

THE EVOLUATION OF THAI THEATRE IN BANGKOK BETWEEN 1782-1935¹.

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Introduction

The study of Thai theatre has always been separated into independent issues focusing upon narrow and indepth areas. This research intends to investigate the various elements that contributed to the development of Thai theatre from a broad perspective.

Thai theatre is deeply rooted in song, dance and music. It has both a ritualistic and entertainment function. These functions reflect the Thai way of life which is based primarily upon the agrarian cycle where most activities occur during the dry season. Animist, Hindu and Buddhist rites require certain kinds of performing arts as a means of communication with man or with gods. Social gatherings also needs the performing arts as a means of interaction and enjoyment. Thus, song dance and music have always been important parts of Thai culture since ancient times.

The Early Period

The Sukhothai Period (1238-1350) saw the appearance of *rabam*, *ram*, and *ten*. They are mentioned in the stone relics and literature of the period. Today these words mean group dance, dance with hand movements and dance with steps respectively. They indicate that the Thai people have developed dance as an art to the point that it can be divided into three special kinds. It is a traditional belief that *kan len pleng* or balad singing also appeared during this period.

The Early Ayuddhya Period (1350-1456) saw many kinds of dance and theatre. They were *chak nak dukdamban*, *kan lalen kong luang*, *nang* and *rabam*. *Chak nak dukdamban* was the enactment of a Hindu mythical episode depicting the churning of the ocean by angels, demons and monkeys to produce immortal water. *Kan lalen kong luang* was a series of male group dances, *rabeng*, *mong krum* and *kula ti mai*. These performances probably depicted the kings and princes of the neighboring states who had come to pay respect to the king of Ayuddhya. *Nang* was a large leather puppet theatre. The puppeteer manipulated a puppet with both hands while dancing in front of the screen. *Ramakien*, a Hindu epic, was its main re-

¹A research funded by the Crown Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Foundation, Chulalongkorn University.

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pertoire. *Rabam* was group dance performed by court females. It was said to be performed in the royal palace annually to welcome the rainy season and was also performed exclusively for royal entertainment. Early Ayuddhya kings identified themselves with Indra, the Hindu god of heaven who rode on white elephants with angels so the white elephant has always been a symbol of glory of the Thai king who owned it. Consequently, female court dance was required to celebrate its captivity. It is important to note that dance was an indispensable aid to martial arts and arm practice. Apart from the main stream of Thai performing arts, it is evident that, through trades and wars, artistic elements from India, Khmer, Mon Laos etc., were adopted and adapted into the performing arts of early Ayuddhya.

The Later Ayuddhya Period (1456-1767) continued the performing arts tradition of the earlier times. From the middle to the end of this period, *lakon nok*, *lakon nai* and *khon* appeared in Ayuddhya. Foreign theatrical displays such as Chinese opera, puppet theatre of various nationalities, Javanese masked plays, etc, were also seen in Ayuddhya. *Lakon* was a male theatre performing Bodhisatva's stories. It is believed to be similar to *nora* theatre which is found in southern Thailand today. There are two theories concerning the origins of *nora*. The first is that it originated in Ayuddhya and spread to the south; the second is that it spread from the south to Ayuddhya. *Lakon* developed into a more sophisticated form called *lakon nok* (theatre outside the palace) in order to distinguish it from female *lakon nai* (theatre inside the palace). *Khon* was a combination of performing arts of the Early Ayuddhya Period. It is said that later *nang*

was changed. At first *rabam* was added. Then, actors in *lakon* costume with masks probably from *chak nak duk-damban* performed in some *nang* episodes. Finally, *khon* departed from *nang* although it retained many similarities. *Lakon nai* developed from *rabam*, *lakon nok*, and *khon*. Later, Inao, a javanese historical legend became its favorite play. Eventually Ayuddhya City was destroyed by Burmese and the theatres that glorified Ayuddhya, almost, if not completely, disappeared.

The Thonburi Period (1767-1782) was a time of national revival characterized by the desire to protect the country's independence. King Taksin the Great, who ruled Thailand during this time was the sole architect of the reconstruction of the civilization of Ayuddhya. Fortunately, the female theatre of Nakon Sri Thammarat, artists in the Thonburi capital and some artists who survived the war were great sources from which to reconstruct the theatre.

Apart from Thai traditional theatre the performing arts of other nationalities, which were brought to Thonburi, were also recognized by the King. These were Chinese opera, Cambodian theatre, Mon dance and the traditional music of various nationalities. Thai theatre and the foreign performing arts of the Thonburi Period were a valuable legacy of theatre which was to be developed further during the Ratanakosin Period.

The Ratanakosin Period King Rama I (1782-1809)

King Rama I intended to establish Bangkok as the equal of Ayuddhya, the old capital, where he used to served the royal court. Court and public traditions

including dance and drama were based upon Ayuddhya culture. Dramatic literature was revived. Plays were newly composed under the king's supervision. *Tamra Ram*, a Thai choreographic book depicting basic dance positions was produced and remains the oldest book available today from which we can learn about Thai dance positions in the past.

The tradition of *lakon puying kong luang* (female court theatre) was continued in the royal palace and in the deputy king's palace. The king also ordered a large *khon* theatre to be built in the royal palace. It was equipped with a rigging system for the flying scenes in *khon* performance. Having a theatre in residence was a tradition of royalty and nobility.

During the first reign, Buddhism was under going a reformation. The King ordered his people not to believe in any thing other than Buddhism. However, he allowed worship in the sacred shrines to continue in an appropriate form including worship through dance. Hence, temple dance has continued to be performed until today. He also prohibited monks from chanting in comic style at funeral ceremonies so chanting was later performed by commoners and became a very popular secular entertainment in the funeral ceremony called *suad karuhat* (chanting of the commoners). It was one of the main sources for *likay* in the reign of King Rama V. Since King Rama I was very interested in theatre arts, his subjects followed suit. They built pavilion in their residences to serve as theatres and trained their *prai* (servants) to perform *khon* and *lakon* at their private functions. And while the country was still at war the king encouraged *khon* training since it is good for martial arts. Commoners also had

various kinds of theatre troupes which were hired for public functions. A lot of these theatre troupes probably competed with each other in costumes imitating the royal ones. So, the king had to prohibit them from copying the royal costumes.

The population of Bangkok during King Rama I consisted mainly of Chinese, Mon, Laos, Vietnamese and Cambodian people. They brought with them their music, dance and theatre to perform for their entertainment and at their religious functions. Occasionally, these performances were demanded as part of grand court ceremonies. They were *ngiew chin* (Chinese opera), *ngiew yuan* (Vietnamese opera), *mon ram* (Mon dance), *yuan ram kratang* (Vietnamese flower pot dance), *hun lao* (Laos doll puppet), and *lakon kamen* (Cambodian theatre), and the folk songs and folk music of different nationalities. These performances were the sources of Thai theatre in the later periods.

King Rama I contributed greatly to the establishment of Thai theatre arts at the beginning of the Ratanakosin Period. He was interested in the forms, content and standard of the arts for the sake of the pride and prestige of the country. The theatre of the noblemen, the commoners and the minorities followed his objectives, thus, establishing a firm ground for further development.

It is important to note here that *lakon nai*, according to historical accounts, could be performed by males and females alike.

King Rama II (1809-1824)

King Rama II was a great artist in dramatic literature, music and visual arts. He had been interested in *lakon* since he was young and paid much attention to the theatre during his reign. The king himself, his first cousin, and two male dance teachers were the key people who contributed to the refinement of *lakon nai*. He also created *lakon nok baeb luang* (the royal style *lakon nok*) so that his court ladies would be able to perform *lakon nok* theatre with court refinement. This new genre was the combination of *lakon nai* and *lakon nok* styles. The deputy king of this reign refused the privilege of having female court theatre and decided instead to have a female Chinese opera.

Whereas King Rama I built a large *khon* theatre, King Rama II had a Chinese pavilion built in his palace garden to serve as a *lakon* theatre. This theatre was the center for his theatrical activities. He also built a small theatre in the palace to be used as a theatre school where male teachers trained the court ladies. Many court ladies from this theatre school became famous teachers in the following reigns.

During the reign of King Rama II, wars with neighboring countries subsided so the people had more time for entertainment. The noble theatre expanded and the public theatre also flourished. The *Prai's* working time was reduced from two thirds to one third a year so they had more time to improve their lives and had the money to entertain themselves. Performing arts of other nationalities gradually became more Thai as new generations assimilated into Thai culture.

King Rama II is recognized as the great contributor to the refinement of *lakon nai* and the innovator of *lakon nok baeb luang* theatre arts. However, his artistic works did not flourish outside the palace until the next reign though, the plays of the earlier period were widely performed outside the court.

King Rama III (1824-1852)

Before his accession King Rama III was the owner of a theatre troupe and wrote plays for King Rama II. He abolished female court theatre in the palace for the duration of his reign, but female court theatre was practiced at the deputy king's palace. The noblemen, although aware of the king's attitude towards the theatre, secretly performed Rama II's theatre styles and compositions in order to preserve his aesthetic tradition.

Bangkok people during this period experienced new types of entertainment, *lakon klai*, *aew Lao*, *suad khaek* and *nora*. *Lakon klai* was a concert where the lyrics were drawn from dramatic compositions; a theatre of singing, not acting. *Aew Lao* was Laotian singing that came to Bangkok with the Laos immigrants after the fall of Vientiane, the capital of Laos. *Suad khaek* was Malay chanting with *rammana* drums, which came with the Malay prisoners of war from Saiburi or Kedah. *Nora* theatre, from Pattalung province in the south was brought in by the southern people who had fled from drought. They followed the Thai soldiers who accompanied the Malay prisoners of war back to Bangkok. These four kinds of performing arts were the sources of new theatre forms in Bangkok in later periods.

Two important events related to theatre development occurred in this reign. The first was the beginning of Thai language printing, and the second was casino theatre. Thai printing was the innovation of American missionaries who intended to publish the Bible. Later dramatic literature was published and became popular among theatre producers and theatre goers. Casino theatre was established in Chinese communities for the purpose of inducing customers to gamble, by providing Chinese opera to entertain the guests who would join the gambling afterwards. Casino theatre became the first free entrance public theatre in Thailand. The number of theatres expanded and many kinds of performances were engaged and as simulated.

King Rama III was not interested in the theatre. He abandoned *lakon puying kong luang* and demolished the splendid palace garden including its theatre. He donated all the artefacts in the garden to Buddhist monasteries. The King devoted himself to the building and renovation of Buddhist monasteries and his noblemen followed suit. Space About 70 large scale monasteries were either built or renovated in this reign, consequently, many temple ceremonies, festivals, and fairs took place throughout this reign.

King Rama IV (1852-1868)

King Rama IV allowed free trade. The country raised more tax money for much canal and road construction. Bangkok city expanded rapidly eastwards and its population grew in number. Many younger people in the ruling class began to learn English. They were the social leaders later on and their taste was reflected in the

theatre. Bangkok gradually became westernized.

The King revived *lakon puying kong luang* and realizing that his princes and noblemen were enjoying their own female theatre he liberally issued a royal decree allowing females on the public stage. Females rapidly replaced males in *lakon* and many other kinds of performing arts. *Nang yai* and *khon* were still exclusively but female theatre was extremely popular especially at casino theatres. The King started to collect entertainment tax for the first time.

The popularity of theatre brought about many performance styles and plays. Five new types of theatre appeared in this reign. They were *lakon sepa*, *lakon chatrri*, *lakon chatrri kong luang*, *lakon na jo* and *lakon pan tang*.

Lakon sepa, performed at casino theatres, was developed from *sepa* (story telling) and sought to be more popular by adding actors-dancers in order to become a play instead of just story telling. Later it was called *sepa ram*. *Lakon chatrri* was a development of *nora* which adopted the *lakon nok* form and maintained only some of its original music and dance to indicate its *nora* origin. *Lakon chatrri kong luang* was similar to *lakon chatrri*, but was performed only by court ladies, another area where court females performed styles other than *lakon nai* and *lakon nok baeb luang*. *Lakon na jo* is mentioned in the tax law but no description can be found. It can be assured that *lakon na jo* was a kind of dance drama performed Ramakien in front of the *nang* screen. *Lakon pantang* was a type of theatre that broke with early Thai theatre tradition. It allowed freedom to incorporate elements other than Thai

into its performance. These elements were adopted and adapted from various communities in Bangkok such as Mon and Chinese. The name *lakon pantang* was given to this genre much later.

King Rama IV gave freedom to the theatre in many respects. He also composed some dramatic literature and paid much attention to modify several ancient *rabam*. The country and its people enjoyed economic prosperity and this gave the rise to popularity and diversity of Thai theatre in the years to come.

King Rama V (1868-1911)

King Rama V ruled the country for 42 years. During this time, there were many changes in the social structure, the economy, culture and the arts. Westernization became more and more evident as his reign progressed.

The abolition of *prai* and *tat* gradually turned the controlled laborers and slaves into freemen. The new types of government, business, and industry transformed these men into a new labour force with an economic power that they never enjoyed before. Education became, the priority of the king's policy. Modern communication and transportation supported social interaction and economic growth. Bangkok city was expanded northward where a new large palace was built. Roads gradually replaced canals. Business centers and entertainment areas were increased in number. This new environment created a new life style that required new types of performing arts.

While the traditional performances of the early period were still functioning in the

court and at public ceremonies, *lakon puying kong luang* was seldom performed. The noble theatre declined since it had lost its *prai* and *tat* who used to be the free laborers of the theatre. King Rama V and his noblemen searched for new types of theatre that would suit the new mood of their new society.

Six types of theatre genres were established in this reign. They were *lakon talok*, *lakon pud*, *lakon pud salab lam*, *lakon dukdamban*, *likay*, and *lakon rong*.

Lakon talok (spoken comedy) was probably developed from comic sketches and clown scenes which were common in *lakon nok*. King Rama V witnessed *lakon talok* on several occasions. *Lakon pud* (spoken drama) was an invention of King Rama V for his younger brothers to perform at Thai new year parties during the early years of his reign. His inspiration might have come from English lessons during his childhood and also from an English play performed to welcome him during his visit to Singapore. *Lakon pud* of the King lasted for only a few years. About a decade later, the king's son, Crown Prince Vajiravudh, who had finished studying in England, returned to Bangkok and started to produce *lakon pud* based on his western theatre background. *Lakon pud salab lam* (spoken drama interspersed with songs) was the King's initiative. He intended to write plays for spoken drama, but later felt that songs should be sung to highlight the text as was the custom in Thai theatre.

Lakon dukdamban was named after the theatre building where it was performed regularly. This type of theatre was developed mainly from *lakon nai* and *lakon*

nok bae b luang of King Rama II. Descriptive scenery was replaced by realistic sets. Narration of action and emotional expression was deleted since it was already performed by actors on stage. While *lakon dukdamban* catered to a higher class of people, *likay* entertained the lower class. *Likay* was a kind of theatre where actors improvised their songs, dances and dialogue. *Likay* was the result of a long process of development. It was a combination of *suad karuhut*, *suad khaek*, *pleng*, *lakon nok* and *lakon pan tang*. Its main attractions were comic devices, beautiful costumes and a fast moving story. *Lakon rong* (singing drama) was a development of *lakon pan tang* with inspiration from singing without dancing of *bangsawan* (Malay opera) that was performed in Bangkok prior to the birth of *lakon rong*. The first *lakon rong* company was given the status of *lakon luang* (royal theatre) and *lakon rong* became extremely popular thereafter.

Besides these new types of theatres, other new performances namely *hun krabok*, *nang talung*, and *lam tat* appeared in Bangkok and became popular. Several types of *hun* (doll puppet) prevailed in Ayddhya and Bangkok periods but were not as popular as *hun krabok*. *Lakon lek* (small theatre) was another kind of doll puppet adapted from puppets of the early period. *Hunkrabok* was an adaptation of the Hainanese doll puppet which originated in Pitsanulok province. *Nang talung* (leather puppet) was an adaptation of the Javanese leather puppet (*wayang kulit*) and it originated in Pattalung province where the name *talung* became the name of the theatre. *Lamtat* was an adaptation of *suad khaek* (religious Malay chanting) which became secular chanting in the Thai language with Malay tunes.

It is important to note here that many elements of Chinese opera were brought into Thai theatre during this reign. Due to the competition between public theatres, a large number of new plays were written and published, many of them just for reading. While many new forms enjoyed popularity, some early forms declined due to social changes, the closing of casinos and their theatres and the emergence of movies.

King Rama V himself, his brothers, his sons and his noblemen played an important role in creating new theatre forms for private as well as public entertainment. The trend towards westernization in the Thai way of life was a significant influence in the new forms of theatre. Commercialization also set new criteria for public theatre styles to serve the masses. Eventually, dance became the least important element in most of these new theatre forms though it is interesting to note that Crown Prince Maha Vajiravudh took the initiative to revive the *khon* tradition for his royal pages. This classical theatre tradition had to wait for its full blooming until the next reign.

King Rama VI (1911-1925)

King Rama VI continued to enjoy the prosperity of the previous reign. People in the upper class became more westernized in their life styles. Education was still a prime objective of the King. He established Chulalongkorn University as the first higher learning institution in the country. Newspapers, began to enjoy press freedom and social economic and political issues were discussed openly. The King also joined in many debates. An attempt to change the ruling system, the Chinese uprisings, and World War I made

the King decide to use all means including theatre to propagate nationalism, patriotism and kingship. He developed a large scale royal scout division to carry out his mission. They learned the King's ideologies through his plays. In addition, the King established a new royal entertainment department to be responsible for all traditional performance activities and to be under his close supervision. To guarantee the preservation of traditional theatre, the King also established a special school where some of his scouts could learn music or drama or crafts along with general subjects. He built many palaces in the province to be used also as camps for his scouts. Each of these palaces had a theatre for his plays. King Rama VI was a prolific playwright who wrote more than 150 plays in many styles. Although the king put much effort into the theatre, his activities seem to have been confined to the realm of his court and did not filter through to the public at large.

The King in his private life preferred monogamy with a small number of court ladies but he still maintained the tradition of female court theatre. He adopted the female troupe of his Chief royal page as *lakon puying kong luang* to perform in many important functions. Meanwhile, some noble theatres were still operated in this reign. These theatres continued to produce traditional performances such as *lakon nai*, *lakon nok baeb luang*, *lakon pan tang* and *lakon dukdamban*. Concurrently, the public theatres all over Bangkok earned their living with *lakon rong* and *likay*. It was a period when *likay* sought to expand and seek popularity in the provinces situated along the railroads.

Unfortunately, many traditional theatre companies such as *khon*, *nangyai*, *lakon*

nok, *pleng* etc., seriously declined due to two factors. The first was the complete closure of all casinos and their theatres. The second was the introduction of western movies that attracted most of the audience from the theatres as well as from the temple fairs. The beginning of Thai movies near the end of this reign seems to mark the change from stage performance to movies as the main source of entertainment in Bangkok.

King Rama VI was the center of theatre activities during his reign. He wrote and sometimes directed, designed, narrated and performed his plays. His works contributed a great deal to the development of Thai theatre. His reign was an era of new plays which were much demanded by the public theatres. It was a golden age of the theatre, old and new, both in the court and in public. Significantly, it was a time when theatre functioned as a means of propagating ideologies and did not aim merely to entertain its audience.

King Rama VII (1925-1935)

King Rama VII became king unexpectedly and in the middle of the severe economic crisis caused by the worldwide economic depression. He balanced the national budget by reducing all less necessary expenses and as a result, the schools of Rama VI's scouts and royal pages were closed down. Division of entertainment was dissolved. All the musicians of both Thai and Western ensembles were transferred to the central division of the Ministry of Royal Household. Khon The Division with about 30 artists was eliminated. However, five months later, a new and smaller division of entertainment was revived to conduct performances necessary for royal ceremonies. Many

former *khon* artists were reappointed. A small and unofficial school for traditional theatre was also revived in the royal palace.

Eventhough this reign lasted only seven years and was marked by economic depression and political instability, a new styles of theatre , *Lakon pleng* a second generation of *lakon rong* emerged. A major development was the change from the Thai *pipat* ensemble to the western band, and males played male characters instead of the *lakon rong*'s male impersonators. It is likely that this important change came from the Hollywood musical movies prevailing in Bangkok during that time.

The King did not pay much attention to the stage, but he wrote and directed three movies. He also ordered a large and modern movie theatre built to commemorate Bangkok's 150th Anniversary.

Then came the system of constitutional monarchy in 1932. The democratic government under the supervision of the King reorganized the former Department of Fine Arts and transferred court artists to work at the School of Performing Arts under the Department. Artists from other noble theatres were also appointed to teach traditional arts at this school. This school became known as the present College of Dramatic Arts. Eventually, King Rama VII announced his abdication in 1937 and went with his queen into exile.

Conclusion

The evolution of Thai theatre in Bangkok between 1782-1935 was based upon the following :

1. Thai kings as the supreme rulers of the country had to be well equipped with all the necessary arts and sciences required for the kingship. They had to express their ability and their knowledge through proper means. Thus, dramatic literature, productions and other innovations were necessary. The kings' policies and tastes, therefore, had a great impact upon theatre development.

2. Monarchy is an institution that requires rituals and ceremonies to display the mighty power of devine spirits endowed upon the king. These spirits are Hindu gods. Dance and drama are indispensible ingredients in many of ceremonies and so Thai theatre tradition has always been nurtured and maintained.

3. The system of *prai* and *tat* allowed the king, the royal families and the noblemen to own and produce various kinds of theatre for their own enjoyment, for royal functions, and for public entertainment. The servants were the real doers of the theatre development and received neither fair payment nor recognition.

4. Commercialization in a free society where new freemen had buying power led to competition in public theatre productions where new elements for the theatre were sought after. Newness in the theatre attracted more audiences which guaranteed the survival of business.

5. The large number of casino theatres in Bangkok that supported all kinds of theatre was unique. Besides hiring the entertainment to draw customers into the casino, casino theatres were places where various theatrical cultures interacted and developed.

6. The Bangkok population was a mixture of many nationalities who moved into the city en masse. They brought with them their traditional culture including music and dance and theatre. Their performance elements were a valuable resource for the creation of new theatre forms especially *lakon pan tang* which liberated itself from early theatre tradition.

7. Westernization that came with the missionaries, printing technology, education, communication, transportation, public facilities, education abroad, travel to Europe and the U.S.A, etc., affected the way of life in Bangkok. Westernization was also seen in many new theatre forms. However, Thais did not slavishly copy western theatre but rather adopted some of the ideas and adapted them to suit their objectives.

8. The liberation of females on the public stage affected many theatre traditions. Male performers gave way to females. Female impersonators changed to male impersonator. Female performers made public theatre more popular. Theatre troupes had to find new ways to attract more audience. These, in turn, contributed to the theatre development.

9. Music was a main theatrical element. Theatre development in many cases started from innovations in music. From close observation, one may conclude that each theatre form usually had a master tune or a special song appearing throughout the performance. This tune was important to the identity of that particular theatre form.

10. Praying for merit from deities and thanking gods with theatre after the prayer was answered was widely practised by Thais and the employment of theatre in

funeral ceremonies resembling royal cremation was also common. These two traditional practices supported various kinds of theatre that made them flourish and develop.

The evolution of Thai theatre in Bangkok 1782-1935 was a long and complex process of a development involving many aspects of social, economic and cultural dimension. All classes of Thai society supported and nurtured the development of their theatre in the search for newness in forms and content. All Thai theatre forms grew from the same roots, thus, their core elements of performance were similar. When society changed, the theatre also changed. The earlier forms became the center for adaptation. New and popular elements were added while some outdated objects were dropped. These new elements were not directly imported from abroad though they once belonged to certain nationalities residing in Bangkok, and later were modified through Thai cultural assimilation before being incorporated into the Thai theatre. Therefore, these elements blended well into the theatre. Throughout this historical period, some forms remained intact and some forms were developed. The most important development in Thai theatre can clearly be seen in *lakon*. The evolution of Thai theatre described above was a great intellectual innovation. Theatre reflected Thai aesthetical, intellectual and philosophical culture and from this we can conclude that theatre as a part of Thai cultural identity will continue its development along with the ever changing Thai society.

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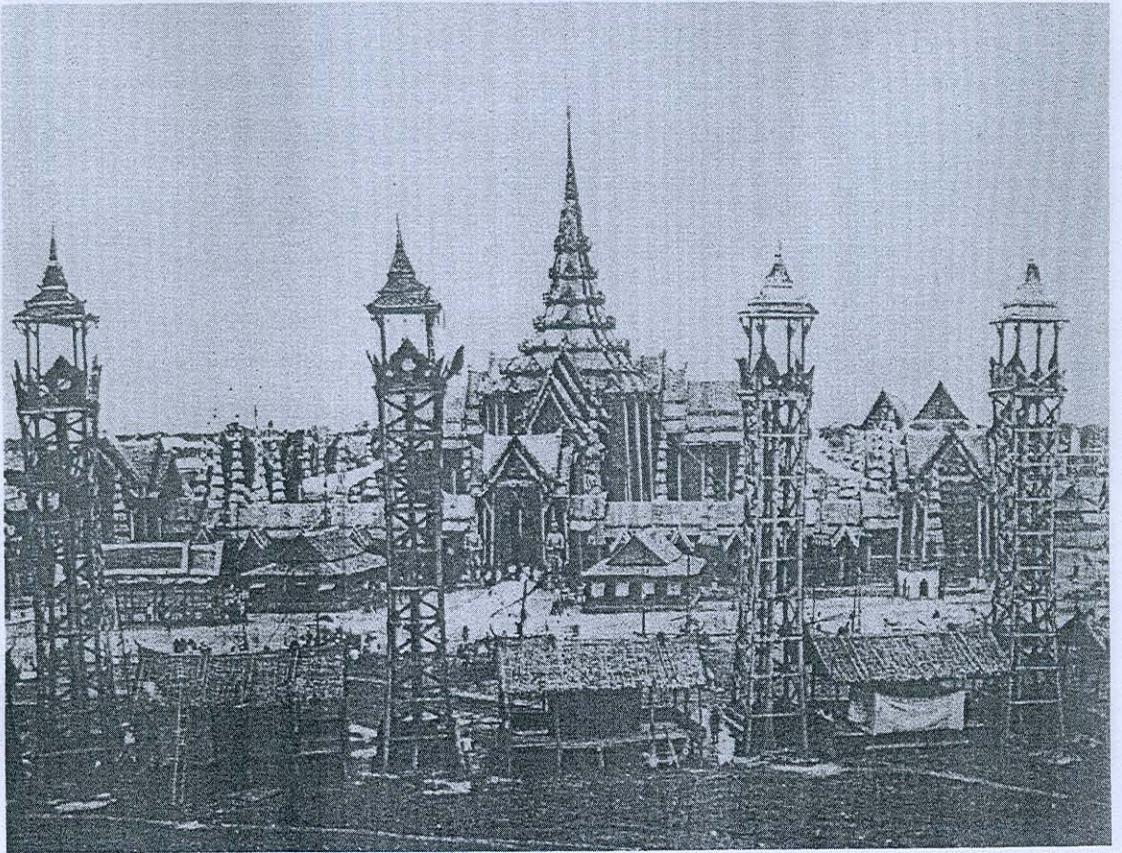
A photograph of six princesses and a nobleman playing *Nitra Chakrit*, a *lakon pud salaeb lam* written by King Rama V to celebrate Thai New Year in April 1879.

(Photocopied from *Pra prawat Krom Muen Dhivakorana Wongse Prawati*, published as a commemoration of the 72 nd Birthday Anniversary of Prince Watyakarana Kasemsri. Bangkok : Mitr Sayam, 1967. Page 85



A miniature painting of a master dance posture *Pala Pienglai* in *Tamra Ram* (Dance Book) produced during the reign of King Rama I

(Photocopied from *Tamra Ram*, Bangkok : Department of Fine Arts, 1997. Page 16)



A photograph of an early Bangkok royal cremation ground surrounded by *rong ram* (dance pavillion) to serve as stages for various performances. *Rong ram* is the name derived from the Early Ayuddhya Period.

(Photocopied from *Ngan Pra Meru Mas Samai Krung Rattanakosin*, published as a commemoration of The Royal Cremation of Her Majesty Queen Rambhai Bhanni of King Rama VII, Bangkok : Department of Fine Arts, 1985. Page 132)