

Art, archaeology and the early kingdoms in the
Malay Peninsula and Sumatra: c.400-1400 A.D.

Volume One

by

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This thesis is submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, University of London.
School of Oriental and African Studies, May, 1984

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my supervisor, Mr A.H. Christie, I am deeply grateful for his advice, suggestions, comments and criticism, as well as his help and encouragement in guiding me in the preparation of this thesis.

I would like to express my gratitude to the following persons for their assistance: Mrs Margaret Medley, Curator of the Perceival and David Foundation of Chinese art; Dr G. Fehervari, Lecturer in Islamic art and archaeology, School of Oriental and African Studies; Professor H.L. Shorto, School of Oriental and African Studies; Professor Claude Jacques, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne University; Professor O.W. Wolters, Cornell University; Dra Satyawati Suleiman, National Research Centre of Archaeology Indonesia; Mr Abu Ridho, Curator, Museum Pusat, Jakarta.

My thanks to the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia for providing research grants and to all those people at the National Research Centre of Archaeology, Indonesia, Muzium Arkeologi Lembah Bujang Kedah, and the Fine Arts Department, Thailand, who have helped me in one way or another.

ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to establish the type and nature of the riverine and coastal settlements on the evidence of the cultural remains and literary sources. The cultural remains include the ceramics, Hindu and Buddhist images and architecture. It is hoped that it will indirectly help to elucidate further the problems relating to Srivijaya and the terminology 'Srivijayan art'.

The thesis has been divided into six chapters. The arguments are supported by photographs, maps and diagrams. In the first chapter, the aims and objectives of the study have been outlined. Also, the problem relating to the terminology 'Srivijayan art' has been discussed. The data and the problems related to the terminology have been listed and studied.

The second chapter deals with: the geographic setting of both the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra; the archaeological data from various sites and; the significance of the data in terms of dating, religious practise and the nature of the sites. The third chapter focusses on the archaeological sites in the Muda and Bujang River valleys. New data on ceramics, architecture, religious images have been discussed, analysed and interpreted. The most significant conclusion is the existence of the centre of settlement at Sungai Emas prior to the rise of Pengkalan Bujang as an entrepôt.

In the fourth chapter, discussions focuss on the Buddhist images. They have been analysed and identified and dated. The influences on the styles have been suggested. The same approach has been applied to chapter five which deals with Hindu images.

The last chapter provides a brief summary of all Hindu and Buddhist images used in the study and they are then grouped into chronological set. The architecture, too, has been summarised and placed in the chronological group or set. The final part of the chapter concludes on the nature of the various kingdoms located and named.

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- 4.137 Standing, bronze Hevajra. Peninsular Thailand (Songkhla). Wat Matchimawas, Songkhla. 14 cm.
- 4.138 Standing, stone unidentifiable Bodhisattva. Sumatra (Palembang). Museum Pusat, Jakarta. 1.18 m.
- 4.139 Seated, stone unidentifiable Bodhisattva. Sumatra (Lampung). In-situ (Lampung). 90 cm.
- 4.140 Bronze Bodhisattva. Peninsular Thailand (Chaiya) National Museum, Bangkok. 63 cm.
- 4.141 Head, stone Avalokitesvara (?) Sumatra (Aceh) Museum Pusat, Jakarta. 44 cm.
- 4.142 Seated, bronze Tārā. Peninsular Thailand (Chaiya) National Museum Bangkok. 18.5 cm.

- 4.143 Seated, bronze Tārā. Peninsular Thailand (Songkhla) Wat Matchimawas, Songkhla. 12 cm.
- 4.144 Seated, bronze Cundā. Peninsular Thailand (unknown). National Museum Bangkok. 18 cm.
- 4.145 Seated, bronze Cundā. Peninsular Thailand (unknown). National Museum Bangkok. 9 cm.
- 4.146 Standing, bronze Prajñāparamitā. Peninsular Thailand (Nakhon Si Thammarat). National Museum Nakhon Si Thammarat. 11 cm.
- 4.147 Seated, terracotta Prajñāparamitā. Peninsular Thailand (Yala). Private collection (Yala). 9.5 cm.
- 4.148 Seated, stone Prajñāparamitā. Sumatra (Muara Jambi). In Jambi. 56 cm.
- 4.149 Standing, terracotta Hāritī. Peninsular Malaysia (Kedah). Private collection (Sungei Emas). 22.5 cm.
- 5.1 Standing, stone Viṣṇu. Peninsular Thailand (Chaiya). National Museum Bangkok. 68.58 cm.
- 5.2 Standing, stone Viṣṇu. Peninsular Thailand (Nakhon Si Thammarat). Wat Prathat Nakhon Si Thammarat. 78 cm.
- 5.3 Standing, stone Viṣṇu. Peninsular Thailand (Nakhon Si Thammarat). Wat Prathat Nakon Si Thammarat. 65 cm.
- 5.4 Standing, stone Viṣṇu. Peninsular Thailand (Takuapa). National Museum, Bangkok. 202 cm.
- 5.5 Standing, stone Viṣṇu. Peninsular Thailand (Sathingphra). National Museum, Bangkok.
- 5.6 Standing, stone Viṣṇu. Peninsular Thailand (Sathingphra). Wat Matchimawas, Songkhla.
- 5.7 Standing, stone Viṣṇu. Peninsular Thailand (Si Chōn). Private collection (Nakhon Si Thammarat).
- 5.8 Standing, stone Viṣṇu. Peninsular Thailand (Wat Srivijaya, Hua Khao, Pun Pin). Photograph: Stanley O'Connor, Fig. 24. 170 cm.
- 5.9 Standing, stone Viṣṇu. Peninsular Thailand (Wat Srivijaya, Hua Khao, Pun Pin). Photograph: Stanley O'Connor, Fig. 25.
- 5.10 Standing, stone Viṣṇu. Peninsular Thailand (Wat Srivijaya, Hua Khao, Pun Pin). Photograph: Stanley O'Connor, Fig. 25.

- 5.11 Torso, stone Viṣṇu. Peninsular Thailand (Wat Phra Narai, Tha Sala District). National Museum, Nakhon Si Thammarat.
- 5.12 Standing, stone Viṣṇu. Peninsular Thailand (Wiang Sa). National Museum Bangkok. 148 cm.
- 5.13 Standing, stone Viṣṇu. Peninsular Thailand (Wiang Sa). National Museum Bangkok.
- 5.14 Head, stone Viṣṇu. Sumatra (Bangka). Photograph: W.F. Stutterheim.
- 5.15 Standing, stone Viṣṇu. Peninsular Thailand. Śrivijaya Hill. Photograph: Stanley O'Connor.
- 5.16 Standing, stone Viṣṇu Madhyama Yogasthānaka-murtī. Peninsular Thailand (P'ra Narai Hill, Takuapa). Regional office Fine Arts Department, Nakhon Si Thammarat.
- 5.17 Standing, stone Bhūdevi. Peninsular Thailand (P'ra Narai Hill, Takuapa). Regional office Fine Arts Department, Nakhon Si Thammarat.
- 5.18 Standing, stone ṛṣi Markendaya. Peninsular Thailand (P'ra Narai Hill, Takuapa). Regional office, Fine Arts Department, Nakhon Si Thammarat.
- 5.19 Standing, stone Viṣṇu. Peninsular Thailand (Wiang Sa). National Museum Bangkok.
- 5.20 Standing, stone Viṣṇu. Sumatra (Kota Cina). Kota Cina.
- 5.21 Legs and lower trunk, stone Lakṣmī. Sumatra (Kota Cina). Kota Cina.
- 5.22 Standing, bronze Viṣṇu on Garuda. Sumatra (Palembang). Museum Pusat, Jakarta.
- 5.23 Standing, bronze Śiva. Sumatra (Palembang). Museum Pusat, Jakarta.
- 5.24 Standing, bronze Śiva. Peninsular Thailand (Sathinthipra). Wat Matchimawas, Songkhla.
- 5.25 Standing, bronze Śiva on Nandi. Sumatra (Palembang). Museum Pusat, Jakarta.
- 5.26 Standing, bronze Śiva-Guru. Peninsular Malaysia (Jalong, Chemor in Perak). Private collection. 52.5 cm.
- 5.27 Standing, bronze Śiva-Guru. Peninsular Thailand (Sathinthipra). Wat Matchimawas, Songkhla. 22.5 cm.

- 5.28 Standing, bronze Brahma. Peninsular Thailand (unknown). Private collection (Mr. Santi Sivakue, Bangkok). 24.5 cm.
- 5.29 Standing, bronze Brahma on hamsa. Sumatra (Palembang). Museum Pusat, Jakarta.
- 5.30 Standing, stone Surya. Peninsular Thailand (Chaiya). National Museum, Bangkok.
- 5.31 Standing, stone Durga triumphing over the Mahisasura. Peninsular Malaysia (Sungai Batu Estate, Kedah). Private collection. 67 cm.
- 5.32 Seated, bronze Ganesa. Peninsular Thailand (Sathpinghra). Wat Matchimawas, Songkhla. 35 cm.
- 5.33 Seated, terracotta Ganesa. Peninsular Malaysia (Kedah, Site 19). Photograph: H.G. Quaritch-Wales. 40 cm.
- 5.34 Seated, terracotta Ganesa. Peninsular Malaysia (Kedah, Site 4). Photograph: H.G. Quaritch-Wales. 40 cm.
- 5.35 Seated, stone dvarapala elephant-headed being. Sumatra, (Bahal II, Padang Lawas). In-situ.
- 5.36 Dancing, relief of elephant-headed being. Sumatra, (Pulo). In-situ.
- 5.37 Seated, bronze Ganesa. Peninsular Thailand (Sathpinghra). Wat Matchimawas, Songkhla. 7 cm.
- 5.38 Stone mukhalinga. Peninsular Thailand (Chaiya). National Museum Bangkok. 48 cm.
- 5.39 Stone, linga. Peninsular Thailand (Yarang). 44 cm.
- 5.40 Stone linga. Peninsular Thailand (Si Chon). Private collection (Si Chon).
- 5.41 Stone linga. Peninsular Thailand (Si Chon). Private collection (Si Chon).
- 5.42 Stone, linga. Peninsular Thailand (Si Chon). Private collection (Si Chon).
- 5.43 Crystal, linga. Peninsular Thailand (Si Chon). Private collection (Si Chon).
- 5.44 Gold foil, linga. Peninsular Malaysia (Site 8, Kedah).
- 5.45 Stone, linga. Peninsular Thailand (Chaiya). Wat Keo (Chaiya). 14 cm.
- 5.46 Stone, linga. Peninsular Malaysia (Site 50, Kedah). 30 cm.

- 5.47 Stone, phallus shaped stambha. Sumatra
(Padang Lawas). Padang Lawas. 1 m.
- 5.48 Stone, phallus shaped stambha. Sumatra
(Padang Lawas). Padang Lawas.
- 5.49 Stone, phallus shaped stambha. Sumatra
(Padang Lawas). Padang Lawas.
- 5.50 Standing, stone Batuka-Bhairava. Peninsular Thailand (Wieng Sa). National Museum, Bangkok.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AA</u>	<u>Artibus Asiae (Ascona)</u>
<u>ABIA</u>	<u>Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology (Leiden)</u>
<u>ANNALI</u>	<u>Della Facolta Di Lingue E Literature Stroniere di la 'Foscari (Milan)</u>
<u>AP</u>	<u>Asian Perspectives, Bulletin Far Eastern Pre-history Association (Tuscon)</u>
<u>BCAI</u>	<u>Bulletin de la Commission Archeologique de l'Indo-Chine (Paris)</u>
<u>BEFEO</u>	<u>Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient (Hanoi)</u>
<u>Bijdragen</u>	<u>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Hague)</u>
<u>BKS</u>	<u>Berita Kajian Sumatra (Hull)</u>
<u>BSOAS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London)</u>
<u>EI</u>	<u>Epigraphica Indica (New Delhi)</u>
<u>FMJ</u>	<u>Federation Museum Journal (Kuala Lumpur)</u>
<u>IAL</u>	<u>Indian Art and Letters (London)</u>
<u>IRAN</u>	<u>Journal of Persian Studies (Paris)</u>
<u>JA</u>	<u>Journal Asiatique (Paris)</u>
<u>JASB</u>	<u>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta)</u>
<u>JFMSM</u>	<u>Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums (Singapore)</u>
<u>JGIS</u>	<u>Journal of the Greater India Society (Calcutta)</u>
<u>JIH</u>	<u>Journal of the Indian History (Madras)</u>
<u>JISOA</u>	<u>Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art (Calcutta)</u>
<u>JMBRAS</u>	<u>Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Singapore/Kuala Lumpur)</u>
<u>JRAS</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London)</u>
<u>JSBRAS</u>	<u>Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Singapore)</u>
<u>JSEAH</u>	<u>Journal of the South-East Asian History (Singapore)</u>
<u>JSS</u>	<u>Journal of the Siam Society (Bangkok)</u>

- JUPHS Journal of United Province Historical Society
(Calcutta)
- MH Malaya in History (Kuala Lumpur)
- MPI Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Indo-China
(London)
- MJTG The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography
(Singapore)
- OA Oriental Art (Oxford)
- RUPAM An illustrated quarterly journal of Oriental Art (Calcutta)
- SMJ Sarawak Museum Journal (Kuching)
- TBG Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en
Volkenkunde uitgeven door het Koninklijk
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en
Wetenschappen, Batavia, 's Gravenhage.
- TOCS Transaction of Oriental Ceramic Society (London)

INTRODUCTION

1.i: Objectives and background

This study is a connected account of the art and archaeology of the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. The aims are to provide detailed descriptions and analyses of the art and other cultural remains recovered either randomly or through planned archaeological field-works: surveys and excavations. The ultimate aims are to draw conclusions on the nature of the art itself and the outstanding issues pertaining to:

- i) the type and nature of coastal and river valley settlements, mentioned in Chinese and other literary sources, such as Langkasuka, Srīvijaya, Chieh-Ch'a, Tambralinga, Malāyu, Pannai and others, and to locate them in time and space.
- ii) the question of autonomy and dependence of the settlements as political and cultural entities and what elements, if any they had in common.

In the analysis of the Hindu and Buddhist sculptures, discussions will focus on the iconography, origins and development of styles and chronology in a wider Asian context. Other evidence used in the analyses and examinations of current hypotheses with regards to the outstanding issues are:

- a) remains of monuments and other environment-exploitative activities,
- b) stratigraphical sequences whenever possible,
- c) trade and local ceramics,
- d) inscriptions and
- e) local and regional chronological sequences.

An attempt will be made to synthesise such a conclusion as is possible taking into account past studies and other literary

sources. It is hoped that this will lead eventually to the establishment of a more coherent framework of the history of art and a clearer understanding of the history, culture, trade and society of the area.

The need for this kind of study stems from a number of reasons. New sites and data have been discovered. Some of them have not been studied, nor even published. Though a few have been published, further study is required in order if a more comprehensive and detailed result is to be achieved. They will be used to test the level of acceptability of learned speculations on the locations of kingdoms mentioned earlier.

The other reason for this study is the fact that although several scholars have made their contributions to the study of the art of the area, they have not described nor defined a whole stylistic region nor supplied a comprehensive and detailed overview of the different styles of art in the area which is believed to have been linked politically during certain periods of its history. The period concerned is the Srīvijayan. Scholars have established that Srīvijaya began as a kingdom, presumably, in the second half of the seventh century in south-eastern Sumatra and grew into a great commercial power, gaining the commercial hegemony of South East Asia after pursuing a policy of expansion.¹ By the last quarter of the eight century its presence was felt as far north as the Bay of Bandon in the Peninsula after it had gained power over the Straits of Melaka.² Barus in the northern part of Sumatra, Chieh-ch'a or Katāha or Old Kedah and Takuapa area which may be identified as Kalāh³ were among the areas under its political influence.

As a result of this political situation, scholars talk of "Srīvijayan art". But they have not been able to establish either a stylistic region or an acceptable definition for this art. The term has been applied loosely and does not reflect the political influence Srīvijaya had over the areas in question.

In the beginning, the term referred to certain Buddhist sculptures found in Peninsular Thailand. It was Coedès in 1928 who was the first to use the term. In his catalogue of some of the collections in the National Museum, Bangkok, he described some of the Buddhist sculptures as "Śrīvijayan art".⁴ He had first mentioned the term indirectly in his study of "Siamese Votive Tablets"⁵ in which he classified his type II tablets found in Peninsular Thailand in the region between Kra Isthmus and Malaysian border in 1927. His definition of the term appears to indicate that the art was influenced by Pāla art of Bengal and may be dated to about the tenth century.

This trend in ascribing Buddhist art from Peninsular Thailand, particularly those from Chaiya, was taken up by other scholars. Claeys in his work, L'archéologie du Siam,⁶ published in 1931 again mentioned the Mahāyāna bronzes from Chaiya described earlier by Coedes as "Śrīvijayan art". In 1938, Le May in his book, A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam,⁷ described and illustrated three Mahāyāna bronzes described earlier by Coedès and Claeys as the "art of Śrīvijaya". His view of the art was, "of the Mahāyānist or Indo-Malaysian type of Buddhist sculpture associated with Kingdom of Śrīvijaya or Javaka, three characteristic examples, Figs. 40, 43 and 44 are illustrated: and any one acquainted with the Buddhist statuary of the eighth century Java will once recognise their mutual affinity".⁸ He went on to point out that the three sculptures also have Pāla features.⁹

The sculptures classified as "Śrīvijayan art" from Peninsular Thailand have increased significantly with the publication of The Sculpture in Thailand in 1972 and edited by Theodore Bowie.¹⁰ Four Avalokiteśvara images, one Buddha image seated under the Nāga Hood, one Maitreya image and, for the first time a Hindu image, have been included in "Śrīvijayan art". This last is a Mukhalinga.¹² Besides the term "Śrīvijayan school", "Chaiya school" has been introduced for an image of what appears to be a "walking Buddha" or Buddha in tribhanga posture.¹³ Pāla features have been

noticed in the images classified as Śrīvijayan and they have been assigned to a period between eighth and thirteenth century.¹⁴ The "Chaiya school" image has been dated as fifteenth to sixteenth century.¹⁵ Presumably, the term "Chaiya school" was introduced because of the date of the image which lies outside the period which "Śrīvijayan art" has been believed to have existed.

The exclusive application of the term to certain sculptures from Peninsular Thailand has been highlighted in the book, The Image of the Buddha.¹⁶ It was published in 1978 with David Snellgrove as its chief editor: the editorial committee included Jean Boisselier. There, of "Śrīvijayan art", he writes that the "name is traditionally used in Thailand to designate the art that developed in the Malay Peninsula (in the region of Nakhon Si Thammarat) in conjunction with the growth of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya from about the eighth century onwards. Initially subjected to the influence of Mahāyāna which came from Indonesia, it gradually returned to Theravāda, while preserving some of its originality. The centres in the Malay Peninsula undoubtedly played an important role in the Thai schools (Sukhotai), and succeeded in maintaining some of their traditions at least up till the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries".¹⁷ Among other features of the art suggested in that study are: a characteristic greater frequency of Bodhisattva images; images of Buddha, which are few in number, bearing direct influence of Pāla iconography and the Nālandā school as in Indonesia. Further Śrīvijayan iconography spread to all centres belonging to the Dvāravatī tradition; finally, the "Śrīvijayan school"¹⁸ was short lived and left no lasting trace in art.

The significant effect of the study on our understanding of the term "Śrīvijayan art" is confusion. This is due to the fact that the assumptions are based on generalised impressions. While the study on one hand maintains that "Śrīvijayan school" was short lived and left no lasting trace in art, on the other it says that it succeeded in maintaining some of their traditions at least up to the fifteenth and

sixteenth centuries. The conclusions are based on the limited example of Buddhist images from Peninsular Thailand.¹⁹ Presumably, the area in the Malay Peninsula which the study assumes to be the focus of the art, the region of Nakhon Si Thammarat, is based on the belief that the 775 A.D. inscription came from that area and thus the beginning of that art was eighth century. But in the study, there is no mention of the reasons for the assumption.

For scholars working on the art of Sumatra, their conceptions of the "Śrīvijayan art" appear to be different. Most of them tend to refer the term exclusively to the art from Palembang. One of them, Devaprasad Ghosh in 1934 discussed "The early art of Śrī Vijaya"²⁰ and this was followed by another publication in 1936, "Sources of the art of Śrī Vijaya".²¹ His studies were based on five Buddhist sculptures from Palembang. They are the Bukit Seguntang Buddha, a stone Avalokitesvara, a bronze Buddha, an Avalokitesvara and a Maitreya. The Bukit Seguntang Buddha and the stone Avalokitesvara image were influenced by southern India; Amarāvatī and Pallava respectively.²² But the three bronze images, according to him, show characteristics of Sailendra art and also are reminiscent of Pāla art of Bengal.²³ It appears that the art was influenced in the first phase by southern India and later by Pāla art, just like the Sailendra art from the eighth century.²⁴

The other view of "Śrīvijayan art" based on sculptural finds from Palembang is that of Majumdar. His conception of the art is in his study of "The origin of the art of Śrīvijaya".²⁵ This was published in 1935 and was partly in response to the study by Devaparasad Ghosh. According to him the features of the art are as follows: that the Śrīvijayan art as represented by those images, the Bukit Senguntang Buddha, a stone Avalokitesvara and bronze Buddha image and Buddha head, was different from Javanese art. It was probably the product of the Gupta school and, along with Mahāyāna Buddhism, Gupta art tradition flowed from Śrīvijaya to Java; Pāla influence was superimposed upon this art from

the ninth century.²⁶ It is apparent that although he studied the same sculptures as Devaprasad Ghosh his conclusions are different. He was more concerned with proving his belief that the art developed according to the "waves theory" that flowed from India together with Indian colonists. He disagreed with Devaprasad Ghosh's conclusions as well as Krom's. Krom's conception of "Śrīvijayan art" seems to be that it was related to Javanese art.²⁷ But Stutterheim had a different conception of the "Śrīvijayan art" which on the basis of a stone head of an image which he identified as that of Viṣṇu, regarded the art as being unrelated to Javanese or Cambodian.²⁸

Nilakanta Sastri was the first scholar to provide a wider definition to the term "Śrīvijayan art". In his study, The History of Śrī Vijaya, which was published in 1949, he included not only the sculptures studied previously by Devaprasad Ghosh and Majumdar but also later type of sculpture from Padang Lawas area, such as the Amoghapaśa and the Bhairava, a bronze Buddha image discovered by Quaritch-Wales and his wife at site 16A in Bujang Valley, a bronze Avalokiteśvara and a Buddha from Kinta Valley and also Buddhist images from Sambas in Borneo.²⁹ It can be interpreted that he viewed the nature of "Śrīvijayan art" especially the earliest art as more or less purely and directly South Indian in characteristics.

In his study, he argued that a little bronze Buddha head wearing a twisted fillet decorated with roses which had been published in Shnitger's The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, and an image described as in gala dress by Schnitger, the stone Avalokiteśvara and the three bronzes from Peninsular Malaysia³⁰ are connected with the artistic traditions of South India.³¹ According to him, the stone Avalokiteśvara "clearly recalls the similar features often noticed in the royal portrait statues of the Pallava monarchs of the Simhaviṣṇu line; and they belong to the seventh and eighth centuries".³² The bronze Buddha image from Kedah was assigned to the Amarāvatī school and so was the Bukit Seguntang Buddha.³³ He believed that throughout the history of Śrīvijaya, live

contacts were made with South India. This according to him was attested by later sculptures such as a bronze portrait of a woman and a stone Bodhisattva which were found in Tapanuli and Padang Lawas respectively.³⁴ He concurred with the views of Devaprasad Ghosh and Heine-Geldern on the origin of the style of the stone Avalokiteśvara image from Palembang because they believed it to be of South Indian style.³⁵

It seems that his views are influenced by the colonist theory, but his colonists were from Krisṇa-Godavari region and not from northern India as suggested by Majumdar. As a result he found certain other views regarding Śrīvijaya and "Śrīvijayan art" either unconvincing or incomplete. For instance, he regarded Stutterheim's deductions on the Viṣṇu head from Kota Kapur in Bangka regarding the site of Śrīvijaya and the nature of "Śrīvijayan art" and its affiliations as subtle.³⁶ According to Stutterheim, the figure was the product of an art which was "neither Javanese nor Cambodian - in short, of Śrīvijaya in the seventh century".³⁷ Nilakanta Sastri argued that, if the view was correct, other influences besides South Indian were at work in Śrīvijaya. Also, if Stutterheim's surmise that the figure belonged to the military camp of the invaders, Śrīvijaya, were accepted, then it would lend support to Moens' hypothesis of the transfer of Śrīvijaya from the east coast of the Malay Peninsula to Palembang or its neighbourhood rather than localising the kingdom in the Malay Peninsula as has been suggested by scholars such as Quaritch-Wales.³⁸ He also regarded Quaritch-Wales' hypothesis that the northern part of the Malay Peninsula played a dominant role in the spread of Indian culture to Sumatra and Java as unacceptable,³⁹ even though they both shared the same belief, in the "colonist theory".

The only scholar, so far, to attempt to explain in a more definite idea as to what the term "Śrīvijayan art" ought to represent was Alastair Lamb. In his study of the sculptures, the Avalokiteśvara images, with the tiger symbol, he found that those images were peculiar to the Malay Peninsula

and Sumatra only.⁴⁰ He suggested that the icon found favour among Buddhist sculptors of the Melaka Straits region, while not, as far as he knew, appearing in the Indian representation of Avalokiteśvara and so concluded that it is an example of Śrīvijayan art and of Śrīvijayan origin.⁴¹ He associated the symbol with Śiva. But his conclusion needs to be examined further in view of the fact that other Buddhistic countries such as Java and Tibet produced examples of Avalokiteśvara with such symbol.⁴² Also, there are many other known images with that symbol from Peninsular Thailand which he did not mention. Nevertheless, this was a first attempt to elucidate further the nature of "Śrīvijayan art".

Alastair Lamb's other contribution towards defining the art is his study of the votive tablets from Peninsular Thailand and the cave sites in Perlis.⁴³ This was an extension of the study by Coedès on votive tablets.⁴⁴ He attributed Coedès type II tablets and his cave sites votive tablets to "Śrīvijayan art". The basis for his assumption was the distributions of those finds to the area which may be regarded as politically related to the area under the sphere of Śrīvijayan influence.⁴⁵ The main characteristics of those tablets indicate Pāla influence.

The need to re-define the term has been realised by scholars working on the art of South East Asia. The latest attempt was by scholars from Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines. The outcome of this attempt was the publication of a book entitled, The art of Śrīvijaya, published in 1980.⁴⁶ But it does not help to provide a clearer definition of the term. It has been successful in putting together most of the known Buddhist sculptures from Peninsula Thailand, Peninsular Malaysia, Sumatra and Philippines in one book for the first time. It does not, however, present a connected account of the Buddhist sculptures from the four areas. The study has been presented in four separate parts: Peninsular Thailand, Sumatra, Peninsular Malaysia and Philippines. Each scholar dealing with each part gives a different definition of what "Śrīvijayan art" ought to be.

According to Satyawati Suleiman, it was the art of Sumatra and some of the Buddhist sculptures that wear long dhoti and high mukuta may be related to "Sailendra art"⁴⁷ Subhadradis Diskul's belief in what the term ought to mean may best be seen from his own words, "there is some controversy about the capital of Śrīvijaya Kingdom. Some scholars, both Thai and foreign, maintain the hypothesis that, if it existed at all, it was at Chaiya in the province of Suratthani in Southern Thailand, where many antiquities of the Śrīvijaya period have been discovered, including one stone inscription concerning that kingdom".⁴⁸ As for the definition of the art for Peninsular Malaysia, it has been suggested that the art of north-east India, the Pāla art, partly formed the basis of the main style of Śrīvijaya art and architecture.⁴⁹ It is unclear what connection did Śrīvijaya have with the Philippines to be included in that study.⁵⁰

Besides providing four different definitions for the art of Śrīvijaya, the study also shows an element of generalisation in some of the conclusions. This is very apparent in the case of the interpretations of the art and architecture from Peninsular Malaysia. There is no evidence to show that the architecture from Bujang and Muda River Valley was influenced by Pāla art. Nor is the study of the sculpture very detailed.

It may be noted that past studies of "Śrīvijayan art" have been influenced by preconceived political ideas concerning the location of the capital of the kingdom; the relationship between Śrīvijaya and Sailendra dynasty as attested by the Ligor or Chaiya inscription; the sphere of political influence of the kingdom; the source of the Mahāyāna religion practised in the kingdom; the origin of the colonists in the case of those scholars advocating the "colonist theory". Devaprasad Ghosh appears to be influenced by Krom's idea that Śrīvijaya formed the basis of the Sailendra empire in the seventh century and included Java in the eighth century. He was one of several scholars who included Coedès, Nilakanta Sastri, and Wolters to suggest that the capital of

the Śrīvijayan kingdom was at Palembang in the seventh century. Nilakanta Sastri, by including the sculptures from Sambas in Borneo as examples of "Śrīvijayan art" implied that western Borneo also came under Śrīvijayan influence.⁵¹ Scholars working on Buddhist art in Peninsular Thailand believed that the capital of the kingdom was in Chaiya. These included Quaritch-Wales, Le May and various Thai. It is apparent that the "colonist theory" advocated by scholars such as Majumdar, Devaprasad Ghosh, Nilakanta Sastri, Quaritch-Wales and a few others, even though they disagreed on the origins of the colonists, had strong influence on the way in which the art of Śrīvijaya in particular and the art from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra in general were presented.

Besides the issue of the definition and usage of the term, "Śrīvijayan art" which required further research, the conclusions arrived at by scholars using the "colonist theory" approach in studying the art of the area have to be re-examined further. This is due to the fact that the conclusions were made apparently on the basis of features that have struck more superficial observers and ignoring detailed analysis of all the features. Quaritch-Wales, for instance, concluded that the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and the rest of South East Asia were colonised by Indians and the chronological framework for the colonisation of the peninsula may be divided into four waves. These phases are: First wave (1st to 3rd centuries A.D.); second wave (circa 300 to circa 550 A.D.) which seems to show that the main feature of the period was the flourishing of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the source of influence was the Gupta; the third wave (circa 550 to circa 750 A.D.) which indicates the arrival of Hindu Pallava colonists; and the fourth wave (circa 750 to circa 900 A.D.) which was influenced by South India and in turn, in South East Asia was influenced by Pāla Mahāyānist culture.⁵² He believed that the northern part of the Malay Peninsula had an important role in the spread of Indian culture to Java and Sumatra.⁵³ The Indian features, after modifications in the Peninsula, passed to Java and Sumatra and thus show

features that combine local and Indian influences.⁵⁴

Scholars have drawn conclusions on the art of the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra and on the term "Śrīvijayan art" based on limited examples. But there are other evidences of art which scholars tend to ignore in their studies. In the discussion of "Śrīvijayan art" scholars were oblivious of the fact that there are also Hindu sculptures in addition to the Buddhist one. In order to establish the true nature of art in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra and to define the term "Śrīvijayan art", all the known artistic evidence has to be examined in detail.

In addition to those studies on "Śrīvijayan art", there are two other types of study. These are detailed analysis of the features of the images. The first is that of Griswold. It was published in 1966 and deals with some of the Buddha images from the Malay Peninsula.⁵⁵ In view of the fact that the analysis of each image was very detailed, the author was able to demonstrate information on the sources of the influence, the relative chronology and to say whether the pieces were imported or locally produced. The other study was by Stanley O'Connor.⁵⁶ It was on the Hindu images from Peninsular Thailand. Again, the author was able to date each sculpture and to argue for its origin and the source for the influence. He was able to show that as early as C. 400 A.D., Hindu images such as the Chaiya Viṣṇu, were produced in local workshops.⁵⁷

Such new information, extracted from the images by analysing each sculpture in detail is very important in determining the nature of art in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra in general and "Śrīvijayan art" in particular. But in the last resort all the sculptures, irrespective of whether they are Hindu or Buddhist, must be studied together. It is hoped that the final summary of the detailed analysis of all the sculptures will be used as framework for future studies. It will help workers in the field to avoid making statements based on generalised impressions and also to define the nature of the kingdoms and settlements in the region.

In the past, ignorance of the true nature of the art of the region resulted in speculation that Srīvijaya should be equivalent to the Khmer Empire in terms of artistic achievements. Certain scholars hoped to find archaeological remains in Sumatra as significant as Borobudur or Angkor Wat. In view of the many extensive surveys carried out in Sumatra and the failure to locate the preconceived remains, they tend to question the very existence of the kingdom, and they sometimes also generalise on such lines as, "little of the 1st millennium art in Sumatra looks much like the material dubbed 'Srīvijayan' by specialists working on the south-eastern mainland",⁵⁸ but without really comparing the art from the two areas.

Knowledge of the nature of the art, together with other archaeological evidence, will contribute greatly towards our understanding of the various archaeological sites and perhaps of the kingdoms which scholars have located in the region. Besides Srīvijaya, there were other kingdoms before, contemporary with and after it. Despite past learned speculation, it is difficult to pinpoint any particular site where the capital of a kingdom mentioned in Chinese or other literary sources had existed. It is also the aim of this study to try to locate within limits the location of some of these kingdoms on the basis of new evidence.

The history of the kingdoms in the region is known mainly through Chinese dynastic annals and records of Chinese travellers, particularly of the Buddhist pilgrims. The dynastic annals recorded the arrival of tributary missions,⁵⁹ accounts which often carry economic and political implications. By the late eighth century Arab and Persian writers were becoming aware of South East Asia and by the ninth and tenth century, Arabo-Persian literature provide a second, most important body of information regarding some of the kingdoms in the region.⁶⁰

It has been suggested by some scholars that the rise and decline of a given kingdom were, to a certain degree,

affected by Chinese demands for local and other trading products which in turn depended on the internal political climate of China.⁶¹ Also, it depended on the international trading climate between China and West; India and the Middle East. Another factor was the relationship between states in South East Asia and India, particularly South India.⁶² At the same time, the roles of rulers and chieftains of South East Asia in general must not be forgotten in economic and political activities and in international diplomacy. South East Asian rulers and chieftains were involved in trading activities that led to the contacts with Sri Lanka and India, particularly South India.⁶³ Contacts with pilgrims travelling to and fro between China and India presumably contributed to their knowledge of Indian religions and to their desire to introduce them to their kingdoms.⁶⁴ Indian religions and political ideas, whether introduced by Indian traders or brought back by South East Asian visitors to India, contributed to the growth of South East Asian kingdoms as they strove to expand at one another's expense.

It is apparent that by the middle of the third century several kingdoms were known by the Chinese to have existed in South East Asia: a few of them have been located on the Malay Peninsula. The most prominent was Tun-sun. Scholars are divided over its precise location but generally agree that it was on the Peninsula.⁶⁵ From the literary evidence it seems probable, as suggested by Paul Wheatley, that in view of the fact "that Tun-sun was in communication with countries beyond the Bay of Bengal and the South China Sea, and that traders came from both east and west", that the country occupied the whole breadth of the isthmus.⁶⁶ Since it was known that the kingdom had five kings, it may be inferred that it was a confederacy of petty states or kingdoms.⁶⁷ Besides Tun-sun, on the Peninsula, there were also other settlements and kingdoms in Sumatra. They were P'u-lei, Ko-ying, P'u-lo and Barousai during this period.⁶⁸

By the fifth century, several more kingdoms came to the notice of the Chinese. The kingdoms in the Peninsula were

P'an-p'an, Lang-ya-hsiu and Ch'ih-t'u while in Sumatra there were the kingdoms of Kan-to-li, P'o-lo-so and P'o-lu.⁶⁹ The majority of scholars agree that the first three kingdoms were on the Peninsula, but the kingdom of Kan-t'o-li may have been located elsewhere, perhaps on the west coast of the Peninsula.⁷⁰ P'an-p'an sent several embassies between 424 and 464 to China.⁷¹ It has been suggested by Paul Wheatley, on the evidence of Indian literary sources, that there were other kingdoms which could have been in existence during the same period or earlier than those kingdoms mentioned before. They were Tambralinga, Takkola and Katāha.⁷² They have been located on the Peninsula. Katāha has been located in the vicinity of modern Kedah and Tambralinga in the Chaiya and Nakhon Si Thammarat area.⁷³ P'an-p'an and Tun-sun, however, have been placed outside the northern limit of the Peninsula as defined in this study, though there are those who believe that P'an-p'an was located at the modern town of Chaiya.⁷⁴

Paul Wheatley has suggested also that Lang-ya-hsiu may be equated with Langkasuka and that it was founded early in the second century, and that it was in decline in the second half of the fifth century owing to the rise and expansion of Fu-nan.⁷⁵ But it appeared again in seventh century under the name of Lang-chia-shu in the writings of I-Tsing.⁷⁶ It also appeared in the T'ang encyclopedia in the eight century under the name of Lang-ya-hsu.⁷⁷ Chau Ju-kua in 1225 mentioned a kingdom by the name of Lang-ya-ssu-chia which may be located at the same area as Lang-ya-hsu or Lang-chia-hsu or Langkasuka or the Lung-ya-hsi-chao of Wang Ta-yuan (1349 A.D.), or the 'Ilangasoka of Tanjore inscription of Rājēndra Cōla I.⁷⁸

P'an-p'an has been associated with the place where the second Kaundinya planned his usurption of the throne of Fu-nan in the second half of the fourth century.⁷⁹ It sent its last mission to China in about 616 A.D.

The other prominent kingdom in the Malay Peninsula was Ch'ih-tu. It was stated to be under the political influence of Fu-nan.⁸⁰ It has been located by Wheatley in the Kelantan

River Valley in north-eastern Peninsular Malaysia.⁸¹ In 607 A.D. it received two important Chinese envoys, Ch'ang-Chun, the Custodian of Military Property, the Chun-cheng, a controller of Natural Resources.⁸² Return missions from Ch'ih-tu were made in 608, 609 and 610 A.D. when primary products as well as a gold crown with an hibiscus design and camphor were sent as tributes.⁸³ This kingdom soon disappeared from Chinese records.

In about the last quarter of the seventh century, the kingdom of Srīvijaya came into prominence. It was known to the Chinese as Fo-shih or Shih-li-fo-shih⁸⁴ and named as Srīvijaya in the Kedukan Inscription⁸⁵ and the Chaiya Inscription.⁸⁶ It sent its first embassy to China in 670-673 A.D. and its last in 742 A.D. under the name of Shih-li-fo-shih.⁸⁷ I-Tsing, the famous Buddhist pilgrim, while on his way to India in 671 A.D. stopped at Fo-shih for six months and on his return journey he stayed for seven years, 688-695 A.D.⁸⁸ Most scholars believed that Fo-shih or Shih-li-fo-shih was Palembang. This kingdom was later known to the Chinese as San-fo-ch'i. The use of the term San-fo-chi appeared in 905 A.D.⁸⁹ It was used by Chou Ch'u-fei and several scholars have equated the name with Srīvijaya.⁹⁰ According to Wolters, the capital of Srīvijaya was transferred to Malāyu-Jambi in about 1079-1082 A.D., with the decline of Palembang, and the re-emergence of Malāyu-Jambi⁹¹ as a political power.

Malāyu-Jambi was a kingdom known to I-Tsing in 671 A.D. After staying at Fo-shih (Srīvijaya), he was sent by the king of that country to Mo-lo-yu (Malāyu-Jambi), where he stayed for two months.⁹² On his return journey, I-Tsing mentioned that he visited Mo-lo-yu (Malāyu-Jambi) which "has now become Fo-shih".⁹³ This may be interpreted as the subjugation of Malāyu-Jambi by Srīvijaya-Palembang to form a greater Kingdom of Srīvijaya. Prior to this event, Malāyu-Jambi was an independent kingdom, which, as late as 644 A.D., sent an embassy to China.⁹⁴

At about the same time as the subjugation of Jambi by Srīvijaya-Palembang, the kingdom of Chieh-ch'a too came under Srīvijayan control. According to Wolters, Chieh-ch'a was reported by I-Tsing to have become part of Srīvijaya when he returned there in 685 A.D.⁹⁵ This kingdom, Chieh-ch'a, is believed to be the same kingdom as the Tamil place name, Kalagam or Kidaram or Kadāram and the Sanskrit name Kaṭāha. It was probable that it was also the same kingdom as Chia-cha that sent a mission to China in 638 A.D.⁹⁶

Another kingdom contemporaneous with Srīvijaya-Palembang, or even older than it, was the kingdom known to the Arab as Kalah. According to Paul Wheatley, it may be equated with the Chinese placename, Ko-lo.⁹⁷ Again, scholars are divided over its exact location but the most recent argument favours the Takuapa area as its location.⁹⁸ It has been suggested at the same time that the Ptolemaic place name Takola emporium and the Takkola of Mahā-niddesa and Milinda-pañha, dated to about second or third century A.D., were the same place as Kalah.⁹⁹ Paul Wheatley stressed that the name Takola has been held to occur in nearly a dozen other texts ranging in date from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries.¹⁰⁰ It has been suggested, too, that Talaittakkōlam mentioned among the conquest of Rājēndra Cōla in the Tanjore inscription of 1030/1 A.D. was the same place as the Ptolemaic Takola.¹⁰¹ It is believed also that Kalah was under the political influence of Srīvijaya-Palembang because it was reported to be under Zābaj which scholars have equated with Sumatra because of Biruni's writing: "The islands of Zābaj are called by the Hindus Suwarn dīb".¹⁰²

Tan-ma-ling which appeared in Chau Ju-kua's work in 1225 A.D.¹⁰³ and that of Wang Ta-yuan in 1349¹⁰⁴ has been equated with the kingdom of Tāmbraliṅga of the Chandrabhānu inscription and Mādāmalingam of the Tanjore inscription. It has been widely accepted that it was located in the Nakhon Si Thammarat area.¹⁰⁵

On the evidence of Cōla's inscriptions of the eleventh century, the Tanjore inscription of Rājēndra I, inscribed

on the south wall of the Rājarājēśvara temple in Tanjore, there were several kingdoms which may be located in the Peninsula and in Sumatra. They were Śrīvijaya-Palembang, Pannai (Panei), Malaiyur (Mo-lo-yu=Jambi), Ilaṅgāśoka (Langkasuka), Talaittakkōlam (Kalāh=Takola=Takuapa area) Ilamuri-dēśam (The Lamuri of the Arab geographers Lambri of Marco Polo and Lan-wu-li of Chau Ju-kua, that is, a state in the extreme north of Sumatra) and Kadāram (Katāha=Chieh-Ch'a=Kedah).¹⁰⁶ It is not certain whether these kingdoms were politically under the influence of Śrīvijaya at the time of Rājēndra's raids. But the inscription of Rājarāja, the father of Rājēndra I, which dates to about 1006 A.D. indicates that Katāha (Kedah) was under Śrīvijaya and the ruler of Śrīvijaya belonged to Sailendra dynasty.¹⁰⁷ After the Cōla raids, in about 1025 A.D., it appears, on the basis of the Smaller Leiden Plates of Kulottunga I dated about 1090 A.D., that the king of Kadāram had cordial relationship with the Cōla king and did not appear to be under any influence of Śrīvijaya if it was in existence during that period.¹⁰⁸ By 1230 A.D. Tāmbralinga also seems to be an independent state on the basis of the Chaiya inscription of Chandrabhānu.¹⁰⁹ As mentioned earlier, Wolters has suggested the transfer of the capital of Śrīvijaya from Palembang to Jambi in about 1079-1085 A.D.

1.ii Sources for the data

The art and other archaeological data which will be described, analysed and interpreted are from the following sources:

- i) my own archaeological excavations;
- ii) unpublished museum collections;
- iii) unpublished photographs of archaeological data from private collection;
- iv) published photographs of museum collections;
- v) published photographs of art objects in private collections;
- vi) published archaeological reports.

My own archaeological excavations have been conducted in Bujang and Muda Valleys, in Kedah. They were carried out in collaboration with Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur. The first was in September, 1976 and this was continued sporadically in 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980 and early 1981. The aims were to collect fresh data and to re-examine past data and the hypotheses derived from those data. The newly obtained data includes:

- a) stratigraphical sequences from new, as well as old, sites;
- b) Hindu and Buddhist art;
- c) temple remains;
- d) earthenwares and trade ceramics;
- e) beads and glass.

These data will supplement those reported by James Low (1849),¹¹⁰ I.H.N. Evans (1927),¹¹¹ Quaritch-Wales and his wife (1940 and 1947),¹¹² Alastair Lamb (1958, 1959, 1960, 1961 and 1964),¹¹³ Leong Sau Heng (1973)¹¹⁴ and the unpublished data collected by Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur from 1968 to 1976. The main problem that confronts those who want to use them in their study is the absence of stratigraphic reports in all cases, except for that of Leong Sau Heng. The other difficulty is the fact that the data came from small scale excavations, limited to a particular area. It was necessary to obtain evidence from as many areas or parts of Bujang and Muda Valley as possible. For that purpose, I chose four main areas to excavate, the lower, middle and upper parts of the Merbok and Bujang River and the Sungai Emas area in the Muda Valley. The sites are: the cave site at Bukit Penjara, Pantai Merdeka near the mouth of Merbok River; a site close to Quaritch-Wales' Site 19; a site close to Quaritch-Wales' Sites 21 and 22; Quaritch-Wales' Site 17; Muzium Negara's Site 50; and a site in Sungai Emas. Such excavations would be useful in determining the chronological development of the occupation and use of the sites.

Another reason for the need to carry out those excavations is the fact that the materials excavated by Muzium

Negara, and kept in Muzium Arkeologi Lembah Bujang and Muzium Negara, have no record of stratigraphy, but have been labelled according to the depth from which they were taken. They do not indicate any relationship between depth and stratigraphy. My excavations at Sites 19, 21 and 22 were carried out to establish their relationships.

The data obtained by Leong Sau Heng came from very systematic excavations. But they represent only a small area in Bujang Valley. They were from two points in Kampong Pengkalan Bujang: Sandbank Point and River Bank Point. Sandbank Point is to the south of Site 19; the second was downstream, on the right bank of Sungai Bujang, higher up than Alastair Lamb's 1961 site from the bank of the river.¹¹⁵ Two square-metre cuttings were made at the first point and two were made at the second. The data provided sufficient evidence for arriving at the objectives of her excavations. They were to acquire stratified cultural materials to confirm Alastair Lamb's hypothesis that Pengkalan Bujang was a major entrepôt and to provide a definite date for the entrepôt trade. On the evidence of ceramics, Alastair Lamb's dating for the entrepôt activities in the Pengkalan Bujang area was from eleventh to fourteenth century.¹¹⁶ According to him the ceramics from Pengkalan Bujang area, "seem to fall into late Sung or Yüan chronological horizon".¹¹⁷ But Leong Sau Heng believes that the beginning of the trade could have been tenth century.¹¹⁸ They both agree however on the end of the entrepôt status for the area, in the fourteenth century on the evidence of the non-existence of Ming blue and white sherds in the deposits.¹¹⁹ In order to have a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of the various sites and their relationships and also their chronology, a wider and extensive excavation must be done. As a result of the extensive survey and excavations in Bujang and Muda Valley, new sites and new data were found in Sungai Emas area and in several sites in Bujang Valley.

For the reports on other sites in Peninsular Malaysia, I refer to the works of Quaritch-Wales on Perak (Kinta Valley

and Kuala Selinsing);¹²⁰ I.H.N.Evans on Kuala Selinsing;¹²¹ Anker Rentse on north-east coast states;¹²² Brian Batchelor on Dengkil in Ulu Langat area in Selangor;¹²³ Medway on Pulau Tioman;¹²⁴ and Alastair Lamb on Gua Berhala and Gua Kurong Batang in Perlis.¹²⁵ Besides reading the reports and the hypotheses formulated by the scholars, several visits were made to the sites in Kuala Selinsing, Dengkil, Pulau Tioman and the caves. The purpose of those visits were to gather informations regarding the geomorphology and to trace any other finds still in the possession of the local people. Kuala Selinsing produced several beads. At Pulau Tioman I was shown celadon bowls in a private collection, and in Dengkil I was able to buy tin ingots and paddles from the tin miners who found them in the tin mine.

Reports of archaeological finds in Thailand have been published by Gerini, Bourke, Lunet de Lajonquière, Coedès, Claeys, Quaritch-Wales, Alastair Lamb, O'Connor and Janice Stargadt. Gerini (1904),¹²⁶ Bourke (1905)¹²⁷ and Lunet de Lajonquiere (1909)¹²⁸ reported on finds from the Takuapa area. These included Hindu and Buddhist images in stone and votive tablets. Lunet de Lajonquière (1912)¹²⁹ published another report but this time on finds from Nakhon Si Thammarat. Certain sculptures in the National Museum Bangkok which originated from Peninsular Thailand, particularly the Chaiya area, were originally published by Coedès.¹³⁰ He also discussed and published photographs of votive tablets from Peninsular Thailand in 1927,¹³¹ and in 1959 he interpreted the significance of the Ligor inscription.¹³² Our knowledge of the architecture of temples in Chaiya and Nakhon Si Thammarat may be attributed to the contribution made by Claeys.¹³³ Besides producing drawings of sculpture known to him from Chaiya, he published detailed drawings of plans and elevations of Wat Phra Barommathat and Wat Keo in Chaiya and Wat Prathat in Nakhon Si Thammarat.

The other significant contributor to our knowledge of the art and archaeology of Peninsular Thailand was Quaritch-Wales. Even though, a number of scholars disagree with him

on some of his conclusions and interpretations, nevertheless, the data that he published are very important. Prior to his archaeological researches in Peninsular Malaysia in 1936 to 1937, he also, on his quest for the trans-peninsular route for Indian colonisation, published a report on the finds from Takuapa, Srīvijaya Hill and Chaiya area in 1935.¹³⁴ This was followed nearly forty years later with a report and conclusion on the finds from his excavation at Yarang in the Patani District and on random finds from the area which are in private collections, as well as in the principal wat in Patani town and in the Songkhla Museum.¹³⁵

In 1961, Alastair Lamb discussed the significance of ceramic finds from Khokhau Island.¹³⁶ The finds include both T'ang type ceramics and blue Middle Eastern types. He also discussed the origin of the Pra Narai Hill sculptures and the Tamil inscription which he believes were originally located in the shrine on the Pra No Hill just across the river and not from the Khokhau Island, as suggested by Quaritch-Wales.¹³⁷ His other contribution to Peninsular Thailand is his study on ceramics and bronze images from Sathinthipra which are in the Songkhla Museum. This study was published in 1964.¹³⁸ O'Connor published three important works on the area: the sculptures from Songkhla (1964);¹³⁹ from Si-chon (1968)¹⁴⁰ and on various Hindu images from Peninsular Thailand in 1972.¹⁴¹ He also published a few other studies on Hindu and Buddhist images. To Theodore Bowie, Subhadradis Diskul¹⁴² and Griswold,¹⁴³ may be attributed further contributions to the knowledge of Buddhist sculptures from the area. Their studies contribute greatly to the understanding of the iconography, dating and origin of some of those which they have discussed.

The sculptures mentioned by various scholars can be traced to various museums in Thailand. Most of them are in the National Museum Bangkok. In order to trace and to re-examine and photograph them, I spent some time in 1980 and 1981 visiting Matchimawas National Museum in Songkhla, Nakhon Si Thammarat National Museum, Wat Khuhaphimuk in Yala

District, National Museum Chaiya and Bangkok National Museum. Besides locating the sculptures already published, I came across a few sculptures that have not been published before. In addition to visiting museums, several trips were made to Takuapa area, Chaiya area, Nakhon Si Thammarat and Patani area.

The main contributor to our knowledge of sculptures in private collections in Thailand in general is Police Lieutenant Colonel Snong Wattanavrangkul.¹⁴⁴ Some of the sculptures have been included in this study and attributed to Peninsular Thailand on the ground that they have been classified as "Śrīvijayan art". There are also a few unpublished sculptures in private collections which I was able to examine and photograph on my field visits.

The sources for my archaeological data for Sumatra are published archaeological reports, unpublished finds in private collections and museums. My visits to the National Museum, Jakarta and to Sumatra in 1979 and 1981 enabled me to collect new unpublished data particularly from Jambi through the assistance of the National Research Centre of Archaeology, Indonesia.

Although several scholars have published reports of archaeological finds from Sumatra in the 1920s and 1930s: Stein Callenfels 1920:1930;¹⁴⁵ Bosch, 1929:1930;¹⁴⁶ Perquin, 1928;¹⁴⁷ and L.C. Westenenck, 1923,¹⁴⁸ the most comprehensive was that of Schnitger in 1937.¹⁴⁹ He described and identified finds from all the major parts of Sumatra: Palembang and other areas in Musi River Valley; Batang Hari River Valley; Kampar River Valley; West Sumatra; Padang Lawas area; the north Sumatra area. The published photographs included those in private collections and museum pieces.

As a result of increased interest in the art and archaeology of Sumatra after the Second World War, more reports have been published. This interest has been motivated by the desire to look for more monuments, inscriptions

and sculptures of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya. In 1954, a first planned research was prompted by Prof. Mohammad Yamin who was the Minister of Education and Culture of Indonesia when archaeologists, epigraphists, and geologists conducted surveys in Jambi and South Sumatra. The report was published in the annual report of the National Research Centre of Archaeology, Indonesia for 1954.¹⁵⁰ But it does not contain any new sculptural finds, and was more concerned with the geomorphology of the Jambi and Palembang areas. In 1973, reports on two main archaeological surveys were published: the Kota China archaeological surveys¹⁵¹ and excavations; and the extensive surveys of the whole of Sumatra, including the islands.¹⁵² The second surveys were conducted jointly by the National Research Centre of Archaeology, Indonesia and the Museum team of the University of Pennsylvania, led by Bennet Bronson. The reports on Kota China provide information on the coins, earthenwares, trade ceramics, and Buddhist sculptures. The report on the second survey provides among other things, information concerning the types of bricks and their sizes used for building monuments in Sumatra, and various inscriptions found in Sumatra. These inscriptions include both Śrīvijayan and others relating to Adityavarman.

In addition to these general reports, there are also those which deal with specific data. Among them are those of Coedès (inscriptions),¹⁵³ de Casparis (inscriptions),¹⁵⁴ Nilakanta Sastri (inscriptions and sculptures),¹⁵⁵ Boechari (inscriptions),¹⁵⁶ McKinnon (ceramics),¹⁵⁷ and Satyawati Suleiman (sculptures).¹⁵⁸ Perhaps the most significant was that of Miksic.¹⁵⁹ The data produced in his study of trade and society of north-eastern Sumatra comprised earthenwares, trade ceramics, coins, stratigraphical reports, and carbon-14 dates. The data was obtained from his field-works in Deli River Valley conducted in 1976 and 1977. The result of his study has been presented as a Ph.D. thesis to the University of Cornell. The data came from several sites in the river valley. They are Kota China area, Kota Jawa, Kota Bangun, Siberaya, and Tanjong Amon. In the study, he tries to compare the data from the Deli River Valley with the data from

Bujang Valley. In view of the fact that the data available for his study from Bujang Valley have been limited to those obtained by Quaritch-Wales, his data from Deli River Valley and my own from Kedah together with other material, will contribute significantly in my study.

NOTES

1. O.W. Wolters, "Śrīvijayan expansion in the seventh century". AA (Felicitation volume presented to Professor George Coedès on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday) 24, 3/4 (1961), 417-424.
2. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce: A study of the origins of Srivijaya, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1967, 15.
3. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, University of Malaya Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1961, 42; and O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, 15 note 2 suggest that Chieh-ch'a is a transcription of Kedah. Wheatley locates Kaṭāha in Kedah too (P. Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 263). Alastair Lamb, "Takuapa: The probable site of a pre-Malaccan entrepôt in the Malay Peninsula" in Malayan and Indonesian studies, (ed.) J.S. Bastin and R. Rooluink, 1964, 56-61, has argued on the Middle Eastern ceramic and environmental evidence to be the site of Kalah mentioned in Arabic literary sources. For the descriptions of Kalah in the Arabic sources, see P. Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 216-220. He locates it on Tenasserim coast (Ibid. 224).
4. G. Coedès, "Les collections archeologique du Musée National de Bangkok", Ars Asiatica, 12, Les Éditions G. Van Oeset, Paris, 1928.
5. G. Coedès, "Siamese Votive Tablets" JSS, 20, 1 (1927) 13.
6. J.Y. Claeys, "L'archéologie du Siam", BEFEO, 31 (1931), 368. He ascribed Fig. 32, the Bodhisattva from Chaiya as an example of the art. This art, according to him, was influenced by Indo-Javanese.
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64. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 43. He mentions that, "of the sixty monks whose biographies are included in the Memoir, at least thirty-eight travelled the sea route to or from India". See also page 44.
65. Ibid. 15-20.
66. Ibid. 21.
67. Ibid. 16.
68. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, map 2.
69. Ibid. map 3.

70. The discovery of unnamed archaeological sites on the west coast of Peninsular Malaysia: Dengkil, Kuala Selinsing and Kinta Valley suggests that Kan-tb-li may not necessarily be in Sumatra. It may not be in Palembang as suggested by O.W. Wolters (see map 3). On the evidence of Srivijayan inscriptions, Srivijaya may have originated from elsewhere prior to C. 670 A.D.
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72. Ibid. 177-184.
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74. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 50. He appears to locate it slightly outside the limit of what the term Malay Peninsula refers in this study. See his fig. 12, p. 53. But he suggests Bay of Bandon as its approximate location.
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77. Ibid. Map 3, and P. Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 254.
78. Ibid. Figs. 13 and 14 and for Ilangasoka, pp. 199-200.
79. Ibid. 48 and 287.
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82. Ibid. 29.
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CHAPTER 2

SUMATRA AND MALAY PENINSULA:
GEOGRAPHIC SETTING, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES,
DATA AND SETTLEMENT PHASESSumatra: Geographic Setting

Sumatra comprises the provincial districts of Lampung, South Sumatra, Jambi, West Sumatra, Riau, North Sumatra, Aceh and East Sumatra and has a population of about twenty million people. At present the majority of the rural populations are concentrated on the fertile volcanic plateaus of the provinces of West and North Sumatra in an area of between 500 and 1,500 metre elevations. The area on the coastal plains outside the provincial capitals on the East coast has the least population with a recorded density of 30 people to a square kilometer.¹ But in terms of area, the eastern coastal plains is about half of the area of Sumatra.

The relief of Sumatra show that it is a fairly mountainous country, the terrain in the west coast, particularly, being dominated by hills and mountains. The mountain chain known as Pergunungan Barisan which runs along the west coast for about 1600 kilometres has volcanic peaks up to 4000 metres.² The mountain chain where the sources of the rivers of Sumatra lie, descends gradually eastwards to flat alluvial lands. The system of the Pergunungan Barisan consists of two or more folded chains which run parallel to each other and in doing so enclose the intervening valley. This valley is dotted with mountain lakes, from the south to the north, Ranau, Korinchi, Singkaran, Maninjau, and Toba. The largest of them all is Lake Toba. In the middle of this lake is situated an island, Pulau Samosir, which is inhabited by the Bataks.

The plains on the west coast are narrower than those of the east. The rivers there run in valleys with steep slopes, usually have short courses and are unsuitable for navigation except at the river mouths. This feature is in contrast to those on the east coast. There the rivers meander slowly down

the gradual mountain slopes and into the flat alluvial plain and down to the sea. They have more tributaries, and have extensive drainage areas. Among the rivers on the east coast are the Musi River with numerous channels just below Palembang, the Jambi River which is the largest river in Sumatra. To the north on the east coast is the Rokan River which flows into the Straits of Melaka and the Panei River. The Asahan River drains Lake Toba and Deli River is the most best known river in the north. Kampar River is the second largest river in Sumatra.

Unlike the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra has one extensive lowland plain that is sometimes difficult to say whether it belongs to the land or to the sea. This happens at many broad stretches of the plain. The feature that distinguishes it from the sea is the thick, green mangrove trees which cover the low mud flats of the alluvial coast.

In the coastal plains, the fertility of the alluvial soil differs from one area to another. This is due to the fact that much of the land is underlain by beds of peat. If these beds of peat reach the surface, then liming is necessary for it to support most crops such as rice. Among the few suitable crops for this kind of soil are the pineapples and other pine family crops. Most river plains, however, support rice growing near their courses. But the most intensively cultivated lands in Sumatra are those in the plains of Batang Hari in Jambi, and the upper plains of Musi and the coastal strip of north Aceh. The highland plateaus of Pasemah in the regions south of Medan and the Padang highland plateaus are also heavily cultivated because of the rich volcanic soil.

Resources of Sumatra

It is essential to consider the resources of Sumatra in order to recognise the significance of its position in the international trade. It has been recognised that mineral and

vegetable products, valuable to the international markets, exist in Sumatra. One of these is gold. It has been suggested that gold was mined in Sumatra in large amounts even before the arrival of the Europeans in the east. Paul Wheatley has pointed out that Melaka Sultanate campaigned against Deli, Rokan, Siak, Kampar and Indragiri in order to control and safeguard the flow of gold from the Minangkabau hinterland.³ Evidence of the remains of early gold mining activities have been found in many places from Aceh in the north to Benkulen in the south.⁴ The extensiveness of the old workings indicates a large, and thorough organisation with a large work force and producing large amounts of gold. Gold must have come from almost the entire Barisan chain as shown by the existence of rock bearing golds. In the colonial period, 1900-1940, Sumatra provided 82% of the total 123,281.5 kilograms gold produced in Indonesia.⁵ Benkulen area produced 72% of the total gold produced in Sumatra.⁶ Much of the gold comes from the Lebong area of South Sumatra.⁷ The old mine at Lebong was recognised by the European mining companies which began to exploit the area in early twentieth century. Although it is not easily accessible to Palembang the history of the Lebong, politically, is connected to Palembang.⁸

In addition to gold, other minerals that are found in Sumatra are silver, lead, copper, zinc, iron and mercury.⁹ All these were mined in early time, before the sixteenth century.¹⁰ A large quantity of mercury was found at Lebong and cinnabar, an ore containing mercury was mined in Jambi by the local people before the coming of the Europeans.¹¹ Cinnabar was also mined in Muara Sipongi, in South Tapanuli.¹² From there also comes lead, zinc, iron and copper which had been mined and worked since ancient time. During the Melaka Sultanate, gold from Sumatra was of higher quality than that from Borneo. It has been noted by scholars such as Marsden that "there being no manufacture in that part of the world, and perhaps I might be justified in saying, in any part of the world, that has admired and celebrated, than the fine gold and silver filagree of Sumatra".¹³ In the Batakland, gold and silver work were among the traditional

crafts. The work involved various ritual processes.¹⁴

Besides mineral products, jungle products were also very important in the international markets before the coming of the Europeans to the east. It has been reported that during the Melaka Sultanate, a dozen or more vessels visited Melaka each year bringing provisions, mainly jungle products and slaves.¹⁵ The jungle products comprised camphor from Barus, storax for making perfume, myrobalan for making dye and drugs and benzoin.¹⁶

From the evidence discussed above it appears that export commodities came from the Pergunungan Barisan chain and from the jungles of Sumatra. The Barisan chain is accessible from the south and east where important settlement sites are believed to have existed during the period, seventh to fourteenth century. Among these were settlements at Palembang, Jambi, Padang Lawas and Kota Cina.

Sumatra: History of the archaeological research

Much archaeological works were done by amateurs and/or self-trained professionals before the Second World War in Sumatra. No reports of archaeological excavations were made. The research paid serious attention to architectural remains, statuary, and inscriptions. The information about these finds and discoveries consists of descriptions of architectural remains and artifacts. If excavation reports were made, they lacked stratigraphical information. Data on ceramics which archaeologists working on the proto-historic and pre-historic periods consider very important for obtaining chronology have never been highlighted to establish the habitation sites.

In nineteenth century interest in archaeological remains of Sumatra was already apparent. S.C. Crooke, an English sea captain, in September 1820 was the first to notice the antiquities in Jambi. In his report, he wrote, "Muara Djambi

is said to have been a capital town, and to have in its vicinity ruins of bricks or stone buildings, containing images and other sculpture".¹⁷ In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Dutch had conquered Padang Lawas. Franz Junghun, a geologist, explored the district and called to attention the "Hindoo antiquities" of Padang Lawas in 1846.¹⁸ His work was followed by that of Von Rosenberg in 1856. Their reports were short and lacked information which is basic to archaeology.

After the Second World War further archaeological works were possible. In 1954, a survey of the southern part of the island was conducted by a team from the National Research Centre of Archaeology, Indonesia.¹⁹ An aerial survey of the eastern coast of Sumatra was carried out and followed by the surface survey. During this period also it was reported that an inscription was found in the Lampung District. Boechari made a brief visit to the site to make a rubbing of the inscription and to survey the area. The discovery was made in 1958 but the survey took place in 1968.²⁰ The delay was due to the financial and manpower problems facing the National Research Centre of Archaeology, Indonesia prior to 1966. After 1966 the problem was mainly one of manpower because financially the centre was better off. The inscription of Palas Pasemah Lampung was transcribed, studied and presented to the pre-Śrīvijaya Seminar in 1979.²¹

In 1973, a very important archaeological site was excavated at Kota Cina in north Medan.²² In the team were McKinnon and Lukman Sinar. The excavation was done under the supervision of the National Research Centre of Archaeology. Among other things, the site yielded a seated stone Buddha, T'ang and Sung coins, and Sung and local ceramics. This was the first site in Sumatra to produce a detailed report of the excavation. The report was published by McKinnon. The area in the Deli River Valley was surveyed by Miksic in 1976.²³

As a result of the increased financial commitment to the National Research Centre of Archaeology under the Indonesian Second

five-year development plan a master plan for archaeological research in Indonesia was formulated in 1971.²⁴ Sumatra was given special attention. The joint team from the Archaeological Research Centre and the University of Pennsylvania Museum organised a fifty day survey of Sumatra in 1974.²⁵ A distance of about 10,000 kilometres was covered during the survey and 300 sites were visited.²⁶ In view of the fact that one of the aims of the survey was to try to establish whether Palembang was the centre of Srivijaya visited by I-Tsing, four excavations were carried out in Palembang; one was at Geding Suro, the second was at Air Besih, the third was at an area around a house called Sarang Wati and the fourth was at the sides of Bukit Seguntang.²⁷

From 1976 there was less activity in terms of archaeological excavation in Sumatra. Efforts were channelled towards preservation and restoration of the monuments that already had been discovered. Restoration works have been carried out in Jambi.²⁸ But sporadic archaeological surveys have been taken in Sumatra particularly in Palembang. In July, 1978 a team consisting of Styawati Suleiman, Satari, Rumbi Mulia and McKinnon surveyed Bukit Seguntang area and discovered T'ang type of ceramics.²⁹ In May, 1978, a team under Hasan Ambary surveyed and excavated sites at Kedai Gadang, Bukit Hasang, Papan Tinggi, Makam Mahligai and Lobu Tua in Barus.³⁰ They found T'ang and Sung type of ceramics.

Palembang

Palembang is the capital of the Propinsi Sumatra Selatan, and is the largest town in Sumatra. River Musi passes through the town. Even though it is situated about 90 kilometres from the sea, small boats can sail up the river to Palembang. It has been reported that as late as 1920, ships with up to 6.5 metre draught came up the river from the sea to Palembang.³¹

Archaeological researches in Palembang have been motivated by the desire to determine whether it was the site of

the capital of the Srīvijayan empire. Scholars are divided over the question. Coedès was the first to cite Palembang as the site of the capital.³² Although many scholars, using local inscriptions and foreign references, accept the view put forward by him, they do not believe that the site of the capital was permanently there from the seventh to the fourteenth century. Wolters considered that the site of the capital was there from at least 682 to 1079 A.D.³³

There are other scholars who do not think that the site of the capital was at Palembang in the seventh century. Among the sites which have been suggested were Muara Takus on the bank of Kampar River, Jambi, Chaiya in peninsular Thailand, Ligor in peninsular Thailand and the latest proposal suggests the site to be somewhere on the bank of Indragirri or Batang Kuantan River in Sumatra.³⁴

The disagreements arise due to the problems related to the nature of Srīvijaya. Many scholars regard Srīvijaya as an emporium and as such any site of the capital of the empire must produce remains of emporium activity which must be numerous and widespread. It is also expected that such a site must have large quantities of cultural remains such as statuary, architectural remains, and inscriptions. In their opinion the term "Srīvijaya" implies socio-politico and cultural. As such they envisage Srīvijaya as Angkor's equivalent and expect to find remains of large temple-complexes in Palembang.

The result of the archaeological surveys and excavations in Palembang has been very disappointing. As a result it is not possible to assume that Srīvijaya, if the capital was at Palembang, could have lasted for six hundred years. But to those who believe in Palembang as the site of the capital, they see Srīvijaya as a trading empire. This empire had a number of bases which were controlled from a centre. It can be compared with Melaka Sultanate in the fifteenth century. The evidence of the importance of Melaka as an emporium can be seen in what the contemporary Portuguese writer, Tome

Pires, wrote, "Whoever is lord of Malacca has his hand on the throat of Venice".³⁵ Yet, Melaka Sultanate did not leave behind large palaces or mosques or any cultural remains which can be associated with such a rich and prosperous kingdom. From this analogy it seems that Srīvijaya's traditional emphasis was on commerce and control of the numerous trading kingdoms along the Straits of Melaka, and not on building monumental complexes just like Angkor or Prambanan. The kingdoms within the empire relied heavily on fishing, trade with the outside people and with the people living in the interior.

In the past, archaeological surveys have been directed towards the search for statuary, architectural remains, and inscriptions. But with increased knowledge of the nature of coastal trading centres, archaeologists have widened the scope of their research. They have increased their efforts to locate settlement sites for which the best evidence is remains of ceramics. Before the 1970s these had been neglected.

As a result of a survey of the Bukit Seguntang area of Palembang in June 1978 by a team from the Archaeological Research Centre of Indonesia a number of sherds were found.³⁶ The exact location of the site was the lower southeast slope of Bukit Seguntang, not far from the village known as Kampong Bukit Lama. Chinese stoneware sherds were recovered in a newly planted field of ubi (*Dioscorea* spp.) just above the road leading from Palembang to Kampong Bukit Lama. These sherds were found in an area where fragments of wafer-like bricks were scattered among the vegetation. They belonged to a type not previously recorded from the Palembang area and displayed two kinds of characteristic "spur-marks" on their interior surface.³⁷ According to the reconstruction, they appear to be remains of small bowls glazed with opaque, grey-green brown glaze which in certain cases is flecked with impurities. This type of green-glazed Chinese stoneware, often referred to as a "Yueh-type", may be dated to ninth or tenth century.³⁸ Similar type of sherds have been

recorded as having been excavated from late T'ang (pre 906) to Five Dynasties (906-960) kiln sites in Honan and Kiangsi.³⁹

The find is very significant in relation to the site. The Bukit Seguntang area has special significance in Malay history. According to Sejarah Melayu, Bukit Seguntang was the Malay Maha Meru. Wolters has interpreted that from a story in Sejarah Melayu Sang Sapurba, the Palembang King had the attributes of an Avalokitesvara, and his descendants became the rulers of Melaka Sultanate.⁴⁰ It was known, too, that Demang Lebar Daun, the ancestors of the Malays took the oath of loyalty to their ruler; the ruler promised to rule justly and the Malays who broke the oath would be struck by a curse.⁴¹

The Bukit Seguntang area is also significant as a site of a number of very interesting archaeological finds. Among the finds were the famous granite standing Buddha, two small sandstone stupa, the left half of Malay inscription with 21 lines, a stone with a few letters in Pallava script, Sikyaprajna (teachings, words of wisdom), a golden plate with Buddhist articles of faith, several decorated natural stones and bricks chiselled with e-formed letters, fragments of a life-size bodhisattva image, a round pedestal with two feet, a bronze Buddha head wearing a head-band decorated with rosettes, a great lotus cushion pedestal which can support a life-size image, a standing bronze Buddha, two bronze Avalokitesvara, and a Kuvera image.⁴² All these finds indicate that Bukit Seguntang and the area near it had been an important religious centre from as early as the seventh century and the religion was Buddhist. Ceramic evidence points to a habitation centre in the vicinity.

The probable habitation site must be the banks of Kedukan River, which has its source in the padi fields at the south east foot of Bukit Senguntang, and to the west of Kampong Bukit Lama. This belief is based on the discovery of late Sung or Yuan sherds on the surface of a recently constructed foot-path near the course of Kedukan River, about

fifty metres from the bridge at Kampong Bukit Lama.⁴³ This foot-path leads to Lebak Keranji, a site reported by the 1974 archaeological survey team to Palembang.⁴⁴ The discovery was accidental because the sherds were brought to surface by people digging the earth to raise the level of foot-path. The fact that the finds had not been visible to archaeologists visiting the area before, even to the 1974 archaeological team, shows the problem of tracing habitation sites of the maritime kingdoms in Southeast Asia which did not possess large temple complexes. A lot of field-walking had to be done to obtain the data. From the Bukit Seguntang area and along the banks of Kedukan River came some of the finds made in the 1930s. It has been known that small unreported finds were recovered from the river.

Kedukan Bukit was the site of the Kedukan Bukit inscription. This inscription was among the most important ever discovered in Palembang in particular and Sumatra in general because it is dated. Other inscriptions from Palembang were discovered at Telaga Batu (Sabukingking), Talang Tuwo, and near a house called "Sarang Wati". Except for the Kedukan Bukit, Talang Tuwo and Telaga Batu inscriptions the other inscriptions from Palembang area are very short. The thirty short stone inscription from Sabukingking area contain the word siddhayatra, either alone or preceded by jaya-, or preceded by jaya- and followed by sarvvasatvah or by sarvvasatva.⁴⁵ The stamped clay inscriptions from the "Sarang Wati" contained the standard Buddhist ye dharma formula.

The significance of the inscriptions from Palembang area have been discussed by a number of scholars. This includes also the inscription discovered at another place in South Sumatra which is the Kota Kapur inscription of Pulau Bangka. The word siddhayatra, according to Coedès, is synonymous with siddhiyatra and its meaning has been described as, "a travel or pilgrimage from which one returned endowed with supernatural power".⁴⁶ J.G. de Casparis thinks that the word is used to refer to merchants and birds coming from a long distance to acquire supernatural powers.⁴⁷ The undated

Telaga Batu inscription which was discovered near a well of unknown date in the western corner of the square shaped island called Sabukingking, about 300 metres from Gedung Suro, gives us an insight into the way the empire was organised, the methods for maintaining order and unity.

Wolters suggests that its presence at the site is an indication of a royal centre.⁴⁸ The inscription contains an elaborate imprecation formula in Old Malay and a shorter imprecation formula in the first part in what is known as language "B". This language "B" might be Old Minangkabau according to Obdeijn; Damais thought that it had parallel with Malagasy, Javanese and Cham language, while van Naerssen proposes that it was an Orang Laut language.⁴⁹ The Telaga Batu inscription contains nearly the same text of imprecation as the Kota Kapur inscription. According to Boechari, the inscriptions consist of three parts.⁵⁰ The three parts are the invocation to all divinities, a curse to evildoers, and a blessing to those who were submissive to Srīvijaya. The shape of the stone on which the Telaga Batu inscription was inscribed and the seven-headed Nāga carved in relief on top of the inscription indicate that there was another function of the inscription. In view of the fact that it was discovered near a well, it is believed that it must have been used for oath taking ceremonies. Water must have been poured over the stone and collected in the depression at the lower part of the inscription. The oath water then would be drunk by the oath taker, presumably the chiefs and governors, mentioned in the inscription. This oath ceremony lived on in the memories of the Malay which can be extracted from the Sejarah Melayu.⁵¹

The function of the Kedukan Bukit inscription has been discussed by scholars. Coedès proposed that the inscription commemorates an overseas expedition of Srīvijaya to subjugate Cambodia under Jayavarman I, before 23rd April, 682.⁵² He placed Minana Tamwan at one of the mouths of the Mekong River.⁵³ The words, "laghu mudita datan marvuat vanua" indicate that Dapunta Hiyan came from a different part of Sumatra and founded a kingdom which he called Srīvijaya.

The inscription commemorates the foundation of a kingdom. We are not certain where Dapunta Hiyan originated. Boechari suggested that presumably he came from the upper part of the Indragiri River, a place called Batang Kuantan.⁵⁴ His arguments were that minana has been accepted by most scholars to mean estuary, in modern Malay kuala; the krama-form is kuantan.⁵⁵ So, the place must be Batang Kuantan because the site fits in with the geographical description of I-Tsing. Although it is difficult at this point to confirm the suggestion, it is quite clear that Srīvijaya was located somewhere else before 682 A.D. Presumably, the name of that place or kingdom was not yet Srīvijaya. The missing letters after the word ma in the inscription were layu according to Krom,⁵⁶ and Coedès reading was mata jap.⁵⁷ The reading malayu could be right because Dapunta Hiyan could have subjugated Malāyu-Jambi before the conquest of the Malāyu kingdom which comprised Jambi and Palembang. This is based on the assumption that before the rise of Srīvijaya, the main kingdom in Southern Sumatra was Malāyu which meant Malāyu-Jambi and Palembang. According to Sejarah Melayu, to the north of Tatang Rivulet was the Malāyu River.⁵⁸

After the foundation of the kingdom, the king embarked on the conquest of Bhumi Jawa as stated in the Kota Kabur inscription. Bhumi Jawa has been suggested as being in South Lampung District and not Jawa. After the subjugation of the Bhumi Jawa came the building process. The Talang Tuwo inscription indicates that a garden named Sriksetra, dedicated to all beings, was founded in 864.⁵⁹ It was also known that a vihara was built. Apparently in the early period of Srīvijayan history there was rebellion and bloodshed as indicated by fragmentary inscriptions which mentioned battles. Thus the Telaga Batu inscription and the oath taking ceremony were the results of the effort by the ruler to end the opposition.

Other important sites in Palembang are the Gedong Suro, the Sarang Wati area, Air Bersih, and Talang Kikim. Gedong Suro was the site where the eight century statue of a

bodhisattva without head and feet, a lotus cushion, a cornerstone of a terracotta, a trunk of a makara, a fragment of animal head, and a relief of a parrot within a garland were found. All the finds predate the fourteenth century, but the site has not produced any ceramics which can be dated to the same period. The two structures on the site, Candi Gedung Suro and Candi Panembahan, stylistically, have been associated with the late and post-Majapahit architecture, about sixteenth century. The excavations by the team from the National Research Centre of Archaeology, Indonesia and the University of Pennsylvania produced imported ceramics which can be dated to a period not earlier than the thirteenth century.⁶⁰ It has been suggested that Gedung Suro is a one-period site which was first inhabited in about 1500 A.D., grew to urban dimensions quickly, and was abandoned in about 1650-1700 A.D.⁶¹ The sculpture found at the site is believed to have been deposited there. In view of the fact that excavations were done near the candis, and the area of Gedung Suro is more than 150 hectares, and the whole area is covered with pre-modern broken bricks, tiles, and earthenwares, it is still not certain whether the conclusion reached by the 1973 survey and 1974 excavations was conclusive.

The Sarang Wati area produced a seventh century mitred Avalokiteśvara discovered in the 1960s. When a test pit was dug by the 1973 team, a number of votive models of stūpa were found. Although most of them disintegrated, about 400 of them were obtained with recognisable features.⁶² It has been reported that preliminary analysis indicates that the collections contain a minimum of ten separate varieties of stūpa.⁶³

Each stūpa contained an inscription stamped in mud and with a cover. The mud pad on which the inscription was inscribed, is round and the bigger type is about 5.08 cm., while the smaller type is about 2.0 cm. The two facing tablets containing the inscription were placed at the level of the base of the stūpa and concealed from view by roughly shaped lump of clay placed under the base of the stūpa. The

inscription contains the Buddhist formula ye dharma, and written in pre-Nāgari script. It has been suggested that the dating of these votive stūpas is about seventh century. In India, according to I-Tsing who stayed at Śrīvijaya in 671 A.D., 685-689 A.D. and 689-695 A.D. similar practise of making votive tablets and putting inscribed tablets at the bases, and depositing in a field in the seventh century.⁶⁴

The site at Air Bersih has been known to produce four bronze statues in the early 1930s during the construction of the city water purification plant, the Penyaringan Air Bersih.⁶⁵ The style of the images clearly indicates a pre-fourteenth century period. Surface finds from the area immediately west and south of the water plant comprised small quantities of Sung and Yuan ceramics, Ming blue and white and seventeenth and eighteenth century Chinese ceramics.⁶⁶ There were also much smaller quantities of Sawankhalok celadon, fragments of two Sukhothai fish dishes, and some brown glazed sherds of possible Cham or Cambodian origin.⁶⁷ The finds do not show that it was a large habitation site which had been settled before the pre-fourteenth century period.

Another site which was recently discovered is Talang Kikim.⁶⁸ It is an area of dry ground raised above the surrounding swampland known as Putih Kuku. The area is situated about two kilometres northwest of the Bukit Seguntang, and is about six kilometres from the Talang Tuwo where the inscription was found. At the site, the 1978 team discovered previously unreported assemblage of sherds and fragments of waferlike bricks. The sherds comprised Chinese export wares of Lung chu'uan and other green-glazed porcellaneous stonewares of late Sung or Yüan date to Vietnamese white wares, Thai Sawankhalok and Ming blue and white.⁶⁹

To the north of the creek at Talang Kikim, at a distance of about two to three hundred metres from the earlier mentioned site another assemblage of sherds were found.⁷⁰ This assemblage comprised short necked green glazed jars of the

"dusun" type.⁷¹ They ranged from about 30 cm in height to up to 70 cm and from 30 cm to 45 cm in diameter. They are oval shaped with four to six horizontal loop handles, a wide mouth, usually 16 cm or slightly more in diameter, a short neck, straight or narrowing simple rim, flat and unglazed on the upper surface but glazed inside.⁷² The glaze ends well above the foot, which is usually concave. This type of ware is believed to be first exported from China during the T'ang period,⁷³ and have been found in dateable archaeological context as far as the Persian Gulf, and the eastern Mediterranean at pre-tenth century sites. These sherds are now at the office of the National Research Centre of Archaeology, Indonesia.

If we accept that Palembang was the site of I-Tsing's Srivijaya, then where exactly was the site located. Bosch after looking at the result of the survey of Palembang was moved to doubt that the site was in the present-day Palembang.⁷⁴ He searched for evidence to locate the site somewhere else in the Palembang area. The discovery of three bronze Buddhist images in the Komering River, about one kilometre from its confluence with Musi River led him to suggest the site as a possible location.⁷⁵ His reason was that the images belonged to the central Javanese style, the Sailendra period.⁷⁶ According to him this was the evidence for the link between Srivijaya and Sailendra lineage.

There were reports of several sites in Palembang area with bricks and other debris. Westenenk discovered bricks and other debris further upstream from the place where the three bronzes were discovered.⁷⁷ Bosch reported his discovery of a low hill on top of which some deep pits indicated where bricks were dug by Public Works.⁷⁸ This hill had a ringwall which encircled it, and here a vulva symbol was found.⁷⁹ The Bukit Seguntang also was known to have been used as a quarry for brick structures of ancient date. At Tanjung Raja, south of Palembang artifacts such as a copper pan, gold finger rings, both with symbolic figures, and old pitchers, vases and broken plates were found in 1921.⁸⁰

In the interior part of Palembang a number of Hindu-Buddhist images were discovered. At Tanah Abang by the Lematang River, the righthand tributary of Musi River, a Śiva image, two kāla heads, and fragments of lion were found in an area where ruins of three brick structures were situated.⁸¹ At Modong, to the north, a linga was found and at Babat a Brahma, a seated deity with folded hands and a head of a lion were found.⁸² From Bingin, further north up the Musi River, came the life-size standing Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol and unfinished seated stone Buddha.⁸³ Japara, on Lake Ranau was the remains of a square structure, 8.10 x 9.60 m, presumably a temple made from stone with the entrance facing towards the east.⁸⁴ To the southeast of it was found a stone inscription of eighteen lines.⁸⁵ The site is called Bawang.

The latest discovery from interior Palembang was a standing stone Buddha, height 1.72 m. It has both arms raised in the Dvāravatī type of mudrā.⁸⁶ The site is called Surulangun and is about 24 kilometres from Muara Rupit. Muara Rupit is navigable to Telok Bingin where the standing Avalokiteśvara stone, mentioned earlier, was found. The image was found in a fruit plantation where there were traces of a temple built out of large bricks. It was reported that from the site a number of Yueh-type of sherds were recovered. There were also sherds of Sung and Yüan period. The image is now kept in the office of the head of the Kebupatenan Musi Rawas, at Lubuk Linggau.

In conclusion, it seems that Palembang area had been settled by people practising Buddhism from seventh century at the latest. This is based on the evidence of statuary, inscriptions and votive stūpas. The sites are mostly found in Palembang itself, but the surrounding area right to the interior along the banks of Musi River and its tributaries also have sites of seventh century period. In the period before the 1970s, due to the antiquarian approach of the Dutch archaeologists, potsherds were never noted. As such there was no evidence of trading sites or emporium activity

in Palembang area. In the late 1970s sites with pre-Sung and Sung period potsherds began to be known to exist. There are problems to produce this as evidence for saying that Palembang was an emporium. First, the amount of potsherds was not large enough. Secondly, the sites of the potsherds were not exactly at the same sites where statuary, inscriptions and temples were found. For that reason it is possible that the religious and ceremonial centre was different from the business centre. This view has been suggested by Westenenk in 1923 and reaffirmed by Wolters in 1975.⁸⁷ It is a fact that it is very difficult to find pre-Sung trading sites because the export of pottery from China as a large scale activity probably began only in late T'ang Dynasty period. The difficulty in finding large quantities of pottery may be due to the late large scale pottery export activity of China and problems of finding the most suitable site to excavate may prove that it would be difficult to discover trading sites. One would not expect to find large substantial quantities of permanent architecture in Palembang if the nature of the kingdom is equivalent to Melaka Sultanate and if the kingdom had separate centres. Archaeological evidence unearthed so far provides enough evidence to show that the early art of the Palembang area had its own tradition, especially in the case of Avalokiteśvara images with tiger symbol. The artifacts, statuary and potsherds, found in the interior of Palembang also show that some of them may be safely classified as pre-tenth century.

Propinsi Lampung

Propinsi Lampung is the southern most province of Sumatra. It borders the Straits of Sunda. Historians believe that it was a part of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya in the seventh century. They have been influenced by the discovery of the seventh century Śrīvijayan inscription at Palas Pasemah, near Kalinda in South Lampung. The discovery was reported to the National Research Centre of Archaeology, Indonesia in 1958, and a photograph of it was sent to the institute ten years later. The team from the institute sent to investigate in

October 1968 discovered that the stone was partly buried in a tumulus.⁸⁸ The dimensions of the stone are 75 cm height, 50 cm breadth at the base. The front part was inscribed with thirteen lines of script. According to Boechari who studied it, it can be established that it contains nearly the same text as the inscription of Karang Brahi in upper Jambi, that is an imprecation formula, preceded by the same part written in the B language which has been mentioned earlier.

The stone inscription has been proposed by van Naerssen as a boundary marker of Srīvijaya.⁸⁹ This is due to the fact that similar stones have been found in a wide area in Bangka, Jambi, Palembang and Palas Pasemah in the southern part of Sumatra. There is, however, no mention of borders in all the inscriptions, but they mention samaryyadapatha, which de Casparis translates as frontier regions, literally frontier roads.⁹⁰ This phrase stresses the significance of the position of the stone in relation to the boundary of the kingdom and also to the communication networks. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Palas Pasemah stone was placed not exactly in the centre of the village, but 200 m to the east of the village. At the centre of the village there are a number of tumuli, and the stone was placed at the strategic point, on the road to the village centre for people to see.

Besides the inscription of the seventh century period, there are three other inscriptions but of later date discovered in the propinsi, two of them still in situ. The first one was found near a village called Bawang in Hujung Langit, and the second was found at the village of Batu Bedil.⁹¹ They are both written in Old Malay but use Kawi (Old Javanese) script. The Hujung Langit inscription has a date, A.D. 997 and the Batu Bedil has no date. The third one was found at Ulu Belu and it is in Old Malay but undated. It is now in the Jakarta Museum (D154).⁹² According to Damais, the text contains an invocation to Batara Guru, and has a strong Javanese linguistic influence. It is believed to be of tenth to twelfth century date.⁹³ The

discovery of the inscription suggests that from the tenth century the area received very strong influence from Java, probably due to the diminished control from Palembang over the area, or due to the Javanese influence over the kingdom in Palembang.

Boechari identifies Bhūmi Jāwa which was mentioned by the Kota Kapur inscription with a rather large village called Bumijawa situated to the northwest of Palas Pasemah. The appendix of the Kota Kapur inscription states that the "imprecation formula was chiseled at the time when the army of Śrīwijaya had just returned from an expedition against Bhūmi Jāwa which was not submissive to Śrīwijaya".⁹⁴ The function of the inscription was to direct the imprecation against the subjugated area. The control of the Lampung area must have been completed with the erection of the imprecation stone inscription and the subjugation of Bhūmi Jāwa.

The evidence for the existence of settlements in various parts of the Lampung area and their contacts with the outside world is the discovery of ceramics which had been imported to the area. Out of the total of 131 pieces of imported ceramics discovered in Sumatra, 87 pieces came from the area.⁹⁵ The earliest piece has been classified as Han dynasty period, first and second century A.D., and the most recent as being 17th to 18th century. There are about 42 pieces which belong to the period 7th to 14th century, and 11 pieces can be classified as T'ang dynasty pieces. These finds are found scattered all over the Lampung area. They are now in the Jakarta Museum, and have been catalogued by de Flines.⁹⁶

The other type of surface find from the area is the sculpture. There are two sculptures, the oldest is an Avalokiteśvara image wearing a tiger skin and has four arms.⁹⁷ It can be classified as the pre-tenth century period and belongs to the group of Avalokiteśvara images with tiger skin found in the area related to Śrīwijaya. The sculpture was discovered in 1980 at a site between Pugung Raharjo and

Tanjung Karang. The other sculpture is a seated bodhisattva and it was found in the Pugung Raharjo district too.⁹⁸ It belongs to a later date, fourteenth century. The image has a diadem, wears armlets, bracelets, necklace, and upavita. It is seated on a lotus cushion. Near to the site are megalithic remains and also Chinese ceramics.⁹⁹

There has, so far, been no proper archaeological interpretation of research to locate habitation remains in the area. If the available evidence is correct, then there should be found together with T'ang and Sung ceramics, Buddhist sculpture and a sanctuary from the area.

Jambi and Batang Hari River area

Historians believe that Jambi was the site of the kingdom called Malāyu, visited by I-Tsing in 671 A.D. while on his way to Nālandā in India. Malāyu became a part of the Śrīvijaya after 671 A.D. Before that date Malāyu was an independent kingdom which as late as 644 A.D. sent a mission to China.¹⁰⁰ The kingdom came under the rising power of Śrīvijaya between I-Tsing's first visit and his return when he wrote, that Malāyu became a part of Śrīvijaya.¹⁰¹ But later with the decline of Palembang, Jambi became prominent again. This presumably took place during the period, 1079-¹⁰² 1082 A.D.

The problem that confronts scholars is the exact location of the site of the centre of the kingdom in Jambi. Today Jambi is the capital of the Propinsi Jambi, and the Batang Hari River flows through this capital. But archaeological surveys indicate that Muara Jambi and not Jambi itself produce the most archaeological finds relevant to the period under discussion. The village Muara Jambi is situated about 25 km to the north-east of Jambi and very much closer to the sea. It is on the north bank of Batang Hari River. Today, the village contains a few hundred houses on stilts which stretch along the banks of the river for about 600 metres. During the rainy season the Batang Hari River overflows its

banks and floods the compounds of the houses, up to floor level. Surrounding the village is tropical jungle, with tropical fruit trees such as durian and langsat. Further up inland are the swamplands. In the forest are eleven remains of temples. They are situated about 500 metres from the river and on the north side, behind the village. They were built along the river banks and stretch over a distance of 5 km.

Three of the temples or candis have been uncovered by local archaeologists.¹⁰³ The local people have named the candis as follows:-

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Candi Stano | 6. Candi Gudang Garam I |
| 2. Candi Tinggi | 7. Candi Gudang Garam II |
| 3. Candi Gumpung | 8. Candi Kandang Kerbau |
| 4. Candi Kembar Batu | 9. Candi Kedaton |
| 5. Candi Telago Rajo | 10. Candi Koto Mahligai |
| 11. Candi Kubur Batu | |

The present day people of Muara Jambi are not certain how these candis got their names, but they believe that their ancestors named them according to the location, size and shape of the candis. Candi Stano, for instance was named so because in the area are several graves which according to local legend belong to royalty. This fits with the meaning of the word stano, mausoleum. Schnitger was not allowed to excavate it in 1936 but he reported that in 1921 and 1922 T. Adam published a few notes in Oudheidkundig Verslag about the candi.¹⁰⁴ He included in the report a ground plan, and its photograph; two photographs of stones which he believed to be of 'Hindoo' in character, in which he found on the south side; a description of the candi where he stated that the wall has three-plane frame, casements, and an ogive; and the steps are undecorated.¹⁰⁵ The candi is situated about 500 metres from the centre of the village, and is built from bricks. According to the report from the latest archaeological work on the site, the shape of the candi is shaped as in the plan.¹⁰⁶ It has a basement height of 1.75 m and the remains of the body is 75 cm in height. On top of the remains

of the body of the candi is a layer of earth covered with remains of bricks which are scattered about. There are remains of a structure with measurements 5.5 m x 3.5 m and height of 50 cm. In the centre of this structure is a hole.

The excavation of the candi unearthed remains of a hand of an image made from sandstone, feet of an image wearing anklet and a number of Chinese sherds.¹⁰⁷ The plan of the candi indicates that it belonged to the Buddhist phase presumably to the same group as the other candis from the area, but not of the same date. The ceramics belonged to the ninth and tenth century period.

The second candi which was exposed is Candi Tinngi.¹⁰⁸ This candi was named by Schnitger as Candi Gumpung but the local archaeological team thinks that the name should be Candi Tinggi and the name Candi Gumpung belonged to another candi. It is situated to the west of Candi Stano, and it is enclosed by a rectangular brick-wall and ditch. The gopura is on the east. The plan of the candi is as in the plan. The measurement of the gopura is about 20 m wide. The total area of the compound (75 x 92.5 m) of the candi is nearly 7000 sq. m.

Although much of the candi suffered from collapse, it is quite possible to reconstruct it after studying the exposed parts. The candi comprised the base, the body and the top. The height of the base is 2.65 m. There is a flight of steps leading from the ground to the body of the candi. The steps end at a platform projecting from the body. It has been suggested that there was a door connecting the platform to a terrace which goes round the body. The width of the terrace is 3 m and is presumably a pradaksina path. The main body of the temple has collapsed beyond reconstruction. At the centre, a hole dug by Schnitger can still be seen.¹⁰⁹ It has been suggested that the top of the temple could have a stupa shape.

The finds from this site consist of broken parts of the feet of an image, a broken piece of a shoulder, and the body

of an image.¹¹⁰ The remains are made from sandstone. There are a number of pieces of decorated bricks. There are also traces of bricks all over the compound, and Schnitger suggested that the entire courtyard was paved with bricks.¹¹¹ The style of the broken pieces of an image indicate that it belonged to the post-Gupta style, about 7th century.¹¹²

The third candi which had been exposed was Candi Gumpung. It is situated about 43 m west of Candi Tinggi. The unusual shape of the walls is given in the ground plan.¹¹³ The candi lies on the west side of the compound; the dotted lines indicate the remains of buildings in the compound, and the square and rectangular shaped boxes indicate remains of ponds or water tanks. The walled-compound measures 149 m wide and 152 m high. The candi faces towards the east: this differs from Candi Tinggi which faces towards the south. The gopura or entrance is on the east. The ground plan of the candi is given below.¹¹⁴

Among the finds from the site are a sandstone makara, a headless seated image of Prajñāparamitā, and shaped bricks.¹¹⁵ The makara was found at the side of the steps on the ground. It was placed on top of a sand-stone pedestal. The shaped stones have been used to reconstruct three small stupas. It seems that the reconstruction and the image confirm the belief that the temple was a Buddhist temple and the period was about eleventh century in view of the fact that the makara can be classified as belonging to the same period as the dated makara from Solok Japin in Jambi.

Besides the eleven candis in Muara Jambi there are also the remains of six smaller brick structures which the locals call menapo. The eight unexcavated candis have their own characteristics. Candi Kubur is situated near Candi Tinggi and Candi Gumpung. The three candis are located near Candi Telago Rajo, measurements 40 x 75 m. The four candis, if belonging to the same complex, would have at the centre an open space. Candi Kedaton was built from bricks and river pebbles. The pebbles are difficult to obtain because they

are white in colour; the size varies from 5 cm to 12 cm in diameter. The pebbles whose source is uncertain, were used to fill the brick framed structures. Schnitger believed that all the candis can be dated to the 11th century or a later period because they were built not in the centre of their compounds and they have terraces and so are comparable to the Javanese temples of the same period.¹¹⁶ The finds from the temples or candis indicate that the period range from the 7th to the 11th century. This is further confirmed by the discovery of pre-Sung and Sung sherds from the area. They were not built at the same time. Nevertheless, they all belonged to the Buddhist phase.

There are several other finds which have been attributed to Muara Jambi. They are a standing Buddha, 1.05 m high, which Schnitger attributes to the style of North India and compares with the sandstone Buddha in high relief from Wiang Sa in Peninsular Thailand, Nandi (80 cm high) and a few fragments of less important pieces.¹¹⁷

The Batang Hari River valley and its tributaries make up about 40% of the land area of the Propinsi Jambi. Along the banks of the Batang Hari River and its tributaries are found other archaeological finds from Jambi area.¹¹⁸ From Solok, a village to the west of Jambi came a few examples. The most prominent is the standing Buddha carved out of sandstone, 1.72 m high, with arms broken.¹¹⁹ It is believed to be of 7th century date and influenced by the post-Gupta school of north India, the Pāla. There are the four makaras with heights of 1.10 m, 1.21 m, 1.40 m and 1.45 m. They have two standing rāksaksas each in their mouths. Each rāksaksa is armed with a loop and a heavy club, which is jointed and terminates in a flower bud, upon which it rests. One rāksaksa holds the loop in front of his right shoulder, the other lets it fall over the left hip. Both wear a loin cloth, ear rings, necklaces, armlets and anklets. One of them bears the date (1064 Saka = 986 A.D.) and the words "mpu Dharmawira".¹²⁰ There is a makara with a kinnara in his jaws. A stambha 1.40 m high was also recovered from the

area, and a lotus cushion with a destroyed image on it.

The other finds recovered from unknown provenance in the Batang Hari River valley are a standing Buddha in covering mode, and two elephants wearing diadem measuring about 95 cm.¹²¹ The village of Sungai Langsat which is on the northern bank of Sungai Batang Hari River in the district of Tanah Datar in the Propinsi Sumatra Barat produced a few interesting pieces of archaeological remains. The most prominent of these are the very large images of Buddhist Bhairava and Amoghapāśa.¹²² The Buddhist Bhairava, 4.41 m high was originally at Padang Rotjo in Sungai Langsat; in 1935 it was transported to Fort de Kock (now Kota Tinggi) and in 1937 to Jakarta Museum. It is believed that the Bhairava is a portrait statue of the Sumatran king, Ādityavarman whose inscriptions are found all over south and west Sumatra.¹²³ So far 32 of his inscriptions have been discovered. Ādityavarman became king of Malāyu in 1347. He was the descendant from the marriage of the Javanese prince, Śrī Viśvarūpākumara with the Sumatran princess after the conquest of Malāyu by Krtanagara in 1275. Thus Ādityavarman was also a descendant of Viṣṇuvardhāna an ancestor of the Majapahit dynasty, and a King of Singasari. The Amoghapāśa image, 1.63 m once stood on an inscribed pedestal. The inscription was dated to about 1286 A.D. and it stated that it was brought from Java as a gift from Śrī Viśvarūpākumara.¹²⁴ The image is now in the Jakarta museum. It was found at Rambahan, on a hill at the junction of two rivers, Batang Lalo and Batang Hari facing towards the east. But originally it was at Padang Rotjo in Sungai Langsat where the inscribed pedestal was found. It is believed that, on the evidence of the inscription,¹²⁵ the image represents a portrait statue of a king who regarded himself as a cakravatin and an incarnation of Amoghapāśa. It is also believed that in 1347, Ādityavarman again consecrated it.¹²⁶

A few kilometres west of the site of the two images were found remains of brick structures. Pulau Panjang produced remains of a bronze image and a vajra.¹²⁷ At Omba Kubu and Muara Sangir are traces of brick structures, and at Talantam

a vajra was found.¹²⁸ The village of Padang Lawas, downstream from Sungai Langsat a headless Buddha was found.¹²⁹ Another headless Buddha image was found at Betung Beduru, downstream from Muara Tebo.¹³⁰ An unfinished *Ganéśa* image was found at Sarolangun.¹³¹ Here too was found a standing headless Buddha.¹³² It was lost between 1929 and 1935, but its lotus cushion was sent to Palembang.¹³³

At the village of Karang Berahi, on the Merangin River (a tributary of Tembesi River and the Batang Hari River) was found a Śrīvijayan inscription.¹³⁴ Although it was undated, scholars who have studied it believe that it contains the same imprecation formula as the Kota Kapur and Palas Pasemah inscription and belonged to the same period. The inscription is still in the village, and when the 1973 archaeological team visited the village it was found that the stone was used as a stepping stone.¹³⁵ Now it is kept in the compound of the village mosque. The stone belongs to a variety which is not found in the area. Its dimensions are 90 cm x 90 cm x 110 cm and it has the form of a split egg.¹³⁶ The significance of the inscription is probably the same as the other imprecation stones of the Śrīvijayan king, that is an indicator of the subjugation of the area by Śrīvijaya and as a warning against any rebellion or anti-king movements. It also demonstrates that Jambi and the Batang Hari River valley was once a part of Śrīvijaya.

The evidence obtained so far tend to indicate that the most important site in the Batang Hari River valley is Muara Jambi. It has been suggested by Schnitger that the finds at Solok originated from Muara Jambi.¹³⁷ It was taken there by the order of the Sultan and that the kraton was built from the bricks taken from Muara Jambi. Schnitger believed that Muara Jambi was the centre and during the period 1050 to 1250, the temples were built and Malāyu was on the present Malāyu River, and in 1225, Jambi was the centre.¹³⁸ But the centre shifted to the interior as indicated by the discovery of the two enormous portrait statues; the ancestor of Ādityavarman and that of Ādityavarman himself as Bhairava.

Nevertheless, the archaeological finds also indicate that various parts of the Batang Hari River Valley was inhabited by people during the 7th to the 14th century period. The imported Chinese ceramics found so far also indicate the period, late T'ang and Sung. Perhaps with more intensive and systematic archaeological excavations at the various points along the Batang Hari River and its tributaries more habitation sites with cultural materials would be found.

Panei-Barumon River Valley

The archaeological sites in the Panei-Barumon River Valley are found in the Padang Lawas area. This area comprises the valleys of the tributaries of the Panei River, Barumon and others, an area of approximately 1500 square kilometres.¹³⁹ At least 16 sites, temple complexes of various kinds have been located.¹⁴⁰

Scholars believe that the archaeological remains in the Padang Lawas area belonged to the kingdom of Pannai. This is because they associate the name of the river Panei with the name of Pannai that occurs in the list of places raided by the Cōlas of South India in 1025 A.D.¹⁴¹ It has been pointed out also that in the 14th century, the kingdom "Pane" was claimed by Majapahit because it was in the list of places that was mentioned by Nagara-Kertagama as one of the tributaries of Majapahit.¹⁴²

There were altogether seven inscriptions known to have been recovered from six sites, those from Gunung Tua, Si Topayan, Tandihet, Si Choren Belangah, Sangkilon and Pordak Dolok. The inscription from Gunung Tua was inscribed on the pedestal of a four-armed bronze Lokanātha standing between two images. Schnitger, Bernert Kempers and Loeb mentioned that the Lokanātha image was standing between two Tārās.¹⁴³ In view of the fact that only one of the Tārās survives, as can be seen in the available photograph,¹⁴⁴ it is impossible to verify that the missing image was that of Tārā. The available

materials that mentioned the inscription did not show that any part of the inscription containing the information about two Tārās. The inscription describes the main image as "bhaṭṭāra Lokanṭha", and made by, "barbwat", master smith Sūryya and announces that, "by making these good deeds the common property of all mankind, I am made ripe for the highest Perfect Vision"; the date on the inscription is equivalent to the year 1024 A.D.¹⁴⁵ In the absence of the reason for claiming the missing image to be that of Tārā, it would be more reasonable to assume that the missing image was that of Hayagrīva. According to Bhattacharyya "Four Sādhanas, again, are devoted to the worship of the Lokanātha variety of Avalokiteśvara. He is single in three Sādhanas and only one Sādhana describes him as accompanied by Tārā and Hayagrīva".¹⁴⁶

The origin of the Lokanātha image is uncertain. This is because it was owned by the Raja of Gunung Tua in 1930s¹⁴⁷ and is now in the Jakarta Museum.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless the presence of the Malay word, barbwat, suggested that it was made locally, and the style in my opinion is not that close to the Javanese style of the Central Java but rather closer to the early Cōla style.¹⁴⁹ Although there are remains of ruined temple terraces at Gunung Tua, and lions and makaras, it is not possible to relate them to the image.

Schnitger reported the discovery of inscriptions from the temple complex of Si Topayan. There were two of them and both were in Old Javanese script and have been deciphered by Bosch.¹⁵⁰ The first reads as follows:-

"tat kāla hang tahi si ranggit
kaba (ga?) yin pwanyawāri babwat bakas
brhala sātap"

It has been translated as, "This is the memorial of hang Tahi si Ranggit kabayin (?) and (?) and to commemorate (pu Anyawārin) the making of a restingplace for the united gods (the gods under one roof)". The second inscription reads as follows:-

"pu sapta hang Buddhi sang imba hang
langgar tat (ka) laitu babwat biyara
paduka cri maharāja".

It has been translated as, "This is the memorial of pu Sapta hang Buddhi sang Imba and (?) hang Langgar, commemorating the making of a vihāra for His Majesty the king".

Certain words of the two inscriptions can be found in the Malay language, and in fact the whole part of the second inscription excluding the names can be regarded as old Malay. In my opinion the first inscription can be translated as "At the time hang Tahi si Ranggit kaba (ga?) yin (the part?)¹⁵¹ pwanyawari prepare the foundation (or site) of the temple for the united gods (the gods under one roof)", and the second inscription should read:-

"pu sapta hang Buddhi sang imba hang
langga tatkāla itu babwat biyara paduka
sri maharaja"

and can be translated as, "pu Sapta hang Buddhi sang Imba and hang Langgar at that time built the vihāra of the king" and if Goris' view is right that the words on the inscription, sapta, buddhi, imba and langgar denoted the numerals 7, 5, 1 and 1 respectively, and thus the Si Topayan was built in the year 1157 Saka;¹⁵² the two inscriptions indicate that two types of work being carried out at the same time but by different groups of workers. That is at the time Hang Tahi Si Ranggit was preparing the site for the temple of united gods, Pu Sapta, Hang Buddhi, Sang Amba and Hang Langgar was building the vihāra for the king.

At the site there were two structures; one of them Schnitger identifies as a small temple and the other as a pendopo.¹⁵³ It is possible that the two structures were the temple of united gods and the vihāra for the king, that is, the one that has the decorations such as casements with checkered patterns. The two structures were almost connected by two walls extended from the structure classified as a

small temple. The inscriptions were inscribed on two stones of an hourglass shape placed at the end of the two walls. The structures are different from the other temples in the Padang Lawas, and they have pillar bases.

Another inscription was found at a site called Tandihet.¹⁵⁴ It was recovered from a cella and inscribed on a golden plaque. The reading made by Stutterheim is as follows:-

"Wanawanwanāgi
bukāngṛhugṛ
hūcītrāsāmasyasā
tunhahāhaha
hūm
hūhūhehai
hohauhaha¹⁵⁵
omāḥhūm"

He believes that the various sounds refer to the ritual laughing, which was found during some tantric ceremonies, and the date of the inscription was 13th century. There is evidence for the prevalence of certain forms of tantra in the Padang Lawas area. Bosch suggested that the religion depicted by the sculptures and inscriptions in most of the temple complexes was a kind of Tantric Buddhism which involved human sacrifice.¹⁵⁶ But Nilakanta Sastri calls the Buddhism during the period related to the Bhairava from Sungai Langsat and the Heruka from the Bahal II Temple Complex as Kāla-cakra Buddhism.¹⁵⁷ But the site at Tandihet had not produced any finds that would show the kind of Tantric Buddhism. This is because the temple itself had the same type of facade as the majority of the temples in the Padang Lawas area, and also the find of Maitreya¹⁵⁸ only proves that it was a Buddhist site. On the inscription there were carvings of vajras.

Some of the temple complexes have produced archaeological finds which would enable us to recognise the kind of tantra practised. It is quite true that Bahal II temple complex is an example of Buddhist Tantra. The main temple has two very significant images. One of them is Heruka. According to Bhattacharyya, he is one of the most popular of

Buddhist pantheon.¹⁵⁹ This is because whoever worships him will get Buddhahood and destroy all Māras of the world. It has been recognised that his images are very rare, and only two have been known. One was at the Buddhanatha temple in Nepal, and another discovered at Comilla in Bengal and now in the Dacca Museum.¹⁶⁰ Schnitger also describes the significance of this god, "Taranatha tells of a king to whom the solemn announcement was made that in case he broke a certain promise and then gazed upon the veiled image of Heruka he would have a haemorrhage [sic.] and die of it. This god was known also in Java".¹⁶¹

Bhattacharyya gives three varieties of Heruka. The one from Bahal II belonged to the Dvibhuja Heruka variety.¹⁶² This argument is based on the assumption that it fits with the description of Dvibhuja Heruka; his āsana is dancing on a corpse, vāhana is corpse, symbols are vajra and kapāla and identification mark is Khatvāṅga banner hanging from the left shoulder. Heruka from Bahal II is 1.18 m high, his left hand holds a skull and clasps the Khatvāṅga and the right hand holds a vajra and his necklace is of six heads hanging by a cord.¹⁶³ Schnitger mentioned that he was dancing on a corpse but we are not able to ascertain it because the available photograph does not show the vāhana. Nevertheless, Bhattachryya shows that Dvibhuja Heruka does not always need to have a corpse as vāhana because there was a sādhana which permits double lotus to be the vāhana as in the case of the Dvibhuja from Comilla.¹⁶⁴ Schnitger also sees the similarity between the two images and compares the style with a Naitrama image of Bihar and thus gives the dating as 10th century.¹⁶⁵

The other image from Bahal II main temple is that of a demonic woman standing on a corpse.¹⁶⁶ She wears large ear rings, puffed hair and a string of skulls. The left hand holds a skull and the right hand rests on hip and holds a vajra and a sacrificial knife. This again reminds us of what Bosch has said about Buddhist Tantrism in Padang Lawas which involved human sacrifice.¹⁶⁷

Other temple complexes in the village of Bahal, Bahal I and Bahal III, also show tantric features. On the assumption of Schnitger about features of Bahal III being Śaivite and Bahal I as Buddhist,¹⁶⁸ then they can be classified as Hindu and Buddhist Tantra respectively. In the case of Bahal I, the reliefs on the projected walls consist of six panels with demonic dancing figures in each of them; the steps are guarded by makaras, rāksasas and lions which have demonic features too.¹⁶⁹

Si Pamutung Temple complex, Si Choreng Belangah temple complex and Sangkilon are three other complexes which have Buddhist features but in tantric form. Pamutung for instance gives a strong impression of violence.¹⁷⁰ The decorative elements besides the makaras and rāksasas guardians also include demonic crocodiles as the terminals for the steps. Then there is the modelled torso of a woman in anjali mudrā and wearing large ear studs, bracelets, armlets, a necklace, and a crown on her head. There are flames on both sides of the head, her mouth and eyes are open. Her mouth has two large curved tusks. This again reminds us of the story of Raja Bersiong in Hikayat Merong Maha Wangsa.¹⁷¹ According to Schnitger it is possible to assume that it is the "image of a queen, who had been initiated as a Bhairava". There is no evidence to confirm this but other finds such as a head with hair elaborately dressed and the locks being arranged to overlap like scales of a fish and with five skulls on the forehead definitely provide evidence for a kind of Kāla-chakra Buddhism.

The temple complex at Si Choreng Belangah has been identified by Schnitger as Buddhist and of the Vajrayāna School.¹⁷² The main temple has a square shape roof but Temple I which is situated to the south of the main temple is a stūpa built from the natural stone. Among the significant finds are kāla heads with necklaces in their jaws from the roof of the main temple, large lotuses of more than 1 m diameter from Temple I, a cornice with seated Buddhas on lotus cushion (Ratnasambhava or Aksobhya, Amitābha,

and Amoghasiddhi), a stambha or column with reliefs of Buddhas of four quarters, two lions with one head, cakras, figures of men and women carrying such things as a drum and reyong, and foliage. Another structure in the temple complex, that is Temple II unearthed an inscription inscribed on a square plaque, 53 cm x 53 cm and 16 cm thick with a circular protruberance on the surface. The inscription is in old Javanese script and Bosch transcribed it as follows:-

"....1101 bulan besakha tithi pancami
krsnapaksa brhaspatiwar adiwasa...
tatkala..."¹⁷³

In my opinion the translation is, "...the Saka year 1101, the month of Vaisākha, the fifth day of the dark half of the month, ādiwasa brhaspatiwar...at the time..."¹⁷⁴ The significance of this plaque is not certain but the presence of the symbol engraved on one of its corners, that is the right corner of a skull and crescent moon perhaps had something to do with a king. This assumption is based on an analogy with the tradition in Java where candrakapāla seal was also the seal of a Javanese king, Kameswara I of Kediri (1115-1130).¹⁷⁵ The Bhairava from Padang Langsat also has the symbols of candrakapāla as motifs on the loin cloth.

Sangkilon temple complex has produced an inscription which according to Bosch is in Nāgari script.¹⁷⁶ It was inscribed on a golden plaque, 5 x 13 cm. The provenance was the sanctuary of the main temple. The text is not complete and it has been transcribed as follows:-

"Darrānandasadyadīpamkarasyadara (or datra)
ramyaramyaçrīkarunālayawi
mārayamārayakārayakara (or kākara)
caturwiṁsatinetrāyatahana
hum
.....raspari
.....(rā) rānwanwayawanwa (or buddhayawanwa)
.....sakapālamālānika
om (or um) astāna)

Schnitger stresses that, "The text gives reason to suppose that the plaque refers to the consecration of a Yamāri image with eight faces, twenty-four eyes and a wreath of skulls (Kapāla mala); also is called Dipamkara, and perhaps Ānanda".¹⁷⁷

It is uncertain which Sādhana was used to fit the description of Yamāri image described by the inscription.

Bhattacharyya mentioned that no less than fourteen Sādhanas describe the procedure in which the deity should be worshipped.¹⁷⁸ None of the varieties of Yamāri he discusses has eight faces and twenty-four eyes. Raktayamāri¹⁷⁹ which has six Sādhanas describes the god as one-faced and two-armed and Kṛṣṇayamāri¹⁸⁰ has eight Sādhanas and he has a) one face and two arms, b) three faces and four arms or c) three or six faces and six arms. As for Yamāri to be called as Dipamkara and also Ānanda is rather peculiar. This is because the various forms of Yamāri namely Yamāntaka, Śrivajrabhairava, Vajrabhayaṅkara, Vajrabhairava, Bhairava and Dharmapāla do not include the two names.¹⁸¹ Jitendra Nath Banerjea describes Yamāri as, "another fierce Vajrayāna deity, as its name indicates, is derived from Kalarimurti of Śiva".¹⁸² In view of the fact that the name Ānanda is one of the favourite disciple of Buddha, it is possible to suggest that the whole line "Darānandasadyadīpamkarasyadara" refers to the personage who has been consecrated as Yamāri rather than taking Ānanda and Dipāmbara separately. This is because it was very common for a personage to take up the names associated with certain deities in Buddhist or Hindu pantheon.

Other sites in the Padang Lawas area are Bara, Haloban, Pulo, Manggis, Nagasaribu, Hotang, Mangaledang, Si Hodahoda, Padang Buchur, Batu Gana and Si Soldop. Among these sites the significant ones are Bara and Pulo.¹⁸³ Bara is significant because it has the largest temple complex in Padang Lawas area, 78 m x 87 m and it has been identified as Śiva shrine.¹⁸⁴ The main temple has a shrine with an altar on which there stood a nāga pedestal, through the mouth of

which flowed the holy water. A back support of an image in South Indian style was found in the pendopo. Pulo was a threefold stupa and a number of interesting archaeological finds related to the architecture of the stupa were found.¹⁸⁵ Among them were umbrellas, casements with figures of dancing men, bull, a bhairava bhiksu with skulls in the ears, a dancing elephant and a rāksaksa. Other sites such as Mangeledang, Si Hodahoda, Padang Buchur, Batu Gana and Si Soldop produced finds such as stambhas, lotus cushions and makaras.

The rāksaksas and makaras found at various sites are not really homogeneous. The rāksaksas for instance can be classified into three types; standing, inclining and kneeling.¹⁸⁶ The standing type are the large rāksaksas which raised their left index finger in threatening pose and holding a club in the right hand either resting on the ground or against the shoulders. The smaller type is in the inclining pose while the kneeling type is found at Bahal landll and Pamutung. The makaras usually have human figures in their jaws. Each human figure either carries a sword and a shield or club in the right hand and a long stem of one, two or three lotuses in the left hand. There are also makaras with leaf tendrils in their jaws. The ears of the makaras are either in leaf-formed shapes or fan-shapes.

Scholars believe that the art and architecture of Padang Lawas area are of mixed heritage. Bernert Kempers¹⁸⁷ quoting Van Erp, "Among the elements reminding us of the chandis of Central Java we mention the square groundplan with slight projections, the basement enclosed by a corridor and low balustrade the flights of stairs ending in makaras, the superstructure rising in three storeys, which are square, octagonal, and circular (Bahal II), its wreaths of small stūpas and its main stupa used as coronation", concludes that they provide evidence for a development which had presumably started even before the beginning of the 11th century with a type of art related to that of central Java. Schnitger sees South Indian and Javanese influences on the Padang Lawas art and architecture.¹⁸⁸ It is probably true that

certain elements of Javanese and South Indian art and architecture must have influenced those in the Padang Lawas area but whatever development took place the role of local ideas must have a part too. Take the case of the rāksaksas. The rāksaksas in Java usually raise the right index finger and not the left as in the case of the rāksaksas in Padang Lawas area.¹⁸⁹ Although the scripts used in the inscriptions are either Nāgari or Old Javanese, the language to a certain degree is Old Malay.

Miksic has pointed out that Padang Lawas temple complexes constituted a major ceremonial zone, and distinct from a major population centre.¹⁹⁰ This view is yet to be confirmed because his main argument is based on the assumption that the Padang Lawas area has several disadvantages for supporting large sedentary population. One of the reasons is that although Padang Lawas area lies at the junction of several transport routes, both riverine and overland, the almost constantly blowing wind creates an unusual treeless landscape. Another reason was that his survey of the major temple areas in 1976 produced only two identifiable Sung sherds. He suggested that the site for an emporium must be near the Panei or Baruman River mouths. But the treeless and parched environment is a modern phenomenon because, according to Schnitger, the scene at Padang Lawas was different one hundred years ago.¹⁹¹ Bernert Kempers too said that the plain must have been covered with forests.¹⁹² The parched, lonely, sun-baked land seen to-day was created by the ruthless destruction of timbers which caused decreased rainfall and changing the country into a sombre steppe.¹⁹³ Perhaps a more thorough and systematic search for habitation sites would help to provide a more concrete evidence. This is very important because here we have the sites with the largest temple complexes in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula and the sites are along the river just as in the cases of the temple sites in other parts of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula.

Kampar River Valley

In 1937, J.L. Moens suggested that the ruins of Muara Takus are the remains of Srīvijaya after it had consolidated its control over the Malāyu land and its capital Palembang.¹⁹⁴ In his opinion, on the evidence of I-Tsing's astronomical data and other information, Srīvijaya was originally on the east coast of Melaka in about the same latitude as Kedah, say, 6°N.L. Among the reasons he gave for siting the capital at Muara Takus are; first, it was more to the north than Palembang and in the direct neighbourhood of the Straits of Melaka which it was to command. Second, on the basis of Kia Tan's statement that Lo-Yue and Srīvijaya lay on the opposite coasts of the Straits of Melaka, Moens inferred that Srīvijaya must have been nearer the maritime route rounding Malay Peninsula than Palembang. Third, the marshy condition of the Kampar Delta led Moens to believe that about twelve centuries ago the coast must have lain much further to the west than now and the Arab descriptions of the estuary on which Serbuza (Srīvijaya) was located tally with that. Furthermore, the site occupied an easily defended position behind the labyrinth of water-routes cut by numerous little islands that could accommodate a large fleet unnoticed by the enemy, and the fertile Padang Highland was easily accessible to the port of Priaman on the west coast. Moens went on to see the parallel between the modern lively trade between Kampar and Singapore with the ancient trade during the Srīvijayan period. Finally, the existence of local traditions, such as an extensive city which a cat took three months to walk from roof to roof and was ruled by Raja Bicau, a corruption of Rāja Srīvijaya, and also the traditions of a Datu Srīvijaya living in Kota Baru or near about.

Archaeological surveys of the valley by Schnitger in the 1930s¹⁹⁵ and the National Research Centre of Archaeology, Indonesia and the University of Pennsylvania Museum in 1973,¹⁹⁶ revisited Muara Takus, a site which Ijzerman excavated in the 1890s.¹⁹⁷ The site is situated on the right bank of the Kampar Kanan River and to the south-west of the

village of Muara Takus. The area of the site is about 1.25 sq. km, and it is enclosed entirely by an earthern wall.¹⁹⁸ Schnitger considered the enclosed area as a town. There are six brick structures in the area. They are called Mahligai Stūpa, Candi Tua, Candi Bungsu, Palangka, Temple I, and Temple II. A sandstone wall was built around the buildings. The area enclosed is 74 x 74 sq. m. The entrance is on the north and is represented by a great gate built on a brick foundation. According to the 1974 report of the archaeological survey of 1973, the buildings are well preserved and there are traces of brick foundations of three structures lying outside the south side of the earthern wall.¹⁹⁹

Schnitger's reconstruction of the three structures, Mahligai Stūpa, Candi Tua and Candi Bungsu show that they belonged to the stūpa type.²⁰⁰ Mahligai Stūpa has a rectangular foundation, measuring 9.44 x 10.60 m. The other parts of the stūpa, in ascending order, are a twenty-eight sided base, a double lotus cushion, a cylindrical body which resembled a tower, a thirty-six sided crown of the stūpa which supported the base of the stūpa and has lions as decorations, a regular octagon above which extends a frieze with 16 lions heads, a sandstone lotus. The drawings of the upper part of the stūpa by Schnitger were based on analogy with other stūpas. He believed that immediately on top of the sandstone lotus was a stūpa. The monument has a flight of steps on the north side. The main parts were built from bricks, yellow sandstone was used primarily for decorative purposes.

There is an older structure encased inside the stūpa. It is visible behind certain parts of the lotus cushion. The stūpa has been enlarged just like other examples in South East Asia. The style of this stūpa is very different from known stūpas, nevertheless, it must have been in the style within the range of possibiliy allowed for in Buddhist architecture. Most scholars²⁰¹ agree that the underlying principle seems to have been the dome, the base (medhi) quadrangular, or circular, raised over one or several terraces, around which is provided with a space for circumambulation within a fencing

of railing of either wood or stone, and the railings consist of a support (alambana) forming its base, pillars (stambhas) with sockets for horizontal interlinking beams (suchis or needles), a coping or crown (usnisa), staircases leading up the terraces around the dome (anda or garbha), quadrangular box (harmika), and one of several parasols.

Candi Tua, according to the reconstruction, was a stupa consisting of three terraces and each having thirty-six sides, the body and probably the bell-shaped stupa. It is the largest monument, and the measurement of the maximum length is 31.65 m and the maximum breadth is 20.20 m. The second smaller terrace, like the first terrace, is decorated with sandstone pilasters. Flight of steps are situated on the east and west sides. The bell-shaped stupa is believed to have rested on a thirty-six-sided base and on a lotus cushion.

Candi Bungsu lies to the west of Mahligai Stupa. According to Schnitger, the monument comprised two parts. The first part is the older stupa consisting of one main stupa and surrounded by a group of smaller stupas. They were built on a twenty-sided base, and this base was supported by a single terrace. The monument was built from bricks. The second part which was built later, consists of a sandstone stupa. The sandstone stupa was reconstructed by Schnitger as being supported by a lotus cushion which rests on a thirty-six-sided base. This again is supported by a twenty-sided base, which rests on an extended part of the terrace for the first or earlier part of the monument. It was reported that Ijzerman²⁰² found ashes in the lotus which was filled with earth. Near to the traces of ashes were found three bits of gold leaf, a golden plate engraved with trisulas and three Nagari letters. On top of the twenty-sided base was found a stone with nine letters and there were trisulas in the middle of each of the sides.

The ruins at Muara Takus have been given a date in the range of 11th and 12th century. Bosch²⁰³ on the evidence of Nagari letters dated the ruins as 12th century, but

Schnitger suggested that the date should be in the range of 11th and 12th century because the stupa where the letters were found was of a later date and therefore, the earlier stupas must be of an earlier date, presumably 11th century.²⁰⁴ The names given to the stupas suggest that as late as the 1930s scholars and local people were conscious that they belonged to different dates. The word tua in Malay always suggests old and bungsu suggests youngest.

In the Kampar Valley there were found other archaeological remains. At Tanjung, a village up the river, Schnitger found part of a bronze incense burner decorated with the head of garuda.²⁰⁵ There were brick ruins at Durian Tinggi, a village further up the river. Other discoveries were made by Schnitger: a stone inscription at Batu Bersurat, brick remains at Bangkinang, a rubbish heap at Batu Gajah.²⁰⁶ All these sites are below river to Muara Takus. On Sibayang, a tributary of the Kampar Kiri a Ganesa image was found, and on the island of Great Karimun at the mouth of the Kampar River an inscription inscribed on the cliff face was found which announces, "the illustrious feet of Buddha, whom the Mahayanikas unite with the universe (golayantra)".²⁰⁷ The date of the inscription was believed by Schnitger to be 7th or 8th century A.D.

Archaeological research in the Kampar River Valley has been less active when compared to other river valleys in Sumatra. This may be due to the fact that scholars were more interested in the other area, which produced much older surface finds, such as the Musi River Valley, Jambi River Valley, and the Kota Cina area in the North. It can be attributed to the fact that southern Sumatra produced evidence for the existence of Srīvijaya, the Srīvijayan inscriptions. The 1973 archaeological survey of the Kampar River Valley discovered a new site at Kubu.²⁰⁸ There was evidence of a settlement. Traces of earthern wall were found and within the enclosed area were found ceramic sherds and Chinese blue and white. There is no other evidence for habitation sites in the valley, nor evidence of the existence of any site

earlier than the 7th century.

West Coast of Sumatra

From the archaeological research of the west coast of Sumatra two very significant features of the area came to light. The first is that as late as the 9th century A.D. the area had been noted for its role in trading activities. The second is that the Minangkabau area of the west coast produced many artifacts which are believed to be related to Adityavarman, 1347 to 1371.²⁰⁹ The evidence for the trading activities are the discoveries of trade ceramics from the area. Archaeological survey and excavation by the National Research Centre of Archaeology, Indonesia in May 1978 in the Barus area, unearthed a number of ceramic sherds of the late T'ang and Sung periods.²¹⁰ The sites selected for trial excavations were Kedai Gadang, Bukit Hasang, Papan Tinggi Makam Mahligai and Lobuk Tua.

From Lobuk Tua came the dated Tamil inscription, 1088 A.D.²¹¹ Lobuk Tua is a village situated to the east of Barus. The inscription was reported by the Dutch Resident at Barus in 1872.²¹² It was inscribed on three stones which can be combined to form an hexagonal column. The Srivijayan inscription of Karang Brahi and Kota Kapur were also inscribed on hexagonal column. Lobuk Tua inscription recorded the Tamil trading corporation of 1500 people. It was known that in 1757, the last rāja of Barus smashed the stone into pieces.²¹³ One piece of the granite stone inscription is still at Lobuk Tua and kept by Ram Sibarani, and the other eight pieces are in the Museum Pusat, Jakarta.²¹⁴ Another stone inscription was reported to have been found from the same site.²¹⁵ The writings were on the two sides and in Javanese but nothing else has ever been mentioned of it.

The literary sources are believed to have contained earlier reference to the Barus area. Wolters working on Chinese materials describes a Chinese statement on a situation already

extant before 742 A.D., "Srīvijaya is a double kingdom and the two parts have separate administrations".²¹⁶ The first segment lay in south Sumatra, and the second in a region called Lang-p'o-lu-ssu,²¹⁷ identified with northern Sumatra. Barus in north western Sumatra is believed to be the "western kingdom".²¹⁸

Near the modern town of Barus is a place which the Arabic sources called Fansur.²¹⁹ The name presumably was the equivalent of the Malay word pansur or pancur, spring. A village by the name of Pansur still exists upstream from Barus. The Arabic literary source mentioned a placename Fansur in ninth century. The Arabs knew of Fansur as a famous camphor producing area.²²⁰ Chau Ju-Kua speaks of Pin-su, Marco-Polo of Fansur and the Wu-pei chih sailing directions, probably compiled on the basis of Cheng Ho's voyages in the first half of the 15th century A.D. mentions Pan-tsu.²²¹

Barus area was very important as far as the international trade was concerned. As late as the 16th century A.D. the most sought after product of Barus was camphor. It came from a very limited area on the tributary of the Singkel River. It was exported via Barus. The product must have been brought to Barus by land and by Singkel River to Singkel, then to Barus. Even though the approaches to the port of Barus were not as good as those to Singkel or Sibolga, it was still a dominant port in the 16th century as attested by the statement of Pires, who may have visited it, "This kingdom is at the head of the trade in these things in all the island of Sumatra, because this is the port of call through which the gold goes, and the silk, benzoin, camphor, in quantities, apothecary's lignaloes, wax, honey, and other things in which this kingdom is more plentiful than any of the others described up to now".²²²

There have been a number of reports of chance finds from the Barus area. Among the finds were gold coins and gold rings with nāgari and kawi inscriptions.²²³ Several small

stones inscribed in Sanskrit and several bullet-shaped objects with stamped characters were found. The inscriptions were crudely inscribed and could not be dated but it was suggested by Friedrich that the stones were in fact cabalistic objects of some sort.²²⁴ There was a gold ring set with stone and two lines of script which Groneveldt thought could be Arabic.²²⁵ The total number of gold rings found in the Barus area having Sanskrit inscriptions was seventeen.²²⁶

It is not known whether any of the bullet-shaped objects were ever found in southeast Sumatra, but they have been found in the Rejang area of south Sumatra,²²⁷ near old gold mines, all over Java,²²⁸ in Bali at Gianyar,²²⁹ on several islands in the Philippines,²³⁰ and also in southern Thailand.²³¹ The majority of them were made from gold and a few of them from silver. They were quite small, about one centimeter in diameter. They were stamped with the Javanese character ma.²³² The function of these objects has been discussed by Krom and Millies. According to Krom,²³³ they were money and of Indian origin. But Millies²³⁴ suggested that some of them might have been made in Barus.

The Minangkabau area has produced at least 26 inscriptions of King Adityavarman.²³⁵ According to the 1973 archaeological survey, another 13 inscriptions have been reported as Adityavarman's but they have not been verified.²³⁶ The sites where the inscriptions were recovered were Pariangan, Limo Kaum, Pagarruyung, Batu Bapahat, Suruaso, Rambaham, Batu Sangkar, Rambatan, Pogongan, Indrapura, Sumpur Kudus, Pulau Punjung and Danau Singkarak. Pagarruyung, the centre of the kingdom, produced the largest number of these inscriptions.

One of the inscriptions stated that the king called himself, "Kanakamedinindra, lord of the Gold Land, descending from the family of Kulicadhara (Wajradhara); he also considers himself an incarnation of Lokeçwara. His father is Adwayawarman".²³⁷ It has been pointed out earlier that the ancestors of the Melaka Sultanate who came from Palembang may have considered themselves as incarnations of Avalokitesvara.

Schnitger again reported that another of the inscriptions records that the king built himself a magnificent vihāra and it was furnished with almost everything that he desired.²³⁸ It went on to say that whoever disturbed the vihāra would be cursed and those who patronised it would receive blessings. Unfortunately, there was no trace of this vihāra.

The other interesting inscription of Adityavarman was the one from Suruaso. It stated that, "In çaka 1292...in the month Jyaistha, on Tuesday...king Adityavarman, with the attributes of an illustrious lord, became Ksetrajna by the name Wicesadharani, lord of Surawaça, laughing, seated like a king on a lofty throne outside his palace, drinking sweet syrup. Thousands of ten millions of flowers...their perfume suffuses the air...the fragrance of king Adityavarman's sacrifice is incomparable".²³⁹

It has been interpreted by Moens that the inscription deals, figuratively, with the initiation of the king into the bhairava sect because Ksetrajna is a form of Śiva-Bhairava, and Surawacawan probably means not only lord of Suruaso but also fragrant with strong drink (madhu), sweet syrup (khadyam) may be a paraphrase for blood, outside his palace (nissabha) may be a paraphrase for alone on a field strewn with corpses, and there were also human sacrifices.²⁴⁰

Schnitger saw the relationship between the demonic dancing Matanginica of the Sungai Langsat inscription with Ksetrajna in the Suruasa inscription.²⁴¹ The king worshipped Śiva and has himself immortalised as bhairava. The proof of the bloodthirsty disposition of the king could be seen in the remains of a very interesting artifact, namely a knife engraved with figures of two deities.²⁴² This knife is one of the items of the crown jewels at Pagarruyung. The first deity was a representation of a bhairava with high coiffure and short hip garment, and in his hand he holds a knife and a skull. The other deity was a portrait of a woman with loose hanging hair and holding a knife and a skull in her hand. The figures probably the portraits of Adityavarman and his

queen, and the knife probably the item used in the bhairava rites.

It has been suggested that the inscriptions cut into cliffs at Batu Bapahat (Bandar Bapahat) is the evidence of the existence of a large group of South Indians in Minangkabau during Adityavarman's time.²⁴³ This is because the script used was old Javanese of Sanskrit text and the same text was again written on the right in South Indian Grantha script. It is also an indicator of the Javanese influence over the area. Javanese influence in Sumatra did not limit itself to south Sumatra as believed by certain scholars, and it is not true to assume that from at least the early second millennium A.D. north and south Sumatra underwent a different course of development.

There is evidence that suggests contact with Java from the 8th or 9th century. This is based on the report by Schnitger that there was a ruin of a Siva temple at Simangambat which was in Middle Java style.²⁴⁴ The description of the temple is as follows:-

"The core consists of brick, the casing of natural stone. Yet an occasional brick must have been used in the facade, also; at any rate one brick decorated with leaves has been found. The ground plan of the temple is about 5 m². The entrance lay to the east. On the west side, probably in niche, stood a Ganeça image. Of the Ciwa image only a fragment was found. Two beautiful kala heads also came to light, fragments of birds and garlands, squatting ganas with upraised hands, triçula-cakra motifs, lotuses in a cube pattern, winged shells, antefixes, pinnacles, etc. Of equal interest are the reliefs of two celestial beings, a human being in gala dress and an animal which cannot be classified. East of the temple lies a foundation of natural stone, 4 x 6 m. An earthen wall forming a quadrangle of 24 m encloses the court."²⁴⁵

The date of the 8th or 9th century for the temple suggested by Schnitger could be inferred by comparing the kāla heads from the temple with the kāla heads from Chandi Pawon and

Chandi Lara Djonggarang of the Middle Java period. Another site at Bonan Dolok provides another evidence for the existence of Śiva cult in west Sumatra.²⁴⁶ At the site was found a Siva temple as attested by the presence of a Gaṇeśa image.

A number of Buddhist remains were found in west and north Sumatra.²⁴⁷ At Tanjung Medan, a temple remain was found. It was believed that it had a high tower and steps on four sides. The excavation of the temple unearthed an inscribed golden plate. It was originally the centre of a large plate which was probably a square because an eight-petalled lotus was engraved on it. The heart of the lotus could still be seen and the inscription, "hum Akṣobhya...phat". On the right petal of the lotus was the inscription, "hum Amogasiddhi...phat" and the petal at the left had the inscription, "hum Ratnasambhawa...phat", and the petals which carried the names of the dhyani-Buddhas of the east and west were cut off. Schnitger believed that the mandala of the plate consisted of eight deities with Akṣobhya as the central figure.²⁴⁸ Although Bosch ascribed it to the 12th century A.D., it is still impossible to confirm because of the problem of dating inscriptions without collaborating with other associated finds.²⁴⁹ In Aceh, a 44 cm Avalokiteśvara head was discovered but the exact location was unknown.²⁵⁰ It is a peculiar type because it bears three Amithābas in the crown. There were other random finds from the area.²⁵¹ A bronze Kuvera was found at Tanoboto. A bronze lamp in kinnary form was found at Hutanopan and on Sorik Merapi were found four inscribed pillars: one of them bore a date 1294 Saka.

Deli River Valley

Several archaeological sites have been located in the valley. This is due to the pioneering work of McKinnon from 1972 to 1976.²⁵² He was the first to recognise the significance of the valley in terms of trading centres prior to the 15th century in northern Sumatra. The first site to be located was Kota Cina, a village situated on an old silted-up river estuary southwest of Belawan and about two kilometres from Labuhan Deli in Kota Madya Medan. In 1823, John Anderson

who visited north Sumatra reported the existence of an inscribed stone in an unrecognised script.²⁵³ From 1823 until 1972 there was no interest in the area as an archaeological site. From 1972 to 1976, McKinnon carried out several excavations. In 1973, the archaeological team from the National Research Centre of Archaeology, Indonesia and the University of Pennsylvania Museum visited the sites during the survey of archaeological sites in Sumatra.²⁵⁴ As a result of that survey and McKinnon's work, further archaeological surveys were conducted in the valley by the National Research Centre of Archaeology in 1976 and 1977. Besides excavations at Kota Cina the team located new sites at Kota Bangun, Deli Tua, and Tanjung Amon.

Kota Bangun is situated about 10 kilometres up the Deli River from Belawan. A continuous stretch of villages sited on the east bank of the Deli River to Medan begins from Kota Bangun. The site produced Sung, Yüan, Ming, and Thai glazed sherds presumably Sawankhalok type.²⁵⁵ The site at Deli Tua, situated 30 kilometres south of Belawan, is on the opposite bank of the modern part of the town. Among the surface finds reported from the area are late Sung, Yüan, Ming blue and white and Thai Sawankhalok and Sukhotai sherds and a single Chinese coin which has been ascribed a date of 1111-1118 A.D.²⁵⁶ Tanjung Amon is situated 16 kilometres west of Kota Cina and the finds from there include Yüan and Ming celadon sherds and also Thai type of ware sherds.²⁵⁷

The most important site in the valley is Kota Cina. From the report of the archaeological survey of the area, it has been estimated that an area of about 50.4 hectares in extant has spread of Sung and Yüan sherds.²⁵⁸ According to McKinnon there appeared a whole series of domestic sites of almost same period within the area. The excavations in 1977 were carried out at chosen areas on the basis of what was judged as potentially rich in information regarding extent and distribution of Kota Cina-phase artifacts. Seven locations were excavated and three of them were located around the main structure that had been excavated by McKinnon

in 1973 and 1974.

The Kota Cina site produced huge quantities of earthenware and stoneware and 207 kgms of animal and fish bones, 343 kgms of various types of stones, fragments of Middle Eastern glass, about 20 litres of resin, corroded iron objects, small fragments of gold beads and leaves, gold making artifacts such as crucibles, touchstone and stone moulds, and about 2430 bronze coins.²⁵⁹ Most of these were found in the 100 sq.m. area excavated. There are other finds such as religious sculptures, bricks and pillar bases. They were found either at the three sites where brick structures have been unearthed or as chance finds, sometimes of uncertain provenance.

Two seated Buddhas in dhyānamudrā are among the sculptural finds.²⁶⁰ The first is a decapitated image seated on a conventionalised double lotus base. It is made from dark grey granite and it has a measurement of 62 cm from the top of the pedestal to the broken part of the neck, and the pedestal measures 67 cms x 32 cm. The image was discovered during the Japanese occupation of the area. About thirty metres from the place where it was found the second image was recovered in July, 1973. It was dug out from a depth of one metre below the surface. The measurements of the pedestal are 43 cm x 38 cm and the height of the seated image on the pedestal is 86 cm. The style of the pedestal is almost identical to the first.

It has been suggested by O'Connor and J.E. Lohuizen de Leeuw independently that the style of the images is that of South Indian and probably originated from Nāgapatṭinam.²⁶¹ This can be verified by the fact that Buddha images from areas such as Kanchipuram and Tanjore share the same style. The example from Kanchipuram is the image in plate 122 in Debala Metra's book Buddhist Monument²⁶² and the example from Tanjore is the photograph published in Sculptures of Sumatra,²⁶³ plate 9b. The date probably about tenth to eleventh century A.D. This is based on the assumption that Buddhism was

allowed to exist during the reign of the Cōla kings in the ninth, tenth and early eleventh century in spite of the kings being devout worshippers of Śiva in South India.²⁶⁴

Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1015) has been described as tolerant in religion.²⁶⁵ According to the larger and smaller Leiden copper-plate grants of the Cōla kings Rājarāja I and Kulottunga respectively, they granted the revenues of the village of Ānaimangalam to the temple in the Chūlāmaṇivarman-vihāra which was being erected by the king of Kidāra, king Chūlāmaṇivarman at Nāgapattinam.²⁶⁶ It has been suggested by Reginald le May that by the latter half of the eleventh century Buddhism became less prominent and was about to come to a closing stage in India and Sri Lanka.²⁶⁷ It is reported that the king of Sri Lanka, Vijaya Bāhu I (A.D. 1065-1120), sent for assistance to king Anuruddha against the Cōlas of Southern India, and in A.D. 1071 asked for and obtained a deputation of monks with scriptures to strengthen the religion which had fallen on evil times.²⁶⁸ The influence on the style of the two images from South India could be attributed to the fact that Nāgapattinam and Kanchipuram had been important Buddhist centres. At Nāgapattinam foreign merchants from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra and other parts of South-East Asia were trading as attested by the establishment of temples by foreign kings there.²⁶⁹ Nāgapattinam was a great emporium on the east coast of India during the period.

The other two bronze Buddha images from Kota Cina area can be classified into the same range of dates, tenth to eleventh century. The first image is a bronze standing Buddha.²⁷⁰ It was roughly cast, 12 cm high with remains of broken aureole still sticking to the back. It was wearing a robe in what Griswold classified as "open mode" and belonged to the class 3/0.²⁷¹ The other image is a seated bronze Buddha in bhūmisparśamudrā.²⁷² Its provenance, like the first image is unknown. It is kept by a resident of Kota Cina. The pedestal and the modelling of the body of the image once again point to the South Indian style.

Two stone images were found in Kota Cina area in 1979. One of them can be identified as Visnu.²⁷³ It is standing: the lower right hand in abhayamudrā, a cakra in the upper right, while the upper left hand has the object it is holding broken off; the lower left hand holds a lotus. It wears armlets, necklaces, bracelets, decorative belt and upavita over the left shoulder. The lower garment reaches just below the knees, and depicts a decorative material. On the shoulders of the image there are symbols of the lotus. The image, of sandstone, is carved together with the pedestal. The lower part of the image is still attached to the stone from which it is carved. The head is missing. It measures 79 cm from the feet to the top of the cakra, and the pedestal is 13 cm high. The style of the image is probably Late Chōla. One of the reasons for this assumption is the way the cakra is represented. According to C. Sivaramamurti:

"in early Chōla sculpture the wheel is at an angle of 45 degrees held by the two fingers in katarimukha fashion (Fig. 26 3b) and still later, from the very late Chōla period onwards, it faces the spectator flat and is composed of a number of petals around a central hub with marginal circle and the flames decorating the sides and centre (Fig. 26 3c). Tassels and other appendages appear in the late Vijayanagara period, both on the chakra and conch".²⁷⁴

The cakra in the Visnu image is facing the spectator flat. The absence of the padma symbol on the hand in the abhayamudrā also indicates its late style. The garment with decorative designs is another reminder of the late Chōla style.

The second image consists of a pedestal, legs and lower trunk.²⁷⁵ It has been identified as a female because of the roundness of the belly. The waistband, loops and tassels also indicate that they belong to a female figure rather than a male figure. The provenance of the image is very near to the area where the two stone Buddha images have been found. It is carved from sandstone and is still attached to the original stone from which it was carved, in one piece with the pedestal. Originally, it probably was the same height

as the Visnu image. The style also points to the late Cōla. In view of the fact that it is the same height and belonged to the same site and period, it has been suggested that the image is that of Lakṣmi. But the absence of attributes prevent confirmation of this belief. The treatment of waistband, loops and tassels indicate late Cōla.²⁷⁶ The dhotī is more stylised and appears to be closer to the style of the Vijayanagara period.

The significance of the discovery of the archaeological site at Kota Cina is very great. First, it is the first site in Sumatra that has revealed great quantities of trade ceramics. The amount of ceramic sherds recovered from an area of 110 square metres is 260,664 grams.²⁷⁷ This material extends the knowledge of trade ceramics from Sumatra and Malay Peninsula prior to the rise of Melaka particularly from the sites along the Straits of Melaka. Before 1972, the sites that produced large quantities of trade ceramics were Johore Lama,²⁷⁸ Melaka,²⁷⁹ Pengkalan Bujang,²⁸⁰ and Khokao Island off Takuapa.²⁸¹ But only Pengkalan Bujang and Khokao Island produced trade ceramics within the T'ang, Sung and Yüan periods. The Johore Lama and Melaka trade ceramics are of the Ming period. The Pengkalan Bujang ceramics are a mixture of Sung and Yüan, which formed the greatest bulk, with produce of the other ceramic manufacturing regions, Thailand and Indo-China, while Khokao Island ceramics comprised T'ang and early Sung and also Middle Eastern examples. The Kota Cina ceramics are a mixture of Sung, Yuan and Ming types, with other material said to be Cham and Cambodian. There is no report of the discovery of any Middle Eastern ware from Kota Cina. Pengkalan Bujang produced examples of splashed ware from Iraq or Persia and also splashed sgraffiato ware. Khokao island produced examples of Sasana Islamic Persian or Iraq wares. All three sites produced examples of Middle Eastern glass and various types of beads.

The other significant point about the Kota Cina site is the discovery of the evidence for gold working. This is provided by the recovery of large quantities of quartz, receptacle or crucible for melting gold, touchstone and stone

mould in addition to finished products such as gold beads and
 gold leaves.²⁸²

The other significant fact about the archaeological finds at Kota Cina is that it produces evidence for the habitation sites as well as evidence for long distance trade and the religious aspect of the society. From the excavations, evidence of habitation was found in the form of charcoal remains, habitation debris which include many shells, most of the Meretrix meretrix species with some other large oyster shells (Malay tiram, Ostera Lin spp.) and remnants of wooden posts and the various type of earthenwares and stonewares.²⁸³ The evidence of the existence of long distance trade besides the trade ceramics were resins or damar about 20 litres, coins and various types of glass and beads and metal objects in the form of slags.

Three brick structures have been excavated by McKinnon.²⁸⁴ The largest was a foundation 12.5 m square, made up of sixteen courses of bricks, and the second was situated two metres from the southwest corner of the main structure, and six metres to the south of the south wall was the third structure. Just to the south of the main structure a polished granite linga and vast quantity of sherds have been unearthed. The available information concerning religious and secular buildings of Southeast Asia encourages the idea that the three brick structures were religious buildings. This is because no evidence has come to light which shows that secular buildings prior to the 15th century were constructed either wholly or partially from bricks, stones or laterites. The three brick structures presumably had their upper structures built from wood on the evidence of the existence of pillar bases and nail. This type of architectural technique was common to the Bujang and Muda River Valley. It is uncertain to which religious denomination the structures belonged. Nevertheless, the religions known to be practised were Buddhism and Hinduism.

McKinnon in 1974 suggested that the major occupation

period of the site was from early Sung (960 A.D.) to the beginning of the Yüan period (1280-1368 A.D.).²⁸⁵ There was a possibility of occupation on the evidence of the T'ang coins. But in 1977, he said, "Perhaps the most interesting archaeological discovery made over the past five years was the identification of what I consider to be a 12th-14th century trading site at Kota Cina near Belawan Deli. This, I believe, is linked with the old Malay Kingdom of Haru, a kingdom mentioned in Chinese, Javanese, Malay and Portuguese sources".²⁸⁶ But Miksic believes that the site was inhabited for 200 years between the 12th and 14th century.²⁸⁷ The main reasons given by McKinnon were first his certainty that no positively identified T'ang wares have been found in north Sumatra; second, the first carbon-14 date from samples of wood recovered at Kota Cina and analysed at the British Atomic Energy Research Station, Harwell, gave a date of 1200 ± 75 ; third, it has been assumed that T'ang and earlier coinage remained in circulation during the Sung and Yüan period, and certain types of ware which showed distinct T'ang period affinities may represent a continuation of T'ang styles well into the Sung period. It seems that the conclusion was arrived at by giving prominence to one carbon-14 date and dismissing the pre-Southern Sung wares as being a continuation of styles to a later period. In the absence of more concrete evidence it is easier to accept the 1974 dating given by McKinnon and to assume that the settlement existed from the ninth or tenth century at the latest but developed into an important trading centre in the twelfth century.

The settlement at Kota Cina at a particular phase comprised a whole series of closely related domestic sites within an area. The movement to a new site during a particular phase must be due to the silting up of the river channel which made access to the sea difficult. The domestic sites then probably moved to a new area where it was much closer to the deep water. Domestic sites, religious sites and trading areas must have been sited in the same area during a particular Kota Cina phase. The archaeological

evidence indicates the cosmopolitan nature of the trade. There is a possibility that the trade goods landed at Kota Cina were also distributed to the interior because of the existence of sites in the interior with the Sung-Yüan sherds. Such sites are Kota Bangun and Deli Tua. Presumably, the products from the interior such as damar and gold were exchanged for the imported products because certain areas in the interior such as Bohorok River area and Pengkuruan River, a tributary of the first river and about 50 kilometres west of Medan had ancient gold mines.²⁸⁸

The existence of a trading centre at Kota Cina is one of the latest evidence for the foreign commercial contacts with north Sumatra. There is another important known site in north Sumatra that produced trade ceramics attributable to the period 12th-13th century. The site is Pulai Kompei in the Aru Bay. It is probably the site of the Kompei which existed in earlier Chinese records of the seventh century, that is the state that sent a mission to China in 662 A.D. as mentioned in the Hsin T'ang Shu.²⁸⁹ The available evidence so far indicates that north Sumatra and the area along the Straits of Melaka became more prominent from at least the beginning of the Sung period.

Malay Peninsula: Geographic Setting

Malay Peninsula is a collective term for Peninsular Thailand and Peninsula Malaysia. From the geographical point of view the peninsula should start from the Gulf of Thailand between Phetchaburi and Tatchaburi, at about 13°20'N. But practically all Thai statistics put the beginning of the Southern Region south of Prachuap Khiri Khan where the peninsula is at its narrowest, west of the south-eastern most point of Thailand.²⁹⁰ The peninsula extends south to the Straits of Johore, near the Equator. In the context of South East Asia, its location can be described as "the heart of South East Asia". Through the ages it has been the most important link in the shipping lanes, linking China and South East Asia with India, the Middle East and beyond. It

lies astride the open sea-lanes, the Indian Ocean and the Straits of Melaka on the west and the South China Sea and the Gulf of Thailand on the east.

Scholars have ascribed special roles to it in the light of the geographic setting. Notable among these roles is the "bridge and barrier role".²⁹¹ It is a barrier that has to be crossed in the east-west shipping lane and extra thousands of kilometres have to be traversed in order to navigate up and down the coasts. The physical characteristics of the coasts produced extra problems to ancient shipping. Along certain parts of the west coast, particularly the northern half, jungle clad hills come down close to the waters-edge, and the coast line has been cut by mangrove swamps making those parts unsuitable for ports and while there are bays and numerous off-shore islands along the coast they provided an ideal sanctuary for pirates. Piracy must have evolved and developed parallel to the rhythmic development of maritime trade in the South East Asian waters. Literary evidence, a Chinese source, the Chien Han shu, mentions piracy in the peninsula area.²⁹²

Certain scholars have suggested that in order to avoid the pirates and the open-sea, traders and travellers had created trans-peninsular portage, a short cut that would save thousands of kilometres of sailing. Several possible routes have been suggested based on the geographical reasonings, archaeological signs and arguments, and actual travels by certain individuals along some of the suggested routes. Paul Wheatley mentions ten possible routes.²⁹³ The most frequently mentioned route is the one that leads from Takuapa by river and portage to the Bay of Bandon. Other possible routes linking east coast with the west coast are the routes that follow the Trang River linking Nakhon Si Thammarat (Nāgara Srī Dharmarāja) with the west coast at Kantan. There are several permutations of routes that link Kedah through its river passages with Patani and Kelantan. The arguments for believing the existence of the trans-peninsular portage besides the fear of pirates and to save

travelling distance are: first, in certain parts of the isthmus the land between the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Thailand is only 30 km wide; second, the Takuapa River and Girisastra River are separated at their sources by about 8 km of land; in the fourteenth century and right up to 1805 the Takuapa to Bay of Bandon portage was used by tin traders;²⁹⁴ there are several accounts of the Kedah-Patani journey such as that of A.W. Hamilton²⁹⁵ and W.E. Maxwell²⁹⁶ and the first reference to the Peninsula during about 141-87 B.C. in the Chinese records indicates that the diplomatic mission from the Han emperor Wu-ti to India rather than risked the sea passage through the Straits of Melaka, used the trans-peninsular route;²⁹⁷ and also the majority of archaeological sites on the Peninsula with long distance trade materials are located at the two ends of the believed trans-peninsular routes. The arguments against the widespread use of the trans-peninsular portage is that it is much easier to carry goods via sea from port to port and by the seventh century A.D. it is clear that the Straits of Melaka was used as in the case of I-Tsing's travel. There were ships which presumably belonged to the king of Srivijaya using the straits.²⁹⁸ In Sumatra, Palembang and Jambi there were already important centres and so too on the west coast of the peninsula, in the south, with the ports of Dengkil and Kuala Selinsing.

Much of the peninsula is mountainous with the terrain in most parts dominated by hills and mountains. The greater length of the spine of the peninsula is traversed by series of mountain ranges which run sometimes parallel to each other. In the south, in Peninsular Malaysia, the mountain ranges are the Nakawan Range, the Kedah-Singgora Range, the Bintang Range, the Benom Range, the Main Range, the Tahan Range and the East Coast Range, while in the Peninsular Thailand the extreme north of the region is formed by the southern spurs of the Tennaserim massif which continues southward as Phuket Range. This mountain range runs close to the west coast and south to the Phuket Island. Then, there is the Nakhon Si Thammarat Range, Songkhla Chain, Patani Chain, Taluban Chain

and Kalakiri Chain. A varied network of large and small river systems served the peninsula washing down the alluvial soils from the hills and mountains in the interior. In general, the rivers flow longitudinally across the peninsula. Among the main rivers are Mae Nam Kra Buri, Mae Nam Ta Pi, Mae Nam Trang, Mae Nam Patani in Peninsular Thailand and Kedah River, Merbok River, Muda River, Perak River, Bernam River, Selangor River, Muar River, Johore River which runs north-south, Trengganu River, Pahang River and Kelantan River which also runs southward.

The peninsula experiences an equatorial climate similar to Sumatra. It is greatly affected by the two major wind systems, the Northeast monsoon and the Southwest monsoon. The times of the commencement of the monsoons vary slightly from year to year just as in Sumatra. This periodic alteration of the monsoon winds was responsible for the pattern of shipping in the Asian waters during the time of sailing ships. Those ships that sailed from the ancient ports of India such as Barygaza in Gujerat, Tamralipti, Nāgapattinam, and Mahatittha sailed eastward with the aid of the southwest monsoon winds to the Malay Peninsula. Other ships from the east, particularly China reached the peninsula on the northeast monsoon winds. As a consequence of the rhythmic time of the sailing, land fall ports evolved on the coasts of the peninsula. Such ports included Takuapa, Kedah and those in the Bay of Bandon and the west coasts of Peninsular Thailand. There the ships took shelter in the well sheltered harbours waiting for the change of winds before starting their journeys. Besides shelter the ports provided fresh water, refitting, and food. Perhaps by the seventh century A.D., at the latest, the coasts of the Malay Peninsula became the "most favoured coasts" in South East Asia as attested by the rise of ports such as Takuapa and Kedah and the west coast of Peninsular Thailand.

With the rise of the ports and city-states on the peninsula, scholars see the next role of the area in the diffusion of Indian culture to other parts of South East Asia. One

such scholar is Quaritch-Wales;²⁹⁹ who sees, "From Takuapa and Kedah this Hindu culture was transported overland to C'aiya and Ligor on the east coast, for no doubt the Kedah route was one of the most important of those other land routes that remain to be investigated..". George Coedès believed that the Indianization of Fu-nan was from P'an-p'an,³⁰⁰ a place on the west coast of Peninsular Thailand, probably Chaiya. But the role of the peninsula as a stepping stone for the spread of Indian culture in South East Asia has been subjected to close scrutiny by various other scholars. Alastair Lamb and Peacock do not agree with the conclusion made by Quaritch-Wales on the evidence of their archaeological excavations in Kedah.³⁰¹ They do not see Kedah as an area that was responsible for relaying Indian culture to other areas in South East Asia. Lamb³⁰² once said:

"Indianized buildings of Kedah had some features typical only to Malaya, and that Kataha possessed a culture in its own right which would justify the title Malayan in the same way as Java and Cambodia have now been recognised as having evolved styles which, though they owe much to India, are still beyond doubt Javanese or Cambodian. There is nothing in India quite like Barabadur or Angkor; there were probably no buildings in India quite like those of which remains have been found in Kedah".

Present knowledge about the archaeology of the Indianised sites in South East Asia supports the view presented by Lamb.

Resources of the Malay Peninsula

It is a recognised fact that the peninsula has rich mineral resources in addition to the forest products which were essential to the long distance trade and the evolution of ports and city-states prior to the 15th century A.D. The most significant of these minerals was probably tin. It is not known when tin-working began on the peninsula. But Wong Lin Ken³⁰³ has suggested that by the 5th century A.D. tin was mined in Peninsular Malaysia. Among the sites for

ancient tin mining activities are the upper reaches of the Langat and Semenyih Valleys, and the Kenaboi River Valley in Negeri Sembilan.³⁰⁴ There must have been other ancient mining sites which have been destroyed by the modern mining activities in Peninsular Malaysia; probably a few have not yet been discovered. This is because tin deposits in the peninsula are widely distributed and they are a part of the tin band that runs from Bangka and Billiton Islands up through the whole length of the peninsula. Tin has been found in the granitic ranges of the west coast of the Peninsular Thailand which runs from the south in Peninsular Malaysia right up to the Phuket Range and Phuket Island and up the flanks of the Takuapa River Valley. On the east coast of Peninsular Thailand tin is found at Si Chon, Songkhla and Patani. There is evidence to suggest that ancient gold mining activities took place in the Ulu Galas and Sungai Nenggiri areas of Kelantan and Ulu Belom in Perak.³⁰⁵ Paul Wheatley mentions the existence of deposits of gold in the Raub Series of Carboniferous age, which extends in a belt from Patani and Kelantan through western Pahang and eastern Negeri Sembilan to Melaka, that is, through the areas accessible by means of the largest rivers of Peninsular Malaysia.³⁰⁶ It is true that gold can be panned from many of the rivers in the peninsula. Presumably the lure of the gold and tin was one of the factors that attracted both Indian and Arabs to the Malay Peninsula in ancient times. Malay Peninsula too was known for its forest products. A detailed analysis of the forest products of the Malay Peninsula particularly Peninsular Malaysia is presented by F.L. Dunn in his work, Rain forest collectors and traders: a study of resource utilization in modern and ancient Malaya, again shows the varieties of products that were important in the ancient long distance trade.

Geomorphology of the Malay Peninsula

It has been established that the shorelines of the peninsula are totally different from what they were in the

seventh century A.D. Studies by Tjia³⁰⁷ and others show that the present coastal plains are mostly recent development and have been prograding seaward. Marine deposits have been known up to 14 km inland northeast of Butterworth and 11 km in the Kelantan River delta. Progradation rates of 10.2 m per annum and 1.2 to 1.5 per annum have been calculated for the northern Pahang delta and non-deltaic coastline in northeastern Johore.³⁰⁸ In Peninsular Thailand progradation took place on the east coast between Nakhon Si Thammarat and Songkhla within the last 150 years.³⁰⁹ The effect of this progradation is that the principal archaeological sites which used to be located by the sea are now many kilometres inland.

Peninsular Malaysia

Several archaeological sites with cultural materials which can be placed some time in the seventh to the fourteenth century period have been located in Peninsular Malaysia. Notable among these sites are Kuala Selinsing and Dengkil. The latter site is the newest archaeological site to be discovered in Malaysia. It was discovered by Brian C. Batchelor in December 1975.³¹⁰ He was visiting the site to acquire data to support his Ph.D. researches on Southeast Asian tin placer deposits. Archaeological finds have been recovered from open-cast mines belonging to the Teck Lam Hon Tin Mining Company located on the flood plain between the Langat River and Kampong Jenderam Hilir, east of Dengkil in Ulu Langat District in Selangor.

Dengkil is believed to have been occupied, at least discontinuously, over a period of 6000 years from the early Neolithic to the present day.³¹¹ Archaeological finds from the seventh to the fourteenth century A.D., comprise a bronze bowl, tin "hat" and string money, a Lung-ch'uan celadon dish, and a simple kendi ewer with conical spout, and cylindrical neck with horizontal flange. The bronze bowl has been assigned a date by Batchelor between 700 and 1300 A.D. The

tin "hat" and string money had been produced in the Malay Peninsula, presumably, about eleventh century A.D.³¹² This assumption is based on the history of the tin casting in the peninsula. The relationship between tin casting and the tin "hat" and string money is that the tin "hat" and string currency were made from tin ingots and they have to be cast. The tin "hat" currency is made up of tin pagoda ingots and tin sugarloaf ingots. The string currency must have been small denomination of the tin ingot currency. It is known that the Arabs during the period 850-1000 A.D.³¹³ and the Chinese during the Northern Sung Dynasty, 960-1127 A.D.³¹⁴ obtained tin as a trading commodity from the peninsula. The discovery of tin ingots from various ancient tin mining sites such as Ulu Kelang and Kenaboi in Negeri Sembilan indicate that tin was cast before being exported. It seems probable that tin mining was immediately followed by tin casting. In view of that it is probable that the tin currency from Dengkil was manufactured at the earliest about eleventh century A.D. and it was known that as late as the fifteenth century tin ingot currency was used in the settlements along Klang River.³¹⁵ The kendi ewer is believed to be of Malaysian origin and probably dated to the fourteenth century A.D. according to Roxana Brown.³¹⁶ A similar type of vessel has been described by Evans which was found from Kuala Tembeling in Pahang.³¹⁷

It is probable that the settlement at Dengkil was a servicing centre for the large hinterland in the Langat River Valley from about 850 A.D. The reasons are, first, the site would have represented an ideal coastal centre, situated as it was less than ten kilometres from the mouth of the large Langat River, making it accessible by the river and its tributaries into the vast hinterland; and second, the discovery of large numbers of various types of oars and parts of boats and with the earliest carbon-14 date of 690±100 B.C.³¹⁸ This role became more important with the increasing work in the processing of tin concentrates which had been brought down from the shallow mines in the valley on the evidence of the tin ingots.

The archaeological evidence acquired by Batchelor, the excavations by Muzium Negara in 1977³¹⁹ and by various individuals from the area do not show that it was an entrepôt. It does not produce enough evidence to fit in with the prevalent hypothesis for entrepôt in South East Asia on the evidence of archaeological materials. For a port to be classified as entrepôt it must produce large amounts of foreign ceramics, glass wares, and beads in thick cultural deposits.³²⁰ If the site does not fit into the entrepôt type then it was probably a subsidiary port. It is not possible to say if it was a secondary port in view of the fact that it is impossible to compare the volume of trade with other entrepôt. It probably established contacts with Pengkalan Bujang sites, and it also obtained foreign ceramics such as celadon of the Lung-ch'üan type directly or indirectly. In the light of present knowledge of the ports in the Malay Peninsula it is possible that Dengkil had contacts with other parts of the peninsula.

Another probable site which can be classified as a subsidiary port in Peninsular Malaysia is Kuala Selinsing. There have been numerous archaeological finds from the area. The exact location of the site was in the mangrove swamps of Tanjung Rawa, Kalupung Island on promontory just north of Kuala Selinsing on the coast of Matang District of Perak. The site was first investigated by Evans in 1928 to early 1930s.³²¹ Accounts of the archaeological excavations by Evans in the area was published in 1932³²² and several reports of his archaeological finds from the area appeared in the Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums from 1928 to 1939. The site can only be approached from the sea.

In 1936 Quaritch-Wales made further investigations of the area and found three more "islands" of deposits.³²³ The reason for the investigation was to make further examination in order to check the correctness of the interpretation of facts by Evans. It has been pointed out by Paul Wheatley that some six apparently similar sites have been revealed by aerial photography.³²⁴ But until today no further attempt

has been made to carry out archaeological excavations in the area.

Among the finds from the site by Evans and Wales are beads in stone, glass, and shell, small portion of a bracelet in blue-green glass, a button-shaped piece of whitish glass, a type of stamp made from clay with a barkcloth-like pattern, earthenware of various shapes and patterns, stoneware, gold ornaments, animal tooth (such as monkey), cowrie and other small shells, bone knife handle, a seal³²⁵ which Evans called Pallava, a gold ring with a bird and a human engraved on it, human skeletons and remains of boats, and also resin and wax.³²⁶ Beads and glass formed the majority of the finds. The beads of stone can be classified into cornelian, banded agate, rock crystal, and amethyst; glass beads are usually of the opaque glass or paste with colours ranging from yellow, blue and green. Evans believes that some of these glass beads were made locally in view of the fact that they were crudely made and they were in some cases in various stages of production.³²⁷ Remains of rough pieces of deep blue glass and lumps of opaque blue-green glass were recovered. They appear to be of local manufacture.³²⁸ But Alastair Lamb³²⁹ in his discussion of the "Old Middle Eastern Glass in the Malay Peninsula" does not think so. The glass collected by Evans, according to Alastair Lamb, seem to have the characteristics of the Middle Eastern glass houses over the period from Roman times to the Middle Ages because they have very little lead and no detectable barium, and also they do not fulfil the suggested criteria for early Chinese glass.³³⁰

Beads of glass agate and terracotta must have been produced in Kuala Selinsing, and some of them found their way to the ancient port of Pengkalan Bujang. Evans suggests that the stone beads probably originated from India.³³¹ According to Quaritch-Wales, the common varieties found in Kuala Selinsing have been found in South India at sites dated as early as seventh century A.D.³³² He thinks that they were of Indonesian or Far Eastern origin, and also

that Kuala Selinsing was a bead manufacturing centre. But the complicated eye-beads and stone beads imitation type found at Kuala Selingsing came from India and the West. Lamb agrees that some of these beads originated from India but some of them could have come from Java.³³³ Paul Wheatley believes that they could have come as far away as the Philippines, Borneo, Zanzibar and Zimbabwe.³³⁴ In view of the fact that the distributions of the beads in general are very widespread it is impossible to determine with certainty the origins of these beads. The common glass beads are also found in the excavations in the Muda River Valley besides the Bujang Valley in Kedah. They are common to all sites having imported ceramics in the peninsula.

A number of views have been advanced by scholars regarding the status of the settlement at Kuala Selinsing. Evans considers the pile-built village as being an early Indian settlement.³³⁵ The settlements could not be Islamised because the diet of the inhabitant included meat of pigs.³³⁶ The settlers were involved in trading semi-precious stones and glass and that the settlement suffered from violence because the discovery of skulls with cuts from a sharp instrument were made.³³⁷ The discovery of the Pallava seal and the gold ring with the symbol of Visnu on Garuda, presumably, indicate that the settlement was Indianised. But it is uncertain how far the Indianisation process took place as the dead were buried in canoes. The dating of the site according to Evans, on the views of Otley Beyer that the material culture from the site had strong typological affinity with a Philippine culture, can be as early as sixth century A.D.³³⁸ But Quaritch-Wales believes that the settlement was an Indonesian settlement made up of skilled craftsmen but probably Hinduised, not at all deeply versed in Indian culture.³³⁹ This is because the inscription on the Pallava seal contains a mistake in the spelling of the word Srī according to B.C. Chhabra,³⁴⁰ "may be ascribed to the engraver who has put a simple curve that usually marks a medial i (short) whereas [sic] he ought to have cut a spiral to indicate the ī (long)". The gold ring bearing in relief a human figure riding on a bird, which according to

Quaritch-Wales suggests a Viṣṇu mounted on a Garuda but on closer examination one sees that the attributes of Viṣṇu are lacking and that there are other details unknown in Hindu iconography.³⁴¹ The evidence derived from the Pallava seal and the gold ring indicate that the engravers were skillful craftsmen but had no deep knowledge of Indian culture. The settlement probably lasted until the 13th century at least because of the presence of the parts of Chinese celadon vessels which probably belonged to Sung or Yüan periods. Quaritch-Wales believes that the settlements were under the protection of the city situated in the Kinta Valley.³⁴² He connects the city with the kingdom of Kadāram and ruled by a Śailendra ruler, King Viṣṇuvardhan, whose seal was the Pallava seal from Kuala Selinsing and King Viṣṇuvardhan was the same king mentioned on the later face of Ligor inscription (Ligor face B). But Nilakanta Sastri argues that the seal belonged to a merchant called Viṣṇuvarma.³⁴³ The question of the location of Kadāram has received plenty of discussions and it seems probable that it was the same place as Katāha and Chieh-ch'a, that is Kedah.

The settlement must have evolved from an earlier period than the 13th century A.D. in view of the fact that excavations by Quaritch-Wales revealed that there were different levels in the stratigraphy.³⁴⁴ The lowest level produced no glass or stone bead but rather mammalian-bone necklaces and beads made from cowrie and other type of shells. The earthenwares too were of less complicated design than those from the top level, and there was no trace of imported ceramics from the lowest level. The date of 6th century A.D. as the beginning of the settlement is still unconfirmed and the skeletons of humans discovered do not help either because they prove that most of the dead died young and they were buried in the open and not found in the levels of the excavation trenches.³⁴⁵ The absence of blue and white Chinese ceramics indicate that the settlement came to an end before the 15th century A.D.

Kinta Valley was probably the site of an important Indianised kingdom at least between the seventh and the tenth

century A.D. as attested by the Buddhist bronzes found in various parts of the valley. Ancient settlements must have been buried by the yearly accumulation of alluvial soil due to floods and landslides. The main rivers running through the valley are the Kinta, a tributary of the Perak River, and the Bernam River. The rivers are subject to yearly flooding and have strong rapids and waterfalls. The tin mining activities have caused many landslides. The sites in the valley must have been buried deeper and deeper every year, and this can be seen in the discovery of the bronzes in various depths in the valley by miners. The locations of the finds vary. All were found deep under the surface.

The finds from the Kinta Valley are:-

- a) a bronze standing Buddha from Pengkalen³⁴⁶
- b) a bronze throne³⁴⁷
- c) a bronze standing Buddha³⁴⁸
- d) a standing Avalokiteśvara³⁴⁹
- e) a four-armed Avalokiteśvara³⁵⁰
- f) a seated Avalokiteśvara³⁵¹
- g) a bronze standing figure of a man from Jalong.³⁵²

The images were recovered from the depths between 5.6 metres to 18.3 metres. They have been discussed initially by Evans in the case of the bronze standing Buddha from Pengkalen, and by Quaritch-Wales in the cases of the images b to f and by Griswold, Sivaramamurti and de Casparis and P.H. Pott in the case of Jalong bronze. The Jalong bronze has been identified as an idealised portrait of a real person, Brahmin sage or priest by Griswold; as Agastya by Sivaramamurthi and de Casparis and Siva-guru or Agastya by P.H. Pott. The date of the image is within the seventh to the eleventh century period.

It is impossible to say what state or kingdom was in the Kinta Valley. There was however a pre-Melaka kingdom that was mentioned in the Sejarah Melaya called Gangga Nagara and situated,³⁵³ "on a hill steep from the front view but low from the back; its fort still exists in the Dindings

the other side (i.e. north) of the Perak. According to local traditions there was a city and, "it took a cat three months to do the circuit of the roofs".³⁵⁴ There was however no evidence to support the belief of the existence of a kingdom in Bruas or Dinding which can be dated to the pre-Melaka period.³⁵⁵ It is possible to suggest that the kingdom of Gangga Nāgarā could be the Malay memory of an ancient kingdom in Perak which could have included the Kinta Valley. On the evidence of coastal progradation, the Kinta Valley must have been situated very much closer to the sea.

The effect of the increase in shipping activities along the coasts of Peninsular Malaysia to about 14th century A.D. was the increase in the number of stopping stations. These were located at almost every major river estuary and island. They were chosen by virtue of their having prominent landmarks and watering places, sheltered bays and sandy-beaches. The main indicator of the existence of such stations was the trade ceramics. Several sites on the east coast of the peninsula have produced trade ceramics of the Sung/Yüan periods. Among these sites are Kemaman in Trengganu, Sungai Mulong area in Kelantan River Delta which formed an old delta arm of the Kelantan River, and continuing towards the sea through Pengkalan Datu River.³⁵⁶ Then there is Pulau Tioman which according to Paul Wheatley, "In South China Sea Tioman was an important landmark and watering place, whence Arab seamen set course north-eastwards for Campā and Cambodia, but the island was apparently unnoticed in Chinese maritime records".³⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the discoveries of trade ceramics of the Sung/Yüan periods from the island indicate that there were contacts with China, directly or indirectly.

Besides the river valleys and islands, cave sites too produced archaeological finds related to the period sometime in the seventh to fourteenth century A.D. The sites known to have produced such finds are Gua Berhala,³⁵⁸ Gua Kurong Batang³⁵⁹ and Gua Tampaq.³⁶⁰ The finds from the three sites are Mahāyāna Buddhist votive tablets. The dating of the tablets is believed to be in the range of tenth century to

twelfth century A.D. This is based on stylistic comparison with those similar types of tablets classified as Coedès type II found in Peninsular Thailand.³⁶¹ They are believed to be related to the Pāla style.

The knowledge about the existence of the votive tablets in the caves of northern Peninsular Malaysia was originally from Vaughan Stevens who reported about their existence in c. 1895.³⁶² Another report came from Evans in 1929³⁶³ and this was followed by H.D. Collings in 1936³⁶⁴ and finally by Alastair Lamb in 1962.³⁶⁵ The prehistoric Gua Tampaq at Kuala Bering in Ulu Kelantan was excavated by Peacock and a team from Muzium Negara in 1968.³⁶⁶ But only one tablet was found during the excavation. It came from a depth of about 45 cm. At a depth of 40 to 50 cm a small piece of glass ware was found. Presumably the layer from the top to the 60 cm belonged to a period between the tenth and the twelfth century A.D. when the settlers of the cave site although in prehistoric stage had contacts with the Indianised settlements on the coast. The votive tablet could be a kind of talisman. The other two caves, Gua Berhala and Gua Kurong Batang must have been holy places and were used either for depositing or manufacturing the tablets, or both.

Peninsular Thailand

Takuapa area: The area is situated on the north-western coast of Peninsular Thailand and about 96 kilometres from the rich tin-mining centre, Phuket Island, in the south. The area comprises Takuapa town and environs which includes Kokhau Island. Takuapa town is on the southern bank of Takuapa River and about 4 kilometres from the coast. Kokhau Island, at the mouth of Takuapa River, the southernmost of three islands which shelter the Takuapa town and environs from the south-west monsoon, is about 400 metres from the mainland. From the mainland, the island appears to be covered with mangrove swamps especially near its estuary side. The island and the rest of the Takuapa area are in the tin mining belt. Tin mining activities are still going

on.³⁶⁷ This scenery reminds us of the area on the upper reaches of the Bujang Valley, the Merbok area in Kedah where tin mining activities are still going on and they are located not far from the coast. A very prominent route links the area with the east coast particularly the Bay of Bandon. This is the Takuapa River and Girrisastra River route mentioned earlier.³⁶⁸ Besides the trans-peninsular river route, the area is linked with both Peninsular Malaysia and the rest of Thailand by roads.

Archaeological interest in the area has been prompted by the work of W.W. Bourke, an inspector of mines in 1902,³⁶⁹ which was summarized by Colonel Gerini in 1904.³⁷⁰ His discovery of archaeological sites in the area encouraged Lajonqui  re, a French archaeologist, to make further investigations in 1909.³⁷¹ He made sketches of the finds. No other archaeologist visited the area until 1934, when Quaritch-Wales on his quest for evidence of the eastward march of Indian colonists, with the help of the Siamese Tin Syndicate and their local manager, Mr J. Farrington, surveyed and carried out a much more extensive and detailed research.³⁷² He was the first to publish photographs of the important archaeological finds. The area continues to attract other scholars. In 1961, Alastair Lamb in his effort to see the relationship between Takuapa and other archaeological sites in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra made a visit to the area.³⁷³ Much more detailed photographs of significant finds were published. Other scholars, who did not visit the site, but include E.H. Hultzschr³⁷⁴ and Nilakanta Sastri³⁷⁵ who discussed among other things the significance of the inscription from Takuapa which they identified as Tamil. Le May,³⁷⁶ Dupont³⁷⁷ and a few Thai art historians discussed the sculptures found at Takuapa. Stanley O'Connor, who also visited the area,³⁷⁸ re-studied the sculptures.

The archaeological survey of the area indicates that there are three main sites. They are outside the town. These are T'ung T'uk, Pra No Hill, and Pra Narai Hill. T'ung T'uk which literally means the "plain of the monument" is situated towards the southern extremity of the Khokhau Island.

This part of the island is low and sandy with a number of scattered open grassy stretches. T'ung T'uk is in one of these grassy stretches. Three mounds located by Quaritch-Wales have been identified as temple sites.³⁷⁴ It is, however, impossible to establish the exact shape and size of these monuments. The only traceable finds are the bricks which are scattered about.

It appears that most parts of the open grassy, sandy plain of the monuments, covering several acres, are strewn with thousands of ceramic sherds from varieties of ceramics, earthenware and glass and there are also varieties of beads and also broken pieces of bricks. From the general first impression, the concentration of the finds and the area and the variety, one feels that one is looking at a site contemporaneous with Sungai Emas site in the Kuala Muda River Valley. Both Quaritch-Wales³⁸⁰ and Alastair Lamb³⁸¹ collected ceramic sherds during their visits to the site. The sherds were examined by the experts in the British Museum. The collection by Quaritch-Wales was examined by R.L. Hobson who identified one of them as belonging to the Six Dynasties period (220-589 A.D.).³⁸² The rest of them were classified as T'ang dynasty period and the blue-glazed Middle Eastern type also contemporary with them. Basil Gray and Pinder-Wilson identified the sample collected by Alastair Lamb as being not later than the T'ang period and not earlier than the seventh century.³⁸³ Sherds of the Middle Eastern type were dated to the seventh to ninth century. In the light of the latest discovery of the typical site at Sungai Emas in 1979 the nature of the blue-glazed Middle Eastern ceramic has been further defined. It has been recognised and identified as being Sasana-Islamic Persian or Iraq type which can be dated as seventh to early ninth century. No other site in South East Asia, so far, is known to have produced such Middle Eastern sherds. According to Stanley O'Connor who visited the site and sent a sample of the sherds to Tom Harrisson to compare with the excavated material from Sarawak River Delta, the Chinese sherds could be fitted into types associated with the T'ang and Sung periods found there.³⁸⁴ There is no evidence

of the existence of the blue-glazed Middle Eastern sherds
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in the Sarawak River Delta.

The result of the discovery of Chinese stonewares and porcellaneous wares mixed together with earthenwares either local or imported and the Sasana-Islamic blue-glazed wares led scholars to believe that Takuapa area was an important entrepôt. It must have had trade contact with the Middle East, India and China. Alastair Lamb called it a pre-Melaka entrepôt along the west coast of the Malay Peninsula.³⁸⁶ From the geographical point of view this may be possible because the area is very well sheltered, both the Takuapa estuary and the estuary of the stream on the Khokhau Island. It could provide the facilities for off-loading cargoes, revictualling and refitting. But there is no evidence of warehouses and domestic buildings, and the number of identifiable structures either religious or domestic is very small when compared to the site at Sungai Emas. Presumably all other buildings were made from perishable materials which did not leave any trace.

On the mainland, Pra No Hill is a small hill situated in almost the same latitude as T'ung T'uk. The hill is about 60 metres high and 1.8 metres standing stone Viṣṇu was recovered from its summit. A foundation, presumably, belonging to a small shrine measuring 6.35 x 6.35 m and 60 cm high was found. The structure has its entrance on the east where there was once a flight of steps.³⁸⁷

The stone Viṣṇu from Pra No Hill has been identified positively by a number of scholars even though it has lost its attributes. The image was transferred to the National Museum Bangkok prior to the visit of Quaritch-Wales to Takuapa in 1934. It has been identified as one of the mitred Viṣṇu and Stanley O'Connor convincingly argues that it was the product of a fully developed isthmian workshop between 650 and 800 A.D.

The Pra Narai Hill or "Viṣṇu Hill" is situated on the southern bank of the Takuapa River about 36 kilometres from its mouth and just above its junction with its tributary the Klong Pong. It is a low hill about 40 metres high covered with bamboo and tropical vegetation. On the summit are traces of an ancient structure of stone and brick, measuring about 2.73 metres x 2.73 metres.³⁸⁸ On the northern bank of the Takuapa River just across from the hill was once located a group of sculpture which comprises a standing male figure with four arms, a female figure, and a bust of a male figure with two arms.³⁸⁹ Other finds from the spot are a roughly circular stone slab with inscription which has been identified as Tamil inscription first by E. Hultzsch³⁹⁰ and later by Nilakanta Sastri,³⁹¹ an incomplete low relief sculpture of a seated figure, a number of stone slabs and some of which had been worked upon and one of them had a shape of a flattened linga. The finds are believed to have originated from somewhere else in view of the fact that the site where they are found has not produced any indication of a religious structure. The remains of the sculpture and other finds from the site have been removed to Nakhon Si Thammarat Museum after the destruction to the head of the sculptures by thieves.

The question of the origin of the group of three sculptures has created lively discussion among scholars. According to Quaritch-Wales, the sculptures originated from the brick shrine on Khokhau Island.³⁹² It was transported by the Indian colonists up the Takuapa River to the site in the process of the Indian migrations to the east. Lajonquièr suggested that it came from the brick shrine on the Pra Narai Hill,³⁹³ and so too Alastair Lamb.³⁹⁴ I believe that the reasons put forward by Alastair Lamb are strong enough to believe that the finds located at the site were originally from the shrine on the Pra Narai Hill.

Various views have been forwarded regarding the identification of the sculptures.³⁹⁵ In view of the fact that the discussion on the iconography of these sculptures will

be dealt with later, it is sufficient at the moment to consider their style. This is because the style of these images will throw some light on the presence of the Tamil inscription at Takuapa. Those scholars who have studied the images agree that they belonged to the Pallava style of South India, and according to Stanley O'Connor, they show late Pallava style and can be dated around the last part of the ninth century A.D.³⁹⁶ This reinforced the belief that they were contemporary with the Tamil inscription and show the presence of Tamil traders in the area.

The inscription has two slightly different readings. Below are the two readings by E. Hultzsch and Nilakanta Sastri:-

1. E Hultzsch ³⁹⁷	2. Nilakanta Sastri ³⁹⁸
1. ...ravaman Ku[na]	1.(ya) varmakku
2. [m]ān tān Naṅgūr=a[d]ai	2. ...man tan nang(u)r(u) dai (ya)
3. =[t] totta kulam per Sri-[Ava] [ni]	3. n totta kulam per sri A (vani)
4. Nāraṇam Maṇikkirāmattār[k]	4. naranam manikkiramattar (k)
5. [k]um ūnāmugattārkum	5. kum Senamukattarkkum
6. [m=ulu]dārkkum adaikkalam	6. patarkkum adarkalam

Translation 1:

"The tank (by) name Śrī-[Avani]-Nāraṇam which was dug [near] Naṅgūr by ... ravarman Gu[na]...[m]ān himself, is placed under the protection of the members of Manigrāmam and of the men of the vanguard and/cultivators"

Translation 2 (line 2 to 6):

"The tank dug by Nangur - udaian (and) called Avani-naranam (is placed under) the protection of the Manikkiramam, the residents of the military camp and..."

The two scholars differ on two points. E. Hultzsch suggested that Naṅgūr was the site for the tank but Nilakanta Sastri said that Naṅgūr-udaian was the name of the person responsible for building the tank. The other point concerned the people associated with the tank. Besides the members of the merchant guild E. Hultzsch mentioned vanguard and cultivators

but Nilakanta Sastri mentioned only the residents of a military camp. The residents of this military camp were the merchants who belonged to the powerful mercantile community which Nilakanta Sastri recognised as belonging to the Vanik-graman (guild of merchants) in South India.³⁹⁹ The period was ninth century A.D. on the evidence the term Avani-nārānan (Visnu on the earth) found on the inscription that can be associated with the title of King Nandivarman III of late Pallava (826-50 A.D.) who ruled at Kancipuram.⁴⁰⁰

The inscription while indicating the presence of traders and soldiers, does not in any way prove the idea of Indian colonising activity over the area. The trading community formed an extension of the Tamil merchant guild of South India. Presumably, they were given separate quarters by the ruling group at Takuapa. The presence of an extension of the Tamil merchant guild in South East Asia has been further highlighted by the Lubok Tua inscription of Sumatra dated Saka 1010 (L088 A.D.).⁴⁰¹ During the Melaka Sultanate in the 15th century the South Indian merchants played a very significant role and just as other trading communities they were given separate quarters. The tradition must have continued from the Takuapa period or earlier.

The existence of entrepôts on the Malay Peninsula was known to early Arab geographers. One such entrepot was Kalāh.⁴⁰² Scholars are divided over its location. But there is more unanimity in locating the place on the peninsula. Among the proposed sites are Kedah, Kra, Mergui District and Takuapa. Arab accounts describe Kalāh as a town, an island, a kingdom and also a region.⁴⁰³ The only sites which satisfy the description on the evidence of geography and archaeology are Takuapa and Kedah. When Alastair Lamb proposed Takuapa as the possible site the knowledge about the site at Sungai Emas was not known yet. But the term Kalāh is quite close to Kedah. On othe other hand if one considers the fact that tin mines were found in the fortress of Kalāh, then Takuapa would fit in with the geography of Kalah.

Chaiya: A small provincial east coast town situated about 6 km from the Bay of Bandon. It has abundant supplies of rice and fish being in the rice growing area and near to the fishing area of the Gulf of Thailand and China Sea. In the past it could have been the eastern terminus of the trans-peninsula portage, the Takuapa River and Girisastra River mentioned earlier. Today it is linked with the rest of Thailand by roads, railways and sea. Archaeological discoveries in the town and its environs are strong evidence for the existence of ancient settlement in the area.

A number of archaeologists visited the area but only Claeys⁴⁰⁴ and Quaritch-Wales⁴⁰⁵ carried out excavations. Among the ancient sites located in Chaiya and its environs are Wat Hua Wiang, Wat Long, Wat Keo, Wat Phra Baromathat, Wat Mai Cholathan and Wat Sala Thong.⁴⁰⁶ In addition to these, there are the two hills situated several miles to the east of the town, named Sai Smo Hill and Nang-I Hill where several small stupa-like monuments or cedis were noted to have existed.⁴⁰⁷ The majority of the finds which have been attributed to Peninsular Thailand came from Chaiya. Archaeological research in Chaiya reveals that the finds from Chaiya comprise religious objects, inscription and domestic goods such as trade ceramics and earthenwares. Most of the religious objects were recovered not through proper excavation.

The three most important sites in Chaiya are the Wat Hua Wiang, Wat Long and Wat Keo. They are situated on the western side of the railway line that runs north-south through the town. They are located at equidistance, 200 metres apart. There is a belief existing among the local archaeologists that the three temples are those temples mentioned in the Ligor inscription face "A" which has been dated to 775 A.D.⁴⁰⁸ This belief is based on the assumption that the Ligor inscription originated from Wat Hua Wiang, Chaiya and not from Wat Sema Muang, Nakhon Si Thammarat (Ligor).⁴⁰⁹ The Chandrabhanu inscription which has been labelled as from Chaiya is believed to have come from Nakhon Si Thammarat. The mix-up followed the transfer of the two

inscriptions to the National Museum Bangkok. Evidence for the mix-up in the labelling has been shown by Thai scholars.⁴¹⁰ Among other things the inscription mentions the fact that, "This king, the lord of Śrivijaya..., has erected this triad of excellent brick houses, the abode of Padmapani, the Mara-slayer (i.e. Śakyamuni) and Vajrapāni...". But the evidence from the ruins of the three temples does not show with certainty that they belonged to the period, though all the three temples are made from brick.

Among the three temples, the most prominent is Wat Keo. This is because certain parts of the walls are still standing and it is still possible to trace the decorations on some parts of these walls. Quaritch-Wales described the monument following Coedes as a brick sanctuary, constructed on a plan analogous to that of Candi Kalasan in Java, but of which the architecture recalls closely the cubic art of Campā and the pre-Khmer of archaic type, Prasat Krahan of Phnom Kulen (Cambodia).⁴¹¹ Archaeological investigation and restoration from 1976-1979 by the Thai Fine Arts Department, revealed that it was built on a square foundation, 24 x 24 m.⁴¹² Its ground plan is definitely of the cruciform type and resembles that of the Javanese temples such as the main temple of Chandi Sewu and also Chandi Kalasan.⁴¹³ But it is not as complex as the Javanese temples. The central part of the temple is surrounded by four cellas and only the eastern cella leads to the main chamber. There is no evidence of the existence of a processional path consisting of passageways behind the minor cellas alternating with stretches of open gallery as in the case of the Sewu main temple.⁴¹⁴ Although much of the top part of the temple is missing, it is still possible to recognise that each cella had a roof of its own, behind which rose the central roof of the temple. The largest cella is the one on the east having measurements, 4.20 x 4.20 m and 5 m high. The roof of the temples must have been adorned with stūpas. Remains of these stupas in red sandstone have been found during the investigation.

The general plan of the temple reminds us of the plan of the foundation and base of the temple found at site 21 in the Bujang Valley Kedah and also the decorations on the stone pedestal from site 24 Bujang Valley Kedah known as Raja Bersiōng flag post. The scheme of the decoration on the facades indicate strong resemblance to Cham tradition; the style of the pillars on the south side and the mouldings can be compared to those of the central tower of Phô-hài,⁴¹⁵ and the arrangements of the arches next to the pillars and the pilasters remind us of the similar arrangement and style of a subsidiary temple at Mî Son.⁴¹⁶ The view regarding the style of the temple is based on the best preserved part, that is, the southern facade which still retains the features which are probably common to the other three facades.

In the temple are located a number of Hindu and Buddhist artifacts. These included Buddha images, red sandstone stupas, a hand holding a lotus, lingas, and a red sandstone Ganeśa. The temple is Buddhist. This is based on the assumption that all the Hindu artifacts found in the temple were not from the temple but were deposited there. The Buddhist artifacts can be classified as those that are contemporaneous with the temple and those that were added later. The first group probably included the seated headless red sandstone Buddha decorated with vajra and lions on the sides of the pedestal. The second group included most other Buddha images. The first group may be dated to the eighth to tenth century period while the second to the Ayutthayan period, sixteenth to seventh century period. This indicates that the temple must have been restored and reused during the Ayutthayan period.

The other impressive monument in Chaiya is the Phra Baromathat. It resembles the general plan of some of the monuments depicted on the relief of Borobudur.⁴¹⁷ The monument has four porches on the four sides. Its superstructure is divided into tiers and each tier is decorated with model stupa located at each corner. The largest stupa crowned the top. It has been reported that it was reconstructed in

1901⁴¹⁸ and during the reconstruction it was noticed that its base was buried about 1 m below the ground level. The restorers saw evidence of the earlier reconstruction. In 1930 it was again re-restored.⁴¹⁹ Most of the adornments are believed to be later style than the monument. Nevertheless, it is believed that it still retains the original general form. Most scholars agree that the temple belonged to the ninth to tenth century period.

Scholars who have studied the archaeological finds from Chaiya have drawn significant conclusions concerning the history of Chaiya prior to the fourteenth century. Stanley O'Connor who studied the Viṣṇu images from the area concludes that the "aberrant" statue of Viṣṇu is the oldest Viṣṇu image in South East Asia, and dates it to not later than the fourth century.⁴²⁰ He believes that the existence of such an early Viṣṇu image may confirm the belief that Chaiya was the ancient kingdom P'an-p'an from where Fu-nan received its second phase of Indianization.⁴²¹ This re-affirms the belief of scholars such as Groeneveldt, Pelliot, Ferrand, Luce, Fujita Toyohachi and Briggs who unanimously locate P'an-p'an on or near the Bay of Bandon.⁴²² If it is a truism that the Indianization of Fu-nan came from P'an-p'an at the end of the fourth century, then P'an-p'an received its Indian influence at an early date. The date of the foundation of P'an-p'an according to Luce was third century.⁴²³ It was founded by a Funanese general Fan Shih-man and named the kingdom in honour of (Hun) P'an-p'an, the reigning king of Fu-nan. The earliest source that mentions this kingdom is Liang-shu on the section of Fu-nan and it features as partisan in the plot which placed Kaundinya II on the throne of Fu-nan.⁴²⁴ According to the translated notices, P'an-p'an established relations with China in the fifth century, and featured prominently in the dynastic histories until T'ang times.⁴²⁵

The other important aspect of the history of Chaiya is its political status in the history of Śrīvijaya. There are scholars who believe that Chaiya was the site of the capital

of Śrīvijaya. Quaritch-Wales, for instance, while not denying the existence of a Sumatran kingdom called Śrīvijaya believes that the Śailendra dynasty that ruled Śrīvijaya had its capital at Chaiya from 775 A.D.⁴²⁶ The name Śrīvijaya was adopted either through the conquest of Sumatran kingdom or through independent preference. Originally the kingdom was called Javaka.⁴²⁷ In 1979, he changed his opinion slightly by assuming that the Sumatran kingdom absorbed Chaiya and changed its name to Śrīvijaya,⁴²⁸ but although he did not discuss the location of the capital it can be assumed that the capital was at Chaiya after 755 A.D. Prior to 755 A.D. the capital of Śrīvijaya was in Sumatra. This is in line with the majority view, but the capital of Śrīvijaya was not at Chaiya from 775 A.D. Most scholars believe that after 775 A.D. Chaiya became a part of Śrīvijaya and the capital was still in Sumatra. But the transfer of the capital took place only in the eleventh century and the capital was at Jambi according to Wolters.⁴²⁹ But according to Quaritch-Wales the capital was at Nakhon Si Thammarat after the twelfth century.⁴³⁰ The main arguments for Chaiya were its name which is very close to jaya; that there is a hill called Śrīvijaya Hill: also the discovery of many artifacts, particularly Buddhist images, which art-historians classified as "Śrīvijayan Art".⁴³¹

The Hindu and Buddhist artifacts from Chaiya display a variety of styles and influence: various Indian ones as well as Cham, Khmer, Javanese and Sumatran. This characteristic would be due to its international contacts and also its position on the Bay of Bandon in the context of the geography of South East Asia. The most important artifact is the dated seated bronze Buddha discovered from Wat Hua Wiang. It is very important because besides having a date which is difficult to interpret since it contains five figures, also there are details of its foundation by maha senapati named Talani during the reign of king kamraten añ mahārāja śrimat-Trailekya-rāja-Maulibhūsanayarmadeva.⁴³² The inscription is in Old Khmer but the script is Old Javanese (more correctly Old Sumatran).⁴³³ According to the inscription the image was

made by the order of the ruler of Grahi.

The date given on the inscription was originally read as 11006 of the era, a year of the hare.⁴³⁴ All agree that the reading was not doubtful except for the last one. De Casparis agrees with Krom that the last number should be 4.⁴³⁵ But Coedès who was the first to read the inscription suggested the last date could possibly be 5 and that the reading of the date should be 1105 (Saka) because 1104 and 1106 were not the year of the hare.⁴³⁶ He deleted the last zero and so this date corresponds with 1183 A.D. There are however scholars who are puzzled about the relationship of the inscription and the Buddha image seated under the serpents-hood. This is because Dupont argued that the style of the Buddha is related to the Sukhothai Buddhas, that is, not much earlier than the end of the thirteenth century.⁴³⁷ There are those who suggest that the Buddha image belonged to the thirteenth century while the serpents-hood or Nāga and the inscription belonged to the twelfth century.⁴³⁸ De Casparis who was quite certain of the dating of the Buddha image by Dupont suggests a date of not earlier than the end of the thirteenth century for the inscription based on historical arguments. His main arguments are firstly the dating by the animal-year was unknown prior to the inscription of Rama Khamheng, more than a hundred years after 1183.⁴³⁹ Second, the king ruling in Sumatra mentioned in the inscription of Sumatra, the Rambahan I inscription 1286 A.D., śrī maharāja Tribhuvanarāja-Maulivarmadeva, by name was the same king as the one mentioned in the Buddha Grahi inscription and that it does not merely imply dynastic relationship.⁴⁴⁰ However, he does not attempt to consider the correct reading of the date on the inscription. In view of the fact that evidence has been forwarded to show that the dating by the animal-year was known to have existed in inscriptions as early as 1041 A.D.⁴⁴¹ and that there are a number of examples of Buddha images having a mixed heritage of styles as Grahi Buddha⁴⁴² which can be dated to the twelfth century A.D. it is possible to say that Grahi Buddha belonged to the same period as the inscription and the Nāga-hood. Furthermore,

it is meaningless to have another Buddha replacing the original Buddha to which the inscription has been dedicated. The implication of the similarity of the dynastic title of the Buddha Grahi inscription and the Rambahan, the Amoghapāśa image (1286 A.D.) and Rambahan II, the Bhairava image (1347 A.D.) once again indicating the close political relationship between the two areas. Grahi then must be at Chaiya as suggested by Paul Wheatley.⁴⁴³ Presumably, the Maharāja belonged to the ruling family of Śrīvijaya at Jambi.

Nakhon Si Thammarat and environs: archaeological sites and settlements

Nakhon Si Thammarat is also known as Nāgarā Sri Dharmarāja. But to the local people it is simply called Lakhon and in the Malay history it has always been Ligor. The town of Nakhon Si Thammarat is about 96 kilometres to the south-east of Chaiya. It is about 8 kilometres from the coast, but in the past it must have been very much closer. To the west of the town is the Nakhon Si Thammarat Range which rises to a height of about 2000 metres. Just like Chaiya and other towns in Peninsular Thailand, its location offers a variety of occupational outlets to the people such as rice-growing, fishing, rubber-tapping and industrial enterprise. According to the economic census, Nakhon Si Thammarat and Songkhla have the largest share of the industrial enterprises in Peninsular Thailand.⁴⁴⁴

The town of Nakhon Si Thammarat can be divided into two main areas. The area that lies within a walled enclosure has many religious structures. It is situated to the south of the more modern part of the town. The southernmost part of the old town has many ruins of temples and also ruins of ancient walls. According to the report of Lajonquièr, in 1912 there were as many as fifty monasteries in the town but many of them were in ruins.⁴⁴⁵ Today, the number is very much less but it still provides a visitor with an impression of being crowded with them. Those that survived are active centres of Buddhist religion. Most of the surviving temples

and also those in ruins are believed to have belonged to the Thai period. This assumption is based on the stylistic observation where they show styles of Ayutthayan and later Thai periods in their architecture. The surviving temples must have been restored many times. Among the few temples that have been classified as pre-Thai period are the miniature shrine in the court-yard of Wat Pra That, the inner part of Wat Pra That itself, the Siva temple called Ho Pra Tsuon,⁴⁴⁶ and another Siva temple situated about 200 metres to the south and was deserted about 80 years ago.⁴⁴⁷

Wat Prathat has been the most revered Buddhist shrine in Nakhon Si Thammarat area. It is very imposing with its bell-shaped stupa surrounded by 160 smaller stūpas.⁴⁴⁸ It has been suggested that the shrine was modified to its present architectural form in about the last quarter of the 13th century A.D. The style chosen was due to influence from Sri Lanka.⁴⁴⁹ Many Thai monks went to Sri Lanka for ordination after the Thai kingdom of Sukhodayya made its initial contacts with the fountain head of Theravada Buddhism, Sri Lanka, in about the last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D.⁴⁵⁰

M. Claeys who provided plan and elevation of a small reliquary in the court-yard of Wat Prathat suggested that it represents a miniature reproduction of the original shrine of Wat Prathat.⁴⁵¹ The original shrine was encased in the present day Wat Prathat. The custom of encasing an older shrine in a later one was widespread. It was practised by Monks, Javanese and Thai. In the case of the custom of reconstructing a replica of the original temple has been noted by M. Claeys in Bejraphuri, Nagara Pathma, and Chiang Mai.⁴⁵² The style of the reliquary is reminiscent of the general style of Wat Pra That in Chaiya.

Lajonquièr⁴⁵³, M. Claeys,⁴⁵⁴ Coedès,⁴⁵⁵ Alastair Lamb⁴⁵⁶ and O'Connor⁴⁵⁷ have made significant contributions to the knowledge of the archaeology of Nakhon Si Thammarat and its environs. But only Quaritch-Wales conducted excavations.⁴⁵⁸ His excavation site was at the deserted Siva temple in the

southern part of the town. From the remains of structures he noticed vestiges of Javanese architectural style which both he and M. Claeys had noticed in the Śiva temple sheltered under the wooden shed, the Ho Pra Tsuon temple.⁴⁵⁹ But the views cannot be verified with certainty because the site which he had excavated has been destroyed. On the evidence of the Sung type of ceramics, it is possible that the site may be dated to a period not earlier than 10th or 11th century.

There is other evidence for the antiquity of Hindu practice in Nakhon Si Thammarat area. Among these are the Viṣṇu images, lingas and inscriptions. The Viṣṇu images which are kept in the museum within the precinct of Wat Prāṭhat bear very close resemblance in style to the Chaiya Viṣṇu. Stanley O'Connor who was the first to study these images believes that they belonged to the seventh century A.D.⁴⁶⁰

The existence of lingas in Nakhon Si Thammarat area was first noted by Lajonquière in his report on the Śiva temples.⁴⁶¹ He mentioned five lingas, four of which according to him were designed in three sections; a square base, octagonal middle portion, and a rounded upper portion with a ridge in the middle representing the frenum. These lingas must have been those that are now in the museum at Nakhon Si Thammarat. In view of the fact that the lingas from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra will be dealt with in detail later, it is sufficient to agree with O'Connor at the moment that they suggest an early date. But the question of their stylistic relationship with Oc-Eo area and the early sixth or seventh century date which Stanley O'Connor proposes cannot be settled at the moment by just using the criteria "greater or less realism" for the dating of lingas without considering other related evidence.⁴⁶²

The testimony of the antiquity of Hindu practice from epigraphy is attested by the inscribed granite slab which is not included in the inscriptions edited by Coedès. This inscription was photographed by Alastair Lamb in 1961 and is

now in the Nakhon Si Thammarat museum.⁴⁶³ De Casparis, who read the inscription from the photograph saw a reference to Śiva, and he also dated the inscription to a period not later than sixth century on the basis of the script used.⁴⁶⁴ Of other inscriptions from the museum, one is the illegible inscription of eight lines which has been recognised as Tamil inscription dating to the Cōla period.⁴⁶⁵ The other is the single line inscription on the stairway near the door to the museum which Coedès dated to the fifth or sixth century because of the archaism of the script used.⁴⁶⁶ The third inscription in the museum is the 14-line Tamil inscription which, among other things, mentions Dharmasenāpati. Dharmasenāpati must be the ruler or the governor responsible for giving the order for the inscription to be inscribed. The date of the inscription is believed to be ninth to eleventh century.⁴⁶⁸

The other very important inscription is the inscription of Candrabhānu. It has a date of kaliyuga 4332 which according to Coedès is equivalent to 1230 A.D.⁴⁶⁹ The inscription was edited by Coedès and he attributed its provenance as Wat Hua Wiang in Chaiya. But it is now believed that its provenance was Nakhon Si Thammarat in view of the fact that its provenance was mixed up with that of the Ligor inscription. Candrabhānu had the title Śrī Dharmarāja and was "the Lord of Tambralinga".

Several scholars have attempted to speculate on the whereabouts of Tambralinga. Three Chinese place-name transcriptions have been associated with it. They are Tan-meilieu in respect of 1101 A.D., Teng-liu-mei and Tan-ma-ling in respect of 1225 A.D.⁴⁷⁰ Among the three, only Tan-ma-ling could possibly be associated with Tambralinga on the evidence of the geographical and historical descriptions attributed to those places.⁴⁷¹ As late as 1225 A.D. it appears that the area still retains relationship with Śrivijaya.⁴⁷² According to Coedès, Tan-ma-ling seemed a probable rendering of "Mādamālingam" which appeared in the list of Cōla targets in the Tanjore inscription of 1030-1 A.D. referring to the

great raids of 1025.⁴⁷³ The geographical identity of Tāmbralinga has been established with some degree of certainty now even though in the past scholars such as Takakusu, Schelegel, Pelliot and Gerini favoured its location to be outside the Nakhon Si Thammarat area. Scholars such as Paul Wheatley⁴⁷⁴ and Wolters⁴⁷⁵ locate the site in the Nakhon Si Thammarat area. Paul Wheatley, for instance, believes that Tāmbralinga, Mādamālingam and Tan-ma-ling all refer to "a state in the Ligor district".⁴⁷⁶ The Candrabhānu inscription is an allusion to the Nakhon Si Thammarat area and according to the inscription of Rāma Khamheng of 1292, Nāgarā Śri Dharmarāja was the later Thai name for the area.⁴⁷⁷

Tāmbrilinga as a kingdom must have existed prior to 1025 A.A. in view of the fact that Mādamālingam, the Cola name for Tāmbrilinga, was among the countries raided. The raids have been associated with a Cola's attempt to break the commercial power of Śrīvijaya.⁴⁷⁸ The existence of Candrabhānu inscription may indicate that by 1230 Tāmbrilinga was already an independent state. But in 1225, according to Chāu Ju-kua, Tan-ma-ling was still a dependency of Śrīvijaya.⁴⁷⁹ We are not certain what degree of political control Śrīvijaya had and the location of its capital during that time. Nevertheless, after the Cola raids, Nakhon Si Thammarat area and Chaiya area were still under the influence of Śrīvijaya on the evidence from Chāu Ju-kua. The evidence from the Grahi Buddha inscription shows that the family ruling at Chaiya and that of Padang Lawas area in Sumatra came from an identical lineage as we have seen in the earlier discussion. But little is known of the extent, north or south of Tāmbrilinga. To the south it may have bordered the state of Langkasuka which scholars, to-day, tend to locate in the Patani area. To the north it may have extended as far as the Chaiya area.

Several archaeological sites outside the town have been located. Three sites are known to have existed in the vicinity of a village called Si Chon.⁴⁸⁰ The village is located on the east coast between the Bay of Bandon and Nakhon Si Thammarat. It is about 60 kilometres north of Nakhon Si

Thammarat from where it can be reached by road, which appears to cross an ancient beach.

The three sites are at Wat Jom Tong, Wat Sra Si Mum and Na Khou Ban. Outside Si Chon is another site. It is called Khao Ca. All these sites have yielded both Hindu and Buddhist artifacts.⁴⁸¹ Some of these are still at the sites while others have been removed and kept in private collections by various people in Si Chon and Nakhon Si Thammarat.

At Wat Jom Tong, the finds are a male figure with four arms, wearing conical headdress and dhoti, and presumably a Viṣṇu on the stylistic evidence; two stucco heads (male and female); a Buddhist votive tablet. At the village of Na Khom, south of Si Chon, among the finds are the remains of an ancient structure, five lingas and an ancient tank. A very rare artifact, a crystal linga was kept in the Wat Sra Si Mum. It is the only known example from South East Asia.⁴⁸²

Another very important site located in the Nakhon Si Thammarat area is Wiāng Sa. It is situated in the Luong River Valley. Archaeological finds from the area have been described by Lajonquière,⁴⁸³ Coedès⁴⁸⁴ and Quaritch-Wales.⁴⁸⁵ There were traces of an ancient settlement. The area was bounded by a narrow moat and mound on the south and east sides respectively, and by a stream which is a branch of Luong River on the other two sides. A number of finds were made by Quaritch-Wales when he excavated a site within the ancient settlement which he called San Pra Narai.⁴⁸⁶ The finds included a brick structure, a few pieces of earthenware sherds and a 17 cm high sandstone Buddhist figure identified as Buddha by Griswold.⁴⁸⁷ It was reported also that a Viṣṇu image which resembled the Pra No Hill Takuapa Viṣṇu was also recovered from Wiang Sa.⁴⁸⁸

From Śrīvijaya Hill, a site situated between Bandon and Surat came a stone Viṣṇu image which is now in the National Museum Bangkok,⁴⁸⁹ and two sandstone images of a Viṣṇu and Śiva in his terrible form which are also in the National Museum, Bangkok.⁴⁹⁰ Tha Sala, another site located on the

coast just to the north of Nakhon Si Thammarat produced two very interesting finds. The first is that of a stone image wearing a long dhoti but lacking head and arms and height about 70 cm and the second is a torso, height 54 cm.⁴⁹¹ They are both believed to be that of Viṣṇu on the assumption that the style of the sculpture particularly the dhotī which are identical to the style common to the images of Viṣṇu in the peninsula. These finds are now in the Nakhon Si Thammarat Museum.

On the evidence of the archaeological finds from sites such as Wiāng Sa. Tha Sala, Śrīvijaya Hill and Si Chon in the area between Nakhon Si Thammarat and Chaiya, it appears that the whole fertile lands were dotted with settlements that practised Hindu and Buddhist religions from as early as the fifth or sixth century A.D. or earlier. There was the kingdom of P'an-p'an with its capital at Chaiya in the fourth century or earlier century controlling the area. By 775 A.D. Śrīvijayan influence was dominant in the area and presumably both Chaiya and Nakhon Si Thammarat were under one kingdom. By the year 1186 A.D., on the evidence of the Grahi Buddha inscription the area was under the kingdom of Grahi which had political connections with the ruling family in the Batangtari River Valley area. Presumably with the rise of the kingdom of Tambralinga in the thirteenth century, the whole area came under the rule of King Candrabhānu of Tambralinga.

Sathingphra and Patani area

Sathingphra is situated about 32 kilometres to the north of Songkhla, on the narrow Sathingphra Peninsula which has on its west the four inland lakes: Thala Noi, Thala Luang, Thala Sap and Thala Sap Songkhla. The Peninsula borders the Gulf of Thailand. The old town of Songkhla is on the southern tip of the peninsula. The Peninsula is about 75 kilometres long and 4.5 kilometres broad. The modern town of Songkhla is opposite the old town at the entrance to the Thala Sap Songkhla. It is believed that the Gulf of Thailand

a thousand years ago, reached up to Phathalung and that the Sathingphra Peninsula was an island. The town of Sathingphra was at the tip of the island in the north while old Songkhla was at the southern tip.

There is an area in Sathingphra where remains of an ancient site has been located. It has an area of about 120 metres square. It is surrounded by a low brick wall and a moat, about 70 metres from the sea. The area is made up of sandy soil and the surrounding area is strewn with ceramics with many fragments of Sung type celadons.

The Peninsula from Ranot to old Songkhla is dotted with many monumental remains. A record of the monuments is kept by the Fine Arts Department at Songkhla. Among the monuments which have been designated by the Fine Arts Department to the SrIvijayan period are Wat Sii Yang, Wat Chedi Ngam, and Wat Sathingphra. They are stūpas built on a cruciform plan. These stūpas have undergone restorations just as other monuments in other areas. Nevertheless, the basic plan has been retained. It is on the evidence of this basic structure that they have been thus classified.

About 80 kilometres to the southeast of Songkhla is Patani, the capital of Patani District. It is the southern-most part of the ninth administrative region of the Fine Arts Department of Thailand, the headquarters of which is at Songkhla. Patani is situated on the bank of the Patani River and on the coast of the Gulf of Thailand. The town is closely linked with other areas in Peninsular Thailand by roads. It has strong traditional links with the east coast state of Peninsular Malayasia, Kelantan, as the majority of the population are of the Malay ethnic stock and many of them have relatives in Kelantan, since the existence of large rubber plantations in Patani and its environs have attracted people of Kelantan to go and work there.

Interest in the archaeology of Patani area can be attributed to the belief that Patani area was the location of the kingdom of Langkasuka. Articles dealing with

archaeological finds from Sathingphra area and Patani District started to be published from 1964. The scholars that contributed their archaeological knowledge of the two areas are Alastair Lamb,⁴⁹² O'Connor,⁴⁹³ Quaritch-Wales⁴⁹⁴ and Janice Stargadt.⁴⁹⁵ Alastair Lamb published and described the ceramics and bronze images from Sathingphra area that are in the museum at Songkhla, the Wat Matchemawas.⁴⁹⁶ The images comprised a bronze bust of Avalokitesvara, a bronze standing Śiva, a seated bronze Kuvera, a seated bronze bodhisattva, a standing bronze bodhisattva and a standing figure. The ceramics included both stonewares and earthenwares. They very closely resemble those of Pengkalan Bujang but are not necessarily identical. This is due to the fact that the majority of them belonged to the late Sung and early Ming type. Sawangkalok wares which are not common in Pengkalan Bujang are in great numbers at Sathingphra. Beads from Sathingphra are of glass and very small in number and variety. Other glass objects which are very common in the Pengkalan Bujang sites are unknown to Sathingphra.

The differences in the detail components of the archaeological finds from Pengkalan Bujang and Sathingphra area perhaps should not be attributed to difference in period but rather to the failure to carry out proper archaeological excavation in the area. The ceramics, many still intact, in the collection are from random discoveries. But those from Pengkalan Bujang are in fragments. There is reason to believe that at Sathingphra there could be sites which have ceramics belonging to the phase similar to the Pengkalan Bujang phase, the site near to the older part of Sathingphra yielded Sung celadon sherds but no blue and white ceramic sherds. Perhaps if excavation is carried out in the area a more reliable result would be achieved.

There is an interesting find in the museum at Sathingphra, a stone casket with five chambers.⁴⁹⁷ This reminds us of the stone caskets found in situ in the Pengkalan Bujang sites. The difference is that the stone caskets from Pengkalan Bujang have nine chambers. Presumably, they share a common function, to hold foundation deposits serving to consecrate a temple

site, though only if they contain gems and religious symbols but not ashes.⁴⁹⁸ The sites that yielded the stone caskets are believed to belong to the period after the tenth century.

Stanley O'Connor described and discussed three stone Hindu sculptures which are kept in the museum at Songkhla.⁴⁹⁹ They are a broken torso which he identified as the mitred type of Viṣṇu, another standing stone Viṣṇu and a stone Ganeśa. On the evidence of the three stone sculptures, it is possible that developed settlements already existed in the Sathingphra Peninsula by at least the sixth century.⁵⁰⁰ By the thirteenth century the area was flourishing from the evidence of ceramics, pointing to a demand for luxury goods.

In Patani district, there is a site which has come to the notice of scholars interested in the history of the Malay Peninsula. The site is near Yarang. It is situated on the bank of the Patani River and is about 20 kilometres from Patani town. Paul Wheatley and Roland Bradell have made it clear that the capital of Langkasuka was in the Patani District. With the discovery of the ancient site at Yarang, Thai archaeologists in Southern Thailand are of the opinion that they have discovered the site of the capital of Langkasuka.

The site is located about 5 kilometres from Yarang. A rough sketch of the site has been published by Quaritch-Wales.⁵⁰¹ The area of the site is more than 1100 x 1100 m. It is surrounded by three concentric ramparts. The finds that are known to have come from the site are terracotta votive, stūpa finial, dharmačakra from greenish stone, an image of Buddha from greenish stone, stone bas-relief of Buddha under the Bo tree, a stone door sill and a polished granite linga.⁵⁰² These finds indicate a date in the range of sixth and early ninth century. This is based on the style of the Buddha image and the dharmačakra which have Dvāravatī characteristics. At the moment, there is no report of the discovery of any ceramics or sculpture with characteristics similar to those found in Sathingphra, Nakhon Si Thammarat area of Chaiya and attributed to Śrīvijayan period.

Other sites in the Sathingphra and Patani districts that have produced archaeological finds that belonged to the period prior to the fourteenth century are Pathallung, Yala and Sungei Kolok. The caves at Pathallung and Yala produced numerous examples of votive tablets which are attributed to the ninth and tenth century period. At Sungei Kolok, a bronze image of a standing Buddha which can be dated to the second half of the fifth century was found.⁵⁰³

The evidence from Sathingphra and Patani districts show that settlements with a rather complex state of development had evolved at the latest in the sixth century. This dating fits in with the Chinese textual evidence as summarised by Paul Wheatley of the presence of a kingdom called Langkasuka believed to be located in the Patani District.⁵⁰⁴ There is not enough evidence to locate with certainty in any specific part of Sathingphra or Patani District. But Quaritch-Wales argues that the site of Langkasuka was at Yarang,⁵⁰⁵ his arguments being based on the finds mentioned earlier. The kingdom of Langkasuka was possibly of early foundation but it long formed part of the Fu-nan kingdom and emerged as an independent kingdom in the sixth century. In the sixth century, it sent four embassies to China.⁵⁰⁶ During the seventh century it was a regular port of call on the sea route to India. T'ang histories omitted it from their records and its importance waned during the ninth and tenth century. At that time it came under the influence of Srīvijaya and it was raided by Cōla in the eleventh century.⁵⁰⁷ Chau Ju-kua in 1225 claimed that Langkasuka was still under Srīvijayan influence.⁵⁰⁸ The site of Langkasuka after the ninth century was not at Yarang but at Sathingphra according to Quaritch-Wales.⁵⁰⁹ Archaeological evidence tends to suggest that the whole area between Patani and Sathingphra could be the area under the kingdom of Langkasuka with the capital at Yarang from the sixth to the thirteenth century. There is no evidence to suggest that its capital was transferred.

NOTES

1. W.A. Withington, 'The distribution of population in Sumatra, Indonesia, 1961' MJTG, 17, 1963, 203-212.
2. The figures have been converted to the metric system from the data given by Edwin M. Loeb, Sumatra: Its History and People, Oxford in Asia, Kuala Lumpur, 1972, 4.
3. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 309.
4. John Norman Miksic "Archaeology, Trade and Society in Northeast Sumatra", Appendix I, 258-265.
5. Ibid. 261.
6. Ibid. 261.
7. Ibid. 261-262.
8. Ibid. 262.
9. Ibid. 263. Cf. R.W. van Bemmelen, The geology of Indonesia, M. Nijhoff, The Hague, 2, 1944, 210.
10. Ibid. 262.
11. Ibid. 262. Cf. A. Tobler, "Djambi verslag uitkomsten van het geologisch - mijbouwkundige ouderzoek in de residentie Djambi 1906-1912" Jaarboek van het Mijnwezen in Nederlandsch Oost-Indie Verhandelingen, 48/3. 1919. 463-464.
12. R.W. van Bemmelen, The geology of Indonesia, 2, 210.
13. W. Marsden, History of Sumatra, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1966, 178.
14. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, trade and society in northeast Sumatra", 264.
15. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 316.
16. Ibid. 315-316.
17. J. Anderson, Mission to the east coast of Sumatra in 1823, London, 1826, 397.
18. F.M. Schintger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 16.
19. Amerta. Warna Warta Kepurbakalaan, Dinas Purbakala Republik Indonesia, "Kissah Perdjalan ke Sumatra Selatan dan Djambi" Jakarta, 1955, 1-50.
20. Boechari, "An old Malay inscription of Srīvijaya at Palas Pasemah (South Lampung)" Pra-Seminar Penelitian Srīwijaya, Pusat Penelitian Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional,

- Jakarta, 1979, 19.
21. Ibid. 19-42.
 22. E.E. McKinnon "Kota Cina, a site with T'ang and period association: some preliminary notes". BKS, 3, 1 (1973) 46-52.
 23. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, Trade and Society in Northeast Sumatra", xvii.
 24. Boechari, "Report on research on Sriwijaya" in Studies on Srivijaya, Proyek Penelitian Purbakala Jakarta, Department P & K, Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, 1981, 79-81.
 25. Ibid. 81.
 26. Ibid. 81. For the report on the survey see Bennet Bronson, Basoeki, Machi Suhadi and Jan Wisseman, Laporan Penelitian Arkeologi di Sumatera, 20 Mei-8 Julai, 1973. Lembaga Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional, 1974, 4.
 27. Hasan Muarif Ambary, "Catatan tentang penelitian beberapa situs "Masa" Sriwijaya", in Pra-Seminar Penelitian Sriwijaya. 8-10.
 28. Ibid.
 29. Boechari "Report on research on Sriwijaya", 82.
 30. Hasan Muarif Ambary, "Catatan tentang beberapa situs "masa" Sriwijaya", 12-13.
 31. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, Trade and Society in Northeast Sumatra" 82, note 1.
 32. G. Coedès, "Le Royaume de Srīvijaya" BEFEO, 18, 6 (1918) 1-36.
 33. O.W. Wolters, "A note on the capital of Srīvijaya during the eleventh century", 225-239.
 34. Boechari, "An old Malay inscription of Srīvijaya at Palas Pasemah (South Lampung)", 24-30.
 35. A. Cortesao (ed. and trans.), The Suma Oriental of Tome Pirés. 2 vols. Hakluyt Society, London, second series, v. 89.2 (1944), 287.
 36. For the note on the discovery, see, E.E. McKinnon, "A note on the discovery of spur-marked Yüeh-type sherds at Bukit Seguntang Palembang". JMBRAS, 52, 2 (1979) 41-47.
 37. Ibid. 41.
 38. Ibid. 41-42.

39. Ibid. 42. Notes 3 and 4.
40. O.W. Wolters, The fall of Srīvijaya in Malay History, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1970, 128-135. Cf. Sejarah Melayu, edition Shellabear, 3rd edition, 1915, 19.
41. Sejarah Melaya; edition Shellabear, 3rd edition, 1915, Chetera Kedua.
42. F.M. Schnitger, The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 3-4.
43. E.E. McKinnon, "A note on the discovery of spur-marked Yüeh-type at Bukit Seguntang Palembang". 44.
44. Ibid. 44 and note 16.
45. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 1.
46. J.G. de Casparis, "Selected inscriptions from the seventh century A.D. to the 9th century A.D." Prasasti Indonesia II, I and G. Coedès, "Les inscriptions malaises de Crivijaya", BEFEO, 30, 1930, 58.
47. Ibid. 2.
48. O.W. Wolters, "Landfall on the Palembang coast in medieval times" Indonesia, 20, 1975, 1, 54.
49. See John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, trade and society in northeast Sumatra". 88.
50. Boechari, "An old Malay inscription of Srīvijaya at Palas Pasemah (South Lampung)", 25.
51. Sejarah Melayu, Edition Shellabear, 3rd edition, 1915, Chetera Kedua.
52. G. Coedès, "A possible interpretation of Kedukan Bukit (Palembang)", Malayan and Indonesian Studies (ed.) J.S. Bastin and R. Roolvink, London, 1964, 24-32.
53. Ibid.
54. Boechari, "An Old Malay inscription of Srīvijaya at Palas Pasemah (South Lampung)", 27-28.
55. Ibid. 27.
56. Ibid. 34 note 8. Cf. G. Coedès, "Les inscriptions malaises de Crivijaya" 34.
57. Ibid. 34 note 8.
58. Sejarah Melayu (ed.) Shellabear, 1915, 18.
59. Nilakanta Sastri, The History of Srīvijaya, 114.

60. Bennet Bronson and Jan Wisseman, "Palembang as Srīvijaya; The Lateness of early cities in Southern South East Asia", AP, 19, 2 (1976) 226.
61. Ibid. 227.
62. Ibid. 229.
63. Ibid. 229.
64. J. Takakusu, A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (671-695 A.D.) by I-Tsing, Oxford, 1896, 150.
65. Bennet Bronson and Jan Wisseman, "Palembang as Srīvijaya: The lateness of early cities in Southern South East Asia", 228.
66. Ibid. 228.
67. Ibid. 228.
68. E.E. McKinnon, "A note on the discovery of spur-marked Yüeh-type sherds at Bukit Seguntang Palembang", 45.
69. Ibid. 45.
70. Ibid. 45.
71. Ibid. 45.
72. Ibid. 45.
73. Ibid. 45.
74. F.D.K. Bosch, "Verslag van een reis door Sumatra" O.V. 1930, 155-156. Cf. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, Trade and Society of northeast Sumatra", 90.
75. Ibid. 90.
76. Ibid. 90.
77. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, Trade and Society of northeast Sumatra", 90.
78. Ibid. 90.
79. Ibid. 90.
80. Ibid. 90.
81. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 4.
82. Ibid. 4.
83. Ibid. 4.
84. Ibid. 4.

85. Ibid. 4.
86. The information was conveyed to me by Prof. O.W. Wolters in 1981. This was followed by another piece of information from Drs. Satyawati Suleiman in 1982.
87. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, trade and society in northeast Sumatra", 90. L.C. Westenenk, "Boekit Segoeantang en Gonoeng Mahameroe uit de Sedjarah Melajoe" T.B.G., 68, 1 (1923) 224, 226 and O.W. Wolters, "Landfall on the Palembang coast in medieval times" Indonesia, 20, 1975, 1, 54.
88. Boechari, "An old Malay inscription of Srivijaya at Palas Pasemah (South Lampung)" 19.
89. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, trade and society in northeast Sumatra", 88.
90. J.G. de Casparis, Selected inscriptions from the seventh to the ninth century A.D., Prasasti Indonesia II, 1956, 41.
91. Bennet Bronson, Basoeki, Machi Suhadi, Jan Wisseman, Laporan Penelitian arkeologi di Sumatera, 20 Mei-8 Julai 1973, 6, 60.
92. Ibid. 60.
93. Ibid. 60.
94. Boechari, "An old Malay inscription of Srivijaya at Palas Pasemah (South Lampung)", 25.
95. This is based on my analysis of Abu Ridho, "Daftar Keramik asing yang didapati di Sumatera menurut kartu de Flines, kini di Museum Pusat" Pra Seminar Penelitian Sriwijaya, 105-115.
96. Ibid.
97. See Pl. 4.93
98. See Pl. 4.139
99. Bennet Bronson, Basoeki, Machi Suhadi, Jan Wisseman, Laporan Penelitian arkeologi di Sumatera, 20 Mei-8 Julai 1973, 6.
100. O.W. Wolters, Ancient Indonesian Commerce, 237.
101. J. Takakusu, A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay archipelago, by I-Tsing, xxix-xxx.
102. O.W. Wolters, "A note on the capital of Srivijaya in the eleventh century", 237.

103. M. Nazir, Mengenal: Candi-candi Muara Jambi, Proyek Rehabilitis dan Perluasan Museum Jambi, Kantor Wilayah Departemen P dan K Prop. Jambi, n.d. 1.
104. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 5.
105. Ibid. 5.
106. M. Nazir, Mengenal: Candi-candi Muara Jambi, 12.
107. Ibid. 13.
108. Ibid. 14.
109. Ibid. 15.
110. Ibid. 15-16.
111. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 6.
112. See Pl. 4.28
113. See Plan Fig. 26
114. See Plan Fig. 28
115. See Pls. 4.148 and 3.76
116. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 6.
117. Ibid. 7.
118. Ibid. 7.
119. See Pl. 4.24
120. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 7.
121. Ibid. 7.
122. See Pl. 4.135
123. For the list of known inscriptions of Adityavarman, see Bennet Bronson, Basoeki, Machi Suhadi, Jan Wissemann, Laporan Penelitian arkeologi di Sumatera 20 Mei-8 Julai, 1973, Appendix II, 63.
124. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 8.
125. The inscription on the back of the Amoghapāśa has been discussed by F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 9. He described the inscription in the following words:-
 "The first strophes glorify Adityawarman:
 'magnanimous as the elephant in the woodland caverns'.
 Next the patih Dewa Tuhan is mentioned. Then follows the consecration of the Amoghapaśa-Gaganeganja image by the Acarya Dharmācēkhara, who is friendly as Manjuçri'. Adityawarman is called 'mahayana-jogawinana' and

'manidwayana-takakarona' ('cause of the dancing of two jewels').

'In the golden halls, beautified with birds and elephants, saturated with fragrant perfume of the forest, graced by celestial nymphs where the pools are frequented by Matanginiça and Asuras, the lord of all Daityas, gods and Widyalharas enjoys abundant gaiety, haha! Inspired to dance by the murmuring bees, lovely Matanginiça sways in lively, continuous rhythm. He, disperser of ennui in Matangini, who diverts himself in lively fashion with the hosts of Haha and Huhu, suddenly lays aside his Jina form and descends to earth, to serve the world, fair as the moon in a favorable constellation; graced by the goodness of his heart, under the name Udayawarmmagupta, predecessor of all terrestrial rulers.'

Later the following sentence is added:
 'This image, standing in the middle of the bajraprakara of the jinalaya, is the illustrious Amoghapaçę, fair as the rising sun'.

126. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 9-10.
127. Ibid. 9-10.
128. Ibid. 9-10.
129. Ibid. 10.
130. Ibid. 10.
131. Ibid. 10.
132. Ibid. 10.
133. Ibid. 10.
134. Bennet Bronson, Basoeki, Machi Suhadi, Jan Wisseman, Laporan Penelitian Arkeologi di Sumatera, 20 Mei-8 Julai, 1973, 11.
135. Ibid. 11.
136. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 10.
137. Ibid. 6.
138. Ibid. 7-8.
139. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, trade and society in northeast Sumatra", 97.
140. Ibid. 97. He gives the number of ruin brick temple complexes as 26. But F.M. Schnitger, the archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 35-36 listed 15 temple complexes and went on to say that there were 16. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian art, 75. According to him there were 16 temple complexes.

141. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, The History of Srīvijaya, 80.
O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, 193.
142. Th. Pigeaud, Java in the fourteenth century, Martinus-Nijhoff, Hague, 1, 1960, Chapter 3 Tributaries, Canto 13. 11. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, 193.
143. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 32. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, 69 and Edwin M. Loeb, Sumatra: Its history and people, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 324.
144. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, Pl. XL. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, Pl. 197.
145. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 32. But Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, 69, gives the date as Saka year 961 (= 1036 A.D.).
146. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist iconography, 38.
147. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 32.
148. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, 69.
149. For comparison, see Douglas Barrett, Early Cola bronzes, Bombay, 1965, Pl. 73. The Viṣṇu image has been dated to 975 A.D.
150. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 31-32.
151. Kaba (ga) yin may be read as kabagayin, meaning part.
152. This view has been highlighted by F.M. Schnitger, the Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 32.
153. Ibid. 31.
154. Ibid. 22.
155. Ibid. 22. F.M. Schnitger quoted Stutterheim's view.
156. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, Trade and Society", 98.
157. Nilakanta Sastri, The History of Srivijaya, 109.
158. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 22.
159. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist iconography, 61.
160. Ibid. 62. and F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 26.
161. Ibid. 26.
162. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist iconography, 62.
163. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,

- Pl. XXXIV and Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, Pl. 228.
164. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist iconography, 62 Pl. XXV(C).
165. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 26.
166. Ibid. 27.
167. This view has been quoted by John Norman Miksic in "Archaeology, trade and society in northeast Sumatra", 98. He based his view on the point made by Bosch.
168. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 25, 27-29.
169. The reliefs have been photographed by F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, Pl. XXXIII and see also Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, Pl. 225.
170. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 23-25.
171. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on Indian colonization in Malaya", 85. He suggested that Raja Bersiong was a follower of Bhairava cult.
172. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 19-22.
173. Ibid. 21. The inscription may be transcribed as "... 1101 bulan besakha tithi pañcamī kṛṣṇapaksi brhaspatiwar adiwasa...tatkāla..."
174. For the transcription of the word besakha to vaisakha, see J.G. de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia II, 12, note 64. For the meaning of the words tithi, pañcamī, kṛṣṇapaksi, see H.B. Sarkar, Corpus of the inscriptions of Java, 2, K.L. Makhopadyay, Calcutta, 1972, 65, 86 and 121.
175. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, note 59. He suggested that the Tantrism at Kediri came from "Pame".
176. This view of Bosch has been cited by Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, Pl. 259.
177. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 18.
178. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist iconography, 69.
179. Ibid. 70.
180. Ibid. 71.
181. A. Getty, God of northern Buddhism, 164.

182. Jitendra Nath Banerjee, Development of Hindu iconography, 558-559.
183. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, Chapter 5.
184. Ibid. 30.
185. Ibid. 29-30.
186. Ibid. 36.
187. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, 75-76.
188. Among the examples believed to have been influenced by Java are, see, F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, Lokanatha from Ganung Tuo (p. 32). Pulo temple (p. 29 and note 72). The South Indian influence was on the Heruka image (Pl. XXXIV, p. 26) and the bronze back support of an image (Pl. XXXIV, p. 30).
189. For comparison see, Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, 105, Pl. 227.
190. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, trade and society", 99.
191. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 33.
192. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, 76.
193. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 33.
194. J.L. Moens, "Yava en Kataha", Tijdschrift voor Indische Ta'al-Land-en Volkende (Deel LXXVII-Aflevering 3, 1937). Uitgegeven door het- Koninklijk Genootschap von Kunsten en Wetenschappen. An abridged translation by R.J. de Touche, JMBRAS, 17, 2 (1939) 1-108. Cf. see, Nilakanta Sastri, The history of Srivijaya, 31-34.
195. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 11-12.
196. Bennet Bronson, Basoeki, Machi Suhadi, Jan Wisseman, Laporan Penelitian arkeologi di Sumatera, 20 Mei-8 Julai 1973, 15-16.
197. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 11.
198. Ibid. 11.
199. Bennet Bronson, Basoeki, Machi Suhadi, Jan Wisseman, Laporan Penelitian arkeologi di Sumatera 20 Mei-8 Julai, 1973, 16.
200. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, Pl. XVII and XX.

201. The information has been extracted from Sushila Pant, the origin and development of the stupa architecture in India, JIH, 51, 2 (1973); 471-478; Nazi muddin Ahmed, "Evolution of Buddhist stupa and monasteries in ancient Indo-Pakistan sub-continent" JAS (Pakistan), 14, 2 (1969) 193-215. The Dharmek Stūpa, Sarnāth and the votive stupa of Nālandā which may be dated to sixth/seventh century, display features basic to the Mahligai stūpa namely the tower and high platform, see Louis Frederic, Indian Temples and Sculpture, Thames and Hudson, London, 1959, Pl. 96, p. 124; Pl. 100, p. 124.
202. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 16.
203. Ibid. 10.
204. Ibid. 10.
205. Ibid. 11.
206. Ibid. 11-12.
207. Ibid. 12.
208. Bennet Bronson, Basoeki, Machi Suhadi, Jan Wisseman, Laporan penelitian arkeologi di Sumatera, 20 Mei - 8 Julai 1973, 16.
209. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 13.
210. Hasan Muarif Ambary, "Catatan tentang penelitian beberapa situs 'masa' Śrīvijaya", 13.
211. Nilakanta Sastri, "A Tamil merchant-guild in Sumatra", TBG, deel LXXII, 1932, 314-327.
212. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, trade and society in northeast Sumatra", 95.
213. Ibid. 95.
214. Hasan Muarif Ambary, "Catatan tentang beberapa situs 'masa' Srivijaya", 13.
215. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, trade and society in northeast Sumatra", 95.
216. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian commerce, 17.
217. Ibid. 191.
218. Ibid. 18.
219. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, trade and society", 93-94.
220. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, 180.

221. F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi, St. Petersberg, 1911, 91; A. Cortesao, The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires, 1, 376; J.V. Mills, "Chinese coastal maps", Imago Mundi, 2 (1954) 154.
222. A. Cortesao, The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires, 1, 161.
223. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, trade and society", 95.
224. Ibid. 95.
225. Ibid. 95.
226. Ibid. 95.
227. Ibid. 96.
228. Ibid. 96.
229. Ibid. 96.
230. Ibid. 96.
231. Ibid. 96.
232. Ibid. 96.
233. Ibid. 96.
234. Ibid. 96.
235. Bennet Bronson, Basoeki, Machi Suhadi, Jan Wisseman, Laporan Penelitian arkeologi di Sumatera, 20 Mei - 8 Julai 1973, 63.
236. Ibid. 63.
237. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 13.
238. Ibid. 13.
239. Ibid. 13.
240. Ibid. 13.
241. Ibid. 14.
242. Ibid. 14.
243. Ibid. 13.
244. This conclusion is based on the comparative study of kāla-head from Simangambat. Ibid. 15 and those from Middle Java style in Benert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art.

245. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 14.
246. Ibid. 14.
247. Ibid. 14-15.
248. Ibid. 14.
249. Ibid. 14. Bosch's view was highlighted by Schnitger.
250. See Pl. 4.141
251. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 14.
252. Accounts of the research has been published see E.E. McKinnon, "Kota Cina, a site with T'ang and Sung period associations: some preliminary notes", BKS, 3/1, 1973, p. 46-52.
E.E. McKinnon, and T.L. Sinar, "Kota China, notes on further developments at Kota China", BKS, 4/1, 63-86.
E.E. McKinnon, "Oriental Ceramics excavated in north Sumatra" Transactions of the Oriental Ceramics 41, 1977, pp. 59-81.
253. John Anderson, Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra in 1823, Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 294.
254. B. Bronson, Bassoeki, M. Suhadi, Jan Wisseman, Laporan Penelitian Arkeologi di Sumatera 20 Mei - 8 Julai 1973.
255. John N. Miksic who was involved in the excavations at Kota Cina and the survey of north Sumatra in 1976-1977 together with NASI team produces a Ph.D. thesis on the result of the research. See J.N. Miksic, "Archaeology, Trade and Society in northeast Sumatra". The reference to Kota Bangun is on pages 221-230.
256. Information on Deli Tua, see J.N. Miksic, pp. 230-235.
257. Ibid. 237-242.
258. E.E. McKinnon and T.L. Sinar, "Kota China, notes on further developments at Kota China" BKS, 4, 1 (1974) 63-86. They have surveyed 25 hectares in 1974 but by 1977 an area of 50.4 hectares had been surveyed. See, John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, Trade and Society in northeast Sumatra", 218.
259. Ibid. 163-199 (ceramics); 203-204 (bones and stones); 204-205 (glass); 205-206 (domar); 206-210 (metal-working and ceramics).
260. E.E. McKinnon and T.L. Sinar, "Kota China, notes on further developments at Kota China", 73 and Satyawati Suleiman, Sculptures of ancient Sumatra, Pl. 9a, p. 17 and M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, (ed.), The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 20 and 21.

261. E.E. McKinnon and T.L. Sinar "Kota China, notes on further developments at Kota China", 73.
262. Debala Metra, Buddhist monument, Sahitya Somasad, Calcutta, 1971, Pl. 122.
263. Satyawati Suleiman, Sculptures of ancient Sumatra, Pl. 9b.
264. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian bronzes, Lalit Kala Akademi, India, New Delhi, 1963. 12-13. Rajarāja had a beautiful Siva temple built there.
265. Ibid. 14.
266. For the transcription of the inscriptions: Larger and smaller Leiden copper-plate, see, Nilakanta Sastri, The history of Śrivijaya, 128-131.
267. Reginald le May, A concise history of Buddhist art in Siam, 99.
268. Ibid. 99.
269. Besides the king of Śrīvijaya, the Chinese also established a monastery there, see, T.N. Ramachandran, "The Nāgapatṭinam and other Buddhist bronzes in the Madras Museum" Bulletin of the Madras Museum, 7, 1 (n.s.) 1954, 14.
270. E.E. McKinnon and T.L. Sinar, "Kota China, notes on further developments at Kota China", 76, Pl. VI.
271. A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", 38 and 59-60. It is probably the continuation of the 3/0 type.
272. E.E. McKinnon and T.L. Sinar, "Kota China, notes on further developments at Kota China", 76, Pl. VII.
273. Satyawati Suleiman, Sculptures from ancient Sumatra, 17, Pl. 11b.
274. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian bronzes, 39.
275. Satyawati Suleiman, Sculptures from ancient Sumatra, Pl. 11a, p. 17.
276. For comparison, see, C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian bronzes, 35-36, fig. 24(d).
277. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, trade and society in northeast Sumatra", 164.
278. G.B. Gardner, "Ancient beads from Johore River as evidence of an early link by sea between Malaya and the Roman Empire" JRAS, 1937.
279. Alastair Lamb, "notes on beads from Johor Lama and Kota Tinggi" JMBRAS, 37, 1 (1964).

280. Alastair Lamb, "Pengkalan Bajang: An ancient port in Kedah", 12-17.
281. Alastair Lamb, "Kedah and Takuapa: some tentative historical conclusions" FMJ, 6, 1961, 69-88.
282. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, trade and society in northeast Sumatra", 206-210.
283. Ibid. 134.
284. E.E. McKinnon and T.L. Sinar, "Kota China, notes on further developments at Kota China", 69-70.
285. Ibid. 63.
286. E.E. McKinnon, "Oriental ceramics excavated in north Sumatra" TOCS, 41, 1977, 63.
287. John Norman Miksic, "Archaeology, trade and society in northeast Sumatra", 218.
288. Ibid. 207.
289. O.W. Wolters, The fall of Srīvijaya in the Malay history, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1970, 44.
290. Wolf Donner, The Five Faces of Thailand, St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1978, 404.
291. The role of the bridge and barrier of the Malay Peninsula has been discussed by Stanley O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Thailand, Chapter 1 and Quaritch-Wales, The Malay Peninsula in Hindu Times, Bernard Quaritch Ltd, London, 1976.
292. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, University of Malaya Press, 1961, 8. See, 'A notice on the Ch'ien Han Shu' and note 1.
293. Ibid. Fig. 4, p. XXVI.
294. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "A Newly-Explored Route of Ancient Indian Cultural Expansion", IAL, 11, 1 (1935), 5.
295. A.W. Hamilton, "The Old Kedah-Pattani Trade Route", JSBRAS, 86, 1922, pp. 386-392.
296. W.E. Maxwell, "A journey on foot to the Patani frontier in 1876" JSBRAS, 9 (1882) pp. 1-67.
297. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 9; provides the itinerary for the outward journey in about 100 B.C. of the Chinese envoys.
298. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, 263, note 2. He translated Mulasarvastivāda-ekaśatakarman, Taishō Tripitaka, Vol. 24, no. 1453, 477c.

299. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya", 70.
300. George Coedès, The Indianised states of South East Asia, East West Center Press, University of Hawaii, 1968, 56.
And, Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of ancient Indian Cultural Expansion" 25-26. He identified the Bay of Bandon with P'an-p'an.
301. Alastair Lamb, "Miscellaneous Papers on Early Hindu and Buddhist Settlements....", 1-91; "The Kedah Casket, a review of its contents" 55-60; "The temple on the River of Cut Stone", 61-66.
302. Alastair Lamb, "The Temple on the River of Cut Stone", 66.
303. Wong Lin Ken, "The Malayan Tin Industry", in K.B. Tregonning (ed.) Papers on Malayan History (Singapore, 1962), 10.
304. Brian C. Batchelor, "Post Hoabinhian" Coastal Settlement indicated by finds in Stanniferous Langat River Alluvium Near Dengkil, Selangor, Peninsular Malaysia", 47; and also see I.H.N. Evans, Papers on the ethnology and archaeology of the Malay Peninsula, Cambridge University Press, 1977, 127, 136; and B.A.V. Peacock, "Recent archaeological discoveries in Malaya", JMBRAS, 3 (1), 180-187 on the discoveries of tin and bronze artifacts and a stone mould for casting tin ingots.
Robert E. Pendleton, Thailand: Aspects of Landscape and Life, New York, 1962, pp. 236-237.
305. Anker Rentse, "A Historical note on the north-east Malay states" JMBRAS, 20, 1 (1947) 31.
306. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, p. XXI.
307. Brian C. Batchelor, "Post-Hoabinhian Coastal Settlement p. 14 and H.D. Tjia, Sukender Asikin and Soeria Aturadja, Coastal accretion in western Indonesia, Bulletin NIGM, Bandung 1, 1 (1968), 15-45.
308. Brian C. Batchelor, "Post-Hoabinhian Coastal Settlement", 41.
309. Wolf Donner, The Five Faces of Thailand, 414-425.
310. Brian C. Batchelor, "Post-Hoabinhian Coastal Settlement".
311. Ibid. 45 and J. Lowenstein, "The origin of the Malayan Metal Age", JMBRAS, 29, 2 (1962) 5-78; particularly p. 65. The difference between the bronze bowl of the Bronze Age or Dongson Age is in the content of the lead in their alloy. The later bronze contents are less about 18% to 22%. Lowenstein, p. 30.
312. Brian C. Batchelor, "Post-Hoabinhian coastal settlement", 46.

313. Arab literature on trade with the Peninsula Asia has been summarised in G.R. Tibbets, "The Malay Peninsula as known to the Arab geographers" MJTG, Vol. 9, 1956, pp. 21-60; see also Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, XXIV.
314. Brian C. Batchelor, "Post-Hoabinhian coastal settlement", 33.
315. W. Shaw and Mohd Kassim b. Haji Ali, Tin "Hat" and animal money, Museums Dept., K.L., 1970, 3; and Paul Wheatley, p. 319 on the discussion of the tin ingots as money based on Tome Pire's descriptions, p. 99, 275 and Cortessao's remarks, p. 94 note 1.
316. The information was given to Brian C. Batchelor, "Post-Hoabinhian coastal settlement", 45.
317. I.H.N. Evans, "On the existance of an old boat from Pontian Pahang", JFMSM, 12, 4 (1923), 93-96.
318. See Brian C. Batchelor, in the result of the carbon-14 date on page Addendum in "Post-Hoabinhian coastal settlement".
319. No report of the excavation by Muzium Negara has been published but the finds are kept in the museum in Kuala Lumpur.
320. This definition has been used by Alastair Lamb in various articles concerning Pengkalan Bujang and Takuapa: see particularly "Pengkalan Bujang: An ancient port in Kedah", 79-81 and "Takuapa:the probable site of a pre-Malacca entrepôt in the Malay Peninsula", 76-86.
321. I.H.N. Evans, "On ancient remains from Kuala Selingsing" JFMSM, 12, 5 (1928), 121-132; "Further notes on remains from Kuala Selinsing", JFMSM, 12, 5, (1928) 139-142; "Results of a further visit" JFMSM, 12, 7 (1929) 181-4; "Notes on recent finds at Kuala Selinsing", JFMSM, 12, 7 (1929), 25-27.
322. I.H.N. Evans, "Excavations at Tanjung Rawa, Kuala Selinsing, Perak", JFMSM, 15, 3 (1932) 79-134.
323. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", 54-56.
324. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 197.
325. I.H.N. Evans, "Excavations at Tanjung Rawa, Kuala Selinsing, Perak", 81-84. He described the seal in the following words, "It is a small seal of red cornelian of good colour and somewhat translucent, chambered at the edges on the face and these engraved with an inscription running the length of the seal in the middle. The dimensions of the piece are 1.4 cm x 1 cm x 0.4 cm. The back is flat. It reads Sri Viṣṇu yarmmasya.

326. I.H.N. Evans, "Results of a further visit", 183.
327. I.H.N. Evans, "On ancient remains from Kuala Selinsing", 122-123.
328. Ibid. 125-126.
329. Alastair Lamb, "Old Middle Eastern Glass in the Malay Peninsula", in essays offered to G.H. Luce, AA, 23, 2 (1966).
330. Ibid. 74.
331. I.H.N. Evans, "On ancient remains from Kuala Selinsing", 125-126.
332. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological research on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", 56.
333. Alastair Lamb, "Pengkalan Bujang: an ancient port in Kedah", 80.
334. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 297.
335. I.H.N. Evans, "Excavations at Tanjung Rawa, Kuala Selingsing, Perak", 23-24.
336. I.H.N. Evans, "On ancient remains from Kuala Selinsing", 131.
337. Ibid. 131.
338. I.H.N. Evans, "Results of a further visit", 191-192.
339. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", 55.
340. Ibid. 55.
341. Ibid. 55.
342. Ibid. 77.
343. Nilakanta Sastri, "A note on an inscribed seal from Perak" JMBRAS, 14, 3 (1936), 181-183.
344. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", 54.
345. I.H.N. Evans, "Notes on Malayan antiquities", JMBRAS, 14, 3 (1936), 180-181.
346. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", 50.
347. Ibid. 50.
348. Ibid. 50.
349. Ibid. 50.

350. Ibid. 50.
351. Ibid. 50.
352. A.B. Griswold, Shri Sivaramamurti, J.G. de Casparis, and A.H. Pott, "Treasure trove among the Tapioca: A tenth century Malayan bronze", MH, 8, 1 (1962) 11-13; A.B. Griswold, "The Jalong bronze", FMJ, 7, 1962, 64-66.
353. Malay Annals, (edition) Sir R.O. Winstedt, JRASMB, 16, 3 (1938), 18.
354. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya" 53.
355. For the discussion on the tradition see, Husain bin Mahmud, "The ancient kingdom of Bruas" MH, 13, 1 (1970) 2-4.
356. Anker Rentse, "A historical note on the northeaster Malay State" JMBRAS, 20, 1 (1947), 39. Among the ceramic finds were: A dark green glazed celadon plate 4 cm in diameter; a dark green glazed celadon bowl 10 cm in diameter; a Sawankalok vase 10 cm high (all were from Kelantan).
357. Lord M. Medway, "Archaeological notes on Palau Tioman, Pahang" FMJ, 7, 1962, 60-62; and Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 297.
358. Alastair Lamb, "The hermit of Perlis" MH, 8, 1 (1962) 15; "Mahayana Buddhist Tablets in Perlis" JMBRAS, 37, 2 (1964), 55-56.
359. Ibid. 55-56.
360. This information is from an unpublished excavation report.
361. George Coedès, "Siamese votive tablets".
362. See Alastair Lamb, "Mahāyāna Buddhist Tablets in Perlis" 55-56.
363. Ibid. 55-56.
364. Ibid. 55-56.
365. Ibid. 55-56.
366. See note 360.
367. W. Donner, The five faces of Thailand, Fig. 88, p. 454.
368. See note 294, Chapter 2.
369. W.W. Bourke, "Some archaeological notes on Monthon Puket", JSS, 2, 1905, 49-62.

370. Colonel G.E. Gerini, "Siamese archaeology: A synoptical sketch" JRAS, 1904, 233-248.
371. Lunet de Lanjonquière, "La domaine, archeologique du Siam" BCAI, 1, 1909, 188-262. The sketches are on page 235; "Essai d'inventaire archeologique du Siam" BCAI, 1912-1913, 19-181.
372. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of ancient Indian cultural expansion", 1-31.
373. Alastair Lamb, "Three statues in a tree: A note on the Pra Narai group, Takuapa" FMJ, 6, 1961, 64-68.
374. E.H. Hultsch, "Supplementary note on a Tamil inscription in Siam", JRAS, 1, 1914, 397-398.
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376. Reginald le May, A concise history of Buddhist art in Siam, figs. 41, 42.
377. Pierre Dupont, "Le Buddha de Grahi et l'école de Chaiya", BEFEO, 42, 1942, 105-106; "Viṣṇu mitrès de l'Indochine occidentale" BEFEO, 41, 1 (1941), 233-254.
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379. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of ancient Indian cultural expansion", 9.
380. Ibid. 10.
381. Alastair Lamb, "Some glass beads from Kakao Island" FMJ, 6, 1961, 48.
382. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of ancient Indian cultural expansion", 10.
383. Alastair Lamb, "Some glass beads from Kakao Island", 48.
384. Stanley O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 50.
385. Ibid. 50.
386. Alastair Lamb, "Takuapa: the probable site of a pre-Malaccan entrepôt in the Malay Peninsula", 76-86.
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388. Stanley O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 48.
389. Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of ancient Indian cultural expansion", 11-12.

390. E.H. Hultsch, "Supplementary note on a Tamil inscription in Siam", 397-398.
391. Nilakanta Sastri, "Takuapa and its Tamil inscription", 29-30.
392. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of ancient Indian cultural expansion" 11-12; in Towards Angkor, he concluded that "if those images had not been carried twelve miles up the Takuapa River, Angkor in Cambodia would never have existed", 49-50.
393. Lunet de Lajonqui re, "Essai d'inventaire arch ologique du Siam", 166-169.
394. Alastair Lamb, "Takuapa: the probable site of a pre-Malaccan entrep t in the Malay Peninsula", 78.
395. H.G. Quaritch-Wales saw a parallel example, the Gangadhara group of sculptures at Trichinopoly, see, "A newly explored route of ancient Indian cultural expansion" 15; Stanley O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 53 and Nilakanta Sastri, "Takuapa and its Tamil inscription", 26, identified them as Shaivite. But Quaritch-Wales in "Recent Malayan excavations and some wider implications" JRAS, 1946, 147, re-identified the central figure as a Vishnu. In 1961, he returned to the Shaivite implication of the Gangadhara parallel. See, "Review of Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat" by Alastair Lamb, JSEAH, 2, 3 (1961) 109; Alastair Lamb, "Takuapa: the probable site of pre-Malaccan entrep t on the Malay Peninsula", 79, note 1, identifies it as Vishnu.
396. Stanley O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 54.
397. E. Hultsch, "Supplementary note on a Tamil inscription in Siam", 397-398.
398. Nilakanta Sastri, "Takuapa and its Tamil inscription", 25-30.
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400. Ibid. 29-30.
401. Nilakanta Sastri, "A Tamil merchant guild in Sumatra", TBG, 72, 1932, 314-327.
402. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 216-220.
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404. J.Y. Claeys, "L'archeologie du Siam", BEFEO, 31, 1931, 280-283.
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407. Ibid. 20.
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414. Ibid. 55. Fig. 4.
415. See G. Maspéro, Le royaume du Champa, Paris Librairie Nationale d'art et d'histoire, 1928, Pl. XVI.
416. Paramentier, Inventaire descriptif des monuments Chams de l'Annam, 1909, Vol. 1, fig. 73.
417. For comparison, see, Parmonto Atmadi, Pelita Borobudur, Laporan Kegiatan proyek pemugaran Candi Borobudur, Seri C, No. 2, Jakarta, 1979, 257 and 260.
418. M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, The art of Srīvijaya, 40.
419. Ibid. 40.
420. Stanley O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 39.
421. Ibid. 40.
422. The views have been discussed by Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 50.
423. G. Luce, "Countries neighbouring Burma", JBRAS, 14, 2 (1925), 169 note 1.
424. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 50.
425. Ibid. 48-50.
426. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of Indian cultural expansion" 4 and M.C. Chand., "Background to Srīvijaya story" JSS, 62, 1 (1974), 210-211.
427. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of Indian cultural expansion", 4. Among his views were, "the Sailendra dynasty is always spoken of in Chola inscription, as reigning over Kadara or Kidara and Srīvijaya,

Kadāra (Kedah) being that part of Jāvaka kingdom best known to the Indians, and the power of whose ruler spread over Śrivijaya perhaps over the end of the eighth century A.D.".

- 428. Ibid. 4.
- 429. O.W. Wolters, "A note on the capital of Śrīvijaya after eleventh century", 228-230.
- 430. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of Indian cultural expansion", 4.
- 431. See Chapter 1 for the discussion on the various problems related to the terminology.
- 432. J.G. de Casparis, "The date of Buddha Grahi" JSS, 55, 1 (1967), 31. See also G. Coedès, "Recueil de inscriptions du Siam", 2, 1929, 25-29.
- 433. J.G. de Casparis, "The date of Buddha Grahi" 31.
- 434. Ibid. 32.
- 435. Ibid. 32.
- 436. Ibid. 33.
- 437. P. Dupont, "Variétés, archéologiques II, Le Buddha de Grahi et l'école de C'aiya", BEFEO, 42, 1942, 105-13, Pls. VI-VII; J.G. de Casparis, "The date of Buddha Grahi", 33.
- 438. Ibid. 31-40; see also Reginald le May, A concise history of Buddhist art, 49.
- 439. J.G. de Casparis, "The date of Buddha Grahi", 34.
- 440. Ibid. 35-36.
- 441. H.W. Woodward, "Studies in the art of Central Siam, 950-1350" Ph.D. Thesis, Yale University, Vol. 1, 1975, 91-101.
- 442. Ibid. 91-101.
- 443. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 71.
- 444. W. Donner, The five faces of Thailand, 528.
- 445. Lunet de Lajonquière, "Essai d'inventaire du Siam", 148.
- 446. For the description and location of the temple, see H.G. Quaritch-Wales "A newly explored route of Indian cultural expansion", 23.
- 447. Ibid. 25.

448. For its plan and elevation, see the drawings in Lunet de Lajonquière, "Essai d'inventaire du Siam", 149.
449. Stanley O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 22 note 14. He quoted the view put forward by A.B. Griswold and Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.
450. Ibid. 22.
451. M. Claeys, "L'archeologie du Siam", 374-377, Fig. 39, Pl. xxxvii; Fig. 4.
452. Ibid. 374.
453. Lunet de Lajonquière, "Essai d'inventaire du Siam".
454. M. Claeys, "L'archeologie du Siam".
455. G. Coedès, "Les collections archeologiques du Musée National de Bangkok".
456. Alastair Lamb, "Miscellaneous papers on early Hindu and Buddhist settlements in northern Malaya and Southern Thailand".
457. Stanley O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, "Si Chon: an early settlement in Peninsular Siam," JSS, 56, 1 (1968), 1-18.
458. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of Indian cultural expansion".
459. Ibid. 24 and M. Claeys, "L'archeologie du Siam", 377.
460. Stanley O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, figs. 2 and 3.
461. Lunet de Lajonquière, "Essai d'inventaire du Siam", 178.
462. See Stanley O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 23-24.
463. Alastair Lamb, "Miscellaneous papers on early Hindu and Buddhist settlement in northern Malaya and Southern Thailand", 70, Pl. 117.
464. Ibid. 70.
465. G. Coedès, "Recueil des inscriptions du Siam", 1, 37.
466. Ibid. 37.
467. Ibid. 38-40.
468. Ibid. 38.
469. Ibid. 25-28; Nilakanta Sastri, The History of Srivijaya, 133-134 provided the English translation.

470. O.W. Wolters, "Tambralinga" BSOAS, 21, 3 (1958), 589.
471. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 66-67.
472. F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua, 53, 57-58.
473. G. Coedès, "Les Royaume de Crivijaya" BEFEO, 18, 1918, 6, 15-18. O.W. Wolters, "Tambralinga", 589.
474. Ibid. 587.
475. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 67.
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477. See G. Coedès, "Recueil des inscriptions du Siam", 1, 48.
478. O.W. Wolters, "Tambralinga" 592.
479. F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua, 65 note 1.
480. The existence of these sites was reported by Stanley O'Connor, "Si Chon: an early settlement in Peninsular Thailand", JSS, 56, 1 (1968), 1-18.
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482. Ibid.
483. Lunet de Lajonquière, "Essai d'inventaire du Siam".
484. G. Coedès, "Les collections archeologique du Musée National Bangkok".
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487. A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", AA (Suppl. 2), 1966, Fig. 22.
488. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of the Indian cultural expansion" 18; G. Coedès, "Les collections archeologique du Siam" Pl. IX.
489. Ibid. 19, Pl. X.
490. Ibid. 19.
491. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Langkasuka and Tambralinga, some archaeological notes" JMBRAS, 47, 1 (1974), 39, Pl. 14.
492. Alastair Lamb, "Notes on Sathingphra", 74-87.
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494. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "A stone casket from Sathingphra" JSS, 52, 2 (1964), 217-223.
495. Janice Stargadt "Southern Thai waterwyas. Archaeological evidence on agriculture, shipping and trade in the Srivijayan period" MAN, 8, 1 (1973), 7.
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498. Ibid. 218.
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501. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Tambralinga and Langkasuka: some archaeological notes" 15-18, fig. 2.
502. Ibid. Pl. 1-8.
503. See, A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", 55, Pl. 5.
504. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 263-264.
505. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Tambralinga and Langkasuka: some archaeological notes" 15-28.
506. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 264.
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CHAPTER 3

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF
THE BUJANG AND MUDA RIVER VALLEYS

Hindu-Buddhist remains were first reported to exist in the Bujang and Muda River valleys by James Low in the early part of the nineteenth century. In the 1920s and 1930s, I.H.N. Evans, from Perak Museum did sporadic explorations and excavations. These were followed by Quaritch-Wales and his wife, Dorothy Wales, who during the period of fourteen months investigated over thirty sites. After the Second World War, a series of surveys and excavations were carried out by the archaeological team from University of Malaya (Singapore) and the Federation Museum Department Research Unit from University of Malaya and Muzium Negara continued with archaeological surveys of the areas and this resulted in the discovery of a few more sites. Among these newly discovered sites are sites 49 and 50. In the 1970s, a major archaeological exploration of the areas were undertaken by Muzium Negara with University of Malaya in the first phase, 1970-1975, and Muzium Negara and University Kebangsaan in the second phase, 1976-1980. As a result of this major work, nine sites were excavated and seven of the monuments were reconstructed. The products of these excavations will make up the core of the discussion of the archaeological survey of both Bujang and Muda valleys.

3.1. The archaeological site at Bukit Penjara

Bukit Penjara is a small forested hill, about fifty metres high. It is situated on the southern bank of Merbok River at the point where the river meets the Indian Ocean. The eastern side of the hill has a very low and gradual gradient which made it accessible. But the western side which faces the sea has a very steep gradient. It provides a very prominent landmark to ships entering the Merbok estuary from the sea. This physical asset of Bukit Penjara must have been very important to travellers and traders

coming and going by boats to and from the settlements in the two river valleys.

There is evidence which indicates the existence of some kind of human habitation at Bukit Penjara during the period prior to the fifteenth century. Hikayat Merong Maha Wangsa, for instance, mentioned that the legendary Raja Bersiong built a fort there.¹ Another version of the annal relates that Raja Bersiong built a prison at Bukit Penjara and that the hill derives its name from that.² Quaritch-Wales who investigated the site during his 1936-1937 archaeological investigations of archaeological sites in Malaya listed Bukit Penjara as site 25.³ He wrote as follows:⁴

"On the summit we excavated a mound which evidently previously received the attention of either Colonel James Low or treasure seekers, or perhaps both. The remains appeared to be those of a small brick-porched sanctuary opening to the west. The brick measurements were of class 2. Nothing of interest was found but the brick measurements and general appearance suggest that the building was perhaps a contemporary of Sites 19-23".

In 1978, I visited the site, but there was no trace of the mound excavated by Quaritch-Wales. There was, however, an abandoned rest-house complex built by the government after the Second World War on a flat area of about 900 sq.m. On top of the hill was the remains of a circular well-like structure with a diameter of about 3 m at the top and 1.5 m at a depth of 3 m. The sides were lined with bricks, and at the depth of 3 m we could see that it was covered with dead leaves and tree branches. It was not possible to ascertain the depth of the structure beyond that. But according to local belief the well was the entrance to an underground tunnel.

Interest in the Bukit Penjara as an archaeological site was again rekindled in November, 1979. This was due to the discovery of a cave by workers who had been working on the

development project at Pantai Merdeka, an area on the west side of Bukit Penjara. The cave was inside the Bukit Penjara. A number of very fine Sung celadon were reported to have been discovered and a few pieces were given to the Muzium Arkeologi, Lembah Bujang. As a result of the discovery, a rescue excavation was carried out on 20th November, 1979.

The archaeological excavation of the cave at Bukit Penjara, Pantai Merdeka, Bujang Valley

A 3 x 3 metre square was first excavated. The excavated area was then increased to cover all the areas from the square right up to the walls of the cave in the north, east and west. The areas were chosen because the floor was free from boulders of shale rock. The front part of the cave had its floor covered with fallen rocks from collapsed walls and roofs of the cave as a result of the levelling by the workmen working with a bulldozer. It had an area of approximately 7 x 7 sq. m. The whole area of the cave was about 11.25 x 10.5 sq. m.

There were two passages leading from the main cave to unknown destinations. The passages were too narrow to be explored. Nevertheless it was possible for a person to go through these passages by crawling. They appeared to go up. It is possible to assume that these passages could lead to the top of the hill. There was another passage which ended about 5 m from the main cave. Its floor was about 1.5 m higher than the floor of the main cave. The roof of the main buildings were marked with soot and undeciphered symbols in geometric design. In view of the fact that there was no sign of any entrance from the sea before the workmen broken down the wall, the entrance must have been from the top of the hill. The cave was situated about three hundred and fifty metres from the sea and three metres above sea level.

The soil profiles obtained from the excavation indicate that there were two significant habitation layers. From the depth of 0 cm to 40 cm, the soil was composed of a dark grey sand or silica grains with plenty of sea-shells and fish-bones. The size of the grain of the sands was large at the top and gradually became finer as the excavation progressed deeper. There were traces of burnt sea-shells in an area of 50 cm square at the depth of 20 cm, in the north-west corner. At the depth of 24 cm the soil was very dark due to the presence of large amounts of charcoal remains. There was also the remains of a cooking area where three pieces of stones were arranged in a circle whose diameter was 35 cm and the height of stones was 16 cm. The top of the stone first appeared at the depth of 8 cm. In the 24-40 cm layer, there appeared traces of remains of carbonised matter and two small pieces of talc, about 5 cm long. This layer yielded 90 pieces of earthenware, 20 pieces of stoneware and two weights for fishing lines.

The second strata, 40-60 cms, composed of light grey medium textured sand. On top of this layer was a layer of broken pieces of shale rock. There were traces of sea-shells and carbonised matter and charcoal but the amount was very small compared to the first layer. The only artifacts recovered from this layer were the earthenwares which number 20. Almost all the earthenwares were recovered from the depth above 50 cm. Below the second layer was the bedrock. It rose gradually from the south to the north, that was from the direction of the sea to the wall of the cave.

The archaeological finds from Bukit Penjara cave

The archaeological finds described here include the artifacts and food remains. There are three groups of artifacts; the earthenwares, the stonewares and the stone (laterite) weight. The shell food remains comprise marine, coastal and freshwater molluscs. These molluscs were easily obtainable from the coasts and the river near to the

site.

Ceramics

There are altogether 130 sherds which can be grouped into stonewares and earthenwares. They have a total dry weight of 1 kgm; 15.4% of the total number of sherds are stonewares. The number of sherds recovered would have been much greater if not for the actions of the bulldozer used by the workmen to break down the cave.

For the terminology used in the study of earthenwares, the work of Anna Shepard,⁵ W.G. Solheim⁶ and Bennet Bronson⁷ were followed and for comparative purposes with Malaysian earthenwares the work of B.A.V. Peacock⁸ was consulted. The terminology used in the classification of stonewares followed that of Alastair Lamb,⁹ McKinnon,¹⁰ Nils Palmgren¹¹ and M. Medley.¹²

Earthenwares

The earthenware sherds from Bukit Penjara indicate that about 85% are of medium textured paste with a slight sand temper. Their technical attributes can be classified as either plain or decorative types. The colours are dark grey, grey, orange and reddish orange. Nearly 70% of these wares are decorated. The decoration consists of cord, shell, or mat-impressions; simple incised lines were used to form line decorations.

Stonewares

All the stoneware sherds from the site may be identified as Chinese. There are four sherds which may be classified as Lung-chüan type. The body of the sherds have a whitish paste and had been fired at a high temperature. The paste observed at the fractures had a sugary texture. The

thickness of the sherds are about 5.5 mm. All the sherds were recovered from the top layer.

Another prominent sherd is that of a base of a vessel which is two-thirds complete. The diameter of the foot-ring is about 5 cm. The sherd appears to have a creamish blue glaze.¹³ The glaze does not cover the foot, and the thick glaze ran down towards the base in drops. This must be due to the strong adhering qualities of the feldspathic glaze.¹⁴ The body of the sherd is grey and quite coarse and, where free from glaze, it has a warm buff colour. It seems to be of the hard-fired stoneware type. Although the glaze appears to be of the T'ang type of creamy white glaze, the general appearance is of lesser quality. It perhaps belongs to the Sung and Yüan type of white wares.¹⁵ The way the glaze ends above the base is a strong reason enough for this assumption and it probably belongs to the coarse type of such wares.

There is a complete base of a vessel with a low foot-ring. The vessel appears to be a bowl. It was recovered from the depth of about 35 cm. The foot-ring is about 6 cm in diameter, 1 cm high and 4 mm. There are five other small pieces which may belong to the body part of the vessel. The glaze was a thin translucent bluish-white and smooth. It covered the whole of the foot-ring. Fractures of the sherds showed that the paste was fine textured and whitish. The vessel must have been fashioned on a wheel because circular grooves were found on the outside of the base within the foot-ring.

Ochre-glazed wares

There are two types of ochre-glazed wares found at the site. The first is the dark brown glazed type. They have a rough textured body of mottled appearance. This is presumably caused by the impurities in the glaze. In most cases the glaze had flaked off. This coarse stoneware type must apparently have been fired at lower temperature than

that of celadon type. The average thickness of the sherds is 5 mm and the paste has a buff colour.

The second type of the ochre-glazed wares found at the site is the grey medium textured paste wares. There are five sherds. The thickness of each sherd is 8 mm. To this group of sherds belongs an incomplete base. The thickness of the body is about 9 mm; the foot-ring has a thickness of 5 mm and is 12 mm tall. There are groove marks inside the foot-ring. It is not possible to determine the exact colour of the glaze of the whole body because large parts of the body is missing. The glaze is very thin and appeared to be more or less coated with pigment. According to those scholars familiar with Chinese ceramics, this type of glazed ware belongs to the Sung period.¹⁶

Summary of the excavation of the cave site of Bukit Penjara, Pantai Merdeka, Bujang Valley

From the archaeological evidence, it seems that the cave at Bukit Penjara and also the site on top of the hill were inhabited by people during the Sung and Yüan periods. The identifiable stonewares recovered from the excavation revealed that they could not be dated later than the Sung and Yüan periods. There are two reasons for this belief. One is that, the absence of the blue and white sherds. The second reason is that the discovery of the Lung-chüan sherd at the top layer of the site.

Studies by Courtier in 1974 indicate that marine deposits are known up to fourteen kilometres inland, north-east of Butterworth, in the Muda River Valley area.¹⁷ This suggests that coastal plains in the two river valleys are recent development. They have been prograding seawards. The rate of progradation varies from place to place in the Malay Peninsula: 10.20 m per annum for northern Pahang Delta; 1.2 to 1.5 m per annum for northern Johore.¹⁸ If the marine deposits were fourteen kilometres inland at Butterworth, it is probable that during the early part of

the Christian era, a large part of the Merbok estuary was under sea water and Bukit Penjara itself was probably an island. Presumably, the site was more significant during the later part of the Christian era than earlier. It may have been a kind of outpost to the settlements and port in the Sungai Emas and Pengkalan Bujang area.

Summary of Excavation at the cave of Bukit Penjara, Pantai Merdeka

A 3 x 3 metre square which was extended at the end of the excavation right to the walls of the cave was excavated. The finds were recorded in 10 cm interval, whenever possible, for each layer. The summary below provides a brief description of data obtained from the excavation.

0-10 cm Dark grey sandy soil mixed with sea-shells and fish-bones.

Earthenware: Medium textured paste sand tempered ware

Plain: Grey body sherd - 6, Grey rim sherd - 1,
Orange body sherd - 11, Orange rim sherd - 1,
Dark grey body sherd - 4.

Coarse textured paste sand tempered ware

Plain: Grey body sherd - 1

Decorated: Cord-impressed, light orange sherd - 6, Net-impressed, light orange body sherd - 7, Shell-impressed, light orange body sherd - 5.

Grooved, light orange body sherd - 3.

Stoneware: 4 sherds of thick pale green glazed ware.

10-20 cm Dark grey sandy soil mixed with sea-shells and less amount of fish bones. Traces of burnt sea-shells in the north-west corner, at 20 cm.

Earthenware: Medium textured paste sand tempered ware.

Decorated: light orange cord-impressed, body
6 sherds, and 1 rim sherd.

Grooved, orange body sherd - 3.

Plain: orange body sherd - 1

Stoneware: Dark brown glazed ware sherds - 4

20-30 cm Grey sandy soil mixed with less amount of sea-shells and very few fish bones, charcoal remains at 24 cm.

Earthenware: Medium textured paste sand tempered ware.

Plain: light grey rim sherd - 4

Decorated: Cord-impressed, light grey body sherd - 10, orange body sherd - 3

Stoneware: Yellowish-green glazed ware, body sherd - 2, dark-brown glazed ware, body sherd - 2, creamish blue glazed base - 1.

Laterite weight for the fishing line: 3

30-40 cm Medium textured paste sand tempered ware

Plain: orange rim sherd - 1, Grey body sherd - 8, Grey base sherd - 1.

Decorated: cord-impressed, light grey body sherd - 3, net-impressed, light grey body sherd - 8.

Stoneware: bluish white glazed base sherd - 1, dark brown glazed body sherd - 1, bluish white body sherd - 5.

40-50 cm At the 40 cm there were traces of broken pieces of shale. Traces of carbonised matter and charcoal at 45 cm. The soil was very light grey.

Earthenware: Medium textured paste sand tempered ware.

Plain: Light orange body sherd - 1, light orange rim sherd - 1, reddish orange body sherd - 5.

Decorated: Cord-impressed, light-orange body sherd - 5, light grey body sherd - 6.

50-60 cm The soil is very light grey. Two pieces of earthenware were recovered from the depth of 53 cm. They are decorated with cord-impressed decorations and they are light orange and light grey in colour. At the depth of 60 cm was the bedrock.

3.2. The archaeological sites in Kampong Pengkalan Bujang

Kampong Pengkalan Bujang is a small padi farming village situated along the banks of the middle reaches of the Bujang River. A number of archaeological sites have been located in the area. Prominent among them are Quaritch-Wales' Sites 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23. They are located on the sand-banks of the river which represent the elevated ground amid the padi lands. The river at this point meanders slowly towards the Merbok River. It is believed that in ancient time the sites were situated much closer to the river and the sea.

In 1937, Quaritch-Wales and his wife carried out an extensive exploration of the area and excavated Sites 18 and 19. This exploratory work of Quaritch-Wales was taken up by Muzium Negara in 1970 after several surveys of the sites. The results of the surveys prompted Muzium Negara to reconstruct Site 19. The site was described by Quaritch-Wales in the following words:-¹⁹

"Kedah: Site 19

The remains of this Hindu temple which had probably been entirely built of bricks (Class 2), were situated close to the left bank of the Bujang. They had been comparatively well preserved owing no doubt to the silting up of the river sand over the site soon after the temple was abandoned so that only a very slight mound marked the site. It had evidently been a vaulted shrine

having a porch opening to the east. The thick walls had somewhat elaborate mouldings. At their highest point the remains of the walls stood four feet above a foundation consisting of a single course of small water worn stones."

The study presented here is the product of my visit to the site in 1976 and the excavation of the undisturbed part near the reconstructed temple in October, 1978. The archaeological finds from the 1970 excavation which have not been studied nor reported were made available to me for my study of the site. The few people involved with the 1970 excavations were able to provide me with information regarding that excavation. By studying the reconstructed temple and comparing with Quaritch-Wales' report and photographs,²⁰ I was able to determine to a certain degree the methods of its construction, its structure and plan. The excavated materials provide the chronological evidence.

Description of the site

Generally the temple can be divided into the following parts:-

1. The temple basement: the foundation on which the temple stands.
2. The mandapa: the hall
3. The vimāna or sanctuary.

The temple was located on an elevated sand bank, about three hundred and fifty metres from the east bank of Bujang River. To the east of the temple are kampong houses. Padi-fields separate the river from the temple. Around the temple are plants usually found in swampy riverine environment. This presumably is an indicatory that the river was very much closer to the temple in earlier times. To the north of this site, about one hundred metres away, are Sites 21, 22 and 23.

Referring to the photographs of the site published by

Quaritch-Wales, it is apparent that he had exposed the whole structure by digging round the four walls. The inner part was also cleared. According to his report, he found rough pottery sherds, Lung-chüan celadon, iron objects such as nails, a ladle, a hafted implement, bronze objects such as a central prong of Siva trident, two fragments of terracotta image of a Ganesa and a nine chambered reliquary. He dated the site to the twelfth century.²¹

The 1970 excavation re-exposed the parts excavated by Quaritch-Wales. But the area excavated was very much larger on the four sides of the four walls. This was done to enable the reconstruction work and also to obtain stratigraphical data and new finds. My 1978 excavation of the undisturbed part of the site was to reconfirm the stratigraphical data and to place the finds in their proper stratigraphical context. The area excavated was 5 m x 5 m and located 5 m to north of the reconstructed temple.

The temple was built almost entirely of bricks. On the evidence of iron nails, timber must have been used, presumably, as support to the brick structure which formed the vaulted roof. The temple was recognised by Quaritch-Wales as being a vaulted type.²² This was based on the evidence of the structural remains.

The foundation of the temple was made up of a single course of river pebbles or stones. A significant feature of the temple is its total lack of decoration and the simplicity of the style. The mouldings of the plinth and the walls are also very simple. There was no trace of any sculpture except for the fragments of a Ganesa. These two features are common to other temples in the rest of the two river valleys.

The measurements of the vimana are 5.9 m width and 9.3 m. length. The highest remaining part of the walls is about 1.2 m above the ground level. The mouldings of the walls of the vimana is of the stepped type. The bottom-

most has two courses. The next is stepped-in and comprises six courses. The third set is also another stepped-in but with only two courses. The fourth has six courses and also stepped-in. The fifth has two courses of stepped-in set. Up to this point, the reconstruction by Muzium Negara and the photographs of the moulding differ slightly. The reconstruction has seven sets of steps of nineteen courses while my reconstruction based on the photographs has five sets with eighteen courses.

Looking at the photographs and referring to the specially shaped bricks found at the site, the mouldings of the next part must have been two courses of stepped-out set. The edges of the bricks are slanted 45 degrees. The slanted out bricks must have extended as far out as the third set. This is then followed by two courses of straight edge bricks. They are then followed by another two courses. The edges are slanted 45 degrees but the slant is in the opposite direction to the earlier two slanted edge bricks. The next set has six courses and stepped-in. It is not possible to determine the mouldings above this point. But the discovery of a miniature bronze shrine near Site 4 may be used as a guide to suggest the possible shape of the vaulted roof of the temple.²³ The reconstruction by Muzium Negara seems to have gone above the 1.2 m height and it also tries to establish the mouldings of certain parts above that point.

The walls of the temple must have different kinds of moulding in the inner parts than that reconstructed by Muzium Negara, if the spaces in the mandapa and vimāna parts of the temple were to be utilised properly and to be functional as a temple. I believe that the inside walls of the vimāna and mandapa rose straight and unadorned to a height of 90 cm. The part above that must be thicker. That part must have been the base for the vaulted roof structure. The measurements for the inside of the vimāna are 2.5 m wide and 2.5 m long. The floor of the vimāna is about three courses thick, about 20 cm. The thickest part of the walls of the vimāna is about 1.5 m. From the vimāna to the mandapa one has got to go through a door. The measurements for the

door are: 1.06 m thick; 0.9 m wide; and the height must be more than 1.2 m. The opening of the door began about 30 cm above the floor level.

Basically there is no difference between the vimāna and mandapa in terms of the mouldings of the walls. The internal measurements of the mandapa are: 2.5 m wide, 2.5 m long. Although the external dimensions of the mandapa did not give a square shape, 3.5 m x 5.7 m, nevertheless both vimāna and mandapa were of square type on the evidence of internal measurements. The measurements for the door of the mandapa are: 0.7 m wide; 1.2 m thick; and more than 1.2 m high.

Archaeological finds from Site 19

There are three kinds of archaeological finds from the site. The first is the group of finds reported by Quaritch-Wales. Second, are the finds from the 1970 excavation which are kept in Muzium Arkeologi Lembah Bujang: the ceramics, iron nails and beads. Third, are those finds from 1978 excavation which comprise ceramics and beads.

Ceramics

There are altogether about 960 earthenware sherds and 632 stoneware sherds from the 1970 excavation, and 163 earthenware and 75 stoneware sherds recovered during the 1978 excavation. The ceramics came from four layers: 0-5 cm layer (dark brown sandy soil); 5-40 cm layer (light brown sandy soil); 40-70 cm layer (buff colour sandy soil); 70-130 cm layer (beige colour sandy soil mixed with small amount of mud).

Earthenwares

Earthenwares make up about 65% of the ceramics finds from the site. The majority of the sherds are of the coarse tempered type, and this is then followed by the medium tempered type; very few are fine tempered. The colour of the paste ranges through types of grey and orange. They are either plain or decorated.

Although the majority of the finds are in sherd form, reconstruction of the vessel form can be achieved by studying rims, necks, bases and lids. The most common form of veseels are pots of various sizes having an average body thickness of 5 mm. They are either plain or decorated. Those that are decorated have carved paddle impression in the form of net patterns with squares in the negative, basket patterns, criss-cross patterns, and cord-impressed patterns. Besides these linear patterns there are also patterns obtained by incising, gouging and grooving to form saw-tooth motifs, and dotted patterns.

Stonewares

The stonewares from the site comprise both Middle Eastern and Chinese types. Chinese wares range from Northern Sung to Ming. The following types represent the dominant stoneware types from Site 19:

1. Ch'ing-pai type: Very few pieces have been found from the site. They have compact body with moulded decorations of flowing vine. This type may be identified as "Ying ching" or "Ching pai".²⁴ Recent post-war discoveries of Sung/Yüan period kilns near Te hua in Fukien have led to the locations of kilns at Hsin Ch'ang and Ch'u tou kung where moulded wares in "Ying ching" style with ivory coloured glaze were reported to have been made during the Sung and Yüan periods. One of the special features of the decoration is the "raised thin line" form.²⁵ The sherd from the site may be related

to those from Java and Celebes, discussed by Koyama.

2. Aqua-blue glazed ware: Only two small pieces of rim body parts have been found. The body is grey coloured. At first impression, the colour of the glaze, the fine thin body and the reddish colour of the outline of rim is reminiscent of the Ju ware type.²⁶ But Ju ware is extremely rare, and perhaps these sherds belong to the Chün and Kuan-chün glazes which Masahiko Sato has suggested are related to Ju ware type of glaze with which some of the Chün ware appears to be related.²⁷

3. Lung-chüan celadon:

There are two types of Lung-chüan celadon sherds found at the site. The first type is the bluish-green glazed rim sherds with lotus petal decoration incised on the exterior. The other type is the dark green undecorated glazed ware sherds. This type may be compared to the Lung-chüan celadon plates from the archaeological site at Dengkil in Selangor, Peninsular Malaysia.²⁸ The body is thick. It may be classified as the Southern Sung type.

4. Brown-glazed ware:²⁹

This is the most common type of stoneware sherd found at the site. The glaze flaked off easily. The majority of the sherds belong to the body part of the vessels. They are coarse compared to the celadon types.

5. Ochre-glazed ware:

This type of sherd is very numerous too. They are very coarse. Just like the brown-glazed sherds, they are very common on Sung/Yüan period sites.³⁰ A lot of them were recovered in the excavations by Alastair Lamb and Leong Sau Heng³¹ at the Pengkalan Bujang area associated with trading activity sites.

6. Bluish-grey slipped stoneware type:

Numerous parts of the body and mouth of a bluish-grey slipped jar were found. Some of the sherds of the mouth parts have ears attached. The body of this type

of ware has a fine untampered paste.

7. Dark-green glazed ware:

This type of ware has a dark-green glaze and its body has a whitish paste. The glaze is much darker than the Chu-lu-hsien green glazed ware referred to by Nils Palmgren.³² The sherds found at the site came from the base of a vessel. The base was flat and without foot-ring. Presumably, it originated from the Middle East and may be dated to the same period as the splashed-sgraffiate ware which will be described below. Its provenance in the Middle East was either Persia or Iraq.³³ The sherds may be identified as Sasana-Islamic type.

8. Splashed-sgraffiate ware:

Several pieces of three coloured ware sherds were found during the 1970 excavation. They came from the depth of about 75 cm just like the green glazed sherds. The colours are dark green, light green and pale yellow. They are not as bright as the T'ang three coloured wares. The body has a white paste and medium soft. Presumably, it has not been fired at a high temperature. It is believed to have originated from Middle East and the provenance was either Persia or Iraq.³⁴ The date for this type of ware is about tenth/eleventh century.

9. Blue and white ware:

A number of blue and white ware sherds were found during the excavations at the site. The sherds are mostly from bowls. The evidence from the base parts of the vessels indicate that the interior bottom part was not glazed. The glaze stops short of the bottom. Some of the bases have Chinese characters inscribed on them.

Glass:

A number of fragments of glass were recovered during the excavation. They are all plain undecorated types. They may be classified as Middle Eastern type. The main colours are black and green.

Beads:

Glass beads were recovered from all the four layers during the excavation. They came in all colours: green, orange, white, pink, yellow and brown.

Summary:

On the evidence of ceramics, particularly the Middle Eastern types, it is apparent that the temple was constructed during the tenth to eleventh century period. But it was not abandoned throughout the Sung/Yüan period and probably the site was abandoned in about the fifteenth century on the evidence of blue and white Ming ware found in the top layer.

Architecturally, the temple of the vaulted type was the only example known in Bujang and Muda River Valleys. The religion associated with the temple appears to be Śaivite on the evidence of the Ganesá image, and the Śiva trident. The nine chambered reliquary is much more elaborate than those found at Site 8 and other known reliquaries from the Bujang River Valley area. The contents of the reliquary were missing.

Summary of Excavation of trial trench at site 19, Kampong Pengkalan Bujang

A 5 x 5 metre trench was excavated. The summary below will provide a brief description of the data obtained during the excavation. It seems that there were three apparent layers based on the colour of the soil (excluding the humus layer).

0-10 cm Dark brown humus soil.

Archaeological finds: Two sherds of white glazed ware with blue flower. Glass beads:
1 small yellow bead, 1 small green bead.

10-20 cm Light brown sandy soil.

Archaeological finds: Glass beads: 1 small

yellow bead, 1 red bead and 2 small white beads.

Stoneware: 1 sherd of a body of a white glazed ware.

20-30 cm Light brown sandy soil.

Archaeological finds: Glass beads: 2 small yellow beads, 3 small green beads, 1 large white bead.

Earthenware: Medium textured paste sand tempered, plain body - 3; decorated body - 2.

30-40 cm Light brown sandy soil.

Archaeological finds: Glass beads: 5 small green beads. 2 large green beads, 2 large white beads.

Earthenware: Medium textured paste sand tempered, plain body 5, rim 2, decorated body 8. Stoneware: Blue and white, base 3, body 6.

40-50 cm Buff colour sandy soil.

Archaeological finds: Glass beads: 4 small yellow and 1 large white. Glass, 1 white fragment and 2 yellow fragment. Stoneware: blue and white, base 4, body 7. Earthenware: Medium textured paste sand tempered, plain body 17, rim 4, decorated body 8, rim 4.

50-60 cm Buff colour sandy soil with traces of charcoal.

Archaeological finds: Glass beads: 2 small yellow beads. Glass; 2 white fragments. Stoneware: Dark green celadon glazed ware, body 7, rims 2, brown-glazed, body 20, ochre-glazed, body 19. Earthenware: medium textured paste sand tempered, plain body 25, rims 10, base 11 decorated, body 21, rim 2, base 3.

60-70 cm Buff colour sandy soil.

Archaeological finds: Glass beads: Yellow, small 5, green, small 3, green large 4, white small 2.

Glass: 4 white fragments. Earthenware: Medium textured paste sand tempered, plain body 10, rim 4, decorated body 5, rim 2. Bricks: 3 pieces.

- 70-80 cm Beige colour sandy soil with slight mud.
 Archaeological finds: Glass beads: Red, small 2,
 large 2. Glass: yellow fragments 2. Earthen-
 ware: Medium textured paste sand tempered, plain
 body 8, rim 1.
- 80-90 cm Beige colour sandy soil with slight mud.
 Archaeological finds: Glass beads: Yellow, small
 2, green, small 3. Glass: yellow fragments 2.
 Stoneware: 1 small piece of white paste grey body
 ware, 3 sherds of grey glaze ware. Earthenware:
 Medium textured paste sand tempered ware: plain
 body 3, decorated body 3.
- 90-100 cm Beige colour sandy soil with slightly more mud.
 Archaeological finds: Earthenware: medium textured
 paste sand tempered, plain body 2.
- 100-130 cm Beige colour soil comprised of a mixture of sand
 and mud. No trace of archaeological finds.

3.3. Kampong Pengkalan Bujang Sites 21 and 22

There are four sites located to the north of Site 19, which were located by Quaritch-Wales in his 1936-37 survey. They were given site numbers 20, 21, 22 and 23.³⁵ Archaeological investigation of the area in 1974 revealed that the very ruined lower courses of a porched brick shrine, Site 20, reported by Quaritch-Wales, had been very badly damaged by farming activities. Sites, 21, 22 and 23 did not suffer from the same fate because they were located not in the padi-fields but rather in the village. Quaritch-Wales described the site as follows:-³⁶

"the remains of three more brick temples with brick measurements of Class 2. Of these Site 21 had been rather a plain rectangular building measuring about 21' x 10' of which there remained the lower courses of the brick walls and a few stone socles of the timber pillars which had supported a tiled roof. At Sites 22 and 23 there remained only traces of

broken bricks with tiles in the former case. No finds of interest were made in connection with either of these three sites but fragments of Sung celadon were common."

Our survey of the site in 1974 did not reveal much and it was impossible to determine the exact plan of the three sites. So, in 1976 a team from Muzium Negara excavated two of the three sites mentioned by Quaritch-Wales. Presumably, the excavated sites were Sites 21 and 22. It is uncertain whether the site which we labelled 21 was the same as the Site 21 of Quaritch-Wales, because the excavation revealed a different plan from what was reported by him. Site 22 also had a different plan. The description of the plan of the two sites will be discussed in the following pages.

Both Sites 21 and 22 were excavated at the same time. An area of 100' x 60' was exposed during the excavation. The whole area was divided into 15 equal squares of 20' x 20'. After clearing the whole site it was discovered that Site 21 consists of one main structure and Site 22 consists of two main structures.

Site 21 was a single part structure with a cruciform plan. Its orientation is not exactly to the true north but towards north-west. The remain of the walls indicate that the mouldings were quite elaborate. The remains of the highest part of the walls is about 1.5 m above the foundation level. By utilising the brick remains found inside the collapsed structure, it was possible to reconstruct the structure to a height of 2.3 m. The way the walls collapsed indicates that there was a distinct batter on the outer face.

The structure was constructed mainly from bricks. This includes the foundation. On the evidence of the discoveries of iron nails by Quaritch-Wales and the 1976 excavations, it is possible that the upper structures were constructed from timber. Several pieces of tiles were recovered from

the site. In view of the fact that both the nails and tiles were found between Sites 21 and 22, it is not possible to determine whether they belonged to one of them or to both.

The foundation layer has three courses of bricks. The plinth has ten courses of bricks. The face is straight. The steps are on the south-west, which consist of three risers each of three courses of bricks. The bricks for the step are bigger than those used to construct the body of the structure. Each terrace is about 0.2 m high. It should be noted that the steps do not appear to lead to an entrance.

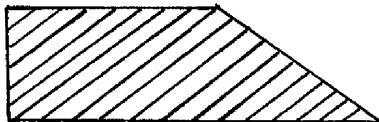
The structure has a step type of moulding. The first two courses above the plinth are stepped in. The next set of steps are stepped in and the edge is slanted 45°. Courses five and six are stepped in and with straight face and course seven is stepped out but courses eight and nine are again stepped out and with straight face. The next two courses have slanted out edges. The next eight courses have straight face and are stepped out. Course nineteen has its edge pointed.

The mouldings of the plinth, and the body of the temple may be observed from the drawings of the elevations presented in this study. The thickness of the base of the structure is 1.6 m and the top part is 1.3 m.

There is a small brick structure situated 1.4 m from the temple. It is laid on a brick foundation which is the extension of the foundation for the main temple. The excavation revealed that this square-shaped structure has five courses; two courses formed the base and three courses formed the stepped-in body. The dimensions of the structure are: 1.1 m x 1.1 m square base; and 0.97 m x 0.97 m body. The height of the body is 20 cm, the base was 0.12 m and the thickness of the walls is 0.17 m.

Miscellaneous shaped bricks from the site:

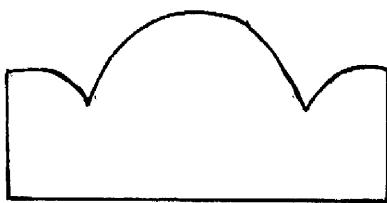
Type A: Brick with one or two edges cut to form simple angled mouldings. The angle of the cut edge is about 45 degrees. They are the most common type and probably being used as angled mouldings for the body of the temple. Double-angled edge mouldings were used for corners.



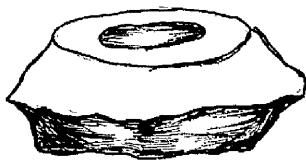
Type B: Bricks with stepped-decorations, where the steps formed angled mouldings. There are two types. The first type has one face decorated with a single stepped-angled moulding. The second type is the bi-facial stepped-angled moulding which was used for making corners.



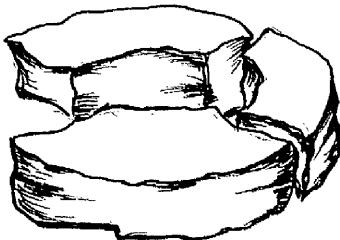
Type C: This is a rare type. Only two were recovered from the site. The moulding comprised two small semi-circular lobes at the side of a large semi-circular lobe. The dimensions of the brick are 16 cm long, and the height excluding the humps are 6 cm and 4 cm. The diameter of the large lobe is 6 cm and of the two smaller, 1.5 cm.



Type D: This is a ring type of brick. It has a double-angled side. The measurements are 5 cm high, 3 cm thick at the thickest point, and 2 cm thick at the thinnest point. Only one piece was found.



Type E: This is another type of ring brick, with straight edge. The thickness of the brick was 3 cm, the diameter of the hole 5 cm and the height of the ring was 4 cm. Only one piece was found.



There was no prospect of reconstructing the super structure of the temple beyond the twenty-fourth course. Iron nails and tiles discovered on the ground between Sites 21 and 22 did not help to confirm the type of super structure. Our inability to find pillar bases from the site also complicates the matter further because Quaritch-Wales reported his discovery of pillar bases from Site 21.³⁷ As mentioned earlier, we are not certain which of the three sites was his Site 21. It is possible to say that the tiles and the pillar bases belonged to Site 22 rather than to Site 21 in view of its plan.

Site 22 comprises two main structures laid on a three course brick foundation of the same type as that for Site 21. The foundations are connected at one corner, as can be seen in the plan.

Structure A has a square shape, 1.82 m wide, 1.82 m long, and 0.46 m high. It has eight courses. Structure B also has a square plan, 2.13 m wide, 2.13 m long and 0.84 m high. The difference between the two is that structure B has a hole at the centre while structure A is solid. The

square hole is 61 cm wide, 46 cm deep. Structure B is provided with a step each rise is of three courses. The height of the steps is 30 cm.

Presumably, the brick structures were covered with a roof made from timber and tiles.

Archaeological finds from Sites 21 and 22

There are altogether seven types of archaeological finds recovered from the sites. They are inscribed bricks, sculpture, ceramics, glass, iron nails, tiles and beads. On stratigraphical evidence and the plan of the two sites, it is believed that they were contemporaneous. Site 23 which we were not able to excavate, owing to lack of time and money, is believed to be of the same period, since a similar class of brick was used there. The three sites presumably, formed a temple complex. The mound which represents Site 23 appeared to have a square plan, 2.13 m x 2.13 m. In view of the fact that the three sites belong to a same phase, all the finds from the sites will be considered together but the grid reference will be quoted in order to ensure that the exact location is not neglected. The discussion will also include the finds obtained during the trial excavation carried out in February 1981. This excavation was carried out to establish the stratigraphy of the sites and also to place the finds from previous excavations in a proper stratigraphical context. A summary of this trial trench is included in this study.

Bricks with inscribed symbols:

On the floor level of the square, C1B1C2B2, at the north-east corner were found five pieces of brick with inscribed symbols and impression of foot-prints on one face. The inscribed symbols consist of a leaf and two others which are indecipherable. The foot-prints are that of a chicken on one brick face and of a dog or cat on another face of another brick. The foot-prints were made close together indicating that they were not there by

accident. They were printed on the bricks when they were still unbaked and they were probably associated with the ceremony associated with the building of the temples. The size of the bricks is the same as that of the bricks for the main structures: 29 x 8 x 3 cm.

Sculpture:

Four Buddhist images and one carving of an elephant were recovered from floor level in and around the square, C1D1C2D2:

- 1) Two terracotta seated Buddha images³⁸
- 2) One terracotta standing Buddha image³⁹
- 3) One terracotta seated Bodhisattva image⁴⁰
- 4) One carving of an elephant⁴¹

The iconography, style and chronology of these images will be discussed in chapter four. The carving in relief of an elephant is in terracotta and it is about 15 cm high. It was, presumably, part of the decorative elements of the wall of the temple. The measurements are: 15 x 12 x 4 cm. The trunk part of the elephant was not on that piece. Presumably, it was joined to another pièce of brick.

Ceramics:

The 1976 and 1981 excavations at Sites 21, 22 and 23 unearthed 4746 pieces of ceramics, of which 152 are celadon. There are also 900 pieces of tiles, 98 fragments of glass, 61 iron nails, 124 beads, and a number of bricks. The ceramics which consist of earthenware and stoneware showed more varied types than any other temple sites excavated in both the Bujang and Muda Valleys.

Earthenwares:

There are more earthenware than stoneware sherds, approximately 70% earthenware to 30% stoneware. The decorations on the sherds were made either by incising, gouging, and grooving. The range of variations here may be compared to those of the collections of sherds recovered from the trading sites in Pengkalan Bujang area.

Stoneware:

The sherds comprise both the Chinese and Middle Eastern types, but the majority are Chinese. Besides the prominent types of Chinese wares discussed earlier for Site 19, the celadon, Ching-pai wares, brown, orange and ochre glazed wares, blue and white wares, there were other types of celadon and other varieties of Middle Eastern wares. The colour of the celadon sherds are blue green, cucumber green, jade green and grass green.⁴²

The other significant Chinese sherds are those of white porcelain type. They came from the bowls of what appear to be the Samarra type.⁴³ The bowl had a low wide foot-ring. The body material is reminiscent of the Sung period white porcelain material which was dense and fine grain. The Sung type with a thinner and higher foot-ring.⁴⁴ This type was also found at the sites. The Samarra type may be dated to about the ninth century.

The Middle Eastern ware sherds are of the Sasana-Islamic and Splashed Ware varieties. The Sasana-Islamic type has a thick body: the paste is almost pure white,⁴⁵ and hard. The glaze is dark blue and sometimes mottled. The Splashed Ware variety has whitish paste too but the body is not as hard as the Sasana-Islamic type.⁴⁶ The glaze has two colours: blue and light blue. The colours are less bright than the Splashed-Sgraffiate wares. Both types originated from Persia or Iraq.⁴⁷ The Sasana-Islamic type was found in abundance in the Sungei Emas area. It may be dated to about seventh to early ninth century, the Splashed type to about the ninth or tenth century.⁴⁸

The youngest type of ware sherds are the blue and white types which may be assigned to the early Ming period. There are a few examples with the reign marks inscribed at the bottom of the base. Some of them appear to be just like those wares classified as Swatow export wares: I have compared them with an example of this type of ware in the Gulbenkian Museum, University of Durham.⁴⁹ The wares that

have inscriptions on them included also the grey slipped ware. It has been suggested to me that the reading on some of them would be "金身", "give money".⁵⁰ The ware may be classified as Yüan type.

Summary:

On the evidence of both the sculpture and the ceramics, particularly the Samarra porcelain, the Sasana-Islamic and the Splashed Ware, the temple may have been constructed in about the eighth or ninth century. But the area was in use up to the Ming period, about fifteenth century. There is evidence for Buddhism.

Summary of Excavation of trial trench at Site 21 and 22,
Pengkalan Bujang, 11th February 1981

A 5 x 5 metre square was excavated on 11th February, 1981 in order to test the stratigraphical evidence of Sites 21 and 22. The cutting was made 5 metres away from Structure B of Site 22 on the eastern side. It was cut parallel to structure B.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 0-10 cm | Humus layer was about 2 cm with dark brown colour. The colour became lighter until it reaches the 10 cm where it was yellowish.

Archaeological finds: Glass beads: small yellow bead - 1; small green bead - 1. Stoneware: 1 white glazed ware with grey body and creamish blue rim, 4 greenish glazed sherds with ribbed decoration. Iron - 1 small piece. |
| 10-20 cm | Yellowish colour sandy soil.

Archaeological finds: Glass beads: beads - 2, bricks - 3. |
| 20-30 cm | Yellow sandy soil.

Archaeological finds: Glass beads: Yellow small beads - 4, green small beads - 2. Stoneware: blue and white (early Ming) body - 7, base - 2. |

White glazed ware with blue flower and red rim, body - 1. Earthenware: Medium textured paste sand tempered, plain body - 5, rim - 1, decorated body - 5.

30-40 cm Yellow sandy soil.
Archaeological finds: Beads: small red beads - 2; Glass: 2 blue fragments. Earthenware: Medium textured paste sand tempered; plain body - 6; rim - 2, decorated body - 2; Bricks: 3 pieces.

40-50 cm Yellow sandy soil.
Archaeological finds: Glass beads: small yellow - 3; large yellow beads - 3; medium white bead - 1; small green beads - 4. Glass: 2 yellow and 1 white fragments. Earthenware: Medium textured paste sand tempered; plain body - 10; rim - 4; decorated body - 5. Stoneware: white glazed ware rim - 4. Bricks: 5 pieces.

50-60 cm Light yellow sandy soil.
Archaeological finds: Beads: small yellow beads - 5; 2 large green; small green beads - 3; large red beads - 2; small red beads - 4; large white beads - 3. Glass: transparent blue fragments - 15. Stoneware: white glazed ware; rims - 6, body - 2; and base - 1 (4 cm diameter). Earthenware: Medium textured paste sand tempered, plain body - 6, rim - 3. Charcoal: traces of it was found.

60-70 cm Light yellow sandy soil.
Archaeological finds: Glass beads: small yellow beads - 3; large yellow beads - 2; small white beads - 3; small green beads - 2; large green beads - 4. Glass: 4 fragments of blue glass. Stoneware: white glazed body - 3; dark blue glazed ware of Middle Eastern origin; body - 2. Earthenware: Medium textured paste sand tempered ware, plain body - 5, rim - 2, decorated body - 9.

- 70-80 cm Very light yellow sandy soil.
Archaeological finds: Glass beads: small yellow - 2; small green beads - 2; small bluish bead - 1. Glass: 2 blue fragments. Stoneware: An almost complete flat base with a brown flaked off glaze ware with a grey body was recovered from 75 cm level. In the interior at its bottom it had floral incised design. Earthenware: Medium textured paste sand tempered, plain body - 3.
- 80-90 cm Almost white sandy soil.
Archaeological finds: Glass beads: small yellow - 2; small red - 1; small white - 1. Glass: blue fragments - 2. Earthenware: Medium textured paste sand tempered plain body - 3; decorated body - 4.
- 90-130 cm No evidence of any finds. The soil was white sand mixed with yellow mud.

The archaeological survey of the sites in the middle reaches of Bujang River

Here, in the middle reaches of Bujang river area, a number of sites have been discovered. These include those sites reported by Quaritch-Wales: Sites 2, 5, 14, 15, 16 and 17; and the Muzium Negara Site 50. There are three other unnamed sites located near to Site 50. The sites are scattered in three villages: Kampong Pendiat, Kampong Sungai Batu, and Kampong Bendang Dalam. These villages are located along the east and west banks of Bujang River. They were in fact in rubber estates. On the eastern side of the villages are padi fields which stretched as far as Gunong Jerai.

Four sites have been investigated and excavated so far, Sites 5, 16, 17 and 50. The excavations were done to obtain new data, particularly information on architecture. This latter aspect had been neglected to a certain degree by earlier researchers on the area. The excavations were

carried out in the following order:-

1. In April, 1973: Site 16 was excavated by Muzium Negara.
2. In October, 1973: Site 5 was excavated by Muzium Negara.
3. In October, 1976: Site 17 was excavated by Muzium Negara in which I was a member of the team.
4. In 1977-1981: Site 50 was excavated by Muzium Negara and Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

3.4. Site 16, Kampong Pendiat

This site represents those in the southern part of the middle reaches of the Bujang River area. In view of its location, the southern-most site that had been excavated, it will be the first site to be discussed. It is situated in Kampong Pendiat, on the east side of the Bujang River. Remains of a temple structure were excavated and removed to a vacant plot of land in the compound of the Muzium Arkeologi in Merbok where it was reconstructed. At the original site, the only evidence now of the existence of a temple are the broken pieces of laterite building blocks and laterite boulders. Presumably, just like other temples, structures above the laterite walls were of timber and tiles.

Quaritch-Wales described the site in 1940 as follows:⁵¹

"Excavation revealed the ruined lower laterite courses of a square double structure which though considerably smaller, had evidently resembled Site 15 in essential character. The external dimensions of the outer structure were about 20 feet square, and of the inner structure about 12 feet square, the sanctuary measuring internally only 7 feet square, as against 11 feet square in Site 15. The temple had opened to the east as at Site 15, but it differed from it in that the sanctuary possessed a laterite floor, while no stone socles were found, but as these might long have remained exposed to view above the laterite,

they have probably been removed by peasants who are always eager to make use of them for their own houses."

In view of the fact that the structure was in ruins, Quaritch-Wales was able to make only a general comparison with Site 15. He commented, "for, it was very ruined and added nothing to what we had learned from Site 15".⁵² Archaeological investigation in the early 1970s revealed that it was feasible to carry out a complete excavation of the structure. As a result, in 1973, the site was excavated and reconstructed. The reconstructed remains of the temple were located in the compound of the Muzium Arkeologi in Merbok. The excavation revealed that the plan of the temple was different from Site 15. It was of the vimāna-mandapa type. The material used for the main structures was laterite.

Description of the temple:

Both the vimāna and mandapa were built on a single course of river pebbles or stones. The plan of both vimāna and mandapa are not exactly square. The vimāna can be divided into the plinth, the terrace and the cella. The plinth is about 71 cm high and 1.11 m thick with a straight face. The terrace was about 30 cm high and 10 cm wide. The plinth and the terrace are solid and the floor of the terrace was built from blocks of laterite and not from broken pieces of laterite. The cella is separated by a narrow passage from the terrace. The floor level of the passage is on the same level as the top part of the plinth. It was not possible to determine the height and the exact shape of the upper part of the cella. But the floor level is the same as the passage. The measurements of the vimāna are: 6.65 x 6.55 x 6.19 x 6.55 m.

The mandapa does not join the vimāna directly. It is separated by an empty space. The empty space is about 35.7 cm wide. The space begins about 20.3 cm above the foundation level. Presumably, not all parts of the space

were empty because Quaritch-Wales reported the discovery of a brick-lined relic chamber beside the entrance to the vimāna.⁵³ This part must have been solid because the relic chamber was constructed into the laterite structure. This chamber began about 61 cm above the foundation level and the exact size is unknown.

The mandapa is smaller than the vimāna. This is the only example of the vimāna-mandapa type of temples with this feature. The measurements for the mandapa are: 4.42 x 3.51 x 4.42 x 3.51 m. The temple faces towards the east. The steps are arranged in a peculiar manner. The first two flights are on the north and south sides. The third and fourth flights face the east. In order to enter the mandapa, one has got to start either from the south or north.

In 1941, Quaritch-Wales excavated another site near to it, about 14 m to the east. He labelled it Site 16A. His description of the site was as follows:-⁵⁴

"The excavations revealed a ruined brick plinth, which showed signs of exterior mouldings, about 12'6" square and with a core of rubble. The height of the plinth was about 3'6", the ruined top being level with the ground, and the brick facings being 2'6" thick. Around the building were scattered large numbers of bricks many of them carved on one side and shaped in such a way that they appeared to have been segments of a circular structure, though a few were triangular at one end. But whether a stupa or a small sanctuary tower stood on the pedestal is uncertain. The normal bricks were of class 2 and the following are typical measurements, 11" x 6½" x 20"; 10½" x 6 1/4" x 2"; but occasionally a breadth of 7" was reached."

In the light of the present knowledge about the temple architecture in both the Bujang and Muda River valleys, it is reasonable to assume that Site 16 and 16A belonged to two different periods and religious affiliations. The brick material used for the structure of Site 16A and the discovery of various types of shaped bricks were reminiscent of the excavations at Sites 21 and 22. The Buddha image

found at site 16A also points to the belief that this temple was Buddhist and Site 16 was Hindu just like other vimāna-mandapa temples in the two areas. It is possible to assume too that the bricks used to line the relic chamber must have come from this older site, Site 16A.

Archaeological finds from Sites 16 and 16A

The most significant find from Site 16 was the relic casket with its contents still intact. Among the contents of the bronze casket are, in miniature form, a golden bowl, golden lotus, gold lion, silver bull, copper horse and iron elephant. Then there are the models of weapons and attributes: a golden bow, two golden arrows, a golden sword, a golden dagger, a golden noose, a golden staff or spear, a golden shield, a golden damaru drum, and a golden book. Other items are a silver bell, a silver ploughshare and a silver yoke. The next items were gems: diamond, zircon, pearl, yellow octahedrons glass and one limestone or marble type of bead.

Besides the bronze casket, there are the fragments of a bronze image, lamp and bell. They were found outside the temple. The 1973 excavation unearthed thirty-three pieces of earthenware which were found at the ground level. They comprised: 13 pieces of grey sherds of medium textured sand tempered paste with mat impressed decoration; 8 pieces of grey sherds of medium textured sand paste but plain; 3 pieces of reddish sherds of medium textured sand tempered paste with line decoration at the neck part; and 9 pieces of grey medium textured sand tempered cord impressed sherds. Stonewares of blue and white type were found scattered on the surface level at the site. There were also traces of burnt timber inside the mandapa of Site 16 at a depth of about 15 cm.

The most significant find from Site 16A is the bronze standing Buddha.⁵⁵ Site 16A may be dated to about the seventh century on the evidence of this sculpture. But

Site 16, presumably, belongs to the same developmental phase as other vimāna-mandapa types of Hindu temples. In view of the fact that the relic casket was in bronze and not in stone as in Sites 19 and Site 8, it probably followed the tradition of the older type such as Site 17 because the casket in stone had nine chambers but the casket from Site 17 had no chamber. The casket is an earthenware pot type. The difference between the casket from Site 16 and 17 is only in the material used to make the pot. The casket from Site 11 too is an earthenware pot. Site 16 may be dated to about the eleventh century.

3.5. Site 17, Chandi Bukit Pendiat

Bukit Pendiat is a small hill and its summit is about 30 metres high. It is about 150 metres from the west bank of Bujang River. The site overlooks the surrounding areas which comprise mainly padi fields and secondary tropical forests which grow on the slopes. Archaeological sites situated along the Bujang River have visible view of the site on Bukit Pendiat.

Archaeological investigations of the site were carried out by Evans and Quaritch-Wales. Evans drove a trench through a slight mound on its summit finding only some bricks, and that he also found a "small brick lined hollow" adjoining it.⁵⁶ This excavation was followed by Quaritch-Wales in 1936-1937.⁵⁷ According to his report, among the archaeological finds were: a fragmentary remain of the lower courses of a brick wall; a few coarse red potsherds. He suggested the site as being of great antiquity. On the southern edge of the Bukit Pendiat ridge, there is a place which is believed to be a place to trap elephants and called pendiat. There he discovered an earthwork.

In 1976, I was able to join the archaeological team from Muzium Negara to excavate the site after carrying out a preliminary survey earlier on. It was felt that further archaeological research was necessary in view of its location

and the fact that it occupied a significant position in relation to other sites in the Bujang Valley. It was also hoped that sufficient data would be available in order to establish the nature of the site in terms of the shape of the structure and the way it was constructed.

Description of the Site:

The main structure was surrounded by a low octagonal shaped laterite wall. It was not possible to determine the exact location of the entrance to the site. To-day, the most convenient place to go up the hill is via the south side. But as one reaches the outer part of the wall, one can walk round it easily because the area around it is flat. The final result of the excavation revealed that the shape of the main structure is also octagonal.

The excavation was conducted by first clearing the top layer of grass and bushes. An area of about 22 x 23 m was cleared and exposed. The exposed area was divided into 5-metre square for the excavation. The exposed area revealed that the main structure was located about 3 metres from the wall. The structure appeared to be a mound of bricks and earth. In order to see the shape of the structure, the mound was excavated by using screwdrivers, trowel and brush, in order to clean and expose the brick layer. After removing the earth covering the bricks, the true plan of the structure was exposed.

It seems that the structure was made up of five parts. First, the laterite path surrounding the main structure. It was about 75 cm wide and had an octagonal shape. Second, it was the brick-wall part which presumably was the remains of the wall of the structure. It was about 215 cm wide. It has an octagonal shape. The next part, the third, appears to be an empty space of about 142 cm wide. The bottom part of this space was covered with earth to a height of about 10 cm. At each corner of this section was found a reliquary in the form of earthenware pot. Altogether, eight pots were recovered buried. After this empty space, the fourth part, was the earth part, and it was about 37 cm

wide. It too had an octagonal shape. The fifth part had a brick lined empty space which formed the centre for the structure. It was about 75 cm wide.

The excavation revealed that the structure was built on a foundation made up of broken pieces of laterite. The foundation was about 30 cm deep, and the laterite enclosure was also built on the same type of foundation.

There was no other type of archaeological find besides the eight earthenware pots found at the outer corners of the second part and the two pots from the inner corners in the east. There was nothing in the pots except for earth. Presumably this was the remains of a stupa type of structure and the date may be about seventh to ninth century. It probably belongs to the earlier Buddhist phase, just like some of those sites in the Sungai Emas area.

3.6. Site 5. Kampong Sungai Batu Estate

Site 5 was fully excavated and reconstructed by Muzium Negara in 1973. Some of the aims of the excavation were to conserve the site, located in Kampong Sungai Batu Estate on the west bank of the Bujang River, that was already in decay. It was reconstructed in situ. It was to the South of Site 50 and other known sites in the middle reaches of the Bujang River. Quaritch-Wales highlighted a significant feature of the site. According to him,⁵⁸ the site was surrounded by an enclosure wall made from river boulders. Other sites that had enclosure walls were Sites 4 and 17: in the latter it was of octagonal shape. The enclosure wall mentioned by Quaritch-Wales left no trace when I surveyed the site in 1976. The temple faces towards the east.

On the evidence of the photographs, plan drawing by Quaritch-Wales⁵⁹ and the reconstruction by Muzium Negara, it is apparent that this temple too is of the vimana-mandapa type. The mandapa is rectangular in shape: 3.20 x 6.15 m;

and the vimāna is a square: 4.62 x 4.62 m. They join at the central part of the plinth. The vimāna comprises: the plinth, the platform and the cella. Steps leading to the vimāna from mandapa to platform were discovered during the excavation. They were located at the end of the narrow brick path leading from mandapa to vimāna. The cella must have had an opening on the east, but this is missing. The plinth has simple mouldings. It is six courses high. The bottommost course juts out about 10 cm, but the remaining five courses have a straight vertical face.

The vimāna was laid on a river stone foundation, which extended about 61 cm beyond the edges of the plinth. The measurements for the plinth are: 4.62 m wide, 4.62 m long and 1.69 m high. The platform measured 1.12 m wide, 1.12 m long and 0.46 m high. The cella is a square: 2.08 x 2.08 m. The material used is laterite. The floor layer of the platform and the cella was made from broken up or pounded laterite pieces and cemented with mud just as at Site 50.

The mandapa has no stone foundation like that of vimāna. It was laid directly on the soil. But the Muzium Negara had reconstructed the mandapa on a new river stone foundation, cemented together, in order to strengthen the foundation and not because the original foundation was of river stones. The walls of the mandapa was made from blocks of laterite. The floor was laid with broken pieces of laterite cemented together with mud, and not of wood as suggested by Quaritch-Wales.

In view of the fact that the somasūtra was found in situ in the north wall of vimāna-platform, it is possible to assume that the intermediate sections of the somasūtra were laid under the platform floor on the north side, and covered with stone slabs some of which were in position. The somasūtra would then continue under the cella floor to end below the spout, snāna-dronī, which was at the centre of the cella facing to the north.

The excavations by Quaritch-Wales and Muzium Negara did not produce many archaeological finds that would be useful in determining the date of the site. Quaritch-Wales found two fragments of brown pottery and one fragment of stoneware that had a buff body and yellowish crackled glaze which he attributed to the early T'ang (seventh century); iron implements which could be nails, and a sharpening stone.⁶⁰ But the type of stoneware mentioned by Quaritch-Wales could belong to the Sung/Yüan sites too. The 1973 excavation found only earthenware sherds: light brown coarse textured slightly sand tempered paste.

The discovery of iron nails and four square pillar bases with square mortices provide the evidence for timber upper structures. The plan of the temple points to a common developmental phase as other yimāna-mandapa types of temple. I believe that it can be dated to about the eleventh to thirteenth century.

3.7. Site 11, Kampong Sungai Batu

This site was previously located and excavated by Quaritch-Wales.⁶¹ It was reconstructed by Muzium Negara in situ in the early part of 1974. It was situated in the upper reaches of Bujang River, in Kampong Sungai Batu. It was on the west side of the river. Near to the site was a dried tributary of Bujang River. It was on the right bank of this dried river; to the south was the Sungai Batu Estate.

There were great discrepancies between the reconstruction and the report, photographs and plans drawing by Quaritch-Wales.⁶² On the photographic evidence I believe that the reconstruction has not been done properly. There are parts that should not be in the reconstruction. The result of the reconstruction creates much confusion as to the true function of the structure. Presumably, the discrepancies occurred because those responsible for the reconstruction failed to consult the photographs, report and plan drawings by Quaritch-Wales. The very nature of the site requires

careful investigation and planning before reconstruction could be undertaken. The site must have been greatly damaged because the frame for the temple was constructed from river pebbles and not laterite or brick.

The plan of the temple must be that of vimāna-mandapa type. It faces towards the east. The mandapa joined the vimāna at the upper half of the plinth of the vimāna. A laterite structure unearthed during the 1974 excavation was located at the south-west corner of the vimāna. The structure has a rectangular shape and the measurements are: 6.46 m wide; 9.44 m long; and 0.55 m high. I believe that the platform was not joined to the vimāna by any pavement. But in the reconstruction it is joined to the vimāna. I have enquired from workers involved with the actual excavation regarding that point. They confirmed my belief that the reconstruction was different from what they saw before the structures were reconstructed. At Site 50, the platforms were never joined to the main temple.

The dimensions of the mandapa, based on my estimate of the measurements provided by Quaritch-Wales, ought to be: 9.44 m long and 6.90 m wide. Quaritch-Wales reported that the mandapa part had a double wall for two thirds of its length,⁶³ but this evidently was ignored in the reconstruction. I believe that the main reason for failure to reconstruct the structure according to what was seen during the excavation was the assumption that the mandapa and vimāna were hollow. The mandapa must be a rectangular platform. It was about 76 cm above the foundation. The mandapa was constructed by first building the frame from river pebbles mixed with mud. This procedure or technique of building the framework was also used in some other temple constructions in Bujang and Muda River valleys. In the case of temples which used other materials than river pebbles for the frame, the walls which formed the frame were less thick. But to ensure that the frame was strong enough, a double wall for the frame was constructed for Site 11. The floor layer comprised smaller river stones mixed with mud.

The same technique was applied to the construction of the vimāna. The vimāna was not empty. It is uncertain whether the vimāna had a platform and a cella in addition to the plinth. If these existed it is impossible to ascertain their plans and other measurements. I presume that on the evidence of a few pieces of brick and laterite blocks, only the foundation and the plinth of the vimāna were from river pebbles, the platform and the cella being constructed from laterite and bricks. Most of the brick and laterite remains must have been plundered by villagers. It is almost impossible to construct a cella from river pebbles so I assume that the majority of the materials for the cella must have been laterite. The measurements of the vimāna on the basis of Quaritch-Wales estimate were: 7.77 m wide and 9.44 m long.

The presence of pillar bases indicate that the upper structures were from timber and the non-discovery of tile may suggest that the roof was of the thatched type. Among the finds from the site were a few pieces of plain earthenware sherds, and a few greenish glazed Chinese ware sherds by Quaritch-Wales, glass fragments, iron nails a broken part of a sword, fragment of a square base of an image,⁶⁴ and an earthenware pot used as foundation reliquary.⁶⁵ On the evidence of ceramic finds and the style of the structure, the site may be dated to about eleventh to thirteenth century..

3.8. Site 50, Kampong Bendang Dalam

This site is situated on the west bank of the Bujang River. It was one of the sites in the middle reaches of that river. Originally it was much closer to the river than it is to-day. The process of erosion and deposition caused the river to change its course and this resulted in the site being located further and further away from the river. To the west of the site are the padi-fields. The site is located in a rubber plantation.

The site was first discovered in 1970. In 1974, efforts were made to excavate it but due to lack of time and money, only a small part of the site was excavated. The result of the excavation was the discovery of a square platform: 1.5 x 1.5 m and the height was about 1.2 m. A much more comprehensive excavation of the site was carried out in 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980 and 1981. All the structures at the site had been exposed. Although the excavation was carried out by University Kebangsaan Malaysia and Muzium Negara, the reconstruction of the structures were left to Muzium Negara.

My survey of the area near to Site 50 indicates that there were a few more sites near by. The first one was in the padi fields, about 300 m to the south of Site 50. Another site was to the north, bordering the village and padi fields.

The main structure of Site 50 was of the vimāna-mandapa type. The dimensions of the vimāna are 6.25 x 6.25 m; and the mandapa 6.75 m long by 6.20 m wide. There is an empty space separating the vimāna from mandapa. The space is about 1.5 m wide. Both vimāna and mandapa were built directly on the ground surface, without any other foundation.

The plinth of the vimāna comprises three plain moulding courses. This is followed by two stepped-in courses. On it, at each corner is a square granite pillar base with a square mortice was placed. A round pillar base with round mortice is placed at each corner of the fifth course of the cella wall. Two square pillar bases are placed equidistantly on each side. The cella of the vimāna has an opening on the east. The exact height of the wall of the cella is uncertain. Presumably, its plan is quite similar to those of Sites 4, 5, 8 and 15, and also to the small temple at Site 50. There must, however, be slight differences. We noticed that the way the pillar bases are placed and the shape of pillar bases for the vimāna are different from those of Site 50.

The mandapa does not join the yimāna directly but by the extended walls. These extended walls or frame of the mandapa joins the yimāna directly to the top level of the plinth. The width of the walls is about 45 cm. The floor of the mandapa was laid with pounded fragments of laterite mixed with mud. The mandapa has one square pillar base at each of the four corners and on the north and south walls three more pillar bases are placed equidistantly. The east and west wall have two each, similarly located, between the corners. The two pillar bases on the east wall acted as a marker to the entrance to the mandapa, while the two on the west wall are located at the bottom of the step leading from the empty space between the mandapa and yimāna to the yimāna. The step is of three courses. Another two pillar base of the square type is placed on each side of the top flight of the step. In front of the mandapa is a path or a platform constructed from laterite blocks and the measurements are 1.5 x 1.5 m.

The description of the small structure at Site 50:

A small structure was located and excavated in the vicinity of the main temple of Site 50. This structure must have been a minor temple in the temple complex of Site 50. The remains and the plan of the structure indicate that it was originally a single cella temple. It must belong to the same period as the main temple. This is due to the fact that the foundation level of the structure was at the same depth as the main one. The discovery of a linga⁶⁶ at the entrance to the structure may indicate the purpose of the temple. A kala head⁶⁷ was also recovered inside the structure. It is possible to assume that it was used to decorate the doorway.

The structure is located about 4.75 m to the north of the main structure. The entrance is on the south. It is a square type: 4.75 x 4.75 m. The plan is quite close to Site 15 and also to the yimāna part of the main structure of Site 50. It has the plinth and the cella. The plinth is made up of three courses of plain moulding laterite. At each

of the four corners, on the top part of the plinth, is located a square shaped pillar base and in between the corner pillar bases are located another two pillar bases placed at equi-distance. It is uncertain, how many courses of laterite block formed the wall of the cella. The upper structures were from wood. The measurements for the cella are: 2.38 x 2.38 m. The step to the cella is on the south.

Archaeological finds from Site 50

The archaeological finds from Site 50 comprised those from the areas in and around the structure and also from a trial trench. Besides excavating the area around the structures a 2 x 2 m trial trench was dug at a spot about 100 metres to the south of the main structure.

In the trial trench the water level was reached at 70 cm depth. The water level varies according to the time of the year: the 70 cm depth must be the highest because the excavation was done during the wettest part of the year for the area, October 1980. The soil profiles indicate that there were four main layers. The first 10 cm was dark humus soil. The next layer was from 10 cm to 25 cm where the soil was light brown and clayey. The layer after 25 cm was brown. The fourth layer was white sandy soil. The same soil profile was observed at the sites of the excavated structures. The total area exposed for the Site 50 excavation was 12 x 18 m.

The finds, besides the pillar bases, kāla and linga are ceramics. The 10-25 cm layer unearthed 196 earthenware sherds, including 23 from the main structure area and 20 from the square structure; 8 stoneware sherds from the trial trench. The stoneware sherds consisted of white glazed type and dirty green glazed type. The glaze on the latter is only on the outside. The 25-55 cm layer produced 761 earthenware sherds from the trial trench and 59 pieces from the main site; 39 stoneware sherds from the trial trench. At the depth of 30 cm, on the south side of the main structure

on the vimāna side, a fragment of green glass was recovered. Charcoal was found at the vimāna part of the structure in the second and third layer. Resin was also found in second and third layers. After the depth of 55 cm, no trace of any find was recovered.

On the evidence of the ceramic finds, it is probable that the temple complex of Site 50 was built in about the twelfth to thirteenth century. The stoneware belonged to the Sung/Yüan period. Saivite religious connection seems likely.

3.9. Archaeological Survey in the Muda River Valley

The location under archaeological survey comprises several early settlement sites situated in an area between the southern bank of Merbok River and the northern bank of the Muda River and also the area to the south of the Muda River. One of the tributaries of the Merbok River joins one of the tributaries of the Muda River thus forming a very deep navigable channel between the two rivers. The settlers between the two river valleys have two very important outlets to the sea; the Kuala Muda and Kuala Merbok. The geographical setting must have played a very significant role in the evolution and development of the settlements in the area.

Archaeological survey of the area unearthed a number of important artifacts and remains of structures.

Col. James Low reported his discovery of two Buddhist inscriptions at the following places:-⁶⁸ a) Cherok Tokun, near Bukit Mertajam b) under the centre of an ancient brick building near Bukit Meriam to the west of Trus River. Quaritch-Wales and his wife in 1936-37 investigated sites at Bukit Penjara (Site 25), Bukit Meriam (Site 26), Sungai Trus (Site 27) where a gold belt weighing 22 katis was reported to be fished out from River Trus at Kampong Batu Lintang, Srokam (Site 28) where two celadon plates were recovered, Kota Aur (Site 29) where the cuttings showed

earth layers with local earthenwares situated at the bottom, Sung/Yüan sherds in the centre and the Ming wares were found in the top layer, and Site 24.⁶⁹ In 1941, Dorothy Wales did further research in Province Wellesley and at Guak Kepah and she discovered the basement of a structure which she identified as a stupa.⁷⁰ From the site she found yellow-glazed wares which she classified as T'ang wares. Quaritch-Wales and Dorothy suggested that the site could be the site where the Buddhagupta of Cherok Tokun was actually discovered.⁷¹ The reason being that, James Low did not really specifically mention the site but rather said, "sandy site in the northern district of the Wellesley Province".⁷² Dorothy Wales re-examined Site 24 where a pedestal for religious sculpture or linga was discovered, and found two capital of pillars among other things.⁷³ She also discovered the Permatang Pasir site (Site 31) which was a vimāna-mandapa type of Hindu temple.⁷⁴

Archaeological interest in the area was rekindled in the early part of 1980, because ceramic sherds, glass and beads were uncovered when an irrigation canal was cut through the middle of a village called Kampong Sungai Emas. The finds were extensive and were scattered along both banks of the canal. My survey of the location in 1980 revealed that there were remains of low mounds of laterite block foundations for structures in the village, and six of them were investigated. The six low mounds investigated were located in the following parts of the village:-

a) Two mounds were traceable to the east of the laterite road which runs through the village and to the south of the irrigation trenches. Traces of laterite blocks were scattered on the surface, at the back of the house, in the backyard. The cuttings for the rubbish pit exposed layers of ceramics and shale as deep as 60 cm.

b) A laterite mound was visible under the building for storing padi grains on the west of the laterite road and bordering the irrigation canal.

c) A mound exposing laterite blocks and clay bricks to the west of laterite road and to the south-west of b. This mound was in the compound of a house.

d) A laterite mound to the east of laterite road and to the east of site a, on the edge of the laterite road and on permatang in Kampong land. Beads, ceramics and glass were reported to have been found by the villagers from the site. It was also reported that an inscribed shale block was discovered by one of the villagers but was destroyed.

e) A mound remnant with shallow cut on the eastern side of the laterite to the south-west of site d. Cutting exposed earthenware, stoneware and beads. The remains were behind a Malay house.

In addition to the discovery of the ceramics, glass, beads, and laterite and/or brick foundation for structures in the village there were other discoveries. The most significant of these other finds was an inscription inscribed upon a rectangular block of shale stone measuring 41 cm by 25 cm. The top part of the stone is broken and measures 15 cm.⁷⁵ In the centre of the front face of the stone, is a stupa. The stupa in the centre of the front face of the Buddhagupta inscription is stylistically different from the stupa carved on the face of the Sungai Emas stone inscription. The inscription was found by a villager near the irrigation canal on the western side of the laterite road. It was unearthed by a mechanised soil digger used to dig the irrigation canal. The inscription was in Sanskrit and contained Buddhist formula.⁷⁶

Another significant find was a head of Buddha carved from a green shale stone.⁷⁷ The find was made by one of the villagers digging a well. The face was damaged by the digging equipment, nevertheless it is possible to see that the face is almost life size and the head has large snail curls, just like the Buddha image from site 16A, and flat usnīsa. In addition to this find there is another report of the discovery of a votive tablet with a relief of Buddha.

The find was not available to photograph because the finder refused to give it up to the authority at the Muzium Arkeologi in Bujang Valley.

The latest discovery is a terracotta image of a goddess carrying a child. The goddess appeared to be standing and carries the child on her left hip. This goddess is probably Hāritī.

The other find from Sungai Emas is an orange-glazed water-pot supplied with a handle and spout.⁷⁸

3.10 The archaeological excavation at Sungai Emas

A 3x3 metres square was excavated. The area chosen was situated on flat land behind the back part of a house. It was on the eastern side of the laterite road which runs through the middle of the village. It was about 60 metres from the house and 100 metres from the western bank of the irrigation canal. Our survey indicates that the site has never been used for building houses or for dumping rubbish: nobody from the area could remember any house on the site.

The soil profiles showed definite strata, although the soil was the clay type and was very hard due to the dry weather. The excavation was carried out in March 1981 and the weather was hot and dry. The top layer of soil which was about 15 cm thick was light clayey brown type of soil. Below this layer was a 40-45 cm band of very light brown soil mixed with pieces of haemetite, slate and very coarse sand. This was followed by a layer of soil which was clayey, dark brown and mixed with broken bricks. The thickness of the layer was about 25 cm. The last layer stretching from the lower boundary of the dark brown clayey soil to the moist layer of soil was represented by a band of very light grey clay soil. The thickness of this band of very pure clay was 40 cm. It appeared that below this point the pure and very light clay soil continues and it becomes more moist as it reaches deeper.

Archaeological finds

The excavations unearthed 4211 earthenware and 268 stoneware sherds. The sherds included the rims, bases, spouts and handles; but 90% of the sherds can be classified as body parts. Besides the ceramics there were the glass of various colours, glass beads, charcoal, resins, broken pieces of bricks and the broken piece of a model head of a dog. On the whole the ceramics found in this site had a lower percentage of stoneware than that of sites in the Pengkalan Bujang. The percentage of the earthenware to the stoneware is 85% earthenware to 15% stoneware. At Pengkalan Bujang the percentage is 70% earthenware to 30% stoneware.

Earthenware:

The varieties of earthenware found at Sungai Emas are less numerous than those found at Pengkalan Bujang. There are two main types of wares, plain and decorated: in the decorated type the majority have cord-marked decorations. The other types are the mat-marked, basket-marked and net-marked. With the exception of 8 pieces of earthenware sherds from layer 10-20 cm, none of the other earthenware sherds has decorations made by incising, gouging or grooving.

Stoneware:

There are six types of stoneware sherds found during the excavation. The first type is a ware with blue glaze. Its body has a very fine white paste and has a rib pattern. A very thick blue shining or glossy glaze covers the outer body of the ware and the inner part of the ware is covered with a thinner layer of glaze and less blue in colour. Alastair Lamb mentioned this type of blue glazed ware at Takuapa and he classified it as Middle Eastern and attributed a date within the range of eighth to the tenth century A.D. This type of stoneware may be identified as Sasana-Islamic type. The date would be in the range of seventh to eighth century. This type of ware is found in all the layers of the excavated trench.

The second type is a grey glaze ware with whitish body seen at the fractures. This type was found in the top part

of the trench. The next type is a white ware of whitish clay body and covered with transparent like glaze, and the white colour being produced by the white body underneath. This type of glaze and the shape of the base ring remind us of the T'ang type of white ware discussed by Legeza.⁷⁹ The fourth type is a grey bodied stoneware with grey glaze. It appears to resemble the Yüeh type.⁸⁰ The fifth type is a ware with grey slip. Its body is also grey. The sixth type is a buff body ware with white glaze. This type was also found at the Sites 21, 22 and 23 in the Pengkalan Bujang. The seventh type is the ochre-glazed ware. The body of this type of ware is grey. The glaze cracked and sometimes peeled off. The final type is a celadon of the Northern Sung type.⁸¹ It was found in the top half of the trench.

The other type of archaeological finds are the broken head of the ceramic model of a dog.⁸² The whitish body is glazed with whitish blue glaze. The technique of showing lines or folds by the incising method is reminiscent of the technique used by T'ang sculptors when they produced the various types of models of animals which were found in large quantities.⁸³

The next group of archaeological finds is the glass and beads. From the excavation we found only glass beads but the random finds included other types of beads such as those made from agate and terracotta. We obtained about two tinsfuls from the random finds, about 1500 cu.cm. Their colours range from white, green, yellow, red in monochrome and in polychrome. The glass too has this range of colours. These beads and glass were also found at Pengkalan Bujang⁸⁴ and also from another important archaeological site which is Kuala Selinsing in Perak.⁸⁵ The glass is believed to have come from the Middle East, from Egypt and Syria. Alastair Lamb postulated that the beads would probably have originated from Kuala Selingsing and others from India and Java.⁸⁶ This could be true in the case of glass beads because evidence for the manufacture of glass beads from imported glass were found at Kuala Selinsing.

In our excavation we did not find any of the Samarra type of T'ang white ware nor the splashed and splashed-sgraffiate wares. The splashed ware was found at the lowest level of Site 19 and the splashed-sgraffiate was found at Site 21 and 22 in Pengkalan Bujang. However, we did find the Samarra type of ware during our walk along the irrigation canal where thousands of pieces of ceramic sherds were unearthed. In addition there was a splashed ware.

Summary of the excavation of a trial trench at Kampong Sungai Emas in the Muda River Valley

The data obtained from a 3 x 3 metre square trench.

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 0-10 cm | <p>Light brown clayey soil and very dry.
 Archaeological finds: Earthenware: plain body: medium textured paste and sand tempered, grey 9, light orange 6, orange 4, and brown 3. Decorated: medium textured and sand tempered, grey cord-marked 3, orange cord-marked 5, brown cord-marked 2. Stoneware: I) Grey glazed ware with body seen at fractures 3. II) Blue glazed ware with white and ribbed body and fine tempered paste. The paste is thicker on the outside than the inside I. Blue glass 3; glass beads 2, small yellow beads; 2 unrecognisable iron objects; broken pieces of animal bone.</p> |
| 10-20 cm | <p>Light brown clayey soil and very dry for 5 cm. Very light grey clayey soil for the next 5 cm.
 Archaeological finds: Earthenware: Plain body: medium textured paste and sand tempered, grey 10, light orange 195, orange 42, brown 240. Decorated: medium textured and sand tempered, grey cord-marked 43, orange cord-marked 39, orange with incised marks at the neck 8, grey mat-marked 13. Stoneware: I) Grey glaze with whitish body 1, II) White ware of whitish clay and covered with transparent glaze, the white colour being produced</p> |

by the body underneath 7, III) Grey bodied stoneware with grey glaze and appear to be like the Yüeh type 9, IV) Grey slipped stoneware 12. Glass: blue, green and light yellow.

20-30 cm Very light brown clayey soil mixed with haemetite, slate and coarse sand.

Archaeological finds: Earthenware: Plain body: medium textured and sand tempered, grey 110, orange 70, brown 178. Decorated: medium textured paste and sand tempered, grey cord-marked 47, orange cord-marked 14, brown cord-marked 39. Stoneware: I) Grey glazed with whitish body 9, II) White ware with transparent glaze 4, III) Blue glaze with white body 1, IV) Dark green Northern Sung type of celadon with flower motif 3. Glass: green and yellow and whitish blue. Beads: glass.

30-40 cm Very light brown clayey soil mixed with haemetite, slate and coarse sand.

Archaeological finds: Earthenware: Plain body: medium textured paste and sand tempered, grey 297, light orange 131, orange 94, and brown 65. Decorated: medium textured paste with sand temper grey cord-marked 50, orange cord-marked 61, basket-marked grey 20, orange basket-marked 19, orange net-marked 2, grey mat-marked 9, brown mat-marked 9. Stoneware: I) White ware with buff body 31, II) Grey slipped stoneware and very thick body 18, III) Blue glaze with white body 3, IV) Grey glaze 8, V) Ochre glaze 13, Beads: glass beads and glass of white, green and light yellow colours.

40-50 cm Very light brown clayey soil mixed with haemetite, slate and coarse sand.

Archaeological finds: Earthenware: Plain body: medium textured and sand tempered, grey 281, light-orange 97, orange 73, and brown 81. Decorated: medium textured paste and sand tempered, grey

cord-marked 54, brown cord-marked 23, orange cord-marked 25, grey mat-marked 15, brown mat-marked 5, grey basket-marked 9, brown basket-marked 10. Stoneware: I) Grey slipped ware 29, II) Blue glaze 5, III) ochre glaze 13. Bricks: 3 broken pieces. Beads: 1 large green bead, 1 small yellow bead and 1 large yellow bead. There are also small stones and bones.

50-60 cm Very light brown clayey soil mixed with haemetite and slate and coarse sand.

Archaeological finds: Earthenware: Plain body: Medium textured paste and sand tempered, grey 143, light orange 55, orange 64, brown 33. Decorated: grey cord-marked 34, orange cord-marked 12, brown cord-marked 28, grey mat-marked 4 and brown mat-marked 2. Stoneware: I) Grey slipped stoneware 8, II) grey glaze 2, III) Ochre glaze 15 IV) Blue glaze 6. Glass: whitish blue 7, brown 10, and dark green 6. There were also traces of bones and beads.

60-70 cm Dark brown clayey soil mixed with broken bricks. Archaeological finds: Earthenware: Plain body: Medium textured paste and sand tempered, grey 343, light orange 101, orange 141 and brown 163. Decorated: medium textured paste and sand tempered grey cord-marked 74, light orange cord-marked 34, orange cord-marked 41, brown cord-marked 41. Stoneware: I) Grey slipped stoneware 5, II) Grey glaze 3, III) Ochre glaze 24, IV) White glaze with buff body 7 V) White glaze with white body 5 VI) Blue glaze 10. Glass: white and green and glass beads.

70-80 cm Dark brown clayey soil mixed with broken bricks. Archaeological finds: Earthenware: Plain body: medium textured grey 87, orange 43, light orange 45, brown 27 and white 2. Decorated: medium textured paste and sand tempered, grey cord-marked

41, light orange cord-marked 33, orange cord-marked 11, brown cord-marked 8. Stoneware: I) White glaze with buff body 3, II) Grey glaze 3, III) Grey slip 3, IV) Blue glaze 4, V) Ochre glaze 8 and there were also beads of green, red and orange colours. Traces of resin and charcoal were found in this layer.

- 80-90 cm Dark brown clayey soil mixed with broken bricks. Archaeological finds: Earthenware: Plain body: medium textured and sand tempered grey 43, light orange 18, orange 21. Decorated: medium textured paste and sand tempered grey cord marked 5, orange cord-marked 2, and brown cord-marked 2. Stoneware: I) white glaze on buff body 2, II) White glaze on white body 3, III) Grey slip 4 and IV) Blue glaze 3. Stones and resin were also found in this layer.
- 90-130 cm Very pure and very light grey clay and quite moist. Archaeological finds: None.

3.11 Earthenware from the Bujang Valley and Muda River Valley

Earthenware forms the largest number of the ceramic collection from Bujang Valley and Muda Valley. The greater portion of the earthenware sherds which have been studied were those acquired during my excavations in 1976 to 1981 at Sites 17, 19, 21, 22, 25, 50 and Sungai Emas. The other portion of earthenware sherds studied were those acquired by the Muzium Negara from excavations of temples at Sites 5, 11, 16, 19, 21 and 22.

Ceramic study of the Bujang Valley was emphasised by Alastair Lamb in 1961 which provided significant data leading him to believe that an ancient entrepôt existed at the mouth of the Sungai Bujang at Pengkalan Bujang.⁸⁷ This theme was taken up by Leong Sau Heng in 1970 when she

excavated two trial trenches at Pengkalan Bujang which she labelled PBI and PBII. The ceramics obtained by Alastair Lamb in 1961 and those obtained by her were studied to be presented as "A study of ceramic deposits from Pengkalan Bujang Kedah".⁸⁸ In 1974, Janice Stargadt dug another trial trench at Pengkalan Bujang and analysed chemically the earthenware sherds.⁸⁹

In view of the fact that the study of ceramics from Pengkalan Bujang so far confined itself to a small area of Bujang Valley and not Muda Valley, it prompted me to take up a wider area for ceramic study, that is, to include also in the study, the area in the Muda Valley. It is impossible to excavate all the known sites due to lack of money and time. In order to have samples from as wide an area as possible and to cover both valley's excavations, these were conducted at the lower reaches, middle reaches and upper reaches of Bujang Valley and a very prominent site at the mouth of the Merbok River and at Sungai Emas in Muda Valley. Sample sites chosen comprised sites near the river and on top of hills. The aims were to sample as many types of sites on the basis of geographical position and to have a relative dating of the sites on the basis of ceramic evidence.

The study of the earthenwares from the sites in the Bujang and Muda Valleys, indicate that they can be classified into the following types:-

A) The undecorated or plain types: This group formed the largest portion of the collection. They can be subdivided into the coarse to medium paste with slight sand tempered and fine paste. The colour of these two types vary from grey, orange, buff and various shades of brown. Those of the coarse type to medium coarse have fairly thick body in contrast to the fairly fine and thin body of the fine paste wares. A few examples of the fine paste wares such as those from Sites, 11, 16, 17 and 50 showed evidence of being very lowly fired. All sites investigated in the Bujang and Muda Valleys provided with examples of both

coarse to medium and fine paste wares. They also show a variety of vessel forms ranging from heavy pots to small jars. Various forms of lids, rims, spouts, necks and bases represented the sherds of the plain type.

B) The decorated type: This group was represented by both coarse to medium paste with slight sand tempered and fine type. The colour also varies from grey, orange, buff and various shades of brown. This group of earthenware was represented by various forms of lids, rims, spouts, necks and bases. The decorations can be classified into the following types:-

- (1) Bound-paddle decorations in the forms of cord-mark, net-pattern, mat-mark, basket-mark and shell-mark.
- (2) Carved-paddle decorations in the form of rib-mark, basket-mark, criss-cross, mat-mark, linear-lines with geometric design, concentric-circles, wavy-lines with linear lines.
- (3) Grooving and Gouging.
- (4) Incising.

B(1) Bound-paddle decorations: This was the next common type of earthenwares. They were found in all sites excavated, particularly sites in the upper reaches of Bujang Valley and in the adjoining area, the River Merbok Kechil. The most common type for this group of earthenwares was the cord-impressed type. Presumably this technique of decorating the surfaces of the earthenwares was the continuation from an earlier period. This is because in the history of the pottery making in the prehistoric societies in the Malay Peninsula on the evidence obtained from cave sites at Gua Cha, Bukit Tengku Lembu, Gua Kechil, Pahang, Leggong, Perak and Kodiang Kedah and other sites indicate that 90% of the earthenware finds have cord-mark design.⁹⁰ Evidence from Gua Kechil indicates that the cord-marks were the earliest decoration used on the prehistoric earthenware.⁹¹ Other decorations such as net-pattern, mat

mark, basket-mark and shell-mark were found on the earthenwares from almost all the sites excavated, but the percentage varies. Sites in the upper reaches of the Bujang River and those along the Merbok Kechil River displayed a lesser number of sherds with decorations other than cord-marks. In this area the other common types were the shell-mark decorations and mat-marks. Net-pattern marks were very few.

B(2) Carved-paddle decorations: The earthenware with this type of decoration were found less frequently. Almost all the examples were recovered from Sites 19, 21 and 22. Sites to the north of Pengkalan Bujang did not produce many examples which could be categorised convincingly to this particular group. The main reason being the only difference between the bound-paddle decorations and carved-paddle decorations is the degree of sophistication achieved in applying the patterns to the surface of the earthenwares. In the later case the designs were carved to the paddle first before pressing to the surface while in the earlier patterns, the technique was to use the various types of material with patterns bound to the paddle and then pressed to the surface. This type of decoration was found also at Sungai Emas sites. Leong Sau Heng also reported the existence of the carved-paddle decorations with saw-teeth motifs combined with other designs such as wavy-bands, concentric triangles, and with basket patterns.⁹² But I did not find any examples in the excavations that I have conducted. Both the B(1) and B(2) types of decorations appeared to have been pressed to the surface from the upper shoulder of the vessel to the base leaving the neck area and rim free.

B(3) Grooving and Gouging: Grooves were found normally on the upper parts of the vessels either on the necks or on the rims or on both. These markings formed additional decorations to the decorations obtained either by bound-paddle or carved paddle, but in the majority of cases with the carved-paddle. Decorations such as the linear-lines and geometric designs were the most common.

B(4) Incising: Incised markings were found on several of the sherds from Pengkalan Bujang area, Sungai Emas, Bukit Penjara, and one example from Site 50. The most common motif was the linear lines incised around the neck of the vessels. The incised linear lines were either in three lines or four lines. The example with three linear lines incised at the neck of the vessel was found at Pengkalan Bujang and Bukit Penjara. Other motifs were parallel incised lines joined by incised lines cut perpendicular to them, crescent design, parallel lines with geometric design between them. These kind of motifs were found at the top part of the vessel normally just below the neck.

The sherds from Site 50 had concentric circles incised on a dark brown ware. The motif appeared to resemble a shell because of a thick dot at each centre of the concentric circle. Then there was the cord-mark vessel with incised design to form a geometric shape found at Site 21. The incised decorations were also reported by Leong Sau Heng from Pengkalan Bujang.⁹³ Incised decorations with bands of incised strokes were also found on some of the sherds recovered from Sites 19, 21 and 22 and from Sungai Emas. The other type of the incised motif was the incised crescent motif incised to the pinched part of the neck. The example was from Sungai Emas.

From the study of the decorations of the earthenware from the Bujang Valley and Muda Valley a few observations can be stated. The first observation was, that, areas in Pengkalan Bujang and those in the south such as Sungai Emas in the Muda Valley produced earthenware vessels with much more sophisticated decorations compared to those produced in the north. The second observation was, that, the vessels must have been manufactured in the areas and not imported because of the availability of materials from the areas, and also some of the fine type of vessels which had received very low fire made them impossible to be carried about, and also the designs or decorations definitely point to local development. Another very significant

observation was that by comparing with the earthenwares excavated from various prehistoric sites in the Malay Peninsula it appeared that the patterns other than the cord-mark, mat-mark, shell-mark, basket-mark were different. If we scrutinised carefully those earthenwares with the cord-mark, mat-mark, shell-mark and basket-mark decorations and compare with those of the same type of decorations found at the prehistoric sites such as Gua Cha, Gua Kechil and Dengkil, one will notice that they had their differences especially in the size of the marks and also the paste and temper of the bodies of the earthenwares. The differences could be noticed visibly in the cases of earthenwares decorated with other designs (see diagrams). Thus it is possible to conclude that the development of the earthenwares from the Bujang Valley and Muda Valley showed local development but the techniques show continuity from the prehistoric earthenware tradition that evolved in the prehistoric sites in the Malay Peninsula.

Summary: Bujang River Valley and Muda River Valley
Settlement Phases

Archaeological investigations indicate that the two river valleys had been inhabited by people who had contacts with India from about the sixth/seventh century A.D. Three Buddhist inscriptions (the Buddhagupta inscription, the Bukit Meriam inscription and the Sungai Emas inscription), and the inscribed tablet from Quaritch-Wales' Site 2 support this conclusion. During this period the area was strongly Buddhist. The Buddhist phase continued along local lines. This continuity can be seen from the archaeological evidence, the Buddha image from Site 16a, the head of Buddha from Sungai Emas, the Hariti image and the site at Guak Kepah which suggest a date of about early seventh century A.D.

It seems that the settlements in the two river valleys continued to prosper. The archaeological finds which can be ascribed, chronologically, to the eighth and ninth century are more abundant and varied. They include imported

Chinese ceramics such as T'ang white porcellanous ware with very thick but low base ring which was also found at Samarra, Middle Eastern types: Sasana-Islamic; splashed ware; splashed-sgraffiate, assigned from the seventh to the eleventh century. Middle Eastern glass and various types of beads. Mahāyāna Buddhism was still popular with the people of the area. This belief can be supported by archaeological finds of temple remains and associated material.

Among the archaeological sites which have been investigated and can be placed in the sixth to seventh and ninth to tenth century cultural horizon are the Sungai Emas and Sungai Trus sites, Quaritch-Wales' Sites 10, 12, 14, 16A, 17, 21 and 22 in the Bujang Valley. The sites in the Sungai Emas are represented by six mounds which appear to be small and can be compared to the size of the mounds of single cell temples. In the Kampong Seberang Trus on the east side of the Sungai Trus there are two visible mounds which have the same size as those found in the Sungai Emas area. There were also traces of mounds exposing laterite blocks in the villages on the southern banks of Muda River. They were small and were made from laterites, and during my visit to the area in 1980 I found only one of them still visible, in the village to the west of Guak Kepah; and the rest of them were destroyed by farmers because most of the sites were in the land being converted to padi-lands. The destruction of archaeological sites in the Muda River Valley is much greater and speedier than that of sites in the Bujang River Valley.

The classification of the sites as Buddhist is, firstly, on the evidence of the associated finds, and secondly on the typology of the temples. Site 10 has been regarded as a Buddhist temple because the inscriptions, one gold and six silver discs found in the foundation deposits had been studied by Quaritch-Wales, Chakravarti and Bosch and they agreed that they were Buddhist inscriptions.⁹⁴ Chakravarti believed that they may be the epithets

of Buddha and names of Bodhisattvas and dated to the eighth or ninth century A.D.⁹⁵ Bosch dated it to the second half of the ninth century A.D.⁹⁶ Site 12 had been ascribed a date of eighth to ninth century A.D. on the basis of the associated find, a T'ang type mirror,⁹⁷ and Site 14 is believed to be a Buddhist temple because of the presence of an inscribed Buddhist text and on the evidence of a half-dirhem and quarter-dirhem of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakil found in the foundation reliquaries; it could be dated to the second half of the ninth century A.D. One of the coins had a date of 234 A.H. which is equivalent to 848 A.D.⁹⁸

In view of the fact that all the structures with finds which could be safely dated to the period seventh to the tenth century either have a single pit, or as in the case of Site 21 and 22 have three structures but not of vimana-mandapa type, it is possible to assume that all such temples in the two river valleys were Buddhist. The Buddhist phase in the two river valleys must have existed from the sixth to seventh century A.D. right through to the ninth to tenth century A.D. The sixth to seventh century and eighth century temples are those structures with single pits located in Sungai Emas, Sungai Trus, Guak Kepah, the sites in the village to the south-west of Guak Kepah, Bukit Meriam, and Site 16a, and Site 17. All the sites classified as single pit structures were without any trade Sung ceramic which could be said with certainty to belong to the pre-Sung period. Such a structure could have been a stupa type. This assumption is based on my belief that the style of such a building would resemble more or less that carved on the shale stone with the Buddhist inscriptions from Sungai Emas.

The existing body of archaeological knowledge of the two river valleys points to Sungai Emas and the area to the south of the Merbok River as being the earliest centre of the early kingdom in ancient Kedah. Besides this centre there were other settlements existing during the period in other parts of the two river valleys. If it is true that

the centre was in the Sungai Emas area, then Chieh-ch'a which I-Tsing visited in about 672 A.D. was here. The first group of archaeological evidence pointing to the area as being the centre during the sixth to the ninth or tenth century A.D. are the Buddhist inscriptions. Three out of four very important inscriptions found in Kedah came from this area. The second evidence is the Buddhist sculpture. They are the Buddha head and the image of Hariti and the votive tablet imprinted with Buddha. The third evidence is the gold-belt found at Quaritch-Wales' Site 27 in River Trus slightly to the east of Sungai Emas.⁹⁹ But although Quaritch-Wales considered the belt as being of thirteenth century,¹⁰⁰ I believe that a date of about the eighth century is more appropriate. Quaritch-Wales' argument is based on the assumption that the ornament, the kala head on the belt is similar to the one on the belt of the stone image of Bhairava from Sungai Langsat, Sumatra. If we are to compare the two ornaments of kala-head, we will definitely see that they are different. The kala-head of the Sungai Trus is much closer to the Dieng Plateau period of kala-heads and also nearer to the Candi Kalasan kala-head rather than to the kala-head from the Candi Djago or Candi Singasari.

The next evidence for arguing that the Sungai Emas and the area to the south of Merbok River was the earlier centre of the kingdom was the ceramics. My archaeological excavation at Sungai Emas and the ceramic deposits observed at the cuttings made by soil diggers digging the irrigation canal revealed that the ceramics from Sungai Emas can be classified as T'ang and early Sung for the Chinese ceramics and the Middle Eastern ceramics, seventh to ninth century A.D. The seventh to ninth century A.D. Middle Eastern ceramics were found in the same layer as the Chinese T'ang period types of wares. The ceramic evidence suggests that the site was occupied from the seventh, at the latest. The next evidence is the existence of single pit structures in the area.

The other reason for believing that the Sungai Emas area and the area to the south of Merbok River as being the early centre is geographical. The lands in the area are much more flat and closer to the sea than those to the north of Merbok River. The area today is in the rice bowl area of southern Kedah. The discovery of a prehistoric site at Guak Kepah, a site on the southern bank of Muda River, and the subsequent evidence that the site was later occupied during the sixth and later periods again proves that proto-historic settlements normally evolved from pre-historic settlements on the coasts and in the river valleys. This development pattern can be seen in the evolution of proto-historic settlements at Kuala Selinsing and Dengkil at Kuala Langat.

By the end of the ninth century or early tenth century A.D. it seems that Bujang Valley in general and the village of Pengkalan Bujang in particular became more prominent. This assumption is based on two factors. The first factor is the density of ceramic finds. According to the report of Alastair Lamb, his 100 square feet sondage produced some 10,000 fragments of porcelain and larger quantities of earthenware and stoneware.¹⁰¹ In addition to that, he discovered numerous fragments of glass, parts of a hundred small bottles of a kind which was at one time widely exported from the Middle East, from Egypt or Syria. Also he discovered mixed up in the earth many beads of glass, agate and terracotta. He identified the finds as Sung and Yuan Dynasty date and these wares were mixed with the produce of other manufacturing regions, Thailand and Indo-China, and also from the Middle East.¹⁰² The very cosmopolitan nature of the deposit led him to conclude that Pengkalan Bujang was an entrepot during the Sung and Yüan periods.¹⁰³ The archaeological excavations by Leong Sau Heng in 1970 suggested that trading at Pengkalan Bujang reached its zenith during the Sung period but there was evidence suggesting that earlier Chinese ceramics reaching the port at Pengkalan Bujang, from late T'ang, tenth century period.¹⁰⁴ The suggestion seems to concur with my observation of the

Chinese ceramics found at Site 19, that is the white Samarra type of ware.

The second factor is the discovery of a large number of a second type of temple; the temples consisting of two parts namely vimāna and mandapa in the Bujang Valley. This type of temple can be sub-divided into a) vaulted type, e.g. at Site 19, Bujang Valley, b) linked vimāna-mandapa, e.g. Sites 5, 11, 8, and 49 from Bujang Valley and Sites 31 and presumably Site 24 in the Muda Valley, c) vimāna-mandapa separated: this type consists of Sites 6, 13, 16 and 50 in the Bujang Valley. All these three types of the vimāna-mandapa type of temples can be placed in the tenth to eleventh and thirteenth century period. This assumption is based on the associated finds and the evolution of this category of temples. They all belonged to the Śaivite religion.

As far as the associated finds are concerned they can be grouped into a) ceramics b) reliquaries c) images. The ceramics which can be divided into earthenware and imported wares were normally found at the temple sites. In the majority of cases the imported ceramics can be classified as being of Sung and Yüan periods with certainty. This is very true in the case of imported ceramics found at the Pengkalan Bujang Sites 18 and 19. Here the earliest example of ceramics found were the green celadon of Northern Sung type, in addition to other types of imported ceramics, beads and glass. Temples which are located in the upper and middle reaches of the Bujang Valley and also along the banks of Merbok Kechil do not produce or produce very little imported ceramic finds. If there were any ceramics at the site, they were normally earthenware or earthenware with the coarse type of stoneware. But whenever excavations were carried out in areas just a few metres away from the temple area they produced a variety of ceramics which included imported wares. An example of such an excavation was the one carried out at an area about 100 metres from the main temple at site 50. Here included in the ceramics

unearthed were imported ceramics which can be identified as of the Sung period. Nevertheless the density of ceramic finds from the areas outside the Pengkalan Bujang is very low as compared to the ceramic finds from Pengkalan Bujang and also to those found in the Sungai Emas. Random finds of ceramics from Sites 5, 11 and 16 also show that they belonged to the Sung and Yüan periods. The ceramics which Quaritch-Wales' identified as T'ang have been questioned by Alastair Lamb who believed that they belonged to the Sung period.¹⁰⁵ He based his conclusion on the collections in the Raffles and Taiping Museums. Treoler who examined chemically the mercury content of one of the nine chambered reliquaries came to the conclusion that Site 8, Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat may be dated to the eleventh century A.D.¹⁰⁶ The images such as the Ganeśa found in Site 19 and the relief of Durgā triumphing over Mahiṣasura from Site 4¹⁰⁷ can be dated to a period not earlier than the end of the ninth century A.D. The contents of foundation deposits or the reliquaries denote local developments.

My proposed periodisation of the settlements in the Bujang and Muda Valleys shows two main phases. The first phase is the Buddhist phase which existed from the sixth century, at the latest, to the second half of the ninth century A.D. The main centre for the settlements in the two river valleys in the sixth to the ninth century A.D. must have been in the Sungai Emas area which included the areas on the southern bank of Muda River. From the ninth century A.D. to the thirteenth to fourteenth century A.D. was the period which saw the growth of the Pengkalan Bujang into an important port. But in the ninth century A.D. the main religion was still Buddhist, probably Mahāyāna Buddhist. We only saw the evolution and development of Śaivism at Pengkalan Bujang and the areas to the north, particularly the areas in the Middle and Upper reaches of the Bujang River and the areas along the Merbok Kechil from the tenth century A.D. Thus the second phase for the periodisation of the two river valleys on the basis of the development of religion started in the tenth century at

Pengkalan Bujang and ended probably at the end of the thirteenth century A.D. with the coming of Islam. Nevertheless, the centre for the kingdom at Pengkalan Bujang and the religion was practised in both the two river valleys.

The proposed periodisation does not agree with those proposed by Quaritch-Wales¹⁰⁸ and Alastair Lamb.¹⁰⁹ Quaritch-Wales proposed Sites 1-3 and the Mahanavika Buddhagupta, Cherok Tokun and Bukit Meriam inscriptions discovered by Colonel James Low as a Buddhist phase, circa 300 to circa 550 A.D. This was his second phase of Indian colonisation of the Malay Peninsula but the first visible period in the history of the Indianised settlement in Kedah and Province Wellesley. The period from circa 550 to circa 750 A.D. was the time when the area came under the influence of Hindu Pallava colonists. The final phase or the third phase in Kedah Hindu-Buddhist period was the period, circa 750 to circa 900 A.D. During this period Buddhist Mahāyānist influence was dominant. In his arguments, he depended a good deal on the typology of finds and plans of the structures. He grouped Sites 4-9, yimāna-mandapa class of temples to the Hindu Pallava period,¹¹⁰ and Sites 10-30 which cluster in the middle reaches of Bujang River, and also Site 31 at Matang Pasir to the Mahāyānist Buddhist phase, of the mid eighth to tenth centuries, and later periods down to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹¹¹ He also attributed Site 11 not to the group of temples found in the two river valleys but rather to a secular group of buildings, the royal audience chamber in his opinion.¹¹²

The result of the archaeological work carried out since the Second World War in the two river valleys is that now we have clearer evidence for the study of the archaeology of the two areas. This new evidence shows that many of the conclusions made by Quaritch-Wales are not really accurate. Site 31 at Permatang Pasir which Dorothy C. Quaritch-Wales uncovered was described as, "massive laterite plinth of what appeared to have been a porched building".¹¹³ But M. Sullivan in 1958 questioned the position of the porch

because of its unusual position: nearly all Indian temples, as well as those excavated by Quaritch-Wales in Kedah, are oriented to the east.¹¹⁴ It was Alastair Lamb, however, who did a thorough excavation of the site and managed to show that the porch was in fact the vimāna of a temple of the vimāna-mandapa type.¹¹⁵ The problem faced by Dorothy C. Quaritch-Wales and M. Sullivan was their inability to carry out a thorough excavation, and to see that although it was the vimāna-mandapa type of temple, the vimāna was separated from the mandapa. This type of temples where the vimāna and mandapa were not actually joined together or the mandapa really projected from the vimāna is very common in the Bujang Valley. These were Sites 13, 16 and 50 and possibly 6 and 15 where it is believed that the mandapa part could have been ignored or missing due to the incomplete excavation and the ignorance of the fact that such a type of temples could have existed in the region.

It is therefore wrong to assume that one group of temples belong to the Hindu Pallava period and the other group, having the mandapa and vimāna, to the Mahāyāna Buddhist. On the evidence of the finds and similarity in styles it is justifiable to say that they were Śaivite temples and very close to each other in date. This would invalidate the suggestion that temples 4-8 are Hindu Pallava and date to the period from circa 550 to circa 750 A.D. and the temples at Sites 10-23 as Mahāyānist dating from circa 750 to circa 900 A.D.

Alastair Lamb on the other hand gave a different periodisation for the two river valleys. His scheme postulated four periods.¹¹⁶ The first period is the Early Buddhist period which evolved on the coast from the fourth or fifth century A.D. on the inscriptional evidence. His second period was the Śrīvijayan period, from seventh to ninth century A.D. The settlements were in the Bujang Valley, and the people had a closer link with settlements in Java, Sumatra and mainland South East Asia. From the tenth to eleventh century A.D. to the fourteenth century A.D. was

the Pengkalan Bujang period. During this period Pengkalan Bujang achieved entrepôt status. The other areas included in this period were Permatang Pasir, Merbok, Batu Lintang and Tikam Batu. The last period was the Kuala Muda phase which began after the fourteenth century A.D.

It is quite reasonable to assume that the early Buddhist period evolved on the coast. In order for it to evolve into an acceptable religion in a particular area it must start at a centre. On the available evidence, it seems that Sungai Emas and the area to the south, being on the coast during the period, could be the centre. Other settlements on the coastal area, particularly those areas in the river valleys, would also come under the influence of the Buddhist religion. It is not surprising to find that the settlement in the Sala River Valley, to the north of the Bujang Valley, also received this influence as attested by the Bukit Choras Buddhist inscription of the sixth century A.D. The settlements in the Bujang Valley too received this influence, and so too did the settlements in the Kinta Valley. There were probably other similarly influenced settlements on the coastal areas of the Malay Peninsula. Although geographically Sungai Emas did not have an anchorage as deep as the Bujang River, nevertheless, it was suitable enough for it to be used as a port of call. Presumably, with the increase in trading activities the centre shifted to the Pengkalan Bujang area.

The shift presumably took place in the ninth or early tenth century A.D. In spite of the shift of the centre, the settlements in the Sungai Emas and the area to the south did not vanish. Archaeological finds in the Muda Valley confirm this belief. It is not accurate to assume, as Alastair Lamb did, that settlements were only in the Bujang Valley during his Srivijayan period, from the seventh to the ninth century A.D. There were settlements in the Bujang Valley, just as in the Muda River Valley, during the period because there were temples which can be dated to the period, but they belonged to the Buddhist phase.

All other temples stylistically and religiously are very closely linked to each other. As there is strong archaeological evidence which suggests that they belonged to the tenth century at the earliest, it is therefore not wrong to assume that they belonged to the Saivite phase and can be dated to the period tenth to eleventh and to fourteenth century.

I concur with Alastair Lamb that from the tenth to eleventh century A.D. Pengkalan Bujang achieved entrepot status with international contacts. The richness and varieties of the ceramics, glass, beads, and the foundation deposits for the temples definitely show the prosperity and the innovative culture of the people in the two river valleys during this period. Their innovations were in the use of local materials for building temples. They built their temples out of the available materials such as laterite, river pebbles, sandstone and timber. They made tiles and pottery from the rich clay that was in abundance in the river valleys. The foundation deposits show that there were local gold and silversmiths during the period because they were able to make all those foundation deposits, even in very crude form. The various gems found in the reliquaries indicate that efforts were made to secure them from all over Asia and the Middle East. Presumably, during the fourteenth century Kuala Muda became more prominent again. But there were still people living in the other parts of the two river valleys as attested by the discovery of Ming ceramics in various parts.

NOTES

1. Mohamad Yusof bin Nasrudin, Hikayat Merong Maha Wangsa: Yakni Salsilah Negeri Kedah Darul-aman, 1898, 75.
2. Abdullah Haji Musa Lubis, Kesah Raja Merong Maha Wangsa, Pustaka Antara, Kuala Lumpur, 1965, 176.
3. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya" 41.
4. Ibid. 41.
5. A. Sheppard, Ceramics for the archaeologists, Carnegie Institution, Washington, 1957.
6. W.G. Solheim, "Sa Huynh Pottery Relationships in South East Asia", AP, 3, 1959, 97-108, 177-191.
7. B. Bronson, "Excavations at Chansen and the cultural chronology of proto-historic central Thailand", Thesis Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1976.
8. B.A.V. Peacock, "A short description of Malayan Pre-historic Pottery", AP, 3, 2 (1959), 121-156.
9. A.R. Lamb "Miscellaneous papers on Early Hindu and Buddhist settlement in northern Malaya and Southern Thailand" and "Pengkalan Bujang: an ancient port in Kedah", MH, 7, 1 (1961) 12-17.
10. E. McKinnon, "Oriental Ceramics Excavated in North Sumatra", TOCS, London, 41 (1975-1977). 59-118.
11. Nils Palmgren, Sung Sherds, Almqvist and Wiksell, Stockholm, 1963.
12. M. Medley, "Some dated blue and white in the Perceival David Foundation" Oriental Art (n.s.) 8, 1962, 84-87; T'ang pottery and porcelain, Faber and Faber, 1981; Yüan Porcelain and Stoneware, Faber and Faber.
13. Ireneus Laszlo Legeza, Malcolm Macdonald Collection of Chinese ceramics: A descriptive and illustrated catalogue, University of Durham Publication, 1972. The glaze appears to be quite close to the Chün type of glaze described on page 1. Legeza discusses the reason for the adhering qualities and the nature of Chün wares.
14. Ibid. 1-11.
15. For comparison see Nils Palmgren, Sung Sherds. Pl. 295 (c.95) (c.53) and (c.288) from Chu-lu Hsien. See also Mino Yutaka, Ceramics in the Liao Dynasty,

North and South of the Great Wall, China House Gallery
 China Institute in America, N.U. 1973 pl. 10, parti-
 cularly the way the glaze stops at the base.

16. For comparison see Leandro and Cecilia Locsin,
Oriental Ceramics Discovered in the Philippines,
 Charles E. Tuttle Company, Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo,
 Japan, 1967, 56-69.
17. D.B. Courtier, "Geology and mineral resources of the
 neighbourhood of Kulim, Kedah", Map Bulletin Geological
 Survey of Malaysia, 3, 1974, cf. Brian C. Batchelor,
 "Post 'Hoabinhian' Coastal Settlement indicated by
 finds in stanniferous Langat River Alluvium near
 Dengkil, Selangor, Peninsular Malaysia", 14.
18. Cf. Ibid. 14.
19. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient
 Indian Colonization in Malaya" 39.
20. Ibid. 39-40. Pls. 69-70.
21. Ibid. 39-40.
22. Ibid. 39.
23. Ibid. Pl. 18. My reconstruction of the inner part of
 the monument is based on the shape of this find.
24. According to M. Medley in T'ang pottery and porcelain,
 Faber and Faber, London 1981, Ch'ing pai is a general
 term meaning white with faint bluish or greenish tinge
 in the reports on ceramics; it is very widely applied
 to white wares. Note 11, p. 98.
25. Fūjio Koyama, Post-war discoveries of T'ang and Sung
 kiln sites, London, 1962, 3. Cf. Leong Sau Heng,
 "A study of ceramic deposits from Pengkalan Bujang
 Kedah", 216-217.
26. G. St. G.M. Gompertz, Chinese Celadon wares, Faber and
 Faber, London, 1958. Pl. B facing page 65 (colour
 plate); Pl. 35 on page 98.
27. Masahiko Satō, Chinese ceramics, a short history,
 Weatherhill/Heibonsha, New York, 1981, Compare with
 Pl. 12 (Celadon bowl with foliate rim) Southern Sung
 period. See also, Joseph Grebanier, Chinese Stoneware
 glazes, Watson-Guptil Publication, New York, 1975.
 47-48. Colour plate 57. He believes that Chün and
 Kuan-chün type of glaze may be a relation to the Ju
 type.
28. For the photograph of celadon plate from Dengkil,
 see, Brian C. Batchelor, "Post 'Hoabinhian' coastal
 settlement indicated by finds in stanniferous Langat
 River alluvium near Dengkil, Selangor, Peninsular

Malaysia, Fig. 2a and 2b. This and the sherds from Bukit Penjara Cave Site may be identified with Class C1 type of celadon discussed by Leong Sau Heng, "A study of ceramic deposits from Pengkalan Bujang, Kedah" 192-194. Alastair Lamb has noted the discovery of such high grade celadon in his report of finds at Pengkalan Bujang, Alastair Lamb, "Miscellaneous papers on early Hindu and Buddhist settlement in Northern Malaya and Southern Thailand" Plates 27-32.

29. Brown glazed ware comprises a large coarse stoneware type found in Bujang and Muda valleys. Apparently, they have been coated with a soft lead glaze. The glaze sometimes flaked off easily. The glaze is either ochre, brown or dark brown. They have been recovered from various Sung/Yüan sites in South East Asia. For Philippines see Leandro and Cecilia Locsin, Oriental Ceramics, Pls. 17, 29 and 32; Sarawak, see, C. Zainie and T. Harrisson, "Early Chinese Stoneware excavated in Sarawak 1947-1967" SMJ, 15 (n.s.) 1967, 77. See also Masahiko Sato, Chinese Ceramics, A Short History. Chapter on green and brown lead-glazed earthenwares pages 25-32, and Ireneus Laszlo Legeza, Malcolm MacDonald Collection of Chinese ceramics: A descriptive and illustrated catalogue, iv-lviii.
30. For comparison of ochre-glazed wares, see Leandro and Cecilia Locsin, Oriental Ceramics, Pl. 39. See also note 29.
31. Alastair Lamb, "Miscellaneous papers on early Hindu and Buddhist settlement in northern Malaya and Southern Thailand" 21-37 and Leong Sau Heng, "A study of ceramic deposits from Pengkalan Bujang Kedah", 132-139.
32. Nils Palmgren, Sung Sherds, 322, pl. 323.
33. The sherds have been identified after consultation with: Abu Ridho, the head of the Muzium Pusat Jakarta, and who is an Indonesian specialist on Chinese ceramics; Mrs Margret Medley; and Dr Geza Fehervari. The latter has helped me with the identification and date. The dating is based on the fact that it was discovered from the same level as the later splashed-sgraffiate ware which has been dated to the tenth to eleventh centuries. The date for the splashed-sgraffiate is based on the assumption that the type of glaze was adopted after the Sasanian-Islamic type, after the ninth century. See Arthur Lane, The early sgraffito ware of the Near East, TOC, 15, 1937, 35-36. On the dating of that type of ware.
34. Sgraffiate ware or sgraffito ware may be loosely defined as any pottery with a design carved or engraved on the surface while the clay is biscuit hard, and then covered with a transparent glaze and fired. More properly, it should be confined to a form made of coarse clay with a coat of white slip; the decoration is cut through the slip and when covered

with a clear lead-glaze, shows dark in contrast to the surrounding surface. The Romans used the technique and did not become common in the Near East until the eighth to ninth century. See Arthur Lane, "The Early Sgraffito ware of the Near East", TOC, 15, 1937, 33. Dr. Geza Fehervari helps me to identify the sherds and to help with the dating. See also, D. Whitehouse, "Islamic glazed pottery in Iraq and Persian Gulf: the ninth and tenth centuries", ANNALI del Istituto Orientale de Napoli, 39 (n.s. XXIX) 1979, 45, 59. He discusses the origin of the glaze type and the beginning of that type of ware.

35. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", 40.
36. Ibid. 40.
37. Ibid. 40.
38. See Pls. 4.43 and 4.52.
39. See Pl. 3.43.
40. See Pl. 4.124.
41. See Pl. 3.42.
42. See Pls. 3.18-3.20.
43. Pls. 3.7 and 3.11. For comparison see M. Medley, T'ang Pottery and Porcelain, Faber and Faber, London, 1981, Pls. 77a and 77b, p. 82. And also James Marshall Plumer, "Certain Celadon Potsherds from Samarra traced to their source", Ars Islamica, 4, 1937, 196. It may be compared to type A base in his classification.
44. See Pls. 3.8, 3.10, 3.11. Compare with the Sung white wares in Nils Palmgren, Sung sherds, 294-295. Pl. 295 and Mino Yutaka, Ceramics in Liao Dynasty, North and South of the Great Wall, Pls. 10-15.
45. See Pl. 3.4.
46. See Pl. 3.3 (a, b).
47. The identification is based on my consultation with Dr. Geza Fehervari. According to John Hansman on the basis of survey in Khuzistan, the splash ware may not have come into use until after the tenth century. See, D. Whitehouse "Islamic Glazed pottery in Iraq and the Persian Gulf: the ninth and tenth centuries" 45.
48. The assumption that the upper range for the date is about ninth century is based on the fact that the beginning for the splashed ware type was ninth to tenth century. See Arthur Lane, "The early sgraffito

ware of the Near East" 35. He stated, "There came a sudden demand for a class of pottery other than the green glazed or plain wares that had satisfied the Sasanians and their predecessors".

49. This conclusion is based on my observation of the Chinese Ceramic collection in the museum.
50. It has been pointed out to me that the script may be compared to that of Sung/Yüan period. Compare with the script in Shuo Wén Chieh Tzu, Reproduction of the Sung edition of the Shuo Wén by Hsu Shen, 2nd edition, 1935.
51. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya" 34.
52. Ibid. 34.
53. Ibid. 35.
54. Dorothy C. and H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Further work on Indian Sites in Malaya" 7.
55. Ibid. pl. XV and see also Pl. 4.3 in this work.
56. I.H.N. Evans, Papers on the Ethnology and archaeology of the Malay Peninsula, 121.
57. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya" 37.
58. Ibid. 16.
59. Ibid. Pl. 21 and 22. Fig. 5.
60. Ibid. 16.
61. Ibid. 24-26.
62. Ibid. Pl. 37 and 38. Fig. 8.
63. Ibid. 25.
64. Ibid. 25-26.
65. See Pl. 3.70.
66. See Pl. 5.46.
67. See Pl. 3.46.
68. Dorothy C. and H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Further work on Indian sites in Malaya". 1. Inscription "a" was inscribed on a rock; and inscription "b" is in Calcutta Museum and has been labelled as Raktamarttika inscription of the sea captain Buddhagupta. They have assigned a date of fifth century. See also Dato Sir

Rolland Braddell, "Most Ancient Kedah" in monograph The Bujang Valley, Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 1980, 34.

69. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya" 41-45.
70. Dorothy C. and H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Further work on Indian sites in Malaya" 3-6.
71. Ibid. 6.
72. Ibid. 6.
73. Ibid. 8-10 and Fig. 3 and 4.
74. Ibid. 10-11.
75. See Pl. 3.47.
76. The information is from Professor Claude Jacques, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne. He believes that the inscription apparently once read:

"ajñānāc-cīyate karma janmanah kāranam;
jñānan-na cīyate karma karmabhavān-na
jayate"

He based his reading on the photograph of the inscription which I sent to him. He seems to follow the transcription made by Jan Wisseman which he acknowledges. The transcription may be translated by using the translation from J.G. de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia II, Masa Baru, Bandung, 1956, 140 (for translation) and 113/114 and 123 for the text. The translation reads:

"From ignorance acts accumulate,
of birth acts are the cause;
From knowledge no acts accumulate,
through absence of acts they are not reborn".

77. See Pl. 3.48.
78. This may be compared to that from Dengkil. See Brian C. Batchelor, "Post 'Hoabinhian' coastal settlement indicated by finds in stanniferous Langat River Alluvium, Near Dengkil, Selangor, Peninsular Malaysia" Fig. 1.
79. Ireneus László Legeza, A descriptive and illustrated catalogue of Malcolm MacDonald Collection of Chinese Ceramics, xliv, Pl. 47.
80. Ibid. xlvi, Pl. 61.
81. Ibid. xlix, Pl. 63.
82. See Pl. 3.71.
83. See M. Medley, T'ang Pottery and Porcelain, Pls. 41, 45.

84. Alastair Lamb, "Pengkalan Bujang: An ancient port in Kedah" Monograph The Bujang Valley, 80.
85. Ibid. 80.
86. Ibid. 80.
87. Ibid. 81 and Alastair Lamb, "Pengkalan Bujang: An ancient port in Kedah" MH, 7, 1 (1961) 14.
88. Leong Sau Heng, "A study of ceramic deposits from Pengkalan Bujang, Kedah".
89. N. Hammond (ed.) South Asian Archaeology, Gerald Duckworth, London, 1973.
90. For information on the earthenwares from the various sites in Peninsular Malaysia, see B.A.V. Peacock, "The Kodiang Pottery Cones: A Tripod pottery in Malaya and Thailand" FMJ, 9, 1964. "A short description of Malayan Prehistoric Pottery", AP, 3, 2 (1959) G. Sieveking, "Excavation at Gua Cha, Kelantan" FMJ, 1, 2 (1954-55). F.L. Dunn, "Excavation at Gua Kechil, Pahang", JMBRAS, 37, 2 (1964) 87-110.
91. F.L. Dunn, "Excavation at Gua Kechil, Pahang", 87-110.
92. Leong Sau Heng "A study of ceramic deposits from Pengkalan Bujang, Kedah", 231-232.
93. Ibid. 233-234.
94. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya" 23. He identified the inscriptions with the help of the information from Dr. Chakravarti and Professor F.D.K. Bosch.
95. Ibid. 23-24.
96. Ibid. 24.
97. Ibid. 27-28.
98. Ibid. 31-32.
99. Ibid. 42-43.
100. Ibid. 43.
101. Alastair Lamb, "Pengkalan Bujang: an ancient port in Kedah" in Monograph of The Bujang Valley, 80.
102. Ibid. 81.
103. Ibid. 79.
104. Leong Sau Heng, "A study of ceramic deposits from Pengkalan Bujang, Kedah", 249. The suggestion has been based on the belief that certain celadon types of

- glaze appears to be related to Yueh type.
105. Alastair Lamb, Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat: A report on the excavation of an ancient temple in Kedah. Monographs on South East Asian subjects No. 1, Eastern University Press Ltd., Singapore, 1960, 106.
 106. F.E. Treloar, "Chemical analysis of some metal objects from Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat, Kedah: suggested origin and date", JMBRAS, 41, 1 (1968) 193-198.
 107. I.H.N. Evans, Papers on the Ethnology and archaeology of the Malay Peninsula, 115 and Pl. XXIII.
 108. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", 67-73.
 109. Alastair Lamb, "Miscellaneous Papers on early Hindu and Buddhist settlement in northern Malaya and Southern Thailand", 78-86.
 110. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", 69-70.
 111. Ibid. 22-45 and 72-74 for sites 10-30 and see Dorothy C. and H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Further work on Indian sites in Malaya", 10-16 on Site 31.
 112. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", 25.
 113. Dorothy C. and H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Further work on Indian sites in Malaya", 10.
 114. M. Sullivan, "Excavation in Kedah and Province Wellesley" JMBRAS, 31, 1 (1958) 193.
 115. Alastair Lamb, "Miscellaneous Papers on Early Hindu and Buddhist settlement in Northern Malaya and Southern Thailand", 15-17.
 116. See note 109.

CHAPTER 4
BUDDHIST IMAGES AND ICONOGRAPHY

Buddhism in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra is represented by a number of Buddha and Avalokiteśvara images and of a few other deities such as Jambhala, Heruka, Prajñāparamitā and Śyāmatārā. The number of these images has gradually increased as a result of new discoveries either from random finds or planned archaeological surveys.

Three types of materials are known to have been used for the productions of these images: stone, bronze and clay. Theoretically, it is possible, on the stylistic and material evidence, to determine whether they have been made locally or imported. The images that have been produced locally usually show elements of copying, while imported images do not. Locally produced images sometimes show poorer finishing and perhaps minor local modifications. Stylistic syncretism sometimes led to the evolution of locally produced composite products. The use of clay as a material for the production of some of the images too probably indicate that the images have been produced locally, since images from unbaked clay are too fragile to be moved about.

This part of the study will focus on various styles of the images, their relative chronology and descriptive iconography. In case of images not being dated, nor having any other inscription, the relative chronology depends on stylistic analysis.

The Buddhist images will be discussed under three main headings. 1) Buddha Images; 2) Avalokiteśvara Images; 3) Other deities.

1. Buddha Images: these are sub-divided into two groups:
1A) Standing; 1B) Seated.

Group 1A: Standing Buddha Images

The standing Buddha images may again be divided into two general types, based on the mode of the upper garment (uttarāsaṅga). Type 1A.i, comprises those images in open-mode; type 1A.ii, those images in covering-mode. Open-mode refers to the uttarāsaṅga that covers only the left shoulder of the image and covering-mode refers to the uttarāsaṅga that covers both the shoulders of the image. The uttarāsaṅga has pre-pleating or without pre-pleating. The pre-pleating is indicated by folds or lines on the uttarāsaṅga.

Type 1A.i.a:

The main feature of this type is the uttarāsaṅga in open-mode with pre-pleating and a very low usnīṣa. Two examples are known. One is a bronze image, pl. 4.1, discovered in Sungei Kolok in the southern part of Peninsular Thailand.¹ It was discovered by accident in a padi field. It is now in the collection of Prince Bhānubandu Yugala in Bangkok. It stands 55 cm high. The right hand is in vitarkamudrā and the left hand holds the end of the uttarāsaṅga. The fingers and feet have been repaired but there was enough of the originals remaining to guide the restorer and we can be certain that the work has been correctly done. The remains of a lug at the back of the head, intended to support the halo, are now used to attach a steel supporting rod. The wooden double-lotus pedestal is a recent addition. The hair is made up of flat curls. The usnīṣa is low. The ūrnā is prominent. The uttarāsaṅga ends in a heavy swag at the bottom of the hemline.

It has been suggested by Griswold that the Sungei Kolok image might conceivably be a product of the school of Amarāvatī and it seems likely that it was made in Sri Lanka, and should be dated to about the fifth century.² The treatment of the uttarāsaṅga definitely shows stylistic affinity with the style of the school of Amarāvatī and Sri Lanka.³ The origin of the technique must have been Amarāvatī.⁴ At

Amarāvatī, Buddha images clothed in both the open-mode and covering-mode but with pre-pleating are known to have been found.⁵ Sri Lanka produced images in open-mode with pre-pleating but none in covering-mode.⁶ The date for these images found at Amarāvatī is probably not later than the fourth century.⁷ At Sri Lanka, on the other hand, the images in open-mode and with pre-pleating were being produced, probably, till the eighth century. This is based on dates assigned by scholars to the known example of the images in this stylistic tradition.⁸

The fifth century date suggested by Griswold to pl. 4.1 image probably is true. The main reason for accepting this date is the iconography. Images from Amarāvatī and those dated prior to the fourth century from Sri Lanka have the right hand raised just above shoulder level in abhayamudrā and the left hand held close to the body without holding the end of the uttarāsaṅga. After the fourth century, images from Sri Lanka have a more varied iconography. In view of the fact that pl. 4.1 does not share the dominant iconography of the Amarāvatī and early Sri Lanka but in mudrā, vitarkamudrā, seen on later Sri Lanka images, therefore, it must be dated to later than fourth century. But it cannot be much later because besides the treatment of uttarāsaṅga other features of the image such as the curls of the hair, the usnīsa, the lips and the facial expression are still in the Amarāvatī style image, and is also very close to the style of a Sri Lanka image dated about fourth century except that the Sri Lankan image does not have the ūrnā and the right hand is in abhayamudrā.⁹ There is, however, an image from Sri Lanka dated about fifth to sixth century having similar type of hand positions as Pl. 4.1 image, but this image is seated.¹⁰ So it is probable that pl. 4.1 belonged to about the same period, i.e. fifth century.

This type of Buddha image is known to have been found in other parts of South East Asia. The known examples came from Dong-düong in Vietnam,¹¹ Korat province in Thailand,¹² and Bejrabali Monastery in Pethburi Thailand¹³ and Indonesia.¹⁴

They were probably imported images and dated to about the same period as pl. 4.1. But there are also a few images belonging to this type but having certain features that could be interpreted as local creations. These images would be copies of images of this type and could be the products of local school.

An example of such a product from the Malay Peninsula is the image pl. 4.2. It represents the head and torso of a Buddha image. It was found in Pun Pin district in Surat Thani province. It is in bronze and is about 10.5 cm high. It is now in Somdet Phra Narai National Museum in Lopburi. The striking feature of the image is the treatment of the head. It differs from pl. 4.1 in the facial expression, the lips, and the curls of the hair. The general feeling about the image is that of being inferior technologically when compared to pl. 4.1. The face was modelled on local faces. It differs from the face on pl. 4.1. It appears to be very close to some of the Dvāravatī images which may have derived from the Amarāvatī and Sri Lanka images.¹⁵ Pl. 4.2; these Dvāravatī images probably may be dated to about sixth century.

Type 1A.i.b:

The main feature of this type of standing Buddha image is the diaphanous pleatless uttarāsaṅga in open-mode. The image has a very flat, almost non-existent, usnīsa. The curls of the hair are very large and prominent. Two images may belong in this type.

The first is a bronze image, pl. 4.3 from Bujang Valley in Kedah. It was discovered by Quaritch-Wales' wife, Dorothy, during her investigations of a site near Quaritch-Wales' site 16.¹⁶ The image was found near the southwest corner of what appeared to be the remains of a temple. It was amongst the fragments of an earthen jar. The site was named as Site 16A by Dorothy and Quaritch-Wales. The image is about 21.6 cm high. It is now in Raffles Museum in Singapore. Its right hand is in varadamudrā and the left hand is holding the end

of the uttarāsaṅga.

The second image, pl. 4.4, has been published and classified as one of the sculptures related to the art of Śrivijaya.¹⁷ It has no known provenance but is believed to have come from Peninsular Thailand. It is now in the Bangkok National Museum. It stands about 60 cms and has both feet missing. The right hand too is missing. The left hand holds the uttarāsaṅga close to the body as in the Amarāvatī and Sri Lanka stone images. This image is made from stone. The style of the uṣṇīṣa and the curls of the hair is similar to pl. 4.3. The uttarāsaṅga is also pleatless and in open-mode.

The technique of representing the uttarāsaṅga pleatless must have been influenced by the Gupta art of the Sārnāth school.¹⁸ But Buddha images wearing pleatless uttarāsaṅga from Sārnāth have both shoulders covered. There are a number of Buddha images wearing pleatless uttarāsaṅga in open-mode seen in the rock-cut temples in western India such as Ajanṭā and Kanherī.¹⁹ The mudrā of the right hand of pl. 4.3 is reminiscent of the mudrā of the majority of standing Buddha images at Sārnāth, Ajanṭā and Kanherī. The standing posture of the image pl. 4.3 is very similar to the posture of Sārnāth images but this posture is not very prominent among the images at Ajanṭā and Kanherī.

The gesture of the hand, varadamudrā, has become very common in the Gupta and post-Gupta art. This iconographic tradition apparently spread via Southern India to the Malay Peninsula, Java and Cambodia, in about the sixth and seventh century. Images in similar style to pl. 4.3 but showing slight local variations have been discovered at Buddhapad in Tamil Nadu in southern India²⁰ and Tuol Ta Hoy (Kompong Speu) in Cambodia²¹ and in Java.²² All these images indicate a new development in which the style of pre-pleated uttarāsaṅga was no longer adopted and replaced by uttarāsaṅga of the type worn by many of the Buddha images in the rock-cut cave temples at Ajanṭā and Kanherī in western India. The date for these images is about sixth or seventh century.

Type 1A.i.c:

The main difference between this type and the earlier type is the posture of the standing images. In this type the images stand either erect or slightly bent to the left. The usnīsa is more prominent and both the hands are raised. Those images that have their right hand still intact are in vitarkamudrā. The left hand holds the end of uttarasāṅga close to the body in certain cases.

The pleatless uttarasāṅga in open-mode is very much in the tradition of the cave-temples of western India. The standing posture too is reminiscent of the dominant standing posture in the cave-temples. The usnīsa even though much more pronounced than the Amarāvatī and Sri Lanka images of type 1A.i.a and from the previous type, 1A.i.b, is not as prominent as the Gupta or post-Gupta images. It is probable that it still follows the Amarāvatī and Sri Lanka style.

The images from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra which could be classified into this type consist of eight images discovered at Palembang, Kinta Valley, and Peninsular Thailand. The first example, pl. 4.5, came from Songkhla Province.²³ It is in bronze, height 50 cm. It is in the collection of Prince Bhānubandhu Yugala in Bangkok. The second image, pl. 4.6, was discovered at Khuhaphimuk Cave, Muang District, Yala.²⁴ It is about 29.5 cm high and is now in the Wat Khuhaphimuk, Yala. The image has both hands missing. It is in bronze. The head is badly corroded and it is not possible to see the type of curls of the hair but the usnīsa is quite prominent. The third image pl. 4.7, is a bronze image.²⁵ It is reported as being kept in the Wat Chom Tong, Amphoe Si Chon in Nakhon Si Thammarat. Its left leg and right hand are missing. The fourth image, pl. 4.8, is a heavily corroded bronze image from Tanjung Rambutan in the Kinta Valley.²⁶ The fifth image, pl. 4.9 is also in bronze.²⁷ It was discovered at Bukit Seguntang and is in the collection of H.J. Friedericy. It is about 16.5 cm high. It has both hands missing and the head is heavily corroded. The next image, the sixth, is a bronze image classified as the product of

Śrīvijaya and in a private collection.²⁸ This image, pl. 4.10, has unknown provenance. It stands about 21 cm high. The facial features are very much of the tradition of Dvāravatī school. The last image, pl. 4.11, also has unknown provenance but has been classified as the product of the Śrīvijaya school.²⁹ The image stands between two standing bodhisattvas. It is also in bronze.

Plate 4.11 has a theme very common in the Sārnāth and rock-cut cave temples of western India, where, however, the Buddha is usually depicted seated. The only known example is the one from Bāgh cave.³⁰ There the Buddha image appears to be wearing uttarāsaṅga in open-mode but with pre-pleating. Stylistically, the attendant Bodhisattvas, although both males as in pl. 4.11, are different iconographically from those in pl. 4.11.

The discovery of the Buddha image belonging to the Dvāravatī school, pl. 4.10, but in the style of type 1A.i.c suggests that the development of the production of Buddha images to a certain degree followed the development that had been taking place in various parts of India, if not contemporaneously, then a little later. Depending on the technical knowhow and the contacts with India, certain areas will produce the type of images that reflect both the time and the sources of the influence. It is not surprising to find images belonging to the same type but with local variations in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra because they were produced at different centres but following the same style that was in existence in India at a particular time. Images belonging to type 1A.i.c. probably dated to about seventh century.

Type 1A.i.d:

Three images will be considered in this type. They are three bronze images, pl. 4.12, 4.13 and 4.14.³¹ Although none of them certainly came from Peninsular Thailand, pls. 4.12 and 4.13 have been associated with "Śrīvijayan Art", Pl. 4.14 shares the same style as the other two images.

The images have the right hand in vitarkamudrā and the left hand in varadamudrā. The uttarasanga has light markings widely spread out and in open-mode. At the left arm the uttarasanga is pushed up leaving the most part of the left arm bare. The face is square reminiscent of the Khmer type of images of about tenth and eleventh century.³² The usnīsa is arranged into pyramidal shape. The curls are small. The style of the treatment of the hair and the usnīsa were influenced by Khmer style.

The other significant feature of these images is the addition of the sāṅghāti to the left shoulder. This feature differentiates these images from the earlier type. Although scholars have suggested that the images of this type should be dated to later periods,³³ the close stylistic features they shared with the Khmer images of about the tenth to eleventh century, should be strong enough evidence to suggest an earlier date, tenth or eleventh century. The images were the products of a local school.

Type I.A.i.e.:

This style is represented by an image, pl. 4.15.³⁴ It is a bronze image from Wat Mahadhatu in Chaiya. It is about 21.5 cm high. It is now in the National Museum in Bangkok. It has lost both feet and hands. A folded strip of cloth, sāṅghāti, is placed on the left shoulder. Scholars have identified the posture of the image as "walking posture". The image shows very positive bent towards the left and the knees are slightly bent. If not for the bent knees the image would be in the posture of some of the images in type I.A.i.c but in a very extreme leaning towards the left. The image wears antaravāsaka with frontal panel and overhang at the waist. These arrangements can be seen owing to the transparency of the uttarasanga without pre-pleating in open-mode.

A date of fifteenth to sixteenth century has been suggested for the image.³⁵ It does not belong to the same style as those "walking" images of the Sukhothai period,

thirteenth to fifteenth century, as some scholars have believed. The date is too recent. The style of the head, particularly the face, the usnīsa, and the type of the curls of the hair, are still very much in the tradition of the earlier types of images, types I.A.i(a-c). The style of the antaravāsaka that is the frontal panel and the overhang at the waist is similar to the U'Tong style of thirteenth century.³⁶ The sanghāti too is very close to those seen on the U'Tong images of that period. Although, it has been suggested that the "walking" posture is the Sukhothai invention, it is possible that this image was created in composite style adopting the "walking" posture of the early Sukhothai images³⁷ but still continuing the tradition of the earlier styles in other aspects. As a result an image in "walking" posture peculiar to Chaiya was created in about late thirteenth century.

Type I.A.i.f.:

The main characteristics of the images in this type are; pleatless uttarasanga in open mode; the left hand is in abhayamudrā while the right arm and hand extended parallel to the body; a folded sangahāti on the left shoulder; the antaravāsaka has a frontal panel and it is held by a belt; the curls of the hair are very small; the usnīsa is very large and it is topped by a hemispherical gem, and in front of the gem is located the bodhi leaf.

This type is represented by a group of sandstone images located in the precinct of Wat Phra Barommathat in Chaiya. They are about 200 cm high. One of them is represented here as pl. 4.16.³⁸ Two of these images in covering mode will be discussed later. This pl. 4.16 is now in Bangkok National Museum. The others are still in the Wat at Chaiya. The image probably dated to about fourteenth century and belonged to the local school at Chaiya. The style is peculiar to the area only. Nevertheless, it was produced by developing older styles.

The style of the frontal panel of the antaravāsaka is reminiscent of the U'Tong images of the thirteenth century and so are the very small curls of the hair and the style of the usnīṣa.³⁹ The hemispherical gem appears on the Lopburi images⁴⁰ and the Grahi Buddha dated to about 1183 A.D. equivalent.⁴¹ But on the Grahi Buddha the usnīṣa is not as prominent, as is also true in the Lopburi images. The addition of the hemispherical gem to the prominent usnīṣa is therefore a later development. The positioning of the right hand parallel to the body reminds us of the gesture in the "walking" Buddha images of Sukhothai. But in Sukhothai images the position is not that parallel. The images in this type probably belonged to about the fourteenth century.

Type I.A.ii.a.:

This is the first type in the covering mode. The special feature of the image is the treatment of the uttarāsaṅga. It is arranged in the 'Gandhāran' scheme with circumflex inflection, which Griswold has named the 'basic pattern'.⁴² A few incised lines may be seen on the uttarāsaṅga. These sketchily incised lines probably represent the folds. The directions of the lines would be the evidence to equate them with the conventionalised folds of the type seen on the Gandhāran images. But the incised lines are too few to confirm that they belonged to the Gandhāran style. Nevertheless, the general impression is that they do.

Other features, however, indicate that this type does not belong to the Gandhāran style. The hair is not in the Gandhāran tresses, rather in the usual curls that are seen on other Buddha images. The uttarāsaṅga is more transparent and appears to be clinging closer to the body. It is closer to the style of the Gupta images of the Sārnāth school. The general resemblance is not too close because other stylistic aspects differ from the Sārnāth images. The large curls, the low usnīṣa and the lug at the back are features of the Amarāvatī and Sri Lanka images. The ūrnā too is commonly

seen on the Amarāvatī images. The syncretic features of the image would suggest that it could have been produced in about the fifth or early sixth century.

The only example of this type is an image from Pengkalan Ipoh in the Kinta Valley.⁴³ It was dredged up in a tin mine in 1931. It is a bronze image. The original was lost during the Second World War. A reconstructed Pengkalan image based on photographs is now on display in the National Museum in Kuala Lumpur. The image, pl. 4.17, is about 46 cm high.

Type I.A.ii.b.:

The second type of the standing Buddha image in the covering mode is also represented by one image. It is a stone image, pl. 4.18. It was discovered in Wiang Sa and was first published by Quaritch-Wales in 1935.⁴⁴ It is about 17 cm high. It is now in the National Museum in Bangkok.

The image has its right hand down in the varadamudrā, the left hand is missing. It has a pronounced flexion of the hip giving a supple expression to the body. The uttarasanga is diaphanous and the anatomical parts of the body are clearly defined. The sides and bottom hemline are damaged. The image in high-relief is supported by an almond-shaped back piece sometimes known in Western terminology as "mandorla".

This type shows close stylistic relationship with the style of the Gupta school at Sārnāth. A very close example is a stone image, pl. 4.19, which was discovered at Sārnāth and presented to Prince Damrong of Thailand by the Government of India in the 1890s.⁴⁵ Another stone relief similar to the pl. 4.19 also came from Sārnāth.⁴⁶

The resemblance is not total. This is due to the very flat usnīsa of the image, pl. 4.18. The two Sārnāth images and other images known as Sārnāth type of the Gupta school appear to have prominent usnīsa. In view of the fact that the Wiang Sa image is a miniature type of the Sārnāth images

and the very close resemblance to the Sārnāth images, it is possible to assume that the image, pl. 4.18, belonged to about the same period as the Sārnāth images, sixth century.

Type I.A.ii.c.:

In this type, the uttarāsaṅga is in covering mode, diaphanous and pleatless with circumflex inflection. The acute inflection causes the front part of the bottom hemline to form a large "U". The resultant effect of the U-inflection is a sort of equalization that makes the uttarāsaṅga appear symmetrical. The sides of the robe show multiple folds.

The images that belonged to this type consist of what appear to be locally produced products. They represent the number of known images found in Peninsular Thailand. The first is an unbaked clay image discovered at Tham Khao Khanab Nam in Muang District in Krabi Province.⁴⁷ This image, pl. 4.20, is now in the National Museum in Songkhla. It is about 14 cm high. The right hand is in varadamudrā while the left hand is missing. The head too is missing. The image is placed in a kind of frame.

Three other images, pls. 4.21, 4.22 and 4.23 are in the round. They are standing on double-padmāsana. Both the hands appear to be raised. Pl. 4.21 was discovered in Tha Uthae Village in Kanchanadit District in Surat Thani Province.⁴⁸ It is made from stone and is about 35 cm high. The head is missing and the left hand appears to be in kataka-hasta mudrā or Simha-krna mudrā but it is not possible to determine the mudrā of the right hand. The body shape is quite close to Pl. 4.20.

The image, Pl. 4.22 was discovered at Wat Keo in Chaiya.⁴⁹ It is stone and about 139 cm high. It is now in the Chaiya National Museum. Both hands are missing and so too is the head. Compared to Pl. 4.20 and 4.21, it has a much slimmer body. There are a few examples of this type in the vicinity of Wat Keo but they are mostly in fragments.

The fourth image, Pl. 4.23 is a stone image.⁵⁰ It is green in colour. It was discovered at Yarang in the Patani District and it is still being kept in the wat at Patani. The hands are in kataka-hasta mudrā. The body is well proportioned. The facial expression is reminiscent of the Gupta and post-Gupta images. The curls of the hair too indicate Gupta and post-Gupta style. The usnīsa is very prominent.

The images in this type may be dated to about the seventh or early eighth century. The reasons for this assumption are first, the evolution of the style was influenced by the Gupta and the post-Gupta style of the cave temples; second, the style was evolved as a result of local innovation of the technique of representing the uttarasāṅga; third, these images belonged to the Dvāravatī school of about this period.⁵¹ The Gupta and post-Gupta influence is in the uttarasāṅga which is in covering mode, diaphanous and pleatless. The body type is also very close to the two traditions. The uttarasāṅga in the Gupta and post-Gupta images when in covering mode have the U-inflection. But the U-inflection of the images in this type differs to a certain degree from the Gupta and post-Gupta images.⁵² The images in this type have a very well defined hem and hem-line represented on the front part of the uttarasāṅga. They appear to be tube-like. The nearest example is seen on some of the Mathurā images.⁵³ But in the Mathurā images the representation is not that symmetrical. It is heavier on the right side because of the presence of larger numbers of folds.

The youngest of the images in the style probably is Pl. 4.20 because the varadamudrā is reminiscent of the Sārnāth images and so is the body posture and shape. The double vitarkamudrā in Pl. 4.21 (and the double kataka-hasta mudrā in Pl. 4.22) is presumably influenced by the post-Gupta images in the cave temples such as at Ajantā,⁵⁴ though this does not explain the double kataka-hasta in pl. 4.22 which Griswold believed to be a Dvāravatī invention. The U-inflection produced in accordance to local preference and innovation must to a certain degree have been influenced by

the post-Gupta images of the cave temples too.

Type I.A.ii.d.:

There are two images which may be classified into this type. They came from Sumatra. The first image, pl. 4.24, was discovered in Solok in Jambi.⁵⁵ The second image, pl. 4.25, was found by Westenenck at Gedung Suro in Palembang.⁵⁶ Both images wear the uttarasāṅga in covering mode, diaphanous and pleatless. The outline of the body in several parts such as the waist, the legs, the chest and the navel are very well defined. Although the uttarasāṅga is pleatless and transparent as in the Gupta images at Sārnāth, the treatment of the hemline at the ankles of the image pl. 4.24 is different from that of Sārnāth images. The way the front part of the uttarasāṅga is treated at those places reminds us of the cave temples images. In the case of the Sārnāth images, the hemline of the front part of the uttarasāṅga is usually represented as a solid line running over the parts just above the feet. But in the cave temple images the line follows the contour of the legs at the ankles.

Pl. 4.24 was carved from sandstone. It stands about 1.72 m. It is now in the Museum Pusat in Jakarta. It is not in the round. The feet are not really separated from each other or from the back support. A symmetrical outline of the front part of the uttarasāṅga is achieved by giving circumflex inflection to the corners of the uttarasāṅga. Both the hands are missing and the face is badly mutilated. The curls of the hair are very large and the usnīsa is as prominent as those of the Gupta and post-Gupta images.

The other image, pl. 4.25, has both the head, feet and hands missing. It is now in the Palembang Museum. The style of the uttarasāṅga appears to be similar to the Jambi image, pl. 4.24. The stone used is also a sandstone type.

Both the images probably were influenced by the post-Gupta style of the cave temples tradition. They probably

dated to about sixth to seventh century.

Type I.A.ii.e.:

There is only one example of a standing Buddha image in covering mode with pre-pleated uttarāsaṅga known from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. The image, pl. 4.26, was found at the foot of Bukit Seguntang. L.C. Westenenck, the resident of Palembang, came upon a fragment of it in 1920,⁵⁷ and P.J. Perquin of the Archaeological Survey of Netherlands-India carried out a partial reconstruction of it after further fragments of it were recovered in 1928.⁵⁸ The arms, legs and head were missing. In 1935, Schnitger identified one of the Buddha heads in the Batavia Museum, now Museum Pusat, Jakarta, as the missing head and carried out further reconstruction. The outcome of this reconstruction can be seen in his work, The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra.⁵⁹ The image is now in the compound of Palembang Museum called Rumah Bahari. From the reconstructed remains of the image it appears that it was a massive image. It is about 3.60 m. It was carved out of granite. The pedestal on which the image once stood is a double-padmāsana.

The uttarāsaṅga is arranged in Gandhāran scheme with circumflex inflection. At the bottom hem-line, the garment is inflected to form a trough-like curve. The folds on the uttarāsaṅga sweep downwards in a series of concentric arcs with their radii increasing proportionately. There is a sense of mobility imparted to the garment as the folds adhere to the garment which in turn hemmed to the torso in certain places gave the outline of the erect and slender torso, especially between the legs where a groove separates them. The uttarāsaṅga ends in a heavy swag at the bottom. The trough-like curve at the bottom is symmetrical.

A number of views have been forwarded regarding the stylistic influence, the relative chronology and the origin of the image. Krom attributed the image to the Amarāvatī style,⁶⁰ and his cautious statement was considered conclusive

by Devaprasad Ghosh who was convinced that it could not be dated later than fourth century.⁶¹ Bachhofer suggested a second century date for it.⁶² Another Indian scholar, Majumdar, strongly felt that it was not influenced by South India but rather by the Gupta of about fifth century.⁶³ Schnitger thought that sixth century would be more acceptable.

A comparison of the Bukit Seguntang image with the Amarāvatī images in covering mode will bring out more dissimilarities than similarities. Although the folds were represented by the process of convex flutings in both types, the folds on the Bukit Seguntang are arranged in concentric arcs, the ratio of whose radii is very nearly proportionate, whereas in the Amarāvatī images the folds are arranged in loops applied to the surface in no specific ratio.⁶⁴ The uttarāsanga of the Amarāvatī images are much more opaque than the Bukit Seguntang image. The outline of the body of the Bukit Seguntang image can be seen, that in the Amarāvatī images cannot. The Amarāvatī images are heavily draped. Looking at the treatment of the uttarāsanga it appears that the Bukit Seguntang image is closer to the Gupta images in covering mode with pre-pleating. The style can be compared to some of the Mathurā images.⁶⁵ It also reminds us of the much more sophisticated style that appears in Pāla art.⁶⁶ The way the uttarāsanga is treated at the bottom hem-line it reminds us of the Mathurā images. But the treatment near the neck is reminiscent of the Pāla images. This is based on the stylistic comparison with the Pāla images from Nālandā and Kurkihar and also with the Sultanganj Buddha image.⁶⁷ The low usnīsa is reminiscent of the Amarāvatī and Sri Lanka images.

In view of the fact that the Bukit Seguntang Buddha is much more close to the Gupta and post-Gupta image from northern India, it is probable that the image belonged to about the seventh century. It was probably created in Palembang itself. This is due to the fact that there is another example of Buddha, but seated and unfinished, carved from granite found in the Palembang area even though there is no evidence of the presence of granite in Palembang area.

Type I.A.ii.f.:

The images in this type, pls. 4.27 and 4.28, have the uttarāsaṅga in covering mode, diaphanous and pleatless. The two images in this type show that, irrespective of the materials used, they are finely modelled. Several anatomical parts of the body have been emphasised vividly. These parts included the knee-caps, thighs, navel, chest and limbs. The antaravāsaka at the waist can be seen.

Pl. 4.27 is a bronze image discovered in Palembang.⁶⁸ It is about 37 cm. The right hand is in abhayamudrā while the left hand holds the ends of the uttarāsaṅga. The hands are placed at almost the same height or level. The size of the curls of the hair and the usnīsa are typical of the Gupta and cave temples style. The facial expression, the mouth, the eyebrows, and the almost closed eyes also show stylistic relationship with the Gupta and cave temples images. But the treatment of the uttarāsaṅga at the bottom hem-line is much closer to the style of the Pāla images.⁶⁹

The sandstone image, pl. 4.28, is from Muara Jambi.⁷⁰ It is a recent discovery. It was broken up in several fragments. Two large fragments comprise the part just below the waist to the neck and the leg part. The head and hands are missing. The remaining parts clearly show close stylistic affinity with the bronze image from Palembang, pl. 4.27. It is as finely modelled as the bronze image. The image is standing on double-padmāsana.

Both the images in this type may be dated to about eighth or ninth century. They were probably strongly influenced by the Pāla images but retaining the Gupta and cave style traditions insofar as the treatment of the head and certain aspects of the uttarāsaṅga. The finely modelled images, however, remind us of some of the Pāla images.

Type I.A.ii.g.:

This type is represented by a bronze image in the collection of Santi Sivakua in Bangkok.⁷¹ Its provenance is unknown but it has been classified as Srīvijayan art. It is about 43 cm high. It is standing on double-padmāsana laid on a rectangular base with redention in front. The base has six feet.

The image, pl. 4.29, is probably an imported one. This is due to the fact that it is almost identical in all respects to the images of this type from Nālandā and Kurkihar.⁷² It has its hands, the right hand in abhayamudrā and the left hand holding the ends of the uttarāsāṅga in varadamudrā. It wears a crown and jewellery around the neck. The treatment of the pleatless, diaphanous uttarāsāṅga at the bottom hem-line just above the ankles is reminiscent of the images from Nālandā and Kurkihar. The type of the curves at the bottom hem-line due to the circumflex inflection too is very similar to those images. The date of pl. 4.29 is probably about tenth or eleventh century.

The only reason for not accepting the image as an imported one is the fact that there is no known example showing the image in exactly similar situation from Nālandā or Kurkihar. The similar images known from Kurkihar stand on almost similar types of pedestals but they have a well decorated almond-shaped back-piece or "mandorla". Perhaps the "mandorla" in pl. 4.29 is missing, because there are holes on the pedestal behind the image at the point where the "mandorla" should be attached.

Type I.A.ii.h.:

The style of this type is represented by a bronze image pl. 4.30, which was discovered at Wat Nangtra, Tha Sala District, Nakhon Si Thammarat Province.⁷³ Its height is about 43 cm. It is now in the Phra Barommathat National Museum in Nakhon Si Thammarat. The uttarāsāṅga is in covering

mode, pleatless and diaphanous. The image is standing with both hands in vitarkamudrā. It is standing on a double-padmāsana which again is placed on a square base with a redentate front. To the front of the pedestal is attached a crouching yakṣa holding a staff in each hand. The broken back-piece is in the form of open tracery.

The facial expression, the mouth type, the eye-brows, the eyes and also the mudrā are in the style of some of the Dvāravatī images of about eighth to tenth century. The curls of the hair and the usnīsa too recall the style of such images. They show influences from the Gupta and post-Gupta images of north India. The way the uttarasanga is represented, on the other hand, reminds us of the style of the Nālandā and Kurkihar images (cf. the style of the crowned Buddha, pl. 4.29, which was discussed earlier). But the presence of frontal panel and the overhang at the waist being held together by a decorated belt indicate a later date than pl. 4.29. The treatment of antaravāsaka (pl. 4.30) in such a fashion has closer affinity with the Lopburi and Khmer style of images from central Thailand.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the belt is not exactly similar. It probably indicates the same inspiration and period.

On the stylistic evidence it seems that the image probably belonged to about twelfth or thirteenth century. It was probably produced by a local school with archaizing influences from Nālandā and Kurkihar and other related areas such as Bodhgaya. It was also greatly influenced by the prevailing style during that period in Thailand.

Type I.A.ii.i.:

This is the last image in the covering mode series. The image, pl. 4.31, represents the two images of this type.⁷⁵ It is in the same stylistic tradition as pl. 4.16 of type I.A.i.f. but in covering mode. The style of the usnīsa, the size of the curls of the hair, the facial expression, the eyes, the eye-brows, the ears, the mouth are similar to

pl. 4.16. The uttarasanga is in covering mode whereas pl. 4.16 is in open mode. The frontal panel and the overhang at the waist of the antaravasaka are also similar to pl. 4.16. The difference is the arrangement of the gesture of the hands. In pl. 4.31, the left hand is placed almost parallel to the body. Perhaps due to the curve of the bottom part of the uttarasanga being bigger in pl. 4.31 than pl. 4.16, the right hand is closer to the body in pl. 4.16 but the left hand is placed slightly away from the body in pl. 4.31.

There is no doubt that the image pl. 4.31 belongs to the same period as pl. 4.16 and the three other images it represents. It belonged to about the fourteenth century.

I.B. Seated Buddha Images

In contrast to the standing Buddha images, none of the seated Buddha images, either in covering mode or open mode, from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra has a pre-pleated uttarasanga. It is probable that the oldest image in type I.B. will not be as old as the images with pre-pleated uttarasanga, type I.A.i.a., which has been discussed earlier. The images in type I.B. may again be sub-divided into three smaller types; type (I.B.1), Buddha seated on a simple asana; type (I.B.2) Buddha seated on an elaborate asana; type (I.B.3) seated Buddha accompanied by other figures.

Type I.B.1: Buddha seated on a simple asana

Images in this type are either in open-mode or covering-mode. Those in open-mode will be classified as type I.B.1.i and the classification for those images in covering-mode will be type I.B.1.ii. The symbol "i" will represent open-mode and "ii" will represent covering-mode for Buddha images either standing or seated. In view of the fact that stylistic differences occur within type I.B.1.i. and type I.B.1.ii., images within these types will be again sub-divided into

further and much smaller types.

Type I.B.l.i.a.:

Three images may be placed in this type. The images are pls. 4.33, 4.34 and 4.35. Two of them are in stone and the third is in bronze. The two stone images, pls. 4.33 and 4.34 came from Peninsular Thailand and the bronze image, pl. 4.35 was discovered in Palembang. Pl. 4.33 was originally kept in Wat Barommathat in Chaiya but was later removed to the Chiaya National Museum. The height of the image and the padmāsana is about 104 cm.

The other stone image, pl. 4.34, was discovered at a place called Phang Fab in Ban Sathingphra in Sathingphra District. The image is about 21 cm high, including the padmāsana. It is now in the Songkhla National Museum.

The bronze image, pl. 4.35, is about 20 cm high which included the pedestal on which it is seated. It is in the Palembang Museum. The image was among the most recent additions to the Palembang Museum's collection. It has never been published before. But pl. 4.33 was first published by Dupont in 1959.⁷⁶

The three images in this type share a number of common features. All the three images are seated in dhyānamudrā. The left leg is tucked in under the right leg and the soles of the feet are facing upwards. Pl. 4.33 and 4.34 are seated on double-padmāsana while pl. 4.35 is seated on a stylised form of asana. The uttarasanga have no pleats and they are in open-mode. The uṣṇīṣa appears to be of the low type. The curls of the hair seen on pls. 4.33 and 4.34 are very large. It is not possible to see the size of the curls of the hair of pl. 4.35 in view of the fact that the curls have disappeared altogether due to damage. Although it is possible to describe the face of the three images as round, other features on the face of pl. 4.35 are not recognisable due to damage also. Pls. 4.33 and 4.34 appear to share very

close facial features, especially the eyes and mouth. It seems, however, pl. 4.34 is technically inferior to pl. 4.33 on the basis of the achievement in creating features such as the curls of the hair and the hands.

Even though the pleatless uttarasanga indicates relationship with Gupta art of the Sarnath school and the post-Gupta art of the cave-temple tradition, other features of the images particularly the low usnisa and the position of the legs are strong links with the stylistic tradition of southern India and Sri Lanka.⁷⁷ Presumably, these images belonged to the same phase as type I.A.i.b. discussed earlier. They may be dated to about sixth or seventh century. They may be compared to images such as the one from Toluvela (Anuradhapura), Sri Lanka⁷⁸ and from Phum Thmei (Kong Pisei) in Cambodia.⁷⁹

Type I.B.1.i.b.:

Two images, pl. 4.36 and 4.37 will be classified into this type on the assumption that they both belonged to about the same period and they have been created by sculptors familiar with the Gupta and post-Gupta styles. The first image, pl. 4.36, is a bronze image, height 14.5 cm was discovered in Jambi.⁸⁰ The second image, pl. 4.37, is a terracotta image height 5.8 cm and it was discovered in Yala and now it is in a private collection.⁸¹

Both images appear to be seated in double-padmasana, cross-legged with the soles of their feet turned upwards. The sitting posture is very much in the tradition of the Gupta and post-Gupta styles and in the later Pala and Sena styles. Pl. 4.36 has its left hand placed on the lap and the right hand in bhumisparshamudra while pl. 4.37 is in dharmaacakramudra. Their uttarasanga are pleatless and in open-mode. The image, pl. 4.36 is in the round but pl. 4.37 has a kind of almond-shaped halo or back-piece. The shape of the face and the style of the usnisa appear to be quite close to each other in the two images.

The absence of the sāṅghāti on the shoulder in both images suggests that these images are not as late as the Pāla images from Nālandā and Kurkihar.⁸² Neither could they be as late as the Cōla style of images from southern India. The style of the usnīsa and the shape of the faces are peculiar to the two images. Pl. 4.36, for instance, has a long face and the shape of the head with the usnīsa appear to be triangular. The way the bottom hemline of the utaarāsaṅga of the image, pl. 4.36, is arranged on the padmāsana is reminiscent of the seated Buddha images from Sārnāth.⁸³ But the two images probably belonged to the later period, about seventh or eighth century.

There is another image which may be placed in this type. The image, pl. 4.38, is an unfinished granite seated Buddha image from Bingin.⁸⁴ The 1.53 m image is now in the Palembang Museum. The assumption that it too could be classified to this type is based on the belief that if the image was finished it would be in open-mode and the uttarāsaṅga would be pleatless. It could be in open-mode because the part under the right arm-pit has been hollowed out already, indicating that it would be representing an open-mode image. The right hand would be in abhyamudrā. The shape of the face is round and the usnīsa would be high when compared to the images influenced by the images from southern India and Sri Lanka.⁸⁵

Type I.B.1.i.c.:

A bronze image from Sathinthaphra represents the style of this type.⁸⁶ It is about 10.5 cm high and is now in the National Museum in Songkhla. It is in open-mode and the uttarāsaṅga has no pleat. It is seated in the dhyānamudrā and the left leg is tucked in under the right leg and the soles of the feet are facing upwards. The size of the curls of the hair and the low usnīsa are in the stylistic tradition of southern India and Sri Lanka.

This image, pl. 4.39, may be dated to about the tenth or eleventh century. Although the low usnīsa is topped by a flame which is characteristic of the images from Nāgapatṭinam,⁸⁷ it has no sanghāti on the left shoulder which is seen on some of the Nāgapatṭinam images. The image has the lower part of the left ear and the pedestal missing. From the available features of the image, it is probable to suggest that the image was greatly influenced by Early Cōla style.⁸⁸ The style could have come from Nāgapatṭinam.

Type I.B.1.i.d.:

Four images, pls. 4.40, 4.41, 4.42 and 4.43 show very positive stylistic affinity with the Cōla images from Nāgapatṭinam and Kāñchīpuram. They all have a sanghāti placed on the left shoulder just as in the known Buddha images from the two areas dated to about the tenth to eleventh century. The features seen on two of the complete and undamaged images, pls. 4.40 and 4.41, are the low usnīsa topped by a flame, large curls of hair, pleatless uttarāsaṅga, in open-mode, unnaturally large ears reaching to the shoulder, very low forehead, mask-like facial expressions, and narrow but long sanghāti. All these features are common to the Cōla images known to us from Nāgapatṭinam and Kāñchīpuram.

The images, pls. 4.40 and 4.41, were discovered in Sumatra. Pl. 4.40 came from the main temple of Pamutung in Padang Lawas.⁸⁹ It is in bronze and is about 12.5 cm high. Pl. 4.41 was discovered in Kota Cina and was made from granite.⁹⁰ Both images are in dhyānamudrā and seated with the left leg tucked in under the right leg with the soles of the feet pointing upwards, familiar to southern India and Sri Lanka. The Padang Lawas image, pl. 4.40, has its pedestal missing but the Kota Cina image, pl. 4.41, is seated on stylised double-padamāsana.

The other image from Kota Cina, pl. 4.42, was made from black basalt rock.⁹¹ The head was missing. Other remaining features of the image seem to be similar to pl. 4.41.

The fourth image, pl. 4.43, came from sites 21/22 Pengkalan Bujang in the Bujang Valley.⁹² It is now in the Archaeological Museum in Merbok, Kedah. It is in terracotta. The stylised double-padmāsana appears to be quite similar to pl. 4.41 even though the bottom part was not complete. The image is seated in the southern Indian and Sri Lanka manner and the left hand is on the lap while the right hand is in bhūmisparśamudrā. It has a narrow but long sanghāti just like that of the other two images. The facial expressions, the low hair-line on the narrow forehead and the long peculiar ears are stylistic features reminiscent of the two images. The usnīsa appears to be low and the marking on the usnīsa could be the place where the flame was fixed. The size of the curls of the hair is not possible to determine and presumably the curls have been stylised.

Type I.B.1.i.e.:

The images in this type show a strong stylistic affinity with northern India. They are, however, locally produced, to judge from the syncretic style of the images. These images pls. 4.44, 4.45 and 4.46, while indicating preferences for the northern Indian style, at the same time, possess certain elements developed in southern India and Sri Lanka. For instance, image pl. 4.44, while indicating southern Indian influence on sanghāti has its head created in Pāla style.⁹³ The image which was originally kept in Wat Phra Barommathat in Chaiya but was transferred later to the National Museum Bangkok comprises only the head and torso. The other parts are missing. It is about 28 cm high and in bronze.

The facial features such as nose, mouth, ears, eyebrows, the size of the curls of the hair and the style of the usnīsa are reminiscent of the Pāla images from Nālandā and also those from Nepal which are in Pāla style.⁹⁴ But the broad sanghāti suggests connection with southern India.⁹⁵ This image probably dated to about the eleventh or twelfth century.

Pl. 4.45 is a bronze image of unknown provenance.⁹⁶ It is believed to have come from Peninsular Thailand. The image is seated on a double-padamāsana. The left hand is on the lap, the right hand is in bhūmisparśamudrā. But it is not placed directly on the folded right leg. It is on a kind of support placed on the right leg just below the knee. The legs are crossed with the soles of the feet turned upwards. This is the position dominant in the northern Indian seated Buddha images. The sanghāti is narrow and very much in the style of the post-Gupta and Pāla images from Nālandā.⁹⁷ This style is also dominant in the later period Sukhotai and Chieng Sen styles in Thailand.⁹⁸ The treatment of the head, however, is in the southern Indian and Sri Lankan style. This is particularly so in the case of the uṣṇīṣa and the size of the curls of the hair. The style of the uṣṇīṣa is very close to the style of some of the earlier images from Peninsular Thailand such as the Songkhla image⁹⁹ and the image from southern India such as the Buddha from Buddhapad.¹⁰⁰ This image presumably belonged to a slightly earlier period than pls. 4.44 and 4.46. It may be dated to about the tenth or eleventh century.

The other image in this type, pl. 4.46, is also of unknown provenance.¹⁰¹ It is in bronze and is about 44 cm high. It is seated on stylised double-padamāsana. The left hand is on the lap while the right hand is in bhūmisparśamudrā. The legs are crossed with the soles turned upwards. The uttarāsaṅga is pleatless just like those of the other two images and in open-mode. The peculiar thing about the image is that the part below the arm is not wholly open just like other open-mode images. The sanghāti is wide and the end is straight and quite close in style to Kāñchīpuram images.¹⁰² The style is also reminiscent of the Lopburi¹⁰³ and Khmer¹⁰⁴ images of about the eleventh to thirteenth century. The size of the curls of the hair and the style of the uṣṇīṣa is quite near to the image pl. 4.43 but the difference is the treatment of the hair-line. In pl. 4.46, the hair-line is clearly defined and is indicated by a kind of band, which may relate to the 'beaded' band found on the crowned Buddha images from

Nālandā and Kurkihar.¹⁰⁵ This type of treatment can be seen on the Khmer¹⁰⁶ and Lopburi¹⁰⁷ images. The date for this image is about the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Type I.B.1.i.f.:

This type is represented by several seated Buddha images with pleatless uttarāsaṅga and in open-mode from Wat Keo in Chaiya. The images are located in the four chambers of the temple. All the images with the exception of the one in northern chamber are headless. Each chamber has an image made from clay placed in the main niche of the chamber. The rest of the Buddha images, about two to three images per chamber are made from red sandstone.

Two representatives of these images can be seen in pls. 4.47 and 4.48. The images are seated with the legs arranged in southern Indian and Sri Lanka dominant posture. The right hand is in bhūmisparśamudra while the left hand is on the lap. It has been suggested by Subhadradis Diskul that these images belonged to about the sixteenth or seventeenth century.¹⁰⁸ They are assumed to be of the Ayuthian period. It is probably true that they were influenced by the Ayuthian style on the basis of the style of the sanghāti and the iconography. But the date for these images could be earlier, probably about the fourteenth or fifteenth century. This is equivalent to about the early period of the Ayuthian style.

The evidence for suggesting the early date is the characteristic of the lips, the style of the sanghāti, the facial expression and the style of the usnīṣa and the size of the curls of the hair. The lips which are thick, both the upper and the lower, are reminiscent of the style seen on some of the Dvāravatī,¹⁰⁹ Lopburi¹¹⁰ and Khmer¹¹¹ images in Thailand. The facial expression together with the style of the eyes, nose, eyebrows, and the usnīṣa with flame topping it, and the treatment and shape of the hair-line on the forehead indicates familiarity with the style of Sukhotai.¹¹²

The sanghāti which is broad, and long and ending with an upside-down "V" pattern is very much in the tradition of Chieng Sen.¹¹³ The sanghāti of the developed Ayuthian style is shown with its lower end straight.¹¹⁴

In view of the stylistic evidence, if the images of seated Buddha in Wat Keo, whose style is represented by the two images discussed, belonged to the Ayuthian period then it is definitely of early period. If not, the images can be classified as belonging to the Sukhotai style created and evolved in Chaiya. The early Ayuthian school did not have its own style, but was very much in the U'Tong style.¹¹⁵ By the fifteenth century, its style was influenced by Sukhotai.¹¹⁶ Its independent style was very greatly inspired by the U'Tong style "C".¹¹⁷ This Ayuthian style is quite different from that of the images from Wat Keo seen in pls. 4.47 and 4.48. But the Ayuthian style survived to the present time, even though the kingdom was founded in 1350 and overthrown in 1767 and is reflected in the Thonburi and Bangkok schools.

Type I.B.1.ii.a.:

There is only one known seated Buddha image from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra of this type. The image, pl. 4.49, was made from red sandstone. It is in Wat Pradu in Kanchanadit district, Surat Thani Province. It is seated in a southern Indian and Sri Lankan dominant posture and in dhyānamudrā. The style and the size of the curls of the hair are in U'Tong "B" tradition.¹¹⁸ The curls are very small. The facial expression, the style of the usnīsa topped by flame reminds us of some of the images of the Sukhotai style.¹¹⁹

A very peculiar feature of the image is the long sleeved jacket worn over the pleatless uttarasāṅga in covering mode. This kind of jacket is seen on some of the Khmer images of twelfth and thirteenth century,¹²⁰ but these are not Buddha images. At present there is no other example of a Buddha

image wearing such a jacket. Presumably, the date of the image is about thirteenth century.

Type I.B.2: Buddha seated on an elaborate āsana

The term 'elaborate āsana' here refers to āsana made up of a single pedestal type with back-piece or two or more types of pedestal with or without back-piece. The types of pedestal are padma, simha, nāga and various other geometrical shapes. The pedestal occurs either singularly or in combination with another type or types. The majority are in the form of padma placed on either a square or rectangular base.

Buddha images in this type, type I.B.2., that are found in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra wear their uttarāsanga in open-mode and without pre-pleating. In view of this fact, they will be classified as type I.B.2.i. This type will be sub-divided into smaller types on the basis of the significant stylistic differences.

Type I.B.2.i.a.:

This type represents all those Buddha images seated on a single pedestal with back-piece. Four images are available for study from the Malay Peninsula. Although they may be classified into type I.B.2.i.a. on the basis of the pedestal type, each image has its own stylistic individuality and belongs to a different period.

The first image, pl. 4.50, is a bronze.¹²¹ It is seated on a narrow rectangular base. The back-piece is in two parts, the halo and a rectangular piece. Both are made in open tracery, with the round halo attached to the top of the rectangular piece. The flame symbols on the halo have been badly damaged and others of the symbol signs are probably missing. The rectangular piece was decorated with two standing lions; one of them is missing.

The image is seated in bhūmisparsamudrā, cross-legged with the soles of the feet turned upwards. The style of the image, particularly the facial expression, the shapes of the eyes, nose, lips and ears, is still in the Gupta and post-Gupta traditions. Other features, such as the size of the curls of the hair and the shape of the usnīsa, are also in the same styles. The position of the legs too is in the tradition of northern Indian schools.

It is believed that the image, pl. 4.50, may be dated to about the seventh or eighth century. The assumption is based on the fact that stylistically it is still very close to the Gupta style in several aspects. But in Gupta style Buddha images are clothed in covering mode. In view of this fact the image cannot be dated to the Gupta period. Buddha images in open-mode and without pre-pleating are very common during the post-Gupta period, particularly among those in the cave temples. It is a known fact that by the tenth century Buddha images in the Malay Peninsula, particularly in Peninsular Thailand, have a much more syncretic style. It is possible that the image was produced during the period between the post-Gupta and the rise of these later local images.

The second image, pl. 4.51, is also in bronze.¹²² Its provenance is also unknown, but it is believed to have come from Peninsular Thailand. It is badly corroded. From the traceable features of the image, it appears that the sitting posture is in the northern Indian tradition. The style of the ears and the shape of the face are quite close to pl. 4.50. It is, however, seated in dhyānamudrā. The pedestal is circular in shape and so too the back-piece.

The way the curls of the hair have been created and the size of the usnīsa which is prominent are reminiscent of the style seen on an image classified as Dvāravatī and dated to about seventh or eighth century.¹²³ Both images probably were influenced by the Gupta and post-Gupta styles in the creations of the two features. Presumably, the image, pl. 4.51, is to be dated to about the seventh or eighth

century but differs from the Dvāravatī image in other aspects.

The third image, pl. 4.52, is in terracotta. It was discovered during excavations of Sites 21 and 22 in Pengkalan Bujang. Its provenance was between Sites 21 and 22. It was discovered close to another Buddha image, pl. 4.43, discussed earlier. The image is seated on a stylised throne. The back-piece is almond-shaped. The image is in relief.

Although it is very difficult to determine the facial features of the image, the general impression is that the face is almost as round as in pl. 4.43; the usnīsa is very low; it is seated in bhūmisparśamudrā. The legs are placed in the southern Indian tradition, that is, the right leg is placed folded on the left leg with the soles presumably facing upwards. In view of its provenance and closeness to the style of pl. 4.43 in certain features, it may be dated to about the tenth to eleventh century.

The last image, pl. 4.53, was carved out of red sandstone. It is about 68 cm high and was originally located in the eastern porch of Wat Keo in Chaiya.¹²⁴ It is now in the National Museum in Chaiya. The head and the left hand are missing. The image is seated on a solid rectangular shaped pedestal. On each side face of the pedestal is the relief of a lion. This indicates that it is a lion-throne. The front face of the pedestal has been decorated with reliefs of visvavajra. The back-piece is badly damaged.

The image is seated in the tradition of southern India that is, the right leg is folded and placed on top of the folded left leg with the soles pointing upwards. The right hand is in bhūmisparśamudrā. It is not certain what is the position of the left hand. The shape of the pedestal and its general solid state are very characteristic of the pedestals of the Cham period of about tenth century,¹²⁵ though other aspects of the pedestal such as the decorations on the faces are not exactly similar. It is, however, possible that the representation of the Buddha on such a type of pedestal has been influenced by Cham art, Wat Keo itself is believed

to be in Cham style too. It is probably dated to about the tenth century. The sanghati which is broad and ends in a straight line was popular in the later period. The style appears in Lopburi,¹²⁶ Khmer,¹²⁷ and U'Tong¹²⁸ images.

Type I.B.2.i.b.:

There is only one known example of this type. The image, pl. 4.54, is seated on a rectangular pedestal with projections on the front and side, at the top and bottom, and is from Peninsular Thailand. The feet are resting on a padma. The back-piece consists of only the aureole or halo part, which is in open tracery. The flame signs are closely packed to give the flame halo a floriated look. The image is seated in pralambapādāsana¹²⁹ or "European fashion". The hands are in dharma cakra mudrā. The uttarāsaṅga is in open-mode and pleatless.

Seated Buddha images in pralambapādāsana are common in the cave-temple art of western India. In South East Asia, a few examples are known. They are from Thailand, in the Dvāravatī art of about the seventh to eighth century,¹³⁰ and Java,¹³¹ in the art of Central Javanese period. Although this position was adopted in southern India, at Nāgārjunakonda, in about the third to fourth century,¹³² there is nothing to show that pl. 4.54 was influenced by it. Stylistically, pl. 4.54 is much closer to the cave temple art. This is particularly true in the case of the treatment of the head, the shape and the size of the usnīṣa and the size of the curls of the hair. In contrast to the Nāgārjunakonda image which wears its pre-pleated uttarāsaṅga in covering-mode, pl. 4.54 wears pleatless uttarāsaṅga in open-mode. The treatment of the uttarāsaṅga of pl. 4.54 is close to those from the cave temples and South East Asia. There are however, detailed differences, which probably indicate technical preferences by the artists and regional choice. The closest example to the image, pl. 4.54 in terms of the treatment of the uttarāsaṅga is probably that of the Ajanta.¹³³ Even that slight difference can be traced especially in the

technique of placing the ends of the uttarāsāṅga. Images from Ajantā hold the end in the left hand while pl. 4.54 lets the ends fall on to the uttarāsāṅga between the thighs. The Javanese images are quite close to the style of the treatment of the uttarāsāṅga in the Ellorā images¹³⁴ while the Dvāravatī style is quite close to the Aurangābād,¹³⁵ but again with minor differences.

The images seated in this "European fashion" usually have a padma as a foot-rest, an aureole behind the head, with or without another part of the back-piece below the aureole. In certain images from the cave-temples, it is very hard to tell whether they have this part of the back-piece, in view of the fact that they are in relief. In other cases an outline or decorative reliefs indicate this part. Pl. 4.54, does not appear to have this back-piece, though it may have been indicated on the back wall against which the image was placed. The date for pl. 4.54 is probably about seventh and eighth century.

Type I.B.2.i.c.:

This is represented by pl. 4.55.¹³⁶ The difference between this image and pl. 4.54 is mainly due to the elaborateness of the asana or throne of pl. 4.55. Instead of just having the pedestal and the halo, pl. 4.55 has an elaborate back-piece. The back-piece comprises a rectangular part which runs up to the neck-level of the image and a triangular part attached to the rectangular part. The rectangular part has two columns, one on each side, which are topped by what appears to be makara. The triangular part has flame symbols widely spaced. A separate piece is attached to the back of the image, to form a hollow halo around the head. The pedestal is a rectangular solid block with projections on each side at the top and bottom. There are two layers created by the bottom projections and a single projection at the top. This compares with five layers at the bottom and three terraces at the top in pl. 4.54.

The style of the image, pl. 4.55, pleatless open-mode uttarāsāṅga is in the same tradition as pl. 4.54. The treatment of the head, although not exactly similar, is also quite close to pl. 4.54. The treatment of the uttarāsāṅga is different from pl. 4.54 in the way the ends of the uttarāsāṅga from the left hand are placed. Pl. 4.55 holds one end in the left hand just like the images from Ajantā.¹³⁷ A fold line is indicated running from the left thigh right across to the right calf. This is also quite typical of the Ajantā¹³⁸ style and is also known at Kārlī. The way the other end of the uttarāsāṅga which runs down the other side of the left hand is indicated in the image is also quite close to the Ajantā and Kārlī traditions.

This image appears to be either dharmaśakramudrā or vitarkamudrā with its feet resting on the double-padmāsana may be dated to about the seventh or eighth century. The image is in a private collection and came from the Musi River area. It is in bronze.

Type I.B.2.i.d.:

Four images, pls. 4.56,¹³⁹ 4.57,¹⁴⁰ 4.58¹⁴¹ and 4.59¹⁴² have been classified into this type on the basis of the type of the āsana or throne. The images appear to be seated on double-padmāsana placed on top of rectangular shaped pedestal with a back-piece but without the aureole or halo. Detailed study of the style of the throne will again show stylistic differences. This may show artists choice in terms of stylistic development in time and space.

Images pls. 4.56, 4.57 and 4.58 share another common feature, namely the sitting posture. They are seated in the northern Indian tradition, legs crossed and soles pointing upwards. Pl. 4.59 is seated in the south Indian tradition, that is, the left leg is placed on top of the right leg with the soles presumably facing upwards.

Chronologically, images pls. 4.56 and 4.57 are probably the oldest. This is based on the fact that the treatment of the head, the shape of the face, the facial expression, the size of the curls of the hair and the usnīsa appear to be in the Gupta and post-Gupta style, while the open-mode and pleatless uttarāsanga indicates that they are post-Gupta images. While image pl. 4.56 is in bhūmisparśamudrā, the other image, pl. 4.57 is in abhayamudrā. In the cave-temple art the images are usually in dharmačakramudrā. It is possible that the mudrā for pl. 4.57 was commissioned rather than copied from an Indian image. On the stylistic evidence of the treatment of the head and the uttarāsanga in both images probably belonged to about the seventh or eighth century.

Image pl. 4.56 is seated on a different type of rectangular solid pedestal to that of the image, pl. 4.57. In pl. 4.56, the pedestal has projections on the front and sides at the bottom and none at the top. Instead, at the top is placed another smaller rectangular layer. On top of this layer is the double-padmāsana on which the image is seated. In pl. 4.57, the pedestal has projections in front and on the sides, at the bottom and at the top. The bottom projections form three layers, the top projection is single. On this is located the double-padmāsana supporting the image. Supporting the upper projection on the front left and right sides are two makaras.

The back-pieces in pls. 4.56 and 4.57 are different. The back-piece in pl. 4.56 appears to be almost round in shape and is decorated with flame symbols, quite far apart. On top of the back-piece is the representation of an umbrella or parasol with banners. In pl. 4.57, the back-piece is nearly rectangular in shape and in open-tracery. The sides of the back-piece are decorated with flame symbols arranged quite far apart as in pl. 4.56.

The third image in this type, pl. 4.58, is probably much later in date. It is seated on double-padmāsana. The padmāsana is placed on top of a rectangular pedestal with

projections on the sides and front. The pedestal has legs. In front of the pedestal is a further projection. The style of the pedestal with a frontal projection is quite familiar in the Pāla-Sena art.¹⁴³

The back-piece is rectangular with a rounded top, large and reminiscent of the tradition of those of the Hindu and Buddhist images from the Pāla-Sena school. A few examples can be seen at Nālandā, Kurkihar and Rangpur.¹⁴⁴ The image is seated in bhūmisparśamudrā which is prominent in the Pāla-Sena art too. Just behind the head is a stalk of flowers, this tradition too appears in Nālandā.¹⁴⁵ The presence of sanghāti on the left shoulder indicates its later date. The style of the sanghāti is very close to that of the Lopburi style of the eleventh to twelfth century.¹⁴⁶ The hair-line on the forehead is quite similar to those seen on Lopburi¹⁴⁷ and U'Tong¹⁴⁸ images. The possible date would be about eleventh to twelfth century.

The fourth image in this type, pl. 4.59, is also in bronze. It is seated in dhyanamudrā. The pedestal is similar to that of pl. 4.57 but without makara supporting the top projection of the pedestal. A double-padmāsana is placed on top of the pedestal. The shape of the back-piece is almond. It is decorated with flame symbols arranged close together. The bottom part of the back-piece ends in makara at both sides. On top is placed what appears to be a conventionalised form of parasol.

The image wears pleatless uttarāsaṅga in open-mode. There is no sign of sanghāti. The treatment of the head does not fit with the Gupta, post-Gupta or southern Indian schools nor with the Pāla-Sena school. This is due to the presence of the kind of knob just on top of the prominent usnīṣa. If not for the presence of this knob, the style of the usnīṣa would conform to the northern Indian traditions. This type of knob appears on Hindu images of Cōla style¹⁴⁹ and on top of Avalokiteśvara images from South East Asia showing Pāla-Sena influence. The image probably dates to about the ninth century.

Type I.B.2.i.e.:

There are four images, pl. 4.60, in this type. This set of four images would fit very closely with pl. 4.59 if not for the presence of an extra part in the composition of the image and the āsana. The extra part is the solid halo which is placed behind the head. The pedestal of the four images has projections on the sides and front at the bottom. The projections at the bottom form two layers: there is no top projection. On top of the pedestal is the double-padmāsana. The back-piece is almond-shaped and decorated with closely packed flame symbols. On top is the parasol surmounted by a spire. This may be a stylised stūpa.¹⁵⁰ The ends of the back-piece at the bottom have a less elaborate form of makara compared to that in pl. 4.59. The four images are in bhūmisparśamudrā, dhyānamudrā, bhūmisparśamudrā and abhayamudrā from right to the left in the photograph. The sitting posture is not clear because the bottom hem-line of the upper part of uttarāsaṅga is placed over the part which the legs supposed to cross. This treatment of the uttarāsaṅga at that part is familiar in the Gandhāran art.¹⁵¹ In the Pāla-Sena art the part of the uttarāsaṅga is placed below the part where the legs crossed.¹⁵² It is possible, however, to assume that the legs are crossed in the northern Indian tradition in all the four images as indicated by the image on the extreme right in the photograph. The style of uṣṇīṣa is identical to pl. 4.59. On this evidence it is possible that the images in pl. 4.60 date to the same period as pl. 4.59, about ninth century.

Type I.B.2.i.f.:

This type is represented by the image, pl. 4.61.¹⁵³ It is a bronze image. It was discovered in the Musi River area and is in a private collection. The image is seated in a mudrā which is very unusual in South East Asia, with the legs crossed and the soles pointing upwards in the northern Indian tradition. The mudrā appears to be what Dale Saunders called "Mudra of the Knowledge Fist."¹⁵⁴ Just as in those

images in type I.B.2.i.e., the bottom hem-line of the upper part of the uttarāsaṅga of the image pl. 4.61 is placed over the place where the legs cross. The style of the pedestal and the double-padmāsana on which the image is seated indicates similarity. The image also has a similar kind of halo as those images in pl. 4.60. But the style of the back-piece and the treatment of the head are different.

The treatment of the head of the image in pl. 4.61 is reminiscent of the image, pl. 4.55, discussed earlier. The treatment of the usnīsa, although in the tradition of northern India particularly because of its prominence, does not really fit into any known style. The image has sanghāti placed on the left shoulder and the style is also in its own tradition. The back-piece of the āsana is also different stylistically from those of images in pl. 4.60 and that of pl. 4.55. The style of the image in pl. 4.61 probably developed from that of pl. 4.55 or contemporaneously. It is possible that its influence also originated from the same source as pl. 4.60. The date probably is about ninth century.

Type I.B.2.i.g.: Buddha seated under the Nāga hoods

The bronze image, pl. 4.62, represents a Buddha seated under the hood of seven-headed Nāga. The image is about 160 cm high. It is in Bangkok Museum. Originally it was in Wat Wiang in Chaiya. It was cast in the reign of (or by the order of) Mahārāja Śrīmat Trailokyarāja Maulibhūsanavarmadeva by maha senapati named Talani. Most scholars agree that the date inscribed in the inscription of the image is equivalent to the year 1183 A.D.¹⁵⁵ But, as indicated earlier in this study, scholars are divided over the issue of whether the image of the Buddha and the hood of the nāga belong to the same period.¹⁵⁶ After considering various views concerning the problem, it is apparent that the image, the hood of the nāga and the inscription belong to the same period, 1183 A.D.

The image is seated on three-coiled nāga and the feet are arranged in the position familiar to the dominant style of southern India and Sri Lanka. The mudrā of the hands is bhūmisparśa. The Buddha image seated on three-coiled nāga and under the seven-headed nāga hood in bhūmisparśamudrā is not uncommon as certain scholars tend to believe. There is an example of such an image, pl. 4.63,¹⁵⁷ but the style of the image of the Buddha and the hood of the nāga differ from pl. 4.63. Stylistically, the image has its own tradition. There is no known example that shares a similar style from Peninsular Thailand. Presumably, the large sanghati may be influenced by the Cōla tradition. The size of the curls of the hair may be compared to some of the Chien Sen images of about the thirteenth century.¹⁵⁸ But the treatment of the hair-line on the forehead is different in the two styles. The usnīsa is very low and is topped by a kind of knob or gem. This is reminiscent of the style of some of the images from Chaiya, pls. 4.16 and 4.31. But in this image, it has a bodhi leaf fixed to the front of the gem.

On the stylistic analysis of the image it is possible to date the image to the twelfth century. Although it has its own style, certain aspects of the image such as the iconography and the influence received on certain parts of the image indicate that the image can be placed in the twelfth century period. Iconographically, it may be in the tradition of the twelfth century Khmer style images from Tha Chin River Basin in central Thailand.¹⁵⁹

Type I.B.3.: Seated Buddha images accompanied by human figures or iconographic symbols

The available Buddha images categorised to this group are represented by images imprinted on votive tablets mainly. These votive tablets were recovered from various cave sites in the Malay Peninsula. The caves are located in Chaiya, Pathalung, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Songkhla, Trang and Yala. The tablets were recovered randomly through individual discoveries and were then presented to the temples and museums

in various parts of Peninsular Thailand, Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur. The sites where the tablets were found usually produced other types of Buddhist tablets such as other Mahāyāna deities and votive stūpas.¹⁶⁰

According to Coedès, the votive tablets are, "simple lumps of clay moulded or stamped with the stroke of a die, serving equally as mementos and as ex-votos",¹⁶¹ and their function is as objects of piety. The custom of making the tablets is exclusively Buddhist. He quoted a theory put forward by Foucher, "we may connect the origin of these votive tablets with the four great objectives of Buddhist pilgrimages in India, namely, Kapilavastu, where S'ākyamuni was born. Buddhagāyā, where he achieved Omniscience; the Deer Park near Benares where he preached the Law for the first time; and finally Kusinagara where he attained Nirvāṇa".¹⁶² The tablets present not Buddha generally but a particular Buddha, a certain definite statue in a particular temple or place.¹⁶³ The making of the votive tablets not merely for souvenirs but as acts of merit especially for those who are not rich and cannot afford to have them made in a more permanent medium and expensive materials such as metals. It is also believed that the other function of the tablets is that of religious propaganda.¹⁶⁴ This is the case in the representation of the Miracle of S'rāvasti.

The tablets from the Malay Peninsula representing Buddha as the main figure depict the following scenes: a) Meditation under Bo Tree b) Meditation under the hood of Nāgas c) Miracle of S'rāvasti d) Preaching scene e) Preaching and stupas.

Type I.B.1.a.: Buddha seated in mediation under Bo Tree

There are two examples, pls. 4.64 and 4.65, that show Buddha seated in dhyanāmudrā under the Bo Tree. It is not possible to determine whether both the Buddha images are wearing uttarāsaṅga in open-mode or closed-mode but the uttarāsaṅga appears to be pleatless. In both the examples,

Buddha is attended by two figures, presumably Bodhisattvas. But in pl. 4.64, besides the two Bodhisattvas, there are symbols of what appear to be stupa.

The example, pl. 4.64, was discovered in Yarang.¹⁶⁵ It is about 26 cm high and in stone. According to Quaritch-Wales who examined it, the Bodhisattvas in attendance are Maitreya and Lokesvara who replace Brahma and Indra in accordance to Mahayana practice.¹⁶⁶ He identified the figure on Buddha's right as that of Lokesvara on the evidence of the small Dhyani Buddha in the headdress. He dated the image to the eighth or ninth century and attributed to the Mahayanist influence from Srivijaya.¹⁶⁷

The Srivijayan influence on the image is not possible to confirm. This is due to the fact that there is no other similar type of image from either Sumatra or Peninsula Thailand known to us so far. But Buddha images seated and accompanied by two attendant Bodhisattvas occur in such places as Sanchi,¹⁶⁸ the various cave-temples in western India and in southern India. At Sanchi,¹⁶⁹ the Buddha image is seated in dhyanimudra just as in pl. 4.64 but not under Bo Tree and has the Wheel of Law placed behind, while at the cave-temple sites Buddha is usually seated in darmacakramudra and not seated under the Bo Tree. The examples with Buddha seated under the Bo Tree are from Farukhabad,¹⁷⁰ Uttar Pradesh, dated about ninth century and from Nagapattinam,¹⁷¹ but stylistically, both differ from pl. 4.64.

The second image is from Yala District and it too indicates stylistic difference with any known examples either from India or South East Asia. The presence of the stupa on each side of the image probably symbolises the theme Nirvana. The sitting position of the Buddha image is in the southern Indian tradition. It is not possible to determine who are the Bodhisattvas in attendance. The attendant figures appear to carry fly-whisk in pl. 4.64 but not in pl. 4.65. Presumably the images are post-Gupta and the date is about the eighth or ninth century as suggested by Quaritch-Wales.

Type I.B.1.b.: Buddha seated in meditation under the hood
of Nagas

There is an image of Buddha published in Coedès in his pl. X (centre) which appears to be seated in meditation under the hood of Nagas.¹⁷² This image, pl. 4.66, is in votive tablet form and is about 16.5 cm high. It came from Nakhon Si Thammarat. Coedès described the scene as having six figures. The three figures below are the Buddhist triad, Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, the Prajñāparamitā.¹⁷³ The three figures above are rather vague: the middle one has many arms and heads.¹⁷⁴ It is not easy to say whether the observation is correct as the tablet is very badly worn and the imprint is not very clear. But comparing the scene with the scene in another tablet classified to the same group as pl. 4.66 it is probable that Buddha is seated under the hood of Nagas.¹⁷⁵ The other tablet, on the right in pl. X of the photograph, has a better imprint and the scene shows seated Buddha between two standing attendant Bodhisattvas.¹⁷⁶ The Buddha is seated under the hood of Nagas. The hood in that tablet is reminiscent of the hood above the image of Buddha in pl. 4.66 in spite of not being very clear.

The theme of the scene probably recalls the episode, marking the sixth week following the Great Enlightenment.¹⁷⁷ This theme appears in the Amarāvatī art about third century,¹⁷⁸ Sri Lanka art,¹⁷⁹ about sixth to seventh century and in Dvāravatī art¹⁸⁰ and also in the art of Cambodia in about the tenth century.¹⁸¹ It also appears in the later art of southern India in the Nagāpattinam school.¹⁸² In Peninsular Thailand, Buddha seated under the hood of Nagas is quite common. Although the theme is probably the same, the composition of the scene differs in cases where Buddha is accompanied by human figures or other symbolic images. The unaccompanied images also display stylistic differences. The differences can be seen from the available examples. It has been suggested that the influence of the theme in Dvāravatī art came from Amarāvatī and Sri Lanka¹⁸³ and that it was greatly favoured in South East Asia, especially Cambodia.¹⁸⁴ Looking at the known example it appears that

this assumption is quite true. In view of the fact that pl. 4.66 is in the complicated form of the theme, it probably belonged to about the seventh or eighth century.

There is another example of this type. The imprint is very much clearer. This tablet, pl. 4.67, was published by Alastair Lamb from the photograph of A. Gibson Hill.¹⁸⁵ According to Alastair Lamb, the tablet was presented to the Raffles Museum in 1896 by A.D. Machado.¹⁸⁶ It was probably originated from a cave in the Yala region. The imprint shows that Buddha is seated in dhyānamudrā under the Nāga hoods and accompanied by two figures of Bodhisattvas. Above the three images are another three which appear to be Buddha seated in dhyānamudrā.

The sitting position is clearly in the style of southern India. On the evidence of the popularity of this scene in southern India and the sitting posture of the main image, it can be said that the source for the influence would be Amarāvatī and Sri Lanka. In view of the fact that there is no stylistic agreement between all the known examples, it seems that each area developed its own style, but using the same theme. The date for this tablet is probably about the eighth or ninth century.

Type I.B.3.c.:

The available examples under discussion have been classified by Coedes as representing the theme, the Great Miracle of S'ravasti.¹⁸⁷

In two of them, pls. 4.69 and 4.70, the main Buddha image is seated in pralambapādāsana: the mudrā is abahaymudrā. The most complex example is pl. 4.68.¹⁸⁸ In the scene, it appears that there are three rows of figures. The figures in the bottom row are standing while those in the middle and upper rows are seated. The tablet is about 12.5 cm high and was found at Khao Ok Dalu in Pathalung.

The second tablet, pl. 4.69, also came from the same site as pl. 4.68. It is about 9.0 cm high.¹⁸⁹ It has fewer figures but the main image is seated in pralambapādāsana just as in pl. 4.67. It is seated under the Bo Tree and is

accompanied by standing figures on each side and seated figures at the top. It is not clear how many rows of seated figures are arranged at the top.

The third tablet, pl. 4.70, appears to be a simpler representation of the scene.¹⁹⁰ It is closer to pl. 4.69 in terms of the composition of the scene. The main image is seated in pralambapādāsana and in abhayamudrā. But there are only two figures standing, one on each side of the main image. On top is a row of three seated figures. If not for the absence of the hood of Nāga, the composition is quite close to the image pl. 4.67 in the earlier type, I.B.3.a.i. The image in pl. 4.70 is being sheltered by a Bo Tree that has been stylised. The tablet is about 6.5 cm and was originally at Khao Ok Dalu in Pathalung.¹⁹¹

The date for the images in this type is probably pre-tenth century as suggested by Coedès.¹⁹² The sitting posture is very much in the tradition of the post-Gupta period. It has been noted earlier that the posture was dominant in the cave-temples art, but the mudrā was not common among the images seated in pralambapādāsana in the cave-temples art.¹⁹³

Type I.B.3.d.:

In the next type, I.B.3.d. the main Buddha image is seated in bhūmisparsamudrā with legs which appear to be folded. There are six examples, pls. 4.71, 4.72, 4.73, 4.74, 4.75 and 4.76. All are in the votive tablet forms. The tablet, pl. 4.71, shows the main Buddha image seated under a pyramid tower (S'ikhara).¹⁹⁴ Three rows of seated Buddha images in bhūmisparsamudrā probably represent the manifestation of the multiplied form of Buddha seated on a lotus throne.¹⁹⁵ The top row comprises several standing figures, probably five. Each figure is housed in a pyramid tower.

The other four tablets have less number of accompanying figures. Pl. 4.72 has two rows of seated Buddha.¹⁹⁶ The total number of seated Buddha accompanying the main image is

five. In addition there are two figures of seated images in the gesture of anjalinimudrā. This is reminiscent of another tablet, pl. 4.76 which shows a seated Buddha image in bhumisparśamudrā and with two seated figures in anjalinimudra.¹⁹⁷

Pls. 4.73, 4.74 and 4.75 have only two seated Buddha accompanying the main Buddha image. Every image is housed in a pyramid tower. The difference between pl. 4.75¹⁹⁸ and pl. 4.73¹⁹⁹ and pl. 4.74²⁰⁰ is the presence of several figures under the three seated Buddha images. The exact postures of the figures are difficult to say. The seated Buddha images accompanying the main image are in dhyānamudrā in pls. 4.72, 4.73 and 4.74 while in pl. 4.75, it appears to be in bhumisparśamudrā, the same as in pl. 4.71.

The towers in pls. 4.71 and 4.74 are quite similar. The difference is the presence of the Bo Tree symbol just above the tower in pl. 4.74. While the towers in pl. 4.72 and 4.73 are also quite similar. It has been suggested by Coedès that the towers in pls. 4.72 and 4.73 are reminiscent of the Khmer towers.²⁰¹ The tower of pl. 4.75 is different from the other two types. It is made up of three rectangular tiers. In addition to the three towers, it has two stūpas placed on the right and left ends of the towers.

The tablets pls. 4.71 and 4.74 came from Nakhon Si Thammarat.²⁰² The heights respectively are 8.5 cm and 12.5 cm. It has been reported that similar tablets to pl. 4.74 have been found in Chaiya, Subranapuri and Bejrapurn.²⁰³ Two other tablets, pls. 4.72, and 4.73 were found at Nakhon Si Thammarat, also, pl. 4.72 is about 10.3 cm and pl. 4.73 is 1.1 cm in height.²⁰⁴ The other tablet in this type, pl. 4.75, is about 6.5 cm and it was discovered in Pathalung.²⁰⁵ The last example, pl. 4.76 was found in Nakhon Si Thammarat and is about 10 cm high.

On the basis of the style of the towers, pl. 4.71 is older than pl. 4.72 and 4.73 which were influenced by Khmer architecture. The tower of pl. 4.71, 4.74 and 4.76 appears

to be in the tradition of the earlier period such as at the cave-temples where they appear to be niches rather than actual towers.²⁰⁶ The Khmer type of towers probably belonged to about the twelfth century. Pls. 4.71, 4.74 and 4.76 probably belonged to about the eighth or ninth century. Pl. 4.75 is probably about the same period, eighth or ninth century. It has been suggested that the style of the tower is in the Javanese tradition.²⁰⁷ There is no actual example of existing architecture which can be compared to it. The nearest examples probably are those seen depicted in reliefs on Candi Borobudur.²⁰⁸

Type I.B.3.e.:

This is represented by example, pl. 4.77. Here the main Buddha image is seated in dharmacakramudrā and the legs are folded in northern Indian style. The main Buddha image is seated on a throne, different from the other tower seen on the tablets discussed earlier. This tablet is now in the National Museum in Bangkok. There are, however, two other similar tablets published by Coedès and Alastair Lamb.²⁰⁹ It is not certain whether all the three are in fact of the same tablet. According to Coedès, it came from Tham Guhā Svarga which is in Nakhon Si Thammarat.²¹⁰ It is about 12 cm high. It has the inscription Ye dharma in Nāgarī script.²¹¹ Alastair Lamb described his photograph of the similar type of tablet as that of a Bodhisattva surrounded by eight attendant figures and the tablet came from an island off Trang coast and it was presented to the Raffles Museum in 1901 or 1902.²¹² It is possible that pl. 4.77 is a different tablet from that of pl. 5. in Alastair Lamb's photograph but is the same one as that mentioned and photographed by Coedès. It is not true as suggested by Subhadradis Diskul that the tablet has no known provenance.²¹³

It is not certain what the scene represents. The seated images accompanying the main image are in various attitudes. There are two stupas represented in the scene, one on each

side of the Buddha. The date for this image on the basis of the Nāgari script would be about the tenth century. What is certain is that the Buddha is preaching.

Type I.B.3.f.:

In pl. 4.78, Buddha is seated in pralambapādāsana and in the attitude of preaching, dharmaacakramudrā. He is seated beneath a tower which Coedès identified as the "tower of Buddhagāyā".²¹⁴ Nine stupas of varying sizes are located on each side of the throne. The feet of the Buddha are resting on a full blown padma. Coedès also noted the presence of a wheel supported by two gazelles. Inscriptions of Buddhist 'Creed', according to Coedès, appear indistinctly (below the layer of gilding that covers the tablet) in Sanskrit and in Nāgari characters.²¹⁵ It was discovered in Chaiya and is about 12.5 cm high.

Coedès has ascribed this tablet to the earlier phase of the development of votive tablets. In view of the fact that the image is seated in the posture dominant in the cave-temple art and also in dharmaacakramudrā, it is probable that the assumption is right. The date would be in the region of the seventh century.

Type 2. Avalokiteśvara Images

Avalokiteśvara can be recognised by the presence in his headdress of a small figure of a Buddha,²¹⁶ in meditation who represents Amitābha, the Jina of the West. Avalokiteśvara is a bodhisattva in the Mahāyāna Pantheon emanating from the Jina Buddha, Amitābha and his Sakti, Pāndarā.²¹⁷ According to Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, it is only at a period corresponding to that of Pāla and Sena dynasties of Bengal when Buddhist iconography in India was codified to such a degree, that Avalokiteśvara can really be distinguished from other images with Buddha figurines in their headdress.²¹⁸ Prior to that, on the basis of the evidence known to her,²¹⁹ the

Buddha in Avalokitesvara's headdress need not necessarily be in dhyānamudrā.

There are several forms of Avalokitesvara.²²⁰ Bhattacharyya has recognised fourteen, including the eleven mentioned in the study of Buddhist iconography by Foucher.²²¹ He also noted that Pandita Amṛtananda's Dharmakośasmgraha gives another variety of Avalokitesvara, Sukhavati Lokesvara.²²² There are also about one hundred and eight different forms of Avalokitesvara which have been identified and described by Bhattacharyya from the paintings on the wooden panels surrounding the Macchander Vahal in Kāthmādu.²²³ The paintings belong to a later period and are about two hundred years old.²²⁴

The problems of identification of the numerous examples of Avalokitesvara images from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra are two. First, some of the images have lost the attributes in their hands or they have lost the hands altogether. Second, there are images wearing a tiger skin which do not fit into the description of any varieties described by Bhattacharyya.

This study will attempt to establish the evolution and development of the styles of the images, their chronology and form. The images will be classified into types according to their styles and not according to Avalokitesvara's forms. This is to show evolution and development and to deduce chronology. The first stage is to divide the known Avalokitesvara images from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra into two main types. The first type, type 2.A., comprises all the standing images. Type 2.B. consists of the seated images.

Type 2.A.: Standing Avalokitesvara Images

Standing Avalokitesvara images represent the majority of the known images from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. They are in stone or bronze or terracotta. Most of them have been recovered through planned archaeological surveys, randomly and a few, especially those in terracotta were recovered

in the cave sites in the Malay Peninsula. The images are either on display in various museums or in private ownership.

Type 2.A.1:

There are four images, pls. 4.79, 4.80, 4.81 and 4.82, which show similar treatment of headdress. The style of the headdress probably came from Bodh-Gāyā area. The hair is presumably to be pleated into small strands and these strands of hair will then be passed through a metal band. The band will be directly on the head. The strands of hair will then be thrown backwards to form a fan-shaped pattern. This simple form of headdress appeared in Bodh-Gāyā about the seventh century.²²⁵ This style also found favour in Buddhist art in the Āndhra Pradesh area in the seventh or early eighth century.²²⁶ An example of this type of hair style from Āndhra Pradesh area can be seen on the head of a bust of a Bodhisattva which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (pl. 4.83). In pl. 4.84, the style represents the Bodh-Gāyā school.

Although the four images share similar styles of headdress, other aspects of the images indicate differences which may be temporal and spatial. The simplest form of this type of Avalokiteśvara image is pl. 4.79.²²⁷ This image is in bronze and it is believed to have come from Surat Thani Province. The image has both feet missing and also the right hand just above the elbow. It has no ornament except for ear-rings and represents the ascetic form of Avalokiteśvara. According to Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, in Mahārāshṭra, Avalokiteśvara is always shown as an ascetic, wearing no ornaments, and with his tiara-chignon as his only headdress.²²⁸ The image, pl. 4.79, holds a water jar in the left hand but the body part of the jar is missing. The dhotī is of the smooth type and no belt.

If we compare the image to the Bodh-Gāyā one, it will be noticed that the only similarity between the two is the style

of the headdress. The facial expression of the image, especially the style of the lips, is reminiscent of Dvāravatī images. The simplicity of the image and the type of body shape indicate that it belongs to about the seventh century. This simple form of Avalokiteśvara image was known in Cambodia at about the same period, as indicated by examples of pre-Khmer images.²²⁹

The second image, pl. 4.80, is in bronze and its provenance is unknown but it is believed to have come from Peninsular Thailand.²³⁰ Both the hands and feet are missing. It has an aureole which has been broken off. The face is different from pl. 4.79 and is much closer to the Indian type. The image wears a decorated band around the head. The ears have no ear-rings. Tresses of hair can be seen on the shoulders. An antelope skin is placed over the left shoulder. The dhotī is held by a metal belt and differs from the style of the dhotī of pl. 4.79 because its frontal panel, which indicates a fold, is represented. The dhotī is decorated with linear patterns arranged very far apart. This type of decoration is quite common in Pāla and Sena art,²³¹ but again the designs differ slightly from one image to another indicating choice. This image, pl. 4.80, may be dated to about seventh or early eighth century and is later than pl. 4.79.

The third image, pl. 4.81, probably belonged to a later period than pl. 4.80. It is in bronze and is about 16 cm high. It is in the Jakarta Museum. It has two hands, the left is in varadamudrā and the right holds the padma. It may be identified as Padmapāṇi-Avalokiteśvara. Although the headdress is in the same tradition as the first two images, it has been treated in a much more complex form. It has a decorated band around the forehead. Tresses of hair fall on the shoulders. The image wears ornaments as much as the Bodh-Gāyā image, pl. 4.84: necklace, armlets and bracelets. The sacred thread is placed over the left shoulder but is not as long as in pl. 4.84. The belt holding the plain dhotī of the Bodh-Gāyā type is also metal.

A small piece of cloth is worn over the dhotī just below the belt. The way it is tied reminds us of the way the rope-type belt in an Avalokitesvara image from Mahasthangarh in northern Indian is used.²³² It differs from the arrangement of a piece of cloth seen wrapped round the top part of the dhotī in the Bodh-Gāyā image or any other known images from northeastern India. The style of the headdress appears to be closer to the later images from northeastern India that evolved from Bodh-Gāyā school. The closest example would be that of an Avalokitesvara from Nālandā which has been dated to about the ninth or tenth century.²³³ The image, pl. 4.81, may be dated to about the eighth or ninth century.

The last image in this group is a bronze image, pl. 4.82.²³⁴ This too has not known provenance but it is believed to have come from Peninsular Thailand. It stands about 18 cm high. The treatment of the hair although not very similar to the other three images in this type is nevertheless in the same tradition. It evolved from the same technique. The hair is tied and falls backward, but it is greatly stylised and does not show the hair radiating in a fan-shape as in the other three images. The presence of a kind of fringe to mark the hair-line on the forehead is reminiscent of the style seen on the Buddha images of the Lopburi and Khmer schools from about the eleventh century.²³⁵ In view of this fact, it is probable that this image belonged to about the same period, eleventh century and represents the youngest style in the group of type 2.A.1. The style of the headdress is quite close to an image from Mahāsthāngarh, Bogra District in eastern India.²³⁶ The style of type 2.1.A. is also found in Kashmir.²³⁷

The image has two hands. In the right hand is a jar just like in the image of pl. 4.79, while the left is in vitarkamudrā. The image wears ear-rings. The sacred thread runs over the left shoulder and goes right down to the right hip just as in the Bodh-Gāyā image. The style of the thread too is similar to the Bodh-Gāyā image. The dhotī has a frontal panel and the linear patterns decorating the dhotī

are arranged very close together. The dhotī is held together by a cloth belt. The extra piece of cloth seen on the Bodh-Gāyā and the Korinchi images is also present, but it has been tied differently from either of the other two.

Type 2.A.2.:

There are two images which seem to share an almost identical style of headdress in the shape of a tall cap. There is no trace of hair in the headdress. The nearest example of Avalokiteśvara image with this type of headdress is the one from Sri Lanka, pl. 4.85.²³⁸ It was a stone image discovered at an ancient monastery site in Situlpavuva. According to Paranavatina, the style is related to the Pallava school,²³⁹ though available evidence does not show a direct relationship with that. The only relationship is in the outline, not in the way the hair is arranged in the headdress.

Both the images in this type were found in Sumatra. The first image, pl. 4.86, was discovered in the 1960s. It is in a private collection in a house called "Sarang Wati" in Palembang. The site where the image was discovered is situated about 500 metres to the west of Telaga Batu or Sabukkingking where inscriptions inscribed on small terracotta pellets were discovered earlier.²⁴⁰ Several terracotta votive stupa were reported to have been recovered from near the site. The image is about 1.3 m high. The sandstone material used for the image is polished. The image is in one piece with the pedestal. The right hand is in yaramudrā while the left is raised and appears to be attached to the body. The fore-finger is touching the thumb giving the impression that it is holding something or indicating vitarkamudrā. The three other fingers curl towards the palm.

The other image, pl. 4.87, is in bronze.²⁴¹ It is believed to have come from Korinchi. It stands on padmāsana.

Both the hands are missing. The image wears the sacred thread and necklace. Just like the first image, it does not wear ear-rings. The dhoti is held by a belt. There is no decoration on the dhoti but the frontal panel is presented prominently. The style of the dhoti is similar to the first and also to the Situlpavuva image.

The image pl. 4.86, may be dated to about the seventh century. This is based on the assumption that it belongs to the same period as the Situlpavuva image. It is also possible that the image is contemporaneous with the votive stupas and the inscriptions found near to the site especially the Telaga Batu inscription which belong to the seventh century.²⁴² The other image, pl. 4.87, probably belongs to the same period as pl. 4.86. The style of the headdress is reminiscent of the headdress of the numerous Viṣṇu images found in the Malay Peninsula²⁴³ and in Bangka in Sumatra.²⁴⁴ Although they are not very similar, the technique of representing them is the same. They appear to be a stylised version of, rather than following exactly, the tall and complex style of headdress seen on the Pallava images of various deities.²⁴⁵ But the source of influence would be in the same proto-type as the Viṣṇu images with that style of headdress which may not be Pallava.

Type 2.A.3.:

Three images appear to be related stylistically. All three, pl. 4.88, 4.89 and 4.90, are in bronze. Two of them pls. 4.88²⁴⁶ and 4.89²⁴⁷ have a small effigy of Buddha in the headdress indicating that they are Avalokiteśvara. But due to corrosion it is not possible to say whether the third image is also an Avalokiteśvara image. Nevertheless, the style of the dhoti of the third image, pl. 4.90²⁴⁸ is quite identical to pl. 4.89 and slightly different from pl. 4.88. The dhoti in all the three images are decorated with linear patterns. The frontal panel appears in all the three images. The dhoti is being held by a cloth belt in each image and the top portion of the frontal panel is being

gathered together and formed a flap over the belt. The way the flap is placed in pl. 4.90 is similar to pl. 4.89 and differs slightly from pl. 4.88. All the images are without ornament or head band. The hands are missing in the three images. The image, pl. 4.89, is standing on a padma pedestal, pl. 4.88 has its left foot missing and pl. 4.90 has both feet missing.

Two of the images, pls. 4.88 and 4.90, were found in Bukit Seguntang in Palembang. Pl. 4.88 is about 8.5 cm and pl. 4.90 about 9.5 cm high. Both images are in private collections. Pl. 4.89 was discovered in Pun Pin District in Surat Thani Province and is now in the Kamphoeng Phet National Museum. It is about 28.7 cm high.

The headdress of pl. 4.89 appears to be tall like those of images in the previous type. The difference is in the way the hair in the headdress is represented. In the previous type there is no indication of the hair in the headdress but in the image, pl. 4.89, the hair is represented. It appears as two curled tiers which form into a frame for the headdress. The band which holds the hair is also indicated by a solid band just above the effigy of the Buddha in meditation. It is not possible to determine the exact style of the headdresses of the other two images because they are greatly worn. But the shape appears to be quite close to pl. 4.89, and in the image pl. 4.88, the part just above the effigy of the Buddha appears to be quite close to pl. 4.89.

All three images probably belong to the same period, about seventh or eighth century. Their facial expression, the round face and the shape of the mouths are in the Indian tradition of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. The shape of the body is reminiscent of the pre-Khmer images of about seventh or eighth century.²⁴⁹ From the style of the headdress and the dhoti it is possible to say that these images were local products.

Type 2.A.4.:

There are four images in this type. The features that are common to the four images are identical styles of headdress, the tiger skin wrapped round the upper part of the dhotī, more than two hands and the shape of the body with slim waist. The hair is not arranged as in type 2.A.1, but is tied up into bands of pleated hair. These bands of hair, which can be seen in the closed-up photograph, pl. 4.91, of the stone image from Palembang, pl. 4.92,²⁵⁰ are arranged in tiers. This technique of treating the headdress is also familiar in the Avalokitesvara images at Nālandā.²⁵¹ Presumably, this type of headdress appeared at about the time, if not later, as the headdress in type 2.A.1. But available evidence indicates that there are more examples of the style of type 2.A.1 known from northern India than of this style.²⁵²

Three of the images, pls. 4.93,²⁵³ 4.94²⁵⁴ and 4.95²⁵⁵ are in bronze. The other image, pl. 4.92, is in sandstone. It was discovered in Bingin and is now in Jakarta Museum. It is about 153 cm high, more or less life-size. The image, pl. 4.93, was discovered in Lampung and is in a private collection. The other two images came from Peninsular Thailand: both are in private collections. Pl. 4.94 was discovered in Sathinthphra, and it is about 16 cm high.

All the three images wear a dhotī with frontal panel. The dhotis are held together by a thin band of cloth. The thin cloth bands are tied just below the navel. Each image has its own technique of tying the cloth band. This again indicates local variations. The images, pls. 4.92, 4.93 and 4.94 have four hands while pl. 4.95 has six hands. The attributes in the image pl. 4.92 is uncertain because three of the hands are missing. The top left hand appears to be holding something and is still in one piece with the shoulder. The image, pl. 4.93 has what appears to be a padma in the left lower hand; the left upper hand has its fingers curled inwards; the lower right hand is in varadamudrā while the right upper hand is holding a rosary. The image, pl. 4.94, has its left upper hand attached to the shoulder.

It is not certain what the attributes were in the left lower hand and right upper hand but the right lower hand is in varadamudrā. The last image in this type, pl. 4.95, carries a jar in the left lower hand; a padma whose stalk is attached to the dhotī in the middle left hand; an unidentifiable object in the left upper hand; a rosary in the upper right hand. The middle in vitarkamudrā and lower right hand is varadamudrā.

Strands of hair appear on the shoulders of all the four images. All the images have the sacred thread over the left shoulder and across to the right hip. Only pl. 4.95 wears a necklace. All four images wear a head band. The faces of the images are still quite close to the Indian style of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods.

The four images may be dated to about the eighth century. It is true that pl. 4.92 was a local product just as the image pl. 4.86 discussed in the earlier type, 2.A.2. It is possible too that the three other images were made locally. This is due to the fact that although they share the same basic style of headdress with the Indian type and with each other, other aspects of these images are quite different.

These Avalokiteśvara images may be identified as a syncretic form. It is not possible to ascertain the exact form or forms in view of the presence of the tiger skin. The Avalokiteśvara images that wear a tiger skin are known only in the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and Tibet.²⁵⁶ The suggestion has been made by Alastair Lamb that the symbol may be associated with Śiva.²⁵⁷ He noticed that this kind of icon found favour among Buddhist sculptors of the Melaka Straits region, while not, as far as he knew, appearing in the Indian representation of Avalokiteśvara and so concluded that it is an example of Srīvijayan art and of Srīvijayan origin.²⁵⁸

On the evidence of the tiger symbol, and other attributes, it is not possible to fit these images into any

of the fifteen forms of Avalokitesvara described by Bhattacharyya nor with the descriptions of one hundred and eight forms of Avalokitesvara appearing in the Macchander Vahal, Kāthmādu in Nepal. The nearest form would be that of Amoghapāśa Avalokitesvara which according to Alice Getty may or may not wear a tiger skin.²⁵⁹ But the Amoghapāśa Avalokitesvara may have six to twenty arms, and the mudrā is dharmacakra while the special emblem is pāśa and other symbols are rosary, padma, bow, etc.²⁶⁰ The only image in this type that fits with some of the symbols is pl. 4.95 but the mudrā is not dharmacakramudrā and it does not have pāśa. It is possible that the Avalokitesvara images with tiger symbol are related to Śiva as suggested by Alastair Lamb. This is due to the fact that certain examples of Śiva images from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra and Java have a tiger skin.²⁶¹ Certainly a few of them share stylistic affinity with some of the Avalokitesvara images which will be discussed later.

The relationship between Avalokitesvara and the Hindu gods Viṣṇu and Śiva has been mentioned by Pratpaditya Pal.²⁶² He noted that in Nepal Avalokitesvara became synthesized with Śiva, the national god of that country.²⁶³ One of the Avalokitesvara's forms, the Padmapāṇi Avalokitesvara which is a human form,²⁶⁴ according to Pratpaditaya Pal, while serving the same function as Viṣṇu also reflects definite Śaiva influence through its name.²⁶⁵ In view of this fact, it is probable that the tiger symbol indicates that the images are related to Śiva. These Avalokitesvara images may be Padmapāṇi Avalokitesvara in view of the presence of padma in pls. 4.93 and 4.95. It is not certain whether these images represent Śrivijayan art or are of Śrivijayan origin. Nevertheless, the available examples indicate that two of the oldest examples of this type of Avalokitesvara came from Sumatra.

Type 2.A.5.:

There are three images, pls. 4.96,²⁶⁶ 4.97²⁶⁷ and 4.98,²⁶⁸

which appear to share a similar style of headdress. The style of the headdress basically is in the same technique as type 2.A.1., but in this type, the height of the head-dress is greatly increased. This has been achieved by lifting up the pleated hair and increasing the number of bands holding the pleated hair before the hair is thrown backwards. The pleated hair that has been thrown backwards comprises two sets. The first set is very much longer and falls lower on the head to form the lower tier, while the second set has much shorter pleated hair and this forms a layer just above the first set. This makes the style slightly different from that of type 2.A.1. This style probably evolves from type 2.A.1.

Two of the images are definitely Avalokitesvara. They are images pls. 4.96 and 4.97. This is due to the presence of Amitābha, in the headdress. The third appears to be Avalokitesvara too, but Subhadradis Diskul identifies it as Śiva.²⁶⁹ It is, however, in the same style, as far as the headdress is concerned, as the other two images.

The first image, pl. 4.96, is in stone. It came from Wat Thala Tung, Chaiya. It is now in the Chaiya National Museum. It is about 1.15 m high. It has lost all its arms and feet. The face is in the Indian tradition. No ornament of any kind is worn. The antelope skin is slung over the left shoulder: this shows Avalokitesvara in his ascetic form. The dhoti is of the transparent type and has no belt. The image is standing in tribaṅgha position, reminiscent of the Gupta and post-Gupta style in the Buddha images and also the Bodhisattvas in the rock cave-temples. There are remains of the support attached to the dhoti.

The second image, pl. 4.97, came from Peninsular Thailand. It is in bronze and is about 28.5 cm high. It is in a private collection. It stands in tribaṅgha just as the earlier image but in the opposite direction. It has twelve arms. The attributes which can be identified are vase, padma, club and probably book in the hands on the right side while in the left hands the attributes recognisable is a vajra.

and two of the left hands are in abhayamudrā while one hand is in varadamudrā. The image appears to be wearing ear-rings. Its dhotī has linear patterns but has no belt. The frontal panel is represented. The image is standing on a double padmāsana. It has no other ornaments. Remains of a support can be seen near the right feet.

The third image, if it is an Avalokitesvara, is presumably of the four-armed type. Both the left arms are missing, as is the lower right hand; the right upper hand holds the rosary. The dhotī has linear patterns and the frontal panel is placed on the left side. This is not usual in the images discussed earlier. The cloth belt holds the dhotī together and the ends of the frontal panel is passed over the top part of the cloth belt or band and drops to the other side. The image wears no ornament.

Looking at the shape of the body and the absence of elaborate ornaments and also the style of the headdress it seems possible that the image may be dated to about the eighth century. The style of the headdress, at first glance, appears to be quite near to the style of the headdress of certain Pallava images of about the eighth/ninth century,²⁷⁰ but on closer examination, it is quite different. Presumably this style which evolved from the simpler type of headdress of type 2.A.1. developed in the Peninsular Thailand locally. The iconography of the image with attributes recognisable, pl. 4.97 does not fit with any known forms of Avalokitesvara. The only conclusion regarding its form would be to identify it as a variety of Padmapāni Avalokitesvara because of the presence of padma and rosary.

Type 2.A.6.:

An Avalokitesvara image, pl. 4.99, from Peninsular Thailand appears to have a different kind of headdress from that of any of the images discussed so far. The headdress is reminiscent of the style seen on an image from Nālandā.²⁷¹ It is of the low type, just like those in type 2.A.1. The

basic technique employed to create the headdress in both the images appears to be similar to the type 2.A.1. where the hair was first pleated and then tied together by a band, but the end result differs. The circumference of the band appears to be larger in this type. Instead of the hair being thrown backwards to create a fan-shaped form as in type 2.A.1., it is curled into a tubular shape. In the case of the Nālandā image, bands of hair cascade down from both ends of the tube. But in pl. 4.99, the ends of the tube are closed. The hair near the ends have been twisted to give the tube a tapering shape.

The image is in bronze and is in the Bangkok National Museum. The image, 21.5 cm high, has four hands: the right posterior holds the rosary, the right anterior holds a padma, the left posterior holds an unidentifiable object and the left anterior holds a water jar. The way the posterior arms are positioned provides a feeling of toughness to the image, which is also apparent in the images of type 2.A.2. Just like those Avalokiteśvara images discussed earlier, it does not fit in with any of the known Avalokiteśvara varieties. (The Nālandā example has two hands and has been identified as Lokanātha Avalokiteśvara. Also, pl. 4.99 wears a kind of metal headband which is absent in Nālandā image.)

The style of dhotī of pl. 4.99 is in the same tradition as some of the Pallava images and also pls. 4.94 and 4.97. It has linear patterns; each pattern is made up of double line, and the frontal panel does not extend to the hemline. There seems to be a number of ribbon-shaped strips at the waist which form the waistband. These strips have been tied to form a double layer of sashes in front and smaller sashes at the sides. The nearest Indian style is probably the Pallava style of about the eighth to ninth century.²⁷²

This image too may be dated to about the same period as the Pallava images. But the style does not reflect the Pallava style in all aspects. It was probably created locally in composite style. The ornaments worn by the image

reflect the period: the ear-rings, necklace, bracelets and armlets. The image wears the sacred thread also.

Type 2.A.7.:

There is another image that shows Pallava influence in the treatment of the dhotī. The image, pl. 4.100, is in bronze. It was discovered in an open-cast tin mine in Sungei Siput in Perak. The site is in the Kinta Valley area known for the discoveries of other Buddhist bronzes. The image is in a private collection and a photograph of it was published by Quaritch-Wales in 1940,²⁷³ a copy of the original photograph kept by Perak Museum. The image is about 28 cm high and is standing on double-padmāsana. It has four hands: the right posterior holds the rosary, the right anterior is in varadamudrā, the left anterior and the left posterior hold unknown objects. Quaritch-Wales suggested that the left anterior holds the stalk of the padma while the posterior holds the kalasa.²⁷⁴ He went on to identify it as Jatāmukuta Lokesvara. In view of the fact that it is not possible to determine the objects in the two left hands from the photograph, it is not safe to identify the image with so much certainty.

The Pallava influence is on the sashes. The image has double layers of sashes just like the image, pl. 4.99. It appears that at the sides too there are the smaller sashes or bows. Just above the sashes is a belt and above it is probably a cloth strip belt and its ends are allowed to fall on both sides of the dhotī. The headdress, however, is not in the Pallava style. It is of the low type, the style familiar in the north-eastern Indian tradition, though the detailed treatment of the headdress is not similar. This image has its own style of headdress.

There are three other Avalokitesvara images, pl. 4.95, 4.101, and 4.102, which seem to have similar types of sashes and belts. The dhotī too is of the plain type, but the headdress differs from one image to another,

suggesting local preferences. Pl. 4.101 is in bronze and was discovered in Chaiya area. It is now in Chaiya Museum. Pl. 4.102 came from Sathiphra and is now in Wat Matchemawas in Songkhla. The Chaiya image has eight arms but only the arms on the left side are still intact while all four arms on the right are missing. The left lower hand holds the jar but other hands hold unidentifiable objects. All the hands in image 4.102 are missing. It stands on a padmāsana. The three images probably belonged to about the ninth century. It is probable that pl. 4.102, is the youngest because it has an extra belt around the chest which indicates a much later stylistic development among the known images in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. Another reason is based on the assumption that a much more elaborate image is a later image. This is also true in the pl. 4.102 where sockets for precious stones can be seen in the necklace and headdress. Nevertheless, all the images are believed to be made locally. The style of the headdress of pl. 4.102 probably followed that seen on some of the Pāla-Sena images from Nālandā.²⁷⁵ The back-piece for pl. 4.100 also reminds us of the large back-pieces seen in some of the images at Nālandā and Kurkihar belonging to the Pāla-Sena period,²⁷⁶ though these are not associated with Avalokiteśvara.

Type 2.A.8.:

A very fine bronze image, pl. 4.103,²⁷⁷ from Wat Phra Barommathat in Chaiya represents this type. It is about 76.7 cm high and is now in the Bangkok National Museum. All the hands are missing, but it is believed that it had six arms. The lower part from just below the two knees is missing too. It seems that the image was almost life-size.

Scholars have attributed it to "Srīvijayan art"²⁷⁸ and consider it as one of the finest examples of the "school". I am not certain how far the assumption is true. This is due to the fact that no other Avalokitesvara image shares

the same style in every aspect. Stylistically, it seems to have developed in the same tradition as the Pallava in about the ninth century but with local variations. It has the tall type of headdress like those seen on many of the images classified as Pallava from southern India.²⁷⁹ The treatment of the hair in the headdress is quite similar to some of the Pallava images basically. It is also in the same style as the three Hindu images from Takuapa which will be discussed later. I believe the technique of arranging the hair to form the tall headdress evolved from the simple technique which produced the type of headdress seen on such examples as the head seen on a Mukhalinga from Nongwai Station in Chaiya which will be discussed later and on the head of several images which belong to the Gupta and post-Gupta periods.²⁸⁰ The hair at the top of the headdress is tied by bands of hair that form into a tube and out of this tube on both ends appear bands of hair that fall down in layers. The headdress is topped by a kind of hair-grip. The hair-grip is probably metal type. The height of the headdress has been enhanced by a greater amount of hair and taller bands located behind the small image of Amitābha in the headdress. At a first impression, the tall headdress appears to be similar to the headdress of images in type 2.A.5, but closer examination indicates that they evolve differently.

The style of the dhotī seems to be influenced by Pallava art. The similarity lies in the basic treatments only. The image wears a plain type of dhotī which is held by a metal belt. Just below the belt is another, probably cloth type: parts of it form arcs on the left and right sides of the frontal part of the dhotī. These arcs are located on top of the upper sash which has been tied into a knot whose two ends appear to fall on the thighs. The main sash is placed just below it. Comparing with the Pallava sashes, this appears to be more stylised. They are much thinner. But as in the Pallava images, the bottom, main sash has been tied to produce smaller sashes or bows at the sides.

It is not certain whether the idea of wearing sashes evolved and developed independently at Chaiya or was influenced by Pallava. The uncertainty is due to the fact that the idea occurred earlier in the Peninsular area as indicated by the Visnu images.²⁸¹ It is probable that the Pallava sashes developed from the earlier sashes which can be seen on the Amaravati images from southern India.²⁸² It is certain that the evolution of the sashes on the Visnu images from Peninsular Thailand was due to Indian inspiration. But it is not certain whether the later type of sashes seen on images in types 2.A.6., 2.A.7 and this type, developed parallel to the Pallava type, but independently. The date for the image is probably about ninth century.

Type 2.A.9.:

In this type, the images, pls. 4.104, 4.105 and 4.106, have their headdresses arranged as in type 2.A.8. but with slight variations. The dhoti, however, do not have the sashes and extra belt seen in type 2.A.8. and in the Pallava images. The headdresses appear to be more stylised than those in 2.A.8. and Pallava types. Pleated hair was used to create a kind of frame for the headdress. This is a main distinguishing feature between the headdress in this type and those in the 2.A.8. and Pallava types.

All the three images are in bronze. One was discovered in Palembang (pl. 4.104),²⁸³ one came from Bidor in the Kinta Valley in Perak (pl. 4.105)²⁸⁴ and one was found in Peninsular Thailand (pl. 4.106).²⁸⁵ Two of them, pls. 4.105 and 4.106, wear a tigerskin over their dhoti. Pl. 4.104 wears a long dhoti just like those of the other two images. The dhotis are held by a metal belt. There is no sign of the frontal panel in pls. 4.105 and 4.106. In pl. 4.104, although the frontal panel has not been stressed, as in some of the images discussed earlier, it has been represented and a kind of attachment can be seen at the centre of the panel. The dhotis in the two images, pls. 4.105 and 4.106 are not decorated but pl. 4.104 has its

dhotī decorated with a few double-line patterns.

The Palembang image presumably is an eight-armed Avalokiteśvara. This is based on the marks left by the missing arms on the right. Only one arm is still intact: the remaining hand holds the rosary. The image was discovered in Komering River in 1929. It is now in Jakarta Museum. The second image, pl. 4.105, is also an eight-armed Avalokiteśvara, about 93.5 cm high. It was discovered in a tin mine in 1931. The attributes in the hands are as follows - left: vase, padma, pāsa and probably pustaka; right: varadamudrā, missing, unidentifiable, and rosary. The third image, pl. 4.106, is in the National Museum Bangkok. It is a two-armed type: the right hand holds padma while the left is in varadamudrā.

It is uncertain that pls. 4.104 and 4.105 belong to the same Avalokiteśvara type, even though they both have eight arms. The presence of a tiger skin and the missing attributes create the problem. Quaritch-Wales has identified the Bidor image, pl. 4.105, as Mahāvajranātha Avalokiteśvara,²⁸⁶ but a similar type of Avalokiteśvara has been identified by G. Roerich as Amoghapāśa.²⁸⁷ It is also quite close to the definition of Amoghapāśa given by A. Getty.²⁸⁸ Following Bhattacharyya's definition,²⁸⁹ Quaritch-Wales' identification is not true because it must have three faces.

The third image, pl. 4.104, if one ignores the tiger skin, may be identified as a Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, he who holds the padma.²⁹⁰ It may represent one of the Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara type from Peninsular Thailand. All the three images probably belong to the same period, eighth to ninth century. The shape of the face and the facial expressions are quite close in the three images, as are the shapes of the body. The way the braided hair that falls onto the shoulders has been represented is remarkably alike. The sash that runs from the left shoulder to the opposite side of the lower part of the waist is of the wide

type in all the three images. The armlets are stylistically close and the bracelets of pls. 4.105 and 4.106 are of identical type but pl. 104 does not wear a bracelet. Pls. 4.104 and 4.106 wears necklace of similar type which pl. 4.105 does not have.

All the characteristics of the three images indicate that they evolved in the same tradition. Any variation in terms of style and iconography would show local preferences.

Type 2.A.10.:

There is another eight-armed Avalokitesvara in bronze from Peninsular Thailand in the collection of Dr Viroj Kanasut in Bangkok.²⁹¹ Stylistically, it is slightly different from those eight-armed images in the previous type. The difference is in the treatment of the headdress. The way the hair is treated reminds us of the headdress of a Maitreya image from Palembang.²⁹² The braided hair appears to fall from the top of the headdress all around it. Some tresses are longer than the others. The longer tresses are those located at the back and they fall onto the shoulders. The type of head-band worn by the image is quite similar to that in type 2.A.9.

The image, pl. 4.107, wears a tiger skin. The dhotī is very plain and a metal belt holds it up. Besides the bracelets, armlets, and necklace, the image wears an extra belt just above the navel. The sash across the left shoulder is made up of antelope skin. The sash is as wide as those in the earlier type. In the right hands the image holds: rosary, probably tridandī, an unidentifiable round object: the lowest hand is in varadamudrā. The only identifiable objects in the right hand are the pāsa and the pustaka. It is probable that the other two missing attributes are padma and water jar. Presumably it is the same Avalokiteśvara type as pl. 4.105. It may be dated to about the ninth century.

Type 2.A.11.:

A two-armed Avalokitesvara image, pl. 4.108,²⁹³ represents this type. It was from Wat Barommathat, Chaiya and is now in the Bangkok National Museum. The image is standing on a double-padmasana, height 100 cm. The part just below the waist down appears to be in relief. The hands are attached to two supports. The right hand is in varadamudrā and the left holds the padma that grows from the left support. The dhotī has frontal and side panels and is held by a metal belt. A tiger skin is worn over the dhotī. The ornaments worn are the bracelets, armlets, necklace and an extra belt above the navel. A broad sash is worn across the left shoulder down to the right hip. On the palm of the right hand is an eight-petalled padma. In the Rach-Ghia image the symbol on the right palm is bhu.²⁹⁴ It is also the case with Viṣṇu images of pre-Angkor style.

Stylistically, the image appears to be different from any of the images of Avalokitesvara known so far. Its headdress is in its own peculiar style. It is of the low type but is different from the known types. It does not wear a head-band. The face indicates local features. The treatment of the dhotī which is highly stylised is in its own tradition. Although it has the same kind of ornaments as some of the images discussed earlier, it cannot be placed in the same type and period with those images. It may be dated to about the eighth or ninth century and probably older than pl. 4.107, even though they both wear the extra belt. It is probable, on the basis of the mudrā and the attribute, padma, that it belongs to the Padmapāṇi-Avalokitesvara variety.

Type 2.A.12.:

Four images, pls. 4.109,²⁹⁵ 4.110,²⁹⁶ 4.111²⁹⁷ and 4.112,²⁹⁸ will be classified in this type. They represent a few other similar types of Bodhisattva images, identified

by scholars as Avalokiteśvara, imprinted on clay tablets. They were almost always found in cave sites located in an area between Chaiya and Perlis in northern Peninsular Malaysia. These sites are mostly almost inaccessible and quite remote from population centres. Such sites are the Khao Ok Dalu in Patthalung, Gua Kurung Batang and Gua Berhala in Perlis and the islands off the Trang coast.

The style of the images cannot be deciphered with confidence. This is due to the fact that the imprints are not very clear. Scholars who have discussed them have to rely on other factors to arrive at their chronology and style. Coedès, for instance, in his study, "Siamese Votive Tablets", had classified this type of votive tablet to Type-II and because they often have stamped Buddhist creed and written in Sanskrit in a script with the Nāgari characters of North India attributed the style to the Pāla art and dated them to the tenth century.²⁹⁹ He also related the style to the art of Śrīvijaya.³⁰⁰ Other scholars, Alastair Lamb and O'Connor have included the votive tablets from the two caves in Perlis to Type-II.³⁰¹ Alastair Lamb accepted Coedès' dating but sees it as the beginning of a development that continued through the thirteenth century.³⁰² He also suggested that the Perlis and the Thai tablets "may perhaps" be "related to the boundaries of some political unit associated with the term Śrīvijaya".³⁰³ O'Connor does not think that it is easy to build a case for any strict congruence between political and artistic development in terms of Śrīvijayan influence.³⁰⁴ He believes that the Mahāyāna votive tablets should be dated from at least the latter part of the eighth through the tenth centuries and the upper limit should be fluid in view of the presence of the tablets in Khmer style after the tenth century in Peninsular Thailand.³⁰⁵

The four images are of the twelve-armed type of Avalokiteśvara. Three of the examples are from the Bangkok National Museum. The other image, pl. 4.112, is from Kurong Batang and is kept in Muzium Negara in Kuala Lumpur.

It represents the type of twelve-armed Avalokitesvara from Perlis. According to Alastair Lamb, those from Kurong Batang can be divided into two smaller types, Types 1 and 2, and those from Gua Berhala into Type 3.³⁰⁶ He discovered fragments of thirty-four Type 1 tablets and nineteen Type 2 from Gua Kurong Batang.³⁰⁷ From my observation of the tablets, it appears that stylistically the image in both Types 1 and 2 are similar. The images are standing in tribhaṅga. This is reminiscent of a bronze twelve-armed image, pl. 4.97, discussed earlier. The slant of the hip is in the opposite direction to the Perlis images. It is possible that the effect is due to the way the stamps had been designed rather than to actual stylistic difference. The images, pls. 4.109 to 4.111, are in erect posture. Pls. 4.111, 4.112 and other images from Perlis have two accompanying figures in the attitude of paying homage on both sides of the legs.

The shape of the tablets is different from one image to another. On the stylistic evidence it is possible that the images belong to about the same period, eighth to ninth century, that is, to about the same period as pl. 4.97. As for the assumption that the style of type 2 was influenced by Pāla art, there is indirect evidence to suggest that it may not necessarily be so. Even though the script used was Nāgarī characters, it is possible that the style was a local development incorporating both southern and northern Indian tradition. There are votive tablets with Buddha images which show the sitting posture in the South Indian tradition, that is, the right leg is placed on top of the left leg with the soles pointing upwards. These images have been ascribed as Type II by Coedès. We have seen earlier that Coedès had presented them as being of Pāla influence related to Srivijayan art. There is no evidence to suggest the connection with "Srivijayan art" from Sumatra so far. It is certain that the tablets were manufactured locally as those from Perlis were from unfired clay and were very fragile. But it is not certain whether the stamps were imported but it is possible that they too

were locally made.

Type 2.A.13.:

The style of the headdress of images, pls. 4.113,³⁰⁸ 4.114³⁰⁹ and 4.115³¹⁰ is very close. The images are in bronze and they are from Peninsular Thailand. Pls. 4.113 and 4.114 are from Sathingphra and pl. 4.115 has no known provenance but is believed to have originated from the Peninsula. The way the braided hair is arranged in the headdress is basically similar to that in type 2.A.4. But the shape of the headdress is different and approaches a bell-shape with a kind of knob-shaped top. A tubular piece of braided hair is coiled around the base of the headdress. This is peculiar to the type.

The dhoti in pls. 4.114 and 4.115 are plain, and pl. 4.113 has lost the part of the body below the waist. All three images wear a metal belt. Pl. 4.114 has a single sash while pl. 4.115 has double sashes. They both have side tassels. The sashes are placed very much lower in pl. 4.115 and in fact very much lower than in the Pallava type. The way the sashes of pl. 4.115 are placed is reminiscent of East Javanese art.³¹¹ It is probable that it represents another development in the local art. But the source of inspiration for creating that type of dhoti and sashes can be southern India, the Pallava art. It may be possible too that the style, although in the beginning as suggested by early images from the Peninsula was influenced by India, in this type developed independently.

They are the four-armed variety of Avalokitesvara. They are richly ornamented. They wear the bracelets, armlets, necklace and the extra, non-functional, or decorative belt. Pls. 4.114 and 4.115 wear anklets. The attributes in the hands of pl. 4.114 are: in the left; pustaka and probably padma which is missing and in the right; water pot and rosary. Pl. 4.115 carries pustaka and probably padma in the left hands and rosary in the right posterior hand;

the anterior right hand is in varadamudrā. The hands of pl. 4.113 are missing. Pl. 4.115 probably belonged to the same four-armed Avalokitesvara variety as pls. 4.93 and 4.94 in type 2.A.4. even though it does not wear the tiger skin. If it was not that the right anterior hand of pl. 4.114 is holding a water pot, it would be of the same type as pl. 4.115. If it is to be in the same Avalokitesvara type as pl. 4.115, then the explanation for the slight variation could be due either to a mistake in placing the water pot in that hand or it would represent another variety of that Avalokitesvara variety.

The iconography of the two Avalokitesvara images does not allow us to classify them into any of the known varieties mentioned by either Bhattacharyya or Alice Getty. On the evidence of the presence of a Lokanātha-Avalokitesvara variety from Sumatra which does not conform to the iconography mentioned by the two scholars, it is possible to identify them as Lokanātha-Avalokitesvara variety. The Lokanātha-Avalokitesvara I refer to is the one from Gunung Tua, pl. 4.116 which will be discussed later. It is definitely a Lokanātha-Avalokitesvara on the evidence of accompanying inscription. This image too has four arms, but the right anterior hand is in either abhayamudrā or vitarkamudrā. That is the reason why I am inclined to identify the two images as a variety of the four-armed Lokanātha-Avalokitesvara. The Lokanātha-Avalokitesvara mentioned by Bhattacharyya has only two hands.

The images in this type may be dated to about the tenth or eleventh century. As far as the style of the headdress is concerned, it is probably true that it evolved from the type 2.A.4. But the dhotī with sashes developed from another style but that style was already known in the Malay Peninsula as suggested by those images in type 2.A.6., 2.A.7. and 2.A.8. The style in its earlier phase was influenced by southern India particularly the Pallava art, but later developed on its own.

Type 2.A.14.:

This is the type related to the Cōla style. It is represented by the Lokanātha-Avalokiteśvara, pl. 4.116 from Gunung Tua in north Sumatra.³¹² It is in bronze, about 45.5 cm high, and is now in the Jakarta Museum. It may have come from Nagasaribu temple, Si Pamutung temple or any one of the Bahal temples in Padang Lawas. There is an inscription on the pedestal. According to Schnitger, "this image of Bhatarā Lokanātha was made in 1024, by the master smith Surrya".³¹³ The assumption that it was made in Sumatra has been based on the Malay word, barbwat,³¹⁴ deciphered from the inscription. I do not think that the style is related to the Javanese art as has been suggested by Schnitger.³¹⁵

The style of this image, the treatment of the headdress and the dhotī particularly, is definitely southern India and of Cōla.³¹⁶ The treatment of the headdress is similar to some of the Cōla bronzes. The headdress is tall and appears to have evolved from the Pallava type. The dhotī is of the long type that reaches the ankles just like those of the Avalokiteśvara images seen so far. It has linear patterns and has been decorated with sashes. The sashes are arranged in the Cōla style.³¹⁷ It differs from the Pallava type because the loop is narrower. The side tassels are made up of smaller sashes or loops or bows. They are also identical to the Cōla type. The image wears two metal belts and a cloth belt which creates the sashes. It also wears an extra metal belt just below the waist just like those seen on the images in the previous type and on some other earlier images. This is also familiar in the Cōla period. The split sacred thread too is reminiscent of the Cōla type. The ornaments: the bracelets, armlets and necklaces also indicate Cōla influence. But the dhotī still retains the Pallava style.

The attributes in the four hands are difficult to recognise. Two of the hands are missing. The right anterior hand appears to be in abhayamudrā. The image is standing

on a double-padmāsana placed on rectangular pedestal. This pedestal is in one piece with two other pedestals on its left and right sides which have double-padmāsana too. A seated female figure is on its left but the figure on the right is missing. She may possibly be identified as Tārā and the missing figure ought to be Hayagrīva. The suggestion is based on Bhattacharyya: "Lokanātha is generally alone and is occasionally accompanied by Tārā and Hayagrīva".³¹⁸ But the Lokanātha mentioned in his work has been described as having two hands: the right in varadamudrā and the left carries the lotus.³¹⁹ The image must represent a different kind of Lokanātha-Avalokiteśvara. The 'Tārā' image appears to have both hands in Varadamudrā and does not carry the padma in the left hand as in ordinary Tārā images.³²⁰

Type 2.A.15.:

This type shows Khmer style. It is represented by a bronze image, pl. 4.117:³²¹ its height is about 22.3 cm. It is now in the Bangkok National Museum. It was discovered in 1979 by accident in a village called Wat Khanun in Muang District of Songkhla Province. It seems that the image has eleven heads and eleven pairs of hands. This fits in with what Alice Getty called Samantamukha-Avalokiteśvara.³²² Here he is manifested as the "god who looks in every direction to save all creatures", Samantamukha.³²³

The two main hands of the image are missing. The top pair is in abhayamudrā while the last but one pair is almost in varadamudrā. The rests are in between the abhaya and varadamudrās in ascending order. The image is standing on the stamen of a single-rowed padma. It wears a short type of dhotī or sambat, with frontal panel in the shape of a double-anchor. Stylistically, the image may be dated to the tenth to eleventh century. The dhotī for instance may be compared to the Koh Ker style³²⁴ and the treatment of the head to such images belonging to Baphuon style.³²⁵ The shape of the body and the absence of ornament too

remind us of the images of the period.

Type 2.A.16.:

This is the last representative of the Avalokitesvara stylistic type. It is represented by an Amoghapāśa-Avalokitesvara image, pl. 4.118.³²⁶ It is in stone and is about 1.63 m high. It originated from Rambahan in Sungai Langsat. It is now in the Jakarta Museum. Stylistically, it has been suggested by Schnitger to be of the Singhasari art of East Java.³²⁷

The Rambahan image has all its arms missing. Presumably, it has eight arms just as like the Tumpang Amoghapāśa.³²⁸ This may be seen from the marks of the missing arms. If it has the same number of hands, then the hands hold: in the right; rosary, tridandī, abhayamudrā, varadamudrā, and in the left; kalasa, padma, pāsa and pustaka. This conforms to what A. Getty and G. Roerich define as the Amoghapāśa Avalokitesvara.³²⁹

The eight-seated figures on the panel are the images of Buddhas and Tārās, while the four standing figures at the bottom are Hayagrīva and Bhṛkutī on the left and Sudhanakumāra and Śyāmatārā.³³⁰ The seated images are in dharmačakramudrā while the sitting posture is in the north Indian tradition; the legs crossed.

The image has been identified as Amoghapāśa by the inscription on the four sides of the pedestal.³³¹ According to Schnitger, the inscription announced, "that in 1286 the Javanese king Kṛtānagara sent an Amoghapāśa image to Sumatra a present for Čri Maharāja ḡrimat Tribhuwanaraja Mauliwarmadewa, over which all the subjects in Bhumi Malayu rejoiced".³³² The image was set up in Dharmmasraya.³³³ On the back of the image is another inscription connected with the consecration in 1347 by Ādityavarman.³³⁴

Type 2.B. Seated Avalokitesvara

Only six examples of this type are available for study. Although there are a few more examples known, they are in fragments. These fragments of seated Avalokitesvara images were found in the cave sites of Gua Berhala and Gua Kurong Batang in Perlis.³³⁵ They were damaged because they were made from sun-dried clay and thus very fragile. The six available examples are from the Peninsula and Sumatra and are in either bronze or terracotta.

Type 2.B.1.:

A very peculiar variety of Avalokitesvara image, pl. 4.120, has been classified as "Śrīvijayan art".³³⁶ It is in bronze and of unknown provenance but is believed to have come from Peninsular Thailand. It has been represented as a Buddha image but with an effigy of Amitābha in the head-dress. It wears a pleatless uttarasanga in an open-mode. The left hand is placed on the lap and the right hand is in bhūmisparśamudrā. It wears a sanghāti and is seated on a stylised padamāsana. Its legs are arranged in the dominant posture of northern Indian art.

The style of the headdress is very close to that of type 2.A.1. and particularly to the image, pl. 4.79. The headdress has been represented in a fan shape. The image does not wear any ornament and has no head-band either.

On the basis of the style of the headdress alone, one is inclined to date the image to the same period as pl. 4.79. But looking at other parts: the sanghāti and the hair-line, the date of seventh century is very conservative for this image. The style of the sanghāti and the way the hair-line has been emphasised are reminiscent of the "walking Buddha" image or Buddha in tribhāṅga from Chaiya, pl. 4. 15. Overall, the features indicate that it belongs to about the thirteenth century. It must have been made locally but re-using the old style of headdress. It may be identified as a "Buddha-Avalokitesvara" variety.³³⁷

Type 2.B.2.:

In this type, the features of certain parts of the images seem to be related to Pāla art. There are two images, pls. 4.121 and 4.122 which may be classified in this type which may be dated to the ninth to tenth century. The style of the headdress of pl. 4.121 may be compared to certain Pāla images from Nālandā.³³⁸ The basic arrangement of the hair is similar to that of type 2.A.8. Its origin can be traced to Gupta art.³³⁹ This original form is just like that of the headdress of the Śiva on the Mukhalinga from Nongwai Station in Chaiya which will be discussed later.

The style of the headdress of pl. 4.122 is difficult to ascertain because the available photograph does not give a clear view of the image. But the sitting posture, lalitāsana, is similar to pl. 4.121. Both the images wear the same type of the sacred thread, the kind that is familiar in the Pāla art.³⁴⁰ It is long and extends right down to the thigh. The ornaments seen in pl. 4.121 are also worn by the other image. The sash across the left shoulder of pl. 4.121 is about the same as in pl. 4.122. They both have two hands and the left hand holds the stalk of an open-petalled padma. Presumably, they may be identified as Padmapāṇi-Avalokiteśvara.

Both the images are seated on double-padmāsana. The padmāsana in pl. 4.121 is placed on top of the lion throne (simhāsana) with four lions, one placed at each corner. The padmāsana throne in pl. 4.122 is placed on what appears to be a rectangular shaped throne with frontal projection.

The image, pl. 4.121, is in the Bangkok National Museum, and has been attributed to "Śrīvijayan art" by Le May.³⁴¹ It is in grey black stone, in relief. It is seated between two columns. The practice of placing image or images between two columns or under a tower is very common in Indian art particularly in the cave temples art. Such a representation in art is usually created in stone or clay.

There are several images from Nālandā seated between two columns.³⁴² But the style of the columns differ from one image to another. There is a clay image of Buddha, pl. 4.78, from Peninsular Thailand seated under a tower having a kind of column quite close to pl. 4.121, but it belongs to an earlier phase, seventh century. Besides the two columns, a stupa is also represented in the panel. The right feet are resting on a double-padmāsana. The rectangular pedestal has padma symbol. The palm of the image too is decorated with the eight-petalled padma.

The other image, pl. 4.122, is believed to have come from Sumatra,³⁴³ though no exact location has been suggested. It is in bronze and is in the Boney Collection in Tokyo. It is about 35 cm high. It has an almost round back-piece decorated with flame symbols in a continuous ring with eight larger projections. The top part of the back-piece has a parasol with streamers. The style of the back-piece can be compared with some of the Pāla types from Nālandā³⁴⁴ and also with an example, pl. 4.56, from Peninsular Thailand. It is very like that of pl. 4.56 but it is similar to the Pāla types in the basic forms; such as having the round back-piece with flame-symbols, the parasol and the padmāsana and the lions at the four corners of the pedestals.

Type 2.B.3.:

The image, pl. 4.123, which represents this type has a slightly different style from the previous one. The difference is mainly in the treatment of the headdress. It appears that the basic style is in the same tradition as type 2.A.1, while the overall style is the same as type 2.A.9. This image, too, appears to be related to Pāla art, as do the images in the previous type.

It may be identified as Padmapāṇi-Avalokitesvara. It too has two hands and is seated in lalitāsana with the right foot resting on a double-padmāsana. The left hand holds

the stalk of the open-petalled padma. It is seated on a double-padmāsana placed on top of a rectangular pedestal. Its back-piece is round, just like pl. 4.121 but the flame symbols are arranged very close together. The image does not wear as many ornaments as those in the previous type, but it has a necklace and ear-rings and tresses of hair appear on the shoulders.

The style of the throne on which the image is seated may be compared to some of the Pāla pedestals:³⁴⁵ it is very close to the style of the pedestal in pl. 4.56. This image may be dated to about the ninth century. Its provenance is Ban Kradangnga, Sathingphra and is about 20.3 cm high.³⁴⁶ It is in Wat Matchimawas National Museum in Songkhla.

Type 2.B.4.:

An image, pl. 2.124, in sun-dried clay, discovered at site 21 in Pengkalan Bujang, is about 4 cm high.³⁴⁷ It is difficult to ascertain the exact style of the headdress because of its size. It is seated in lalitāsana on double-padmāsana. The hands appear to be in dharma cakramudrā. A close-petalled padma seems to be attached to the elbow of the left hand. The back-piece is quite close to the almond-shaped type.

It may be dated to about the tenth to eleventh century. This assumption is based on the fact that Site 21, because of other associated finds, ceramics and a Buddha image, pl. 4.43, has been dated to that period. It is different from the images in types, 2.B.2. and 2.B.3. The differences are the type of the padma, the posture of the legs, and the style of the back-piece. Although, all the images in the three types are seated in lalitāsana, the legs in pl. 4.124 are arranged oppositely to the other images in the two previous types.

It is uncertain whether the style of pl. 4.124 is related to the southern Indian schools just like the Buddha

image, pl. 4.43, from Site 21. In the Pāla art, the seated posture similar to pl. 4.124 is also known.³⁴⁸ It is also true that it is quite common to find images seated in such posture in the southern Indian tradition.³⁴⁹ It might be just possible that it is related to southern India just as its associated find, the Buddha image, pl. 4.43. In view of the fact that it is made in unbaked clay, it may be assumed that it was made locally. But the mould for the imprint could be made locally or imported.

Type 2.B.5.:

There are two images, pls. 4.125³⁵⁰ and 4.126,³⁵¹ in terracotta from Peninsular Thailand seated in the posture which predominates in Southern India. The legs are folded: the right is placed on top of the left. They both represent four-armed Avalokitesvara. Pl. 4.125 has been classified as "Śrīvijayan art"³⁵² and is about 6.5 cm. Pl. 4.126 was discovered in Yala Province and is in a private collection, and is about 10 cm high.

Both the images wear ornaments: bracelets, armlets, and necklace. A few braids of hair can be seen on the shoulders in pl. 4.125. In both images, a halo is placed behind the head. The attributes in the back right and left hands are rosary and padma. The padma in pl. 4.126 is closed and in pl. 4.125 is open. The right front hand in pl. 4.125 is in bhūmisparsāmudrā and the left is on the lap. In pl. 4.126, the right front hand seems to be in bhūmisparsāmudrā but the left is placed in similar position as in pls. 4.121, 4.122 and 4.123. It is certain that pl. 4.125 is seated on a double-padmāsana but it is not possible to ascertain the āsana in pl. 4.126. Presumably it is a double-padmāsana too.

The problem of identifying certain features in pl. 4.126 is due to the fact that the mould used to produce the image must have been crude or over-ambitious, an attempt to produce a different image, not a frontal type normally

produced. The shape of the tablet on which the image was produced differs from pl. 4.125. The difference is due to the fact that certain parts of the outside edge of the tablet in pl. 4.126 have been pressed in by what appear to be the thumb, in order to create a much more elaborate edge, though this too was done crudely. Both the images probably date to about the ninth or tenth century.

Type 3: Other Buddhist Deities

Other buddhist deities will be discussed under the usual sub-divisions, seated or standing types. Male deities will be discussed first. Stylistic considerations will be applied, whenever possible, to arrive at the chronology, sources of influence and the origins.

3.1.A.: Standing Maitreya

There is only one known image from either the Peninsula or Sumatra. This image, pl. 4.127, is in bronze and is about 16.1 cm high.³⁵³ It was discovered in Ban Lan Kwai in the Yaring District in Patani Province and is kept in the National Museum Bangkok. It has both the hands and the feet missing. Its dhoti is a plain type and is tied by a string of cloth. The two ends of the knot fall down to the thighs. A frontal panel is represented. The image does not wear any kind of ornament except for a sash that runs over the left shoulder across to the part just above the waist on the right side of the body. A few braids of hair fall onto the shoulders.

The image is identified as Maitreya by the small stupa in the headdress, the style of which is reminiscent of that of images in type 2.A.4. The other features of the image such as the type of dhoti, the belt, the absence of ornament are in the same tradition as type 2.A.4. In view of that, it may be dated to about eighth century.

3.1.B.1.: Seated Maitreya

A seated Maitreya in bronze which was discovered in the Komering River in Palembang³⁵⁴ has the same style of head-dress as an Avalokitesvara image, pl. 4.107, from Peninsular Thailand. Tresses of hair fall round the central core of the headdress. The longest tresses at the back fall on to the shoulders. The top of the headdress is provided with a kind of knob which presumably represents a type of a very sophisticated hair-pin or clip. The image wears a metal headband or crown. It has padma symbol hair-pins placed on the front part of the head. This kind of decoration is absent in pl. 4.107.

The image has both legs missing. The left arm is missing just below the elbow while the right arm is missing from the shoulder level. This image, which is now in Jakarta Museum wears armlets, metal belt and necklace. The motif of the belt, buckle, necklace, crown, armlets and hair-pin seem to symbolise padma. This differs from pl. 4.107. The facial expression and the shape of the face of pl. 4.128 are similar to the Avalokitesvara image, pl. 4.104, from Palembang discovered from the same site. It belongs to the same period, about eighth to ninth century. It may be related to the Pāla school but there is no known image with that type of headdress to compare with from northern India. The only link probably is the absence of the sash on the dhotī and the long slender sacred thread which runs from the left shoulder down to the dhotī.

Type 3.1.B.2.:

There is another Maitreya image, pl. 4.129, in bronze which is believed to have come from Peninsular Thailand.³⁵⁵ It is in the National Museum Bangkok, and its height is about 20 cm. It represents Maitreya with attendants. The attendants have been identified as Tārābhārikutī and Tārākurukulā.³⁵⁶ This identification conforms to the definition of one of the forms or varieties of Maitreya

cited by A. Getty.³⁵⁷ Here Maitreya is represented as a Buddha with his hair arranged to form a large and prominent usnīsa. He is seated in dharmačakramudrā, the legs crossed with the toes pointing upwards in the dominant northern Indian tradition.

It is seated on a high throne with elaborate back-piece. There is no known example from either the Peninsula or Sumatra possessing this kind of throne. Presumably, the throne was created by combining features that are already popular in local and Indian art. The style of the parts of the throne excluding the back-piece is almost similar to that of the image, pl. 4.123. It comprises the double-padmāsana, the hollow pedestal part with four lions at the four corners holding up the piece supporting the double-padmāsana and the solid rectangular pedestal supporting the hollow animal type pedestal. The back-piece which comprises a square and a round-shaped part, topped by a parasol with streamers, is probably in the tradition of Pāla art. The combination of the square and circular piece excluding the parasol and streamers may be compared to that of some of the known Buddha images on thrones from Nālandā and Kurkihar.³⁵⁸ The round piece with the parasol and streamers is also similar to pl. 4.123, but without the square piece. A slightly different type of simhāsana is known from Nālandā. The difference between the Nālandā example and pl. 4.129 is in detail, but in general it is almost identical. The round piece probably represents the stylised flaming halo. The flame symbols are arranged very far apart just as in pl. 4.123. On the basis of the syncretic style, it may be inferred that it is a local product but related to Pāla art, and dates to about the ninth to tenth century.

Type 3.2.A.1.: Standing Vajrapāṇi

An image of a Bodhisattva, 46 cm high, pl. 4.130, in bronze from Palembang has been identified as Vajrapāṇi.³⁵⁹ The identification of this image has been based on the

belief that the gesture of the right hand indicates that it is balancing a vajra. The gesture has been compared to a Vajrapāṇi image in Cāṇḍi Mendut.³⁶⁰ The problem of confirming the identification is the absence of vajra in the right hand and also the difficulty of identifying the effigy in the headdress as the Dhyāṇī Buddha Aksobhya. The attribute in the left hand too is missing. It is possible that the identification may be right because the gesture of the right hand is similar to the Vajrapāṇi images from Indian Museum and Nālandā published in B. Bhattacharyya's work, pl. XIIb and XIIc.³⁶¹ If the image does not carry a vajra in the right hand, then it should be stamped with the vajra symbol. Due to the corrosion on the palm, is not possible to ascertain whether it is there or not.

The image is standing on a double-padmāsana and wears bracelets, armlets, necklace, ear-rings, anklets and a headband or crown. At the back of the head is attached a circular halo. The dhotī is a knee-length type which is reminiscent of the Cōla dhotis.³⁶² This relationship is strengthened further by the decorated band of cloth on the two sides of the dhotī. This band of cloth, presumably, represents the two ends of the cloth band or sash that has been wound around the waist and dhotī. The side bands fall below the knees. A small loop is formed by the cloth band also in front of the dhotī. A metal belt probably holds the dhotī. The sacred thread worn by the image is of the thin and long type running from the left shoulder down to just below the right hip. This style occurs both in north and in south India.

The headdress is bell-shaped and topped by a knob. This is quite close to the shape of the headdresses of the Avalokitesvara images in type 2.A.13. It too has a tubular-shaped piece of braided hair around the base of the headdress. It is, however, uncertain how the braided hair was arranged in the headdress, the details are unclear.

On the evidence of the type of dhotī worn and the style of the headdress, it is probable that the image belongs to about the tenth to eleventh century. It may be related to Cōla art but the way it has been represented indicates that it is more probably a copy than an actual imported image: it is not exactly in the style of Cōla images.

Type 3.3.B.1.: Seated Jambhala

This bronze seated Jambhala image, pl. 4.131,³⁶³ is the only Jambhala image from the Peninsula. It was discovered in Sathingphra District and is kept in Wat Matchimawas National Museum in Songkhla. It is about 16 cm high. It is seated in lalitāsana and holds a lemon in the right hand and squeezes the neck of a mongoose which disgorges a jewelled garland with the left hand.³⁶⁴ It is seated on a stylised āsana and its right foot kicks a pot which according to tradition should spill jewels.³⁶⁵ On the terrace of the pedestal below its feet are located nine pots of jewels.

This image represents the Jambhala variety that is single, without attendants, and emanates from Ratnasambhava as opposed to those other varieties that emanate either from Akṣobhya or Vajrasattva or from a combination of the five Dhyāni Buddhas.³⁶⁶ There are a few examples from India³⁶⁷ of this Buddhist god of wealth seated unaccompanied in lalitāsana on a throne; but there is no known example that displays the same style as pl. 4.131. Nevertheless, the style of the headdress indicates that it is related to Pāla art. The way the braided hair is arranged, tied by a vertical type of band and thrown backwards must be in the same tradition as the headdress of type 2.A.1. but the resultant style differs slightly. It reminds us of the headdress of some of the Hindu and Buddhist deities from northern India especially that of a Manjuśrī from Nālandā dated about tenth century.³⁶⁸

The style of the throne, an elaborate type, comprises the solid rectangular bottom pedestal with terraced

projections on all sides, topped by another solid rectangular pedestal which supports a stylised form of āsana and the back-piece of rectangular and circular parts with a composite form of animal placed one on each side of the Jambhala. It is also in the Pāla and Sena tradition and may be compared to some of the thrones known from Nālandā and Kurkīhar.³⁶⁹ On the basis of the style of the headdress and the throne, the well ornamented image may be dated to about tenth century.

Type 3.3.B.2.:

There is another example of the Jambhala which came from Palembang.³⁷⁰ This bronze image, pl. 4.132, is about 7.5 cm high. Its exact provenance is Bukit Seguntang area: it is now in the Jakarta Museum. Its style differs from the previous Jambhala. The headdress is bell shaped and topped by a knob. It is more stylised than the headdress of type 2.A.13 and 3.2.A.1. The knob is reminiscent of the style seen on some Cōla images.³⁷¹ There is no trace of hair in the headdress. There are indeterminate decorations on the headdress. It wears a headband or crown. The facial expression and the type of the ear-rings are reminiscent of some of the Hindu images from southern India,³⁷² but the mask-like feature of the face is much closer to Pāla-Sena images. The closest example of Jambhala known from northern India to pl. 132 in terms of the āsana and decorations is the Jambhala from Nālandā.³⁷³

The image is seated in lalitāsana on a kind of circular pedestal. On the terrace of the pedestal are representations of a number of pots with spilled contents. The image has a protruding belly just like pl. 4.131 and in its right hand is the lemon while the left hand squeezes the neck of a mongoose, and the left foot appears to be kicking the pot. It wears ornaments such as the necklace, bracelets, anklets and waist-band as well as a long semi-circular necklace. The style of the long necklace can be seen in some of the Hindu deities from the Cōla school.³⁷⁴

The image probably dates to about the eleventh century. Certain aspects of the style are related to the Cōla and Pāla-Sena art, but it may have been created locally, since detailed observation of the image suggests that it was not created in exactly the same style as Indian images. It probably evolved in the same tradition as other images from Palembang: created in local tradition, but borrowing certain aspects of Indian features.

Type 3.4.A.1.:

This type is represented by Heruka. It is the only one of its kind known from the Peninsula and Sumatra. It was discovered in Bahal II main temple complex.³⁷⁵ It is in tufa, about 118 cm high. It is represented in dancing attitude: the left leg is placed firmly on the pedestal and the right leg bends and points towards the left thigh. It has been described by Schnitger in the following words,³⁷⁶

"This god, identified by Dr Bosch as Heruka, bears an Akṣobhya and five skulls in his flaming hair. The uplifted right hand brandishes a wajra, the left hand holds the half of a skull in front of the breast and also clasps a staff trimmed with ribbons. Around the throat is a double necklace, across the breast a chain and on the shoulders hangs a long cord with about six heads. The girdle is ornamented with strings of beads."

The photograph available for this study has lost many of the features mentioned by Schnitger. The face has been badly damaged and it is not possible to make out the Akṣobhya and the five skulls in his flaming hair. Schnitger was able to see it in its original form when he first visited the site in June, 1935.³⁷⁷ According to him the site was mutilated by unknown hands a few months later.³⁷⁸ The photograph appears to date from after this event.

The image originally was placed on a lotus cushion, 22 cm high, on an altar in the temple chamber.³⁷⁹ The image was dancing on a corpse placed on the padma. The description of the image and the presence of the corpse and the padma cushion indicate that the image is that of Dvibhuja Heruka. It fits in all details the Sādhanāmala³⁸⁰ described by Bhattacharyya for the Dvibhuja Heruka.

The image of Heruka is rare. According to R.C. Majumdar only three examples are known in India and Bhattacharyya quoted two examples from Nepal.³⁸¹ The style of the Sumatra Heruka, pl. 4.133, is quite close to the Comilla example which is in the Dacca Museum, pl. 4.134,³⁸² although there is a slight difference in terms of iconography. The Comilla image is not standing on a corpse, but rather on a double-padmāsana. If it is true that the Sumatra image was standing in ardhaparyāṅka attitude on a corpse as described by Schnitger then its āsana is reminiscent of some of the other deities that also emanate from Aksobhya such as that of Nairātmā from the Indian Museum.³⁸³ The probable dates for the image is about the tenth to eleventh century. The style may be related to the Nepal image but the image was made locally.

Type 3.4.A.1.:

The style of the image, pl. 4.135, which represents this type, is that of East Javanese school. The image is enormous and stands about 4.41 m high.³⁸⁴ According to the archaeological reports, it was found at Padang Roco in Sungai Langsat on the northern bank of Batang Hari River on the west coast of Sumatra. It was first transported to Kota Tinggi (previously known as Fort de Kock) in 1935³⁸⁵ and later in 1937 was removed to Jakarta Museum³⁸⁶ where it is now. Its exact provenance is not known but it is possible that it might have come from a site about a few hundred metres northwest of the location at which it was discovered. At that site, the remains of a large building were discovered. Its area is about 20 m square. It has

steps on the four sides facing the four cardinal points. Schnitger excavated parts of the walls and discovered a second series of walls within the outer walls which indicate that the new building was constructed by building over an older one.³⁸⁷ There is no other evidence to link the site with the image.

The deity is standing on a naked man lying on his back and supported by a padmasana placed on another pedestal comprises eight skulls. The naked man has his eyes closed and legs folded under his body, identified by Schnitger as that of a naked guru.³⁸⁸ The deity wears a pair of trousers and a piece of cloth is worn over it. This type of clothing appears to be similar to the traditional Malay/ Indonesian trousers and samping. Skulls and crescent moon motifs seem to be the designs on the loin-cloth or samping. The deity has two hands: the left holds a skull and the right a knife. The headdress is arranged in a high coiffure, which has been tied by a vertical type of band just like in the images that have their hair arranged in the basic form of type 2.A.1. The hair has been stylised but indications are there to show that it has been pushed backwards. This can be seen through the presence of tresses of hair on each shoulder which has been tied by a decorated pin at the ends. The uncovered parts of the body, the arms and legs have body hair.

Although there is no similar example of deity from East Java, certain features of pl. 4.135 may be compared to East Javanese art. The mekhalā of the large mekhalā clasp appears to be in a style between that of Candi Jago and Candi Singasari.³⁸⁹ It is not as naturalistic as that of Candi Jago but less stylised than the Candi Singasari. The lower jaw which is quite apparent in Candi Jago type is replaced by floral motifs which seem to be stylised representation of the lower jaw. In India, the mekhalā clasp is quite dominant in Cōla art.³⁹⁰ But the clasp has no floral motif. If the idea of wearing a mekhalā clasp did not evolve locally, then it is probable that it

originated from Cōla art. There is, however, no other known example of images from the Peninsula, Sumatra or Java wearing that type of clasp.

Another feature of the clasp that shows familiarity with Cōla art is the band of pearls.³⁹¹ But in Cōla art, the bands of pearls formed a part of decorations of a belt with mekhalā clasp mainly for females. The other feature of the image that may be related to Cōla art is the style of side sashes or tassels.³⁹²

The closest style of mekhalā from Sumatra to that of pl. 4.135 is the one seen on a column from Candi Choreng Belangah in Barumon in Padang Lawas area.³⁹³ It is possible that it too was influenced by Cōla art. It has been pointed out earlier that Padang Lawas area and also Kota Cina area have produced Buddhist and Hindu images in the Cōla style. In view of the fact that the image, pl. 4.135, appears to be in East Javanese style, then the Cōla style must have influenced certain features of East Javanese art. It is not certain, however, whether the Cōla features were incorporated in the image through direct influence or through copying and developing the features present in local art but influenced by Cōla art in an earlier period. Since there are examples of Cōla features in local art of Sumatra, particularly the feature of mekhalā, it is possible that the style of mekhalā was incorporated to the image via contact with the Padang Lawas area and not directly with India. But the style of the skull pedestal may be compared to that of the Ganeśa and the Chakra-chakra from Candi Singasari in East Javanese style.³⁹⁴

Scholars have identified the image as a Buddhist Bhairava and a probable portrait-statue of King Ādityavarman, the Minangkabau ruler.³⁹⁵ The hypothesis is based on the belief that King Ādityavarman was related to King Viṣṇuvardhana, the ancestor of Majapahit dynasty and his son Kertanagara was responsible for the building of Candi Jago. During the period, 1343, according to Stutterheim,

Ādityavarman renewed the monument, Candi Jago, to commemorate his parents and relations.³⁹⁶ The term 'renewed' is used to interpret the words, making a prasada, which could either mean the building of a new main temple or renewing the old temple of Candi Jago.³⁹⁷ In view of the fact that he re-erected the Amoghapāśa image which is also connected with King Viṣṇuvardhana and Candi Jago, it has been suggested that he must also be associated with the Bhairava image, pl.

4.135. The main argument for associating with the image is that, according to Kempers,³⁹⁸ his inscriptions give the impression that he ordained himself as a Bhairava and coincidentally another almost similar type of Bhairava image was discovered at Candi Jago.

The image represents one of the deities that emanates from Akṣobhya whose effigy is in the headdress. It may be identified as a Bhairava form of Yamāntaka. Several attributes of the image are identical with the iconography of a Yamāntaka variety; a skull cap in the left hand and a kind of knife in the right hand;³⁹⁹ ear-rings, bracelets, armlets and anklets are made of snake.⁴⁰⁰ The scowling brows, a gaping mouth showing canine fangs and hair all over the body, arms and face provide the image with a demonic feature but not as demonic as some of the Yamāntaka varieties that display a rolling tongue.⁴⁰¹ Yamāntaka is also an emanation of Akṣobhya and often has a small image of Akṣobhya in the headdress.⁴⁰²

The image may be dated to about the first half of the fourteenth century on the assumption that it is related to Ādityavarman. Stylistically, the shape of the flaming halo is reminiscent of the Amoghapāśa image from Sungei Langsat but the designs or motifs on them are different. Although both images are linked by the fact that the Amoghapāśa image was consecrated by Ādityavarman as suggested by the inscription on the back, and the Bhairava image may be a portrait-statue of him, other aspects of the style of the images are different and thus denoting two different periods. The relationship between the two images lies in the political

link between Adityavarman and the East Javanese dynasty.

Type 3.5.B.1.:

A bronze image, pl. 4.136, is from Bangkok Museum and it is about 18.5 cm high.⁴⁰³ It is believed to have come from Peninsular Thailand and has been classified as "Śrīvijayan art". It is seated in the Southern Indian dominant fashion. The headdress is stylised and the basic form of arrangement of the hair is in the same technique as that of type 2.A.4. It may be compared to the style of the headdress of some of the pre-Angkorian images.⁴⁰⁴ The source for the style is probably northern India.

The long slim sacred thread and the semi-circular necklet and the long extended ear-lobes wearing round ear-rings are reminiscent of northern Indian images also.⁴⁰⁵ The semi-circular necklet does occur in Cōla art but normally the sacred thread in the Cōla images that goes with that kind of necklet is of a sinuous band and not as a single strand as in pl. 4.136.⁴⁰⁶

The image may be identified as a Vajrasattva as suggested by Subhadradis Diskul.⁴⁰⁷ There is an image of a Vajrasattva from Nepal seated in the same posture and wearing the same kind of semi-circular necklet but slightly shorter.⁴⁰⁸ In that image, although the right hand is placed just like in pl. 4.136, that is against the breast, it holds a vajra whereas pl. 4.136 does not have a vajra. The left hand in both images holds a ghantā. The position of the left hand is the same in both images. It is possible that the right hand of pl. 4.136 too had a vajra but that vajra is missing.

In the headdress of pl. 4.136, there is an effigy of a Buddha seated in bhūmisparśamudrā. This may indicate that the image, pl. 4.136 is a Vajrasattva form of Vajrapāṇi.⁴⁰⁹ It has been pointed out by B. Bhattacharyya that there is a Dhyāna in a Sādhana that mentions a Vajrasattva bearing an effigy of Akṣobhya in the crown.⁴¹⁰

The image may be dated to about the ninth to tenth century. It is probably older than the Nepal image. Its style is dominated by northern Indian style but may be a local product.

Type 3.6.A.1.:

There is a standing bronze image, pl. 4.137, from Sathingphra in Wat Matchimawas National Museum in Songkhla. It is holding a vajra in the left hand and a ghantā in the right;⁴¹¹ attributes are similar to those of the Vajrasattva, but it is a dissimilar form to that of pl. 4.136. This is because it has four feet, and the attributes are arranged differently. In Cambodia too, according to Coedès, Vajrasattva and Hevajra carry the same attributes but arranged differently.⁴¹² Hevajra is related to Vajrasattva by virtue of the fact that he is the "essence of Vajrasattva".⁴¹³ But Hevajra in the form of pl. 4.137 is very rare because normally he is represented with eight heads, sixteen arms and four legs.⁴¹⁴ In addition to the attributes mentioned, he also wears a bead-necklace and a crown.

The image wears a shortened sampot created from the usual piece of cloth by picking up the centre of the front hemline and pushing it through the thighs and tucking it at the back, thus being formed. A band of cloth is used as a kind of belt. One end of the band of the cloth is allowed to fall in front to form a swallow tail type of frontal panel. The type of short garment worn by images in Cōla art appears to be created in the same way.⁴¹⁵ But the style of the frontal panel is different and is much closer to the Khmer style, although not similar.⁴¹⁶

The style of the crown is reminiscent of the crowns seen on some of the deities from Nālandā⁴¹⁷ and also from Peninsular Thailand.⁴¹⁸ The date of the image is probably about twelfth to thirteenth century. This assumption is based on the development of the dhotī and also the style of

the crown.

Type 3.7.: Other Buddhist Deities

There are four Bodhisattva images which do not permit identification with confidence. The main reason is the lack of symbol which can be attributed to a particular deity. The other reason is the peculiar nature of the symbol in one of the images, pl. 4.140. It has three small images of Buddha in the headdress.

Type 3.7.A.1.:

The first of type 3.7 is a standing stone image, pl. 4.138, from Palembang. It was discovered at Gedung Suro, between two sites, Schnitger's Temples II and VI.⁴¹⁹ It is about 1.18 m high and the head, arms and feet are missing. It does not wear the sacred thread or sash over the left shoulder but wears armlets and necklace. The style of the armlets is similar to that of images, pls. 4.104, 4.105, 4.106, 4.113, 4.114, 4.122 and 4.128. But the necklace is different from any of those known so far.

It appears that the image wears trousers and a kind of loin-cloth or samping over it. It is not really certain about this because of the missing parts of the legs and feet. But it seems to be dressed just like pl. 4.135. The loin-cloth has a longer side on the left. A frontal panel extends down almost to the level of the knees. The left leg bends slightly. The double-loop sashes and the long bands on the sides are reminiscent of images in type 2.A.7. and also the East Javanese images.⁴²⁰ The way the loin-cloth is tucked in at the waist is similar to image pl. 4.88. But this image wears a metal belt while image pl. 4.88 does not.

The general appearance of the image with the ornaments indicate that it is much closer to the East Javanese than

to 2.A.7. It may be dated to about the twelfth to thirteenth century.

Type 3.7.B.1.:

This is represented by a life-size stone seated Bodhisattva image, pl. 4.139, from Pugung Raharjo in Lampung.⁴²¹ It is seated with the legs crossed in the dominant style of northern India, and is about 90 cm high. It is still in the village. It has been placed at a site facing the main road. It was removed from a site about 1.5 km from the village on the west side. At the site a 9x9x1.5 m mound has been located.⁴²² No attempt has been made to excavate it so far. Chinese blue and white sherds have been found at the site.⁴²³ Another but larger mound with a moat around it was discovered between the site and the village. There, Sung and Ming sherds have been recovered.⁴²⁴

The image has its own style, but certain aspects of its features appear to be related to East Javanese art.⁴²⁵ They are the crown, double-armlets, the sacred thread comprising four rows of pearls and the tresses of hair on the shoulders. In the northern Indian art, the sacred thread usually has one or two strands of pearls.⁴²⁶ In Pallava sculptures, the thread is broad and ribbon-like, and in the early Cōla art it becomes a little sinewy.⁴²⁷ Presumably, the origin of the influence on the sacred thread as well as the sitting posture is northern India. But the style is modified to suit local taste and thus the thread has four strands.

It is not certain the exact form of the Bodhisattva. It is in dharmacakramudrā and the āsana is a double-padma type. The closest form of the Bodhisattva to the image is that of Mañjuśrī of Mañjuvara variety.⁴²⁸ This may be compared to the image given as pl. XVb in B. Bhattacharyya.⁴²⁹ But that image is seated on simhāsana. The image does not

have the Dhyāni Buddha in the headdress. It may still be identified as a Mañjuśrī variety because there are Mañjuśrī varieties without the Dhyāni Buddha in the head-dress.⁴³⁰ The date for the image is about fourteenth century.

Type 3.7.A/B.1.:

It is uncertain whether the bronze image, pl. 4.140, is seated or standing. It is thus given as type 3.7.A/B.1. where A/B indicates either standing (A) or seated (B). It represents a bust of a Bodhisattva with the hands missing. It is from Chaiya and is in Bangkok National Museum. It is about 63 cm high. Scholars have attributed it to 'Śrīvijayan art',⁴³¹ and identify it as Avalokiteśvara. Even though the headdress is missing, it has been suggested that it has an Amitābha image in it. The main reason for assuming that it is an Avalokiteśvara image is to relate it to the temple, Wat Wiang, where it was found. This is due to the fact that some scholars believe that Wat Wiang was the temple of Padmapāṇi mentioned by the Chaiya inscription of 775 A.D.⁴³² But there is no concrete proof that it is so. The absence of the headdress and the effigy of Amitābha do not permit its identification to be more than a Bodhisattva.

The style of the image is much more sophisticated than most other known Avalokiteśvara images from Chaiya or from any other parts of the Peninsula and Sumatra. The ornaments include the ear-rings, armlets, two pairs of necklace and a crown. It wears a sash over the left shoulder and its style is reminiscent of images, pls. 4.103, 4.104, 4.105, 4.106 and 4.107. Over the sash is the sacred thread and it is a single pearl strand type. The style and the way it is placed are similar to that of image, pl. 4.103. The armlets too are similar in both images. The outline of the hair-line is well defined and may be compared to that of pl. 4.103 also. Tresses of hair appear on both shoulders. On the basis of the style, it may be dated to the same

period as pl. 4.103, ninth century.

Type 3.7.A./B.2.:

The head of a stone image of a Bodhisattva, pl. 4.141, was discovered in Aceh, Sumatra.⁴³³ Considering the size of the head, 44 cm high, the actual image must be very large. Scholars have identified it as the head of an Avalokitesvara.⁴³⁴ This is based on the presence of three small images of Amitābha in the headdress. If the identification is correct, it must represent a very rare type of Avaolokitesvara. There is no known example of Avaolitesvara belonging to that type in other parts of Sumatra or Peninsular Thailand. The absence of the other parts of the body makes the identification impossible to confirm.

There is a problem in assuming that any image with more than one effigy of Amitābha in the headdress as Avalokitesvara without considering other iconographic symbols. The point in case is that of a large standing stone image from Vāligama in the Southern Province of Sri Lanka, the famous Kuṣṭarajāgala Image. It has been identified as Avalokitesvara by Paranavatina following A. Nell's suggestion.⁴³⁵ The main argument for the identification is the presence of Amitābha in the headdress. But the image has four Amitābha in the headdress. J.E. van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw has re-identified it as Samantabhadra.⁴³⁶ There is another image having four small images of Amitābha in the headdress which has not been identified as Samantabhadra or Avalokitesvara but as Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi in the exhibition catalogue of Indian art held at Villa Hugel in Essen, Germany in 1959.⁴³⁷ The image is from the Sarnath Museum. J.E. van Lohizzen-de-Leeuw also re-identifies it as a Dhyāni-Buddha Vajrasattva.⁴³⁸

In the light of the problem created by the number of Amitābha in the headdress, the Aceh's head may be classified as a Bodhisattva without specifying its type. The style of the headdress is stylised and appears to be in the same

basic style as pl. 4.91 and those other images in type 2.A.4. But the crown is made up of padma motif which is quite common to many of the Bodhisattva images from Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. The presence of a round clip at the top of the headdress is reminiscent of some of the images such as pl. 4.103. Presumably, it belongs to about the ninth or tenth century.

Type 3.8.B.1.:

Type 3.8 represents a seated Tara. There are two known images. The first will be discussed in this type 3.8.B.1. It is in bronze and was discovered in Ban Hua Khu in Chaiya and it is in Bangkok National Museum.⁴³⁹ It is about 18.5 cm high. The goddess is seated in lalitasana on a double-padmasana throne. The back-piece is almond-shaped, decorated with flame symbols indicated by eight projections.

The image, pl. 4.142, has eight arms. The main right hand resting on the right thigh appears to be in varadamudrā while the third left hand seems to hold a close-petalled padma but the attributes in the other hands are unrecognisable. It may be identified as a Tārā variety. The varadamudrā of the right lower hand and the padma are the attributes of Tara. It is quite close to an eight-armed Tārā from Tippera near Mainamati in East Bengal.⁴⁴⁰

The headdress may be compared to some of the headdresses of the Avalokitesvara images, pls. 4.104, 4.105, 4.106 and 4.123. The padmasana on the pedestal is reminiscent of the style of the seated Avalokitesvara in pl. 4.123. But the style of the back-piece and the way the pendent right leg is placed differ from pl. 4.123 in detail. Nevertheless, pl. 4.142, may be dated to about the same period as the images pls. 4.104, 4.105, 4.106 and 4.123, ninth century.

Type 3.8.B.2.:

It is a seated bronze image from Sathingphra. It is about 12 cm high and is now in Wat Matchimawas National Museum in Songkhla. It has two arms: the right hand in varadamudrā and the left holds an open-petalled padma. It may be identified as a Tārā variety.⁴⁴¹ The goddess is seated in lalitāsana on a double-padmāsana but the upper petals have been stylised. The padmāsana is placed on a rectangular pedestal with four legs. The back-piece is almost almond-shaped and decorated with flame symbols arranged close together. It is topped by a parasol but certain parts of it has been broken.

The style of the headdress and the crown indicates strong influence from Pāla art. They may be compared to some of the images from Nālandā and Kurkihar of about the ninth to tenth century.⁴⁴² The mask-like feature of the face indicates further the Pāla influence. The image wears armlets and bracelets. The armlets are of the type seen on some of the images from Peninsular Thailand such as the Chaiya Avalokiteśvara, pl. 4.103 and other images, pls. 4.104, 4.105 and 4.106. This type is not common in the Nālandā and Kurkihar images but may be compared to an image of Tārā from Salban Vihara, Mainamati, Comilla District.⁴⁴³

The way the long necklace is arranged is reminiscent of the style of Pāla art also. The necklace falls between the breasts of the image. This may be compared to that of a Tārā image from Nālandā.⁴⁴⁴ The pedestal with four legs is also very common in Pāla art.⁴⁴⁵ The style of the back-piece, although not very similar to Pāla style probably received its inspiration from Pāla art. The image, pl. 4.143, may be dated to about the ninth to tenth century.

Type 3.9.B.1.:

There are two seated female images which may be identified as Cundā. The first image, pl. 4.144, represents

this type.⁴⁴⁶ It is in bronze and is about 18 cm high. It is believed to have come from Peninsular Thailand, and it is in the National Museum, Bangkok. The identification of this image as Cundā is based on the fact that two of the hands are in dharmacakramudrā.⁴⁴⁷ The lower right hand is in varadamudrā while the left lower hand is missing and the other two hands appear to be attached to the back-piece. The attributes in the other two hands are indeterminable. The way the six arms are placed may be compared to that of a seated six-armed Cundā from Chitaggong which has been dated to about tenth century,⁴⁴⁸ but the style of that image is different in many detailed aspects. The right lower hand in varadamudrā conforms to the Sādhanamālā quoted by B. Bhattacharyya. According to that Sādhanamālā, Cundā is the only feminine emanation of Vajrasattva, bearing an effigy of that deity in the crown.⁴⁴⁹ In pl. 4.143, there appears to be an effigy in the crown. It is not certain whether it is that of a Dhyāni-Buddha or a stūpa. The symbol seems to be stylised and at a first impression it appears to be that of a seated Dhyāni-Buddha. If the impression is right then the effigy would be that of Vajrasattva.

The style of the headdress, although not exactly similar, has been created basically in the same way as those of images in type 2.A.1. The origin of this style has been traced to northern India in earlier discussion. The braided hair has been tied by vertical type bands. The seated posture with the legs crossed is typical of the dominant northern Indian tradition and quite common in the images in Peninsular Thailand and Sumatra. The type of the ear-rings and the way the necklace and the sacred thread are arranged seem to be quite close to the Chitaggong image. The armlets, too, are of a similar kind as the Chittagong's. But other features, such as the facial expressions, the style of the double-padmāsana throne are different in the two images. In pl. 4.143, the double-padmāsana is placed on a rectangular pedestal with four legs and the back-piece is circular, with flame symbol decorations indicated by projections. It is uncertain how many projections are there because parts of

the back-piece has been broken off. Presumably, the image has been created locally in view of the style and the facial features but just like the Chittagong image, it must have been inspired by the Pāla art. It may be dated to about the tenth century.

Type 3.9.B.2.:

The second image of Cundā is represented by pl. 4.145.⁴⁵⁰ It is in bronze and is about 9 cm high. Although its provenance is classified as unknown, it has been attributed to 'Śrivijayan art'. The goddess has four arms: two are in dhyānamudrā while the attributes in the other two hands are indeterminable. The way the hands are placed may be compared to a four-armed Cundā discovered by Foucher in pl. XXXVII, b in B. Bhattacharyya's work.⁴⁵¹ Just as that image, pl. 4.145, does not show the varadamudrā with the other right hand as has been required by the Sadhana mentioned by B. Bhattacharyya. Nevertheless, it has been identified as Cundā. There is also another four-armed Cundā from Nālandā without showing the varadamudrā.⁴⁵² In the headdress, just like that of pl. 4.144, there appears to be an effigy. The type it represents is uncertain.

The image is seated with the legs crossed on a double-padmāsana placed on a square pedestal. The back-piece is missing. The petals of the top padma have been stylised. The dhotī has designs on it. The image wears armlets, bracelets, a necklace and a long necklace. The way the long necklace is arranged in between the cleavage is reminiscent of the Tārā image, pl. 4.143, and also some of the Pāla images and early Cōla images.⁴⁵³ The armlets and bracelets are of the same type as pl. 4.144. The crown while indicating Pāla influence also is quite similar to pl. 4.143. The headdress, although stylised, seems to be in the same style as the previous Cundā image. The date for this image is about tenth to eleventh century.

Type 3.10.A.1.:

In this type, the image indicates Khmer features of the Bayon style.⁴⁵⁴ It is represented by a standing bronze image of Prajñāparamitā, the Buddhist goddess of Transcendental Knowledge, pl. 4.146. It was discovered in Tha Rua District of Nakhon Si Thammarat Province. It is about 11 cm high and is in the Nakhon Si Thammarat National Museum.

The features that show Khmer-Bayon style can be traced in the dhotī and the ornaments. The dhotī with vertical linear patterns which presumably represent pleats and the frontal panel arranged in a zigzag manner shows Khmer-Bayon characteristic. The conical shape of the headdress and the crown while may be compared to some of those on Pāla images⁴⁵⁵ are also similar to the Khmer-Bayon style.⁴⁵⁶ The image wears two armlets and anklets on each arm and ankle. The fashion is apparent in East Javanese art, in the Amoghapāśa image from Rambhan, pl. 4.118 in the Bodhisattva image from Lampung, pl. 4.139 and in the Khmer-Bayon images. All the features and the relationships with the Khmer-Bayon style indicate that the image may be dated to about twelfth or early thirteenth century.

It has been assumed to be an image of Prajñāparamitā in view of the fact that it can be compared to a Khmer Prajñāparamitā mentioned by Coedès.⁴⁵⁷ Also, the attributes in the right hand appear to be the stalk of a padma and in the left hand presumably the book.

Type 3.10.B.1.

There are two images, pls. 4.147 and 4.148, that may be identified as Prajñāparamitā. The first image, pl. 4.147, which will be discussed in this type is in a form of votive tablet. It was discovered in Yala Province and is in a private collection in Yala. It is about 9.5 cm. It is seated on a double-padmāsana with the legs crossed in the northern Indian dominant tradition. It is a four-armed image.

An almond-shaped design indicates the back-piece and a similar shape halo is represented at the back of the head. A stalk has been placed on the right side of the image at about the shoulder level while on the left side is the padma rising from its stalk. The gesture of the image is the dharmacakramudrā and the other two hands are touching the knees. The identification of the image as Prajñāparamitā is mainly on the dharmacakramudrā which may be compared to a Prajñāparamitā from Candi Singasari in East Java,⁴⁵⁸ and, on the assumption that the padma carries the book on it just like that of the Singasari Prajñāparamitā.

The treatment of the headdress appears to be in the same style as type 2.A.1. images basically. The image wears armlets, a single strand necklace and bracelets. The style of these ornaments is unclear. Presumably, the image belongs to about the ninth to tenth century.

Type 3.10.B.2.:

This second image of Prajñāparamitā, pl. 4.148, was discovered in Muara Jambi in Sumatra.⁴⁵⁹ The image is life-size and is about 56 cm high excluding the missing head. The image is in stone and has been beautifully carved. This represents one of the most beautiful sculptures known from either the Peninsula or Sumatra. It shows a great achievement in technique and mastery over the medium. Even though the head and the two arms are missing, other remaining parts of the body indicate the fine quality.

It has been identified as Prajñāparamitā because of the posture of the hands which indicates dkarmacakramudrā and the general style of the image. Both the mudrā and the style may be compared to the Prajñāparamitā image from Singasari. This image has been identified as a Pita Prajñāparamitā and quoted by B. Bhattacharyya. According to him, "The celebrated image of Prajñāparamitā (Plate XXVII,c) of Java belongs to this variety, and tallies in details with the description given in the Dhyāna".⁴⁶⁰ The Javanese

Prajñāparamitā has a padma on her left and resting on it is the scripture. The Jambi image has no padma which is believed to have been missing and because of that and its style are almost similar to the Javanese image, it may also be identified as a Prajñāparamitā.

The Jambi image is seated with the legs crossed as the Javanese image. The ornaments: the two necklaces, the armlets, the bracelets, the sacred thread and small sash are similar in both images. The patterns on the dhotī are also similar and are also reminiscent of the patterns on the dhotī of an image from Simping which is believed to be a portrait statue of the first king of Majapahit, Kerṭarājasa Jayavardhāna.⁴⁶¹ The style of the decorations falling from the hips to the dhotī and the way they have been arranged over the feet and legs are also similar in both images. But the Jambi image has no back-piece and is not seated on a double-padmāsana as in the Javanese image. It is seated on a kind of pedestal decorated with ribbon motifs. It reminds us of a cushion created from cloth.

The image may be dated to about the end of the thirteenth century or early fourteenth century. Its style was influenced by East Javanese art. Its exact provenance is Candi Gumpung which has been mentioned earlier.

Type 3.11.A.1.:

The image which represents this type is that of a goddess carrying a child. She is standing and carried the child on her left hip, pl. 4.149. The image was discovered by people digging irrigation canals in Kampong Sungei Emas in Muda River Valley. It was discovered in 1980 and is in a private ownership. It is in terracotta and is about 22.5 cm high.

In view of the fact that other finds from sites near to Sungei Emas in the Muda River Valley and in Sungei Emas itself can be considered as Buddhistic,⁴⁶² the goddess may be identified as a Buddhist goddess. She may be Hāritī. The

worship of Hāritī was very popular and according to R.S. Gupte, I-Tsing, found an altar dedicated to Hāritī in all viharas of northern India.⁴⁶³ Her images are known in India, Nepal, Tibet, China and Java. But stylistically it is not possible to compare with any other Hāritī image because it is difficult to ascertain her features. The features are not clear as a result of the crude nature of the sculpture. It seems that she wears a kind of mukuta and a long dhoti. There is a Hāritī from Peshwar Museum given by A. Foucher,⁴⁶⁴ and the image also carries a child on her left hip but it is not possible to compare other features. The Hāritī from Candi Mendut is seated and holds the child close to her breast.⁴⁶⁵ There is no available example from other parts of the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra.

The image probably belongs to the same period as the Buddha head from Sungei Emas mentioned earlier. The period is probably about seventh to ninth century on the evidence of the ceramic finds, the Middle Eastern types, discussed earlier from the site and the areas near to it.

NOTES

1. The information concerning the image is in A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam" in Essays offered to G.H. Luce, AA, 23, 2 (1966) 41-42.
2. Ibid. 54-55.
3. I use the term Amarāvati to include the related sites at Nāgarjunakonda in Āndhra-deśa. Sri Lanka refers to various sites such as Medavacca, Avukana, Badulla and Toluvela (Anurādhapura). The Anurādhapura school itself produced very small narrative bas-relief compared to the related sites at Amaravati and Nāgarjunakonda.
4. Scholars differ on the question of the origin of the influence. Among those who saw the influence as coming from Amaravati to Sri Lanka, see, Pawnludage Leelananda Prematilleke, "Religious architecture and sculpture of Ceylon (Anurādhapura Period)", Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1964, 225 and Snellgrove, (Chief ed.) The Image of the Buddha, Kodansha International, UNESCO, New York, 140. Among other things he states, "it is undeniably an example of Amaravati art, the heir and direct descendant of which was the Anurādhapura school".
5. Illustrations of the images see D.P. Snellgrove, (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, pls. 46, 48 and 52. and A.K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, pls. 137 and 141.
6. See illustrations in D. Snellgrove, (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, pls. 94, 95 and 98. and D.T. Devendra, Classical Sinhalese Sculpture, 300BC-1000AD, Alec Tiranti Ltd, London, W1, 1958, pls. 72 and 86.
7. The date of fourth century is given by virtue that no Amaravati images in open-mode with pre-pleating appeared later than that period.
8. Among the images attributable to the period after fourth century are D. Snellgrove, (Chief ed.) The Image of the Buddha, pls. 95 and 97.
9. For the illustration of the image, see D. Snellgrove, (Chief ed.) The Image of the Buddha, pl. 94. It came from Medavacca, Sri Lanka.
10. Ibid. pl. 98. See also C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, Lalit Kala Akademi India, New Delhi, 1963. pl. id. The image is from Badulla and is now in Colombo Museum. The date third century is too conservative. Snellgrove's dating of fifth to sixth century is more acceptable on the stylistic and iconographic development.
11. A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam" Fig. 6.

12. Ibid. fig. 9.
13. Ibid. fig. 8.
14. D. Snellgrove, (Chief ed.) The Image of the Buddha, Pl. 110. It came from Sikendeng in Celebes.
15. The Dvaravati image with pre-pleating and in open-mode can be seen illustrated in A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam" fig. 12.
16. For the report on the finds and illustration see Dorothy C. and H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Further work on Indian sites in Malaya", JRASMB, 20 (1947) 708 and pls. 1-2.
17. M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, "Phra phunttharup run kao nai prathet Thai" Archaeology 3, 3 (1971), Silpakorn University, figs. 2-3.
18. D. Snellgrove, (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, pl. 64 and see also Joanna Gottfried Williams, The art of Gupta Empire and Province, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1982, pls. 89-92.
19. Sheila Weiner, Ajanta: its place in Buddhist Art, University of California Press Ltd., London, 1977. For the Ajanta images see pls. 79, 84, 85 and 104 and Kanheri images see pls. 72 and 95.
20. D. Snellgrove, (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, pl. 87.
21. Ibid. pl. 118.
22. Bernert Kempers, "The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese art", Bijdragen, 90, 1933, pl. 26.
23. For illustration and discussions, see A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", Fig. 13 and pp. 57-58.
24. Private photograph.
25. The illustration is in M.C. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, pl. 1 (Thailand).
26. It is illustrated in J.W. Wright, Twentieth Century impressions of British Malaya, 1908.
27. F. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 3, pl. VI.
28. See illustration in Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding Sculptures in Buddhist and Hindu Gods from Private Collections in Thailand, Bangkok, 1975, pl. 38.
29. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, pl. 11 (Thailand).

30. Sheila L. Weiner, Ajanta, pls. 1 and 2.
31. Pl. 4.12 has been published earlier in Subhadradis Diskul, The art of Srivijaya, pl. 17 (Thailand) and in Theodore Bowie (ed.) The sculpture of Thailand, cat. 76, Pl. 4.13 is in Pol. Ltd. Col. S. Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding Sculpture of Buddhist and Hindu Gods... Pl. 44.
32. For comparison see J. Boisselier, La Statuaire Khmers et son évolution, pls. 91 and 92A and Le Cambodge, pls. XLII, 1 and fig. 65.a. The images are of the mid-tenth century.
33. Theodore Bowie (ed.) The sculpture of Thailand, 120-121, Cat. No. 76.
34. Ibid. cat. no. 68.
35. Ibid. cat. no. 68, pl. 12.
36. See, Pol. Lt. Col. S. Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding Sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu Gods from Private Collections in Thailand, pls. 125-126.
37. For the Sukhothai image see D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, pl. 238.
38. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, pl. 42.
39. Theodore Bowie (ed.) The Sculpture of Thailand, cat. no. 43 and 44.
40. Ibid. cat. no. 29 and 45.
41. Ibid. cat. no. 30.
42. A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", 39, figs. 2c-d.
43. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", 50 and I.H.N. Evans "Papers on ethnology and archaeology of the Malay Peninsula", JFMSM, 15, 3, 135 ff. pls. XLII, XLIII.
44. Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of ancient Indian cultural expansion", IAL, (n.s.) 60, 1 (1935) pl. V/1; id; Towards Angkor, 76 and the photograph facing it.
45. A.B. Griswold, "Imported Images" 63 and fig. 24.
46. D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, pl. 64.
47. J. Boisselier, "Recherches archéologiques en Thailande 11: Rapport sommaire de la mission 1965 (26 Juillet-28 Novembre)" Arts Asiatique, 29, 1969, fig. 40.
48. Piriya Krairiksh, Art in Peninsular Thailand, Prior to the fourteenth century A.D. Pl. 21.

49. Ibid. Pl. 20.
50. Quaritch-Wales, "Langkasuka and Tambralinga: some archaeological notes", JMBRAS, 47, 1 (1974) pl. 5.
51. For the Dvāravatī images of this period see D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, pl. 106 and also the image from Chaiya, pl. 4.32 discussed earlier.
52. For comparison of the Gupta and post-gupta images, see L. Weiner, Ajanta: its place in Buddhist art, pls. 68-70 and pl. 13.
53. D. Snellgrove, The image of the Buddha, pl. 32.
54. A.B. Griswold, "Imported images", fig. 18.
55. F. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 7, pl. XI.
56. This image has not been published yet.
57. Nilakanta Sastri, The History of Srivijaya, 102 and F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 2-3.
58. Ibid. 2-3.
59. Ibid. pl. 1.
60. N.J. Krom, "Antiquities of Palembang", ABIA, 1933 for 1931, 29-33.
61. Devaprasad Ghosh, "The early art of Srivijaya", JGIS, 1, 1 (1934) 32.
62. The view of Bachhofer has been quoted by Nilakanta Sastri in The History of Srivijaya, 103.
63. R.C. Majumdar, "Origin of the art of Srivijaya" JISOA, 1935, 75-8.
64. For comparison of Amarāvati images see, A.K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, pl. XXXIII fig. 137.
65. D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, pl. 32.
66. A.B. Griswold, "Imported images", fig. 30.
67. H. Zimmer, The art of Indian Asia, pl. 376.
68. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, pl. VIII.
69. K.P. Jayaswal, "Metal images of Kurkihar" JISOA, 2, 2 pl. XXXIII and D. Snellgrove, The image of the Buddha, see the small images on the sides accompanying the main seated Buddha image in pls. 207 and 208.

70. Unpublished photograph.
71. Pl. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding sculptures..., cat. no. 37.
72. K.P. Jayaswal, "Metal images from Kurkihar", pl. XXXIII.
73. M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, The art of Srivijaya, pl. 44 (Thailand).
74. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding sculptures..., cat. nos. 58, 68, 69, 70.
75. This image is made from red sandstone. It is in Wat Barommathat Chaiya. It is about 202 cm high. There are two of these images.
76. It was published in Dupont, L'archéologie Mône de Dvāravatī, Fig. 477.
77. For comparison, see D. Snellgrove, (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, Pls. 96, 97, 98 and 46.
78. Ibid. Pl. 96.
79. Ibid. 117.
80. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, Pl. XI. Its provenance is north of Jambi (Oin Tunkul).
81. Private photograph.
82. D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, Pls. 207, 208 and 213.
83. Ibid. Pl. 63.
84. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 4, Pl. X.
85. South Indian and Sri Lanka images generally have low usnîsa.
86. Private photograph.
87. D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, Pls. 220, 225.
88. The definition of Early Cola style is based on C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, Pls. 62a, 63b.
89. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 23, Pl. XL.
90. Satyawati Suleiman, Sculptures of ancient Sumatra, Pl. 9a.
91. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 21.

92. Private photograph.
93. Theodore Bowie (ed.) The art of Thailand, fig. 34.
The usnisa can be compared to D. Snellgrove, The image of the Buddha, Pls. 207 and 208.
94. Ibid. Pls. 270, 276.
95. Ibid. Pls. 221, 225a.
96. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 18.
97. D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, Pl. 82.
98. They represent the later style of the post-Gupta and Nālandā type of the sāṅghāti. The examples can be glimpsed in Theodore Bowie (ed.) The Sculpture of Thailand, Cat. 59 and 60 for Sukhothai images and D. Snellgrove, The image of the Buddha, Fig. C (c).
99. Compare with the image Pl. 4.5.
100. D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, Pl. 87.
101. Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu gods from private collections, Pl. 46.
102. D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, Pls. 218, 219; C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, Pl. 63b.
103. Theodore Bowie (ed.) The sculpture of Thailand, cat. no. 41, 42.
104. Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu gods from private collections, Pls. 65, 66, 67.
105. D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, Pls. 206, 214.
106. Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu gods from private collections, Pls. 58, 59, 65, 66 and 67.
107. Ibid. Pls. 55 and 56.
108. Subhadradis Diskul, "Chedi at Wat Keo, Chaiya, Suratthani", 2.
109. Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu gods from private collections, Pls. 23, 29, 30 and 31.
110. Ibid. Pls. 68 and 69.

- 111. Ibid. Pls. 66 and 67.
- 112. D. Snellgrove, (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, Pl. 236.
- 113. Ibid. Fig. C (c); Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu Gods from private collections, Pl. 95.
- 114. D. Snellgrove has provided a sketch of the style of Ayuthian proper, see, The image of the Buddha, fig. C (f). This style is equivalent to the 'U' Tong school style "C" p. 322.
- 115. Ibid. 321.
- 116. Ibid. 321.
- 117. Ibid. see note 39.
- 118. Theodore Bowie (ed.) The sculpture of Thailand, cat. no. 44, D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The Image of the Buddha, Fig. C (e).
- 119. Ibid. Fig. C.(a).
- 120. Madleine Giteau, The civilization of Angkor; A warrior on pl. 120 facing p. 196 is seen wearing that kind of jacket.
- 121. Its exact provenance is unknown. Its photograph has been published in Subhadradis Diskul (ed.), The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 15 (Thailand).
- 122. Ibid. Pl. 12 (Thailand).
- 123. See, Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu gods from private collection, Pl. 29.
- 124. For the original photographs see J. Boisselier, "Dégagement du phra chedi de Wat Keo, Chaiya" JSS, 67, 11 (1979) Figs. 7-9.
- 125. For comparison, see J. Boisselier, La statuaire du Champa, Fig. 46.
- 126. Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu gods from Private collection, Pl. 55.
- 127. Ibid. Pls. 65, 66 and 67.
- 128. Ibid. Pls. 124, 128 and 133.
- 129. There are different opinions as to the exact terminology for such sitting position. R.S. Gupte Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas, refers to it as

Pralamba padasana. This agrees with that of Sheila L. Weiner, Ajanta, 62; D. Snellgrove, The image of the Buddha, refers to it as bhadrasana. see p. 447. Jitendra Nath Banerjea, Development of Hindu iconography, 297 called in paryankasana.

130. D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The Image of the Buddha, Pl. 104.
131. Ibid. Pls. 111 and 112.
132. Ibid. Pl. 52.
133. See, Sheila L. Weiner, Ajanta, Pl. 44.
134. Ibid. Pl. 54.
135. Ibid. Pl. 55.
136. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, Pl. VII.
137. Sheila L. Weiner, Ajanta, Pl. 44.
138. Ibid. Pl. 53 (Ajanta) Pl. 46 (Karli).
139. It was discovered at Khuhaphimuk Cave and is kept in Wat Khuhaphimuk. It is about 27 cm high.
140. Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu gods from private collection, Pl. 40.
141. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 14 (Thailand).
142. Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu Gods from Private Collection, Pl. 42.
143. Sisir Kumar Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pl. 46.
144. Ibid. Pls. 14 and 15 (Kurkihar) Pl. 30 (Nalanda) Pl. 58 (Rangpur).
145. Ibid. Pl. 25.
146. Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu gods from private collection. Pl. 56.
147. Ibid. Pl. 56.
148. Ibid. Pls. 133 and 134.
149. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, Pls. 38a, 42b, 43b.
150. This has been suggested by Mr A.H. Christie.

151. Compare with the photographs in D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The Image of the Buddha, Pls. 134-136.
152. Ibid. Pls. 206-210.
153. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 4, Pl. VII. It is about 12 cm high.
154. E. Dale Saunders, Mudrā: A study of symbolic gestures in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture, 102-107. According to him "In India the example of this gesture even after the codification of vajrayana, must be very rare". He called the mudrā Chi ken in (in Sanskrit: Vajramudrā (?); Jñanamudrā (?) bodhaśrīmudrā (?)). It is not clear the origin of this mudrā. Certain scholars maintain that it may have originated from tembōrin-in (prediction of law).
155. See notes 432-443 in Chapter 2 in this study and the parts related to the notes.
156. See note 155.
157. The photograph of the image is from Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding Sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu Gods from Private Collections, Pl. 43.
158. D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, Pl. 239.
159. Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding Sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu Gods from Private Collections, Pls. 62-65.
160. For other types of Buddhist votive tablets see G. Coedes, "Siamese votive tablets" 150-187, Pl. IX.
161. Ibid. 1.
162. Ibid. 2.
163. Ibid. 4.
164. Ibid. 6.
165. H.G. Quaritch-Wales "Langkasuka and Tambralinga: some archaeological notes", Pl. 6.
166. Ibid. 18.
167. Ibid. 18-19.
168. Sheila L. Weiner, Ajanṭā, Pls. 80-83.
169. Ibid. Pls. 80-83.
170. D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The Image of the Buddha, Pl. 203.

171. T.N. Ramachandran, The Nagapattinam and other Buddhist bronzes in the Madras Museum, Pl. 1.
172. G. Coedès, "Siamese Votive Tablets" 22, Pl. X (centre).
173. Ibid. 22.
174. Ibid. 22..
175. Ibid. Pl. X (right).
176. Ibid. Pl. X (right).
177. For comparison and interpretation of the scene see D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, Pls. 46, 92, 97 and 105.
178. Ibid. Pl. 46.
179. Ibid. Pl. 97.
180. Ibid. Pl. 105.
181. Ibid. Pls. 244 and 245.
182. Ibid. Pl. 220 and T.N. Ramachandran, The Nagapattinam and other Buddhist bronzes in the Madras Museum. Pl. 1. Here the nāga kings are placed on the top corners of the scene. The hood of nagas do not really cover the head of the meditating Buddha as in other examples cited above.
183. D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, Pl. 105.
184. Ibid. Pl. 97.
185. Alastair Lamb, "Mahāyāna Buddhist votive tablets in Perlis" Pl. 7.
186. Ibid. Pl. 7.
187. G. Coedes, "Siamese votive tablets", 17, Pl. 11 (centre).
188. Ibid. 17. Pl. 11 (centre).
189. Ibid. 17. Pl. 11 (right, bottom) from Wat Rang Pathalung.
190. Ibid. 17, Pl. 11 (right, top).
191. Ibid. 17..
192. Ibid. 7..
193. D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The Image of the Buddha, Pls. 71, 72, 83 and 84.
194. G. Coedès, "Siamese votive tablets" Pl. VI (right).
195. D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha. The interpretation is based on the comparison with the scene

- in Pl. 65 and with Sheila L. Weiner, Ajantā, Pl. 73 from Ajantā cave VII.
196. G. Coedès, "Siamese votive tablets" Pl. VI (centre).
197. The image is from Nakhon Si Thammarat and is now in the museum at Songkhla.
198. G. Coedès, "Siamese votive tablets" Pl. XI (left, first row).
199. Ibid. Pl. VII (left).
200. Ibid. Pl. V (right).
201. Ibid. 19.
202. Ibid. 19.
203. Ibid. 19.
204. Ibid. 19.
205. Ibid. 21.
206. For comparison, see, Sheila L. Weiner, Ajantā, Pls. 16, 17.
207. G. Coedès, "Siamese votive tablets", 21.
208. See Parmono Ataradi, Pelita Borobudur, 226.
209. G. Coedès, "Siamese votive tablets" Pl. VIII (centre). And Alastair Lamb, "Mahayana Buddhist Tablets" Pl. 5.
210. G. Coedès, "Siamese votive tablets" Pl. VIII (centre).
211. Alastair Lamb, "Mahayana Buddhist votive tablets", Pls. 5 and 6.
212. Ibid. Pl. 5.
213. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, XII, Pl. 45 (Thailand).
214. G. Coedès, "Siamese votive tablets", 17, Pl. 1.
215. Ibid. 17. He gave the date as between the middle of the fourth to the middle of the seventh century A.D. p. 7.
216. In later images, he wears the five-leaved crown; in the centre-leaf is usually a small image of Amitabha but in the paintings the small image is usually omitted. See, Alice Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism, 56.
217. For a brief description of the origin and the role of the Avalokitesvara, see, B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, 32 and Alice Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism, 54-56.

218. Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, "Head-dresses with figurines in Buddhist art" 80.
219. Ibid. 80-90.
220. The various forms have been discussed by M. Foucher, Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, parte 2, Chapter 11, Section 1; see also Alice Getty, The Gods of northern Buddhism 52-53. She listed 25 forms; B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist iconography, 32-52.
221. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, 33.
222. Ibid. 33.
223. Ibid. 188. The Avalokitesvara wears five-leaved crown without small Buddha image.
224. Ibid. 188.
225. The example has been cited by F.M. Asher, The art of eastern India, 300-800, Pl. 147; see also Alice N. Heeramanneck, Masterpieces of Indian Sculpture from former collections of Nasli M. Heeramanneck, 109. The date given was C. 600.
226. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, pl. 26. He dates it to the fifth century A.D. and attributes it to Pallava art; he identifies it as an Avalokitesvara even though it has no small effigy of Amitabha in the headdress. The image is in Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
227. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 3 (Thailand).
228. Marie-Therese de Mallmann, "Head-dress with figurines in Buddhist art" 87.
229. P. Dupont, La statuaire preangkorienne, Pl. XXX(B) Ak Yom Avalokitesvara.
230. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 20 (Thailand).
231. Alice N. Heeramanneck, Masterpieces of Indian sculpture from former collection of Nasli M. Heeramanneck Pl. 115; F.M. Asher, The art of Eastern India 300-800, Pls. 142, 161; P. Pal, Bronzes of Kashmir, Pls. 52, 138 and 210.
232. S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pl. 228.
233. Ibid. Pl. 49 and Pl. 253.
234. Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding Sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu Gods from Private Collections, Pl. 50.

235. Ibid. Pl. 56 (Lopburi) Pl. 65 (Khmer).
236. F.M. Asher, The art of Eastern India 300-800, Pl. 228.
237. P. Pal, Bronzes of Kashmir, Pls. 52, 140, 142.
238. S. Paranavatina, "Recent archaeological work in Ceylon" 24-35, 28 (fig. a). The photograph is from Heinz Mode, Die Buddhische plastile auf Ceylon, Pls. 161-162.
239. S. Paranavatina, "Recent archaeological work in Ceylon" 28.
240. See Chapter 2 on Palembang.
241. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 12 (Sumatra).
242. J.G. de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia II, 15.
243. S.J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam,
244. See, Pl. 5.14 in this study.
245. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, Pls, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.
246. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 3, Pl. 6.
247. Ibid. 3, Pl. 6.
248. T. Bowie, The sculpture of Thailand, cat. no. 24.
249. P. Dupont, La statuaire preangkoriennne, Pl. XXX (17) and the dhoti may be compared to the Rach-Ghia Avalokiteśvara (Phnom Da style) Pl. XII (B).
250. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 4, Pl. X.
251. S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pl. 43.
252. See note 232.
253. Satyawati Suleiman, Sculptures of ancient Sumatra, Pl. 16.
254. Private photograph.
255. Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding Sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu Gods from Private Collections, Pl. 51.
256. For the example of an Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol from Tibet, see, G. Roerich, Tibetan paintings, 59 and the facing plate. From Java, see Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian art, Pl. 34.

257. Alastair Lamb, "A note on the tiger symbol in some South-east Asian representations of Avalokitesvara" 89.
258. Ibid. 90.
259. Alice Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism, 63.
260. Ibid. 52.
261. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 8, 9, (Java), Pl. 24 (Thailand).
262. P. Pal, Bronzes of Kashmir, 48, Pl. 140.
263. Ibid. 47. Pl. 138.
264. Alice Getty, Gods of northern Buddhism, 52.
265. P. Pal, Bronzes of Kashmir, 48, Pl. 140.
266. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 4 (Thailand).
267. Ibid. Pl. 19 (Thailand).
268. Ibid. Pl. 37 (Thailand).
269. Ibid. 53. Pl. 37. It is in Wat Matchimawas Museum, Songkhla.
270. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, Pls. 6, 7, 8.
271. F.M. Asher, The art of Eastern India, 300-800, Pl. 161.
272. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, Pls. 10-14.
273. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya" 51-52, Pl. 80.
274. Ibid. 52.
275. S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pls. 42 and 44.
276. Ibid. 14, 15 and 41.
277. G. Coedes, "Les collections archéologique du Musée National de Bangkok" Pl. XLVII; Quaritch-Wales, Towards Angkor, 190; D. Snellgrove (Chief ed.) The image of the Buddha, Pl. 109.
278. Ibid.
279. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, Pls. 8-9.
280. M Venkataramayya, "A Chaturmukha-linga from Sirpur, Rajpur District Madhya Pradesh", Pl. IV, XIII, XVIII, XX; Alice N. Heeramanneck, Masterpieces of Indian Sculpture from the former collections of Nasli M.

- Heeramaneck, Pl. 54.
281. S.J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, Figs. 1-4.
282. Ibid. Figs. 11-12.
283. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, Pl. VIII.
284. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", 51. Pl. 79.
285. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 23. (Thailand).
286. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya" 51; and B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, 185.
287. G. Roerich, Tibetan Paintings, 59.
288. A. Getty, Gods of northern Buddhism, 58-59.
289. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, 185.
290. A. Getty, Gods of northern Buddhism, 58-59.
291. Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding Sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu Gods from Private Collections, Pl. 53.
292. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, Pl. VIII.
293. G. Coedès, "Les collections archéologie du Musée National" Pl. XIV.
294. J. Boisselier, Statuaire Khmère et son évolution, Pl. 12.
295. Private photograph.
296. Private photograph.
297. G. Coedès, "Siamese votive tablets" Pl. VII (9 cm).
298. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 5. (Malaysia).
299. G. Coedès, "Siamese votive tablets" 7.
300. Ibid. 12-13.
301. Alastair Lamb, "Mahāyāna Votive tablets" 47 and 55.
302. Ibid. 56.
303. Ibid. 56.

304. S.J. O'Connor, "Buddhist votive tablets and caves in Peninsular Thailand", 81.
305. Ibid. 82.
306. Alastair Lamb, "Mahāyāna Buddhist votive tablets" 50 (Kurong Batang); 53-54 (Gua Berhala).
307. Ibid. 50.
308. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srīvijaya, Pl. 27 (Thailand).
309. Ibid. Pl. 25 (Thailand).
310. Ibid. Pl. 29 (Thailand).
311. Compare with the Amoghapāśa plaque from Tumpang.
312. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, Pl. XL.
313. Ibid. 32.
314. Ibid. 32.
315. Ibid. 32.
316. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, Pls. 18, 21 and 33.
317. Ibid. Pls 61a and 62b.
318. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist iconography, 38.
319. Ibid. 39.
320. Ibid. 135.
321. The image is in the National Museum Bangkok.
322. Alice Getty, Gods of northern Buddhism, 67.
323. Ibid. 67.
324. J. Boisselier, Statuaire Khmère et son évolution, 15, Pl. VI/2.
325. Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding Sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu Gods from Private Collections, Pl. 76.
326. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 8, Pl. XVI.
327. Ibid. 8.

328. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, Pl. 258.
329. G. Roerich, Tibetan Paintings, 59; A Getty, Gods of Northern Buddhism, 52 and 82.
330. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 8-9; see G. Roerich, Tibetan Paintings, 59 for comparison of iconography.
331. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 8.
332. Ibid. 8.
333. Ibid. 8.
334. For the inscription see Chapter 2 on Padang Lawes.
335. Alastair Lamb, "Mahāyāna Votive Tablets" 47-59. Pls. 29 and 35.
336. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 31. It is about 14 cm high. According to Subhadradis Diskul, it is in the collection of Prince Charlermpol Dighamvara in Bangkok (p. 52).
337. A. Getty, Gods of northern Buddhism, 65. But the variety she gives is in dhyānamudra.
338. S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pls. 43, 53 and 56.
339. Joanna Gottfried Williams, The art of Gupta India, Pls. 182, 183.
340. S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pls. 42 and 43.
341. Reginald le May, A concise history of Buddhist art in Siam, Fig. 43. For comparison see, Stella Kramrisch, "Pāla and Sena Sculpture" Pls. 23, 44, 48 and 52.
342. Stella Kramrisch, "Pāla and Sena Sculpture" Pl. 42.
343. The photograph is published in Hugo Munsterberg, Art of India and Southeast Asia, 207.
344. S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pls. 23 and 44. But Pl. 44 does not have the lions.
345. Ibid. Pl. 93 and may be Pl. 44, if one excludes the legs of the pedestal.
346. Alastair Lamb, "Notes on Sathingphra" Pl. 6.
347. From Sites 21 and 22, Pengkalan Bujang.
348. F.M. Asher, The art of Eastern India 300-800, Pl. 171.
349. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, Pls. 50, 59 (a, b) 76b. None of the Avalokiteśvara images appear

to be seated in such posture, usually the female deities are found seated in such a posture.

- 350. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) Art in Thailand: A brief history, Pl. 43.
- 351. A private photograph.
- 352. See note 350.
- 353. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 33.
- 354. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 2, Pl. VIII.
- 355. Theodore Bowie (ed.) The sculpture of Thailand, Cat. no. 21.
- 356. Ibid.
- 357. A. Getty, Gods of Northern Buddhism, 20-22.
- 358. S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pls. 16, 20, 22, 41 and 43.
- 359. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, 36-37. Pl. 6.
- 360. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, Pl. 61. But this image is seated in lalitasana and not standing.
- 361. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, 8-9.
- 362. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, Pls. 5b, 32a and 32b.
- 363. Alastair Lamb, "Notes on Sathingphra" Pl. 5.
- 364. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, 114. He describes Jambhala as "that, he carries the mongoose in his right hand and the citron in the left. The mongoose is supposed to be the receptacle of gems and jewels and when Jambhala presses the mongoose it vomits forth the riches; A. Getty, Gods of northern Buddhism, 140, Jambhala is a form of Kuvera.
- 365. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 3.
- 366. This identification is based on B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography. 114.
- 367. Ibid. Pl. XXXIV (c, d, e).
- 368. S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pl. 115.
- 369. Ibid. Pls. 17, 22, 41 and 120.
- 370. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 3. Pl. on front page.

371. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, Pls. 40a, 68 (a, b).
372. Ibid. Pls. 490 and 83a; see also Nandasena Mudiyanse, Mahayana monuments in Ceylon, Pls. 30 and 31.
373. S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pls. 41, 42, 115 and for the Jambhala image see Pl. 121.
374. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, figs. 17a and 19.
375. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 26.
376. Ibid. 26.
377. Ibid. 26.
378. Ibid. 26.
379. Ibid. 26.
380. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, 62.
381. Ibid. 62.
382. Ibid. Pl. XXV (c).
383. Ibid. Pl. XXX (c). The comparison with this image has been suggested by F.W.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 26-27.
384. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 8, Pl. XII to XVI.
385. Ibid. 8.
386. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, 87.
387. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 8.
388. Ibid. Pl. XVI.
389. For comparison, see, Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, Pl. 232 (Candi Jago) Pl. 233 (Candi Singasari).
390. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, 34, fig. 22 (c).
391. Ibid. 35, fig. 23 (2a).
392. Ibid. Pls. 42a, 45a, 45b.
393. For the photograph, see F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, Pl. XXIV.
394. The photograph is in Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian art, 79, Pl. 236.
395. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 8, Pl. XIV.

396. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian art, 88, Pl. 260.
397. Ibid. 88, Pl. 260.
398. Ibid. 87, Pl. 259.
399. According to B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, 70, the Raktayamari form of Yamantaka carries the kapala full of blood in the left hand. See also, A. Getty, Gods of Northern Buddhism, 146.
400. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist iconography, 70. He describes the deity as having ornaments of snakes.
401. A. Getty, Gods of northern Buddhism, 145.
402. Ibid. 35.
403. Subhadradis Diskul (ed). The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 32 (Thailand).
404. Bernard Philippe Groslier, The art of IndoChina, 67. Pl. on p. 67.
405. F.M. Asher, The art of Eastern India 300-800, Pl. 147 (Lokanatha) 158 (Visnu) 163 (Avalokiteśvara) 168 (Nagaraja).
406. C. Sivamamurty, South Indian Bronzes, 32, Fig. 19.
407. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 32 (Thailand).
408. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, Pl. IX (b).
409. Ibid. 6. He points out the possibility.
410. Ibid. 6.
411. The image was first published in S.J. O'Connor, "Tambralinga and the Khmer Empire" Figs. 10 (a, b).
412. J.J. Boeles, "Two Yoginis of Hevajra from Thailand" 27 and G. Coedes, Bronze Khmers, 43.
413. J.J. Boeles, "Two Yoginis of Hevajra from Thailand" 27. He quotes the Hevajra-tantra cited by Snellgrove.
414. Ibid. 26.
415. This style is common to all the female deities during the Cōla period.
416. For comparison see, G. Groslier, La sculpture khmère ancienne, Pl. 89.
417. See, S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pls. 94 and 114.

418. Compare with the crowns of Avalokiteśvara images discussed earlier. Pls. 101 and 102.
419. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 2, Pl. 111.
420. Compare with the photograph in Claire Holt, Art in Indonesia: continuity and change, Pl. 59.
421. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srīvijaya, 14 Pl. 14.
422. See the report by Bennet Bronson, Basoeki, Machi Suhadi and Jan Wisseman, Laporan penelitian arkeologi di Sumatra, 20 Mei-8 Juli, 1973, 6.
423. Personal observation of the site in 1979.
424. Bennet Bronson, Basoeki, Machi Suhadi and Jan Wisseman, Laporan penelitian arkeologi di Sumatera, 20 Mei-8 Juli 1973, 6.
425. The style of the ornaments may be compared to the Amoghapaśa image, Pl. 118.
426. S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pls. 11, 39, 42, 59 and 77.
427. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, 30.
428. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, 25.
429. Ibid. 25.
430. Ibid. 27.
431. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srīvijaya, Pl. 22 (Thailand); and G. Coedes, "Les collections archéologique du Musée National Bangkok", Pls. XV and XVI.
432. The inscription is in Nilakanta Sastri, The History of Srīvijaya, 121.
433. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 15. First photograph in the book.
434. Ibid. 15.
435. The discussion has been elaborated by J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Kuṣṭarājāgala image, an identification" 253-254, Pls. 1-4.
436. Ibid. 253-261.
437. Ibid. 256.
438. Ibid. 256.

439. Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of ancient Indian cultural expansion", Pl. V (2).
440. See illustration in N.K. Bhattacharji, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, Pl. XVIII.
441. There are several images of two-armed Tārā with similar iconography in S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pls. 73, 93, 94 and 125.
442. Ibid.
443. F.M. Asher, The art of eastern India, 300-800, Pl. 250.
444. S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pl. 94.
445. Ibid. Pls. 69, 94 and 125.
446. Theodore Bowie (ed.) The art of Thailand, Fig. 36.
447. Compare with Cunda images in S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pl. 91 and B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist iconography, Pl. XXXVII (b). This image has four arms.
448. Compare with S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pl. 91. There is an example from Chandi Mendut. See Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, Pl. 53.
449. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, 131.
450. Subhadradis Diskul, The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 34 (Thailand).
451. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, Pl. XXXVII (b).
452. S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pl. 109.
453. Ibid. and for the Cola images see, C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, pls. 48 (a, b).
454. G. Coedès, Bronze Khmers, Pl. XXXIV (3).
455. S.K. Mitra, East Indian Bronzes, Pls. 70, 75.
456. Compare with that in Pol. Lt. Col. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Outstanding sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu Gods from Private Collections, Pl. 67; and G. Coedes, Bronze Khmers, Pl. XXXIV (3).
457. Ibid.
458. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist iconography, 126. Pl. XXVIII (c). The illustration is closer to Pl. 147 because the padma is of a close-petalled type on the right side.

459. Satyawati Suleiman, Sculptures of Ancient Sumatra, 55-56, Pl. 7a.
460. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, 86.
461. Satyawati Suleiman, Sculptures of ancient Sumatra, 50.
462. Among the finds are: a green Buddha head; a stone Buddhist inscription. For the discussion on other evidence from Sungai Emas area, see, Chapter 3. (Sungai Emas).
463. R.S. Gupte, Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains, 119.
464. A. Foucher, L'art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra, Tome 11, Fig. 376.
465. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, Pl. 56.

CHAPTER 5
HINDU IMAGES AND ICONOGRAPHY

Hinduism in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra is represented by Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Śiva-Guru and linga. The known examples are less numerous than the Buddhist images in terms of number and variety. The materials used to create these images are: stone, bronze and clay. The study will focus on the style, relative chronology and descriptive iconography.

Viṣṇu Images

Images of Viṣṇu are by far the most numerous of those of Brahmanical gods that are found in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. They are mostly in stone, except for Viṣṇu on Garuda from Palembang and a head, believed to be that of Viṣṇu, which are in bronze. Chronologically, they may be placed in the fifth to the fourteenth century period. Those images available for study, on the available evidence, indicate that they belong to the ordinary type of Viṣṇu; Viṣṇu with four hands of which Indian texts recognize twenty-four vyuha or murti.¹ The attributes in which the hands hold are sankha; cakra (wheel); gadā and padma.

Type 1.A.

Scholars are now fully agreed that the earliest of these known Viṣṇu images from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra is the Chaiya Viṣṇu, pl. 5.1. It is a stone standing Viṣṇu with four hands holding sankha in the left lower hand on the hip, the left upper hand is missing, gadā in the right upper (rear) hand and the right forward hand is in abhyamudrā. The first photograph of the image was published by Coedès in 1928 who noted it as one of the Brahmanical images from Chaiya and Wiang Sa that were close to the Indian proto-types of about the seventh century.² Le May saw the image as "rather clumsy" with a

"peculiar heaviness" of the ears and headdress.³ A much more elaborate note on the image was given by Dupont, but he discussed it as a marginal problem in the scheme of pre-Angkorian images he formulated where he saw a relationship between it and the crude Viṣṇu from Tuol Koh in Cambodia.⁴ But Dupont's view on certain sculpture: the Viṣṇu of Tuol Chuk (pl. XVIIIB); the "Viṣṇu Kalki" of Kuk Trap (Pl. XIXA); the Viṣṇu of Tuol Koh (Pl. XXIIA) and the female figure from Phnom Da (Pl. XVIIIA), has been questioned by Philip Rawson.⁵ He believes that they are older than Dupont's Phnom Da "A" group, the earliest surviving group of pre-Angkor sculpture.⁶ He suggests that the group of pre-Phnom Da "A" type, indirectly including the Chaiya Viṣṇu, may be related not perhaps by an immediate contact but by definite formal links, to the art of Mathurā and Western India of the second to fourth centuries A.D.⁷ But Boisselier pointed out that it could not be because the iconography of Viṣṇu with conch shell in the left lower hand held on the hip as represented by the Chaiya image and several pre-Angkorian Viṣṇus was unknown in India until the eighth century.⁸ In an article on the Viṣṇu of Tjibuaya, Boisselier implied that the Chaiya image is the work of a mediocre artisan whose technique is a regression from earlier work on the Peninsula.⁹

In his analysis of the Viṣṇu images from Peninsular Thailand, O'Connor demonstrates that the Chaiya Viṣṇu has certain affinities with the pre-Gupta art of Kuśāṇas.¹⁰ He went on further to say that the iconography of Viṣṇu with conch shell on the hip in the left hand was not a development of the eighth century as suggested by Boisselier but could be shown on Kuśāṇa Viṣṇu images at Mathurā.¹¹ The image, on the basis of Indian comparisons, beyond any doubt, instead of being rather late and crude as formerly thought, is in fact the earliest of the long-robed mitred Viṣṇus found on the Malay Peninsula. O'Connor concludes that the style of the image stemmed from Mathurā style proto-types but the immediate influence coming, however, via Andhradeśa, and it may be dated to a period not later

than C.400 A.D.¹²

The reason for O'Connor's suggestion for influences from Andhra desa is the knowledge of the existence of Viṣṇu images in Andhra desa holding a conch shell in a similar manner and wearing a dhotī with sash falling in an arc in front. These images are the one found at Yelēswaram and a relief at coastal Andhra Pradesh.¹³ Vaisnava development in the Andhra desa was due to influences that can be traced to Mathurā.¹⁴ The Yelēswaram image may be dated to the fourth or fifth century A.D. while the one from coastal Andhra Pradesh belonged to the third century A.D.¹⁵

There is, however, a possibility that the immediate influence on the image may not necessarily be Andhra desa but rather a parallel development with Andhra desa, north and western India and Chaiya. Comparing the Chaiya image with the Andhra desa images, the features that are similar are only the conch shell in the left lower hand on the hip and the sash that falls into an arc on the thighs; other features such as the ear-rings, the armlets, bracelets, and the kirītamukuta indicate that the image had closer affinities with the development that took place in north and western India. The incised radiating patterns on the dhotī and the style of the armlets are reminiscent of the style of images at Mathurā such as Bhinmal Viṣṇu¹⁶ and several other images from Samalaji in north Gujarat dating to the early Gupta period.¹⁷

The type of twisted rope-like sash in front of the dhotī as seen in the Bhinmal Viṣṇu and another Viṣṇu, the one from Tenna in Surat District of northern India and dating to the same period as the Bhinmal Viṣṇu, c 400 A.D.¹⁸ must have developed into a much more stylised representation by the time of Gupta period. The early Gupta period sculpture indicate the sash had developed into an arc in front of the dhotī on the thighs. This style is shared by the images from Samalaji, the Andhra desa and Chaiya.

The idea of Viṣṇu wearing a ceremonial headdress, the Kirītamukuta or mitre did not necessarily start in the Andhradeśa; the Tenna Viṣṇu also wore the tall Kirītamukuta. The idea of the style of the ear-rings worn by the Chaiya image, a heavy pendulous type must have evolved and developed in northern and western India. There is no evidence of its existence in southern India. Two later images from northern India show an identical style. The first example is the one seen on the Śiva image from Parel, Bombay.¹⁹ Incidentally, this image too wears a similar type of sash to that of the Samalaji images, forming an arc in front of the thighs. The image of Śiva Maheśamūrti from Elephanta cave is also wearing similar ear-rings.²⁰ The tradition of wearing heavy pendulous ear-rings must have originated from Mathurā too. This is due to the fact that a number of images at Mathurā are found to wear ear-rings of the pendulous type and differ from the Chaiya type only in decoration.

If the Andhradeśa images were the products of contacts with north and western India, then it is possible that the Chaiya image received the influence direct. There is evidence to suggest links between north and western India with South East Asia in general.²¹ The proto-types for the Chaiya image must have developed in north and western India due to impulses from Mathurā. This influence might have reached Chaiya through maritime contacts, possibly via ports on the coast of western India such as Baroach.

Type I.B.

The next group of Viṣṇu images comprises two images, pls. 5.2 and 5.3, from Nakhon Si Thammarat.²² O'Connor, who was the first to publish their photographs and to have studied them, suggests that they belonged to a later period than the Chaiya Viṣṇu, about fifth century A.D.²³ His main reason for suggesting that date was the way the right lower hand was disposed in the two images. The right lower hand was not in abhyamudrā, but appear to hold either padma or bhu. Although the second image appears to have lost the

right lower hand, O'Connor considered the style similar to the first Nakhon Si Thammarat image. In view of the fact that Agrawala had suggested that, although images of Viṣṇu at Mathurā exhibit a considerable diversity in the range of attributes and that with the padma was the last to be evolved,²⁴ therefore, the Nakhon Si Thammarat images must be of later date than the Chaiya image. But this does not mean that the earlier arrangement of the attributes, as in the Chaiya image, discontinued with the evolution of the padma as one of the attributes. There are known examples of later Viṣṇu images from northern India²⁵ and Nepal²⁶ displaying same arrangement of attributes as in the Chaiya image. There is an image of Viṣṇu from Samalaji²⁷ dated about the eighth century and the examples from Nepal have later dates still.²⁸

The other reason for attributing the image to the fifth century is the general style of the image. The Chaiya image and the Nakhon Si Thammarat images share similar types of dhotī with incised patterns, and a sash that falls into an arc. Minor details indicate that there are differences. The general plastic quality of the Chaiya image is closer to the first Nakhon Si Thammarat image, but the second image shows a much more natural anatomy with swelling in the abdomen and chest. The decorations on the kirīṭamukuta of Chaiya image and the first image are made up of floral and vine patters but arranged differently, while the second image does not have floral and vine pattern. There is a disc attached to the back part of the head of the second image but this disc is not seen on Chaiya and the first image. The ear-rings of the first image are similar to the Bhinmal image mentioned earlier and the second image probably wears the same type of ear-rings. Nevertheless, all three images have their ear-rings attached to the top part of the shoulder. The style of the conch shell in the two Nakhon Si Thammarat images are similar, but the first image does not wear armlets, bracelets and necklace which the second image does. The yajñopavīta worn across the shoulder and down to just below the knee is seen on the

second image but not on the first image. The style of the yajñopavīta, the long cord-like style, indicates influence from northern India of the Gupta period as seen on some of the images at Sārnāth.²⁹ This is an indication of its early period.

Type 1.C.

The third group of Viṣṇu images comprises standing images with four arms, bare chest with a dhotī secured at the waist by various techniques, and ceremonial headdress, the kirīṭikamukuta. These images are represented by a Viṣṇu stone image from Takuapa (pl. 5.4), two Viṣṇu images from Sathinthipha (pls. 5.5; 5.6), one Viṣṇu image from Si Chon (pl. 5.7), three Viṣṇu images from Wat Śrīvijaya, Hua Khao Village in Pun Pin (pls. 5.8; 5.9; 5.10) torso of Viṣṇu in Wat Phra Narai, Tha Sala District (pl. 5.11), two Viṣṇu images from Wiang Sa (pl. 5.12, 5.13) and a head of what is believed to be that of Viṣṇu from Kota Kapur from Bangka Island, Sumatra (pl. 5.14) and a Viṣṇu image from Śrīvijaya Hill (pl. 5.15). The photographs of all the images except the one from Wat Phra Narai and Kota Kapur have been published by O'Connor.³⁰ The image from Wat Phra Narai is now in the Nakhon Si Thammarat Museum. The Viṣṇu head from Bangka was published by Stutterheim.³¹ All the images have certain attributes or all the attributes and certain parts of the body missing. They have been identified as Viṣṇu on the evidence of the kirīṭamukuta or the body style or if the attributes are still intact by the attributes.

Dupont had established, on the basis of style, the development of the long robed Viṣṇu images with the kirīṭikamukuta from Thailand, Cambodia and Mekong Delta which he divided into three main groups.³² Group A consists of those wearing a low kirīṭamukuta slightly flared at the top. The dhotī is secured by twisting the upper hem into a knot. The katisūtra is worn horizontally and wrapped around the hips. In Group B, the images wear tall cylindrical kirīṭikamukuta. The dhotī is secured by a

knot and fastened by a cord tied in a bowknot. The katisūtra is wrapped diagonally and tied up on the right. In Group C the katisūtra is eliminated altogether and the hands are spread away from the body. The dating for Group C is 650 to 800 A.D.³³ Dupont assigned the Sathingphra images, (pls. 5.5, 5.6) and two Wiang Sa (pls. 5.12, 5.13) to group A and the Śrivijaya Hill image, (pl. 5.15), to Group B³⁴ but no image from the Malay Peninsula has been assigned to Group C. He could not fit the Takuapa image, (pl. 5.4), into any of the groups.³⁵ In view of the fact that no other image was known to Dupont which could be placed into Group C from the Malay Peninsula, he, therefore, suggested that the Takuapa Viṣṇu was directly related to Pallava style and the proto-type for other long robed Viṣṇu with tall kirītamakuta in Thailand. He later proposed that the image was contemporary with the Hindu images from Cambodia belonging to the style of Phñom Da which he dated to the first half of the sixth century A.D.³⁶

The view formulated by Dupont for the Takuapa Viṣṇu was contested by O'Connor. He suggested that the image was a fully developed product of an isthmian workshop between 650 to 800 A.D., and belonged to Group C in Dupont's grouping.³⁷ To this group, O'Connor added the Si Chon image, pl. 5.7, Sathingphra image, pl. 5.5, and the torso of an image believed to be Viṣṇu from Hua Khao Village, pl. 5.8.³⁸ Of the few images unknown to Dupont, O'Connor placed pl. 5.9 from Hua Khao Village to Group A and pl. 5.10 from Hua Khao Village also to Group B.³⁹

The reasons for placing the Takuapa Viṣṇu into Group C are the discovery of two images on the Peninsula which can be ascribed to Group C and also due to the fact that the image is different from the Pallava images. A number of dissimilarities in style have been put forward. They are the anatomical differences and that the Pallava images are adorned with such ornaments as yajñopavīta, bracelets, necklaces and armlets while the Takuapa Viṣṇu is unadorned. The view that the Takuapa Viṣṇu and the Sathingphra image

being evolved locally and belonging to a later group in the long robed Viṣṇu images series was questioned by Quaritch-Wales when O'Connor first suggested it in 1964 and later in 1966.⁴⁰ Quaritch-Wales believed that Dupont was right because the fine plastic qualities of the Takuapa Viṣṇu, the arms well spread away from the body sculptured without the need of supporting arch or framework, apart from the vertical reserves of stone on which the lower hands rested, the upper hands are free and in the round, made it impossible to associate the image with the mediocre modelling of the later series of long-robed Viṣṇus.⁴¹ He also suggested that the Sathingphra image developed from the Takuapa Viṣṇu and formed a link with other Viṣṇus.⁴² His premise was that of chronological falling off in quality from the Takuapa Viṣṇu to the Chen-la Viṣṇus.⁴³

Scholars have associated mitred Viṣṇus from the Peninsula with Pallava style on the basis of the cylindrical form of the kirītamukuta. But this form of kirītamukuta is seen in earlier period too. Coomaraswamy noted that Gupta Viṣṇus outside the Candragupta Cave at Udayagirin Gwalior wear cylindrical kirītamukuta.⁴⁴ O'Connor has shown another example of Viṣṇu with cylindrical kirītamukuta from northern India from Kanauj now in the Baroda Museum, dated to early post-Gupta.⁴⁵ In view of this evidence it seems that the cylindrical mitre is not a derivative from Pallava only.

The concept of height of the kirītamukuta is rather apparent than real. This is due to the fact that if one really measures the height of the kirītamukuta and compares it to the distance between the chin to the top part of the head of each image, one would see that they are of equal measurement or as in the case of Takuapa Viṣṇu and the Viṣṇu from Si Chon, pl. 5.7, the headdress is shorter. This is different in the case of the Pallava images where the measurement of the headdress normally is slightly taller than the measurement of the uncovered part of the head.⁴⁶ Besides, the Pallava images are much more highly

adorned as mentioned earlier.

The idea that the mitred Viṣṇus must have derived from certain proto-types has prompted the idea that they could have been influenced by artistic developments in other parts of India. Although there is no available evidence at the moment to suggest the exact proto-types, there are, however, several images of other Hindu-Buddhist Gods from north and western India, particularly from such sites as Elephanta cave and Sārnāth and others from Bihar, wearing the sash diagonally either from the right hip to the left thigh or from the left hip to the right thigh and knotted.⁴⁷ This style is seen on the images of Viṣṇus classified as Group B by Dupont. It is possible that the presence of the type of sash on the Viṣṇu images was due to the influence from those areas, particularly from the cave traditions in north and western India which could have reached South East Asia via the west coast ports. In view of the fact that interchange of style between Viṣṇu images and other divinities did take place in India,⁴⁸ it is possible that the style of the sash on the images was borrowed from the style on other divinities from north and western India in the sixth century A.D.

There are Avalokiteśvara images from Kanheri, cave 90⁴⁹ and Aurangabad, cave 7,⁵⁰ dated to late sixth century A.D. and early seventh century which are represented as unadorned. In the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra there are images of Avalokiteśvara which are stylistically in the same tradition. It is possible that the style of not providing ornament to the Viṣṇu images followed a parallel tradition.

On the available evidence I believe that the Viṣṇus, classified as Group B by Dupont could belong to the earliest group in the series of long robed mitred Viṣṇus. This group is followed by the style in Group A where the sash is arranged horizontally. This is probably due to local development. Finally, Group C was evolved where the sash is missing altogether. This followed the style of the

representation of Avalokitesvara images. The Takuapa image, pl. 5.4, and the Si Chon, pl. 5.7, image whose headdress is shorter than the height of the uncovered part of the head indicates that they were not influenced by Pallava style, but rather due to local development. Any sign of mediocrity in the technology of the representation of the image or absolute finesse in technology may be due to the ability of the sculptors and not due to the derivations. The image from Kota Kapur, pl. 5.14, may be classified as belonging to Group B on the basis of comparison of the ratio of the measurement of the kirītamukuta to the measurement of the uncovered part of the head and the Tha Sala Viṣṇu, pl. 5.11, to Group C because it has no sash. In conclusion, it is necessary that the grouping of the images should be changed. Group B should become Group 1, Group A should become Group 2 and Group C should become Group 3, and they may be dated between the end of the sixth century to the seventh or eighth century A.D.

Type I.D.

The fourth group of Viṣṇu images is the Viṣṇu image, pl. 5.16, from P'ra Narai Hill Takuapa. The image which first came to the attention of Europeans in 1902,⁵¹ has created certain problems concerning its identification. This is because there are two other images, pls. 5.17, 5.18, found at the site and all three have lost whatever attributes they may have carried. De Lanjonquière identified the image, pl. 5.16, as Śiva.⁵² Quaritch-Wales believed that the identification was right and pointed out that the three figures could be compared to the Gaṅgādhara group at Trichinopoly.⁵³ Nilakanta Sastri agreed with Quaritch-Wales.⁵⁴ But Quaritch-Wales in 1946 seems to have decided that the central figure of the P'ra Narai Group "may now I think be identified as Viṣṇu".⁵⁵ In 1961 Quaritch-Wales returned to the Saivite implication of the Gaṅgādhara parallel presumably as a result of Nilakanta Sastri's view.⁵⁶ Alastair Lamb did not think that there was any doubt that the central figure of the P'ra Narai Group was

Viṣṇu.⁵⁷ O'Connor who studied the style of the image considered the identification of the image was less important than the issue of the style and thought that the Gaṅgādhara designation seemed plausible.⁵⁸

The posture of the central figure of the group does not agree with the postures of Śiva seen in the Gaṅgādhara groups cited by Nilakanta Sastri.⁵⁹ The image on the basis of the position of the left hand appears to be in yogasthānaka, if it is Viṣṇu. It is possible that it may be identified as Viṣṇu Madhyama Yogasthānaka-mūrti. The female figure, pl. 5.17, may be identified as Bhūdevi and the male figure, pl. 5.18, as ṛṣi Markendaya. This iconographic representation has been mentioned by R.S. Gupte.⁶⁰

The stylistic evidence definitely indicates that the images are influenced by Pallava style.⁶¹ Although the original photograph of the central figure as seen in Quaritch-Wales' article shows that it has lost its headdress, later photographs of the image indicate the image as wearing the Pallava style of headdress. The headdress was a later reconstruction based on the headdress of the male figure. The style of the yajñopavīta, decorated with double bell-clasp and ribbons can be compared to some of those found on the Pallava images such as that of Viṣṇu from Vadakkalathur near Nagapātṭinam.⁶² The style of the dhotī, although generally also quite similar to the Vadakkalathur and other Pallava images, is very much closer to the style of the Viṣṇu image published in An introduction to Indian metal bronzes.⁶³ The arrangements of the various sashes in front of the dhotī indicates Pallava influence. The dating of late eighth century to the middle of the ninth century is acceptable for the group.

Type I.E.

The next image of Viṣṇu is the one from Wiang Sa, pl. 5.19. It is carved out of sandstone and is considered as being very close to the Cōla style of the tenth or eleventh

century A.D. by O'Connor.⁶⁴ The image's general style appears to be similar to the Sūrya image, pl.5.30; they both are of about the same height, about 50 cm. The style of the yajñopavīta definitely shows Cōla affinity.⁶⁵ But the distribution of the attributes in the hands of the image indicates that the image still followed the older tradition found in the area. The cakra was placed in the left upper hand and not in the right upper hand as is common to the Viṣṇu images of the Pallava and Cōla periods. The armlets, bracelets and necklaces have affinities with the Cōla style. There is no doubt that it was influenced by the Cōla style of the tenth or eleventh century A.D.

Type I.F.

Archaeological surveys of the Kota Cina area in northeastern Sumatra has unearthed two images mentioned earlier. One of them has been identified as Viṣṇu on the evidence of the attributes. The other image, consisting of legs and lower trunk standing on a pedestal, may be that of Lakṣmī. The style of the Viṣṇu image is very close to the late Cōla style on the basis of the style of dhotī and the arrangements of the sash and tassels.⁶⁶ The cakra is held in the right upper hand which is a common arrangement in Pallava and Cōla Viṣṇus. The female image while showing certain affinity with the first image has to a certain degree closer affinity with the Vijayanāgarā period of Southern India.⁶⁷ When compared to the Wiang Sa image of the early Cōla style, the Kota Cina images display a finer plastic appearance.

Type I.G.

The last image of Viṣṇu known from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra is the bronze Viṣṇu on Garuda. It was found in Palembang together with the statue of Śiva and Brahmā which may be ascribed a same date, and an older image of Śiva.⁶⁸ According to Schnitger, the image portrayed a dead

king.⁶⁹ There is no evidence to confirm this, but the style of the image definitely shows affinities with the style of East Java in the Majapahit period.⁷⁰ The date may be about the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. The image has four hands and the attributes are cakra in the right upper hand and conch in the left upper hand. It is not certain what the attributes are in the two lower hands. The image differs from the Viṣṇu of Belahan which is believed to be the portrait-statue of Erlangga,⁷¹ and is closer to the style of the Majapahit period images.

2. Siva Images

Siva who is endowed with a number of attributes, such as the creator, the protector, and the destroyer of the world, with no beginning or end, was worshipped in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra in theomorphic and linga forms. The number of lingas and temples, associated with the worship of Siva, particularly in the Bujang and Muda Valleys, indicate the popularity of the cult. The actual number of the Siva images discovered in Sumatra and the Peninsula is only three.

Type 2.1.

The first image is the one from Palembang, pl. 5.23.⁷² It is a standing bronze image and is about 77 cm high. According to Schnitger, the image was discovered together with three other images of a much later date, fourteenth to fifteenth century, representing Siva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu.⁷³ The image has four arms. In the upper left hand is the fly-whisk, in the lower left hand is the flask, the lower right hand is in vitarkamudrā, while the upper right hand holds the rosary. It wears a diadem, a pearl necklace, a second necklace, bracelets, armlets, and the yajñopavīta over the left shoulder and across the body. A metal belt or girdle holds the long dhotī at the waist. On the upper part of the dhotī is wrapped a tiger skin. The hair is

made up into a jatāmukuta and three pleats of hair are seen falling on each shoulder.

The image may be dated to about the eighth century A.D. The type of jewellery, the long dhotī, the belt and the tiger skin indicate that it belongs to the same style as a few Buddhist bodhisattva images with tiger skin. But the difference in the style of the headdress indicates chronological differences. The style of the headdress of the image is quite close to the style of the headdress of a dancing Śiva found at Kuram and being ascribed as Pallava style of the eighth to ninth century period by C. Sivaramurti.⁷⁴ The two images share only common headdress style but other aspects of the images indicate local variations. The general style of the image may be compared with the Avalokiteśvara images, pls. 4.92, 4.93, 4.94 and 4.95 which have been dated to the eighth century.

Type 2.2.

The other Śiva image is the bronze image from Sathingphra, pl. 5.24. It is now in the Matchimawas Museum in Songkhla. The existence of the image was first reported by Alastair Lamb in 1964.⁷⁵ The image is about 31 cm high and stands on a double lotus pedestal. A flaming aureole is attached to the back part of the head and the upper parts of the shoulders. The image wears a long dhotī and it is being held up by a metal girdle. A tiger skin is wrapped around the upper part of the dhotī. It has four arms and the attributes in the hands are a fly-whisk in the left upper hand, a rosary in the right upper hand but the attribute in the left lower hand is missing and the lower right hand is probably in vitarkamudrā. The image wears the yajñopavīta over the left shoulder and across the body, the armlets, bracelets, diadem, and necklaces. The headdress has the crescent and the skull symbols affixed to the front of it. Two pleats of hair are seen falling on each shoulder.

The image may be dated to about the tenth to eleventh century A.D. This dating is again based on the style of the headdress. Alastair Lamb who was the first to comment on the bronzes from Sathingphra proposes that, "as a working hypothesis bronzes came to the site at a period not earlier than 1200 A.D., though this would, of course, need confirmation by excavation".⁷⁶ Subhradis Diskul suggests an eighth or ninth century date saying it resembles quite closely a Śiva from Central Java,⁷⁷ but without providing the example. In my opinion the style of the headdress must have a common proto-type with the headdress seen on the Śiva image from the Śiva temple of Lara-Djonggarang.⁷⁸ If the style does not have a common proto-type then it would have evolved in a parallel line. This is based on the belief that while the image shares common headdress style and attributes, the style of the girdle differs between the two areas. The type of dhotī and the decorative elements on the dhotī of the Sathingphra image are common to the Sathingphra area. There, other images belonging to the Buddhist pantheon also share common headdress style as the Śiva image. This would indicate the local development in the style of the headdress and the ornamentation of the images, both Hindu and Buddhist. In view of the fact that the Śiva temple of the Lara-Djonggarang may be dated to the middle of the tenth century, the Sathingphra Śiva may be ascribed a date of about the tenth to eleventh century. The style may be compared to the Avalokiteśvara images, type 2.A.13 (pls. 4.113, 4.114 and 4.115). The shape of the headdress approaches a bell-shape with a kind of knob-shaped top. A tubular piece of braided hair is coiled around the headdress.

Type 2.3.

The iconography and style of a bronze image, pl. 5.25, are different from the two previous standing Śiva images. This image was discovered in Palembang, mentioned earlier. It was discovered together with the Viṣṇu on Garuda, pl. 5.22, Brahmā on hamsa, pl. 5.29, and Śiva, pl. 5.23, images. Schnitger has identified it as Śiva,⁷⁹ but the identification

was less confident in an article published in 1934 by merely stating that it could represent a Siva image.⁸⁰

The main problem in identifying it as Siva is the way the image has been portrayed. It is a four-armed image, and is standing erect on a seated animal. It is very difficult to determine whether it is a bull or a dog. According to the first impression, the animal appears to be a dog. If the impression is right, the obvious god would be Batuka-Bhairava form of Siva. But the appearance of the image does not reflect the usual fierce nature of the Bhairava. It is different from the Batuka-Bhairava, pl. 5.50, from Wiang Sa in Peninsular Thailand. We are able to identify the animal accompanying the Wiang Sa image as a dog and the image is naked and is in Cōla style. Bhagwant Sahai in his study of the iconography of minor Hindu and Buddhist deities discusses the attributes of Batuka-Bhairava⁸¹ on the evidence produced by Rao,⁸² Banerjea,⁸³ Battacharyya⁸⁴ and Bhattacharjya⁸⁵ together with new evidence available to him, but none of the characteristics of the Batuka-Bhairava mentioned really fit to the attributes of pl. 5.25. The nearest form would be the Satvika form of Batuka-Bhairava.⁸⁶ In that form, he is not depicted as fierce. Bhagwant Sahai describes the god as, "young in appearance with joyful face, fair hairs, beautiful ornaments, a pleasant expression and carrying in his two hands the trident and staff".⁸⁷ The god is associated with the prevention of unnatural death.⁸⁸ But closer examination of the vahana, particularly the feet and the head parts, indicates that it represents a very peculiar form of Nandi. The head appears to have two horns. At the back of the horns are the ears. But the horns appear to be like ears of a dog. This is one of the problems in identifying the animal as a Nandi. If it is Nandi, then the image represents Siva on its vahana, Nandi.

The image, pl.5.25, is beautifully clothed and wearing all the usual ornaments; bracelets, armlets, necklace. The long dhotī is adorned with various types of beautifully arranged decorations: frontal panels; side tassels; and layers of belt. The headdress is arranged in karandamukuta. The eyes appear to be closed and the facial expression appears to be angry. In the right upper hand, the image appears to hold a kind of weapon, staff or stick (?). In the left upper hand is what seems to be a kind of curve knife. The right front hand is clenched and pressed to the palm of the left lower hand. The mudrā seems to express anger and is very peculiar. The ornaments decorating the ears appear to represent snake but it is difficult to ascertain with confidence.

On the basis of the style of the headdress, the decorations on the dhoti, the image may be compared to the style of East Java. It may be dated to about thirteenth to fourteenth century.

3. Siva-Guru

There are several images of other deities in the Hindu pantheon. The first of those which I will discuss is the Siva-Guru. Two images are known to have been found in the Malay Peninsula. The first is the bronze pot-bellied standing figure discovered by Chinese labourers not far from a place called Jalong in the Chemor Valley in Perak in 1962.⁸⁹ The image, pl. 5.26, is about 52.5 cm high. It wears a short dhoti, knee-length. It does not wear any girdle. The right hand is broken and the left hand is seen carrying a pitcher and has shoulder-length hair and is bearded.

A number of scholars have addressed their views towards this image. This is due to the fact that copies of the photograph of the image have been sent to them. Among the scholars who have given their independent opinions are A.B. Griswold, C. Sivaramamurti, de Casparis and P.H. Pott. A.B. Griswod identifies the image as, "an idealised portrait of a real person, a Brahman sage or priest who was, or had been, well known to the artist, though it seems unlikely that he poses for it",⁹⁰ and that he believes it was locally made and may be dated to the seventh to ninth century. C. Sivaramamurti suggests that it is an image of a sage and most probably an Agastya and belonged to the eighth to tenth century date.⁹¹ This view is shared by de Casparis who goes on to suggest that it could be a portrait of a priest deified as Agastya or another R̄ṣī, and belongs to the Majapahit period.⁹² P.H. Pott after consultation with F.D.K. Bosch feels that it is uncertain whether it represents Siva-Guru or Agastya.⁹³

The image definitely represents a R̄si. In Java, for many years till 1926, a well established tradition among the archaeologists working there identified as Bhatāra-Guru or Śiva-Guru images more or less identical to types of Agastya images of India.⁹⁴ These images classified as Agastya in India, as Śiva-Guru or Bhatāra-Guru (Bhatāraka-Guru) in Java share common attributes; the rosary held near his breast and the other hand holds the kamandalu (pitcher). The image usually stands with half open eyes. The hair is in jatāmukuta or karandamukuta, depending on the period and the area it was sculptured. It has been pointed out by O.C. Gangoly, in 1926, that the term Bhatāra-Guru or Śiva-Guru for the Agastya in Java refers to Agastya as the teacher of Śiva cult.⁹⁵ But he believes that Śiva-Guru images from Java cannot be identified as Śiva the "Guru" because Śiva even as "Guru" has never been represented with corpulent waist and with beard.⁹⁶ This definition of Śiva-Guru by Gangoly found favour with Nilakanta Sastri who believes that Agastya is a real historical person.⁹⁷

The Jalong image indicates an earlier date than the Javanese Śiva-Guru. The short dhotī reminds us of the style of the dhotī found among the seventh century A.D. image of Lokeśvara from Ak Yom, Cambodia.⁹⁸ The plainness and the simplicity of its representation indicates an early date, probably seventh to eighth century A.D.

The second Śiva-Guru, image, pl. 5.27, is the bronze pot-bellied and bearded image found at Phang Phra in Sathingphra District. It is about 22.5 cm high. It is now in the Matchimawas Museum in Songkhla. The photograph of the image was published by Alastair Lamb in 1964.⁹⁹ The image wears a long dhotī and wears jewellery such as necklace, armlets and bracelets. The hair is arranged in jatāmukuta style. A cloth girdle holds up the dhotī. Pleats of hair can be seen on the shoulders. The left hand is being held up close to the chest and holds a rosary. The right hand is missing. Compared to the Jalong image, this image is more sophisticated. In the case of the Jalong image the eyes appear to be half-

closed conforming to the usual trait of Śiva-Guru but it is difficult to say about the eyes of this image.

On the evidence of the style of the jatāmukuta, this image probably belongs to the ninth century A.D. The jatāmukuta is not identical to the jatāmukuta of the Śiva image which has been dated to the tenth century A.D. The style of the jatāmukuta of this image indicates an earlier stage in the development. If in Java, it may be ascribed to the style of the jatāmukuta worn by bronze Avalokiteśvara from Takaran, Wanagiri in Surakata.¹⁰⁰ The style of the headdress is comparable to those images in type 2.B.3. (pl. 4.123).

4. Brahmā

The other deity of the Hindu pantheon discovered in the Malay Peninsula is Brahmā, pl. 5.28. He is identified by his four faces of which three are actually seen, his matted hair made into jatāmukuta, and rosary which he holds in the right posterior hand. The other three hands are missing. The image wears a long dhotī and a metal girdle. The yajñopavīta runs over the left shoulder and down across the upper part of the dhotī. The yajñopavīta is being joined by a ribbon. The style of the jatāmukuta is quite similar to the jatāmukuta of the Śiva image from Sathingphra, dated about tenth to eleventh century A.D. This image too, on the basis of the jatāmukuta and the jewellery decorating it, may be dated to a similar period.

Type 4.2.

Another example of Brahmā image known to have been discovered is a bronze image from Palembang, pl. 5.29. It was discovered with images, pls. 5.22, 5.23 and 5.25. The image is standing on hamṣa. All the four faces can be seen. He wears karandamukuta type of headdress. The style is reminiscent of the East Javanese school of the thirteenth to

fourteenth century. It may be compared to the style of the headdress of images from Kediri.¹⁰¹ The style is also similar to the style of the Viṣṇu on Garuda, pl. 5.22 and the Śiva on Nandi image, pl. 5.23.

The decorative elements of the dhotī, and the ornaments worn by the image are also similar to the other two images. Although the style of the headdress is quite close to the Kediri images, the treatment of the dhotī differs in detail. The general style is that of the thirteenth to fourteenth century East Javanese school.

The attribute in the right upper hand is the same as that of the Śiva on Nandi image which is a kind of stick or staff. In the left upper hand, the attribute appears to be a pitcher or water pot. The two front hands are placed in a similar mudrā to the Batuka-Bhairava image. The left hand is clenched and is pressed on to the palm of the right hand. This is a very peculiar mudrā. Presumably, it denotes anger too, just like that of the Śiva on Nandi.

5. Sūrya

Another deity recovered from the Malay Peninsula is that of Sūrya, pl. 5.30. The image was identified by O'Connor.¹⁰² No reason has been given for the identification and it cannot be on the basis of attributes because they are missing. The image is carved from a reddish stone and is about 67 cm high. It has lost both feet. A round aureole is attached to the back part of the head and the upper part of the shoulders. It has two arms and wears necklace, armlets, bracelets and yajñopavīta.

On the stylistic evidence, the image shows influences from the early Cōla art. This is very obvious in the style of the yajñopavīta, the necklaces, and the girdle. An early Cōla bronze from the Madras Museum shares the same style.¹⁰³ A number of other South Indian images related to the early Cōla period also show the same character of style.¹⁰⁴ This

image also displays a style reminiscent of the Viṣṇu image classified as early Cōla style discovered at Wiang Sa. The image of Sūrya from South India is usually represented as standing bare-foot, without attendant, and with his hands raised in front of his chest.¹⁰⁵ The attributes in the two hands are two lotuses.¹⁰⁶ The known examples of north Indian Sūrya, that is, Sūrya in Pāla and Sena art are generally represented in relief against a stela which is often crowded with accompanying figures.¹⁰⁷

There are two known examples of Sūrya from South India accompanied by verse description of the Sūrya, the Sun God. Perhaps one of these verses will help us to confirm the identification of the Wiang Sa image as Sūrya. This verse is from the image known as Sūrya-Śiva found at Kovil in the Tanjore District in South India.¹⁰⁸ The verse is translated as follows:

"Having a lotus-throne, with red body and two eyes with two equal hands holding two white lotuses with red dress and decorated with garland, standing erect, (perfect), in all the limbs, I adore Śiva-Sūrya."

The Wiang Sa image definitely has a red body and red dress by virtue of being carved out of red stone. It also stands erect with two equal hands. The image is richly decorated with jewellery and girdle. The hair is made up into karandamukuta. The image, however, does not share the same stylisation in terms of mukuta and the way the yajñopavīta is placed but it wears identical type of yajñopavīta as another South Indian Sūrya carrying a verse which is now in Colombo Museum.¹⁰⁹

6. Durgā triumphing over the Mahiśasura

The image, pl. 5.31, which is 67 cm high, has been carved from fine-grained granite. The photograph was published by Evans.¹¹⁰ From the photograph, it appears that the image is much weathered. The attribute in the left hand appears to be a club. On the left hand side, two arms

are visible, and the left upper arm appears to be raised and holds what appears to be a crescent-shaped knife, and the left lower arm hangs beside the body. The image is standing on a buffalo's head.

According to Evans, the image was identified by Coedès as Devī (Durga), the consort of Śiva, triumphing over the Mahiṣāsura.¹¹¹ The identification fits with the iconographic description of the most popular goddesses of the Hindus, Durgā Mahiṣāmardini.¹¹² She is worshipped annually in the autumn, in the north-eastern provinces of India.¹¹³ According to Bhagwant Sahai, her clay idols, representing her as vanquishing the Buffalo-demon, are installed on the seventh day of the bright half of the month and immersed in ponds or rivers amidst blows of conch-shells on the tenth day.¹¹⁴ Images of her have been found all over India.

It is not possible to analyse the style in view of the condition of the image. It is possible to assume that the image belongs to the tenth to thirteenth centuries on the evidence of Hindu practices in the Bujang and Muda River valleys discussed earlier.

7. Gaṇeśa

Gaṇeśa or Ganapati, Lord of Gaṇas has been described as the source of obstacles (vigneśa) and also as their remover (vināyaka). He is also known by various other names,¹¹⁵ denoting his other qualities, such as the twisted trunk (vakra-tuṇḍa), the one tusk (eka-danta), who rides on a rat (akhu-ratha), bestower of perfection (siddhidatā), protector (heramba), double-bodied (dvi-dehaka), the full belly (lambodara), the elephant-face (gajānana) and also the child gaṇapati (bāla-gaṇapati). He is one of the most popular and adored of all the Hindu gods and his image is found in practically every part of India, South East Asia and the Far East. He has been propitiated at the beginning of every auspicious ceremony in every Hindu household.¹¹⁶

His origin, however, is still very obscure. There are scholars who tried to trace the origin of Ganeśa and suggest that his image in the classic form by which he is identified appeared in India suddenly and without the inspiration of transitional form.¹¹⁷ There is no literary source that indicates the existence of Ganeśa or Gaṇapati cult in India prior to the Gupta period.¹¹⁸

In 1936, Alice Getty remarked that no statue of Ganeśa of any interest has yet been found in Southern Thailand.¹¹⁹ There was no mention of Ganeśa from either Peninsula Malaysia or Sumatra. This must be due to the fact that only after 1936 a few significant images of Ganeśa have been recovered from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. The images from the Malay Peninsula are definitely Ganeśa but the elephant faced figures found in Padang Lawas sites may be identified as Ganeśa on the evidence which will be discussed later. The number of images recovered are one from Sathingphra,¹²⁰ two from Pengkalan Bujang in Kedah¹²¹ and three from Padang Lawas.¹²²

The oldest image is probably the one from Sathingphra. It is now in the Matchimawas Museum in Songkhla. The image, pl. 5.32, was carved out of a reddish stone. It is about 35 cm high. It has four arms and is seated in the mahārājalilāsana pose. The anterior right hand holds an unidentifiable attribute on the knee, the anterior left hand holds what appears to be a modaka cake. But it is uncertain that this identification is right in view of the fact that the attribute represented is obscure. The attributes in the two posterior hands which have been raised to about ear level are also impossible to identify.

The image wears no headgear. A string of pearls adorns the neck. It wears the yajñopavīta which runs down the left shoulder. A nāga girdle is worn around the pot-bellied waist. The plainness, the feeling of naturalism and the fact that it is not in the round indicate the image as being early. If in India, the image might be classified in the

Gupta period. Several examples of Ganeśas from India described as Gupta share the same plain characteristics.¹²³ Pre-Angkorian Ganeśa and early Ganeśa found at Oc-Eo,¹²⁴ Tuol Phak Kin,¹²⁵ (only two hands) and Mi-son¹²⁶ are comparably plain. They do not wear jewellery and diadem as in the case of the Angkorian images. The image may be dated to a period not later than the seventh century A.D.

The Ganeśa from Pengkalan Bujang belonged to a later date. The one from Site 19, pl. 5.33, is wearing a string of pearls and armlets. Presumably, the image also wears bracelets, but the only evidence for this is the obscure marking on the only arm still intact, the left anterior arm. The other three arms are missing. The characteristics of the image have to be gleaned from the report by Quaritch-Wales who discovered it in 1936; the photographs which he published do not show enough detail. The head of the image is missing. The image measures about 0.5 m high. It is seated in the maharājalilāsana pose just like the Sathingphra image. This seating position is not normal to the seated Ganeśa found in Java¹²⁷ and Cambodia.¹²⁸ In Java, the seated Ganeśa normally sit with the soles touching. So far only one example is known to be an exception to this rule. The example is the seated Ganeśa holding a radish which is now in the Ethnographic Museum at Leiden.¹²⁹ The Cambodian Ganeśa usually when seated have their legs crossed.

The other image from Pengkalan Bujang is the terracotta Ganeśa, pl. 5.34, found at Site 4. It is not possible to identify the attributes it is holding. Although it is nearly as high as the Site 19 image about 0.4 m, it is very crudely represented. It has been identified as Ganeśa by virtue of the recognisable representation of the trunk. The trunk appears to curve to the left just as in the Sathingphra image. The rest of the parts of the body are in relief. The feet appear to be touching just like the Javanese type.

Although it is difficult to date the two images on the basis of style, particularly the Site 4 image, nevertheless,

the associated finds, the ceramics would prove useful. The ceramics from Site 19, the Middle-Eastern and the late T'ang or early Sung type of ceramics indicate that the site belonged to the tenth century or early eleventh century period.¹³⁰ The Ganeśa from Site 19 may be dated to the similar period. Site 4 image belonged to a later period. The associated finds, the ceramics belonged to the Sung/Yuan period.¹³¹ The assumption is based on the celadon type of ceramics. The date for the site and the image is probably eleventh to thirteenth century.

The Padang Lawas images of elephant-headed beings could have originated from Ganeśa. The two elephant-headed beings, pl. 5.35, found guarding the steps to one of the temples of Bahal II might be identified as the dvarapāla Ganeśa. It is known that Ganeśa has been incorporated into Tantric Buddhism.¹³² One of the forms is the dvarapāla.¹³³ The representation of Ganeśa as dvarapāla, guarding Buddhist monument has been found in Nepal.¹³⁴ According to Alice Getty, the Nepal dvarapāla has a tranquil aspect.¹³⁵ But the Padang Lawas dvarapāla has a demonic character. Each dvarapāla has two arms and in the left hand is a little pot while in the right hand is a club. They are ithyphallic and have clawed feet. The tusks are small and short and do not appear like normal tusk. The tusks are six in number. Three are seen on each side. The elephant with six tusks and one head symbolises the reincarnation of Buddha.¹³⁶ The trunk appears to curve to the left just as in other Ganeśa images from the Malay Peninsula. But the other characteristics of the image such as the shape of the hands and feet which appear to be shaped like lion paw makes the image very peculiar.

The other image, pl. 5.36, of what appears to be a Ganeśa is the relief on one of the walls of Pulo temple at Padang Lawas. The image is in the dancing pose. It has two arms. According to Alice Getty, there is a Buddhist god called Vināyaka, who has been represented in dancing attitude and rarely met except in painting.¹³⁷ In the Hindu pantheon, this form of Ganeśa in dancing attitude is called

Nṛtita-Ganapati.¹³⁸ The dancing elephant from Pulo presumably represents Ganeśa in Buddhist pantheon because the temple is believed to be Buddhist. This Buddhist form of Ganeśa is popular in Nepal and found its way into Tibet.¹³⁹ The problem in identifying the Pulo image is that known dancing Ganeśa usually has more than two arms. For example, there is a stone frieze from Pangal, Nālandā in India where ganas are seen in dancing pose and also dancing Ganeśas.¹⁴⁰ But the Ganeśas have four arms. Nevertheless, the dancing Ganeśa of Pulo is also accompanied by dancing ganas. It probably belongs to one of the forms of Buddhist dancing Ganeśa which is peculiar to the Padang Lawas area. Although it has been reported by Baith Naj Puri that at Khajuraho dancing Ganeśas are very conspicuous and varied¹⁴¹ it is not possible to relate any of those to the Pulo image. The date for the Pulo image on the basis of the dating for the site is probably the eleventh to thirteenth century.

There is another example of Ganeśa image, pl. 5.37, from the Malay Peninsula. It came from Sathingphra and is now in the Matchimawas Museum in Songkhla. I came across the image and photographed it in 1974. It is made of bronze and is about 7 cm high. Stylistically it appears to be related to the Khmer style of the Bayon phase, twelfth century to thirteenth century. This is based on the treatment of the diadem and the mukuta. The diadem appears to be inflected at the temples and the mukuta is conical in shape and is of low type. But the way the image is seated, right knee raised and left knee bent, the kneeling posture has no known parallel among the Cambodian images. The closest example from Cambodia is the bronze seated Ganeśa published by Coedès.¹⁴² The image wears the same type of jewellery and diadem and yajñopavīta and conical mukuta but is seated cross-legged just as in other cases of Khmer seated Ganeśas.

8. Linga

Linga cult must have been very popular in various parts of the Malay Peninsula and probably in Sumatra too. This has been indicated by the archaeological finds. Lingas, the phallic emblem of Siva, have been found in Chaiya, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Si Chon, Yarang, Sathingphra, Bujang and Muda River Valleys in the peninsula and Padang Lawas in Sumatra. While the lingas are generally categorised as the natural type and the conventional type,¹⁴³ the types of lingas recovered from the above sites are all of the conventional type.

By definition, the natural type are those lingas that are represented anatomically in a naturalistic manner. The head or the nut of the phallic emblem is greater than that of the shaft and the base in terms of circumference. The conventional type are those lingas conceived as geometrical abstraction where the head or nut is represented in cylindrical or hemispherical form, the shaft in octagonal form and the base in cubic form. In the two types of lingas, the degree of anatomical naturalism and the relative proportion of each of the parts have been applied for relative dating. Nevertheless, scholars have realised the pitfalls in any effort to draw chronological conclusions from such a highly conventionalised and simple form as the linga.

This method, however, has been accepted widely in India and South East Asia.¹⁴⁴ The lingas from the Peninsula and Sumatra will be discussed by applying analogies with lingas found in India and other parts of South East Asia particularly Cambodia. In Cambodia, Parmentier in his study of primitive art of Cambodia in 1927 suggested that the number of lingas he found that appeared to be naturalistic were older than the more conventionalised representations.¹⁴⁵ This view seems to be further strengthened by the work of Malleret on the archaeology of Mekong Delta where lingas were among the archaeological finds.¹⁴⁶ In the Transbassac area of Mekong Delta, the number of the lingas that were naturalistic in conception was far greater than those

discovered in other parts of Cambodia. By associating the area with the oldest kingdom known in South East Asia, Fu-nan he argued that the naturalistic lingas in the area may be assigned to the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century.¹⁴⁷ The next phase of the development was the evolution of mukhalingas of the conventionalised type. This view is also held by scholars who studied the development of lingas in India. Banerjea stated that the mukhalingas classified as conventional are much later than the types of the realistic which he described in his study.¹⁴⁸ Among the oldest linga from India is the well known Guḍimallam linga from South India. It stands about 1.5 m and bears upon its frontal portion a figure of Śiva with two arms. Śiva stands astride on the shoulder of an Apasmāra Purusha. The nut and the shaft shaped exactly like the original model in a state of erection. The date assigned to this linga is about second century B.C.¹⁴⁹ It has been suggested that the development from the naturalistic type to the conventionalised started from the Gupta period.¹⁵⁰ In view of this fact the lingas from the Peninsula and Sumatra may be assumed to belong to the period not earlier than the Gupta period.

The oldest known linga from the Peninsula and Sumatra is probably the mukhalinga from Chaiya, pl. 5.38. It is now in the National Museum Bangkok. It has a cubic Brahmabhāga, octagonal Visnubhāga and cylindrical Pujabhāga or Rudrabhāga. All the three parts have equal heights, about 48 cm. On the glandular part of the Rudrabhāga is the superimposed head of Śiva which measures 30 cm from the chin to the top of the jata. Stylistically it may be dated to about the sixth or seventh century A.D. This conclusion is based on the study of the jata. The jata of the image seems to fit in with the style of the jatas seen on the Śiva images found in various parts of India particularly in the Mādhya-Pradesh area.¹⁵¹ The jata is made up as a chignon constricted by two lateral ligatures on top of the skull. The rest of the hair falls in loops on either side of the head. In the Chaiya image, the style of

the representation of the hair from the base of the jata to the hairline is very stylised. The area is treated as a flat surface without any modulation to indicate tresses. Although the influence of the jata came from a Gupta prototype as suggested by O'Connor, its style was modified indicating probably a later date for the style.¹⁵²

The mukhalinga from Chaiya I believe is older than the mukhalingas classified as pre-Angkorian from Cambodia. It is also older than the mukhalinga from Sapoek on the River Sapoek, a tributary of River Kapus in western Borneo.¹⁵³ In the case of the representation of Śiva on the lingas from Oc-Eo, the jata of the small image of Śiva is fused with the filet on the gland of the Rudrabhāga.¹⁵⁴ The mukhalinga from Vat Sak Sampou,¹⁵⁵ has the same style of jata as the Chaiya mukhalinga but the image is very small and more stylised. The Sapoek mukhalinga may be classified to the same period as the Oc-Eo mukhalinga.

From the conventional stylised mukhalingas evolved the second form of the conventional type. In this type the face of Śiva has disappeared altogether. The main feature of this type is that the representation of the lines technically known as brahmasūtra on the Rudrabhāga, that is, the device to demarcate the nut from the shaft is not in pronounced relief. The lingas that may be grouped to this type are the lingas from Yarang, pl. 5.39, in the Patani District and Si Chon in the Nakhon Si Thammarat district. Within this group, the oldest is probably the one from Yarang. It is made from green stone. It is now in the Nakhon Si Thammarat Museum. It stands 44 cm high. Two brahmasūtras are incised while the brahmasūtra representing the middle gland is in pronounced relief. The ratio of the Rudrabhāga to the Viṣṇubhāga and to the Brahmabhāga is 10:2:3.5. The Rudrabhāga is hemispherical in shape and the Viṣṇubhāga is octagonal while the Brahmabhāga is cubic. This linga may be dated to a period later than the pre-Angkorian mukhalingas and not earlier than the eighth century. In terms of style it displays much more realism than the other lingas in this

group. In view of the fact that the site from which this *linga* was recovered revealed other artifacts which may be classified as the Dvāravatī period in southern part of Thailand, most scholars agree that the period lies within the sixth or seventh century to the tenth century.¹⁵⁶ But the art of the Dvāravatī period had two phases.¹⁵⁷ The first phase probably started from the sixth or seventh century while the second phase began about the eighth century.¹⁵⁸ The first phase still shows very strong Indian elements but the second phase shows a much more local element.¹⁵⁹ The Yarang linga may be placed in the second phase of the Dvāravatī art in view of the fact that the other artifacts from the site may be classified to this phase. In view of this fact it may be dated to the eighth or ninth century.

The three lingas from Si Chon then may be dated to the ninth century.¹⁶⁰ The first of these lingas, pl. 5.40, is the one that came from Wat Nakhom. It is now in a private collection. Its three sections are almost equal in ratio and are geometrical in conception. The representation of the two brahmaśūtras on the Rudrabhāga are incised but the third line, that is, the perpendicular brahmaśūtra is in relief. The second, pl. 5.41, and third lingas, pl. 5.42, from Si Chon are represented in three equal sections. But the brahmaśūtras are less prominently represented. The perpendicular brahmaśūtra is not clearly represented. A fourth linga, pl. 5.43, from Si Chon is a crystal one in a private collection. It is not divided into three parts, it may be grouped stylistically with the other three. The brahmaśūtras are clearly incised. The absence of the base is due not to a difference in style but rather to the inability of the sculptor to create it on such a small and delicate material.

The next group of lingas are those that came from Site 8, Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat Pengkalan Bujang and the one from Wat Keo in Chaiya. The Bukit Batu Pahat lingas are made from gold foil. They were recovered by Alastair Lamb in his excavation of the site.¹⁶¹ They were found

located in the central depressions of the nine-chambered reliquaries buried under the building foundation. Altogether six of these lingas were recovered from six stone reliquaries. Each linga, pl. 5.44, was found under a gold semi-circular disc, generally linga is above and semi-circular disc tuck below. Each disc has the symbol of what seems to be that of the phallus.¹⁶² It could represent the apparent extra section on a later linga from Bujang Valley. Its function could be that of a sheath. The linga, pl. 5.45, from Wat Keo is made from granite. It is kept in the temple. Its original provenance is unknown but it is believed to have come from the area near the temple.

These lingas share common characteristics. Their Visnubhāga and Rudrabhāga are not demarcated and represented as a single unit, roughly cylindrical in shape. The ratio of the Brahmabhāga to the Visnubhāga-Rudrabhāga part is 1:5. The Wat Keo linga has a height of 14 cm. Its Viṣṇubhāga-Rudrabhāga part is clearly demarcated from the Brahmabhāga. In the case of the Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat lingas, the Visnubhāga-Rudrabhāga part is demarcated just at the two corners by the cutting of a triangular shaped piece from the corners. Again this feature does not indicate that the lingas from Chandi Bukit Pahat are in different style from that of the Wat Keo linga but rather due to the inability of the sculptor to produce a much more prominent line on the material. The brahmaśūtras which normally indicate the real demarcation point between the shaft and the nut are absent but the perpendicular brahmaśūtra is represented. This brahmaśūtra runs from the base of the Visnubhāga-Rudrabhāga part to about one-third from the top. In the case of the older type of lingas this line runs right to the top.

These lingas may be assigned a date of about eleventh to thirteenth century. This is based on the date which has been assigned to the temple. According to F.E. Treloar, the temple may be dated to the late Sung or Yüan period, twelfth to thirteenth century.¹⁶³ His main argument is that

the chemical contents of the gold linga from the site may be dated to the period. This is due to the fact that among the chemical contents was mercury. The origin of this mercury was the Bau District in the Sarawak River Delta. This mercury was imported via Pengkalan Bujang because he found that the copper piece found at Pengkalan Bujang has the same origin as the copper found in the reliquaries at the Batu Pahat site. In view of the date given to Pengkalan Bujang as late Sung to early Yüan, then Chāndī Bukit Batu Pahat may be dated to the same period. But further study on the ceramics, particularly the Middle-Eastern ceramics indicate that Pengkalan Bujang was already a port as late as the tenth century. Also, on the evidence that the mercury from Sarawak had been exported as early as the late T'ang or early Sung, then the site at Chāndī Bukit Batu Pahat may be dated to the eleventh or thirteenth century at the latest. In the case of the linga from Wat Keo, the similar date, eleventh to thirteenth century is also acceptable in view of the fact that the tentative date for the artifacts found and kept in the temple also included the period.

The next group of the lingas show a greater stylisation. So great was the change that in the manner of its ultimate representation it appears to have not originated from the natural type of lingas. This feature, characteristic of the late type of lingas from India, particularly, led certain scholars to conclude that they originated from stūpa.¹⁶⁴

The linga from Site 50, pl. 5.46, has four parts. The Brahmabhāga measures 12 cms, the Viṣṇubhāga measures 3 cm and the Rudrabhāga including the small piece above it measures 25 cm. There is no indication of brahmasūtras. In spite of the absence of the brahmasūtras and the presence of an extra part it may be classified as linga because according to Banerjea although it has been laid down in the Mukutāgama that all the Manusa lingas must have the brahmasūtras, still in the later specimens they are seldom emphasised.¹⁶⁵ The absence of the brahmasūtras indicate the lateness of the style of the site 50 linga. On the evidence

of the associated finds such as ceramics, it may be dated to the twelfth to thirteenth century. This is based on the Sung type of ceramics.

From Padang Lawas in Sumatra, a number of phallus shaped stambhas, pls. 5.47, 5.48, have been found. One of them has been identified as linga by Schnitger.¹⁶⁶ It came from the site of Choreng Belangah. The temple complex is believed to be Buddhistic. The function of this linga shaped stambha gives rise to speculation. Schnitger suggested that it was to honour Buddha in commemoration of marriage, birth, victory or some other memorable event. Setting up these stambhas would enable the people concerned to protect themselves from the perils of magic powers.¹⁶⁷ The origin of the style of the stambhas has been attributed to linga.¹⁶⁸ If it is true that the origin of the stambhas is thus, then the view of Bosch regarding the relationship of the stambha with the linga is relevant when considering the function of these stambhas.¹⁶⁹

Bosch states that stambha or cosmic pillar is called the 'golden reed' (vetasam hiranyayam) standing in the primeval waters.¹⁷⁰ He defines vetasa as meaning both 'reed' and 'phallus', and thus vetasam hiranyayam means cosmic reed, alias phallus, rising from the waters and is essentially one with the stambha or cosmic tree-stem born out of the same aquatic element.¹⁷¹ Thus both iconographic evidence and mythology, according to Bosch, identified linga with lotus-stem and that the twin emblems, linga and pedestal (yoni), must have evolved into lotus-stem and lotus mula.¹⁷²

The linga shaped stambha from Choreng Belangah is about 1 m high. The base has a cubic shape with grooves at the middle part. The next part is the lotus cushion and the part above it has floral design. This whole part must be equivalent of Viṣṇubhāga in linga. Just above this part is the cylindrical shape section and crowned by lotus motif top. This is equivalent to the Rudrabhāga in the linga. The other interesting example of the stambha with phallus

shape is the one from Si Soldop, pl. 5.49. It has four parts. The base is round and decorated with kāla heads, vajrās and upraised hands. The second part comprises the slimmest portion of the stambha and the surface is in convex form. The third part is nearly cylindrical in shape and it is separated from the fourth part by a groove. This groove is equivalent to the demaracation line between the head or nut with the shaft, if it is in the linga. The top part is shaded by a semi-hemispherical shade.

The phallus shaped stambha from Pandang Lawas may be dated to a period between the twelfth and thirteenth century. The dating is based on the evidence of the inscription found at Choreng Belangah dated 1101 Saka.¹⁷³ While the site of Si Soldop may be dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Besides lingas, a number of the pitha part which are described as yoni or arghya (female principle) have been recovered especially in the Bujang and Muda Valleys.

NOTES

1. J.N. Banerjea, The development of Hindu Iconography, 387-388.
2. G. Coedès, "Les collections archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok", 25, Pl. X.
3. Reginald Le May, The Culture of Southeast Asia, 80.
4. P. Dupont, La statuaire préangkorienne, 133-135 cf. S.J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 26-27.
5. P.S. Rawson, "Review of La statuaire préangkorienne, by Pierre Dupont", 33.
6. Ibid. 33.
7. Ibid. 33.
8. J. Boisselier, "La statuaire préangkorienne et Pierre Dupont" 67. Cf. S.J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 27.
9. J. Boisselier, "Le Visnu de Tjibuaja (Java Occidental) et la statuaire du Sud-Est asiatique", 210-226, cf. S.J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 27.
10. Ibid. 39.
11. Ibid. 39.
12. Ibid. 39.
13. Ibid. Figs. 12 and 13.
14. Ibid. 38.
15. Ibid. 38.
16. M.R. Majumdar (ed.) Historical and cultural chronology of Gujarat, Pl. XLII.
17. Ibid. Pls. XXXIII and XXXVII.
18. Ibid., 209, Pl. XLIV (B).
19. Aschwin de Lippe, Indian Medieval Sculpture, Pl. 7.
20. M. Benisti, Rapport entre le premier art Khmer et l'art Indien, Tomel, Pl. 196.
21. S.J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 35-36 considers some of the evidence.
22. Ibid. Figs. 2 and 3.
23. Ibid. 39.

24. V.S. Agrawala, A catalogue of the Brahmanical images in Mathura Art, cf. S.J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 30.
25. M.R. Majumdar (ed.) Historical and cultural chronology of Gujarat, 318, Pl. XC.
26. Aschwin Lippe, "Viṣṇu's conch in Nepal" 117-119; P. Pal, Vaishnava Iconology in Nepal; A study in art and religion, Fig. 38.
27. M.R. Majumdar (ed.) Historical and cultural chronology of Gujarat, Pl. XC.
28. Aschwin Lippe, "Viṣṇu's Conch in Nepal" 117-119.
29. H. Zimmer, The art of Indian Asia, Pl. 108 (Avalokiteśvara image). This style appears at Elephanta and Nālandā.
30. S.J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, Figs. 14-25.
31. W.F. Stutterheim, "Note on the newly found fragment of a four-armed figure from Kota Kapur, Bangka" 105-109 and see also, Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srivijaya, Pl. 13 (Sumatra).
32. P. Dupont, "Visnu mitrès des 1"Indochine occidentale" 244 and S.J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 42.
33. S.J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 43.
34. Ibid. 43.
35. Ibid. 43.
36. P. Dupont, La statuaire préangkorienne, 128; S.J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 42.
37. Ibid. 43-46, 48-49.
38. Ibid. 45-47.
39. Ibid. 47.
40. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Malayan archaeology of the Hindu period, some reconsiderations" 18-19. He criticised S.J. O'Connor, "An early Brahmanical sculpture at Songkhla" 163-169; "Sathiningphra: An expanded chronology" 137-144.
41. Ibid. 18.
42. Ibid. 19.
43. Ibid. 19.
44. A.K. Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Iconography", 40-41.

45. S.J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 45 note 17, he cites U.P. Shah, "A few Brahmanical images in the Baroda Museum", 19-23, fig. 10.
46. Compare with, see, Aschwin de Lippe, Indian Medieval Sculpture, Pl. 163; also, C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian bronzes, Pls. 12a, 10a, 10b.
47. See, Madeleine Hallade, Gandhara Art of North India, Pl. 168 (Elephanta), Pl. 195 (Avalokiteśvara from Nālandā); H. Zimmer, The art of Indian Asia, Pl. 108b (Bihar).
48. Madeleine Hallade, Gandhara art of North India, 168.
49. Aschwin de Lippe, Indian Medieval Sculpture, 9, pl. 16.
50. Ibid. 10, pl. 18.
51. W.W. Bourke, "Some archaeological notes from Monthon Puket".
52. de Lajonquière, "Le domaine archéologique du Siam", 235.
53. Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of Indian cultural expansion", 15.
54. Nilakanta Sastri, "Takuapa and its Tamil inscription", 27.
55. Quaritch-Wales, "Recent Malayan excavation and some wider implications", 147.
56. Quaritch-Wales, "Review of Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat, by Alastair Lamb", 109.
57. Alastair Lamb, "Takuapa; a probable site of pre-Malaccan entrepôt in the Malay Peninsula", 109.
58. S.J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 53.
59. For the image cited see A.G. Rao, Hindu iconography, 313-323, Pls. XC-XCII.
60. R.S. Gupte, Iconography of the Hindu, Buddhist and Jains, 86.
61. C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, Pls. 12a, 12b.
62. R. Nagaswamy, "Pallava bronzes" 56, Pl. 1.
63. Lieut. Gen. D.R. Thapar, An introduction to Indian Metal Bronzes, 56, Pl. VI.
64. S.J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 60-61, Fig. 32.
65. For the Cola bronzes, see, C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian bronzes, Pls. 7la, 7lb.

66. Ibid. 36. Fig. 24 (c).
67. Ibid. 35-36. Fig. 24 (d).
68. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 2, Pl. VI.
69. Ibid. 2.
70. Compare with, see, Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, Pls. 247 and 248 (dhoti, and sashes).
71. Ibid. Pl. 202.
72. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 2, Pl. VI.
73. Ibid. 2.
74. C. Sivaramamurti, L'art en Indie, section on Siva dongsant selon le mode urdhvajanu, gemon levé, Pallava, VIII^e-IX^e S.
75. Alastair Lamb, "Notes on Sathingphra" Pls. 3 and 4.
76. Ibid. 176.
77. Subhadradis Diskul (ed.) The art of Srīvijaya, 35.
78. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesia Art, Pls. 157, 158.
79. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 2, Pl. VI.
80. See, Bijschriften bij de foto's van eenige belangrijke aanwinsten der Oudheidkundige verzameling in 1932 en 1933, Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en wetenschappen, JAARBOEK, 2, 1934, 115.
81. Bhagwant Sahai, Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist deities, 119-131.
82. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu iconography, Vol. II, i, 176.-177.
83. J.N. Banerjea, The Development of Hindu iconography 465-467.
84. B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist iconography.
85. N.K. Bhattasali, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum, 133.
86. Bhagwant Sahai, Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist deities, 120.
87. Ibid. 120.
88. Ibid. 120.

89. A.B. Griswold, C. Sivaramamurti, de Casparis, P.H. Pott, "Treasure trove among the tapioca: an eleventh century Malayan bronze", 11-13, Pls. on pp. 11-13, see note 352, Chapter 2.
90. Ibid. 12.
91. Ibid. 12.
92. Ibid. 12.
93. Ibid. 13.
94. Nilakanta Sastri, "Agastya", 539; and O.C. Gangoly, "The Cult of Agastya: and the origin of Indian colonial art", 9.
95. O.C. Gangoly, "The cult of Agastya: and the origin of Indian colonial art", 9.
96. Ibid.
97. See note 94, Nilakanta Sastri, "Agastya" 473.
98. Compare with the photograph in Ph. Groslier, Art of Indo-China, Plate on page 67.
99. Alastair Lamb, "Notes on Sathingphra", Pl. 8.
100. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, Pl. 43.
101. For comparison, see W.F. Stutterheim, "De archaeologische verzameling", Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, JAARBOEK, 5, 1938, 108-109, Pl. 4. Siva and Parvati from Kediri.
102. Stanley O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, Fig. 34.
103. Compare with an image in C. Sivaramamurti, South Indian bronzes, Pl. 39.
104. See, C. Sivaramamurti, L'art en Indie, Pls. 636 (Jambhala); 564 (Brahma).
105. Stanley O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, Fig. 32.
106. Ibid. 62.
107. Ibid. 62; see also Banerjea, The development of Hindu iconography, 439.
108. O.C. Gangoly, South Indian bronzes, Pl. XXIV.
109. Ibid. Pl. XXV.
110. I.H.N. Evans, Papers on Ethnology and archaeology of the Malay Peninsula, 113, Pl. XX.

111. Ibid. 113.
112. Bhagwant Sahai, Iconography of minor Hindu and Buddhist deities, 181.
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114. Ibid. 181.
115. Alice Getty, Ganeśa: A monograph of the elephant-faced God, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1936.
116. This view is that of Dr. Baij Naith Puri, "Ganeśa and Ganapati cult in India and South East Asia," JIH, 405.
117. Alice Getty, Ganeśa: A monograph of the elephant-faced God, 10; A.K. Narain, "Studies in South Asian Culture," (ed.) J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Vol. VII, 1978, 142. They recognised the existence of archaic form of Ganeśa image.
118. Alice Getty, Ganeśa: A monograph of the elephant-faced God, 10.
119. Ibid. 47.
120. Stanley O'Connor, "Sathingphra: an expanded chronology" Fig. 3.
121. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya" Pl. 20 (Site 4); Pls. 71 and 72 (Site 19).
122. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, Pl. XXXVI and Pl. on the last page (p. 27).
123. C. Sivaramamurti, L'art en Indie, section on "Variétés des formes de Trompes et des couronnes de Ganeśa".
124. Malleret, L'archeologie du Delta de Mekong, Vol. 1, 137-138, pl. LXXXV (c).
125. P. Dupont, La statuaire preangkorienne, 60-61, pl. XXI (d).
126. Jean Boisselier, La statuaire du Champa, The image is in Mison B (3) style, Fig. 23.
127. Alice Getty, Ganeśa: A monograph of the elephant-faced God, Pl. 30 (a, c, d).
128. Ibid. Pls. 25 (a, b) 26, 28 (a, c).
129. Ibid. Pl. 32a.
130. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya" Pls. 71 and 72 (pp. 39-40) describes the image. But for the dating of the site see Chapter 3.

131. Ibid. Pl. 20 (p. 14) describes the image.
132. Alice Getty, Ganesā: A monograph on the elephant-headed God, 40.
133. Ibid. 40.
134. Ibid. 40.
135. Ibid. 40.
136. Alice Getty, The Gods of northern Buddhism, 168.
137. Alice Getty, Ganesā: A monograph of the elephant-headed God, 38. There is the Jātaka story depicted on the north and south gateway at Sanchi where the elephant is represented with that kind of tusk. See, John Marshall, The Chaddanta Jātaka story: A Guide to Sanchi.
138. Ibid. 38.
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140. Ibid. Pl. 22a. It is possible too that the image represents a dancer wearing elephant mask.
141. Baij Naith Puri, "Ganesā and Ganapati cult in India and South East Asia" 409.
142. G. Coedès, Bronzes Khmères, Pl. XV.
143. Several scholars have utilised the terminology while describing the various forms of linga. See:
 H. Parmentier, L'art Khmer primitif, 311-312;
 L. Malleret, L'archéologie du delta du Mékong, 377-388;
 J. Boisselier, La statuaire du Champa, 410-415;
 Jitendra Nath Banerjea, "The phallic emblem in ancient and medieval India" JISOA, 3, 2 (1935), 36-44.
144. See Stanley O'Connor, "An ekamukhalinga from Peninsular Siam" 43-54; Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam; and Paritosh Banerjea, "A note on the antiquity of linga worship in India" Journal of the Bihar Research Society, 60, 2 (1954), 171-177.
145. H. Parmentier, L'art Khmer primitif, 311-312.
146. L. Malleret, L'archéologie du delta du Mékong, 379-80.
147. Ibid. 379-380.
148. Jitendra Nath Banerjea, "The phallic emblem in ancient and medieval India" 41.
149. Paritosh Banerjea, "A note on the antiquity of linga worship in India", 175.
150. J.N Banerjea, The development of Hindu iconography, 456.

151. P. Pal, The Ideal Image, Cat. no. 21.
152. Stanley O'Connor, "An ekamukhalinga from Peninsular Siam" 43-54. For comparison, see, C. Sivaramamurti, "Geographic and Chronological factors in Indian iconography" Ancient India, 6, 1956, 44-46.
153. F.D.K. Bosch, "Oudheden ter Wesseraf deeling van Borneo" OV, 1920, 102-105, Figs. 1-2.
154. L. Malleret, L'archeologie du delta du Mekong, 383, No. 107, Pl. LXXXI.
155. H. Parmentier, "Notes d'archeologie Indochinoise", BEFEO, 32, 1 (1932), 188, Pl. 14A.
156. Elizabeth Lyons, "Dvāravatī, a consideration of its formative period" in Early South East Asia (eds.) R.B. Smith and W. Watson, 352-359 (Particularly p. 352); Subhadradis Diskul, The development of Dvāravatī Sculpture and a recent find from North-east Thailand, in Early South East Asia, 360-370 (particularly p. 360).
157. Subhadradis Diskul, "The development of Dvāravatī Sculpture and a recent find from North-east Thailand" in Early South East Asia, 360.
158. Ibid. 360-363.
159. Ibid. 360-363.
160. For the photographs, see, Stanley O'Connor, "Si Chon: An Early Settlement in Peninsular Thailand" JSS, 56, 1 (1968) 1-18.
161. Alastair Lamb, Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat, Monograph on South East Asian studies, 1. Eastern University Press, Singapore, 1960, Pls. 144-147.
162. For comparison, see, Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, Pl. 320.
163. F.E. Treloar, "Chemical analysis of some metal objects from Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat", 193-198.
164. Paritosh Banerjea, "A note on the antiquity of linga worship in India", 176.
165. Ibid. 176.
166. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 21.
167. Ibid. 20-21.
168. F.D.K. Bosch, The Golden Germ: An Introduction to Indian Symbolism, 164-165.
169. Ibid. 164.

- 170. Ibid. 164.
- 171. Ibid. 164.
- 172. Ibid. 164-165.

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CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1. The nature of the art

The detailed analysis of Hindu and Buddhist art reveals the following types and numbers of Hindu and Buddhist deities known to be in existence for the period, C.400 to 14th century:-

<u>Buddhist Images</u>	<u>Hindu Images</u>
a) Buddha (82)	a) Viṣṇu (17)
b) Avalokiteśvara with two, four, six, eight and twelve arms (42)	b) Viṣṇu on <u>Garuda</u> (1)
c) Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara (1)	c) Viṣṇu <u>Madhyama Yogasthanakamūrti</u> (1)
d) Maitreya (1)	d) R̄ṣi Markendaya (1)
e) Vajrapāṇi (1)	e) Laks̄mi (1)
f) Jambhala (1)	f) Bhūdevi (1)
g) Heruka (1)	g) Śiva (3)
h) Vajrasattva (1)	h) Śiva in Baṭuka Bhairava form (1)
i) Hevajra (1)	i) <u>Mukhalīṅga</u> (1)
j) unidentifiable Bodhisattva (4)	j) <u>Liṅga</u> (11)
k) Bhairava (1)	k) Gaṇeśa (1)
l) Tārā	l) Śiva-Guru (2)
m) Cundā (2)	m) Durgā triumphant over Mahiṣasura (1)
n) Prajñāparamitā (3)	n) Sūrya (1)
o) Hāritī (1)	o) Brahmā (1)
	p) Brahmā on <u>hamsa</u> (1)

Stylistically they show several types. It is oversimplified to suggest that they evolved in waves: Amarāvatī, Pallava, Gupta, Pāla-Sena and Cōla. It is apparent that even in India itself this was never the case. The styles are, in fact, mixtures of various styles. Because in the majority of cases the style region was not limited to a particular area only, it is, therefore, improper to label styles according to site. To label a style as Chaiya school or Nakhon Si Thammarat school projects certain impressions: a large number of the

the styles have been located in the area; that it was really a dominant style over a long time span. But this has never been the case. It also creates the same problem to label certain sculptures as "Śrīvijayan art" in view of the small sample and the evidence of the existence of other styles during the same period. It is, therefore, more appropriate to arrange them according to the chronological sequence and to trace the evolution of each style in terms of area in which it was found.

From the sculptural evidence, it is apparent that the beginning of Hindu and Buddhist art was C.400 A.D. It is believed that the oldest sculpture, the standing four-armed Viṣṇu (pl. 5.1) from Chaiya was created locally. The two Viṣṇu images from Nakhon Si Thammarat (pls. 5.2 and 5.3) belong to the same style, but on the evidence of iconography may be dated to the later part of the fifth century. The three images share similarities with a Viṣṇu image from Oc-Eo and Yēlēśwaram in Āndhra-Pradesh. The elements they have in common are the conch shell in the left lower hand placed on the hip, the waist-sash which has been arranged to form a loop in the front part of the dhotī and mitred headdress in the case of the images from the Peninsula. The style was localised to three regions: the Āndhra-Pradesh area, the isthmian area associated with the ancient kingdom of P'an-p'an (Chaiya area) and Oc-Eo which scholars associate with Fu-nan. Besides Viṣṇu images, there are two standing Buddha images which have been attributed to the fifth century. They are from Sungei Kolok and Pun Pin in the isthmian area. The style of these images (pls. 4.1 and 4.2) was linked with Sri Lanka and the treatment of the uttarāsaṅga presumably originated from the Amarāvatī area.

The style of the images of the fifth century indicates strong links with South India and Sri Lanka. As far as the Buddha images are concerned they definitely received direct influence from Sri Lanka but the Viṣṇu images may not be influenced directly by the Āndhra-Pradesh area in view of the fact that other elements besides those common to all the

images of this style are distinctly indicative of local choice and differ from one image to another. Each image, including the Yēlēśwaram image, was created in accordance to an Indian proto-type by adopting the general basic elements such as the style of the dress and the iconography. Other elements may not be copied from that proto-type but copied from other sources. In the case of the Chaiya Viṣṇu, the ear-rings originated from north and western India. Other elements may be taken from some other sources. It is possible that the style of the dhotī and the way the sashes were tied reflect the technique in which the dhotī was tied and worn during that period. The style of the ornaments indicates certain parts in India in contact with isthmian area and Oc-Eo. In view of the fact that the Chaiya Viṣṇu has been regarded as the oldest, the Nakhon Si Thammarat Viṣṇu must have developed from Chaiya style. The differences in certain elements between them indicate choice.

The images which have been assigned to the fifth to sixth century period, are all standing Buddha images and they show two types. The first type consists of one image, pl. 4.17, from Pengkaleñ in Kinta Valley which received a strong influence on the treatment of uttarāsaṅga from Mathurā. The second, comprises three images (pls. 4.18, 4.24 and 4.25) which originated from Wiang Sa, Jambi and Palembang. The main element, the treatment of uttarāsaṅga again point to Gupta art but the school was Sārnāth. The sculptural evidence once again points to the existence of local workshops and the styles were created by copying the main elements from a particular proto-type which represent certain schools in India. The way the style developed shows that each workshop had definite and independent say in the choice of style than the view that it developed according to "wave theory". Again the style for these images was limited to very few sites but found favour with artists on both the Peninsula and Sumatra.

There are more images attributable to this period, sixth to seventh century than to the earlier periods. They

may be divided into three groups on the basis of their dominant elements found. The first comprises the Buddha images from Site 16A, Bujang Valley, pl. 4.3, and Peninsular Thailand, pl. 4.4. The images were created in the same style as the Buddhapād image from Tamil Nadu and probably evolved from the style of Buddha images wearing pre-pleated uttarāsaṅga found in South India and Sri Lanka. But the uttarāsaṅga was represented as pleatless which must have been influenced by the Buddhist cave-temple art of western India. The second comprises several Buddha images discovered in many parts of Peninsular Thailand, Peninsular Malaysia and Sumatra. The style region includes Songkhla, Yala, Si Chon, in eastern Peninsular Thailand, Tanjung Rambutan in Kinta Valley area and Bukit Seguntang area in Palembang. The images are pls. 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, 4.8, 4.9, 4.10, 4.11. The pleatless uttarāsaṅga and the treatment of usnīṣa and the body posture recall the style of Buddhist cave-temple art. The style differs from the first in the treatment of usnīsa and body posture. Pl. 4.11, particularly is very close to the Bagh cave style in terms of iconography. To this period may be added the Mukhalinga from Chaiya, pl. 5.38, and the Ganeśa from Sathingphra, pl. 5.32. The treatment of the headdress of Mukhalinga recalls the style found in western India particularly Madhya Pradesh area. It may be noted also that pl. 4.10 strongly suggests a link with Dvaravatī art. Besides the style created in a manner almost typical of Indian art, an area in Peninsular Thailand, Patani District area, produced images in the style which show more local features. Presumably, Dvaravatī art in this case received its inspiration from western India. The third comprises seated Buddha images, pls. 4.33, 4.34 and 4.35, and Avalokiteśvara images from Palembang, pl. 4.86, and Korinci, pl. 4.87. The style indicates links with Sri Lanka particularly, and South India in general. The dominant elements which show the relationships are the sitting posture (the right leg placed over the left leg), the treatment of the hair in the case of Buddha images and the treatment of the headdress and the style of the dhotī of Avalokiteśvara images.

Images ascribed to the period seventh to eighth century show certain dominant elements taken from the cave-temple art and also from the post-Gupta art in northern India. Nevertheless, just like the images in the earlier periods, they were apparently produced in local workshops. This is based on the evidence of local differences between them and the way certain dominant elements appear to be introduced and the changes that took place to these elements. It is apparent, also, that images in this phase, Viṣṇu and Avalokiteśvara, wear long dhotī without ornament and the belt is either cloth or string type. The only image ascribed to this period that does not wear a long dhotī, and is not a Buddha image, is the Śiva-Guru, pl. 5.26 from Kinta Valley. Other features indicate that it belongs to this period, while its short dhotī is reminiscent of pre-Angkorian images.

The Bukit Seguntang stone Buddha, pl. 4.26, indicates influence from the Nālandā school. The style must have evolved during the Mathurā phase and developed into post-Gupta images such as the Sultanganj Buddha and the later certain Nālandā images.

The style region for the various mitred Viṣṇu images found in various parts of Peninsular Thailand, (Takuapa, Sathingphra, Si Chon, Pun Pin, Tha Sala) and Kota Kapur on Bangka Island, includes also Cambodia and Java. The dominant element which enables them to be classified into three types is the way the long piece of cloth or sash was tied. In the earlier type of Viṣṇu, an arc was formed by the way the sash was presented which disappeared in the Viṣṇu images of this period. Instead the sash was worn diagonally from either the left hip to the right thigh or right hip to the left thigh and knotted. In the second stage of development the sash was worn straight and finally it disappeared altogether. The idea of wearing the sash which has been discussed earlier, probably being influenced by western India. The Avalokiteśvara images which seem to be presented in ascetic form during this period accord well

with the representation of Avalokiteśvara images in the cave-temple art of this period. The images are from Bukit Seguntang, pls. 4.89 and 4.90. Pun Pin, pl. 4.89, Chaiya, pl. 4.96, and unknown provenances in Peninsular Thailand, pls. 4.97, 4.98. Four of them: pls. 4.88, 4.89, 4.90 and 4.98, appear to have very close relationships in terms of the style of the cloth belt. But the style of the headdress indicates that pls. 4.96, 4.97 and 4.98, have similar types. The style region for these Avalokiteśvara images seems to be about the same area as the Viṣṇu images without considering the Takuapa image. This is because Avalokiteśvara images with the same dominant elements have been found in Cambodia too. Besides the Avalokiteśvara and Viṣṇu images and the Bukit Seguntang Buddha, there are other Buddha images which belong to this period. These images, pls. 4.20 (Krabi Province), 4.21 (Tha Uthae Village), 4.22 (Chaiya), 4.23 (Yarang), 4.36 (Jambi), 4.37 (Yala) and 4.38 (Bingin). They were influenced greatly by northern Indian art but appear to be of local creations. In the case of pls. 4.20 to 4.23, they belong to Dvarāvatī school. The sitting posture of pls. 4.36 and 4.37 is in accordance to northern Indian tradition. The material used for pl. 4.38 and the unfinished form confirm that it was local creation.

The images of the seventh to eighth century period differ slightly from one area to another because of the different degree of ability of the sculptors. Nevertheless, almost all of them were influenced greatly by western and north India: the cave-temple art and post-Gupta art at Nālandā. Presumably, this happened in view of the more frequent contacts between the religious centres in India with South East Asia through, sometime, pilgrims. It is known that besides I Tsing, in the seventh century there were possibly about sixty pilgrims from China that travelled the sea-route to or from India via South East Asia.¹ Thirty-seven or thirty-eight of them followed the same route as I Tsing.² It is probable too that South East Asian pilgrims and students besides traders visited India during this period. This assumption is based on the fact that during

this time it is believed that I Tsing travelled from Śrīvijaya to India by Śrīvijayan ship.³

For the period eighth to ninth century, the style of images was more varied. It shows the local sculptors' preoccupation with adapting elements known to them from earlier images, from contemporary styles in India or within the various areas in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. The dominant elements in each image point to the origins of the inspiration on which the style was created. In certain cases, just as in the earlier periods, the style shows strong influence from one source only but in other cases it shows dominant elements derived from two or more sources. In the case of the images from Takuapa, Viṣṇu Madhyama Yogasthānakamūrti, pl. 5.16, and Bhūdevī, pl. 5.17, and ṛṣī Mārkendaya, pl. 5.18, the main source of influence was Pallava art. The Avalokiteśvara images, pls. 4.100, 4.101, 4.102 and 4.103 wear sashes just like those of Pallava images but with certain differences indicating the way the sculptors adopted that dominant element. The images came from Kinta Valley, pl. 4.100, Chaiya, pl. 4.101 and 4.103, and Sathingphra, pl. 4.102. With the exception of pl. 4.103, the style of the headdress appears to be influenced by northern India and could possibly have developed from an earlier style on the Peninsula whose proto-type was northern India. Pl. 4.103 has its headdress in Pallava style.

There are those Avalokiteśvara images, pls. 4.104 (Palembang), 4.105 (Kinta), 4.106 (Peninsular Thailand) which wear a headdress that evolved from Pallava type but with a slight addition, the hair-frame. Other elements such as the dhotī and ornaments are similar to other Avalokiteśvara images of this period. The Avalokiteśvara image, pl. 4.99, from Peninsular Thailand wears a dhotī with sashes and side tassels in accordance with Pallava style but the headdress seems to have evolved from the style that originated in northern India. Other Avalokiteśvara images, pls. 4.109 and 4.112, are presumed to have developed from the style of images such as pls. 4.96 and 4.97 dated seventh to eighth

century. The Avalokitesvara images with tiger skin symbols, pls. 4.92 (Palembang) 4.93 (Lampung), 4.94 (Sathingphra) and 4.95 (Peninsular Thailand) have their headdresses arranged in a northern Indian style which could have evolved from an earlier simpler form. It is possible that the style was created through local innovation and adaptation of that simple form. The tiger symbol too appears to be a local application in Buddhist iconography. (Examples from Tibet seem to be later in date.) The style region for such images comprises those parts of the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra which scholars believe to be politically linked with the kingdom of Śrivijaya. Detailed analysis of these images indicates the style was not really homogeneous. They show three distinct groups on the basis of the treatment of the headdress: first, those images that were influenced by Pallava type; second, those images that were influenced by northern India; and third, the headdress of the image, pl. 4.108, from Chaiya show a low type in the tradition of the Rach-ghia image from Cambodia.⁴

Besides standing Avalokitesvara images, there are also other images such as Maitreya from Yarang, pl. 4.127; Maitreya from Palembang, pl. 4.128; Śiva from Palembang, pl. 5.23; Śiva-Guru from Songkhla, pl. 5.27; a seated Avalokitesvara from Sathingphra, pl. 4.123; seated Tārā from Peninsular Thailand, pl. 4.142; Hāritī from Sungai Emas Kedah, pl. 4.149; and seated Buddha images, pls. 4.59 (Peninsular Thailand); 4.61 (Palembang); 4.64 (Yarang); 4.65 (Peninsular Thailand); 4.66 (Nakhon Si Thammarat); 4.67 (Yala). These images have been assigned to this period on the basis of the dominant elements seen on them such as the headdress, the treatment of the dhotī, the ornaments worn, in the case of Maitreya and Śiva images, the relationships of the general style of the image Hāritī with northern Indian Hāritī, and the sitting posture, the treatment of the hair, particularly the way the usnīsa was formed, and the various parts of the throne in the Buddha images. The way the various elements were used to create various aspects of the images points to two things. First, it shows how sculptors made use of various

elements known to them to create the images which either indicate development or innovation. Second, they show the relationships, in the case of Maitreya and Śiva images, with the style of the headdress of Avalokiteśvara images existing during the same period. The close resemblance in the headdress of the Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Śiva and Śiva-Guru images may be due to the fact that they were influenced by a similar proto-type or types, and also it could be due to the development of style within a style region. The parallel development in style may indicate contacts between the various areas in the Peninsula and Sumatra. The style of the images provides evidence for the belief that local workshops had developed and modified dominant elements from Pallava and northern Indian images to create their own brand of religious images.

In the ninth to tenth century period, such development and modifications to the style continued. As a result, the images assigned to this period became stylistically much less homogeneous. The style region became much smaller and the occurrence of parallel development of similar style within the Peninsula and Sumatra is much more difficult to trace than in the earlier period. In the eighth to ninth century period, we have emphasized that there are images having a similar iconographic symbol, the tiger skin, and also quite similar headdresses. In the seventh to eighth century period, there are those Avalokiteśvara images from Peninsular Thailand and Palembang which share almost similar styles of dhotī and headdress. In the earlier period still, we have seen quite similar Buddha images found in wide areas of the Peninsula and Sumatra. But this was not the case during this phase. The only overall element that is apparent is that Pāla-Sena features greatly influenced the style. Features from Pāla-Sena images have been incorporated and modified to create images for this period, though certain elements from the earlier periods were still in favour.

Among the images ascribed to this period are: Śiva from Songkhla, pl. 5.24; seated Buddha from Palembang, pl. 4.62; some of the seated Buddha imprinted on clay tablets depicting scenes such as the Miracle of S'rāvasti, pls. 4.68 to 4.70, from Peninsular Thailand; four Buddhas seated on a throne in bronze from Peninsular Thailand, pl. 4.60; seated Avalokiteśvara from Peninsular Thailand, pl. 4.121; Sumatra, pl. 4.122; Sathīngphra, pl. 4.123; Peninsular Thailand, pl. 4.125; Yala, pl. 4.126; Maitreya from Peninsular Thailand, pl. 4.129; Jambhala from Sathīngphra, pl. 4.131; Bodhisattva bust from Chaiya, pl. 4.140; head of a Bodhisattva from Aceh, pl. 4.141; seated Tārā from Peninsular Thailand, pl. 4.143; Cundā from Peninsular Thailand, pl. 4.144; Vajrasattva from Peninsular Thailand, pl. 4.136; Prajñāparamitā from Yala, pl. 4.147. The prominent elements which indicate relationship with Pāla-Sena art are the parts used to make the thrones, the āsana (cross-legged), the iconography, the treatment of the headdress, and the mask-like feature of the face and its expression. The treatment of the headdress and the posture of the images in the Peninsula and Sumatra during this period could, however, have developed from Gupta and post-Gupta art as did Pāla-Sena art itself. This is due to the fact that the posture was already familiar in the earlier phases while the headdress may be compared to the headdress of the Avalokiteśvara and Śiva images, pls. 4.91 to 4.95 of the eighth to ninth century period. The development of the thrones also indicates a similar process. The relationships could, therefore, be due either to direct influence or parallel developments.

For the period, tenth to eleventh century, the style of the images can generally be divided into three types. First, the images that show strong influence from Cōla art. Second, those images that show development from the earlier period. Third, the images which while showing local development, adopted elements familiar to other non-Indian school of art such as Khmer and Lopburi art. The first type included Wiang Sa Viṣṇu image, pl. 5.19, and Sūrya image,

pl. 5.30; seated Buddha, pl. 4.39 (Sathingphra); pl. 4.40 (Temple Pamutong, Padang Lawas); pls. 4.41 and 4.42 (Kota Cina); pl. 4.43 (Pengkalan Bujang); Buddha seated on the throne, pl. 4.52 (Pengkalan Bujang); seated Avalokiteśvara pl. 4.124 (Pengkalan Bujang). The style region for this type comprised the northern part of Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. This may be due to the intensity of contacts with southern India, particularly the Kanchipuram and Nāgapattinam areas. The style may be classified as equivalent to Early Cōla style. Nevertheless, the images are believed to be created locally on the evidence of material used and in the case of the Lokanātha image from Gunung Tua, the accompanying inscription.

Those images showing local development from earlier styles consist of standing Buddha image, pl. 4.29 (Nakhon Si Thammarat); Avalokitesvara images, pls. 4.113 and 4.114 (Sathingphra) and pl. 4.115 (Peninsular Thailand); Vajrapāṇi, pl. 4.130 (Palembang) Jambhala, pl. 4.131 (Sathingphra); pl. 4.132 (Palembang) and Heruka pl. 4.133 (Padang Lawas) and Cunda, pl. 4.145 (Peninsular Thailand). The style for each image was created by combining elements originated from Indian and local images. The differences in the style occurring in the images of this type can be attributed to the fact that an element such as sash may have originated from Pallava (pl. 4.113) while another image has no sash. Another element, the headdress, differs from one image to another. This also is attributable to different sources. The headdress of pl. 4.113 evolved from the type originated in northern India which can be seen on images of earlier periods, pls. 4.91 to 4.95.

The third type consists of the following types of images: seated Buddha, pl. 4.45 (Chaiya); standing Buddha images, pls. 4.12 to 4.14 from Peninsular Thailand; and eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara pl. 4.117 (Songkhla). The main impression one gets from their style is that they have a strong Khmer influence. The seated Buddha image shows influences from Khmer and Lopburi art, and earlier elements derived from Nālandā and Kurkihar, while the eleven-headed

Avalokitesvara shows very strong Khmer influence. The standing Buddha images have their dhotī in Khmer style. The style region for this type is limited to the east coast region of Peninsular Thailand.

From twelfth century onwards the style of the images generally followed two trends. Those from Sumatra, particularly those dated to thirteenth and fourteenth centuries definitely belong to the East Javanese school, while those from Peninsular Thailand have mixed styles. The elements of Peninsular Thailand images were derived from various local schools such as Dvaravati, Lopburi, U'Tong and Khmer. At the same time, elements from earlier period which sculptors had adopted and adapted to a local style, were also used in certain cases. The impression one gets is that the style developed by adoption and adaptation processes. It adopted certain elements from images of local schools and, through adaptation of past elements, a new style peculiar to a certain area emerged. This new style differed from the older, and also from that of local schools. Another feature of the style is the fact that it was confined to a very small area such as Chaiya or Nakhon Si Thammarat. The known examples for a particular style are very few. The style region for the East Javanese type of images in Sumatra extends from Lampung in the south to the north of Batang Hari River Valley. The Padang Lawas area from the twelfth century onwards produced images in the style peculiar to that area. There is no evidence of any image that may be related directly to either the earlier, the Cola or the East Javanese style.

The known representatives of the artistic tradition of Peninsular Thailand are as follows: the "walking" Buddha from Chaiya, pl. 4.15, that has elements from U'Tong and Sukhothai schools; two standing Buddhas from Chaiya, pls. 4.16 and 4.31, which have elements from U'Tong and Lopburi schools; a standing Buddha which shows dominant elements of the Dvaravati school but the frontal panel could be related to Khmer and Lopburi art; seated Buddhas from Chaiya, pl. 4.44

and pl. 4.46 from Peninsular Thailand have elements common to Lopburi and Khmer art; seated Buddha images in Wat Keo Chaiya were related to the Ayuthian school; another seated Buddha image from Surathani area wears a long-sleeved jacket peculiar to certain Khmer art, (though not worn by Buddha image in Khmer art); Hevajra pl. 4.137 from Songkhla which wears the short dhotī familiar in Khmer art; and a Prajñā-paramitā, pl. 4.146, from Peninsular Thailand which shows certain elements of Khmer art. The images from Sumatra which show East Javanese influence are: Amoghapāśa, pl. 4.118 (Padang Langsat); Bhairava, pl. 4.135 (Padang Langsat); Bodhisattva from Palembang (Pl. 4.138) and Lampung (pl. 4.139); and Prajñāparamitā from Jambi (pl. 4.148); Viṣṇu on Garuda (pl. 5.22), Brahmā on hamsa (p. 5.29) and Batuka-Bhairava on Dog (pl. 5.25) from Palembang.

Another aspect of the art is architecture. The evidence for the architecture discussed earlier indicates that the style is as varied as that of the sculptures. The areas in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra that produced architectural remains are:

- a) Chaiya
- b) Nakhon Si Thammarat
- c) Bujang Valley area (Merbok and Pengkalan Bujang)
- d) Muda Valley area (Sungei Emas)
- e) Muara Jambi area
- f) Panei-Barumon Valley area
- g) Kampar Valley area

It is impossible to trace the origins of the styles. Each temple within an area has its own style.. In most cases, except for some of those in Bujang and Muda River Valleys, it is difficult even to trace local developments. It is, however, sometimes possible to suggest whether it is Buddhist or Hindu. Certain elements such as the shape, sculptures or inscriptions have been used to identify their religious affiliations. The evidence such as ceramics, sculptural style, inscriptions, and the generally accepted relative date for a particular area, whenever it is available, have

been used to date the temples.

In certain cases, the features of a temple have been compared to certain temples in Vietnam, Cambodia and Java. The exercise has been done to establish religious connections and relative dates in view of the fact that certain elements appear to be similar. This has been the case for Wat Keo and Wat Barommathat (both in Chaiya) and Wat Prathat (Nakhon Si Thammarat). Certain features of Wat Keo have been compared to Cham temples, while Wat Barommathat and Wat Prathat have been compared to certain temples in Java. The results of these comparisons do not necessarily show that they are similar in style. Only certain basic elements may be similar as may the religious affiliation and the relative date may be similar. The differences have been attributed to local treatments and arrangements of various other elements to form a particular temple style. The origins of the basic elements in all temples, irrespective of area, must come from India and Sri Lanka but the way these were arranged indicates local achievements. The same phenomenon has been suggested for religious sculptural styles.

Architectural remains from Chaiya, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Sathingphra and a few from Bujang and Muda River Valleys have been ascribed to the pre-tenth century period. It has been pointed out that, although all temples discussed in this study from Chaiya, Nakhon Si Thammarat and Sathingphra, except for Wat Keo, Wat Long and Wat Hua Wiang in Chaiya, still survive, the surviving styles have been re-constructed and re-restored. The original style remains only in the basic plans and the various elements used to create the style of the temples. The original structures have been encased inside new structures. In view of this fact and also that almost all the temples belonging to this period have lost all the body and upper structure so that only the base exhibits the basic plan, it is therefore apparent that only the plan can be used to identify the basic style of the temples and be used as evidence for stylistic comparisons.

The pre-tenth century temples may be divided into the following types:-

- a) Cubic form with a single cella: Wat Wiang and Wat Long in Chaiya; several remains from Sungei Emas, Gua Kepah, Sungei Terus and Pengkalan Bujang, including Sites 10, 12, 14 and 16a.
- b) Cruciform plan with stupa on top and sometimes other miniature stupas arranged in various ways; Wat Barommathat (Chaiya), Wat Prathat (Nakhon Si Thammarat) Wat Sii Yang, Wat Chedi Ngam and Wat Sathingphra in Sathingphra area.
- c) Cruciform plan with a main cella and secondary cellas on four sides: Wat Keo.
- d) Cruciform plan: Sites 21 and 22 Pengkalan Bujang.
- e) An eight-sided stupa: Site 17 Pengkalan Bujang.

Other features of the temples of this period are the absence of elaborate ornaments and other elements such as kala, makara or guardians. The decorations were built into the temple wall, as at site 21/22. At that site, a piece of brick with incised carving of an elephant has been found which indicates that it was used for that purpose. The use of bricks shaped to form mouldings, arches, vaults and ogives was the main technique to distinguish a style; as was the arrangement of bricks to form stepped in and stepped out patterns. Similarly, the arrangements of tiers and the stupas were distinctive. There is no evidence to suggest that any of the temples were part of a bigger complex with other buildings. In the case of Site 21, it is possible that it was a stupa. This may be compared to a similar type of lower structure as Site 21 and on top of that structure is a stupa, as in the photograph published by J.E. Van

Lohuizen-de-Leeuw in *Artibus Asiae* in 1956 (see Pl. 3.73).

The majority of the temples from the Muara Jambi area belong to the tenth to eleventh century period. On the evidence of archaeological finds, some of them belong to earlier periods; there are eleven remains of cubic form structures with projections, and eight cubic form structures with no projection. The upper parts of the temples have suffered severe collapse. The identification has been on the plan. The materials used are bricks just like those pre-tenth century temples in the Malay Peninsula. The differences from the Peninsula types are in the size of the building and the elements used to decorate them. All the temples are Buddhist. Each one of the eleven cubic form structures with projections is located in a walled area with traces of other buildings. They presumably formed part of a temple complex. It is not certain though whether the eight small structures belong to the same period. Perhaps, they were earlier types, pre-tenth century. The temples are much bigger than those from the Peninsula. The discovery of makaras, one of them has a date equivalent to 986 A.D. and decorated bricks which have floral motifs indicate that they were much more advanced in style than those from the Peninsula. The plan of some of them such as Candi Gumpung and Candi Tinggi may be compared to certain candis in Java. But the style of the whole candi may be different because the style of the makaras which could be compared easily to those from Java are really different in detail..

Some of those temples ascribed to the post-eleventh century include those from Padang Lawas area, Muara Takus and Bujang Valley. Those from Padang Lawas area and Muara Takus are situated in large temple complexes. The Muara Takus temples are believed to be Buddhist and are of stupa type. The base plan of each temple is different. The plan type for the various temples from Muara Takus is as follows:

- a) Candi Tua: twenty-sided plan with steps on the east and west. The base two

terraces with a twenty-sided stupa, on top.

- b) Candi Bongsu: rectangular base with two twelve-sided stupa. The steps are on the east
- c) Candi Mahligai: cubic form plan with projection and steps in the north. The stupa is sixteen-sided.
- d) Candi Palangku: cubic form plan with projection and steps on the north. It is a single cella type.

The temples of Padang Lawas too have many types of ground plan:-

- a) Si Pamutung: Basically the monuments in this temple complex are of cubic form. There are steps on the sides of four of the monuments. The main temple has projections on the east and the south, and a stupa formed the top part of the projection on the south.
- b) Si Coreng Belangah: The monuments in this temple complex have a cubic form plan, but with a projection on one side in three of them. The fourth has no projection but steps on the east and west. The smallest monument has a stupa on top. The others have a single cella.
- c) Bahal I: All four monuments in the complex have cubic form plan with projections on the east side for the main temple which a stupa type with a twelve-sided base.
- d) Bahal II: It has cubic form plan with projection on the east. It is believed to be the temple of Heruka because of the discovery of the Heruka image in the temple.

Its roof has twelve sides. This temple may perhaps belong to about the tenth century period on the basis of the dating given to the Heruka image.

The temples from Bujang Valley have the vimāna-mandapa type of ground plan. This probably evolved from the cubic form. The mandapa was the projection. Each temple differs slightly from the others in terms of how the mandapa joined the vimāna as indicated earlier. The temples in Bujang Valley appear not to have much decoration. They are very simple and very low. The only evidence of any kind of ornament is the discovery of a kāla head from Site 50. But a few of them, Sites 8, 11 and 16, have produced foundation reliquaries. The materials used for building the temples are either stone (Site 8); laterite (Sites 16 and 50); laterite and river pebbles (Site 11) or bricks (Site 19). The choice of materials for the construction appears to be influenced by the availability of the material from each site. The discoveries of post-holes, burnt wood-materials and iron nails from some of the sites indicate that the temples had their top-structures made of wooden materials.

Compared with Padang Lawas, Bujang and Muda Valley have a far less rich variety of forms. Almost all of them are undecorated. But Padang Lawas temples, when compared to such Javanese temples as Candi Mendut and Prambanan are less impressive. They have less variety; the makaras appear to be thin and not as powerful, the ogives less graceful. According to Schnitger, "The art of Padang Lawas sometimes breathes a rude primitive spirit" and "It is as though fertile, laughing Java and arid, unscorched Padang Lawas were reflected in their monuments".⁵

Among the architectural elements discovered at some of the temple complexes in Padang Lawas are: large and small rāksasas; makaras; lions; kālas; crocodiles; stambhas decorated with kāla and placed on padma-type base; decorative motifs which comprise either spiral-leaf motif or checkered

type; reliefs of lions, dancing bull, dancing elephant, dancing men, seated elephants. The rāksaksas, lions, kālas, crocodiles, bulls and elephants are of monstrous or terrible appearance. The expressions may be compared to those of East Javanese images, but stylistically, those from Padang Lawas are dissimilar in execution. It has been recognised, too, that the large rāksaksas, while recalling the terrible appearance of East Javanese type, are very much smaller; they raise the left index finger and holds in the right hand a club, which rests on the ground or against the shoulder. In Java these are reversed and the rāksaksas threaten with the right hand. The art of Padang Lawas must have developed in its own way with basic elements such as the way to clothe an human figure probably developed from the same proto-type as that of Heruka image; the plan of temples and the various monstrous images probably originated from identical sources as those of East Java but with local variations. The style of the hair of several figures appear to be similar to the Heruka image, that is, in flame form.

6.ii. The nature of the kingdoms and society

It is apparent that from the art and other archaeological evidence, ceramics and inscriptions, that from as early as the beginning of the fifth century a few kingdoms were in existence in the Malay Peninsula and by the sixth century on similar evidence are a few of them in Sumatra, thus confirming, but only in part, the information gleaned from literary sources. In the case of literary sources, the problem is where to locate the place names mentioned; in the case of archaeological sites, the problem is what name to be given to each one. By collating archaeological and literary evidence, the arguments for linking a particular site and a kingdom have been strengthened. The list below gives the sites, the kingdom associated with each site (where possible) and the phase:-

<u>Sites</u>	<u>Kingdoms</u>	<u>Phases</u>
1. Chaiya area	<u>P'an-p'an</u>	At least from C.400 A.D.
	<u>Grahi</u>	From 12th century A.D.
2. Nakhon Si Thammarat area	<u>Tambralingga</u>	At least from 5th century A.D.
3. Patani area	<u>Langkasuka</u>	At least from 5th century A.D.
4. Takuapa area	<u>Kalah</u>	At least from 7th century A.D.
5. Sungai Emas area (Muda River Valley) and Bujang River Valley	<u>Kataha</u>	At least from 6th century A.D.
6. Kinta Valley area	unknown	At least from 7th century A.D.
7. Kuala Selinsing	unknown	At least from 7th century A.D.
8. Dengkil area	unknown	The site was occupied con- tinuously from pre-historic time to present day
9. Lampung area	<u>Bhumi Jawa</u>	At least from 7th century A.D.
10. Palembang area	<u>Srivijaya</u>	At least from 7th century A.D.
11. Jambi area	<u>Melayu</u>	At least from 6th century A.D.
12. Kampar River Valley area	Indragiri/Kampar	At least from 10th century A.D.
13. Padang Lawas area	<u>Pannai</u>	At least from 10th century A.D.
14. Kota Cina area in the Deli and Belawan River Valley	Deli/Haru	At least from 11th century A.D.
15. Aceh area	Lamri/Aceh	At least from 9th century A.D.
16. Barus area	Barus	At least from 8th century A.D.

It is uncertain the limit of the political boundary of each kingdom. It is apparent, however, that the kingdoms were situated in areas that were approachable from the sea via rivers or located on the coast. If we are to accept the fact that Hikayat Merong Maha Wangsa, just like Sejarah Melayu, contains elusive but verifiable happenings in history, then the kingdom Kataha, to which it is believed to refer, was not located permanently at one site, for in Hikayat Merong Maha Wangsa, the chronicler mentions that the capital of the kingdom was moved several times in its history. Archaeological evidence, too, indicates the possibility of these moves took place. The capital is believed to be in the Sungai Emas area in the period prior to the tenth century. Presumably, in the late

tenth century the capital must have been transferred to the Pengkalan Bujang area. The place Ch'ieh-cha visited by I-Tsing must have been in the Sungei Emas area. But during the period which saw Katāha as a busy entrepôt (twelfth to thirteenth century), the centre was in the Pengkalan Bujang area. Other kingdoms, such as those in the Batang Hari and Kampar River Valleys and Padang Lawas area, appear to have similar traditions.

Another feature which is apparent in some of the kingdoms is the way the various areas in the capital have been allocated. The religious, living and trading areas must have been in separate parts of the capital. Besides these separate parts in the capital there must have been smaller centres outside the capital, presumably villages. In the Bujang River Valley, the distribution of the various sites in a very large area in the valley tend to confirm this feature. The Padang Lawas area produced several sites of temple complexes and the same picture has been created by the site distribution in the Musi, Kampar and Batang Hari River Valleys. The kingdoms of Langkasuka and Tāmbralinga must have the same feature in view of the discoveries of several sites in the area between Nakhon Si Thammarat and Patani. The sites are Pathalung, Sathingphra, Songkhla. There are also sites which are located between Chaiya and Nakhon Si Thammarat: Wiang Sa, Srivijaya Hill and Si Chon. Foreign merchants at Takuapa and Lubok Tua during the ninth century (Takuapa) and eleventh century (Lubok Tua) had their own separate areas. This assumption is based on the discovery of the Tamil inscription at Takuapa and Lubok Tua.

The political status of these kingdoms may be glimpsed mainly from literary sources. P'an-p'an, Tāmbralinga and Langkasuka may have been under the political influence of Fu-nan in about the middle of the second half of the fifth century. It is uncertain how long this situation continued. On the evidence of the statement of I-Tsing, Malāyu and Chieh-ch'a were under the political influence of Srivijaya-Palembang in the last quarter of the seventh century. Bhumi

Jawa which is believed to be the same place as the modern Bumijawa in Lampung was subjugated by Śrīvijaya at about the same time on the evidence of the Kota Kapur inscription. The political boundary of Śrīvijaya in Jambi must be Karang Brahi area on the evidence of the similar type of inscription as Palas Pasemah's. According to Wolters, Barus too was part of Śrīvijaya in 742 A.D.⁶ Kalāh was also under the influence of Śrīvijaya according to Wheatley.⁷ On the evidence of the Chaiya inscription of 775 A.D., that area too was under Śrīvijaya.

The problem, though, is for how long these kingdoms were under Śrīvijaya and what sort of influence besides political Śrīvijaya had over them. Archaeological evidence indicates that culturally there was no significant influence. All the kingdoms which were supposed to be under Śrīvijaya appear to continue producing their own style of Hindu and Buddhist images and there is no evidence of architectural style from Palembang which may be compared to any other known architecture in those kingdoms. The only art object that appears to be common to the art from Palembang is the Avalokiteśvara image with tiger symbol. As has been pointed out earlier the distribution of the art style was limited to Palembang, Lampung, Chaiya, Sathingphra and Kinta Valley. Śrīvijaya must have gained political hegemony over kingdoms that were already established. Their status politically and culturally was on different levels. Katāha and Kalāh were entrepôt from about seventh or early eighth century. They began, presumably, as landfall ports serving ships travelling between China and India and the West. Kuala Selingsing and Dengkil areas in Peninsular Malaysia and Barus area in western Sumatra must have been important ports too. But they were probably of a secondary type that supplied local products in exchange for foreign goods. Barus must have been the supplier of camphor and Dengkil area produced enough evidence to suggest that it was a producer of tin. As for Kuala Selinsing there is evidence of foreign goods such as beads including beads manufactured from glass which might have come from the Middle East. Some of these glass beads found their way to Pengkalan Bujang and Sungei Emas.

P'an-p'an, Tāmbralinga, Langkasuka and Malāyu were also ports of call between China and India and they belonged to the category of towns of great antiquity.

According to the Chinese sources,⁸ Tāmbralinga was also a producer of many goods such as tin, pearls, camphor, turtle carapaces, hornbill casques, lakewood, and bees' wax as well as trading in imported cotton goods, white and blue porcelain bowls and drums. It too produced grain exceeding the local needs. It is possible that Tāmbralinga supplied grain products to other areas in the Peninsula and Sumatra, perhaps to Palembang which might not have been able to produce enough food supply. This situation also happened to Melaka in the fifteenth century when she had to get rice from Java. Presumably, the status of Śrīvijaya-Palembang may be compared to Melaka: a maritime kingdom with strong focus on trade. It controlled other trading centres in the Peninsula and Sumatra in the interests of its own political and economic power. But its power was lost to Malayu after 1082 A.D.⁹ In the beginning of the eleventh century, Śrīvijaya was at war both with Cōlas and Javanese. The trade monopoly of Śrīvijaya was challenged by Pansur (Barus) in 1088 and Kedah in 1068.¹⁰ From the inscriptive evidence also Kedah was independent of Śrīvijaya by about that time. Wolters noted that since the end of the tenth century Śrīvijaya was forced to resist new trading tendencies and tried to compel shipping to its port, but harbours such as Lamuri and Kedah were able to handle international trade goods.¹¹

By the end of the eleventh century, various kingdoms in the Peninsula and Sumatra appear to have independent status. Kataha and the kingdom located in the Kota Cina area were two entrepots that were flourishing by the twelfth century at the latest. Their trading activities were later dominated by Melaka at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, other kingdoms too were enjoying a period of prosperity on their own as indicated by archaeological sites and finds. These kingdoms were Pannai and Kampar. Tāmbralinga too was definitely an

independent kingdom by 1230.¹² At Chaiya, on the evidence of the inscription from the Grahi Buddha, a kingdom by the name of Grahi was in existence in about A.D. 1183.¹³ Those kingdoms in the Peninsula from the twelfth century onwards were much closer to the cultural influences from across the Gulf of Thailand and also from the Menam Chao Praya plain.¹⁴ Those kingdoms in Sumatra were in close contact both politically and culturally with Java. By the fourteenth century, on the evidence of the Ādityavarman inscriptions found all over southern Sumatra and the sculpture belonging to East Javanese school, the most powerful kingdom was Malāyu and the capital presumably was located in the interior of Batang Hari River Valley. The beginning of the rise of Malāyu may be associated with the decline of Palembang. In 1286, the Javanese king Kṛtanagara sent an Amoghāpāśa image to the king of Malayu, Śrī Mahārāja Śrīmat Tribhuvanarāja Maulivarmma as a present. This indicates a strong link between the East Javanese dynasty and Malāyu and this relationship continued until the time of Ādityavarman.

Another aspect of the nature of the kingdoms is religion. In Peninsular Thailand, during the period C.400 A.D. to the ninth century A.D., the dominant cult appears to be Vaiṣṇava. This is due to the discovery of Viṣṇu images in almost all the archaeological sites which have been dated to this period. But this does not mean that other cults were non-existent. Saivism and Buddhism were also practised. But Kalāh provided evidence of only one cult, Vaiṣṇavism. From the seventh century to the ninth century, the cult of Avalokiteśvara was as dominant as that of Viṣṇu. The period, tenth century onwards, appears to be dominated by Buddhism. But other Hindu and Buddhist deities were worshipped too. The reason for worshipping certain deities can be attributed also to the boons that may be bestowed upon the worshippers by that deity. These may include miracle cures for certain sickness as well as other benefits. Among the deities worshipped were Jambhala, Śiva-Guru, Prajñāparamitā and Sūrya. During this period, it is apparent that more deities were being worshipped. The religious sites from the seventh century onwards included caves. The practice of making votive tablets

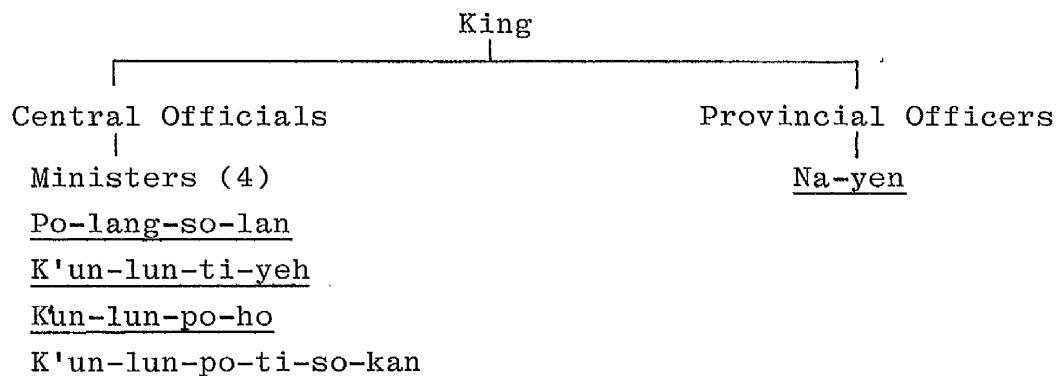
as an act of merit was also very popular in Peninsular Thailand from as early as the seventh century. The practice was associated with Mahāyāna Buddhism.

In Peninsular Malaysia and Sumatra, during the period, fifth to ninth century, the dominant religion was Buddhism. The evidence for Śaivism was a Śiva-Guru from Kinta Valley and a Śiva image from Palembang. The practice of making votive tablets was also popular in the two areas. In Perlis, the tablets were deposited in caves, while in Palembang they were deposited in open areas: just like in India. Vaiśṇavism was represented by the Viṣṇu head from Bangka Island. The most popular cult was that of Avalokiteśvara.

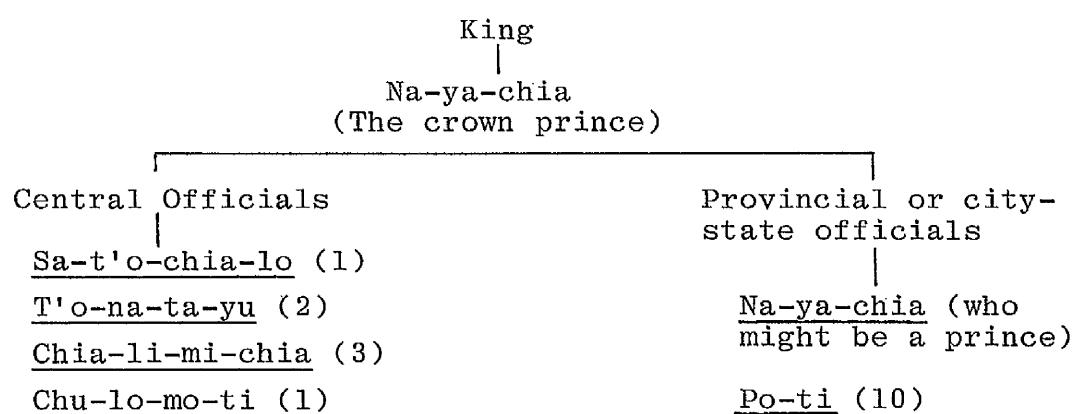
From the tenth century, the development of religions in Sumatra and Peninsular Malaysia followed two dominant trends. In Sumatra, the trend was mainly in the development of Buddhist Trantrism but there is also evidence of Hindu Tantrism, while Peninsular Malaysia (Kedah) developed Śaivism. Hindu Tantrism is understood as a means to acquire wealth, mundane enjoyments, rewards for moral actions, and deliverance through worshipping certain deities by means of muttered prayers, Samādhi, and offerings.¹⁵ Similarly Buddhist Tantrism was to teach the followers how, by supernatural way, to acquire desired objects, either of a material nature, as the elixir of longevity, invulnerability, invisibility and alchemy; or of a more spiritual character, as the power of evoking a Buddha or a Bodhisattva to solve a doubt or the power of achieving in this life the union with divinity.¹⁶ The evidence of Buddhist Tantrism in Sumatra are the worshipping of various cult images and also the associating of rulers with certain cults. The known cults are those of Avalokiteśvara, Heruka, and Bhairava. In addition, there are inscriptions with chants of laughter and invocations. There are also inscriptions that may be interpreted as indicating ceremonies which involved the drinking of blood and dancing. The dancing figures of raksaksās and elephants may also indicate similar ceremonies. In Sumatra, Ādityavarman was initiated as a Bhairava.

Insight into the political set-up in the kingdoms may be obtained through extracting the information in the literary sources and inscriptions. But the information is about a few kingdoms only. In the case of inscriptions, these give insight into the political set-up of Srīvijaya. While the Chinese sources give information about Ch'ih-t'u and P'an-p'an. In view of the fact that Srīvijaya was the dominant kingdom from the seventh century, the political set-up in that kingdom would represent the ideal and the most complex, though the set-up in other kingdoms presumably had a similar general framework. It may be inferred that information about Srīvijaya, Ch'ih-t'u and P'an-p'an to a certain degree reflects the political and also the social framework situation in other kingdoms in the Peninsula and Sumatra.

The descriptions of the three kingdoms suggest that each kingdom has a central administrative structure and the provinces or other kingdoms subjected to its political control had another structure. In the case of P'an-p'an, the political structure is as follows:-¹⁷



The set-up in Ch'ih t'u is as follows:-¹⁸



According to de Casparis,¹⁹ on the basis of Telaga Batu inscription, Kedatuan Śrivijaya can be divided into several mandalas (administrative provinces) and each mandala or province was administered by a datu. The datu may be appointed from the royal princes or the nobility.²⁰ Under datu was a parvvānda who was responsible for the military aspect.²¹

In the social and administrative hierarchy, four classes of prince existed. The first was yuvarāja.²² His function was that of a crown prince. Below him was a prince entitled pratiyuvarāja,²³ who might, if necessary be chosen to become yuvarāja. The third class of prince was called rājakumāra.²⁴ The king might be chosen from these three classes of prince, despite their apparent differences of grade or seniority.²⁵ The fourth class was called rājaputra, and they had no claim over the throne: they were the children of junior wives and concubines or vassal princes.²⁶

In the social and political organisation, it is very clear that two classes were very dominant. The first was the royalty. To this class belonged the royal family and all those related which is equivalent to kaum kerabat diraja, in traditional society, including all those titled princes and princesses. Status within this class depended on the hierarchy within that class. This condition has been confirmed by the inscriptions.

The second class comprised the various administrators; senāpati, nāyaka, pratyaya, hājipratyaya and dandanāyaka. Senapati was the commander of fighting persons (hulubalang) and presumably had the same function as laksamana during the Melaka Sultanate. Nayaka was the head of treasury (penghulu bendahari) and hajiputra was the royal sheriff (temenggong) and dandanāyaka was the judge.²⁷

Besides those mentioned, there were other nobles who may be included in the royal officials or administrators. They were murdahaka (headman or penghulu), tuhavatakvurah

(in charge of trade or craft or shahbandar) adhyakṣa nicavarna (headman of low caste group). There were also kumārāmatya (non-royal ministers or orang kaya-kaya). Then there was the professional and artisan classes such as kāyastha (clerks), sthāpaka (architects) puhavam (naval commander/ship captain), vaniyāga (merchants or traders), vasikarama (iron mongers) marsi haji (washing or cleaners in the palace) and hulun haji (royal slaves).²⁸

There were four classes according to the Telaga Batu inscription, which is difficult to reconcile with the caturvārna pattern of people, in Śrīvijayan society; royalty, nobility, free persons, and slaves. The existence of the classes of free persons and slaves is very clear in the inscription. This is due to the fact that there were the headmen for the two classes. There is no clear evidence to suggest the existence of other types of slaves than royal slaves in the Telaga Batu inscription. But in the Talang Tuwo inscription there is evidence to suggest that free persons could have slaves.²⁹ The very existence of the slave class was very significant in the traditional society because it helped to strengthen the system, by their economic and social activities.

Another significant and interesting point in the Telaga Batu inscription is the existence of a group of people involved in trade. They were tuhan vatakvurah (inspector of trades), puhāvam (sea commanders or ship captain) and vaniyāga (merchants or traders). They helped to strengthen the belief that Śrīvijaya was actively involved in trade. They also show that Śrīvijaya was a maritime kingdom. Wolters also points out that I-Tsing travelled to India by Śrīvijayan ship. The trading activities included long distance trade. According to the Telaga Batu inscription, in view of the fact that vaniyāga and puhāvam were in contact with foreign traders their movements had to be watched in order that they did not become spies for the enemy.³⁰ The foreign traders were also warned against spying.³¹

In the political system, the king had several functions. He had absolute power in the matters of judiciary, taxation, and others that would bring peace and prosperity to the kingdom and its people. Talang Tuwo inscription mentioned the establishment of a park called Taman Śrīkṣetra during the reign of the king Śrī Jayanāśa for the benefit of the people and the king prayed that those who were obedient to him would receive blessings.³² The Śrivijayan king also provided assistance to those who went to study at Nālandā. According to the Nālandā inscription, Bālaputradeva the Śrivijayan king, requested the building of a temple at Nālandā for the use of Śrivijayans and others who needed it. The inscription was made during the reign of King Devapāladeva in 949 A.D.³³ This practice was also carried out by the king of Katāha, Śrī Māravijayattungavarman.³⁴ He requested the building of a vihāra at Nagapattinam and had named after his father King Cūlāmanīvarman. The land on which the vihāra was built was granted by King Rājarāja and confirmed by his son, the famous Cōla King, Rājarāja. The structure was begun by King Cūlāmanīvarman and was completed by King Śrī Māravijayattungavarman. It granted the land of the village of Anaimangalam, which was made in the twenty-first year of Rājarāja's reign which was about 1006 A.D. The inscription referred to was that of the Larger Leiden Plates. The King of Katāha, according to the inscription belonged to the Sailendra dynasty and also ruled the lands belonging to Śrivijaya. It is uncertain whether Katāha in about the end of the eleventh century was the dominant power in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. The generous nature of the kings can be cited further in the case of the king of Śrivijaya on the basis of the Chaiya inscription of 775 A.D.³⁵ In that inscription the king of Śrivijaya ordered his royal monk, Jayanata to construct three temples for the Sākyamuni, Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi.

The buildings of temples in India, indicates strong links between India and Śrivijaya and the other kingdoms in the Peninsula and Sumatra. Relations with China were established through different embassies sent to the court of China with various tributes. The King of Śrivijaya

also for the sake of his people and the good of Buddhism encouraged the teaching of Buddhism in Śrīvijaya itself,³⁶ according to I-Tsing:

"In the fortified city of Fo-che [Śrīvijaya] Buddhist priests number more than one thousand, whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all subjects that exist just as in Madhyadesa [India]; the rules and ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the west in order to hear [lectures] and read the original Buddhist texts he had better stay at Fo-che [Śrīvijaya] for one or two years and practise proper rules than proceed to Central India."

The high position held by Śrīvijaya as the centre of Buddhist learnings in the Peninsula and Sumatra presumably continued until the beginning of the twelfth century. This assumption is based on the fact that Atisa, who as Dīpankara Śrijñāna, reformed Tibetan Buddhism early in the eleventh century spent a dozen years (1011-1023), studying at Śrīvijaya under Dharmakīrti, chief of the Sangha and received a book as a present from the ruler, Dharmapāla.³⁷ Also, there is an inscription dated to about the tenth or early eleventh century which mentioned Suvarnapure Śrī-Vijayapure Lokanathah, which was discovered in Nepal.³⁸ Nilakanta Sastri believed that Suvarnapure stands for Suvarnadvīpa and thus represents Śrīvijaya.³⁹

Other kingdoms too, according to Chinese sources, encouraged the learning of Buddhism. In the kingdom of P'an-p'an there were ten monasteries and the Buddhist monks and nuns studied their canon.⁴⁰ In the kingdom of Ch'ih-tu Buddha was respected.⁴¹ The brahmans were also very special class of people and they were greatly respected and very close to the king. They played a very significant role in ceremonies related to kingship.

Although other kingdoms in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra have not produced evidence to reflect on the

relationship between the rulers and the subjects, it is probable that the relationship was the same as that of Śrivijaya. This is due to the fact that later kingdoms such as Melaka appear to have established the same kind of relationship as in Śrivijaya between the rulers and the people. The relationship was based on the concepts of king as a supernatural being, with supernatural powers (daulat); obedience (taat-setia) and disobedience (derhaka). The king was looked upon as the incarnation of a certain deity. Wolters believes that in Sejarah Melayu, the rulers of Śrivijaya were represented as being incarnated from Avalokiteśvara.⁴² The cults of Amoghāpāśa, Bhairava and Heruka may be related to this concept, and thus strengthening the belief in the rulers as someone special with divine rights.

In the Telaga Batu, Kota Kapur, Karang Brahi and Palas Pasemah inscriptions, there are references to the fate of people who were disobedient to the rulers. The effect would be in certain cases death through unfortunate circumstances. In the Telaga Batu inscription, the various forms of disobedience have been listed:- being a spy for the king's enemies; stealing; collaboration with the king's enemies; cruelty to other people through black magic; trying to get information about the king's palace; providing information to the king's concubines about his palace; friendship with those administrating the royal treasury. But those who were obedient would get rewards in the form of tantra-mala,⁴³ prosperity and free from punishment after death.

In order to ensure that all subjects in all classes obeyed the king, the inscriptions were set up as a warning. Also, those in the administration had to take a vow by drinking water of oath. It is believed that the Telaga Batu inscription with its Nāga hood and spout at the base was used in the oath drinking ceremonies. Water must have been poured over the inscription for those taking the oath to drink. In Sejarah Melayu the memory of this oath-taking ceremony has been symbolised by the agreement between Sang Sapurba representing the ruler and Demang Lebar Daun

representing or symbolising the subjects. The king agreed to rule justly and Demang Lebar Daun and the subjects not to disobey (derhaka) the king. Disobedience would result in misfortunes. The activities of the king of Srīvijaya reflected the just nature of the king and the association of the kings with certain deities made them devarāja.

It is apparent from the above evidence and discussions that the kingdoms in various parts of the peninsula and Sumatra from as early as the fifth century had social and political organisations which were organised and led to the establishment of systematic administrations. The degree of complexity of the organisation depended to a certain degree on the size of the kingdom and its political power and the number of other kingdoms under its control. The kingdoms established a relationship with both India and China. This was reflected in the various embassies sent to China and the number of embassies coming from China. Besides Indian religions, local customs and beliefs were still practised. This can be verified by the information gleaned from Chinese literary sources. The kingdoms were rich with customs which were sometimes peculiar to a particular kingdom. Brahmans were said to have come from India to look for wealth and were well received by the kings:⁴⁴ they formed a very important class and played a significant role in enhancing the position of kings in the eyes of the subjects.

NOTES

1. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 41.
2. Ibid. 43.
3. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, 208 and 262, note 2, chapter 1.
4. J. Boisselier, La statuaire Khmère et son evolution, Pl. 12.
5. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 37.
6. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, 17-18.
7. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 221.
8. Ibid. 77.
9. O.W. Wolters, "A note on the capital of Śrivijaya in the eleventh century" 225-239.
10. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, 251-252.
11. Ibid. 252.
12. This is based on the Tambrilinga inscription, Nilakanta Sastrī, The history of Srivijaya, 133-134.
13. Ibid. 133.
14. For other evidence, see, Stanley O'Connor, "Tambrilinga and the Khmer Empire" JSS, LXII, 1975, 161-175.
15. R.C. Majumdar, Suvarnadvipa, Vol. II, Pt. 2 (Cultural History), Modern Publishing Syndicate, Dacca, 1937, 121.
16. Ibid. 121.
17. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 49.
18. Ibid. 28-29.
19. De Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia 11, 18.
20. Ibid. 18.
21. Ibid. 18.
22. Ibid. 17.
23. Ibid. 17.
24. Ibid. 17.
25. Ibid. 17.

26. Ibid. 18-19.
27. Ibid. 19. The definition of the various terms has been compared with the titled persons during the Melaka Sultanate which formed the basis of the traditional society in Peninsular Malaysia.
28. Ibid. 36-37 and 20.
29. Nilakanta Sastri, The History of Srivijaya, 113-115.
30. De Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia II, 21.
31. Ibid. 21.
32. Nilakanta Sastri, The History of Srivijaya, see inscription Talang Tuwo, 113-115.
33. Ibid. See inscription, 125-128.
34. Ibid. See inscription, 128-133.
35. Ibid. 119-120.
36. J. Takakusu, A record of Buddist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago, XXXIV.
37. Nilakanta Sastri, The History of Srivijaya, 78.
38. Ibid. 38.
39. Ibid. 38.
40. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 49.
41. Ibid. 27-30.
42. O.W. Wolters, The fall of Srivijaya in Malay History, 128-135.
43. De Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia II, 45.
44. Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, 49.

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Volume Two

by

Nik Hassan Shuhaimi

This thesis is submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, University of London.
School of Oriental and African Studies, May, 1984.



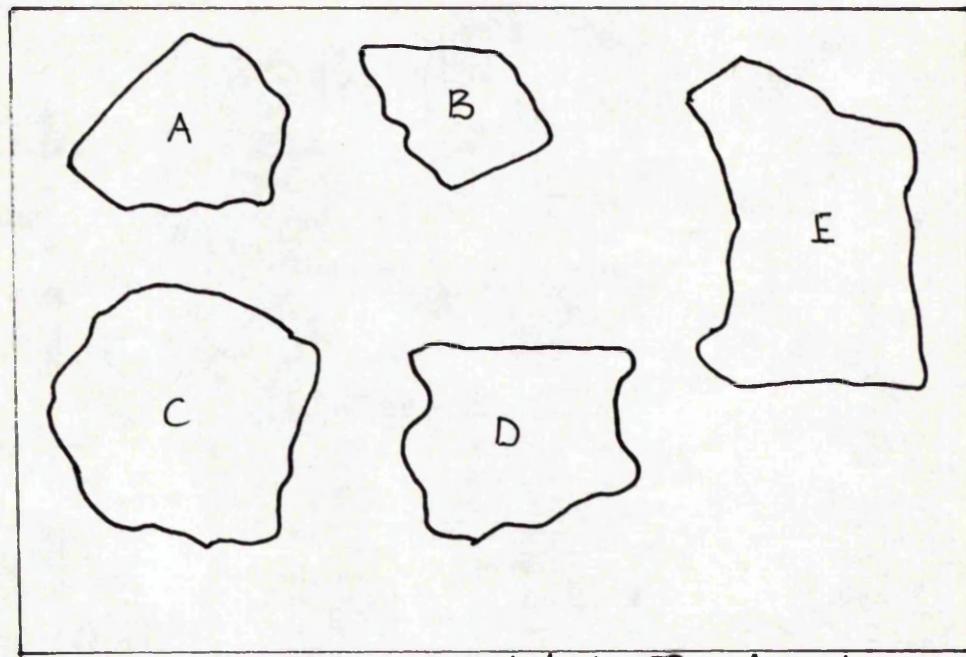
PLATE 3.1



PLATE 3.2



PLATE 3.3



A and B: Middle Eastern, Splashed Ware Type of Sherd.
C : Middle Eastern, Splashed - Sgraffiate Type of Sherd.
D and E: Middle Eastern, Blue Sasana - Islamic Type of Sherd.

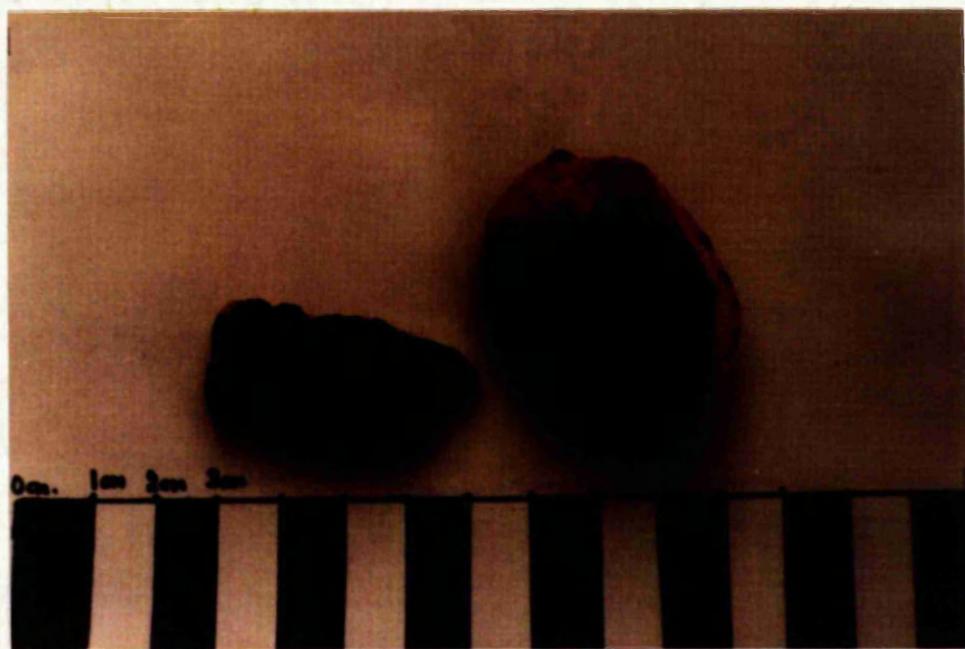


PLATE 3.4



PLATE 3.5

474.

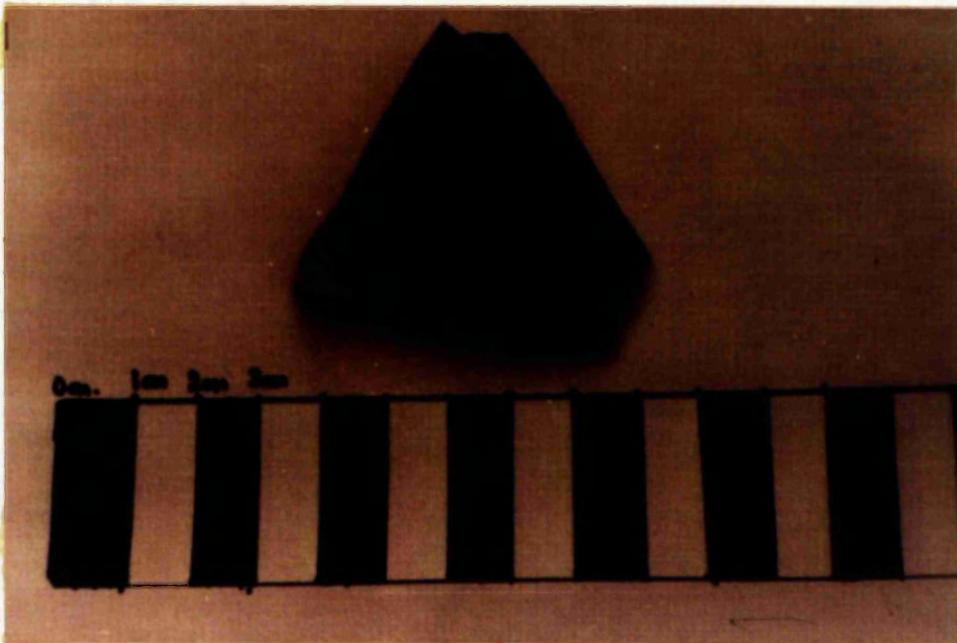


PLATE 3.6

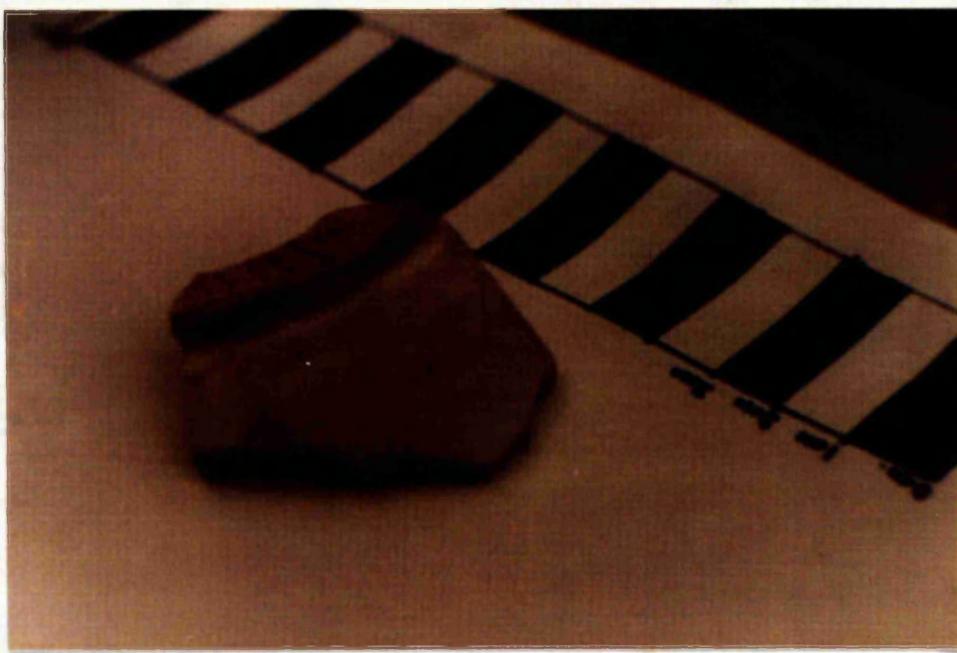


PLATE 3.7



PLATE 3.8



PLATE 3.9



PLATE 3.10



PLATE 3.11



PLATE 3.12

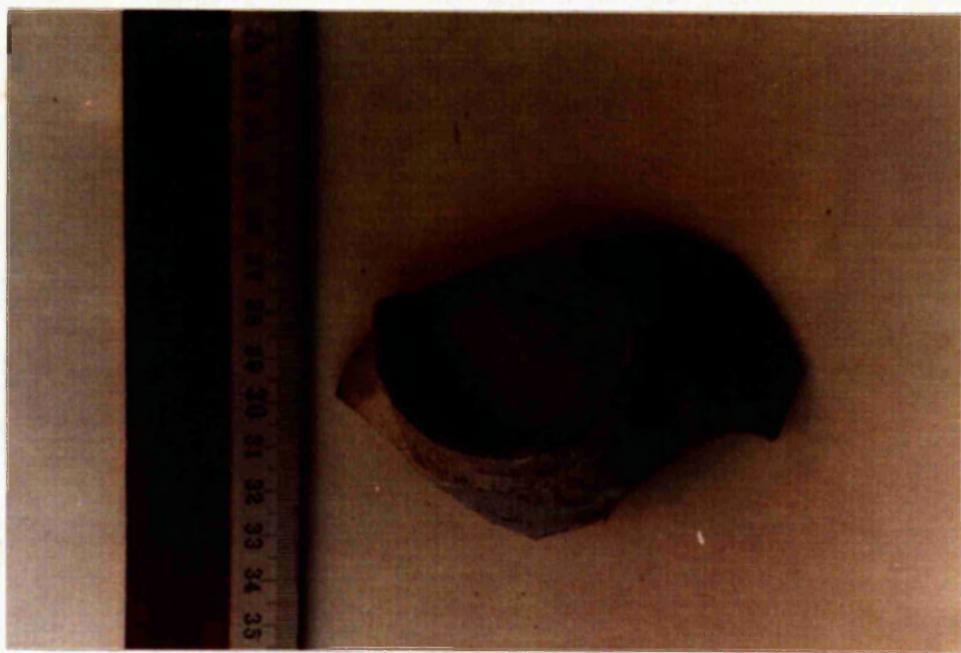
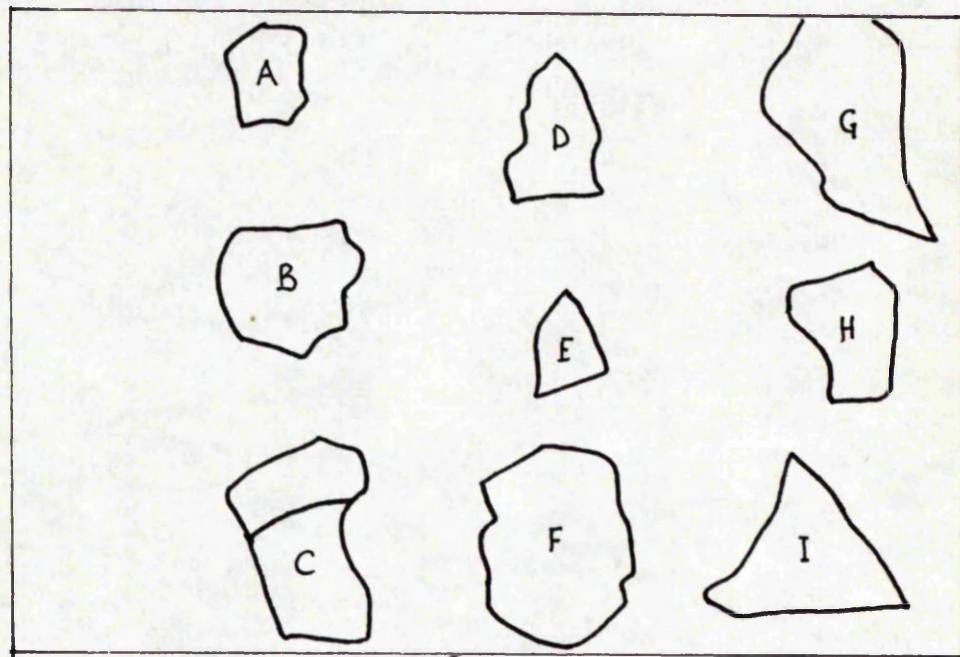


PLATE 3.13



PLATE 3.14



G and H : Ching-pai Type of Sherds.

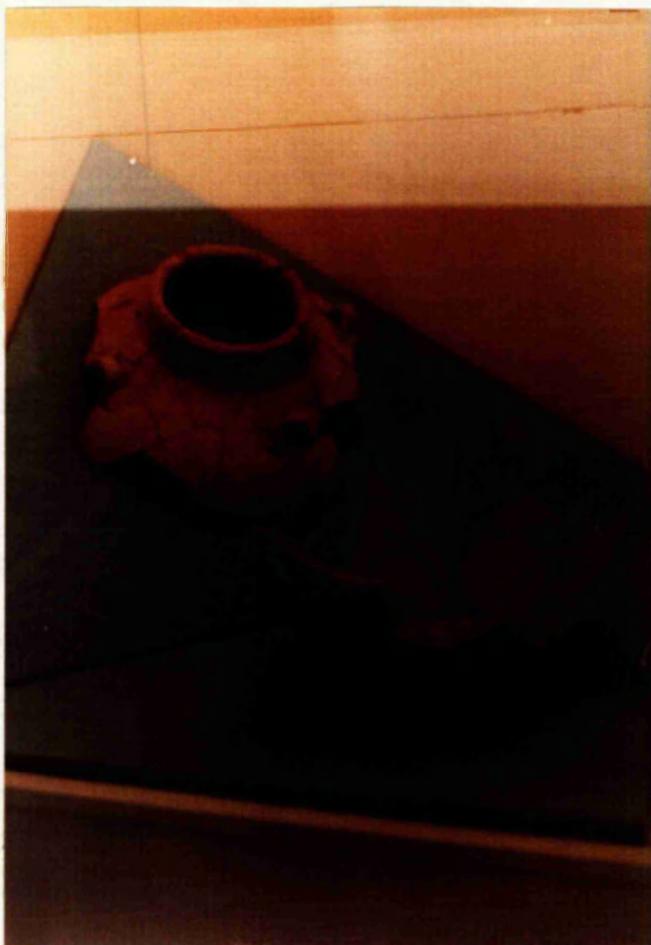


PLATE 3.15

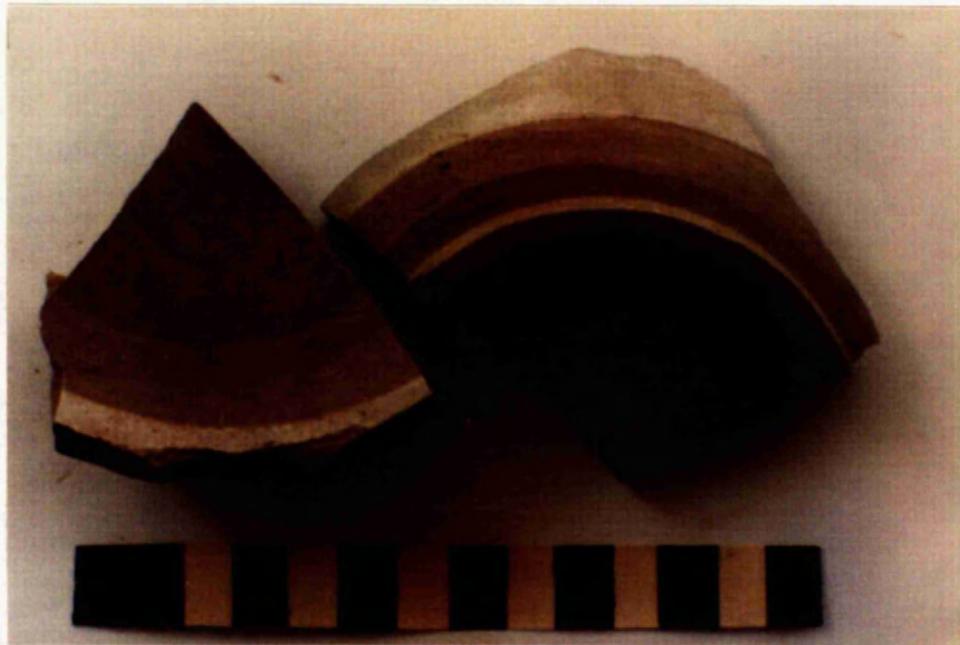


PLATE 3.16

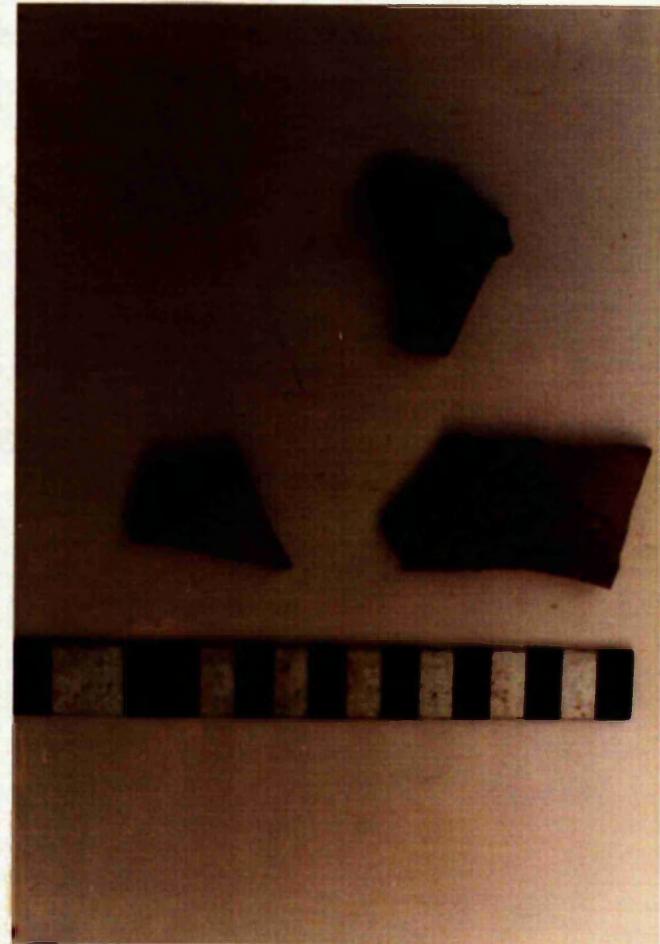
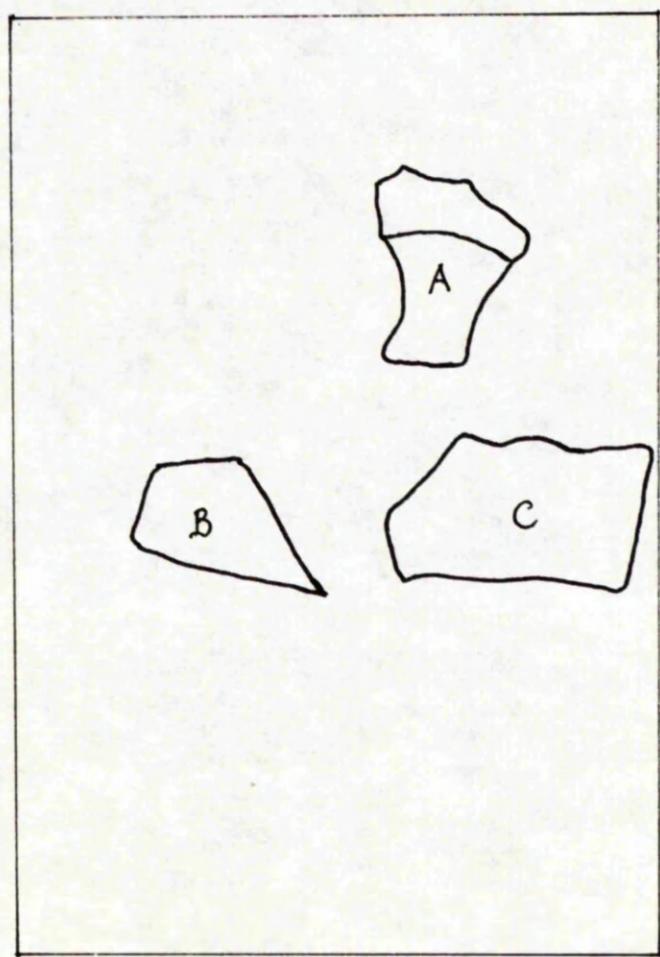


PLATE 3.17



A and B : Aqua Blue Ju Ware Type of Sherd .

481.



PLATE 3.18

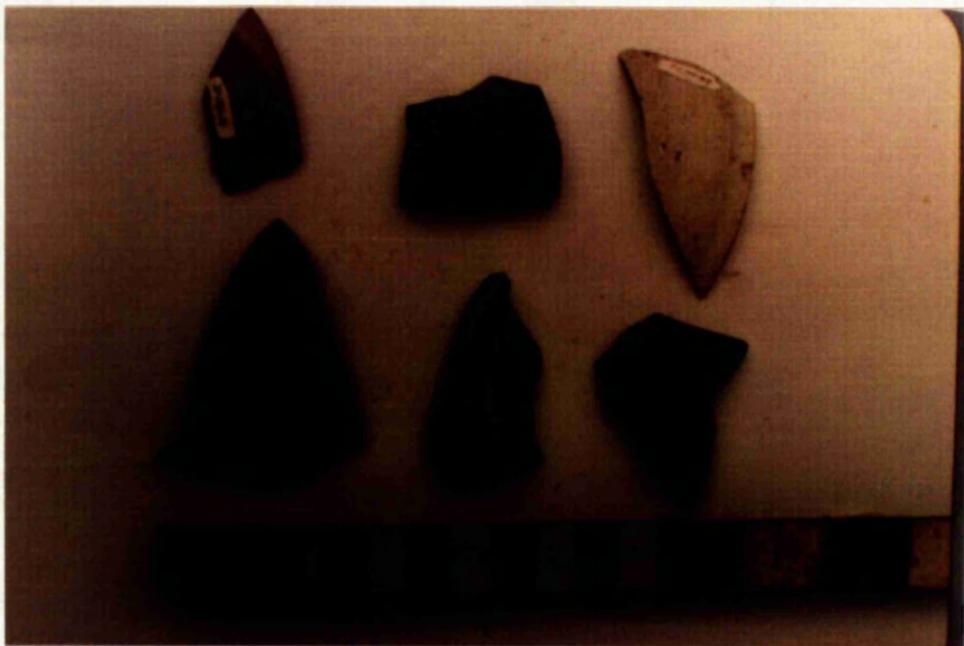


PLATE 3.19



PLATE 3.20



PLATE 3.21



PLATE 3.22



PLATE 3.23



PLATE 3.24

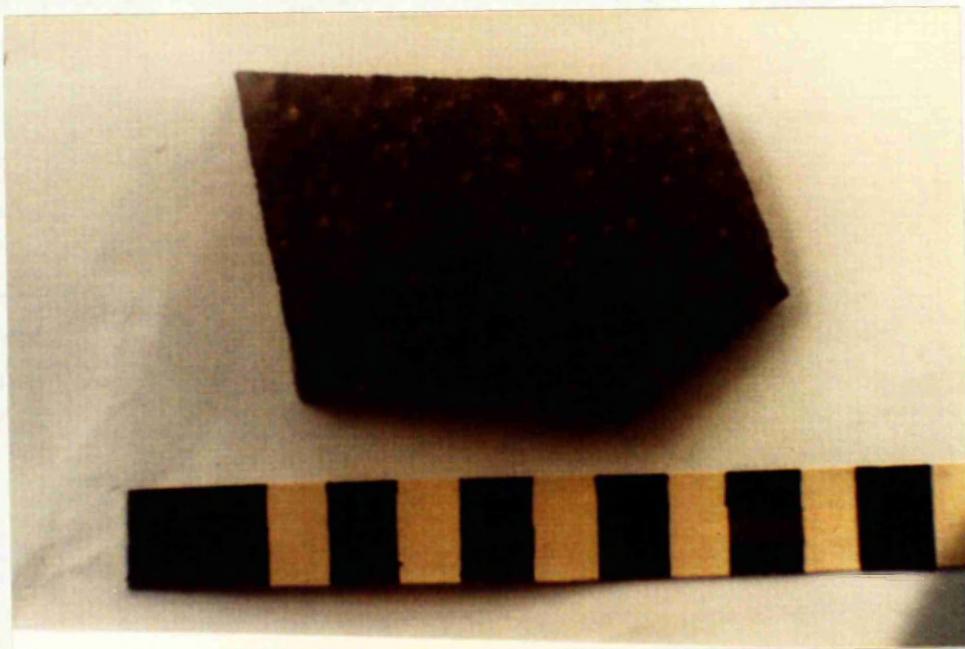


PLATE 3.25

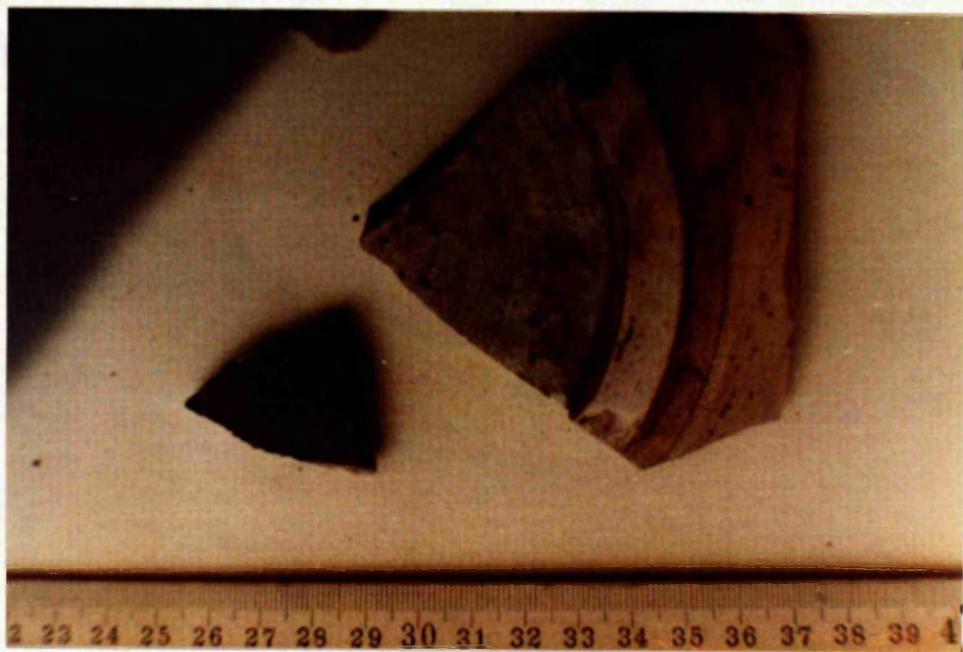
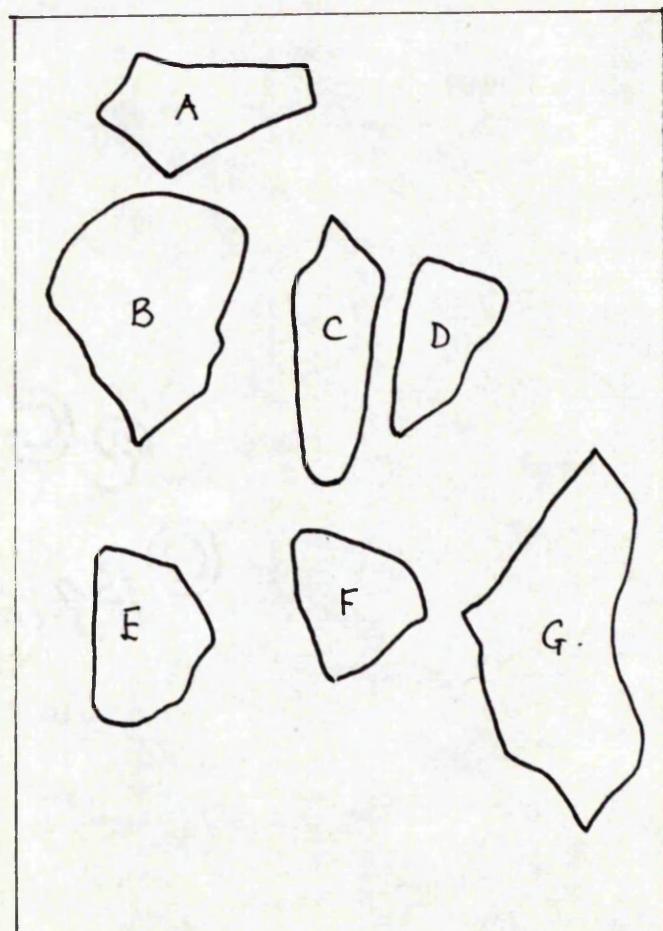


PLATE 3.26



PLATE 3.27



G : Northern Sung Celadon Type of Sherd .



PLATE 3.28



PLATE 3.29



PLATE 3.30

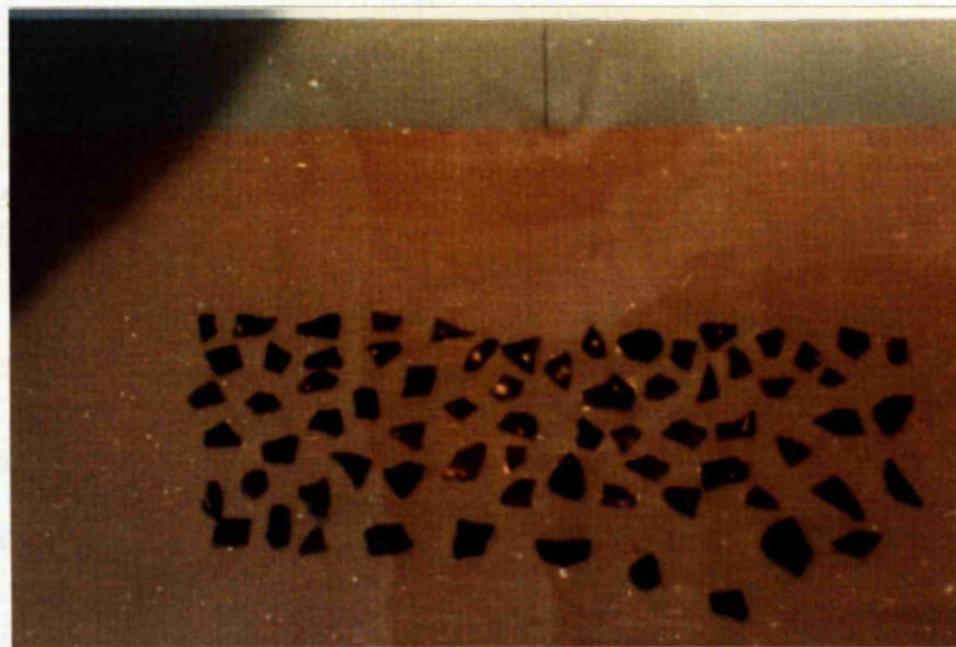


PLATE 3.31



PLATE 3.32



PLATE 3.33



PLATE 3.34



PLATE 3.35



PLATE 3.36



PLATE 3.37



PLATE 3.38



PLATE 3.39



PLATE 3.40



PLATE 3.41



PLATE 3.42



PLATE 3.43

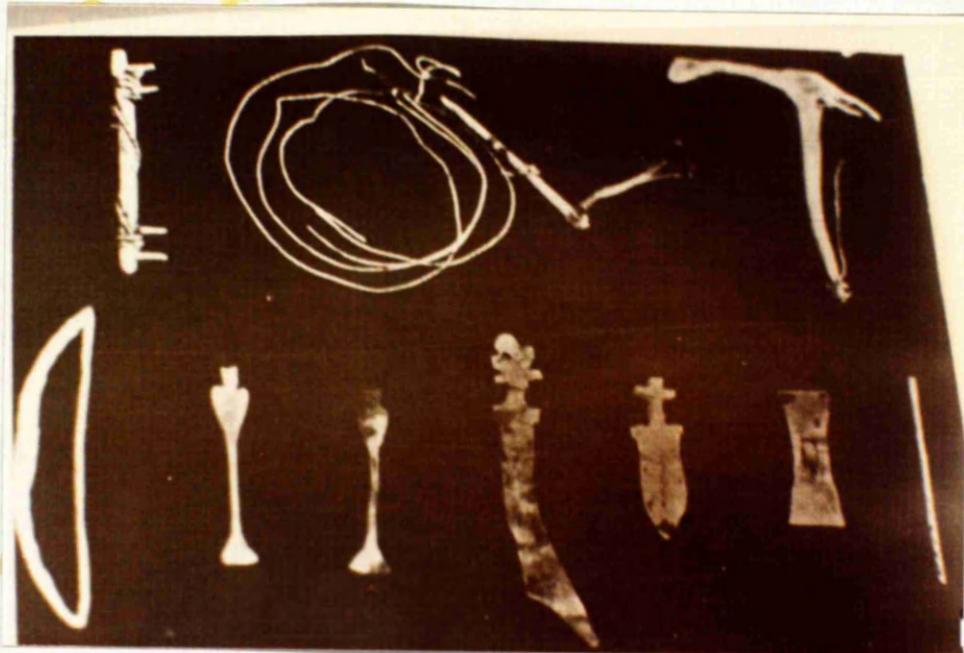


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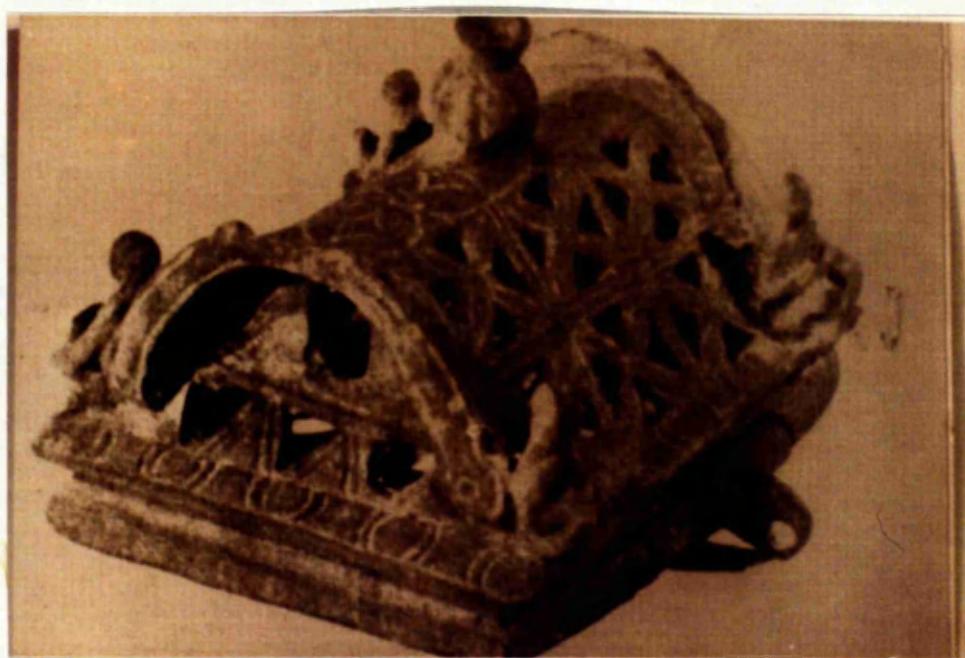


PLATE 3.45



PLATE 3.46



PLATE 3.47

497.



PLATE 3.48

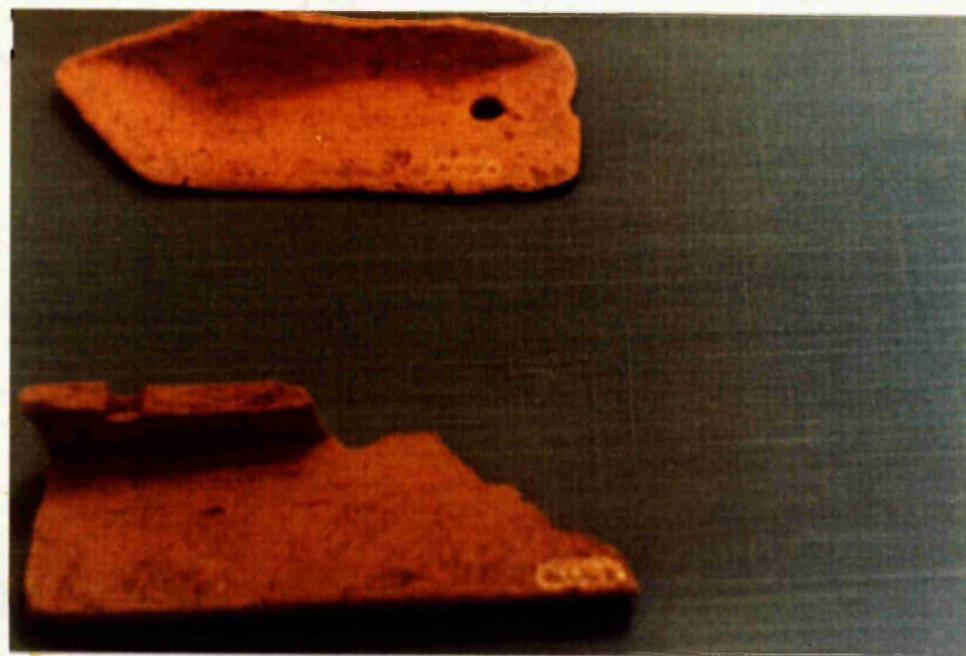


PLATE 3.49



PLATE 3.50



PLATE 3.51

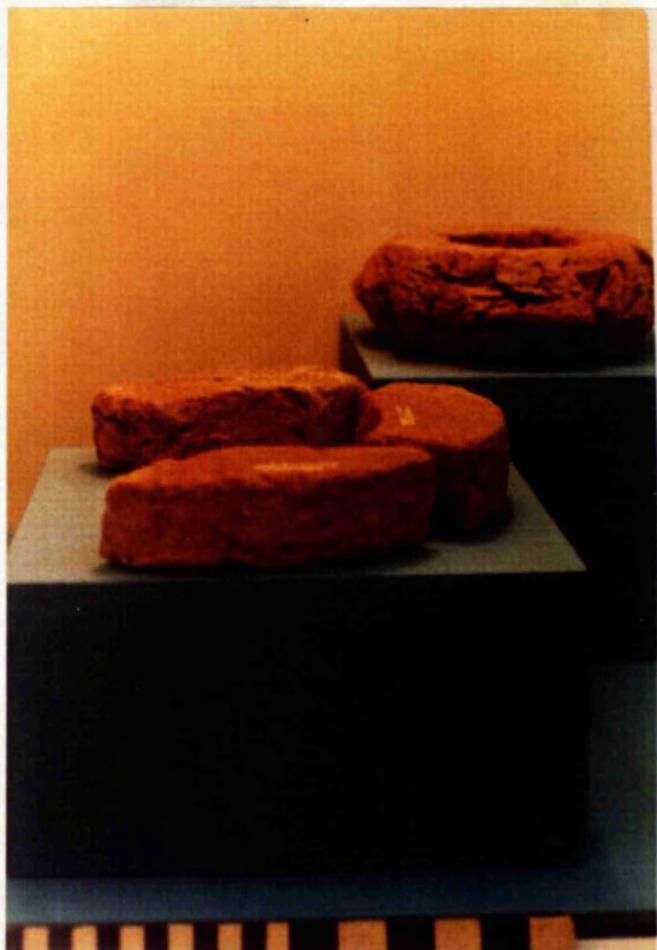


PLATE 3.52

500.

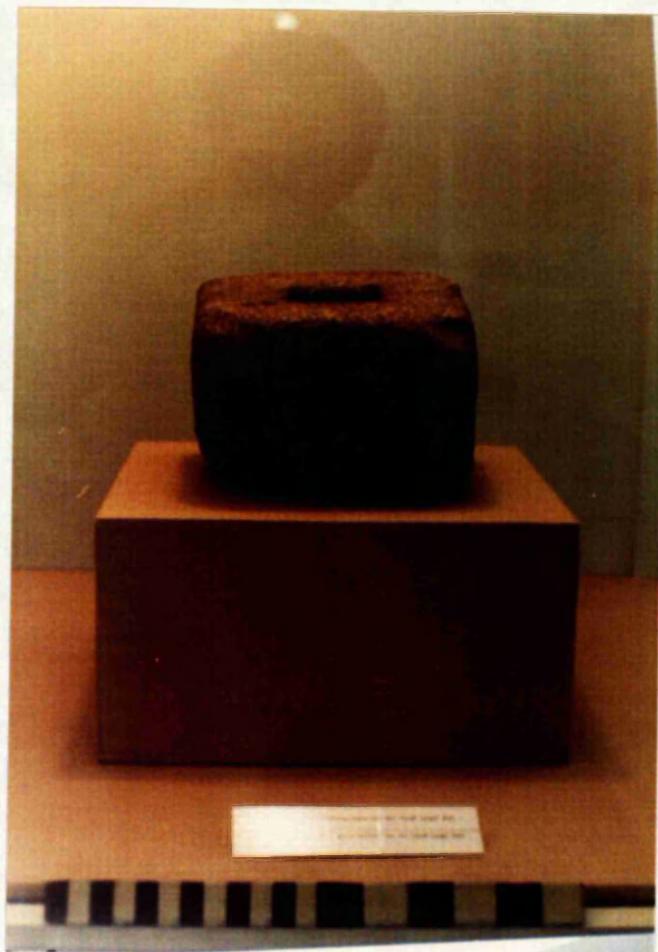


PLATE 3.53



PLATE 3.54

501.



PLATE 3.55



PLATE 3.56

502.



PLATE 3.57



PLATE 3.58



PLATE 3.59



PLATE 3.60

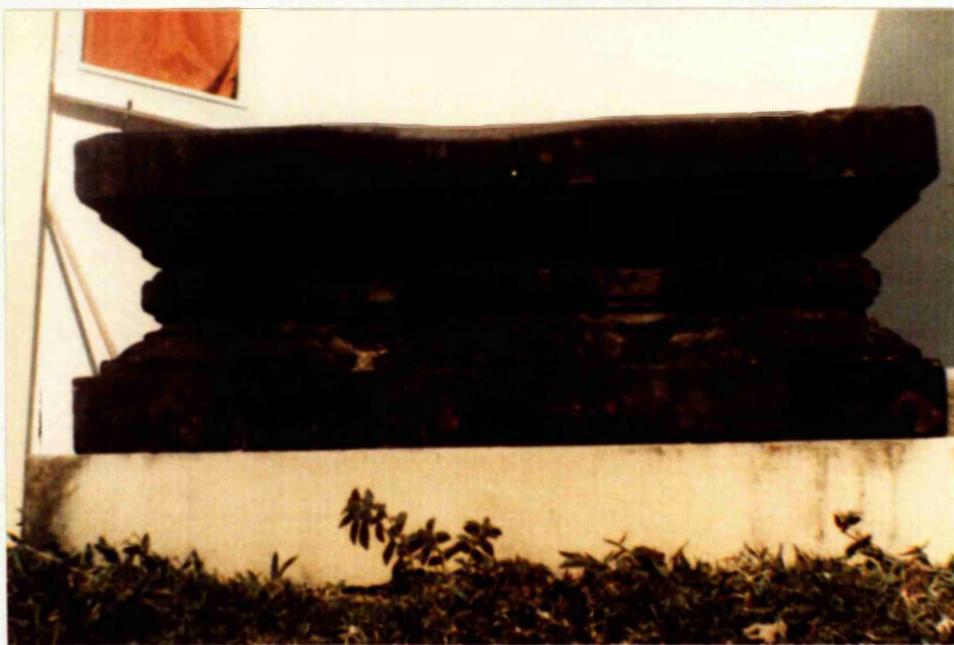


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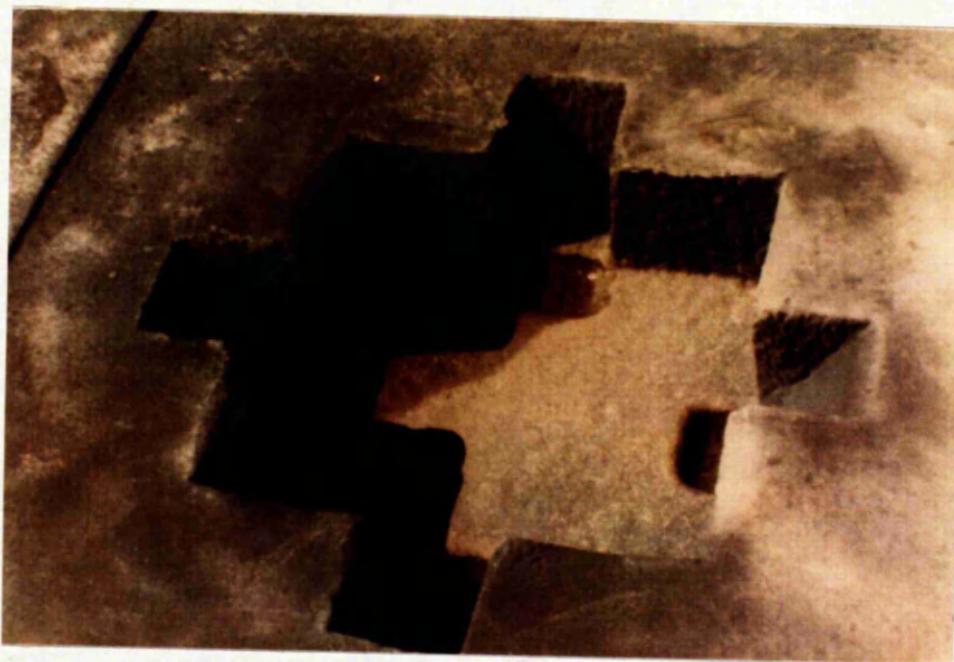


PLATE 3.62



PLATE 3.63



PLATE 3.64



PLATE 3.65

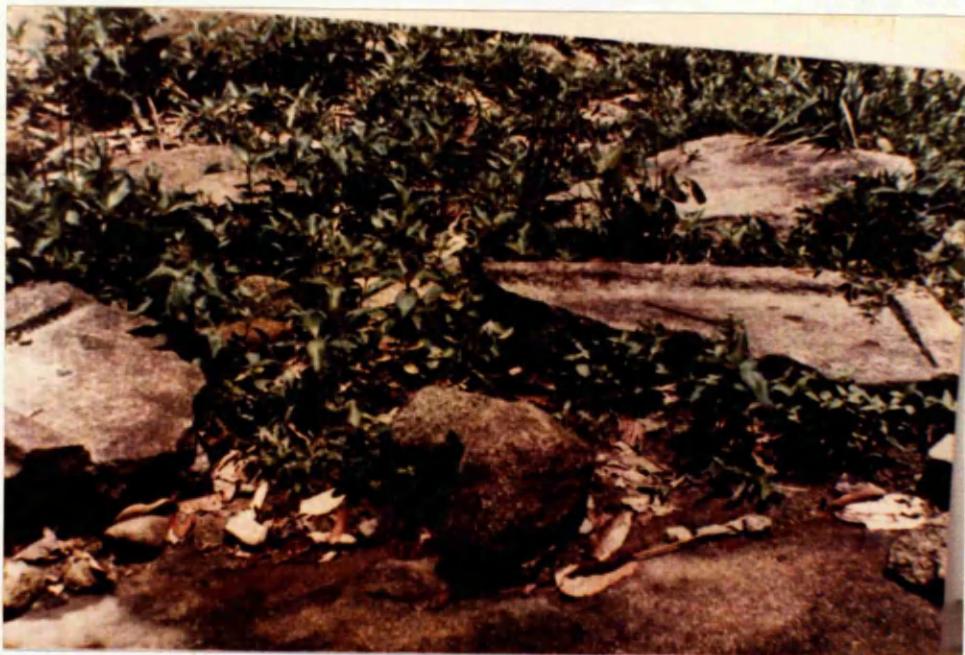


PLATE 3.66



PLATE 3.67

508.



PLATE 3.68



PLATE 3.69

509.



PLATE 3.70



PLATE 3.71



PLATE 3.72

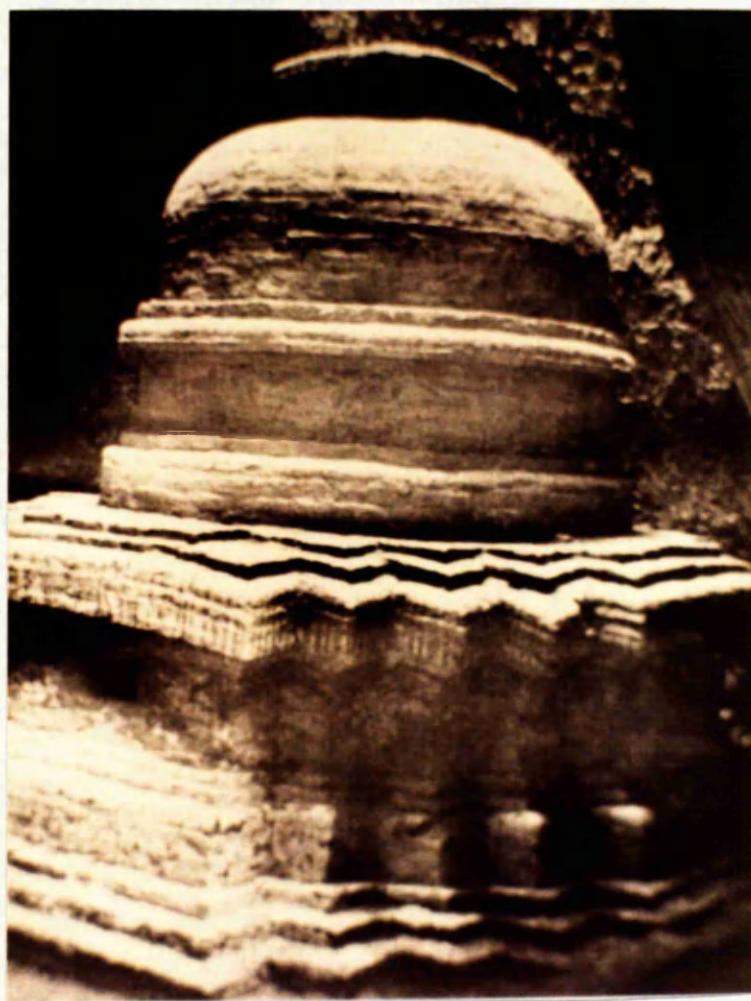


PLATE 3.73

511.



PLATE 4.1



PLATE 4.2

512.



PLATE 4.3

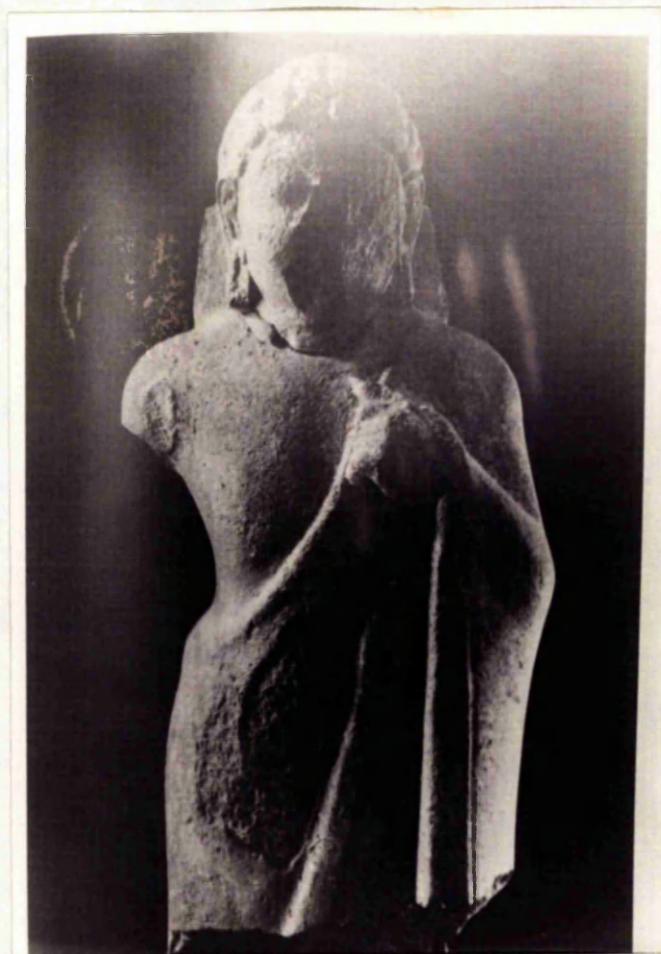


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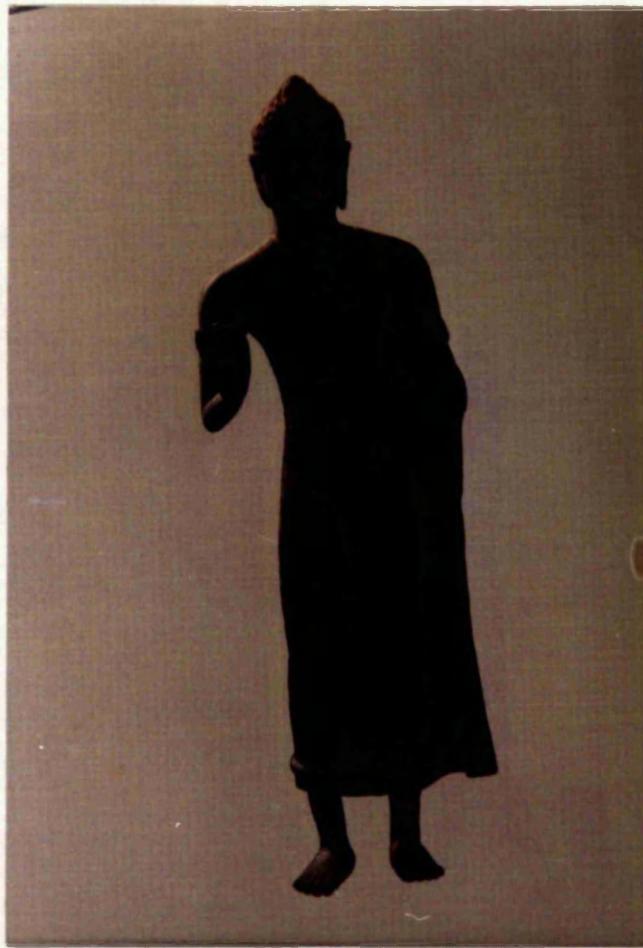


PLATE 4.5



PLATE 4.6



PLATE 4.7



PLATE 4.8

515.



PLATE 4.9



PLATE 4.10



PLATE 4.11



PLATE 4.12



PLATE 4.13



PLATE 4.14



PLATE 4.15



PLATE 4.16



PLATE 4.17



PLATE 4.18

520.



PLATE 4.19



PLATE 4.20



PLATE 4.21

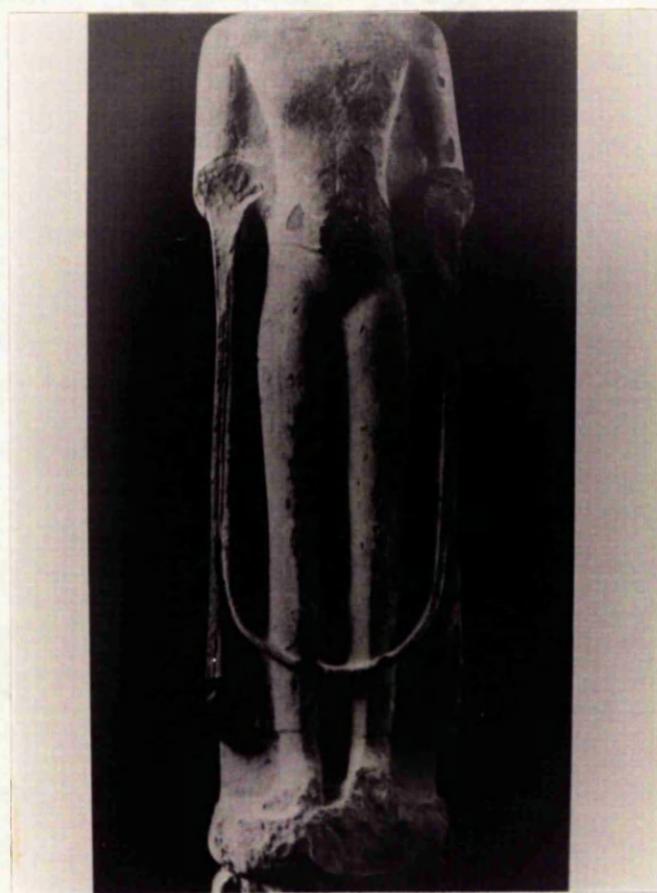


PLATE 4.22



PLATE 4.23



PLATE 4.24

523.

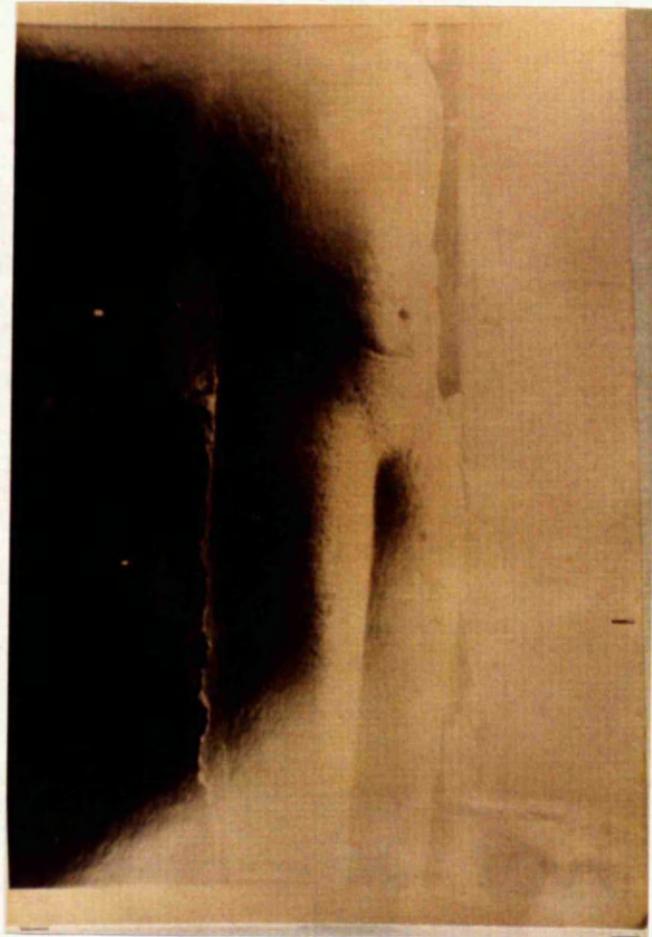


PLATE 4.25



PLATE 4.26



PLATE 4.27



PLATE 4.28(a)



PLATE 4.28(b)

526.

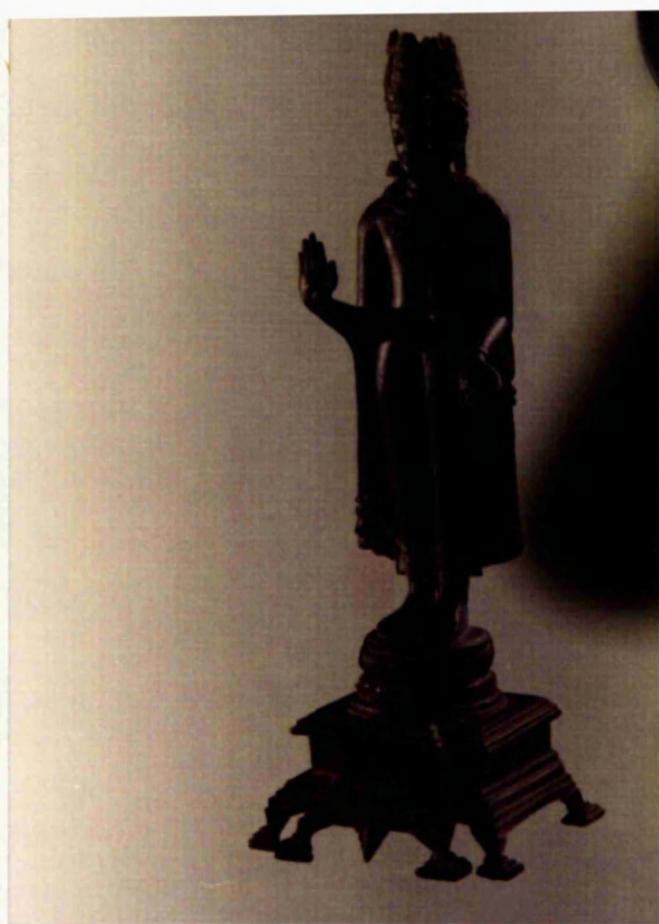


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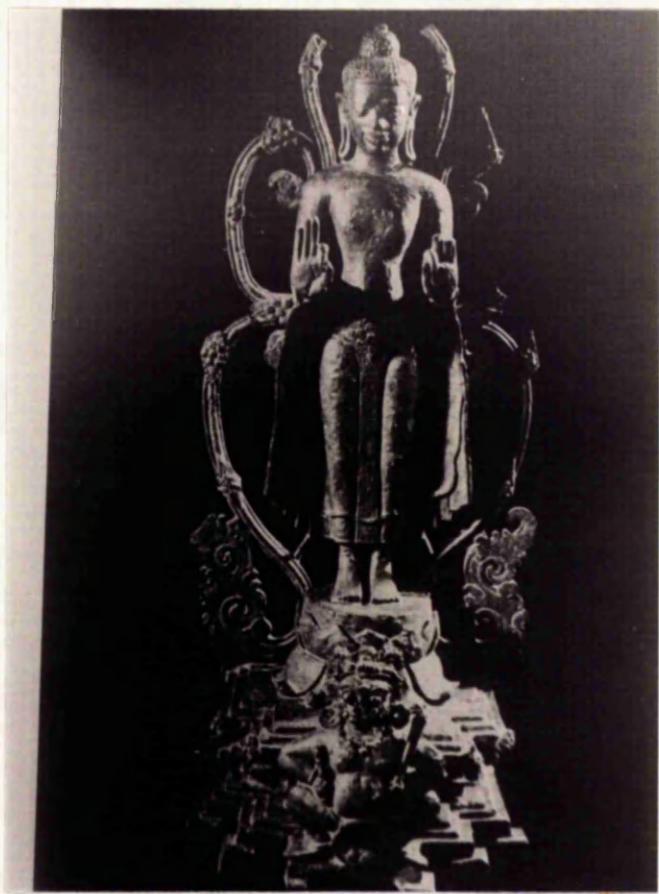


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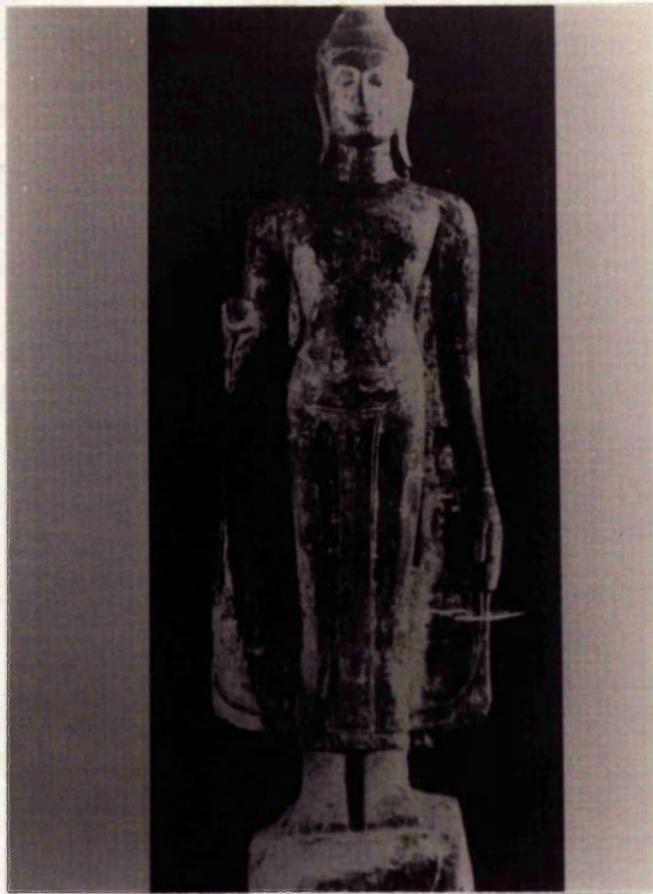


PLATE 4.31



PLATE 4.32

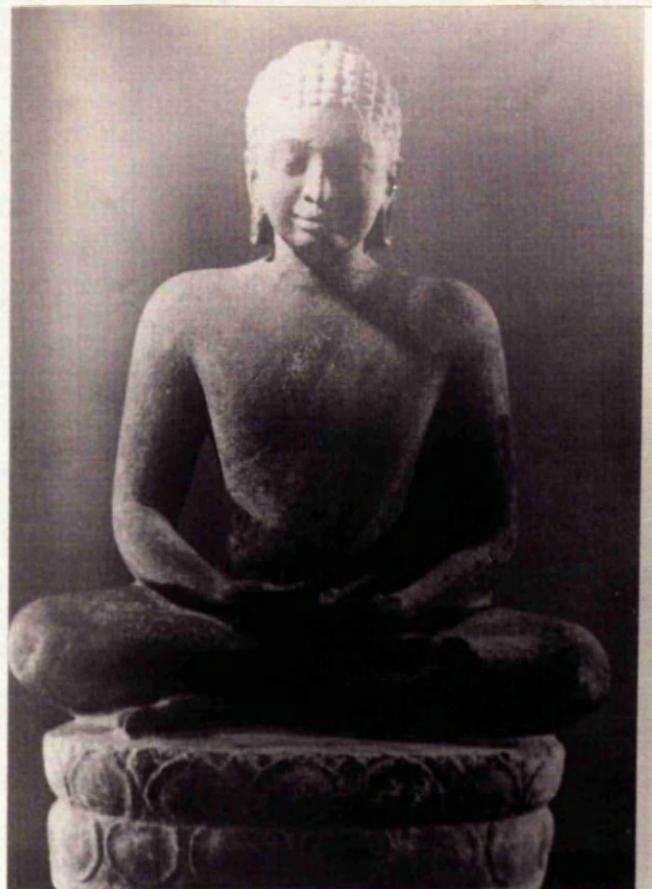


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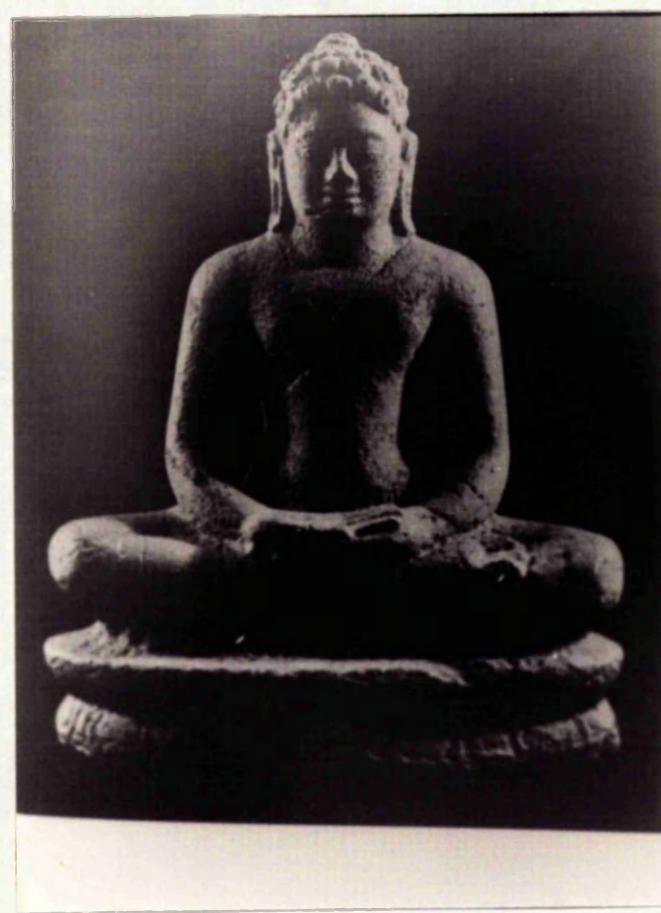


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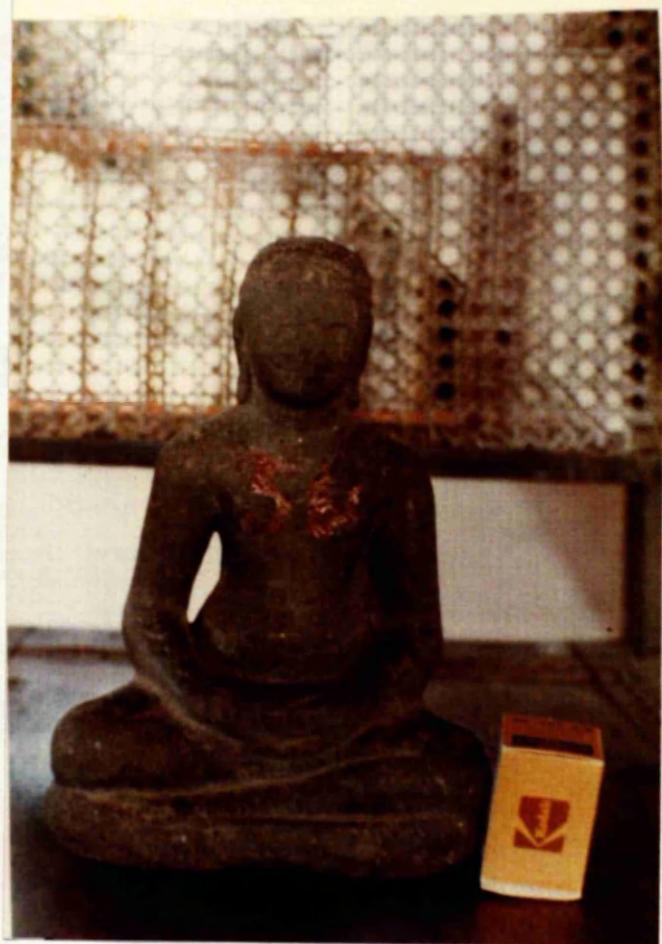


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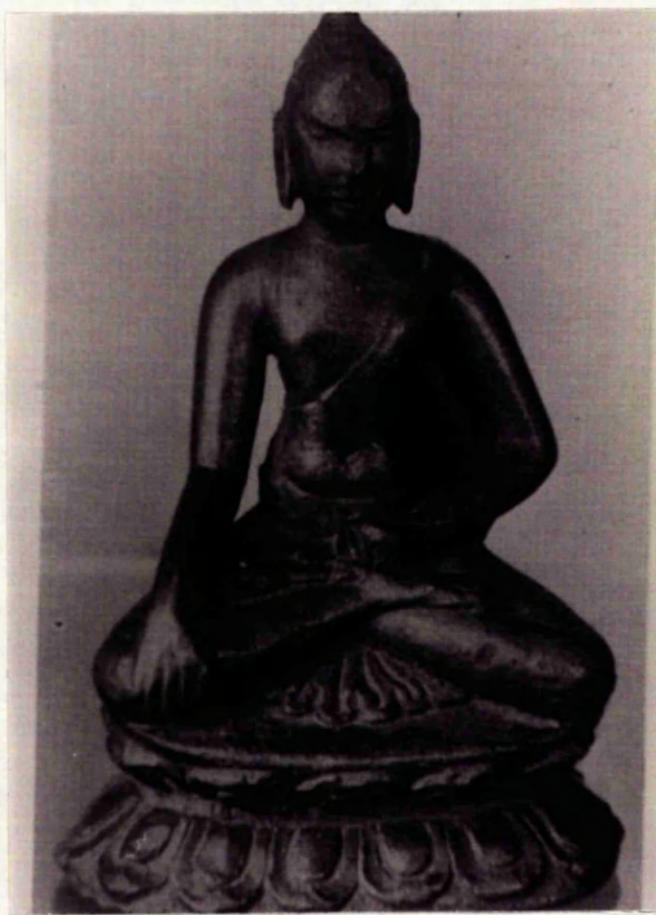


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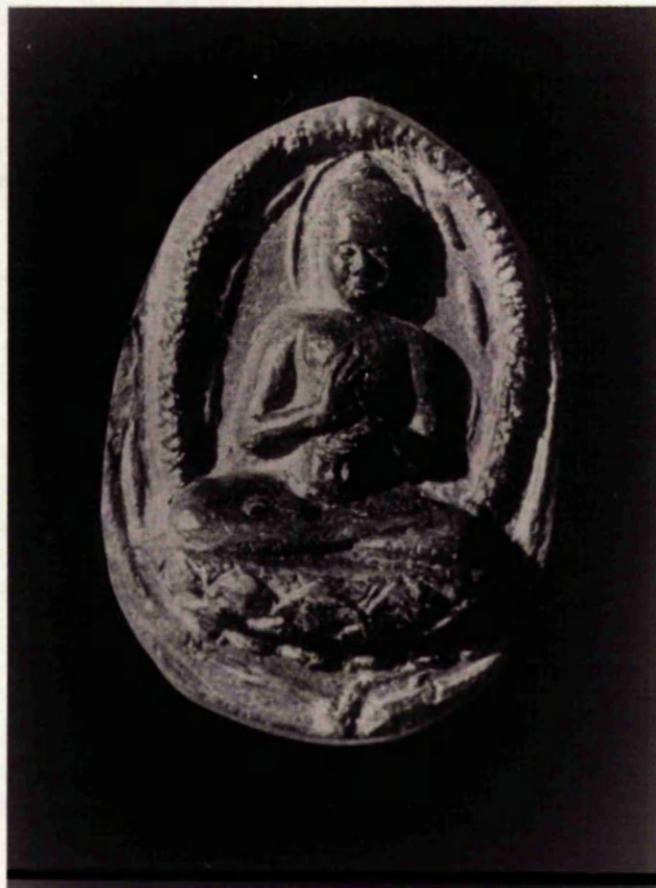


PLATE 4.37



PLATE 4.38



PLATE 4.39



PLATE 4.40



PLATE 4.41

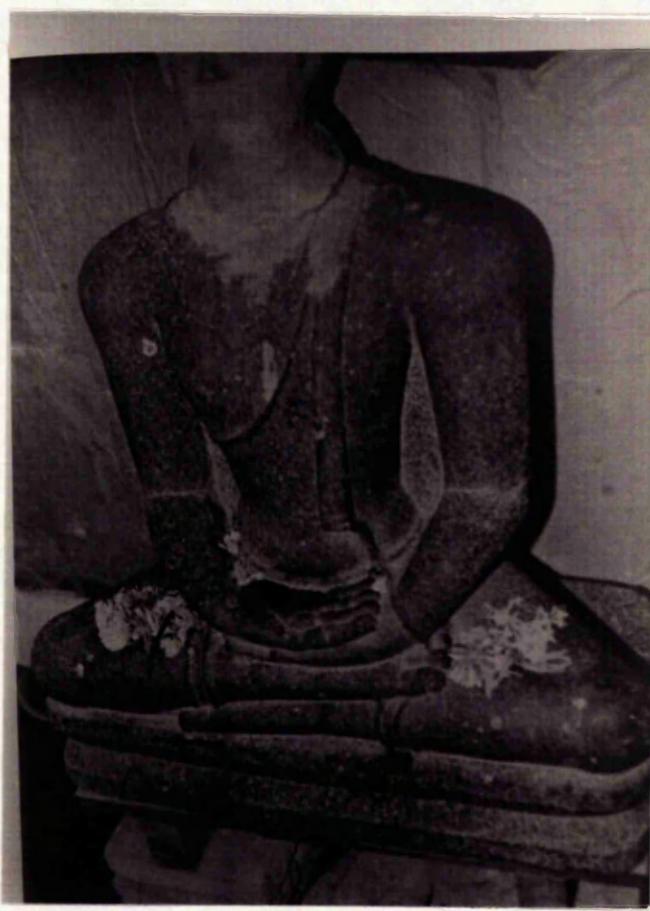


PLATE 4.42



PLATE 4.43



PLATE 4.44



PLATE 4.45

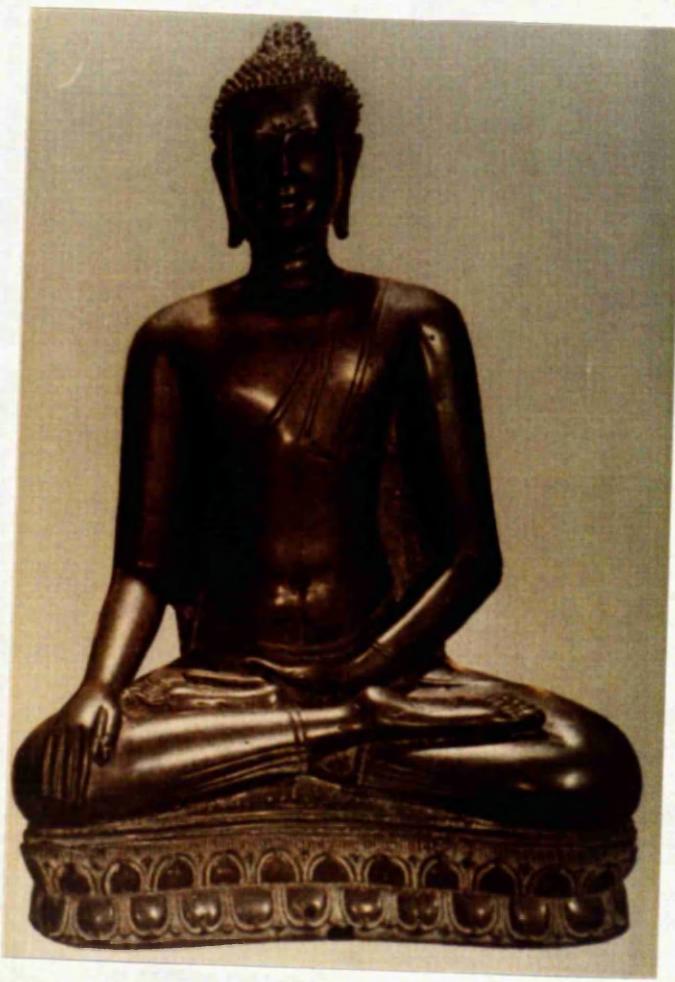


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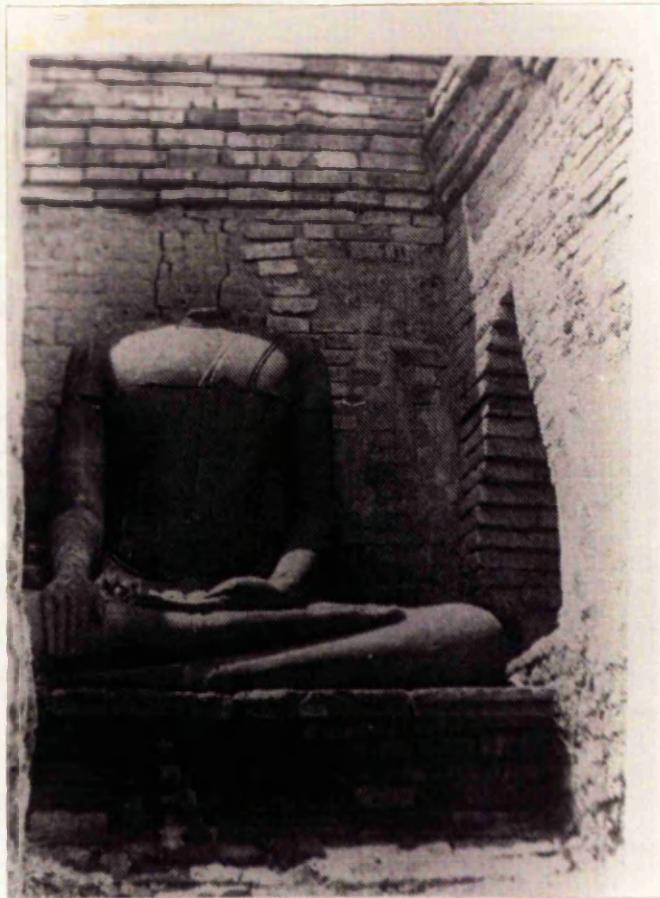


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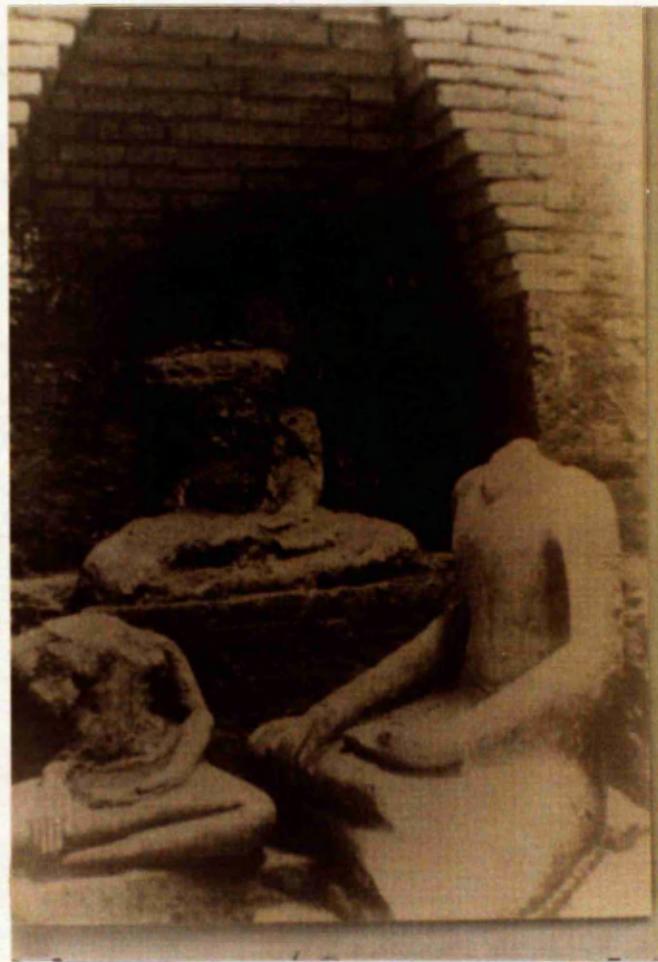


PLATE 4.48

536.



PLATE 4.49



PLATE 4.50



PLATE 4.51



PLATE 4.52

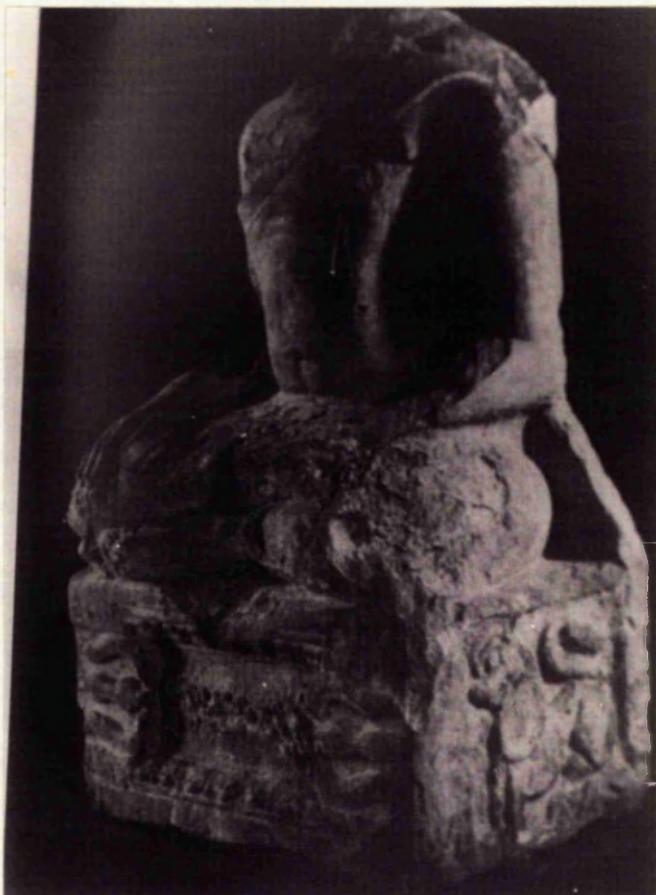


PLATE 4.53



PLATE 4.54



PLATE 4.55



PLATE 4.56

540.



PLATE 4.57

PLATE 4.58



541.



PLATE 4.59



PLATE 4.60



PLATE 4.61

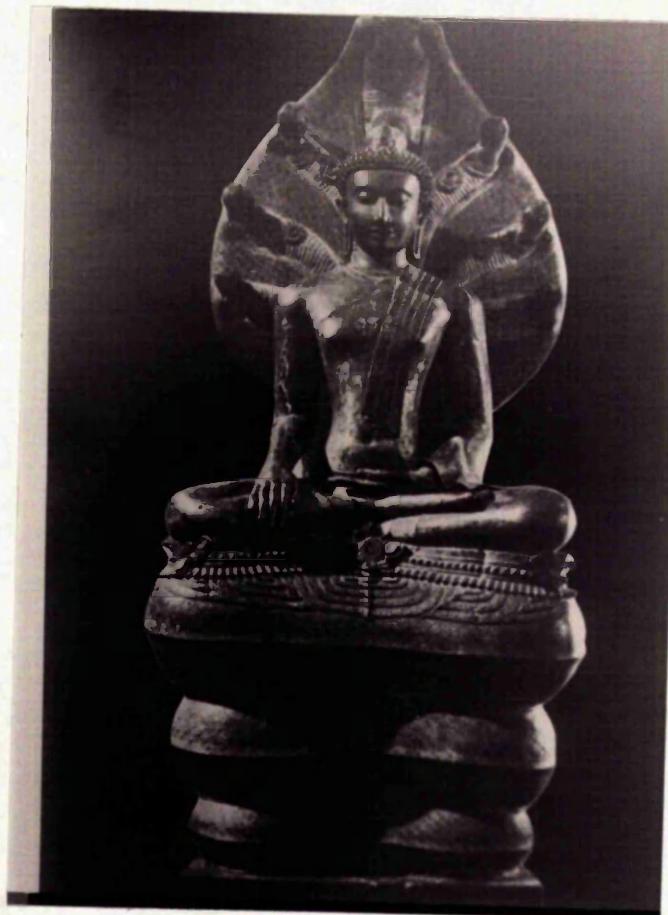


PLATE 4.62

543.



PLATE 4.63



PLATE 4.64



PLATE 4.65



PLATE 4.66

545.



PLATE 4.67

PLATE 4.68





PLATE 4.69



PLATE 4.70



PLATE 4.71



PLATE 4.72



PLATE 4.73



PLATE 4.74



PLATE 4.75



PLATE 4.76



PLATE 4.77



PLATE 4.78



PLATE 4.79

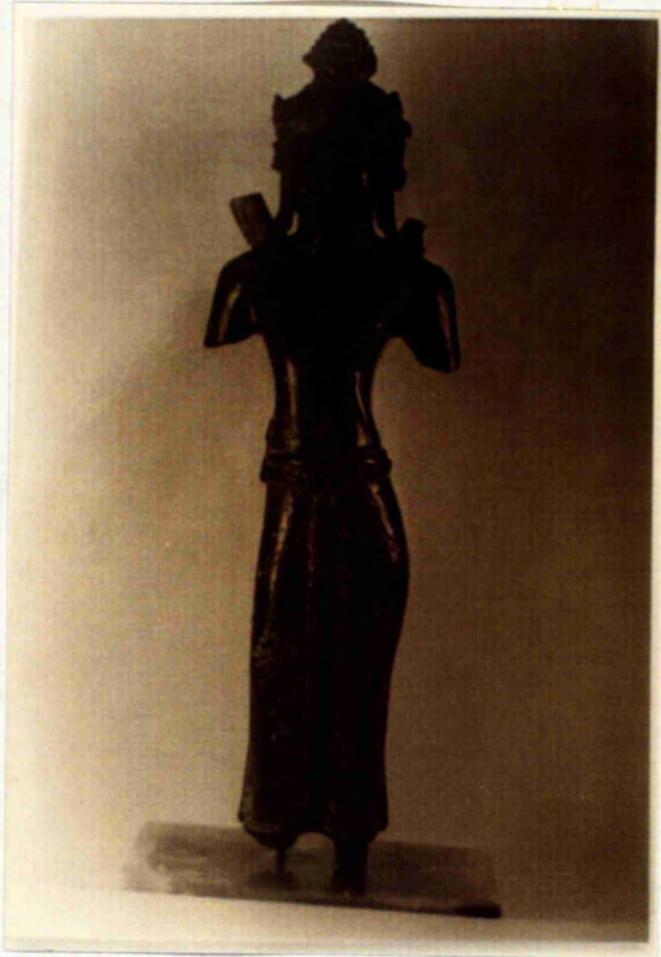


PLATE 4.80



PLATE 4.81



PLATE 4.82



PLATE 4.83

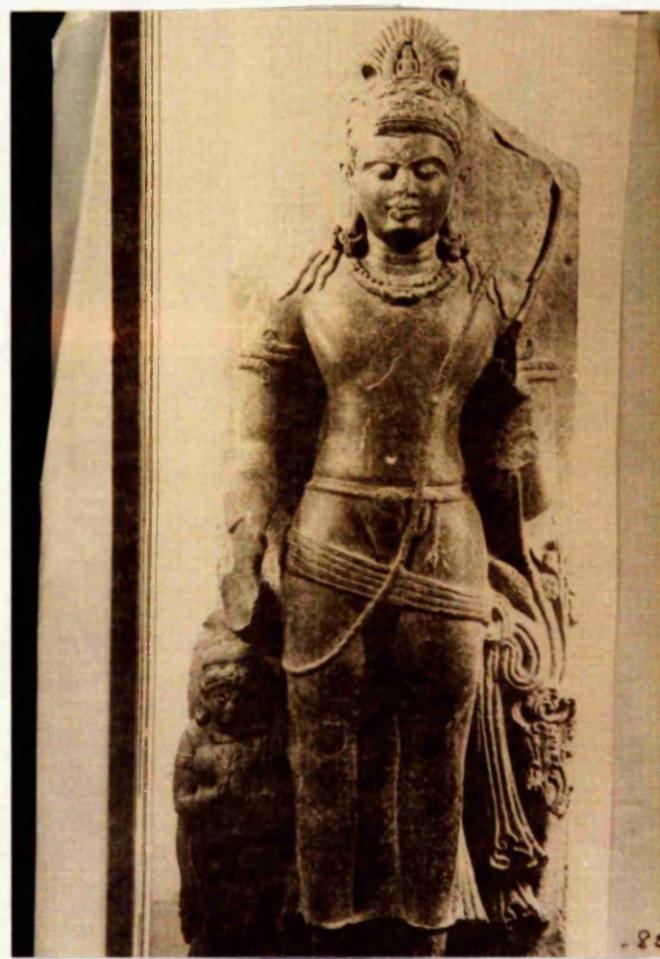


PLATE 4.84



PLATE 4.85(a)

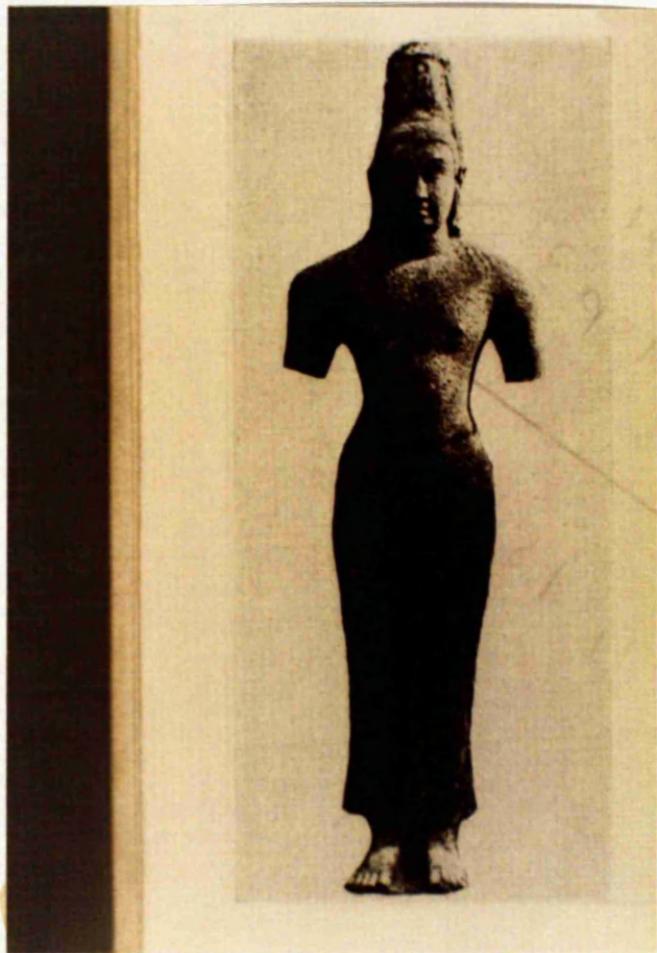


PLATE 4.85(b)

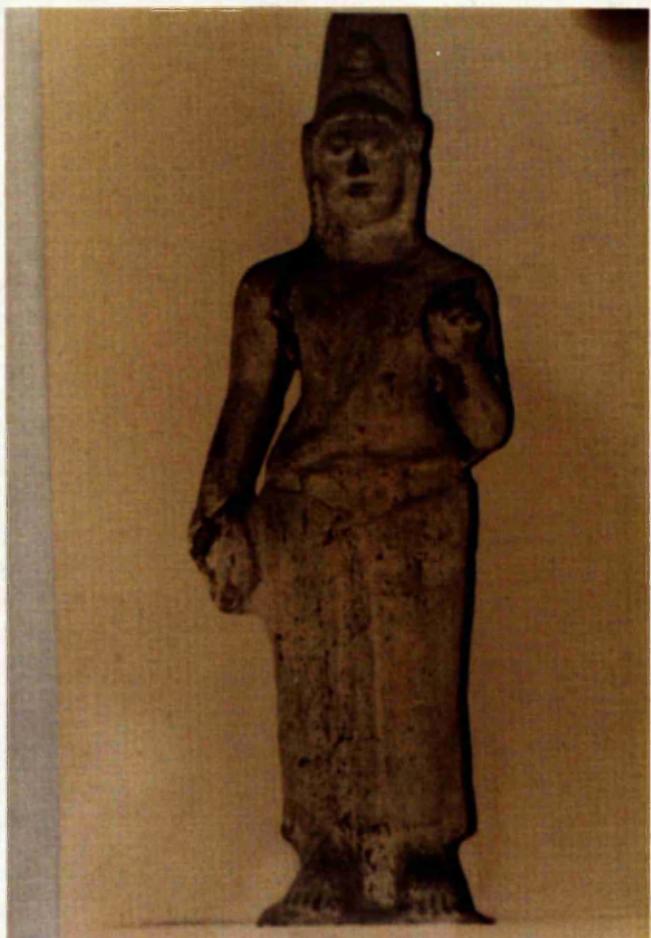


PLATE 4.86

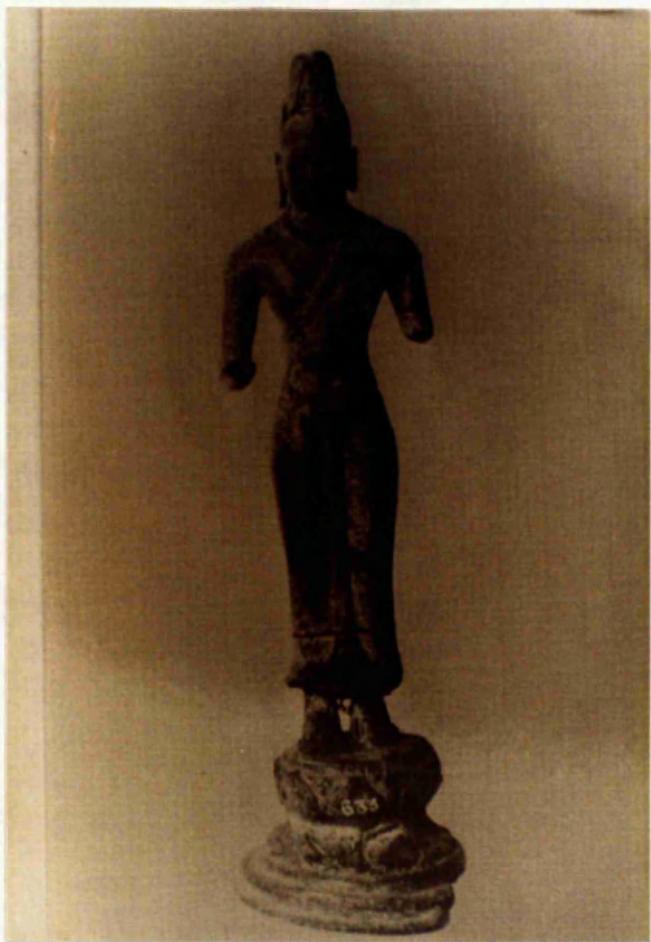


PLATE 4.87

556.



PLATE 4.88

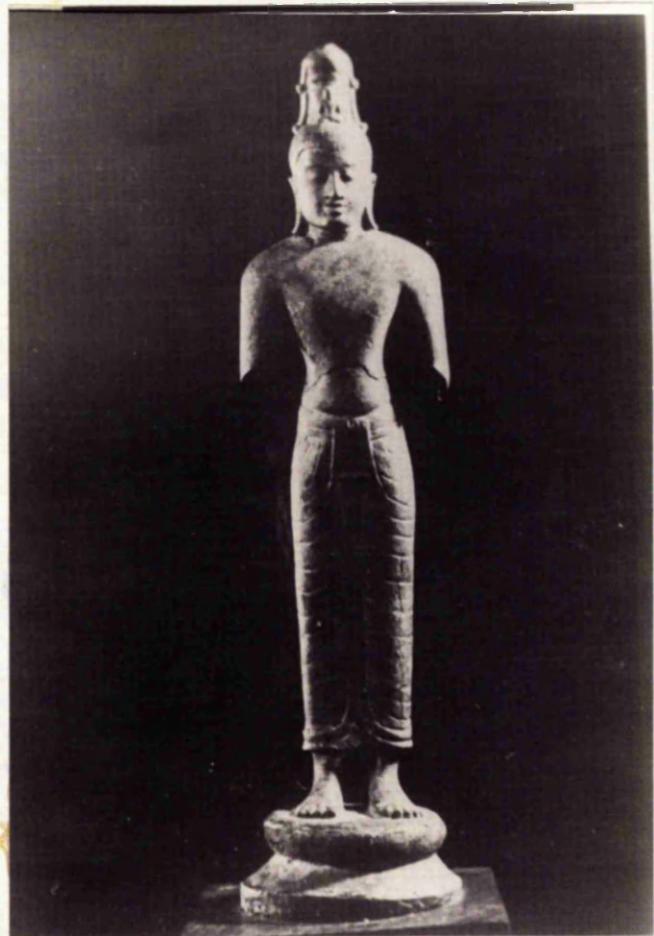


PLATE 4.89



PLATE 4.90



PLATE 4.91

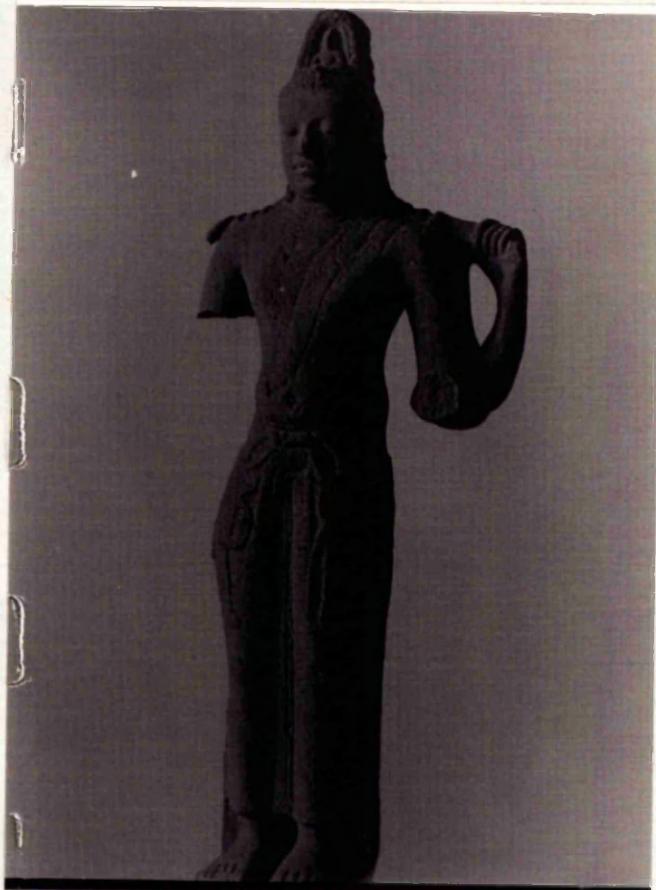


PLATE 4.92



PLATE 4.93

559.

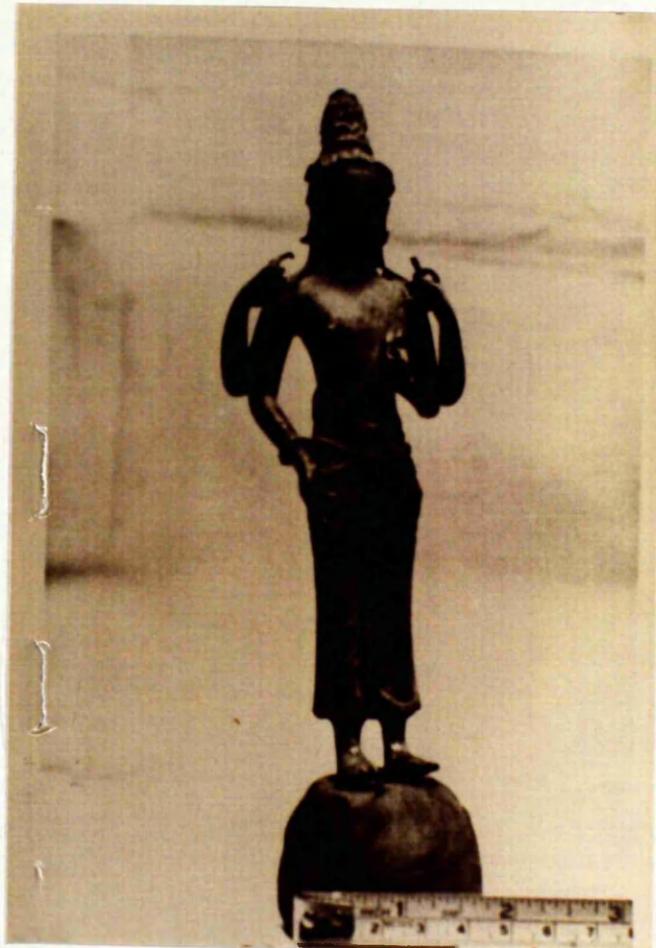


PLATE 4.94



PLATE 4.95

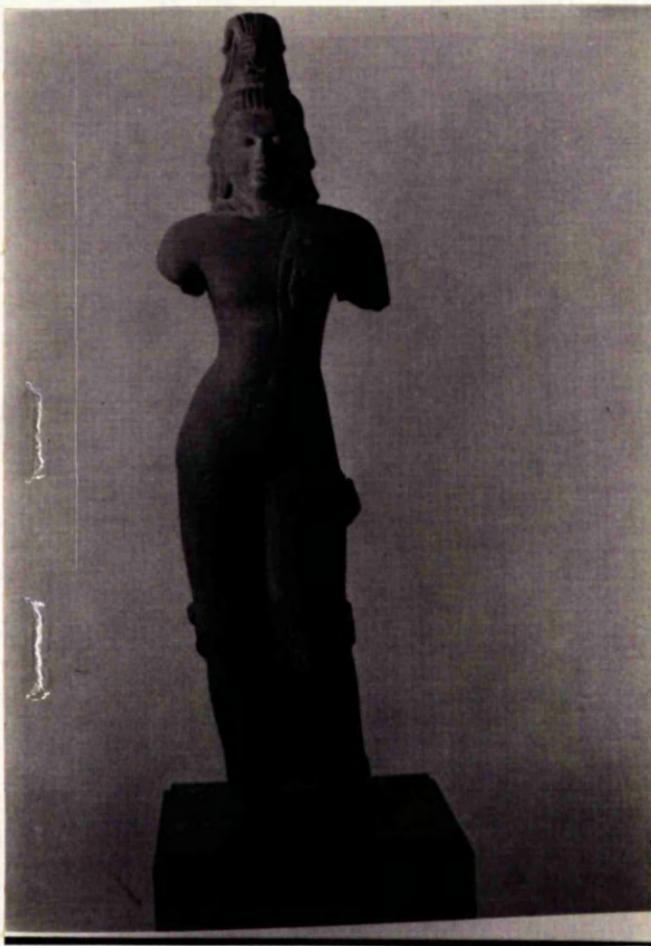


PLATE 4.96

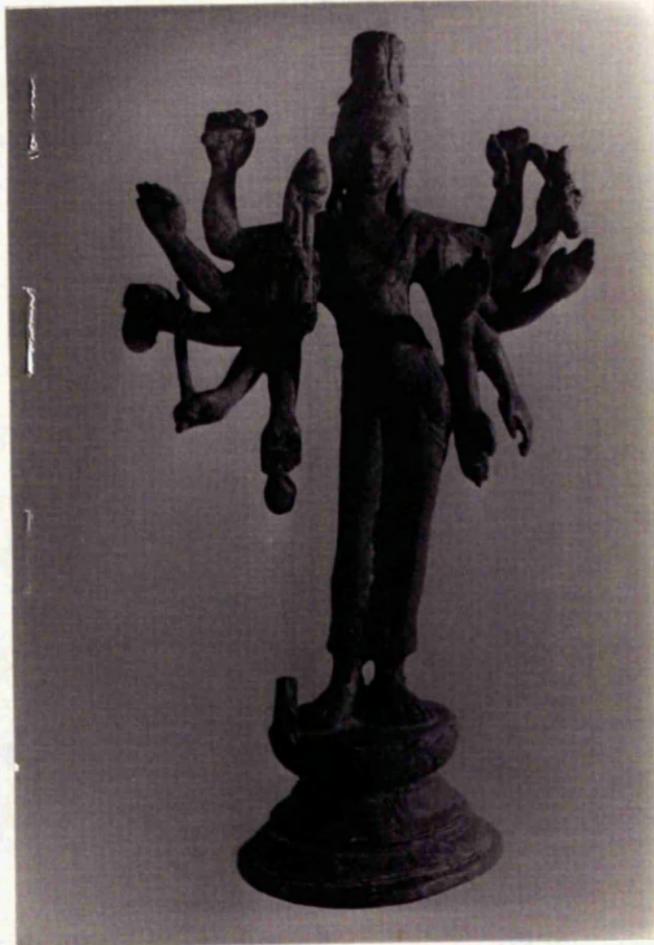


PLATE 4.97



PLATE 4.98



PLATE 4.99



PLATE 4.100



PLATE 4.101



PLATE 4.102.



PLATE 4.103



PLATE 4.104



PLATE 4.105



PLATE 4.106



PLATE 4.107



PLATE 4.108



PLATE 4.109



PLATE 4.110



PLATE 4.111



PLATE 4.112



PLATE 4.113



PLATE 4.114



PLATE 4.115

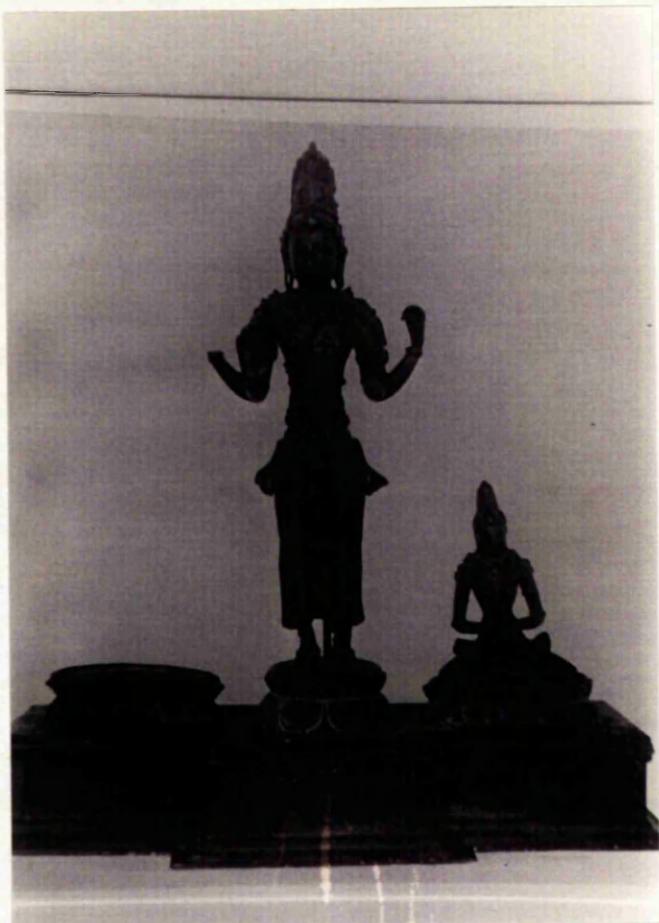


PLATE 4.116



PLATE 4.117



PLATE 4.118

From Rambahan, Central Siemreap



PLATE 4.119



PLATE 4.120



PLATE 4.121



PLATE 4.122



PLATE 4.123



PLATE 124



PLATE 125



PLATE 4.126



PLATE 4.127



PLATE 4.128



PLATE 4.129



PLATE 4.130



PLATE 4.131



PLATE 4.132



PLATE 4.133



PLATE 4.134



PLATE 4.135

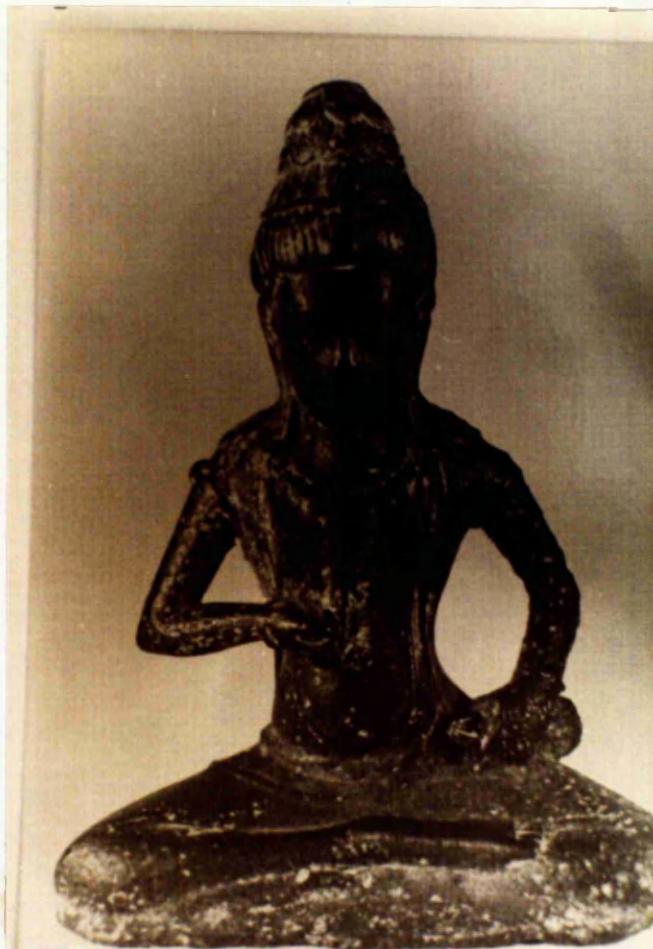


PLATE 4.136

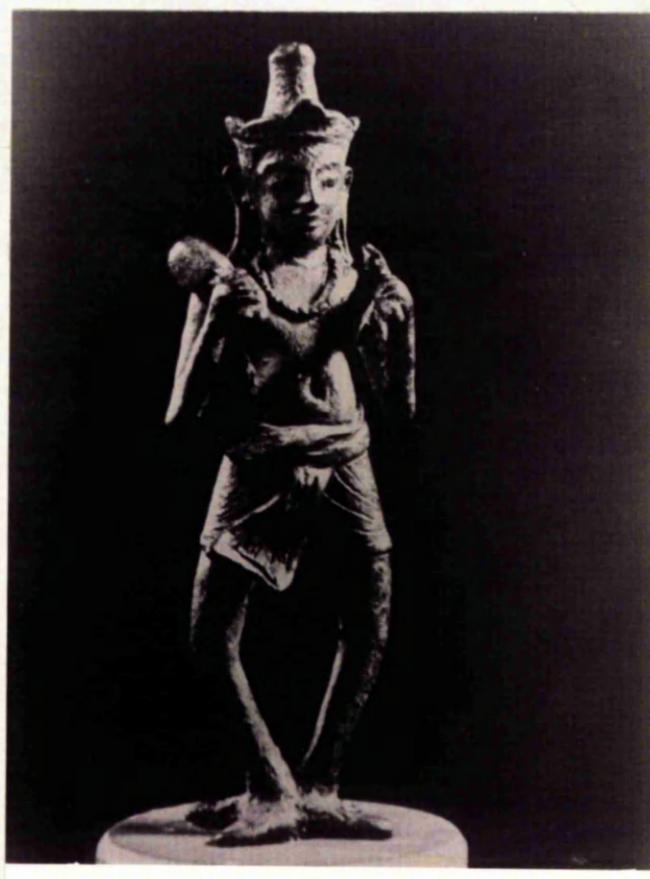


PLATE 4.137



PLATE 4.138



PLATE 4.139



PLATE 4.140



PLATE 4.141



PLATE 4.142



PLATE 4.143



PLATE 4.144



PLATE 4.145



PLATE 4.146

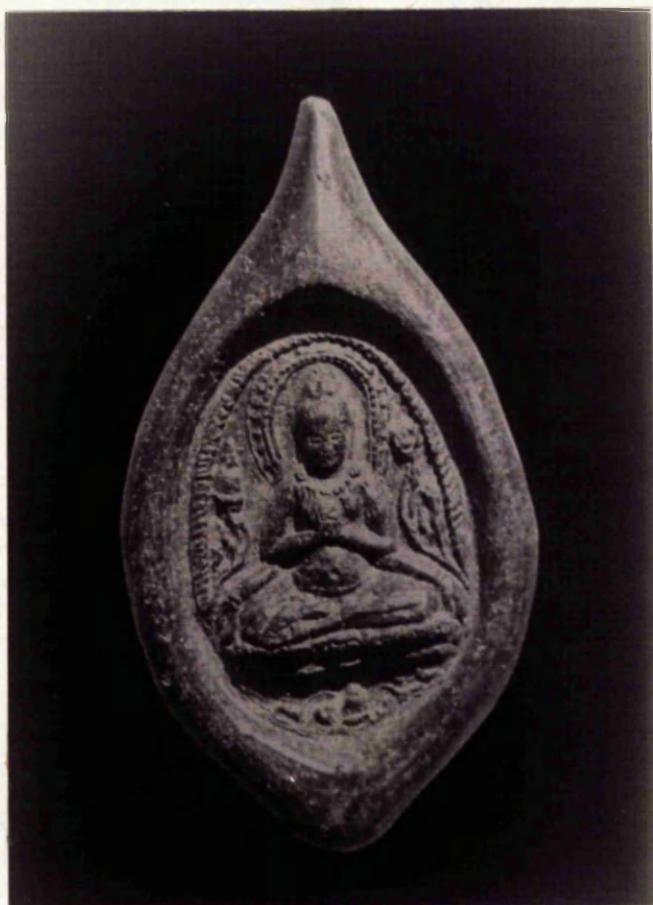


PLATE 4.147

586.

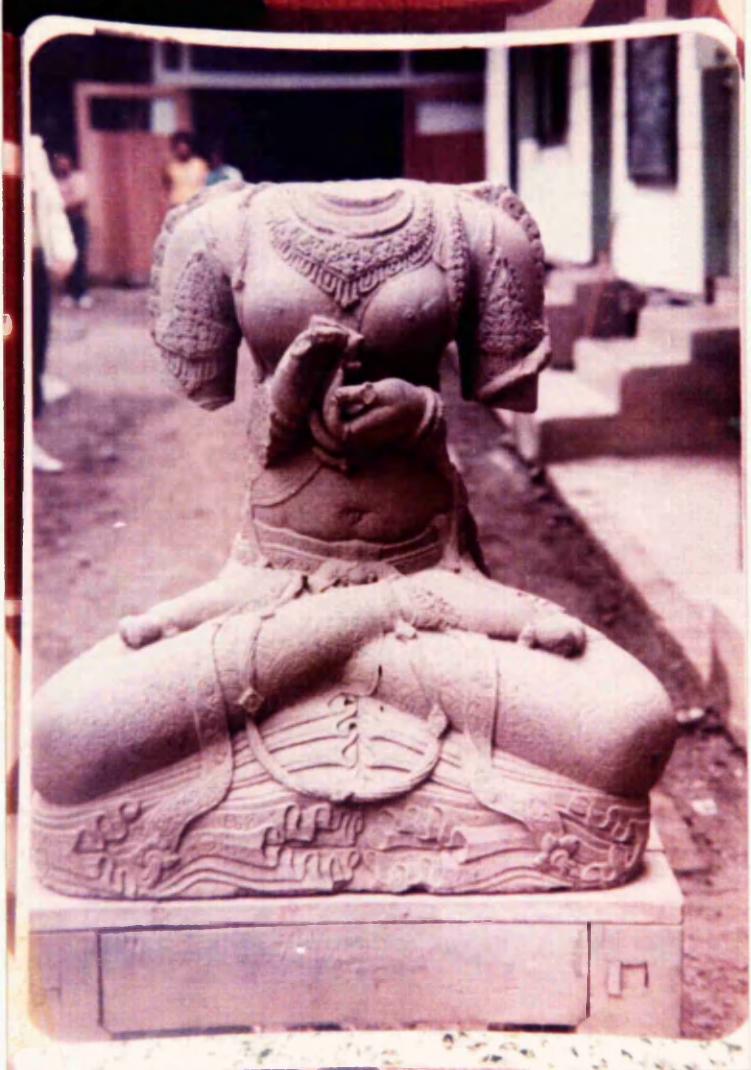


PLATE 4.148



PLATE 4.149



PLATE 5.1



PLATE 5.2



PLATE 5.3



PLATE 5.4



PLATE 5.5



PLATE 5.6



PLATE 5.7



PLATE 5.8



PLATE 5.9



PLATE 5.10

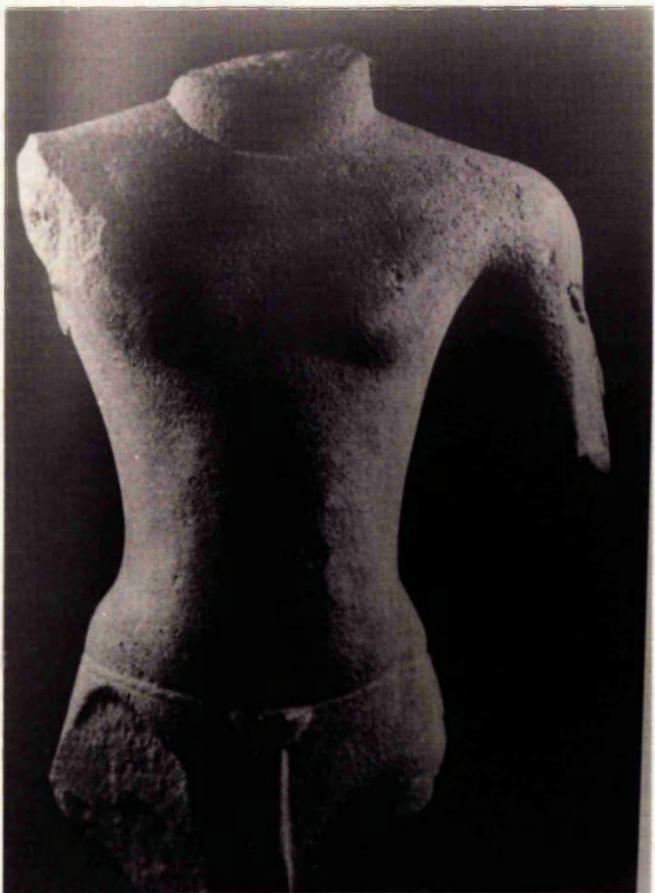


PLATE 5.11

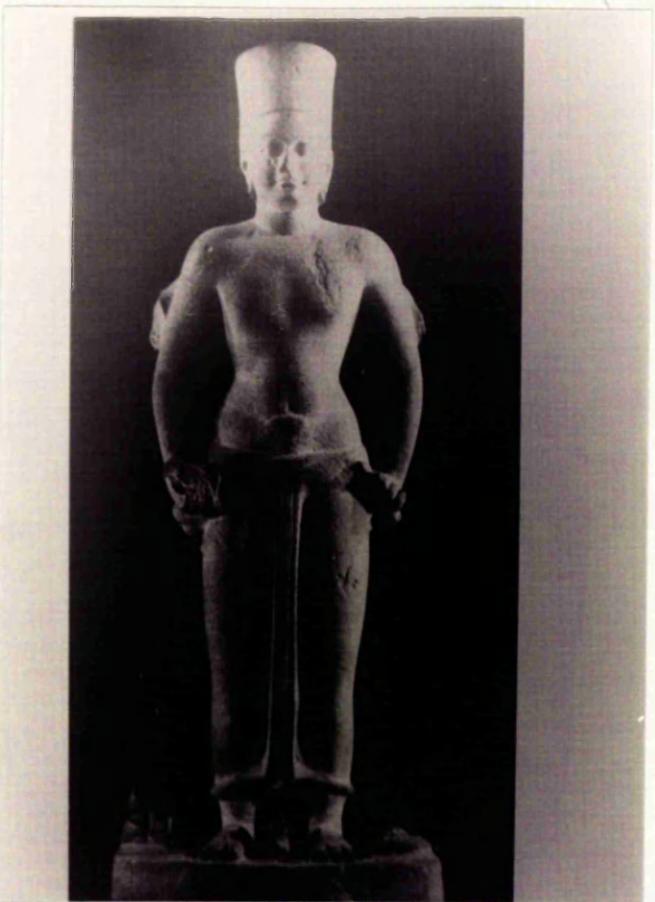


PLATE 5.12

593.



PLATE 5.13

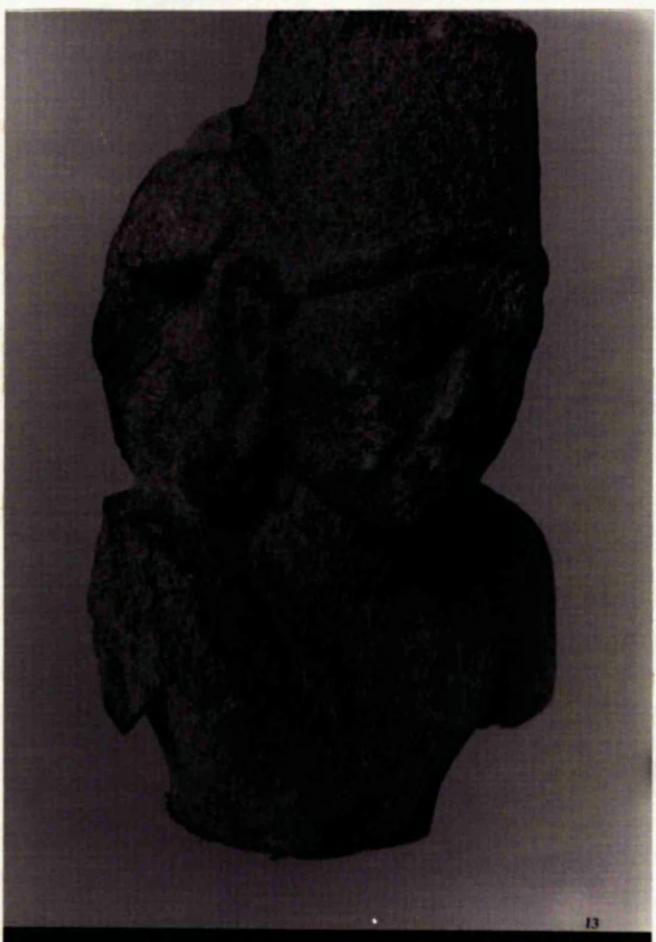


PLATE 5.14

594.

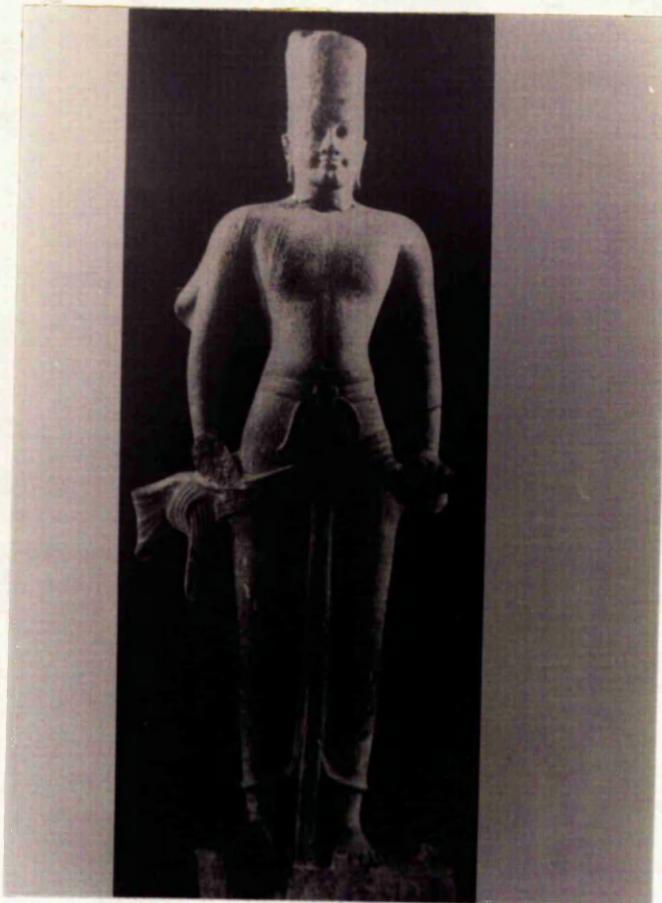


PLATE 5.15

PLATE 5.16





PLATE 5.17



PLATE 5.18



PLATE 5.19



PLATE 5.20



PLATE 5.21



PLATE 5.22



PLATE 5.23



PLATE 5.24



PLATE 5.25

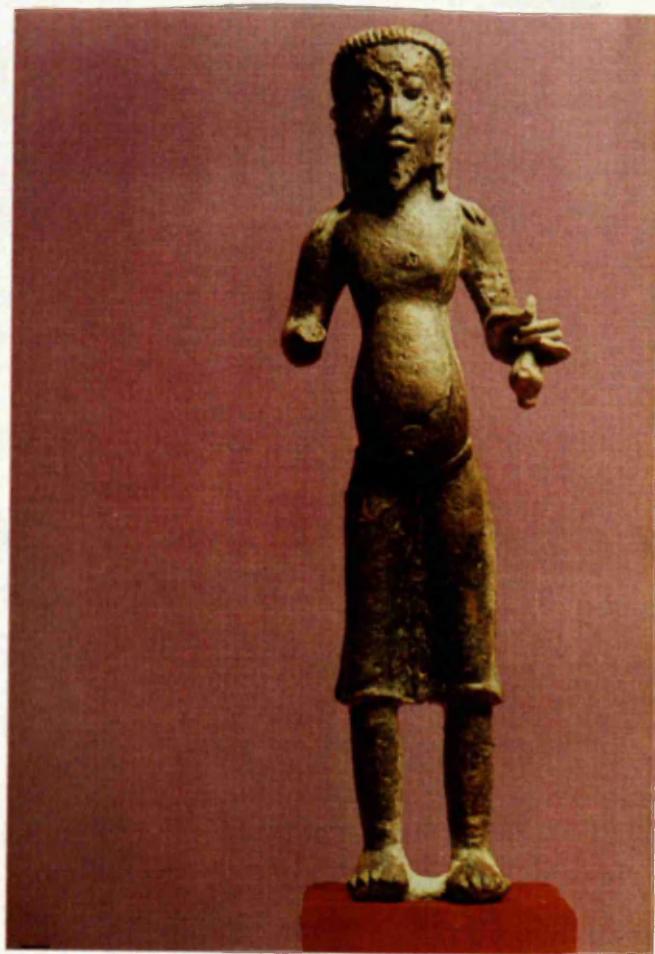


PLATE 5.26



PLATE 5.27



PLATE 5.28



PLATE 5.29



PLATE 5.30

602.



PLATE 5.31



PLATE 5.32



PLATE 5.33

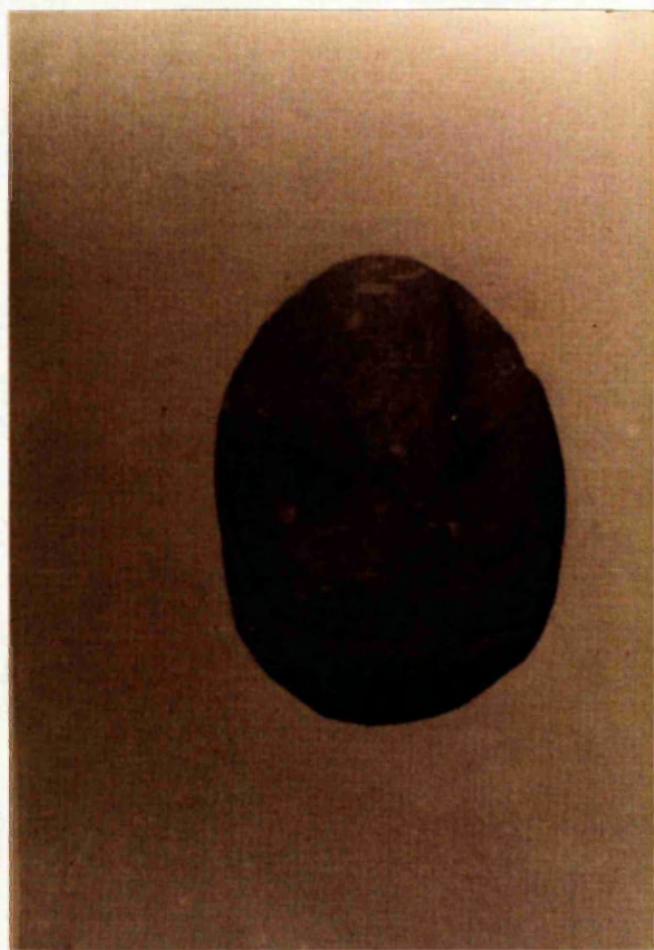


PLATE 5.34



PLATE 5.35



PLATE 5.36



PLATE 5.37



PLATE 5.38

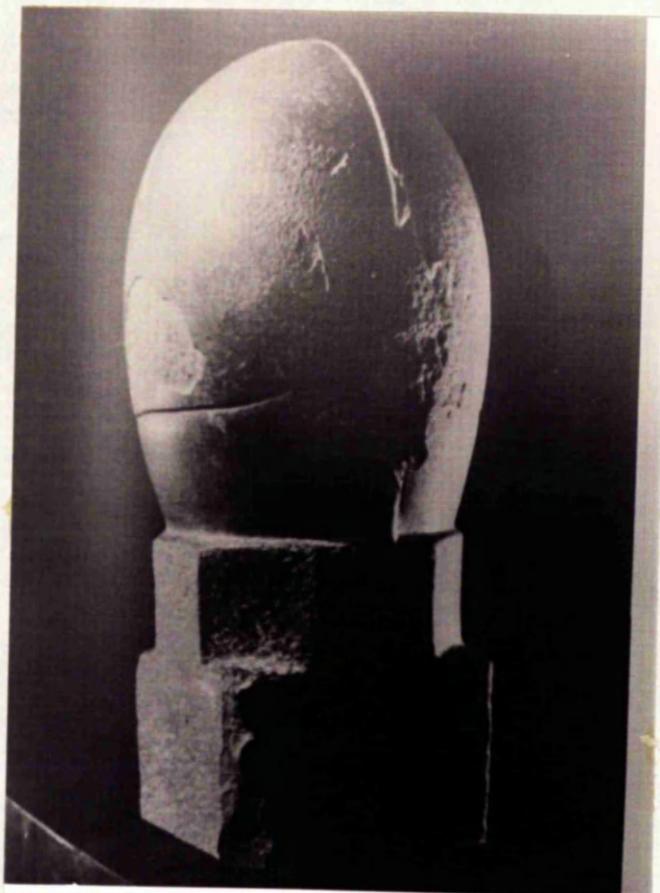


PLATE 5.39

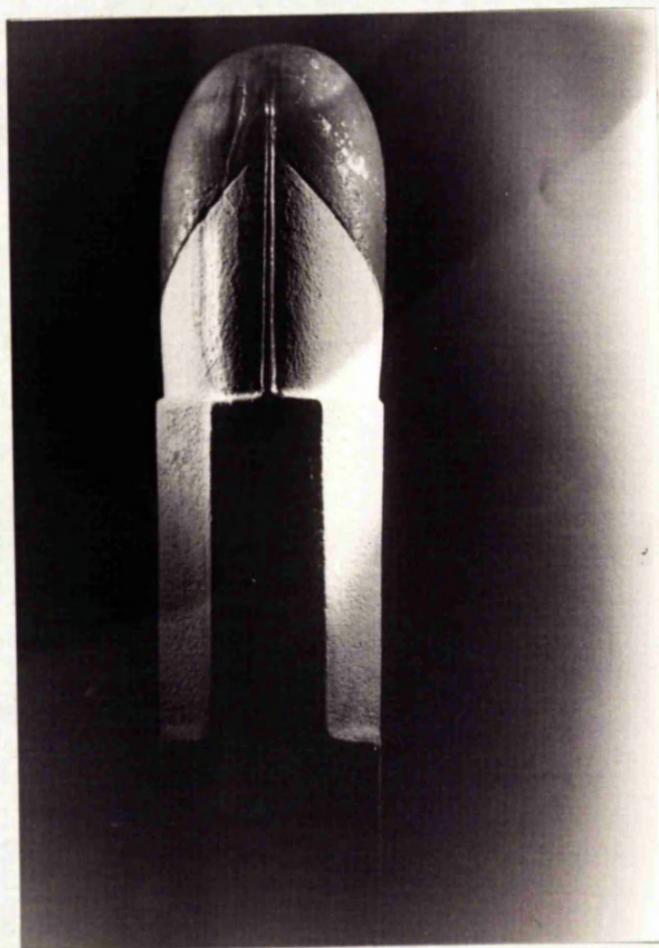


PLATE 5.40

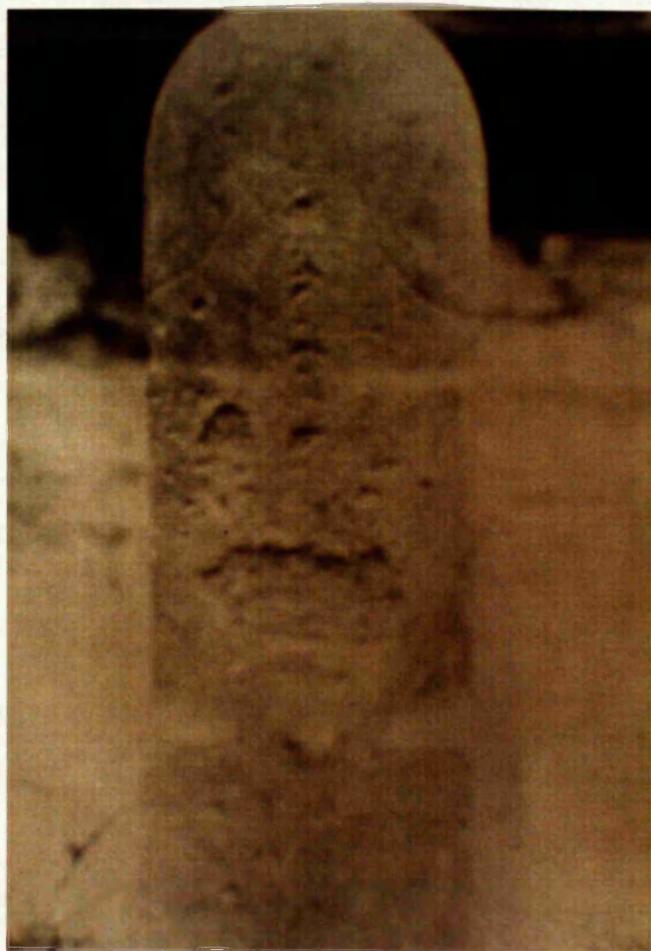


PLATE 5.41

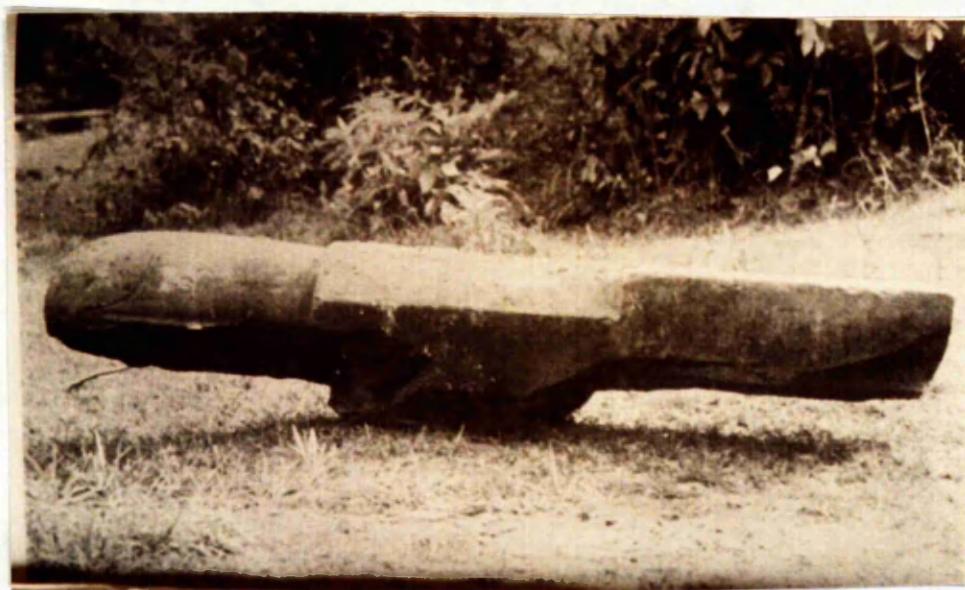


PLATE 5.42

608.

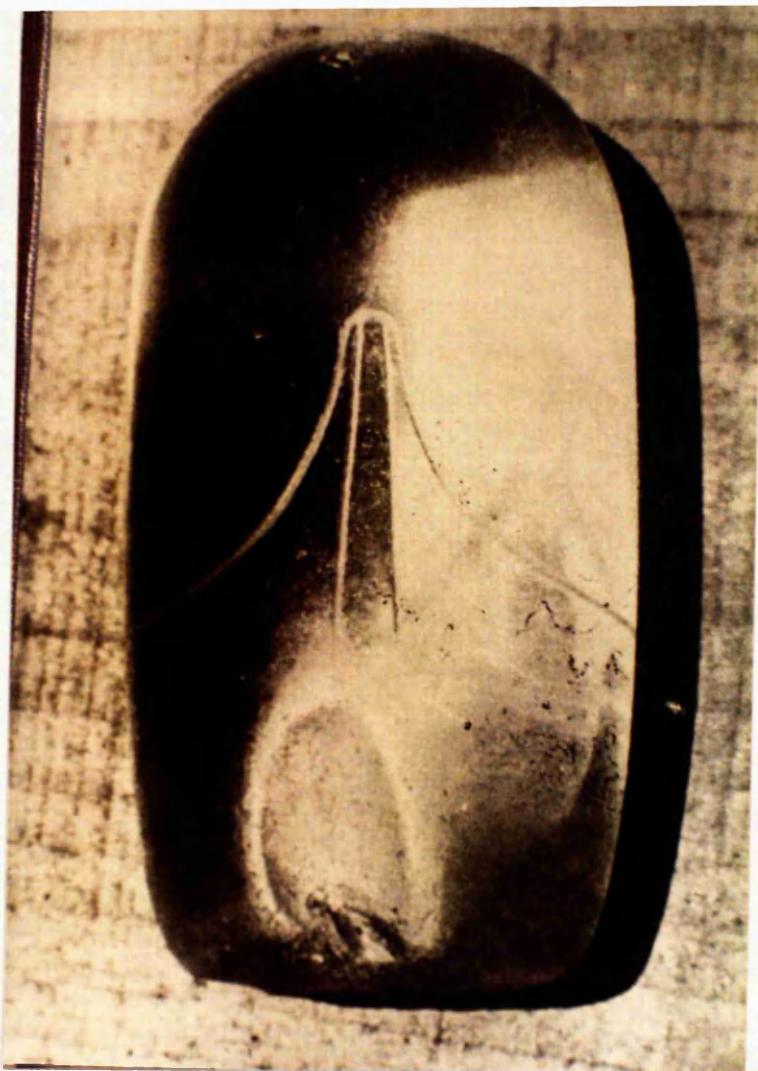


PLATE 5.43



PLATE 5.44

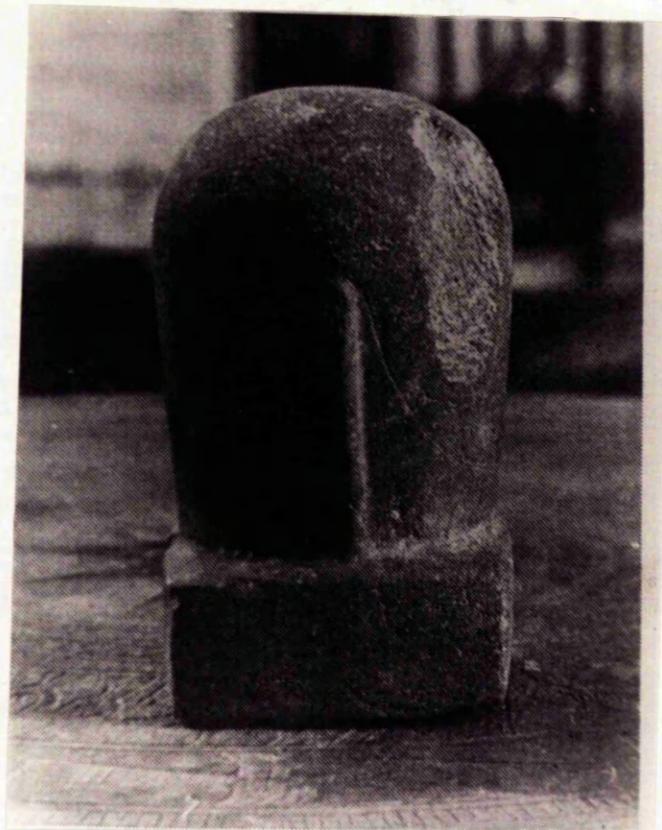


PLATE 5.45

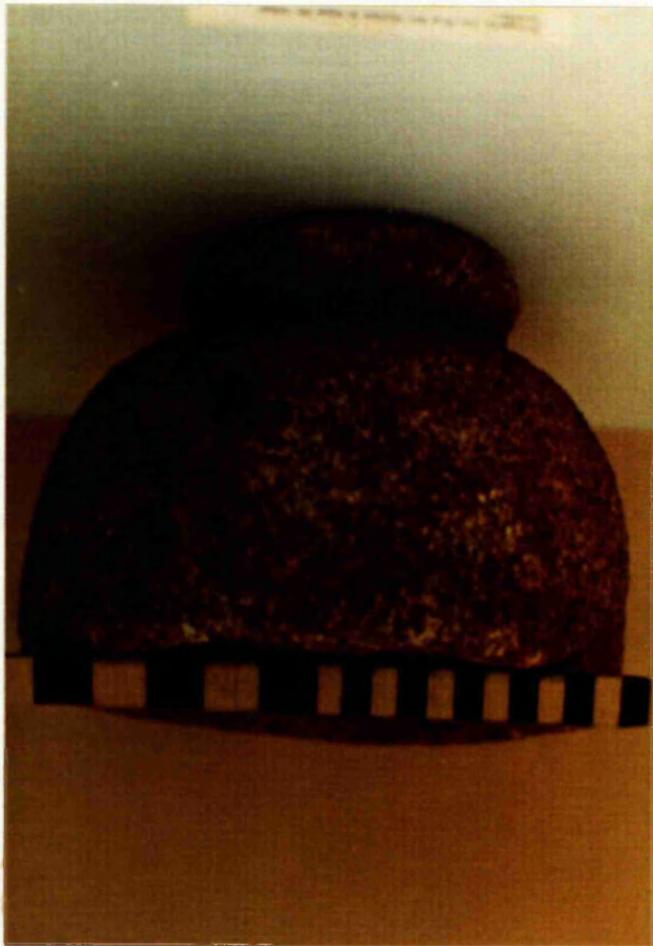


PLATE 5.46(a)

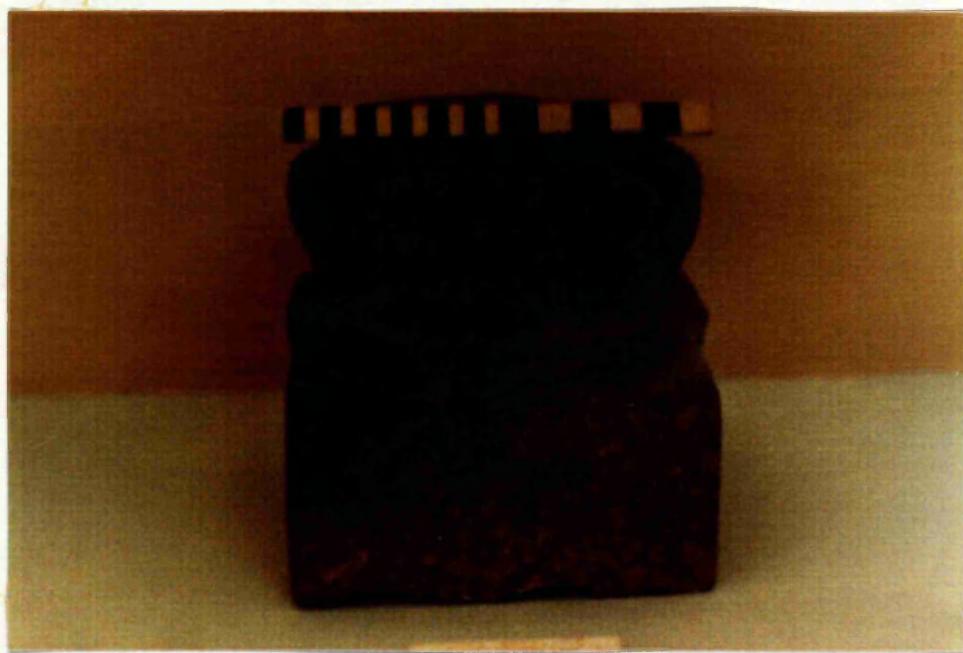


PLATE 5.46(b)

611.



PLATE 5.47



PLATE 5.48



PLATE 5.49



PLATE 5.50

INDIA, SOUTH EAST ASIA AND CHINA

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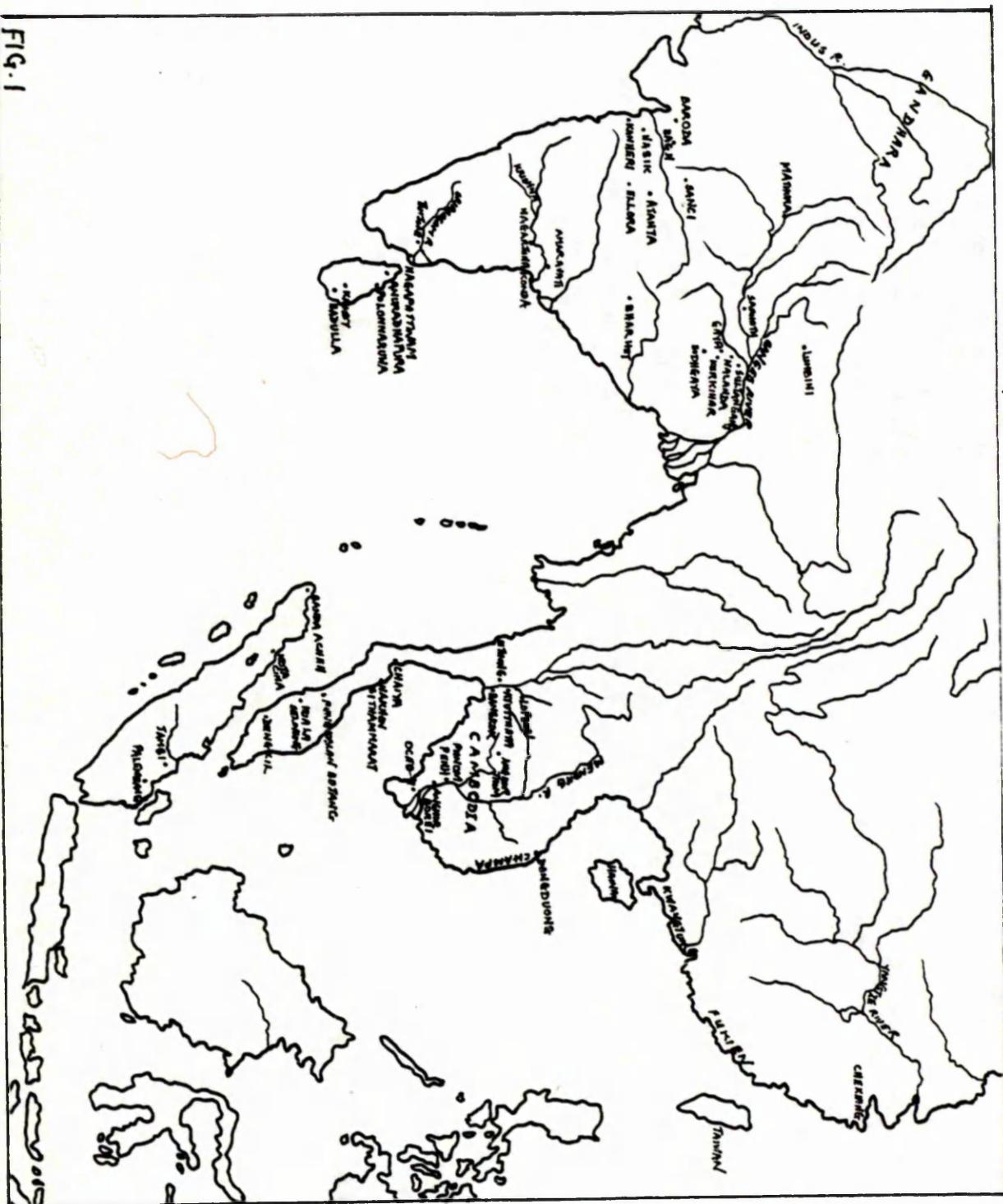
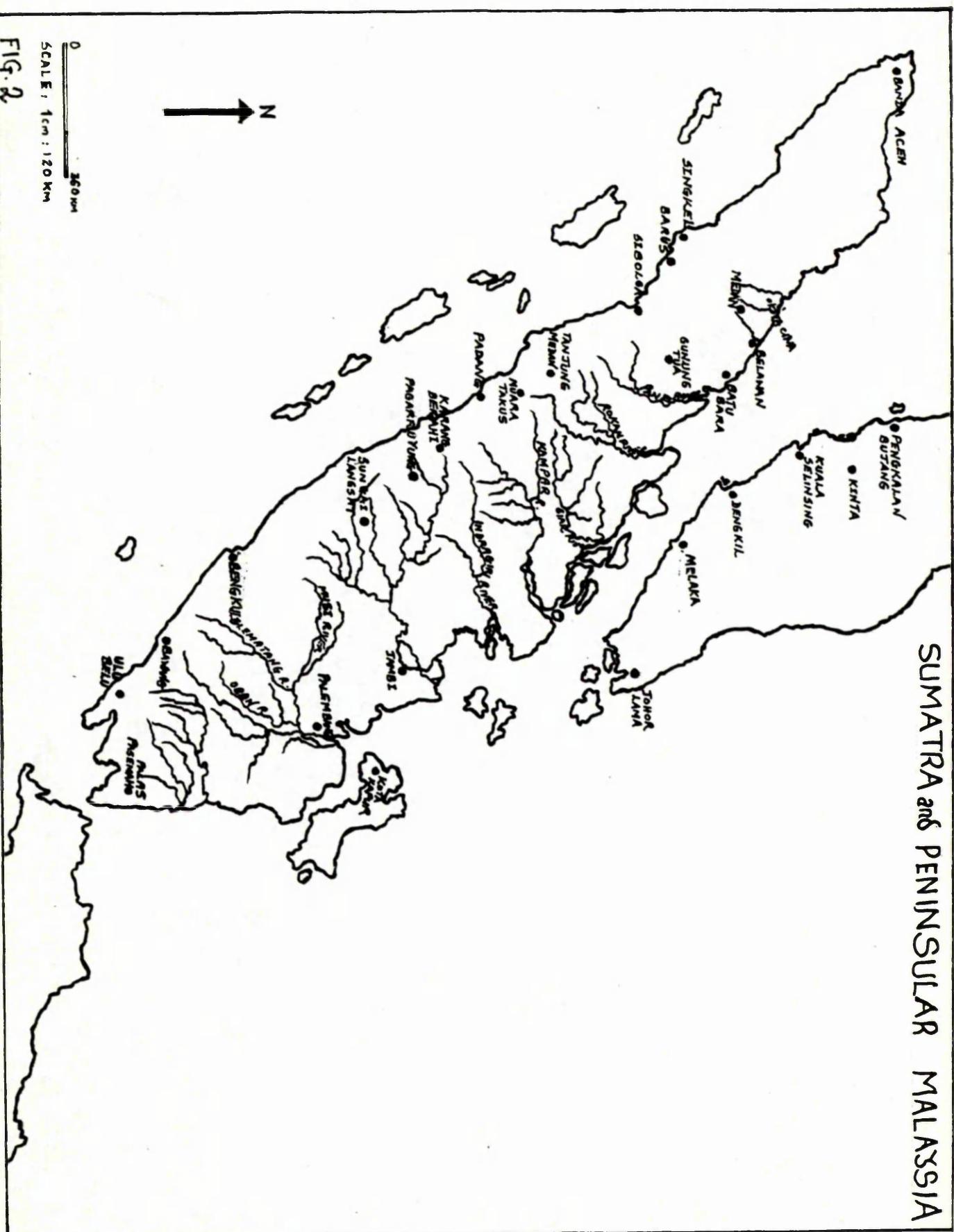


FIG. I

SUMATRA and PENINSULAR MALAYSIA



PAGE
615

PENINSULAR THAILAND.

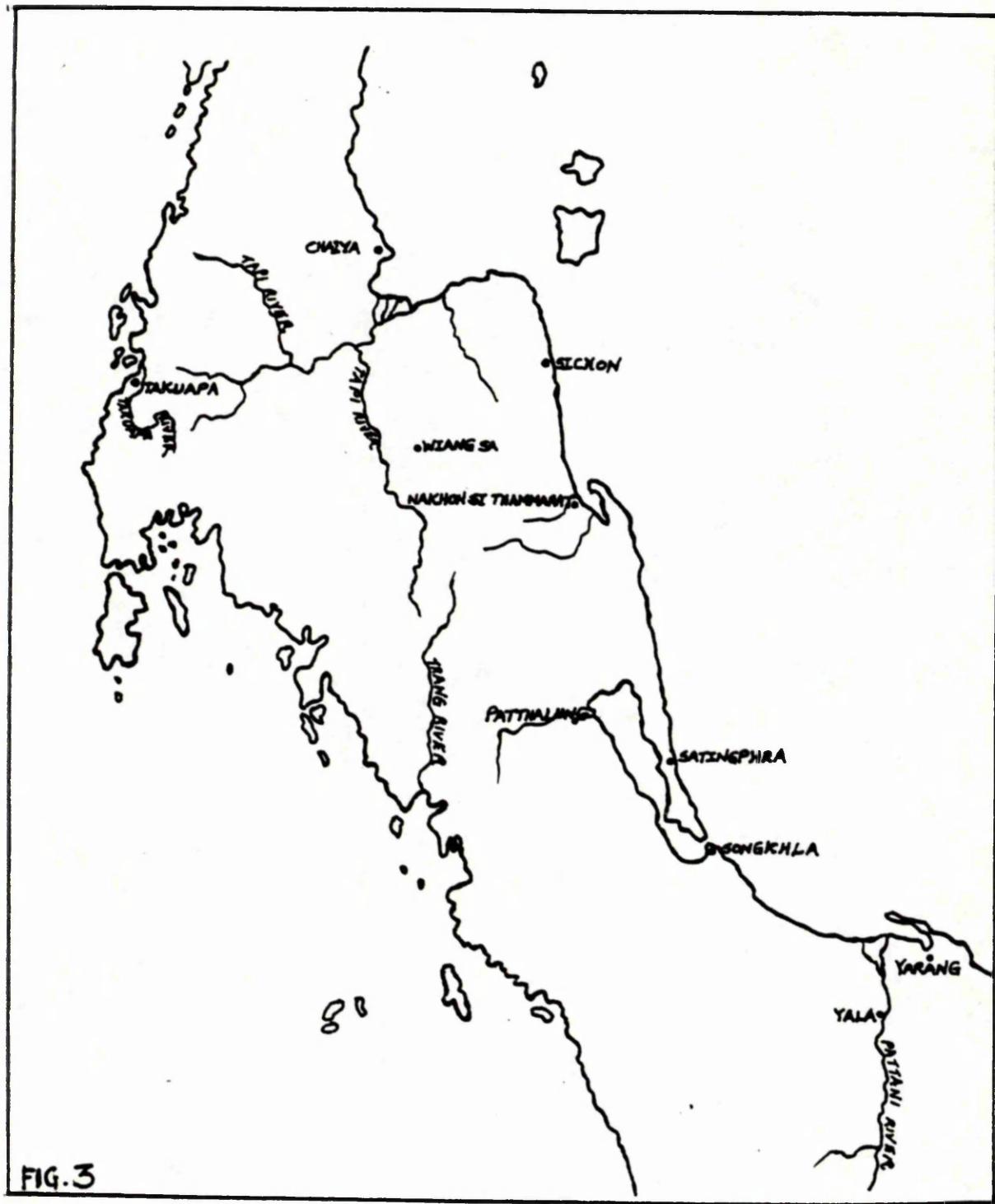
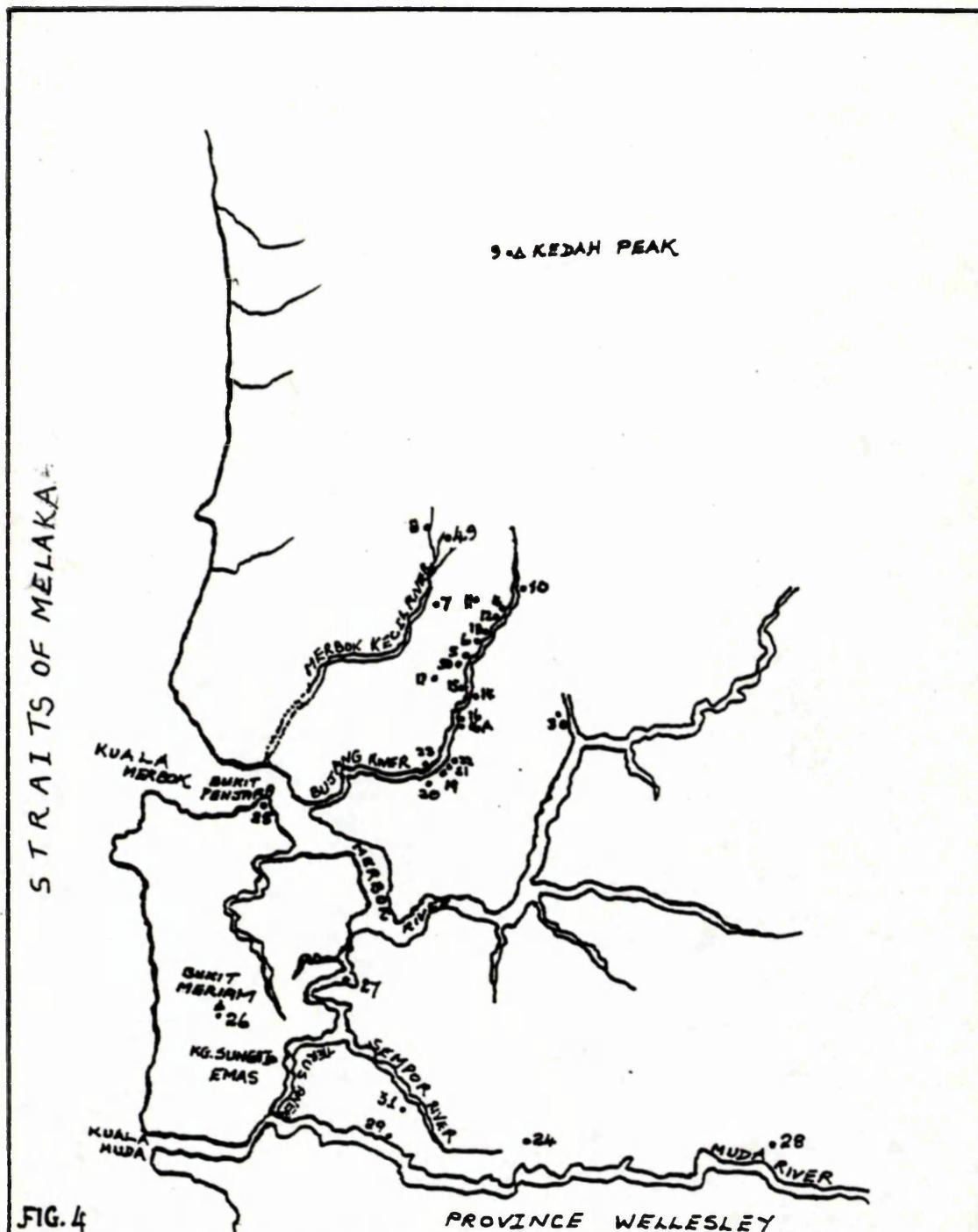


FIG. 3

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN BUJANG
AND MUDA RIVER VALLEYS



• ANCIENT SITES

0 1 2 3 MILES

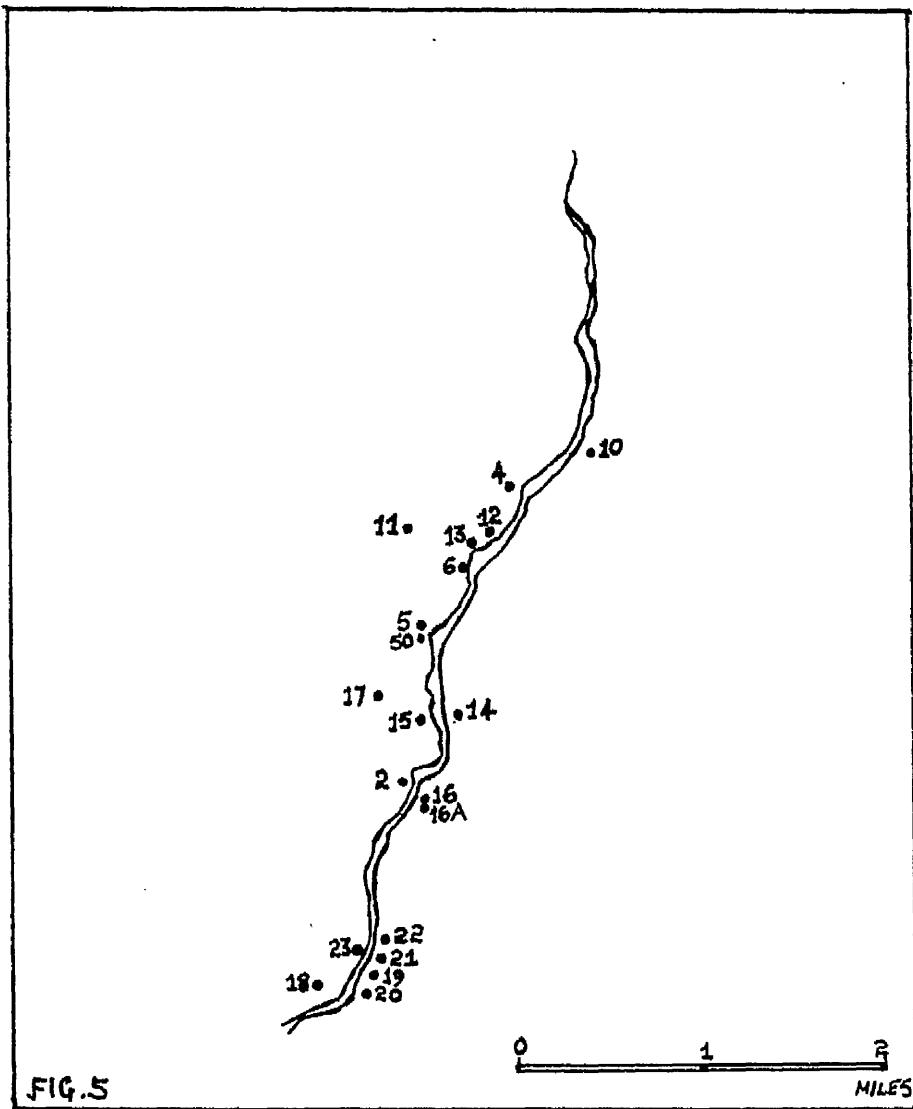
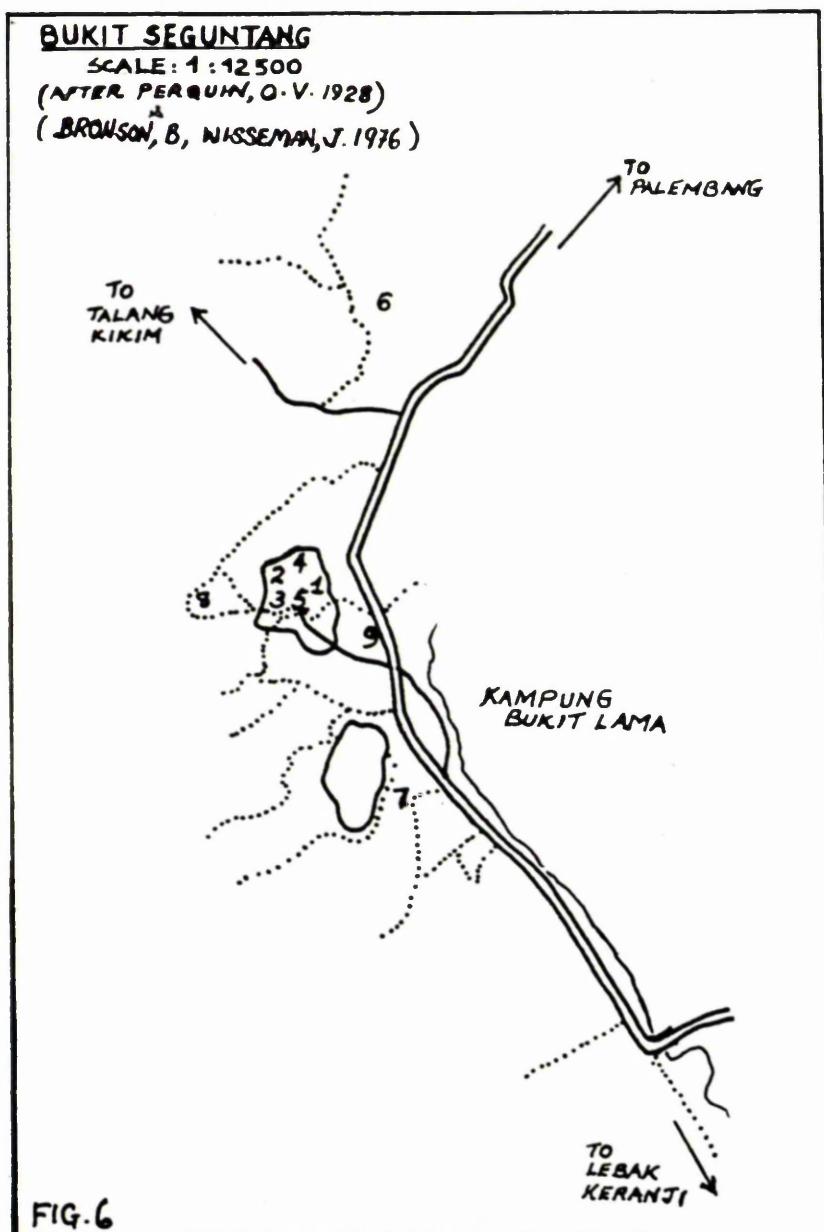


FIG. 5

UPPER REACHES OF RIVER BUJANG,
KEDAH, SHOWING POSITIONS OF
THE ANCIENT SITES

PALEMBANG



KEY:

- 1 KERAMAT RATU SEKANDAR ALAM (SULTAN ZULKARNAINI)
- 2 KERAMAT TUAN PUTERI KEMBANG DADAR
- 3 TREE
- 9 FINDSPOT OF SHERDS
- A-8 GRAVES

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SKETCH(MAPS)

(AFTER F.M. SCHNITGER 1937)



ANTIQUITIES OF PADANG LAWAS



MUARA JAMBI AT THE BATANG HARI

FIG. 7

NORTHEAST SUMATRA

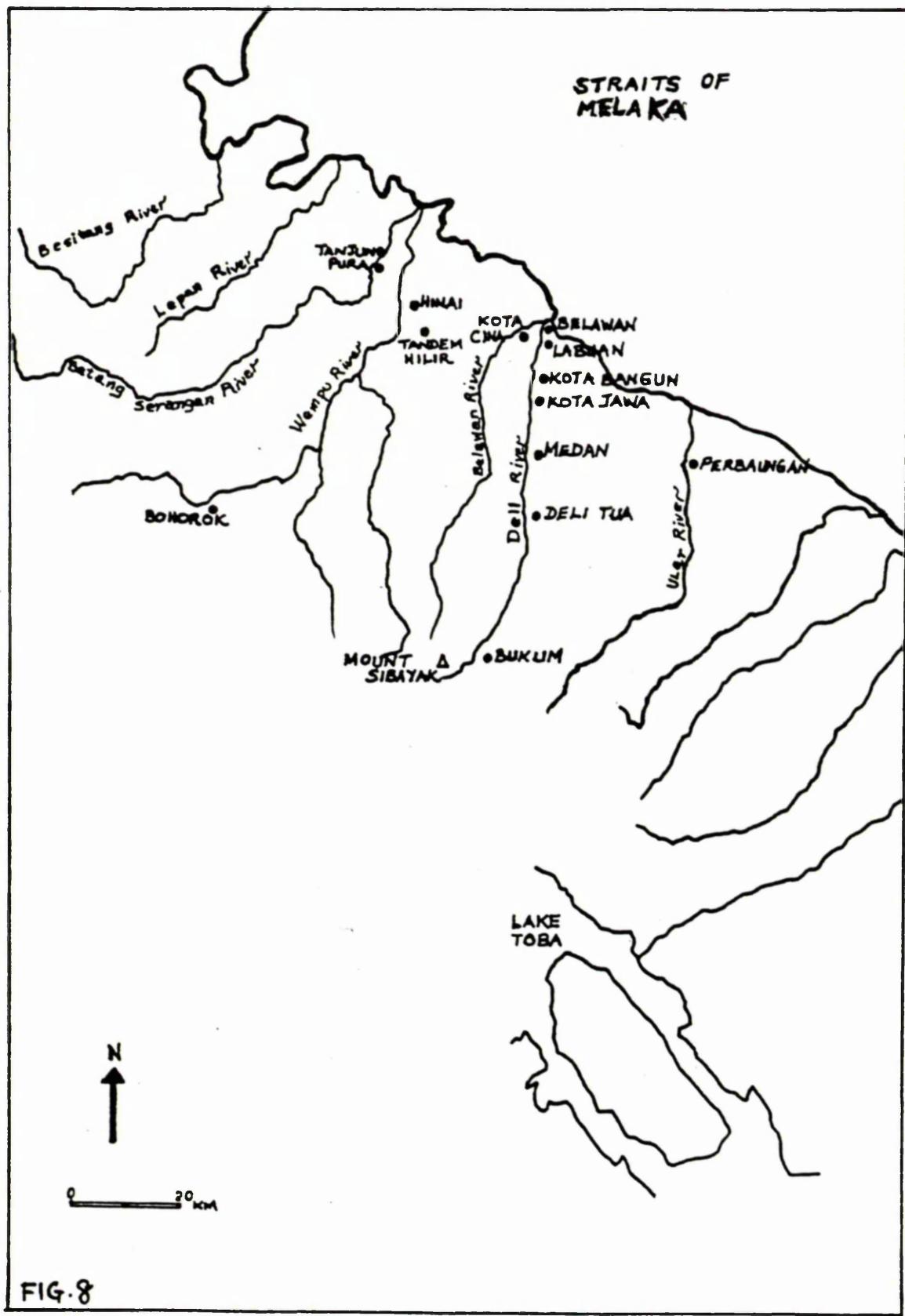
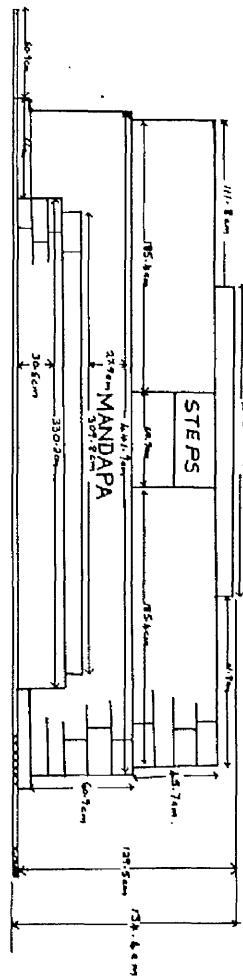
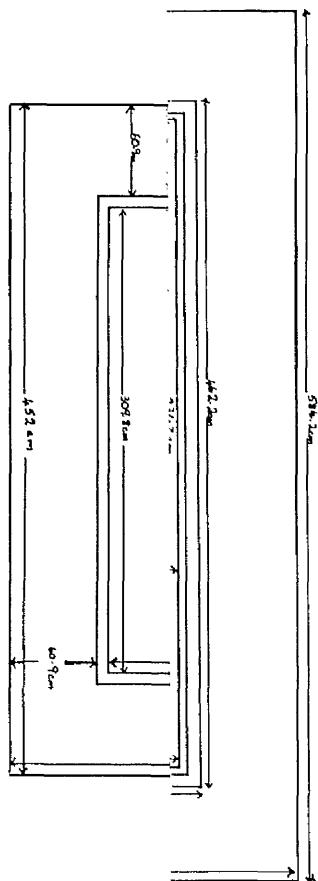


FIG. 8

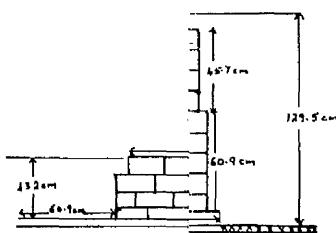
VIMANA



FRONT VIEW



FRONT VIEW



SCALE: 1 : 61 cm

FIG. 9

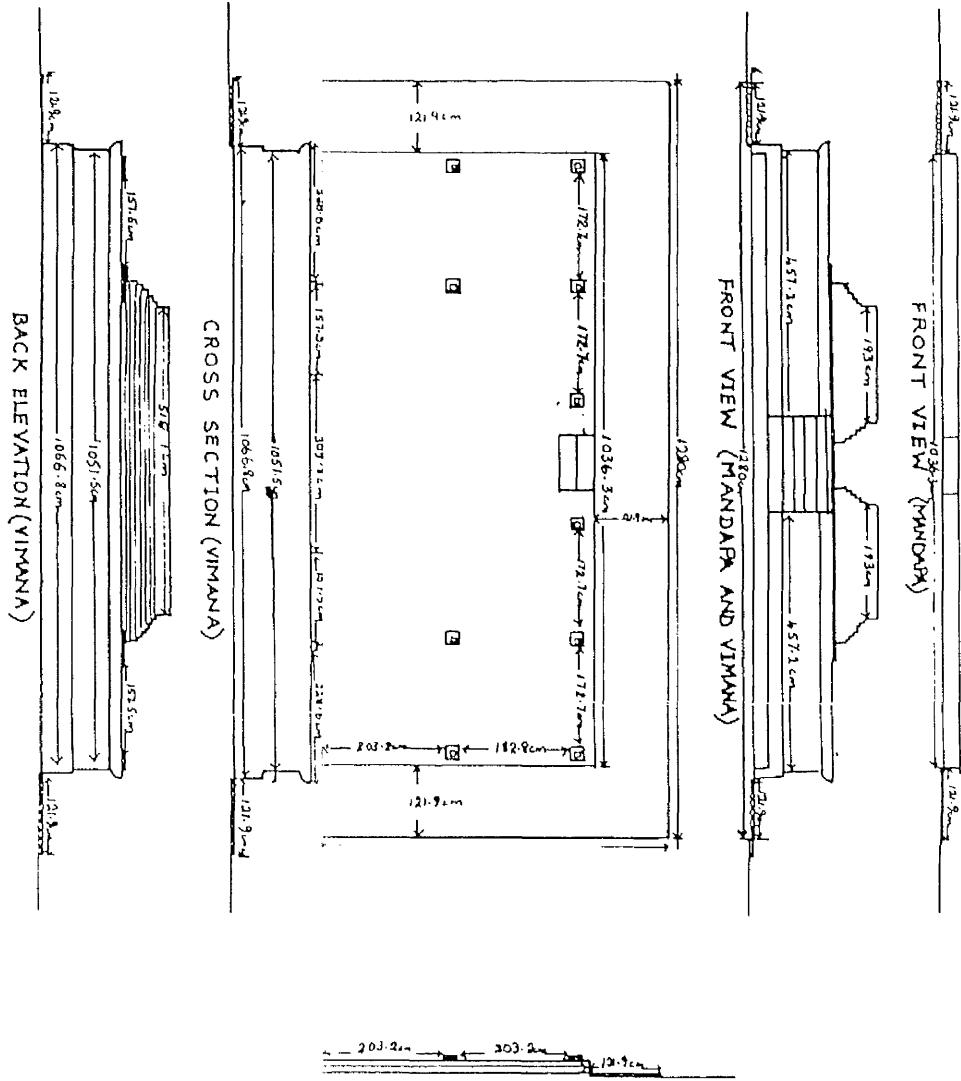


FIG. 10

121.9 m
0
SCALE: 1 : 122 cm

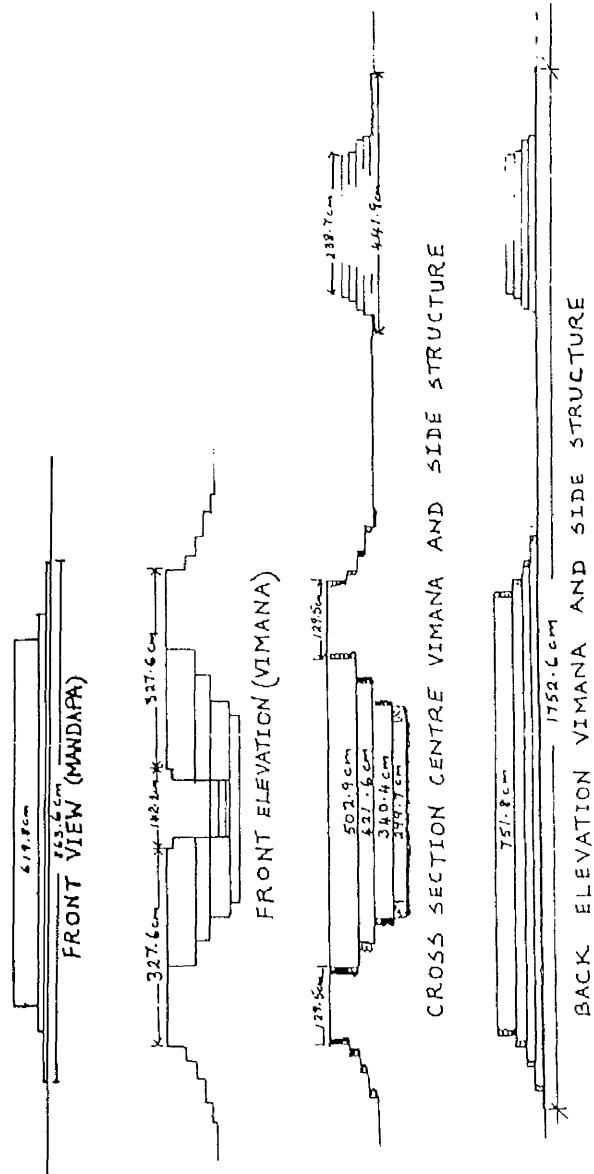
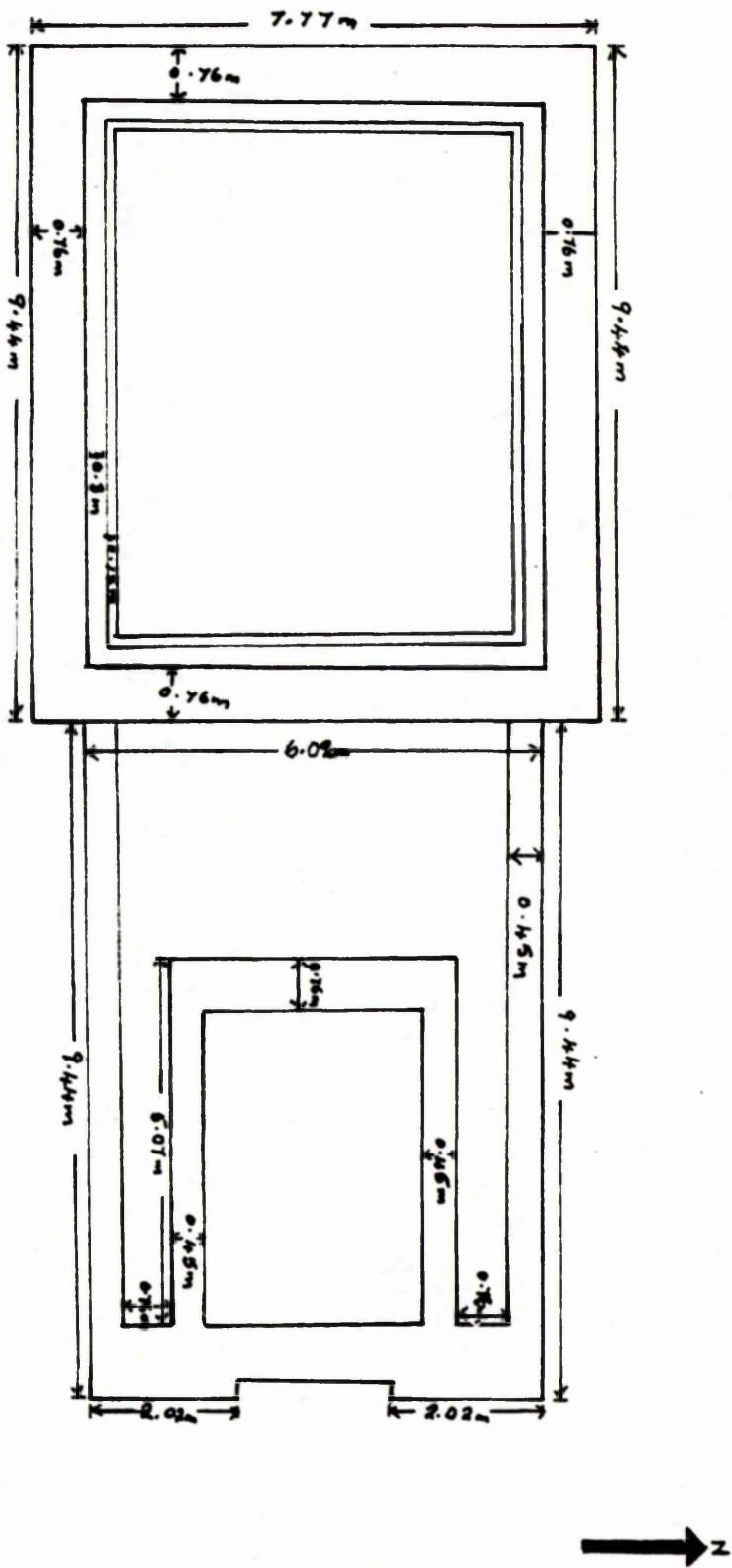


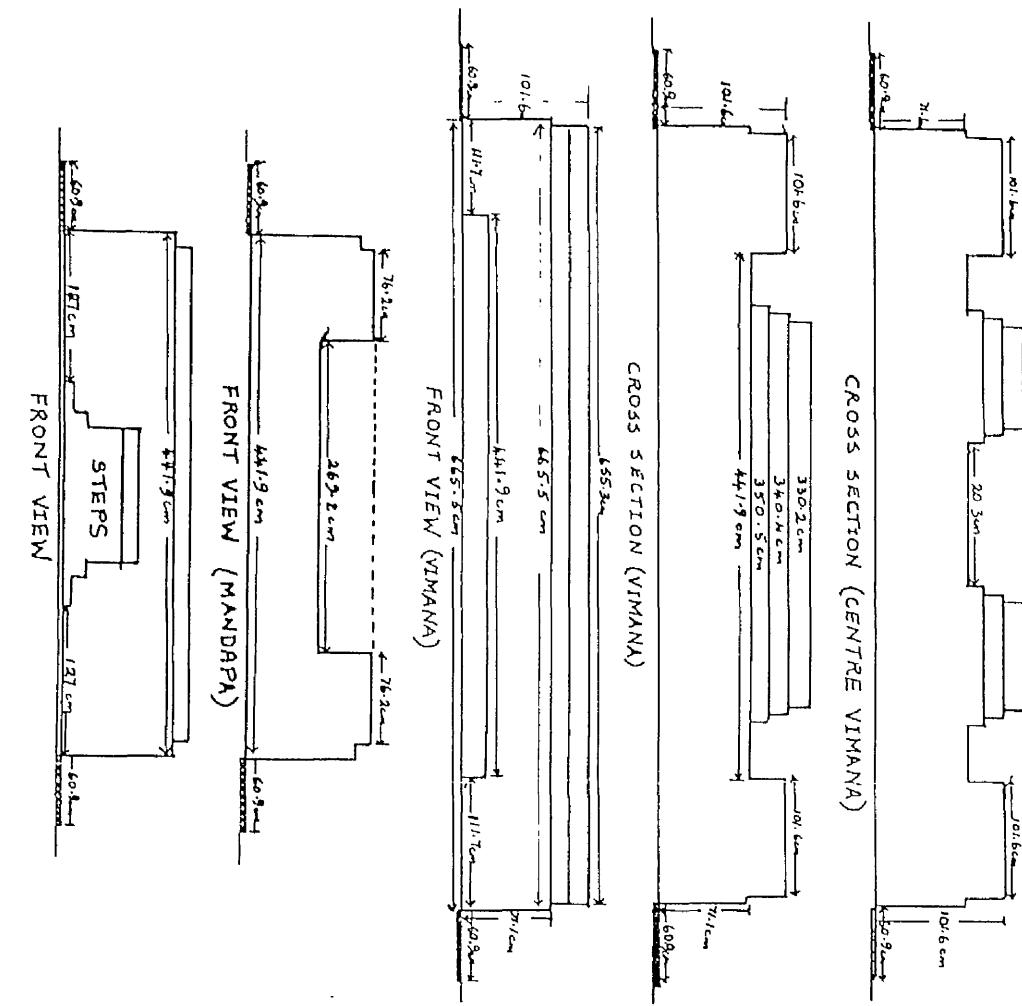
FIG. II

SCALE: 1 : 122 cm

SITE 11 : PLAN RECONSTRUCTED FROM
QUARRITCH - WALES

SCALE : 1 : 1 metre

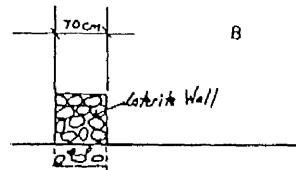




SCALE: 1 : 60.9 cm

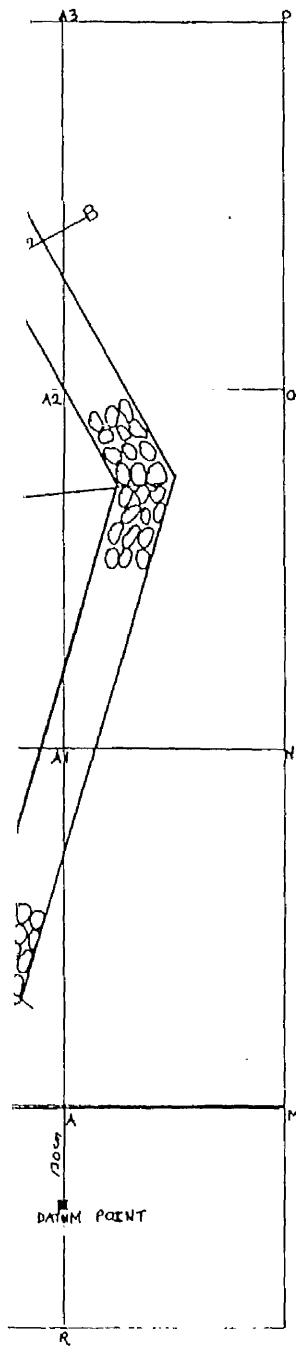
FIG. 13

CANDI BUKIT PENDIAH
SITE 17



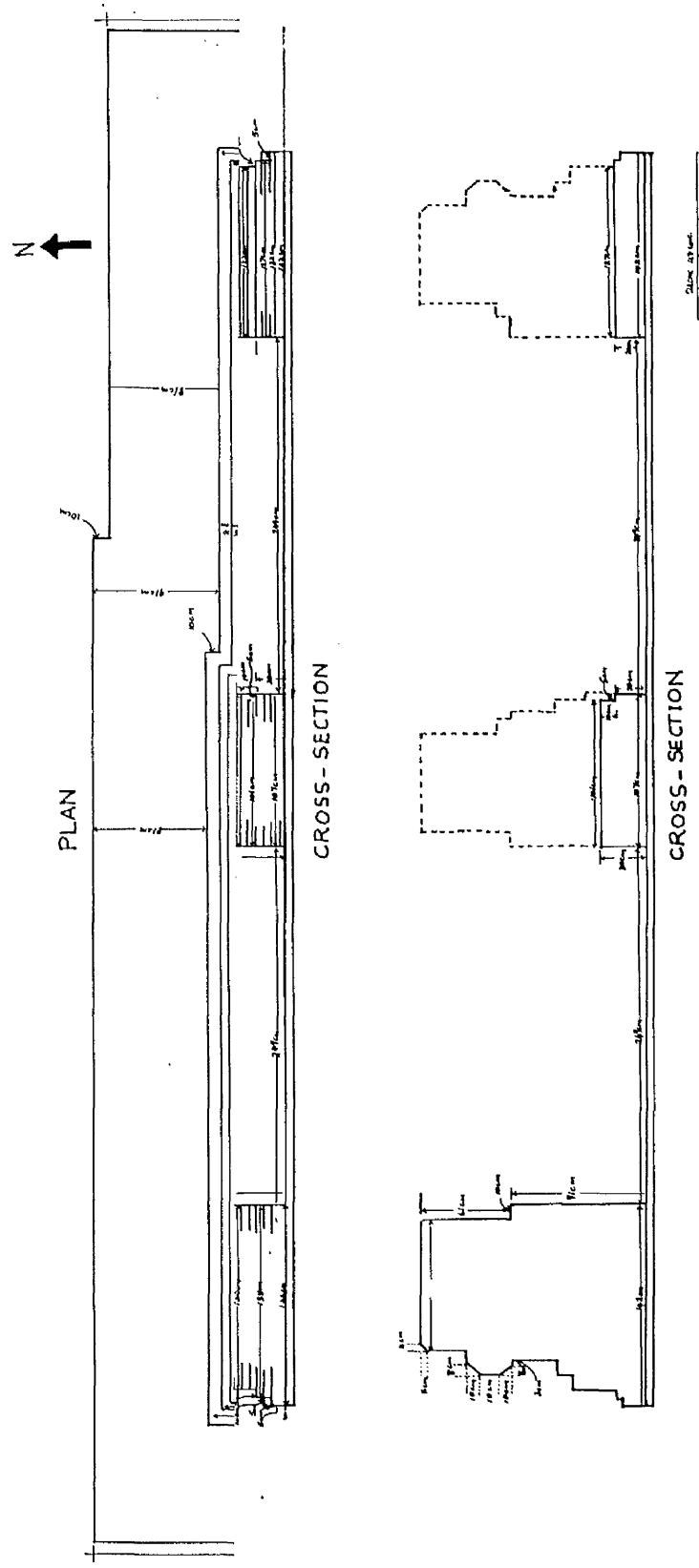
N
↑

SCALE: 1 : 1 METRE



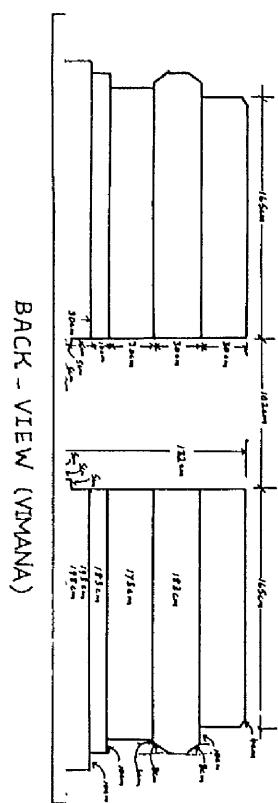
PAGE 628.

CANDI PENGKALAN BUJANG
SITE: 19



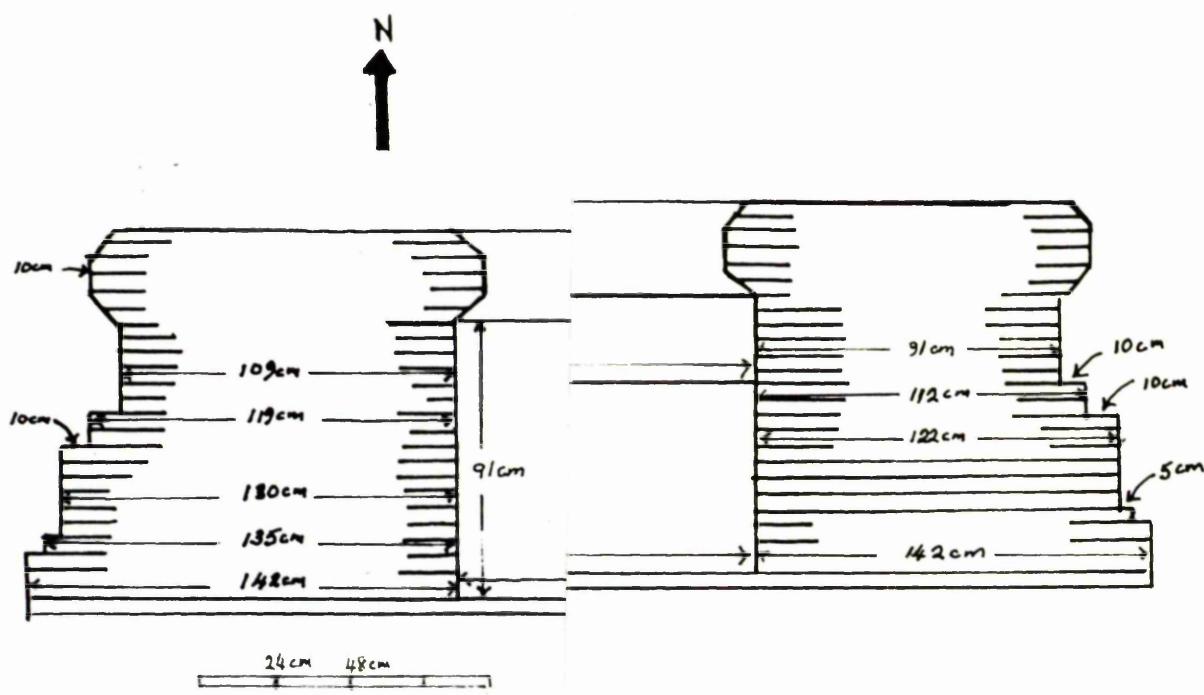
CANDI PENGKALAN BUJANG - SITE 19

FIG. 15

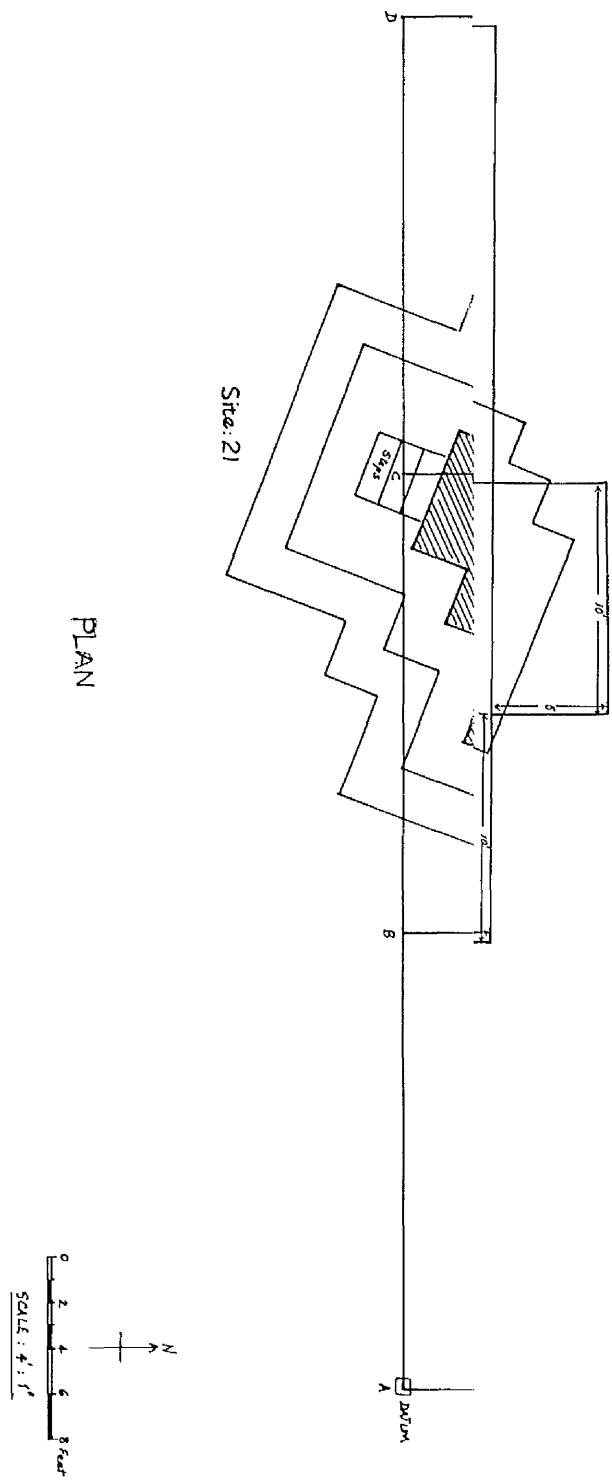


CANDI PENGKALAN BUJANG - SITE 19

SCALE: 1 : 24 cms

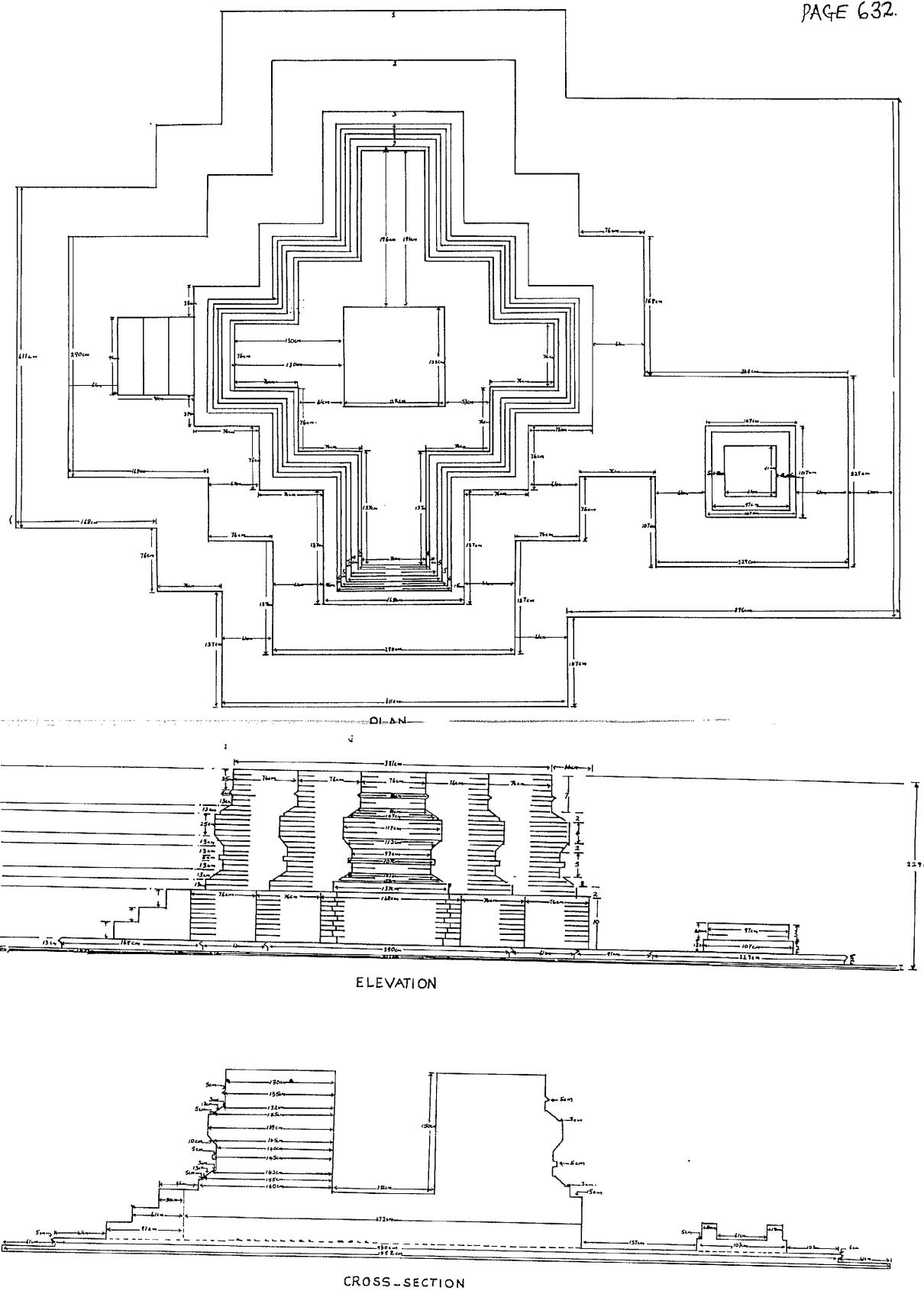


PAGE 631 .



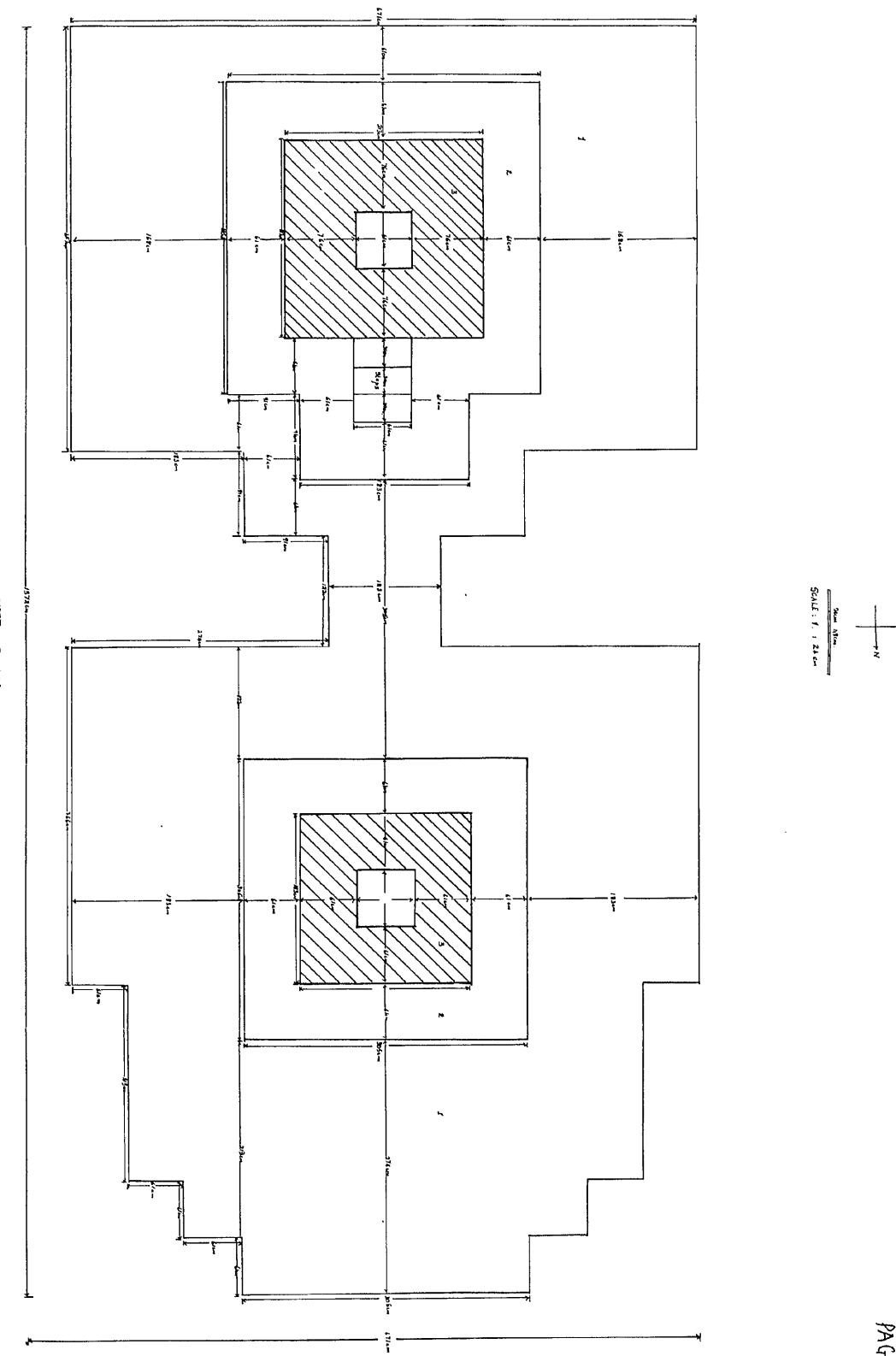
LEMBAH BUJANG KEDAH
Site:21 & 22

FIG. 18 .



LEMBAH BUJANG KEDAH: SITE 21

FIG. 19



SITE PLAN

LEMBAH
BUJANG
Site: 22
KEDAH

FIG. 20

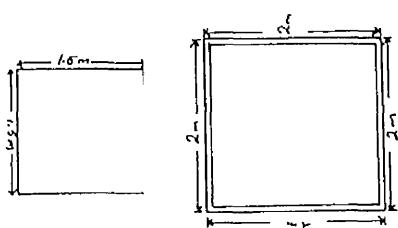


FIG. 21

SITE 50 : MAIN STRUCTURE

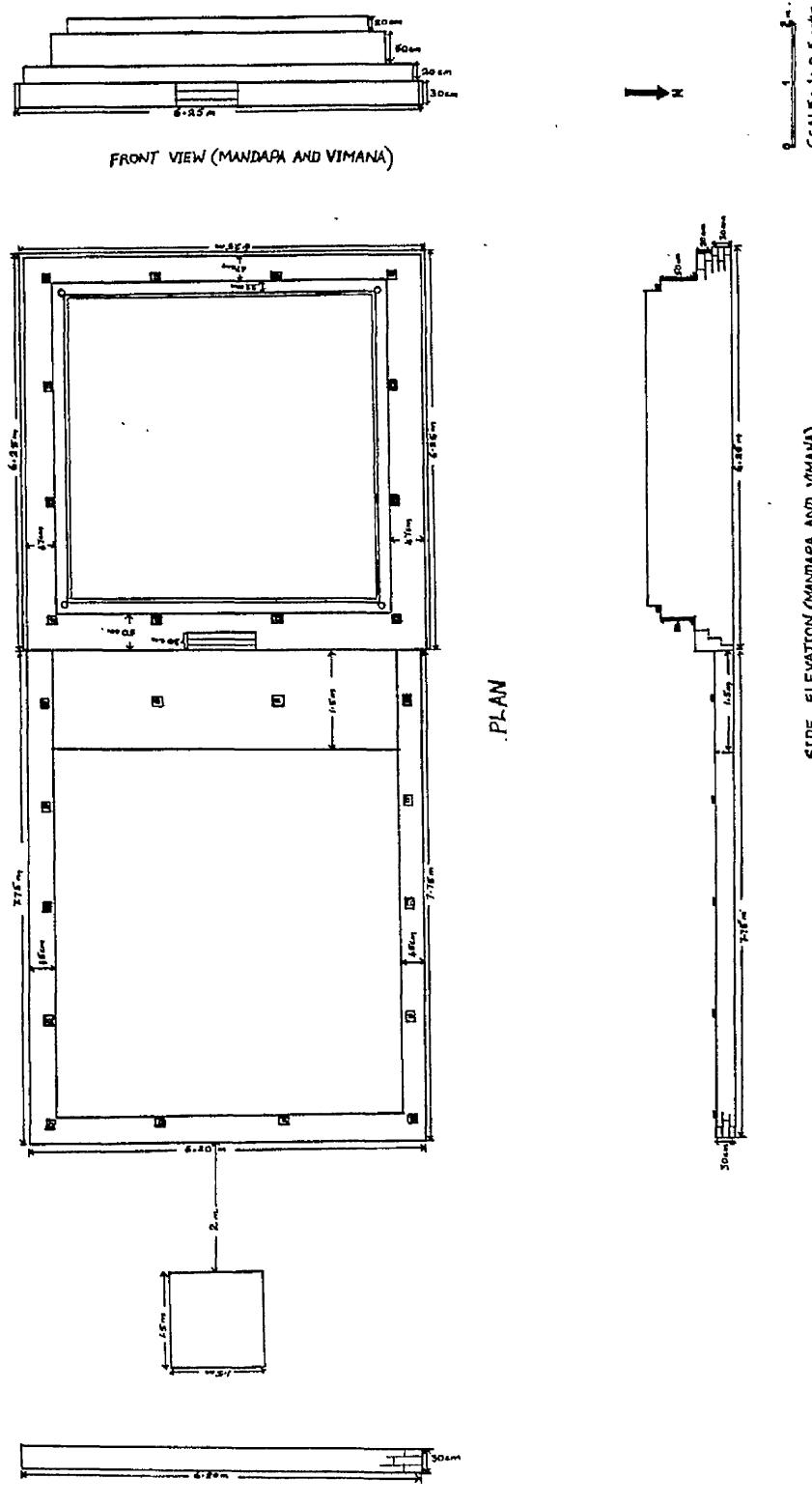
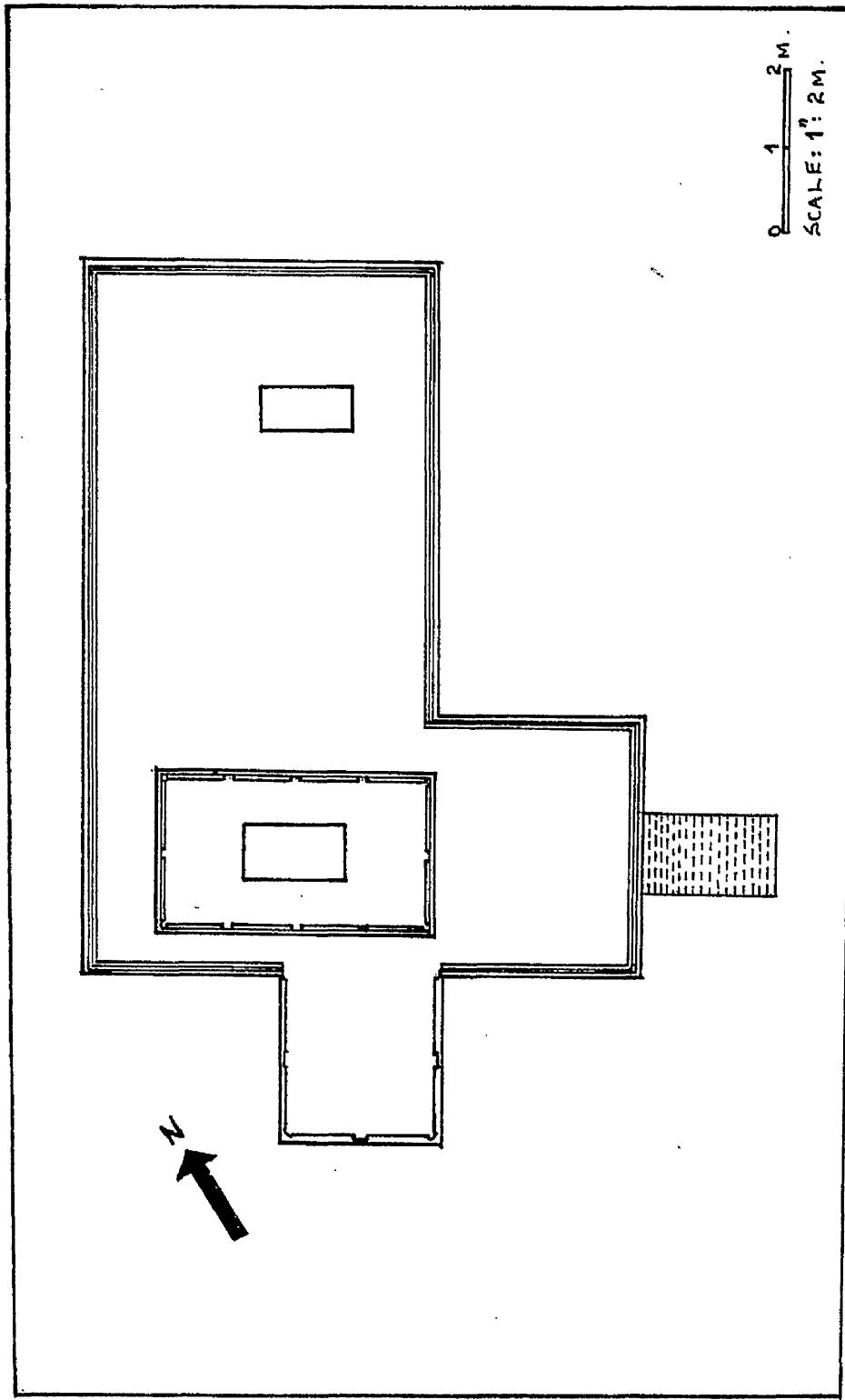


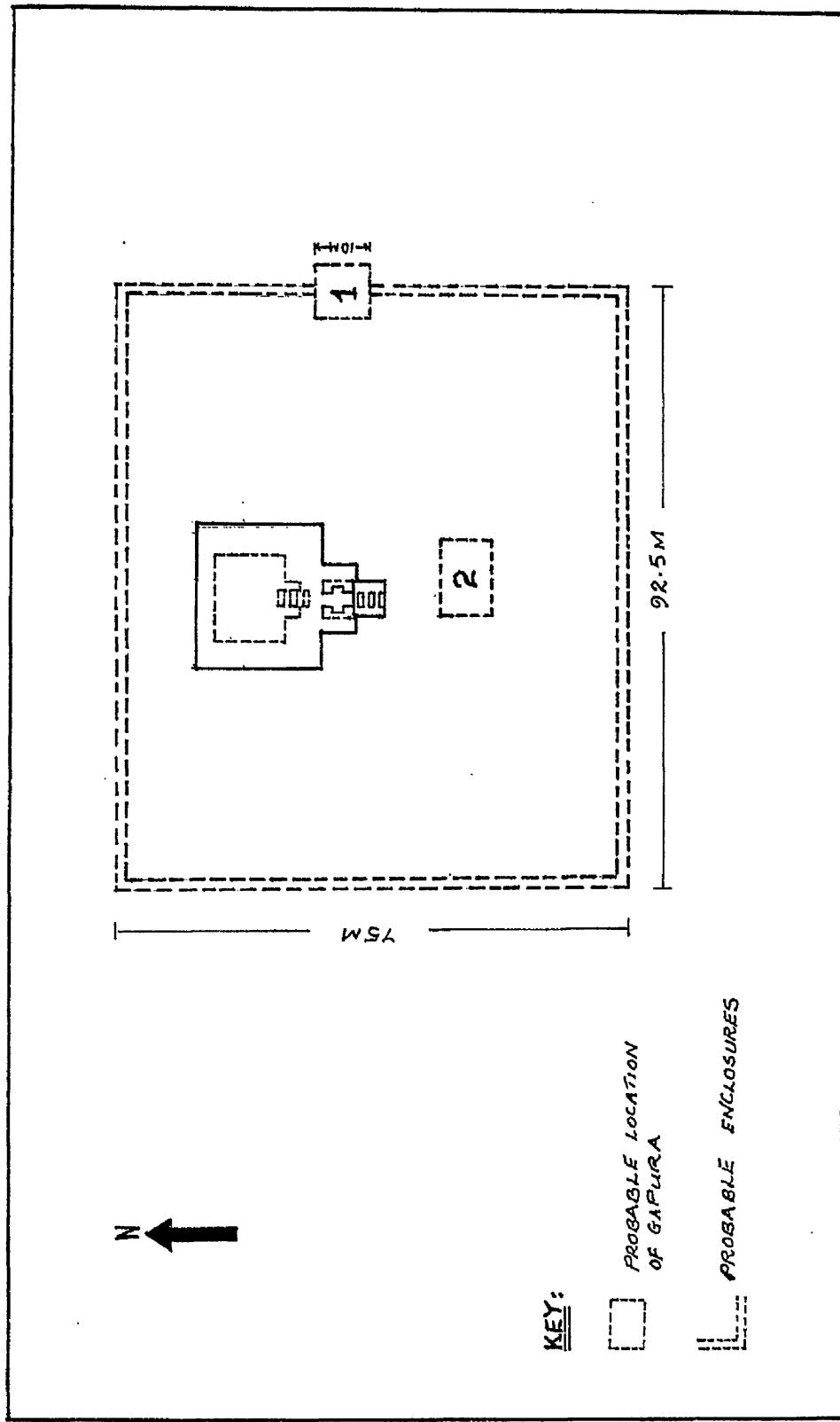
FIG. 22

SITE 50 : SECONDARY STRUCTURE



CANDI STANO

FIG. 24

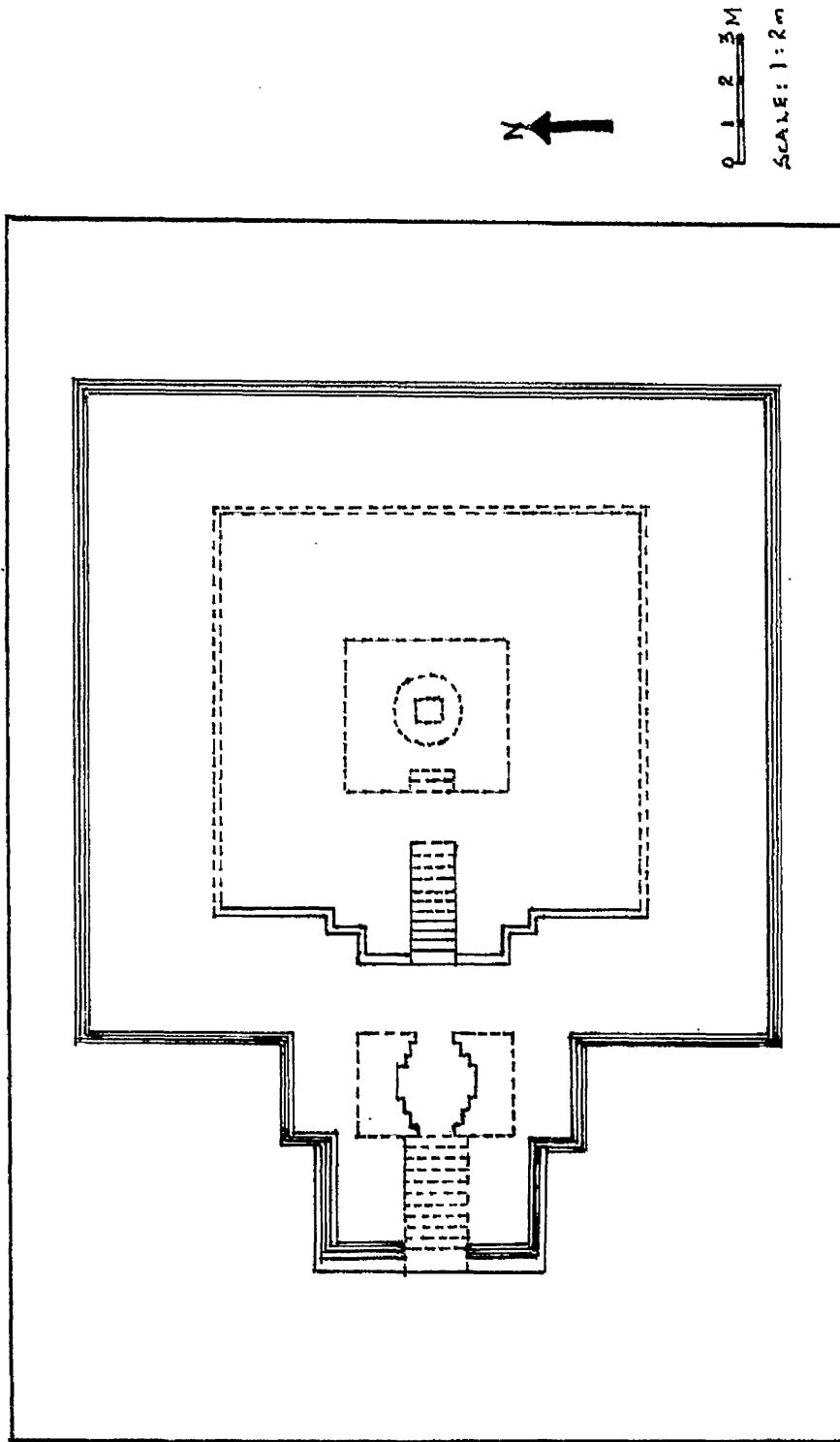


CANDI TINGGI COMPLEX

FIG. 25

PLAN: CANDI TINGGI

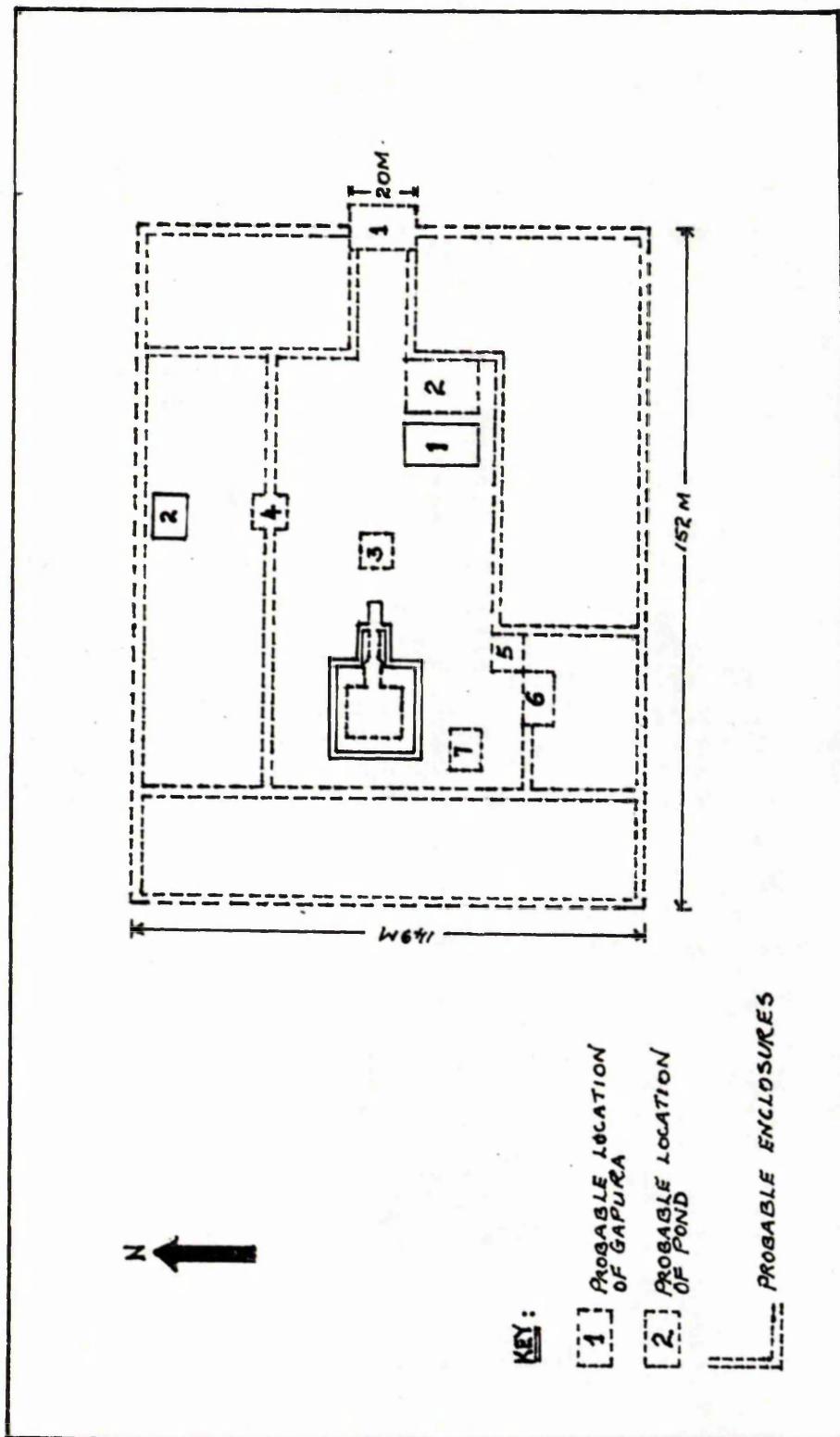
PAGE 639.



N

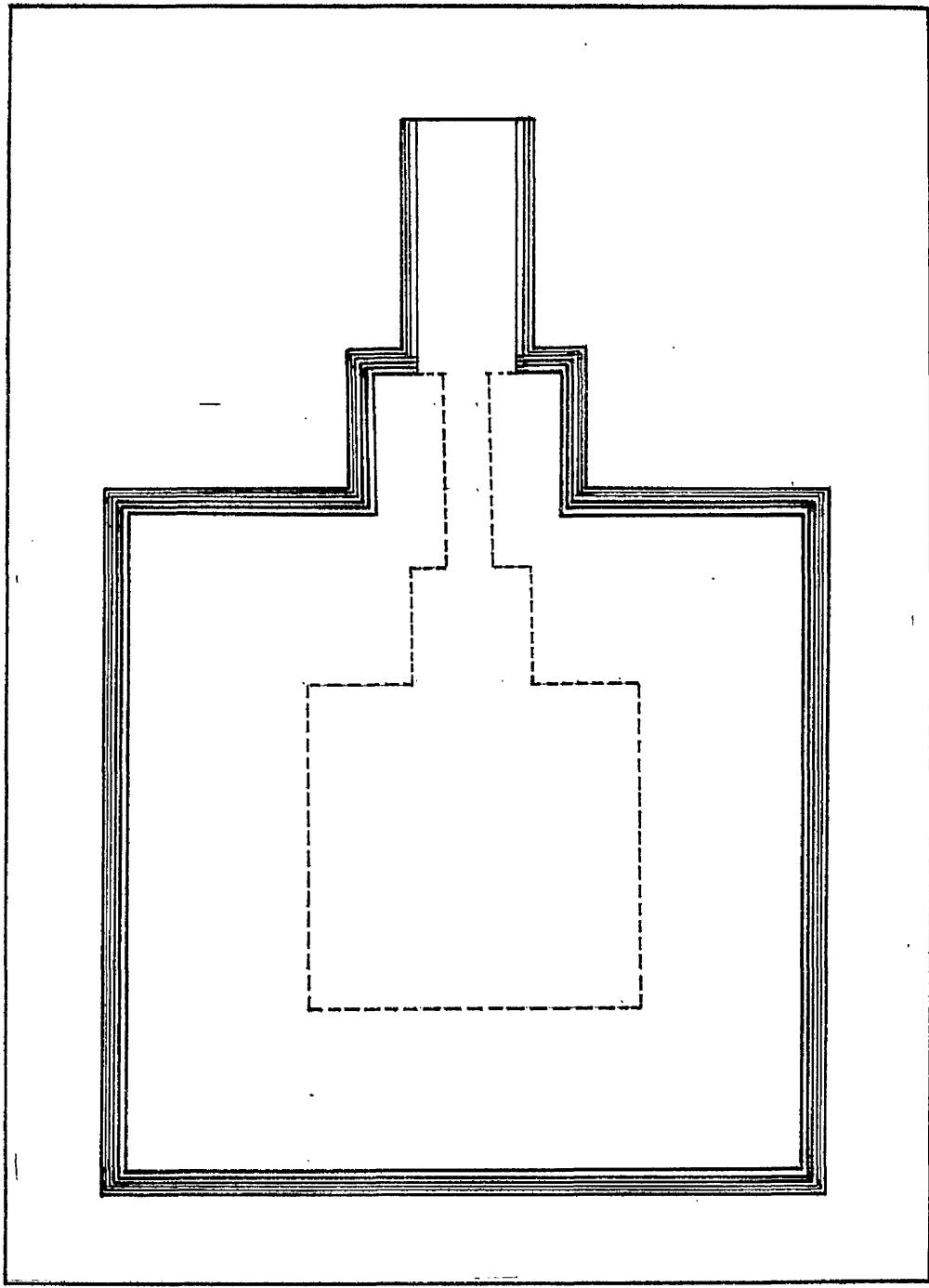
0 1 2 3 M
SCALE: 1:2m

FIG. 26



CANDI GUMPUNG COMPLEX

FIG. 27.



N

SCALE : 1:2m
1 2 3 m

PLAN : CANDI GUMPUNG

FIG. 28.

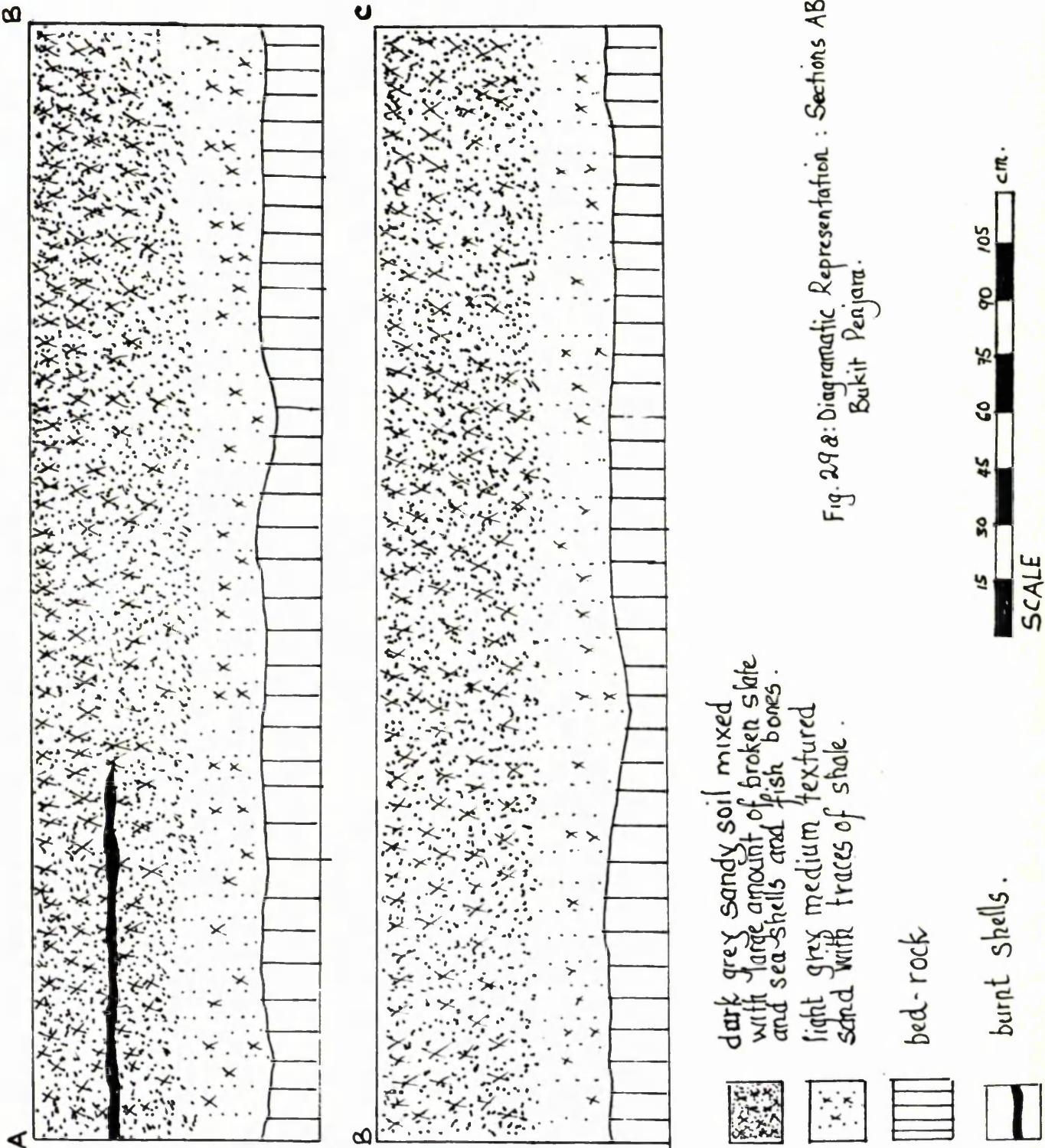


Fig. 29 & : Diagrammatic Representation : Sections AB , BC
Bukit Penjara.

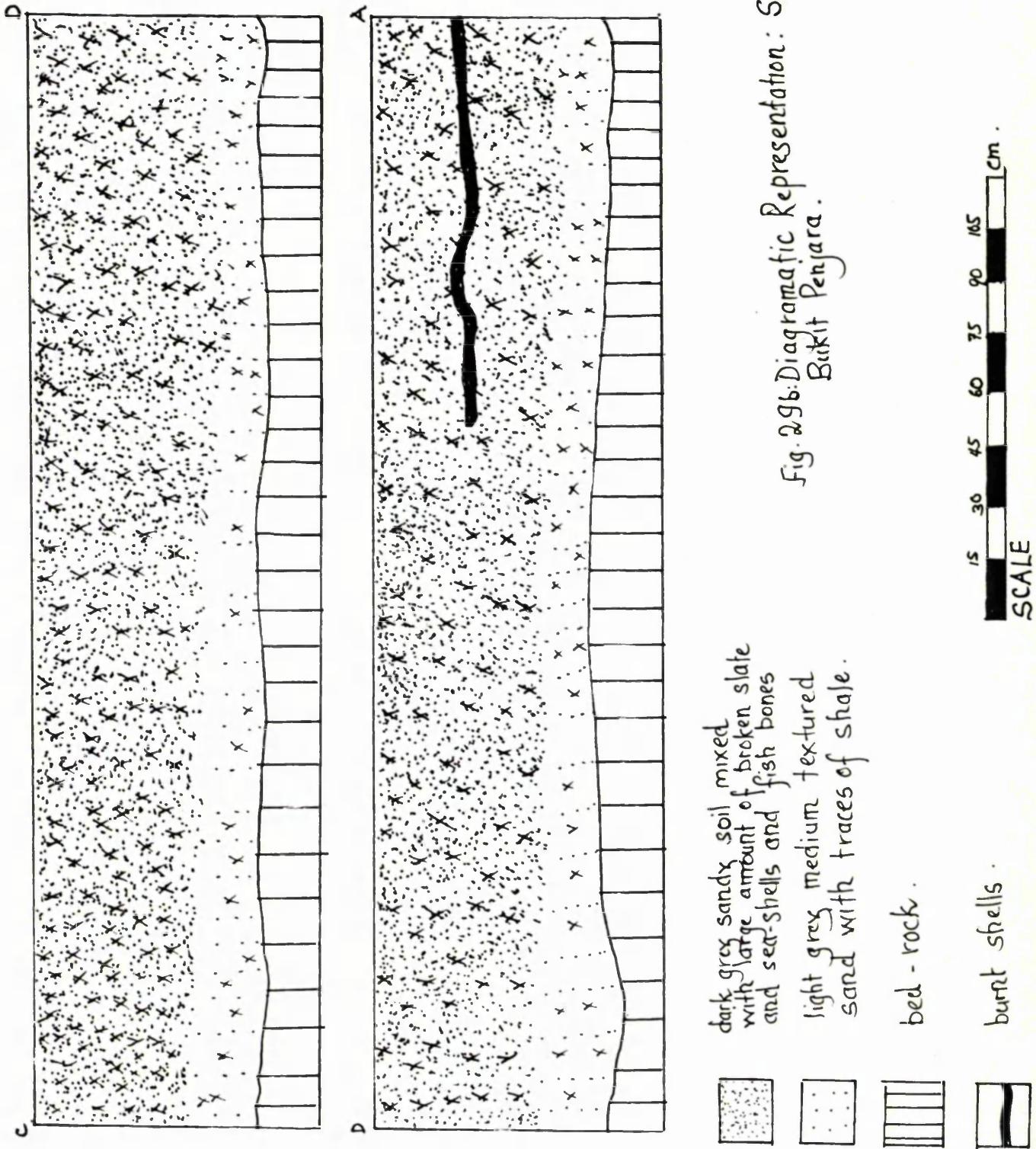
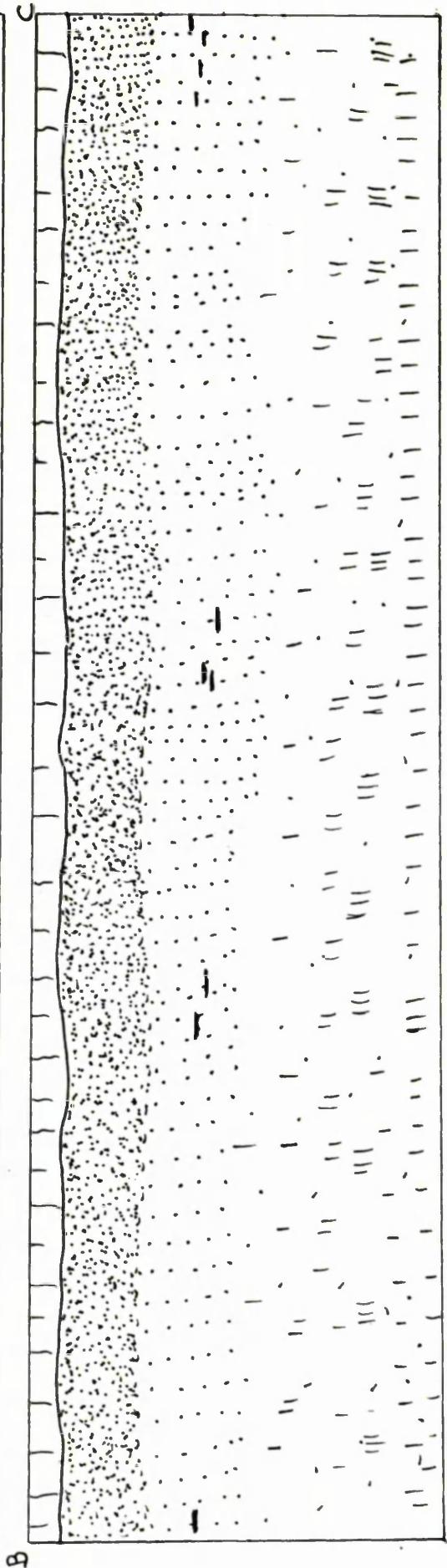
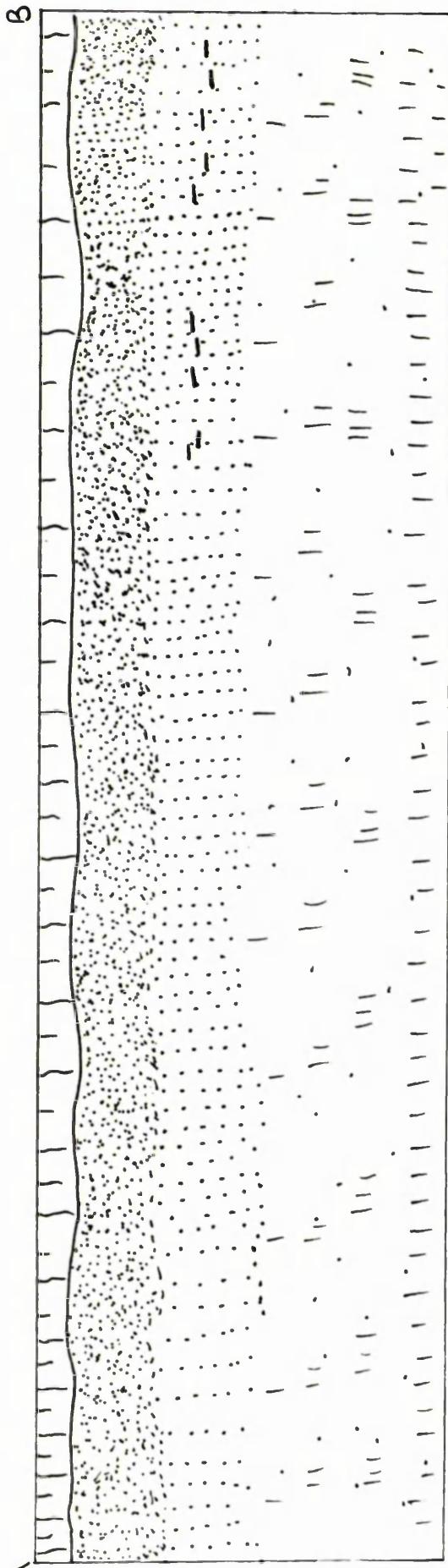


Fig. 29b: Diagrammatic Representation: Sections CD, DA.
Bukit Pengara.

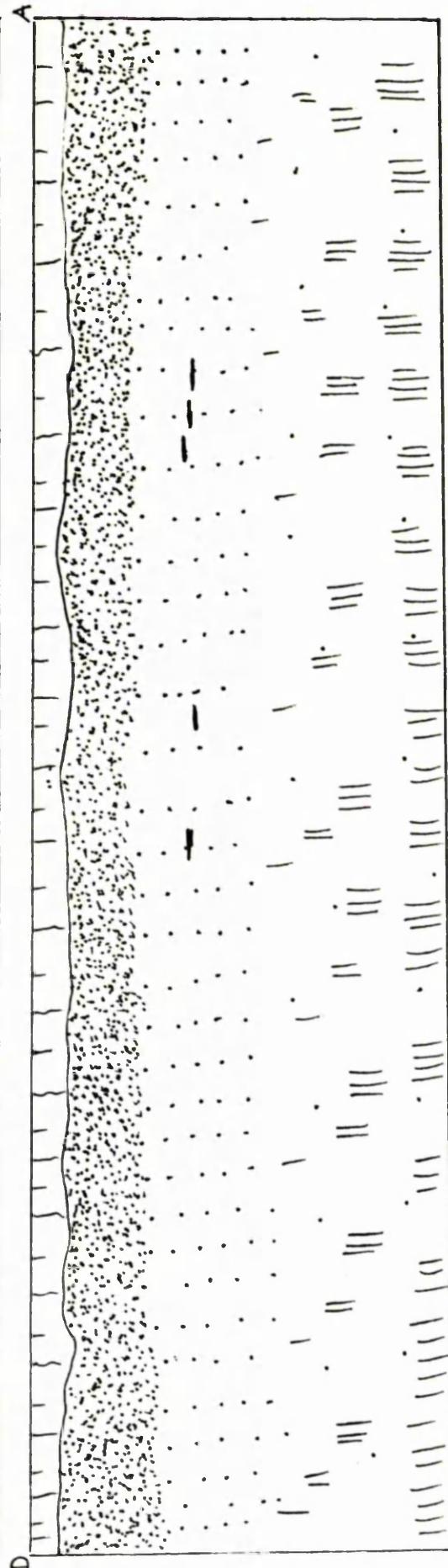
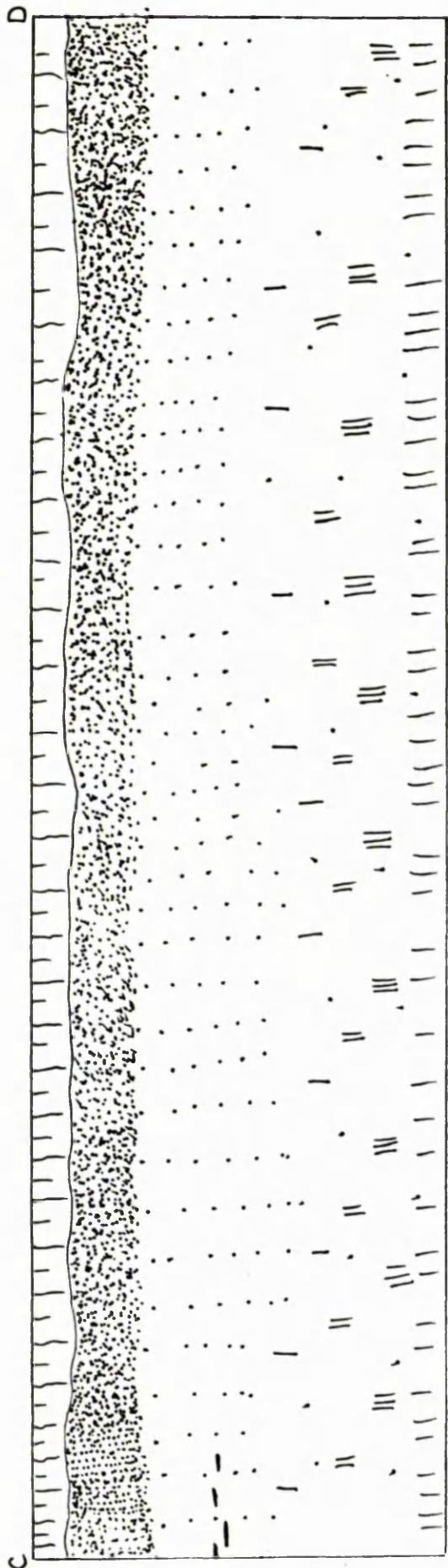


- [Vertical Hatching] DARK BROWN HUMUS SOIL.
- [Horizontal Dots] LIGHT BROWN SANDY SOIL.
- [Small Dots] BUFF SANDS SOIL.
- [Dotted Pattern] BEIGE SANDS SOIL.
- [Short Vertical Lines] TRACES OF CHARCOAL.

Fig.30e: Diagrammatic Representation: Sections A-B, B-C.
Site 19, Pengkalan Bujang.



SCALE.



DARK BROWN HUMUS SOIL . [Vertical Line] TRACES OF MUD.

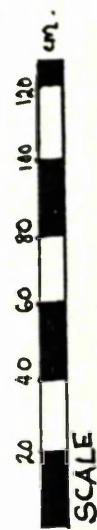
LIGHT BROWN SANDS SOIL . [Dots] -

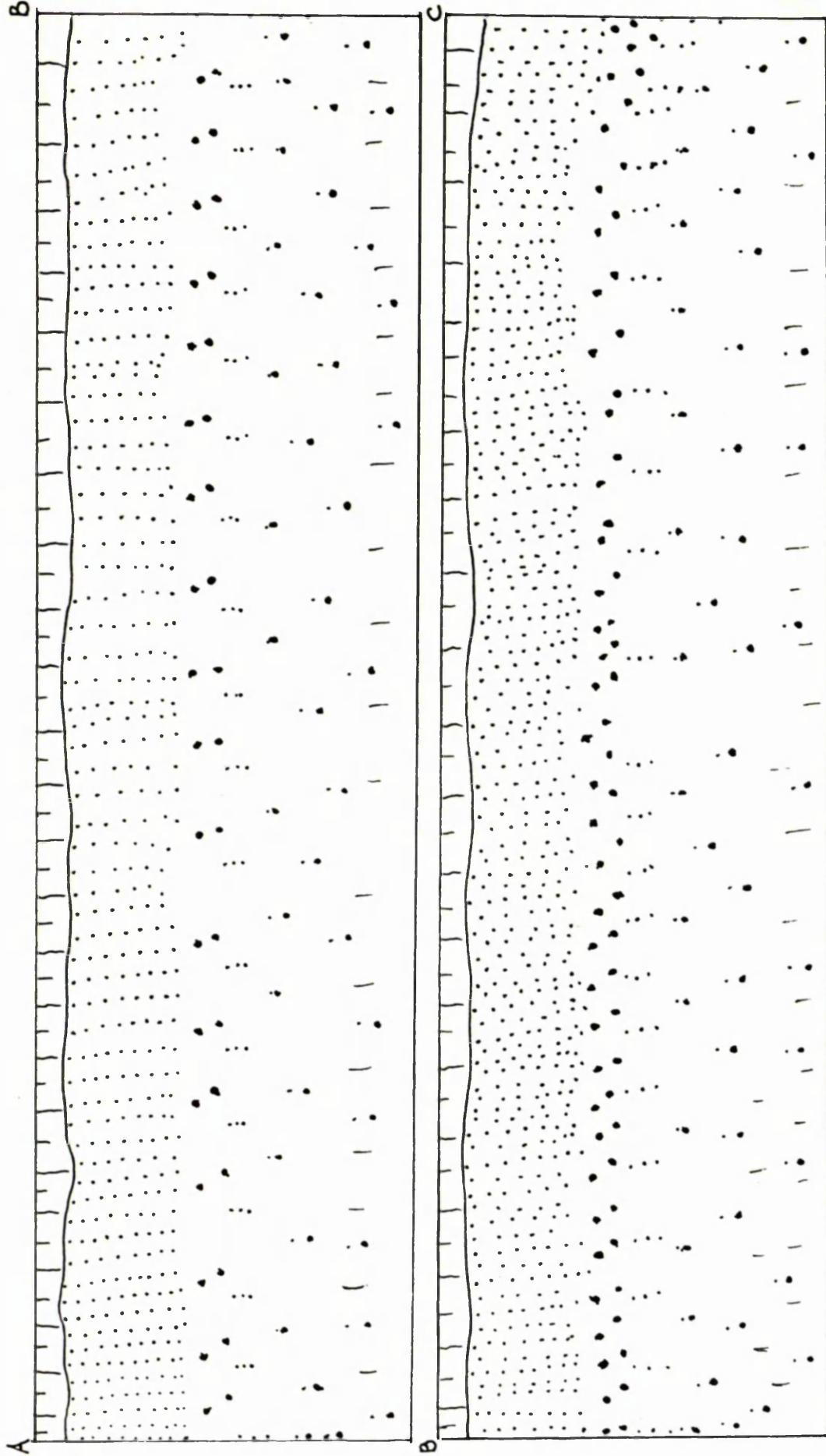
BUFF SANDS SOIL . [Horizontal Lines]

BEIGE SANDS SOIL . [Horizontal Dots]

- - - - - TRACES OF CHARCOAL

Fig. 30b: Diagrammatic Representation : Sections CD, DA.
Site 19, Pengkalan Buyang.





DARK BROWN HUMUS SOIL.
 YELLOWS SANDY SOIL.
 TRACES OF MUD.
 LIGHT YELLOW SANDY SOIL.
 VERY LIGHT YELLOW SANDY SOIL.
 WHITE SANDY SOIL.

SCALE.
20 40 60 80 100 cm.

Fig. 518: Diagrammatic Representation: Sections AB, BC.
Site 21/22, Pengkalan Bujang.

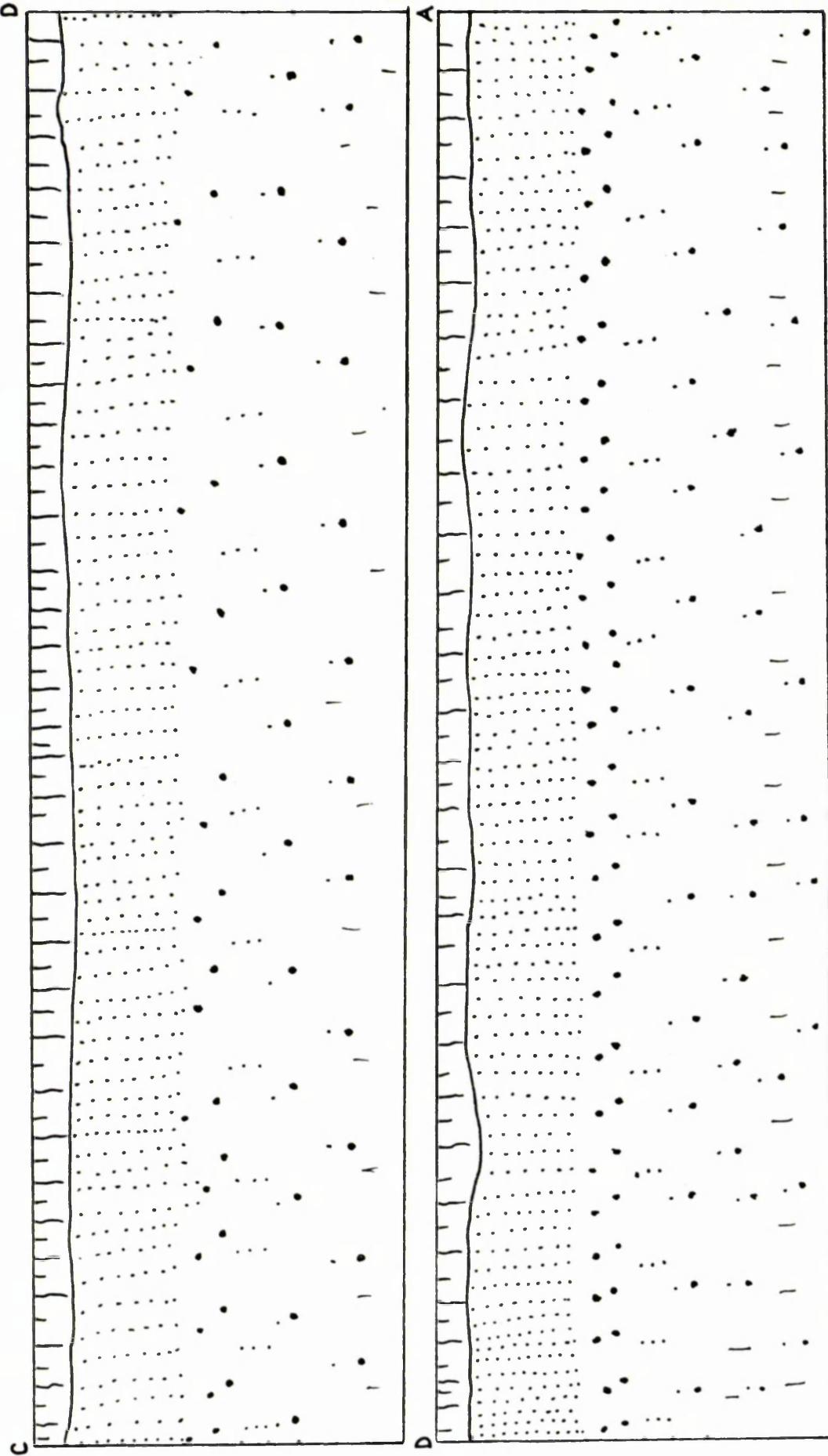


Fig. 31 b: Diagrammatic Representation: Sections CD, DA.
Site 21/22, Pengkalan Bujang.



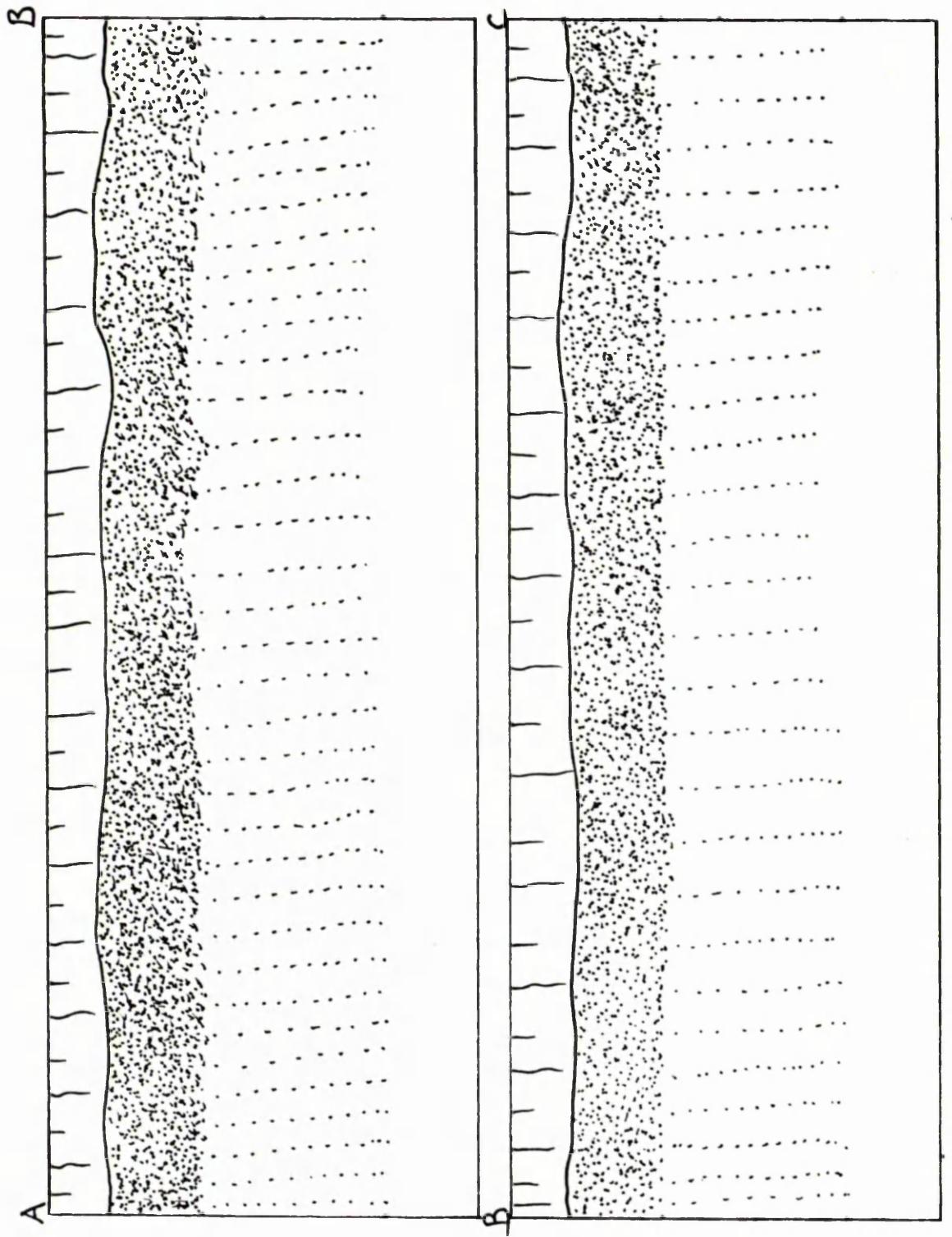


FIG. 328: Diagrammatic Representation: Sections AB, BC.
Site 50, Bujang Valley.
10 30 cm.
SCALE.

DARK HUMUS LAYER	BROWN CLAYES SOIL.
LIGHT BROWN CLAYES SOIL.	WHITE SANDS SOIL.

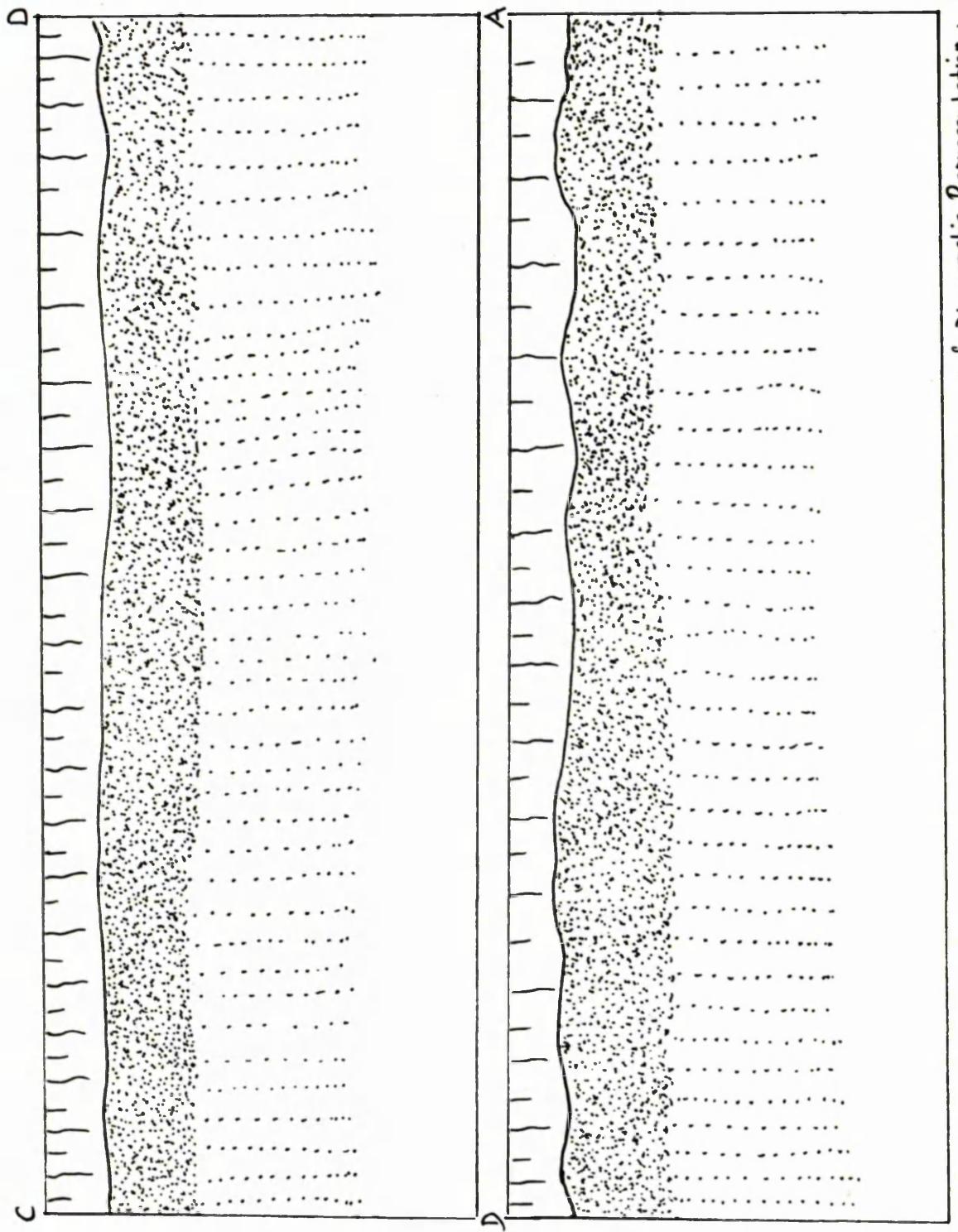


Fig. 32b: Diagrammatic Representation : Sections CD, DA.
Site 50, Bujang Valley.

30 cm.
SCALE

- [Stippled Box] DARK HUMUS LAYER
- [Dotted Box] LIGHT BROWN CLAYES SOIL
- [Solid Black Box] WHITE SANDS SOIL.

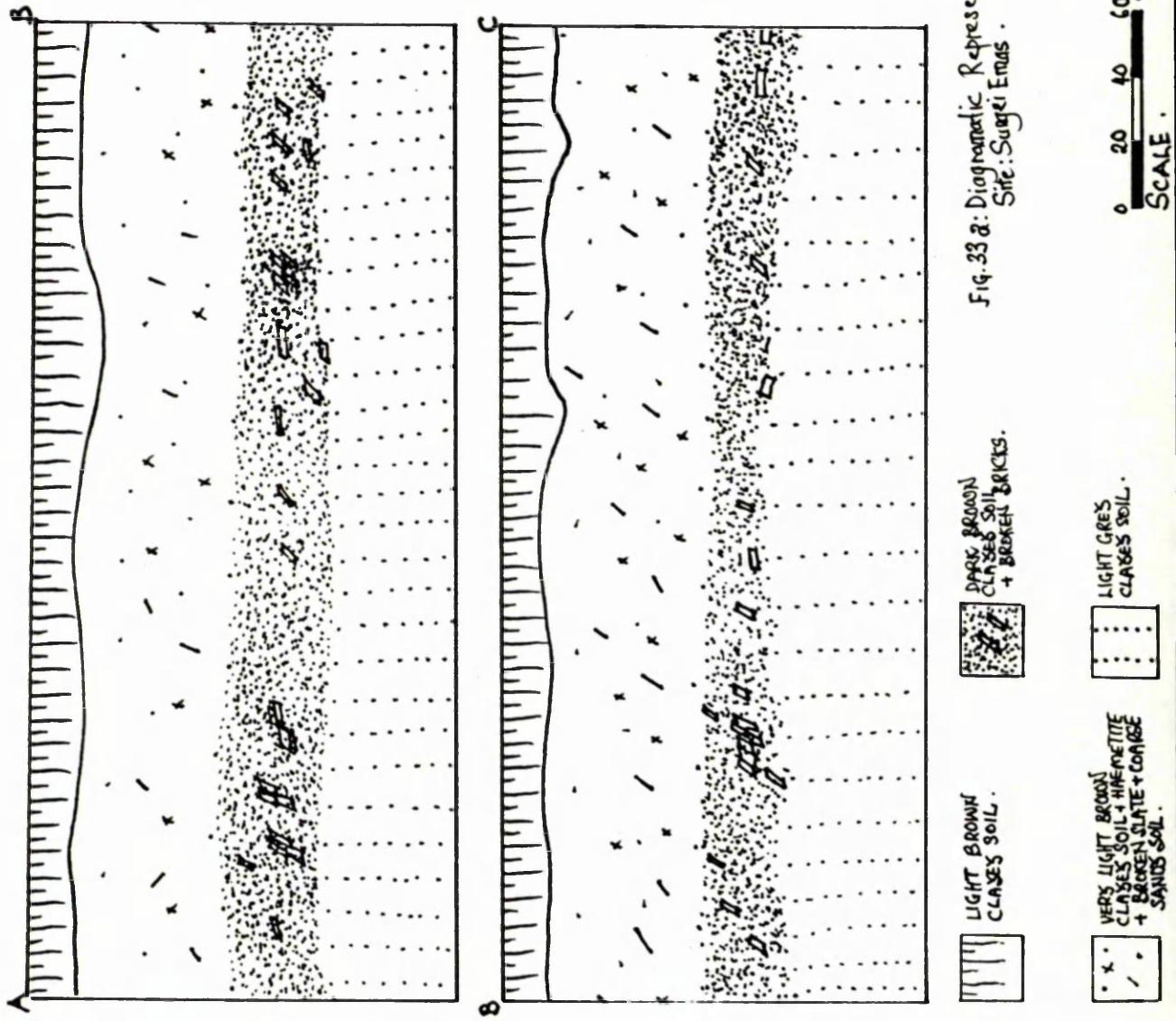


FIG. 33 a: Diagonalic Representation : Sections AB, BC.
Site: Sugai Ernas .

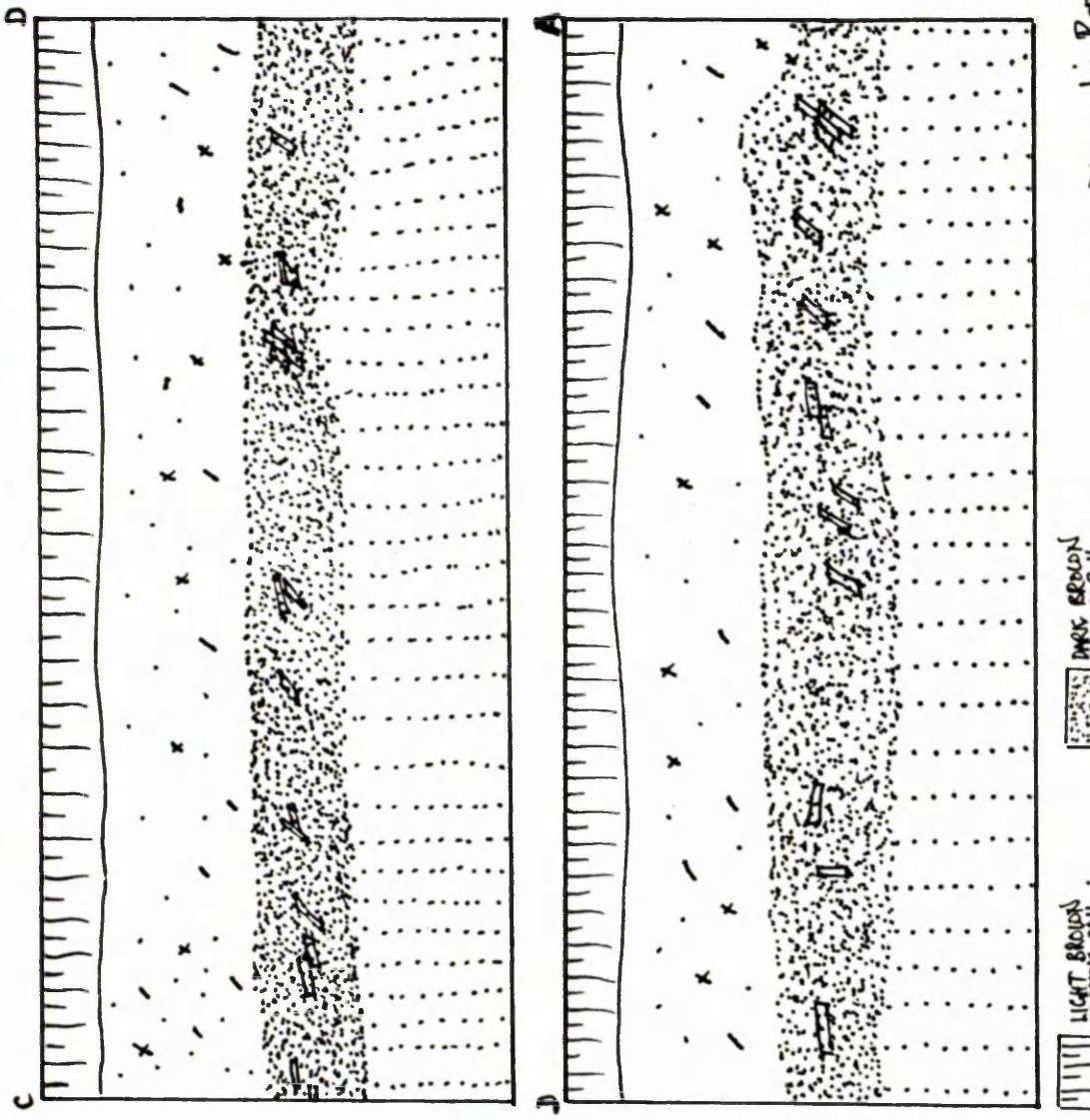


FIG. 33 b : Diagnostic Representation : Sections CD, DA.
Site: Sungai Enam.

VERY LIGHT BROWN
CLAYEY SOIL
+ BROKEN BRICKS.



LIGHT GREY
CLAYEY SOIL.

VERY LIGHT BROWN
CLAYEY SOIL + HAEMATOITE
+ SANDS SOIL.



SCALE.
0 20 40 60 cm.