



A Comparison of the Significances of Garuda in Society, Arts and Architecture in Two South-East Asian Countries: Indonesia and Thailand

Andre Iman Syafrony* and Onusa Suwanpratest

Department of Literature and Folklore, Faculty of Humanities, Naresuan University, Phitsanulok 65000, Thailand

*Corresponding author. E-mail address: imanandre@gmail.com

Abstract

The aim of this study is to compare the significance of the influence of Garuda on Indonesian and Thai cultures. A comparative study of the Garuda will help to enhance the understanding of the values that are specific to the Thai and Indonesian cultures as well as the cultural traits and identities that are shared across cultures in these two nations.

Methodologically-wise, this study is a textual, qualitative and comparative study. The author surveys and collects the texts that contain Garuda motifs from texts in Indonesia and Thailand and online sources. The author analyzes the information through the comparative approach in terms of the importance of Garuda in Indonesia and Thailand, to look for similarities and differences in the conventions of society, art, performances and architecture.

The study reveals that there are many reasons why the concept of Garuda is significant in these two countries. Taken as an example, the belief that the king is an incarnation of the god Vishnu is prevalent in both Indonesia and Thailand. In Indonesia, Garuda is seen as an important entity which represents the holy vehicle, bearing many divine traits. This view is also held in Thailand. It is why the two countries put so much importance on the symbol of Garuda. The visible difference is, in Indonesia, the Garuda is represented as being more bird-like, with an eagle-like face, while in Thailand the Garuda has a human like face with a bird-like body. In Indonesia, the Garuda is seen more as the symbol of virtues, while in Thailand, it is associated with the institute of kingship. It is because in many stories Garuda symbolizes the virtues of knowledge, power, bravery, loyalty, and discipline. As the vehicle of Vishnu, Garuda also bears the attributes of Vishnu, which symbolize the preservation of the cosmic order. This is perhaps one of many reasons why the Indonesian founding-fathers adopted this image as the national emblem. While in Thailand, the symbol of Garuda is always associated with the institute of kingship, therefore, the symbol of Garuda stands for something sacred and holy; this is not the case in Indonesia, where the symbol of Garuda is seen more as the symbol of virtue.

Keywords: Garuda, Virtue, Indonesia and Thailand

Introduction

Indonesia and Thailand employ the similar concept of Garuda as the national emblems. These attributes can be seen as the manifestations of Indian culture, especially the Hindu influence, which can be dated back to the early 6th century A.D. where cultural dissemination and acculturation shaped and defined the identity of these two nations. Coming from Indonesian and Thai culture, it can be seen that the images of Garuda which are found in Indonesia and Thailand are similar in terms of influence in seeing that the Garuda is sacred. While the Garuda is seen in both countries

as an important element of Hindu mythology, in Thailand, the Garuda has an extended function in that it is associated with the divine kingship of Thailand.

Previous research in Indonesia and Thailand shows the importance of the Garuda which is associated with the divine authorities of kingship in Thailand and Indonesia. In the past, in Indonesia, the kings were also seen as the incarnations of the God Vishnu. In Thailand, the king is also seen as the God Vishnu.

Much of the current research focuses only on social and artistic aspects of the Garuda. The literature review on the influence of the Garuda myth in Indonesia and Thailand, including comparative studies between the

two countries, has never been done before, hence the point of this project.

In short, the two symbols of Thai Garuda and Garuda Pancasila originated in the same source. The Garuda symbols need to be examined carefully to understand their underlining importance and reasons why the two countries adopted the Garuda as part of their national emblems.

Methods and Materials

1. The researcher collects and compares the conceptualization of Garuda myths from books and electronic resources from April to September 2015.
2. The researcher analyzes the conceptualization of Garuda myths through the comparative approach by seeing the similarities and differences in terms of social, art, performances and architecture in Thai and Indonesian society.
3. The researcher interprets and summarizes the results.

Results

1. The Significance of Garuda As National Emblem in Indonesian and Thai Society

Indonesia uses the Garuda, called the Garuda Pancasila, as its national symbol. The Garuda Pancasila is coloured or gilt gold, symbolizes the greatness of the nation and is a representation of the “Elang Jawa” or Javan Hawk-Eagle (*Nisaetus bartelsi*). The black colour represents nature. There are 17 feathers on each wing, 8 on the lower tail, 19 on the upper tail and 45 on the neck, which represent the date Indonesia proclaimed its independence: 17 August 1945. The shield it carries with the Indonesian Pancasila heraldry symbolizes self-defence and struggle.

The Garuda as the symbol of Indonesia started its form as the closely-related depiction of Garuda in mythology to the modern day depictions. It resembles the Java-eagle from the island of Java which is the current form of the Garuda Pancasila. It can be seen that the Garuda in the Indonesian symbol and coat of arms, was changed from the original anthropomorphic figure to the current bird-like form.

Garuda Pancasila's head faces west; this is perhaps an ideological symbol that Indonesia has to be alert for a possible threat from the West. This belief possibly originated because of the colonial era and the international political situation in the 1950s, where there were conflicts between countries in Asia and the Western world. At the bottom of the symbol, Garuda Pancasila is clutching a scroll with the “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika” inscribed on it. The phrase literally means ‘unity in diversity’. This term was coined during the Hindu-Buddhist era of Indonesia. The term was used to unify the kingdoms in the past because Buddhism and Hinduism hold many similar teachings and in many respects, may be considered to be similar.

Pancasila means ‘five precepts’. This notion was borrowed from Buddhism by the Indonesian founding fathers. The concept of five precepts comes from Buddhism, however the precepts referred to are political and social in nature, rather than religious. The five principles are: 1) Belief in the one and only God, 2) Just and civilized humanity, 3) The unity of Indonesia, 4) Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives, 5) Social justice for all of the people of Indonesia. The shield carried by Garuda contains the symbols of the principles above.



Figure 1 The Garuda as the National Symbols on Indonesian and Thai Passports

Source: Suwanpratest, O. (Photographer). (2015).

The Garuda was officially adopted as the national emblem by King Vajiravudh (Rama VI) in 1911. However the mythical creature had been used as a symbol of royalty in Thailand for centuries. The Garuda is depicted on seals, which are used by the King of Thailand and the Government of Thailand to authenticate official documents and as its primary emblem (Kluaymai Na Ayuthaya, 1999).

The Garuda was also adopted by the Royal Thai Government as its official emblem. The Garuda emblem appears on the letterhead of almost all Thai government documents. The position of the king as the earthly personification of Narayana is symbolized through the use of the Garuda. This symbolism also illustrates the belief that the government is the vehicle or instrument of the king.

2. Garuda and the Institute of Kingship in Indonesia and Thailand



Figure 2 The Royal Seal of Yogyakarta Sultanate Indonesia

Source: Syafrony, A. (Photographer). (2014).

The Sultanate of Yogyakarta, Indonesia also adopts the concept of Garuda in the Royal Seal. The earlier Mataram Kingdom is known to embrace Hindu influence. During the 1700s the Mataram Sultanate was split into two: The Sultanate of Yogyakarta and The Sunanate of Surakarta.

It may be possible that the current Sultanate also belongs to the Vaishnavate sect or are devotees of Lord Vishnu, continuing the tradition dating from the era of the Hindu kingdoms. The royal seal of Yogyakarta Sultanate is called Praja Cihna. ‘Praja’ means, “the servant of people” and, ‘Cihna’ means “true virtues.” The virtues are those associated with

Garuda. The symbolic meaning of the royal seal, showing the Garuda's flapping wings describe the majesty and authority of the palace. It is firm, steady, strong, total, dynamic, optimistic and unyielding, in

bringing prosperity or welfare to the people, a mandatory trait of a leader as a protector. There are 10 wing feathers on either wing. This design represents the current 10th generation of the Sultanate.



Figure 3 Garuda on “Pha Thip” (The cloth hanging in front of the throne or in front of the special places specifically arranged for the king, for example on his balcony)

Source: Syafrony, A. (Photographer). (2014).

Thailand must have been acquainted with the Indian theory of government and the doctrine of divine kingship early in its history. According to Kluaymai Na Ayuthaya (1999, p. 52), Thailand has been familiar with the three principal gods of the Hindu Trimurti as early as the beginning of the Ayutthaya period.

According to the Hindu sacred kingship doctrine, the king is an incarnation of the God. As the vehicle of the great god should accompany the god wherever he goes, Garuda quickly became well known in Thailand at that time and was accepted as the symbol of authority of the king and his government. A seal

bearing the figure of the Garuda was then used to establish the authenticity of the document from the king.

As a matter of fact, the name of the current dynasty from the time of the King Rama I onward is “Chakri” a Sanskrit word meaning “the Wielder of the Discus” signifying no other than the god, Lord Vishnu, whose vehicle is Garuda. It can be assumed, then, that the old doctrine of divine kingship in Thailand belonged to the Vaisnavaite sect, which held Lord Vishnu as the supreme god of the Trimurti.



Figure 4 The Yellow Royal Standard on the King's Automobile

Source: Retrieved from <http://vandenplas.com>

A flag with a prominent red Garuda over the yellow background, known as the Royal or Maharaja Standard, is always flown on top of the king's residence whenever he is present. When the king is travelling

with an automobile, the Maharaja Standard will be flown on the vehicle. Notice also the figurehead on the bonnet of the Royal Automobile, an image of Garuda is usually attached to the hood.

3. Garuda in Art and the Performing Arts of Indonesia and Thailand



Figure 5 19th Century Balinese Garuda Painting by I Made Tlaga & The Painting of Garuda Subduing Nāga

Source: Zoetmulder, 1994

The Garuda is regarded as an important in Indonesian art because of the importance of the Garuda bird in the mythology and folklore of the Javanese and Balinese people. From the figure above, which was drawn by a Balinese artist, I Made Tlaga during the 19th century, it can be seen that the painting refers to the scene of Adiparwa. The scene concerns the event where Garuda seeks the Amrita in the heaven of the *Devatas*. He stopped at the mountain of *Alamva* to

consult his father. The Garuda felt very hungry and his father told him to prey on the nearby elephant and tortoise to satisfy his appetite.

It is clear that the painting above was inspired by the event in the Adiparwa, the first chapter of Mahabharata. The image of Garuda clawing and grabbing an elephant and a tortoise evokes that particular event and shows the importance of the myth of Garuda to fine art production in Indonesia.



Figure 6 Ayutthaya Period's painting of Narayana holding a bow and arrow

Source: Kluaymai Na Ayuthaya, 1999, p. 161

In Thailand, the fine arts cannot be separated from the myth of Garuda. Scenes involving the myth of Garuda are principal subjects for artists in every medium. The theme is usually recognized in works visualizing Garuda in the glory of the monarchy or in religious scenes. According to Thongtor Kluaymai Na Ayuthaya, the popular belief of kingship as the divine incarnation of the God Vishnu, influenced the details and art on the inside and outside of the king's residence

(Kluaymai Na Ayuthaya, 1999). An example of this is the gilded lacquer technique of *Lai rod nam*. Usually the decorative design is kept inside a lacquered panel and ornamented with the golden colour. As it can be seen from the figure above, the painting of the God Narayana mounting on the Garuda is encased inside a gilded lacquer cabinet. This shows the enduring importance of Garuda in Thai artwork.



Figure 7 Balinese Garuda wood carvings

Source: Syafrony, A. (Photographer). (2014).

Many of the statues of Garuda at present depict the icon of Vishnu riding the Garuda or in Indonesian terms, "Garuda Wisnu Kencana." This shows the importance of the Garuda as the royal servant and preserver of the god, Lord Vishnu, in the minds of the Indonesian people.

In Bali, the Garuda motif is applied to all aspects of art and culture, particularly in sculptures, paintings, carvings, architecture and dances. In keeping with the concept of anthropomorphism, the eagle in Bali carvings is manifested as half-man half-bird. It has the torso and limbs of a human being, the head,



beak, wings and talons of an eagle. Examples of such art work are wood carvings, sculptures and other



Figure 8 A Bronze-Cast Statue of Garuda

Source: Syafrony, A. (Photographer). (2014).

As can be seen from the figures above, the usual Garuda statue in Thailand is in the form of Garuda spreading his wings. This kind of statue of



Figure 9 Garuda Wisnu Kencana Dance

Source: Sejarah Tari Bali Tari Garuda Wisnu Kencana, 2014

In Indonesia, there are kinds of dancing routines inspired by the story of Garuda, some of the examples are the “Garuda Wisnu” dance which is usually performed in Bali and a new creative dance called “Garuda Nusantara” dance. “Garuda Wisnu” dance tells the journey of Lord Vishnu to maintain the balance in the world. In this journey, he is assisted by his mount, Garuda. In this dance, the storyline also describes a meeting with his wife, Goddess Lakshmi. The scene also describes Lord Vishnu assuming his authority by displaying his *cakra* weapon. This dance is presented by 3 dancers, a male (as the bird Garuda) and 2 female dancers (as Goddess Lakshmi and God Vishnu).



Figure 10 Garuda in the Dancing Ornaments of a Balinese Dancer

Source: Syafrony, A. (Photographer). (2014).

In Balinese dancing, the ornaments of Garuda are usually part of the costumes of a dancer. The ornaments of Garuda are supplemented with a three-

dot make up on the face of a dancer. These signify “Trimurti” or the three principal gods of Hinduism: Vishnu, Brahma and Shiva.



Figure 11 Garuda Dance, depicting Narayana mounting Garuda in the middle of Garuda entourage

Source: Kluaymai Na Ayuthaya, 1999, p. 187

In Thai performing arts, the performance of Garuda dance can be divided into two kinds. The first is the elegance and “slow tempo movement” as in a “non-dramatic pure” routine, and the other uses plosive gestures and sudden movements to narrate the

story (Kluaymai Na Ayuthya, 1999). The specific importance of Garuda usually comes to the fore and the intention is to portray its grandeur and psychological appeal.



4. Garuda as in the Architectures of Indonesia and Thailand



Figure 12 Lord Vishnu mounting the Garuda and The Garuda steals the *amrita* from heaven

Source: Syafrony, A. & Nurhayani, I. (Photographer). (2014).

An example of the icon of Garuda can be found in the temple or *candi* in Indonesia. The most famous is the icon of Garuda Wisnu Kencana from the East Javan Temple. Airlangga is an important king in the history of the kingdom of Kahuripan. Airlangga is always depicted mounting a giant Garuda bird.

Airlangga is the founder of the Kingdom Kahuripan, who ruled from 1009 to 1042 with a title of *Sri Maharaja Rakai Halu Anantawikramottunggadewa Dharmawangsa Airlangga*. As a king, he ordered Mpu Kanwa to compose *Kakawin Arjunawihaya* that describes his success in battle. At the end of his reign, the kingdom split into two Kadiri Kingdom and the Kingdom Janggala for his two sons. The Airlangga name is still well known as part of Indonesian folklore, and his name is remembered in various memorials across Indonesia. For example, there is a story of

Airlangga in Bali and the adoption of his name to be the name of the biggest university in East Java, University of Airlangga.

Another example of the significance of Garuda in the architecture is in the relief of *Garudaeya* in *Candi Kidal*, East Java. In the body of the temple, there are reliefs depicting the Garuda holding a snake on his head, the Garuda carrying a jar of *Amrita*, and the Garuda with his mother.

It can be said that most of the icons of Garuda in Indonesia concern the flight of Garuda in the *Adiparwa Mahabharata* and the representation of Garuda as the mount of Lord Vishnu. Although there are reliefs of Garuda found on the Buddhist temples such as *Candi Mendut* and *Borobudur*, the majority of the images of Garuda are derived from Hindu texts, and not from Buddhist mythology.



Figure 13 An Example of Narayana Mounting Garuda on the architecture of a Wat in Nakhon Chum & Chofas at the roof of the Bot in the Wat Chula Manee, Phitsanulok Province

Source: Syafrony, A. (Photographer). (2014).

In Thailand, the importance of Garuda can be seen in the architectural features of religious buildings known as *Wat*. In a Thai *Wat* there are many smaller structures such as *Uposatha* or the ceremonial hall of main temple for the monks and *Wiharn* or the smaller temple open for the laity.

One of the features of the roof finial on the bot and vihar is the *Nag Sadung*, it is sculpted in a serpentine like shape, suggesting the shape of naga. Another part is *Bai Raka* which is in the form of a blade-projection which evokes both the naga fin and the feathers of Garuda. The lower finial part of the lamyong is called *Hang Hong*, before it was suggested that the finial was intended to be in the form of a *Hangsa* or swan. According to Sthapitanonda & Mertens, the form is now naga-like and takes form of a head of a naga facing away from the roof and turned up (Sthapitanonda & Mertens, 2012).

On the peak of *Lamyong* there is Chofa. Chofas are hornlike finials on the roof ridges of the

multiple roofs on a bot or vihar, and are believed to have talismanic characteristics (Sthapitanonda & Mertens, 2012, p. 142). They are very characteristic of Thai temples, possibly signifying the garuda; it may originally have been intended to render Buddhism more appealing to Vishnuites, the Garuda being Lord Vishnu's mount.

Furthermore, Sthapitanonda and Mertens argue that the symbolism of Chofah is about the struggle of Garuda and Naga, the *Bai Raka* below the Chofah symbolizes both the feathers of Garuda and Naga's fins as the two animals entwine in battle (Sthapitanonda & Mertens, 2012). This is in accordance with the account told in *Traibhumikatha* that the Garuda and Naga always engage in an enmity battle. This symbolism on the roof finials of temples is probably more about the image representing the reciprocal association of Garuda with the Nagas rather than their destruction.

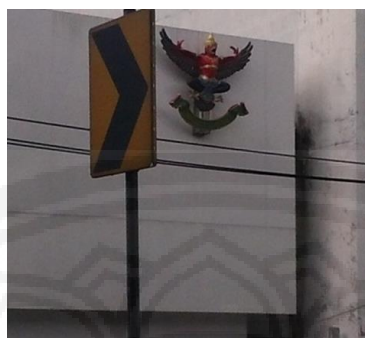


Figure 14 Garuda Figure on the Commercial Building

Source: Syafrony, A. (Photographer). (2014).

In Thailand, there are a number of different postures of Garuda which can be seen on government buildings and at royal temples. Some private companies are also allowed to display the Garuda in their insignia if they have been granted the honour, 'By Royal Appointment.'

According to Kluaymai Na Ayuthaya, the use of the Garuda figure on buildings is often associated

with state affairs, but there are cases where a special individual or company receives a "Tra Tang", or the privilege of using the Garuda as the company symbol. This means the Garuda "signifies a special category of official recognition" and is seen as "an award of high honour in business circles" (Kluaymai Na Ayuthaya, 1999).



Figure 15 Garuda on the Governmental Buildings of Indonesia

Source: Retrieved from <http://plus.google.com>

Garuda Pancasila is used on many public and private buildings. The Garuda Pancasila is placed slightly above the President's and Vice President's photographs. It is also displayed on the front of the superstructure of naval vessels to denote that the ships belong to the government.

Discussion

The Similarities and Differences of the Symbols of Garuda Used in Thailand and Indonesia

There are many similarities and also differences in the use of Garuda symbol in Thailand and Indonesia. These are shown in the way Garuda is used to symbolize royalty and to indicate government services and properties. The symbol appears on currency, may appear on royal and government vehicles and buildings.

The Garuda symbol is also used as a religious symbol representing both Hindu and Buddhist heritage.

First, Garuda is the accepted official national symbols of both Thailand and Indonesia. It may be noted that there are some cultural and religious similarities between the two countries, as is indicated by the fact that the Garuda has become the national emblem of both Thailand and Indonesia. The Garuda is revered as an important symbol in both countries. Garuda in Thailand is commonly shown with two limbs with his two wings attached to the upper part of his open arms known as 'Tra Phra Khrut Phah.' In Thailand, the Garuda is usually represented with a human like face.

Garuda as the national symbol of Indonesia is known as the 'Garuda Pancasila.' The Garuda Pancasila is represented with an eagle face and is more bird-like. Where in Thailand, the Garuda is rendered in a more traditional anthropomorphic mythical style, which is that of an animal that has a humane representative, the Garuda of Indonesia is rendered in heraldic style with traits similar to the real Javan Hawk-Eagle.

Secondly, Garuda appears as a theme of religious art in both Thailand and Indonesia. From the examples of artwork in Thailand and Indonesia, it can be seen that the image of Garuda hold similar sway in terms of their influence in that the Garuda is revered as a sacred figure. The traditional art of Indonesia and Thailand show the importance of the Garuda which is associated with the divine authority of the kingship. In Thailand, the king is believed to be incarnation of Lord Vishnu. In Indonesia, in the past, the kings were revered as the incarnation of Lord Vishnu, however, the surviving royal rulers of Indonesia are no longer revered in this way. They also no longer wield the power that they

did in the past. Indonesia is now a republic that allows the traditional sultanates to continue to exist.

The differences in the art of the two countries lie in the way the Garuda is seen. In both countries, the Garuda is seen as an important part of Hindu mythology, however, in Thailand, the Garuda has a more sacred purpose in its association with the divine kingship of Thailand. Most Thai artists have been more interested in the Buddhist interpretation of the traditional enmity between the garudas and the nagas. Most of their artistic work emphasizes this aspect and the superiority of the garudas over the nagas. In this case, the art shows the nagas held captive by the neck by the garudas. Meanwhile, in Bali, Indonesia, the Garuda is identified with supreme strength and courage. This particular aspect is shown in paintings and other works representing the scene from the flight of the Garuda where he catches the elephant and the tortoise.

Thirdly, differences can be seen in the performing arts of Indonesia and Thailand. The Garuda has always been depicted showing its traits of courage, majesty, and elegance. The Garuda being the holy mount of Lord Vishnu is given special attention. This is evident in the performing arts in Indonesia, especially Bali. In Thailand, Kaki or Kakati Jataka has become an important source of inspiration for Thai performing artists. In Indonesia, the emphasis is on the positive aspects of the Garuda character, while in Thailand, both the positive and the negative aspects of the Garuda character are portrayed. This mixture of portrayals can be seen in the inclusion of the story of Kaki, in Thai art. These aspects of the Garuda myth have been a source of considerable inspiration. They have allowed the character of Garuda to be portrayed in many different ways in their dance routines.



Fourthly, in Indonesia and Thailand, the influence of the Garuda on religious architectures is very similar and therefore both countries share the same notion of the importance of Garuda in the architectural features of religious sites by employing many shared traits regarding the icon of Garuda. In Thai architecture, the figures of garuda birds are sometimes found standing in a row supporting the heavy pillars of the structure. It can be seen that in both countries, the use of Garuda as a national emblem on public buildings signify the purpose of the building. The icon of Garuda indicates that an important public building is to be built on that site. It can be concluded that the placement of the Garuda icon in the two countries are similar in terms of usage both as a religious, architectural, and social feature.

Fifthly, Thai and Indonesian kingship highlight the concept of Garuda being identified with the royal vehicular images. A vehicle of a king is therefore, seen as the embodiment of Garuda and the institute of kingship. In Indonesia and Thailand, the icon of Garuda is displayed on royal vehicles. This image is in keeping with the concept of Garuda as the mount of Lord Vishnu. In general, a Garuda figure is displayed on buildings, structures and vehicles to indicate their connection with the king. In Thai culture, when the Garuda is mentioned in connection with Lord Vishnu or the god Narayana, only one Garuda is revered to and he is also the mount of Lord Vishnu. In other stories, he is thought of as a large mythical bird with supernatural powers.

Conclusion

The research focus of this study compares the Indonesian and Thai representations of Garuda. This comparison contributes to the mutual understanding regarding the Garuda in these two countries. It shows

that they share common beliefs and mythology which may point to a common heritage. In short, many things can be derived from the attempt of seeing both aspects of the significance of Garuda from both the Indonesian and Thai sides at the same time. There are many reasons why the concept of Garuda is significant in the two countries. The first example is the belief that the king is an incarnation of the god Vishnu is prevalent both in Indonesia and Thailand. In Indonesia, the Garuda is seen as an important entity which represents the holy vehicle, bearing many divine traits. This view is also akin in Thailand. It is why the two countries put so much importance on the symbol of Garuda.

The visible difference is, however, that in Indonesia, the Garuda is more seen as a symbol of virtue. It is because in many stories, Garuda symbolizes the virtues of knowledge, power, bravery, loyalty, and discipline. As the vehicle of Lord Vishnu, Garuda also bears the attributes of Lord Vishnu, which symbolize the preservation of the cosmic order. This is perhaps one of many reasons why the Indonesian founding-fathers adopted this image as the national emblem.

While the case in Thailand is that the symbol of Garuda is always associated with the institute of kingship, therefore, the symbol of Garuda stands for something sacred and holy; this is not the case in Indonesia, where the symbol of Garuda is seen as a symbol of virtue.

Nevertheless, the significance of the symbol of Garuda which can be seen from the discussion above is pertinent and also prevalent in many aspects of the cultures of the two countries. An examination of what kinds of emotion which is evoked when the word Garuda is said will raise the notion of the goal of folklore as a subject of study to understand people; what does it mean being a better human being and to understand ourselves better, human beings, as social creatures all share a common humanity.



Acknowledgement

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Kingkeo Attagara and Dr. Onusa Suwanpratest, for their continuous support of my M.A study and related research, their patience, motivation, and immense knowledge. Their guidance helped me in all the time of research and writing of this project. I could not have imagined having a better advisor and mentor for my Master study. I would like to thank the rest of my lecturers: Prof. Prachaksa Saisang, Dr. Baranee Boonsong, Dr. Catthaleeya Aungthonggumnerd, and also Dr. Kevin Roehl of the NULC in the process of editing this project, for their insightful comments and encouragement, but also for the hard questions which helped me to widen my research from various perspectives.

References

- Aasen, C. (1998). *Architecture of Siam: A Cultural History Interpretation*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Anh Tu, P. (2013). *The Signification of Naga in Thai Architectural and Sculptural Ornaments*. N.P.: n.p.
- Dallapiccola, A, L & Anila, V. (2002). A Rare Narrative Relief of Garuda at Thirukkukurugudi. *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 21(1), 69–71.
- Hidayat, N. R. (2008). *Mencari Telur Garuda [Seeking Garuda's Egg]*. N.P.: n.p.
- Jermasawadi, P. (1979). *Thai Art with Indian Influences*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications.
- Lertchamrit, T. (2011). *Garuda in Thai Crafts Arts*. N.P.: n.p.
- Kluaymai Na Ayuthaya, T. (1999). *Garuda*. Thailand: Amarin Printing and Publishing Public Company Ltd.
- Mitrakul, T. (1984). *Mythology of Garuda Depicted On Khmer Art in Thailand*. N.P.: n.p.
- Nagar, S. L. (1992). *Garuda the Celestial Bird*. New Delhi: Book India.
- Oentoro, Y. (2012). Representasi Figur Burung Garuda yang Digunakan sebagai Lambang Negara [The Representation of Garuda's Figure as the Symbol of Nation]. *NIRMANA Journal*, 14(1), January 2012, 47–64.
- Phichit, P. (1952). *Buddhist Art: Architecture*. Bangkok: n.p.
- Reynolds, F. E. & Mani, B. R. (1982). *Three Worlds According to King Ruang, translated*. California: Asian Humanities Press/ Motilal Banarsidass.
- Saraya, D. (1999). *Sri Dvaravati, The Initial Phase of Siam's History*. Bangkok: Muang Boran.
- The Committee on Documentation and Historical Records. (2012). *Traibhumikatha Buddhist Cosmology: The Illustrated King Rama IX Edition*. Bangkok: Office of the Permanent Secretary; Ministry of Culture.
- Udiana, N, T. (2002). *Garuda dalam Seni-Budaya Bali: Kajian Fungsi dan Makna Simbolisnya*. Indonesia: Universitas Gadjah Mada.



- Werner, K. (1994). *A Popular Dictionary of Hinduism*. N.P.: Taylor & Francis.
- Wessing, R. (2006). Symbolic Animals in the Land Between the Waters: Markers of Place and Transition. *Asian Folklore Studies*, 65(2), 205–239.
- Wongdumrongsup, P. (2009). *The Decoration of Garuda on Prang in Ayutthaya Art*. N.P.: n.p.
- Zainab, A. N. (1985). Some notes on the Garuda with brief references to its appearances in traditional Malay legends. *Kekal Abadi Journal*, 12–18.
- Zaini, R. (2012). *Garuda: Mitos dan Faktanya di Indonesia [Garuda: Its Myth and Facts in Indonesia]*. Bandung: Raptor Indonesia.
- Zoetmulder, P. J. (1994). *Kalangwan, sastra Jawa Kuno selayang pandang [Kalangwan, Old Javanese Literature in A Glance]*. Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan.