Interestingly enough, he did not find the original objects but rather the displayed plaster casts to be "the most interesting parts" of his collection, as they would, together with detailed drawings, "permit an entire reconstitution of the most remarkable monuments of Khmer architecture".[25] As we shall see, Delaporte's final goal was not to follow the current fragmentary aesthetics of placing singular, relatively small-scale *originals* on pedestals in a quite neutral exhibition space. Nevertheless he tested this approach in the central space of his newly installed museum in Compiègne. It was depicted in this manner in the eleven-page entry on *Khmer (Art)* in Ernst Bosc's important *Dictionnaire raisonné* of 1879 and two years later in 1881 in Émile Soldi's *Arts méconnus* (**Figs. II.2a,b**).[26]

What Delaporte aimed for – this was already visible in his drawings for the 1873 Garnier publication, and it became more and more important after the Louvre refused to accept his original sculptures from Angkor – was a picturesque overall ensemble of originals indistinguishable from the plaster casts being displayed next to each other. These should, together with drawings of both scientifically grounded temple reconstitutions and romantic 'ruins-in-the-jungle' illustrations, frame the three-dimensionally reconstituted temple architectures. An article by J. Assézat in the Paris-based journal *Les débats politiques et littéraires* of 26 November 1874 reported on Delaporte's (too peripheral) "musée Khmer à Compiègne" (Assézat 1875) and predefined the position of Khmer art within a comparative museum *parcours* through the artefacts of all world civilisations (see chapter III):

> Compiègne is far away. A museum in Compiègne is therefore almost a lost museum. […] The castle of Compiègne is not made for such a use. […] It is difficult to read the Cambodian antiquities next to some glass boxes with Gallo-Roman stone axes from the previous Saint Germain museum. […] What belongs to Paris should go to Paris: the documents that are needed by the researchers to understand and to bring together the successive ages of these intermittent civilisations which […] will finally lead to a global understanding of civilisation. (Assézat 1874)

An interesting little element was mentioned in a short report by Ludovic Drapeyron in the journal *Le XIX^e^ siècle* on 19 August 1975 about the "musée Khmer": as much Delaporte was celebrated as the great amateur of Khmer art (he even received a "lettre de distinction" by the eminent ethnographer Jean de Quatrefages), he was not tired, during a guided to through his museum, to emphasise the divide between Angkor's glorious past and Cambodia's present agony with "natives full of superstition and evil spirit [*esprits malfaisants*]" (Drapeyron 1875, compare the above-quoted sections by Filoz about Delaporte's disrespectful comportment during his visit in Angkor). As far as the drawings were concerned, Delaporte spent another half year in the *dépôt des cartes et plans* of the navy with the help of Félix Faraut, who, after his convalescence, was allowed by the *ministère de la Marine* to assist Delaporte for several months at Compiègne in early 1874. In a letter dated to 1 February 1875, Delaporte reconfirmed this undertaking; he listed architectural drawings of fifty-two Khmer temples that would help him to reconstitute the primary Khmer temples – making them as significant as comparable sites in Egypt and "as delicately ornamented as our buildings from the Renaissance" – and to "revive them as they were in their epoch of splendour. A thousand details

23 Lafollye to Chennevières, Compiègne 10 March 1874 (*Installation d'un musée d'antiquités orientales au palais de Compiègne*), and the director of public buildings to the minister of public instruction, Versailles 26 March 1874 (CARAN F21/4490).

24 Pierre Baptiste mentions 15 August 1874 as the "official inauguration". See Baptiste 2013a, 117.

25 Delaporte to Chennevières, Paris 17 August 1874 (CARAN F21/4490).

26 In Bosc's exploration of the value of Khmer art and Delaporte's mission and museum project, the author already spoke of Delaporte's material from which "a *restitution* of the largest part of the monuments of ancient Cambodia [would] be possible" and which was "installed in the Campiègne but would hopefully soon installed permanently in the Louvre" (Bosc 1879, 24–35, here 30).

Figures II.2a,b *Salle des colonnes* of the *palais de Compiègne* with the *Musée khmer* (Source: Soldi 1881, 308, 274)

of their charming sculptures could be used by our arts and our modern industry, as much as the reconstitutions of their ensembles would be a veritable revelation". In this aspect Delaporte came quite close to using the approach of the applied art industry that was discussed in the context of the 1867 Exhibition. Concluding his letter and in reference to the museum in Compiègne and the *atelier de moulage* of the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris, he estimated that the inventory comprised 80 original pieces, 120 plaster casts, and 50 photographs.[27] The few surviving photographs of the early display in Compiègne, however, still show the classic museum situation of originals and plaster casts on heavy pedestals (**Fig. II.3**). In order to produce a more spectacular ensemble with the spectacular end piece of the sculptural group of the "grand géant" from Preah Khan temple, Lafollye had, in December 1874, already requested additional funding from the *direction des Bâtiments civils*. This occurred just a few years before the reassembled piece provided the focal point for the development of a veritable "Angkormania" in France (compare Demeulenaere–Douyère 2010, 202).

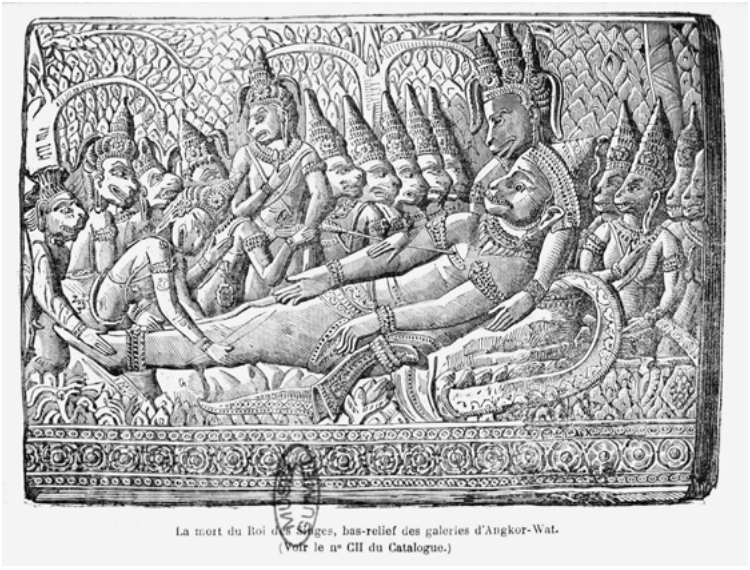
Figure II.3 A photograph of the inner space of the *Musée khmer*, around 1875 (Source: © Musée Guimet Paris, Photographic Archive)

27 Delaporte to the *Directeur géneral des beaux-arts*, Paris 1 February 1874 (CARAN F21/4490).

Figure II.4 Frontispiece of the guide to the *Musée khmer* (*Musée cambodgien*) in Compiègne (Source: © Archive of the Compiègne Museum)

In 1875 the *Comte de Croizier*, president of the *Société académique indo-chinoise de France*, of which Delaporte was also a member, published his book *L'art khmer*. It comprised an architectural study of the old monuments of Cambodia, a list of all explored sites, and, most important, the first *Catalogue raisonné du Musée khmer de Compiègne*. This catalogue proved that Delaporte's understanding of a proper representation of Khmer art was not strictly bound to the notion of the authenticity of original art objects that started to dominate the European museum landscape after 1900 (compare **Fig. II.4**). The catalogue contained a total of 204 entries, with twenty-two statues (two plaster casts like that of the Leper King), ten animal-like architectural decorations including the previously mentioned giant Naga sculpture with a dimension of 3.5 by 4 metres, fifteen steles, thirty-nine architectural objects and objects in reliefs, seventy-eight plaster casts with mostly larger decorative panels and bas-reliefs (like the death of the monkey king from Angkor Wat), and four inscriptions (to be augmented with fifty rubbings [*estampes*] by Filoz and Faraut). A few photographs and one larger map of the Cambodian temple sites completed the inventory (Croizier 1875, 91–139). The few depictions of exhibits inside the catalogue did not properly distinguish between original and plaster cast copies (**Figs. II.5a,b**). What is even more important for the following inquiry into Delaporte's translation project of the Angkorian temples for the French *métropole*, and what was already identifiable in this first catalogue, was his focus on a comprehensive set of almost all the representative architectural elements of the classical period of Angkor. In the years to come, and over the course of subsequent missions, Delaporte's selected collection of what he considered the most representative pilasters, columns, balusters, friezes, cornices, and lintels from Angkor can be conceptualised as *cracked translation or better generic code*[28] of Khmer temple architecture which would serve – in his own museum and, more essentially, in universal and colonial exhibitions until 1937 – as a basis for all kinds of in-style assemblages and hybrid pavilions *à la Angkorienne*.

28 With the term *generic* (and not *genetic*) we mean the reference to an overall, comprehensive or representative class or family such as 'Angkorian buildings' in general, in a time when a concrete art historical periodisation of formative, classical, late style denominations were not yet established for Khmer buildings arts.



Figures II.5a,b Plaster cast of a decorative element from Angkor Wat, published in Croizier's 1875 catalogue of the *Musée khmer* in Compiègne (Source: Croizier 1875, 97, 72)

3. From the *palais d'Industrie* to the Universal Exhibition of 1878: The *Muséum ethnographique des missions scientifiques*

In 1876 the artist Émile Soldi published his essay "Quelques points d'éthnographie et d'archéologie préhistorique" on the ethnographic museum of Copenhagen (created in 1841). Referring to its founder, C.J. Thomsen, and the man responsible for the museum's mode of display, J.J.A. Worsaae, Soldi was deeply impressed by the methodological approach used by the museum to explain "the relations between the nations with progress and civilisation" (Soldi 1876, 189). With a display of "reduced models of [whole] towns, tents with furniture, costumes on mannequins" similar to those exhibited at the Universal Exhibition in 1867, the collection of "40 rooms and more than 100,000 objects" was divided into two main parts: the first was dedicated to antiquity, from the European Stone Age to the first stages of civilisation in Asia, Africa, and America; the second displayed aspects of the "contemporary epoch" from non-European 'primitive' and 'stationary' civilisations and also included "Tibetans and the Indo-Chinese". As far as differentiation between the groups was concerned, Soldi listed the museum's five thematic divisions: (a) religion, accompanied by scripture, literature, etc.; (b) the human being as represented in images, costumes, etc.; (c) war with weapons, and instruments for hunting, fishing, and navigation; (d) the house with its household, agriculture, manual work, and objects of pleasure; and finally, (e) industry and art. In this way the museum's purely scientific aim was to show an "uninterrupted series" progressing from one tribe to the next and to facilitate an understanding of minor modifications and important "deviations of civilisation" (Soldi 1876, 190). Soldi concluded that the ethnographic museum in Copenhagen should serve as an example for a similar Parisian project that had already been discussed for thirty years with the French navy (which was responsible for colonial affairs) and that was supposed to replace the "insignificant hall", the *magasin de Curiosités*, in the attic of the Louvre. As a model for a special building comprising primary materials as well as

literary and artistic works within the disciplines of geography, archaeology, ethnography, anthropology, art, and the sciences with a suitable and logical disposition, Soldi proposed the main building of the 1867 Exhibition with its segmentary sections for each country and circulating galleries for each series of similar objects (Soldi 1876, 194; compare chapter I and Figs. I.12 and I.13 a,b). However, his proposal did not come out of nowhere. In fact, he was referring to the ethnographic theory that had already emerged in the 1820s, and which we will discuss later in the context of the Trocadero exhibition. For Soldi's future involvement in the 1878 Exhibition, however, the decree made by the minister of public instruction on 6 January 1874 was essential. It predefined the creation of a *Commission des voyages et missions scientifiques et littéraires* to guarantee the efficient planning and execution of the growing expeditions and missions in the name of the colonially and scientifically expanding French nation. It was presided over by the *sous-secrétaire d'État au ministère de l'Instruction publique*. Oscar Baron de Watteville, *chef de la division des Sciences et letters*, was the member[29] who established annual reports on the ever-growing number of French missions around the world, from New Guinea to Central America, and in various disciplines, from botany to archaeology, covering an astonishing range of investigated subjects from ancient ruins to measured human skulls, insects, and inscriptions.[30]

As Watteville quoted it in his 1877 *Rapport sur le Muséum ethnographique des missions scientifiques* Joseph Brunet, minister of public instruction, had signed the *arrête ministériel* on 3 November 1877 to establish a *Muséum ethnographique et des missions scientifiques* to house these new findings. As a matter of fact, Delaporte's Angkor collection in Compiègne was already included on the list.

> In the anthropological museum, man is studied on its own and as a *créature*. In the ethnographical museum, on the contrary, it is the créateur which is investigated. […] The ethnographical museum is a museum of history; the anthropological museum is a museum of natural history. […] this ethnographical museum cannot and should not comprise of the most elevated and most special manifestation of the human spirit: Art; all artistic objects are reserved for the collections of the Louvre, such as from Italy or Greece, the Orient or Egypt. *The interest of the ethnographical museum is to present uninterrupted series; one will walk from one people to another and will finally pursue the development of civilisations.* [italics MF] (Watteville 1877b, 4)

In 1876 Watteville had been nominated as coordinator of this undertaking by order of the former minister Waddington. In his report concerning the future museum, Watteville partly referred to Soldi's analysis from 1876 (without giving his name; see quotation above). This ethnographic and historical museum would place the human being as "créateur" (not as "créature" in an anthropological sense) at its centre and would show in "uninterrupted and unlimited comparative series" the gradual modifications and cultural stages from "progress to decadence" of what was back then considered the 'primitive' and the 'advanced' in both extinct and extant civilisations. And even if the archaeological objects themselves were included in these ethnographic displays, artworks per se (like those from missions to Italy, Greece, and Egypt) were not included and were reserved for the art collections of the Louvre – which had refused to incorporate Louis Delaporte's plaster casts of Angkor from his 1873 mission into its collection (Watteville 1877b, 2–5).

On 23 January 1878, in the north-eastern pavilion of the *palais de l'Industrie* on the Champs-Élysées, the temporary version of this ethnographic museum of scientific missions opened as a one-month, small-scale test run to gauge the public taste for a comparable display during and (in its institutionalised version) after the Universal Exhibition of 1878. At that time did Agénor Bardoux, *ministre de l'Instruction publique, des cultes et des beaux-arts*, in his open-

29 Other members included some deputies of the national assembly, the conservators of the Louvre Museum or of the *département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, the directors of the *École des chartes*, the *musée d'Histoire naturelle*, the *École des langues orientales vivantes*, the *musée de Saint-Germain* or of the *Enseignement supérieur*.

30 In his report on the year 1875 he mentioned twenty-eight missions (eleven on history and archaeology and nine on natural history missions; eleven missions within Europe and only four to Asia) including the following: Jules Harmand's zoological-medical mission (Harmand was also on Delaporte's 1873 mission) to the northwest of Cambodia including Angkor, other missions to the ruins of Carthage, crane measurements by the *Société d'anthropologie* to Peru, others to Alaska and South America, and Charles Wiener's mission to Bolivia (Watteville 1876). For the year 1876, Watteville reported forty-five missions (eleven on archaeology, sixteen on natural history and eight on geography, with twenty-four to Europe and seven to Asia) including the continuing research of Dr. Harmand in Cochinchina and the Siamese provinces of Cambodia, another mission to the Roman ruins of Timgad, Charles Wiener's mission to the Inca Trail (returning with seventeen boxes of collected artefacts), a mission for inscriptions in the maritime Alps, a mission for insects to the Dutch East Indies, others to New Guinea, the missions of Émile Guimet to China, Japan, and India, Félix Ratte's mission (a member of Delaporte's 1873 mission, here as *ingénieur des arts et manufactures*) to New Caledonia for geological research, Émile Soldi's research mission to London to examine existing collections and their classification systems, and Charles de Ujfalvy to Russia (Watteville 1877a).

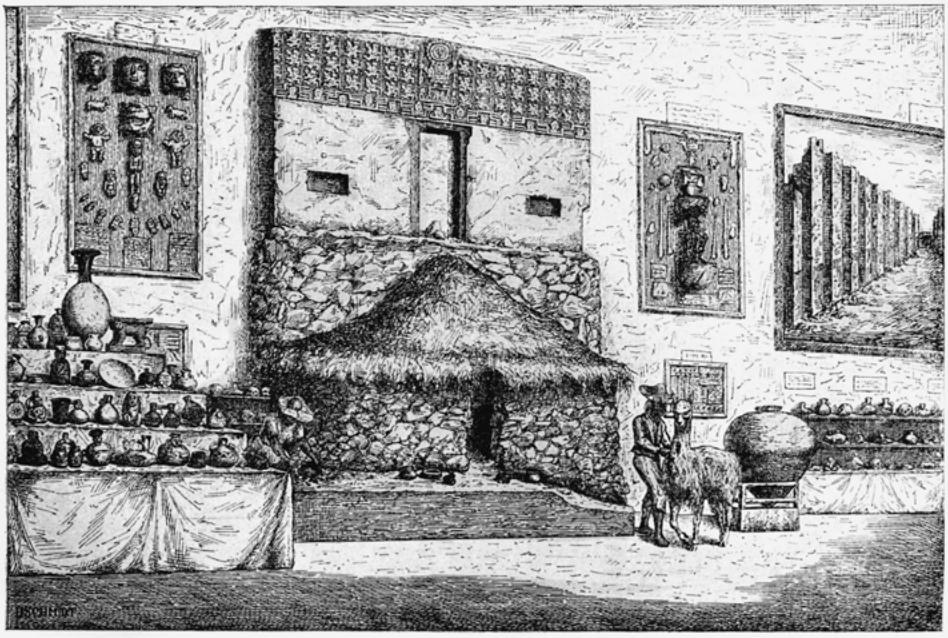
ing speech, place the major vision for the museum into its political and ideological (i.e., its colonial) context by declaring that through comparisons between primitive, extinct, and still existing civilisations, this ethnographic and historical museum on "our origins" opened "a new gate for the study of the progress and decadence of the human race". Furthermore, this declared a great and noble idea that was etched onto the patriotic "devotion of the missionaries of public instruction" and that helped to shed light on the development of the French nation within the course of Enlightenment: "It was the love for science and for France as a nation that had inspired [our] travellers [such as Delaporte, MF] as they were confronted with exhaustion, solitude, and grand perils. It was this double frame that centupled their moral forces" (Notice 1878, 5–8).

After its insertion into the discussion of applied industrial arts in the context of the emerging techniques of mechanical reproduction and within the role of the education of public taste during the 1867 Exhibition (see chapter I), Delaporte's 'transfer and translation project' of Angkor – with its original sculptures and its plaster casts of entire architectural surfaces – was now, just ten years later, embedded in quite a different context. On only a few occasions after the opening speech made by Bardoux in January 1878 was the coherence between the narrative of cultural decadence and a civilising, uninterrupted progress and enlightenment (the beloved topos with which the nation justified its moral mission for public instruction) so closely linked to the emerging scientific disciplines of ethnography and archaeology. As Watteville later explained, this first and provisional installation was a test phase to "introduce a classification of the thousands of different objects" that the distinguished researcher "had brought back from different points of the world" and to "classify disparate samples [*échantillons*] of natural history next to the debris of extinct civilisations, clothing or arms next to inscriptions and skulls – to present all these objects in a picturesque and breathtaking order". This would form, according to Watteville, a base for the display in the 1878 Exhibition and in a permanent ethnographic museum that was planned for the near future with:

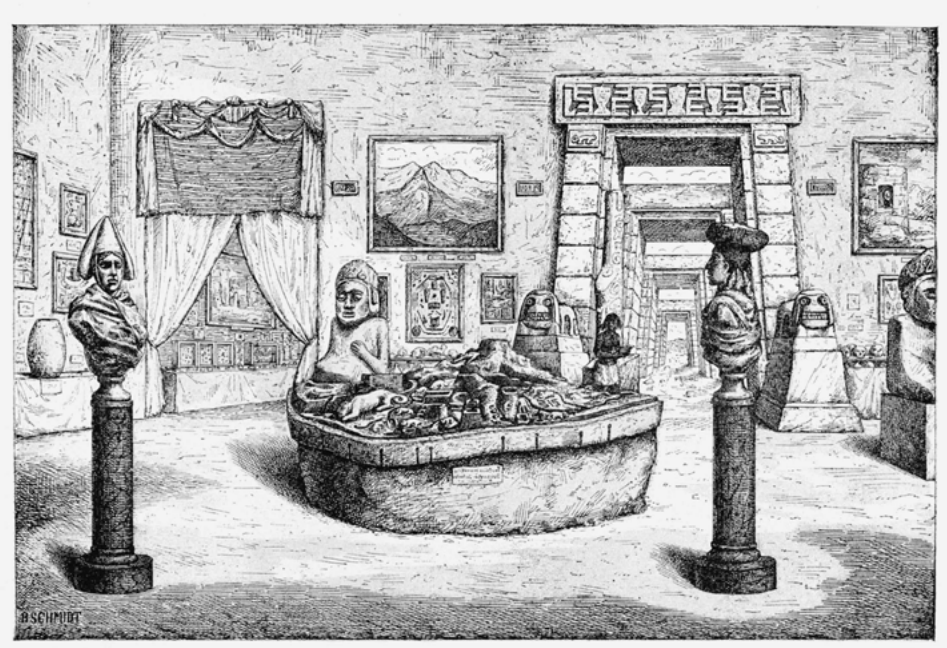
> […] improvisational charts, vitrines, and steps to classify the objects, mannequins for the display of costumes, large-scale maps of each mission for a more detailed idea of the explored regions, wall paintings of landscapes or views on monuments, and finally, with the display both the plans and imprints [*estampes*, but this also comprised moulds from plaster casts, MF] of the missions like the reproduction of the prehistoric inscriptions […] or the execution whole monuments. (Watteville 1886, 25, 26)

Interestingly, the "new gate" [*la nouvelle porte*], which in Bardoux's speech stood in for the threshold between decline and progress of the human race, was represented both as a building part and as a metaphorical symbol of the passage from one civilising step to the next. The visitor to the exhibit, which was originally conceived for Charles Wiener's mission, could walk through four halls on a journey towards the origins of civilisation. It started in the first hall with the missions of Charles de Ujfalvy to central Asia and of Carlo Lansberg to Syria, and it concluded with a third section containing different collections from expeditions to America like that of Alphonse Pinart to the equator, Venezuela, and Peru; Jules Crevaux to Guyana; and Léon de Cessac to Peru. In between, the second hall contained the three-thousand-object collection of Charles Wiener from Peru and Bolivia, which was divided into different classes, including, among others, architecture, sepulchres, sculpture, and ceramics, with supplementary information provided by maps, photographs, canvases, and costumed mannequins. As the most important of the architectural and picturesque reconstitutions from plaster casts of original 'heritage sites', the spectacular gate of Tihuanaco from Western Bolivia was curiously placed on top of an Indian hut of stones and straw, whereas on the other side of the Peruvian section, the Inca fountain, *Concacha*, was placed in front of the so-called *Huanuco viejo* gate containing lions and colossi from Tihuanaco (**Figs. II.6a,b**). Together with de Cetner's oil canvas of Peru and two landscape drawings of Colombia by Paul Roux, these architectural reconstitutions were made (along with statues and Indian busts) into plaster casts by Émile Soldi after Wiener's drawings, sections, and pattern sketches (Notice 1878, 7, 18–33).

In a report published in the famous print journal *L'Illustration*, the provisional exhibition was honoured. However, the inscriptions, drawings, and plaster casts in one single "vitrine of Delaporte", merited just three lines (Durousset 1878, 39). Placed in the entresol [*palier*] of the visitor's *parcours* next to the West African mission of Alfred Marche and Soldi's mission to England for comparative studies on the origins of glyptic, Cambodia was represented with two missions. The first of these was the 1875 mission of the naturalist and navy medical doctor (later an important diplomat) Jules Harmand, whose collection of Indochina's natural history (including 3,000 species of plants, portrait photographs, measured skulles and skeletons of the 'sauvages' of Cambodia and Laos) was on display along with some complementary studies of the ancient monuments of Cambodia. The second contribution to the section on Cambodia referred to Delaporte's "mission to the Khmer ruins" and comprised pieces from the newly installed *musée de Compiègne*. Following the trend for a thematic fusion of ethnography and archaeology, the contribution categorised his "recent discovery of Khmer monuments" as belonging to "studies of general history of art and the human civilisations". In this context, buildings were built by a "special race […] that was reproduced in Khmer sculpture and could sometimes even be retrieved among the degenerated indigenes of today who were progressively leaving their primitive state of barbarism behind" (Durousset 1878, 11). When speaking of the results of the 1873 mis-



CHAUMIÈRE INDIENNE ET LA PORTE DE TIAHUANACO
Côté nord de la salle péruvienne du musée ethnographique, organisé en janvier 1878 au Palais de l'Industrie.



Vue de la salle péruvienne du musée ethnographique installé en janvier 1877 au Palais de l'Industrie. Le centre est occupé par la fontaine de Concacha. Au fond, la porte de Huanugo-Viego, les lions et les deux colosses en pierre tendre de Tiahuanaco.

Figures II.6a,b The temporary display of the *Musée ethnographique* in 1877 in the *palais de l'Industrie* with a combination of ethnographic specimens, didactical displays and picturesque collages (Source: Soldi 1881, 389, 365)

sion, comprising three hundred *spécimens* of sculptures, plaster casts, and inscriptions and more than eighty drawings, plans, and photographs with all the "elements for an exact reconstitution of the architectural masterpieces of ancient Cambodia", the author apologised that "the few plaster casts in this exhibition could only give a weak idea of the beauty of the Khmer sculpture". Nevertheless, he listed three trial "restorations of monuments" [*restauration des*

monuments] that were, most probably, displayed as drawings: the primary facade of the Beng Malea temple, the ornamentation of the top part of a Bayon face tower, and a small Buddhist temple (Durousset 1878, 11).[31]

A poster promoting the presentations of each section in public lectures has survived. As an end point to a long list of contributions about all the exhibiting missions, Delaporte presented his paper on "Khmer monuments"[32] on 28 February 1878, just one day before the temporary exhibition was to close (**Fig. II.7**). With this short exhibition in the *palais de l'Industrie* and the accompanying lecture series, the *Muséum ethnographique des missions scientifique* was in line with what Ernest Théodore Hamy, the later founder of the permanent ethnographic museum, summarised in 1890 as "the proper respect these missions had paid to the sciences and the country", and their efforts to "disperse the love for France and the sciences" (Hamy 1890, 81). Altogether, these missions were meant "to pay tribute to the French [colonial] expansion abroad".[33]

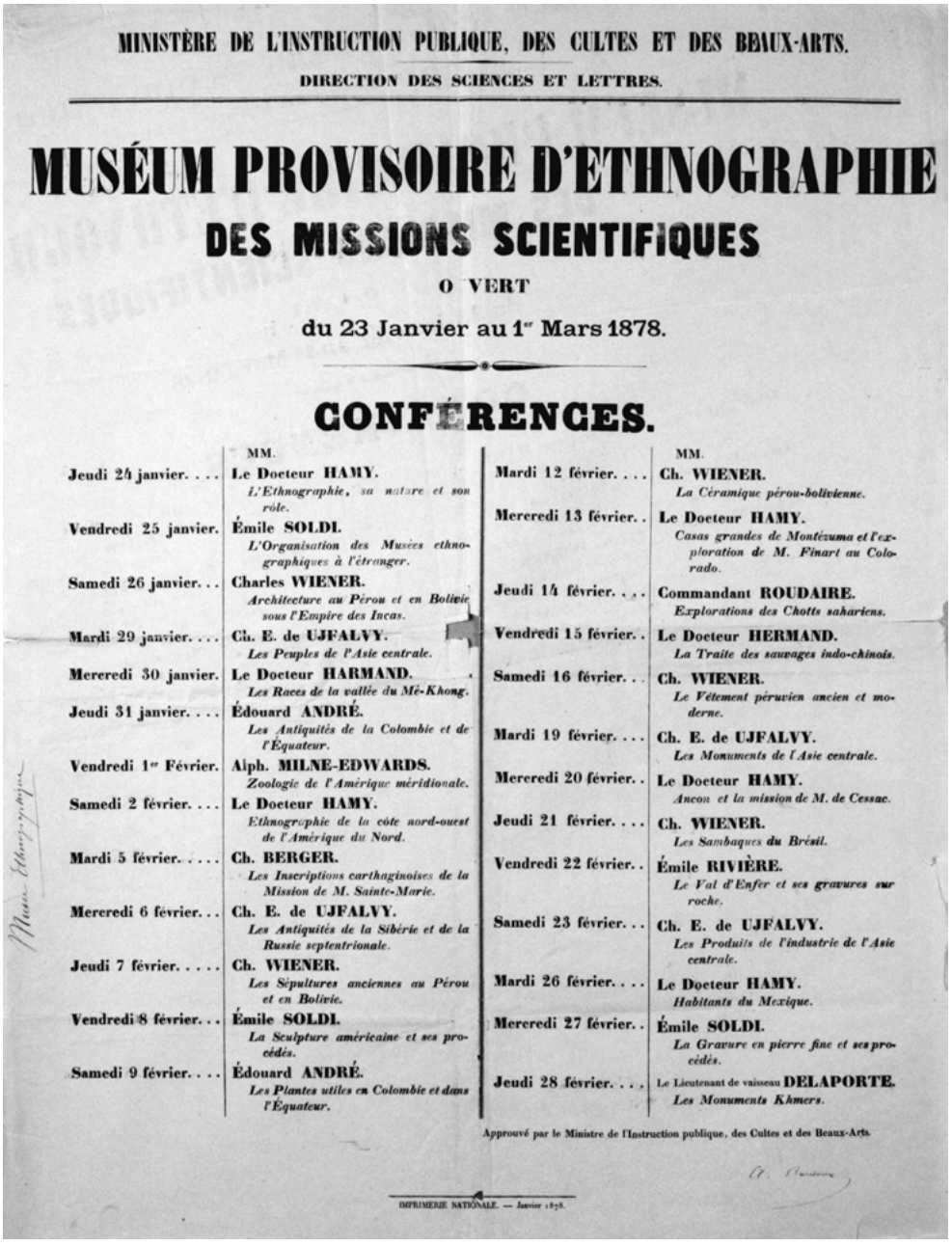
Shortly after the closure of the temporary exhibition on 1 March 1878, its display was transferred to the new rectangular *palais de l'Industrie*, which was the central building of the Universal Exhibition's *Champ-de-Mars* in 1878 (**Fig. II.8**, compare **Pl. II.2a,b**). Within the general classification system of nine groups and ninety classes (a tenth class was added on social affairs), this unit of the Ministry of Public Instruction with its ethnographic-scientific character, now entitled *Exposition spéciale du ministère de l'Instruction publique*, was not embedded in Group I [*œuvres d'art*] – even though one class on "drawings and models of architecture" (Class 4) comprised hypothetical reconstitutions of ancient ruins [*Restaurations d'après des ruines ou des documents*] – but rather in Group II, which was called "education and instruction – material and approaches of liberal arts". Within Group II, with its Classes 6 to 16, it was placed after primary and secondary education and before the classes on print materials, the "common applications of the arts of drawings and statuary" [*Classe 11: Application usuelle des arts au dessin et de la plastique*], photography, musical instruments, and public medicine/hygiene, instruments of precision and, finally, maps and instruments of geography. Within Class 8, "organisation, methods, and material for higher education", it was integrated – next to sections on curricula of academies, universities, scientific societies, and their collections and exhibitions – into the subdivision entitled "scientific missions" (Ministère de l'agriculture 1881, vol. 1, 224, vol. 2, 41). Moving from Group II [*Matériel et application des arts libéraux*] with Class 8 [*Application du dessin et de la plastique aux arts usuels*] in the Universal Exhibition of 1867 to Group II [*Education et enseignement – matériel et procédés des arts libéraux*] with Class 8 [*Organisation, méthodes et matériel de l'enseignement supérieur*] in the Universal Exhibition of 1878, Delaporte's plaster casts from Angkor underwent a supposedly minor but in fact quite significant change: from their classification as industrial arts at the first height of the age of mechanical reproduction to the classification as public instruction in the field of colonial-scientific propaganda with a clear mission to ascribe to world civilisation and nations different degrees of decline and progress. As its organiser, Oscar de Watteville, explained in his special report, the architect Charles Rossigneux, already a member of the French jury during the 1873 Exhibition in Vienna, had designed the overall exhibition of the Ministry of Public Instruction inside the *galerie des Arts libéraux* with overall costs of 350,000 francs on a 1,714 square-metre floor plan and almost 3,000 square-metre wall surface (Watteville 1886, 27, 97). The special exhibition of the scientific missions was strategically placed just after the *entrée principale* of the palace, left (northeast) of the *grand vestibule d'honneur du coté de la Seine* (the so-called *galerie d'Iéna*) and the central reception pavilion of France, which divided the overall French section to the northeast from the section of Great Britain to the southwest (see **Fig. II.9**).

A catalogue of thirty-five French missions around the world and a published plan of the floor and wall arrangement of the *salle des mission scientifiques* (**Fig. II.10**) indicate the transfer of the participants and main elements from the exhibition in the *palais d'Industrie* some months earlier. Along with the largest section on Charles Wiener's mission to Peru and Bolivia, which was again represented with the *portique Péruvien* and the *fontaine Péruvienne* (recast in concrete for the 1878 Exhibition) executed by Émile Soldi, and the representation of the Carthage mission of Jean-Baptiste de Sainte-Marie with a *porte Carthaginoise* by architect Rossigneux, Delaporte's participation had been

31 Unfortunately, illustrations of Delaporte's display during this short exhibition in the *palais de l'Industrie* could not be located for this research.

32 CARAN F17/3846 (*Musée ethnographique*). In this dossier, correspondence between the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Ministry of Publics Works in January 1878 confirms that the plaster casts from the *musée de Compiègne* were transported back and forth. On 31 December 1877, Delaporte was already in contact with Émile Soldi to help him in reserving "four or five metres" in the *palais de l'Industrie* to "fill up with plaster casts, photographs, and drawings" and to bring him in contact with Watteville.

33 See Dias 1991, 166; compare Dias 2014 and 2015. For the transition period from the earlier ethnographical displays to the *musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro*, compare Dupaigne 2017, 25–39. For the formative years of ethnographical and anthropological research towards the *musée de l'Homme* with its late-colonial context, compare, above others, the studies of Conklin 2013 and Delpuech et al. 2017.



MINISTÈRE DE L'INSTRUCTION PUBLIQUE, DES CULTES ET DES BEAUX-ARTS.

DIRECTION DES SCIENCES ET LETTRES.

MUSÉUM PROVISOIRE D'ETHNOGRAPHIE

DES MISSIONS SCIENTIFIQUES

OUVERT

du 23 Janvier au 1er Mars 1878.

CONFÉRENCES.

	MM.		MM.
Jeudi 24 janvier. . . .	Le Docteur **HAMY.** *L'Ethnographie, sa nature et son rôle.*	Mardi 12 février. . . .	Ch. **WIENER.** *La Céramique pérou-bolivienne.*
Vendredi 25 janvier.	Émile **SOLDI.** *L'Organisation des Musées ethnographiques à l'étranger.*	Mercredi 13 février. .	Le Docteur **HAMY.** *Casas grandes de Montézuma et l'exploration de M. Finart au Colorado.*
Samedi 26 janvier. . .	Charles **WIENER.** *Architecture au Pérou et en Bolivie sous l'Empire des Incas.*	Jeudi 14 février. . . .	Commandant **ROUDAIRE.** *Explorations des Chotts sahariens.*
Mardi 29 janvier. . . .	Ch. E. de **UJFALVY.** *Les Peuples de l'Asie centrale.*	Vendredi 15 février. .	Le Docteur **HERMAND.** *La Traite des sauvages indo-chinois.*
Mercredi 30 janvier.	Le Docteur **HARMAND.** *Les Races de la vallée du Mé-Khong.*	Samedi 16 février. . .	Ch. **WIENER.** *Le Vêtement péruvien ancien et moderne.*
Jeudi 31 janvier. . . .	Édouard **ANDRÉ.** *Les Antiquités de la Colombie et de l'Équateur.*	Mardi 19 février. . . .	Ch. E. de **UJFALVY.** *Les Monuments de l'Asie centrale.*
Vendredi 1er Février.	Alph. **MILNE-EDWARDS.** *Zoologie de l'Amérique méridionale.*	Mercredi 20 février. .	Le Docteur **HAMY.** *Ancon et la mission de M. de Cessac.*
Samedi 2 février. . . .	Le Docteur **HAMY.** *Ethnographie de la côte nord-ouest de l'Amérique du Nord.*	Jeudi 21 février. . . .	Ch. **WIENER.** *Les Sambaques du Brésil.*
Mardi 5 février.	Ch. **BERGER.** *Les Inscriptions carthaginoises de la Mission de M. Sainte-Marie.*	Vendredi 22 février. .	Émile **RIVIÈRE.** *Le Val d'Enfer et ses gravures sur roche.*
Mercredi 6 février. . .	Ch. E. de **UJFALVY.** *Les Antiquités de la Sibérie et de la Russie septentrionale.*	Samedi 23 février. . .	Ch. E. de **UJFALVY.** *Les Produits de l'industrie de l'Asie centrale.*
Jeudi 7 février.	Ch. **WIENER.** *Les Sépultures anciennes au Pérou et en Bolivie.*	Mardi 26 février. . . .	Le Docteur **HAMY.** *Habitants du Mexique.*
Vendredi 8 février. . .	Émile **SOLDI.** *La Sculpture américaine et ses procédés.*	Mercredi 27 février. .	Émile **SOLDI.** *La Gravure en pierre fine et ses procédés.*
Samedi 9 février. . . .	Édouard **ANDRÉ.** *Les Plantes utiles en Colombie et dans l'Équateur.*	Jeudi 28 février. . . .	Le Lieutenant de vaisseau **DELAPORTE.** *Les Monuments Khmers.*

Approuvé par le Ministre de l'Instruction publique, des Cultes et des Beaux-Arts.

IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE. — Janvier 1878.

Figure II.7 Poster for the presentations held for the *Muséum provisoire d'éthnographique des missions scientifiques* with the presentation of Louis Delaporte on *Khmer monuments* on 28 February 1878 (Source: © Archives nationales, France)

significantly enlarged to include eight panels featuring maps, drawings, photographs, and, most prominently placed at the left part of the entry to this exhibition, a 1:10-scale model of an entry gate to Angkor Thom – the first three-dimensional architectural reconstitution of Khmer architecture ever built on the European continent. Strangely enough, the Angkor model was, as far as this research was able to determine, not depicted in circulating guidebooks and popular print journals about the 1878 Exhibition; but the picturesque collage of various collected 'ethnographic' objects from the scientific missions to the Far East, Africa, and the Americas was honoured in the popular *Journal hebdomadaire*, with a short reference to Delaporte's and Soldi's project (Ginisty 1878, 58–9). It republished an image from the 19 January 1878 issue of *L'Illustration* (see above) on the temporary exhibition inside the *palais de l'Industrie* before the gate was finished. In order to underline the significant shift of the embeddedness of Delaporte's project (to 're-present', i.e., 'trans-late' the architecture of Angkorian antiquity for the French *métropole*) in