

# LOST KINGDOMS

HINDU-BUDDHIST SCULPTURE OF EARLY SOUTHEAST ASIA



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John Guy

With essays by

Pierre Baptiste, Lawrence Becker, Bérénice Bellina, Robert L. Brown, Federico Carò,  
Pattaratorn Chirapravati, Janet G. Douglas, Arlo Griffiths, Agustijanto Indradjaya, Le Thi Lien,  
Pierre-Yves Manguin, Stephen A. Murphy, Ariel O'Connor, Peter Skilling, Janice Stargardt, Donna Strahan,  
U Thein Lwin, Geoff Wade, U Win Kyaing, Hiram Woodward, and Thierry Zéphir



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## CONTENTS

Director's Foreword	vii	II EMERGING IDENTITIES
Preface	ix	Early Indic Inscriptions of Southeast Asia Arlo Griffiths
Acknowledgments	xi	
Lenders to the Exhibition	xiii	Precious Deposits: Buddhism Seen through Inscriptions in Early Southeast Asia
Map I: Overview	xiv	Peter Skilling
Map II: Mainland Southeast Asia in the First Millennium	xvi	The Pyu Civilization of Myanmar and the City of Śri Kṣetra
Map III: Peninsular and Insular Southeast Asia in the First Millennium	xvii	U Thein Lwin, U Win Kyaing, and Janice Stargardt
Note to the Reader	xviii	Early Cham Art: Indigenous Styles and Regional Connections
		Pierre Baptiste
		Catalogue: Arrival of Buddhism
		74
I LOST KINGDOMS		
Introducing Early Southeast Asia John Guy	3	III THE BRAHMANICAL WORLD
Principal Kingdoms of Early Southeast Asia John Guy	14	Early Coastal States of Southeast Asia: Funan and Śrīvijaya
Southeast Asia and the Early Maritime Silk Road Bérénice Bellina	22	Pierre-Yves Manguin
Beyond the Southern Borders: Southeast Asia in Chinese Texts to the Ninth Century Geoff Wade	25	Early Traces of Hinduism and Buddhism across the Java Sea
Catalogue: Indian Imports	32	Agustijanto Indradjaya
Catalogue: Nature Cults	40	Hindu-Buddhist Sculpture in Southern Vietnam: Evolution of Icons and Styles to the Eighth Century
		Le Thi Lien
		Stylistic Trends in Mainland Southeast Asia, 600–800
		Hiram Woodward
		Catalogue: Viṣṇu and Kingship
		Catalogue: Śiva's World
		130
		156

## IV STATE ART

Dvāravatī Sculpture Robert L. Brown	189
<i>Cakra</i> : Quintessential Symbol of the Buddha's Law Thierry Zéphir	192
Buddhist Architecture and Ritual Space in Thailand, Seventh to Ninth Century Stephen A. Murphy	194
Catalogue: State Art	196

## V SAVIOR CULTS

The Transformation of Brahmanical and Buddhist Imagery in Central Thailand, 600–800 Pattaratorn Chirapravati	221
Catalogue: Savior Cults	226

## APPENDICES

Stone Types and Sculptural Practices in Pre-Angkorian Southeast Asia Federico Carò and Janet G. Douglas	265
Technical Observations on Casting Technology in First-Millennium Cambodia, Thailand, and Vietnam Lawrence Becker, Donna Strahan, and Ariel O'Connor	267
Notes to Essays	273
Bibliography	282
Glossary of Sites in First-Millennium Southeast Asia	306
Index	310
Notes on Contributors	316
Photograph Credits	317



## Director's Foreword

The Metropolitan Museum of Art has a long tradition of presenting exhibitions that advance our understanding of the art of the ancient world. “Lost Kingdoms: Hindu-Buddhist Sculpture of Early Southeast Asia, Fifth to Eighth Century” will open up new vistas for our visitors, introducing the little-known sculptural traditions of early Southeast Asia. This region was described by early geographers as the place “beyond India, before China”—a region seemingly without an identity of its own. As this exhibition ably demonstrates, in the course of the first millennium, mainland and insular Southeast Asia boasted a string of emerging states, whose identities have largely been lost to modern history. The principal kingdoms that produced the sculptures presented here—Pyu, Funan, Chenla, Champa, Dvāravati, Śrivijaya—are unfamiliar, if not unknown, to many. Yet these early states represent the beginning of state formation in Southeast Asia, and their archaeological footprints broadly define the political map of the region today. The surviving corpus of early religious art from these kingdoms, much of it spectacular in scale and often sublimely beautiful, is our principal window onto these cultures.

“Lost Kingdoms” tracks the interactions between South and Southeast Asia in the first millennium, largely through the circulation of Hindu-Buddhist imagery throughout the diaspora, revealing the vast flow of ideas, imagery, artistic styles, and religious and political structures across the region. Imported concepts continued to evolve in their new setting, displaying substantial cultural and political transformations as they were absorbed and appropriated to suit the needs of the host cultures. It is the metamorphosis of Indian imagery into a Southeast Asian guise that defines this art’s unique contribution.

Exhibitions of sculpture are always significant undertakings, and the scale, fragility, and cultural importance of the works assembled here have made “Lost Kingdoms” a monumental endeavor. Much of the finest art from the period is on view thanks to the unflinching generosity of the source countries. We are especially indebted to the governments of Cambodia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam, and to the many individuals and institutions with whom we worked, for their willingness to lend important works of art, including many national treasures, from their museums. These loans, together with a select group of objects from the Musée National des Arts Asiatiques—Guimet,

Paris, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, along with the Asia Society, New York; Cleveland Museum of Art; Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth; Newark Museum; and Philadelphia Museum of Art, constitute the most important exhibition of early Southeast Asian art ever presented.

The exhibition and this accompanying publication, whose coauthors include many of the leading archaeologists and epigraphists in the field, present a new understanding of the early kingdoms of Southeast Asia. The exhibition’s curator, John Guy, Florence and Herbert Irving Curator of the Arts of South and Southeast Asia, meticulously researched the sites and collections in the region and negotiated the loans with skillful diplomacy. He edited the catalogue and contributed substantively with his own essays and catalogue entries.

The exhibition could not have been realized without the dedication of many colleagues across the Museum and beyond. The Department of Asian Art, led by Maxwell K. Hearn, Douglas Dillon Chairman, provided staunch support, as did the Objects Conservation staff, led by Lawrence Becker, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge, and the technical teams led by Taylor Miller, who had the Herculean task of installing these works. Aileen Chuk, Chief Registrar, played a pivotal role in ensuring that the objects undertook their journeys in the safest possible manner.

A complex international endeavor of this kind is an expensive business, and we are grateful to the following funders for their generous support of the exhibition: the Placido Arango Fund, the Fred Eychaner Fund, the William Randolph Hearst Foundation, the Henry Luce Foundation, the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts, Jim Thompson America, Inc., and Bangkok Broadcasting & T.V. Co., Ltd. We also thank The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Henry Luce Foundation, and the Doris Duke Fund for Publications for making this catalogue possible. Many of these donors are longtime supporters of Asian art at the Metropolitan, and we are deeply indebted to them for their commitment to the department and its many initiatives.

Thomas P. Campbell  
Director  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



## Preface

The landmark exhibition “Lost Kingdoms: Hindu-Buddhist Sculpture of Early Southeast Asia, Fifth to Eighth Century” is the first to explore the artistic and religious legacy of first-millennium Southeast Asia as an integrated region marked by identifiable emerging kingdoms. It takes as its starting point the sculptural traditions of the earliest Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms of Southeast Asia, principally those we know as Pyu, Funan, Zhenla, Champa, Dvāravatī, Kedah, and Śrivijaya. The Pyu territories represented a large part of central Myanmar; Funan and Champa, the southern half of Vietnam; and Zhenla, today’s Cambodia. Dvāravatī culture extended over much of Thailand; Kedah, along the Strait of Melaka; and Śrivijaya, at its peak, from western Indonesia to Malaysia and southern Thailand.

Such an exhibition could not have been undertaken in a meaningful way a generation ago. Progress in our knowledge of the nature of state formation has accelerated in the intervening years, largely thanks to new understandings brought to the subject by field archaeologists. Advances in epigraphic studies, involving both the revisiting of the published corpus of Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, and local-language inscriptions and the active pursuit, discovery, and publication of new inscriptions, have refined and extended our understanding of the early history of the region. Historical and art-historical studies have similarly advanced, enabling scholars to pursue a more holistic approach to the history of the region and to its forms of cultural expression.

When studying the past, one is limited by the vicissitudes of history and can build a reading of the past only on the basis of what has survived. First-millennium religious images that were conceived to be immovable and indestructible have endured in greater numbers than any other material legacy of early Southeast Asia, including monuments. Taken together with the findings of field archaeology, such religious imagery provides the clearest glimpse into the early history of the region, bearing witness to the realities of religious practice. The systematic study of a corpus of sectarian imagery and its distribution patterns potentially explains more about religious orientations in the seventh and eighth centuries than, for example, an isolated inscription, perhaps removed from its original setting, can do.

The exhibition and its accompanying publication strive to establish the place of first-millennium Southeast Asian sculpture in

the wider terrain of Asian art. The volume is organized thematically to draw out the major narratives that shaped the region’s distinct cultural identities, notably the importation and integration of Indian religions, the role of Brahmanical cults, the emergence of state sponsorship, and the role of savior cults. The opening section presents a selection of rare Indian and Mediterranean objects recovered archaeologically from Southeast Asia, which highlight the role of imported artifacts as models for local artists employed in the service of the newly imported Indic religions. Next comes a group of sculptures that bear witness to the persistence of nature cults in Southeast Asia well into the Hindu-Buddhist period. The adoption of the Indic religions was highly successful largely on account of these preexisting animistic belief systems, onto which the new faiths could be comfortably grafted. This section is followed by objects that signal the early arrival of Buddhism, spectacularly represented by silver and gold Buddhist offerings from the great relic hoard discovered in 1926 within the ancient walled city of Śri Kṣetra in central Myanmar. This section features a series of lifesize Buddha images, all roughly contemporary, from Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam, illuminating the varied regional responses to the representation of this icon. Next, Viṣṇu and Śiva are presented in their various guises. First, the book examines regional responses to Vaiṣṇava imagery and its associations with the forms of Indic kingship and statehood emerging in the region. Rulers dedicated numerous shrines to Viṣṇu, and many large sculptures survive. Then, the cult of Śiva and his family, including Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa, and Skanda, as well as the worship of the *śivalinga* as a divine protector, emerges as a significant theme.

The next section examines Buddhist art as an expression of state identity and focuses principally on the patronage of the Mon rulers of the Dvāravatī kingdom of central Thailand. It includes some of the most monumental works to have survived: large-scale sandstone standing Buddhas, sacred wheels of the Buddha’s Law, and steles depicting stories from the lives of the Buddha, past and present. The final section of the exhibition is dedicated to the savior cults of the bodhisattvas and their dissemination throughout Southeast Asia. The expression of that tradition and its independent evolution is traced through major cult images that share an iconographic language yet exhibit strong regional responses. The late eighth century was also the beginning of a new age of Asian

internationalism, by which time the kingdoms of the region were linked globally through thriving networks of maritime trade. Religious ideas, rituals, and imagery circulated quickly, unifying the region and integrating it into greater Asia as never before. This was reflected most strongly in a newly emerging shared visual language in the service of Māhāyana Buddhism.

The exhibition concludes around the year 800, and although some objects venture into the early ninth century, only two major exceptions have been made. One is the group of planetary deities from the Māhāyana monastery at Dong Duong, central Vietnam, dedicated in 875 by the Cham ruler Jaya Indravarman II, which marks a climax in the Māhāyana activities that had been building momentum over the preceding centuries. Similarly, the lifesize Viṣṇu of the first half of the ninth century from Prasat Rup Arak, a temple located on Phnom Kulen, northeast of Angkor, central Cambodia, represents a critical stylistic transition, bridging the pre-Angkorian world to the imminent emergence of a truly Angkorian style in the third quarter of that century at the new capital, centered around the Bakong temple at Roluos.

Elsewhere, historic shifts were taking place. With the ascendancy of the Burmans and the rise of Bagan and a new order in Myanmar, the Pyu began to fade away and the Mon to decline in importance. In Thailand, the expansionist Khmer empire, based in Cambodia, established major regional capitals at Phimai, Lopburi, and Sukhothai, imposing a strong Khmer cultural overlay on the Mon and Thai population. In western Indonesia, Śrivijaya seemingly succumbed to the rising spice-trade wealth of Java, shifting the economic center from Sumatra to central Java and resulting in an extraordinary outburst of cultural activity; the great Javanese monuments of the early ninth century, Borobudur and Lara Jonggrang, are the most spectacular manifestations of this new phase of flourishing Hindu-Buddhist culture.

In examining these four centuries of artistic activity, this volume aims to enhance our understanding of the formative period of Hindu-Buddhist artistic expression in Southeast Asia and to ensure its recognition as a locus of major cultural achievement—a reality much obscured by the fragmentary nature of the monumental and epigraphic remains. Fortunately, a sufficient number of Hindu and Buddhist sculptural masterpieces survive to serve as a testament to the creative energy of these early cultures of Southeast Asia.

John Guy  
Florence and Herbert Irving Curator of the Arts of  
South and Southeast Asia, Department of Asian Art  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

## Acknowledgments

This exhibition is one of those projects whose true scale and complexity are best not anticipated too much for fear that, at the outset, one would be deterred from embarking on it. Without the unstinting support of Thomas P. Campbell, Director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, this ambitious project would never have been launched. I owe him an enormous debt of gratitude, not only for his immediate affinity with the works of art and belief in the concept and importance of the exhibition but also for recognizing the necessity of pushing the boundaries of art history. No exhibition examining the formative phase of Southeast Asia's historical period, from its beginnings up to the cusp of the Classical Age, has ever before been attempted.

Researching objects and negotiating loans with six Southeast Asian countries has incurred a long list of debts of favor, here gratefully acknowledged. Many of the colleagues with whom I have worked on this project are old friends, some of thirty years' standing; others are somewhat newer. The exhibition is built entirely on the goodwill of those individuals and the institutions and governments they represent, which have permitted their national treasures to travel to New York on this occasion. The principal Southeast Asian lenders, in alphabetical order, are Cambodia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. I must also acknowledge the generous cooperation of the Indonesian government, which graciously agreed to lend major works to the exhibition that we sadly had to decline in order to keep our budget manageable.

In Cambodia, our appreciation goes to H.E. Chan Tani, Secretary of State, and, at the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts, Ministers of State H.E. Khim Sarith, H.E. Him Chhem, H.E. Chuch Phoeurn, and, especially, Director General H.E. Hab Touch for his commitment to the preservation and wider appreciation of Khmer culture; at the United Nations Mission, New York, Ambassador H.E. Sea Kosal; and at the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, Director Kong Vireak and Chhay Visoth, as well as Bertrand Porte and his colleagues in the Sculpture Conservation Laboratory. At the United States Embassy, Phnom Penh, thanks are due to former ambassador Carol Rodley, Ambassador William Todd, Sean McIntosh, John Simmons, and Pheakdey Nhim.

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under the stewardship of Sharon H. Cott, guided us along many narrow paths. Chief Registrar Aileen Chuk deserves a special mention for masterfully managing the myriad demands generated by a multinational exhibition of this complexity. Outside the Museum, Gwenael Rimaud and the team at LP Art Paris managed the secure packing and shipment of the works of art with their usual skill.

We are greatly indebted to the Museum’s Department of Objects Conservation, under the direction of Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge Lawrence Becker, and especially to Donna Strahan, who undertook many of the in-situ object inspections in Southeast Asia and worked closely with colleagues there. Federico Carò gave expert geological advice. In the Department of Asian Art, I am immensely grateful to Douglas Dillon Chairman Maxwell K. Hearn for his guidance and support; to Judith G. Smith for her wise counsel; and to Jill Wickenheisser, Hwai-ling Yeh-Lewis, Alison Clark, Jacqueline Taeschler, and Sunny Wang, among others. Special thanks are due to my project research associate, Stephen A. Murphy, and to interns Duyen Nguyen, Sutima Sucharitakul, Tinley Flynn, and Charlotte Gorant, who contributed so much to the realization of the project and who worked long and hard at gathering information to support the object research and assembling the bibliography. The Department of Education’s team of Joseph Loh, Jennifer Mock, and Molly Kysar have willingly supported the exhibition with a program of events and most ably organized the international symposium.

Excellent installation and graphic design was provided by Michael Langley and Sophia Geronimus, with technical support from Taylor Miller and his highly skilled team of installers, fabricators, and lighting specialists, led by Crayton Sohan, Frederick J. Sager, and Richard Lichte. The Editorial Department, headed by Mark Polizzotti, has worked diligently in the realization of this publication. Thanks to all, including, on the editorial side, Kamilah Foreman and Sylvia Tidwell and bibliographers Kathleen M. Friello and Jayne Kuchna; for production, a special thanks to Peter Antony and Jane S. Tai; for the book’s design, the team of Miko McGinty Inc.; and for the new maps, Anandaroop Roy. Special thanks are owed to Thierry Ollivier for his superb photographs taken on location at museums in Southeast Asia and to the Museum’s in-house photographer Oi-Cheong Lee.

On my research trips to Southeast Asia I was kindly assisted by numerous staff members at the host museums and received hospitality and courtesies from many people, who made my time on the road so enjoyable as well as rewarding. To my colleagues in Southeast Asia, thank you.

John Guy

# Lenders to the Exhibition

## Cambodia

National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh

## France

Musée National des Arts Asiatiques–Guimet, Paris

## Malaysia

Muzium Arkeologi Lembah Bujang, Merbok  
Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur

## Myanmar

Department of Archaeology and Museums, Yangon  
National Museum of Myanmar, Nay Pyi Taw  
National Museum of Myanmar, Yangon  
Thiri Khittaya (Śrī Kṣetra) Archaeological Museum, Hmawza

## Thailand

Chao Sam Phraya National Museum, Ayutthaya  
National Museum, Bangkok  
National Museum, Chaiya  
National Museum, Prachinburi  
National Museum, Ratchaburi  
National Museum, U Thong, Suphanburi  
Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom

## United Kingdom

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

## United States

Asia Society, New York  
The Cleveland Museum of Art  
Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York  
Newark Museum  
Philadelphia Museum of Art

## Vietnam

An Giang Province Museum, Long Xuyen  
Dong Thap Province Museum, Cao Lanh  
Fine Arts Museum, Ho Chi Minh City  
Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang  
National Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City

## Private Collections

Jeff Soref, New York  
Private collections, Europe





Map I: Overview



Map II: Mainland Southeast Asia in the First Millennium



Map III: Peninsular and Insular Southeast Asia in the First Millennium

## Note to the Reader

The notes to the essays appear in the back of the book, beginning on page 273. The notes to the catalogue entries appear directly after each entry. Citations are abbreviated throughout the book; full references are provided in the bibliography, beginning on page 282.

When available, three dimensions have been provided for the catalogued objects, expressed as height by width by depth. Otherwise, the following abbreviations are used to identify the known measurements: h. (height), w. (width), d. (depth), diam. (diameter), and l. (length). Dimensions are expressed in inches, followed by centimeters, or in feet, followed by meters.

Dates are expressed in the traditional manner, as B.C. and A.D.

Foreign words italicized in the text are Sanskrit unless otherwise stated, and for the benefit of the general reader, terms are defined throughout the essays and catalogue entries. Sanskrit words are transliterated according to the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration. Pali transliteration follows T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede's *Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (Chipstead, Surrey, 1921–25), and G. P. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (London, 1937–38). In the text, every attempt has been made to include full and proper diacritics on Sanskrit and Pali words and personal names. Words that have entered the English language (e.g., "mudra," "sutra") are not italicized unless part of a longer term or title of a work (e.g., *añjalimudrā*, *Pratīyasamutpāda Sūtra*).

The greatest part of the corpus of recorded inscriptions relating to ancient Cambodia, written in Sanskrit or Old Khmer, was published by George Coedès as *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vols. I to VIII (1937–66), under the auspices of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), and the inventory of the corpus is still maintained by that organization. In the inventory, inscriptions are assigned a number preceded by the letter K, and the authors of this book often cite those numbers in their texts and notes.

The corpus of recorded inscriptions from Champa, written in Sanskrit or Cham, has been published principally by French scholars, beginning with Abel Bergaigne in 1888. The inventory of this corpus is likewise maintained under the auspices of the EFEO. Inscriptions are assigned a number preceded by the letter C.

Most of the countries covered in this book use systems of writing other than the Latin alphabet; for this reason, most of the place names have had to be transliterated. Spellings found in the relevant literature are often variable, especially for villages and individual temples. Every effort has been made to render these names consistently, despite the disparities between different transliteration systems. Diacritics have been omitted from place names that are still in use today, even when those names are carried over from ancient times. For the most part, names of dynasties and ancient kingdoms retain their proper diacritics.

The transliteration of Thai words follows, as closely as possible, the General System of Phonetic Transcription of Thai Characters into Roman devised by the Royal Institute, Bangkok, in 1954. The Royal Institute system is widely used and accepted in Thailand; however, it is an imperfect system at best. Personal names and titles, when known, are transliterated according to the preference of the individual concerned. Otherwise, they are transliterated by the above system, with given name followed by surname and with no separating comma.

Vietnamese is correctly rendered with diacritics to indicate tone marks; however, as a concession to the general reader, the diacritics have been omitted in the essays and catalogue entries (but not in the bibliography). Vietnamese personal names usually consist of three parts—family name, middle name, and given name—and are expressed in that order in the text and bibliography.



# LOST KINGDOMS



# Introducing Early Southeast Asia

John Guy



Fig. 1. Rock-cut relief depicting Buddha preaching to Śiva and Viṣṇu. Central Thailand, 7th century. In situ in Tham Phra Phothisat, Saraburi province

The “Indianization” of Southeast Asia—that is, the adoption and adaptation of foreign, Indic ideas—fundamentally shaped cultural developments in the region, providing a conceptual and linguistic framework for new ideals of kingship, state, and religious order. How to define the nature of that process, even whether to accept the term, has fueled protracted debate ever since the term was coined by George Coedès in 1948.<sup>1</sup> Indian scholars had already spoken of a “Greater India,” implying an active process of colonization.<sup>2</sup> Paul Mus counterargued in 1933 that no such process of cultural colonization had taken place; rather, Southeast Asia had shared with early India a stratum of indigenous animistic belief systems, including such cults as those of the *yakṣa* (nature spirit) and the *nāga* (snake). Indian Sanskritic religion and its pantheon of deities were comfortably grafted onto those beliefs (see fig. 59), as had occurred in the Indian subcontinent itself.<sup>3</sup> The ongoing vitality of local traditions ensured that a strong local identity prevailed, even when Indian icons and rituals for their worship were imported in

pure form. As a result, Southeast Asia gave birth to new concepts that were unknown in India. The seventh-century rock-cut relief in the cave interior at Tham Phra Phothisat, central Thailand (fig. 1), is the most spectacular demonstration of this phenomenon: an enthroned Buddha is seen preaching to the Brahmanical gods Śiva and Viṣṇu, both of whom gesture submission as they receive instruction in Buddhist dharma.

Beginning in the 1970s, scholars proposed alternative models to characterize the process of transmission—models that carry less of a sense of cultural colonialism, such as “acculturation” and “localization,” among others.<sup>4</sup> The current consensus is that Indian influences were selectively adapted into multicentered, mandala-like political systems in which authority was extended through the declared allegiance of vassal states to the center. Prestige and power were measured less by the territory directly controlled than by the tributary relationships that extended a ruler’s authority beyond his immediate kinship system. With a large population at a ruler’s



Fig. 2. East face of temple S1, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kampong Thom province. Central Cambodia, early 7th century

command, surplus rice could be cultivated, walled cities constructed, and religious edifices erected (see fig. 2). The adaptation of Indic culture in Southeast Asia was a process of continuous dialogue and reinvention. Indian ideals of kingship, for example, assumed a very different character in Southeast Asia, just as artistic styles revealed their lineage in recognizable components that then acquired a distinctly non-Indian aesthetic.

Wherever the initiative lay and by whichever means of transmission, Southeast Asia was profoundly touched by Indic culture in the first half of the first millennium A.D. The works of religious art presented in this volume are not the first evidence of a cultural dialogue between the two regions. However, they mark the beginning, about the fifth century, of a written record of Brahmanical rituals sponsored for the benefit of local rulers and of the creation of large stone icons of the principal deities in the Indian pantheon (see fig. 3). By providing new models of statehood with elaborate religious underpinnings, the agents of this change, principally Brahman priests in the service of local rulers, were able to propagate powerful ideologies that gave strength to those leaders. Over time, these immigrant Brahmins and their descendants integrated themselves into local power structures through intermarriage and wealth accrued in recognition of ritual service. There is less direct evidence of this phenomenon for Buddhism in fifth-century Southeast Asia, with the notable exception of Pyu Myanmar; elsewhere, the early Buddhist presence left less of an imprint. Local rulers used imported Indian models to strengthen their position and enhance their status: by the fifth century, many had sworn devotion to Viṣṇu as the supreme divine monarch (see fig. 4). Such declarations of allegiance, which began appearing in Sanskrit



Fig. 3. Harihara. Central Cambodia, late 7th century. Found in Prasat Andet, Kampong Thom province. Sandstone, h. 76¾ in. (194 cm). National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1635)

Opposite: detail of fig. 3



inscriptions on stone steles about the fourth or fifth century, were the first officially sanctioned records of local rulers' identification with the new religions. They had begun to give themselves Indic kingly titles expressed in Sanskrit, which suggests a personal identification with the Brahmanical gods, and to sponsor Brahmanical rituals for their own welfare and empowerment.



Fig. 4. Intaglio depicting Viṣṇu and a royal worshipper. Northwestern India, 4th century. Agate, h. 1½ in. (3.5 cm). British Museum, London (1892.1103.98)

#### Defining the Kingdoms in Space and Time

The early states that inspired the title of this publication are misty entities about which, to varying degrees, little is known beyond their names and what can be gleaned from a scattering of early inscriptions and some field archaeology. Some bear Indic names, such as Champa (Skt., Campā), Dvāravatī, Śrī Kṣetra, and Śrīvijaya, while others, such as Funan and Zhenla, are known by the names assigned to them in Chinese official chronicles. The last two names are preserved only in Chinese sources and are assumed to be phonetic renderings of unrecorded local names, although no evidence exists for this idea; rather, they may simply have been names the Chinese historians assigned to these distant and minor entities, with which they traded. Nonetheless, Chinese commentators, uniquely for the period, did record precise geographic locations for the polities, securing them in space and time.<sup>5</sup>

The premier names are Pyu, Dvāravatī, Funan, Zhenla, Champa, and Śrīvijaya. The material, inscriptional, and textual evidence for each is reviewed in "Principal Kingdoms of Early Southeast Asia," beginning on page 14. Behind each name is an ethnolinguistic identity: the Pyu of central Myanmar, Mon of Thailand, Khmer of Cambodia and southern Vietnam, Cham of central Vietnam, and Malay of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Many other polities are noted in Chinese sources of the early first millennium, which can be used to track the presence and subsequent absence of the polities, as they often merged into larger entities. The complexity of the early first-millennium political landscape in Southeast Asia is well illustrated by a third-century description of Funan, understood to have been located in the Mekong delta of southern Vietnam. It gives an account of a ruler named Fan[sh]i]man, who, after successfully attacking and subduing his neighbors, titled himself "Great King of Funan" and built a fleet of ships to cross the Gulf of Thailand and conquer more than ten kingdoms, polities whose names are not preserved but likely included Dunxun, Panpan, and Langkasuka.<sup>6</sup>

These emerging political entities represent the beginnings of state formation in Southeast Asia. How they functioned in terms of political organization is far from clear. Whether they are best characterized as fiefdoms, polities, kingdoms, or states is open to discussion. O. W. Wolters first advanced the concept of the *mandala-nagara*, an Indian model stressing the relationship of vassal states to a central power. The term, which is embedded in some early inscriptions from the region, best characterizes these entities—a series of radiating zones, strongest at the center, weakest at the periphery, with porous frontiers that intercepted adjacent tributary "mandalas."<sup>7</sup> The seventh-century Sabokingking inscription from Telaga Batu, near Palembang, southern Sumatra (fig. 24), demands that "all the mandalas" (*sakalamandala*) swear allegiance, presumably referring to Śrīvijaya's vassals.<sup>8</sup> As a recent study has demonstrated, many people on the periphery lived outside any "state system" whatsoever, their only engagement with centralized power being through trade at the frontier.<sup>9</sup> The centers were located at nodal points of commerce and exchange, both interior and coastal, the latter connecting to international trade systems. Many early polities may have functioned as loosely knit federations, brought together by a blend of shared economic and strategic interests and strengthened by marriage alliances.

As difficult as it is to define geographic parameters, providing secure time frames is equally challenging. The earliest known dates are from Chinese dynastic histories beginning in the second quarter of the third century, assumed to be accurate but ultimately unverifiable. It is only with the first wave of Sanskrit inscriptions commissioned by local rulers in the fourth and fifth centuries that one can find secure markers, broadly datable on the basis of the Indian scripts they employ. The temporal gap between the Chinese accounts and the beginnings of the inscriptional record has been widely regarded as an archaeological black hole. However, archaeologists have demonstrated continuities back to the early centuries A.D. that historians and art historians have largely ignored. Artifacts found in Lopburi, Chansen, and Don Ta Phet in Thailand; Tra Kieu in Vietnam; and Palembang in Sumatra all point to the possibility of bridging the temporal gap.<sup>10</sup> It has recently been argued that the key to recognizing these cultural continuities, especially an awareness of Indic influences, lies with a substantial body of early artifacts that await proper examination in their socio-cultural settings. Moreover, a growing corpus of radiocarbon-14 dates for early habitation sites across Southeast Asia is pushing the chronology of Indian influence in Southeast Asia earlier than hitherto suspected.<sup>11</sup>

These investigations have the potential to demonstrate that the early centuries of the Common Era formed a crucial formative phase in Southeast Asia's dialogue with the Indian subcontinent. Artifacts recovered from excavations of habitation sites reveal close economic and cultural contact between Southeast Asia and India at a much earlier date than inscriptions and Brahmanical and Buddhist sculptures would suggest.<sup>12</sup> Whether we would choose to call this phase "Indianization" is doubtful. The transmission of Indian religious imagery to Southeast Asia is premised on the host communities' having been both sufficiently familiar and culturally receptive with the belief systems the imagery represents. In other words, a period of familiarization and acceptance of Brahmanical and/or Buddhist precepts can be assumed to have preceded the circulation of religious imagery. The late fifth- to early sixth-century Viṣṇus from Cibuaya in western Java (fig. 5) and from Chaiya in southern Thailand (fig. 6) can have been produced only when the community, or at least elite circles within it, were already aware of the Vaiṣṇava cult (cult of Viṣṇu). Further, stylistic analysis of these two sculptures suggests that the artists responsible had access to northern Indian models, probably transmitted via the ports of



Fig. 5. Viṣṇu. Indonesia, late 5th–early 6th century. Found in Cibuaya, Karawang, West Java province. Sandstone; h. 26 in. (66 cm), w. 10½ in. (27 cm). Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta



Fig. 6. Viṣṇu. Southern Thailand, late 5th–early 6th century. Found in Wat Sala Thueng, Chaiya, Surat Thani province. Sandstone; h. 26¾ in. (67 cm), w. 13¾ in. (35 cm). National Museum, Bangkok

Gujarat, a major region in India's early international trade, whose products included the intaglio seals, gemstones, and glass so visible at protohistoric Southeast Asian sites. Similarly, what is arguably the oldest Buddha recovered in Thailand, from the peninsular region (fig. 7), is most likely a local product based on imported models from Andhra Pradesh, southern India. Small sculptures from there have been recorded in Sri Lanka (fig. 9), demonstrating the circulation of such models.

The existence of this earlier network of exchange seems obvious in one sense: how else can the appearance of sophisticated stele inscriptions recording the enactment of Brahmanical rituals in the fourth and fifth centuries be explained? Such a hypothesis is all the more necessary to account for the highly localized sculptural styles of the late fifth and sixth centuries. In the unique environment of the lower Mekong delta, a proliferation of wood sculptures, many lifesize Buddhas but also elements of temple and, likely,

palace architecture, have survived in the waterlogged environment. Their presence may signal the perishable nature of much pre-sixth-century sculpture in Southeast Asia. The discontinuity between the early production of terracotta votives and talismanic amulets and the grand vision of Brahmanical imagery may seem less sharp if one postulates an intermediate period of perishable imagery alongside the surviving artifact culture. The same argument applies to the transmission of sculptural styles: the near-total absence of small portable models can be explained by the perishable nature of the materials of which they were made.

Chinese sources, including pilgrim accounts and tribute records, itemize the gifting of Buddha images in sandalwood, ivory, coral, and so on—all relatively perishable materials. The polity of Panpan, likely centered around Chaiya, included among its tribute gifts received in China in March 529 “ivory [Buddha] images and painted [wood?] votive stupas,” likely themselves imported from



Fig. 7. Buddha, 4th–5th century. Reportedly found in peninsular Thailand. Sandstone, h. 23½ in. (60 cm). National Museum, Bangkok



Fig. 8. Buddha. Probably Sri Lanka, ca. 7th–8th century. Found near Karama River, Sikendeng, Central Sulawesi province, Indonesia. Copper alloy, 29½ x 16½ x 7½ in. (75 x 42 x 18 cm). Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta

India.<sup>13</sup> Highly portable intaglio seals (fig. 4) and small sculptures such as the Amaravati relief from Andhra Pradesh, southern India found at Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka (fig. 9), and the Sarnath Buddha found in peninsular Thailand (cat. 9) are among the few models to survive. Small, portable imagery appeared in mainland Southeast Asian urban settlements in the first half of the first millennium, well before the fifth-century watershed when the tradition of monumental image making began in earnest.<sup>14</sup> Less spectacular, these artifacts nonetheless represent a significant first phase in the sociocultural exchange that shaped much of today's Southeast Asian culture.

#### New Religions

Two Indic religions, Brahmanism and Buddhism, make an early appearance in Southeast Asia.<sup>15</sup> Indian merchants were attracted early to the place they called Suvarṇabhūmi ("Land of Gold") and helped to stimulate local economies and link them to the wider trading world. The emergence in the mid-first millennium A.D. of powerful Indian merchant guilds, initially centered in the Deccan, furthered this process.<sup>16</sup> The first Brahmins and Buddhist monks who ventured to Southeast Asia traveled on merchant ships. The correspondence between the early presence of Indian religions and

trade activity is compelling evidence of this relationship. Key centers of early trade in central Thailand have left a vast array of religious artifacts of both traditions. Amulets depicting Gaja Lakṣmī and Kubera, both propitious Indic deities, are found in abundance at U Thong, Chansen, and Lopburi, sites in a region of great importance for interregional trade, both overland to Myanmar and southward to the Gulf of Thailand. Such Indic deities may be best understood in urban areas as the patron saints of Indian merchants and traders, cults that were no doubt shared by locals. A remarkable sealing from U Thong (cat. 87) and near-identical ones from Chansen carry a molded inscription in box-headed Brāhmī script best understood as indicating the property of a Śaiva merchant (one who is devoted to Śiva). Whether the impression functioned as a document seal or a merchant's signature seal is unknown. Other small molded or cast images, also displaying Indic imagery, seem to have been talismans. A category specifically related to merchant's seals is a series of small stones excavated at Palembang, Sumatra, inscribed in Sanskrit with the verse "This successful journey is for the welfare and happiness of all living beings" and echoing a sentiment expressed on the Sungai Mas stele inscription from Kedah, Malaysia (cat. 19).<sup>17</sup> Another category is the group of Buddhist moldings and inscribed metal foils that began to appear in the



Fig. 9. Stone relief depicting Buddha protected by a multiheaded *nāga* (serpent). Southern India, probably Andhra Pradesh, ca. 3rd–4th century. Found in Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka. Present location unknown

eighth century, often enshrined in miniature stupas or small icons. The foils frequently bear the Buddhist verse *Ye dharmā* (Pali, *Ye dhammā*), stating the causation doctrine of the Buddha.<sup>18</sup>

Brahman priests and, notably, the unorthodox Pāśupata order of ash-smeared ascetics (*rṣi*) took on a highly influential role as bearers of a secret knowledge; their Brahmanical educations equipped them to serve as both counselors to local rulers and purveyors of magic spells (mantras). As Buddhists sought to evangelize and compete for patronage, they, too, turned to the peddling of magical syllables (*dhāraṇī*) in addition to transmitting the Buddha's dharma. The inscriptive evidence outlined below makes it clear that the devotional (*bhakti*) cult associated with Viṣṇu was paramount in establishing Brahmanism in the region. Its strength undoubtedly lay in its appeal to local rulers, who, guided by their Brahman gurus, came to a personal identification with the god as a divine monarch. Both the inscriptive and sculptural records demonstrate that the worship of Viṣṇu was embraced by rulers across all of Southeast Asia.

Large and expensive cult icons were installed in Myanmar (at Śri Kṣetra and Thaton), peninsular Thailand (Chaiya and Takuapa), western Java (Cibuya), central and northern Thailand (Muang Si Mahosot and Si Thep), Laos (Champasak/Śreṣṭhapura), Cambodia (Angkor Borei, Phnom Da, and Sambor Prei Kuk), and the Mekong delta (Oc Eo), to cite only the most famous examples. The mid-fifth-century inscription of Prince Guṇavarman from Dong Thap in the Mekong delta celebrates his father's devotion in founding "countless shrines to Bhagavat [Viṣṇu] adorned with treasures" and notes that by this act the footprints of Viṣṇu (*viṣṇupāda*) were placed on this earth for the benefit of all devotees (*bhakta*).<sup>19</sup> A recently translated seventh-century inscription celebrating the consecration of a Vaiṣṇava temple at Angkor Borei, southern Cambodia, describes the king as a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu (an identification applied to King Pūrṇavarman in western Java somewhat earlier) and praises the former king for installing "incomparable images of Hari [Viṣṇu] out of devotion [*bhaktyā*] that removes the suffering of devotees [*bhakta*]."<sup>20</sup>

Over time, the religious landscape of Southeast Asia was increasingly shared with Śiva, who was widely invoked as the

provider of overarching protection. He was identified with sacred places, especially holy mountains, streams, and bathing tanks. The pilgrimage of the fifth-century King Devanika to Śri Liṅgarpvata, the mountain sacred to Śiva at Champasak (Phu Kao), illustrates well the process by which Southeast Asia was absorbed into a greater Hindu world. Such holy places (*tīrtha*) were seen not as surrogate destinations, as substitutes for a pilgrimage to the holy land of India, but rather as extensions of that same landscape. Their efficacy—to cleanse sins—was equal to that of *tīrthas* in India. The *śivapāda* from Stung Treng province, northern Cambodia (cat. 83), is an expression of a religious metaphor rarely given concrete form in India: Śiva's presence evoked by his footprints, as recounted in the *Skandapurāṇa* in the myth of Śiva's implanting his footprint at Mahalaya, a Himalayan peak.<sup>21</sup>

The lingas installed in Zhenla are overwhelmingly titled in their foundation inscriptions with names that correspond to Śaiva pilgrimage sites in India. As Alexis Sanderson has argued, "The effect of the practice is to transfigure the Khmer realm by creating a Śaiva landscape whose sacred enclaves could be seen as doubles of those of the religion's homeland."<sup>22</sup> The effect was to expand the holy land, not to replicate it. The principal agents for this penetration of Southeast Asia by the Śaiva cult may have been the Pāśupatas, who originated in northern India in the early centuries A.D. but came to prominence in the Deccan in the seventh century. They emulated Śiva in his highest personification as the supreme yogi. As celebrants of Śiva, Pāśupatas—named as recipients of grants in seventh-century Cambodian inscriptions—seem to have acquired influence early in the region's history (see fig. 10).<sup>23</sup> Pāśupatas are required to bathe three times a day and to lie in ashes or sand as an act of denial. Bathing places marked by innumerable lingas carved into the riverbed, a feature of two sites in the vicinity of Phnom Kulen, Siem Reap province, may be associated with their activities.<sup>24</sup> The foundation inscription of the *triśūla* (trident) stele from Kampong Cham province (cat. 84) notes that it was installed by a Śaiva guru whose name, Udaitācārya, identifies him as a Pāśupata.<sup>25</sup>

Buddhism has a visible presence in Southeast Asia by the fourth to fifth century. Buddhist monks, both Indian masters summoned to teach in China and Chinese monks in search of advanced teaching in India, traveled on merchant vessels. Numerous references to their movements are documented in Chinese records.<sup>26</sup> The realities of such a journey are most vividly conveyed by the Chinese pilgrim Faxian, who departed Xi'an in 399, traveled via Central Asia

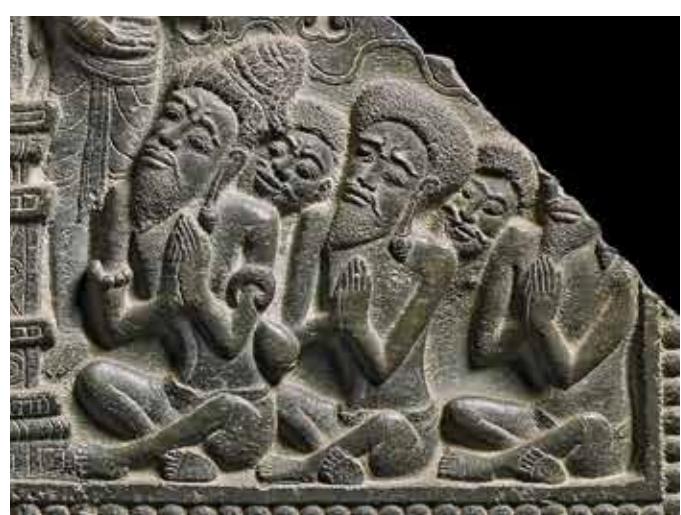


Fig. 10. Detail of a Wheel of the Law pillar (*dharmačakrastambha*) base depicting Brahmins (*rṣi*) revering Buddha. Central Thailand, 7th–8th century. Found in Wat Sai, Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province. Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand (635/2519)

to northern India, and returned fifteen years later via Sri Lanka and Java.<sup>27</sup> Communities of Buddhists were also active on the northwest coast of Java, as demonstrated by recent excavations of a large brick stupa at Candi Blandongan (fig. 83).<sup>28</sup> Although it likely dates to the sixth century, the structure is part of a Buddhist complex that is expected to reveal earlier phases of construction. At Śrī Kṣetra in the Pyu territories of central Myanmar, Buddhism had seemingly become a state religion by the fifth century, if not before.

In Southeast Asia, forms of both the Buddha and the savior bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara are expressly associated with cults for the protection of mariners: the spectacular near-lifesize bronze Buddha, likely a Sri Lankan import, found in 1921 at Sikendeng, Sulawesi, has been identified as a Dipāñkara (“bringer of light”) Buddha, savior of sailors (fig. 8). The earliest depiction of Avalokiteśvara as the patron saint of sailors is found in the mid-sixth-century rock-cut shrine of cave 90 at Kanheri, on the Konkan coast of western India, in which images of distressed mariners are seen praying to the bodhisattva for salvation, just as Faxian did when caught in a violent storm during the return home to China with his precious sutras.<sup>29</sup> The Mahānāvika Buddhagupta (“ship captain Buddhagupta”) inscription discovered in Kedah on the Malay Peninsula in 1834 (fig. 65) carries a thanksgiving for a safe sea passage and identifies the author of the commemorative stele as a ship’s captain from Raktamṛttaka (literally, “red earth”), long assumed to be a local kingdom located in the peninsula, near Yarang, but recently proposed to be equivalent to Rajbadidanga in Bengal.<sup>30</sup> This Buddhist stele is close in time and purpose to the Sungai Mas inscription, discovered in 1979 (cat. 19). These steles dedicated by Buddhist merchants and the wide distribution of so-called missionary Buddhas—images likely of Sri Lankan origin sent east to popularize the faith—underscore the extent to which, as in India, Buddhism was widely associated with merchant communities. The Buddhist traffic between India and China, well documented from the early fifth to the eighth century in the diaries of Chinese pilgrims, appears to have diminished in the ninth century, as Chinese Buddhism increasingly became doctrinally independent of India. Likewise, in Southeast Asia, the rise of the popular Sinhalese Theravāda branch of Buddhism had begun, shifting again the religious imperatives at work in the region.

#### Respect the Buddha, Revere the Brahmans

Sometime in the fourth century, a local ruler based at Kutai in eastern Kalimantan (Borneo) had Brahman priests perform ancient Indian (Vedic) fire-sacrifice rituals.<sup>31</sup> They were likely conducted on a temporary altar of geometrically arranged bricks, named as the holy place (*punyātmakṣetra*) according to the Vedic Sastric texts; no temple or shrine structure would have been required. One of the seven surviving memorial stone inscriptions related to this event (fig. 38) states that the rituals were performed for King Mūlavarman (an Indic name), who descended from his father, Asavarman (also an Indic name), and his grandfather Kundunga (probably a local name).<sup>32</sup> The inscription is a unique record of cultural adaptation, showing how aspiring local rulers appropriated Indic rituals and titles. The roughly shaped steles, named in the inscriptions as *yūpas*—a Sanskrit term for consecrated sacrificial posts associated with Vedic rituals—were erected to memorialize the king’s donations and declare his allegiance to the religious authority of the Brahmans and to Brahmanism. Of the seven inscriptions, one stele records the sacrifice performed for Mūlavarman’s merit; the others concern themselves with favors provided to the officiating priests, who must have been Indians, or people of Indian descent, recruited to serve Mūlavarman’s court. They were generously rewarded with a religious feast, cattle, land, lamps, oil, sesame seeds, and ghee, the last a required ingredient in the Vedic *homa* rituals for which fire

(*agni*) served as the medium. These gifts accord with the Puranic list of *mahādānas* (great gifts).<sup>33</sup> This was a wholly Indian sacrifice for the benefit of a Southeast Asian ruler. Located on the east coast of the island, the kingdom of Kutai, linked already to ancient gold-trading networks, may have been less remote in the fourth century than perhaps it seems today. The Mūlavarman inscriptions reveal a court life shaped by Indic models, making clear that Indian traders must already have been well established in the region by this time.

Chinese sources of the mid-first millennium provide startlingly vivid descriptions of some of the Southeast Asian courts known to them, many from firsthand reports submitted by emissaries sent to foster trade. The *Nan shi* (History of the Southern Dynasties; compiled 659) describes the sixth-century king of a Buddhist kingdom, Poli (Panei)—likely Padang Lawas in northern Sumatra, a region rich in the forest products much in demand in China, notably camphor, benzoin, and gold.<sup>34</sup> It relates that the king wore variegated silks, sets of cords of rank across his chest, a tall gold crown decorated with seven types of gems, and a gold-adorned sword and that he sat on a golden throne. When he went out, he rode on an elephant in a sedan chair of fragrant woods, accompanied by attendants blowing conches and beating drums.<sup>35</sup> This description captures an image of kingship that blends a locally conceived display of wealth with some obvious Indian trappings, no doubt reflecting the trade wealth of such small polities. Another evocative image is from Kedah in the early seventh century. The *Sui shu* (History of the Sui; completed 636) describes the capital, presumably located near the estuary of the Bujang River: “At each gate there are painted flying spirits, fairies and bodhisattva images... the king’s throne is a golden crouching bull, and above it bejeweled parasol and bejeweled fans left and right. . . . Hundreds of Brahmans seated in rows facing each other on left and right.”<sup>36</sup> Here, the magical protective role of Buddhist charms and spells is evoked, a combination of practices that is also seen in western Java in a fifth-century Brahmanical context: the rock-cut boulders of King Pūrnavarman (fig. 11) are inscribed, alongside a *viṣṇupāda*, with what appear to be talismanic mantras protecting his fortified hill citadel.

#### Lands of Gold

Tamils appear to have been dominant among the earliest Indian traders to operate in insular Southeast Asia. The distribution of their inscriptions suggests linkages among geography, natural resources, and access to international sea-lanes. The merchants were drawn to the region by its legendary natural wealth of spices, resins, and other forest products and by its precious metals, especially gold. Southeast Asia was regularly featured as an important source of gold in early Indian literature, especially in Buddhist *jātaka* stories, where it is identified as Suvarṇabhūmi (“Land of Gold”) and sometimes as Suvarṇadvipa (“Island of Gold”). These terms are best understood as referring to a region, not to a specific place or kingdom. Nonetheless, one source, the *Suparaga Jātaka* in the fourth-century *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra, does expressly name two major ports of Suvarṇabhūmi, Laṅkāśobha and Katahadvipa, which are readily identified as the early kingdoms of Langkasuka, with its capital probably around Pattani in peninsular Thailand, and Kedah, whose major port appears to have been in the estuary of the Bujang River, on the west coast of Malaysia.<sup>37</sup> A sixth-century source underscores the importance of these centers: a contemporary Chinese handscroll (surviving in an eleventh-century copy) depicts foreign ambassadors to the Liang court, including the envoy from Langkasuka (fig. 31)—a unique pictorial record of a Southeast Asian man of rank in this period.

In particular, western Indonesia and Malaysia yielded a steady supply of alluvial gold, with Sumatra, Kalimantan, and the Malay Peninsula all playing important roles in supplying the trade. Early

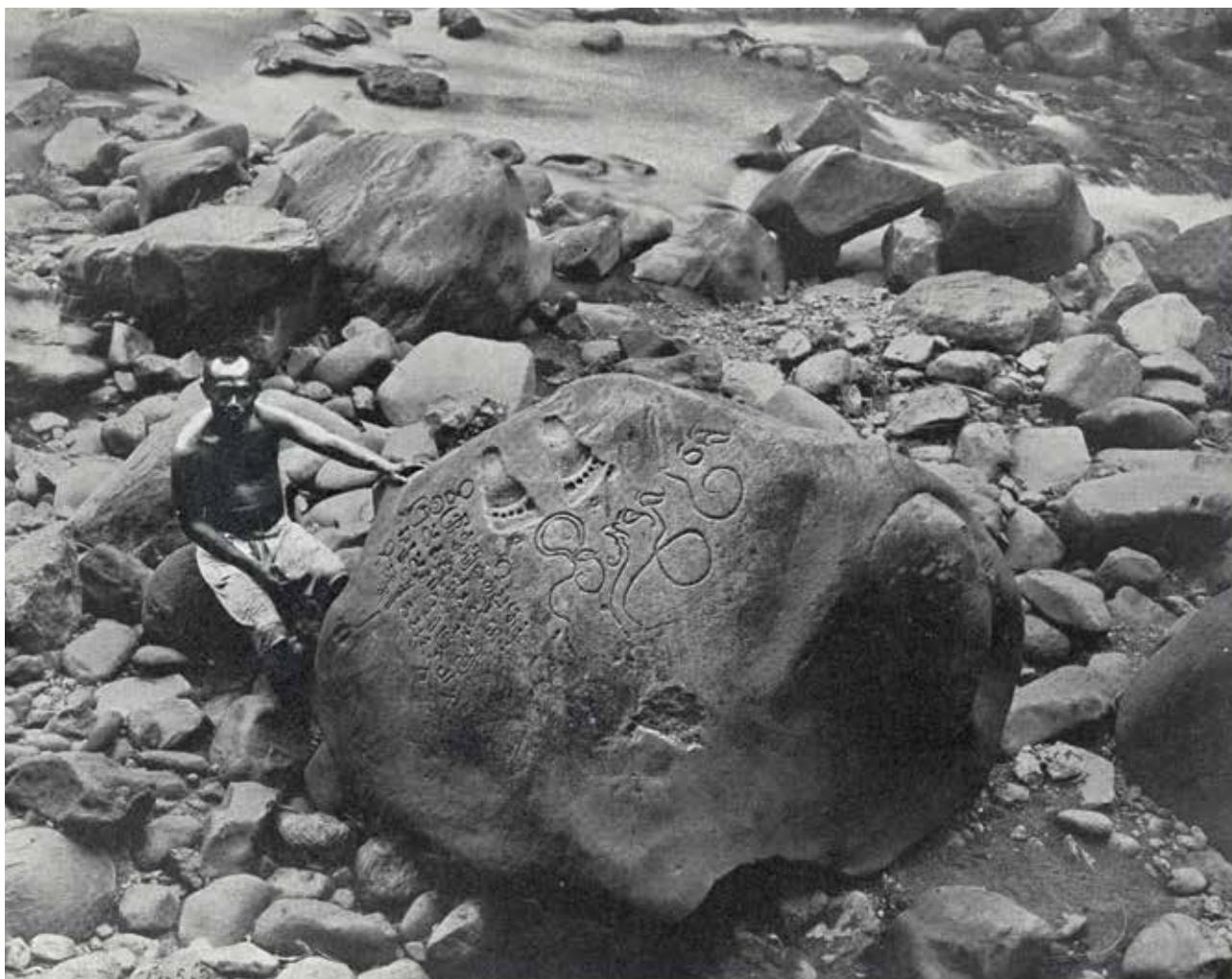


Fig. 11. Prasati Ciaruteun of King Pūrṇavarman. Indonesia, 5th century.  
Photographed in situ in Ciaruteun River, Ciampela, West Java province, ca. 1920

gold-extracting activity has also been noted in western Java in the territory belonging to the Tārumānagara kingdom, centered at Ciampela, near modern-day Bogor.<sup>38</sup> While the activity was locally driven, much of the demand was foreign and facilitated by Indian merchants especially. An Indian settlement at a place called Takola is confirmed as early as the first century A.D. in the *Mahanidessa*, a canonical Buddhist text written in Pali.<sup>39</sup> It likely corresponds to Takuapa on the west coast of peninsular Thailand. An early ninth-century Tamil inscription found there records the activities of an Indian merchant guild, the Manigramam, and declares its sacred duty to protect and maintain a temple tank.<sup>40</sup> Surveys have also revealed evidence of gold processing, suggesting continuous Indian merchant activity throughout the millennium.<sup>41</sup>

The presence of Indian merchant communities at Takuapa and elsewhere suggests another paradigm for Indian–Southeast Asian interaction, namely, the establishment of local workshops by expatriate merchant communities for the processing of the raw materials sourced in Southeast Asia. It is clear that Indian merchants brought with them skilled artisans to refine the gold acquired from the hinterland populations. A goldsmith's touchstone found at one of the earliest identified entrepôts of peninsular Thailand, Wat Khlong Thom in Krabi province, bears a newly deciphered Tamil inscription in a third-century Southern Brāhmī script: *perumpatañ kal*, “the [touch]stone belonging to the senior goldsmith”—clear evidence that skilled Indian goldsmiths were active in the region by this time.<sup>42</sup>

#### Scripts and Inscriptions

Southern India is the source of the cursive scripts favored for Indic inscriptions in early to mid-first-millennium Southeast Asia. Box-headed Brāhmī appears less frequently in Southeast Asia, and toward the end of the millennium, Northern Nāgarī script makes its appearance. The first Indic inscriptions to appear in Southeast Asia exhibit affiliations with the cursive scripts of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, and Karnataka, which Arlo Griffiths characterizes as “Southern Brāhmī.”<sup>43</sup> The Pallava and Salankayana scripts of Andhra Pradesh provide the model for the oldest Pali- and Pyu-language inscriptions in Pyu Myanmar.<sup>44</sup> The earliest inscriptions of western Indonesia, the seven Mūlavarman inscriptions found in Kalimantan and the four Pūrṇavarman inscriptions from Tārumānagara in western Java, are all written in Sanskrit in this cursive Southern Brāhmī script.<sup>45</sup>

A distinctive feature of the Pūrṇavarman inscriptions is that all were carved into natural boulders, not shaped steles, as at Kutai or on the Vo Canh stele from coastal Vietnam (fig. 58), discussed below. These interventions appear to have been conscious acts of empowering the living landscape with Indic scripts and with metaphors of divinity. The two Ciampela boulder inscriptions depict a pair of feet (*pāda*), denoting a divine presence. The Prasati Ciaruteun (fig. 11), carved in situ into a massive boulder in the Ciaruteun River, identifies the footprints as those of Viṣṇu by naming his avatar Trivikrama, the Viṣṇu “who strides the world in three steps” (evoking the earth’s passage around the sun).<sup>46</sup> A small, radiating circle, presumably a sun symbol, appears as part of the composi-

tion. The inscription then describes Pūrṇavarman as the “great king, ruler of the world, whose footprints are the same as those of Lord Viṣṇu.” Viṣṇu is understood as the universal monarch (a concept shared with the Buddhist *cakravartin*), and the close identification of earthly rulers with Viṣṇu’s divine kingship is a familiar concept. A second boulder inscription at Ciampaea, the Telapak Gadjah, depicts a large pair of elephant’s feet (*gajapāda*), again with which Pūrṇavarman is identified, the inscription likening him to the mighty elephant Airāvata (Indonesian, Airwata), the vehicle of Indra, the Vedic weather god and harbinger of the monsoons.<sup>47</sup> The choice of location for the Prasati Ciaruteun, on a boulder in a riverbed, was repeated at a nearby river junction for another inscription. That boulder is engraved in a highly cursive script, which has defied a secure reading, with what likely represent mantras, sacred syllables serving as protective charms and spells. Taken together, these inscribed boulders can be seen to have provided magical protection to the river island that likely served as Pūrṇavarman’s capital, located on the high ground of Bukit Koleangkak. Another natural-rock inscription, found at Tegu (modern-day Jakarta), records the king’s construction of a canal system close to the coast named as “Sundapūrnā” (Sunda Strait). This would indicate that his territory extended from the hills of Bogor to the shores of the Java Sea. Access to the sea ensured that Tārumānagara could engage in regional and international trade. It also exposed the kingdom to the expansion of the Śrivijayan kingdom in eastern Sumatra, which, according to the Kota Kapur inscription, dated 686, conquered Tārumānagara.<sup>48</sup>

Tārumānagara is the earliest Southeast Asian kingdom for which extensive inscriptional sources demonstrate the existence of upland-lowland exchange systems, a model that provided the key to wealth generation and early state formation. King Pūrṇavarman’s inscriptions relate that he was the third ruler of the Tārumā kingdom, so the beginnings of this development may be assigned to the mid-fourth century. Eighth-century Chinese sources speak of the kingdom of “Duoluomo,” likely Tārumā, suggesting that it prospered for about four centuries before falling under the suzerainty of Śrivijaya.<sup>49</sup> Śrivijaya itself has yielded a series of important inscriptions, mostly in the Old Malay language with Sanskrit loan words; the earliest is dated to 683, coinciding with the rise to prominence of that entrepôt state, likely centered around Palembang on the Musi River in Sumatra.<sup>50</sup>

Among the oldest Sanskrit inscriptions in mainland Southeast Asia is the Vo Canh stele, found at Nha Trang on the central Vietnamese coast and assigned to the late fourth or early fifth century (fig. 58). Its findspot suggests a local Indianized polity with maritime connections. The inscription is in a Southern Brāhmī script that has been compared to Ikṣvāku inscriptions of third-century Andhra Pradesh<sup>51</sup> but is now thought to date to the late fourth century.<sup>52</sup> It names a local ruler, Śri Mara, likely a Cham with links to the Malay world. By this time, not only western merchants but also Malay-speaking mariners, already highly regarded as sea traders, were regularly traveling to southern China, using the coastal ports of Vietnam en route. The most important cluster of Sanskrit inscriptions in the northern Cham territories is found at My Son, a major early religious center. All are associated with the first recorded Cham ruler, Bhadravarman I, whose name was adapted from an epithet for Śiva, Bhadreśvara, “the benevolent master,” first worshipped at My Son about 400. Among the inscriptions is the

dedication to Bhadreśvara of this tract of land between a mountain and the river, making it clear that Bhadravarman I’s foundation likely marked the beginnings of My Son as a Cham royal sanctuary (see fig. 13).<sup>53</sup> According to inscriptional and survey data, this plateau of high ground, now divided by a diverted stream, was once home to some seventy temples and shrines. Those surviving range from the seventh to the fourteenth century. The earlier phases, including those of Bhadravarman I, were likely constructed of fired-brick platforms and sandstone altars with wood superstructures, as the temple remains in Kedah, Malaysia, suggest (fig. 23).<sup>54</sup> My Son appears to have been a place not of residence but rather of pilgrimage, as the Cham rulers were based closer to the coast in a citadel at Tra Kieu, overlooking the Thu Bon River, with direct access to the important coastal harbor of Hoi An. Tra Kieu, however, also shows traces of pre-fifth-century habitation, including Indic-style temple platforms, suggesting that Bhadravarman I’s ancestors lived and worshipped at Tra Kieu before establishing a separate holy center in the nearby mountains.<sup>55</sup>

The other major early fifth-century site in this part of mainland Southeast Asia for which contemporary sources exist is Champasak, located on the west bank of the Mekong River in southern Laos. It was likely founded well before the fifth century and assumed its Sanskrit name of Śreṣṭhapura only in the sixth century, after its then-ruler, Śreṣṭhavarman. A significant quantity of Brahmanical sculpture from this early phase, including a lifesize Viṣṇu torso and a standing Garuda, has been found within the ancient city site. The oldest Sanskrit inscription, the Wat Luong Kau inscription, was installed by King Devanika in the second half of the fifth century.<sup>56</sup> It speaks of how this ruler with an Indic name came from “far away” on pilgrimage to be reconsecrated through the performance of an *abhiṣeka* ceremony and so have his royal power divinely sanctioned “by the auspicious Śri Liṅgaparvata [mountain linga], honored since antiquity,” the mountain now known as Phu Kao (fig. 12).<sup>57</sup> This mountain, understood as one of Śiva’s natural lingas, had become an integral part of the greater Hindu world. The inscription pillar is itself a linga, with a square base, octagonal middle section, and rounded top; inscribed lingas are known from Cambodia and Java as well as India.<sup>58</sup> To honor this place of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*), Devanika constructed a bathing tank for the cleansing of pilgrims’ sins and named it Kurukṣetra, a famous location in northern India listed in the Hindu epic the *Mahābhārata*. Thus, the first Sanskrit inscription from the Khmer world celebrates the reconsecration of a king in a ritual expressed according to Indian prescription.

In the late sixth century, the royal brothers Bhavavarman I and Citrasena conducted successful military campaigns to consolidate Khmer control and extend the reach of Zhenla authority.<sup>59</sup> Under their successors, the capital at Sambor Prei Kuk (Īśānapura) was expanded into the most extensive urban and temple complex of all the Zhenla rulers (see fig. 2). Political unity laid the foundations for cultural cohesion, as seen in the sculptural styles of seventh-century Zhenla. The greatest Funan urban center to come under Zhenla’s authority was Angkor Borei, with a major pilgrimage site at the only substantial mountain in the marshy plains of the Mekong basin, Phnom Da, three miles (4.8 km) to its south. The existence of this polity was known from the third century according to the Chinese source the *Liang shu* (History of the Liang; compiled 636). The first Sanskrit inscription associated with Funan appears only in the second quarter of the sixth century, dedicated by King Rudravarman.



Fig. 12. Phu Kao (Śrī Liṅgaparvata), Champasak, southern Laos

When Funan's importance in international trade faded, so did its wealth, and power shifted to interior bases in central and northern Cambodia. The Chinese named this new political entity Zhenla and referred to it exclusively from the early seventh century.<sup>60</sup>

In Thailand, the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions, all written in Southern Brāhmī script, are associated with Bhavavarman I and Citrasena (consecrated as Śrī Mahendravarman) in the second half of the sixth century and record the absorption of Funan territories into their orbit (militarily, they claim) and their expansion into northeastern Thailand. Most belong to Citrasena and mark the path of his conquests. They document the erection of temples and images to honor Śiva, traces of which survive, along with the tanks and wells he constructed.<sup>61</sup> Occasionally, an inscription signals the religious diversity of first-millennium Southeast Asia. The oldest Chinese inscriptions yet discovered in Southeast Asia are found on two molded clay tablets that depict a Buddha in meditation.<sup>62</sup> Both were incised in the wet clay with the name of a Buddhist monk, *biqui* (Prakrit, *bbiksu*) Wenxiang, and have an undeciphered Indic inscription around the rim.<sup>63</sup> One is recorded as having been found at Si Thep, an important inland city-state on the riverine trade routes with connections to the Gulf of Thailand; the other's find-spot is unrecorded but, given the shared monk's name, it is undoubtedly from there as well.<sup>64</sup> The presence of Chinese monks in Thailand around this time is further verified by the monk Yijing,

whose Indian journey lasted from 671 to 695 and included extended residencies in Śrīvijaya. He tells that one of his masters, as a youth, traveled with his parents from China to "Duheluobodi" (Dvāravatī) and entered the monkhood there.<sup>65</sup>

The locations of these early-phase inscriptions mark the hubs of trade networks—indeed, they are one of the few means by which one can reconstruct the early trade routes and identify their commercial nodes. It is assumed that the distribution of the inscriptions mirrors the pattern of early Indian contact with the region, confirming the areas of greatest interest to merchants, both local and foreign. Of those from afar, only the Indian and Chinese are known with some certainty, the former because they widely won over local rulers to Brahmanism and left inscriptions and imagery to record the fact, the latter because of the tributary trade records preserved in Chinese dynastic histories. Indeed, distribution of the inscriptions confirms that the areas of most extensive mercantile contact were riverine coastal centers that bridged the hinterlands, rich in forest products and alluvial gold, and the seaports and the international network they served, ultimately linking China, India, and the West. Such sites in Sumatra, Java, Borneo, the Malay Peninsula along the Gulf of Thailand, and coastal Vietnam allowed access to the riches of the interior yet were linked to the long-distance trading systems. It was here, too, that the earliest known polities in Southeast Asia emerged into the historical daylight.

# Principal Kingdoms of Early Southeast Asia

John Guy

In recent years, archaeological investigation has revealed to an unprecedented degree the full scale and social complexity of the early city-states of Southeast Asia. Urban centers such as Śrī Kṣetra in central Myanmar, Si Thep in central Thailand, Angkor Borei in southern Cambodia, Sambor Prei Kuk in central Cambodia, Champasak (Śreṣṭhapura) in southern Laos, and Tra Kieu (Simhapura) and its neighboring religious center at My Son (fig. 13) in central Vietnam have come to be recognized as some of the oldest cities in Southeast Asia and of significant size by any mid-first-millennium global measure. The primary political entities known thus far are that of the Pyu in central Myanmar; Funan in the greater Mekong delta of southern Vietnam and its successor, the pre-Angkorian Khmer kingdom of Zhenla in central Cambodia; the neighboring Cham states of coastal Vietnam; the Dvāravatī kingdom of the Mon in Thailand; and the Śrivijaya kingdom in Sumatra and the neighboring peninsula, where Kedah was a significant entity (see fig. 14). Each represented a major center of Hindu-Buddhist culture in the later first millennium. Many other polities are known to have existed, their names preserved in early Chinese records, and doubtless numerous others existed whose names are not, including Langkasuka, Panpan, and Tambralinga, three of the more important early kingdoms in peninsular Thailand; Tārumānagara in western Java; and Vijayapura and Boni in Borneo. These early polities foretell the emergence of the nation-states of Southeast Asia, and their architectural and sculptural legacies represent the beginnings of an enduring cultural history in the region.

In presenting the synoptic outline that follows for each of the principal polities, it is important to emphasize the paucity of written sources that have survived. Unlike China, Southeast Asia does not have a long tradition of recording and preserving knowledge of

its past. The region has virtually no written records before the introduction of Sanskrit, and these are largely ahistorical, overwhelmingly concerned with religious matters. The shift toward recorded history began with the adoption of Indic scripts about the middle of the first millennium, both for writing Indian languages—principally, Sanskrit and Pali—and for writing local languages. Inscriptions written in local languages—Cham, Khmer, Mon, Old Malay, and Pyu—offer the earliest insights into the social organization and economic imperatives of the time. Chinese dynastic histories provide the unique record of Chinese emissaries who were dispatched southward to the Nanhai (“Southern Seas”) to promote trade as well as tribute missions received from Southeast Asia at the Chinese courts. The official tributary records focus primarily on the commodities presented for economic exchange but also contain invaluable information about the polities with which China interacted in the early first millennium. In many cases, these records are the only textual source alluding to the existence of these emerging states. The early datable appearances of a variety of place- or kingdom names in Southeast Asia—all understood to be Chinese phonetic renderings of local names or, as is likely in some cases, names assigned by the Chinese commentators—provide the nomenclature for the first chapter of Southeast Asia’s history.<sup>1</sup> The polities of Champa, Funan, Zhenla, Pyu, Dvāravatī, Kedah, and Śrivijaya all first emerge onto the historical landscape in this way. It was only in the twentieth century that the existence of many of the kingdoms was verified through the discovery of locally produced stone inscriptions written in Sanskrit or in a local language using an Indic script.<sup>2</sup> Beyond the Chinese annals and the Indic inscriptions, be they in Sanskrit or an indigenous language, almost nothing survives of a textual nature.



Fig. 13. Temple group B, My Son, Quang Nam province, Central Vietnam, ca. 8th–11th century.  
Photographed with Śiva tympanum (fig. 63) in foreground in 1903



Fig. 14. Principal ancient kingdoms with probable locations and dates

Much can be added to the reconstruction of this history, however, through the study of the archaeological footprints that remain. Most visible and spectacular of these is the corpus of surviving devotional imagery. The twin tolls of archaeology and art history can impart much greater coherence to the fragmentary histories of these early kingdoms. Still, it should be noted that few of the dates given here are secure; rather, most are postulated and not uncontroversial. As absolute dating techniques (such as radiocarbon-14 and thermoluminescence) are increasingly applied to archaeologically secure samples from habitation and religious sites, these uncertainties will gradually diminish, as has already occurred with respect to our knowledge of a generation ago.

#### **Pyu, 2nd/3rd-9th century**

The Pyu occupied central Myanmar from the beginning of the Common Era or even earlier. They are first named (as Piao) in Chinese sources of the mid-fourth century, a date that broadly coincides with their appearance in the archaeological record.<sup>3</sup> In later records, the Mon, who occupied southern Myanmar, refer to them as “Tircul,” the name used by the Pyu themselves.<sup>4</sup> The principal city-states identified to date are Śrī Kṣetra, Halin, and Beikthano,

and the locations of many others are known, most awaiting investigation. Together with the Mon city of Thaton, these localities constituted the most highly urbanized culture in mid-first-millennium Southeast Asia. Śrī Kṣetra, the largest and best-preserved city, is taken here as the model for examining the culture of the Pyu.<sup>5</sup> Founded in the early centuries A.D.,<sup>6</sup> Śrī Kṣetra was at its height from the fifth to the eighth century but, by the early ninth century, had gone into marked decline. Like many early dry-zone kingdoms in mainland Southeast Asia, the city had to develop advanced skills in water management to prosper. Its landscape is still dominated by numerous Buddhist brick shrines and mounds marking older sites, often stupas pillaged over the centuries for their abundant supply of bricks. Three monumental stupas of the four that originally guarded the gates of the city’s brick walls remain, much renovated (fig. 15). The most important relic-chamber deposit of the greater South Asian Buddhist world (see cats. 27–31) was excavated in 1926–27 at the Khin Ba mound in Śrī Kṣetra, which is widely accepted as a late fifth- or sixth-century foundation, likely with at least one later rededication. The twenty-page gold-leaf manuscript (fig. 53) and large gilded-silver reliquary (cat. 27) recovered there underscore the importance of Śrī Kṣetra as the epicenter of early



Fig. 15. Bawbawgyi stupa, Śri Kṣetra, Hmawza. Central Myanmar, 6th–7th century. Fired brick, h. approx. 151 ft. (46 m)

Buddhism in Myanmar, where it enjoyed royal patronage, thus instituting for the first time in Southeast Asia what can be characterized as state Buddhism.

All Pyu sites are marked by extensive evidence of cremation jar burial, with the typically terracotta containers clustered within a rectangular platform (fig. 68). These assemblages appear in early habitation contexts, likely reflecting a continuation of pre-Buddhist burial practices, and persist into later phases. Cremation jar interments are also recorded in stupa foundations at Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh, southern India.<sup>7</sup> Pyu Buddhist art is indebted on many levels to that of Andhra Pradesh, most notably its stupa architecture; recent investigation of the Khin Ba stupa, in 2012–13, revealed the presence of the projecting altars (*āyaka*; see fig. 55) characteristic of Andhra Pradesh stupas, a feature also noted at Beikthano.<sup>8</sup> Likewise, the script employed to write Pali and Pyu inscriptions in the Pyu territories is a cursive Southern Brāhmī affiliated with known Andhra Pradesh scripts of the early centuries A.D. The artistic tradition of the Pyu, as reflected in Buddhist imagery and ritual objects, thus reveals a rapid absorption of southern Indian styles, progressively modified by stylistic influences from northern and eastern India and from neighboring Mon territories. A powerful local aesthetic is already detectable by the fifth to sixth century, best witnessed in the enthroned Buddhas of the Khin Ba reliquary (cat. 27), which are unmistakably Pyu in both their physiognomies and their stylization. The Pyu legacy in the arts of the subsequent Bagan period, at the close of the millennium, was profound.

#### Funan, 1st–6th Century

The existence of an early first-millennium polity in the Mekong River basin and delta region of southern Vietnam was first suggested in 1903 by Paul Pelliot, a renowned French Sinologist.<sup>9</sup> The first reference to the existence of a political entity near the lower

Mekong River system appears in a Chinese source of the early third century, which records Chinese missions sent there in the 220s to promote trade.<sup>10</sup> The name assigned, Funan, is likely a phonetic corruption of the Khmer word *phnom* (hill).<sup>11</sup> Early religious sites such as Ba The in southern Vietnam and Phnom Da in southern Cambodia can be accepted as part of this polity, although its importance lay in its connections to international trading systems. Khmer inscriptions, when they began naming city-states in the sixth and seventh centuries, used not the term “Funan” but rather a name based on the ruler of the day, thus “Bhavapura,” “the city of Bhavarman,” and so on.<sup>12</sup> Apart from the kings, who assumed the Indic suffix *-varman*, other members of the Funan nobility used a non-Indic title, the Khmer *pon*.<sup>13</sup> Many Funan nobles likely served as regional governors, each in a named city (*pura*). The key sites are Oc Eo (fig. 16) in modern-day An Giang province, Vietnam, and Angkor Borei in Takeo province, Cambodia, with its religious center nearby at the hill site of Phnom Da (fig. 17). Traces of a network of canals linking the river systems indicate that these two centers, some 42 miles (68 km) apart, were connected by water.<sup>14</sup> That two ports in the vicinity are mentioned in the *Geographia* (2nd century A.D.) of Claudius Ptolemy, who was based in Alexandria, Egypt, demonstrates the reach of early geographical knowledge. It has long been suggested that Oc Eo may have been the port known to the Romans as Kattigara (Skt., Kirtinagara), to which Ptolemy refers. The economic zone with Oc Eo as its hub is defined today largely by an assembly of excavated artifacts, many of an exotic nature, including Roman coins (cat. 2).<sup>15</sup> These objects indicate an internationally well-connected entrepôt; the extent to which it had a discrete cultural identity remains unclear. However, it appears to have belonged to a broader Khmer cultural matrix, including Angkor Borei and other early first-millennium settlements. Funan sent a steady stream of embassies to China, starting in 231 and continuing intermittently until 539, when its name disappears from Chinese records; the region reappears in Chinese sources only in 616, as Zhenla. But given that these emerging Khmer city-states were loosely federated through clan connections and tributary relationships, Funan and its successor, Zhenla, formed a political and cultural unity, one of the largest of its day in mainland Southeast Asia.

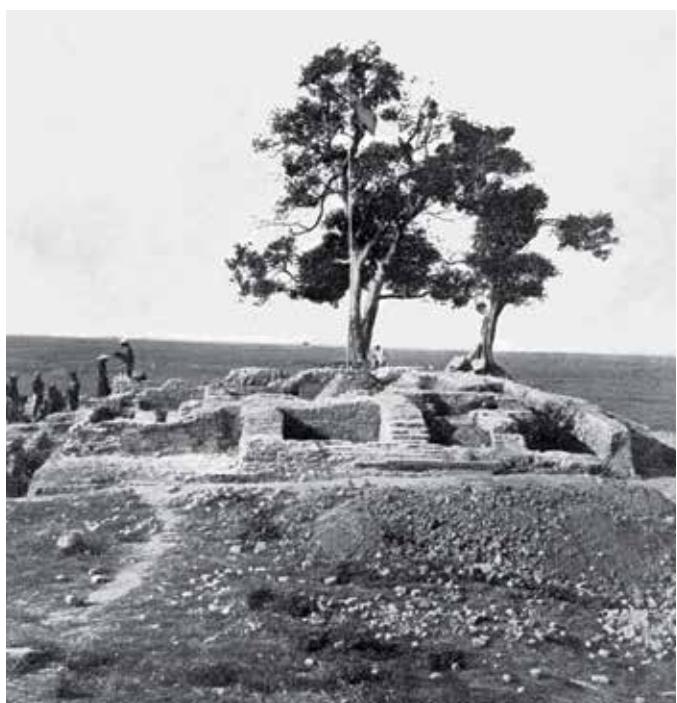


Fig. 16. Go Cay Thi temple, Oc Eo, An Giang province, southern Vietnam. Photographed during excavations in 1944



Fig. 17. Hilltop sanctuary of Phnom Da, Takeo province, southern Cambodia

#### Zhenla, 6th–8th Century

This kingdom, like Funan, is known only by a name preserved in Chinese dynastic records, yet it was the paramount power in inland Cambodia from the early seventh to the beginning of the ninth century. The Chinese history the *Sui shu* (History of the Sui; completed in 636) records that Īśānasena sent a mission to the Sui court in 616 from his capital of Īśānapura (Sambor Prei Kuk)—the first named reference to this major early seventh-century city.<sup>16</sup> Michael Vickery has recently demonstrated, through evidence provided in two inscriptions, dated 667 and 674, respectively, that a continuity of authority and of royal houses existed between Funan and Zhenla, with no hint of a rupture or major conflict surrounding the transition from wet delta (Vietnam) to dry interior (Cambodia).<sup>17</sup> The 667 inscription catalogues a line of descent from the last known king of Funan, Rudravarman, to a succession of Zhenla kings, Bhavarman I, Citrasena (Mahendravarman), and Īśānasena (Īśānavarman).<sup>18</sup> Clearly, these rulers were the foremost members of a Khmer-speaking elite, and they likely represented multiple branches of a dominant clan. The second inscription, dated 674, refers both to a Zhenla temple foundation and to an earlier one made by Rudravarman of Funan, again suggesting political continuity between the two realms. It is possible that the change in name reflects no more than a geographic relocation of the center of power, a sign of shifting economic factors, rather than a dramatic overthrow of one regime by another. A key factor was likely the decline of the Mekong delta as a site in international maritime trade and the concurrent expansion of interior trade routes, land and riverine.

The temples and associated sculptures that survive from the sixth and seventh centuries bear witness to this political continuity. Stylistically, the Brahmanical and Buddhist Khmer images in the catalogue sections of this volume display an underlying consistency of conception and execution despite regional nuances. The late sixth- or seventh-century Vaiṣṇava icons from Phnom Da, Cambodia,

most of them lifesize or larger—the Kṛṣṇa Govardhana (cat. 72), for one—are among the most sophisticated and regal sculptures of the period. The Avalokiteśvara from Rach Gia, Soc Trang province, Vietnam (cat. 137), is a masterpiece of seventh-century Buddhist art. Both display the subtly modeled musculature and quiet elegance of form that is characteristic of the finest art of the Zhenla era.

#### Champa, 2nd–ca. 13th Century

The name Champa (Skt., Campā) is best understood as a generic term applied to multiple political entities that existed principally in riverine locations along the coast of central and southern Vietnam. The Cham speakers<sup>19</sup> who inhabited these polities had likely arrived by sea from insular Southeast Asia in the late first millennium B.C., gradually displacing the native Mon-Khmer-speaking populations.<sup>20</sup> The smallest of these coastal states probably controlled a single estuary and traded with communities in the hinterland, from which they sourced the forest products most prized in international markets. The origins of the name Champa are in Bengal, where a city of that name, located near Tamralipti, the major port serving traders to and from eastern India, was famed for its associations with the Buddha after his awakening. One of the earliest applications of the name Champa to coastal Vietnam is in the hagiography of the Kashmiri monk Guṇavarman, visiting the kingdom en route to China before 431 aboard a Hindu merchant's vessel sailing from Java.<sup>21</sup>

Three principal zones of Cham activity in Vietnam can be identified from architectural and epigraphic evidence. The oldest is in the Thu Bon River valley, Quang Nam province, comprising the sites of My Son (fig. 18), Tra Kieu, and the later capital, Indrapura, at Dong Duong. Next is the Po Nagar temple complex at Nha Trang (fig. 19), Khanh Hoa province, and the third and latest zone is centered on Phan Rang in Ninh Thuan province.<sup>22</sup> Cham rulers typically built citadels in brick on the high point overlooking an

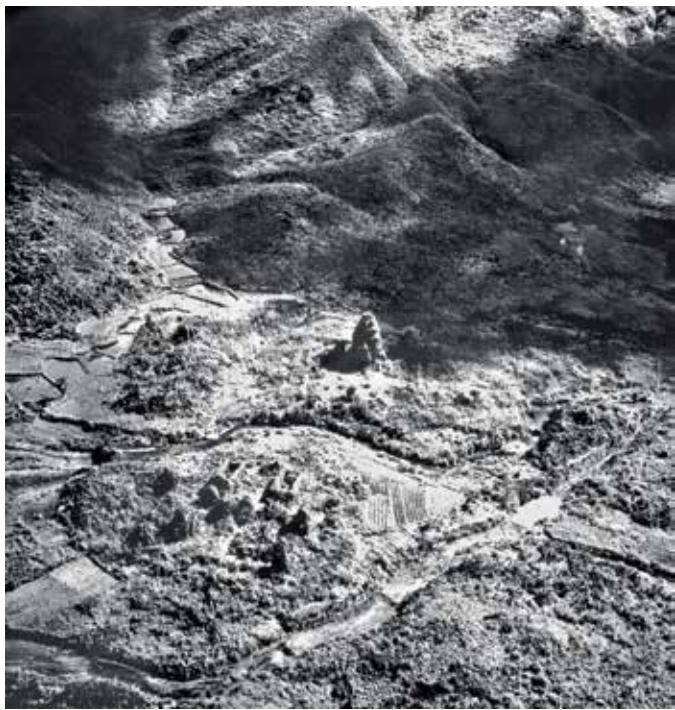


Fig. 18. My Son temple complex, Quang Nam province, central Vietnam. Aerial photograph taken ca. 1920

estuary, as recently identified at a number of sites in Phu Yen province. In 1999 an important vestige of Buddhist monastic activity was found at My Thanh in Tuy Hoa district, a short distance from the major citadel site of Chau Ba on the south bank of the Da Rang River.<sup>23</sup> It is a sandstone stele depicting a Buddha seated in meditation on a blossoming lotus flanked by two slender stupas (fig. 20), datable to the sixth or seventh century. The relief has five inscriptions, all in Sanskrit, including the *Ye dharmā* verse (unusually, given twice) and the Four Truths of the Noble Ones (*ārya-satya*).<sup>24</sup> Both the style of the Buddha and the stupa type closely resemble those on a stele from Muang Si Mahosot, Prachinburi province, central Thailand (cat. 112), here assigned to the sixth century. The same form of stupa is seen on another stele from Muang Si

Mahosot, depicting the meditating Buddha sheltered by a *nāga* canopy and flanked by slender stupas (cat. 111), and on the Sungai Mas stele from Kedah, Malaysia (cat. 19), of earlier date. This configuration—a Buddha on a spreading lotus with stupas—has no direct analogy in Indian compositions and appears to be an instance of regional innovation, reconfiguring Indian elements into a uniquely Southeast Asian idiom.

The larger Cham polities, commanding more extensive territory but with their prosperity similarly tied to coastal trade and the international exchange network, are worthy of the title “kingdom.” Linyi is widely claimed as the first Cham state to appear in the records, although in its earliest phase, it may have been a Mon-Khmer entity, only later absorbed into the expanding Cham sphere.<sup>25</sup> Its location remains the subject of debate, but some have proposed that it be identified, by the late fifth century, with the Cham citadel site at Tra Kieu (known in later centuries by an Indic name, Simhapura) overlooking the Thu Bon River, with navigational access to the international port of Hoi An, Quang Nam province.<sup>26</sup> Linyi sent its first mission to China in the 280s and, in the fourth century, presented a petition to the Jin court written in a “foreign script,” undoubtedly an Indian cursive script akin to that seen on the Vo Canh stele of Nha Trang (fig. 58).

The inscriptions of Champa are in Sanskrit and Cham, written in a Southern Brāhmī script. Only two, the Vo Canh and the Dong Yen Chau, found near Tra Kieu, can be reasonably assigned to the fourth century.<sup>27</sup> The first significant cluster of inscriptions appeared at My Son in the fifth century. Two are identified with the first named ruler of My Son, Bhadravarman I, and all offer devotion to Śiva as Bhadreśvara. The first dated inscription does not appear until 658 but is important on a number of counts: it documents a marriage between a Cham prince and a daughter of King Īśanavarman of Zhenla, revealing the manner in which distant courts interacted, and contains the first appearance of the name Champa in local records, written in Sanskrit as Campāpura and Campānagara.<sup>28</sup> A near-contemporary external source, the Khmer inscription dated 667, records the dispatch of an envoy to the ruler of Campeśvara.<sup>29</sup> From the late eighth century on, most known Cham inscriptions are from the south and are associated with the Pāṇḍurāṅga kingdom.



Fig. 19. Po Nagar temple complex, Nha Trang, Khanh Hoa province, central Vietnam. Aerial photograph taken ca. 1920s



Fig. 20. Stele depicting Buddha flanked by stupas. Central Vietnam, ca. 6th–7th century. Sandstone; h. 38 in. (96.5 cm), w. 25½ in. (65 cm). Located in My Thanh, Tuy Hoa district, Phu Yen province

Another clan asserted itself in the north in the mid-ninth century with the establishment of Dong Duong as King Jaya Indravarman II's new capital, its religious center being the great Mahāyāna monastery of that name he dedicated in 875.<sup>30</sup> These shifting ascendancies of different Cham polities most likely reflect changes in international trading activity along the Vietnamese coast and the political complexities of living with Chinese-occupied territories immediately to the north.

#### Dvāravatī, 4th–8th Century

Dvāravatī, meaning “many-gated,” is the Sanskrit name of an ancient Indian city cited in the literary epic the *Mahābhārata*. The kingdom first identified by this name in Thailand appears in Chinese sources of the sixth century and is recorded as sending its first diplomatic mission to Tang China in 638, requesting fine horses. The Chinese records indicate that “Duheluobodi” (or a variant of that name) was a major political entity up to the eighth century in central Thailand. The sources situate it quite precisely: the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang, writing about his journey to and from India (629–45), describes the kingdom as being east of Śri Ksetra, “before”<sup>31</sup> Īśanapura (Sambor Prei Kuk) and Mahācampā (Champa).<sup>32</sup>

The two signature motifs of Dvāravatī culture, after the Buddha himself, are the Wheel of the Law pillar (*dharmačakrastambha*) and the bulbous stupa with a slender umbrella finial (see fig. 21). Field archaeology, supported by radiocarbon-14 dates, has demonstrated a strong cultural continuity with earlier periods; at U Thong, Suphanburi province, Dvāravatī-type ceramics have been found in contexts dating to about 400.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, the discontinuity between innovations in India and those witnessed uniquely in Dvāravatī



Fig. 21. Stele depicting meditating Buddha flanked by a Wheel of the Law pillar (*dharmačakrastambha*) and a stupa. Western Thailand, 7th century. Found in Khu Bua, Ratchaburi province. Stone; h. 4 in. (10 cm), w. 2¾ in. (7 cm). National Museum, Ratchaburi, Thailand

Southeast Asia supports the case for Dvāravatī culture’s beginning much earlier than, as is conventionally argued, the sixth century. If the throne stele from Śri Ksetra (cat. 12) dates to about the fourth century, then the Buddhist Wheel of the Law atop a pillar, the *dharmačakrastambha*, which was a familiar motif in Andhra Pradesh in the second to fourth century, may well have entered the Mon territories of central Thailand in that period. Ian C. Glover, in arguing the case for greater continuity into earlier periods, suggests the term “Early Dvāravatī” as a cultural marker.<sup>34</sup> Whether a kingdom that titled itself “Dvāravatī” was functioning at that time remains unknown. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize these threads connecting Dvāravatī proper with the earlier Mon period, as revealed in the archaeology of central Thailand over the past fifty years.<sup>35</sup>

Dvāravatī, according to the first inscription directly linking a ruler to a polity of that name, had a single ruler, the “king of Dvāravatī,” and was located in central Thailand. A series of silver medals found at Nakhon Pathom in 1943 proved to be of critical importance in naming this Mon cultural entity. The medals display, on the obverse, a cow and calf or a flowering vase (*pūrnaghāṭa*) and, on the reverse, a Sanskrit text first read by George Coedès as *śrīdvāravatīśvarapunya* (“meritorious deed of the ruler of Dvāravatī”; fig. 22).<sup>36</sup> This is the first secure context in which the name Dvāravatī can be understood to identify a kingdom.

In all likelihood, the Dvāravatī capital was at Nakhon Pathom. Neighboring city-states that shared the same material culture likely had their own ancient names, which have not necessarily been preserved. These may have included the important center of U Thong as well as Phong Tuek in Kanchanaburi province, Kamphaeng Saen in Nakhon Pathom, and Khu Bua in Ratchaburi. It is unlikely that Dvāravatī authority was effective as far as Si Thep or Si Mahosot to the east, Phu Bo or Muang Fa Daed to the northeast, or Nakhon Si Thammarat to the south. Nonetheless, these locales all exhibited cultural traits suggesting a shared form of state Buddhism and a Buddhist artistic style closely related to that of Dvāravatī central Thailand. The nature of the relationship between these far-flung centers is not well understood, although evidence in the form of



Fig. 22. Medal with Sanskrit inscription. Central Thailand, 7th–8th century. Found in Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province. Silver, diam.  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (1.7 cm). Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand

artifacts indicates both a significant degree of shared material culture and an active interregional trade.

#### Kedah, 6th–14th Century

The estuaries of the Bujang River valley in Kedah on the coast of the Malay Peninsula emerged early as a key transshipment center for the long-distance Persian Gulf–India–China trade. Two principal ports have been identified, Kampong Sungai Mas (6th–11th century) and Kampong Pengkalan Bujang (11th–13th century), each with associated settlements and religious monuments, bearing witness to Kedah as a key entrepôt-polity from the sixth century or earlier. The dispatch in 607 of a Chinese mission to Kedah to promote trade—significantly, the first sent to Southeast Asia since the third-century mission to Funan—signals the growing importance of the region. It was known in the Chinese sources variously as Chitu and Jietu<sup>37</sup> and, by the eighth century or earlier, as Kalāh in Arabic navigational treatises.<sup>38</sup> Locations shifted with the progressive silting of the river systems, and a series of clusters of brick monuments survives to mark the stages of the region's evolution as an entrepôt

(see fig. 23). Rich deposits of West Asian glass and late Tang (8th–9th century) ceramics attest to the role of these estuaries in the long-distance exchange of goods.<sup>39</sup> In the seventh century, Kedah was described as having triple-walled, gated fortifications, within which different foreign merchant communities would presumably have constructed *godowns* to store and protect their goods, just as was done in Kedah's successor state, Melaka.

Traces of some forty religious monuments, all of them small, have been located, suggesting that this center's wealth did not rival that of contemporary sites such as Batujaya, in Karawang regency, western Java.<sup>40</sup> The temple remains include two types of Hindu structures: the shrine with a single-cell sanctuary (*vimana*) and the worshipper's reception hall (*mandapa*), with entrances oriented east. None shows any residual trace of a superstructure or tower (*sikhara*), although the presence of stone footings suggests that wood pillars may have supported a roof and verandas of perishable materials, likely ornamented. Similarly, there is no evidence of the palace (Malay, *istana*) described so evocatively in the early seventh-century Chinese account.<sup>41</sup>

The Chinese monk Yijing tells of his departure from Guangzhou on a Persian ship in 671, arriving first at Śrivijaya before departing for India on a merchant ship from “Kacha,” likely Kedah. This is the earliest indication that Kedah may have served as a principal embarkation point for ships to India. No remnants survive of the Buddhist monasteries that would have hosted such pilgrims; they were undoubtedly constructed of wood, the material in which they are still produced in Southeast Asia. Foundations do remain, however, of a number of small brick stupas with basements ranging from 12 to 22 feet (3.7–6.7 m) square, along with shaped bricks that would have formed the conical tower.<sup>42</sup> Associated with these sites are sandstone ritual elements, notably lingas, lustration basins (*snānadronī*), and channels for diverting liquids beyond the sanctuary (*somasūtra* or *pranala*). Doorjambs were also made of sandstone, and evidence that stone was quarried from the riverbed can be seen today in the Bujang valley. A number of sandstone caskets for foundation deposits have been recovered, one complete with a copper vessel containing gold-sheet images of Hindu deities and zodiac animals.<sup>43</sup>

The character of Kedah differs from most other early polities in that it functioned essentially as a trading center, strategically located where the monsoon winds change direction. The Brahmanical



Fig. 23. Candi Bukit Batu Pahat, Bujang valley (site 8), Kedah, Malaysia. Photographed during excavation and restoration by the University of Malaya and the Malaysian Department of Archaeology in 1958–59

temples were small and poorly structured, probably commissioned by Indian merchants residing in Kedah for their own use and that of the significant seasonal population of compatriots who arrived each year with the monsoon winds. The temples were likely abandoned once the traders no longer had reason to visit Kedah. The complex of stupas may represent a different phenomenon in that the Buddhist monasteries, also supported largely by expatriate Indian merchants, may well have attracted local novices alongside a significant number of itinerant monks journeying between India and China. A chronology of sites emerges from the shifting centers in the valley, defined by their artifact assemblages, some rich in imported goods. The Indian presence, predominantly Buddhist, seems established by the sixth century, if not earlier, and was first centered at estuary sites such as Sungai Mas, which has yielded four of the five Buddhist inscriptions known from Kedah, and other sites south of the Merbok River.<sup>44</sup> The eighth and ninth centuries saw an exponential increase in foreign trade goods—Tang Chinese ceramics, Persian Gulf ceramics, and Middle Eastern glass—alongside an ongoing Buddhist presence, no doubt supported largely by these expatriate trading communities as well as pilgrim traffic. By the tenth century, the economic center shifted north of the river to Pengkalan Bujang, where the sites are characterized by a high density of Chinese ceramics and a predominance of Śaiva (Hindu) temples, some of which may date to the eleventh or twelfth century. Kedah was finally abandoned as an international port when the river system silted up, and its permanent demise in the fourteenth century coincided with the rise of its successor, Melaka.

### Śrīvijaya, 7th-12th Century

Śrīvijaya's existence was indebted to its location, which allowed it to serve as the premier equatorial rendezvous for long-distance maritime trade. The precise location has been much debated over the past century.<sup>45</sup> Its capital is now widely accepted as Palembang, on the Musi River in southern Sumatra, but in seventh-century Chinese records, the name Śrīvijaya seems to have also encompassed Jambi (Malayu), farther up the Sumatran coast.<sup>46</sup> The relationship between the two centers is unclear. Several important stone inscriptions from the seventh century are associated with Śrīvijaya, although the first reference to the name was made, again, by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yijing, who describes arriving there in 671 on a Persian ship from Guangzhou.<sup>47</sup> On the homeward journey from India, he stayed in Śrīvijaya once more, this time for two years (687–89), which he spent transcribing and translating texts.<sup>48</sup> The earliest local source is in the oldest preserved inscription written in Old Malay, the Kedukan Bukit, found near Palembang and dated June 16, 683 (605 Śaka). The text, with numerous Sanskrit loan words, speaks of a king who took a boat to make profit, transporting troops by boat to another place, and ends with the salutation “Great Śrīvijaya! Magical powers and riches.”<sup>49</sup> Two other notable inscriptions are the Sabokingking inscription stele from Telaga Batu, near Palembang (fig. 24), and the Kota Kapur stele from the island of Bangka, dated 686.<sup>50</sup> Both are also written in Old Malay, in a Southern Brāhmī script. Recent excavations near the Bangka findspot have revealed sandstone Viṣṇu imagery of the same period.<sup>51</sup> The Kota Kapur inscription also refers to a military conquest of “Bhūmi Java,” likely linked to the demise of the Tārumā kingdom (Tārumānagara) in western Java. In the course of the seventh century, Śrīvijaya’s hegemony appears to have extended to



Fig. 24. Sabokingking inscription stele. Indonesia, 7th century. Found in Telaga Batu, South Sumatra province. Sandstone; h. 61 in. (155 cm), w. 56¼ in. (143 cm). Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta (D155)

peninsular Thailand, possibly encompassing Langkasuka, Panpan, and Tambralinga, with a regional power base centered at Chaiya.<sup>52</sup> Excavations in the 1990s identified a canal-and-island network at the Karanganyar site in the neighborhood of Palembang, suggesting that a complex urban center existed there.

Early in its history, Śrīvijaya became a major center for Buddhism, its monasteries attracting students from afar. Yijing advised Chinese pilgrims who stopped over there, as the monsoons dictated, to extend their stay a year or two to learn the monastic rules and study scripture before proceeding to Madhyadesa (India), some thirty days away by sea. According to his account, Śrīvijaya’s monasteries had a population exceeding one thousand monks. Yijing himself spent six months there, learning Sanskrit grammar, before departing first for Jambi and then for Kedah, where he secured passage to India. Monks from India also paused there on their journeys, some staying for years. Close relations were nurtured with key monasteries in India; in 860 King Bālaputra of Śrīvijaya funded a *vihāra* (monastery) at the Nalanda *mahāvihāra* in Bihar, eastern India—an act of piety repeated in 1006 by another king of Śrīvijaya at Nagapattinam, the premier Cōla-dynasty port and strong Buddhist enclave in southern India.<sup>53</sup> In 1025 Śrīvijaya was subjected to raids by the navy of the Cōla king Rājarāja I. These raids were not territorial in intent but rather were concerned with securing for southern India economic control of the lucrative China trade. Its power reduced, Śrīvijaya nonetheless continued to exist for another century or so before losing power principally to Majapahit as that eastern Javanese kingdom tightened its control over the eastern Indonesian spice trade from the Maluku Islands.

# Southeast Asia and the Early Maritime Silk Road

Bérénice Bellina

By the third to fourth century A.D., Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms were beginning to emerge in the westernmost lands of Southeast Asia. The adoption of Indic political and religious concepts and their display through architecture, statuary, and urban configurations as well as the use of Sanskrit and other imported writing systems represented a sweeping change, which early researchers of Southeast Asian history characterized as the “Indianization” of the region. The definition of this concept has shifted over time, in tune with historiographic paradigms, researchers’ theoretical orientations, and political agendas. The current thinking overall takes a more systemic and complex view of the process and integrates individuals belonging to more diverse social groups.

Trained in Indian linguistics and history, early researchers focused on epigraphic and monumental remains. The late prehistoric period, from the late centuries B.C. to the early centuries A.D., was lacking in both types of evidence and consequently remained a lacuna in their historical reconstructions. The absence of earlier data, as well as what appeared to be a striking contrast in the levels of

sociopolitical organization on either side of the Bay of Bengal, with only South Asia experiencing the growth of empires and kingdoms, seemed to give full credence to the view that Southeast Asia owed much of its civilization to the mere adaptation of Indian traits.<sup>1</sup>

Beginning in the 1960s, opponents of this perspective became more vocal, especially proponents of the “internalist,” or “autonomist,” paradigm, which emphasized endogenous factors for cultural, social, and political change in Southeast Asia.<sup>2</sup> The region was no longer considered a passive recipient of culture but a politically independent center able to generate its own social, religious, and political organizational structures, many of which survived, and even thrived, when adjusting to later cultural imports. During the 1980s, more hybrid frameworks, such as O. W. Wolters’s “localization” and Sheldon Pollock’s “vernacularization,” combined elements of previous scholarly trends, foregrounding the innovations that resulted from local adaptations of Indian models.<sup>3</sup> These new theories developed during a turning point in archaeology: its new focus on prehistory, primarily following Ian C. Glover’s pioneering



Fig. 25. Exotic valuables found in South China Sea

A (top to bottom): Carnelian and agate ornaments, dimensions variable. Private collections, Khao Sam Kaeo, Thailand  
B: Glass ornaments, dimensions variable. National Museum, Chumphon, Thailand

C: *Lingling'o*. Nephrite, diam. approx. 1½ in. (3 cm). Suthi Rattana Foundation, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Thailand

D: Doubled-headed ornament. W. approx. 2¾ in. (6 cm). Suthi Rattana Foundation, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Thailand

E, F: Metal vessel fragments. Suthi Rattana Foundation, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Thailand

research at Don Ta Phet in central Thailand.<sup>4</sup> This cemetery complex yielded the first prehistoric evidence of exchange between South and Southeast Asia, thus demonstrating the antiquity of contact between the regions. Excavation of sites belonging to the late prehistoric period increased. Multidisciplinary analysis began to be applied in the field, with geoarchaeology and archaeobotany, and in the laboratory, with materials science. Helping to challenge the archaeological bias that results from the poor preservation of perishable materials in tropical environments, these studies highlighted previously invisible evidence and defined regional production and distribution networks. Their significant reappraisals of Southeast Asia's sociopolitical and economic organization prior to the so-called "Indianized" period advanced our understanding of its role in the first global system linking the West through India to China—the trading system known as the maritime Silk Road.

Indeed, research has shown that Southeast Asia had already developed extensive and dynamic regional trade routes during the Neolithic period.<sup>5</sup> The importance and intensity of exchange between the area and its East and South Asian neighbors from the Metal Age on (since the mid-first millennium B.C.) have also been reassessed.<sup>6</sup> These reevaluations benefit from increasingly thorough analysis of the early industries and materials of the period, such as glass, stone ornaments, siliceous stones, jadeite, metal, and ceramics (fig. 25).<sup>7</sup> Each study highlights one facet of a preexisting, prehistoric exchange network around the South China Sea, and the results demonstrate some of the ways in which the societies reacted when they became intertwined in exchange with neighboring populations.

From peninsular Thailand to coastal Vietnam and the Philippines, several populations developed and shared elaborate cultural practices thanks to Neolithic networks that traded in a similar set of exotic valuables. These shared items included nephrite ear pendants (*lingling'o*), interrupted rings, double-headed ornaments, and specific types of ceramics such as those of the Sa Huynh–Kalanay tradition (fig. 26).<sup>8</sup> Primarily through acknowledging the connections among ceramics at various archaeological sites dating from the end of prehistory and stretching from the



Fig. 26. Sa Huynh–Kalanay ware found in southern Thailand



Fig. 27. Shard of imported ceramic bearing a Tamil-Brahmi inscription. Found in Phu Khao Thong, Ranong province, southern Thailand. W. 2 in. (5 cm)



Fig. 28. Gold seal. Found in Bang Kluai Nok, Ranong province, southern Thailand. Private collection

Philippines (Kalanay) to peninsular Thailand (Sa Huynh), Wilhelm Solheim was the first to recognize this tradition. Apart from some morphological differences, these ceramics have in common both decorative techniques and patterns.<sup>9</sup>

As soon as South Asians and Southeast Asians came into contact, the latter superimposed their ideas on certain South Asian industries, thus contributing a distinctly regional perspective to the cultural exchange. In addition to actual commodities, the network circulated South Asian ornamental techniques, which were applied, probably initially by South Asian artisans, to the production of items to suit Southeast Asian tastes. Objects designed for local populations included carnelian and agate beads, glass ornaments, and, probably, metal vessels and other wares not yet identified.<sup>10</sup> Studies of these and other industries help to identify and explain the social contexts that motivated the adaptation of complex knowledge and skilled technologies while supporting the strategies of the Southeast Asian polities in the process. They thus contribute to a better understanding of the connection between political economy and cultural transfers between South and Southeast Asia. In addition to products adapted for Southeast Asian tastes, imports also circulated, including Indian fine ware (fig. 27), such as the famous rouletted ware,<sup>11</sup> seals (fig. 28),<sup>12</sup> and Indian steatite containers (fig. 29). For example, the fragments of steatite containers found in peninsular Thailand at Phu Khao Thong (Ranong province) and at Khao Sam Kaeo (Chumphon province) are comparable to early steatite containers discovered in stupa complexes in the region of Gandhara (present-day Pakistan), among other places, which were used, and at times reused, as reliquaries.<sup>13</sup> Their contents varied from bones to deposits of valuable goods, such as ornaments made of ivory, crystal, bronze, and semiprecious stones.



Fig. 29. Fragments of steatite containers found at both Phu Khao Thong, Ranong province, and Khao Sam Kaeo, Chumphon province, southern Thailand

A better understanding of the complexity of the early networks and of the polities structuring them has also grown out of the analysis of organic materials, many of which—for example, spices, precious woods, textiles, and animals—formed a good part of the inventory of exchanged goods. Current research in archaeobotany<sup>14</sup> and ancient textile studies<sup>15</sup> demonstrates the diversity of subsistence crops and cash crops circulating in routes that originated in various distant lands, from China to India.<sup>16</sup> Some goods, such as spices and silks, were likely luxury items aimed for courts, but others, including foods and other crops, may have accompanied traders for their own personal use. The alleged Indianized period definitely appears to have been preceded by sustained contacts, contradicting the previous assumptions of intermittent interaction and limited cultural exchange.

New interpretations of the region's role within the networks of the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean owe much to revisions of the historical record, which now integrate a larger and more diversified range of actors than were considered previously: socioprofessional groups such as artisans<sup>17</sup> as well as “ethnic” groups—that is, the less politically complex social units that were part of the producing hinterlands.<sup>18</sup> This appreciation of a wider social horizon has resulted from a change in theoretical orientation—including subaltern studies, ideas of a “connected” history, and other postcolonial and globalized approaches—that assigns greater importance to both nonelites as agents of social and political change and to contacts among all groups beyond political boundaries. This broader perspective has also arisen from revised understandings of technological developments and studies of their trajectories through time and space. While much of the evidence is subtle, it can also be direct, as in the case of Southeast Asian shipbuilding techniques or the spread of Austronesian vocabulary, which is present in many languages around the Indian Ocean.<sup>19</sup>

Other evidence is indirect, such as local variations in South Asian manufacturing techniques and products that satisfied regional and local requirements. All told, some of these analyses grant a leading role to artisans, who actively produced social and cultural forms, especially in a likely context of increasing interpolity competition to control trade and access to foreign prestige goods.<sup>20</sup> A given leader probably had to manage his network of volatile allies and dependents—both of whom provided jungle or maritime goods for trade—by distributing titles and prestige goods, such as ornaments, to build the ruler's power and renown as well as to ensure the wealth of his trading polity. In this scenario, artisans produced various items representing different techniques, qualities, and styles as the political currency to build this pyramidal network. But as the study of stone-ornament industries at Khao Sam Kaeo has demonstrated, artisans there, probably at the request of the leaders, were asked to exceed known standards of technological excellence, pushing productive capacities to their limits. In this way, they would have participated in the prestige apparatus of the elite, who used the artisans not only to show their ability to mobilize labor but also to control skilled labor in the arts, industry, and spiritual realms (such as religious practices and magic).<sup>21</sup>

Different social and socioprofessional groups more or less attached to local elites in port cities and similar transportation hubs may thus have contributed to the ways in which complex and less complex polities interacted as the maritime Silk Road developed. Various ecological niches, whether forested or maritime, and the populations exploiting them may have been linked in this early global network.<sup>22</sup> Overall, current research draws a more balanced picture than was previously possible of the cultural complexity of Southeast Asia and its contributions to the world from the late prehistoric to the early historic period.

# Beyond the Southern Borders: Southeast Asia in Chinese Texts to the Ninth Century

Geoff Wade

The histories we have today of the polities and societies of Southeast Asia during the first millennium of the Common Era remain sketchy, inchoate, and imprecise. Yet they would be even more meager and rudimentary were it not for the references to the region recorded in classical Chinese sources. This essay introduces some of those texts, highlighting what they can tell us about the polities and their durations, their relations with other polities, their cultural characteristics, and their religious affinities. The accounts that follow are not intended to be comprehensive, or even necessarily individually coherent, histories. Rather, they are aimed at illuminating the early societies in a synoptic manner, by extracting from a wide range of sources the data most relevant to the traditions represented in this publication.

## Contexts for Early Chinese Knowledge of Southeast Asia

Over the first millennium A.D., Chinese involvement with, and thus knowledge of, Southeast Asia proceeded along several vectors. Political and military engagement with the polities to the immediate south provided some understanding; diplomatic missions offered other information; traders from places across Eurasia brought accounts to China; and East Asian Buddhist pilgrims often journeyed to the Buddha's homeland by sea along the coast of mainland Southeast Asia and through the surrounding maritime realms. Until the tenth century, Chinese knowledge of Southeast Asia appears to have been limited to the mainland, the Malay Peninsula, and Sumatra-Java. These three regions will serve as organizing categories for the Chinese texts examined below.

The earliest Chinese historical reference to polities of maritime Southeast Asia appears to be that found in the *Han shu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han), a text dated to about A.D. 100. It describes a voyage to Southeast Asia as well as the port-polities visited during the voyage.<sup>1</sup> The identities of all of the toponyms mentioned in the text remain contentious (see fig. 30). While the final destination may well have been Kanchipuram/Conjeevaram, the Pallava capital in southern India, and the journey likely involved a transpeninsular route somewhere near the Isthmus of Kra, the names and locations of the Southeast Asian polities are enigmas. Other texts suggest early maritime trade linkages between China, India, and the Middle East in the second century or earlier.<sup>2</sup>

Commercial activity between South and Southeast Asia grew during the reigns of the Gupta rulers (4th–6th century) in northern India and under the Pallava (4th–9th century) and Pāndya (6th–10th century) dynasties of southern India. The expansion of maritime commerce in the Bay of Bengal and South China Sea during these periods also provided new sea routes for Chinese Buddhist missionaries traveling to India. The seventh and eighth centuries saw greatly expanded maritime trade between India, Southeast Asia, and China together with increased participation by Persian and Arab traders, despite complicating events such as the killing of the governor of Guangzhou by merchants from Kunlun 昆侖 in a trade dispute in 684;<sup>3</sup> the sacking of Guangzhou in 758 by maritime people described in Chinese texts as Persians 波斯 and

Arabs 大食; the killing of thousands of Persian 波斯 traders in the Chinese port of Yangzhou in 760;<sup>4</sup> and the burning and pillaging of Guangzhou by the rebel Huang Chao in 878. Merchants from Southeast Asian polities participated in this trade as well, and their roles are discussed below. It is in the context of this long-distance maritime trade, conducted in Southeast and South Asian (not Chinese) ships during this period, that many of the Chinese references to Southeast Asian polities can be situated.

## Mainland Southeast Asian Polities

This overview commences with the polities located in the Southeast Asian mainland, thus geographically closest to Chinese observers.

### Champa

Linyi 林邑 / Huanwang 環王 / Zhanpo 占婆

Zhanbulao 占不勞 / Zhancheng 占城

Linyi, Huanwang, and Zhanpo are successive Chinese names of a polity (or polities) historians generally call Champa (Skt., Campā), established by an Austronesian-speaking elite. Its territory lay directly south of Chinese-administered areas in what is today northern Vietnam, extending south along the central coast toward the Mekong delta.

Linyi appears to have existed in the area by the second century or earlier, and its capital was likely situated, until the seventh century, near modern-day Tra Kieu in the valley of the Thu Bon River, Quang Nam province.<sup>5</sup> Envoys from this polity appeared at the Jin court near modern-day Nanjing, China, between 280 and 290.

The society was certainly literate by the fourth century, as a Linyi envoy, sent to the Jin court in the middle of that century, submitted a memorial that was written in a “foreign script” 胡字.<sup>6</sup> The script in question was apparently Indic, and this is one of the earliest references to the use of any script in Southeast Asia.<sup>7</sup> Other Indic influences had obviously permeated the society by the fifth century; we are told that in fifth-century Linyi, respected teachers were called Brahmins 婆羅門 and that it was these Brahmins who conducted marriage ceremonies.<sup>8</sup>

The religious affiliations of Linyi’s people in the fifth century are described in Chinese texts. The *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 (History of the Southern Qi), compiled in 537, records that the Linyi king was a follower of the way of the *nirgranthas* 事尼乾道,<sup>9</sup> possibly a reference to ascetic Brahmins such as the Śaiva Pāśupatas, and that he cast gold and silver anthropomorphic images that were ten *wei*<sup>10</sup> in circumference. The gold, which, according to Chinese texts, was in great abundance in Linyi, attracted attention from both traders and aggressors.<sup>11</sup>

The first known Indic title for a Linyi king appears in a reference dated 529, in which the title is given as Gao-shu-lu-tuo-luoba-mo (likely, Ku Śrī Rudravarman), apparently incorporating both Cham and Sanskrit elements.<sup>12</sup> By the end of the sixth century, Indic names and titles, which also incorporated both Sanskrit and Southeast Asian elements, were widespread throughout the society, including in the administrative structure.<sup>13</sup> The coming to power of

a unified dynasty, the Sui, in China in 581 again allowed military actions to the south. In 605 the Sui emperor ordered a further naval attack on Linyi. On entering the capital, the forces of the Chinese general Liu Fang 劉方 seized eighteen principal temple images, all cast in gold and reportedly representing the eighteen successive rulers of Linyi;<sup>14</sup> they also took away 1,350 volumes of Buddhist sutras, suggesting that Linyi was at this time a major center of Buddhist learning.

Diplomacy and trade between the Tang court and Linyi, now under Chinese influence, subsequently burgeoned, with missions to China and exchange of products recorded in 686, 691, 695, 699, 702, 703, 706, 707, 709, 711, 712, 713, and 731.<sup>15</sup> Linyi sent its last diplomatic mission to China in 749.<sup>16</sup>

Toward the middle of the eighth century, a change occurred in the name by which the Champa polity was known to the Chinese. Of Linyi, the *Tang Huiyao* 唐會要 (Institutional History of the Tang; submitted to the court in 961) records: "After the Zhide reign [756–58], it changed its name to the kingdom of Huanwang and no longer used the name Linyi." The polity seems to have moved or extended its administration southward in this period, and there appears to have been contention with other Southeast Asian forces, as evidenced by two inscriptions. One of these, the Po Nagar stele inscription from Nha Trang, central Vietnam, dated 784, records that "ferocious, pitiless, dark-colored people of other cities... came in ships and took away the linga of the god" that had been established at the principality of Kauṭhāra.<sup>17</sup>

The name Champa apparently first appeared in the Chinese corpus in 658, rendered as Zhanbo 瞻博,<sup>18</sup> and the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang; compiled 1060) notes that the polity of Huanwang was also known as Zhanbulao (Campāpura or Cam Pulau) as well as Zhanpo (Cāmpa).<sup>19</sup> It was in 877, however, that the name by which Champa was to be known by the Chinese for the next seven hundred years was first recorded: Zhancheng, literally, "the Cham city."<sup>20</sup> This polity was to send missions to the Five Dynasties courts of China in 951, 958, and 959.

#### Cambodia

Funan 扶南 / Zhenla 真臘 / Wenchan 文單

Another polity, known in Chinese texts as Funan and centered around the delta of the great Mekong River, came to Chinese attention in the early centuries of the Common Era. It first appears in Chinese works of the 220s, which record that the Chinese state of Wu sent one or perhaps two missions there to promote trade.<sup>21</sup> While the origins of the name continue to be debated, there seems little doubt that "Funan" is a Chinese representation of a Khmer term. In the 670s, the Chinese Buddhist monk Yijing 義淨 noted that "traveling southwest for one month [from Linyi], one reaches the country of Banan 跋南國, formerly called Funan."<sup>22</sup> Here, then, we see another Chinese representation of what is undoubtedly the same Khmer term, very likely *bnam/phnom* (mountain or hill). Most scholars associate this polity with the early sites known today as Oc Eo (1st–6th century),<sup>23</sup> in southern Vietnam, and Angkor Borei (4th–6th century), in southern Cambodia.<sup>24</sup>

Quite a number of Chinese texts refer to Funan, and many of these were explored in the early twentieth century by the historian and philologist Paul Pelliot.<sup>25</sup> The range and content of the references leave no doubt that Funan was the predominant polity in Southeast Asia beginning in the third century or earlier.<sup>26</sup> It is clear that at that time, mariners from Funan were already voyaging to India.<sup>27</sup> The seas also provided possibilities of conquest for Funan, and sometime in the third century, we read of a ruler named Fan[shi]man 范師蔓, who, on repeated occasions, "used troops to attack and subdue the neighboring kingdoms, which all acknowledged themselves his vassals. He himself adopted the style of

'Great King of Funan.' Then he ordered the construction of great ships and, crossing right over the Zhanghai 漲海 [Gulf of Thailand], attacked more than ten kingdoms, including Judukun 屈都昆, Jizhi 九稚, and Diansun 典孫."

Both the *Jin shu* 晉書 (History of the Jin; compiled 648) and the *Nan Qi shu* report that Funan had a repository for its records and that its script was similar to that of the *bu* ("western" script, taken here to mean Indic). They also relate a foundation legend for the polity, most likely a variant of the Indian legend of Kaundinya's marriage to the daughter of the king of the *nāgas* (serpents). Discussing the early fifth century, one later source notes: "The king Kaundinya 橬陳如 was originally a Brahman from India 本天竺婆羅門也, and a spirit voice told him that he should rule Funan. Kaundinya was happy but went south to Panpan. The Funan people heard about this and appointed him king. He changed the systems and employed the Indian laws 復改制度用天竺法."<sup>28</sup> Very rarely do we find such clear reference to the processes of Indianization in Southeast Asia, even if possibly allegorical.

In the second half of the fifth century, the Funan king is recorded as bearing the "surname" Qiao-chen-ru 侨陈如 (Hokkien, Giao-din-lu),<sup>29</sup> which again clearly represents Kaundinya. His given name was said to be Qie-ye-ba-mo 蝶耶跋摩 (Jayavarman). The account further states that this ruler had sent the Indian religious specialist 天竺道人 Na-jia-xian 那伽仙 (*Nāgasena*) to the Liu Song court in what is today Nanjing to offer tribute, including a gold-inlaid image of a seated dragon king 金缕龙王坐像一躯,<sup>30</sup> a white-sandalwood image, and two ivory stupas.<sup>31</sup> The Chinese chroniclers also described the religious icons used in Funan at this time: "Their practice is to worship the Heavenly Spirit 天神, and they have bronze images of the Heavenly Spirit, who has two faces and four arms, or four faces and eight arms, and each of the arms holds something."<sup>32</sup> Worship of the "Heavenly Spirit" refers to the Brahmanical religion.

The seventh century was to prove momentous for Funan. It sent its last missions to China between 618 and 649. Meanwhile, another polity, known to the Chinese as Zhenla, had arisen in the area. The origin of this name has been much debated, but there can be little doubt, given that the characters pronounced in Hokkien provide an almost perfect correspondence with "Tonle," the Khmer name of the lake (Tonle Sap) at the geographic center of Khmer culture, that the name derives from that feature.<sup>33</sup> The polity of Zhenla thus likely emerged in the area around the Tonle Sap.

Zhenla began sending missions to the Sui capital, situated near present-day Xi'an, in 616.<sup>34</sup> One of the earliest accounts of this new polity is contained in the *Sui shu* 隋書 (History of the Sui), a dynastic history completed in 636, only two decades after the arrival of that first Zhenla mission in China. It notes: "The kingdom of Zhenla is southwest of Linyi and was originally subject to Funan."<sup>35</sup> The king had the surname Sha-li 刹利 (Ksatriya) and the given name Zhi-duo-si-na 質多斯那 (Citrasena).<sup>36</sup> It was during Citrasena's rule, the *Sui shu* informs us, that Zhenla incorporated Funan. On his death, Citrasena was replaced by his son Yi-she-na-xian 伊奢那先 (*Īśānasena*), who lived in īśānapura 伊奢那城 (Sambor Prei Kuk, central Cambodia).

Near the seventh-century capital was Lingjiabopo (Liṅgāparvata) Mountain 陵伽鉢婆山, on top of which was a temple that was always guarded by five thousand troops.<sup>37</sup> The author of the *Sui shu* concluded: "They respect their spirits to this degree. They greatly revere the Law of the Buddha and also greatly trust in Brahmanical practitioners 道士. Both the Buddhists and the Brahmanical followers place images in the temples."<sup>38</sup>

Not many decades later, in about 707, according to the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Old History of the Tang; compiled 945), Zhenla was divided in two: Land Zhenla, or Wenchan 文單,<sup>39</sup> a mountainous



Fig. 30. Conjectured locations of polities mentioned in Chinese texts to the 9th century

area in the north, and Water Zhenla in the south. The latter, whose territory was about 800 *li* in circumference, extended east to Pāndurāga, west to Dvāravatī, south to the “small ocean” (Gulf of Thailand), and north to Land Zhenla. The king resided in a city called Poluotiba 婆羅提拔。<sup>40</sup>

The religious milieu of ninth-century Zhenla was represented by the compiler of the *Jiu Tang shu* as follows: “The country respects Buddhism and the Heavenly Spirit 天神. Worship of the Heavenly Spirit is most prominent, and Buddhism follows it in prominence.”<sup>41</sup> Again, the religious hybridity of mainland Southeast Asian societies during this period is clearly reflected in the Chinese texts.

#### Dvāravatī

Duheluobodi 杜和羅鉢底 / Duoheluo 墮和羅 / Duheluo 獨和羅  
Duoluobodi 墮羅鉢底 / Tuhuoluo 吐火羅

Moving west across the Southeast Asian mainland, we encounter a polity to which the Chinese texts refer by a range of names, including Duheluobodi, Duoheluo, Duheluo, Duoluobodi, and Tuhuoluo.<sup>42</sup> These are all references to the Mon<sup>43</sup> country of Dvāravatī, centered on the lower Chao Phraya River from the sixth to the tenth century. The scholar George Coedès assigned its emergence to the dismemberment of Funan.<sup>44</sup> Like other Southeast Asian polity names of

this period and later, this one was derived from a city name in the Puranic classics and means “many-gated” in Sanskrit.<sup>45</sup> We know the Southeast Asian version of the name only through its occurrence on coins found in the region and as a vestigial element in the traditional formal names of the cities of Ayutthaya and Bangkok. However, the Chinese texts demonstrate that the name was widely known and used for the polity from the seventh century on.

An early reference that locates this polity (in its alternate name, Dvārapati) relative to others in the seventh century is provided by the famous Chinese Buddhist monk Xuanzang 玄奘 in his account of his travels (completed 646): “Northeast of there [the country of Samataṭa in Bengal] in the valley beside the great sea is the country of Shili Chadaluo 室利差呾羅國 [Śrī Kṣetra; probable Pyu capital, near present-day Pyay]; farther to the southeast of the great sea is the country of Kāmalāṅka 迦摩浪迦國 (possibly Langkasuka); farther to the east is the country of Dvārapati; farther to the east is the country of Īśanapura (Sambor Prei Kuk); farther to the east is the country of Mahācampā, which in our country is known as Linyi, and farther to the southwest is the country of Yamanadvīpa 閻摩那洲國.”<sup>46</sup> Diplomatic missions from Dvāravatī arrived in Tang China in 638 and 649, and the envoy of the first mission requested the provision of fine horses.<sup>47</sup>

## Rāmañña Linyang 林陽

In the third-century *Funan tusu* 扶南土俗 (Customs of Funan), the author Kang Tai 康泰 recorded: “To the southwest of Funan, there is the country of Linyang.... Locally they worship the Buddha.”<sup>48</sup> In Hokkien, the characters for Linyang are pronounced *lna-yna*, which has been proposed by some to represent Rāmañña and to indicate a polity in what is today the lower Irrawaddy (Ayeyarwady) River valley. The descriptions suggest some of the earliest Buddhist communities in Southeast Asia. Linyang/Rāmañña may well have been the precursor of the Pyu kingdom of Śrī Kṣetra.

## Śrī Kṣetra / Pyu

Shili Chadaluo 室利差呾羅國 / Piao Country 騃國

As noted above, the Chinese monk Xuanzang recorded in the seventh century that “northeast of there [Samataṭa in Bengal] in the valley beside the great sea is the country of Shili Chadaluo [Śrī Kṣetra].”<sup>49</sup> This is the first Chinese reference to the probable Pyu capital, which may well have existed from the first century A.D. or even earlier.<sup>50</sup> Vestiges of the walled city can be seen today slightly southeast of Pyay in central Myanmar.<sup>51</sup> Other major sites of this polity or cultural complex include Beikthano, Maingmaw, Binnaka, and Halin.

The next polity name to be recorded by the Chinese for this region is that of the Piao (or Pyu) kingdom. This was written of not as a maritime polity but as one reached overland from China through the ancient Yongchang commandery in modern Yunnan province.<sup>52</sup> The name Piao Yue 優越 appears as early as the fourth century in the *Huayang guozhi* 華陽國志 (Account of the Huayang State), by Chang Qu 常璩.<sup>53</sup> By the eighth or ninth century, the Pyu kingdom reportedly had jurisdiction over nine major cities and 290 tribes.<sup>54</sup> Its capital, Luocheng 羅城, was surrounded by brick walls and by a moat also edged by bricks.<sup>55</sup> It was said to have originally been the “city of the Buddha’s relics” 舍利佛城.<sup>56</sup> The population within the walls numbered in the tens of thousands, and there were more than one hundred Buddhist monasteries. The *Xin Tang shu* mentions “a huge white image, 100 chi in height,”<sup>57</sup> and adds that the people there could read Indian script. There was reportedly gold and silver coinage shaped like crescents, but no extant examples are known.<sup>58</sup>

Great changes occurred in the Pyu region in the ninth century. In his ninth-century work the *Man shu* 蠻書 (Book of the Barbarians), Fan Chuo 樊綽 recorded that “in 832 Man [Nanzhao] rebels plundered the Piao kingdom.”<sup>59</sup> They took more than three thousand people prisoner. They banished them into servitude at Zhedong and told them to fend for themselves.”<sup>60</sup> The historian Gordon Luce has proposed that it is to this 832–35 period, “when the Pyu and some of the Mon principalities of Burma were overwhelmed by tribes subject to Nanzhao, that we must date the coming of the Burmans” to the region that has traditionally gone by their name.<sup>61</sup>

## Peninsular Polities

Having examined the states and societies recorded by the Chinese across mainland Southeast Asia in this period, we turn our attention southward and follow the peninsula that today forms parts of Thailand and Malaysia—likely the same one that Claudius Ptolemy, in the second century, referred to as Aurea Chersonesus (the “Golden Peninsula”).

## Panpan 盤盤 / 璞槃

A polity recorded as Panpan (Hokkien, Puan-puan; Cantonese, P’oon-p’oon) first appears in Chinese texts in accounts of the arrival

of envoys at the Liu Song court in what is today Nanjing. Missions are recorded for 444–54, 454–56, and 457–64,<sup>62</sup> with the last seeming to have taken place in 616–17. The polity’s location is given as southwest of Linyi (Champa) and adjoining Langyaxiu (Langkasuka), placing it around the Isthmus of Kra.

The *Liang shu* 梁書 (History of the Liang; compiled 636) tells us: “In [March 529] Panpan again sent envoys, who offered tribute of ivory images 牙像 and votive stupas. They also presented tens of varieties of aromatics including *gharu*<sup>63</sup> wood and sandalwood. In [August/September 534], another envoy whom they had sent presented genuine relics from the *bodhi* country 菩提國真舍利 as well as a painted stupa 畫塔. The ruler also presented a *bodhi* tree leaf as well as *zhantang*<sup>64</sup> and other aromatics.”<sup>65</sup>

The most detailed Chinese account of the polity is contained in the later *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (Comprehensive Study of Administrative Documents; compiled early 14th century). According to that text, Panpan was a center of Buddhist studies, with “ten monasteries where Buddhist monks and nuns study their canon.” The same text reports that “this country has numerous Brahmins who have come from India, and they seek riches from the king. The king treats them with great importance.”<sup>66</sup>

But where was this place located? Tang histories indicate that Panpan was south of Dvāravati.<sup>67</sup> Given that Dvāravati influence extended well down the peninsula, Panpan likely lay around the Bay of Bandon in the modern Thai province of Surat Thani. It is possible that this fifth- and sixth-century polity name has been retained in the name of the present-day town Phunphin. Archaeological traces in that region make clear that Panpan was a cosmopolitan place with diverse religious traditions.<sup>68</sup>

## Langkasuka Dunxun 頓遜 / Dianxun 典述 / Langyaxiu 狼牙脩

Moving southward, we come to the modern regions of Songkhla and Pattani, which appear to be where the early polities of Dunxun/ Dianxun and Langkasuka were centered. Although the former is known from the third century, the sources that detail it are of a later date. The earliest account is that in the seventh-century *Liang shu*, which states specifically that the eastern side of that country was in communication with Jiaozhou, a southern Chinese province (now part of northern Vietnam), while its western side was in communication with India and Parthia. This can refer to nothing other than a polity extending right across the Malay Peninsula, with ports on both sides and overland connections between the ports. The account notes that every day more than ten thousand traders, from both east and west, met there to trade.<sup>69</sup>

The *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperial Readings of the Taiping Reign), a Song encyclopedia, includes an excerpt from a lost work, the *Funan ji* 扶南記 (Account of Funan), seemingly of the third century, which tells us something of Dunxun’s social systems. The king was named Kun-lun 昆仑,<sup>70</sup> and five hundred families of *bu*<sup>71</sup> from India were present in the country as well as more than one thousand Brahmins, also from India, and two Buddha images 兩佛圖. Concerning the Brahmins, it is noted that “Dunxun respectfully follows their teachings and gives daughters to them in marriage. Thus, many of them do not leave this place and spend their time just reading their Brahmanical scriptures.”<sup>72</sup> We know neither the specific location of the capital nor the polity’s full extent.

In the seventh century, the author of the *Liang shu* provided an account of a country named Langyaxiu,<sup>73</sup> or Langkasuka. In Arabic texts, this was known as Langkashuka; in a Cōla inscription, as Ilangāśōka; in the Javanese court poem *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, as Lengasuka; and in the Malay history *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*, as Langkasuka.<sup>74</sup> The historian Paul Wheatley was quite firm in his conclusion that Langkasuka was situated in the vicinity of

modern-day Pattani, Thailand.<sup>75</sup> Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h has also suggested that we look for Langkasuka around the former estuary of the Pattani River, near Yarang, because it is "on the banks of this vanished estuary that the various entrepôt ports of this city-state were located."<sup>76</sup> Maritime missions from Langkasuka to the southern dynasties of China began in the 510s. Missions are recorded for 515, 523, 531, and 568.<sup>77</sup> The *Nan shi* 南史 (History of the Southern Dynasties; compiled 659) reports that the capital had city walls made of brick and that its multiple gates were crowned by towers and pavilions.<sup>78</sup>

That Langkasuka was a Buddhist community is suggested by the fact that sometime in the seventh century, three monks from China—Yilang 義朗, Zhian 智岸, and Yixuan 義—stopped there on their way to India and were entertained by the ruler.<sup>79</sup> A Chinese scroll entitled *Liang zhigong tu* 梁職工圖 (Illustrated Tributaries to the Liang), completed about 539 and today only partially extant, provides one of the very few sixth-century illustrations of a Southeast Asian person: an envoy to China from the country of Langkasuka (fig. 31).<sup>80</sup>

#### Kelantan

Heluodan 訶羅單 / Heluotuo 訶羅陀 / Dandan 丹丹 / 單單

In the fifth century, a new name appears in Chinese texts, that of Heluodan or Heluotuo, replaced in the sixth century by the name Dandan. In 430 an envoy from the "southwest barbarian" 西南夷 country of Heluodan came to the Liu Song court in Nanjing and presented a letter acknowledging the Buddhist devotion and stupa-building achievements of the Chinese emperor. Further missions arrived in 433 and 452.<sup>81</sup> The seventh-century *Sui shu* description of Chitu (on which more below), which was certainly located in the northern part of the peninsula, notes that Heluodan was situated to its south, suggesting an area close to modern Kelantan, a northeastern state in peninsular Malaysia.

For Dandan, various directions in the Chinese texts also imply a location near Kelantan.<sup>82</sup> Chinese notices of this polity began with a diplomatic mission in 530 from Dandan to the Liang court in what is today Hubei and continued until the 660s.<sup>83</sup> There are firm indications of Dandan's Buddhist affiliation at this time, along with the use of Brahmanical titles at its court.<sup>84</sup>

#### Pahang

Pohuang 婆皇 / Panhuang 婆皇國

Another polity for which no firm location is given in the Chinese texts is Pohuang (alternatively, Panhuang).<sup>85</sup> The phonetics are greatly suggestive of the name Pahang—again, a state on the east coast of present-day peninsular Malaysia.<sup>86</sup> In 449–50 the king of Panhuang, She-li Po-luo-ba-mo 舍利婆羅跋摩 (*Śrī Bhadravarman*), sent an envoy to the Song court with forty-one types of products.<sup>87</sup> In 456–57 the envoy Senāpati 竝那婆智 of the same country arrived at the Chinese capital and presented red and white parrots.<sup>88</sup>

#### Perak

Poda 婆達 / Panda 婆達

Poda, or Panda, is yet another polity without firm geographic indicators.<sup>89</sup> Given that it is mentioned in connection with Pahang and its location is recorded as being in fifth-century Jaba/Java, it is tentatively identified here with Perak, today a state on the west coast of peninsular Malaysia. The first reference to Poda dates to 435, when a mission from the polity reached the Liu Song court in what is now Nanjing, China. The name of Poda's ruler is given as Shi-li Po-datu-a-luo-ba-mo 師黎婆達陀呵羅跋摩 (*Śrī Bhadravarman*).<sup>90</sup> The memorial to the court lauded the Chinese emperor's role in "propagating respect for the Wheel of the Law so that all sentient beings can be freed from their suffering."<sup>91</sup>



Fig. 31. Envoy from Langkasuka; detail of *Liang zhigong tu* (Illustrated Tributaries to the Liang). Handscroll, 11th-century copy of 6th-century original. National Museum of China, Beijing

#### Kedah

Chitu 赤土 / Jietu 級茶 / Geluo 哥羅  
Geluofushaluo 哥羅富沙羅

The emergence of a new Southeast Asian polity in the sixth century is indicated by the Sui court's dispatch of a major mission in 607. This, the first Chinese mission sent to the "Southern Seas" since the third century,<sup>92</sup> departed from Guangzhou under the command of the envoy Chang Jun 常駿, bound for the countries of Chitu<sup>93</sup> and Luocha (see below). That these two places were the sole destinations of the mission suggests something of their importance in the region and their role in long-distance maritime trade. Several references imply that Chitu was located in the Bujang River valley beside the Merbok River in the modern-day state of Kedah in northwestern peninsular Malaysia, an area attested by archaeological evidence to have been a major cultural complex and trade mart of the time. Chitu sent two missions to China, in 608 and 609, and early in 610, Chang Jun's mission returned to China, seen off by a Brahman with flowers, conch horns, and drums.<sup>94</sup>

In the *Sui shu*, the capital of Chitu is named as Sengzhi 僧祇城, a city with three layers of walls, one hundred or more paces apart. Flying spirits, fairies, and bodhisattva 菩薩 images were painted on the gates, "and they had adorned four women—their faces made up in the manner of the *vajra* strongmen [door guardian figures] on the sides of Buddhist pagodas—to stand on each side of the gates."<sup>95</sup> The king, we are told, was "surnamed" Qu-tan 翟曇 (Gautama), with the given name Li-fu-duo-sai 利富多塞 (Riputra?). It is noted that behind the king's throne was a golden crouching bull;<sup>96</sup> in front of the bull, a single jeweled parasol; and to the left and right of the parasol, jeweled fans. Hundreds of Brahmans were seated

in rows facing each other on the left and right. The practice of Chitu's residents, the *Sui shu* informs us, was to respect the Buddha and give special reverence to the Brahmins 其俗敬佛，尤重婆羅門. Indian music 天竺樂 was played during the audience of the Chinese envoys with the Chitu ruler. When the king sent a *nāyaka* (Skt., leader or protector) as an emissary to China with local products, he also sent a gold-leaf letter.<sup>97</sup> We thus see a kingdom where Buddhism flourished but where Brahmins were key players in advising the ruler and legitimating Indic ceremonies.

It is about seventy years after the Chitu mission that we read of a new name for this polity in the Chinese texts—Jietu,<sup>98</sup> again a phonetic rendering of the name Kedah. In the last quarter of the seventh century, the Chinese Buddhist monk Yijing 義淨 traveled by sea to India, studying there from 673 to 687. En route, he stopped in Śrīvijaya and Malayu before proceeding to Jietu to board a ship for India.<sup>99</sup> From this and other references, it appears that Jietu/Kedah was a key port for merchants and monks traveling to India at the time. Prior to the end of the seventh century, it appears to have become subject to Śrīvijaya.

Another name that seems to represent Kedah appeared by about 800. The *Xin Tang shu* notes that south of Panpan lay Geluo. Geluo was also noted in an account of the maritime route between China and Basra, written around 800 by Jia Dan 賈耽.<sup>100</sup> This major polity, recorded as having twenty-four provinces, would appear to have been the Kalāh of Arabic texts, where it is noted as a major trading center and focus of shipping routes from the ninth century or earlier.<sup>101</sup> The Chinese texts detail its many musical instruments. There is no evidence of any diplomatic contact between Geluo and the Tang state in China.

#### Qāqulla

Geguluo 哥谷羅 / 葛古羅 / Qieguluo 伽古羅  
Jiaguluo 加古羅 / Jajule 迦拘勒

We find in Jia Dan's maritime itinerary another toponym that does not appear in earlier texts: "On the north coast there is the country of Geluo. To the west of Geluo is the country of Geguluo."<sup>102</sup> Both phonetically and geographically, there can be no doubt that Geguluo was the place Arab geographers called Qāqulla.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, given that the geographers note repeatedly that Qāqulla was on a promontory, the name almost definitely refers to the place known today as Phuket, Thailand. Little else is known of this polity.

#### Polities of Sumatra and Java

Now we proceed from the Malay Peninsula to the large islands of Sumatra and Java. Given that Indian, Chinese, and Arab/Persian traders as well as monks from China and Southeast Asia tended to travel through Sumatra's ports to India without detouring to Java, it is the Sumatran polities that were better known during this period.

#### Lhok Cut

Luocha 羅刹 / Luoyue 羅越

The other country, besides Chitu (Kedah), visited by the Sui emperor's mission of 607–10 was Luocha,<sup>104</sup> likely Lhok Cut, located on the north coast of Sumatra in present-day Aceh, directly opposite Kedah across the Strait of Melaka. Luocha was a key port in trans-Bay of Bengal commerce and clearly traded with the people of Linyi (Champa). The *Tang Huiyao* records that a Chinese envoy who went to Poli in 630 reported the existence of the country of Luocha and the presence there of traders from Linyi. These Linyi traders, he noted, had obtained a fire pearl from people in Luocha, who had probably obtained it, in turn, from Sri Lanka.<sup>105</sup> Linguists have long been aware of the connections between the Cham and Acehnese languages, but little evidence of early historical interactions between

the two places has been presented.<sup>106</sup> Thus, this is a key reference. Jia Dan's account of 800 records the polity of Luoyue, which appears to have been the same place as Luocha.

#### Panei

Poli 婆利 / 婆黎

In 473–74 an envoy sent by the country of Poli arrived at the Song court. The *Song shu* (History of the Song; 492–93) specifically notes that Poli was a Buddhist country 凡此諸國，皆事佛道.<sup>107</sup> The Sumatran location and phonetics suggest that the name was equivalent to Panei, archaeological evidence for which can be found in and around Padang Lawas in northern Sumatra.<sup>108</sup> Chinese texts that chronicle the sixth century contain further information. The king of Poli is evocatively described in the *Nan shi*: "The king wears variegated silks and has *yingluos* [long necklaces] draped about his body.<sup>109</sup> On his head he wears a gold crown, more than a *chi*<sup>110</sup> in height, shaped like a military hat but decorated with seven varieties of gems. He carries a gold-adorned sword and also sits on a high gold throne with a silver footstool on which to rest his feet. His female attendants are all decorated with golden flowers and diverse gems and carry either white fly whisk or peacock-feather fans. When the king goes out, he rides in an elephant sedan chair, and the sedan chair is made from various fragrant woods. The top of the chair is fitted with a parasol of feathers, while on the sides are curtains of pearls. Those who proceed ahead and those who follow blow conches and beat drums."<sup>111</sup> The king's surname was reportedly Kaundinya 橋陳如.<sup>112</sup> Envoys from this polity arrived in China in 517 and in 522.<sup>113</sup> Like Luocha, Poli had close links with Linyi, their envoys coming together to the Tang court in 631.<sup>114</sup>

#### Barus

Poluosuo 婆羅娑 / Polushi 婆魯師 / Poluo 婆羅 /  
Polou 婆婁 / Lang Polusi 郎婆露斯

The *Sui shu* records that west of Chitu was the country of Poluosuo.<sup>115</sup> Apparently, this and similar names were representations of the name "Barus." However, the generic use of the name suggests that it referred not to a single port but to a large area, possibly the whole northern part of Sumatra, famous for camphor.

The *Xin Tang shu* mentions a place called Lang Polusi, which it notes was the western of the two countries into which Shili Foshi (Śrīvijaya) was divided. There is no doubt that Barus was meant and that "Lang" is a rendering of the Acehnese prefix *lam-*, meaning "inside" or "deep."<sup>116</sup> The Arabs knew this area as Langabālūs,<sup>117</sup> and both the Chinese and Arabic versions of the name reflect the Acehnese name "Lam Barus."

#### Malayu

Moluoyu 末羅瑜 / 末羅遊 / 摩羅遊

In the seventh century, Chinese texts begin to mention a country named Moluoyu. These are references to the polity of Malayu, which most scholars locate near Jambi in southern Sumatra. In 644 a mission from Moluoyu arrived at the Tang court in Chang'an (present-day Xi'an).<sup>118</sup> In his account of eminent monks, Yijing tells us that the *dhyāna* (meditation) master Chang Min 常愍 studied texts in Malayu en route to India, indicating that the former was likely a major Buddhist center in the seventh century.<sup>119</sup>

#### Vijaya / Śrīvijaya

Foshi 佛逝 / 佛誓 / Shili Foshi 室利佛逝 /  
室利佛誓 / 尸利佛逝 / 尸利佛誓 /

Between the 670s and the 740s, according to the *Xin Tang shu*, repeated missions from a polity named Foshi or Shili Foshi arrived at the Tang court, reporting that those on their borders had attacked them.<sup>120</sup> These missions began at about the same time the Chinese



Fig. 32. Detail of *Nanzhao tuzhuan* (Illustrated Account of Nanzhao) depicting bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara being venerated by local rulers. Handscroll, likely 12th- to 13th-century copy of original dated 899.  
Fujii Yurinkan Museum, Kyoto

Buddhist monk Yijing left for India by sea, in 671. Of the outward journey, Yijing recorded: "I then arrived in Foshi [Vijaya], where I spent six months, gradually learning the Śabdavidyā [Sanskrit grammar]. The king provided me with support and sent me to Malayu." After his time in India, Yijing returned to China by sea in 687; his voyages—from Tāmralipti back to Kedah, Malayu, and Foshi and northward to Guangzhou, arriving in 689—are recorded in his work *Da Tang xiyu quifa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (Eminent Monks Who Sought the Law in the Western Regions during the Great Tang).<sup>121</sup> While in Foshi, "the Indian texts I brought formed more than five hundred thousand *slokas* [stanzas], which, if translated into Chinese, would make a thousand volumes, and with these I am now staying at Bhoja [Foshi]."<sup>122</sup> Foshi (Vijaya) was thus both a commercial center for the China trade and a center of Buddhist learning. It was a major polity for about eighty years, sending missions to China in 702, 716, 724, 728, and 742.<sup>123</sup> There were no further missions to China until 904. The events of the last half of the eighth through the ninth century remain an enigma.

Most scholars accept that Foshi was centered in Palembang in southern Sumatra, an assertion supported by the archaeology of that city.<sup>124</sup> However, the connections among Palembang, Śrivijaya, and Malayu remain debated. Because a later textual note in Yijing's account states "Malayu (now changed to Shili Foshi)," some scholars suggest that Shili Foshi had conquered Malayu prior to about 695.<sup>125</sup> However, the specific politics of these events remain unexplained, and it is equally possible that the attacks on Foshi (Vijaya) mentioned at the beginning of this section were launched by Molouyu/Jambi and that, following its military success, Molouyu assumed the name of Shili Foshi (Śrivijaya).

The Sabokingking (Telaga Batu) inscription (fig. 24) from Palembang and the Kota Kapur inscription from the island of Bangka, east of Palembang across the Bangka Strait, both date to the late seventh century, the same period treated by the sources noted above.<sup>126</sup>

### Keling Heling 訶陵

The polity of Heling is first noted in Chinese texts referring to its mission to China in 640, followed by additional missions in 648 and 666. This period coincides with the rise of Vijaya. We then read that in 760–61 ships of the Dashi (Arabs) arrived at Heling, just two years after similar ships raided Guangzhou. Then, in 767 and 768, two more missions from Heling appeared at the Tang court in Chang'an (Xi'an). Further Heling missions to China are recorded in 813, 816, 827–35, and 860–73.<sup>127</sup> The name of the envoy with the 816 mission is given as Li He-nei 李訶內, and he was likely an Arab (possibly Ali Hani).<sup>128</sup> Heling is described as a major port between Guangzhou and Malayu, and, as such, it is here identified as a polity centered on Palembang in southern Sumatra.<sup>129</sup>

Jabades / Yavadeś / Jaba / Jawa / Java / Zābaj

Yepoti 耶婆提 / Dupo 杜薄 / Zhepo / Zhupo 諸薄 / Shepo 社薄

The names that might be associated with Java are as numerous within the Chinese textual tradition as outside it. However, their variety suggests that they do not refer solely to the island we today call Java. It is clear from the maritime references examined above that China-India links during this period were via Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula; the island of Java appears to have played little role in this network. To what, then, does the persistent term Jawa/Jaba/Java refer? Both Chinese and Arabic sources suggest that there could well have been a polity known as Jaba by the fifth century, probably centered in southern Sumatra, and that it most likely stretched its influence across the Sunda Strait to Java proper.<sup>130</sup>

The name Shepo cannot be firmly associated with the island of Java until the *Lingwai daida* 嶺外代答 (Notes on Things beyond the Ranges; dated 1178), where it is noted that "the country of Shepo is also called Pujialong 蒲家龍. It is in the ocean to the southeast, and below the forces 势下. It is thus called the lower coast 下岸."<sup>131</sup> We can clearly identify Pujialong with Pekalongan on the north coast of Java and can affirm that Shepo, in this text, is the island of Java we know today. Later Chinese references to Zhepo and Shepo can also generally be ascribed to the island of Java.

### Tārumā Duoluomo 多羅磨

One of the few names from the first millennium that we can quite firmly associate with the island of Java is Duoluomo, first mentioned in an eighth-century text.<sup>132</sup> This is almost certainly synonymous with Tārumā, located in western Java. But little information is provided in the text, beyond the polity's navigational location.

### Afterword

By translating and abstracting Chinese references to polities throughout Southeast Asia over the first millennium of the Common Era, we are able to discern some aspects of the political and cultural milieus of the period. Here, references that suggest Indic connections and relationships and, especially, religious traditions in the region have been foregrounded. It is obvious from the texts that these Southeast Asian polities were hybrid in their practices. The coexistence and, at times, integration of Brahmanical religious traditions, various schools of Buddhism (*nikāya*), and, in the later centuries of this study, aspects of Islam reveal a region that was connected, cosmopolitan, and deeply spiritual. Efforts have been made to identify which polities existed over what periods. When locations for the polities can be identified or surmised, such details have been provided. Most of the proposed identities are quite firm, but some are tentative. The new polity structure outlined here for Southeast Asia over this period may well allow us to better integrate textual sources, as well as objects of material culture, into a more coherent story of the Southeast Asian past.

# Catalogue

John Guy



CAT. 1

## CAT. 1

### Impression from a Seal

#### Depicting a Ship at Sea

India, probably Bengal or Andhra Pradesh,  
4th–5th century

Found in Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom  
province, central Thailand

Clay

H. 1 1/4 in. (4.5 cm), w. 2 in. (5 cm)

National Museum, Bangkok (2309)

In eastern India during the first millennium, clay seals may have served as warrants for the consignment of goods, whereby a merchant gave his pledge of good faith to a creditor. The ship depicted here is an oceangoing vessel, of stitched-plank construction, with a single mast, latern sail, and stern lateral rudder. Such vessels were widely used in the Indian Ocean during the first millennium. Depictions of ships appear in sculptural reliefs at the Mauryan-period (1st century B.C.) stupa at Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh. A number of clay seal impressions found at the associated Bengali port of Chandraketugarh show related ship designs, and on one, the inscription in Brāhmī script has been read as *trapyaka*, a term in Indian Sastric literature referring to a medium-sized vessel. Similar ships also appear on Śātavāhana-dynasty coins that circulated along the Coromandel Coast of Andhra Pradesh in the first century A.D.<sup>1</sup> A related style of ship appears in a sixth-century mural in cave 2, Ajanta, western India. This seal, found at Nakhon Pathom, thus bears witness to the maritime trade between South Asia and the Mon territories in the mid-first millennium. A number of such Indian artifacts found in central Thailand, including devotional sealings and small

votive icons as well as impressions of trader's seals (cat. 87), suggest a significant presence of Indian and other foreign merchants in the region at the time.

PUBLICATIONS: Fine Arts Department 1967, fig. 13; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1969, pp. 47–48; Fine Arts Department 1970, p. 9; Dhida Saraya 1999, p. 180; Fine Arts Department 2005d, pp. 22–23; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, p. 54, no. 6; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 114–15, no. 2; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 40, ill. no. 1.4.

NOTE: 1. Guy 1999b, p. 108, fig. 7.

## CAT. 2

### Coin from the Reign of Emperor Victorinus

Cologne, Germany, 269–71

Found at U Thong, Suphanburi province,  
central Thailand

Copper alloy

Diam. 3/4 in. (2 cm)

National Museum, U Thong, Suphanburi,  
Thailand, bequeathed by Air Vice Marshal  
Montri Haanawichai (306/2509)

Large quantities of Roman coins dating to the first to fifth century have been recovered in southern India and Sri Lanka, where they were of considerable importance to the local economies. Some circulated to mainland Southeast Asia, as seen at Oc Eo in the Mekong delta and at early urban centers such as U Thong in central Thailand.<sup>1</sup> Much of the Roman coinage reaching South Asia and beyond entered the trading system as payment for South Asian perishable commodities, of which black pepper from the Malabar Coast of India and cotton goods were the most significant.<sup>2</sup> Atypical of those that circulated as bulk coinage in South Asia, this coin, from a large provincial Roman minting struck during the reign of the usurper Victorinus (who ruled in the Gallic provinces, in northern Europe), was minted in Cologne in 269–71.<sup>3</sup> Low-value coins such as this one moved through the western provinces of the Roman Empire until the end of the third century; they were not a regular feature of Indian Ocean commerce. Nonetheless, this coin found its way into the long-distance India trade and thence to U Thong, a known terminus of the Thai



CAT. 2



CAT. 3

peninsular route, along with Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Si Thammarat, and Wat Khlong Thom in Krabi, where another Roman coin has been found.<sup>4</sup> Stray Roman coins were likely traded by itinerant Indian merchants, as was a Byzantine oil lamp found at Phong Tuek, Kanchanaburi province, western Thailand.<sup>5</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Brown and MacDonnell 1989, pp. 14–15, ill. p. 42; Phasuk Indrawooth 1999, pp. 104–5, fig. 31; Fine Arts Department 2002c, p. 60 and front cover; Bellina and Glover 2004, p. 71, fig. 4.1; Phasuk Indrawooth 2004, p. 122; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 37–38; Fine Arts Department 2007a, p. 50; Borell 2008a, p. 14, n. 51; Smitthi Siribhadra 2009, pp. 21, 22, fig. 2.

NOTES: 1. Coins featuring Marcus Aurelius and Antoninus Pius have been recorded in Oc Eo; see Malleret 1959–63, vol. 3 (1962), pp. 115–17, pl. xl. For U Thong, see Phasuk Indrawooth 1999, p. 104. 2. Miller 1969, pp. 80–83. 3. Borell 2008a, p. 14. 4. Preserved at Wat Khlong Thom, Krabi province, southern Thailand, along with other finds from the Khuan Luk Pad (“Bead Hill”) site, an early riverine trading center. See Glover 1989; Bronson 1990. 5. Coedès 1928b; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1936b; Brown and MacDonnell 1989.

### CAT. 3 Footed Dish with Equestrian Hunting Scene

Central Vietnam, ca. 8th century  
Copper alloy  
H. 1½ in. (3.8 cm), diam. 11½ in. (28.1 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Purchase, Friends of Asian Art Gifts, 1999  
(1999.261)

This remarkable bronze presentation dish can be attributed to the Cham territories of Vietnam. It has an elaborately decorated cavetto with three equestrian riders wielding a bow, a lance, and a sword, respectively, and hunting in a forested landscape populated by elephants, buffalo, and lions. In one scene, a lion attacks an elephant; in another, the archer on horseback shoots backward from the saddle (in a so-called Parthian shot) at a rearing lion. The inner register contains a boar, a rhinoceros, and three buffalo, one seemingly dead (with feet in air) and one being mauled by a lion. The interstices are filled with a variety of flowering trees. The two friezes, each with a single floral border, are separated by a square fret pattern. At the very center is a bezel,

the now-empty setting presumably once holding a gemstone or rock crystal, surrounded by a lotus-petal collar.

The dish has a shallow flared foot, suggesting that it served as a presentation dish, likely in a secular court. No precedent for this object was known until the recent discovery of a second dish, in a hoard excavated in Lam Dong province, southern Vietnam.<sup>1</sup> That fragmentary dish displays the same organization, except that the cavetto is occupied by six male figures: two musicians, playing a flute and a lyre, respectively; one dancer; a lost figure; and two warriors in combative stances with swords and shields. The musicians and dancers display long scarves. Birds in flight occupy the spaces in between. The center has a lotus-bud pattern but no setting as in the Metropolitan's example. Both dishes are likely the products of court workshops associated with a Cham kingdom in the late first millennium.

The Chams derived their prosperity from the long-distance east-west trade that passed their shores in coastal Vietnam, and it is likely that West Asian or Indian metalwork was exchanged in trade. The imagery employed in the footed



CAT. 4

dish—the archer firing a Parthian shot, the “heraldic” rearing lion, the playful parade of elephants—points to external models circulating in the Cham territories, both from southern India and, at a greater remove, from Sasanian Iran (224–651).<sup>2</sup> Sasanian silver vessels were famed and inspired imitations in both Tang China (618–906) and Gupta India (ca. 320–550).<sup>3</sup> The dish appears to combine two traditions: the footed-bowl profile closely resembles Sasanian types,<sup>4</sup> while the imagery is a mix of West Asian and southern Indian. In all likelihood, both it and the fragmentary dish were modeled after long-lost imported models from southern India. Several factors point to local production for them, including the long, beveled shield of a recognizably Southeast Asian type held by the warriors; the presence of the rhinoceros, once ubiquitous in mainland Southeast Asia (now extinct there); and the lotus bud and petals at the center of both designs. The scarf dance is also a familiar motif from early Cham art, depicted prominently on the stair risers of the altar platform of temple E1 at My Son, central Vietnam, which is assigned to the late seventh century. Similarly, equestrian skills were known to the Chams, as witnessed by a stone balustrade relief depicting two polo players from Dai An, Quang Tri province, dated to the tenth century.<sup>5</sup>

PUBLICATION: Martin Lerner in “Recent Acquisitions” 2000, p. 80.

NOTES: 1. This find is preserved at the Lam Dong Province Museum, Da Lat, and was first presented by Pierre Baptiste at the 2010 European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists (EurASEAA) Conference in Berlin. 2. The motif of the rider firing a Parthian shot, of ancient Iranian origin, was well known in Tang China as a result of cultural contact with the Sasanians and was widely copied in both metalwork and ceramics. It is rarely seen in an Indian setting. 3. For Tang China, see Harper 1981, especially p. 238, pl. 37; for Gupta India, see Cleveland Museum of Art 1991, p. 19. 4. Harper 1981, p. 44. 5. Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang, Vietnam (22.4); illustrated in Guillou 2001, p. 132, no. 121.

#### CAT. 4 Footed Bowl with Scenes from the *Gauttila Jātaka*

Southern India, probably Andhra Pradesh, ca. 5th–6th century  
Reportedly found in Malaysia  
Copper alloy  
H. 8 1/4 in. (21 cm), w. 8 3/4 in. (22.2 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Rogers Fund, 1975 (1975.419)

This vessel is of great importance, not only for the near completeness of this rarely seen type but also for its pictorial content. Almost no secular or religious metalwork survives from the first millennium in southern India. Temple utensils, often of pure copper, wore out after

some generations and were routinely replaced, the metal recycled. The scenes of southern Indian court life depicted on this bowl are unique in Indian metalwork; one must look to the Buddhist stupa reliefs of the Ikṣvāku rulers of fourth-century Andhra Pradesh, as preserved at Nagarjunakonda and Phanigiri, for example, for comparable renderings of palace architecture of the period.<sup>1</sup> The sophisticated depiction of interior and exterior space matches that of architectural reliefs made in Andhra Pradesh at the time.<sup>2</sup> Spectators atop the palace walls and in doorways add to the illusion of architectural space and the theatrical drama of the scenes depicted.

The vessel may have served as a presentation dish at a Buddhist court, mimicking, as it does, the form of a monk’s alms bowl resting on its stand.<sup>3</sup> The bulbous bowl carries a detailed pictorial frieze that extends around the full circumference in an uninterrupted flow, framed above by multiple bead and petal borders and below by radiating lotus petals. At the junction with the flared foot is an openwork frieze of dwarf-like figures. A regular feature of temple architecture in southern India and Sri Lanka from the sixth or seventh century on, such *gānas* decorated the moldings that separated architectural elements, especially the basement and the upper structure.<sup>4</sup>

The scenes depicted in the frieze have been convincingly linked to the *Gauttila Jātaka*, a story of one of the Buddha’s past lives.<sup>5</sup> The tale

recounts a musical competition instigated by a king at his court in Varanasi after an ambitious pupil challenges his master for the position of court musician: “At the king’s gate they had made a pavilion and prepared the king’s seat. The king came down from the terrace and sat on a divan in the midst, in the decorated pavilion.... In the royal courtyard they had fixed tier above tier, seat above seat.”<sup>6</sup> The temporary *mandapa*, with its slender pillars, is clearly depicted on the left, festooned with garlands. The king and his queen relax in royal ease (*rājalilāsana*), maidens with fly whisks above. Guttilla,<sup>7</sup> the aged harpist, has been offered divine assistance in the competition by the heavenly protector Sakka (Pali; Skt. Śakra), or Indra, and he sits in the courtyard, playing his harp to the divine dancing genie who is invisible to all but him (“Sakka came with unseen body and stood in the air”). Directly above Guttilla, a divine umbrella (*chattra*) bearer hovers in a cloud-like semicircle, foretelling his future Buddhahood. To the far right sits the forlorn young challenger. Pitchers and jugs appear on the wall—presumably further examples of the secular metalwork of the period—suggesting that the audience was intent on making this a festive occasion.

This vessel was reportedly found in Southeast Asia and may have been a prized object at one of the early Buddhist courts of the peninsula. However, there is little material evidence from that region to which the vessel can be related. A bronze bodhisattva torso (cat. 6), likely from Sri Lanka and discovered in Surat Thani province in peninsular Thailand, displays some of the same slender elegance as the palace scene characters. Also, an openwork censer excavated in the Bujang valley, Kedah, in western coastal Malaysia,<sup>8</sup> and a second complete censer discovered as part of the Sambas hoard in Kalimantan (Borneo)<sup>9</sup>—both possibly imported from Tamil Nadu or, more likely, copied locally after lost imports—bear witness to the circulation of rare objects of this kind between India and Southeast Asia. Depictions of palaces, albeit celestial ones, do occur in Southeast Asia: at the ancient city of Champasak, as stone antefixes, and at Sambor Prei Kuk, in carved brick (fig. 143). Three heavenly pavilions are pictured on a rare clay sealing recovered from a cave retreat on the peninsula (cat. 154).

PUBLICATIONS: Martin Lerner in Metropolitan Museum of Art 1979, p. 89; Lerner 1988, pp. 38, 39, no. 21;

Lawergren 1994, figs. 1–4.

NOTES: 1. For Nagarjunakonda and Goli, see Stone 1994, pls. 85, 137. For a summary report on Phanigiri, see Chenna Reddy 2008, pp. 23–24. 2. Compare Ramachandra Rao 1956. 3. It was cast in two parts, bowl and stand, and each may have originally

functioned separately. At some point in antiquity, the two parts were joined. 4. Meister, Dhaky, and Deva 1986, pls. 458–71; von Schroeder 1990, pls. 89, 90, 131, a–e. 5. Lawergren 1994. For *jātaka* no. 243, see translation in Cowell 1895–1913, vol. 2 (1895), pp. 172–78. 6. Lawergren 1994, p. 231. 7. The name of the protagonist is Guttilla; Gautilla is a different grammatical form required for the title of the *jātaka*. 8. Recovered by H. G. Quaritch Wales from the bed of the Sungai River, Kedah, in 1940; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1976, pl. 7b. 9. Tan Yeok Seong 1949.



CAT. 5

#### CAT. 5

#### Buddha Preaching

South Asia, probably Sri Lanka, 6th century

Found in Nakhon Ratchasima province, northeastern Thailand

Copper alloy

H. 11½ in. (29.2 cm), w. 2¾ in. (7 cm)

National Museum, Bangkok, gift of Prince Damrong Rajanubhab (DR1)

This is one of two Amaravati-style bronze Buddhas found in Thailand; the other was recovered in Narathiwat province.<sup>1</sup> Both may be

considered imports from Sri Lanka, where the Amaravati legacy of southern India continued in the monastic workshops of Anuradhapura, the first-millennium capital of Buddhist Sri Lanka.<sup>2</sup> The Buddha wears his monastic robes exposing the right shoulder in the southern Indian manner, and the outer robes fall in sharply fluted waves from the shoulder and raised left arm. The articulation of the robe continues on the reverse, the overlapping of the inner and outer wraps beautifully distinguished. A projecting tenon on the back of the head confirms that a decorative aureole or nimbus

(*prabhā*) would have been fitted there. The facial features and hands are finely articulated, and the pronounced conical skull protuberance (*usñīṣa*) is in keeping with Sri Lankan models. The left hand is raised in exposition (*vitarkamudrā*), while the right, sometimes identified as being in *katakamudrā* (holding the stem of a flower), is better understood as clasping the robe. Often in Dvāravatī Buddha imagery, this hand appears to double as a second *vitarkamudrā*, a hallmark of the region, as witnessed in the seventh-century rock-cut cave relief of the enthroned preaching Buddha at Tham Phra Phothisat (fig. 1).

The presence of such imported models had a profound impact on image making in the western and southern regions of Thailand in most immediate dialogue with Sri Lanka. The pivotal role of Sri Lanka both as an entrepôt for long-distance trade and as a recognized custodian of Buddhist values made it a natural source of inspiration and guidance for new Buddhist communities.

PUBLICATIONS: Dupont 1959a, pp. 165–67, pls. 336, 337; Damrong Rajanubhab 1962, fig. 21; Griswold 1966, pp. 55–57, fig. 9; Fine Arts Department 1967, fig. 12; Subhadradis Diskul 1970, p. 1, fig. 2; Boisselier 1975, p. 68 and p. 64, pl. 35; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 39–41; Chedha Tingsanchali 2009, pp. 226, 227, fig. 5; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, p. 20 and p. 17, ill. no. 3.

NOTES: 1. Sukchai Saising 2004, fig. 19.

2. Dupont 1959b.

#### CAT. 7

#### Torso of Bodhisattva, probably Avalokiteśvara

Southern India, ca. 6th century

Recovered from Krishna River delta, Andhra

Pradesh, before 1914

Copper alloy

H. 5 7/8 in. (15 cm), w. 4 5/16 in. (11 cm)

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

(IM.300-1914)

When this finely cast bronze icon of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (cat. 6) was excavated in peninsular Thailand in 1961, comparisons were quickly drawn with the famous bronze bodhisattva torso recovered in the Krishna River delta, Andhra Pradesh (cat. 7), which is assigned to the Pallava period (ca. 6th century). Both have a slender torso with broad shoulders and a multistranded sacred cord (*yajñopavīta*) drawn across the left shoulder. In each case, one projecting hand displays the gesture of exposition

#### CAT. 6

#### Torso of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

Sri Lanka, probably Anuradhapura,

6th–7th century

Excavated from Khuan Saranrom, Phunphin district, Surat Thani province, southern Thailand, in 1961

Copper alloy

H. 8 3/8 in. (21.2 cm)

National Museum, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Thailand (370/2505)



CAT. 6



CAT. 7



CAT. 8

(*vitarkamudrā*); the Sri Lankan Avalokiteśvara's other, closed hand was probably intended to hold an ascetic's waterpot (*kamandalu*). The Sri Lankan example has the meditating Amitābha Buddha in the chignon, but the Indian example has only a flower, suggesting that it is an early representation of the Bodhisattva of Compassion. While the latter undoubtedly represents the genesis of this eloquent conception of the bodhisattva in southern Indian Buddhism, multiple comparisons demonstrate that the idea found its fullest expression in the Mahāyāna imagery of late sixth- and seventh-century Sri Lanka.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the Surat Thani bronze, other bronzes with similar characteristics have been recovered in Java and in Kutai, eastern Kalimantan (Borneo).<sup>2</sup> These bronzes form a coherent class of object, so they are unlikely to have been locally cast, as has been suggested.<sup>3</sup> By contrast, it seems likely that the Surat Thani example was part of a wider dissemination of small, portable Buddhist imagery from Sri Lanka to insular and peninsular Southeast Asia. The Krishna River bronze shares

that pan-regional style and may be a rare survivor from the style's place of origin, the old territories of Amaravati. Such a widespread diffusion was probably a consequence both of the circulation of monks and of an active commerce in religious icons and associated paraphernalia. The presence of imported imagery, in turn, opened avenues for influence on local art production.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 6: Boisselier 1975, p. 51, pl. 26; Piriya Krairiksh 1977, pp. 58–59; von Schroeder 1990, pp. 211–14, fig. 22, pp. 250, 251, pl. 60, e; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, pp. 150–51, fig. 52; Guy 2004b, p. 172, pl. 15.18; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 46–47, fig. 26; Moradok khong phaendin 2006, pp. 58–59 and front cover; Fine Arts Department 2008, pp. 64–65; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 79, 80, ill. no. 161.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 7: Sivaramamurti 1963, p. 45, pl. 2b; Snellgrove 1978, p. 128 and p. 126, pl. 88; Schastok 1994, pp. 43–44, pl. 10; Guy 2004b, p. 164, pl. 15.14; Guy 2011c, p. 310, fig. 10.

NOTES: 1. Von Schroeder 1990, chap. 6, especially pp. 250–53. 2. Guy 2004b, pl. 15.15; Edwards McKinnon forthcoming. 3. Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, p. 151.

#### CAT. 8

#### Prajñāpāramitā, Goddess of Wisdom

Sri Lanka, probably Polonnaruwa,  
ca. late 8th–9th century  
Reportedly found in southern Thailand  
Copper alloy with traces of gilding  
5 15/16 x 5 1/8 x 2 3/4 in. (15 x 13 x 7 cm)  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London  
(IS.21-1988)

Prajñāpāramitā, whose name means “perfection of knowledge,” was an important cult divinity in Mahāyāna Buddhism during the late first millennium. She is the personification of the text of the same name, which is largely a compilation of dialogues on the nature of Buddhist wisdom, incantations, and charms (*dhāraṇī*). She probably emerged from monasteries in southern India as a Buddhist counterpart to the Brahmanical Lakṣmī, also a wisdom goddess. Here, Prajñāpāramitā is seated in a meditation posture, with face alert and hands engaged in an Esoteric Buddhist gesture associated with higher knowledge, likely *vajramudrā*. A lotus (*utpala*) stem



CAT. 9

crown, and the possibility that she, too, represents Prajñāpāramitā cannot be ruled out. The left hand likely held a lotus stem, which would then have carried a manuscript, that goddess's principal identifier. 3. See Faxian 1886, pp. 110–12. 4. See Edwards McKinnon forthcoming for a cache of Buddhist bronze icons found at Kuitai, eastern Kalimantan.

#### CAT. 9

#### Buddha Granting Boons

Sarnath region, Uttar Pradesh, northern India,  
first half of 6th century

Found in Wiang Sa district, Surat Thani  
province, southern Thailand, in 1934  
Sandstone

H. 6 1/2 in. (16.5 cm), w. 3 1/16 in. (10 cm)  
National Museum, Bangkok, donated by H. G.  
Quaritch Wales in 1934 (TP38)

This stone sculpture of the Buddha granting boons is in the style closely associated with the sculpture workshops of the great monastic complex at Sarnath in northern India. The diaphanous robes, flexed posture, closely modeled hair curls, and calm beauty of the face all affirm a Sarnath connection, while the assurance of style and characteristic fine-grained, buff-colored sandstone indicate that it was an Indian import to peninsular Thailand. Given its diminutive size, one might surmise that it was commissioned expressly for export, perhaps by an eminent monk returning to his monastery in Surat Thani province after a period of study in northern India; having been sourced so close to the site of the Buddha's First Sermon, it would have been revered for its relic-like status and undoubtedly would have served as an inspirational model for local artisans at the time.

Sarnath was a center for the Sammitiya sect of Buddhism, an offshoot of the dominant Sthaviravāda school, which flourished from about the mid-fourth to mid-seventh century.<sup>1</sup> The Chinese pilgrim-monk Xuanzang tells us that around 634–35, some thirty Sammitiya monasteries flourished at Sarnath, supporting more than three thousand monks.<sup>2</sup> The products of the sculpture workshops must have accorded with the beliefs and practices of the sect, which was particularly influential in the emerging cult of the bodhisattva.

The recovery of this icon at Wiang Sa affirms the region's role in the establishment of some of the earliest monasteries in mainland Southeast Asia; Chaiya and Nakhon Si Thammarat boast a continuous tradition of monasticism from this period, as witnessed both by inscriptions attributable to the fifth to sixth century and by stupa remains preserved in later renovations. The name Nakhon Si Thammarat translates as "the city of the king(s) [who followed] the Buddha's Law."<sup>3</sup> Wiang Sa, south of Surat Thani and west of Nakhon Si Thammarat, was a major junction of the transpeninsular trade routes that connected those two centers, on the Gulf of Thailand, with the Andaman Sea at Takuapa, Phuket, and Khuan Luk Pad, near Krabi—all sites with recorded evidence of participation in long-distance trade.

rises up to her left shoulder, its bloom supporting her wisdom book in the form of a sacred palm-leaf manuscript (*pustaka*). She wears a conical, jeweled diadem (*ratnamakuta*) and, on the reverse, a round hair ornament (*siraścakra*), from which long braids descend to her shoulders; jeweled ornaments hang from the diadem. She also wears a sacred cord (*yajñopavita*) across her chest, belts at the waist and hips, and heavy ankle bracelets.

Stylistically, the image can be related to bronzes of the late Polonnaruwa period in Sri Lanka. The florid jewelry ornaments and elaborate diadem have much in common with the predominantly Brahmanical metal imagery produced at this time in Cōla-occupied Sri Lanka.<sup>1</sup> The large side bows are a distinctive feature of the period, as is the assured modeling of the female form, with firm, upturned breasts; a slender waist; and broad shoulders that echo those of the famous Tārā from Trincomalee, now in the British Museum, London.<sup>2</sup> Monks

and any religious imagery they carried would likely have embarked for insular Southeast Asia from that major port on Sri Lanka's east coast.<sup>3</sup> The seated Prajñāpāramitā was probably exported to Southeast Asia in the same period, like the Avalokiteśvara found in peninsular Thailand (cat. 6). Together with related portable metal icons found in Java and elsewhere in insular Southeast Asia, these objects form a substantial corpus of evidence for the role of Sri Lankan institutionalized Buddhism as an evangelizing force in late first-millennium Southeast Asia.<sup>4</sup> The bulk of the recognizable imagery has Mahāyāna tendencies.

PUBLICATIONS: von Schroeder 1990, pp. 278–79, pl. 74, b, c; Guy 2004b, p. 173, pl. 15.16; Guy 2007, pp. 119–21, pl. 134.

NOTES: 1. Cōla-period (9th–13th century) bronze icons of southern India are often solid cast, as is this image. 2. Assigned to the first half of the eighth century; see von Schroeder 1990, pp. 276–77, pl. 73, b–d. The Trincomalee Tārā is missing her identifying icon in the

PUBLICATIONS: Dupont 1959a, p. 122, pl. 339; Damrong Rajanubhab 1962, fig. 23; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1969, pp. 12–13, pl. 2b; Boisselier 1975, p. 69, pl. 39; Pal 1978, p. 67, no. 14; Czuma 1980, pp. 229, 232, 234, fig. 6; Piriya Krairiksh 1980, p. 20; Sukchai Saising 2004, p. 41, fig. 1; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, p. 53, no. 3; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, p. 18, ill. no. 4; *Japan and Thailand* 2011, pp. 140, 175, no. 20; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 50, ill. no. 1.17; H. Tan et al. 2012, p. 63, no. 1.

NOTES: 1. Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 50. 2. Beal 1884, vol. 2, pp. 14, 44. 3. Munro-Hay 2001, p. 1. This is also the ancient Tambralinga of Chinese sources; see Wannasarn Noonsuk 2013, pp. 1–8.

CAT. 10

**Buddha Śākyamuni Granting Boons**

Sarnath region, Uttar Pradesh, northern India,  
ca. 475

Sandstone

H. 34½ in. (86.7 cm), w. 17½ in. (44.8 cm)

Asia Society, New York, Mr. and Mrs. John D.  
Rockefeller 3rd Collection (1975.5)

Over time, a multitude of Indian stylistic currents were felt in Southeast Asia. The prevailing aesthetic in the Mon art associated with the Dvāravati kingdom was received from northern India in the late fifth and sixth centuries, reflecting the powerful school of Buddhist art centered at Sarnath.<sup>1</sup> The monastic community that had grown up there, near the site of the Buddha's First Sermon in a deer forest north of Varanasi, supported the most influential school of Buddhist art during the Gupta period (ca. 320–550). The Sarnath style came to dominate Buddha images thereafter, becoming a pan-Asian aesthetic.<sup>2</sup> It was transmitted to Southeast Asia probably in the form of illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts (although no evidence survives) and undoubtedly in the form of small, portable icons made of metal, wood, or, surprisingly, stone, as witnessed by the Buddha sculpture discovered in peninsular Thailand in 1934 (cat. 9). The transmission of stone prototypes is not unprecedented: a significant number of small Buddhist stone reliefs recovered at ancient Buddhist sites in Sri Lanka are established as being of southern Indian origin (see fig. 9).<sup>3</sup> The Thai-provenanced example displays several features that confirm the high probability that it was an import: the type of stone, the skilled capturing of the Sarnath aesthetic, and the attention to iconographic detail, such as the webbed fingers (*jalahasta*), an early mark of Buddhahood (*lakṣaṇa*) that disappeared by the end of the Gupta period. The aesthetic exemplified by the Asia Society's Buddha and its successors had a profound impact on religious imagery in seventh-century Southeast Asia, nowhere more strongly than in the sculpture workshops of the Dvāravati kingdom (see cat. 117).

PUBLICATIONS: Pal 1978, p. 68, no. 15; S. L. Huntington 1983, p. 375, fig. 14; Leidy 1993, p. 51, fig. 1; Leidy 1994, p. 26, fig. 6.

NOTES: 1. The Sarnath style was firmly established by the late fifth century, as witnessed by several inscribed and dated works, including one of 474 and two of 477; see S. L. Huntington 1983, p. 375. 2. Pal 1978. 3. This evidence, published over many years, is summarized in von Schroeder 1990, pp. 104–11.



CAT. 10



CAT. 11

**CAT. 11**  
**Brick Depicting West Asian Merchant Wearing Kupeeyok Hat**

Central Thailand, early 8th century  
 Recovered from Chedi Chula Pathon, Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province  
 Terracotta  
 $10\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$  in. ( $27 \times 14.7 \times 4.7$  cm)  
 Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand (609/2519)

This building brick incised with a depiction of a foreign merchant of West Asian, perhaps Sogdian, origin was recovered during renovation work at Chedi Chula Pathon. The profile portrait depicts a bearded man with a pronounced

aquiline nose wearing a pointed cloth cap tied at the front. Related figure types, also wearing distinctive forward-peaked caps (fig. 33),<sup>1</sup> appear in terracotta reliefs at the late seventh-century Buddhist center of Khu Bua, notably at site 40, near Ratchaburi.<sup>2</sup> Persians and other traders from the west, including India, are known to have participated in the long-distance trade that linked mainland Southeast Asia to the greater world around the Indian Ocean.<sup>3</sup> Merchant ships departing the Persian Gulf could expect to reach southern China's port of Guangzhou (Canton) some five months later, having paused en route in the equatorial regions of Southeast Asia to await the turning of the monsoons. Trade with the emerging urban centers of mainland



Fig. 33. Head of a foreign merchant. Western Thailand, first half of 7th century. Found in Khu Bua, Ratchaburi province. Terracotta,  $9 \times 6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{16}$  in. (23 x 16.5 x 10 cm). National Museum, Bangkok

Southeast Asia was a profitable activity during the obligatory stopover, when exotic western goods could be exchanged for the forest wealth of the hinterland. The seventh-century Chinese pilgrim-monk Xuanzang described the Persians as purveyors of rare objects and strange delights.<sup>4</sup> While in Southeast Asia, they gathered the resins, aromatic woods, gemstones, and colorful birds so prized in Tang China (618–906).<sup>5</sup>

The appearance of this drawing of a foreign merchant on the surface of a building brick suggests graffiti—the work of a talented artisan drawn for amusement—and confirms that Dvāravatī centers in central Thailand were among those frequented by international merchants in Southeast Asia.

PUBLICATIONS: Srivaktra Vallibhotama 1996, p. 24; Dhida Saraya 1999, pp. 152–53; Fine Arts Department 2005b, p. 177, fig. 159; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, p. 54, no. 9; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 86–87, 89, ill. no. 1.

NOTES: 1. Lyons 1965. 2. Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, pp. 204–5, figs. 97–100. 3. Anan Vattananikorn 1991. 4. Beal 1884. 5. Schafer 1951. Representations of West Asian traders who frequented the overland trade route to Chang'an (Xi'an), China, are depicted in glazed ceramic figures of the late Tang dynasty (6th–8th century); see Watson 1984, p. 185.

**CAT. 12**  
**Throne Stele**

Central Myanmar, ca. 4th century  
 Excavated northwest of Śri Ksetra palace complex, Hmawza, by the Department of Archaeology, Myanmar, in the 1970s  
 Sandstone  
 $59\frac{1}{16} \times 27\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{7}{16}$  in. ( $150 \times 70 \times 20$  cm)  
 National Museum, Yangon, Myanmar (1649)

This large stele with a cusped top is the most elaborate of a small number of stone slabs recovered at Śri Ksetra that may be termed “throne steles.” Another example, heavily eroded but with a comparable floral pattern, is stored at

Hmawza, within the ancient city.<sup>1</sup> How these enigmatic steles functioned is far from clear. Given the prevalence of colossal stone imagery at Śrī Kṣetra, including large Buddha triads, it must be assumed that these, too, served as statements of royal power, their religious imagery designed to ensure political success, perhaps even to invoke magical protection.

The stele is decorated in low relief on both sides with figures and on the edge with a floral design. On one side, likely intended as the front, an empty throne with two female attendants is depicted.<sup>2</sup> Behind the throne are two slender pillars with vase capitals supporting a crossbar with *makara* (aquatic monster) terminals, with a

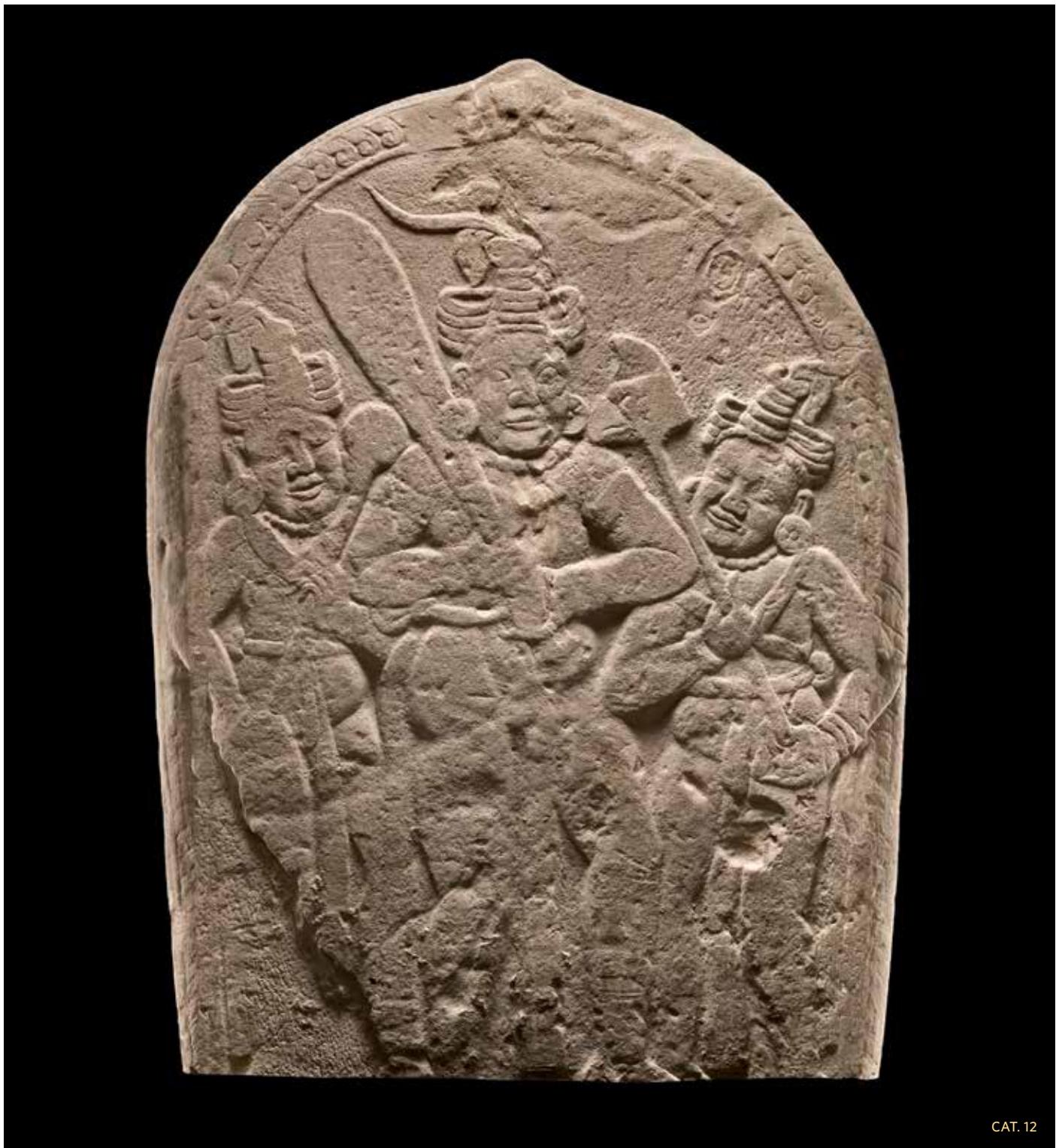
sprung arch above. Related *makaras* appear on other Pyu throne backs, most notably those depicted on the Khin Ba reliquary (cat. 27) and two associated sheet-gold Buddha sculptures,<sup>3</sup> as well as in a Mon cultural context on a crossbar from Nakhon Pathom, central Thailand (cat. 114). The Khin Ba-associated representations, with their distinctly crocodilian physiognomies, upturned snouts, and outpouring of luxuriant foliage from open jaws, have clear affiliations with the *makaras* on this throne stele, which may well have been their antecedent. The space enclosed by the arch is filled with an interlocking twelve-pointed-flower pattern, suggestive of a textile canopy. The same motif,

which also repeats along the entire length of the edge of the stele, is detectable on the heavily eroded throne stele stored at Hmawza.<sup>4</sup>

The royal throne-stool (*bhadrapitha*) with a pillar-supported canopy may be compared to that depicted in the seventh-century Khmer lintel of an enthroned king's coronation (cat. 88), while the empty throne is evocative of the Buddha's throne-seat at Bodh Gaya, the *vajrasana*.<sup>5</sup> A heavily degraded device at the summit of the relief may be a *triratna*, an ancient symbol adapted by Buddhism to denote the three prongs of the faith: Buddha, dharma (Law), and *saṅgha* (monastic community).<sup>6</sup> A second device, seemingly a spoked wheel, is visible below the throne's



CAT. 12



CAT. 12

seat in earlier photographs and appears to have been a Wheel of the Law (*dharmacakra*).<sup>7</sup> Taken together, the empty throne and the possible *triratna* and *dharmacakra* evoke the Buddha's presence. But other features raise doubts: the bowls held by the female attendants are more suggestive of royal drinking cups than of begging bowls, such as the one offered to the Buddha by the four Lokapālas.

On the reverse of the stele are three robust male figures, the central one holding a club against his right shoulder and the two smaller ones displaying standards (*dvaja*). All three can be read as men of rank, dressed as they are in short, *dhoti*-style waistcloths with pendant sashes, cords that crisscross the chest, elaborate

tripartite turbans, and jewelry, notably heavy torques, armbands, and bracelets. Their extended earlobes contain large disk-shaped plugs, and their headcloths conceal long hair, the ends of which are seen fluttering from the central figure's chignon. Direct parallels to this figure are seen in the silver repoussé plaques of club-bearing guardian figures from the Khin Ba reliquary hoard (cat. 29A, B).

The flanking figures have a specific role as standard-bearers. In early Indian literature, portable standards were regularly associated with kings and heroes, and *dvajas* were paraded as a source of magical power and protection, mandatory to military success. The standards borne by the attendants on the present stele are identifi-

able, respectively, as a *garuḍadvaja* (Garuḍa standard) and a *cakradhvaja* (discus standard), symbols evocative of kingship and religious affiliation. In India, the *garuḍadvaja* is closely linked with Viṣṇu, "the god whose banner bears the bird, discus in hand."<sup>8</sup> The few known early depictions of *garuḍadvajas* are mostly associated with kings on Gupta-period gold coins of the fourth to fifth century.<sup>9</sup> Here, the Garuḍa is represented only by the head of a beaked bird, with the body omitted. The *cakradhvaja* symbolizes one of Viṣṇu's principal attributes, his orbicular weapon.<sup>10</sup> The standards signify both authority and sectarian allegiance, bearing witness to the early adoption of an Indic value system based on Vaiṣṇava symbolism. Stylistically,





sites in the eastern Deccan, notably those associated with the Krishna River system in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, are the most likely source for the figure types.

Buddhism and Vaiṣṇava Hinduism enjoyed royal patronage concurrently at the city of Śrī Kṣetra. The pairing of Vaiṣṇava emblems and expressions of Buddhist kingship in this stele underscores the prevalence of parallel and overlapping religious systems in early Southeast Asia. A date of about the fourth century seems most credible for the stele,<sup>11</sup> which would place it among the earliest figurative sculptures known from Myanmar or, indeed, from all of Southeast Asia. This unique stele is important for our understanding of the genesis of the Pyu sculptural style and of the early acceptance of Indic belief systems regarding kingship, secular authority, and religious legitimization.

PUBLICATIONS: Guy 1997, fig. 1; Stadtner 1998, figs. 25, 236; Guy 1999a, pp. 17–18 and p. 16, fig. 3; Hudson and Lustig 2008, pp. 273–74, fig. 2; Gutman and Hudson forthcoming.

NOTES: 1. As observed by this author in November 2011; I am indebted to U Win Kyaing for alerting me to this site. 2. When I first published this stele in 1997, I focused on interpreting the warrior triad, treating that as the primary side; I now regard the empty throne scene as the intended front. 3. Luce 1985, vol. 2, pls. 30c, 31a. 4. Such is the erosion of surface that no other motifs are now detectable; author's observation. 5. Guy 1991. 6. As suggested by Gutman and Hudson forthcoming. 7. It is currently obscured by its method

of display at the National Museum, Yangon. 8. *Vāmana-purāna* 3:14; cited in Raven 1994, p. 21. 9. *Garudadvajas* appear on five of the twenty-one gold coins issued by the Gupta rulers; Raven 1994, p. 191. 10. For further discussion of the multiple symbolism of these standards, see Guy 1997, pp. 88–90. 11. For a discussion of stylistic evidence, see ibid., p. 93, and for an alternative proposed dating, Gutman and Hudson forthcoming.

#### CAT. 13

### Lintel with Dancer and Musicians Flanked by *Nāgarājas*

Central Cambodia, late 6th–early 7th century  
Found in Sambor Prei Kuk, Kampong Thom province, and transferred to the National Museum ca. 1924

Sandstone

15¾ x 78¾ x 9½ in. (40 x 200 x 24 cm)

National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1757)

In this lintel composition, a group of musicians provides accompaniment to a male dancer, who, although much abraded, can likely be identified as Śiva. The ensemble is enclosed by an arch with multiple cusps; the center band of floral-vine meanders is framed above and below by a pearl border and interrupted at regular intervals by floral bosses, each with a precious-jewel setting. From the left, one musician blows a conch-shell trumpet, another plays a *vina*-style stringed

instrument, and the next, cymbals; to the right of the dancer are a drummer, an unidentified figure, a harpist, and, possibly, another cymbal player-cum-vocalist. This animated ensemble is flanked by two mighty *nāgarājas* (snake kings), seated cross-legged, who provide a protective presence. Each wears a waistcloth, heavy ear ornaments, and a turban-like headdress framed by traces of a five-hooded *nāga* (snake) canopy.

The celebratory scene is characterized by a mood of ecstasy that is typical of Brahmanical *bhakti* (devotion), and the lintel was most likely associated with a Śaiva shrine. The identification of the dancer as Śiva Naṭarāja, as first suggested by George Groslier, is probable but, given the deteriorated surface condition, difficult to determine definitively.<sup>1</sup> Several factors come into play in favor of this identification. The dancer appears to have four arms and has conically arranged, Śiva-like hair (*jatāmukuta*). Further, the asymmetrical ear jewelry worn by the *nāgarājas* is uniquely associated with Śiva, serving to indicate his bisexual nature, the disk type (ear plug) denoting his female alignment and the pendant type, the male.<sup>2</sup> That the two *nāgarājas* wear such differentiated ear ornaments strongly suggests an awareness of these iconographic rules and links the scene specifically to Śiva.

Lintels mark points of transition between the mundane world and the sacred space of the temple. Brahmanical sanctuaries were usually constructed of fired brick, with sandstone detail-



CAT. 13



ing reserved for the threshold, doorjambs, and lintels.<sup>3</sup> The seventh century was a period of great experimentation, as witnessed by the great variety of lintels that exist from this period, each unique. The major Zhenla city of Sambor Prei Kuk and other contemporary sites along the Mekong River, extending as far north as Champasak in southern Laos, have yielded a rich array of lintels. Depictions of celebratory scenes like this one are unknown in early Khmer art, although at least two survive from the neighboring Cham territories prior to the end of the tenth century. Both are tympanum panels, which, in Cham architecture, often fulfilled the function of lintels, and both include celebrants and accompanying musicians.<sup>4</sup>

The animated movement of the performers on the present example recalls both the group of five bronze dancers and musicians discovered in 1966–67 near the Payama stupa at the ancient Pyu city of Śri Ksetra and the terracotta plaques depicting celebratory performers excavated from Kyontu, near Bago, Lower Myanmar.<sup>5</sup> These works can be assigned to the late fifth to sixth century. A similar harp player is depicted in a sandstone architectural relief from Champasak, now preserved at the Champasak Province Museum in Pakse, Laos, and others are depicted in molded ceramic vessels both from Funan sites in the Mekong delta and from Mon sites in central Thailand. Most immediately, the instrument can be traced to depictions in Buddhist narrative sculpture from coastal southern India made in

the second to fourth century under Śātavāhana and Ikṣvāku patronage.<sup>6</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: G. Groslier 1924, p. 44; Giteau 1966, p. 50.

NOTES: 1. G. Groslier 1924, p. 44. 2. For these types of jewelry, see Guy 2008. For Ardhanārīvara, see Guy 2006. 3. Two square recesses on the upper surface served as keys for securing this lintel into position.

4. Tympanums from temple C1, My Son, Quang Nam province (8th century), and Phong Le, Da Nang province (10th century); published in Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, pp. 186–87, no. 6, pp. 236–37, no. 32. Later examples survive in situ at Po Khlong Garai; see Schweyer 2011, pp. 89–91. 5. Guy 1999a, figs. 11, 15. 6. Knox 1992, fig. 41.

#### CAT. 14

#### *Yakṣa, possibly Kubera*

Southern Cambodia or Vietnam,  
probably Takeo province or Mekong delta,  
late 6th–early 7th century

Sandstone

13½ x 14 x 6 in. (34.9 x 35.5 x 15.2 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Gift of The Kronos Collections, 1983 (1983.550)

The landscape of Southeast Asia has always been, and remains, populated by spirits, some protective, many malevolent. Among the earliest figurative sculptures to survive from Southeast Asia, in addition to stone icons depicting Brahmanical deities that were demanded by their attendant priests, are a number of enigmatic images best understood as personifications

of the land and its elements—the rocks, rivers, and trees. These stone sculptures of nature-cult figures (*yakṣa*), imbued with the trappings of Indian culture, may be assumed to have succeeded long-lost wood effigies sculpted in indigenous styles. They existed alongside the emerging Brahmanical culture in mainland Southeast Asia and reflect a marriage of the two traditions.

This portrayal of a male deity was undoubtedly an important cult icon in the Khmer territories of late sixth-century Funan-Zhenla. There are no surviving attributes to allow a secure identification, but the choice of material and the jewelry adornments indicate that the work was produced in a setting already familiar with Indic concepts of gods. If the subject is a *yakṣa*—to



CAT. 14



Fig. 34. Male deity. Southern Laos, ca. 6th century.  
Reportedly found in Champasak. Sandstone.  
Ex coll.: Prince Boun Oum, Champasak, Laos;  
present location unknown. Photographed ca. 1960s

use the Sanskrit term for a male nature deity—then he was likely understood as Kubera, king of the *yakṣas* and guardian of nature's wealth. In an Indian setting, Kubera is typically depicted seated in royal ease (*rājalilāsana*) and surrounded by jars overflowing with jewels. The asymmetrical placement of this figure's arms suggests that he was seated, with the projecting arm resting on a raised knee. However, no complete sculpture in the round of a *yakṣa* survives from this early period. A sculpture of an unidentified male deity (fig. 34), reportedly discovered at the ancient city of Śrēsthapura, today's Champasak, Laos, provides the best comparison. Another is a seated male Aiyanār, the southern Indian nature deity closely identified with Śiva (cat. 103). Both are regal in their poise and demeanor. The Champasak work is unadorned, but the openwork earlobes suggest that it was to be graced with temple jewelry—a marker of royalty and divinity. In both works, large hair curls cascade back to merge with the shoulders, in the Archaic Greek manner. The small fringe retained on the forehead of the *yakṣa* under discussion is a signature feature of Brahmanical sculptures, especially mitered Viṣṇus, and is shared with the Rach Gia Avalokiteśvara from coastal Vietnam (cat. 137). The *yakṣa* wears a torque with a large floral motif in the center, seen widely in this period, including on the Wat Eng Khna lintel (cat. 88). The torque, the arm-bands with a beaded band supporting a floral medallion, and the heavy earrings hanging from the distended earlobes are consistent, again, with the Rach Gia Avalokiteśvara, and elements are also shared with a Si Thep Sūrya (cat. 70). These are generic design elements of the late sixth and seventh centuries, familiar from Gupta

India (ca. 320–550) and shared across this corpus of early Southeast Asian imagery.

PUBLICATION: Lerner 1984, pp. 94–97, no. 33.

#### CAT. 15

#### *Yakṣa*

Central Vietnam, early 6th century

Found in Buu Chau, Tra Kieu, Que Son district, Quang Nam province, during excavations conducted by Jean-Yves Claeys in 1928

Sandstone

26¾ x 27½ x 6¼ in. (68 x 70 x 16 cm)

Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang, Vietnam (20.2)

This sculpture, assignable to the early sixth century, marks the first phase of Indic sculptural production in central Vietnam. Stylistic hallmarks—the robust figure, fleshiness of the face, wig-like treatment of the hair, and distinctive elliptical ear plugs—point to the artist's familiarity with imagery from, or inspired by that of, Gupta-period India (ca. 320–550). Models for the transmission of such traits remain unknown. The male figure is seated with feet crossed and arms bent, hands at the hips. He wears a waist-cloth rolled at the top and secured by a low-slung belt with a circular floral buckle. The figure appears to be a *yakṣa*, a personification of one of the nature spirits presided over, in the Indian world, by Kubera, guardian of the wealth of the earth and seas. Such sculptures mark the landscape of central Vietnam in this period, at sites spanning from Tra Kieu, My Son, and An My (see cat. 16) in central Vietnam to Than Tai Loc (near Quy Nhon) and Cung Son (near Tuy Hoa), farther south.<sup>1</sup> The relief was excavated at the citadel of the urban center of Tra Kieu, an early Cham polity on the Thu Bon River upstream from Hoi An, central Vietnam. Tra Kieu was the premier kingdom among a multitude of political entities referred to as Xitu in contemporaneous Chinese sources, where it is said to be located some 124 miles (200 km) south of Linyi.

The citadel site to which this sculpture belongs represents the earliest phase of Indic temple building at Tra Kieu, datable to the late fifth century. No structural remains survive there, having probably been recycled into later phases of construction. However, a series of stepped, square platforms on the neighboring hill to the east, which has eight temple basements as well as abundant fired-brick remains, ceramic roof tiles, and sandstone sculptures and antefixes, makes clear the complexity—and longevity—of the Tra Kieu citadel and temple site, as revealed by Jean-Yves Claeys's 1927–28 excavation campaign.<sup>2</sup> In all likelihood, the sculpture was one of a number of basement reliefs on a brick temple platform at the nearby site of An My.<sup>3</sup> In these earliest shrines, probably only the platform and altar were brick, the superstructure, if any, being made of perishable materials, such as wood or bamboo. The use of *yakṣa* images, including terracotta examples that have recently come to light at Tuy Hoa, Phu Yen province,<sup>4</sup> was part of a wider phenomenon of nature-cult worship.

The appearance of this relief corresponds with the first recorded Sanskrit and Cham inscriptions in the Cham territories. They belong to a ruler described in Chinese sources as a usurper from Funan who seized power at Linyi and titled himself Bhadravarman in the late fifth century (Bhadra is an epithet of Śiva).<sup>5</sup> His inscriptions record the Śaiva cult he established at My Son, his religious center in the hills approximately nine miles (14.5 km) west-southwest of his capital at Tra Kieu.<sup>6</sup> At My Son, the presiding deity was named Bhadreśvara. A stele depicting a divine male figure seated identically to the Tra Kieu *yakṣa* but “enthroned” on a coiled and protective serpent (*nāga*) was unearthed at My Son temple G1 (fig. 59).<sup>7</sup> The earliest inscription written in the Cham language, already incorporating a number of Sanskrit loans, belongs to Bhadravarman I's reign. Found at a well near his capital at Simhapura (Tra Kieu), it praises the “divine serpent of the king”—that is, a nature deity, affirming the role of such cults in early Cham statehood.<sup>8</sup>

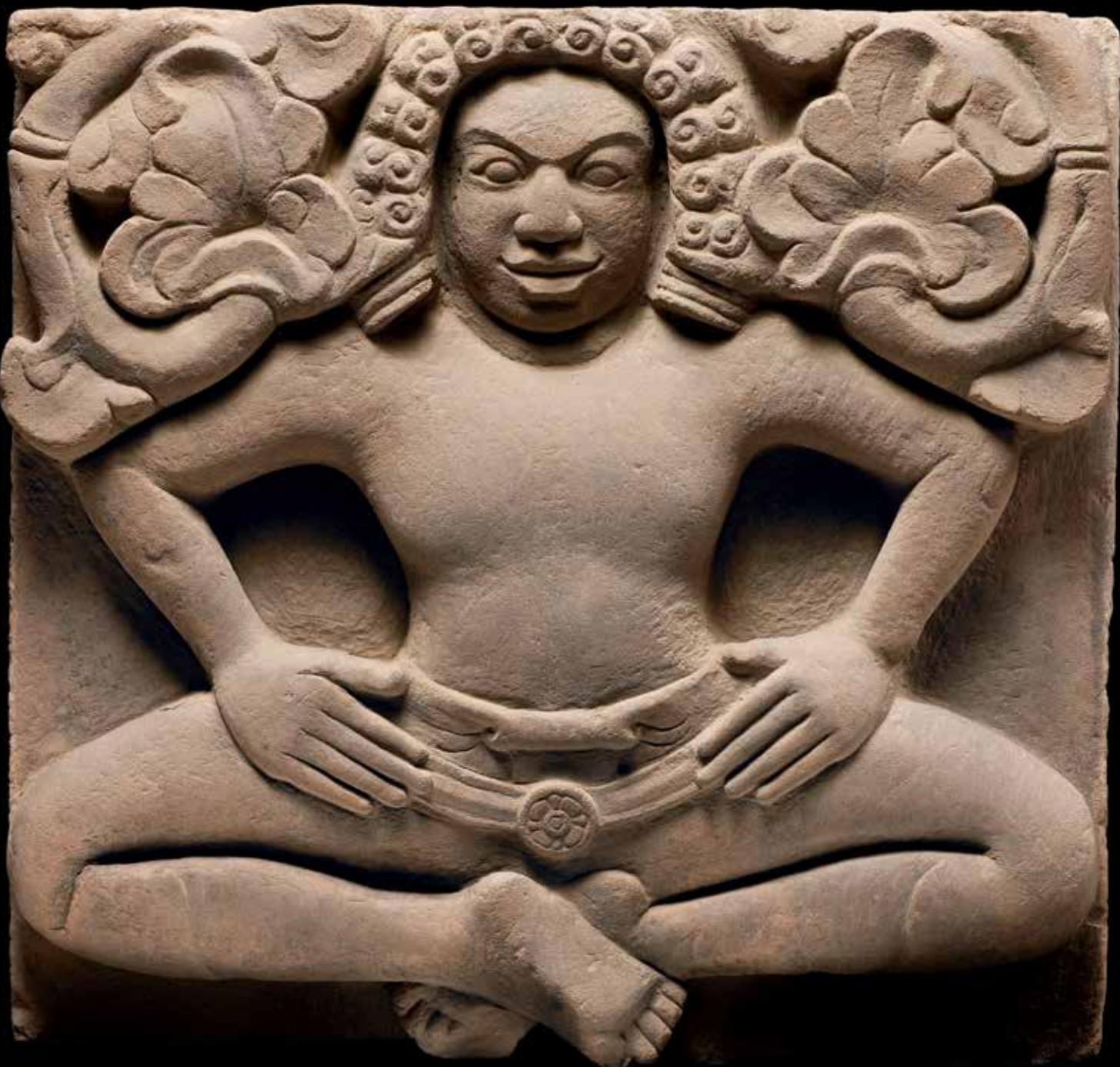
PUBLICATIONS: Jean-Yves Claeys in “Chronique” 1928, p. 587, pl. xxii, b; Boisselier 1963b, pp. 29, 30, 185, fig. 6; Pham Huy Thong et al. 1988, p. 158; W. A.

Southworth 2004, p. 223, fig. 9.13; Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, p. 178, no. 2; Nguyen Van Ku and Ngo Van Doanh 2005, p. 221, ill. no. 214; Huynh Thi Duoc 2006, p. 65, no. 75; Tingley 2009, pp. 202–3, no. 56; Schweyer 2011, p. 173, ill. p. 174; Schweyer 2012, p. 106, fig. 9.2.

NOTES: 1. For a useful distribution map, see Schweyer 2012, p. 107, fig. 9.3. 2. Later sculptural finds at the Buu Chau hill point to a major revival of Brahmanical activity in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Most sculptures from Tra Kieu are preserved at the Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang, Vietnam, and date to this phase; see Guillon 2001, nos. 103–11. 3. The site appears to have been subjected to continuous habitation from the protohistoric Sa Huynh period and is today occupied by a Catholic church, limiting further archaeological investigation. See Glover, Yamagata



Fig. 35. *Yakṣa*. Southern Cambodia, 5th–6th century. Found in Angkor Borei, Angkor Borei district, Takeo province. Sandstone. National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh



CAT. 15

Mariko, and W. A. Southworth 1996. 4. A modeled head and a vase of plenty (*pūrnaghāṭa*) panel from the same excavation in the hill-site grounds of a modern temple at Tuy Hoa appear to be antefixes rather than reliefs but presumably served a similar protective role. 5. Pelliot 1903, pp. 258–89. 6. Inscription C.72. See Golzio 2004, pp. 2–4. 7. Anne-Véronique Schweyer (2011, p. 191) rightly suggests that it is older than the temple and was probably relocated there from an earlier, now-lost sanctuary. 8. See Garrison 1975, p. 53.

#### CAT. 16

#### *Yakṣi* or *Lakṣmī*

Central Vietnam, 6th century  
Unearthed from An My, Tam An commune,  
Tam Ky district, Quang Nam province, near the  
Chien Dan temple group, in 1982  
Sandstone  
18½ x 19<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (47 x 50 x 21 cm)  
Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang,  
Vietnam (802.D43)

This female bust, possibly depicting a personified nature spirit (*yakṣi*), belongs to a small but

important corpus of sandstone reliefs from early Cham sites in central Vietnam. None of the subjects depicted is readily identifiable, but by virtue of their completeness as busts—no full-length figures in the style are known—one may deduce that they served as architectural decoration, likely inset into the brickwork of temple basements or positioned as antefixes (Skt., *candraśālā*; Tamil, *kudu*). Such ornaments are known in terracotta and stone from early Khmer sites (cat. 107). A closely related *yakṣi* discovered in 1990 near the Cha citadel in An Thanh village, Binh Dinh province, farther down the

coast,<sup>1</sup> was still integrated into its base, affirming that these panels are substantially complete. Another panel recovered at An My, which depicts a crowned male deity, is stepped on the upper edge, presumably for securing into a brickwork setting. A fourth panel, also of a mustached male deity, shares many features with the An My works and is likely from there as well, although it is recorded as being from Tam Ky district, like the present work. Each of the four reliefs displays a radiating sun-like nimbus, denoting its subject's divine status.

The profile seen here—a disproportionately large head, small shoulders, and full breasts—is shared with the only other female relief preserved, the one from the Cha citadel. This figure wears a head cover with ribbons that fall to her shoulders, each terminating in a panel composed of pearls, the whole secured with a diadem consisting of three bands displaying floral medallions. Behind this head cover, her hair is piled up in an offset triple bun. Heavy circular ear

ornaments hang from her pendulous earlobes. A torque decorated with large-petaled flowers and undecorated armbands complete her adornment.

Without context, one can only speculate on the identity of these early Cham figures, and generic *yaksas* and *yakṣis* may be the best one can venture. Of the An My panels, the crowned male deity is most explicitly modeled on fifth-century northern Indian prototypes. The flared topknot of hair is also present in the now-lost *nāgarāja* stele from My Son (fig. 59); both have antecedents in Gupta imagery of Śiva, such as the *ekamukhalinga* in cave 4, Udayagiri, a center of worship for the royal household dated by inscription to the first quarter of the fifth century.<sup>2</sup> The crowned male may represent Viṣṇu, and this female, his consort, Lakṣmī; shrines were built for both in early fifth-century central India, and paired icons are extant from that time.<sup>3</sup> Both became major cult deities in later Cham art, and these works may signal their recent arrival in the Cham territories.

PUBLICATIONS: Guillon 2001, p. 162; Ho Xuan Tinh 2001; Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, pp. 176–77, no. 1; Tingley 2009, pp. 200–201, no. 55; Schweyer 2011, ill. p. 49; Schweyer 2012, p. 106, fig. 9.3.

NOTES: 1. Nguyen Van Ku and Ngo Van Doanh 2005, p. 274, ill. no. 334. 2. Harle 1974, pl. 9. 3. Compare, for example, a fifth-century Lakṣmī with a double bun hairstyle, radiating nimbus, and large torque and her companion, Viṣṇu, from Vidisha, central India; published in Willis 2009, figs. 28, 29, and see also pp. 89–90.

#### CAT. 17

### Lotus Base with Squatting Gana Figure

Central Thailand, ca. early 8th century

Preserved at Wat Na Phra Men,

Ayutthaya province

Sandstone

18 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 11 x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (48 x 28 x 15 cm)

Chao Sam Phraya National Museum,  
Ayutthaya, Thailand (5/6 CH)



CAT. 16



CAT. 17

This pedestal is a rarity in Dvāravatī-style art but depicts a motif familiar from early Indian Buddhist imagery: an obese dwarf (*gana*) squatting Atlas-like, supporting symbols of the conquering faith. Such grotesques are understood to represent pre-Buddhist nature-cult deities (*yakṣa*), the spirit forces that inhabited the landscape, submitting to the authority of the new religion. They appear from the beginning of Buddhist imagery in India, at the base of pillar compositions and on *torana* (gateway) cross-beams, supporting, caryatid-like, the Buddhist

scenes above.<sup>1</sup> However, they were never used in India to support images of the Buddha himself. Although there is no direct evidence to affirm it, this pedestal likely had that function in a Dvāravatī Buddhist context. One of the most complete standing Buddhas from central Thailand (cat. 117) stands on a similarly waisted double lotus pedestal, which may have rested on a *gana*-supported base of this type. A related pedestal with four *ganas* dancing ecstatically around the cylinder has been provisionally identified as the base of a small memorial stupa

(*chedi*).<sup>2</sup> Dwarf-like *gana* figures are a recurring feature of stucco and terracotta reliefs at a number of Dvāravatī Buddhist sites, best preserved at Si Thep and Khu Bua, central and western Thailand, respectively, where they decorate the basements.

This relic of Dvāravatī culture was recovered from a monastery in Ayutthaya, but, like so much religious imagery found at the former capital, it must be assumed to have been transferred there in Ayutthaya's heyday, before the 1767 sack by the Burmese. Where it originated is unclear, but perhaps in the ancient city of U Thong, a major center of Dvāravatī culture, 44 miles (70 km) to the west.

PUBLICATIONS: Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, p. 246, no. 126; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 216–17, no. 54.

NOTES: 1. For Indian comparatives, see Harle 1974, pl. 105. 2. From Muang Si Mahosot, Prachinburi province, central Thailand; published in Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, p. 247, no. 127.

#### CAT. 18

#### Lintel with Anthropomorphic Dragon in Foliage

Central Cambodia, mid-7th century

Probably from Sambor Prei Kuk or Prei Kmeng Sandstone

18½ x 56 x 10 in. (47 x 142.2 x 25.4 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Gift of Margery and Harry Kahn, 1985  
(1985.390.1)

The uniqueness of this lintel lies in its decoration, which is given over to a single motif: a glaring and fearsome monster face framed by anthropomorphic arms and hands. The representation is therefore of a monster-faced human being, not just a monster. The creature, embedded in wondrously organic foliage, is a force of nature. While the dramatic depiction of such a monster face has few counterparts in the early Khmer world (fig. 36), the stylization of the foliage and the inverted, pendant flowers that border the lower frame certainly do, as does the use of small, stepped pediments to the left and right, from which the foliage springs, arch-like (fig. 37). The metamorphosis in the design is one of reabsorption. The suggestions are that the monster originally emerged from—indeed, was generated by—the luxuriant foliage and that now that foliage is reasserting itself, sprouting from the creature's shoulders and from between its eyebrows. It is possible that the fully foliate lintel (fig. 95), which preserves a residual masklike pattern in the symmetry of the foliage, grew out of lintels such as this one.<sup>1</sup>

Where did this monster originate? The *kirttimukha* (face of glory) is an ancient motif in Indian art, as is the idea that such a presence over a doorway played a protective role.<sup>2</sup> The mask emerging from foliage was particularly popular in northern Indian Gupta architecture of the fifth to sixth century.<sup>3</sup> The style of this mask, however, also hints at an awareness of Chinese dragon masks. Analogous expressions of a monster-faced anthropomorph appear in funerary sculpture of the Northern Qi and Sui dynasties (6th–7th century).<sup>4</sup> Is what we are



CAT. 18

seeing here an awareness in mid-seventh-century central Cambodia of the Chinese treatment of the motif or, alternatively, the evolution of a distinctively Khmer variant of the Indian *kirttimukha* mask that was then conveyed from Cambodia to China, perhaps by enterprising monks who were circulating at this time, carrying small icons with them.<sup>5</sup> We cannot be sure, but the latter scenario cannot be dismissed. A similar treatment of the monster motif is later seen widely in lintel decoration in Southeast Asia, from central Vietnam (temple A1, My Son) to central Java. But this rare Khmer rendering appears to be among the earliest known.

The lintel once graced the east entrance to an early Khmer brick sanctuary. No clue is provided by the iconography about the shrine's dedication, but the majority of shrines at such pre-Angkorian urban centers were dedicated to Siva. Typically in this period, Brahmanical temples consisted of a single-cell brick tower, with a single opening facing east. Most are square or rectangular in plan; Sambor Prei Kuk was

distinguished by its series of large and handsome octagonal-plan structures, enlivened by elaborate exterior decoration in raised and carved brick, originally plastered and probably polychromed. Sandstone was used sparingly, for doorjambs, colonnettes, and lintels. Even the blind doors on the other elevations were brick, not sandstone, as was the norm beginning in the early ninth century. This example thus marks an important, if brief, moment in the evolution of Khmer lintel design in the Zhenla kingdom.

NOTES: 1. This notion of metamorphosis is explored further by Woodward, "Stylistic Trends in Mainland Southeast Asia, 600–800," in this volume. 2. Dhar 2010. 3. Williams 1982, pp. 93, 117, 127. 4. For the Northern Qi (550–77) and Sui (581–618) dynasties, see a funerary couch relief currently in the Metropolitan Museum (L.2008.56), which has a crouching grotesque with a single row of exposed teeth. Variations continued into the eighth century, as seen at the rock-cut Buddhist sanctuary at Longhuta, Shandong province; see E. Y. Wang 2005. 5. Woodward 2010a, p. 44.



Fig. 37. Line drawing of lintel with monster face and celestial celebrant. Southern Cambodia, 8th century. In situ in Tuol Kuhea, Bassak, Kandal province



Fig. 36. Lintel with mythical creatures (*makara*) confronting a horned nature deity. Northern Cambodia, second half of 7th century. In situ in Tala Borivath, Stung Treng province

# EMERGING IDENTITIES



# Early Indic Inscriptions of Southeast Asia

Arlo Griffiths

To understand the historical context in which Hindu and Buddhist sculpture of ancient Southeast Asia was produced, one can look to contemporary written documents. Among foreign records about Southeast Asia, Chinese sources are by far the richest.<sup>1</sup> Many different types of local documents must have once existed, but the majority of texts were written on organic (impermanent) materials, such as palm leaf, parchment, wood, and paper, and have not survived to the present day. The only extant documents are on more durable, inorganic materials, such as stone, terracotta, brick, bronze, silver, and gold. These rare survivals of ancient writing must have been exceptional even in their own day, and they were intended to last and be remembered. Compared to surrounding cultural spheres, such as India and China, there are relatively few inscriptions in Southeast Asia, which heightens the importance of the fewer than one thousand inscriptions—a very rough estimate—for the period that concerns us here.

## Languages and Scripts

The idea of writing seems to have come to Southeast Asia from India. At least, all the written documents from the region's earliest history use forms of writing borrowed from the Indian subcontinent. In discussing written documents from ancient Southeast Asia, it is important to realize that script and language are two different things, which can but need not be correlated. During the early history of Southeast Asia, many languages were used for writing, but all were expressed in what may be considered a single system of writing. In this Indic system, with its specific manner of arranging characters to express sounds, all basic signs express syllables (as opposed to alphabetic writing in the West). The origin of this basic system is the Brāhmī script, which was probably designed at the behest of Emperor Aśoka in northern India during the third century B.C.<sup>2</sup> As it was adopted over an ever-growing area, Brāhmī evolved into numerous varieties, which eventually became the modern scripts of Bali, Cambodia, Myanmar, and Thailand, among others. Although the shapes of their respective characters may look different, these Indic scripts all share fundamental structural similarities.

By the time Indic writing began to appear in Southeast Asia in the early centuries A.D., Brāhmī had already split into two basic varieties: Northern and Southern. The vast majority of inscriptions of early Southeast Asia used writing that evolved from Southern Brāhmī. This volume illustrates one specimen of the so-called box-headed form that is found in a small number of the oldest inscriptions of Southeast Asia, possibly datable to the fifth century (cat. 87); for a clearer example, see the inscription on one of seven pillars (*yūpa*) erected by King Mūlavarman in eastern Kalimantan (Borneo; fig. 38). Its text, composed in Sanskrit, can be translated as "The 'Mountain of Sesame,' together with the 'Garland of Lamps,' which was given by his majesty the king, Mūlavarman: this pillar has been inscribed [in commemoration] of those two [gifts]."<sup>3</sup>



Fig. 38. Mūlavarman inscription pillar (detail).  
Indonesia, ca. 5th century. Found in East Kalimantan province. Stone, approx. 51½ x 12½ x 13 in. (130 x 32 x 33 cm). Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta (D.175)

Over time, the notable box shapes atop the signs went out of fashion, and the next stage of paleographic development is seen in several Buddhist inscriptions, an inscribed Brahmanical trident (*trisūla*) from Cambodia (cat. 84), and the inscriptions of Pūrnavarman found in western Java. This group of documents is datable to the sixth century,<sup>4</sup> while the approximately ten inscriptions from



Fig. 39. Munduan inscription, plate 1, recto. Indonesia, 807. Found in Central Java province.  
Copper; h. 3 3/4 in. (9.5 cm), w. 12 1/2 in. (32 cm). Private collection

Srivijaya, found on the islands of Bangka and Sumatra, are solidly dated to the end of the seventh century (fig. 24). The inscription on the Cambodian *śivapāda*, or “footprint of Śiva,” may very tentatively be assigned to about 700 as well (cat. 83). Bearing inventory number K.474, it explains in Sanskrit that the spectator is looking at *śivapādadvayāmbhojam*—that is, “the pair of lotus feet of Śiva.”<sup>5</sup> With its depiction of footprints, the piece is unique in Cambodian epigraphy. Inscriptions that likewise concern the footprints of Śiva were also produced in early Champa, although none is accompanied by a depiction.<sup>6</sup> The aforementioned inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman, who ruled in western Java, also offer comparable material, but there, it is the footprints of the king and, in one case, those of a royal elephant that are shown.

Many publications on Southeast Asian inscriptions make no clear distinction between the box-headed script and subsequent forms of writing, designating them all uniformly as Pallava script.<sup>7</sup> This name refers to the Pallava dynasty, which came to power on the southeast coast of India around A.D. 300. Early twentieth-century scholars attributed to this dynasty the spread of cultural features—such as the use of Sanskrit and production of Hindu statuary—from India to Southeast Asia.<sup>8</sup> But there is virtually no direct evidence of any Pallava involvement, certainly not for the earliest centuries, and the Pallavas were by no means the only southern Indian kings to use this script during the early first millennium. Moreover, the inscriptions of other dynasties show a form of writing that looks just as much like the script used in Southeast Asia as does the script seen in Pallava inscriptions. Several inscriptions from Myanmar, Thailand, and Malaysia employ this script in Buddhist contexts, often citing passages from Buddhist scriptures in Pali, whereas the Pallava dynasty was never an important patron of Buddhism, let alone Theravāda Buddhism, which uses Pali in its scriptures.<sup>9</sup> For these reasons, among others, it is preferable to use more neutral terms—for instance, “Late Southern Brāhmī”—to describe the form

of writing found in most Southeast Asian inscriptions after the box-headed phase, corresponding to the fourth to fifth centuries, and before about 800. After this period, Late Southern Brāhmī developed in separate directions in various regions of Southeast Asia, creating, for example, the Kawi script of Java (see fig. 39), whose earliest dated specimens go back to the middle of the eighth century.<sup>10</sup>

It is, anyhow, clear that writing was received in Southeast Asia in more than one wave, and certain areas during certain periods were strongly influenced by northeastern Indian culture. In those areas, we find scripts derived from Northern Brāhmī, namely, “Late Northern Brāhmī” (roughly 6th–7th century, found in Rakhine—that is, Arakan—and at Śrī Ksetra, both Myanmar)<sup>11</sup> and the Siddhamāṭṭkā script (in the 8th and 9th centuries, particularly in Java; see fig. 40), from the dominion of the Pālas, who ruled a large area of northeastern India from about the mid-eighth century onward.<sup>12</sup>

One particular script seems to show features of both northern and southern Indic writing: this so-called Pyu script, known only from a small number of inscriptions found at Pyu sites within the Irrawaddy (Ayeyarwady) River valley of Myanmar (cat. 24), still requires detailed study in order for it to be classified. The same script is involved in the rare phenomenon of digraphy—that is, the use of more than one script in a single inscription. One can find combinations of Pyu script, used to write the Pyu language—which is not yet well understood but is apparently a member of the Tibeto-Burman language family<sup>13</sup>—with Late Southern Brāhmī to write Pali (cat. 27) or Late Northern Brāhmī to write Sanskrit (see cat. 41).<sup>14</sup> This last example simultaneously illustrates the fact that, in general, the northern scripts, when used in Southeast Asia, show a strong association with Buddhism and Sanskrit.

Indeed, in this phase, not only was the writing system Indian but so were some of the languages used for written expression. By far the most important is the prestige language Sanskrit, but in



Fig. 40. Gold foil with inscription. Indonesia, ca. 800. Found at Candi Plaosan Lor, Central Java province.  
H. 2 1/4 in. (5.8 cm), w. 10 in. (25.5 cm). Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya, Prambanan, Indonesia

specific areas—particularly central Myanmar and central Thailand—Pali played a more prominent role. In most Southeast Asian regions, literacy seems to have come through Sanskrit, and the earliest inscriptions were written in this language—for example, the Vo Canh inscription of central Vietnam (fig. 58), possibly datable to between the second and fourth centuries (there is no consensus on its date) and probably the earliest locally produced Southeast Asian inscription<sup>15</sup>—while local languages started to be used in inscriptions only in a second phase.<sup>16</sup> Javanese and Cambodian epigraphy most clearly illustrates this pattern. There are quite a few exceptions, but the quantities of early vernacular material are not sufficient to consider these exceptions as evidence of the irrelevance of Sanskrit or, possibly, in some areas, Pali, as vectors of literacy.<sup>17</sup> The Pyu inscriptions of Myanmar, which seem to be among the oldest Southeast Asian inscriptions (some perhaps as old as the 4th century) are written in their own variety of Indic writing, and in a local language, but the sites where these inscriptions were found have also yielded inscriptions in Pali and Sanskrit (in their respective distinct scripts, Late Southern and Late Northern Brāhmī). The earliest documents of the Dvāravati culture of Thailand may well be those in the local Mon language, a vernacular belonging (with Khmer) to the Austroasiatic language family, although in these, the script is identical to that used throughout a large area of early Southeast Asia: Late Southern Brāhmī. There are also inscriptions in Pali and in Sanskrit from the same cultural area, but no clear chronological precedence has been established for any language here.<sup>18</sup> Cham, an Austronesian language, makes a very early appearance in the corpus of the inscriptions of Champa, as does Malay in Indonesia. Both languages borrow heavily from Sanskrit, and in the case of Cham, numerous contemporary Sanskrit inscriptions from Champa prove that Sanskrit was the primary language of epigraphical expression for several centuries, beginning around the fourth century.

Besides local languages, Sanskrit, and Pali, a small number of inscriptions in the southern Indian Tamil language and script presumably indicate the presence of Tamil merchants. The earliest locally written example is from Ta Kua Pa in peninsular Thailand and dates from about the mid-ninth century.<sup>19</sup> In addition, there are very rare specimens of inscriptions in languages that so far have not been identified—for instance, the inscription in the Kawgun cave near the mouth of the Salween (Thanlwin) River in Myanmar, which makes a rather early (possibly 7th–8th century) paleographic impression.<sup>20</sup>

#### Materials and Object Types

Among the earliest types of writing surfaces were natural rock faces or boulders situated at prominent positions in the landscape—for example, on a riverbank. In addition to natural rocks or boulders, stone steles were manufactured to record more detailed texts. Their shapes and manner of installation vary from country to country. However, they are usually flat, with two main sides, or faces, and could be raised on a stone base or inserted directly into the ground or pavement in front of a temple dedicated to Buddhist or Hindu deities. A recently discovered Champa inscription (fig. 41), displaying unusually fine calligraphy, illustrates this type.<sup>21</sup> Architectural elements on the temple itself, such as the doorway or entrance, could also be inscribed with text, as could panels of narrative bas-relief. Objects may include a combination of sculpture and inscription, with one aspect elucidating the other. Such combinations come in a variety of types, with different degrees of prominence of the sculptural versus the epigraphic. Although many ancient Southeast Asian monuments were built in brick, the material was much less often used as a surface for inscriptions than was stone.

Nonarchitectural objects produced in clay or terracotta—pottery, molded “votive” tablets,<sup>22</sup> and sealings—often bear short



Fig. 41. Stele with foundation inscription (C.217) of Satyadeveśvara. Central Vietnam, 783. Found in Phuoc Thien, Ninh Thuan province. Sandstone, 30½ x 17½ x 4¾ in. (78.5 x 44.5 x 12 cm). Ninh Thuan Museum, Phan Rang, Vietnam (BTNT 1440/D.13)

texts. Of particular interest is the illustrated sealing recovered near the ancient city of U Thong, central Thailand (cat. 87). It reads *śivambrihaspatibh*, meaning “(property) of Śivabṛhaspati.” I apply in my translation a slight normalization to the spelling of the name, which clearly points to a Śaiva religious context. An Indian example of the kind of illustrated signet ring that might have been used to produce this sealing is in the collection of the British Museum, London.<sup>23</sup> Figures 43 and 44 represent two examples, lacking illustration, found in Southeast Asia. Since neither the name nor the scene depicted in the U Thong sealing seems to have precise Indian precedents, it is likely that the seal with which it was stamped was locally produced.

Objects made of bronze, silver, and gold were also inscribed. Sculptures produced in metal sometimes feature short inscriptions along the base. Rolled-up foils of silver or gold have been found inserted into the earthen core of many metal statues. Such foils



Fig. 42. Miniature sword hilt and details of inscriptions. Indonesia (Central Java), ca. 9th century. Gold,  $2\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$  in. (6.7 x 6 x 2.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Samuel Eilenberg-Jonathan P. Rosen Collection of Indonesian Gold, Bequest of Samuel Eilenberg and Gift of Jonathan P. Rosen, 1998 (1998.544.43)

have also often been recovered from stone deposit boxes found in monuments during excavation and restoration.<sup>24</sup> Metal utensils and jewelry were likewise inscribed: in most cases, such objects—for example, the hilt of an ornamental sword in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art—were intended for the worship of or to be worn by statues of the gods (fig. 42).<sup>25</sup> In writing created with an awl, the sword reads, on one side, *su 2 mā 12*, which indicates a weight in gold of two units *suvarṇa* and twelve units *māṣa*,<sup>26</sup> and on the other, *sam vodha*, which seems to be a name, presumably of the object's donor, suggesting that this object must have been among the paraphernalia of the statue of a deity.<sup>27</sup> In rare cases—such as signet rings engraved in the negative—the artifacts were worn or used by the owner. Two previously unpublished examples are both inscribed in Sanskrit (figs. 43, 44), and their texts, *sujitiso-masya* ("of Sujitisoma") and *jeṣṭhamitrasya* ("of Jyeṣṭhamitra"), were meant to identify the owner or sender of the object sealed, presumably in clay.<sup>28</sup>

A special kind of metal object, and one subject to tremendous variation across cultures, is the coin.<sup>29</sup> Until recently, Cambodia was thought to have hardly any ancient minting tradition, but over the last few years, some hoards have surfaced, among which was the unique gold coin or medallion of Īśānavarman, who reigned in the early seventh century (fig. 45).<sup>30</sup> It can be read (and partly restored) as *īśānavarma[nah]*, on the obverse, and *īśānapu(ra)*, on the reverse, meaning, respectively, "of Īśānavarman" and "Īśānapura."<sup>31</sup> On the whole, fewer ancient coins have been found in Southeast Asia, and with lesser typological diversity, than in India, but some Southeast Asian coins bear legends that lend them specific historical significance.<sup>32</sup>

From a comparative perspective, it is remarkable that there is not more overlap among the different ancient Southeast Asian cultures in the shapes and types of objects engraved with inscriptions. A striking example is the copper (or bronze) plate. Given the fact that this medium is extremely common in India, one might have expected to find it used throughout ancient Southeast Asia. However, only maritime Southeast Asia, particularly Java and Bali, has a significant tradition of inscribing texts on such plates (fig. 39).<sup>33</sup>

#### Contents of Inscriptions

A relationship can often be observed between the type of object bearing an inscription and its textual contents. Inscriptions on utensils in precious metals, for instance, normally concern the donor and often state the value or weight of the gift, as in figure 42. Inscriptions on the walls of a religious monument often relate the circumstances of its foundation or restoration and contain passages, at times extensive, about the land and personnel endowed to the service of the temple's deity by its founder. Short inscriptions on bas-reliefs often indicate the name of the protagonist or the essence of a given scene; short inscriptions are also found on building blocks of monuments to give instructions for their placement. The stele was used in both peninsular and insular Southeast Asia to record a variety of transactions, including grants of land to individuals or institutions. In Java and Bali, this last type of text was often engraved on copper plates. A special category is that of inscriptions that comprise citations of scriptural or ritual texts. This

category appears to be a particular feature of the Buddhist tradition; no close counterpart seems to exist on the side of Śaiva Hinduism, the other major Indian religion that took deep root in ancient Southeast Asia.<sup>34</sup>

#### Inscriptions as Art-Historical Sources

Besides their value for reconstructing political, economic, and religious history, inscriptions are of particular importance for art history. For the entire period covered in this volume, they are very helpful in assigning absolute dates to monuments and associated sculptures. Inscriptions may include clear dates that can be converted unequivocally to an equivalent in the Christian (Julian) calendar.<sup>35</sup> And the association of a dated inscription with a monument often yields the date of its construction. Stylistic analysis then allows scholars to establish synchronism between monuments and detached sculptures showing the same ornamental features.<sup>36</sup> An eloquent example of how the discovery of a dated inscription can confirm or refine the understanding of art-historical developments is the foundation stele of the temple of Hoa Lai in Ninh Thuân province, central Vietnam. It fixed not only the dating of this monument (778) but also the art style named after it, which shows connections to both Cambodia and the Malay Peninsula.<sup>37</sup> Although for many periods and areas the chronology is still imprecise and subject to debate, such inscriptional evidence has allowed scholars to determine the general chronological framework of ancient Southeast Asian art and architecture.



Fig. 43. Gold ring. Southern Vietnam, 5th–6th century. National Museum of Vietnamese History, Hanoi (Lsb 38295 ST 9067). The image is transposed horizontally to render the inscription positive.



Fig. 44. Gold ring inlaid with inscribed stone. Southern Vietnam, ca. 6th century. Found in Oc Eo, An Giang province. Collection Mandeville, Hong Kong. The image is transposed horizontally to render the inscription positive.



Fig. 45. Gold coin or medallion of Isanavarman (obverse/reverse). Southern Cambodia, 7th century. Reportedly found in Angkor Borei, Takeo province. National Bank of Cambodia, Phnom Penh



# Precious Deposits: Buddhism Seen through Inscriptions in Early Southeast Asia

Peter Skilling

In 1926–27 archaeological workers investigated several low mounds that lay scattered in the fields of Old Prome, central Burma (present-day Myanmar). At that time, Burma was ruled by British India, and the excavations were conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India under the leadership of Charles Duroiselle. Prome (now Pyay) was a center of the ancient Pyu civilization of Śrī Ksetra (ca. 5th–9th century). Little did Duroiselle know that the digging would lead to one of the most remarkable discoveries in the archaeology of early Southeast Asia. The team uncovered a reliquary chamber sealed by a large stone slab decorated in low relief with a stupa under veneration (cat. 26).<sup>1</sup> Known today as the Khin Ba mound after the owner of the land, the undisturbed chamber contained deposits that have been described as “the greatest concentration of sacred treasure found to date in any ancient Buddhist site of India or South East Asia.”<sup>2</sup> The heart of the discovery was a reliquary fashioned of gilded silver with repoussé depictions of four seated Buddhas flanked by disciples (cat. 27). These are the four Buddhas of this “fortunate eon” (Pali, *bhaddakappa*), Śākyamuni (ca. 6th–4th century B.C.) and his three predecessors, with their names inscribed in the ancient Pyu language, along with Buddhist formulas in Pali. Other treasures included small images of the Buddha (cat. 30) and *bodhisatvas*,<sup>3</sup> miniature stupas, gold and silver plates bearing effigies of the Buddha in low relief, silver lotuses (cat. 28), bowls and caskets of silver and gold, coins, beads, and precious ornaments. The wide selection of prestige offerings attests to a culture with access to rich resources and a complex aesthetic expressed through highly developed craft traditions and metallurgy.

The most extraordinary find was a book of twenty gold leaves bound by a gold thread (fig. 53). A perfect replica of a palm-leaf manuscript, the “golden book” contains a series of Pali texts.<sup>4</sup> It is one of the earliest and most fascinating Southeast Asian examples of what we might call the “deluxe edition”: a collection of inscriptions on gold plates or leaves. Commentaries and chronicles refer to the practice of inscribing the Buddha’s words on gold, but only a few examples survive in South Asia, mostly from Sri Lanka. We are fortunate, however, that several exceptional examples have been preserved in Southeast Asia. Gold epitomizes the precious teachings of the Buddha through his signature texts, especially the formula of *pratityasamutpāda*, or dependent arising—which is the first text in the Khin Ba book.

Inscriptions count among the most important primary sources for the study of the social and religious history of Southeast Asia. Written in various Indic scripts and languages and following Indian principles of composition, they are found throughout the region. Of the many different types of inscribed documents, this essay concerns itself with Buddhist citation inscriptions from the Southeast Asian mainland, the Malay Peninsula, and the Indonesian archipelago. Citation inscriptions are excerpts from the Buddha’s teachings recorded on various materials for a number of purposes. To install exemplary statements uttered by the Buddha inside a stupa or within the foundations of a building was a common practice and remains so today in some Buddhist societies. The inscribed texts

empower the structures, bring spiritual merit to the sponsors and their families and ancestors, and spread blessings to all beings in the universe. An ideologically related practice was the mass production of clay images from molds to be deposited in stupas, other built structures, and caves. The result was a miniature art of delicately depicted Buddhas and *bodhisatvas*, often arranged in triads or even more complex configurations. Miniature clay stupas were also produced in large numbers.<sup>5</sup> These images and objects, created in the service of spiritual merit, were not meant to be *seen*—to inspire through their beauty—but were intended to bless and consecrate through their *installation* and *presence*. Along with other offerings, they were deposited ceremonially, accompanied by the melodious chanting of sacred mantras. After the structure in which they had been deposited was closed, the artifacts were not meant to be seen again. From then on, they would work quietly, unseen, for the benefit of all.

These practices began in India about two thousand years ago. In the early centuries A.D., Indian Buddhists began to place a short canonical text known as the Sutra on Dependent Arising (*Pratityasamutpāda Sūtra*) inside reliquary caskets. “Dependent arising” is one of the key insights of Śākyamuni, the Buddha of the present age. It explains how ignorance—a lack of understanding of the true nature of things—causes people to commit both negative and positive actions, which then enmesh them in a chain of repeated rebirth. Rebirth has no beginning or end, but if an individual develops virtue and insight, he or she can transform ignorance into wisdom and thereby realize the cessation of rebirth and the peace of nirvana. The principle of dependent arising explains how the cycle of life unfolds and the universe evolves without the need for any god or divinity to mastermind the creation of the universe or reward and punish human souls. There are universes without limit, and they evolve naturally and cyclically through infinite time. The Buddha taught that there is no soul: each person is simply a complex of changing physical and mental states. As a further corollary of the principle of dependent arising, the course of an individual’s life—really, *lives*, through the chain of rebirth—is determined by his or her actions. Good deeds lead to good outcomes and good rebirths; bad deeds result in bad outcomes and bad rebirths. All schools of Buddhism regard the Sutra on Dependent Arising as a fundamental text of the canon because it sets forth these key theories.

During the earliest period, the first four centuries after the time of Śākyamuni, Buddhist texts were transmitted orally, from memory. Therefore, no Buddhist inscriptions survive from before the beginning of the Christian Era. Some recently discovered manuscripts from Gandhara in the northwestern Indian subcontinent (present-day Pakistan) may date to the first century B.C.,<sup>6</sup> but there is no evidence for the practice of inscribing and installing texts for several more centuries. The oldest installation inscription of the formula of dependent arising is likely that incised in Kharoṣṭhi script on all four sides of the base of a copper stupa from the Kurram valley in ancient Gandhara, dated to about the second century A.D.<sup>7</sup> Early inscribed examples of the Sutra on Dependent Arising in the

Prakrit language, dating to about the fourth century, have been found at Devnimori in northern Gujarat (fig. 46), and slightly later examples at Ratnagiri in Orissa. Other inscriptions of the sutra, from the seventh century and later, have been found at sites across India, including at the northern Indian monastery of Nalanda.<sup>8</sup> The sutra functions as a “relic of the dharma” (the Buddha’s teaching) and supplements the cult of physical relics of the Buddha.

### The Stanza of Causation

By the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., a condensed formula of dependent arising, the “stanza of causation” (*pratityasamutpāda gāthā*), became Buddhism’s signature text across Asia. Also known as the *Ye dharmā*, the four-line stanza is a summary of the essence of the Buddha’s teachings:

*The states that have arisen from a cause,  
Their cause the Tathāgata proclaims,  
As well as their cessation.  
This is the teaching of the Great Ascetic.<sup>9</sup>*

The stanza was widely inscribed on stone, brick, clay, gold, and silver tablets to be installed in stupas and other structures and was lettered on statues, paintings, manuscripts, and other objects of reverence.

The practices of inscription and installation were adopted wholeheartedly in Southeast Asia, where the stanza of causation is found in Pali, Sanskrit, and (rarely) Prakrit. Most commonly, the stanza was stamped or incised on a small clay tablet, sealing, or molded image of the Buddha or *bodhisatvas*. Such inscriptions were produced in large numbers and placed in stupas, foundations, and caves to bring merit, blessings, and protection against calamities. So far, it is only in Southeast Asia—specifically, in the Malay Peninsula—that molded images are found in caves.

The Buddhist citation inscriptions of Southeast Asia are in either Pali or Sanskrit, and the choice of language divides the region into two main epigraphic zones. The Pali zone stretches from Myanmar to central Thailand. There, Pali was used for citation inscriptions, while royal and other records were written in Sanskrit and vernaculars such as Pyu, Old Mon, and Old Khmer. The choice

of language was defined by function and context. The Sanskrit zone comprises Cambodia, Vietnam, the Malay Peninsula (within present-day Thailand as well as Malaysia), and the islands of the Indonesian archipelago, including Borneo. There, royal and other inscriptions, including citations, were written in Sanskrit, Old Khmer, Cham, and Old Javanese.

Pali was used over an extensive lowland area of wet-rice cultivation, where riverine city-states flourished in the first millennium A.D. By about the fifth century, Buddhist monasticism of the Theravāda school using Pali as its canonical language had taken root; indeed, it flourishes to the present day.<sup>10</sup> The Pali zone is divided into two sectors: one, the Burmese, covers the Irrawaddy (Ayeyarwady) River valley and delta and the territories of the Pyu kingdoms in the first half of the first millennium A.D., up to the Bagan period (ca. 10th–12th century);<sup>11</sup> the other sector, the Thai, consists of the Chao Phraya River valley and adjacent areas, from the sixth to the eighth century and beyond. The Burmese sector may also be called the Śrī Kṣetra/Pyu zone, and the Thai sector the Dvāravati/Mon zone, after the names of ancient kingdoms and predominant language groups.<sup>12</sup>

The epigraphic practices and choices of texts in the two sectors are similar, and they present a fairly coherent canon. Drawn from Pali sources, the texts and verses present some of the core teachings of the Buddha, such as the formula of dependent arising and the Four Truths of the Noble Ones. There are also some excerpts from scholastic literature.<sup>13</sup> The same formula of dependent arising that appears in the Khin Ba “golden book” is etched in Pali on a stone bar from Nakhon Pathom and on stone wheels from Nakhon Pathom, Si Thep, and other sites in central Thailand.<sup>14</sup> At some other sites, short stanzas spoken by the Buddha and other excerpts from canonical Pali texts have been found. None of the Pali citation inscriptions in question bears a date, but on a paleographic basis, they are dated to the sixth to ninth century.<sup>15</sup>

A special practice was followed in central Thailand, in the area of the Dvāravati culture. Pali texts were engraved on stone pillars and slabs and on representations of the Wheel of the Law (*dharma-cakra*), symbol of one of the Buddha’s key teachings, the Four Truths of the Noble Ones (fig. 47). A verse summarizing this teaching has been found in several inscriptions from the central



Fig. 46. Reliquary casket inscribed in Prakrit with Sutra on Dependent Arising and donative information. Western India, probably not earlier than 4th–5th century. Excavated from core of great stupa at Devnimori, Sabarkantha district, northern Gujarat, in 1963. Greenish gray chlorite schist; h. 5 in. (12.7 cm) including top knob, diam. of base 6 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (17.2 cm). Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara, India



Fig. 47. *Dharmacakra* (Wheel of the Law), probably from Si Thep, central Thailand, inscribed between spokes with excerpt from the First Sermon in Pali (detail of cat. 122)

heartland (fig. 48). Also inscribed were the first words spoken by the Buddha after his awakening, as he sat cross-legged in solitude beneath the *bodhi* tree:

*When the truths become clear, to a pure one who is energetic,  
who meditates,  
All his uncertainties vanish, when he fathoms the law of causation.  
When the truths become clear, to a pure one who is energetic,  
who meditates,  
All his uncertainties vanish, when he penetrates the cessation  
of the chain of conditions.*<sup>16</sup>

This textual choice demonstrates yet again that the early Southeast Asian Buddhists venerated the doctrine of causation as one of the Buddha's cardinal teachings.

Overall, the corpus of Sanskrit citation inscriptions is smaller than the Pali corpus; it is, however, more diverse. The Sanskrit stanza of causation is found throughout the region, including on a large stone stele of the Buddha from My Thanh in Phu Yen province, southern Vietnam.<sup>17</sup> The stele also gives a bare list of the Four Truths of the Noble Ones in Sanskrit, as do clay tablets depicting the Buddha from southern Thailand (fig. 49).

Another verse found throughout the Sanskrit zone deserves special attention:



Fig. 48. Socle for *dharmacakrastambha* (Wheel of the Law pillar) inscribed with noncanonical Pali verse on the realization of the Four Truths summarizing the First Sermon. Central Thailand, 7th–8th century. Found at stupa site in Kamphaeng Saen district, Nakhon Pathom province. Stone, 7½ x 11¼ x 10¾ in. (19.5 x 28.5 x 27 cm). Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand (37/2541)



Fig. 49. Clay sealing with enthroned Buddha and attendant bodhisattvas below *dharmacakra* (Wheel of the Law); verso inscribed with Four Truths of the Noble Ones in Sanskrit. Southern Thailand, ca. 6th–7th century. Found in Kha Nuy, Trang province. National Museum, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Thailand

*Through ignorance, karma is accumulated;  
karma is the cause of rebirth.  
Through wisdom, karma is not accumulated;  
in the absence of karma, one is not reborn.*<sup>18</sup>

The verse—an analogue of the stanza of dependent arising—expresses the principle of causation in terms of rebirth and karma. It is known from inscriptions associated with stupas at several sites in northern peninsular Malaysia and from three sites on the island of Borneo (one each from Brunei, Sarawak, and Kalimantan). It also occurs on a terracotta tablet and on gold plates from Java. Apart from the *Ye dharmā*, it is the most widely represented text in the Sanskrit zone. But here is the mystery: the stanza is not known to exist in any known South Asian inscription, and its source has not been identified in any Buddhist scripture. Where is it from, and why was it so popular in the Southeast Asian Sanskrit zone?

The mystery verse and the stanza of causation are inscribed on a massive stone that stands in the vicinity of the Kapuas River, western Kalimantan, Indonesia, along with a relief of seven tapering stupas that probably represent the seven Buddhas (fig. 50). The verse is also included in a “golden book” from Java, of unknown provenance.<sup>19</sup> In a curious case of objects’ appearing in, rather than disappearing from, a museum, eleven engraved gold plates were “discovered” in the Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta, at the end of World War II. Written in Sanskrit in proto-Javanese script, the plates give a version of the complete Sutra on Dependent Arising, accompanied by an otherwise unknown commentary. There are also several protective verses as well as the stanza on karma and rebirth quoted above. Other gold plates from Java bear just mantras or *dhāraṇīs* (incantations).<sup>20</sup>

Another fine “deluxe edition” is a single gold plate from Go Xoai, Long An province, southern Vietnam. Fashioned to resemble a page of a palm-leaf manuscript, it gives the stanza on causation, a

verse on the Four Truths of the Noble Ones, and two *dhāraṇīs*.<sup>21</sup> Two stone bars bearing stanzas from a Mahāyāna sutra, the *Questions of Śāgaramati* (*Sāgaramatipariprcchā*), have been found in Kedah in the coastal northwest of peninsular Malaysia.<sup>22</sup> Written in Sanskrit in the form of Brāhmī script used in Southeast Asia, they date to the seventh or eighth century. The Kedah stanzas refer to the Buddha’s spiritual powers and the insubstantiality of dependently arisen things—a core Mahāyāna doctrine. These are the only known citations of the *Questions of Śāgaramati* in either South or Southeast Asia. Other inscriptions related to the Mahāyāna tradition include the *dhāraṇīs* found on clay tablets throughout the Malay Peninsula and the brief *dhāraṇīs* found on gold plates in Sumatra.

Beyond the citation inscriptions, there are dedicatory records that draw on Buddhist terminology. An inscription dated 684 from Talang Tuwo, near Palembang, southern Sumatra, refers to the aspiration to awakening—a fundamental rite that initiates an individual into the Mahāyāna path—as well as general terms such as the “three precious gems,” the “diamond body,” and “unsurpassed true awakening.”<sup>23</sup> Together with the numerous *bodhisatva* figures and molded images of deities and *dhāraṇīs* found throughout the Sanskrit zone, it attests to the pervasiveness of Mahāyāna culture in the region.

#### Excursus to Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is generally regarded as the home territory of the Theravāda school and of the Pali texts. According to the ancient Pali histories—specifically, the *Dīpavaṃsa* (Chronicle of the Island) and the *Mahāvamsa* (Great Chronicle)—the Pali scriptures and commentaries were transmitted orally to the island in the third century B.C. and were first written down in the first century B.C. On the whole island of Sri Lanka, however, there are no known ancient Pali inscriptions; in fact, there are only a few later inscriptions in Pali.<sup>24</sup> Sri Lanka did participate in the practice of installing inscriptions to empower monuments, but none of the texts discovered so

far is in the Pali language or even belongs to the Theravādin tradition. The texts found at several sites, inscribed on gold and copper plates and on stone slabs, include the Perfection of Wisdom Sutra (*Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*); the Kāśyapa Chapter (*Kāśyapaparivarta*), or *Ratnakūṭa*; and *dhāraṇīs*.<sup>25</sup> All are in Sanskrit, and all belong to the Mahāyāna tradition. In terms of Buddhist epigraphy, Sri Lanka falls into the Sanskrit zone. It is also very rich in early Prakrit donative inscriptions.

### Interpreting the Traces

What does the corpus of Southeast Asian citation inscriptions tell us? First, the inscriptions give no explicit information about the monastic schools that must have once thrived in the region. The Pali inscriptions point to a monastic lineage within the Theravāmsa, or Theravāda, school, but they offer no clues about the origins of that lineage. Because the epigraphic habits, architecture, and artistic and aesthetic traditions of Southeast Asia differ from those of Sri Lanka, it is likely that the monastic culture of Southeast Asia was an autonomous branch of the Thera tradition. The inscriptions of the Sanskrit zone cannot be connected with any particular school or schools, nor can the few Prakrit inscriptions. The mystery stanza on karma and rebirth cannot be traced to any known school or body of scriptures. This singularity suggests either the existence of Indian schools whose scriptures are not otherwise preserved or, perhaps, the transmission of locally composed texts within the region.

What the citation inscriptions do tell us is that Southeast Asians shared in the wider Buddhist ritual culture of the second half of the first millennium A.D., including the mass production of clay images, the installation of sacred texts in stupas, and the cult of *bodhisatvas*, including Avalokiteśvara and the eight *bodhisatvas*. The practice of depositing sacred texts is well known from India to East Asia,<sup>26</sup> but the installation of clay images and miniature stupas in caves appears

to have been specific to the Malay Peninsula. The cult of the compassionate savior Avalokiteśvara flourished throughout the Buddhist world, including in China, where the male *bodhisattva* from India was transformed into the graceful female “Goddess of Mercy,” Guanyin. In Southeast Asia, Avalokiteśvara eclipsed all other *bodhisatvas* and was venerated throughout the region.

At the same time, Buddhist communities in Southeast Asia forged their own identities and developed their own practices and customs. The iconological imagination of local and regional sponsors and artisans inspired the production of Buddha statues with new and unique postures and with a novel aesthetic—one that had a wide influence throughout the Nanhai (“Southern Seas,” the ancient Chinese term for Southeast Asia) and beyond. The new forms cannot be explained by received Indian iconographies. They include images of the standing Buddha with both hands raised to the same height in identical teaching gestures. The Dvāravati culture of central Thailand has its unique *banaspati* image, which is not understood to this day: the Buddha standing on a mythical creature, flanked by a pair of divinities or *bodhisatvas*.<sup>27</sup> The molded images include many models that are unknown in South Asia but are shared across Southeast Asia, including Buddha/*bodhisattva* triads and even more complex configurations of divinities.

The inscriptions presented here are fragments of social and ritual worlds that share in broader Buddhist intertextualities. At the same time, the unique textual configurations of the region reveal how Southeast Asian Buddhism developed its own face—its own *many faces*—during centuries of evolution over an ecologically, culturally, and linguistically vast and diverse region. The region interacted within the wide network of trade and cultural exchange and participated with the rest of the Buddhist world as an equal partner in the production of Buddhist culture, adding new dimensions not witnessed in South Asia or China.



Fig. 50. Batu Pahat monolith depicting seven stupas, inscribed in Sanskrit with stanza of causation and “mystery verse” on karma and rebirth. Photographed at Batu Pahat, western Kalimantan (Borneo), Indonesia, ca. 1920s

# The Pyu Civilization of Myanmar and the City of Śrī Kṣetra

Thein Lwin, Win Kyaing, and Janice Stargardt

The people known as the Pyu<sup>1</sup> probably drifted from southern China into the side valleys of the Irrawaddy (Ayeyarwady) River in the dry zone of central and northern Myanmar (known as Upper Myanmar) during the first millennium B.C. Small population groups speaking related languages in the Tibeto-Burman group still live in Yunnan province, notably the Lolo. The Pyu cultural heritage was greatly valued by the kings and nobles of the Bagan period (mid-9th–late 13th century), and it is probable that many Pyu people were peacefully assimilated into Burmese society at that time; certainly, the Pyu language still figured in major inscriptions at Bagan. The Pyu left a body of ancient inscriptions in Pali, Sanskrit, and Pyu dating to about the mid-fifth to the twelfth century, but only those in Pali and Sanskrit have so far been translated. The Pyu language remains one of the few Southeast Asian languages not yet recovered. It can be transliterated, because the sound value of most of the letters of Indian origin is known, but tonal languages have a large number of homonyms, whose meanings are not easy to distinguish. The language is related to Myanmar (Burmese), but the two would not have been mutually comprehensible.

Other aspects of Pyu cultural heritage are both accessible and impressive. By the time Halin, Beikthano, and Śrī Kṣetra began the process of urban development, around the second to first century B.C.,<sup>2</sup> the Pyu had already mastered three important aspects of ancient economic life: water control, brickmaking, and ironworking. These three skills enabled them to create, from about the first century B.C. until about the ninth century A.D., the earliest and most enduring cities in Southeast Asia. Defined by external walls, initially of rammed earth but soon of large, well-fired bricks, each of these large Pyu cities<sup>3</sup> possessed an extended urban format: Halin's walls enclosed about two square miles (540 hectares), Beikthano's approximately three and a half square miles (900 ha), and Śrī Kṣetra's no less than seven square miles (1,840 ha). Each was surrounded by extramural areas closely linked to the walled enclave.

Unlike contemporary urban sites around the Mediterranean, which were characterized by highly concentrated development in a limited space, the Pyu cities occupied large, fortified spaces, parts of which were devoted to gardens, fields, man-made lakes, moats, and canals and parts to low-density settlements, monuments, and markets (see fig. 51). Near the center of each Pyu city lay a well-fortified citadel or palace city. Together with fortified fields and water resources, the huge volume of brick fortifications incorporated into each Pyu city—surviving sections at Śrī Kṣetra are still impressive—no doubt contributed to their remarkable longevity. Only the fortifications and monuments, however, were constructed of durable materials (mainly brick). All residences, including the palace buildings, were built of organic materials.

## Brief History of Śrī Kṣetra

Śrī Kṣetra was the largest and probably the most enduring of the Pyu cities. The greatest concentration of Pyu monuments, statuary, and inscriptions have been found there. Undoubtedly, it was once the royal capital of a kingdom in central Myanmar. Although it dominated the surrounding area and had relations with other Pyu cities, with Myanmar's coastal settlements, and with cities in present-day Thailand and Vietnam, there is little to suggest that it dominated either Halin or Beikthano politically. Śrī Kṣetra (Thiri Khittaya in Myanmar) means “field of prosperity” or “auspicious land” in Sanskrit.

Accounts of Śrī Kṣetra are preserved in the traditional chronicles of Myanmar, which provide an amalgam of factual and legendary elements. Its founders were said to be the descendants of the rulers of Tagaung, which the chronicles consider the original capital of the earliest dynasty in the central and northern region of Myanmar.<sup>4</sup> The foundation of Śrī Kṣetra is presented as having been prophesied by the Buddha<sup>5</sup> and the site as miraculously visited and approved by him in the company of his followers. *The Glass Palace*

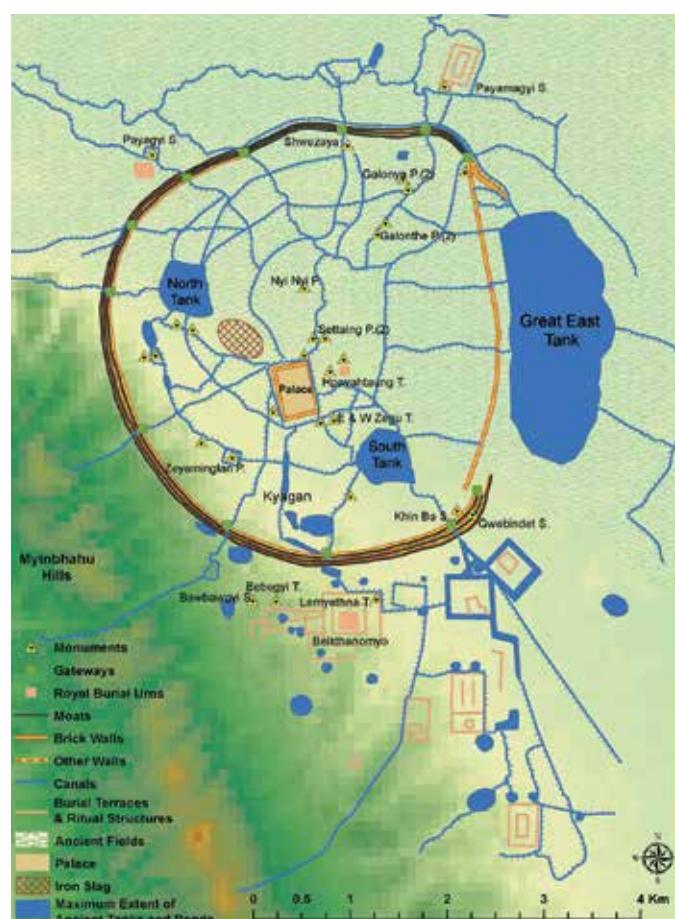


Fig. 51. Topographical map of ancient Śrī Kṣetra



Fig. 52. Figurines of Pyu dancers and musicians. Central Myanmar, 6th–8th century. Excavated from Śrī Kṣetra, Hmawza. Copper alloy, average h. 4½ in. (11 cm). National Museum of Myanmar, Yangon

*Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* and the older sources on which it was based<sup>6</sup> often vary in details, but they agree that Śrī Kṣetra marked the beginnings of Buddhism in Myanmar and played a key role in “anchoring it in the kingdom.” Twenty-five kings are mentioned, along with their work as royal patrons of buildings dedicated to Buddhism. The chronicles attribute Śrī Kṣetra’s decline to the chaos and destruction of unity caused by invasion. Tribal conflict followed, in which ethnic Pyu groups moved to other regions. Archaeological findings and texts, examined below, provide further information on the decline of the great Pyu culture and perhaps of this particular city.

From the eighth century, the ruler of the Nanzhao kingdom in Yunnan claimed to be “lord of the Pyu,” and the oft-cited Pyu embassy to the Tang court in 801–2 paused at Taihe, the Nanzhao capital, en route.<sup>7</sup> There, the Chinese imperial representative composed a memorial for the Tang emperor on the subject of “Piao” music, dance, and instruments,<sup>8</sup> parts of which have survived in Tang records. The Pyu embassy, led by the king’s brother, then proceeded to the Tang capital, Xi’an (Chang’an), in the company of an embassy from the Nanzhao. Material evidence of the outstanding qualities of Pyu music and dance survives in the form of a vivacious group of bronze figurines of musicians and dancers (fig. 52) excavated from a brick-and-earth platform near the Payama stupa. Archaeological evidence also confirms that the late eighth and early ninth centuries were a time of relative weakness for Śrī Kṣetra. A great blow against the Pyu kingdoms was struck by the Nanzhao army some twenty years later, when three thousand Pyu were forcibly resettled somewhere east of Taihe in Yunnan.<sup>9</sup>

Many Pyu people settled in Bagan in central Myanmar before and during this period. Pyu-style stupas in the Thiripyitsaya area of Bagan and Pyu-type bricks imprinted with Pyu finger marks, letters, and numerals join the evidence of Pyu-language inscriptions to reveal active Pyu communities at Bagan as late as the twelfth or possibly thirteenth century. Bagan royal inscriptions of the eleventh century indicate that Śrī Kṣetra had attained iconic status as the royal capital of an ideal Buddhist kingdom, where the Burmese kings of Bagan claimed to have lived in a previous existence.<sup>10</sup> Recent architectural research confirms Śrī Kṣetra’s resonance into the Bagan and later periods of Myanmar’s history by showing that

the city was reoccupied during the Bagan period: the Bebe and Lemyethna temples, among other surviving small brick shrines, stand on the remains of much older, Pyu-period structures, while the largest standing temple in Śrī Kṣetra, the Hpayahtaung, may even belong to the post-Bagan period (ca. 14th century).<sup>11</sup>

An expanding body of information about Śrī Kṣetra is emerging from current archaeological research—excavations as well as surface, aerial, and satellite surveys and epigraphic, numismatic, art-historical, and architectural studies. Archaeological surveys at Śrī Kṣetra began in the early twentieth century, when the first superintendent of archaeology, U Taw Sein Ko, launched his project to survey and map every major site mentioned in the chronicles. Apart from two gaps in archaeological activity (1912–23 and 1939–49), surveys have continued up to the present, now with the most advanced techniques of electronic surveying and remote sensing.<sup>12</sup>

#### Early-Phase Śrī Kṣetra, 2nd Century B.C.–4th Century A.D.

Although it is often said that Śrī Kṣetra lies in the transitional zone between the extremely wet coastal region of Myanmar and the country’s huge dry heartland, the conditions of the dry zone, in fact, prevail in the area: rain-fed rice crops frequently fail, and supplementary sources of water are crucial. That would have been especially true for the ancient urban population, many of whom were noncultivators. Thus, settlement patterns at Śrī Kṣetra went hand in hand with mastery of water control, at which the Pyu were to excel.<sup>13</sup>

The development into a city of this particular site, among the many hundreds of Iron Age villages that probably existed in Myanmar in the second century B.C., was due to a combination of factors, natural and human. Skilled water management was certainly a major one, but natural conditions were also important: Śrī Kṣetra was only about three miles (5 km) east of the Irrawaddy River, the great central artery of the country, but was sheltered from it by the Myinbahu range. The natural gap in the range, through which the Nawin River flows, could be easily defended. Pyay (which means “capital” in Myanmar) probably originated as the river port of Śrī Kṣetra, and its lofty stupa, the Shwesandaw, may have Pyu origins and have served as a landmark for ancient river traffic, as it still does today.<sup>14</sup>



Fig. 53. Three leaves of a Pali manuscript. Central Myanmar, ca. 5th century.  
Excavated from Khin Ba stupa mound, Kalagangon village, Sri Ksetra,  
Hmawza, in 1926–27. Gold; each leaf h. 1 1/4 in. (3.2 cm),  
w. 6 1/2 in. (16.5 cm). National Museum of Myanmar, Yangon

Iron deposits are plentiful in the immediate vicinity of Sri Ksetra.<sup>15</sup> Like their counterparts at Halin and Beikthano, the Pyu at Sri Ksetra became experts at iron smelting and forging.<sup>16</sup> A mound of iron slag more than six and a half feet (2 m) thick and spread over about three and a half acres (1.4 ha) to the north of the palace provides firm evidence that intensive ironworking was an integral part of Sri Ksetra's society and economy at an early stage in its urban development. A sample from a low level of this mound has been radiocarbon-dated to A.D. 50–200.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, the picture that emerges from all these recent data is of an evolutionary history in which a well-positioned Iron Age village grew, over the period from about the second century B.C. to about the second century A.D., into something much more complex and enduring: a stratified and complex society with secure resources of food and water protected by some fortifications in brick, where the upper echelons of society were acquiring increasing degrees of literacy, knowledge of Buddhism, administrative complexity, and familiarity with the rituals and practice of kingship. Similarly, the construction of irrigation networks and brick fortifications (including the palace and elaborate gateways) was probably highly developed by the fourth century A.D. The map of ancient Sri Ksetra in figure 1 reflects their final form; an east wall conspicuously inferior to the other fortifications probably dates to a late phase of the city's history, around the eighth century.<sup>18</sup>

Pyu society at Sri Ksetra from the second century B.C. to the third century A.D. included cultivators and irrigators; potters and brickmakers; blacksmiths and masters of other metals, such as silver and gold; and rulers, all of whom have left traces in the archaeological record. There were probably monastic communities by the third or fourth century at the latest. There were also specialists in rituals concerning death. Elaborate funerary customs seem to predate the Pyu adoption of Buddhism,<sup>19</sup> but at all three large Pyu cities, massed urn burials were assimilated into it from an early date and came to be a striking feature of Pyu Buddhism, with vast numbers of cremated burials in terracotta, stone, bronze, and copper urns (cats. 24, 25) installed both in and around Buddhist monuments and in separate, purpose-built halls and platforms. In total, the urn burials found at Sri Ksetra are probably more numerous than at any other site in the whole of pre-Islamic South and Southeast Asia. Beikthano and Halin do not lag far behind.<sup>20</sup>

#### Phase I of Pyu Buddhism at Sri Ksetra, 4th–6th Century A.D.

It is a truism of archaeology that one never finds the beginnings of anything; a phenomenon has to have become widespread in order to appear in the archaeological record. This is the case at Sri Ksetra, where the earliest surviving examples of monumental art and writing are datable to the fourth and fifth centuries but reveal preexisting levels of knowledge and expertise. A large throne stele (cat. 12), probably of the fourth century, provides clear evidence that *before that date* the Pyu knew the Indian royal symbols of power—the throne, the Garuḍa, and the wheel—but felt free to invent a sculptural vocabulary that did not correspond to known Indian prototypes.<sup>21</sup> The massive club carried by the central figure on one side of the stele may have been a local symbol of authority, while the standards held by the flanking figures imply that the Pyu also associated the Brahmanical god Viṣṇu with royal sovereignty. The other side of the stele is devoted to a new variant of the aniconic veneration of the Buddha in the form of an empty throne. Here, however, both devotees are women, and one may ponder whether the image combines veneration of the throne as a symbol of the Buddha with veneration of the throne as a symbol of royal power. In short, strikingly independent fusions of Indian inspiration and local invention emerged in many aspects of Pyu culture, including architecture, art, and writing.

Among the most important discoveries of the first Buddhist period at Sri Ksetra are a Pali text inscribed on twenty leaves of gold, assigned in a 1997 study to the early fifth century (fig. 53), and a large gilded-silver reliquary of the fifth to sixth century (fig. 54). These were the two main objects in the only undisturbed relic chamber ever found at Sri Ksetra. Known as the Khin Ba mound, it consisted of a ruined stupa platform and the rubble of its superstructure on land belonging to a local farmer named U Khin Ba. The magnificent contents of this chamber signal what may have been lost through the pillaging of the city's other relic chambers. Also dating to this period are five large stone burial urns (5th–6th century; cat. 24) inscribed in Pyu with Sanskritized royal names and some numbers. The four examples with one-line inscriptions were found outside the city walls to the northwest, near the Payagyi stupa,<sup>22</sup> while the fifth one, with a five-line inscription, was found within the city, inside a small brick structure just east of the Hpayahtaung temple. A further assemblage of uninscribed royal



Fig. 54. Reliquary, from Sri Ksetra, central Myanmar (cat. 27)

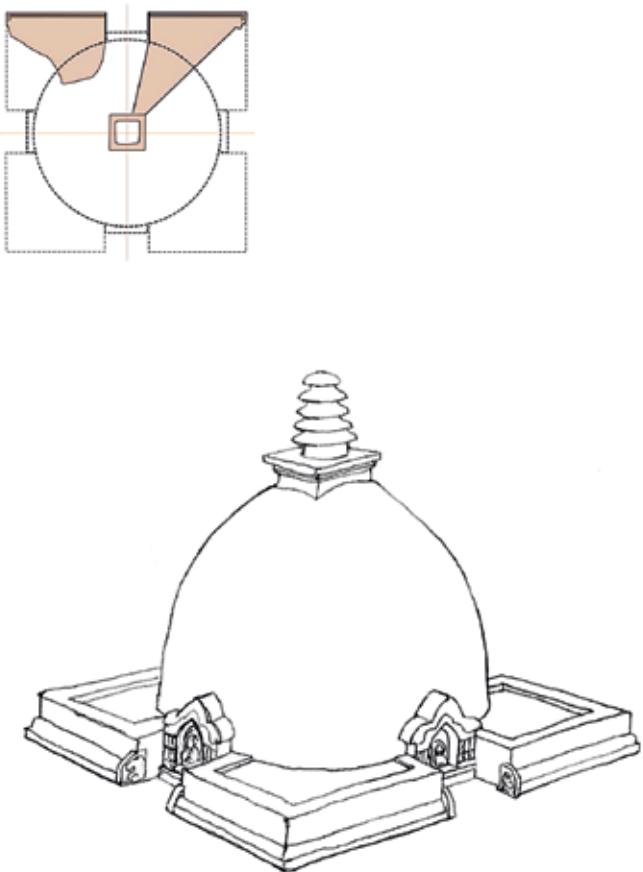


Fig. 55. Hypothetical ground plan and elevation of Khin Ba stupa, Kalagangon village, Śrī Kṣetra, Hmawza. Central Myanmar, mid- to late 5th–7th or 8th century

stone urns was found at the Queens' Cemetery (Beikthanomyo) outside the city walls to the south, near the Bawbawgyi (fig. 15), Bebe, Lemyethna, and Gwebindet monuments and not far from the Khin Ba mound. Recently excavated nearby sites belonging to this period are HMA47 and HMA53, two brick-and-earth stepped platforms containing massed cremated burials in terracotta urns. Site HMA47 has recently been radiocarbon-dated to A.D. 420–570.<sup>23</sup>

Small cylindrical stupas such as HMA51 (fig. 56) probably also originated in this period, as did the three principal stupas—the Bawbawgyi, Payagy, and Payama—which were later enlarged several times. In its original form (fig. 55), the stupa embedded in the Khin Ba mound dates to the fifth to sixth century, while the nearby Gwebindet stupa, with its ornamental bricks, was possibly built around the sixth century.

The earliest Pyu images of the Buddha in Myanmar, and among the earliest ones in Southeast Asia as a whole, appear on the great silver reliquary that was the centerpiece of the Khin Ba relic chamber (fig. 54). Again, this exceptionally important sacred object reveals an eclectic mixture of Indian features for which there is no known Indian model: it combines the concept of a Buddhist tree shrine with a cylindrical relic container and reveals artistic affinities with both Gupta and Andhra Pradesh traditions of Buddhist art. The reliquary was made from a thin sheet of silver about two millimeters thick, hammered in the repoussé method over a matrix of hard wood. It never had a bottom and was not made to be self-supporting but rather formed a sheath over a wood casket and cover of the same dimensions and design, which held the relic. The wood casket and cover having disintegrated, the remaining sheath of silver has become brittle and fragile, and no

trace of the relic was found when the chamber was opened in December 1926.<sup>24</sup> The paleography of the inscription on the rim of the silver lid is similar in age and style (but not identical) to that of the gold Pali manuscript found with it (fig. 53).<sup>25</sup> The latter has been rigorously analyzed both textually and paleographically and dated, in that study, to the early fifth century.<sup>26</sup> Together, these two remarkable sacred objects formed a ritually perfect deposit and appear to have been especially venerated at Śrī Kṣetra. They were preserved in one or more later enlargements and rededications of the stupa in the Khin Ba mound. In its final form, the relic chamber contained a treasure of more than five hundred objects, mostly in silver and gold,<sup>27</sup> among which the silver reliquary and the gold Pali text remained the most outstanding, even after the additions that were likely inserted in a late seventh- or eighth-century rededication.

The gold Pali text of Śrī Kṣetra is a small version of a palm-leaf manuscript consisting of twenty leaves of gold bound between two gold covers with thick gold wire. It preserves the oldest lengthy excerpts of canonical Pali found anywhere so far—no fewer than sixty lines. Fragments of Pali, or Prakrit texts closely resembling Pali, have been recorded at sites in India and Thailand,<sup>28</sup> but nothing found to date in early Pali rivals the importance of this text. Originally read, translated, and annotated by U Lu Pe Win in 1939,<sup>29</sup> it remained virtually unknown to Indologists until 1995, when a new phase of research on it and the silver reliquary began.<sup>30</sup> All aspects of the text were subjected to a detailed scrutiny,<sup>31</sup> from the choice of eight excerpts from the core Pali canon and the Indian affinities of the handwriting styles to the numerals on each leaf and the way the whole manuscript was assembled. The conclusion of the analysis was that some of the monks involved in the composition of the text had received their training in mid-fourth-century Andhra Pradesh, while other features point to a date some fifty years later. The manuscript as a whole was assigned to the early fifth century. Allowing for the possibility of scribal conservatism, a date of the fifth to sixth century can provisionally be assigned to both the gold Pali text and the silver reliquary, but it must be borne in mind that the exceptionally high quality of both objects implies a preceding background of strongly rooted Buddhist literacy and art at Śrī Kṣetra before that date. The treasure found inside the Khin Ba relic chamber included forty-five Pyu silver coins (cat. 36A, B), some datable to the fifth to sixth century and some to the eighth century.<sup>32</sup> This evidence, and the artistic style of some objects associated with the ruined stupa platform, jointly confirm the likelihood that the stupa and its relic chamber were enlarged and rededicated in the late seventh to eighth century.



Fig. 56. Small Phase I cylindrical stupa at site HMA51, Śrī Kṣetra, Hmawza. Central Myanmar, ca. 4th–5th century

Most of the royal urns of Śrī Kṣetra (cat. 24), including a large terracotta example, contain a single-line inscription in Pyu together with a Sanskritized royal name.<sup>33</sup> Four large inscribed stone urns were found in 1911–12 near the Payagyi stupa. These have yielded three individual royal names and the name of a dynasty: the Vikramas.<sup>34</sup> A very large fifth stone urn from the Hpayahtaung temple precinct (found in 1993) has five long lines inscribed in the Pyu language that provide a genealogy of seven royal names (five of them ending in *-vikrama*), among which the three previously known names reappear.

Significantly, on the fifth urn, the seven royal names form a sequence, which presumably reflects the rulers' order of succession to the throne. The correct interpretation of the dates following the royal names remains controversial: Charles Blagden assumed that the dates referred to the era beginning in 638 and assigned them to the seventh century, a view that has been frequently repeated and has influenced many perceptions of the chronology of Pyu civilization, especially at Śrī Kṣetra.<sup>35</sup> Blagden's readings and dates have recently been challenged by U San Win,<sup>36</sup> who emphasizes contacts with the Guptas in India and proposes that the Vikrama dynasty ruled in Śrī Kṣetra from the early fourth to early fifth century. Only further research will resolve this fascinating question.

#### Phase II of Buddhist Culture at Śrī Kṣetra, 7th–9th Century

From the seventh until the eighth or ninth century, there is a continuous record of Pyu Buddhist architecture and art at Śrī Kṣetra. The debt owed to the cylindrical stupa style of the Śātavāhana and Ikṣvāku dynasties of Andhra Pradesh is amply illustrated by the depiction of a stupa on the Khin Ba relic chamber's cover slab (cat. 26). The greatest Pyu monuments are the three lofty stupas—the Bawbawgyi, Payagyi, and Payama—which originated in Phase I but were clearly enlarged and probably rededicated on more than one occasion. The Bawbawgyi is now about 150 feet (46 m) tall and hollow to a height of about 79 feet (24 m) on account of the many times the stupa was broken open and objects were removed from or, sometimes, introduced into it.<sup>37</sup> It was previously coated with plaster and probably painted or gilded.

This period witnessed new developments in Pyu Buddhist art. Stone sculpture in very high relief appears for the first time but remains rare. One important example, a seated Buddha (cat. 41), bears a long and unusual inscription in Sanskrit and Pyu on all four sides of its pedestal, not extracts from the Buddhist canon but accounts of the actions of two kings of two different dynasties: one, H[a]rvivikrama, is also mentioned in the stone urn inscriptions; the other, Jayachandraravarman, is named only here. The most significant development was the appearance of a variant of the Buddha's earth-touching gesture (*bhūmisparśamudrā*). In it, the right arm and hand of the Buddha, instead of forming a vertical line from shoulder to shin, stretch sideways, and the hand curves over the knee (see cats. 53–55). This variation exists in the monumental low-relief stone sculptures found in the Lemyethna temple, which are now in the Śrī Kṣetra (Hmawza) site museum (fig. 57),<sup>38</sup> and in steles near the Thupayone stupa, among other works. A further variation is to depict the Buddha performing this mudra in the



Fig. 57. Stele with Buddha in variant earth-touching gesture, flanked by two stupas. Central Myanmar, 7th–8th century. Formerly in Lemyethna temple, Śrī Kṣetra, Hmawza. Sandstone, 55½ x 39 x 12 in. (140 x 99 x 30.5 cm). Thiri Khittaya (Śrī Ksetra) Archaeological Museum, Hmawza, Myanmar

same way but with the left hand, as seen in the Buddha stele in the Bebe temple.<sup>39</sup>

In the last phase of Buddhist art at Śrī Kṣetra, the Buddha's facial features became heavier and the hair curls smaller, with a much higher *usnīṣa*—possibly due to an assimilation of Mon influences.<sup>40</sup> It is worth recalling that great stupas such as the Bawbawgyi became centers of pilgrimage, not only from Mon cities in Myanmar and central Thailand but also from as far away as peninsular Thailand,<sup>41</sup> and that some of the objects found around the Bawbawgyi were imported. Indisputably local in origin, however, are the colossal stone thrones and stone steles with Buddha images that formed a strong tradition in Śrī Kṣetra in the seventh to ninth century.<sup>42</sup> At present, three sites with huge stone pedestals or thrones are known as well as three sites with colossal relief sculptures of either three Buddhas, one Buddha and two attendants, or one Buddha and two stupas (fig. 57).<sup>43</sup> Buddha images carved in relief on huge stone slabs are, together with clay tablets, the most numerous in Pyu art.

A great quantity of diverse structures has been excavated at Śrī Kṣetra. In total, 105 monuments have been located inside the walls and 172 outside them, conveying something of the archaeological complexity and richness of the vast site. Undoubtedly, more remains to be discovered there and at other Pyu centers—discoveries that may well change the views presented here and have implications for our understanding of early urbanization and cultural expression in first-millennium mainland Southeast Asia. To sum up present knowledge, the Pyu pioneered urban forms in Southeast Asia in the last centuries B.C. and were notable masters of brick-making, ironworking, and water management. In the first half of the first millennium A.D., they took the giant steps involved in developing hierarchical societies with Indic royal titles, Pali-based Buddhism, and a written form for their non-Indic, tonal language. From then until the end of the millennium, the Pyu at Śrī Kṣetra cultivated all the arts of a flourishing Buddhist kingdom, and their achievements have resonated with the later societies of Myanmar.

# Early Cham Art: Indigenous Styles and Regional Connections

Pierre Baptiste



Fig. 58. Vo Canh inscription stele.  
Central Vietnam, ca. 3rd–4th century. Found in Vo Canh,  
Khanh Hoa province. Granite, 98 1/8 x 28 3/8 x 26 1/8 in. (250 x 72 x 67 cm).  
National Museum of Vietnamese History, Hanoi

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, when they first became interested in the ancient civilizations of Southeast Asia, Western historians and art historians have endeavored to understand the complex phenomena that led the region to adopt some fundamental elements of Indian culture during the early centuries A.D. The sacred languages of Sanskrit and Pali, the variety of scripts with which to write them, and the ancient religions of Brahmanism and Buddhism all contributed to the prestige and power of the local elites who had embraced those imports. These phenomena, once known by the generic term “Indianization,” left behind material vestiges that still provide ample food for thought: a monumental architecture consisting of the ruins of brick and stone temples, usually abandoned for centuries; divine images, however fragmentary, from these sanctuaries; and inscriptions on some of the doorjambs of the monuments or on their foundation steles. Translations of the inscriptions soon allowed scholars to reconstruct the ancient history of the region. That history still has many gaps, despite additional information from contemporary Chinese sources.

Somewhat paradoxically, the oldest epigraphic evidence that attests to the force of Indianization from the third to fourth century A.D. on was found not near India, as might be expected, or on the Malay Peninsula, long a region of commercial and cultural exchange with India, but rather in coastal Vietnam, at Vo Canh, Khanh Hoa province, at the easterly limit of the Indianized world, a region well within China’s sphere of influence (fig. 58). Written on an impressive granite monolithic stele, erected on a base of broad bricks, the Vo Canh inscription has been the subject of many scientific studies, some very recent. The script, assigned to about the fourth century, is related to that of some second-century Sanskrit inscriptions found along the west coast of India and in Andhra Pradesh on the east coast. Nonetheless, no direct Indian model corresponds to it, as the script had already evolved from its Indian predecessors, and epigraphists have argued different origins for it.<sup>1</sup> In the late nineteenth century, the Indologist Abel Bergaigne demonstrated the evolved state of the Vo Canh inscription script, and Jean Filliozat confirmed it in 1969.<sup>2</sup> The inscription records, in the sacred language of Sanskrit, the royal deeds of a local sovereign, who bore a Sanskrit name. Whether it is to be understood in a Buddhist or, more likely, a Brahmanical context is unclear: was that local potentate a Cham, as has been long believed, or did he come from a small kingdom affiliated with Funan? His origins are not apparent from the inscription.

Along the central and southern coasts of present-day Vietnam, from the early centuries A.D. at the latest, Cham populations increasingly occupied much of the narrow, cultivable plains that extend the length of the Annamite Mountains along the South China Sea. These peoples were hardly unified and appear to have shared part of the territory with other populations, especially the Mon-Khmer, who had settled there at an earlier time.<sup>3</sup> Despite the many uncertainties surrounding the nature of the Cham polities, their inhabitants, and their links to the prehistoric cultures that preceded them, especially to the indigenous Sa Huynh culture, it is now generally



Fig. 59. Deity seated on a multiheaded *nāga* (snake). Central Vietnam, 6th century. Found in temple G1, My Son, Quang Nam province. Marble or alabaster (?), h. 33½ in. (85 cm). Present location unknown

agreed that the Chams, originating in Austronesia, established themselves on this patchwork of coastal plains separated by mountainous capes.<sup>4</sup> They settled all along the coast at sites well irrigated by the largest rivers, which allowed greater communication with the lands of the interior, such as Thu Bon, Quang Nam province, and Cai, Khanh Hoa province, and with Champa's two major Śaiva sanctuaries, My Son, Quang Nam, and Po Nagar, Khanh Hoa. The predominant characteristics of the Champa territories were more or less diffuse settlements in a region rich with preexisting traditions. These were fragmented communities living in a diverse sea-and-river environment and often in contentious relations with the bordering states—notably, the Khmer and, later, the Vietnamese. Unlike those of their rivals, the Cham territories never achieved real unification as a single centralized state. When the term “country of Champa” appears in Cham and Khmer inscriptions of the seventh century, it was no doubt meant to denote a particular Cham polity but not to imply that it embraced all Chams. There is no evidence of a confederation of Cham kingdoms, although each polity was likely based on a system of extended clan allegiances and oaths of loyalty, rather than integrated into a truly centralized political state.<sup>5</sup>

Given this context, it is hardly surprising that the earliest known Champa works of art, in the fields of religious architecture and sculpture, demonstrate diverse influences, whether Indian, Khmer, or Chinese, and reflect Cham participation in the long-distance maritime trade linking China and India. These objects, in terracotta, stone, and bronze, reveal the existence of Brahmanical and Buddhist cults in Champa, dating to the sixth or seventh

century. There are only two or three known sculptures that may date to the fifth century, but it is not certain whether those isolated fragments of male and female busts were cult icons or decorative architectural elements (*gavākṣa* or *candraśālā*). Many ancient Indian examples survive in the superstructures of religious monuments,<sup>6</sup> and these architectural forms circulated during the sixth and seventh centuries to many parts of Southeast Asia, including Oc Eo, southern Vietnam, and Sambor Prei Kuk, central Cambodia.<sup>7</sup> Not all Cham exemplars stem from this period, judging by the ornamentation of certain deities on the sculptures of the citadel site of An My, Quang Nam province, now in the Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang, which Thierry Zéphir has linked to ornaments dating back to the late Kuśāṇa period (2nd–3rd century) at the earliest or, more likely, to the early Gupta era (4th–5th century).<sup>8</sup> These early Cham sculptures show an already-assimilated Indian influence, and their stylistic forebears are diverse, extending from Maharashtra in western India, as seen on reliefs adorning the entryway to the great third-century *caitya* (stupa) of Kanheri, to Amaravati in southern India.

Is it possible to associate the earliest Cham images with the inscriptions of Bhadravarman I, found in several locations in the present-day provinces of Quang Nam and Phu Yen? Although such a connection is largely hypothetical, Sanskrit inscriptions already confirm the importance of My Son and the Śaiva character of the royal foundations recorded there. The inscriptions were executed on the king's behalf at “Bhadreśvarasvāmin” (My Son), likely honoring Śiva in the form of a linga.<sup>9</sup> Interestingly, epigraphists also link the

style of these inscriptions to those of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, which ruled Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra from the third to fifth century, and to the Pallava sovereigns, who reigned from Kanchipuram (Tamil Nadu) over southwestern India from the late third to the ninth century, reaching their apogee between the fifth and seventh centuries. Certain Cham works from the sixth to seventh century precisely display a number of stylistic and iconographic affinities with both Vākāṭaka and Pallava art. Once again, these are isolated examples that may have been part of the decoration of long-vanished brick monuments. Of them, the two busts and the head fragment from Phu Ninh, Quang Nam province, held at the National Museum of Vietnamese History, Hanoi, are among the most significant. A famous bas-relief, to all appearances a depiction of a tree genie (*yakṣa*), was brought to light by Jean-Yves Claeys in 1928 during his excavations at Tra Kieu, Quang Nam province (cat. 15). It, too, was probably part of the decoration of a brick monument. The robustly carved male figure, seated amid floral vegetation, preserves in a very original rendering its post-Gupta heritage, particularly through the large, stylized curls of hair. But is this object a true cult image? Not at all. Rather, its presence was probably intended to invoke and appease nature spirits. Cult images certainly did exist early in Champa and, as made clear in a mid-fifth-century Chinese source, included large-scale images in precious metals. According to passages from the *Song shu* (Account of the Song Dynasty), which complement earlier writings, notably the *Nan Qi shu* (Account of the Southern Qi Dynasty) and the *Liang shu* (Account of the Liang Dynasty), “after the temples were sacked” during the Chinese expedition of 446 against the Chams, “the statues were melted down and turned into ingots, which yielded a hundred thousand pounds of pure gold.”<sup>10</sup> A very enigmatic sculpture, discovered by Henri Parmentier during the excavation of the group G sites in My Son but now lost, may have been one of the oldest cult images found in Champa (fig. 59). Its identity is uncertain, however. Some have seen it as a representation of Viṣṇu on a *nāga* (snake). More recently and convincingly, John Guy has related it to the cult of *yakṣas*, secondary deities associated with the forces of nature in the Indian world.<sup>11</sup> The iconography of that cult was probably more easily adopted in the early days of Indianization in kingdoms such as Champa, where animist beliefs had long been established.<sup>12</sup> In any case, Jean Boisselier linked that sculpture to the lapidary traditions of Amaravati art through its manner of depicting the heads of the polycephalous *nāga*.<sup>13</sup> The treatment of the ascetic’s chignon gathered at the top of the skull refers to Indian traditions that are also perceptible in Mon Dvāravatī art of the same period and in

the oldest Zhenla art, such as the Śiva of Kampong Cham Kau, Stung Treng province, northern Cambodia (cat. 96).<sup>14</sup> Contrary to Boisselier’s hypothesis, however, the small orifices on either side of the chignon were no doubt used to fasten a detachable ornament—a diadem or a crown, perhaps—following the Indian practice of deploying temple jewelry to adorn icons.

Artistic vestiges, dating from the seventh century on, found in central and southern Vietnam allow for more explicit consideration of the Cham art of that period, which corresponds to the reigns of Prakāśadharma/Vikrāntavarman I (653–ca. 685) and Vikrāntavarman II (ca. 685–ca. 731). These rulers are known through various inscriptions found in My Son and the surrounding area as well as in regions extending as far south as the sanctuary of Po Nagar.<sup>15</sup> The marriage of Vikrāntavarman I to a daughter of the Khmer king Īśānavarman I (reigned ca. 616–ca. 635), founder of the large city Īśānapura (Sambor Prei Kuk), no doubt strengthened the connections between Cham and Khmer art during the same period. The style that characterizes the era takes its name from the Śaiva temple E1 at My Son, at first probably an open-air sanctuary or one protected merely by a lightweight structure. The pedestal of the temple was reworked at a much later date and is now fragmentary. The musicians, dancers, and ascetics shown gathered in the forest or performing *pūjā* to the *śivaliṅga* in scenes carved on the four faces of the pedestal and on the stairs are among the finest ancient Cham sculptures (fig. 60). Although the foliage and floral motifs of the frieze, along with the pediments and certain details of the costumes and ornamentation, owe a great deal to Khmer art in the Sambor Prei Kuk style, the vivacity of the figures and their contrasting attitudes cohere into a singular aesthetic. But the Chams were also attuned to the Pallava traditions of seventh-century Mamallapuram (Tamil Nadu), a connection evident in the long, linear proportions of the anthropomorphic figures and their varied, dynamic poses, displayed with an unaffected elegance.

Of all the cult images surviving from this period, which saw the development of the Śaiva site of My Son, the standing Gaṇeśa may be the most extraordinary (cat. 100). It stands as witness to the importance of the cult as confirmed by the oldest known inscriptions. When discovered and photographed in 1903, the Gaṇeśa had its four arms intact, displaying an ax (*paraśu*), prayer beads (*akṣamālā*), a bowl of sweets (*modaka*), and a branch of horseradish (*mūlakakanda*), conforming to prescribed Indian iconography (see figs. 61, 114). The god wears a costume and ornaments close to those that adorn the Śaiva ascetics carved on the altar platform of temple E1, My Son (fig. 60).<sup>16</sup> The Gaṇeśa image, whose pedestal is



Fig. 60. Altar platform. Central Vietnam, 7th century. Found in temple E1, My Son, Quang Nam province. Sandstone, w. 107½ in. (273 cm). Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang, Vietnam (22.4)



Fig. 61. Ganeśa (cat. 100) as found in temple E5,  
My Son, Quang Nam province, central Vietnam, in 1903

decorated with moldings and includes a basin for ablutions, was discovered in the ruins of temple E5, built on the site at a later date, probably in the tenth century.<sup>17</sup>

Representations of Śiva in which the god, anthropomorphized, appears as a hieratic ascetic, dressed in a simple waistcloth, belong to the eighth century. Despite an economy of means in the treatment of the body and costume, these images are characterized by intense facial expressions, through which the sculptors concentrated their sensibilities. The finest example, of which only the body remains, was discovered in the remains of temple A4 at My Son; the missing head is known from a 1903 photograph (fig. 62). The smiling expression, oblong eyes, joined eyebrows, large nose, thick mustache, and high cheekbones all characterize this high point in Cham statuary. This apex is also reflected in a small group of other works, including the large stone Śiva from temple C1, My Son, and some of the linga covers (called *kosas* in Cham inscriptions, from the Sanskrit for “case” or “treasure”) made of precious metal (cat. 89, fig. 111).<sup>18</sup> Examples are in the collection of the Musée Guimet, Paris, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.<sup>19</sup> The use of these covers was more highly developed in Champa than anywhere else in Southeast Asia. The practice derived from the use of

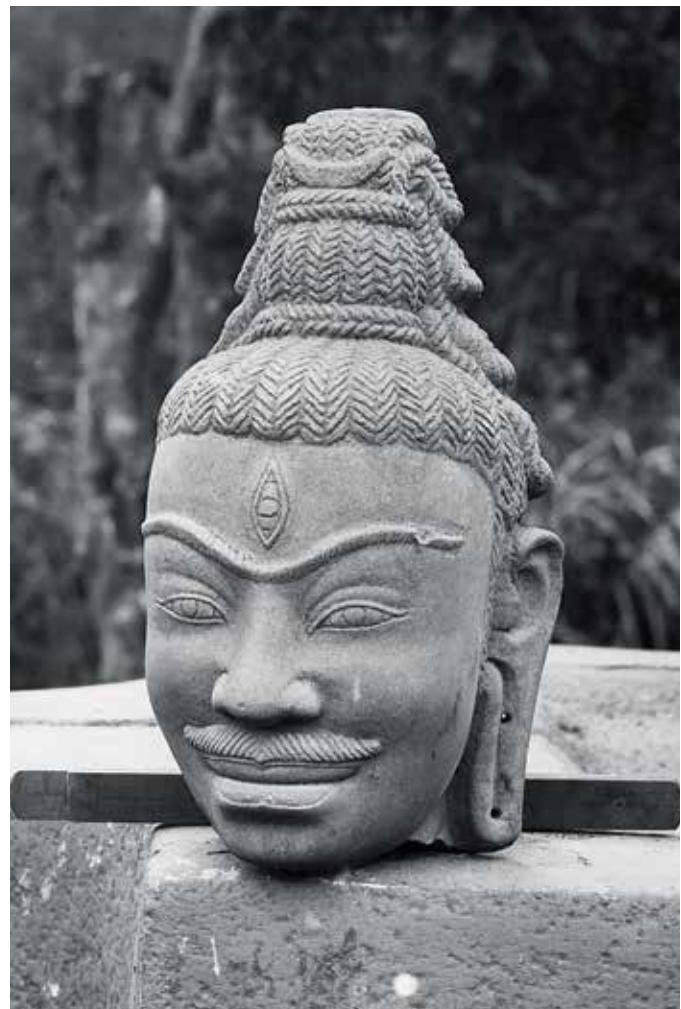


Fig. 62. Head of Śiva. Central Vietnam, 8th century. Found in temple A4, My Son, Quang Nam province. Sandstone. Present location unknown. Photographed in 1903

early prototypes in India, where no covers are extant before the medieval period, except in Nepal. In Champa, these linga covers, which often display up to four or five Śiva heads, would have been placed over a stone linga in a temple that had been founded by a predecessor, to mark a continuity in dynastic rituals.

From the same period, several fragmentary tympanums have also been found in My Son, carved in a style that recalls the long-lineal proportions of Pallava art and, to a lesser degree, the narrative verve of art from central Java. They display various aspects of Brahmanical iconography evoking the supremacy of Śiva, whether depicted dancing, as seen in temples C1 (fig. 63) and A1, or overcoming the demon Rāvana, as at temple F1.

The discovery of the foundation stele for the sanctuary of Hoa Lai, Ninh Thuan province, in 2006 and its translation in 2011 allow us to further clarify the evolution of Cham art throughout the eighth century and in the early ninth century, as put forward by Philippe Stern and Boisselier.<sup>20</sup> Built by Śrī Satyavarman on behalf of Śiva Śrī Vṛddheśvara in 700 on the Śaka calendar (778), the monument clearly appears to have been associated with Pāṇḍuranga, a Cham kingdom of which only a very late mention has been known until now. With regard to the second half of the eighth century, Arlo Griffiths’s most recent work has shed new light on the role of one Cham sovereign, Satyavarman, who had been known primarily through several later texts on a stele at Po Nagar. These recent studies have allowed us to better understand the connections between Cham art—as well as contemporaneous Khmer art in the Phnom Kulen style—and the art of central Java. Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h



Fig. 63. Tympanum depicting Śiva dancing. Central Vietnam, 8th century. Found in temple C1, My Son, Quang Nam province. Sandstone,  $56\frac{1}{4} \times 67 \times 9$  in. (143 x 170 x 23 cm). My Son site museum, Vietnam (Registry of My Son Relics, ms. 293)



Fig. 64. Doorkeeper (*dvārapāla*). Central Vietnam, ca. 778.  
In situ in south false door to central tower of  
Hoa Lai temple, Ninh Thuan province

and others have already noted the kinship between Cham art and that of the Malay Peninsula,<sup>21</sup> and Stern and Gilberte de Coral-Rémusat have considered the Javanese stylistic influence. Through epigraphic evidence and examinations of cultural and political maritime exchanges during the eighth century, Griffiths has restored Java to its proper place as a key influence on Cham art in this period. As a result, one can better grasp the stylistic treatment accorded to the ornamentation of the monuments, whose bas-reliefs teem with details borrowed from Javanese decoration (see fig. 64). This same influence appears in many Buddhist bronzes dating to the eighth to ninth century that have been uncovered throughout the Champa territories (cats. 169, 170).<sup>22</sup> These metal works anticipate the extraordinary development that the Chams would devote to other Mahāyāna Buddhist sanctuaries in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, most notably at Dong Duong in Quang Nam province (see cats. 155, 156).<sup>23</sup>

# Catalogue

John Guy



## CAT. 19

### Stele with Buddhist Inscription (Sungai Mas Inscription)

Malaysia, ca. 6th century

Found in Kampong Sungai Mas, Kedah,  
during excavation of irrigation ditch in 1979  
Shale

16½ x 9¾ x 2 in. (41 x 25 x 5 cm)  
Muzium Arkeologi Lembah Bujang, Merbok,  
Malaysia

This stele, inscribed with Buddhist verses and a depiction of a stupa, is critical to understanding the early transmission of Buddhism to Southeast Asia. A closely related stele, the famous Mahānāvika Buddhagupta stele (fig. 65), was discovered by Captain James Low of the East India Company in 1834 in association with the brick-and-laterite ruins of what was assumed to be a Buddhist monument.<sup>1</sup> Two further inscriptions with Buddhist content were found at Bukit Meriam, one on a boulder in a riverbed. Together, they constitute the earliest epigraphic evidence of Buddhist practice in the region and corroborate the engagement of Buddhist merchants in the region's long-distance trade. Contemporary Chinese Buddhist monks recorded their journeys between China and India along with their

sojourns in Southeast Asia, adding to our understanding of the stature of Buddhism in the region in the mid-first millennium.

The Mahānāvika Buddhagupta stele was installed in the Bujang valley in Kedah by a great sea captain (*mahānāvika*), a “resident of Raktamṛttaka,” to seek safe passage. Raktamṛttaka (literally, “red earth”) has been variously identified with a kingdom of that name on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and with Bengal on the Indian subcontinent.<sup>2</sup> Worked in a locally sourced stone, the stele was undoubtedly the product of a sixth-century Buddhist community on the coast of the peninsula, which likely included a *sangha* of local and Indian monks supported by Malays and Indian merchants who had settled in the area. The present stele, together with other archaeological finds, indicates that the site of Sungai Mas, located on an estuary, was a significant port settlement in the mid-first millennium, before the principal trading activity shifted north to the nearby Bujang valley.<sup>3</sup>

The stele depicts an early medieval stupa type, consistent in date with the Southern Brāhmī cursive script, which is assigned to the late fifth century.<sup>4</sup> The stupa has a semicircular drum mounted on a double lotus stand sup-



Fig. 65. Mahānāvika Buddhagupta stele. Malaysia, 6th century.  
Found in Bujang valley, Kedah, in 1834. Indian Museum, Kolkata

ported by a high, square basement with three pilasters on the elevation depicted, the whole resting on a stepped platform with moldings. Atop the drum are a square railing (*barmikā*) and the first of presumably seven umbrellas (*chattrāvala*), the rest of which are lost. The carved inscription appears to the left and right of the stupa, to be read in a circular path following what would be the correct circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*) of the stupa—keeping it always to one's right. The Sanskrit passage, an extract from a stanza (*śloka*) of the *Sāgaramati pariprcchā Sūtra* belonging to the Mādhyamika sect,<sup>5</sup> is defective in several details but can be read as the following:

*Through ignorance, karma is accumulated;*

*karma is the cause of rebirth.*

*Through wisdom, karma is not accumulated;*

*in the absence of karma, one is not reborn.*<sup>6</sup>

The style of script is close to that seen in the river-boulder inscription of King Pūrvavarman at Ciaruteun, western Java (fig. 11), and to that on the rock-cut relief of seven stupas at Batu Pahat, Kalimantan (Borneo; fig. 50), suggesting a pan-regional distribution of inscriptions associated with Brahmanical and Buddhist practitioners

among early polities in insular Southeast Asia during the late fifth and sixth centuries.

PUBLICATIONS: Allen 1986–87, fig. 1; Wisseman-Christie 1988–89, ill.; Hassan Shuhaimi bin Nik Abd. Rahman and Othman bin Mohd. Yatim 1990, p. 60; Hassan Shuhaimi bin Nik Abd. Rahman and Kamaruddin bin Zakaria 1993; *Encyclopedia of Malaysia* 1998, p. 64; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, pp. 216–19, fig. 89; Guy 2004b, p. 158, pl. 15.2.

NOTES: 1. James Low presented his discovery to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1840, and it was first published in 1849. The stele was deposited in the Indian Museum, Kolkata. See Chhabra 1965, p. 18, n. 2. 2. The issue is addressed by Woodward 2003, pp. 62–64. 3. Hassan Shuhaimi bin Nik Abd. Rahman and Othman bin Mohd. Yatim 1990. 4. See Wheatley 1964, p. 59; Wisseman-Christie 1988–89, pp. 40–45. 5. Wheatley 1964, p. 59. 6. Skilling forthcoming.

#### CAT. 20

##### Buddha Granting Boons

Malay Peninsula, early 6th century  
Excavated from site 16A, Bujang valley, Kedah, by Dorothy C. and H. G. Quaritch Wales in 1941, and presented to the Raffles Museum, Singapore, in the same year  
Copper alloy  
H. 8½ in. (21.6 cm)  
Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore (A-1354)



CAT. 20

#### CAT. 21

##### Buddha

Malay Peninsula, 6th century  
Reportedly found in the Malay Peninsula in the 1950s  
Copper alloy  
10⅞ x 3⅜ x 2⅓ in. (27.5 x 8 x 7 cm)  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Gift of David Knight, 1993 (IS.61-1993)

#### CAT. 22

##### Buddha Preaching

Malay Peninsula, early 7th century  
Copper alloy  
H. 17⅛ in. (43.5 cm)  
Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore (1999-02602)

The 1941 discovery of the copper-alloy Buddha granting boons (cat. 20) during excavations of the brick foundations of a monument near the Bujang River in coastal Kedah was of major importance in establishing the history of early Buddhist art in the Malay Peninsula. The Buddha appears to have been interred in a large earthenware jar, fragments of which shared the findspot.<sup>1</sup> While the sculpture has clear affinities with metal Buddha images from southern India, such as those from Buddam (Buddhapad; fig. 66) and Ramtek, it has all the hallmarks of being a local production.<sup>2</sup> The body is stocky, with an exaggerated flex; the neck is short and thick; the hair curls are large and flat; and the skull

protuberance (*usnīsa*) has all but disappeared, a trait of early Sri Lankan Buddha imagery. The artist evidently met with some uncertainty in realizing the side and back views, where the drapery is awkwardly handled.<sup>3</sup> The lowered right hand grants boons (*varadamudrā*), and the raised left holds an end of the outer robe. The sweep of the robe across the ankles is an early southern Indian legacy still evident at Buddhapad and elsewhere in the sixth-century Deccan. It is distinct from the squared-off drapery of Sarnath-style Buddhas (cat. 10) and has more in common with other peninsular examples. A rare early bronze Buddha from the southern Deccan (fig. 66), assigned to the early sixth century, provides a likely prototype.

Further compelling evidence of local manufacture is a second bronze Buddha of this type, reportedly collected in Malaysia in the 1950s (cat. 21).<sup>4</sup> Although clearly of inferior workmanship to the Kedah example, it shares essential characteristics of deportment, gesture, arrangement of robes, and, especially, the large, flat hair curls, which establish that the two works belong to a mutual early tradition in which their non-Indian nature is clear.

The third Buddha under discussion (cat. 22) stands in the preaching attitude. In contrast to the Kedah Buddha, the figure is slender, almost attenuated. Again, the monastic robe is worn in the southern Indian, open mode, draping from the projecting left hand and crossing the body above the ankles, with the right shoulder bare.



CAT. 21



CAT. 22



CAT. 23

This stylization of robes was pervasive in seventh-century central and southern Cambodia, in both bronze and stone (see cats. 50, 51), and is also recorded in wood images excavated from the marshlands of the Mekong delta.

Presumably based on imported models from the fifth- and sixth-century Deccan, these works make clear the rapidity with which local workshops appropriated foreign models and made them their own. The quality of the Kedah Buddha makes it highly probable that these Indian models were first received in the Malay Peninsula, whence their influence spread with the circulation of monks and devotional imagery to other centers in mainland Southeast Asia and eastward to Java. These three bronzes were likely associated with the major monasteries known to have been active in the peninsula during the Srivijaya period. These monasteries were evidently important in the Buddhist diaspora, attracting not only pilgrims en route to and from India, who paused to study and transcribe Buddhist texts, but also eminent Indian teachers who, in turn, attracted pupils, most famously Atisa, who spent twelve years in "Suvarnadvipa" studying under the master Dharmakirti.<sup>5</sup> The location of Suvarnadvipa is contested, but it was most likely either Palembang or Kedah; alternatively, the name may have been understood at the time as a region encompassing both places. The transit of monks between these monasteries and the *mahāvihāras* (great monasteries) in eastern and southern India ensured that imagery circulated quickly, introducing new canonical concepts, iconographic innovations, and styles.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 20: D. C. Quaritch Wales and H. G.

Quaritch Wales 1947, p. 7, pls. 1, 2; Griswold 1966, pp. 59–60; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1976, pp. 40–41, pl. 2A; *Encyclopedia of Malaysia* 1998, pp. 96–97; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, pp. 223–25, fig. 90.

PUBLICATION CAT. 21: Guy 2004b, p. 163, pl. 15.18.

PUBLICATION CAT. 22: Krishnan 2008, p. 101.

NOTES: 1. D. C. Quaritch Wales and H. G. Quaritch Wales 1947, p. 7. 2. Schastok 1994. 3. Griswold 1966, p. 59, fig. 17b, c. 4. The Buddha was part of a private collection formed in Malaya in the 1950s and transferred to England in the 1960s. 5. Atisa studied in Sumatra in the early eleventh century; Skilling 1997b.

#### CAT. 23

#### Enthroned Buddha Preaching

Central Thailand, second half of 6th century

Reportedly found in U Thong,

Suphanburi province

Copper alloy

H. 21½ in. (7.4 cm)

Jeff Soref, New York

This miniature icon of the enthroned Buddha seated in *bhadrāsana* and expounding the dharma is among the earliest known renderings of the subject from the Mon territories. The full figure and smooth robes with heavy folds at the hem, the pleated under robe visible at the ankles, and the very Indian manner of treating the tight hair curls with a low skull protuberance (*usṇīṣa*) point to an early date, probably in the late sixth century. It was reported as having been found in U Thong, Suphanburi province. The Mon city of U Thong was a major early moated urban polity in central Thailand, long



Fig. 66. Buddha offering protection. Southern India, early 6th century. From Tamil Nadu. Copper alloy, h. 16 in. (40.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, The Chinese Porcelain Company Gift, 1998 (1998.414)

associated with Buddhism thanks to its strategic location on both river and land routes between the coast and the hinterland. U Thong was reserved as a protected ancient site by Thailand's Fine Arts Department in 1956 and investigated by several teams in the 1960s. Some systematic excavations have been conducted since, but much awaits further archaeological investigation.<sup>1</sup> Many of the objects recovered to date have been accidental finds.

PUBLICATIONS: Thanphon Kridakon 1965, no. 3; Pal 1978, p. 122, no. 76; Rhie 1988, p. 42, fig. 66.

NOTE: 1. Fine Arts Department 1966; Boisselier 1969, pp. 47–50; Barram and Glover 2008.

#### CAT. 24

#### Funerary Casket of King Sihavikrama

Central Myanmar, late 5th–6th century

Excavated immediately south of Payagyi stupa at Śri Ksetra, Hmawza, by Archaeological Survey of India (Burma Circle) in 1911–12

Sandstone

H. 32½ in. (83 cm), diam. 16½ in. (42 cm)

Thiri Khittaya (Śri Ksetra) Archaeological Museum, Hmawza, Myanmar (1911/1/4)

This object is one of four stone funerary urns excavated at a royal burial site within the precincts of the Payagyi stupa outside the city walls at Śri Ksetra, west of the Shwetagar gate, in 1911–12 (fig. 67).<sup>1</sup> Each carries a single-line inscription around the barrel identifying the royal personage whose ashes, presumably, it once contained. Although numerals are inscribed

on this and the other urns, it is unclear to what they refer. This example names the deceased as Sihavikrama and appends the number 80. In 1917 the Sanskrit epigraphist Charles Blagden posited that number as the date of the named person's demise and assumed that it corresponded to the (later) Burmese dating system, thus placing the urn in the early eighth century.<sup>2</sup> This date seems unlikely, however, as the epigraphy corresponds well with Indian scripts datable to the late fifth to sixth century.<sup>3</sup> It has recently been suggested that the Gupta dating system, beginning in A.D. 319, may be what was intended, converting to a very different date for the urns.<sup>4</sup> Most likely, they are broadly contemporary with other Pyu objects from Śrī Kṣetra that share this distinctive writing style and so may be reasonably assigned to the late fifth to sixth century. The Pyu dating system to which those years correspond remains unknown.

Each of the four urns carries a name ending in the suffix *-vikrama*. Their owners can thus be accepted as members of a royal lineage, the Vikrama dynasty. The inscriptions are in the Pyu language, written in a Pyu script, a few with interlinear Brāhma. A fifth urn, the largest yet discovered at about 41½ inches (105 cm) in height, was found in 1976 in the center of the walled city, and in 1993 a sixth urn, with a five-line inscription, was unearthed near the Hpayahtaung stupa, east of the palace site.<sup>5</sup> All these urns contained ash, beads, and semiprecious stones, very much in keeping with the earthenware-urn burial tradition in early Myanmar and seemingly demonstrating some continuity of funerary practices from earlier periods into the Hindu-Buddhist era (see cat. 25).<sup>6</sup>

The dynastic name associated with this ruling elite, Vikrama, suggests Vaiśnava allegiances, and three large Viṣṇu icons were recovered in 1920 from a single burial site in Kalagangon village (where the Khin Ba stupa is located), southeast of Śrī Kṣetra's palace area. One stele depicts Viṣṇu on Garuḍa; another, Viṣṇu on Garuḍa accompanied by Lakṣmī on a lotus pedestal; and the third, Viṣṇu Anantaśāyin and the birth of Brahmā, attended by Viṣṇu and Śiva.<sup>7</sup> Two more large versions of this last subject, displaying the same variant iconography of a lotus-born Brahmā issuing from Viṣṇu's navel, were recovered from Thaton on the Gulf of Martaban, indicating that this cult was widespread in Mon as well as Pyu territories.<sup>8</sup> The close identification of ruling elites with Viṣṇu was a widespread phenomenon in mid-first-millennium Southeast Asia.

PUBLICATIONS: Duroiselle 1915, pp. 147–48, fig. 1;

Blagden 1917; Luce 1985, p. 126, pl. 5e, f; San Win

2000–2001; Moore 2007, pp. 137–38, 173–75.

NOTES: 1. Duroiselle 1915. 2. Charles Blagden (1911) first attempted to decipher Pyu script. Louis Finot (1912b, p. 132) was the first to observe that the script was southern Indian and drew comparisons with the first-millennium Telugu scripts of Andhra Pradesh. See Blagden 1917, pp. 42–43; see also Luce 1985, pp. 48, 61–62, 126–127, and also p. 120, pl. 5e. 3. Falk 1997.

4. San Win 2000–2001, pp. 122–25. 5. Ibid., p. 120.

6. Regarding early funerary practices in Myanmar, see Stargardt 2005. 7. Ray 1932, pls. 2–4. 8. Ibid., pls. 5, 6. See also Temple 1894.

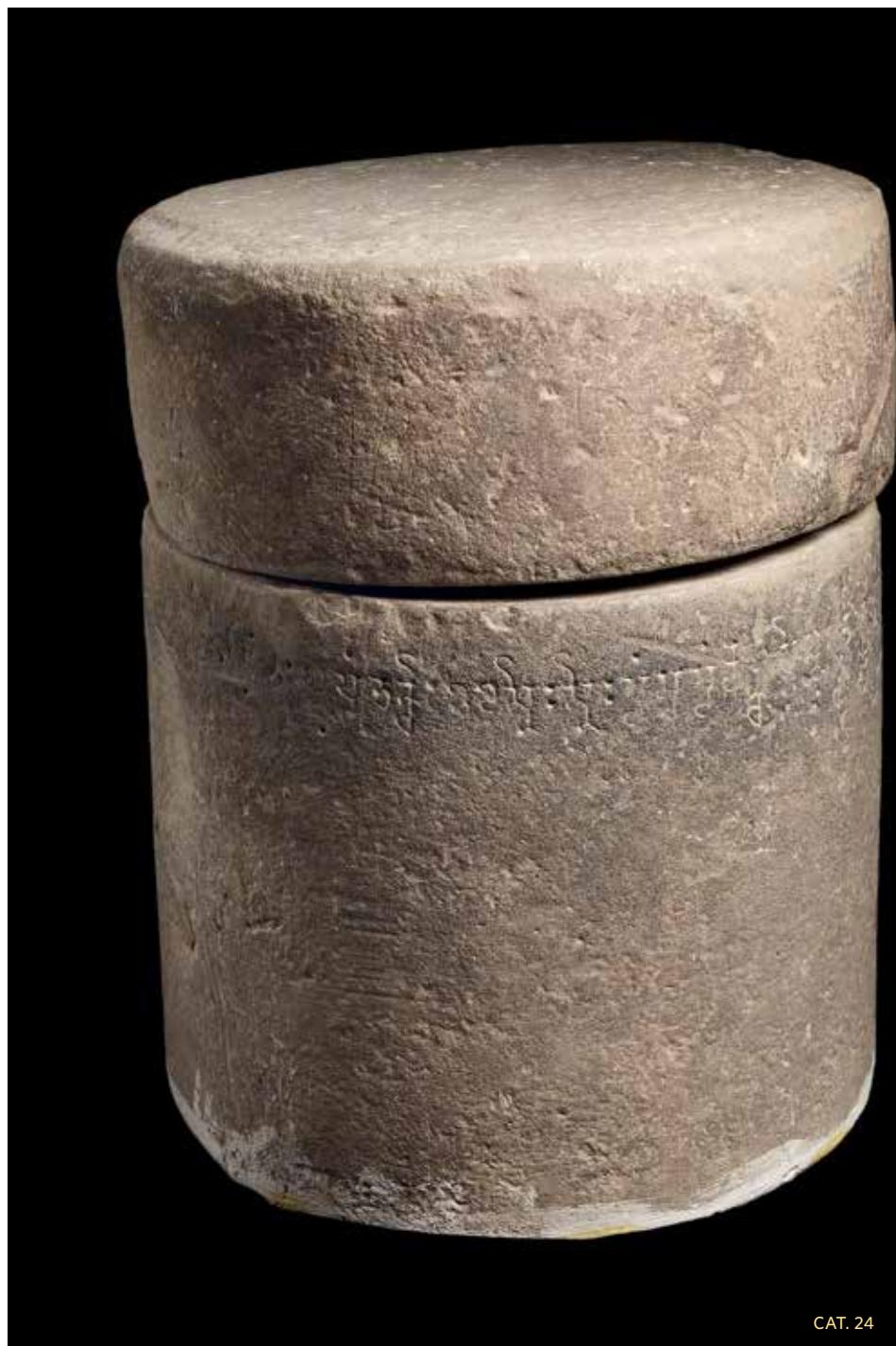


Fig. 67. Excavation of a Pyu inscribed royal burial urn in Śrī Kṣetra by the Archaeological Survey of India (Burma Circle) in 1912



Fig. 68. Excavated brick platform with ceramic funerary jars. Photographed in situ at site HMA53 outside city walls of Śri Kṣetra in 2011

the Buddhist era. The funerary jars of Śri Kṣetra are less well documented, but a 2011 excavation at mound HMA53 outside the city walls revealed a “cemetery platform,” a large, rectangular brick structure whose foundations were densely populated with funerary urns (fig. 68)—some hundreds of red-painted wares with conical, tapering “stupa-like” covers and the same “piecrust” construction seen on the base of the present urn. While the setting is Buddhist, these wares do not display Buddhist emblems. During the 1927–28 excavations at Śri Kṣetra, Charles Duroiselle reported investigating five mounds with these same features, a phenomenon also witnessed at the northern Pyu city of Halin.<sup>3</sup>

The decoration of this Buddhist urn—four registers separated by sawtooth-patterned bands, three of which are filled with stamped impressions of Buddhist auspicious emblems—is exceptional. The emblems include paired fish, conch shells, pots, and the *śrīvatsa*, a mark of one blessed with good fortune, alternating irregularly with triangles, which have similar associations. The straight-sided cylindrical urn was built with a small, rolled rim and was presumably lidded, perhaps in the manner of those recently excavated from mound HMA53. The base is concave and has a rim of pinched, “piecrust” construction. The stone funerary urn of Sihavikrama (cat. 24) may be best understood as the continuation of a preexisting burial tradition in which cremated remains were interred in such covered terracotta urns. This tradition certainly has secure antecedents in pre-Buddhist Pyu Myanmar, but the practice is also known in early Buddhist India.<sup>4</sup> Excavations of the foundation level of stupa 5 at Nagarjunakonda revealed that it was configured as a spoked wheel to resemble the Buddhist Wheel of the Law (*dharmačakra*), with monastic burial urns interred between the spokes (fig. 69).

NOTES: 1. Aung Thaw 1968; Stargardt 1990, pp. 150–51; Moore 2007, pp. 157–58. 2. Thermoluminescence dates for urns are confirmed for the fourth and fifth centuries; see Moore 2007, pp. 162–63. 3. Duroiselle 1931, pp. 134–35, pls. LIV–LVI; Aung Myint 1970. 4. Sarkar 1960.

#### CAT. 25 Funerary Urn with Buddhist Auspicious Emblems

Central Myanmar, 6th–8th century  
Excavated from Śri Kṣetra, Hmawza  
Terracotta  
H. 7½ in. (19 cm), diam. 7½ in. (18 cm)  
Thiri Khittaya (Śri Kṣetra) Archaeological Museum, Hmawza, Myanmar, private donation (2001/2/8)

This funerary urn, emblazoned with multiple impressions of Buddhist auspicious emblems, is said to have been recovered from a Buddhist cultural context at Śri Kṣetra. Yet in both form and function, it resonates with earlier, pre-Buddhist Pyu funerary practices. The Pyu city of Beikthano, some 81 miles (130 km) north of Śri Kṣetra, was continuously inhabited for about six centuries, starting about 200 B.C., and likely declined in the fifth century.<sup>1</sup> Stamped and molded terracotta burial urns are a regular feature of the archaeological landscape there.<sup>2</sup> While many of them seem to have no Buddhist associations, some have been found in Buddhist settings and confirm the continuity of funerary practices into

#### CAT. 26 Relic-Chamber Cover

Central Myanmar, 6th century  
Excavated from Khin Ba stupa, Śri Kṣetra, Hmawza, by Charles Duroiselle for Archaeological Survey of India (Burma Circle) in 1926–27  
Sandstone  
63¾ x 55⅛ x 5⅜ in. (162 x 140 x 15 cm)  
Thiri Khittaya (Śri Kṣetra) Archaeological Museum, Hmawza, Myanmar (1926-27/1/7)

This large sandstone slab was found in situ at the Khin Ba stupa, where it served as the cover of the brick-lined relic chamber, its relief-carved surface facing downward toward the relics (fig. 70). Another, near-identical slab, whose purpose is unclear, was found in the same location, broken into three sections. Whether it was the original cover, perhaps damaged and replaced during a rededication of the chamber, or whether it



CAT. 26

belonged to an unidentified nearby chamber is unknown.<sup>1</sup> Both slabs are now preserved in the Śrī Ksetra site museum. The presence of Pyu silver coins of the seventh and eighth centuries in the relic chamber proves that it was opened in that period or later, for whatever purpose.<sup>2</sup> It, therefore, cannot be ruled out that the Khin Ba stupa and the contents of its relic chamber date to the same period as the coins. The chamber's contents represent sacred objects from a variety of periods, both ancient relics that were redeposited and new offerings. The redeposition of sacred relics has a long and celebrated tradition in Buddhism.<sup>3</sup>

The low relief on the slab depicts a tall, cylindrical stupa of the type still preserved today, albeit with extensive renovation, at Śrī Ksetra, notably at the Bawbawgyi, Payagyi, and Payama stupas. Its silhouette clearly shows the railing (*harmikā*) at the summit and the pole (*yasti*) that supports five honorific umbrellas (*chatravala*), offset to imply an appropriate viewer's vantage point, from far below. Long banners fly from the mast, and above, the sun and moon are represented by large disks, now barely legible, one with an inner full circle and the other with a crescent.<sup>4</sup> The basement has

clearly defined stepped moldings, and the platform above, on which the drum of the stupa rests, contains five niches with meditating Buddhas seated in *padmāsana* (lotus posture) with hands in *dhyānamudrā*—the five Buddhas of the present *bhadralakṣaṇa* (auspicious age). Flanking them on either side is a celebrant holding an umbrella pole with flying banners. This panel and its companion are highly important for documenting the form of Pyu-era stupas at Śrī Ksetra. They also underscore Pyu affiliations with Buddhist centers in the eastern Deccan, most notably Nagarjunakonda, the capital of the Ikṣvāku rulers

(A.D. 225–325), where the tall, cylindrical stupa type with an outward-stepped *harmikā* prevailed in the third and fourth centuries. The “from below” perspective rendering of the umbrellas is a compelling stylistic feature that the Nagarjunakonda and Pyu depictions have in common.<sup>5</sup> Excavations at Khin Ba conducted in 2012–13 have revealed another significant similarity to South Asian stupas—notably, the four projecting directional altars (*āyaka*), or icon shrines, favored in the early stupa design of Andhra Pradesh and Sri Lanka.<sup>6</sup> Stupa 9 at Nagarjunakonda displays a square-sectioned relic chamber at the hub of the wheel (fig. 69), echoed by the square brick-lined relic chamber at the center of the Khin Ba stupa. It is unclear whether the Śri Kṣetra stupas were enclosed by railings, as was the norm in Andhra Pradesh; foundations of railings are visible at another Pyu center, Beikthano.<sup>7</sup> Given the apparent limited supplies of sandstone at Śri Kṣetra, enclosures may well have existed, as either brick walls or wood railings.

PUBLICATIONS: Duroiselle 1930a, pp. 171–75, pl. xxxviii, d; Louis-Frédéric 1965, p. 27, no. 12, ill. p. 35; Luce 1985, p. 136, pl. 27a, b; Guy 1999a, pp. 16–18, fig. 2.

NOTES: 1. See Stargardt 2000, p. 22. 2. A cache of forty-five silver Pyu coins was recorded by Charles Duroiselle in his excavation report; see Duroiselle 1930a, p. 179.

3. This practice was sanctioned in the third century B.C., when Emperor Aśoka redivided the Buddha’s cremation remains and distributed them in stupas across the breadth of his Maurya empire. See Strong 2007, pp. xiii, 126.

4. These solar disks are described by Charles Duroiselle in his excavation report and are clearly legible in the precleaning photographs; Duroiselle 1930a, pp. 171–75, pl. xxxviii, d. See also Luce 1985, pl. 27a. 5. Compare Ramachandra Rao 1956, pl. ii. 6. For Nagarjunakonda stupas, see Sarkar 1960. The excavations at the Khin Ba stupa are being conducted by the Myanmar Department of Archaeology’s Field School of Archaeology, Hmawza, in cooperation with UNESCO/Lerici Foundation.

I am grateful to U Thein Lwin and U Win Kyaing for sharing data on these new finds. 7. Also present in the foundations of the Mahācaitya at Nagarjunakonda; see Ramachandra Rao 1956, p. 36, pl. i. For Amaravati precedents, see Knox 1992, p. 125, pl. 64; for Beikthano, see Stargardt 1990, pl. 19b.

#### CAT. 27

#### Reliquary

Central Myanmar, 6th century

Excavated from relic chamber of Khin Ba stupa, Śri Kṣetra, Hmawza, by Charles Duroiselle for Archaeological Survey of India (Burma Circle) in 1926–27

Repoussé gilded silver

H. 17½ in. (44 cm), h. with post 26 in. (66 cm); diam. 15¾ in. (40 cm)

National Museum of Myanmar, Yangon (1640)

This unique survivor of early Buddhism in Myanmar was the principal relic container for a royal deposit excavated in 1926–27 within the walls of Śri Kṣetra, a major mid-first-millennium city, likely the greatest Pyu capital. It is without doubt the most important Buddhist reliquary to be discovered in Myanmar or, indeed, in greater southern Asia.<sup>1</sup> It stands as the centerpiece of the precious objects deposited in a brick-lined relic chamber at the heart of the foundations of the Khin Ba stupa, located just less than a mile (1.5 km) southeast of the palace site (fig. 70).

The drum of the reliquary displays four raised images of a seated Buddha, each flanked by disciples expressively marveling at his awakened state. The drum is otherwise undecorated. Each Buddha is seated in *dhyānāsana*, legs layered and soles exposed, on a waisted lotus throne and makes the gesture of calling the earth to witness (*bhūmisparśamudrā*). The Buddhas have broad shoulders and slender limbs and wear the monastic robe in the southern Indian style, exposing the right shoulder. Each has a radiating spiky nimbus framed by wide-jawed *makaras* (aquatic monsters) that project from the throne back. The Buddha figures and *makara* throne backs have strong stylistic affinities with southern India, most notably with the post-Iksvāku Buddhist sculpture of Andhra Pradesh. This stylistic antecedent is shared with a sandstone Buddha torso likely discovered in southern Thailand (fig. 7), here assigned to the fourth to fifth century.<sup>2</sup> It is not insignificant that the reliquary inscription’s paleography has its strongest affinities with the mid-first-millennium scripts of Andhra Pradesh.<sup>3</sup>

The reliquary has a flat, removable lid with an overlapping rim and a center post that the excavator described as a “tree trunk.” It could thus have represented the *bodhi* tree (marking the site of the Buddha’s awakening) and been enlarged by silver branches and leaves, which were found scattered on the floor of chamber. Around the rim of the lid is a long inscription in Pali, and around the rim of the base, an inscription in Pyu with two Sanskritized royal names. These inscriptions have attracted the attention of a number of scholars.<sup>4</sup> In the same hoard was another unique treasure of early Myanmar Buddhism, a twenty-leaf gold-sheet manuscript styled in the manner of a traditional palm-leaf manuscript and secured with a solid gold wire (fig. 53). It is engraved in a southern Indian script most closely aligned with those of Andhra Pradesh and quotes primarily from the Pali canon. This is not only the oldest extant inscription from Myanmar but also the oldest extant Pali manuscript known in the Buddhist world.<sup>5</sup> It is undated but was probably made in the second half of the fifth century and reinterred in the Khin Ba stupa as a text relic (*dharmadhātu*), having previously been deposited elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> By contrast, according to Harry Falk, the reliquary displays features in the transcription of the Pali that reflect scriptural developments within Myanmar that cannot date before the sixth century and thus probably belongs to that century.<sup>7</sup>

The names of the four Buddhas of the present age (*kalpa*) are inscribed around the rim of the lid, concluding with Siddhārtha Gautama, the historical Buddha; as originally conceived, each name would have been positioned directly above the head of the corresponding Buddha relief.<sup>8</sup> Further, the lid has canonical passages invoking the three jewels (*triratna*), the Buddha, dharma (the Law), and saṅgha (monastic community). The inscription around the bottom rim of the reliquary includes two proper names, Śri Prabuvarman and Śri Prabhudevi, both clearly royal and presumably referring to the donor couple. It is likely that other nobles belonging to the ruling Vikrama clan (see cat. 24) were permitted to make gifts to the foundation deposit so as to share in the spiritual merit, which would



Fig. 69. Stupa foundation, Nagarjunakonda (site 9), Andhra Pradesh. Southern India, 3rd–4th century



Fig. 70. Khin Ba stupa relic chamber at Śri Kṣetra, central Myanmar. Photographed during 1926–27 excavation with gilded-silver reliquary still in situ





CAT. 28

Stadtner 1998, fig. 32; Guy 1999a, pp. 19–20, fig. 5; Stargardt 2000, pp. 6, 27–29, pls. 16, 18–21; Brown 2001, p. 38; Stargardt 2001; Skilling 2005b; Moore 2007, pp. 175, 177.

NOTES: 1. Rivaled only by the gilded-copper reliquary casket excavated in the Kaniṣka stupa at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri, near Peshawar, Pakistan. 2. The torso shares much with the Buddha's disciples on the reliquary—robes, gestures, and demeanor—and all may be assumed to have been modeled on lost Indian imports. 3. Falk 1997, p. 79; Stargardt 2000, pp. 24–25. 4. The inscription was first read by Lu Pe Win; see Lu Pe Win 1940. More recently, a team led by Janice Stargardt has examined it; see Stargardt 1995. See also Falk 1997; Stargardt 2000, pp. 25–29; Skilling 2005b. 5. Falk 1997. Earlier Pali inscriptions are preserved in situ on Buddhist monuments in India, such as Sanchi; see Skilling 2005b, p. 388. 6. Stargardt (2000, p. 22) argues that the manuscript was part of the original relic-related deposit at Khin Ba, while Falk (1997) assigns it and the reliquary inscriptions to different periods. 7. Falk 1997. 8. Stargardt 2000, p. 28. 9. A foundation deposit such as this one can, of course, represent the accumulation of precious objects from any number of sources and periods.

#### CAT. 28

#### Lotus Flower and Stem

Central Myanmar, 6th century

Excavated from relic chamber of Khin Ba stupa, Śrī Kṣetra, Hmawza, by Charles Duroiselle for Archaeological Survey of India (Burma Circle) in 1926–27

Sheet silver

Diam. 7½ in. (19 cm)

National Museum of Myanmar, Yangon

The lotus (*padma*), among the oldest motifs in Indic culture, is associated with the creation of life itself. In a Buddhist setting, it assumed a further level of meaning, that of transcendence—a metaphor for Buddhist awakening. The lotus, especially in the full-blown bloom (*vikasita-padma*) seen here, is also understood as a sun symbol. Precious-metal lotuses, usually made of simple, flat sheets, have been recovered from temple foundation deposits across late first-millennium Southeast Asia. The most numerous extant examples are from central Java, where stone caskets often have recesses shaped as individual lotus petals to receive gold- or silver-sheet versions, a feature also seen in Cambodia.<sup>1</sup>

This silver lotus, with multilayered petals radiating from beneath a raised seed cup and supported by a banded stem, is the most spectacular to have survived from the early Buddhist era. It is the best preserved of four large silver lotuses of approximately the same size, all with multilayered petals, recovered alongside the great reliquary (cat. 27) in the brick-lined relic chamber of the Khin Ba stupa. Three smaller lotuses with layered petals, in gold and silver, were also reported, along with some forty-six examples with single-layered petals, also in gold and silver.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly, gold and silver lotuses were a regular offering in Buddhist relic chambers, but their inherent fragility, combined with incessant looting, has resulted in the survival of very few. This lotus was constructed of thin

account for the miscellaneous array of objects discovered. The contents of the Khin Ba relic chamber, inventoried by Charles Duroiselle in the 1930 report, display an acceptable degree of stylistic uniformity for the majority of them to be assigned to the same sixth-century time frame.<sup>9</sup> However, the presence of a cache of Pyu silver coins datable to the seventh to eighth century raises issues about the date of deposit. It is widely argued that the coins bear witness to a redeposition at the site; conversely, they may be

seen as evidence that the entire deposit at the Khin Ba stupa occurred in the seventh to eighth century, not the fifth to sixth, the objects of that earlier period having resided in another relic chamber prior to their transfer to this new royal foundation. On current evidence, this question is unanswerable.

PUBLICATIONS: Duroiselle 1930a, pp. 174–76, pls. xxxvii, d, xxxiii, c; Le May 1954, p. 48, fig. 4; Mya 1961, pt. 2, fig. 1; Luce 1985, p. 137, pls. 29, 30; Stargardt 1995, p. 202; Falk 1997; Guy 1997, pp. 92–93;

sheet silver, which, unlike archaeological gold, becomes extremely brittle with age, making its state of preservation all the more remarkable.

PUBLICATION: Duroiselle 1930a, p. 181, pl. xl, e.

NOTES: 1. For examples from Candi Merak and Candi Borobudur, central Java, and from Prasat Damrei Krap, Phnom Kulen, Cambodia, see Ślączka 2007, pls. 9, 13, 29. 2. Duroiselle 1930a, p. 181.

CAT. 29A, B

*Dvārapālas*

Central Myanmar, 6th century

Excavated from relic chamber of Khin Ba stupa, Śri Ksetra, Hmawza, by Charles Duroiselle for Archaeological Survey of India (Burma Circle) in 1926–27

Repoussé gilded silver

Average h. 7½ in. (19 cm)

National Museum of Myanmar, Yangon

(1622 [left], 1623 [right])

These repoussé silver plaques, two of five that were recovered from the relic chamber of the Khin Ba stupa, depict *dvārapālas*, guardians of sacred spaces.<sup>1</sup> Such figures are normally positioned to either side of a temple entrance, at the threshold between the mundane and sacred realms. These miniature representations have

small border holes, suggesting that they were fixed to a surface, likely the pedestal of an image. A backplate disk frames each figure, with engraved lines suggesting radiance. The horizontal moldings at the bases and lotus-petal friezes above suggest that the plaques shared a common setting. The figures are robust and muscular, with swelling shoulders and chests, and stand assertively with one hand braced on the hip and the other firmly clasping a massive faceted club with a bud-like finial. Each wears a short, tight-fitting tunic; a waistcloth drawn up between the legs; bracelets; and armbands. Most distinctive is the hairstyle, in which long dreadlocks are drawn up and secured with a diadem, then allowed to cascade freely. In this, they resemble Śiva, as in their asymmetrical earrings—an ear plug ornament and earring—which follow Indian conventions. One has hair



CAT. 29A



CAT. 29B



CAT. 30

ornaments in the shape of disks. A unique large stone relief depiction of a guardian figure is preserved from Śri Kṣetra, decorating the back of a stone stele that probably served as a throne back (cat. 12). There, the *dvārapāla* holds his massive club aloft but shares a number of other features with these miniature versions: broad chest, ear and arm ornaments, and long dreadlocks in a complex double-looped arrangement around a central bun. The stele offers a precedent for this figure type at Śri Kṣetra, even though a new aesthetic was in vogue by the time the repoussé versions were made.

A third repoussé plaque shows the hair fully framing the face,<sup>2</sup> directly mirroring architectural antefixes depicting Śiva from sites as disparate as U Thong in central Thailand (cat. 106) and Songkhla in the peninsula.<sup>3</sup> The modeling of the plump faces of the *dvārapālas*, whose eyebrows form an unbroken line, has much in common with stucco and terracotta figures decorating Buddhist monuments at Khu Bua and other Mon sites in western and central Thailand (cats. 147, 150). All the plaques share what may be characterized as a Gupta aesthetic, widely adopted in sixth- and seventh-century mainland Southeast Asian art.

PUBLICATIONS: Duroiselle 1930a, p. 178, no. 25, pl. xli, b, c; Le May 1954, p. 48, fig. 6; Luce 1985, p. 138, pl. 32d; Fraser-Lu 1994, pp. 156–57, fig. 26; Guy 1997, pp. 88, 89; Moore 2007, p. 180.

NOTES: 1. Two were originally published by Duroiselle 1930a, p. 178, pl. xli, b, c. A third was first published by Luce 1985, pl. 32c. 2. Duroiselle 1930a, p. 178, pl. xli, b. The remaining two *dvārapālas* cited in the report were not illustrated and are no longer traceable. 3. Fine Arts Department 2000, pp. 130–31.

#### CAT. 30

#### Buddha Preaching

Central Myanmar, 6th century

Excavated from relic chamber of Khin Ba stupa, Śri Ksetra, Hmawza, by Charles Duroiselle for Archaeological Survey of India (Burma Circle) in 1926–27

Silver

$3\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4} \times 2$  in. (9.5 x 7 x 5 cm)

National Museum of Myanmar, Yangon (4585)

This small seated Buddha with right hand raised in exposition (*vitarkamudrā*) is one of a number of sheet-silver objects recovered from the Khin Ba stupa's relic chamber. Charles Duroiselle's



Fig. 71. Enthroned Buddha in meditation. Central Myanmar, 6th century. Excavated from relic chamber of Khin Ba stupa, Śri Ksetra, Hmawza. Gold and silver, h. 9¾ in. (24.8 cm). National Museum of Myanmar, Yangon

1930 report provides summary descriptions of the finds but photographs only of selected works; many remain unpublished to this day. A rich array of miniature stupas and other Buddhist imagery was recovered, along with the principal relic container, the covered silver vessel that carried the donation inscription (cat. 27). The range of objects interred in the chamber, of varying complexity and value, suggests that they were given by multiple donors, all intent on securing religious merit through donation. One may surmise that members of the extended royal family and other nobles were permitted to participate.

The Buddha is skillfully modeled; the full lips recede deep into the cheeks, smiling reflectively, and the eyes, engraved as wavy double lines, convey warmth and humanity. The fullness of the face is related to that seen in the silver repoussé *dvārapālas* found in the chamber (cat. 29A, B), although neither captures the same subtlety of expression. The palms of the hands and soles of the feet display a lotus-flower pattern, one of the auspicious markings (*lakṣaṇa*) of Buddhahood, a feature shared with the four Buddhas depicted on the reliquary. Unlike the reliquary Buddhas, each of which is seated on a lotus-petal throne cushion, this silver Buddha sits on an unadorned plinth with simple moldings. The plinth was likely fitted to a waisted pedestal base, evoking the royal stool (*bhadrapitha*) seen on Pyu coins (cat. 36A, B); an enthroned Buddha also from the Khin Ba relic chamber (fig. 71) surmounts such a pedestal. Further auspicious marks of Buddhahood on the present example include the triple folds at the neck and the distended earlobes. The



CAT. 31A, B

monastic robe is worn in the southern Indian manner, with the right shoulder exposed. The hair curls are rendered as a series of spirals, setting up a rhythmic pattern on the cranium and adding to the dynamic presence that belies the Buddha's diminutive size.

PUBLICATIONS: Duroiselle 1930a, pp. 171–75, pl. xli, e; Mya 1961, pt. 2, fig. 3; Luce 1985, pp. 137–38, pl. 30d; Moore 2007, pp. 177–78.

#### CAT. 31A, B Miniature Stupas

Central Myanmar, 6th century

Excavated from relic chamber of Khin Ba stupa, Śrī Kṣetra, Hmawza, by Charles Duroiselle for Archaeological Survey of India (Burma Circle) in 1926–27

Silver and iron

H. 9 1/16 in. (23 cm), diam. at base 3 3/8 in. (8.5 cm)  
National Museum of Myanmar, Yangon  
(1619 [left], 1620 [right])

Model stupas, four of which were recovered from the Khin Ba relic chamber, are an important touchstone in understanding the types of monumental stupas favored at Śrī Kṣetra. The

depiction on the reliquary cover (cat. 26) can be accepted as the most faithful one; the banded-drum type appears only in miniature replicas (cat. 35A, B). Both of the present examples have a stepped foot, suggestive of basement moldings on the monumental versions, and a tall drum (*anḍa*) banded midway, presumably intended to evoke the garland or narrative frieze that encircles monumental stupas. A rod of iron supports the multiple umbrellas (*chatrāvāla*) and is capped with a device resembling an urn, probably to support banner-like projections. A bronze version of similar size and proportions was excavated by Pierre Dupont in 1940 at Wat Pra Paton (more commonly known as Chedi Chula Pathon), Nakhon Pathom, central Thailand.<sup>1</sup>

Cylindrical stupa models were widely favored as sutra containers in both South and East Asia and likely served the same function in a Pyu Buddhist setting. The Khin Ba excavation report makes no mention of any contents of these model stupas, and paper, cloth, or palm-leaf deposits bearing efficacious texts would likely have perished long before. Surprisingly, no gold-sheet inscriptions have been reported from such stupa containers, although they often occur as deposits inside Buddhist imagery,

especially in Java. Both of these miniatures were once sealed at the base.

PUBLICATIONS: Duroiselle 1930a, p. 176, pl. xl, c; Luce 1985, p. 138, pl. 30e; Fraser-Lu 1994, pp. 156–57, fig. 26; Moore 2007, p. 177.

NOTE: 1. The spelling of Wat Pra Paton is per Dupont's records. Dupont 1959a, fig. 255.

#### CAT. 32

#### Relief with Enthroned Bodhisattva, probably Depicting the *Mughapakkha Jātaka*

Central Myanmar, 6th–8th century  
Excavated from Khin Ba stupa, Śrī Kṣetra, Hmawza, by Charles Duroiselle for Archaeological Survey of India (Burma Circle) in 1926–27

Terracotta

31 7/8 x 22 1/16 x 31 5/16 in. (81 x 56 x 10 cm)  
Thiri Khittaya (Śrī Kṣetra) Archaeological Museum, Hmawza, Myanmar (1928/2/35)

This relief likely depicts a *jātaka* tale, recounting one of the Buddha's previous lives as a bodhisattva. When Charles Duroiselle published it for the first time, in 1930, he linked the scene to

a recension of the *Mughapakkha Jātaka*, which concerns a Prince Temiya, a bodhisattva who serves as a surrogate son for the childless rulers of the Kaśī kingdom.<sup>1</sup> In Myanmar, the tale is better known as the *Temiya Jātaka* and is the first of the ten greater *jātakas*. The story is essentially a denunciation of kingship and its corrupting powers and a celebration of the renunciation of worldly authority in favor of asceticism. In the relief, Temiya is attired in a princely manner and seated in his palace with pendant legs (*bhadrāsana*) and hands in a meditative attitude that anticipates *dhyānamudrā*, as if forecasting his future as a Buddha. The indented-platform throne with a lion beneath the projecting foot support alludes to both Siddhārtha's clan affiliation and his future propagation of the dharma, compared in Buddhist commentaries to a lion's roar. Of the two attendants, one is likely the divine architect Viśvakarman (Pali, Vissakamma), and the other, Indra.<sup>2</sup> The same subject appears in a narrative panel at the Ananda temple at Bagan, where the *jātaka* is identified by a gloss in Myanmar (Burmese).

The terracotta relief was recovered from a trench dug immediately adjacent to the Khin Ba stupa mound and is assumed to have been, along with the *rṣi* (ascetic) and lion fragments (cats. 33, 34), part of the decorative program of the stupa's basement or of a brick enclosure that created a walkway between it and the stupa, the circumambulation (*pradaksīṇa*) passage. The *pradaksīṇa* passage of the west Hpet-leik stupa at Bagan, an early-period monument retaining Pyu influences, is lined with a double register of terracotta plaques depicting *jātaka* tales.<sup>3</sup> The pictorial narrative functioned like the terracotta and stucco panels recovered from the Dvāravatī sites of Nakhon Pathom (cats. 151–53) and Khu Bua in central and western Thailand, allowing devotees to learn of the events of the Buddha's lives, past and present, and reflect on his accomplishments. No traces of inscribed glosses appear on this or any other of the Khin Ba terracottas, instruction for the laity having presumably been oral.

PUBLICATIONS: Duroiselle 1930a, p. 173, pl. xl, d; Mya 1961, pt. 2, fig. 8; Louis-Fréderic 1965, p. 27, no. 9,

ill. p. 33; Luce 1985, p. 142, pl. 38b; Guy 1999a, pp. 20–21, and p. 19, fig. 6.

NOTES: 1. *Epigraphia Birmanica* 1919–36, vol. 2 (1921), pts. 1 and 2, no. 30. 2. I am grateful to Hiram Woodward for sharing his reading of this *jātaka*. 3. Each of the *jātaka* plaques from the west Hpet-leik stupa has a Pali gloss and a numeral; see Luce 1969–70, vol. 3, pls. 94–118.

#### CAT. 33

#### Fragment from a Narrative Relief Depicting Rṣis

Central Myanmar, 6th–8th century  
Excavated near Khin Ba stupa, Śrī Kṣetra, Hmawza, by Charles Duroiselle for Archaeological Survey of India (Burma Circle) in 1926–27

Terracotta

$23\frac{5}{8}$  x  $12\frac{3}{16}$  x  $5\frac{15}{16}$  in. (60 x 31 x 15 cm)  
Thiri Khittaya (Śrī Kṣetra) Archaeological Museum, Hmawza, Myanmar (2001/2/56)

#### CAT. 34

#### Fragment from a Decorative Relief Depicting a Lion

Central Myanmar, 6th–8th century  
Excavated near Khin Ba stupa, Śrī Kṣetra, Hmawza, by Charles Duroiselle for Archaeological Survey of India (Burma Circle) in 1926–27

Terracotta

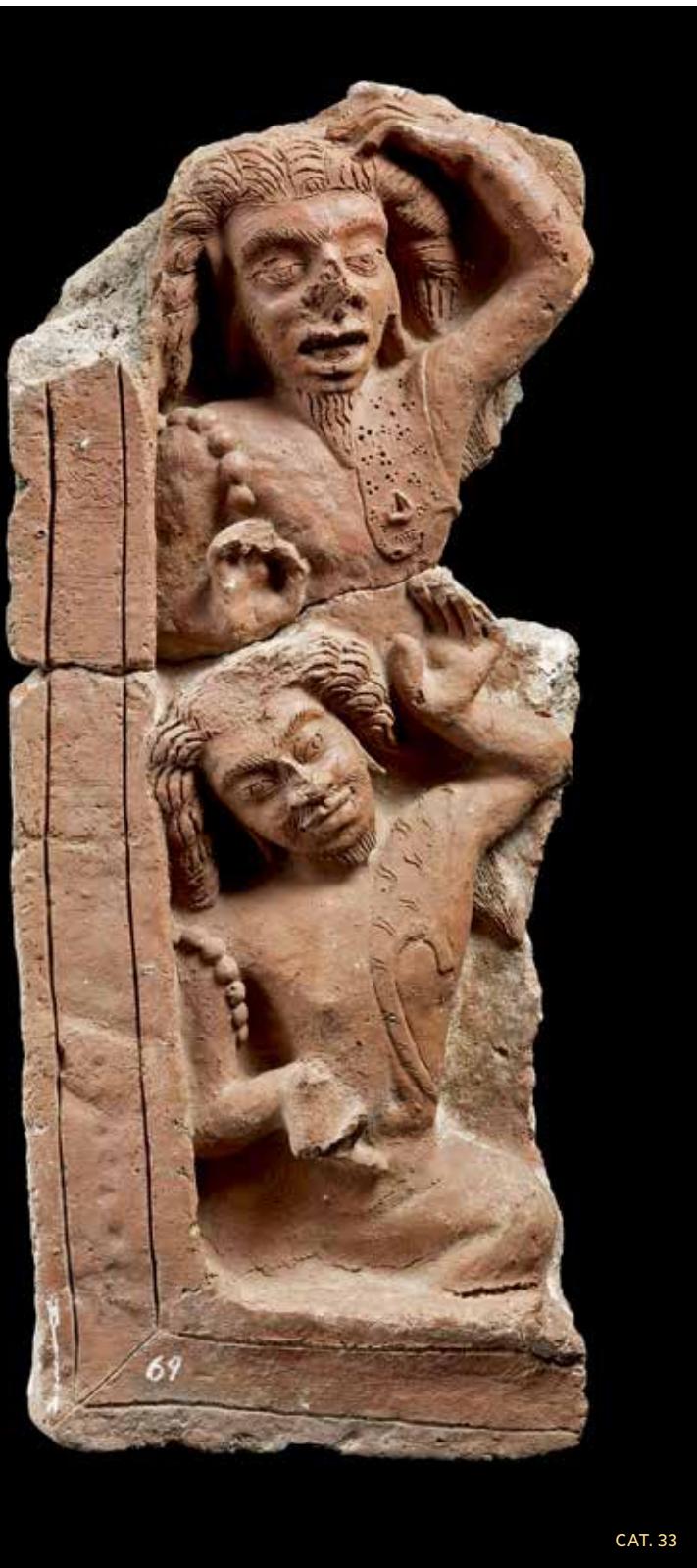
$36\frac{1}{4}$  x  $19\frac{11}{16}$  x  $9\frac{1}{16}$  in. (92 x 50 x 23 cm)  
Thiri Khittaya (Śrī Kṣetra) Archaeological Museum, Hmawza, Myanmar (1926/2/22)

These highly animated and expressive holy men (cat. 33) probably belonged to a depiction of the scene of the Buddha preaching, possibly associated with one of the Śrāvasti Miracles, as is likely elaborated in a stone relief from Nakhon Pathom, central Thailand (fig. 131). The expressions and gestures suggest that they are not celebrants but rather rival sages (*rṣi*), distressed that their beliefs have been overturned by the Buddha's revelation of the true path to spiritual liberation. This interpretation is supported by the uncharacteristic treatment of their dreadlocks, which hang loose and disheveled, not neatly piled up and secured in a bun. They wear flayed animal skins over their shoulders and rosaries (*akṣamālā*) as armbands (as do the *rṣis* on the *dharmacakrastambha* base at Nakhon Pathom), indicating that they are devotees of Śiva. Distressed *rṣis* are not included in Indian depictions of the First Sermon; they seem to be a unique innovation, albeit with a sound textual foundation, of artists (or monks directing the iconographic program) in the Pyu and Mon territories.<sup>1</sup> Such ensembles are not without precedent in Pyu sculpture: a large but fragmentary stele from Halin depicts the feet and hands of a figure seated in "royal ease" (*rājalilāsana*) with a large assembly of no fewer than fifty-three nobles seated below him, hands raised in veneration.<sup>2</sup>

The second fragment (cat. 34) depicts a lion squatting on its haunches, a familiar metaphor for the Buddha. The wide mouth suggests that the lion is roaring—its roar is often compared



CAT. 32



CAT. 33



CAT. 34

in Buddhist commentaries to the Buddha's dharma.<sup>3</sup> Lions regularly appear in the basement decoration of Buddhist sanctuaries and stupas. Again, the closest analogy is found at Chedi Chula Pathon, Nakhon Pathom, central Thailand, in both terracotta and stucco reliefs and sculptures that stood guard at stair entrances (cat. 128); similar lions are a feature at Sambor Prei Kuk (temple C1) in central Cambodia and at Oc Eo in the Mekong delta. A recently discovered inscribed Pyu seal ring has a lion in a near-identical pose.

The Śrī Ksetra terracottas show strong allegiances to the northern Indian Gupta style of

the sixth century; this is especially evident in the characterization of *rśis*, Buddhas, and some other figure types. The implication is that the Pyu kingdom, along with the Mon, absorbed these Gupta-style conventions, which appear to have circulated through various intermediaries in the region and as far as Champa in the sixth and seventh centuries, as Jean Boisselier has argued.<sup>4</sup> The dating of the Khin Ba terracottas raises complex issues, but here it need be stated only that the terracotta decoration of the stupa does not necessarily date to the same period as the relic chamber and its contents (cats. 27–31). The periodic renovation and embellishment of

stupas were common Buddhist merit-earning activities. There is reason to date the Khin Ba relics to the sixth century and this terracotta narrative program to the sixth to eighth century, perhaps in association with a rededication of the Khin Ba stupa in the early eighth century.<sup>5</sup> These two large fragments are among the most complete remains of a suite of decorative and narrative panels that probably appeared on the exterior of the Khin Ba stupa's basement. Their proportions are different from those of the enthroned-bodhisattva relief (cat. 32), suggesting either that there was more than one generation of terracotta plaques at Khin Ba or that



CAT. 35A, B

these decorated one or more different stupas in the vicinity. Together, they add to our understanding of the lavishness of stupa decoration in the Pyu era and underscore the likely royal nature of these foundations and renovations.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 33: Luce 1985, p. 143, pl. 40e, f; Stadtner 1998, fig. 33; Guy 1999a, p. 21.

NOTES: 1. The implied relationship between Pyu and Mon imagery is explored by Brown 2001. 2. Guy 1999a, p. 18, fig. 4. 3. See A. Wayman and H. Wayman 1974. 4. Boisselier 1963b, pp. 40–41; Boisselier 1972, pp. 50–51. 5. Stargardt 2000, p. 22.

#### CAT. 35A, B

#### Miniature Stupas

Central Myanmar, 7th–8th century

Discovered at Maingmaw, Pinle,

Myittha township, Mandalay division

Silver

H. 6 1/8 in. (15.6 cm), diam. at base 3 in. (7.7 cm)

Department of Archaeology and Museums,  
Yangon, Myanmar (3 and 4/2005)

Around 2010 four miniature stupas in silver were accidentally discovered during construction work at Maingmaw, an ancient Pyu urban settlement southwest of Mandalay. While the stupas may be assumed to have served as relic containers, likely for copies of sacred texts (sutras), they differ significantly from those recovered from the Khin Ba relic chamber at Śri Ksetra some eighty years earlier. These examples

have larger basement platforms, with lotus-petal friezes and double pearl banding above. In this respect, they resemble more closely the surviving monumental Pyu stupas at Śri Ksetra (fig. 15). The drum (*anda*) is banded, as in the Khin Ba examples, but also has a prominent terrace railing (*harmikā*) with crenellations at the summit, from which a silver post emerges, carrying multiple disks representing the honorific umbrellas (*chatrāvala*). The findspot, Maingmaw, is connected via the Irrawaddy (Ayeyarwady) River south to Śri Ksetra (whose ancient port was probably at nearby Pyay) and northeast to Halin—both major capitals, probably consecutive, of the ancient Pyu.

#### CAT. 36A, B

#### Pyu Coins

Central Myanmar, 6th–8th century

Silver

Avg. diam. 1 3/16 in. (3 cm)

Department of Archaeology and Museums,  
Yangon, Myanmar

Pyu silver coins appear to have begun circulating in the fifth century.<sup>1</sup> With the apparent demise of the Pyu in the early ninth century and the shift of power north to Bagan, the production of coins largely ceased. The only contemporary reference to their use is in Fan Chuo's *Man shu* (Book of the Barbarians; 863), in which the Chinese commentator observes that the "Piao



CAT. 36A, B



CAT. 37

[Pyu] country uses silver coinage.”<sup>2</sup> This later-phase reference probably refers to coins associated with the northern Pyu capital of Halin. Although they were highly standardized in both size and weight, it is unclear whether they functioned as currency in the modern sense or, given their relative scarcity, as royally sanctioned bullion.<sup>3</sup> They bear a limited repertoire of designs, all of which are compatible with an early Indic cultural setting, although the sectarian affiliations are unclear, given the generic nature of most of these motifs in early India.<sup>4</sup> They typically display the rising sun (*svastika*) on the reverse and either the auspicious throne-stool (*bhadrapiṭha*) or the *śrīvatsa* (auspicious mark embodying good fortune) on the obverse. The other recurring motif to appear on such coins is the conch (*sankha*), a prosperity symbol linked to water.

Variants of these coins have been recovered widely at early Pyu sites in Myanmar and at Mon sites in central Thailand, in trade contexts as well as in temple and stupa foundation deposits.<sup>5</sup> Their circulation extended to the Funan sites of the Mekong delta, including Oc Eo.<sup>6</sup> The Khin Ba relic chamber at Śri Ksetra yielded some forty-five silver coins of this seventh- or eighth-century type.

NOTES: 1. For the most comprehensive study of Pyu coinage, see Mahlo 2012. See also Than Htun 2007. 2. Luce and Oey 1961, p. 90. Pyu embassies had previously gone to the Chinese Tang court, in 801–2 and 807; see Wade, “Beyond the Southern Borders,”

in this volume. 3. Pyu silver coins are remarkably consistent in weight, at about 9 grams; Mahlo 2012, p. 18. See also Gutman 1978, pp. 10–12; Wicks 1985. 4. Wicks 1999. 5. Phasuk Indrawooth 2004, pp. 133–34. 6. Malleret 1959–63, vol. 3 (1962), pl. xliv, nos. 948, 949.

#### CAT. 37 Buddha

Central Myanmar, ca. 8th century  
Reportedly found near Śri Ksetra, Hmawza  
Copper alloy with gilding  
H. 7½ in. (18 cm)  
Private collection, Europe

#### CAT. 38 Buddha Calling the Earth to Witness

Central Myanmar, ca. 8th century  
Reportedly found near Śri Ksetra, Hmawza  
Copper alloy with gilding  
H. 11 in. (28 cm)  
Private collection, Europe

These two mercury-gilded bronze Buddhas are exceptionally fine examples of the late Pyu style as seen at Śri Ksetra.<sup>1</sup> The first-millennium moated cities of the Pyu culture in Myanmar, of which Śri Ksetra, Beikthano, Halin, and Tagaung were the largest—and almost certainly served as regional capitals at various times—displayed a deep commitment to the Buddha’s teachings from early in their history.<sup>2</sup> Large

walled cities were built, rivers diverted to create moated fortifications, and monumental stupas erected outside the city gates at the cardinal points to provide magical protection to the city and its inhabitants. The large monastic communities (*saṅgha*) and the monasteries they populated would have generated a considerable demand for images of the Buddha. As seen in the Khin Ba relic-chamber cache, royal patronage often resulted in such images’ being fabricated from sheet gold or silver—materials that are, of course, highly vulnerable to looting and destruction. Bronze images are less vulnerable in that way, yet despite the considerable amount of archaeology undertaken at these sites as well as their continuous habitation, surprisingly few images have been recorded.<sup>3</sup>

Both Buddhas under consideration here are depicted in a meditation posture (*dhyānasana*), legs layered rather than crossed, in a manner associated with the southern Indian Buddhism of Andhra Pradesh and Sri Lanka (see fig. 72). The smaller example (cat. 37) appears engaged, with both hands originally raised, the right likely gesturing protection (*abhayamudrā*) or exposition (*vitarkamudrā*) and the left apparently holding an end of the robe. The other Buddha (cat. 38) is in meditation, calling the earth to witness with his right hand (*bhūmisparśamudrā*). Both display the standard auspicious marks of Buddhahood (*lakṣaṇa*): the distended earlobes, triple neck folds, and large, conical skull protuberance (*usnīṣa*) of a type also



CAT. 38

seen on the four repoussé Buddhas of the great Khin Ba reliquary (cat. 27). Indeed, these works represent a continuation of that tradition.

PUBLICATION CAT. 37: Mahlo 2012, p. 188, pl. 12b.

PUBLICATION CAT. 38: Mahlo 2012, p. 188, pl. 12a.

NOTES: 1. First published in Mahlo 2012, p. 188, pl. 12a, b.

2. Moore 2007, pp. 129–92. 3. As a review of the standard reference on the subject reveals; see Luce 1985.

**CAT. 39**

**Buddha Preaching**

Central Myanmar, 8th century

Found near Shitpyin village, Leiway,

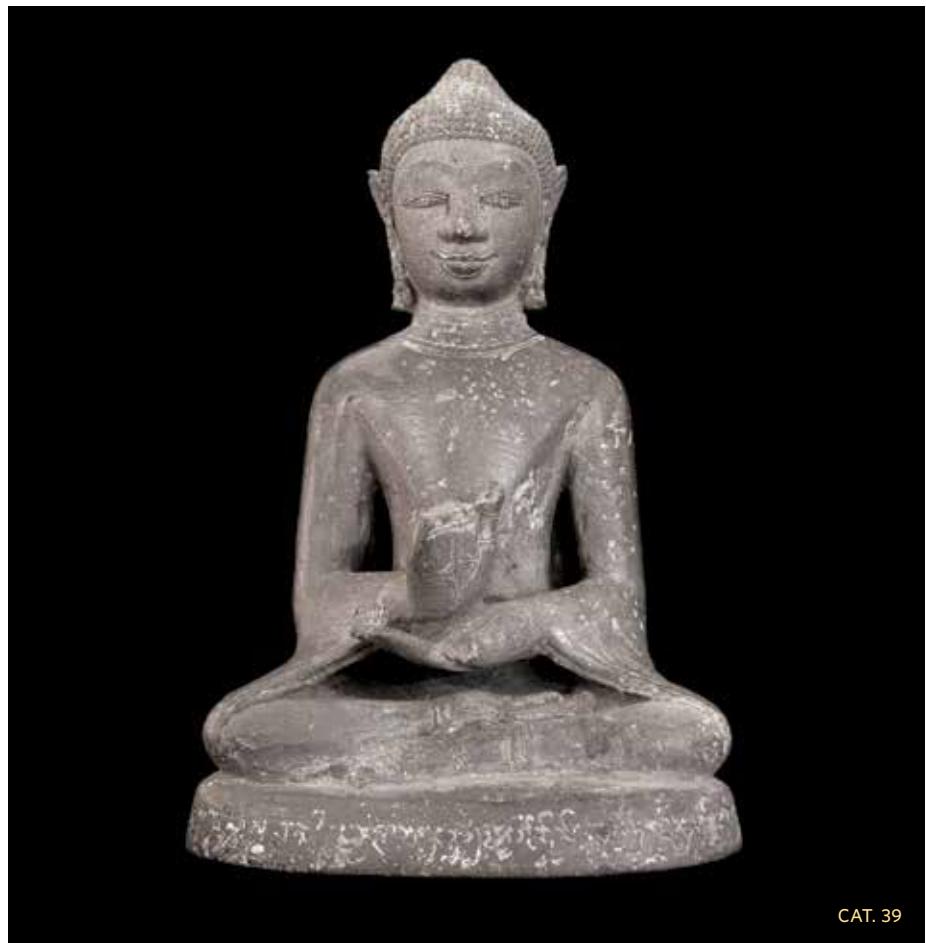
Nay Pyi Taw, in 1994

Metal

H. 3 in. (7.7 cm), w. 6 1/8 in. (15.6 cm)

National Museum of Myanmar, Nay Pyi Taw  
(1/3/1994)

This Buddha is seated in a meditation posture, his hands raised before him in a gesture that evokes the First Sermon (*dharmacakramudrā*). His downcast, reflective face is characteristic of late Pyu Buddha imagery. He wears his outer robe over both shoulders and drawn down over the arms to create folds that bridge the arms and legs. The prominent, tapering skull protuberance (*usnīṣa*) is also typical of the late Pyu style. A Pyu inscription is engraved around the base, in which the number 75 has been deciphered and which is assigned paleographically to about



CAT. 39



CAT. 40

the eighth century. The work's accidental recovery in the vicinity of Nay Pyi Taw underscores the Pyu ancestry of the region, although such an object was highly portable, so, as an isolated find, its origin remains uncertain.

PUBLICATION: *Yinkyaybmu sasaung* 2005, pl. I.

#### CAT. 40

#### Buddha Preaching

Central Myanmar, late 8th–9th century

Found at Aung Seigon stupa, Innwa,

Mandalay division

Copper alloy

H. 6 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (15.7 cm), w. 3 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (9 cm)

Department of Archaeology and Museums,  
Yangon, Myanmar

This seated Buddha, his right hand raised in exposition (*vitarkamudrā*), is enthroned on a double lotus pedestal of a type associated with the early Pāla dynasty of eastern India (mid-8th century). Indian connections are also suggested by the manner in which the monastic robe is worn, drawn up to cover both shoulders. This represents a late development in Pyu Buddha imagery, which had previously followed conventions associated with southern India and Sri Lanka. Likewise, the large skull protuberance (*usnīsha*) resembles that on bronzes of this period from eastern India, most notably from Jhewari, Chittagong district, Bangladesh.<sup>1</sup> However, the

Buddha's physiognomy, fleshy and round, is in keeping with Pyu conventions, affirming that this is a locally produced icon, not an import.

NOTE: 1. D. Mitra 1982, fig. 5.

#### CAT. 41

#### Buddha in Meditation

Central Myanmar, 6th century

Excavated from Kan Wet Khaung Gon,  
Śri Ksetra, Hmawza, by Archaeological Survey  
of India (Burma Circle) in 1926–27

Sandstone

H. 22 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (57 cm)

Thiri Khittaya (Śri Ksetra) Archaeological  
Museum, Myanmar (1927–28/2/41)

This is the most complete Buddha image to have survived from the ancient city of Śri Ksetra. It was excavated from the debris associated with a circular mound some 39 feet (12 m) in diameter, identifiable as the foundation remains of a large stupa. It is finely modeled, with broad shoulders, a slim waist, and slender, well-proportioned limbs. The Buddha is seated in a meditation posture (*dhyānasana*) and, despite its missing head, conveys the stillness and quietude of spiritual awakening. The layering of both the hands and the legs recalls Buddha imagery from the Sri Lankan capital of Anuradhapura, a center of Buddhist learning throughout the first millennium (fig. 72). That city's *saṅgha* patriarchs appear

to have actively propagated Buddhism abroad; certainly, there was considerable traffic in Buddhist imagery and ritual paraphernalia, especially in the seventh and eighth centuries, along with the peregrinations of spiritual teachers. The use of Sanskrit rather than Pali along with Pyu in the bilingual inscription suggests strong connections with northern Indian Buddhism, the northern Indian script employed for the Sanskrit having its closest parallels in a newly deciphered copper-plate inscription from eastern Bengal (Bangladesh) dated ca. 502.<sup>1</sup> This sculpture's dedication is, in fact, the longest Sanskrit inscription to be discovered at Śri Ksetra. The Pyu script has recently been demonstrated by Harry Falk to be related to both the Pallava and Salankayana scripts of Andhra Pradesh.<sup>2</sup> Schools of Buddhism practiced in the Pyu territories are still difficult to determine with confidence, although gold-sheet and gold-foil inscriptions make clear that the monks were very familiar with the Pali canon.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription, which extends around all four sides of the base, seemingly provides a laudatory account of two ancestral kings, Jayachandraravarman and H[a]rivikrama, both said to be pupils of the guru Guha Dipa and both credited with building their cities on the same day.<sup>4</sup> Harivikrama is identified as the mightier of the two and named as the founder of a great city, presumably Śri Ksetra.<sup>5</sup> A succession of Pyu kings' names appears on six known funerary urns (cat. 24), and most end in the suffix



-*vikrama*, strongly indicating that Śrī Kṣetra was the home of the Vikrama dynasty. That a major Buddha image should carry a royal inscription is not in itself surprising; what is unusual is that much of the legible part of the inscription is concerned not with Buddhist dharma but with the vicissitudes of local dynastic history.

PUBLICATIONS: Duroiselle 1931, p. 128, pl. LIV, h; Luce 1985, pp. 131–32, pls. 16, 17; Guy 1997, pp. 91–92, fig. 4; Stadtner 1998, fig. 26; Guy 1999a, p. 21 and p. 20, fig. 7; San Win 2000–2001; Brown 2001, pp. 37–38, fig. 4; Moore 2007, pp. 174, 175.  
NOTES: 1. Arlo Griffiths, personal communication, December 27, 2013. 2. Falk 1997. 3. Skilling 2005b, pp. 388–89. 4. Luce 1937, pp. 243–44. 5. San Win 2000–2001, p. 121.

#### CAT. 42

#### Buddha in Meditation

Southern Thailand, late 6th–mid-7th century  
First recorded at Wat Phra Borommathat,  
Chaiya district, Surat Thani province  
Sandstone  
 $41\frac{5}{16} \times 23\frac{1}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{16}$  in. (105 x 59 x 38 cm)  
National Museum, Chaiya, Thailand (190)

This meditating Buddha is among the earliest expressions in peninsular Thailand of a southern Indian–Sri Lankan style filtered through a local aesthetic. It may be placed early in the stylistic development of Buddhist art in the region, probably from the late sixth to the mid-seventh century. It relates to the meditating Buddhas produced at Anuradhapura in this period, the most famous of which is the Samadhi Buddha at Abhayagiri monastery (fig. 72). The latter shares many features with the Chaiya Buddha: both are seated in a yogic meditation posture (*vīrāsana*) with hands resting in *dhyānamudrā*; both wear the monastic robe (*uttarāsaṅga*) over the left shoulder only, in the southern Indian manner; both have neatly ordered rows of hair curls and only a minimal suggestion of a skull protuberance (*usnīṣa*). The integrated double

lotus pedestal is not as characteristic of the Sri Lankan examples, especially with the Buddha's knees projecting in such a pronounced manner; it is, however, seen in early Buddhas from the peninsula and from the Mekong delta (cat. 47) and may be understood as a local innovation. The sculpture is beautifully proportioned and rendered, and its form generates a strong sense of asceticism. The Chaiya region was, and remains today, renowned for its forest-monk tradition, which it shared with Sri Lankan Buddhism. This sculpture must have been a principal image for meditation in an important monastery (*vihāra*) where asceticism was highly revered.

PUBLICATIONS: Dupont 1959a, pp. 238–46, pl. 477; No Na Paknam 1976; Piriya Krairiksh 1977, pp. 60–61; Piriya Krairiksh 1980, pp. 112–13, pl. 17; Fine Arts Department 2002b, p. 49; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, pp. 146–47, fig. 38.

#### CAT. 43

#### Buddha Offering Protection

Southern Cambodia, second half of 6th century  
Preserved at Wat Kampong Luong, Angkor  
Borei district, Takeo province, and transferred  
to the National Museum in 1944  
Sandstone with traces of lacquer and gilding  
H.  $47\frac{1}{4}$  in. (120 cm), w. approx.  $23\frac{5}{8}$  in. (60 cm)  
National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh  
(Ka.1731)

This sculpture has extraordinary authority and presence—it is a masterful sculptural realization of Buddhist dharma. It must have graced an image house at one of the major monasteries of Angkor Borei, a leading urban center of Funan. The Buddha is seated in the yogic meditation posture (*vīrāsana*), one leg fully resting on the other, and his upturned left hand makes the meditation gesture (*dhyānamudrā*). The powerful torso is expanded with inner breath (*prāṇa*), a requirement of Indian Sastric literature, here superbly realized. With his raised right hand, palm exposed, the Buddha offers protection to devotees (*abhayamudrā*). The alert

facial expression underscores the communicative nature of this conception of the Buddha.

The sculpture is realized fully in the round and has a highly developed musculature. In these features, it follows closely in traditions of Kuṣāṇa and early Gupta northern India, which celebrated the Buddha as a hero (*vīra*) or great man (*mahāpuruṣa*).<sup>1</sup> It is arguably the earliest demonstration of the importation of this Buddha figure type into mainland Southeast Asia. The imposing scale and robust physique both point to an early date, probably in the second half of the sixth century. The small, elliptical integrated base is an unusual feature also seen on other sculptures associated with the early phase of production at Angkor Borei, such as the seated Ganeśa (cat. 99).

The Buddha has large, regularly arranged hair curls; a pronounced wisdom topknot (*usnīṣa*); and extended earlobes. There is no trace of a forehead hair-coil mark (*ūrṇā*). He wears his monastic robe in the open mode, exposing the right shoulder. Indeed, the depiction of monastic dress is precise and correct, with the outer robe extending from the shoulder to the lower arms and knees and the under robe visible at the waist—through the outer robe—and on the lower thighs. The robes are also well defined on the legs below the knees and on the reverse. Beneath the raised right hand is a structural bridge of stone to the thigh, beautifully contoured to follow the flow of the robes. Extensive traces of lacquer and gilding belong to later periods of worship.<sup>2</sup>

PUBLICATION: Dowling 2000, p. 126, figs. 14, 15.

NOTES: 1. For the archetypal *vīra* prototype, compare the Kuṣāṇa standing Buddha donated by the monk Bala in 103; see Guy 2007, p. 20, pl. 11. 2. Three historical layers of lacquer and leaf gilding have been identified and analyzed, the first belonging to the thirteenth century. They were recently removed by the Sculpture Conservation Laboratory of the National Museum of Cambodia. Personal communication, Bertrand Porte.

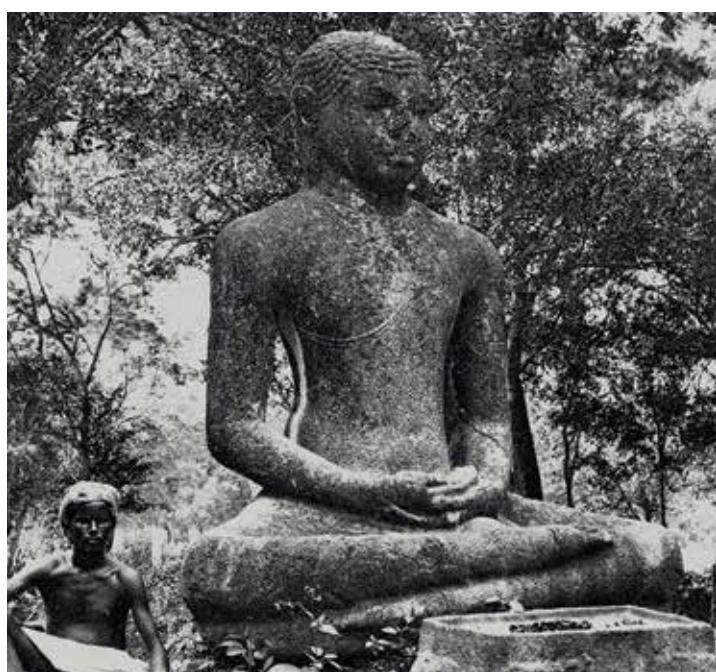
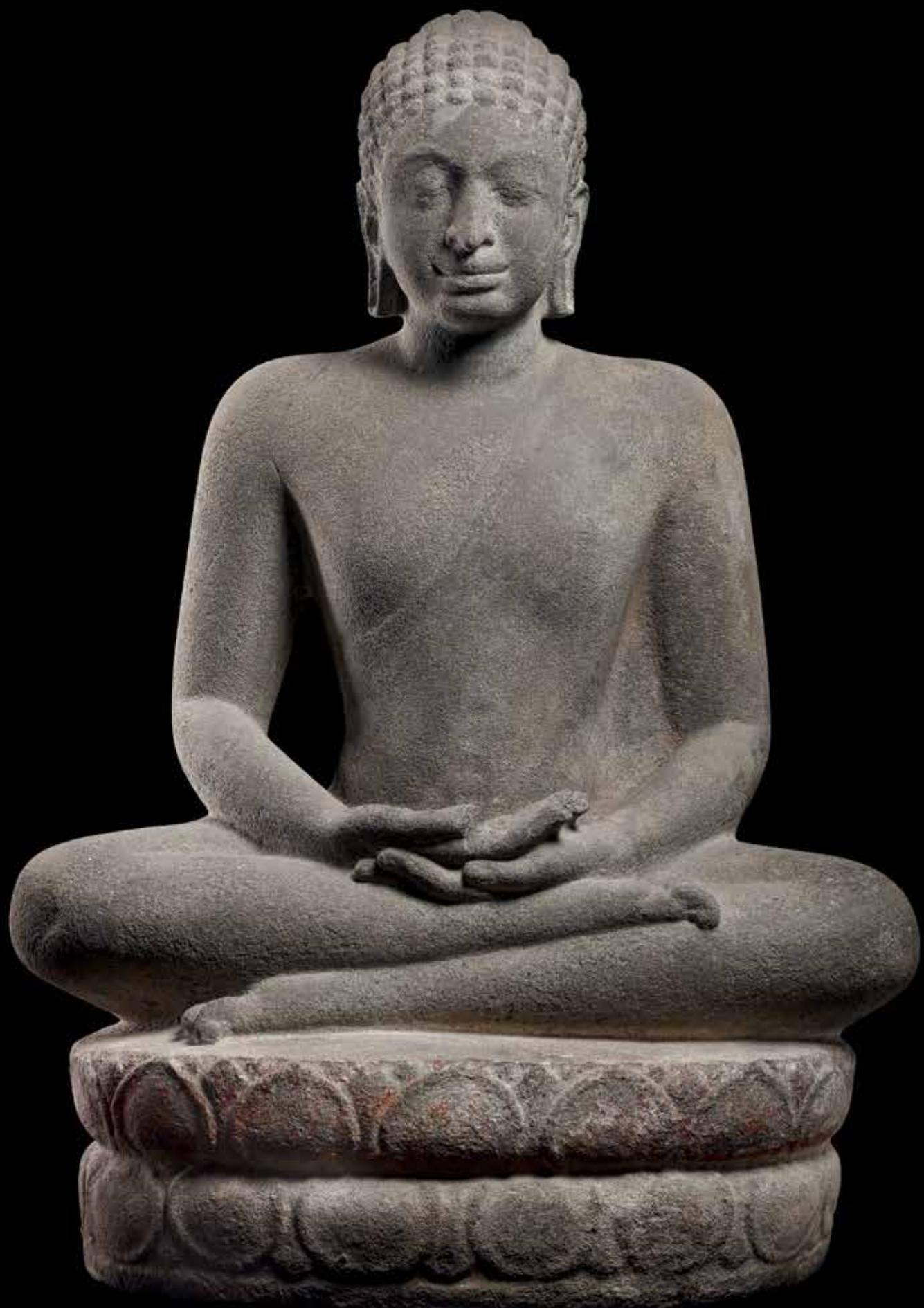


Fig. 72. Samadhi Buddha. Sri Lanka,  
6th century. Stone, h. 78 in. (198 cm).  
Photographed at Abhayagiri  
monastery, Anuradhapura







**CAT. 44****Buddha Preaching**

Southern Cambodia, late 7th century

Found near remains of brick temple tower at Tuol Preah That, Kampong Speu province, by Robert Dalet in 1935, and entered the Musée Guimet in 1939

Sandstone

37 x 13 x 9½ in. (94 x 33 x 24 cm)

Musée National des Arts Asiatiques—Guimet, Paris (MG18891)

This Buddha preaching the dharma is one of the most imposing from early Cambodia. He is muscular, with a powerful neck, and stands on a low, octagonal pedestal, right hand raised in *vitarkamudrā*. The other hand likely held an end of his robe, which, in a naturalistically observed detail, is wrapped several times around the wrist and falls in deep pleats. The figure is framed by his outer garment, which covers both shoulders, in the closed mode, and hangs symmetrically from both arms. The full, square face has lightly incised “almond-shaped” eyelids, full lips, and large, flat hair curls that rise above the prominent skull protuberance (*usnīṣa*). The under and outer robes are clearly delineated and fall lightly over the body, allowing its form to emerge. Following Indian conventions of the period, the genitals are no longer indicated. In its general configuration, the work resembles the Buddha type that was appearing around this time at major Dvāravatī sites in central Thailand (cat. 117). Both have their prototypes in Sarnath, northern India.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of this sculpture is enhanced by a contemporary Prakrit inscription on the reverse.<sup>2</sup> It proclaims the *Ye dharmā* “stanza of causation” in a recension also known from northern India: *Ye dhammā hetuprabhavā tesam hetum tathāgato avaca tesāñ ca yo nirodbo evamvādī mahāsamāno*. It has been translated as:

*The states that have arisen from a cause,  
Their cause the Tathāgata proclaims,  
As well as their cessation.  
This is the teaching of the Great Ascetic.*<sup>3</sup>

Both Tathāgata and Great Ascetic are epithets for the Buddha. The epigraphy is securely assigned to the seventh century, confirming that the inscription is contemporary with the image and not a later addition. This is among the earliest known uses of the *Ye dharmā* stanza in early Cambodia, foreshadowing its widespread appearance across Southeast Asia from the eighth century on.<sup>4</sup> Its pervasiveness thereafter, including on multiple clay moldings of miniature shrines, underscores its central role in Buddhist consecration ceremonies, where the verse’s presence can be understood to indicate that a consecration has been performed.<sup>5</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Dalet 1935, pp. 156–58, pl. XXXII; Monod-Bruhl 1939, p. 9; Boisselier 1955, pp. 85–88, pl. 88B; Dupont 1955, pp. 192–210, pl. XLV, B; K. Bhattacharya 1961b, p. 17; Coedès 1937–64, vol. 7 (1964), p. 108; Boisselier 1966, p. 270; Monod-Bruhl 1966, pp. 126, 127, ill. no. 47; Jessup and Zéphir 1997,



CAT. 45

**CAT. 46****Head of Buddha**

Southern Cambodia, late 5th–early 6th century

Found in Wat Romlok, Prey Krabas district, Takeo province, and transferred to the Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom Penh, in 1923

Sandstone

11 x 5⅓ x 6½ in. (28 x 15 x 16.5 cm)

National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1085)

These two heads of the Buddha signal the processes of reception and acculturation of Indian styles of religious imagery in Southeast Asia. Both may be assigned to late fifth to sixth century, the earliest known period of Buddhist art production in the Funan territories.<sup>1</sup> Both have heavy eyelids that evoke a mood of introspection and detachment, enhanced by the hint of a smile on the full lips. In this respect, they contrast with the seated Buddha from Angkor Borei (cat. 43), which engages the world with open eyes, extending protection with a raised hand. The Musée Guimet head has stylistic traits—fullness of face, heavy lower lip, and pronounced hair curls—that indicate an awareness of the northern Indian Gupta aesthetic (ca. 320–550),

**CAT. 45****Head of Buddha**

Southern Vietnam, 5th–6th century

Possibly found in Mekong delta; acquired by the Musée du Louvre, Paris, in 1923; and transferred to Musée Guimet in 1932

Sandstone

9⅓ x 5⅓ x 6⅓ in. (24 x 15 x 16 cm)

Musée National des Arts Asiatiques—Guimet

Paris (MG18225)

however received. The subtle modulation of the upper eyelid follows Indian conventions, as does the sweet countenance. The distinctive manner in which the extended earlobes fuse with the neck and join the shoulder, however, is an idiosyncrasy of stone Buddhas from the coastal Mekong delta, such as a standing Buddha and a seated one from Kien Giang and Tra Vinh provinces, respectively.<sup>2</sup> The head may be reasonably assigned to the earliest period of Buddhist sculpture in the delta.

The elegant head from Wat Romlok fits well into the small group of known works from

southern Cambodia. The proportions and the restrained definition of the features point to the Buddhist art of the late Amaravati school of Andhra Pradesh (2nd–3rd century) as their genesis, while the treatment of the spiral hair curls, low wisdom topknot (*usnīṣa*), and (now) barely visible forehead mark (*ūrnā*) are in keeping with the Amaravati practice of clearly depicting the auspicious marks of Buddhahood (*lakṣana*), natural and otherwise. The distended earlobes, the legacy of Prince Siddhārtha's discarding his heavy gold jewelry, further indicate the Buddha's enlightened status. Direct comparisons can be

drawn with the head of a Buddha from Vijiaderpuram, Andhra Pradesh, in both the slender physiognomy and the subtle treatment of attendant features, including the low-profile hair curls, minimal eyebrows, and fully extended earlobes, here well free of the shoulders (fig. 73).<sup>3</sup>

For neither head is there any direct evidence of how the remainder of the figure would have been sculpted. The Amaravati-Anuradhapura predilection for deeply fluted robes seems not to have influenced the early Khmer icon makers, who tended to represent garments and jewelry in a minimalist, sometimes impressionistic, manner—lightly incised lines to define a waistcloth, or ornaments in the lowest of relief. The two Mekong-delta Buddhas whose heads are most analogous to these both have open robes exposing the right shoulder, as does the protective Buddha from Angkor Borei (cat. 43).

PUBLICATION CAT. 45: Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 22–23, no. 1.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 46: G. Groslier 1924–26b, pp. 104–6, pl. IV; G. Groslier 1925a, p. 305, pl. II, A; G. Groslier 1925b, pp. 46–48, pl. 34; G. Groslier 1931, pp. 32–33, pl. III; Boisselier 1955, pp. 86, 106, 167, 228, pl. 86; Dupont 1955, p. 196; Giteau 1960, p. 8; Bénisti 1981, pp. 63–64, fig. 6; Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 146, no. 1; Dowling 2000, pp. 123–24, fig. 2; *Angkor: Göttliches Erbe Kambodschas* 2006, p. 52, no. 4; Dalsheimer 2006, pp. 143, 153–54, fig. 2; Jessup 2006, pp. 42–43, no. 17.

NOTES: 1. Undoubtedly, earlier Buddha images were made, as indicated in Chinese sources describing Funan, but they have not survived. See Wade, "Beyond the Southern Borders," in this volume. 2. Ma Thanh Cao et al. 2010, pp. 26–28, 32–34. 3. Okada 2000, pp. 53–55, no. 18.



Fig. 73. Head of Buddha. Southern India, 2nd century. From Vijiaderpuram, Andhra Pradesh. Limestone; h. 8 1/4 in. (21 cm), w. 5 3/4 in. (14.5 cm). Musée National des Arts Asiatiques—Guimet, Paris, Gift of G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, 1925 (MG17003)

CAT. 46

CAT. 47

### Buddha in Meditation

Southern Vietnam, 8th–9th century  
Found in Phnom Cangek in 1920–21;  
transferred to Wat Trapan Ven, Tra Vinh  
province; and accessioned by the Musée  
Blanchard de la Brosse, Saigon, in 1938  
Sandstone  
18½ x 12¾ x 7⅓ in. (46.5 x 32.8 x 18 cm)  
National Museum of Vietnamese History,  
Ho Chi Minh City (BTLS 5519)

The Buddha sits on a lotus throne, his hands resting in a meditation gesture (*dhyānamudrā*). The open robe, with the right shoulder exposed, and the layered rather than interlocking legs point to southern Indian or, more likely, Sri Lankan influences, in the form of either small, imported sculptures that could have served as models or of monks from that region who instructed artists in the production of images—probably both.<sup>1</sup> While the pronounced hair curls and physiognomy relate to early Buddha types from the hinterland of Angkor Borei, the legs and torso

indicate an awareness of Sinhalese Buddha imagery created no earlier than the eighth century and predominantly in the ninth. Sanskrit letters are incised on three petals, spelling, in part, “Sūryadatta”: possibly the name of the donor or, as has been suggested by George Coedès, a syncretic title associating the Buddha with the power of the sun, whose emblematic representation is Sūrya.<sup>2</sup> The other syllables may be honorifics associated with the proper name or may have been intended to serve as protective spells (*dhāraṇī*), charms generating mystic power.



CAT. 47



The Buddha was found at the mouth of the Mekong delta, downstream from the assumed political center of Oc Eo. Whether it was made there or transferred from another Buddhist center in the region remains an open question; a closely related Buddha is recorded from Vinh Long,<sup>3</sup> a neighboring province, but the corpus is too small to allow a secure provenance.

PUBLICATIONS: "Chronique" 1938, p. 417; "Chronique" 1939, p. 327; Malleret 1959–63, vol. 4 (1963), p. 20, no. 154, pls. xxix, xxxix; Lambrecht and Schickgruber 2003, pp. 32–33, no. 13; Le Thi Lien 2006b, p. 53, fig. 27; *Vietnam: From the Hong River to the Mekong* 2010, p. 194, no. 155.

NOTES: 1. Compare von Schroeder 1992, pp. 46–49, pls. 1–12. 2. Coedès 1937–64, vol. 6 (1954), p. 69.

3. Malleret 1959–63, vol. 4 (1963), pp. 39–40, no. 193, pl. xxxix.

#### CAT. 48

#### Head of Buddha

Southern Cambodia, 7th century  
Probably from Angkor Borei region,

Takeo province

Sandstone

24 x 13 x 12½ in. (61 x 33 x 32.4 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Gift of Doris Wiener, 2005 (2005.512)

This head of the Buddha is a testament to the grandeur of the monumental sculpture tradition in the Zhenla kingdom. The over-lifesize head was carved from a litho-feldspathic graywacke characteristic of southern Cambodia,<sup>1</sup> consistent with its stylistic assignment to Angkor Borei or a site farther south in the Mekong delta. The Buddha has a strong, broad face; lightly modeled eyelids and pupils; full lips that turn up at the corners in a hint of a smile; and arching eyebrows that are indicated by a subtle shift of planes. The hair curls, like those of other Buddhas of this period and region, are large and flat, a memory of the southern Indian style favored in the early period of contact. This feature compares closely with the preaching Buddha from Kampong Speu province (cat. 44) and, particularly, with the head from Takeo province (cat. 46). From the size and erect poise of the head, it probably belonged to a monumental standing Buddha, some ten feet (3 m) in height.

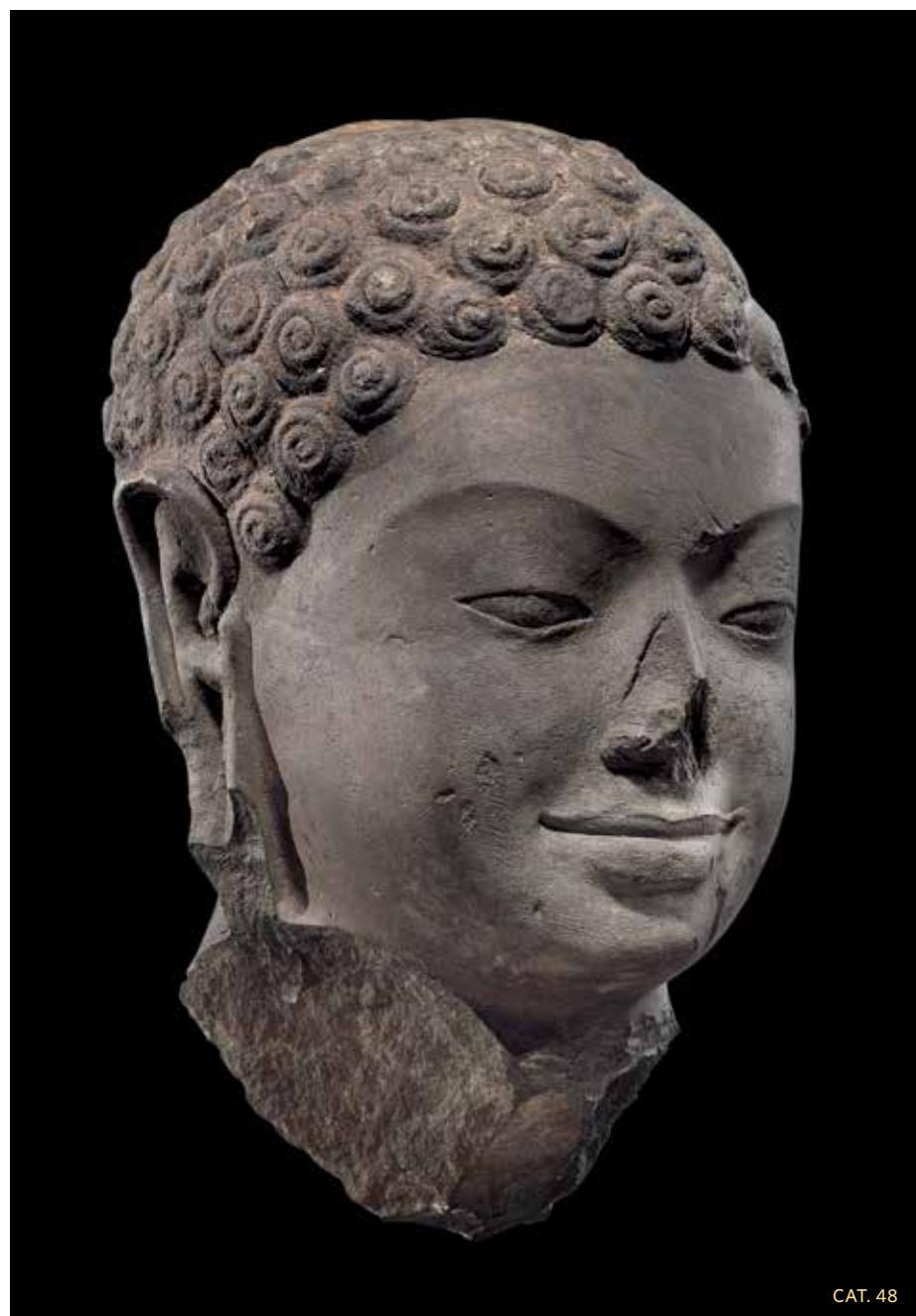
PUBLICATIONS: Steven M. Kossak in "Recent Acquisitions" 2006, pp. 10–11; Carò 2009, pp. 29, 31, fig. 53.

NOTE: 1. Carò 2009, p. 31.

spring was the important monastic school at Sarnath, northeast of the ancient holy city of Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh. The sculpture workshops there were heir to one of the oldest continuous traditions of image making in northern India, at Mathura. In the late Gupta era (5th–6th century), the Sarnath school found itself supplying Buddha images to a great variety of clients. Among the most important may have been pilgrim-monks, who, no doubt, purchased small images—often, one may surmise, made of wood—that could be easily transported to their homelands or to the distant monasteries where they traveled to study. The Chinese monk Faxian tells of being caught in a storm in 414 during a sea passage from Sri Lanka to China via Southeast Asia; on being required to throw all heavy items overboard, he feared that he would have to jettison his scriptures and images as well.<sup>1</sup>

Over the course of the fifth and, especially, the sixth century, major schools of Buddhist art emerged in mainland Southeast Asia, reflecting

a variety of new influences, both from southern India, as seen in the Khin Ba reliquary from Śri Kṣetra, Myanmar, and from northern India, as witnessed in this standing Buddha. Well-endowed monastic communities, some with royal support, were the major patrons. Angkor Borei in southern Cambodia and Nakhon Pathom in central Thailand were two such centers. The coastal regions of the Mekong delta were another. This Buddha, slender and ethereal, is a superb example of the early acceptance of the northern Indian model of ideal Buddhahood, seen in the increasingly detached and otherworldly expression and the use of body-defining drapery. However, the artists absorbed what the imported models could teach them and quickly moved to render them in their own visual language: this Angkor Borei-style Buddha, for example, could never be mistaken for an Indian work. The aesthetic it shares with contemporary images from the Dvāravatī regions of Thailand (cat. 117) makes it clear that a distinctive Southeast Asian Buddha type soon



CAT. 48

#### CAT. 49

#### Buddha

Southern Cambodia, mid-7th century  
Sandstone

39½ x 12 x 4½ in. (100.3 x 30.5 x 10.8 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Gift of Florence and Herbert Irving, 1993  
(1993.477.3)

At some point early in the seventh century, a new Buddha type appeared in Southeast Asia, inspired by and indebted to innovations that were taking place in northern India. The well-



CAT. 49

emerged. The extent to which a shared concept, iconography, and generic figure type could be translated into a readily identifiable, discrete style is remarkable.

In this case, the Buddha wears his monk's robes in the closed mode, drawn over both shoulders; they pass over the figure, subtly defining the form beneath. The outer robe falls symmetrically from the extended arms in a deep sweep to below the knees. Both hands are lost, but judging by the Buddha from Kampong Speu (cat. 44), the right hand was likely in *vitarkamudrā*, identifying him as a preaching Buddha.

PUBLICATION: Pal 1984, p. 209, no. 92.

NOTE: 1. Faxian's Indian pilgrimage lasted from 399 to 414; Faxian 1886, pp. 111–12.

#### CAT. 50

#### Buddha Granting Boons

Southern Cambodia, 7th century

Found near Wat Phnom, Tuol Ta Hoy,

Udong district, Kampong Speu province, in 1966  
Sandstone

38 $\frac{3}{16}$  x 12 $\frac{3}{16}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (97 x 31 x 19 cm)

National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh  
(Ka.1589)

The Buddha makes the gesture of granting favors and blessings to devotees (*varadamudrā*) and stands on a lotus pedestal to evoke his transcendent nature. His left hand clasps the end of his outer robe (*uttarāsaṅga*), which is worn in the open mode, exposing the right shoulder in the southern Indian manner. The robe has a distinctive wavy pattern that extends across the lower legs, a mannerism directly traceable to sixth-century Buddha icons from southern India (fig. 74).

The sculpture's findspot is connected by the Tonle Sap lake and river system to Angkor Borei and the Mekong River, so potentially it could



Fig. 74. Buddha. Southern India, 6th century.  
Excavated at Buddam (Buddhapad), Guntur district,  
Andhra Pradesh. Copper alloy, h. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (31.7 cm).

British Museum, London (1905.1218.2)





CAT. 51

have been produced anywhere in southern Cambodia and been transported to Kampong Speu province. Stylistically, several factors suggest that this was likely the case and indicate close connections with the workshops of Angkor Borei, in neighboring Takeo province. Evidence for a distinct school of Buddhist sculpture associated with the workshops of Angkor Borei is provided by three works, two securely linked to the neighborhood of Angkor Borei, the other unrecorded but likely from the same vicinity.<sup>1</sup> Many stylistic traits—large, flat hair curls; a round face with sharply beveled eyebrows joining the bridge of the nose; the manner of dress and treatment of the folds of cloth as cited above; and so on—point compellingly to those works' being the products of the same school as this sculpture, and very likely the same workshop. The group also relates to a monumental head of the Buddha (cat. 48) that shares the round, full face with small, meditative eyes and is imbued, like the whole series, with a strong Buddhist sentiment. The group stands apart from much of the other production from Angkor Borei and displays an awareness of Buddha imagery produced in the seventh-century Mon territories of central Thailand (see cats. 109, 117). Mobility of artists or, more likely, of monks carrying portable icons may have accounted for this shared visual vocabulary.

PUBLICATIONS: Brand and Chuch Phoeurn 1992, pp. 38–39, no. 4; Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 149, no. 3, ill. p. 148; Dowling 2000, pp. 125, 126, fig. 12; Dalsheimer 2001, pp. 66–67, no. 16; Khun Samen 2002, pp. 68–69; *Angkor: Göttliches Erbe Kambodschas* 2006, p. 50, no. 2; Dalsheimer 2006, pp. 143, 146, 154–55, fig. 6; Jessup 2006, pp. 44–45, no. 20.

NOTE: 1. Illustrated in Dalsheimer 2001, nos. 15, 17, 18.

#### CAT. 51

#### Buddha

Central Cambodia, 7th century

Found in Sangkat Da, Kampong Leaeng district, Kampong Chhnang province

Copper alloy

$19\frac{3}{16} \times 6\frac{5}{16} \times 3\frac{15}{16}$  in. (49 x 16 x 10 cm)

National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ga.5406)

The simplicity and beauty of this standing Buddha attest to the skill of seventh-century bronze casters in Zhenla. The Buddha wears simple monastic robes unadorned with the rhythmic folds or pleats seen in the “export” bronzes from Sri Lanka. The cropped hair closely silhouettes the profile of the head, with a low wisdom topknot (*usnisa*), and the projecting hand gestures in exposition (*vitarkamudrā*). These characteristics are shared with some early metal Buddha images from insular Southeast Asia, such as a solid-cast icon reportedly found in the Malay Peninsula (cat. 21). In both cases, the Buddha wears the monastic robe in the open mode, with outer and under robes distinguished. The treatment of the feet and the plain square bases on which they stand are also comparable, as is the hand gesture, although the Khmer Buddha expounds dharma with an upturned palm.

This bronze was recovered in Kampong Chhnang province, which is contiguous with Takeo province, where the centers of mid-first-millennium Khmer culture, Angkor Borei and Phnom Da, were located. It belongs to the cultural milieu of southern Cambodia, and while it has some affinities with Mon Buddha imagery of the period, it is more closely related aesthetically to the Angkor Borei school of stone sculpture, as is the stone Buddha from Kampong Speu (cat. 44).

The larger Buddhist world to which the icon belonged appears to have extended from western Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula to southern Vietnam. Common stylistic elements are best explained not by localized factors but rather by a shared monastic culture. The progenitors of the style were probably Buddha icons imported from the Indian Deccan. Some Buddhist art continued to be produced at Amaravati and associated sites in the Krishna River delta well into the eighth century, long after the demise of the Śātavāhana (2nd–3rd century) and Ikṣvāku (3rd–4th century) dynasties.<sup>1</sup> A hoard of bronze Buddhas recorded from Buddam (Buddhapad) in Andhra Pradesh, dated to about the sixth century (fig. 74), provides evidence of this continuity—and likely provided models for Southeast Asian artists.<sup>2</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Garnier and Naflyan 1997, p. 51; Dowling 2000, p. 129; Khun Samen 2002, pp. 24–25; *Angkor: Göttliches Erbe Kambodschas* 2006, p. 53, no. 5; Woodward 2010a, pp. 36, 38, 39, fig. 9; Bunker and Latchford 2011, pp. 64–65, fig. 4.11.

NOTES: 1. Knox 1992, pp. 13–16. 2. The Buddhapad hoard was first published by Robert Sewell (1895), and entered the British Museum, London, in 1906. Published in von Schroeder 1981, pls. 44a–44c, 44g; see also Schastok 1994.

#### CAT. 52

#### Buddha Granting Boons

Western Indonesia, 8th century

Reportedly found in Mahakam River basin,  
Kutai, eastern Kalimantan

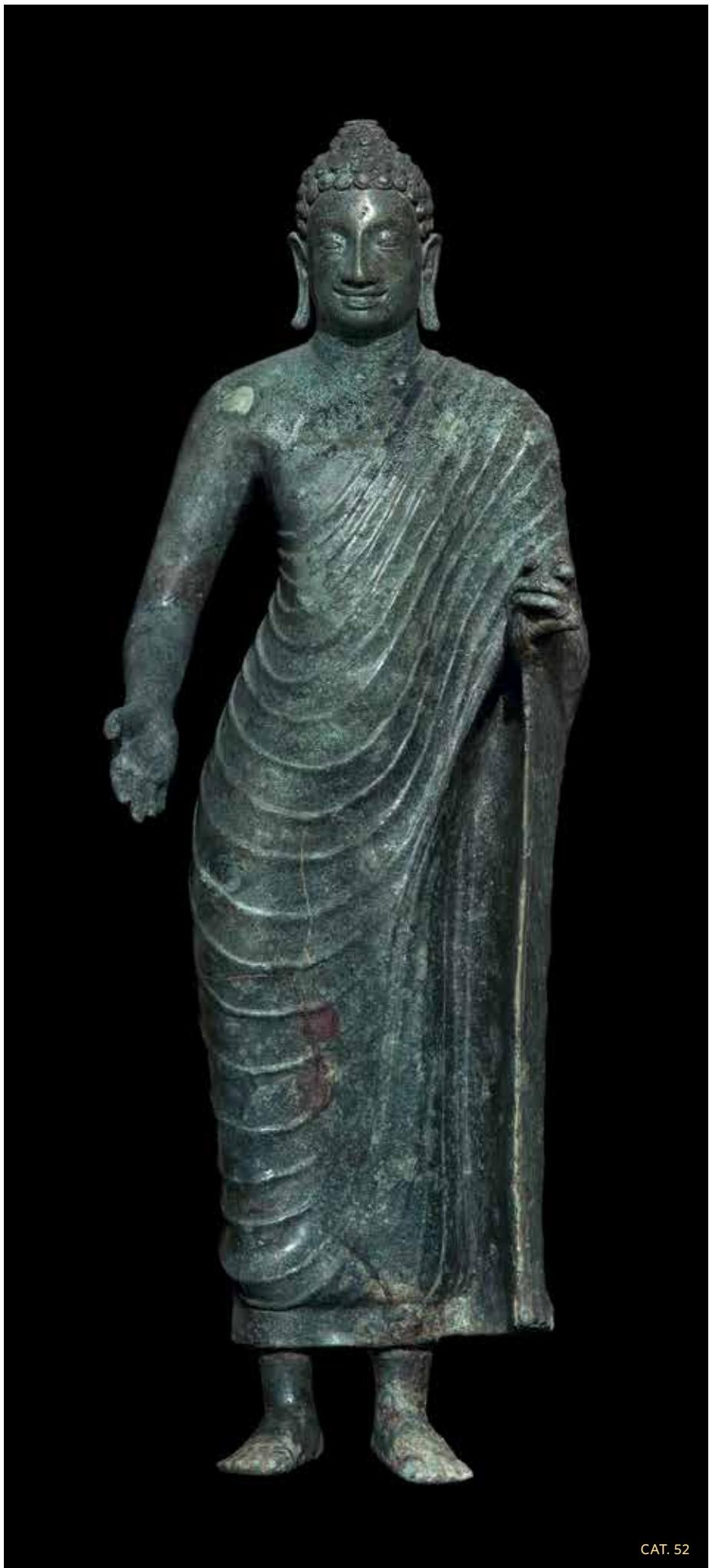
Copper alloy

H. 16½ in. (41 cm)

Private collection, Europe

This Buddha belongs to a corpus of Buddhist imagery with strong links to the early Javanese tradition and may be seen as part of a Buddhist diaspora around the Java Sea. Important finds were made in eastern and southern Kalimantan (Borneo) in the 1920s, and recent investigations by Indonesian archaeologists have extended our understanding of this phenomenon.<sup>1</sup>

The Buddha stands in a flexed posture, granting boons with his open right hand (*varadamudrā*) and holding his monastic robe with the other. The wearing of the robe in the open mode, exposing the right shoulder, together with the lyrical sweep of the garment's folds, points to southern Indian models at work here. The sculpture compares most closely to a bronze Buddha found in Java, which, in all probability, was imported from the Amaravati region of southern India around the seventh century.<sup>2</sup> Although the two differ in stance—one flexed,



CAT. 52



one frontal—and the drop of the robe forms a small wave pattern only on the Kalimantan example, the latter was clearly based on an imported model of that kind. The circulation of such highly portable metal images with itinerant monks ensured that the metropolitan styles of India were rapidly dispersed to the far reaches of the Buddhist world, their influence penetrating even the remote east-coast river system of Borneo.

NOTES: 1. See Indradaya, "Early Traces of Hinduism and Buddhism across the Java Sea," in this volume; see also Bosch 1925. 2. Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988, p. 53, no. 1.

#### CAT. 53

#### **Sealing with Enthroned Buddha Calling the Earth to Witness**

Central Myanmar, 7th–8th century

Found in Myaynitaung (Hlanhtotaung), west of Śrī Kṣetra, Hmawza

Fired clay

7½ x 6⅛ x 1⅓ in. (19 x 15.5 x 4 cm)

Thiri Khittaya (Śrī Kṣetra) Archaeological Museum, Hmawza, Myanmar (2001/2/70)

#### CAT. 54

#### **Sealing with Enthroned Buddha Calling the Earth to Witness**

Central Myanmar, 8th century

Found in Śrī Kṣetra, Hmawza

Fired clay

6⅓ x 6⅜ x 1⅓ in. (17 x 15.5 x 4 cm)

Thiri Khittaya (Śrī Kṣetra) Archaeological Museum, Hmawza, Myanmar (2001/2/63)

#### CAT. 55

#### **Sealing with Enthroned Buddha Calling the Earth to Witness**

Central Myanmar, 8th–9th century

Found in Myaynitaung (Hlanhtotaung) west of Lulinkyaw gate, Śrī Kṣetra, Hmawza

Fired clay

8¼ x 6⅔ x 2⅓ in. (21 x 15.5 x 6 cm)

Thiri Khittaya (Śrī Kṣetra) Archaeological Museum, Hmawza, Myanmar (2001/2/67)

One of the most pervasive indicators of Buddhist activity in first-millennium Southeast Asia is the presence of molded clay tablets of Buddhist dedication. Some of the earliest examples from Southeast Asia appear in urban Pyu contexts in central Myanmar, datable to about the seventh or eighth century. The moldings were understood as an extension of the cult of relics: a depiction of the Buddha or a stupa or simply a plaque bearing text (dharma, the Buddha's word) was an accessible object of veneration. Making these multiple clay impressions, pressed by hand from a metal or fired-clay matrix, was a simple and inexpensive means by which Buddhist devotees could accrue religious merit.<sup>1</sup> A number of the moldings carry inscriptions on the reverse with the donor's name. Some from Bagan add that the icon was made "with my own hands, for the sake of deliverance"; in one instance, the donor is identified as a queen.<sup>2</sup> One sutra compares writing the dharma verses and installing them in a stupa to "doing homage by offering up a rare jewel."<sup>3</sup>

Large concentrations of these clay impressions have been found in ruined stupa mounds both within and beyond Śrī Kṣetra's city walls, confirming that their primary function was to serve as merit-making offerings at stupas.<sup>4</sup> These three examples are among the largest known and represent an early phase of the practice, when larger molds were employed. They all depict the enthroned Buddha making the earth-touching (*bhūmisparśamudrā*) or victory-over-Māra (*mārvijaya*) gesture, calling the earth goddess to witness his resistance to the temptations that would have prevented his awakening. The earliest (cat. 53) is a rare type of which only one other published example, found at a mound near Lake Ponna, southwest of Thone Pan Hla, Hmawza, is known.<sup>5</sup> It is also the most iconographically elaborate: the Buddha is seen meditating on a lotus cushion installed on a throne whose crossbar terminates in *makaras* (aquatic monsters). He has a flame-emitting nimbus and is flanked by two lotus stems that support, at left, a royal throne-stool (*bhadrapīṭha*) and, at right, a conch shell (*sāṅkha*)—symbols associated with kingship and, in this context, the Buddhist universal monarch

(*cakravartin*). Above each device is a fly whisk or banner, and above those are two radiant suns, likely intended to represent the sun and moon. At the summit are an honorific umbrella and foliage, evoking the *bodhi* tree at Bodh Gaya, the site of the Buddha's awakening.

The other two sealings, likely of later date, are less elaborate and again depict the Buddha calling the earth to witness. The lowered hand gesture in catalogue number 54, with palm exposed, suggests wish granting (*varadamudrā*) but may simply be a clumsy rendering by the artist. Both moldings feature a cusped-arch nimbus, one fully enlivened with radiating "knowledge" flames, and both show the seating mat hanging in the foreground below the Buddha's lotus throne. The slender proportions of the figures and the layered rather than interlocking feet, in *dhyānāsana*, point stylistically to the inscribed Buddha sculpture from the Kan Wet Khaung Gon mound (cat. 41), which is securely assigned to the seventh century. The expanded production of these moldings in the late first millennium seems directly linked to the circulation of the matrices, for which itinerant monks were most likely responsible.<sup>6</sup> Another impres-



CAT. 54



CAT. 55

sion of one of the *bhūmisparśamudrā* moldings (cat. 55) was reportedly recovered at a stupa mound 1 1/4 miles (2 km) south of Śrī Kṣetra.<sup>7</sup>

NOTES: 1. Guy 2002, pp. 23–24; Skilling 2005a; Kyaw Minn Htin 2011. 2. A number of Bagan-period examples are provided by Luce 1969–70, vol. 2, pls. 8a, 8c, and vol. 3, pls. 8a, 8c. 3. Boucher 1995, p. 65. 4. Duroiselle 1931. 5. See Mya 1961, pt. 2, p. 27, fig. 48, for a direct comparison. 6. The recovery of several metal matrices in the cargo of the Intan shipwreck in the western Java Sea, dated to the tenth century, points to the ongoing circulation of religious utensils on a scale that now appears to have been commercial; see Guy 2004a. 7. A near-identical molding is published in Mahlo 2012, pl. 13d, where the author dates it to the early ninth century.

#### CAT. 56

#### Buddha Calling the Earth to Witness

Central Myanmar, 9th century

From Yahandagu stupa, Śrī Kṣetra, Hmawza  
Sandstone

14 x 7 x 2 3/4 in. (35.5 x 17.8 x 7 cm)

National Museum of Myanmar, Yangon (4574)

This low relief of the Buddha with one hand holding a monk's begging bowl and the other making the earth-touching gesture (*bhūmisparśamudrā*) has the unadorned simplicity associated with the late Pyu style of central Myanmar. It is one of a series of identical Buddha images decorating the base of the Yahandagu stupa at Śrī Kṣetra, a late Pyu monument likely dating to the ninth or, perhaps, tenth century. Several of the Buddhas are preserved in the National Museum, Yangon, and one is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.<sup>1</sup> This style of Buddha, with a round face, prominent skull protuberance (*usnīṣa*), and short neck—a feature that became a signature of the Bagan style—was transmitted to Bagan in the mid-eleventh century, following the progressive defeat and absorption of the Pyu and Mon territories into the Bagan state.

PUBLICATION: Duroiselle 1925.

NOTE: 1. Victoria and Albert Museum, London  
(IS 14-1983).



CAT. 56

# THE BRAHMANICAL WORLD



# Early Coastal States of Southeast Asia: Funan and Śrīvijaya

Pierre-Yves Manguin

From the 1980s to the present, intensive archaeological research in southernmost Vietnam and on the island of Sumatra has generated new data confirming the assumption of historians and philologists of the first half of the twentieth century: that it was here, on the shores of the South China Sea, that the two earliest large kingdoms of coastal Southeast Asia were born and where they thrived for most of the first millennium A.D.<sup>1</sup> The large Khmer polity known in contemporary Chinese sources as Funan came to life in the Mekong delta around the first century A.D. and prospered in those vast lowlands until the sixth or seventh century, when its people appear to have largely abandoned the region.<sup>2</sup> Political power then moved inland along the Mekong River, to be revived first as the kingdom known as Zhenla and, after the ninth century, as the imperial Khmer state, with its capital, Angkor, situated farther north on the banks of the Great Lake (the Tonle Sap).

Concurrently with Funan, beginning in the first few centuries A.D., a string of smaller coastal polities flourished along the Strait of Melaka, at the juncture of the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean. After the demise of Funan, and possibly as a partial consequence of Funan's renouncing the maritime share of its economy, one of these small polities took precedence over the others, and in the 670s its king founded the state of Śrīvijaya in southern Sumatra (see fig. 75).<sup>3</sup> During the first phase of its history, which lasted until the end of the eighth century, this state grew into a maritime power, centered in Palembang. After about 800, with its capital still in Palembang, it maintained a key political and economic role with respect to the major maritime trade routes passing through Southeast Asia, in a form akin to that exercised by the "classical" Mataram state of Java, with which it developed a symbiotic, long-lasting relationship. By the end of the eleventh century, the Śrīvijaya capital had moved northward, to Jambi, where it remained until the kingdom's demise in the thirteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Long-held views of historical developments posited that the still-primitive populations of early Southeast Asia were "Indianized" rather suddenly, starting around the third to fourth century A.D., when a package consisting of Indic political and religious ideologies, architectural and iconographic agendas, and a distinguished language, Sanskrit, along with various scripts with which to write it, was either imposed on or willingly adopted by them. Archaeological research carried out in the past few decades on sites of the protohistoric period preceding this "Indianization," however, has radically transformed our view of the evolution of the region.<sup>5</sup> The change is now perceived as a millennium-long phase of economic, technological, and cultural exchange between the two shores of the Bay of Bengal and along the maritime routes of the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, finally resulting in the so-called Indianization of the region (terrestrial routes in the northwest were also a major factor).<sup>6</sup> Early kingdoms in the region, such as Funan, Śrīvijaya, and smaller contemporary polities, benefited



Fig. 75. Southern Sumatra

from the adoption and adaptation to local contexts of state ideologies imported from India and therefore played an important role in this long-term process.

## Funan

Some three hundred fifty archaeological sites, large and small, many of them coastal or riverine, occupy the broad delta of the Mekong River, a low-lying landscape at the southern tip of the Indochinese Peninsula, much of it subject to annual flooding. Most of them have been dated to the first six or seven centuries of the first millennium A.D. Archaeologists from Vietnam group these sites into what they call the "Oc Eo culture," named after a site that lies in Vietnamese territory some 12 miles (20 km) east of the present-day coastline of the Gulf of Thailand. Oc Eo became famous when the French archaeologist Louis Malleret revealed its existence in the late 1930s, suggesting that it had been a major settlement of Funan, then known from ancient Chinese sources alone. Malleret carried out a single but intensive archaeological campaign, in 1944. Warfare prevented further research in the Mekong delta until 1979. Malleret nevertheless managed to publish with the École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), Paris, between 1959 and 1963, a full report in seven volumes of his archaeological work.<sup>7</sup> He also acquired before 1955 for the National Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City (then known as the Musée Blanchard de

la Brosse), an impressive collection of some ten thousand archaeological artifacts, about 90 percent of which came from the Oc Eo area.<sup>8</sup> This made the site one of the richest in Southeast Asia in terms of the variety of known forms and materials.

A few years after the 1975 reunification of Vietnam, Vietnamese archaeologists resumed investigation of a variety of sites in the delta. Their research was complemented after 1996 by international cooperation programs with France and Japan, which concentrated on urban sites in the floodplain of Oc Eo (as well as on the slopes of neighboring Ba The) and on the other large urban site in Vietnamese territory, Dong Thap.<sup>9</sup> Another cooperative program, between American and Cambodian archaeologists, took over the investigation of the third known urban site of Funan: Angkor Borei, in Khmer territory.<sup>10</sup> As early as 1931, Pierre Paris, a French engineer, had recognized that Angkor Borei was linked by an ancient 43-mile-long (70 km) canal to Oc Eo and thence to the sea and international trading networks.<sup>11</sup>

Recent archaeological research on these Funan sites has brought to light much new data. Dong Thap and Angkor Borei were clearly occupied a few centuries before the establishment of Funan as a unified kingdom, which, according to Chinese sources, happened in the first century A.D., and the sites bear witness to continuities between the early, complex societies located there and what would become a major “Indianized” state. The Oc Eo (Ba The) archaeological complex, in contrast, appears to have been a product of the Funan period and may be characterized as an urban and agricultural experiment in floodplain settlement. City moats, rectangular in plan, were dug in the first two centuries.<sup>12</sup> Some of the canals that are typical of Funan landscapes followed immediately, creating a complex waterway network, as has been revealed by aerial photographs and archaeological excavations in both Oc Eo and Angkor Borei. By the third or fourth century A.D., after the digging of an extensive network of canals, the whole system appears to have been functional. The canal system served mainly to drain the floodplain and allow for denser settlement and rice cultivation. Rice chaff, used as temper, is commonly found in pottery and bricks at Funan sites, and contemporary Chinese visitors mention rice cultivation.<sup>13</sup> The largest canals were also used, no doubt, for communication between inland sites and the Mekong River and the coast of the Gulf of Thailand. Such maritime outlets, on both coasts of the Indochinese Peninsula, gave Funan direct access to the major trans-Asian maritime trade routes. As early as the third century, according to Chinese sources, Funan reinforced its power over those routes by conquering the kingdom known as Dunxun, in what is now northern peninsular Thailand.<sup>14</sup> In doing so, it appears to have gained direct access to the goods from around the Indian Ocean that were available in the emerging harbor cities on both coasts of the peninsula.

This process of consolidation took place during the first three or four centuries—that is, before full-fledged “Indianization.” Up to now, no solid evidence testifies to the adoption of Indic religions, Brahmanism and Buddhism, in this period, or to the construction of the kind of stone or brick shrines that would appear in the next two centuries along with the associated religious iconography and use of Sanskrit and Indic scripts, with the one possible exception of the Vo Canh inscription found near Nha Trang, possibly dated to the third century A.D. (fig. 58).<sup>15</sup>

Contact and cultural and economic exchange with India and the rest of western Southeast Asia were regular. The very shape of the Oc Eo moated city is proof of the adoption of Indian urban concepts. Buildings, some of them large, were then still made of wood but covered with flat, grooved earthenware tiles, a technology clearly borrowed from India. Many artifacts found in the area, mostly jewelry made of gold, tin, glass, or precious stones (fig. 76) and now preserved in museum collections in Vietnam, attest to



Fig. 76. Intaglios with Mediterranean and Middle Eastern motifs. Found in Oc Eo, An Giang province, southern Vietnam. Carnelian (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9), jasper (no. 8), glass (no. 10), and rock crystal (no. 11). National Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City

contact not only with India and the Indo-Iranian world but also with the Mediterranean region via Red Sea harbors.<sup>16</sup> The rich body of earthenware pottery found at Funan sites also supports exchange with Indian artisans and traditions.<sup>17</sup> In comparison, contact with China, judging by the few artifacts that can be related to Chinese culture, appears to have been restrained at this point and to have left few traces in the obviously cosmopolitan culture of Funan.

On account of extensive looting since the early 1940s and intense disturbance for agricultural development since the 1960s, the archaeological sites of Funan may keep many of their secrets forever. The scores of smaller precious artifacts thought to have been manufactured locally that were painstakingly gathered by Malleret or obtained more recently from controlled excavations do confirm that Oc Eo thrived through maritime trade. Considering the abundant archaeological evidence for local manufacturing of a variety of artifacts (pottery; beads; and gold, tin, and bronze ornaments), it is quite possible that the urban center at Oc Eo was progressively transformed into a kind of “industrial” site geared toward the production and export—*inland and overseas*—of superbly crafted objects. The commodities obtained must, in their turn, have been fed into the Funan hinterland via the canal and river network.

During the fifth and sixth centuries, according to stratigraphic data and radiocarbon-14 analyses, and until its demise in the mid-seventh century, Funan was host to a flurry of building activities. Many brick temples were constructed on small, flood-proof mounds in the urbanized floodplain of Oc Eo (fig. 77), where wood pile dwellings had been constructed during the earlier phase. On the lower slopes of Ba The, at Linh Son, a large religious complex appears to have been inaugurated during this period.<sup>18</sup> Other brick structures dot Ba The, facing the urbanized area some one to two miles (2 km) away in the floodplain. Archaeologists have also recently revealed remains of large brick structures at Dong Thap, and many similar shrines have been recorded at other sites in the Mekong delta;<sup>19</sup> in most instances, however, it is only the presence of brick foundations that substantiates this active building phase.

Many await systematic archaeological investigation, and only a few may be accurately dated at present.

This post-fourth-century phase of temple building in Funan was accompanied by the production of religious sculptures to adorn the shrines. Many examples found their way over the course of the twentieth century into museums in the former French Indochina (today's National Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City, and National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh) and the Musée Guimet, Paris, among other collections. Recent discoveries in both Vietnam and Cambodia have further enriched the national museums in those countries. Many of the sculptures have precisely recorded provenances, allowing a distribution map to be drawn, but only a handful of the sites have been excavated, and their architectural and broader urban contexts are therefore missing. Only in Dong Thap has an excavation resulted in the discovery of sculptures—in that case, two Viṣṇus in a large brick shrine that appears to date to the sixth or seventh century (cat. 59).

A general outline may nevertheless be drawn for the religious associations of these images. The late phase of Funan's history is also the period when Sanskrit inscriptions made their appearance, and most of them have religious connotations that can be linked, in general terms, to the available body of statues and shrines. The majority of the statues associated with the polity of Funan appear to be Brahmanical. Vaiṣṇava worship was practiced in Funan at the highest political level, as witnessed by contemporary inscriptions dated to the fifth to seventh century.<sup>20</sup> These inscriptions confirm the role played by kings and their relatives in the foundation and inauguration of shrines dedicated to Viṣṇu, which were “the city's ornament,” and the making of images of Hari (Viṣṇu) “out of devotion (*bhaktvā*), [which are something] that removes the suffering of devotees (*bhakta*).” Such references to Bhagavat (Viṣṇu) and Bhāgavatā devotees in court epigraphy are ubiquitous and corroborate the close links between kingship, state power, and Vaiṣṇava observance.

All the Viṣṇu statues found in Funan—in both Vietnam and Cambodia—belong to one stylistic family, usually described by art historians as “mitered Viṣṇus”: a reference to the miter-shaped crowns they wear (cat. 67). The earlier works of this type appear at some point in the fifth century and have direct Indian prototypes.<sup>21</sup> To these images of Viṣṇu, one should add some representations—in the same “mitered” style—of a female divinity bearing the attributes of Viṣṇu who always stands on a buffalo's head and is thus identified as the *devī* (goddess) Mahiśasuramardini (cat. 65). A few statues, again in the same general style, represent the Brahmanical deity Sūrya, who shares with Viṣṇu a solar aspect and clearly had an



Fig. 77. Excavation of Go Cay Thi temple, Oc Eo, Thaoi Son district, An Giang province, southern Vietnam, conducted by the Institute of Archaeology, Ho Chi Minh City, and École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), Paris, in 1999

important secondary cult in Funan and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Finally, early *śivalingas* (aniconic representations of Śiva; cat. 80) are found at many sites in the Mekong delta, some of them in miniature form in foundation deposits.<sup>22</sup> Within this well-established sectarian context, Vaiṣṇava devotion appears to have enjoyed the preponderance of royal Funanese patronage. However, Śiva progressively replaced Viṣṇu as the dominant cult after the fall of Funan and with the emergence of Zhenla during the seventh century.

A number of surviving images of the Buddha and bodhisattvas indicate that Buddhism was also practiced on a large scale in Funan. The damp environment of the Mekong delta allowed for the preservation of a rare set of early Buddha sculptures made of wood, most of which belong to the sixth and seventh centuries and reflect an awareness of Indian styles of that period.<sup>23</sup> The bodhisattva icons belong to a variety of stylistic families that were widespread in contemporary Southeast Asia. The few extant Buddhist inscriptions are strictly religious in purpose, consisting of incantations (*dhāranī*) or quotations from canonical texts.<sup>24</sup> As such, there is no demonstrable connection between political power and Buddhism in Funan. Moreover, Buddhist sites in Oc Eo, like other contemporary Southeast Asian sites steeped in Buddhism such as the ancient city of Champasak, in southern Laos, seem to have been situated on the periphery of the urban centers, suggesting that they were not of central importance to the ruling elite.

The similarity of archaeological finds on the Malay Peninsula, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, implies a close relationship with Funan, perhaps a consequence of the third-century “conquest” of that region by Funan, as described in Chinese sources<sup>25</sup>—if we take those sources at face value and consider Funan's sovereignty over the region to have lasted until its own demise, which is far from proved.

Both historical and archaeological data attest to the abandonment of the floodplain sites of the Mekong delta during the seventh century. The collapse of the hydraulic system at Oc Eo and elsewhere in the delta may have been a factor. The seemingly sudden desertion, in the mid-seventh century at the latest, of the urban site of Oc Eo—as opposed to the religious sites on slopes such as Ba The and Nui Sap (near Chau Doc) and that of Angkor Borei, which survived for five or six more centuries, through the subsequent pre-Angkorian and Angkorian periods—raises many questions, so far unanswered. What were the environmental, economic, and political factors at play in such radical changes in settlement patterns? Did the digging of the canals put into motion a silting process that was uncontrollable with the hydraulic technology of the time? Did the growth of agriculture in the plains of what is now Cambodia and the progressive shift inland of the political centers of the southern Indochinese Peninsula lead to the abandonment of the larger coastal centers? It has been argued that, in the face of increasing competition from Austronesian-speaking states, such as Heluodan, that were fast developing in insular Southeast Asia in the fifth century, Funan's trade revenues fell sharply, bringing about the end of its control over maritime trade routes. This, together with internal political strife, may have prompted a shift toward inland agriculture under the pre-Angkorian (Zhenla) and Angkorian (Khmer) states.

### Śrīvijaya

As early as the second or third century, polities on the southeast coast of Sumatra and on the nearby island of Bangka—first identified as this “favoured coast” by O. W. Wolters on the sole basis of Chinese sources<sup>26</sup>—had taken advantage of their position at the crossroads of maritime routes leading to China, India, the Middle East, and the spice-rich islands of eastern Indonesia. A group of protohistorical riverine sites has recently been recognized in Sumatra downstream from Palembang, not far from the estuaries of the Musi and Banyuasin Rivers.<sup>27</sup> These dense settlements with wood houses



Fig. 78. Pendant, possibly representing Śiva Natarāja. Found at Karang Agung, South Sumatra province, Indonesia, in 1998. Tin, h. 2 in. (5 cm). Private collection

built on large stilts must have controlled the flow of alluvial gold, resins, and other forest products from upstream areas all the way to the fertile upper valleys, where rich megalithic cultures then flourished. Artifacts found during recent excavations, including some common Indian pottery, gold-filigree beads, and tin pendants similar to those produced at Oc Eo (fig. 78), affirm the exchange of goods within regional and long-distance maritime networks.

By the sixth and early seventh centuries, Chinese sources tell of small Sumatran kingdoms whose kings adopted Indic names. Archaeologists have brought to light one small moated settlement at Kota Kapur, Bangka, facing the mouth of the Musi River across the Bangka Strait, with a small sixth- to seventh-century Vaiṣṇava temple complete with two Viṣṇu statues (fig. 79) and one Devī Mahiśasuramardini, accompanied by a smaller shrine with a linga made of uncarved natural stone.<sup>28</sup> This must have been a way station for Vaiṣṇava merchants, linking the Vaiṣṇava sites of Funan and the Malay Peninsula to those of Tārumānagara in western Java.<sup>29</sup>

Malayu, another such pre-Śrivijaya “Indianized” kingdom identified from Chinese and other sources, prospered in Sumatra on the banks of the Batang Hari River, farther north in Jambi province. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yijing and his companions spent time there in the 670s, learning Sanskrit among the growing community of learned monks, as they made their way to India to collect Buddhist texts.<sup>30</sup>

Changing circumstances in the ancient world during the sixth and seventh centuries brought about a steady increase in Asian maritime trade. A huge Chinese market opened after the reunification of China under the Sui and Tang dynasties (late 6th–early 10th century), with opportunities for Southeast Asian merchants and their goods to participate alongside the long-distance Persian Gulf traders.<sup>31</sup> Malay shippers, heirs to a mature technical tradition, were in a position to capitalize on their centuries-old skill in constructing and sailing large trading vessels.<sup>32</sup> Local resins and aromatics could now replace the Indian Ocean commodities that had been long in demand in China.<sup>33</sup> Camphor, oleoresins, and benzoin from Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula became standard commodities exported from the region, alongside spices, precious woods, gold, and tin.

After 670 the small trading kingdoms of southern Sumatra coalesced into a single state, which the Chinese called Shili Foshi.<sup>34</sup> Chinese records soon described this polity as a major trading operator in Nanhai, the “Southern Seas.” In 1918 the French epigraphist George Coedès took the brilliant step of linking these Chinese sources, together with later Indian and Arabic texts, to a group of inscriptions on stone (steles, columns, and natural stones) from southeastern Sumatra.<sup>35</sup> These crucial inscriptions, written in Old Malay and carved in the 680s on behalf of a king named Jayanasa, tell of the founding of a kingdom named Śrivijaya, for which Shili

Foshi was a regular Chinese transcription. Coedès concluded that the findspots of these inscriptions marked the birthplace and first political center of the kingdom of Śrivijaya, which could therefore be identified as Palembang, on the banks of the Musi River and its tributaries. The most prominent examples were found in or very near Palembang itself, including the lengthy Sabokingking inscription (fig. 24), which appears to have been placed at the hub of political power in the 680s; a few others, located in Jambi, Lampung, and Bangka provinces (such as the Kota Kapur inscription dated 686), contain a subset of the Sabokingking text and mark the limits of the core area of the newly founded kingdom. All this evidence indicates that Śrivijaya was the first large state—of world economic stature—to prosper in insular Southeast Asia. The wealth and prestige of its ruler, the regional eminence of its capital and harbor city, and its role as a center for the diffusion of Buddhism were acknowledged by the other world powers of the time, from the Abbasids at Baghdad to the Tang and Song Chinese. This prosperous polity thrived from the seventh to the thirteenth century and extended its sphere of influence to much of Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, and probably to western Java and parts of western Borneo, bringing together into a still poorly understood entity a group of formerly autonomous harbor-based trading kingdoms.

Substantial archaeological evidence of economic and religious activity dating to the period of Śrivijaya’s prominence began to emerge in southern Sumatra only in the late 1980s, after years of intensive surveys. The findings confirmed the largely text-based hypotheses previously proposed by Coedès and Wolters. Sites within and in the immediate vicinity of the modern city of Palembang have now yielded material evidence for pre-fourteenth-century settlement and manufacturing, commercial, religious, and political activity at a level that can only be reconciled with a centrally situated large settlement—in other words, with the political and economic capital of the early Malay kingdom.<sup>36</sup>

A riverine urban pattern is now clearly discernible at Palembang: multiple hubs of specialized activities scattered along some seven miles (12 km) of the northern bank of the Musi River and its smaller tributaries. Judging by the quantity of finds at some of the excavated sites, population density must have been high.<sup>37</sup> Many of the



Fig. 79. Viṣṇu. Indonesia, 6th–7th century. Excavated from Kota Kapur (Bangka), South Sumatra province, by Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, Indonesia, and École Française d’Extrême-Orient (EFEO), Paris, in 1994. Sandstone, h. 33½ in. (85 cm). Balai Arkeologi Palembang, Indonesia



Fig. 80. Buddha. Indonesia, 7th–8th century. Found at Candi Tingkip, South Sumatra province. Stone, h. 67¾ in. (172 cm). Museum Negeri Sumatra Selatan, Palembang, Indonesia



Fig. 81. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Indonesia, 7th–8th century. Found at Bingin, South Sumatra province. Stone, h. 66⅓ in. (170 cm). Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta

finds indicate active long-distance trade, and the important role of merchants and shipmasters is underscored in local epigraphy.<sup>38</sup>

Mahāyāna Buddhism prospered in Malayu and then in Śrivijaya, as demonstrated by the quantity of clearly seventh- to eighth-century statues in a variety of styles that have been found there. All the archaeological sites at the main settlements of Jambi and Palembang before the ninth century were Buddhist. The recent discovery of a significant number of contemporary Buddhist images (figs. 80, 81), together with the ruins of the brick temples that housed them, in the Batang Hari and Musi River valleys, some far upriver, appears to indicate a rapid seizure of control by Malayu and then by Śrivijaya of the two vast river basins, accompanied by an expansion of Buddhist practices. The harsh terms of early Śrivijaya inscriptions regarding the obeisance due to the new ruler at Palembang suggest that this expansion must have been quick and authoritarian. It was directed, as noted, toward the Sumatran hinterland to the west; it also affected maritime trade routes, as reflected by the 686 inscription, which mentions a naval expedition to Java to enforce its submission after Śrivijaya took over the trading settlement at Kota Kapur. This expedition was possibly directed against the Vaiṣṇava kingdom of Tārumānagara in western Java.

All the known Buddhist imagery from southern Sumatra during this early phase of the Śrivijaya kingdom (until the 8th century), as in Funan and the Malay Peninsula, was carved in styles that were shared with the whole of Southeast Asia, indicating a pan-regional response to Indian religious input.<sup>39</sup> Historical circumstances in eighth-century Sumatra, as in most of Southeast Asia, remain very much shrouded in mystery. The last embassy sent to China by Śrivijaya dates to 742. The name Śrivijaya appears again in the late eighth century on an isolated inscription from southern Thailand, where it is associated with the foundation of two Buddhist sanctuaries and, for the first time, is linked with the name of the Śailendra dynasty.<sup>40</sup> This evidence highlights the problem of

the growing relationship between Śrivijaya and the burgeoning states of the Malay Peninsula.

By the early ninth century, a radically different phase in the history of Śrivijaya had begun. A Śailendra prince named Bālaputraṭeva, son of a Sumatran queen, was defeated in Java by a rival in the 830s but appears to have emerged a few years later as a ruler of Śrivijaya.<sup>41</sup> These events, known from inscriptions, are contemporary with a chronological phase brought to light at most archaeological sites in Palembang as well as at the other coastal sites said to be part of Śrivijaya, in southern Thailand and Malaysia. This phase is marked by the first appearance in Southeast Asia of Chinese ceramics in industrial quantities and testifies, in perfect synchronization all over western Southeast Asia, to a major increase in maritime traffic. Recent finds of ninth- to tenth-century shipwrecks in Indonesian waters, richly laden with Chinese ceramics, also underscore this sudden increase in the circulation of Chinese goods.<sup>42</sup> During this second phase of its history (9th–mid-11th century), Śrivijaya reached the pinnacle of its prosperity. The Song Chinese court again received numerous embassies from this born-again Śrivijaya state, referred to in Chinese official records as “Sanfoqi.” Contemporary sources always mention its king as one of the powerful rulers along the wealthiest maritime trade routes. The relationship with Java was now symbiotic, to the point that scholars cannot decide if this is primarily a Sumatran phase of Javanese history or a Javanese phase of Sumatran history. By then, art forms had also undergone radical changes. A new, vernacular style had emerged, usually termed Śailendra or Śrivijaya by art historians (cat. 166). Statues and architectural decoration following this new style spread to central Java, Sumatra, and other areas thought to have prospered within the socioeconomic sphere of Śrivijaya, in both insular Southeast Asia and the Malay Peninsula. Whereas earlier styles encompassed most of Southeast Asia, these new forms differ from those of the same period found in Cambodia and Vietnam.

# Early Traces of Hinduism and Buddhism across the Java Sea

Agustijanto Indradjaya

During the early centuries A.D., the growing maritime trade between China and India resulted in the emergence of trading posts and entrepôts in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia, according to archaeological data amassed in the past few years.<sup>1</sup> Recent excavations and surveys in southern Sumatra, western Java, Bali, Kalimantan (Borneo), and Bima have yielded new material related to the emergence of early polities influenced by India, such as the Tārumānagara kingdom in western Java and Kutai in eastern Kalimantan, and the spread of Indic religions in the archipelago beginning around the fifth or sixth century.

Indian beads and intaglios excavated at Air Sugihan, near Palembang in southern Sumatra, indicate that goods imported from lands immediately west, such as Sri Lanka, were available in Sumatran markets during the early centuries A.D. Shards of Indian rouletted ware found in the villages of Sembiran and Pacung in northern Bali, as well as at Kobak Kendal and Batujaya in western Java, constitute material evidence that Java and Bali were also part of this international network.<sup>2</sup> The site of Pangkung Paruk in Seririt, northern Bali, has yielded four sarcophagi containing human remains and burial goods, including a miniature kettledrum and two bronze mirrors. On the basis of their style and the presence of TLV decoration, these mirrors can safely be identified as originating in Han-dynasty China (206 B.C.–A.D. 25).<sup>3</sup>

Although these early sites clearly attest to trade links with India and China, there are still no obvious traces of religious influence from India, which, according to archaeological records, became dominant in subsequent periods. However, there is mounting archaeological evidence of the implantation of Hindu-Buddhist traditions in the Indonesian archipelago during the fifth and sixth centuries. The oldest Brahmanical sculptures found in the region are of Viṣṇu wearing a high, cylindrical headdress and a long waistcloth.



Fig. 82. Viṣṇu. Indonesia, 5th–6th century.  
Found in Patapan shrine, Kintamani district, Bali province,  
in 2010. Stone, 19½ x 7½ x 4 in. (50 x 20 x 10 cm).  
Collection Pura Patapan, Bali, Indonesia



Fig. 83. Candi Blandongan, Batujaya, western Java, Indonesia. Photographed in 2012

Similar sculptures, all datable to about the fifth or sixth century, have been uncovered on the Malay Peninsula and in mainland Southeast Asia.<sup>4</sup> The style also appears in western Indonesia in Viṣṇus from that period discovered in Cibuaya, western Java, and Kota Kapur on the island of Bangka. Until recently, central Java was considered the easternmost boundary of early Vaiṣṇava worship in Southeast Asia. However, in 2010, a statue of Viṣṇu wearing his typical headdress was found in Patapan, Bali (fig. 82), suggesting that the pan-Southeast Asian Vaiṣṇava network extended from Vietnam to Bali.

The most substantial recent contributions to the history of early Buddhism in the archipelago are the excavations at Batujaya and at Uma Anyar, Bali—both sites that existed at the same time as the Vaiṣṇava Tārumānagara kingdom in western Java. Thirty-nine brick structures within a radius of about three miles (1.6 km) have been discovered at Batujaya since 1985.<sup>5</sup> One of the most important structures, Candi Blandongan (fig. 83), bears similarities with Wat Na Phra Men, a Dvāravatī-period temple in Ayutthaya province, central Thailand.<sup>6</sup> It has yielded several inscriptions on clay and on gold leaf,<sup>7</sup> three of which are legible, written in Sanskrit and containing the Buddhist mantra *ajñānāc cīyate karma*.<sup>8</sup> This Mahāyāna mantra is already known in the region from several inscriptions on sealings and votive tablets in Malaysia and Java.<sup>9</sup> In addition, later excavations have yielded many votive tablets, some bearing inscriptions but all confirming the Buddhist character of Batujaya. On the most common type of tablet, the center is occupied by a Buddha sitting with legs pendant in *bhadrasana*, holding his right hand in the exposition gesture (*vitarkamudrā*), and flanked by two standing bodhisattvas (fig. 84). The tablets are dated on stylistic grounds to the seventh century.<sup>10</sup>

Similar votives have been unearthed in many parts of Southeast Asia—for instance, in central Thailand (Nakhon Pathom and In Buri districts), peninsular Thailand (Phatthalung village and the Khao Khanab Nam islets), Myanmar, Vietnam, and recently at Uma Anyar.<sup>11</sup> The appearance around the seventh century of a pan-Southeast Asian type of votive tablet is closely related to the development of the Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition in the region and beyond.<sup>12</sup> According to Nicolas Revire, Buddhas in *bhadrasana*, as figured on the Batujaya votive tablets, were part of a new Southeast Asian iconographic trend affiliated with some early Tang-dynasty (ca. 7th–8th-century) Chinese models.<sup>13</sup> An exceptional discovery of two hundred and fifty Buddhist votive tablets, some similar to those at Batujaya, was made at Uma Anyar in 2008. The tablets can be divided into eleven types. In one especially interesting iteration, a rectangular votive relief depicts a large stupa adorned within a nimbus (*prabhāmandala*; fig. 85). Surrounding the large stupa are forty miniature stupas placed in four rows that fill the entire surface of the relief.

Unlike in Java and Sumatra, information regarding the development of Buddhism in Kalimantan is scarce. The oldest Buddhist vestige is the inscription that accompanies a rock-cut relief of seven slender *caityas* (stupas) with multiple umbrellas at Batu Pahat. It bears traces of a Śaka date but so far has defied a secure reading.<sup>14</sup> Buddha statues have been found at a number of locations, such as Muara Kaman, eastern Kalimantan, where a gold statue was found in 1840 and where a hoard of metal statues dating to the mid- to late first millennium was unearthed sporadically from 1990 to 1992 by locals.<sup>15</sup> A 2012 survey of the area yielded a fragment of the rectangular pedestal of a statue; a *pripib* (Javanese, amulet) stone, a casket for sacred deposits; and a stone fragment, most likely of a meditating Buddha. In addition, based on the findings of seven *yūpa* (sacrificial post) inscriptions, it was established that the Kutai kingdom in eastern Kalimantan was influenced by India as well.

Traces of Buddhism have also been identified farther east, on the island of Bima. At Wadu Pa'a, *caityas* with an inscription



Fig. 84. Sealing with Buddhist inscription depicting Buddha between two bodhisattvas. Indonesia, 7th century. Found in Batujaya, Karawang, West Java province, in 2006. Clay, 3 1/8 x 2 3/8 x 3/8 in. (8 x 6 x 0.8 cm). Pusat Arkeologi Nasional, Indonesia

dated to the seventh century have been discovered carved in the rock.<sup>16</sup> The similarities to the Batu Pahat inscription in Kalimantan suggest that this site represents the extreme eastern end of the early Buddhist cultural wave.

By the end of the seventh century, the pan-Southeast Asian Vaiṣṇava culture had lost ground to the dispersion of Buddhism that by then spanned most of Asia. In Indonesia, the foundations of a new era were now being laid. Henceforth, two Buddhist polities would dominate the political and economic landscape of the archipelago and leave a unique heritage: the seventh-century Śrivijaya empire in Sumatra and, slightly later, the central Javanese kingdom under the eighth-century Śailendra dynasty.



Fig. 85. Sealing depicting large stupa and forty miniature stupas. Indonesia, ca. 7th century. Found in Uma Anyar, Bali province, in 2008. Clay, 2 1/8 x 2 1/8 x 1 in. (5.5 x 5.5 x 2.5 cm). Balai Arkeologi Denpasar, Indonesia

# Hindu-Buddhist Sculpture in Southern Vietnam: Evolution of Icons and Styles to the Eighth Century

Le Thi Lien

Researchers have long recognized that the plains of southern Vietnam, especially those centered on the Mekong delta, were a major part of one of Southeast Asia's earliest kingdoms, Funan, which was founded around the second century A.D. and flourished for approximately five hundred years.<sup>1</sup> The development of the maritime trade route that linked China to India and beyond in the early centuries A.D. created opportunities for the region's residents to engage with the civilizations of those countries. India left the greater legacy in southern Vietnam, with both Brahmanism and Buddhism having a significant impact on the belief systems of the local populations from an early period.

The first discoveries of Brahmanical and Buddhist sculptures and artifacts in southern Vietnam were made from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century by French scholars, notably Louis Malleret. The most spectacular objects were excavated by Malleret in 1944 from the ruins of the ancient port city of Oc Eo, An Giang province. That site has given its name, retroactively, to a number of the sites and works of art excavated earlier, calling up the idea of a distinct archaeological culture within this part of the kingdom of Funan.<sup>2</sup> Regrettably, with some important exceptions, the sculptures found in this first archaeological wave, including those from Oc Eo, showed signs of having been moved, historically, from their original architectural settings, so important contextual information was lacking from their discovery.

In the late twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, a series of new research surveys and excavations has been conducted by Vietnamese archaeologists, unearthing many important relics. Significantly, artifacts have been found buried in the heart of architectural ruins, providing for the first time religious and ritual contexts for them.<sup>3</sup> Thus, study of the evolving sculptural styles in the region can increasingly be correlated with archaeological evidence.

Even when not in their original locations, many of the sculptures can be associated with architectural ruins in the same area through an analysis of style and chronology. This correlation holds for both Hindu and Buddhist imagery and can be seen not only in Oc Eo itself, including the site of Go Cay Trom, but also at sites such as Nen Chua, Da Noi, Ke Mot, and Giong Xoai (Kien Giang province), Go Thanh (Tien Giang province), Binh Thanh (Tay Ninh province), and so on, demonstrating that temples built in different phases in the important centers of Oc Eo culture were often accompanied by major sculptures. In some residential ruins, many types of associated artifacts have contributed to our understanding of the chronology of the sites and, therefore, of the associated sculptures. At Nhon Thanh in Can Tho province, for example, a chalcedony ring stone carved with an image of a harp player and a Brāhma inscription of the Gupta type incised on a jewelry mold were found along with Viṣṇu statues, helping to date this cluster of objects to the fifth century. From these finds, scholars were able to conclude that the relic area was densely populated and that it was a prosperous center of skilled craftsmanship in the first half of the first millennium, in regular contact with India.



Fig. 86. Linga and lustration basin outside ruins of sanctuary G1A, Cat Tien, Lam Dong province, southern Vietnam

In general, remains of Buddhist architecture are more difficult to recognize than Brahmanical structures because they lack instructive relics. The tower ruins at Go Xoai, Long An province, are the only ones to be definitively identified as Buddhist, thanks to a sheet of gold engraved with Buddhist scripture dated to the eighth or ninth century.<sup>4</sup> Familiarity with Buddhist ritual practice in India helps to inform our understanding of these architectural remains.

Hindu architecture is somewhat less problematic. Since the mid-1990s, archaeologists have been excavating the ruins of structures at Cat Tien, Lam Dong province, in the southern highlands. Abundant artifacts have been found inside the towers, including gold sheets engraved with depictions of Hindu gods and goddesses, images of weapons and other symbols, and invocation texts.<sup>5</sup> The ruins, constructed of fired brick on stone rubble foundations with sandstone detailing, have been dated to the late seventh through the end of the eighth century.<sup>6</sup> At sanctuary G1A, a spectacular linga and lustration basin were unearthed, confirming a Śaiva affiliation (fig. 86). In light of the Cat Tien discoveries, the function of many other architectural ruins in the Mekong delta has been reconsidered. Detailed analysis of a collection of artifacts from Go Thap in Dong Thap province and Da Noi in Kien Giang has helped to confirm that the ruins with which they are associated were also early Hindu temples, likely open pavilion shrines with wood columns and thatched roofs.<sup>7</sup> Inside some ruins, small gold sheets decorated with Hindu deities and symbols show evidence of the evolution of Hindu imagery in the first half of the first millennium, toward assemblages of gods as well as certain iconographic preferences, including the use of attributes to evoke a particular god, especially in representations of Viṣṇu and his avatars.

The most notable find at Go Thap was a series of wood Buddha statues discovered randomly and in test pits opened at two sites, Dia Phat (Buddha Pond) and Dia Vang (Gold Pond). The large

number of Buddha statues of varying sizes and the presence of unfinished and faulty icons (including stone sculptures) suggests that sculpture workshops existed in Go Thap, perhaps during the entire prosperous period of Oc Eo culture, and that these workshops served both Hindu and Buddhist patrons. The most developed period of sculpture there, in terms of quantity and quality, was from the fifth to the seventh century, as supported not only by sculpture but also by inscriptions.<sup>8</sup>

#### Buddhist Sculpture

Buddha icons occupied the dominant position in the Buddhist art of southern Vietnam until about the seventh or eighth century, when a few sculptures of the bodhisattvas Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, and Lokeśvara began to appear. The few metal examples from this period are typically small and mainly imported.<sup>9</sup> The most original type of Buddhist sculpture to be made in southern Vietnam was the Buddha statue carved in a wood of local origin, *Hopea odorata*. Works of this type are more plentiful than all the Buddha statues in other materials put together. They have been found mainly in the Long Xuyen quadrangle and Dong Thap Muoi area, with twenty-three of the thirty-one discovered at Go Thap specifically. The diversity of styles, sizes, and detailing show that they were created in many periods and influenced by several different styles from India and, according to some scholars, even by Mon Dvāravatī art.<sup>10</sup> The statues of the standing Buddha in the graceful, flexed *ābhāṅga* pose express an awareness of northern Indian Gupta art, especially that of the Sarnath school, while retaining some Amaravati elements.<sup>11</sup> Serene faces, small noses and mouths, long necks, and shoulders that tend to be rounded and slightly narrow as well as backs, chests, and arms with little musculature are the salient characteristics of Buddhist sculpture from southern Vietnam.<sup>12</sup>

The approximately twenty stone Buddhas known from the area can also be dated over a long period, to perhaps as early as the second through the eighth or ninth century, mostly concentrated in the sixth and seventh centuries.<sup>13</sup> When compared to other groups of Buddhas, such as those of Dvāravatī and Śrīvijaya, they lack homogeneity in style, material, and size. Some may actually have been imported, such as those found in Tan My, Long An province, which have Chinese characteristics. The examples from Oc Eo and from Go Cao Su, Long An province, were clearly influenced by the art of western India in the Gupta period, but their seated posture was also common in eastern India, in Andhra Pradesh. This posture was a popular element of Southeast Asian Buddha statues in the sixth to seventh century, especially those associated with the kingdom of Funan (cat. 108).<sup>14</sup>

Some of the stone Buddhas reflect experimental adaptations of other styles. An example from Mi Thanh Dong (Long An) has a northern Indian, Mathura-like style, as if preserved from the Kuṣāna period (1st–3rd century); the Buddha is seated in a classic *dhyāna* position, which represents deep meditation, and has a top-knot (*kapardin*) rather than curls all over the head.<sup>15</sup> A Buddha image found in the area called Canh Den III (Kien Giang) wears a robe over both shoulders; the hands seem to have been held in the teaching gesture (*vitarkamudrā*), as often seen in Mon Dvāravatī statues. The combination of a well-rendered face and legs with clumsily detailed hands suggests that the work may have been a local attempt at a new mode of expression, before more successful works in this style were made in southern Vietnam and Cambodia.<sup>16</sup>

A Buddha from Nen Chua (fig. 87) and a very distinctive example from Son Tho (Tra Vinh province) could be considered the most successful syntheses of different Indian schools of stone sculpture, especially that of Sarnath.<sup>17</sup> The details are elaborate, and the level of surface finish is immaculate; the bodies are lively, and the



Fig. 87. Buddha. Southern Vietnam, 6th century. Found in Nen Chua, Kien Giang province. Stone, h. 23½ in. (60 cm). Kien Giang Province Museum, Rach Gia, Vietnam



Fig. 88. Mukhalinga. Southern Vietnam, 5th century. Found in Oc Eo, Thoai Son district, An Giang province. Stone, h. 36¼ in. (92 cm). An Giang Province Museum, Long Xuyen, Vietnam

faces are full of both spiritual transcendence and human emotion.<sup>18</sup> This sculptural achievement was reached in the sixth or seventh century and continued for about a hundred years, with the addition of bodhisattvas to the repertoire, such as the Rach Gia Avalokiteśvara (cat. 137) and the Luu Nghiep Anh Lokeśvara,<sup>19</sup> before subsiding at the end of the first millennium.

#### Hindu Sculpture

In southern Vietnam, Hindu sculpture is greater in number and richer in variety than Buddhist sculpture. Representations of gods and goddesses ranging from Brahmā and Sūrya to Gaṇeśa, Durgā, and Lakṣmī have been found in Hindu sanctuaries there. Most of the earliest works (4th–early 6th century) were discovered in the ruins of Oc Eo (fig. 88), Nhon Thanh, and Go Thap. The most beautiful and orthodox works, dated to the sixth or seventh century, were discovered in a broader area, including Tay Ninh province. However, local characteristics are seen most clearly on statues dated to the end of the seventh or the eighth century—for example, a Durgā statue from Lien Huu (Tra Vinh province), a Lakṣmī from Sanke temple (Soc Trang), and a Sūrya from Thai Hiep Thanh (cat. 69).<sup>20</sup>

To return to Go Thap, in addition to the many wood Buddhas, Hindu sculptures and fragments were found in recent excavations. Immediately outside the ruins of the Go Thap Muoi shrine, two Viṣṇu statues were discovered beneath a layer of clay and rubble.<sup>21</sup> A comparative analysis of the ground plan and the consecration deposit pit at the center of several ruined structures has led to the conclusion that at least some modest towers of simple rectangular shape were built in the first half of the first millennium, and some larger ones were built and repaired around the sixth to eighth century.<sup>22</sup>



Fig. 89. Head of Harihara. Southern Vietnam, 5th century. Excavated at sanctuary A4, Oc Eo, Thoai Son district, An Giang province. Sandstone. An Giang Province Museum, Long Xuyen, Vietnam



Fig. 90. Head of Harihara. Southern Vietnam, 7th century. Excavated from Ba The, An Giang province. Sandstone, h.  $11\frac{3}{16}$  in. (31 cm). National Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City

Siva's human form is rarely represented in southern Vietnam. The earliest discovered Śaiva sculpture is a Harihara head from Oc Eo with a youthful face, slightly plump cheeks, and a third eye on the forehead (fig. 89).<sup>23</sup> A seventh-century Harihara found at Ba The (fig. 90) demonstrates the evolution of this hybrid form and its evolving affinities with Khmer imagery of the Zhenla interior. In contrast, Śiva's aniconic symbol—the linga—is much more common. Images of lingas incised on gold sheets found in the tower ruins at Go Thap, Da Noi, and Cat Tien show that their makers were initially influenced by models from India and gradually created local styles.<sup>24</sup> In general, the naturalistic linga became popular in the early centuries A.D., and it is the first form of Brahmanical sculpture known in southern Vietnam.<sup>25</sup> Hundreds of lingas and *linga-yonis* of different forms demonstrate the popularity of Śaiva belief in southern Vietnam during the entire period in question. The *mukhalingas* (one-faced lingas) that were first created in the fourth to fifth century (fig. 88) and then, more commonly, in the sixth to seventh century represent the most important corpus of Śaiva imagery. Formations in the landscape, possibly including Ba The itself, in Oc Eo, were likely also venerated as natural lingas, evidence of a wider Śaiva world and of the importance of the Śaiva cult in the lives of the people of Oc Eo. Large sculptures such as the lingas of Cay He, Go Thap, Nen Chua, Cat Tien, and Go Cay Trom (cat. 80) show that a Śaiva temple played a central role in each geographic region. At the same time, smaller lingas made of terracotta, tortoiseshell, cobble, gravel, and quartz (cat. 82A, B), such as those known from Vong The and Tinh Bien (An Giang), Go Tram Quy

and Go Phat (Long An), and elsewhere, were used by different classes of people in many different rituals, not necessarily all conducted in temples.<sup>26</sup>

In relief sculpture and statuary in the round from southern Vietnam, the avatars (incarnations) of Viṣṇu, such as the fish, tortoise, boar, and Garuda, are not present. The god's human form is seen on gold sheets from Go Thap and Da Noi, in the same collection of symbols and incarnations discussed at the beginning of this essay.<sup>27</sup> The details are not so different from those on the stone and bronze sculptures of Viṣṇu, the earliest examples of which, dated to the fifth century, were discovered in Nhon Thanh (Can Tho; fig. 91) and Go Mieu (Tay Ninh).<sup>28</sup> These figures are not yet very naturalistic, suggesting that they belong in the initial stage of Hindu sculptural art in southern Vietnam.<sup>29</sup> The most common characteristics of these Viṣṇu statues are the miter (*mukuta*) on the head and the four arms holding the symbolic conch (*sankha*), wheel (*cakra*), club (*gada*), and globe or lotus bud. The symbols and weapons are not personified. The supporting arch, understood as a technical element, could also serve as a halo. The most intact examples, almost lifesize, were discovered in Go Thap (cat. 59) and in the Dong Nai riverbed, around Bien Hoa, and the most beautiful one, although head only, in Da Noi (previously Rach Gia and now Kien Giang province).<sup>30</sup> The latter has a lively, youthful face with curls of hair appearing like springs under a plain tubular hat; slender eyebrows connecting in a light line above the delicate nose; two long, almond-shaped eyes; and a mouth with soft lips. Despite the unity of iconographic criteria, one rarely sees uniformity or balance in artistic quality or the



Fig. 91. Viṣṇu. Southern Vietnam, early 5th century. Found at Nhon Thanh, Can Tho province. Stone, h. 9½ in. (23.5 cm). Can Tho Province Museum, Can Tho, Vietnam

way of representing the human form in the sculpture of southern Vietnam; the Viṣṇu statue groups are typical in this regard. The realistic but widely differing facial types and details allow us to speculate that they express regional styles.

Some of Viṣṇu's attributes are also seen in representations of the goddess Durgā and the god Gaṇeśa. A beautiful bronze image found at Ke Mot (fig. 92) represents the goddess Durgā Mahiśāsuramardini with the iconic attributes of Viṣṇu: a *mukuta* on the head and arms holding the śaṅkha, cakra, and gadā as well as a modified staff in the lower right hand. The two upper hands of a Gaṇeśa image found in An Thanh, Tay Ninh province, holding a cakra and a śaṅkha, are in the same artistic style as the Ke Mot sculpture, although the two lower hands and the legs are broken. Another image of the goddess Durgā found in Lien Huu has some Śaiva elements. However, her *mukuta*, the cosmos or halo, and the staff in her hand resemble those of Viṣṇu icons.<sup>31</sup> Still, those symbols were sometimes used for Śaiva gods and goddesses as well and thus do not mean that the Vaiṣṇava cult was necessarily more prominent, especially given the large number of lingas that also were found; rather, they may just have been an expression of the people's belief in the gods' power to protect and dominate the world. The rarity, even the absence, of other, lesser Hindu gods in southern Vietnamese sculpture reflects devotional preference. The engravings on gold sheets discovered inside the ruins of temple towers at Go Thap, Da Noi, and Cat Tien demonstrate a profound understanding of Hindu doctrine and iconography and a clear development from aniconic symbolism to personification.

## Conclusion

Archaeological vestiges show that Buddhist as well as Hindu beliefs were adopted very early in southern Vietnam and that Brahmanism was practiced there in the last centuries B.C. and earliest centuries A.D. In the first half of the first millennium A.D., artistic styles and iconographies from the major centers of India, where these religions were born and developed, were continually received and adapted. The earliest known sculptures, mainly of an imitative nature—wood Buddha statues and stone phallic lingas—were made during this period. From about the fifth century, stone sculptures of the Buddha and the Hindu gods in human form were present. From the beginning, there was a tendency toward simplification in the details of the drapery, ornaments, and symbols. Prominent features of the early sculptures are somewhat childlike, unaffected, lively, and realistic faces and ill-proportioned bodies.

The period from the fifth century through the first half of the seventh century witnessed the pinnacle of the art of sculpture in the round in the region. Local sculptors simplified and formalized details to create their own style, which typified so-called Funan art. Moreover, the concentration of sculptures at Go Thap has given rise to the term “Dong Thap Muoi style,” with its center of production at that site (see cat. 59).

The weakness of the Funan empire beginning around the mid-sixth century and the dynastic change that took place about a century later did not bring about the end of traditional art. However, the gradual shift of political, economic, and cultural centers to the highlands and coastal dunes toward the end of the seventh century contributed to changes in both the natural and social environments. The development of technology and iconography continued until the end of the eighth century, but the sculptural products tend to be less realistic and more idealized.



Fig. 92. Durgā Mahiśāsuramardini. Southern Vietnam, 7th–8th century. Excavated from Ke Mot, Kien Giang province. Copper alloy, h. 15 in. (38 cm). Kien Giang Province Museum, Rach Gia, Vietnam

# Stylistic Trends in Mainland Southeast Asia, 600–800

Hiram Woodward

Cambodia is the necessary starting point for a discussion of stylistic developments in mainland Southeast Asia during the seventh and eighth centuries: it has bequeathed by far the most evidence, in the form of surviving temple structures, sculptures, and inscriptions, from across a broad area. There are, for instance, more than two hundred and fifty published inscriptions, in Khmer, Sanskrit, or a combination of the two languages, in contrast to a mere handful from Thailand. These inscriptions, originally erected primarily to record temple foundations or donations, have supplied the names of kings and queens, local officials, and peasants (whose crops supported the temples) as well as a great deal of information about religious beliefs and practices. The written information, combined with analyses of artifacts, has made it possible to construct a rather detailed art history. It is a history, however, filled not only with significant gaps but also with many controversies. The contributors to this publication disagree on numerous matters of chronology—both relative and absolute—and we represent just a small portion of the scholars who have addressed the subject.<sup>1</sup>

Thailand, where the dominant kingdom of this period is known as Dvāravatī—a name routinely applied to art made in contiguous regions as well—presents to the art historian a much greater conundrum.<sup>2</sup> Not a single object or structure is securely datable by documentary evidence. Generally, Buddhist Dvāravatī and predominantly Brahmanical Cambodia are treated as independent entities. Of course, they were not entirely independent of each other: they shared both icons and decorative elements, and they were subject to the same array of influences. Whether their stylistic trajectories were parallel, on the other hand, is a somewhat different matter, and a challenge for the art historian to address. It is necessary, in addition, to make a place in this account for peripheral areas such as the delta of the Mekong River, a single region now divided between Cambodia and Vietnam, and, to a lesser degree, My Son, a Cham religious center 300 miles (483 km) up the Vietnamese coast from the delta. The long peninsula now divided

between Thailand and Malaysia was the site of maritime states that frequently played crucial roles as the bearers of new beliefs and styles in the centuries when the powers of the larger kingdoms waxed and waned. Myanmar, too, could be written about at length but for brevity has been excluded from this discussion.

## Cambodian Lintels

A chronological scaffold for more than one hundred years of Cambodian art can be assembled by comparing lintels, selected from the vast range of surviving sculpture and temple decoration. Just three are chosen here: one from the first half of the seventh century, one from the second half, and one from the very early eighth century. Each of these lintels stood either over the entrance to a temple sanctuary, marking the division between the public area outside and the sacred space inside, or over one of the false doors on the other three faces of the sanctuary tower. In the earliest of the three (fig. 93), a decorated band forms two cusps between two inward-facing aquatic monsters, commonly known by their Indian name, *makara*. A medallion at the center holds a figure identified as the goddess Lakṣmī, symbolically blessing all who pass underneath.<sup>3</sup> The basic elements of the configuration—the *makara* and the double-cusped engaged arch—were borrowed from Indian temple architecture, where they are known as the *makara-torana*. There is a difference, however, that had significant ramifications. In the stone temples of India, these elements articulate the skin of the outer wall of the temple, which consists of stone blocks of varying size, including those constituting the *makara-torana*. In Cambodia, however, where nearly all the temples of the period were built of brick, with discrete stone lintels and supporting colonnettes, the *makara-torana* motif and the structural lintel became one and the same. The aquatic monster and the double-cusped engaged arch were no longer primary elements of architectural articulation but instead secondary—secondary to the horizontal block of stone, the lintel, that capped the entrance and supported the tower above.



Fig. 93. Lintel celebrating Lakṣmī, from Sambor on the Mekong, eastern Cambodia (detail of cat. 62)

The change in function made it possible for the late sixth-century double-arch lintel—the earliest Cambodian type—to develop, at the site of Sambor Prei Kuk in the 610s and 620s, into a lintel with shallower and more numerous cusps. The maximum number of cusps—five—can be seen in a lintel from another site (cat. 13).<sup>4</sup> The Laksīmī lintel is exceptional for its period in retaining the twin cusps, although they are much flattened.

The new paradigm can be seen in the Wat Eng Khna lintel (fig. 94), from about the third quarter of the century. Here, the arch has been straightened out, and the *makaras* have been replaced by foliate medallions. The traditional Indian *makara-torāṇa* arch was proportionally too tall to fit comfortably inside the Khmer lintel, so it had to be stretched out. Subsequently, as can be seen in this example, the proportions and structural function of the lintel shaped the configuration of the ornament it contained. At the ends, atop the platforms that stood over the colonnettes, the medallions are symmetrical; the inward-facing figures inside the medallions are a gestural allusion to inward-thrusting *makaras*. Its structural function lost, the connecting bar simply rests on the medallions at each end, as if in counterpoint to the melody carried by the block of stone.

The third lintel, in situ at Prasat Phum Prasat (fig. 95) and securely dated to 706,<sup>5</sup> is radically different from the seventh-century examples and belongs to what French scholars of the second quarter of the twentieth century designated the Kompong Preah style. At precisely this moment, in India, a type of *torāṇa* arch decorated with what has been called vegetal abstraction came into being.<sup>6</sup> But the Indian examples had a different genesis from the Cambodian: there, designers had turned the *makaras* around so that they faced outward, rather than inward, and it was their tails, rising with abandon, that became the vegetal abstraction. Some scholars have viewed the new Cambodian type as the result of a local evolution, as vegetal motifs were increasingly substituted for



Fig. 94. Lintel depicting Lingodbhavamūrti myth and a king's consecration, from Wat Eng Khna, central Cambodia (cat. 88)

parts of the lintel decoration. Others see it as an intrusive paradigm, originating in India. With so few dated examples, definitive explanation—local development? borrowing? both?—is elusive.<sup>7</sup>

The Wat Eng Khna lintel (fig. 94), just discussed, bears a scene of a king being illustrated by court Brahmins beneath a flaming linga, emblem of the great god Śiva, while the Prasat Phum Prasat lintel consists simply of vegetal abstraction. The content of the Wat Eng Khna lintel is profound; that of the Prasat Phum Prasat lintel is no less profound, although its language is abstract. Its abstraction is not altogether pure, however: at the center of the lintel it is possible to make out the ghost of a monster mask. Monster masks are more typical of Chinese than of Indian art, but one had earlier appeared at the center of a unique seventh-century Cambodian lintel (cat. 18). Because it evokes the processes of swallowing and regurgitation, hence rebirth, the mask is an entirely appropriate symbol for the transformation undergone when one enters a sanctuary as well as for the change in status that accompanies a king's coronation. These processes, as the vegetal nature of the Prasat Phum Prasat lintel demonstrates, can be understood as being in harmony with nature.



Fig. 95. Main lintel, Prasat Phum Prasat, Kampong Thom province. Central Cambodia, 706



Fig. 96. Viṣṇu, from Tan Hoi, southern Vietnam (cat. 61)

### Sculpture

Viewing seventh- to eighth-century sculpture in the light of these three lintels takes us into a realm of subjective judgments, especially when the examples come not only from Cambodia but also from the Dvāravatī art of Thailand, where architecture is known to us almost entirely in the form of stupa ruins, and stone lintels were not part of the repertoire. Mid-seventh-century Dvāravatī architectural ornament in terracotta and stucco, indeed, displays a generic resemblance to the designs on the Lakṣmī lintel (fig. 93), and arch sections found at Khu Bua in western Thailand somewhat resemble the rosette-ornamented band on a mid-seventh-century Cham lintel, or tympanum (cat. 76).<sup>8</sup> Subsequently, incised ornament took hold, paralleling the Cambodian turn to vegetal abstraction to some degree. Still, Dvāravatī has no equivalent to the Cambodian lintels as templates for aesthetic activity.

For the first example of seventh-century sculpture, let us take a small bronze image of the Hindu god Viṣṇu (fig. 96). The only surviving bronze Viṣṇu image in this style, it has many counterparts in stone and many layers of tradition behind it. The earliest Southeast Asian Viṣṇus (such as cat. 57) appear to date from the first half of

the sixth century and are characterized by a conspicuous feature—the conch shell is held in Viṣṇu's left hand, against his hip—and by a style that was informed by the technique of removing layers in planes from the block of stone (an approach apparent in other early sculptures in this publication, such as cat. 16). These long-robed images of Viṣṇu have been found in disparate parts of Southeast Asia. Economic ties apparently promoted similar ideologies among the local rulers, who welcomed itinerant priests and sculptors.<sup>9</sup> By the end of the sixth century, Viṣṇu images were proliferating in greater numbers across the same broad area. Significant stylistic changes had taken place, resulting in a figure more fully conceived in the round with robust hips, whose long outlines are set off by the vertical thrust of the panel of gathered cloth between the legs (as in cats. 59, 60), a trait echoed in the seventh-century bronze. Perhaps some of these images were carved in one or more still unidentified centers with political power and shipped to client states.

It is proposed here that the bronze shares qualities with the figures that emerge from the mouths of the *makaras* in the Lakṣmī lintel (fig. 93)—that if it were to become animated, it might acquire the same outlines and perform the same gestures. It is hard to say exactly which of the long-robed stone Viṣṇus predate the bronze and which are contemporary, but there is little doubt that the central pleat that thrusts forward at the bottom—with considerable thickness where it attaches to the stone pedestal, providing stability—had become a conceptual property, carried over from stone into bronze. Another interesting feature is the support for the lower right hand; it may have grown out of a short, angled support seen in the Viṣṇu from Muang Si Mahosot in central Thailand (cat. 60). Once developed, it was incorporated into a different stylistic tradition, that of the Mekong-delta site Phnom Da, and survived until a much later period, as witnessed by the Viṣṇu from Phnom Kulen (fig. 99).

The prominent central pleat is a key stylistic feature of an image of the horse-headed incarnation of Viṣṇu from Kouk Trap (cat. 74), southern Cambodia, which probably belongs to the early seventh century. It can also be found in sculptures of female deities, such as the early Durgā (cat. 63) from Angkor Borei. Subsequently, the pleat was flattened out, as can be seen in the celebrated *devī* of Koh Krieng (cat. 95), which was found in the same region of eastern Cambodia as the Lakṣmī lintel, along the Mekong River. This work can be attached to the tradition of the long-robed Viṣṇus but probably dates from about the middle of the seventh century.

The next sculpture to be considered, known as the Rach Gia Avalokiteśvara and illustrated here in a detail (p. 126), comes from the Mekong delta, where few lintels have been found, and does not bear a close relationship to any of the three Cambodian lintels just discussed.<sup>10</sup> The subject is the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, embodiment of compassion in Mahāyāna Buddhism. Ever since they became known in the 1930s, this and the other Phnom Da-style sculptures have awed viewers and challenged scholars. The Avalokiteśvara must be close in date to the Koh Krieng *devī*—about the mid-seventh century—because of the similarity of the patterns on the belt clasps. The Phnom Da Kṛṣṇa Govardhana (cat. 72) and Vaiṣṇava group of sculptures are unlikely to be more than a couple of decades older.<sup>11</sup> This is a regional style, characterized by elegant postures, benign expressions, and, in many cases, skintight garments, concurrent with other styles prevalent in central and northern Cambodia.

The type of coiffure seen on the Rach Gia Avalokiteśvara, with the long, greased strands of an ascetic's hair piled on top of the head and secured with a cord, characterizes many depictions of the Bodhisattva of Compassion in southern India and peninsular Thailand. Frequently, there is no diadem, but this one, consisting of

Opposite: Lintel celebrating Lakṣmī, from Sambor on the Mekong, eastern Cambodia (detail of cat. 62)





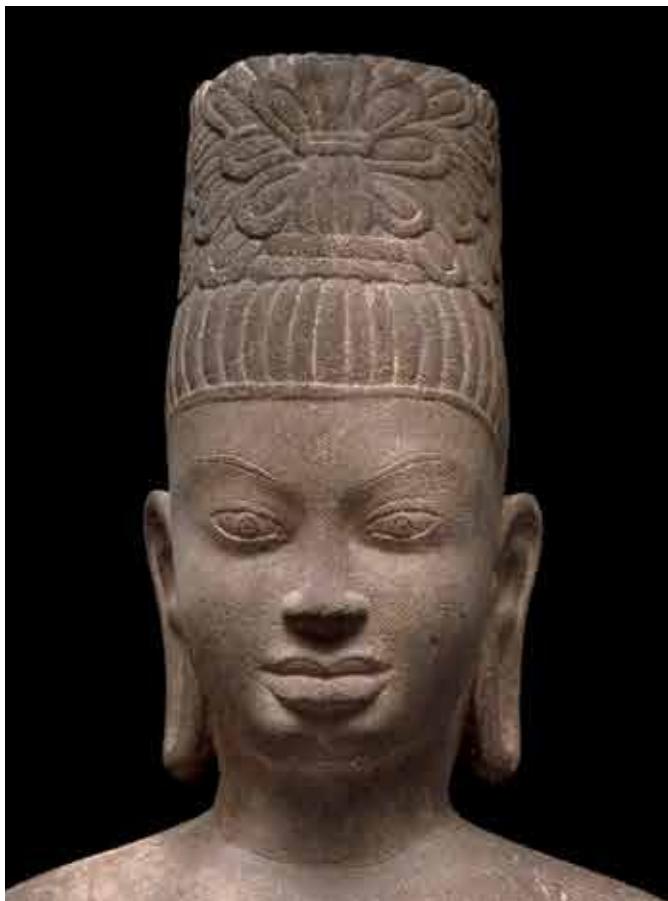


Fig. 97. *Devī*, probably Umā, from Sambor on the Mekong, eastern Cambodia (detail of cat. 95)

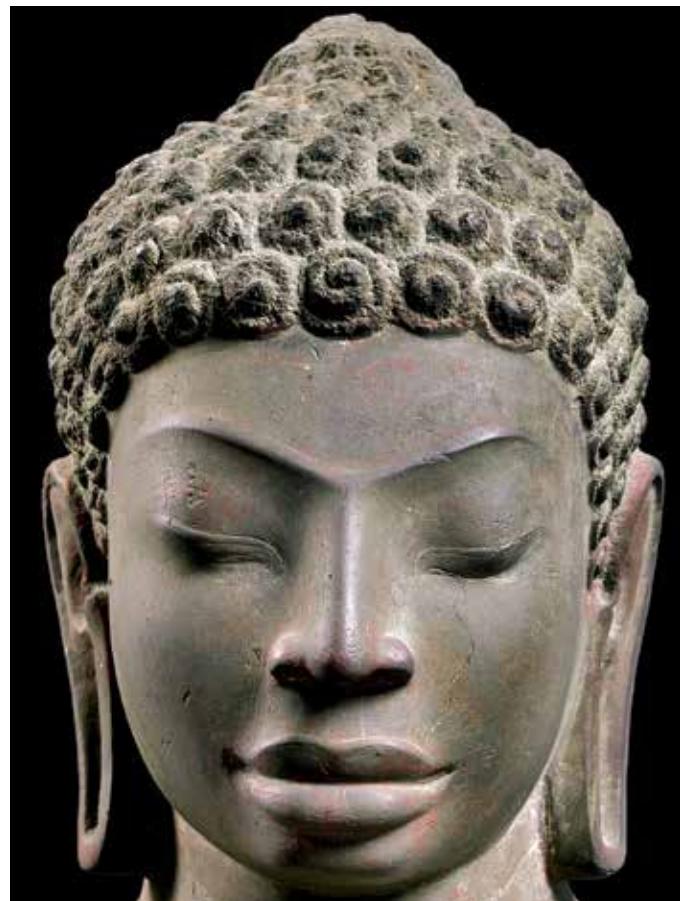


Fig. 98. Buddha, from Ayutthaya, central Thailand (detail of cat. 117)

three oval medallions rising from a rimmed support band, has Indian precedents as well as counterparts in China. When analyzing such icons, which sometimes seem to combine traits found in different parts of India at different points in time, we should remember that Buddhist merchant guilds maintained contact with multiple Buddhist monastic centers. One such guild left evidence of its activities in seventh- to eighth-century Sri Lanka: its patron saints (it appears) were Tapussa and Bhallika, the merchants who had been among the first purveyors of relics (in the eighth week after the Buddha's enlightenment, they had been given eight handfuls of his hair).<sup>12</sup> The Rach Gia Avalokiteśvara may represent a style formulated within an international merchant guild, a supralocal entity, as much as one produced by regional factors.<sup>13</sup>

The existence of such guilds might account for the familial connections between the Rach Gia Avalokiteśvara and another bodhisattva (cat. 146), in a different medium (terracotta), originating at a distant site (the far western Dvāravatī town of Khu Bua), and dating from around the same time (the middle decades of the seventh century).<sup>14</sup> In the terracotta head, the coiffure is ornamented with rosettes and pendants—motifs with royal rather than ascetic associations. Its diadem, however, resembles the one on the Avalokiteśvara of Rach Gia; it also has a rimmed support band holding a medallion over each ear, but the central medallion has been eliminated. Elements of facial expression—the wide, straight mouth and the evocation of calm and compassion—also link the two sculptures. A more concrete connection is provided by the motif of segmented locks of hair on the forehead. A complete figure from Khu Bua with a comparable face and headdress is identifiable as either a door guardian or an attendant bodhisattva.<sup>15</sup> He has a tall, pointed

headdress; rests his left hand on his hip; and wears a scarf around his attenuated thighs. Similarly posed and attired bodhisattvas number among the seventh-century Buddhist carvings in the caves at Ellora in western India.<sup>16</sup> The link to Ellora was evidently mediated, however, by activities at other monastic centers, probably including Kanchipuram on India's southeast coast, where unfortunately almost no traces of the flourishing seventh-century Buddhist monasteries remain.

Two sculptures, one Cambodian, the other Dvāravatī, may date from about a half a century later and appear in figures 97 and 98, respectively. The rough contemporaneity of the Cambodian image (fig. 97) to the Prasat Phum Prasat lintel of 706 (fig. 95) is not in question: garments indicated by incisions on the body have long been understood to be a characteristic of the sculptures belonging to the style exemplified by the lintel (the style called Kompong Preah). Think of the lintels such as that in figure 95 as the result of a carving process in which the mass is conceived as a sequence of receding two-dimensional planes, one behind the other. In each plane, the design has an essentially linear character. It is the differences in the designs of the planes that result in the three-dimensionality. This way of thinking is to be distinguished from a more plastic one, in which the stone is conceived as a malleable substance—as might be said of the earlier Lakṣmī lintel (fig. 93). Applying this sort of interpretation to icons, one could say that the eyebrow line in the female head (fig. 97) is endowed with exceptional force. It has the same deliberate tension seen in the vegetal abstraction at Prasat Phum Prasat. The resemblance between the Cambodian *devī* and the Dvāravatī Buddha arises from the uncommon degree to which both sculptors adjusted the curve of the

eyebrows for expressive purposes, simplified the volumes, and gave just the right inflection to the outline of the lips, all in the service of a tense beauty.

### The Eighth Century

By the eighth century, it is no longer possible to use lintels as a scaffold for a discussion of broad developments in either Cambodia or Thailand. There are, indeed, lintels that date from the first three decades of the century or so—although there is no consensus about which ones these are—but then there was a break, and a full-fledged art history recommences only following the establishment of a new Khmer dynasty by Jayavarman II at Phnom Kulen, 20 miles (32 km) northeast of Angkor, in 802. A masterpiece of this period, the Viṣṇu of Prasat Rup Arak (fig. 99), may date from the final decades of the eighth century.<sup>17</sup> No clear sequence of sculptures leading up to it has ever been identified, and so its character must be defined in part by the eighth-century works from which it differs, in part by identifying the ways it looks back to the seventh century, and in part by surmising what some of its immediate predecessors may have been.

Contemporary Chinese sources tell us that Cambodia was divided into two kingdoms in the early eighth century: Water Zhenla (presumably ruled from the Mekong delta) and Land Zhenla, or Wendan, with a capital somewhere in northeastern Thailand.<sup>18</sup> Probably cast within Wendan territories was an extended series of Buddhist bronzes, primarily images of the bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya, found buried at the temple site of Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II on the edge of the Prakhon Chai district in Thailand's Buriram province, north of the Cambodian border (cats. 139–42).<sup>19</sup> There are reasons to think that the kingdom of Wendan ruled as far south as Phnom Kulen, as indicated by a giant reclining Buddha and two sets of boundary stones of the sort erected in northeastern Thailand.<sup>20</sup> Jayavarman II was an adherent of the Brahmanical deities, and so rejecting the Buddhism of a neighboring (and presumably enemy) principality would not have been difficult. That he also failed to make use of the skilled craftsmen of the Khao Plai Bat tradition is probable but not certain. Such craftsmen, it seems, were still active around 800, later (it can be argued) than the latest works from the Khao Plai Bat site itself, such as a Maitreya (cat. 140) that may date from the mid-eighth century.<sup>21</sup> Its pose resembles that of the Harihara from Prasat Phum Prasat (also dated 706), allowing us to locate the roots of this tradition in the art of the early eighth century.<sup>22</sup> Another predecessor from this period is a bronze Avalokiteśvara (cat. 132) similar to images found at the temple site of Prasat Ak Yom, southwest of Angkor.

Turning to central Dvāravatī for a model of stylistic development in the eighth century is only partially enlightening, because no comparable major renewal in the years around 800 has been identified—although isolated sculptures and buildings can be assigned to the period.<sup>23</sup> From the first half of the eighth century, a body of work survives that can be understood as a continuation of seventh-century traditions. On Wheels of the Law (*dharma-cakra*), for instance, the robust ornament of the seventh century became increasingly perfunctory. The Śravasti Miracles stele (cat. 126) is sometimes considered to be seventh-century, but certain crown

types that appear on it suggest the eighth. It is a good example of a later manifestation of an iconic type—the Buddha with legs pendant—and a compositional scheme that had become established in the seventh century, when the movement of Chinese pilgrims brought about the spread of a model that differed from the Indian prototypes. Southeast Asian pendant-leg Buddha images, like the Chinese ones, exhibit a one-handed teaching gesture (*vitarkamudrā*) rather than the two-handed gesture standard in India (*dharma-cakramudrā*), thereby providing a variety of possibilities for the placement of the left hand, as can be observed in sculptures in this volume.<sup>24</sup>

In a neighboring region—the southern Malay Peninsula—it is possible to point to the beginning of a new trajectory in Mahāyāna Buddhist art, one that culminated in the great architectural monuments of Java in the late eighth and ninth centuries. Tangentially, it also affected the sculpture and architecture of Jayavarman II at Phnom Kulen. The Buddhist master Vajrabodhi, propagator of new Tantric teachings, studied in Nalanda, India; resided in the Pallava kingdom and in Sri Lanka; traveled across the sea to “Foshi” (or Vijaya; that is, the kingdom of Śrivijaya), where he stayed for five months in approximately 717; and arrived in China in 720, where he spent the remainder of his career.<sup>25</sup> One uncommon type of icon apparently traveled with Vajrabodhi: a twelve-armed Avalokiteśvara, represented at Nalanda by a stone masterpiece of about 700 and in peninsular Thailand and Malaysia by terracotta votive tablets that not only display the same rare iconography but retain certain stylistic elements of the Nalanda sculpture (fig. 145). A large bronze eight-armed Avalokiteśvara (cat. 157) recovered from Perak, Malaysia, is sufficiently similar to the Nalanda masterpiece to make it possible to date it to about 717, the time of Vajrabodhi’s visit.<sup>26</sup> At Phnom Kulen, there was no apparent support for Mahāyāna Buddhist teachings, but a tangential effect of these developments on the peninsula can be traced in architecture, thanks to the stylistic links among Wat Kaeo at the peninsular site of Chaiya (with its ties to Śrivijaya), the Cham temples of My Son F1 and Hoa Lai, and, finally, Prasat Damrei Krap at Phnom Kulen—connections evidently due, in part, to military conquests.<sup>27</sup>

At the end of the eighth century, there was another historical phenomenon, which scholars once called, but no longer call, a “wave of influence.” The inscription of Candi Kalasan in central Java records the arrival in 782 of a Buddhist teacher (“Gaudi”) from Bengal, and the analysis of various Javanese bronzes reveals the effects in modeling, jewelry, and pedestal design.<sup>28</sup> This transmission was, however, a broader phenomenon, as Bengali-type bronzes—their precise place of manufacture undetermined—have been found elsewhere, including northeastern Thailand (cats. 163, 164). Other evidence of this development would include the Pāla-dynasty-type aureole seen on a bronze Buddha image following the standard Dvāravatī model (cat. 119), excavated at U Thong, central Thailand. It is difficult, however, to point to Bengali or Pāla-dynasty elements, apparent in Buddhist art around Southeast Asia, in the Brahmanical statuary or architecture of Jayavarman II.

Most likely, the origins of Jayavarman II, known as the founder of the Angkorian dynasty, lay in southeastern Cambodia—that is, in Water Zhenla. People of that region moved with him to settle at

Phnom Kulen, which, key evidence suggests, had previously been occupied by Wendan.<sup>29</sup> The immediate background to the Viṣṇu of Rup Arak, Phnom Kulen (fig. 99), however, may have been not the statuary of Water Zhenla dating from the second half of the eighth century (which is by no means easy to isolate) but, instead, the sculpture of Champa, as seen in two commanding sculptures of the god Śiva from sites A4 and C1 at My Son.<sup>30</sup> The connection between Phnom Kulen and Cham architecture has long been recognized. When it comes to sculpture, it is not exactly a matter of influence—although influence there may have been, as in the treatment of the low-relief sash end that appears on the right thigh of the Rup Arak Viṣṇu. It is, rather, that the imposing hieratic solidity of the My Son sculptures challenged the sculptor of the Rup Arak Viṣṇu to create something equally daunting, but with a Khmer character. At the same time as there is a Cham-like thickening of proportions and emphasizing of facial features (especially the mustache and eyebrows), other elements recall the Khmer past—the previously mentioned support under the right arm and the zigzag terminations of the cloth panels in the center, for example, echoing the stylized garments of the seventh-century Phnom Da style. The Rup Arak Viṣṇu can be understood as an effort to invoke the authority of the past; this effort was akin to a claim of descent from an earlier dynasty, especially when an old image was sometimes considered the residing place for the soul of an ancestor. Here, the zigzags may be regarded as highly stylized quotations, produced in a self-conscious way, so that the various patterns coexist and contrast with each other intriguingly. The image has a precision and authority that set the tone for Cambodian sculpture in the coming centuries.



Fig. 99. Viṣṇu, from Prasat Rup Arak, central Cambodia (cat. 79)

# Catalogue

John Guy

CAT. 57

## Viṣṇu

Southern Cambodia, late 5th–early 6th century  
Excavated from Tuol Koh, Takeo province,  
by Robert Dalet in 1940

Sandstone  
 $37\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$  in. (95 x 20 x 20 cm),  
including tenon

National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh  
(Ka.1599)

This is the earliest known Viṣṇu from southern Cambodia. The figure is sculpted in the round but retains a backplate for the lower half, giving the appearance of high relief. The head and upper arms are missing, but both lower hands are preserved, resting on the hips. The lower left holds a conch (*sankha*), Viṣṇu's war trumpet, against the hip, and the other probably once held the spherical earth symbol (*bhū*; now lost). The figure wears a torque, a bracelet, and a waistcloth

that extends to mid-calf, with the central pleated sash reaching the ground. A double fold at the top of the skirt indicates a belt, and a heavy twisted sash worn off the right hip falls in a dramatic, oblique sweep, terminating in a series of loops. Traces of diagonal lines on the thighs indicate the tautness of the robe. The lower part of the figure is framed by two outward-curving bridges of stone that extend from the waist to the base. These were the sculptor's attempts to use



CAT. 57



Fig. 100. Viṣṇu-Vasudeva. Southern Thailand, late 5th century. Found in Wat Sala Thung, Chaiya district, Surat Thani province. Sandstone; h.  $26\frac{3}{8}$  in. (67 cm), w.  $13\frac{3}{4}$  in. (35 cm). National Museum, Bangkok (SV18)

the depiction of drapery as a structural support, as in a later Viṣṇu from Tuol Chhuk, where the god's club and robes serve as "buttresses."<sup>1</sup>

The conch-on-hip is an early feature, linking the icon to Indian prototypes readily identified in both northern India and Andhra Pradesh in southern India.<sup>2</sup> While this convention originated in Kuṣāṇa-dynasty Mathura, northern India, in the early centuries A.D., its life span extended into the fourth or fifth century in coastal eastern India, and works made there were one likely source for Southeast Asian sculptors. The Chaiya Viṣṇu (fig. 100) demonstrates the influence of this northern Indian type in peninsular Thailand, arguably as early as the fifth century. The alternative—later systematic—iconographic arrangement, in which the conch is held in the upper left hand and the lower left rests on the club (*gadā*), appears in peninsular and Javanese Viṣṇus, such as two examples from Cibuaya, western Java (fig. 5).<sup>3</sup> The present Viṣṇu from Takeo province is a reminder that the greater Mekong region was a second epicenter of early Viṣṇu production, in addition to peninsular Thailand.<sup>4</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Dalet 1940, pp. 492–93, pl. LV, A; Dupont 1955, pp. 133–34, pl. xxiii, A; Dalsheimer and Manguin 1998, pp. 91–92, fig. 1; Dalsheimer 2001, pp. 44–45, no. 1; Lavy 2004, pp. 245–50, fig. 11.

NOTES: 1. Bénisti 1965; Dalsheimer and Manguin 1998, p. 117, fig. 3. 2. Nigam 1980, pl. xxxii. 3. This generalization is challenged by the Ashmolean Viṣṇu (fig. 102), which is clearly early and has traces of a club beneath the lower left hand. For the two Cibuaya examples, see Dalsheimer and Manguin 1998, pp. 112, 123, figs. 15, 16. For the second Cibuaya Viṣṇu, see also Wirjosoeparto 1963. The dating of the Chaiya Viṣṇu has been addressed by de Havenon 2006–7, but open questions remain. 4. The distribution of early Viṣṇu types is analyzed in Dalsheimer and Manguin 1998, pp. 91–92.

#### CAT. 58

#### Brahmā

Southern Vietnam, 6th–7th century

Excavated from Giang Xoai, Kien Giang province, in 1981

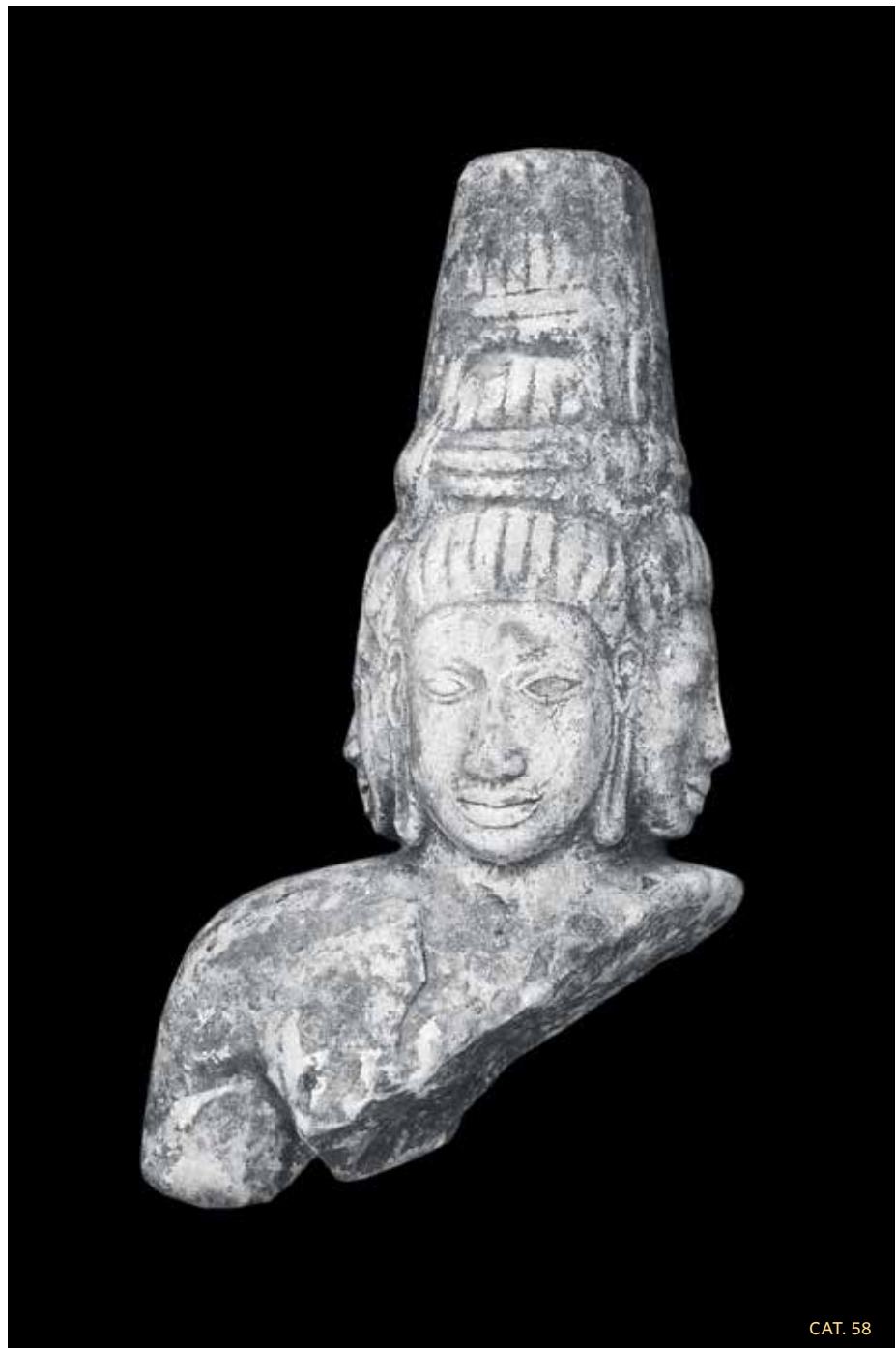
Sandstone

17¾ x 7¾ x 7¾ in. (45 x 20 x 20 cm)

An Giang Province Museum,

Long Xuyen, Vietnam

Brahmā was rarely represented in Southeast Asia before the ninth century, when he assumed an established place in the Angkorian repertoire of deities. This example from Kien Giang province signals an early interest in venerating the Brahmanical creator god in the Mekong delta. To date, four Brahmā images have been recovered in the region, including one in adjacent An Giang province, at Ba The.<sup>1</sup> The latter provides an individual coiffure for each head, conjoined and incised with a looped-dreadlock fan design that closely resembles that seen on Khmer sculptures from inland sites, notably the *devī* (goddess) from the brick sanctuary at Koh Krieng (cat. 94) and the Harihara from Prasat Andet (fig. 3). These sites are all connected by the Mekong River and its tributaries.



CAT. 58

#### CAT. 59

#### Viṣṇu

Southern Vietnam, 7th–8th century

Excavated from Go Thap, Tan Kieu, Thap Muoi district, Dong Thap province, in 1998

Sandstone

Approx. 58¾ x 19¹/₁₆ x 9¾ in. (149 x 50 x 25 cm), including tenon

Dong Thap Province Museum,  
Cao Lanh, Vietnam

This spectacular icon was excavated from a mound site in Dong Thap province that was part of a series of substantial sanctuaries devoted to the cult of Viṣṇu in the region, which undoubtedly enjoyed royal patronage. The man-made mounds, in which some smaller icons were also recovered, in earlier excavations, rise above the delta landscape, with foundations composed of deposits of clay and sand. The sanctuaries were

Here, three of Brahmā's four heads are made visible, surmounted by a single, towering pile of matted hair (*jatāmukuta*), the braids neatly secured with two coils of locks. Long, distended earlobes appear on the frontal head only. Stylistically, the sculpture has affinities with contemporary works from southern India; Chalukya-period Karnataka sculpture is a likely source. In all likelihood, this work, with its single *jatāmukuta*, belongs to an earlier phase of Southeast Asian Brahmā imagery and reflects the Indian Sastric typology rather than the multiple-*jatāmukuta* type that prevailed in the Angkorian period.

PUBLICATIONS: Le Xuan Diem, Dao Linh Con, and Vo Si Khai 1995, p. 284, fig. x; Le Thi Lien 2006b, pp. 101–2, figs. 156, 157.

NOTE: 1. Le Thi Lien 2006b, p. 101.



CAT. 59

built of fired brick, with sandstone and granite architectural moldings, doorjambs, columns, pillar bases, and altar platforms. Excavations have revealed that both stone and wood icons were employed in worship, and there is evidence of the use of temple jewelry for the icons.<sup>1</sup>

This Viṣṇu displays a discus (*cakra*) held on edge in his raised right hand and undoubtedly held a conch (*śaṅkha*) in a similar manner in the corresponding hand, now lost. The lowered hands grasp a club (*gadā*) and the earth sphere (*bhū*). A small bronze version of similar date (cat. 61) confirms the iconography and may well have served as a sculptor's maquette. The Dong Thap stone example, with its lower supports preserved—one is the club, the other is purely structural—represents an important moment in the progression from frame-supported icons to fully freestanding representations.

PUBLICATIONS: Vo Si Khai 2003, pp. 47, 53–54, and p. 36, pl. II-1; Le Thi Lien 2006b, pp. 69–70, fig. 60; Le Thi Lien 2008, pp. 76–77, fig. 15.

NOTE: 1. Vo Si Khai 2003, pp. 36, 47, 53–54.

#### CAT. 60

#### Viṣṇu

Central Thailand, late 6th–7th century  
First recorded at Muang Si Mahosot, Si Mahosot district, Prachinburi province, by Étienne Edmond Lunet de Lajonquière in 1907–8, and transferred to the National Museum by George Coedès in January 1927  
Sandstone  
H. 67¾ in. (172 cm)  
National Museum, Bangkok

This standing Viṣṇu embodies the hero-warrior much favored in seventh-century mainland Southeast Asia. Figures of this type have a highly developed musculature as well as a symmetrical, frontal posture, sometimes slightly flexed, and they always wear an undecorated miter (crown). This Viṣṇu wears a long waist-cloth (*paridhāna*), with the pleated central panel forming a column connecting the feet to the pedestal. The arms extend away from the body and join the trunk at the hips, strengthening the sculpture structurally. As such, the work represents the transition from an image carved within a structurally supporting arch to a fully freestanding icon. There is a clear stylistic descent from a small group of Indic-style Viṣṇus from peninsular Thailand datable to the fifth and early sixth centuries (fig. 6) and related versions from western Java (fig. 5);<sup>1</sup> it was over the intervening one to two centuries that the miter became plain, the body jewelry disappeared, and the conch migrated from the lower left to the upper left hand (see cat. 67). The waist sash with a prominent side knot, a trademark of standing Viṣṇus since second-century Kuṣāṇa India, persisted into the seventh century, when an even more flamboyant variant developed, set on the diagonal. In both versions, the robes feature broadly incised detail that defines the pleats and folds. This figure type appears in a range of stylistic guises at disparate sites ranging from peninsular Thailand (especially Chaiya) to Prachinburi (Muang Si Mahosot), Phetchabun, and the Mekong delta.<sup>2</sup> The corpus is distinguished by the objects' superb modeling and purity of form, unadorned state, and, for many, ambitious and unprecedented size.<sup>3</sup>

The products of the Muang Si Mahosot workshops are best understood as belonging to a regional school inspired by the peninsular style of Chaiya. In all likelihood, artisans from that region were recruited by the moated city of Muang Si Mahosot to supervise local workshops, thus creating a subschool. The ancient city, rectangular in plan, has yielded one of the largest assemblages of Brahmanical sculpture in Thailand, including a series of Viṣṇus, the finest standing Ganeśa yet recovered, and a tall, tripartite linga.<sup>4</sup> The most complete Viṣṇu from the ancient city, excavated in 1975, is the only one of its type to be found in its original setting, a shrine house with laterite flooring and stone bases for wood pillars to support a roof; the pavilion was likely open, with only the image house itself enclosed. That Viṣṇu is closely related to the work under discussion and conveys a fuller sense of the latter in its original state. Interestingly, the 1975 discovery has earrings integral to the carving, whereas others of the period have pierced earlobes, which would have received detachable gold ornaments. Hiram Woodward has pointed out that the curious orientation of the recently discovered chapel, with its entrance stairs to the east but its chapel entrance facing west, is otherwise encountered only at Beikthano, an important Pyu city in central Myanmar.<sup>5</sup> Another unique parallel exists with Pyu Myanmar: the only counterpart to the early ritual bathing tank excavated at Muang Si Mahosot, discussed below, is to be found at the Zothoke stupa and



CAT. 60

its enclosure in Upper Myanmar. Both are decorated with relief carvings of parading animals.<sup>6</sup>

The moated city of Muang Si Mahosot may also be the source of the Skanda now in Ayutthaya and the Ardhanārīśvara now in Ubon Ratchatani (fig. 112).<sup>7</sup> In addition, several major Buddhas (cats. 111, 112) have been found that bear witness to the vibrancy of that religion at the site as well.<sup>8</sup> Unique to the locale, however, is what appears to be the base of a large stone *trisūla* (trident) antefix, originally measuring about five feet (1.5 m) in height, which must be associated with an unidentified major Hindu shrine within the city.<sup>9</sup> Most remarkable of all is a large, rectangular tank for ritual bathing located immediately outside the southeast section of the moated city wall. Known locally as Sa Kaeo, it was excavated deep into the laterite landscape. Around the upper register of the interior wall, presumably above the high-water line, is a series of reliefs depicting elephants, lions, boars, *makaras* (aquatic monsters), and hunters. The stylization of the *makaras* and the tank's location point to its having been associated with an early foundation, probably predating the moated city. Together with some architectural remnants, the tank suggests early contacts with southern India, especially the Pallava territories of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, where such distinctive *makara* motifs are present.<sup>10</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Lunet de Lajonquière 1909, pp. 214–15; Coedès 1928a, pl. ix; Dupont 1941, p. 235, pl. xxvii, A; Dupont 1959a, pp. 118–20, fig. 320; Subhadradis Diskul 1970, p. 7, fig. 24; Boisselier 1975, pp. 97–99, 100, pl. 65; Suwapon Wiriyapan and Phaithun Thinphong 1975, p. 51; Pisit Charoenwongs and Subhadradis Diskul 1978, pp. 108–9, pl. 76; Dofflemyer 1999, p. 43 and p. 42, fig. 9; Fine Arts Department 1999, p. 60.

NOTES: 1. O'Connor 1972 includes a series of peninsular sculptures and their proposed early Indian antecedents; see also de Havenon 2006–7. For western Java, see Bernet Kempers 1958, pp. lxxiii–iv, pl. 11c. 2. For Si Thep, see Pattaratorn Chirapravati, “The Transformation of Brahmanical and Buddhist Imagery in Central Thailand, 600–800,” in this volume; for the Mekong, see Le Thi Lien, “Hindu-Buddhist Sculpture in Southern Vietnam,” in this volume. 3. This style is finally displaced by two waves, the Angkorian-period Khmer style from the east and the southern Indian Cola style, which appears in the peninsula around the tenth century. 4. For the Ganeśa, see Brown 1991, fig. 17; Fine Arts Department 1999, pp. 68–69. The linga was first published by Lunet de Lajonquière 1912, p. 24, fig. 2; see also Fine Arts Department 1999, p. 37.

5. Woodward 2003, pp. 46–47, pl. 6. 6. For the Myanmar examples, see Moore 2007, pp. 152–53.

7. For the Ardhanārīśvara and Skanda, see Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 113–14, ill. nos. 1.113, 1.117.

8. Fine Arts Department 1999, pp. 70–79. 9. Ibid., p. 67. Another, smaller stone *trisūla* antefix was recovered from the My Son temple complex, datable to about the eighth century; Photo Archives, Musée National des Arts Asiatiques–Guimet, Paris.

10. Lippe 1978.



CAT. 61

#### CAT. 61

#### Viṣṇu

Southern Vietnam, first half of 7th century  
Found east of Quan Am pagoda, Tan Phu, Tan Hoi village, An Giang province, in 1936–37, and transferred to the Musée Blanchard de la Brosse, Saigon, in 1944

Copper alloy

$9\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{8} \times 2$  in. (25 x 11 x 5 cm)

National Museum of Vietnamese History,  
Ho Chi Minh City (BTLS 1585)

This diminutive icon mimics stone Vaiśnava imagery of the late sixth- and seventh-century Mekong delta in its style, iconography, and figure type. It can be most immediately compared to the spectacular Viṣṇu from Dong Thap province (cat. 59) in its undecorated miter, wide-legged stance with the pleated front of the waistcloth extending to the ground, and club (*gada*) held by the lower left hand and serving as a support—a device repeated for the other lower hand, holding the earth sphere (*bhu*). Such

structural supports were necessary in early stone versions but redundant in cast metal, a clear indication that the sculptor was intent on replicating the monumental stone Viṣṇus of the period. The style is shared with related workshop traditions in the peninsula, where it most likely originated in the seventh century and is best represented by the monumental Takuapa Viṣṇu (fig. 105).<sup>1</sup> In the bronze example, the now-missing discus (*cakra*) and conch (*śankha*) were held in the raised upper hands, at variance with the oldest stone sculptures from mainland Southeast Asia, which display the conch on the hip (fig. 100, cat. 57)—an earlier convention originating in Mathura, northern India. The Viṣṇu with two raised arms (as opposed to all four lowered, as seen in the depictions at Udayagiri's cave 6 in central India, the site dated to 401–2) is present by the early seventh century at Aihole, in the Deccan.<sup>2</sup> Two distinctive traits—the conch held in an upper hand by its stem (not with fingers inserted) and the discus positioned so as to be viewed on edge—occur consistently in seventh-century Mekong Viṣṇu imagery but not in works attributed to the sixth century. As such, they signal the introduction of a new iconographic model, with southern Indian connections.

Such a miniaturized metal icon could have been commissioned for private devotional use by a member of the Chenla elite whose personal deity was Viṣṇu. The widespread distribution of large Viṣṇu images across early Southeast Asia makes clear that the cult enjoyed sustained patronage from the ruling elites of the day.<sup>3</sup> It is also plausible that the icon was cast to serve as a sculptor's maquette, a model for stonemasons entrusted with the production of large versions.

PUBLICATIONS: Malleret 1959–63, vol. 2 (1960), pp. 209–10, no. 436, pl. LXXXIV, 4; Tingley 2009, pp. 156–57, no. 44; *Vietnam: From the Hong River to the Mekong* 2010, p. 216, no. 179.

NOTES: 1. O'Connor 1972, pp. 41–51, fig. 14. 2. Begley 1973, fig. 21. See also de Havenon 2006–7. 3. See Le Thi Lien, "Hindu-Buddhist Sculpture in Southern Vietnam," in this volume for the widespread distribution of Viṣṇu imagery in the Mekong delta; see also Dalsheimer and Manguin 1998.

#### CAT. 62

#### Lintel Celebrating Lakṣmī

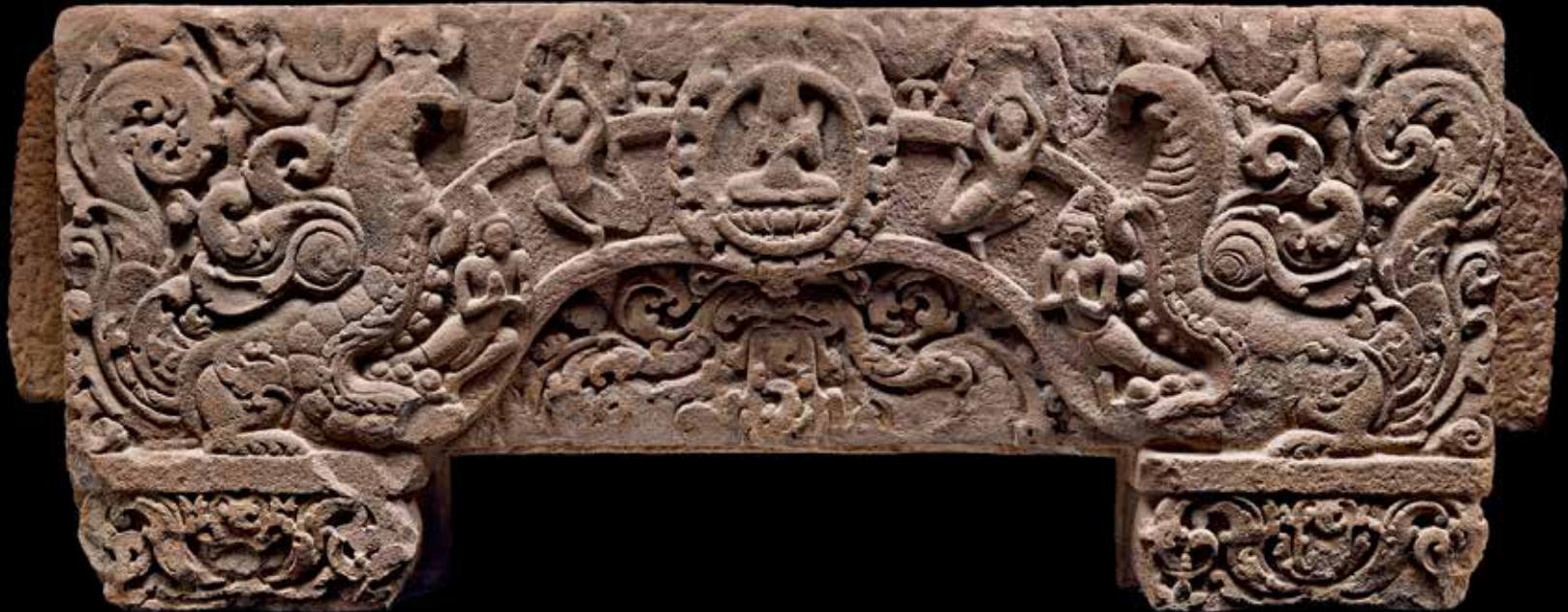
Eastern Cambodia, first half of 7th century  
Found in an unidentified temple, Sambor on the Mekong, Sambor district, Kratie province<sup>1</sup>

Sandstone

$25\frac{5}{8} \times 61\frac{13}{16} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$  in. (65 x 157 x 20 cm)

National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1759)

The deity depicted in the central medallion of this early Khmer lintel is somewhat eroded but, given the seated posture, lotus-stem attributes, and lotus pedestal, can be securely identified as Śrī Lakṣmī, goddess of fertility and abundance. Lakṣmī can appear in two forms, either alone, as here, or with elephants lustrating her from waterpots, when she is known as Gaja Lakṣmī. However, her principal attribute is always the lotus (*padma*).<sup>2</sup> Her presence on a lintel accords with her role as protector of the threshold to



CAT. 62

Vaiṣṇava shrines, in which context she serves as Viṣṇu's chief consort.

The lintel, datable to the first half of the seventh century, is among the earliest of its type. The almost riotous flamboyance of the *makaras* (aquatic monsters) and the convoluted foliage set the agenda for Khmer lintel decoration thereafter. The evolution of style witnessed here and at Sambor Prei Kuk is a touchstone for much of seventh-century Cambodian art. This example shows the emergence of innovations building on Chalukyan prototypes from the Indian Deccan (fig. 101), with a cusped arch springing from the jaws of a pair of convergent *makaras* embellished with celestial celebrants, hands raised in veneration (*añjalimudrā*). The *makaras*, like their distant relatives in the temples

of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, issue from elaborate vegetal flourishes, here upturned.<sup>3</sup> Six celestial celebrants are depicted, two emerging from the beasts' jaws, as if released by Lakṣmi's grace, and four in heavenly flight—two on the arch and two amid the lotus buds and foliage above the *makaras'* heads. Each *makara* appears to hold a flower in its trunk, its own offering to the goddess. The platforms on which their lions' feet rest are supported by flower-in-bloom capitals, and a radiating fan of foliage descends below the arch. The border of the cartouche containing the image of the goddess is ringed by flames, proclaiming her radiant divinity.

PUBLICATIONS: Lunet de Lajonquière 1902–11, vol. 1 (1902), pp. 187–89; Parmentier 1912, p. 33; Parmentier

1927, p. 213, fig. 65; Giteau 1966, pp. 38–39; Dalsheimer 2001, pp. 185–86, no. 88.

NOTES: 1. The provenance is given in error as Sambor Prei Kuk in Giteau 1966, pp. 38–39, and repeated in Dalsheimer 2001, pp. 185–86; it is correctly cited in Boisselier 1968, fig. 24. See also Woodward, "Stylistic Trends in Mainland Southeast Asia, 600–800," in this volume. 2. This divinity has been identified, mistakenly in my view, as Sūrya on the basis of the two flowers held. However, in pre-Angkorian lintels, Sūrya consistently appears in standing form, not seated on a lotus; see, for example, Bénisti 1970, pls. 285, 286. See also Dhar 2010, chap. 5. 3. For example, the Malegitti temple at Badami, Karnataka, and the Durgā niche of the Trimūrti cave, Mamallapuram, Tamil Nadu, both assigned to the early to mid-seventh century.



Fig. 101. Lintel depicting a *makara-torana*. Southern India, Chalukya period, ca. 740. In situ in Virupaksha temple, Pattadakal, Karnataka

**CAT. 63****Durgā**

Southern Cambodia, ca. 6th century  
Found in a cave sanctuary near Phnom Da, Angkor Borei district, Takeo province, by George Groslier in 1923, and transferred to the Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom Penh, in the same year

Sandstone

19 $\frac{5}{16}$  x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 3 $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (49 x 15 x 10 cm)

National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.892)

This representation of the goddess Durgā is one of the oldest Brahmanical sculptures discovered in Cambodia. Although Durgā is most often associated in Southeast Asia with her form as the Unconquerable One—the slayer of the buffalo demon Mahiṣa—here she is represented in her benign four-armed form, identifiable by her one surviving attribute, the bell. The goddess wears a high, flared chignon and a full-length waistcloth with a frontal pleat, secured at the hips with a triple sash. Her full-breasted and wide-hipped figure follows Indian aesthetic conventions, affirming the work's early date. The stylization of the figure, in accordance with Indian conventions of beauty, may be contrasted with two Khmer-style goddesses (cats. 94, 95) produced a century or more later, which reflect a clear aesthetic shift.

Although this work was recovered from one of the caves around Phnom Da, its style precedes that of the great ensemble of monumental sculptures associated with the Vaiṣṇava cult there (cat. 72). The icon is small and portable and may have been relocated to Phnom Da with that site's rise to prominence in the seventh century, in all probability from the vicinity of Angkor Borei. Stylistically, it is most closely related to the early Viṣṇu also from Takeo province (cat. 57). It shares many features with a Durgā of a similarly early date from peninsular Thailand (cat. 64), although the latter is more schematic in form. Both have openwork arms conjoined at the hips and are unsupported by the integrated arches that are a trademark of early Brahmanical sculptures from the Mekong delta, representing a parallel early development.

PUBLICATIONS: G. Groslier 1925a, p. 311, pl. III, A; G. Groslier 1931, p. 19, pl. xxi, 1; Dupont 1955, pp. 65–66, pl. xvii, A; Giteau 1965, pp. 44, 208, no. 22.

**CAT. 64****Durgā**

Southern Thailand, late 5th–early 6th century  
Probably found in Surat Thani province

Sandstone

7 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (19.2 x 14.3 x 7 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Samuel Eilenberg Collection, Ex coll.: Columbia University, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1987 (1987.218.20)

This Durgā, the goddess par excellence of female energy, is a rare survivor of the earliest school of Brahmanical sculpture in peninsular Thailand, which emerged in the course of the late fifth to sixth century. She is identified by

the bell she carries in her lower left hand; the other surviving hand holds a sphere symbolizing the earth (*bhū*), an attribute borrowed from Viṣṇu. The upright shaft supported by her now-missing upper right arm was presumably Śiva's three-pronged trident (*trisūla*). Stylistically, the sculpture can be linked to Surat Thani province in the peninsula, where a Viṣṇu torso with identical belt, waistcloth drapery, and torso modelling was recovered in Phunphin district.<sup>1</sup> Another unprovenanced Viṣṇu torso (fig. 102), first published in 1969, is clearly from the same workshop tradition.<sup>2</sup> These sculptures are characterized by their relatively small size; stout physiques with broad shoulders and hips; arms conjoined at the hips; closely drawn waistcloths with a pleated central drape, sometimes incised to denote folds; and a prominent sash worn low on the hips, variously horizontal or angled with a bow.

The group of sculptures reflects an awareness of southern Indian schools, especially those associated with the Viṣṇukuṇḍin rulers in the Vijayawada region of Andhra Pradesh.<sup>3</sup> One likely model for the peninsular Thai schools is a Viṣṇu torso in a late Nagarjunakonda style from Elesvaram, a region that is connected via the Eluru River to the Bay of Bengal. Farther south, Alampur, a Hindu pilgrimage center located at the confluence of the Tungabhadra and Krishna Rivers, was important for artistic innovation under the Chalukyas in Badami in the seventh and eighth centuries. Coastal Andhra Pradesh may be assumed to have played an important role in the early phase of transmitting Brahmanical sculptural models to Southeast Asia. The workshop responsible for this Durgā clearly predates those that made the early monumental Viṣṇus of the peninsula, most notably those from Takuapa



Fig. 102. Viṣṇu, late 5th–early 6th century. Reportedly found in southern Thailand. Sandstone,  $13\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$  in. (35 x 17 x 9 cm). Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Purchased with the assistance of the Art Fund, 2000 (EA2001.15)

(fig. 105) and Surat Thani, assigned to the second half of the sixth to early seventh century.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, this Durgā postdates the Chaiya (fig. 100) and Nakhon Si Thammarat Viṣṇus, broadly assigned to the late fifth century.<sup>5</sup> It is reasonable to suggest that the Phnom Da Durgā (cat. 63) also owes her genesis to this early peninsular school of Brahmanical sculpture.

PUBLICATIONS: Pal 1978, p. 123, no. 77; Lerner and Kossak 1991, p. 151, no. 122.

NOTES: 1. O'Connor 1972, fig. 25; see also figs. 23 and 24 from the same site. 2. Lee 1969, p. 101, no. 4. 3. Nigam 1980, pl. xxxi. 4. See Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 104–5. 5. See Piriya Krairiksh (*ibid.*, pp. 100–101), who dates the Chaiya Viṣṇu to the first half of the fourth century, and O'Connor (1972, p. 39), who argues that it should be dated no later than 400. Jacq-Hergoualc'h (2002, pp. 116–20, fig. 1) gives it a date of about 400. De Havenon (2006–7, pp. 87–89, fig. 2), however, places it in the second quarter of the sixth century.



CAT. 64



CAT. 65

CAT. 65

**Durgā Mahiśāsuramardini**

Southern Vietnam, second half of 7th century  
Found in Luu Nghiep Anh, Tra Cu district,  
Tra Vinh province, in 1902, and entered the  
Musée de Phnom Penh before reassignment  
to the Musée Blanchard de la Brosse, Saigon  
(Ho Chi Minh City), in 1928

Sandstone

40⅝ x 12⅜ x 6⅓ in. (102 x 32 x 16 cm),  
including tenon

National Museum of Vietnamese History,  
Ho Chi Minh City (BTLS 5552)

This image of Durgā Mahiśāsuramardini represents a strong tendency in early Khmer sculpture to depict this goddess—an aspect of Śiva's consort, Umā—in a benign form rather than in her more familiar guise as the wrathful, weapon-wielding slayer of the buffalo demon Mahiśa (for the myth, see cat. 66).<sup>1</sup> In this gentle form, the goddess dispenses grace, an aspect of Durgā much favored in southern Indian worship in the Pallava period (6th–early 9th century). She is supposed to display a weapon (lent to her by one of the male gods) in each of her four hands; here, she holds a sword and shield in the upper hands, and the lower hands are open, indicating that they held detachable attributes, now missing.

The figure is fully supported by a heavy arch—an archaism, as sculptors had already mastered figures of this scale fully in the round. The earliest Durgās from Southeast Asia, from both the peninsula (cat. 64) and Cambodia, demonstrate that the arched support was not structurally necessary, especially in small icons such as this one. While the modeling is clumsy in places, the torso and breasts are well formed, with the nipples and abdominal folds sensitively rendered in incised lines. The waistcloth, with its narrow center pleat, is similarly incised with a shallow pattern, providing a rare insight into the textiles of the period. The wavy lines differ so greatly from the incised ones conventionally used to denote folds in the waistcloth that it is tempting to read them as a rendering of a woven pattern. As such, they evoke Chinese cloud patterns and hint at the possibility that this could be a representation of an imported Chinese cloth; such high-prestige textiles are known, in the Angkorian period, to have been presented to temples for the dressing of the gods. The inverted spiral pattern at the waist probably represents a gold belt, and wavy double lines at the wrists presumably were intended to suggest bracelets. In keeping with all known depictions in pre-Angkorian Khmer territory, the goddess wears no necklace or torque.

The principal reference to the Mahiśāsuramardini myth is the head of a buffalo carved in relief on the front of the pedestal. The buffalo-head device alone—rather than the whole beast, as favored in much of India—was the preferred means of identifying the goddess Durgā in Pallava, southern India, by the seventh century. This is witnessed at the rock-cut sanctuaries in Mamallapuram and in temple imagery elsewhere in Tamil Nadu.<sup>2</sup> Buffalo sacrifice was a widespread custom in mainland Southeast Asia, associated with the feeding of animistic spirits,



CAT. 66

1912, p. 7; Parmentier 1909–18, vol. 2 (1918), p. 566; G. Groslier 1924–26a, p. 204, fig. 50; Goloubew 1925; Parmentier 1927, pp. 94, 313; Malleret 1937–38, vol. 1 (1937), pp. 74–75, no. 65, pl. xii; Dupont 1955, pp. 140, 184–87, pl. xliv; K. Bhattacharya 1961b, pp. 91–92, pl. viii; Le Thi Lien 2006b, p. 108, fig. 170; Tingley 2009, pp. 160–61, no. 46; *Vietnam: From the Hong River to the Mekong* 2010, pp. 196–97, no. 157.

NOTES: 1. For the iconographic development, see Guy 2007, pp. 157–60. 2. See Lippe 1978, pls. 143–49, 173, 240, 241, for the forms of Durgā in the Pallava and Cōla periods.

#### CAT. 66

#### Durgā Mahiśasuramardini

Southern Cambodia, late 7th–early 8th century  
Preserved at Wat Sirei Sakor, Kampong Trabaek district, Prey Veng province, and presented by the abbot to the National Museum in 1953

Sandstone

41¾ x 16½ x 6¼ in. (106 x 42 x 16 cm)

National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1631)

Durgā as the slayer of the buffalo demon was a popular cult in early Brahmanical Cambodia, where she was consistently represented in a benign, not wrathful, form. She was routinely depicted with four arms, as seen here, but only one hand survives, holding the hilt of her sword. This attribute, together with the buffalo head depicted beneath her feet, secures her identity as Durgā. In evincing a gentle nature, Durgā here follows southern rather than northern Indian conventions.<sup>1</sup>

Summoned by the male gods to confront Mahiśa, the demonic destroyer of world order, Durgā assumed multiple arms (variously four, eight, or twelve) to carry the cosmic weapons the gods had lent her to complete her mission. Although in India she is principally identified as a wrathful manifestation of Pārvatī/Umā, Śiva's consort (*sakti*), in early Cambodia she is aligned



Fig. 103. Head of Viṣṇu. Southern Laos, 7th century. Found in Champasak. Silver inlaid with gold. Ex coll.: Prince Boun Oum, Champasak; present location unknown. Photographed ca. 1960s

and typically culminated in the displayed offering of a severed buffalo head. In this cultural milieu, the concept of the goddess Durgā's standing triumphant on the animal's head was readily embraced. In Indian Vedic mythology, Viṣṇu is closely linked to sacrifice (*yajña*), and an avatar, Yajñeśvara (Lord of Yajña), is named in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. By wearing a miter, Durgā demonstrates that she favors Viṣṇu over

the other Brahmanical gods, including Śiva, to whom she is more correctly aligned as a wrathful form of Pārvatī, Śiva's consort. This layered identification is a reminder both of the predominance of the Vaiṣṇava cult in the greater Mekong region in the seventh and eighth centuries and of the importance of the goddess in early Khmer society.

PUBLICATIONS: "Chronique" 1902, p. 109, fig. 15; Parmentier 1909–18, vol. 1 (1909), p. 556; Parmentier

with Viṣṇu. This is conveyed by her consistent wearing of Viṣṇu's miter (crown) and is occasionally made explicit by the choice of the conch (*śankha*) and discus (*cakra*), Viṣṇu's favored weapons, as her principal attributes, rather than the typical sword and shield.<sup>2</sup>

Here, the goddess has a firm, youthful body and wears a skirt secured at the waist with a triple fan at the front. Incised lines indicate both the tension in the drawn-up robe and the pleating of the central folds at the hem. The polished finish and the sculptor's command of form

create an image of supreme beauty. Robed and jeweled in a dimly lit sanctuary, she would have been, appropriately, an awesome presence.

PUBLICATIONS: Dalsheimer 2001, pp. 80–81, no. 24; Khun Samen 2002, pp. 80–81, no. 62; *Angkor: Göttliches Erbe Kambodschas* 2006, p. 61, no. 13; Jessup 2006, pp. 38–39, no. 14; Dowling 2011, pl. 34.

NOTES: 1. See S. L. Huntington 1985, p. 391, fig. 14.14. 2. Compare a more complete pre-Angkorian Durgā from Tani, Kampot province; Khun Samen 2006, p. 75, fig. 8.

#### CAT. 67

##### Viṣṇu

Southern Vietnam, late 6th–early 7th century  
Found in temple ruins, Hao Duoc, Hao Ninh, Tay Ninh province, in 1938

Sandstone

22 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 13 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 7 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (56 x 34 x 20 cm)  
Fine Arts Museum, Ho Chi Minh City  
(BTMT 187)

In its polished surface and lightly incised facial features and costume details, this handsome icon resembles Viṣṇu images from the Khmer hinterland more closely than those of the Mekong delta. Nonetheless, its essential delta character prevails, thanks to its iconographic configuration, which is standard for the late sixth and seventh centuries. The figure was originally supported by a conjoined arch that framed the entire figure. The conch (*śankha*) is held aloft, echoing southern Indian conventions, rather than clasped in a lower hand against the hip, as seen in what may be accepted as the earliest known Viṣṇus in Southeast Asia, which were modeled on central and western Indian prototypes of the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>1</sup> The latter type is represented by the Viṣṇu from Cambodia's Takeo province (cat. 57). In the Tay Ninh Viṣṇu, both the conch and the discus (*cakra*) are held aloft, declaring Viṣṇu's omnipotence, and the surviving lower hand grasps the top of the club (*gadā*), which is decorated with a lotus. The miter has neither decoration nor the fringe of curls that characteristically projects onto the forehead; likewise, the body is unadorned, and the folds of the waistcloth are demarcated with a minimum of intrusion. In all, this restraint creates an image of intense purity and beauty.

PUBLICATIONS: "Chronique" 1938, pp. 406, 417; Malleret 1959–63, vol. 4 (1963), pp. 81–82, no. 238, pl. iv; Le Thi Lien 2006b, p. 68, fig. 58; Tingley 2009, pp. 146–47, no. 39; Ma Thanh Cao et al. 2010, pp. 38–39, no. 6.

NOTE: 1. Begley 1973, figs. 2–5. See also de Havenon 2006–7, figs. 4–8.

#### CAT. 68

##### Sūrya, the Sun God

Southern Vietnam, early 8th century  
Discovered in Ba The (Oc Eo), An Giang province, in 1928, and transferred to the Musée Blanchard de la Brosse, Saigon  
Sandstone

35 x 14 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (89 x 37 x 16 cm)  
National Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City (BTLS 5527)

#### CAT. 69

##### Sūrya, the Sun God

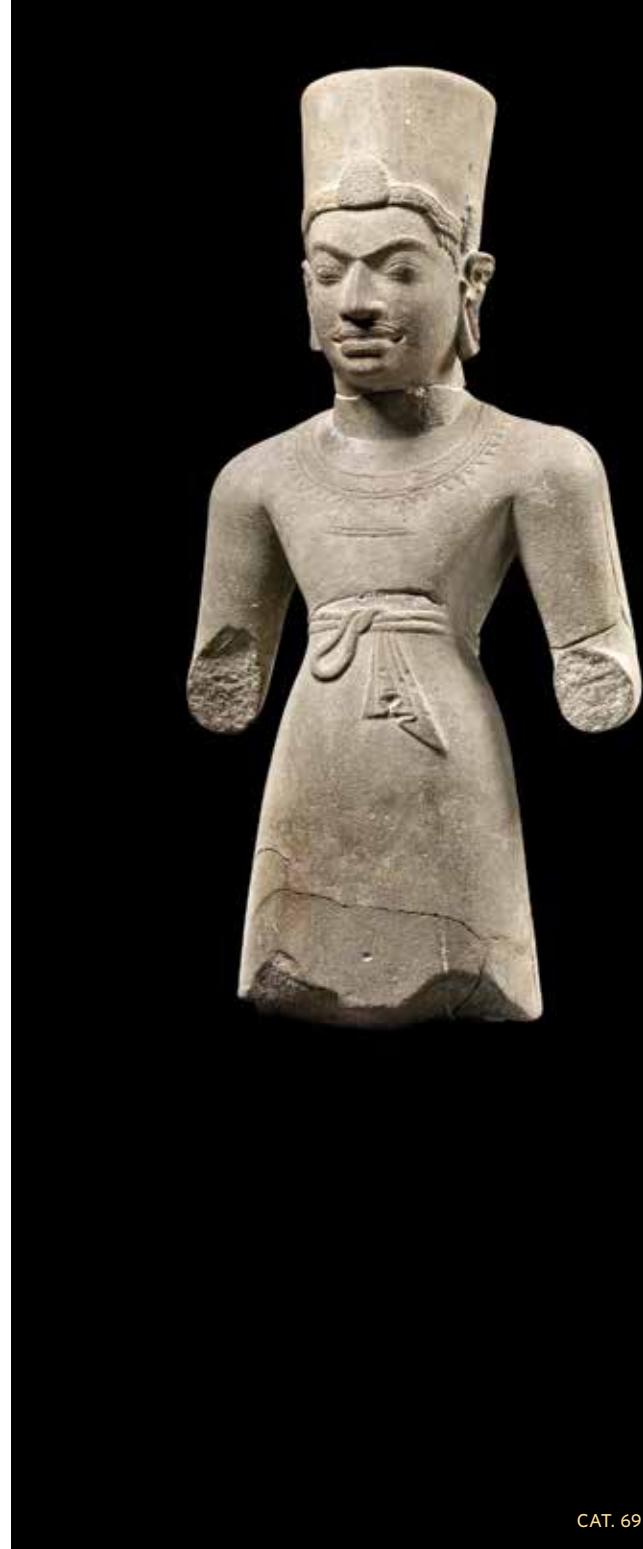
Southern Vietnam, early 8th century  
Found in Thai Hiep Thanh, Hoa Ninh district, Tay Ninh province  
Sandstone  
16 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 3 $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (42 x 20 x 10 cm)  
Fine Arts Museum, Ho Chi Minh City  
(BTMT 185)

CAT. 67





CAT. 68



CAT. 69

In mainland Southeast Asia, Sūrya assumed local prominence, most notably in the Funan territories of the Mekong delta and at the inland polity of Si Thep, central Thailand.<sup>1</sup> The prevalence of a Sūrya cult in these two regions adds to the likelihood of significant links—political, cultural, or both—between them.<sup>2</sup> Like Viṣṇu, Sūrya is a solar deity, but in India, he played an increasingly secondary role as one of nine planetary deities (*navagraha*). Uniquely in Brahmanical imagery, he is represented wearing a long tunic and boots, a mode of dress that descended from the Kuśānas, a West Asian tribe that conquered northern India in the first

century A.D. As if in concession to the climate, in southern India Sūrya retained the tunic but not the boots, and open-bloom flowers were typically replaced by lotus buds—both consistent features of the earliest Sūrya representations in mainland Southeast Asia.

The Sūrya from Ba The (cat. 68) stands erect, each raised hand holding a lotus bud, symbolic of the life-giving power of the sun. A radiating elliptical nimbus frames his head, and he wears an octagonal miter, a simple torque of lozenge shape, and heavy, globular earrings. Otherwise, he is undecorated, unlike the Sūrya from Thai Hiep Thanh (cat. 69), who has a

decorative diadem with alternating flower and lozenge motifs and a central floral medallion. In both works, the tunic is drawn in with a sash and gathers in pleats at the front, as indicated with lightly incised lines on the Ba The Sūrya and with relief on the other. The figures are finely proportioned, with broad shoulders and slender waists. Both are missing part of their lower sections, but they are unlikely to have been wearing boots. These sculptures, the two finest Sūryas known from the Mekong delta, affirm the popularity of the cult in Brahmanical worship there. The only other region to produce Sūrya images in significant numbers was Si Thep



(see cat. 70).<sup>3</sup> Each area produced distinct stylistic responses yet both types are distinguished by their majesty and beauty, rivaling the finest Viṣṇu images of the day.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 68: "Chronique" 1928, p. 611; Malleret 1937–38, vol. 1 (1937), pp. 76–77, no. 68, pl. XII, A; Dupont 1955, pp. 63–64, pl. XI, A; Malleret 1959–63, vol. 1 (1959), pp. 412–15, no. 135, pl. LXXXVIII; Boisselier 1966, pp. 291–92; Le Thi Lien 2006b, pp. 102–4, figs. 159, 160; Skilling 2009c, p. 459, pl. 46.10; Tingley 2009, pp. 172–73, no. 53.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 69: Malleret 1959–63, vol. 4 (1963), p. 87, pls. VI, VII; Le Thi Lien 2006b, p. 104, figs. 161, 162; Ma Thanh Cao et al. 2010, pp. 48–49, no. 10.

NOTES: 1. See Pattaratorn Chirapravati, "The Transformation of Brahmanical and Buddhist Imagery in Central Thailand, 600–800," in this volume. For Sūrya elsewhere in Southeast Asia, see van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1954. 2. Woodward 2010b. 3. The corpus of Si Thep Sūrya sculptures is surveyed in Skilling 2009c.

#### CAT. 70

#### Sūrya, the Sun God

Central Thailand, second half of 7th–early 8th century

Recovered from Si Thep, Phetchabun province, in 1929

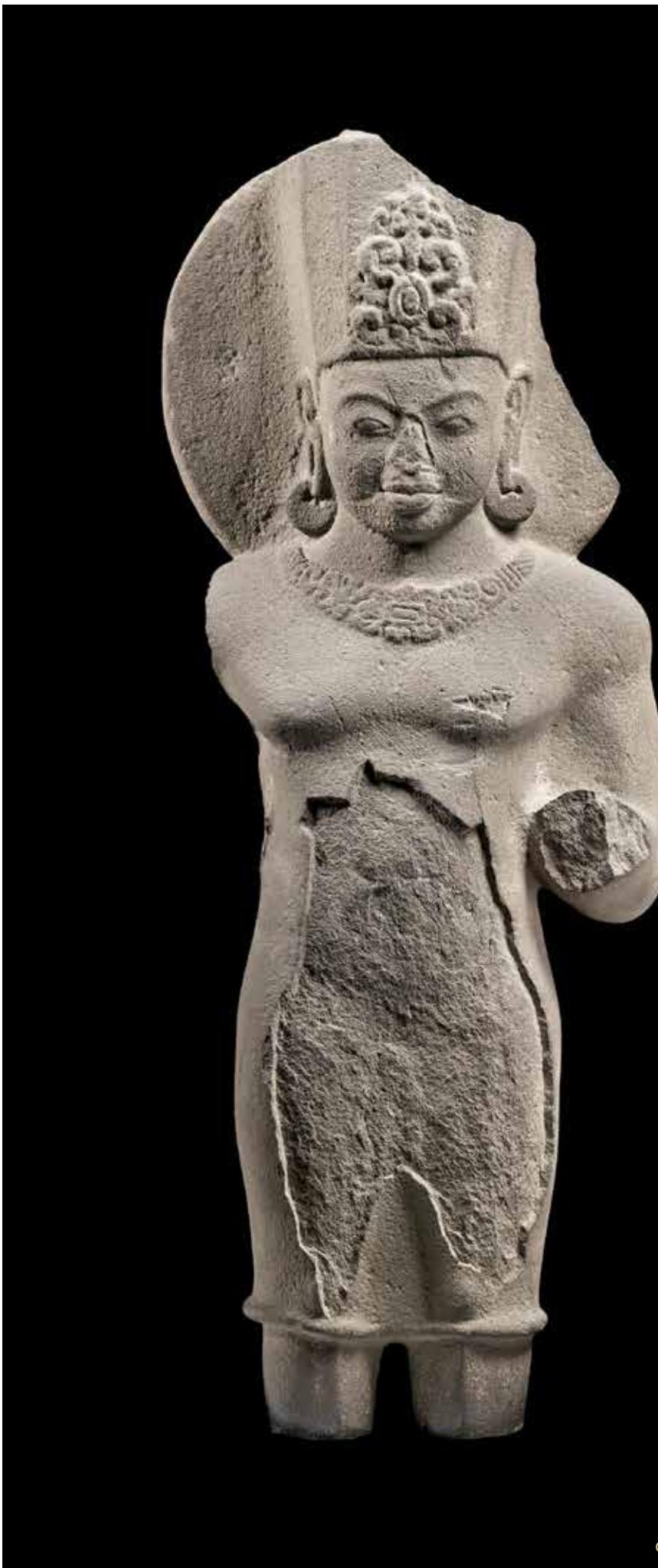
Sandstone

H. 36 1/4 in. (92 cm)

National Museum, Bangkok

This sculpture depicts a male deity wearing a faceted miter (crown) framed by a circular nimbus (*prabhāmandala*). His surviving forearm is raised to the front, and he wears a long robe to the knees. These features are consistent with an identification as Sūrya, the solar god who holds two lotus buds or blossoms in his raised hands to evoke the life-affirming power of the sun (see cat. 68). As a divinity of West Asian origin, Sūrya preserves a memory of that region's dress—specifically, a long tunic and high boots—in Indian renditions. In Southeast Asia, he retains the distinctive robe but, as far as one can judge by the extant examples, does not appear to wear high boots. This example has a sizeable palmette medallion (a diadem fixture, perhaps) on the front of the helmet and wears large ear ornaments of distinctly Dvāravati form and a finely detailed torque, undoubtedly evoking the splendor of contemporary gold jewelry. Extensive delamination of the lower torso has obliterated the belt decoration, but the thick hem of the tunic is clearly legible.

The discovery of this large icon of an Indian solar deity at the ancient moated city of Si Thep in central Thailand in 1929 has raised questions about the practice of Brahmanical cults in the region. To date, three stone icons of Sūrya have been found in Si Thep, a surprising concentration in a settlement predominantly dedicated to Vaiṣṇava worship, in its early urbanized phase, and to Buddhism. The only comparable concentration of Sūrya cult icons (as opposed to representations of Sūrya as part of an ensemble of planetary deities) is in the Mekong delta, and those works appear to be marginally later, probably from the early eighth century. This shared interest in Sūrya, along with other factors, points



CAT. 70



CAT. 71

to a close relationship between the two regions in the second half of the first millennium.<sup>1</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: H. G. Quaritch Wales 1936a, pp. 66–70, pl. III, 3, no. 6; Subhadradis Diskul 1970, p. 7, fig. 25; Piset Charoenwongs and Subhadradis Diskul 1978, pp. 106–9, pl. 72; Subhadradis Diskul 1979a, p. 45, fig. 3; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 167–69; Skilling 2009b, pp. 120, 123, and p. 121, fig. 3; Skilling 2009c, p. 456, pl. 46.1; *Japan and Thailand* 2011, p. 143, no. 27, ill. p. 181; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 109, ill. no. 1.108.

NOTE: 1. Woodward 2010b.

#### CAT. 71

#### Viṣṇu

Central Thailand, second half of 7th century

Found in Si Thep, Phetchabun province, in 1929, and transferred to the National Museum in the same year

Sandstone

H. 82½ in. (209 cm), w. 26¾ in. (67 cm)

National Museum, Bangkok (KKh.11)

This monumental Viṣṇu was discovered at the ancient moated settlement of Si Thep in 1929 by an archaeological survey team. Originally four-armed, the god stands in a flexed posture, his projecting right hip shifting the weight to his left leg, which aligns vertically with his chest and head. He is clad only in a short waistcloth, drawn up between the legs and secured at the back; this is the attire of ascetics and renunciants, not that of the divine monarch with whom Viṣṇu is routinely identified.

The vogue of the ascetic Viṣṇu took its most spectacular form in the long-robed Viṣṇus from peninsular Thailand, most famously the monumental Takuapa Viṣṇu, here assigned to the mid-seventh century (fig. 105).<sup>1</sup> These formal innovations were taking place across the Isthmus of Kra, extending from Takuapa on the Andaman Sea to the Bay of Bandon at Chaiyā—key transshipment ports in the long-distance trade linking peninsular Southeast Asia to India and China. This Viṣṇu type became the hallmark of sculptors in the region, and the Si Thep workshops' taste for undecorated images was likely inspired by it. Even artists working in miniature-scale sheet gold understood the aesthetic perfectly, as witnessed in a Si Thep gold plaque depicting Viṣṇu and what is likely a royal worshipper, holding flowering lotus stems (fig. 104). There, the complete set of attributes, which are missing from the Si Thep Viṣṇu—the conch (*śankha*), the discus (*cakra*), club (*gadā*), and earth symbol (*bhū*)—is clearly displayed.

Another striking feature shared by the stone and gold Viṣṇus from Si Thep is the placement of the feet on a small, rectangular pedestal, an enlivening innovation shared with peninsular-style icons. A further striking parallel is provided by the low-relief depiction of Viṣṇu in the limestone cave at Tham Phra Phothisat, Saraburi province, likely datable to the seventh century (fig. 1). The mobility of artists and artists' models, likely in wood or metal, may have fueled the dissemination of this style. A major moated city of first-millennium Thailand, Si

Thep was in commercial contact with the Khmer territories to the east in the Mekong delta, west to U Thong and Nakhon Pathom, and south to Chaiyā. Whether it was a Mon- or Khmer-speaking settlement is unclear.<sup>2</sup> A Sanskrit inscription recounting the virtues of good kingship in the person of a named local ruler was found on a stele at Ban Wang Phai in Si Thep, erected to commemorate that ruler's coronation. The inscription praises the king as possessing intelligence, grace, a reputation honored "in all directions," and power such that his neighbors obeyed him.<sup>3</sup> This is the *cakravartin* (universal sovereign) concept as described in the *Arthaśāstra*, the classic Indian treatise on statecraft, good governance, and kingship.<sup>4</sup> These kingly qualities associated with Viṣṇu in early Southeast Asia are readily apparent in this sandstone Si Thep depiction, where grace and beneficence combine with supreme spiritual authority.

PUBLICATIONS: Coedès 1932, pl. x; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1936a, pp. 70–71; Fine Arts Department 1967, fig. 24; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1969, pp. 12–13, pl. 6;

Bowie 1972, pp. 58–59, no. 23; Boisselier 1975, pp. 104–6, pl. 69; Czuma 1980, fig. 15; Brown 1996, pp. 57–59, fig. 51; Dofflemeyer 1999, pp. 43–44, fig. 11; Woodward 2003, pp. 88–91, 106, pl. 19; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 167–72, fig. 119; Fine Arts Department 2007b, p. 146; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 105, 106, ill. no. 1.103.

NOTES: 1. Compare O'Connor 1972, p. 48. 2. A recent paper by Hiram Woodward explores the Khmer scenario; see Woodward 2010b. 3. Fine Arts Department 2007b, p. 134. 4. Ascribed to Kauṭilya, tutor and guardian of third-century-B.C. emperor Chandragupta Maurya.



Fig. 104. Viṣṇu with devotee. Central Thailand, ca. 700. From Si Thep, Phetchabun province. Gold; h. 11½ in. (30.2 cm), w. 6¾ in. (16.2 cm). The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena (F.1972.19.2.S)



Fig. 105. Viṣṇu. Southern Thailand, mid-7th century. From Takuapa, Phang Nga province. Sandstone, h. 79½ in. (202 cm). National Museum, Bangkok



CAT. 72

### Kṛṣṇa Govardhana

Southern Cambodia, early 7th century  
Recovered from a cave at Phnom Da, Angkor Borei district, Takeo province, by Pierre Dupont in 1944

Sandstone

47 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 14 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (120 x 38 x 20 cm)  
National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1641)

CAT. 73

### Kṛṣṇa Govardhana

Southern Cambodia, early 7th century  
First recorded at Phnom Da, Angkor Borei district, Takeo province, by George Groslier in 1912

Sandstone

96 x 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 13 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (244 x 44.5 x 34 cm)  
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase, John L. Severance Fund, 1973 (1973.106)

The sculptors of these two images of Kṛṣṇa Govardhana, working in the Phnom Da workshops, clearly understood the essence of their subject. As described in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, the youthful Kṛṣṇa miraculously raises up Mount Govardhana, near Mathura in northern India, to protect the cowherds sheltering there from a great rainstorm sent by Indra.<sup>1</sup> The myth reflects, in part, Kṛṣṇa's distant origins as a pastoral deity and his subsequent elevation to a major savior avatar of Viṣṇu. Northern Indian treatments of this subject from the Gupta period (ca. 320–550) are rare: one near-contemporary version from Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh, is similar in scale to the pre-Angkorian versions but uses stylized rocks to represent the mountain, a device known from Vākāṭaka painting of the same period but not seen, as far as one can judge, in Cambodia.<sup>2</sup> It is evident, however, that the Phnom Da sculptures evolved from a long-standing local tradition, which, by the seventh century, had surpassed any Indian prototypes that were remembered.

The smaller sculpture (cat. 72) belongs to a group of eight recovered from Phnom Da between 1935 and 1944, six of which are in the National Museum of Cambodia.<sup>3</sup> The dating of the Phnom Da Vaiṣṇava images has been controversial since the time of their discovery and has ranged from the reign of Rudravarman I in the early sixth century, as asserted by a twelfth-century inscription found at Phnom Da but now widely accepted as too early, to dates in the seventh century.<sup>4</sup> Others propose a mid-seventh-century date.<sup>5</sup> The Phnom Da inscription, which is written in both Sanskrit and Old Khmer, credits what appears to be this group of works to the patronage of the early Funan ruler Rudravarman, and, remarkably, lists seven of the works by name: Hari Kambujendra (Lord of Kambuja); a triad of Viṣṇu accompanied by Rāma and Balarāma; Nārāyaṇa; Kṛṣṇa Govardhana; and Viṣṇu Trivikrama. It is unclear to which of the three Kṛṣṇa Govardhanas found in Phnom Da the inscription refers.<sup>6</sup> That the author of this twelfth-century inscription mistakenly associated the Phnom Da Vaiṣṇava school with an early sixth-century ruler is excusable. Regardless, the





CAT. 73

attempt to name the works underscores their immense religious and cultural importance to Khmer kingship several centuries after their creation.

The torso of the Phnom Penh Kṛṣṇa has recently been reunited with the surviving sections of its limbs, creating a better sense of the grandeur and grace of the original icon.<sup>7</sup> Kṛṣṇa's body flexes to his right as he raises his left arm to effortlessly carry the immeasurable weight of Mount Govardhana. The figure is sculpted in the round, but substantial bridges anchor it to the backplate, which would have extended forward to the feet below and to the mountain above. The head is treated in the same sensitive manner as others in the Phnom Da group, although that treatment is most pronounced in the Balarāma and the Paraśurāma, both now in the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh.<sup>8</sup> The three diminutive topknots are an iconographic feature of the youthful Kṛṣṇa that is consistently favored in Khmer depictions, including the Kṛṣṇa Govardhana from Wat Koh, Angkor Borei.<sup>9</sup> The figure wears no jewelry and is clad only in a short loincloth, drawn tightly and secured by a slender belt with a small ornamental clasp.

The Phnom Penh Kṛṣṇa Govardhana has only one rival, the Cleveland Museum of Art version (cat. 73), which was removed from Phnom Da sometime between 1912 and 1922.<sup>10</sup> Acquired by the museum and meticulously restored after 1973,<sup>11</sup> it now stands as perhaps the greatest pre-Angkorian sculpture outside Cambodia. The mighty figure of Kṛṣṇa, with a youthful, smiling face, effortlessly thrusts his left arm skyward, supporting the (now-lost) mountain. His hair is arrayed in rows of handsome curls, and he sports a single topknot, as do the Paraśurāma, Balarāma, and a Lakṣmana from Phnom Da. In this respect, he differs from the Phnom Penh example, which has the triple topknot typically associated with Kṛṣṇa. The Cleveland sculpture, although still wedded to its block of stone, was conceived as if in the round. The naturalism of the musculature is masterful, and the supple folds of the waistcloth, drawn tight across the thighs, are shared with the entire Phnom Da group.<sup>12</sup>

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 72: Boisselier 1955, pp. 22–25; Dupont 1955, pp. 25–42, pl. viii, A; Czuma 1974, fig. 3; Czuma 2000, pp. 130–31, fig. 9; Dalsheimer 2001, pp. 73–74, no. 20; Angkor: *Göttliches Erbe Kambodschas* 2006, p. 77, no. 28; Porte 2006.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 73: Parmentier 1927, p. 121, fig. 84; Dupont 1955, pp. 23–37, 40–42, pls. v, A, vii, B; Czuma 1974, figs. 1, 14, 15; Pal 1978, pp. 19–21, fig. 3; Czuma 1979, figs. 1, 2, 4, 9; Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 160, fig. 1; Cleveland Museum of Art 1998, pp. 160–61; Czuma 2000, figs. 1–3; Bunker and Latchford 2004, pp. 46–47, no. 6; Czuma 2005; Porte 2006.

NOTES: 1. Goswami and Sastri 1971, X.25.19–26.

2. R. C. Agrawala 1971, pp. 173–74, fig. 337; Spink 2009, pl. 163. 3. Czuma 1974. 4. K.549. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 142; Dalsheimer 2001, pp. 70–79.

5. Woodward 2003, p. 59. 6. Coedès 1937–64, vol. 2 (1942), pp. 155–56. The association of the extant sculptures with the inscription was first suggested by Dupont 1955, p. 28. The Musée Guimet Harihara is not named, and the Viṣṇu Trivikrama has not been located.

Three Kṛṣṇa Govardhana sculptures are recorded from Phnom Da, two at the National Museum of Cambodia (Ka.1625, Ka.1641) and the Stoclet/Cleveland one.

7. Skillfully reconstituted by the Sculpture Conservation Laboratory of the National Museum of Cambodia in 2005, under the expert direction of Bertrand Porte; see Porte 2006. 8. Dupont 1955, pls. I, B; V, B; VI, A.

9. Ibid., pl. I, A. 10. The work was first recorded by George Groslier in 1912 (see Parmentier 1927, p. 121); by 1920 the torso and a box of fragments had entered the collection of Adolphe Stoclet in Brussels (Parmentier 1927, p. 29). 11. Czuma 1979; Czuma 2000. 12. Published most comprehensively in Dupont 1955, pls. I–VI.

#### CAT. 74

#### Kalkin, Viṣṇu's Future Avatar

Southern Cambodia, first half of 7th century  
Found near village of Kouk Trap, Svay Rieng province,<sup>1</sup> and transferred to the Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom Penh, in 1920

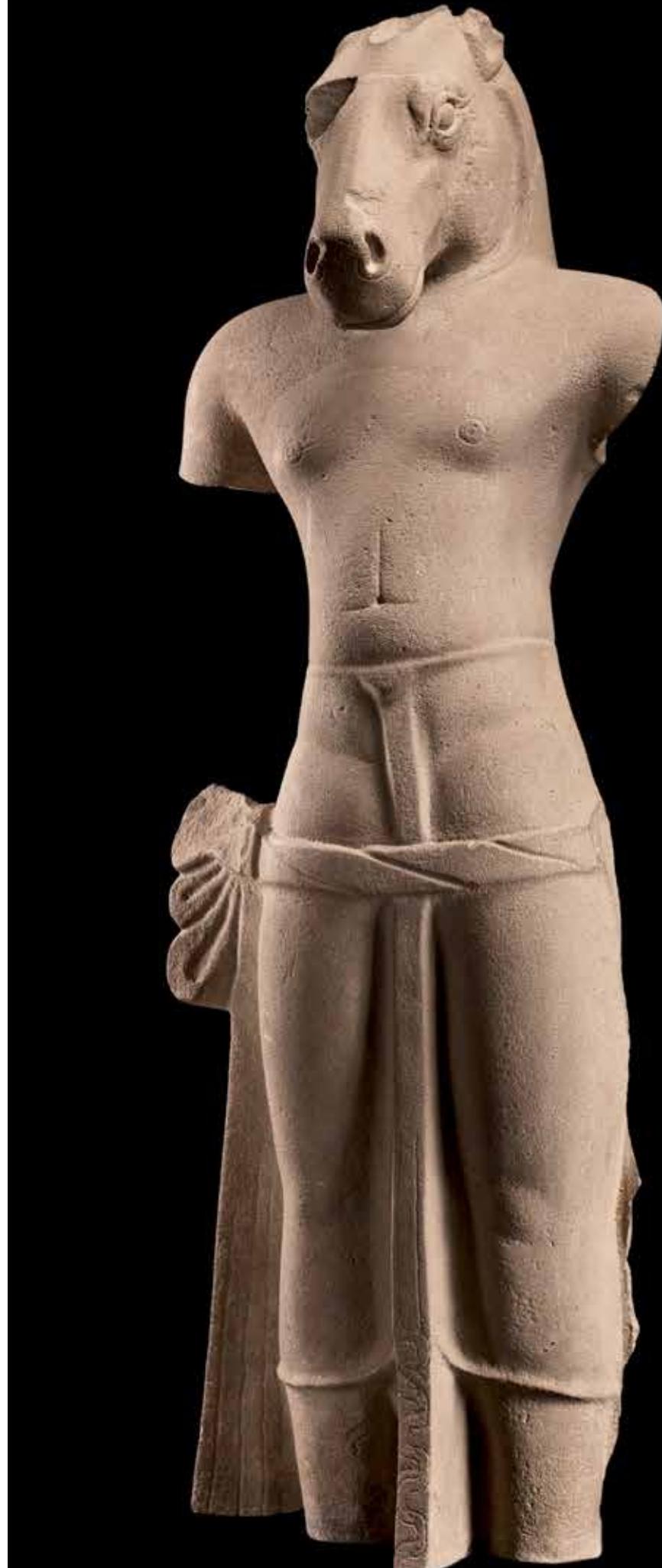
Sandstone

53½ x 11³/₁₆ x 9⁷/₈ in. (135 x 30 x 25 cm)

National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1642)

Kalkin (literally, “having or being a white horse”) is the future world savior understood as the tenth avatar of Viṣṇu, who will return at the end of the next *kaliyuga* age in the form of a white horse to judge mankind.<sup>2</sup> This avatar is not named in Khmer epigraphy, but a much rarer name, Vājimukha (horse-headed),<sup>3</sup> assumed to be a form of Kalkin Viṣṇu, does appear in an early eleventh-century inscription, probably itself a variant name associated with Hayagrīva (horse-necked). Viṣṇu features in a number of early legends with a horse’s head, linking him to Vedic horse sacrifice. The origins of the variant names likely represent a subset of what later became the Kalkin mythology. The preferred name in seventh-century Chenla remains unknown, but it is clear from the size and authority of this sculpture that it was worshipped as an important cult deity. It is perhaps not a coincidence that Kalkin Viṣṇu makes his appearance in early seventh-century Cambodia at precisely the same time as the bodhisattva Maitreya, his conceptual counterpart in Buddhism: both are worshipped as messianic saviors.

The Kalkin sculpture was recovered together with a seated Ganeśa (cat. 99) and can be accepted as a product of the same workshop. In both cases, the style seems to predate that of the Phnom Da workshops, and as their findspot is only about 50 miles (80 km) east of that sacred mountain, one may expect their workshop practices to have been closely related. Kalkin’s body, like that of Ganeśa, is powerful and martial, that of a hero-warrior. The slight flexing of the figure adds to its compelling presence. The forceful neckline of the horse merges seamlessly into the human shoulders. The head, too, is remarkably naturalistic, with large, well-defined eyes; open nostrils; and a wide mouth line. Bereft of both arms, the figure has no extant attributes, but Viṣṇu’s favored discus (*cakra*) and conch (*sankha*) are most likely to have been represented. The long waistcloth clings to the thighs, and the folds of





the central pleat, with engraved detailing, would have extended to the pedestal to add structural support, as seen in other early seventh-century workshop products, especially the peninsular Thai Viṣṇus.<sup>4</sup> This Kalkin is unadorned apart from a waist sash worn low around the hips, secured with a large triple-loop bow that projects to the figure's right and doubtless once supported that missing arm.

PUBLICATIONS: G. Groslier 1931, pl. xx; Dupont 1941, pp. 243–44, pl. XXXIII, A; Boisselier 1955, pp. 24, 228, pl. 1; Dupont 1955, pp. 124–25, 129, pl. xix, A; Giteau 1960, pp. 13–14; Boisselier 1989, pp. 34–35, fig. III; Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 162–63, no. 14; Dalsheimer and Mangun 1998, pp. 93–94; Dalsheimer 2001, pp. 51–52, no. 5; Jessup 2006, pp. 28–29, no. 4; Dowling 2011, p. 72, pl. 9.

NOTES: 1. The location of provinces in modern-day Cambodia differs somewhat from those under the French Protectorate of Cambodia. Kouk Trap, for instance, is today in Svay Rieng province, not Kandal province, as cited in the earlier literature. 2. Kalkin is variously characterized in Indian art as being a horse, a horse-headed creature, or a human riding a horse, as described in the *Kalkipurāṇa*. The Khmer form is consistently horse-headed. Its origin was probably a horse deity in early India worshipped by horse-breeding tribes—hence the variant name Hayagrīva (horse-necked). The god is characterized as the savior of the Vedas from the demons Madhu and Kaitabha, a story illustrated in lintels at Prasat Thom (Koh Ker) and Banteay Srei; see Boisselier 1989, pp. 34–35. 3. Vājimukha is named in an inscription at Prasat Sankhanh during the reign of Sūryavarman I (1002–50); see K. Bhattacharya 1961b, p. 117. 4. O'Connor 1972, fig. 14.

#### CAT. 75

### Lintel Depicting Viṣṇu Anantaśāyin and the Birth of Brahmā

Western Cambodia, mid-7th century

First recorded at Wat Po Veal, Tuol Baset, Baset, Battambang province

Sandstone

24¾ x 62¼ x 8½ in. (63 x 158 x 22 cm)

National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.3218)

This grandly conceived sandstone lintel depicting a beloved creation myth in Hindu cosmology represents the beginning of this subject's portrayal in Southeast Asia. The purplish sandstone is characteristic of the Battambang area, so the lintel is undoubtedly the product of a workshop in that region. Specialist sculptors may well have moved from commission to commission and thus disseminated this style: the lintel has striking similarities to the Wat Eng Khna lintel (cat. 88), produced some distance to the east. Both findspots, however, border the Tonle Sap lake, so they were readily connected by water. The compositions share a single-span arch that springs from pedestals of classic Sambor Prei Kuk form, with fluted vertical and square moldings and a flaming elliptical gemstone cartouche at the center. Both arches are bordered by a string of pearls, single in this case; have elaborate foliate design infill; and are punctuated by three large medallions. In the Wat Eng Khna example, the medallions narrate the Liṅgodbhavamūrti myth; here, the central one depicts Brahmā, born from the lotus that emerges from the sleeping Viṣṇu's navel. Both arches are edged in leaping flames, as are the medallions. Here, the two celestial celebrants, with hands

raised in veneration (*añjalimudrā*), are depicted as airborne, as indicated by the sideward placement of their legs.

The composition is dominated by the central panel beneath the arch, in which the majestic figure of Viṣṇu is outstretched in slumber on the coils of the world-snake Ananta ("the infinite"), who symbolizes the cosmic ocean from which each new age is born. Ananta's seven hoods shelter the god's crowned head. Viṣṇu's cylindrical crown, with a central diadem and a tiered summit, is related to those seen in lintels and carved brick reliefs at Sambor Prei Kuk. Viṣṇu is four-armed: one lower arm holds his discus weapon (*cakra*), while the other supports his sleeping head; one upper arm rests along his body, and the other, barely discernible, rises directly behind the lotus stem, supporting the lotus bud on which Brahmā has been born. The waistcloth is drawn up and folded over to form a triple fan at the front, over which is a belt with square links. Each wrist has a matching bracelet, and Viṣṇu wears a necklace set with large gemstones and ear ornaments with cylindrical elements.<sup>1</sup>

Depictions of this creation myth are found beginning in the fifth century in Indian temple art; the earliest known example is the monumental rock-cut relief at Udayagiri, Madhya Pradesh, in central India, while the closest to the tradition that emerged in Cambodia are the sixth-century relief at Sultanganj, Bihar (fig. 106), and the early seventh-century depiction at Aihole, Karnataka, a near contemporary of the Battambang lintel. Another related rendering is seen in a lintel from Phu Tho, Quang Ngai province, which demonstrates a close relationship between the Zhenla and Champa treatments of this subject.<sup>2</sup> More refined in its realization, although



CAT. 75



CAT. 76

less complex in its descriptive details, is the superb tympanum from temple E1, My Son, Quang Nam province, central Vietnam, also dated to the mid-seventh century (cat. 76). All these examples share the ornamented single arch as the framing device and, as a result, are understood to have a shared ancestry, explored most fully by Jean Boisselier.<sup>3</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Dupont 1952, p. 73; Boisselier 1955, p. 268, pl. 25; Dupont 1955, pp. 136–38, pl. xxvi, A; Boisselier 1956, pp. 198–207, fig. 2; Giteau 1965, pp. 55–56, and p. 54, pl. 15; *Angkor: Göttliches Erbe Kambodschas* 2006, pp. 76–77, no. 27.

NOTES: 1. This subject reached its apex in Cambodia with the casting of a monumental bronze version, installed in a temple on a man-made island in the West Baray, Angkor, during the reign of King Udayādityavarman II (1050–66), substantial remains of which are now preserved in the National Museum of Cambodia; see Guy 2010. 2. Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang, Vietnam; Boisselier 1956, fig. 6 (line drawing).

3. Boisselier 1956.

#### CAT. 76

#### Tympanum Depicting Viṣṇu Anantaśāyin and the Birth of Brahmā

Central Vietnam, mid-7th century  
Excavated from temple E1, My Son, Quang Nam province, by Charles Carpeaux in 1903, and transferred to the Musée Henri Parmentier, Da Nang, in 1935

Sandstone

45 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 94 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 11 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (115 x 240 x 30 cm)  
Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang, Vietnam (17.8)

The theme of Viṣṇu sleeping on the cosmic ocean, supported by the coils of the world-serpent Ananta, was depicted in seventh-century temples in both Zhenla and Champa.<sup>1</sup> The similarity of the renderings in the two regions raises questions about shared cultural forms across linguistic and political frontiers. This tympanum was recovered from temple E1 at My Son and is very likely one of the two referenced in the 658 inscription of the king Prakāśadharma/Vikrantavarman, which records the foundation of two shrines dedicated to Śiva named under the epithets Īśāneśvara and Prabhāseśvara.<sup>2</sup> Like the example from Battambang, western Cambodia (cat. 75), this Vaiṣṇava narrative graced the entrance to a Śaiva linga sanctuary. It would have been mounted on the two sandstone colonnettes found in the same location, constituting the west-facing porch of the main sanctuary of group E. Two integrated tenons anchored the tympanum into the brickwork above the doorjamb of the sanctuary's tower. In seventh-century Cham architecture, the oldest sandstone panels served a double function: as lintels bridging doorjambs and as porch tympanums carrying a narrative. This tradition differs from that pursued in early Khmer architecture, where the sandstone lintel set into brickwork was the norm, and supplementary decoration, such as a pediment, was executed, if at all, in raised and carved brick, as seen at Sambor Prei Kuk in central Cambodia.<sup>3</sup>

This Cham version of Viṣṇu's cosmic sleep and the birth of Brahmā has several unique features that set it apart from its Khmer, and most of its Indian, counterparts (fig. 106). First, Viṣṇu

has only two arms, not the standard four. A textual authority does exist for this unconventional form: the *Vaikhānasāgama* defines four iconographic types of Viṣṇu Anantaśāyin, one of which, *Yogaśayana*, is described as two-armed.<sup>4</sup> Second, the presence of an ascetic sage (*rshi*) at Viṣṇu's feet<sup>5</sup> is similarly based on Āgama ritual authority and therefore likely represents the *rshi* Bhṛgu, worshipping with raised hands.<sup>6</sup> Next, the lotus-born Brahmā rises above the framing arch, asserting his importance as an independent deity. Finally, instead of celestial celebrants, the attendants are standing Garuḍas, each grasping a writhing snake in its human hands. While bird-men have a natural association with Viṣṇu—Garuḍa serves as Viṣṇu's celestial vehicle (*vāhana*)—their presence in this scene is unprecedented and must represent a local artist's response to a verbal description proffered by the Brahmins one may assume directed this complex iconographic commission on behalf of the king Vikrantavarman.<sup>7</sup> Garuḍas are prominently featured in a variety of forms in Sambor Prei Kuk lintels, but mostly with avian heads (fig. 116). These Garuḍas are predominantly human in their features and closest in style to those at Khu Bua, a major Mon Buddhist site in central Thailand (see cat. 77), signaling the multiple currents of a shared visual vocabulary in mid-seventh-century mainland Southeast Asia.

The relative lack of finishing detail has led some scholars to suggest that this pedimental relief is unfinished. However, given the planned viewing distance and the likelihood that it was intended to be plastered and polychromed, the

work may be understood as complete. A large lotus pedestal at the My Son site museum preserves traces of such painted plaster decoration, confirming the practice.<sup>8</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Parmentier 1909–18, vol. 1 (1909), p. 414, fig. 93; Stern 1942, p. 14, pl. 22c; Boisselier 1956, p. 197, fig. 3; Boisselier 1956/2008, pp. 243–45, fig. 3; Boisselier 1963b, pp. 40–41, fig. 9; Pham Huy Thong et al. 1988, p. 36; Sharma 1993, p. 79; Guillon 2001, pp. 72–73, no. 1; W. A. Southworth 2004, pp. 224–25, fig. 9.14; Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, pp. 183–85, no. 5; Nguyen Van Ku and Ngo Van Doanh 2005, p. 222, ill. no. 215; Huynh Thi Duoc 2006, p. 22, no. 17; Guillon 2011, p. 91, fig. 35; Schweyer 2011, p. 69, ill. pp. 68, 392.

NOTES: 1. Not recorded in the Mon territories, it nonetheless appears in an early Pyu context as an independent stele; see Luce 1985, pl. 50; Gutman 1999, p. 30, fig. 2. 2. C.96. W. A. Southworth 2004, p. 224; illustrated in Schweyer 2011, p. 189. 3. For example, at tower S9; see Tranet 1997–99, vol. 2 (1998), p. 130.

4. Soundara Rajan 1967, p. 68. 5. This space is normally occupied by one of Viṣṇu's consorts, Śridevī or Bhūdevī, who massages his feet. 6. Soundara Rajan 1967, p. 76. 7. Garudas are named among those in attendance at this scene in the *Vaikhānasāgama* rendition of the myth but are not normally singled out in this manner. 8. Identified and sampled by this author in 1990.



#### CAT. 77

#### Garuda

Western Thailand, first half of 7th century  
Excavated from site 40, Khu Bua, Ratchaburi province, by the Fine Arts Department, Thailand, in 1962

Terracotta

18 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 15 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (48 x 39 x 12 cm)

National Museum, Bangkok (1406/2504)

The mythical human-bird creature Garuḍa is intimately associated with Viṣṇu, serving as the god's celestial vehicle (*vāhana*), but he also has a generic function as a defender of faiths. In site 40 at Khu Bua, the Garuḍa must be understood as a protector of the Buddha and the Buddha's dharma, a role consistent with his frequent depiction at the apex of a nimbus (*prabhā*) surrounding the Buddha. The squat frontal rendering is in keeping with the Indian model developed from the fourth to sixth century in northern Indian Gupta art, where Garuḍa served as the insignia of the royal household.<sup>1</sup> The creature is also linked to royal authority in Southeast Asia and may have served a dual purpose in the iconographic program at Khu Bua, as in other Dvāravatī cultural contexts, most notably on fittings for Wheel of the Law pillars (*dharmačakrastambha*; see cat. 124). Contemporary representations in Brahmanical contexts survive at the ancient city of Champasak, southern Laos, and in both sandstone lintels and brick reliefs at Sambor Prei Kuk, central Cambodia.

Here, Garuḍa is depicted with an avian body, clawed feet, outspread wings, and an anthropomorphic head and arms, the latter displaying disk armband ornaments. He wears large, elliptical ear plugs (*kundala*) and a necklace of elliptical components with a jewel setting



at the center. His hair is set in elaborate tiers, consciously mimicking the coiffure of the crowned bodhisattvas recovered at the same site (cat. 146). Garuḍa is typically represented combating his traditional enemy, the snake (*nāga*), and he may have held two serpents in his (now-lost) raised hands. His left leg, left earring, and the corresponding side of his torso have been restored. Clay sealings of this Gupta-type Garuḍa from the seventh and eighth centuries are also known from the Mon territories. Their function is unknown but was presumably talismanic; they may have been worn as protective charms against snakebites.

PUBLICATIONS: Boisselier 1969, p. 76, fig. 56; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, pp. 200–201, no. 92; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 130–31, no. 10; Phatcharin Sukpramun 2009, p. 194; Zaleski 2009, p. 174.

NOTE: 1. Raven 1994, pp. 17–50.

#### CAT. 78

#### Viṣṇu Mounted on Garuḍa

Central Vietnam, early 9th century

Found in Ngu Hanh Son (“Marble Mountains”), Da Nang province

Sandstone with polychrome

$22\frac{7}{8} \times 15\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{11}{16}$  in. (58 x 39 x 22 cm)

Musée National des Arts Asiatiques—Guimet, Paris (MA3572)

The theme of Viṣṇu riding his celestial vehicle (*vāhana*), the mythical eagle Garuḍa, was rarely represented in mainland Southeast Asia before the tenth century, when it became popular in Angkorian-period temple art. Its earliest recorded appearance is at the mid-first-millennium moated city of Champasak, southern Laos, where a standing Garuḍa with traces of the legs of Viṣṇu survives, along with several Angkorian-period renditions. Its appearance in India is linked to the Gupta royal household (ca. 320–550), for whom Viṣṇu was the tutelary deity and Garuḍa the standard (*dvaja*), or ensign. Garuḍa appears on a silver seal of Kumāragupta II or III in the early sixth century.<sup>1</sup> He is also prominent in a rock-cut relief near Bhagalpur, the ancient “Champa” of eastern Bihar, an area that later boasted great *mahāvihāras* (large monasteries), notably Sultanganj and Vikramashila. This region was in contact with Southeast Asia from an early period, giving its name to one of the early polities in central Vietnam, as recounted in an inscription dated to 658.<sup>2</sup>

The present work is one of the few appearances of the Viṣṇu Garuḍasana theme in Cham art. It is stylistically related to the early ninth-century phase of temple E1, My Son, particularly in the octagonal helmet with tapering facets and the benign, mustached face.<sup>3</sup> Garuḍa’s kneeling posture as he firmly clasps Viṣṇu’s legs is indebted to eastern Indian models of the sixth and seventh centuries, also preserved in Nepal.<sup>4</sup> A Viṣṇu on Garuḍa from Gupta-era Bihar provides the strongest Indian prototype, with Viṣṇu’s feet off the ground, a reminder that he is airborne.<sup>5</sup> Here, the pierced earlobes are a clue to the manner in which the image would have been enlivened with gold temple jewelry; today, it shows traces of polychrome of an indeterminate

date. Two of the four hands are intact, displaying the conch (*śaṅkha*) and earth sphere (*bbū*). Garuḍa is birdlike except for the human arms that secure his divine passenger; his lower torso and legs are feathered. A necklace is his only adornment, apart from some patterning at the edges of his wings. The size of the icon would have required that it be housed in a dedicated sanctuary.

PUBLICATIONS: Pal 1978, p. 136, no. 92; Le Bonheur 1994, pp. 260, 264, fig. 131; Lambrecht and Schickgruber 2003, p. 42, no. 25; Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, pp. 198–99, no. 12.

NOTES: 1. Raven 1994, p. 162, pl. 16. 2. C.96. Vickery 2011, pp. 378–79. 3. Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, p. 198. 4. The earliest known instance is at the royal Licchavi temple at Changu Narayan in the hills of the Bhaktapur district, Nepal (ca. 5th century and later). 5. The Cleveland Museum of Art (1961.46).

#### CAT. 79

#### Viṣṇu

Central Cambodia, first half of 9th century

Recovered from a rock shelter near Prasat Rup Arak, Phnom Kulen, Siem Reap province, by Philippe Stern in 1936

Sandstone

$7\frac{3}{4} \times 22\frac{7}{16} \times 8\frac{11}{16}$  in. (190 x 57 x 22 cm), including tenon

Musée National des Arts Asiatiques—Guimet, Paris (MG18860)

In the late eighth century, the Khmer king Jayavarman II moved his capital from Vyadhpura, likely in eastern Cambodia, to Hariharalaya (modern Roluos), central Cambodia, and in 802 he performed a reconsecration (*abhiṣeka*) ceremony on Phnom Kulen, a mountain plateau northeast of the Tonle Sap lake, which appears to have served as an early religious center to the Khmer royal household. The Wat Eng Khna lintel (cat. 88) provides a unique depiction of such a ceremony.<sup>1</sup> Krus Preah Aram Rong Chen, an

early step-pyramid temple, now in ruins, is believed to have been the location. The single-cell brick sanctuary temples of Phnom Kulen are clustered in the eastern zone of the plateau, and as many as sixty appear to have been built during Jayavarman II’s reign.<sup>2</sup> A small corpus of important sculptures survives from these sites: three Viṣṇus from Prasat Damrei Krap, two from Prasat Thma Dap, and two from Prasat Rup Arak,<sup>3</sup> including the present work. A life-size rendering, it signals a critical transition in Khmer art, embodying stylistic features that reference the past as well as others that signal what was to swiftly follow: the beginnings of the Angkorian style.

The mustached face has a striking realism suggestive of portraiture. This quality is seen elsewhere in the eighth century, most notably in the two *devīs* from Sambor on the Mekong (cats. 94, 95). The cylindrical miter is plain and frames the forehead with a simple band. The musculature of the upper torso has affinities with the Philadelphia Museum of Art Avalokiteśvara (cat. 138), an exemplary work in the classic eighth-century style. The stylization of the drapery, a hallmark of ninth-century Angkorian statuary, is already emerging here and serves, in large part, to define the Phnom Kulen style. The simple “fishtail” central pleat of the waistcloth seen in the preceding two centuries has given way to an elaborate and complex construction, whose evolution toward further stylization is a major chronological indicator throughout the Angkorian period. This first and somewhat tentative venture into the new descriptive mode for courtly dress contrasts with the upper part of the figure, which retains the naturalism, described in minimalist terms, that epitomized the eighth century. The projecting arms are still supported by an integrated arch, another salient feature of much pre-Angkorian sculpture, although the greatest sculptors, such as those responsible for the Prasat Andet Harihara (fig. 3) and the



Fig. 106. Rock-cut relief depicting Viṣṇu Anantaśayin and the birth of Brahmā. Northern India, ca. 6th century. In situ at Jahangira, Sultanganj, Bhagalpur district, Bihar





Sambor Prei Kuk Durgā, had already mastered the unsupported freestanding figure.<sup>4</sup>

Remarkably, the two upper hands are preserved, displaying the discus (*cakra*) and conch (*śaṅkha*) in a manner associated with the pre-Angkorian period. The top of Viṣṇu's club (*gadā*) remains on the pedestal, beside his left foot. The integrated pedestal, with its long tenon, would have been installed on a basin for the performance of daily *pūjās* involving ablutions.

PUBLICATIONS: Goloubew 1924, p. 25, figs. 16, 17; Dupont 1936, p. 422, pl. XLIV; Stern 1938, p. 131, pl. XXXVIII, E; Monod-Bruhl 1939, p. 11; Boisselier 1955, pp. 106, 108, pl. 26; Boisselier 1966, pp. 243–44; Monod-Bruhl 1966, p. 128; Béguin 1992, p. 67; Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 192–93, no. 30; *Spiritual Journey* 2004, p. 118, pl. 57; Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 90–92, no. 25.

NOTES: 1. He is described as being installed under the authority of the *devarāja*, the meaning of which has fueled much debate; see Kulke 1978. 2. Jessup 2004, p. 63. 3. For their locations, see Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 90–92, no. 25. 4. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 168–69, no. 18.

#### CAT. 80 Śivalīṅga

Southern Vietnam, 5th–6th century

Discovered at Go Cay Trom mound (Oc Eo), Thoai Son district, An Giang province, by Louis Malleret in 1944

Sandstone

H. 68½ in. (173 cm), including tenon of 23½ in. (60 cm); diam. 12½ in. (32 cm)

National Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City (BTLS 5957)

Śiva was represented most commonly during the first millennium in his aniconic, symbolic form—as a linga (*śivalīṅga*), a shaft of stone that, to varying degrees, assumes the naturalistic features of a phallus. In the beginning, Śiva's presence was evoked through the worship of a naturally occurring object or landform acknowledged as a linga (*avyakta*), typically a rock, mountain top, or river-washed stone (*banalīṅga*). This large stone linga is one of many found in shrines in and around Oc Eo, indicating that locale's strong Śaiva affiliation. These cults attracted elite support, judging by the lavish patronage the shrines must have required at the time. Śiva's linga form (*lingarūpa*) is here represented as having two parts, the cylindrical upper part (*rudrabhāga*, or *pūjabbhāga*, the part to which the *pūjā* is offered) and the square-sectioned lower half (*brahmabhāga*). The latter was intended not to be visible but rather to be concealed in the brick platform upon which it was installed, following long-established Indian practice.<sup>1</sup>

The evolution of the linga in India culminated in the conventional medieval type, described in the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*.<sup>2</sup> Of tripartite structure, it has a square lower section, an octagonal middle section (*viṣṇubbhāga*), and a circular upper section. Conventionally, the lower two sections are not visible, concealed in the lustration basin or platform (*pīṭha*). The names for each constituent part reflect a Puranic myth, the Liṅgodbhavamūrti, knowledge of which in



CAT. 80

mainland Southeast Asia is confirmed by the seventh-century lintel recovered from the temple of Wat Eng Khna, southwest of Sambor Prei Kuk, central Cambodia (cat. 88).<sup>3</sup> The representation of the linga in India changed over time, beginning with a high degree of naturalism and moving toward a stylization in which the anatomical features were progressively reduced to residual markings (grooves and lines) and, finally, to a simple shaft with three distinct sections.<sup>4</sup> The type of linga seen here, highly naturalistic and omitting the octagonal middle section, is associated in India with the earliest recorded type, exemplified by the *ekamukhalinga* from Aghapura, Uttar Pradesh, assigned to the first century A.D., and to a number of them recorded at Mathura.<sup>5</sup> Arguably, the oldest datable linga in Southeast Asia is the inscription stele of King Devanika, found at Wat Luong Kau, Laos. The bilingual inscription, in Sanskrit and Khmer, is engraved on the lower sections of a tripartite pillar and assigned, on the basis of the script, to the late fifth century.<sup>6</sup> King Devanika erected the linga to commemorate his reconsecration during a pilgrimage to the ancient city of Champasak (possibly then known as Lingapura), located on the west bank of the Mekong River in southern Laos. Given the elemental simplicity of the Go Cay Trom linga and the improbability that it is an archaic rendering, it, too, may date early in the chronology of Śaiva imagery in Southeast Asia, likely to the fifth century or soon after.

Among the largest examples to be discovered in the Mekong delta, the Go Cay Trom linga is associated with fired-brick and river-stone foundation remains; similar foundations for in situ lingas are known from shrine sites on the mountain slopes near Wat Phu, overlooking ancient Champasak (fig. 12).<sup>7</sup> Such shrines were open, as in early India, or possibly had a timber superstructure supporting a bamboo-and-palm roof.<sup>8</sup> By the seventh century, lingas were being installed in fully enclosed brick sanctuaries in keeping with Zhenla architectural practices, as seen at Sambor Prei Kuk and, most spectacularly in the Mekong delta, at Cat Tien, Lam Dong province, with its classic tripartite linga (fig. 86).

PUBLICATIONS: Malleret 1959–63, vol. 1 (1959), p. 381, no. 103, pl. LXXXV, c; Le Thi Lien 2006b, pp. 82–84, fig. 93; Le Thi Lien 2008, pp. 77–78, fig. 19.

NOTES: 1. Guy 2005b, p. 143, fig. 1. 2. The date of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* is controversial, but it is probably assignable to the seventh century; see von Mitterwallner 1984, p. 22. 3. In the Lingodbhavamūrti myth, Śiva manifests himself as a blazing column of immeasurable size to settle a dispute between Brahmā and Viṣṇu over who created the universe. Brahmā attempted to reach its peak (in the form of a *baṇsa*, or goose), while Viṣṇu assumed his boar avatar, Varāha, and dug to the depths of the sea. Having failed in their vain quests, both submitted to Śiva's supreme authority. This myth was known in Java (Bosch 1931) as well as in Cambodia. 4. A suggested chronology is provided by von Mitterwallner 1984. 5. The *ekamukhalinga* is in the Bharatpur State Museum; illustrated in Srinivasan 1984, fig. 24. 6. Jacques 1962. Until recently, this stele was set into the garden of the late prince of Champasak's residence, and its identity as a linga was revealed only

when it was removed for transfer to the new site museum at Wat Phu in 2005. 7. Observed by this author during fieldwork with the Lao-Italian UNESCO Mission in 2002. 8. For Kuśāṇa-era depictions of linga shrines, see Guy 2000. For a hypothetical reconstruction of such a shrine, see Tran Ky Phuong 2011.

#### CAT. 81

#### Śivalinga

Southern Thailand, 7th–8th century

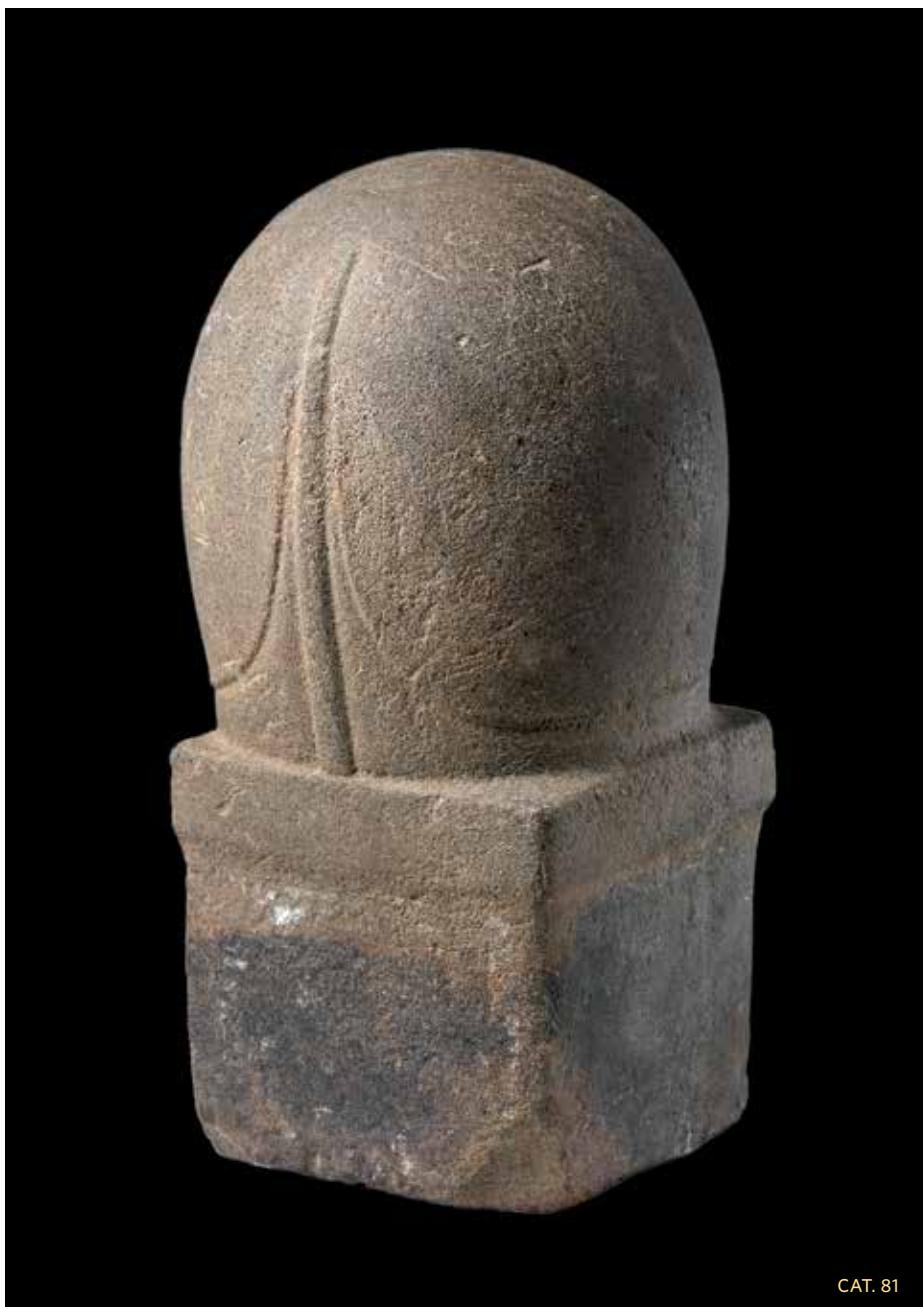
Sandstone

12½ x 6½ x 6 in. (31.8 x 16.5 x 15.2 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Gift of The Kronos Collections, 1992  
(1992.150.3)

Śiva can be worshipped in innumerable forms, both natural and man-made. These forms can range from small river-washed stones (*banana-linga*) to mountaintops that are deemed to display a linga-like profile (*liṅgaparvata*). The Śri Lingaparvata, a mountain embodying Śiva's presence, overlooks the ancient city of Champasak, southern Laos, and was, according to the Wat Luong Kau inscription of King Devanika, written no later than the second half of the fifth century, a holy site (*tirtha*) credited with the granting of boons.<sup>1</sup> In Southeast Asia, a distinctive conical linga type, unknown in India, appears from about the sixth century on. The new type, which must have developed locally as an indigenous expression of the imported concept, exists in two configurations, one with the upper section integrated into a lustration basin (fig. 108). The other, as seen here, has a square and a rounded section, the former intended to be largely concealed in a stone or brick base. Gland lines are incised into the stone, making the anatomical affiliations clear. Examples of this type are found in their greatest concentrations in peninsular Thailand, although their distribution is far wider, extending east to Borneo and Bali.<sup>2</sup>

NOTES: 1. Jacques 1962; Wolters 1999, app. 1, "A 'Hindu' Man of Prowess," p. 226. Today, the mountain is known as Phu Kao. Santoni et al. 1998. 2. O'Connor 1966a.



#### CAT. 82A, B

#### Two Miniature Lingas

Southern Vietnam, 7th century

Excavated at Vong The, Thoai Son district,  
An Giang province

Rock crystal

Each ¾ x 1⅓ x 2 in. (1.8 x 3 x 5 cm)

An Giang Province Museum,  
Long Xuyen, Vietnam

The Indian prescriptive Sastric texts, the Āgamas, describe a variety of lingas, both immovable (*acalalinga*) and movable (*calalinga*). The former were nearly always of stone, while an almost infinite variety of materials could be employed for the portable ones, ranging from sand and natural stone to bronze, jewels, and precious metals.<sup>1</sup> Rock crystal, favored for its purity and ability to transmit light, was widely used in the early Khmer-speaking regions of mainland Southeast Asia;<sup>2</sup> the largest numbers have been



Fig. 107. Linga altar. Central Vietnam, 9th century. Photographed in situ in temple sanctuary A10, My Son, Quang Nam province, during excavation in 1928; site destroyed in the 1960s

recovered at sites in the Mekong delta.<sup>3</sup> These two examples represent, in miniature form, the integrated linga and lustration basin seen on a monumental scale at the Śaiva sanctuary at Cat Tien, Lam Dong province (fig. 86). They were undoubtedly intended for the personal use of Śaiva devotees in performing *lingapūjā*. Given the lack of standardization in the execution of portable lingas, it is likely that many were made by devotees, in the same manner as the innumerable rock-cut lingas found in riverbeds at sites on and around Phnom Kulen, Siem Reap province, suggests that *r̄ṣis* carved them, presumably as acts of piety. Rock crystal and other semiprecious stones formed a regular part of consecration deposits at Brahmanical sites in the Zhenla territories and elsewhere in Southeast Asia; those in Kedah, Malaysia, are particularly well documented.<sup>4</sup> Miniature lingas may have occasionally been part of the sacred deposit interred in the *garbhanyāsa* (depository of the embryo)—a compartmented box, usually stone, placed under a temple's foundation during construction.<sup>5</sup> Being highly portable, these miniature lingas were also likely carried by *r̄ṣis* as they journeyed to the sites (*tīrtha*) sacred to Śiva in the Khmer landscape.

PUBLICATIONS: Le Xuan Diem, Dao Linh Con, and Vo Si Khai 1995, app., pp. 315, 319; Le Thi Lien 2006b, pp. 99–100.

NOTES: 1. Gopinatha Rao 1914–16, vol. 2, pt. 1 (1916), pp. 75–78. 2. Vickery 2003, pp. 122–25, has cogently argued that the population of the Mekong delta was Khmer speaking. 3. Le Thi Lien 2006b, pp. 99–100.

4. Lamb 1960. 5. Ślączka 2007, pp. 239–40, 244–47. For one of the most complete assemblies recovered intact in Southeast Asia, see Lamb 1960.



Fig. 108. Linga and lustration basin. Photographed in situ at Śri Liṅgaparvata (Phu Kao), Champasak, southern Laos, in 1996

#### CAT. 83

#### Śiva's Footprints (*Śivapāda*)

Northern Cambodia, second half of 7th–8th century

Found in Theat Ba Chong, Stung Treng province, by Henri Parmentier in 1911, and transferred to the Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom Penh, in 1920

Sandstone

6½ x 12½ x 12½ in. (17 x 32 x 32 cm), including tenon

National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1756)

The worship of footprints is an ancient Indian practice that was shared among Hindus, Buddhists, and Jains.<sup>1</sup> Representations of sacred footprints (*pāda*) are routinely associated with both Viṣṇu (*viṣṇupāda*) and the Buddha (*buddhapāda*). By the fifth century, shrines dedicated to holy footprints, predominantly to those of Viṣṇu, appear to have been widespread. A rock-cut footprint with a Gupta-style inscription naming Rudra Mahalaya (Śiva, the “supreme Lord”) was recorded at a site near Sultanganj, Bihar.<sup>2</sup> Traces of *śivapādas* in India are extremely rare, but various texts confirm their existence: in a long section describing Śiva's sacred geography in India, the *Skandapurāṇa* describes those places sacred to the deity where he left his footprint, evidence of his descent on earth. It begins with Mount Himavat in the Himalayas and extends as far south as Andhra Pradesh.<sup>3</sup> There is a consensus that this text dates to the sixth century.<sup>4</sup> The sect most closely identified with the *Skandapurāṇa* is the Pāśupata, which placed great emphasis on yogic practices (*pāśupatayoga*). It also played a central role in propagating the Śaiva cult in early Cambodia and could have been instrumental in transmitting the *pāda* concept.

The oldest known sacred *pāda* in Southeast Asia appears as part of a boulder-cut inscription found in the Ciaruteun River, Ciampéa, western Java (fig. 11). The Sanskrit inscription, written in

a fifth- to sixth-century cursive Southern Brāhmī script, identifies the patron as King Pūrvavarman of Tārumānagara. In the notation, this important local ruler asserts that the footprints are his, thus likening himself to Viṣṇu.

In 1912 Louis Finot reported the discovery of a seventh- to eighth-century stone *pāda* near the brick remains of a temple downstream from Stung Treng, on a bank of the Mekong River.<sup>5</sup> That unique find from the northern territories of Zhenla was all the more remarkable for its Sanskrit inscription, which revealed that the intended association was with Śiva. The one-line inscription reads *śivapādadvayāmbhojam*, “the pair of lotus feet of Śiva.”<sup>6</sup> Flowers are regularly employed in Śaiva imagery: the *Śivapurāṇa* speaks of the god as a “*ketaka* flower, superbly fragrant,” and as the “Lord of flowers.”<sup>7</sup> The inscription is in a cursive Southern Brāhmī script characteristic of Zhenla inscriptions datable to the second half of the seventh century.

The *śivapāda* from Stung Treng province is a unique survivor of its type but fits into a broader setting of early Khmer Śaiva worship, in which the *triśūla* (trident; cat. 84), sacred bull (cat. 102), and footprint are all used, as well as the ever-present linga, to evoke the deity. This multitude of veneration symbols is unique to Khmer Śaiva worship and is not mirrored in contemporary Indian practice. The early Khmer use of the *śivapāda* to evoke the god's presence on earth is symptomatic of a religious climate in which newly imported texts, such as the *Skandapurāṇa*, provided an impetus for literal representations. Marking out Śiva's sacred geography in these new extensions to the Hindu world became a major concern, as witnessed by numerous inscriptions, among the earliest being that of King Devanika at Champasak, southern Laos, in the late fifth century. Two references in pre-Angkorian Khmer inscriptions to Rudra Mahalaya—a Śaiva holy place in the Deccan where Śiva left his footprint—confirm that textual authority existed in early Cambodia for the creation of *śivapādas*.<sup>8</sup>



CAT. 82A, B



CAT. 83

These parallels support an early date for the present *pāda* relief and its inscription, as does the absence of foliate or floral decoration. That it was not a unique occurrence in seventh-century Zhenla is confirmed by several inscriptive references to the worship of *śivapādas*; for example, a stele from Prasat Neak Buos, Kampong Cham province, dated to about 680, refers to the practice.<sup>9</sup> In all likelihood, the present relief was mounted on a low pedestal, and devotees were invited to perform auspicious circumambulation (*pradaksīna*).<sup>10</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Finot 1912a, p. 184, pl. 1, 1; Coedès 1937–64, vol. 2 (1942), p. 145, K.474; Dupont 1955, p. 110; Boisselier 1966, pp. 288–89; Ang Choulean 1997, p. 62, fig. 1; Bisschop 2006, p. 37.

NOTES: 1. For origins, see Quagliotti 1998. 2. C.96.

Bakker 1991, p. 25; Choudhury 1997. 3. *Skandapurāṇa*, stanzas 27–162. See Bakker 1991; Bisschop 2006, pp. 13–14. 4. Bisschop 2006, p. 14, n. 31. 5. Finot 1912a, p. 184. 6. Coedès 1937–64, vol. 2 (1942), p. 145, K.474; see also Griffiths, “Early Indic Inscriptions of Southeast Asia,” in this volume. 7. For Śaiva flower imagery, see Gail 2010, pp. 250–51. 8. Along with Kedara and Madhyama, Mahalaya ranked among the three most important holy places after Varanasi, the epicenter of Śaiva worship, where liberation (*mokṣa*) was assured; Bisschop 2006, pp. 14, 18, 37. See also Bhardwaj 1973. 9. K.341. Recovered by Henri Parmentier from the north door of Gopura II; Coedès 1937–64, vol. 6 (1954), pp. 22–24. Illegibility of the Śaka date makes the year ambiguous. 10. Inscriptions refer explicitly to *vishnupādas* as objects of veneration; see K. Bhattacharya 1961b, pp. 118–19.

#### CAT. 84

#### Stele with Śaiva Trident, Ax, and Vase of Plenty

Southeastern Cambodia, second half of 7th century

Discovered at Vihear Thom, Andong Svay, Kampong Cham province, by George Groslier in 1919, and transferred by Victor Goloubew to the Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom Penh, in 1921 Shale<sup>1</sup>

40⅓ x 16⅔ x 7⅓ in. (102 x 41 x 18 cm)

National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1741)

This stele powerfully evokes the presence of the supreme Hindu deity Śiva by devoting the entire composition to his attribute par excellence, the

trident (*triśūla*). Three mighty prongs emerge from a bulbous vase of plenty (*pūrnaghāṭa*), and Śiva's wide-bladed ax projects from the side of the vase.<sup>2</sup> The association of the woodsman's ax with Śiva is a particularly southern Indian trait.<sup>3</sup> No ornament was added, nor, indeed, was necessary. A unique Sanskrit inscription in two vertical lines on the central blade of the trident pays homage to Śiva and reveals the precise genesis of the dedication: "After his teeth had fallen from Bhōja's mouth, when he was eighty years old, he deposited them at the base of the trident, after he had installed here a linga."<sup>4</sup> When the stele was found, two recesses on the front of the tenon were closed with stone plugs; presumably, they once housed the teeth of the *bhakta* (devotee), as described in the inscription. The tenon would have been secured below ground or in a stone pedestal, ensuring the ritual deposit's concealment.

Although this specific dedication is a singular occurrence, another rare depiction of the *triśūla* and *pūrnaghāṭa* combination occurs on a stone stele from the sixth-century Mekong delta (fig. 109).<sup>5</sup> The silhouette of the *pūrnaghāṭa* is familiar from flowering vases depicted in a variety of early Indian sources, and the *triśūla* is of an early type.<sup>6</sup> However, the trident has a generic resemblance to that depicted on an inscribed pilaster attached to a well-shrine in Mathura, northern India, and dated to the reign of Chandragupta II, equivalent to 380.<sup>7</sup> The inscription was installed by the Śaiva guru Udaītācārya, who descended from Lakuliśa, the Śaiva Pāśupata guru revered as the twenty-eighth avatar of Śiva. Lakuliśa's followers are described as ash-smeared mendicants who, through the practice of Maheśvara yoga, attained *rudraloka*, communion with Śiva-Rudra.<sup>8</sup> Their strongholds were Mathura in northern India and Somnath in western India, on the Kathiawar



Fig. 109. Stele with Śaiva trident and vase of plenty. Southern Vietnam, ca. 6th century. Excavated from Canh Den, Kien Giang province. Sandstone. Kien Giang Province Museum, Rach Gia, Vietnam





CAT. 85

Peninsula, Gujarat. The Pāśupata sect emerges as the dominant Śaiva group in early Cambodian inscriptions; it is named in two early seventh-century inscriptions as the recipient of grants.<sup>9</sup> It is likely that the sect originated in northern and western India, suggesting that the *triśūla* resemblances are not coincidental. The present *triśūla* stele likely represents a later phase in this development. It is consistent in style, and presumably date, to the Wat Phu stele of Jayavarman I (reigned ca. 657–81).<sup>10</sup> Its discovery at Vihear Thom in 1919 confirms a Śaiva dedication at the site, complete with linga. The stele would likely have been installed in the courtyard of the shrine, and the linga, in its sanctuary. That it, like the pilaster from Mathura, carries in its inscription the personal dedication of a named *rṣi* suggests that it belongs to a long Pāśupata tradition of establishing memorial lingas and steles. The reference to physical decay may allude to the sect's practice of driving out the *prāṇavāyu* (life breath) from one's body in order to achieve complete identification with Śiva through *mokṣa* (liberation). The *rṣi* appears to have erected both a memorial to his own imminent departure and a linga to honor Śiva.

PUBLICATIONS: Finot 1920, pl. 1B, c; G. Groslier 1921, pp. 1–2, pl. II, b; Coedès 1937–64, vol. 2 (1942), p. 153; Dupont 1955, p. 110; Boisselier 1966, pp. 225–26, 288–89, pl. XLVII, 3; Bénisti 1970, pp. 91–92, fig. 138; Dalsheimer 2001, p. 206, no. 103; Khun Samen 2002, p. 209, no. 196; Bénisti 2003, p. 141, fig. 138; Angkor: Göttliches Erbe Kambodschas 2006, p. 70, no. 21.

NOTES: 1. Identification according to the records of the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh. 2. Bénisti 1970, pp. 91–92, questions this identification as a vase of plenty. 3. An early appearance of this iconography is a sixth-century sculpture of Śiva seated on his bull and holding an ax, from Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh; Nigam 1980, pl. XIV. 4. K.520. Translation by Finot 1920, p. 7. 5. Le Thi Lien 2006b, fig. 92. 6. Examples of an early Indian source are pillar bases at

Amaravati; see Knox 1992, pls. 109a, g. 7. Choubey 1997, pp. 174–76, pl. 3. 8. Ibid., p. 175. See also Bakker 2001; Bisschop and Griffiths 2003. 9. Coedès 1937–64, vol. 1 (1937), pp. 3–5, K.733; Coedès 1937–64, vol. 4 (1952), pp. 17–19, K.604. 10. This style of *triśūla* has been traced by Bénisti 1970, pp. 91–92, to sixth-century depictions at Badami, southwestern India; see Zimmer 1955, pl. 140.

#### CAT. 85

#### Brahmanical Stele

Eastern Cambodia, second half of 7th century  
Found in Tuol Komnap (Phum Ta Ok), Sambor on the Mekong, Kratie province, by Adhémar Leclère; gifted to the Musée Indochinois du Trocadéro, Paris, in 1897; and transferred to the Musée Guimet in 1927  
Sandstone  
29 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 16 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (76 x 42 x 18 cm)  
Musée National des Arts Asiatiques—Guimet, Paris (MG24618)

This stele depicts an array of emblems symbolizing the Brahmanical gods arranged on a ritual altar in an open shrine (*mandapa*). Each of the principal male deities is represented by multiple symbols. At the left is a holy water vessel (*kamandalu*) encircled by a rosary (*akṣamālā*), the principal attributes of Brahmā, supported on the bloom of a lotus flower. At the center is a *triśūla*, Śiva's trident, its three prongs springing from a central shaft. At its base, a broad-bladed ax emerges from foliage.<sup>1</sup> At the right are Viṣṇu's discus weapon (*cakra*) and probably his conch, or war trumpet (*śaṅkha*), placed one atop the other on a staff. Flanking this staff are two smaller ones with bulbous tops, likely representing, respectively, the sphere used in Cambodian iconography to denote the earth goddess Pr̥thivi, or Bhū, and Viṣṇu's club (*gadā*).<sup>2</sup> The central placement of the *triśūla* and ax attests to

the overarching supremacy of Śiva while acknowledging the necessary divine roles of Brahmā and Viṣṇu. The depiction of the Liṅgodbhavamūrti myth on the Wat Eng Khna lintel (cat. 88), of similar date, restates the theme, defining the relationship of the three principal Brahmanical deities. The *triśūla*'s blades display the same distinctive profile as those on the Vihear Thom stele (cat. 84); this profile is also seen elsewhere in the region, as in a stone antefix at My Son and on the Wat Phu inscription stele dated to the reign of Jayavarman I (ca. 657–81).<sup>3</sup>

The features of the *mandapa* and altar shown on the stele can be closely associated with the architecture of Sambor Prei Kuk. The findspot, Tuol Komnap, Sambor on the Mekong, is located 60 miles (97 km) east of Sambor Prei Kuk, and presumably, the stele was once associated with an as-yet-untraced Śaiva temple in the vicinity. The relief depicts two unadorned pillars rising from plain bases, and the pediment is decorated with three arched blind windows (Skt., *candraśalā*; Tamil, *kudu*), the center one with a flaming border. The upper terrace has a serrated crenellation design, also seen below, where it suggests an awning or textile canopy (still suspended above icons in Cambodian shrines today). The uncontoured surfaces of the relief imply that it is unfinished, and the architectural elements, in particular, were probably intended to be more fully defined and decorated. One sandstone *mandapa* in this style, the Nandi *mandapa*, survives at Sambor Prei Kuk, housed at Prasat Yeai Poeun in sanctuary S2 and dating to the early to mid-seventh century (fig. 110).<sup>4</sup> The shrine's rich foliate decoration conveys a sense of the intended final appearance of the present stele. The basement moldings and window arches (with human faces) are also seen at stone cell N17, Sambor Prei Kuk (fig. 117), as well as on the Ashram Maha Rosei shrine, Phnom Da.<sup>5</sup> A number of other early sites, predominantly seventh-century, display this window feature, such as An Giang in the delta (cat. 107), U Thong in central Thailand (cat. 106), and Songkhla in the peninsula. The enclosure gate (*gopura*) and *mandapa* inscriptions at sanctuary S2, Sambor Prei Kuk, record that the Nandi (bull) *mandapa* once housed a silver bull, Śiva's mount. The ritual utensils depicted in the stele under review were likely placed on display at such a sanctuary during *pūjās*.

PUBLICATIONS: Leclère 1904, p. 741; Coedès 1910, p. 46, no. 162, pl. VIII; Parmentier 1927, p. 213; Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 175–76, no. 22; Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 48–49, no. 12.

NOTES: 1. The ax serves as a reminder of Śiva's forest-hunter aspect, much celebrated in southern India. See Kramrisch 1981; Nagaswamy 1983. 2. Sivaramamurti 1950, p. 40. 3. Barth 1902. 4. Tragically, during the rainy season of 2006, the brick tower of sanctuary S2 partially collapsed, damaging much of this unique Khmer *mandapa*. Restoration work is under way. 5. Parmentier 1927, fig. 29.



Fig. 110. Nandi *mandapa* in brick temple S2, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kampong Thom province, Central Cambodia, first half of 7th century



CAT. 86

#### CAT. 86

#### Ritual Tray

Central Thailand, 7th–8th century

Found in Phra Pathom Chedi, Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province, before 1910

Limestone<sup>1</sup>

H. 5 7/8 in. (15 cm), w. 8 1/4 in. (21 cm)

National Museum, Bangkok (K133/4)

Trays associated with ritual offerings have a long history in the Indic world. Here, Śrī Lakṣmī, the Brahmanical goddess of prosperity, presides on a lotus while two caparisoned elephants lustrate her (performing *abhiṣeka*) from pitchers containing lotus flowers. This form, known as Gaja Lakṣmī, evokes the goddess's origins as the personification of the earth, and the purifying waters allude to the transformative power of the monsoons. Lotus-edged reservoirs truncate the four corners, evoking the four quarters of the universe; in another example, excavated at Nong Prong, Phetchaburi province, they are represented as full lotus flowers, making the mandala cosmology explicit.<sup>2</sup> Assembled before Śrī Lakṣmī is an array of regalia and ritual utensils, including fly whisks (*cāmara*), fans, and (inverted) honorific umbrellas (*chattrā*)—all royal symbols but, in this context, better understood as denoting a sacred presence—together with elephant goads (*aṅkuśa*), conch shells (*śaṅkha*), garlands, and the thunderbolt scepter (*vajra*) associated with Indra, who, astride his elephant, summons the rains. All objects are shown twice, mirrored left and right. A large vase of plenty (*pūrnagbha*) appears at the bottom (as viewed here), flanked

by a pair of fish, underscoring the themes of fecundity and prosperity.

At the center of the stone tray is an empty disk with a double lotus-flower border. The disk's function is unclear: it may have received offerings, been used to burn camphor, or, as suggested by some related archaeological finds, served to hold a waterpot for libations.<sup>3</sup> A royal context is suggested by the depiction of the regalia described above. Such a tray used for lustration could have been part of the accoutrements for a king's coronation (*rājasūya*), according to Indian practice. The iconographic schema is essentially Brahmanical, the tray designed to invoke Lakṣmī, who not only brings good fortune but also protects the thresholds of Vaiṣṇava temples. By extension, she may have been invoked as a protector of rulers who projected themselves as Viṣṇu's agents on earth. It may be assumed that the tray functioned in a Brahmanical milieu and was associated with prosperity-enhancing ceremonies for the benefit of a local ruler. However, given that the Gaja Lakṣmī motif also appears on Buddhist Wheels of the Law (*dharmacakra*) at Nakhon Pathom and elsewhere, one may surmise that, in a Dvāravatī context, Lakṣmī embodied divine prosperity in the broadest sense, extending beyond sectarian divisions in the same manner as Sūrya, who appears in Wheels of the Law as an evocation of life-affirming solar imagery.<sup>4</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Boeles 1964, pp. 106–10, photo v; Dhani Yupo 1965, pp. 26–28, fig. 30; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1969, p. 49, pl. 26B; Phasuk Indrawooth 1999, p. 175; Tiffin and Stuart-Fox 2002, pp. 53–56, fig. 2;

Phasuk Indrawooth 2004, p. 136; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 84–85; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, p. 55, no. 10; Dvaravati Art 2009, pp. 116–17, no. 3; Phasuk Indrawooth 2009, p. 44; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 256, ill. no. 2.211; H. Tan et al. 2012, p. 176, no. 81.

NOTES: 1. "Limestone" is in the records of Thailand's Fine Arts Department, but the stone has not been analyzed. For the limestone identification, see also Woodward 1997, p. 265. 2. Pyung Wongnoi 2009, p. 189. 3. The discovery in Arakan, western Myanmar, of a related tray with a bronze offering vessel in the lotus void suggests one possible use; see San Tha Aung 1997, pp. 17–23, pl. 14. 4. Gaja Lakṣmī also appears on two *sema* stones, one from Phnom Kulen, central Cambodia, and one from Muang Fa Daed, northeastern Thailand. For the former, see Boulbet and Dagens 1973, fig. 132; for the latter, see Murphy 2010, p. 295, fig. 5.114.

#### CAT. 87

#### Impression from a Property Seal

Seal: India, probably Bihar, mid-6th century

Impression: Excavated from U Thong, Suphanburi province, central Thailand

Terracotta

H. 1 1/4 in. (4.5 cm)

National Museum, U Thong, Suphanburi, Thailand, donated by Shin Yudee in 1978 (3/2520)

This terracotta seal impression belongs to the culture of sixth-century Gupta India. It depicts a Śaiva trident (*triśūla*) at the center, flanked to the left by a recumbent, humped bull under a crescent moon and to the right by a frontally depicted Garuḍa. Intaglio-ring seals of the bull and crescent moon are also known from central Thailand,<sup>1</sup> and a unique sculpture recovered at the ancient city of Champasak, southern Laos, of a standing Garuḍa confirms an awareness of Gupta-style Garuḍa imagery in the region in the mid-first millennium. A device on the staff (*danḍa*), where one would expect to see Śiva's ax, is here indistinct, perhaps on account of a casting fault in the die matrix, but nonetheless may have been intended to represent a wide-bladed ax. In the lower half of the design is a line of molded inscription in box-headed Brāhmī, an early Indian script still favored for sealings into the late Gupta period, as seen in finds from Mansar, Nagpur district, Maharashtra, and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>



CAT. 87



CAT. 88

The primary allegiance of the seal is to Śiva, as asserted by the trident and bull; Garuda's presence may evoke the authority of the Gupta royal household (ca. 320–550), which was devoutly Vaiṣṇava and employed Garuda as its dynastic emblem. The successors to the Guptas reverted to Śaiva worship, and this seal may be assigned to the immediate post-Gupta period—that is, the mid-sixth century. The inscription can be read as *śivambrihaspatē[n]*, or “property of Śivabṛhaspati,” in which Bṛhaspati is a proper name.<sup>3</sup> It is likely that the seal was used to identify personal property or serve as a “signature seal” of a merchant by that name. A second impression was found at U Thong, and other, less well-preserved ones, seemingly from the same seal (die matrix), were recovered at Chansen, Nakhon Sawan province, in a neighboring region of western Thailand,<sup>4</sup> suggesting that the seal may have circulated with its owner, probably an Indian merchant or one of Indian descent, the seal itself having originally come from India.

PUBLICATIONS: Fine Arts Department 2002a, p. 113; Fine Arts Department 2002c, p. 53; Anan Klinphoklub 2007, pp. 62, 75, figs. 1, 2; Fine Arts Department 2007a, pp. 48, 82.

NOTES: 1. Middleton 2005, p. 34. 2. Bakker 2004, p. 84. In India, box-headed Brāhma continued to be used in the sixth century; Hans T. Bakker, personal communication, February 2013. 3. Reading and translation by Arlo Griffiths and Hans T. Bakker, personal communications, February 2013. 4. Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre 1998, p. 19. Examples are also preserved in the Somdet Phra Narai National Museum, Lopburi, Thailand.

#### CAT. 88

### Lintel Depicting Liṅgodbhavamūrti Myth and a King's Consecration

Central Cambodia, mid-7th century  
Found in Wat Eng Khna, Kampong Svay district, Kampong Thom province, and transferred to the Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom Penh, in 1920  
Sandstone  
21½ x 72¾ x 11 in. (55 x 185 x 28 cm)  
National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1774)

Two great events are depicted in this unique lintel composition, one mythical, the other a seemingly real-life event—that is, a royal consecration (*abhiṣeka*). There is reason to assume that the sculpture is, in a sense, commemorative, recording a recent, or, at least, still remembered, legitimating ceremony for a local king.<sup>1</sup> The myth, depicted in the three cartouches superimposed on the arch, is the Liṅgodbhavamūrti,<sup>2</sup> which tells of a dispute between Brahma and Viṣṇu, each challenging the other's claim to be the creator of the universe. In the text, which is found in both Purāṇa and Āgama sources (including the *Śivapurāṇa* and, more prominently, the *Skandapurāṇa*),<sup>3</sup> a great flaming pillar, seemingly without limit, appears before the two gods. Brahma assumes the form of a goose (normally his *vāhana*, or celestial vehicle) and flies in search of the pillar's peak; Viṣṇu assumes his boar avatar, Varāha, and digs deep into the earth in search of the base. Neither discovers the limits of the pillar. Then, Śiva reveals himself from

within the shaft, amid flames, and the two quarrelsome gods submit to his supreme authority. The central medallion on the lintel depicts the flaming linga adorned with the face of Śiva (hence, it is an *ekamukhalinga*, a one-faced linga); at the left is the multiheaded Brahma, and at the right, the four-armed Viṣṇu. Both are shown with joined hands raised in reverent submission (*añjali mudrā*). The goose and the boar are embedded in the foliate design of the arch, to the immediate left and right of the linga.

Below the arch, as if framed by the divine drama, is an elaborate narrative scene depicting a king's coronation. The king is enthroned on a pedestal with the distinctive moldings of the period (see cat. 75). He appears “crowned,” or has his hair up in a crownlike coiffure, and wears a short waistcloth, a necklace, and bracelets. He is enshrined in an open pavilion (*mandapa*), such as those that house icons of divinities (see fig. 110), which here consists of sectioned pillars with round bases and capitals and a roof with a single blind window (Skt., *candraśālā*; Tamil, *kudu*) at the center, flanked by triangular crenellations. The architectural features are typical of the monuments of Sambor Prei Kuk, dated to the first half of the seventh century.<sup>4</sup> Wat Eng Khna is some 12 miles (20 km) southwest of that early seventh-century capital on the same river system, connecting to the Tonle Sap lake. Indeed, this work's closest affinities are to the art of Sambor Prei Kuk. The single-span arch, with pearl-string borders embellished at intervals with foliate flourishes and flaming cartouches, springs at each end from a pedestal



CAT. 88

surmounted by celestial celebrants emerging from a flowering bud.

The enthroned king is flanked by two rows of dignitaries; to his left are five or more Brahmans (*rṣi*), recognizable by their piled-up dreadlocks, beards, and sacred cords. Three hold waterpots, one a lotus bud, and one a conch (*śāṅkha*); the others are concealed behind a troupe of musicians and a male dancer. To the king's right are three more Brahmans, again with waterpots, then five male dignitaries, obviously men of rank and presumably nobles. Beyond them is the remainder of the celebratory troupe. The two Brahmans immediately adjacent to the enthroned monarch stand within the space of the *māṇḍapa* and pour water over him from the pots they hold. This act of lustration, *abbiseka*, is a religious ritual and, in the context of kingship, is associated with consecration and legitimization of divine status (*rājasūya*). The fullest description of the ritual, given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, culminates in the king's wearing of a cloth headpiece—perhaps what is intended in the depiction here—and suggests

that the lustration enacts his rebirth as a consecrated king. Shown here, in all likelihood, is the ritual performed for King Devanika at Champasak, southern Laos, in the late fifth century. Devanika's Wat Luong Kao inscription (K.365), found within the moated city, is the earliest reference to this rite in Southeast Asia. It recounts that he was "installed in supreme royal power by the auspicious Śrī Lingaparvata [mountain representing Śiva], honored since antiquity," as *mahārājādbhirāja*, "king of kings."<sup>5</sup> In other words, this ceremony was the reconssecration of an existing king, performed at a Hindu holy place (*tīrtha*) in the sacred geography of fifth-century Zhenla. To mark his "rebirth," the king constructed a holy pool he named Kurukṣetra after the holy bathing pool in the *Mahābhārata*, sited near Delhi in northern India.<sup>6</sup> These are Hindu rituals, conducted in a Hindu world.

The lintel, then, provides a unique depiction in pre-Angkorian Khmer art of two subjects that are themselves rarely depicted in Indian art. The myth and the consecration scene cohabit

the composition as parallel stories, the former presumably adding legitimacy to the latter. The intended message would thus seem clear: that the newly consecrated king ruled with the authority of Śiva, invoked according to a ritual enacted for his benefit by the *rṣis*.

PUBLICATIONS: "Chronique" 1916, p. 99; G. Groslier 1925b, pp. 53, 89, pl. 133; Parmentier 1927, pp. 87–88, fig. 34; Bosch 1931, pp. 493–94, pl. cvii, b; Stern 1933, p. 252, fig. 18; Pierre Dupont in "Chronique" 1938, p. 439; Dupont 1952, pp. 71–80, fig. 12; Dupont 1955, pp. 135–36, 156–62, 215, pl. xxvii; Boisselier 1956, pp. 201–4, and p. 199, fig. 1; Boisselier 1956/2008, pp. 244–48, fig. 1; K. Bhattacharya 1961b, p. 80, pl. 1; Boisselier 1966, pp. 201–6, pl. xxxii, 1; Giteau 1966, pp. 45–47; Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 172–73, no. 20; Dalsheimer 2001, pp. 190–92, no. 93; Bénisti 2003, pp. 101–3, 126, fig. 112; Angkor: Göttliches Erbe Kambodschas 2006, pp. 64–65, no. 17; Jessup 2006, pp. 34–35, no. 10; Gail 2010, pp. 254–55, fig. 6; K. Southworth 2012, figs. 20.1, 20.2, 20.5, 20.6.

NOTES: 1. This ceremony (*abbiseka*) is not a routine subject for depiction in Khmer, or, indeed, Indian, art. 2. Only one other depiction of this myth is known

in a pre-Angkorian context, a tympanum recorded from Trach Pho, a site north of Nha Trang, central Vietnam; line drawing published in Parmentier 1909–18, vol. 2, fig. 115. The tympanum is now untraced. 3. *Skandapurāṇa*, vol. 1, 6:34–41; see Gail 2010, pp. 252–53. 4. Tranet 1997–99. 5. Jacques 1962; Wolters 1979a. 6. Wolters 1999, p. 227.

#### CAT. 89

#### Lingakosa

Central Vietnam, ca. 8th–10th century  
From Quang Nam or Da Nang province  
Electrum  
 $11 \times 3\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. (28 x 10 x 14 cm)  
Private collection, Europe

The act of religious patronage most singled out for attention in the early inscriptions of Champa was the commissioning and installation of *lingakoṣas*, precious-metal sheaths with up to five faces of Śiva Madadeva addorsed and sometimes encrusted with jewels or semiprecious stones. These cult objects, installed during *liṅgapūjā* (worship of the linga), were a major feature of Śaiva temple worship in Champa. Sanskrit and Cham inscriptions of the sixth to eighth century make clear that *liṅgakoṣas* were gifts of the highest order, reserved for royal and other high-ranking donors and accruing much merit for their donors.<sup>1</sup> In the inscriptions, they are described as four- or five-faced (*catur-* or *pancamukhaliṅga*).<sup>2</sup> A number of examples have been recovered in recent years, most notably from the My Son and Tam Ky regions of Quang Nam province, but all examples found to date are single-faced (*ekamukhaliṅga*).<sup>3</sup>

This mask, in electrum (silver-gold alloy), is among the finest known, rivaled only by a gold version inlaid with rock crystal and black glass (fig. 111). Both are beautifully modeled in

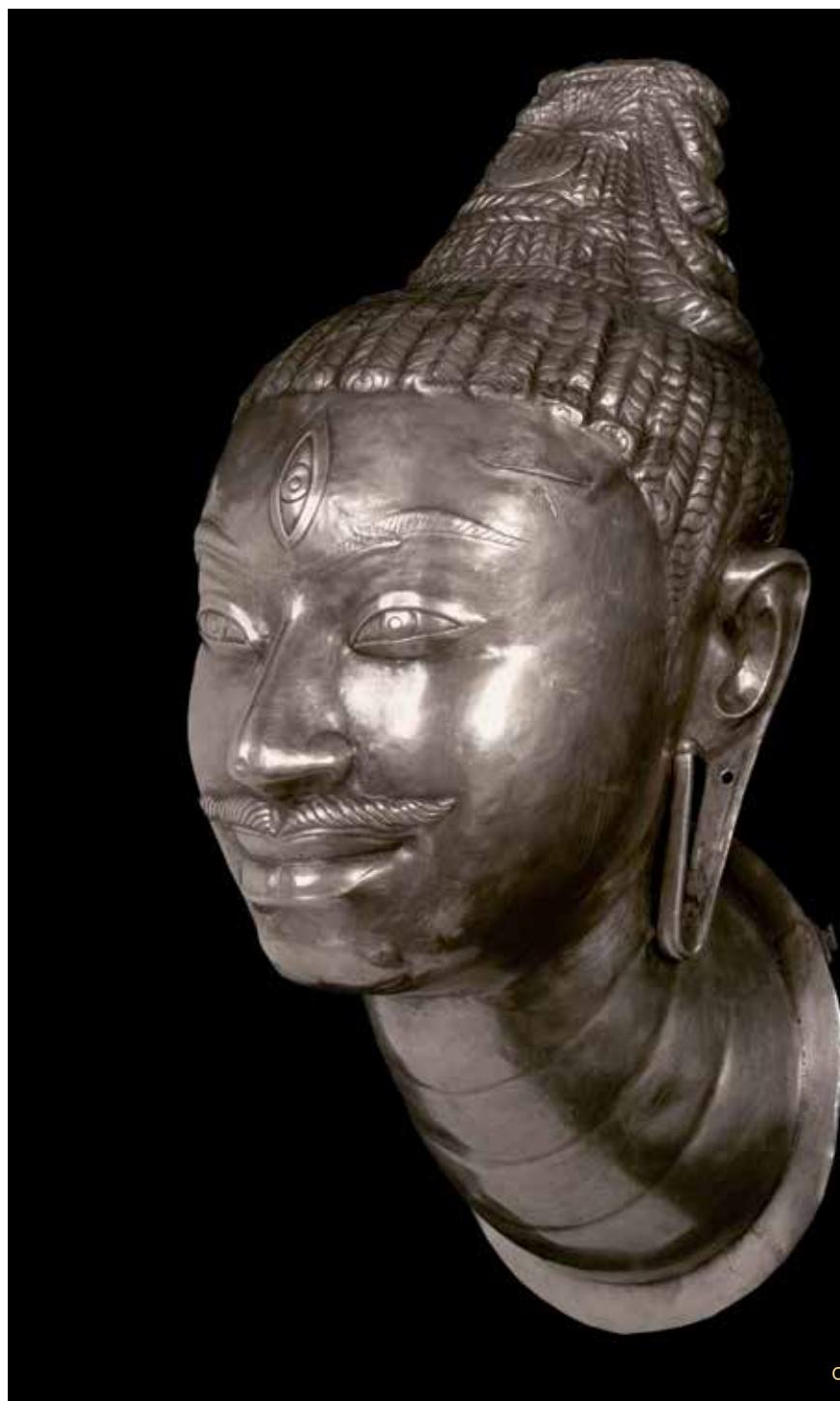
repoussé sheet metal constructed with sawtooth seams; details were added by chiseling and chasing. Both present a regal image of Śiva, mustached and with a prominent vertical third eye. His matted dreadlocks are bound up into a tapering coiffure (*jatāmukuta*) in which nestles a crescent moon, emblematic of Śiva. The facial features, such as the joined eyebrows and modeled mustache, link the works stylistically to a number of stone heads of Śiva from My Son (fig. 62), Dong Duong, and other Cham sites spanning the eighth to tenth century.

The earliest confirmed reference to the installation of a *liṅgakoṣa* in a Cham temple ritual is in an inscription on a stele installed by King Prakāśadharma/Vikrantavarman in 687 (609 Śaka). Recovered near temple B6 at My Son, the stele records the dedication of a linga for Īśaneśvara (Śiva) and the installation of both

a *koṣa* for Īśaneśvara and a ritual crown (*mukuta*) for Bhadreśvara.<sup>4</sup> Such religious donations are known as *dāna*, the giving of gifts to a god as an act of piety and devotion and in hope of the deity's beneficence in return. A royal Sanskrit inscription of 721 documents the installation of "two *kosas* for the god, one movable, the other immovable. The movable *koṣa* was provided with [one or several] face[s]."<sup>5</sup> Another double-installation *liṅgakoṣa* ceremony is recorded at the Cham kingdom of Pāṇḍurāga, centered at Phan Rang, southern Vietnam. A newly identified stele inscription of Śri Satyavarman at the Hoa Lai temple, dated 783, is dedicated to Śiva, who is named as Svayamutpanneśvara and honored with gold and silver *koṣa*.<sup>6</sup> The inscriptional record for the donation and installation of *liṅgakosas* is richer for Champa than for Cambodia and, indeed, for India itself.



Fig. 111. *Lingakosa*. Central Vietnam, 8th–10th century. From Quang Nam or Da Nang province. Gold inlaid with rock crystal and black glass, h. 10 in. (25.4 cm). Private collection, Europe



CAT. 89



CAT. 90

PUBLICATION: Guy 2000, pp. 51, 54, and p. 53, fig. 1.

NOTES: 1. Griffiths and W. A. Southworth 2007.

2. The symbolism assigned to these forms is elaborated by K. Bhattacharya 1966. 3. Guy 2000. 4. Majumdar 1927–38, vol. 1 (1927), bk. 3, pp. 28–31, inscription no. 16. 5. K. Bhattacharya 1966, p. 6. 6. Griffiths and W. A. Southworth 2007; Griffiths and W. A. Southworth 2011.

#### CAT. 90

#### Śiva

Southern Cambodia, mid-7th century

Sandstone

24 x 7¾ x 4 in. (61 x 19.7 x 10.2 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Rogers Fund, 1987 (1987.17)

This is an early anthropomorphic depiction of Śiva, who was more often conceptualized in Khmer art in his aniconic linga form. In India, such representations of Śiva are largely confined to forms with a narrative purpose. Sculptures of Śiva in human form began to appear in Khmer art around the seventh century, probably in response to the rising popularity of the Vaiṣṇava cult, which celebrates Viṣṇu as a king-like divinity, accessible and benign. While worship of the *śivalinga* remained paramount to the welfare and prosperity of both king and realm, sculptures such as this one also started to be produced. The slim, almost adolescent figure displays a disconcerting realism in the modeling of the pectoral muscles and the subtle suggestion of the underlying ribcage. Yet the face is strong and authoritative, the face of a stern god, with a mustache, full lips, and strong, arched eyebrows. A vertical third eye marks the forehead. The long ascetic's dreadlocks are worn up in a matted chignon, with braids carefully detailed in a wrapped and looped arrangement. The figure is unadorned and likely received temple jewels and rich textiles during worship. The waistcloth is plain, enlivened only by the looped and knotted sash that secures it, hanging in shallow pleats and fanning across one thigh. The style may be best associated with Khmer territories in the lower Mekong delta. That it was part of a wider Śaiva vocabulary in the seventh to eighth century is seen in a related icon preserved at My Son (fig. 113).

PUBLICATIONS: Martin Lerner in Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987b, p. 104; Kossak 1994b, pp. 70–71, fig. 68; Caro 2009, p. 28, fig. 58.

#### CAT. 91

#### Head of Harihara

Southern Cambodia, early 7th century

Probably discovered at Phnom Da, Takeo province, by Étienne Aymonier in 1874, and known to be in France from about 1886<sup>1</sup>

Sandstone

17½ x 10¼ x 13¾ in. (44 x 26 x 34 cm)

Musée National des Arts Asiatiques–Guimet, Paris (MG14899)

CAT. 92

### Harihara

Southern Cambodia, late 7th–early 8th century  
Sandstone  
 $35\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{3}{8} \times 6$  in. (90.2 x 34 x 15.2 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Purchase, Laurence S. Rockefeller Gift and  
Anonymous Gift, 1977 (1977.241)

Syncretism is a favored device in Indian cosmologies for representing the complex and multi-faceted personalities of the gods. The oldest archaeological evidence of the practice is a small group of sculptures from Kuṣāṇa-era Mathura (late 1st–3rd century), northern India, depicting Śiva combined with his female aspect, Pārvatī, as the androgynous Ardhanārīśvara.<sup>2</sup> This form

was rare in early Southeast Asia, the only complete example having been found in Ubon Ratchathani province, northeastern Thailand (fig. 112). Viṣṇu (Hari) combined with Śiva (Hara) appeared later in India, in the fifth century, during the Gupta period, and again is mythically explained as Śiva representing the male half of the universe, and Viṣṇu, in his



CAT. 91



CAT. 92



Fig. 112. Ardhanarishvara. Northeastern Thailand, 7th century. Found in Ubon Ratchathani province. Sandstone, h. 26¾ in. (68 cm). National Museum, Ubon Ratchathani, Thailand

female aspect as Mohini, representing the female element. Harihara is born of their sexual union. Śiva, always represented as the right half, as seen in the Phnom Da head (cat. 91), wears his long, braided locks in a three-tier *jatāmukuta* with a crescent moon at the summit, from which loops of hair cascade down like a fast-flowing stream, as if alluding to the origin myth of the Ganges, in which the river is born from Śiva's dreadlocks. Śiva's vertical third eye, lightly incised into the forehead, is truncated at the Viṣṇu divide. On the icon's left side, Viṣṇu's presence is signaled by the unadorned cylindrical miter with a small, slim diadem, in the manner of Pallava Viṣṇu crowns. The facial features are undifferentiated, unlike in their Indian counterparts, where a masculine and feminine cast is given to each half. Here, the plump face is beautifully carved, and the features are defined with a minimum of modeling. When intact, the figure was supported by an integrated stone arch bridging the head, arms, and pedestal, the remains of which are still visible at the top of the crown.

The second Harihara (cat. 92) makes clear the extent to which the Khmer conception differentiated the two deities only in the partition of the headdress into a combined *jatāmukuta*-miter and in the provision of half a third eye on Śiva's side of the divide. The figure is four-armed, a defining characteristic of Viṣṇu, not Śiva. The physique is muscular, with broad shoulders and a slender waist, and the waist-cloth is simple, with the ties of the sash raised in a symmetrical "fishtail" pleating pattern and the sweep of the drawn-up skirt end extending to the left knee. These details, skillfully rendered, mark the beginning of a long tradition that continued into the Angkorian period, when styles were, in large part, differentiated by how such costume details were depicted.

The popularity of this hybrid form in early Southeast Asia seems largely confined to the seventh century in Cambodia, most spectacularly represented by the Prasat Andet Harihara (fig. 3), which is nearly six and a half feet (1.97 m) tall.<sup>3</sup> Pre-Angkorian examples are known from a wide range of sites, from Champasak in the north to Angkor Borei and Phnom Da in the south. The complete Phnom Da Harihara to which the head from the Musée Guimet belongs originally stood about eight and a half feet (2.6 m) tall, a reminder that it would have served as a major cult icon. The report by Henri Parmentier in 1913 of its being located in cave F on the slopes of Phnom Da near the Ashram Maha Rosei sanctuary, which housed the great Harihara also now in the Musée Guimet,<sup>4</sup> suggests that the cult of Harihara had particular prominence at this major seventh-century Vaiṣṇava center of a newly unified Zhenla.<sup>5</sup>

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 91: Coedès 1910, p. 52, no. 35;

Parmentier 1927, pp. 246, 317; Dupont 1934, p. 63, no. 1–7; Monod-Bruhl 1939, p. 9; Boisselier 1955, p. 100, pl. 15A; Dupont 1955, pp. 44, 45, pl. xi, A; Monod-Bruhl 1966, p. 125; Pal 1978, p. 133, no. 89; Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 53, 58–61, no. 15.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 92: Martin Lerner in Metropolitan Museum of Art 1979, pp. 89–90; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987a, pp. 150–51, pl. 102; Kossak 1994b, pp. 70–71, fig. 67.

NOTES: 1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 58–61, no. 15.

Dupont 1955, p. 43, pl. viii, B, published the National Museum of Cambodia torso to which this head belongs. 2. Guy 2006, no. 38, figs. 1–3. 3. Dupont 1955, pl. xxxiii, A. 4. Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 52–57, no. 14. 5. For a discussion of the local character of the cult in pre-Angkorian Zhenla, see K. Bhattacharya 1961b, pp. 157–59; Lavy 2003.

#### CAT. 93

#### *Devī, probably Umā*

Southern Vietnam, second half of 7th century  
Found in Truong Khanh, Soc Trang province,  
by Louis Malleret in 1938–44

Sandstone

H. 23 in. (58.5 cm)

Victoria and Albert Museum, London,  
Purchased with the assistance of The Art Fund  
and private donors (IS.1-2002)

This goddess (*devī*) likely represents Śiva's consort, Umā. She wears her braided hair piled up into a crown (*jaṭāmukuta*) and arranged in two tiers of loops with a flat, flowerlike summit. This hairstyle associates her with Śiva, as clearly proclaimed on the Harihara from Ba The (Oc Eo), An Giang province (fig. 90). Representations of *devīs* are relatively rare in Funan and Zhenla sculpture; images of Durgā are much more numerous (cats. 65, 66). The latter routinely have a horned buffalo head engraved on the front of the pedestal in the southern Indian manner, making their identification secure, and the goddess wears a miter as if proclaiming her Vaiṣṇava allegiances. It is likely that the present icon once occupied a secondary chapel in a temple dedicated to Śiva in the coastal province of Soc Trang. Similarly looped dreadlocks are seen in catalogue 90 as well as in a Śiva from Ba The.<sup>1</sup> The present



CAT. 93

goddess was carved from a fine-grained sandstone and worked in a manner entirely consistent with sculpture of this early period: the artist retained supporting bridges of stone between the lower arms and hips. The feet are oversized and firmly anchored to the unadorned rectangular

pedestal. Remnants of the original tenon, largely removed, are visible on the base.

PUBLICATION: Malleret 1959–63, vol. 1 (1959), pp. 435–36, no. 161, fig. 68, pl. xcii.

NOTE: 1. Le Thi Lien 2006b, p. 80, fig. 86.



CAT. 94

## CAT. 94

**Devī, probably Umā**

Eastern Cambodia, mid-7th century  
Reportedly found in Koh Krieng, Sambor on the Mekong, Kratie province, by Étienne Edmond Lunet de Lajonquière in 1901  
Sandstone

50 x 18½ x 8½ in. (127 x 47 x 22 cm)  
National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1621)

## CAT. 95

**Devī, probably Umā**

Eastern Cambodia, last quarter of 7th century  
Found in ruins of brick sanctuary at Koh Krieng, Sambor on the Mekong, Kratie province, by Adhémard Leclère in 1896, and acquired by the Musée Guimet in 1927  
Sandstone

53½ x 20½ x 8¼ in. (136 x 51 x 21 cm)  
Musée National des Arts Asiatiques–Guimet, Paris (MG18094)

These two remarkable sculptures depict a Brahmanical goddess (*devī*), likely Śiva's consort, Pārvatī, more widely referred to in early Cambodia by her favored epithet in southern India, Umā. The sculptures were discovered in 1901 and 1896, respectively, at Koh Krieng,<sup>1</sup> at what must have been a significant temple complex associated with Śambhupura (Sambor on the Mekong), which likely had marriage allegiances to Īśānapura (Sambor Prei Kuk), 60 miles (97 km) to the west. Archaeological remains confirm that several urban centers flourished in the eastern region of Cambodia, of which Śambhupura was a major one, strategically sited to control the Mekong River trade. Extant seventh-century inscriptions give no sense that these royal households were subordinate to Īśānapura to the west or Angkor Borei to the southwest. Their sculptural styles were closely related, however, as the workshops at Īśānapura and Śambhupura likely shared a common pool of temple architects and sculptors.

Both *devīs* are two-armed and have a distinctive *jatāmukuta* coiffure, alluding to Śiva's long dreadlocks. The mood of the Phnom Penh example (cat. 94) is graceful, gentle, and maternal, all qualities associated with Umā and given full expression in the sculpture. The figure wears a low-slung skirt secured with a multistranded belt with an ornate clasp, suggestive of gold jewelry of the period.<sup>2</sup> The strands of hair drawn up from the forehead into an elaborate chignon closely follow those seen on the monumental Harihara from temple N10 at Sambor Prei Kuk. The body has a fleshy naturalism, with gently articulated folds below the breasts and a softly swelling stomach—a new phenomenon in early Khmer art, and one that represents a remarkable artistic accomplishment. Aesthetically, the work can be compared to both the Harihara and the Durgā recovered in temple N9 at Sambor Prei Kuk, both probably datable to the reign of Īśanavarman (first quarter of 7th century), which, although displaying a pronounced flexing of the body not shared by the present *devī*, compare closely in other respects.<sup>3</sup>

The *devī* from the Musée Guimet probably dates to the last quarter of the seventh century and represents a stylization of form and simplification of detail familiar from other sculpture workshops active in the Mekong delta. The pleated waistcloth, multistranded belt, and buckle are rendered as incised lines, not yet fully descriptive of the features of dress and adornment. Such lightly incised marks defining costume detail and the scalloped hem of the skirt are also seen in a *devī* from Soc Trang province (cat. 93). Likewise, the *devī*'s complex *jatāmu-kuta*, which is cylindrical rather than tapering in shape, is seen in a Harihara excavated at Ba The (Oc Eo), An Giang province, in the Mekong delta (fig. 90), and in another Harihara, found in 1962 at Prasat Phum Prasat, Kampong Thom province.<sup>4</sup> The arrangement of the looped braids in all three is essentially identical and, although related to the type seen at Sambor Prei Kuk, differs in its construction. Most striking of all are the incised pupils of the eyes, a somewhat naively rendered detail, which give the Paris *devī* and the Ba The Harihara a slightly hypnotic gaze, quite unlike the quiet calm of the Phnom Penh example, whose style is more akin to that of Sambor Prei Kuk. Sambor on the Mekong clearly drew influences from both the Mekong delta to the south and Īśanapura to the west. On the basis of the chronology suggested here, the Mekong stylistic influences represent a parallel wave, concurrent with that of Sambor Prei Kuk.<sup>5</sup>

The compelling humanism of both goddesses under consideration is suggestive of portraiture. Both have the full figure of a mature woman—heavy shoulders, full breasts, broad hips, and heavy thighs—and not that of an adolescent girl, in contradiction to what the Indian texts prescribe; the Sādhanas speak of goddesses' having "the appearance of a girl of sixteen" (see cat. 159). Inscriptions from the seventh and early eighth centuries mention several queens (*rājñī*) who reigned in this pre-Angkorian period; one, dated 803, records a four-generation local dynasty at Śambhupura, of which the last three rulers were queens directly descended from one another, a practice no doubt linked to matrilineal inheritance. The first queen in the line of descent is named Indraloka, presumably a posthumous royal name.<sup>6</sup> Should her portrait have been sculpted, that would likely have been the name assigned to the work. Given the singular character of the two present sculptures, it is possible that they served as images both of the goddess Umā and of a deified queen, likely the mother of the patron. If so, they would be an early instance of the merging of Brahmanism and a form of ancestor worship in Zhenla, a practice to which numerous inscriptions of the later, Angkorian period attest.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 94: Lunet de Lajonquière 1902–11, vol. 1 (1902), pp. xciv, 192, and p. xcv, fig. 44; Parmentier 1912, p. 16; G. Groslier 1921, fig. 224; G. Groslier 1924–26a, pp. 205–6; G. Groslier 1925b, p. 28, pl. 18; Parmentier 1927, pp. 213–14, fig. 89; G. Groslier 1931, pl. xxv; Boisselier 1955, p. 65, pl. 14; Dupont 1955, pp. 150–54, pls. xxiv, b, xxv, b; Giteau 1960, pp. 17–18; K. Bhattacharya 1961b, p. 91, pl. vii; B.-P. Groslier 1962, p. 76, ill. p. 62; Giteau 1965,



pp. 52–55, pl. 14; Boisselier 1966, pp. 239–40, and p. 237, fig. 55b, e; Boisselier 1980, p. 254, fig. 89; Boisselier 1989, pp. 40–41, fig. v; Brand and Chuch Phoeurn 1992, pp. 34–35, no. 2; Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 170–71, no. 19; Dalsheimer 2001, pp. 88–89, no. 28; Khun Samen 2002, p. 79, no. 61; Lavy 2004, pp. 366–67, 493, fig. 76; *Angkor: Göttliches Erbe Kambodschas* 2006, p. 63, no. 15; Jessup 2006, pp. 38–39, no. 13; Dowling 2011, pl. 5.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 95: Aymonier 1901, p. 309; Lunet de Lajonquière 1902–11, vol. 1 (1902), p. 192; Coedès 1910, p. 25, no. 14, pl. II; Dupont 1934, pp. 60–61, no. 1–3; Monod-Bruhl 1939, p. 9; Boisselier 1955, pp. 102, 167, 211, 230, pl. 24B; Dupont 1955, pp. 116, 150–51, 154–55, 172, 180–84, pl. XXXII; Boisselier 1966, p. 242; Monod-Bruhl 1966, pp. 125–26, ill. no. 46; Béguin 1992, pp. 64–65; Jessup and Zéphir 1997,

pp. 184–85, no. 29; Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 72–74, no. 19.

NOTES: 1. Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 170–71; Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 72–74. 2. The clasp compares closely with a gold belt clasp discovered before 1965 at Udong, Kampong Chhnang province; Giteau 1965, p. 54. For stylistic discussion, see Bautze-Picron 2010; Bautze-Picron 2011. 3. Both now in the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh; Harihara published in Dupont 1955, pl. XXV, A, and in Dalsheimer 2001, pp. 87–88, no. 27; for Durgā, see Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 168, no. 18. 4. Régnier 1966. 5. Conventional wisdom has dated the Phnom Penh *devī* up to a century earlier than the Musée Guimet example, largely following Dupont 1955, pp. 154–55. 6. Vickery 1998, pp. 28, 181, 379–81.

## CAT. 96

### Śiva as an Ascetic

Northern Cambodia, 7th century

Found in ruins of brick sanctuary near Kampong Cham Kau, Stung Treng province, and transferred to the Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom Penh, in 1920  
Sandstone

64 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 15 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 11 in. (164 x 39 x 28 cm)

National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1636)

This lifesize sculpture of an ascetic probably represents Śiva. The figure is unadorned, wears a mustache and the long dreadlocks of a sage (*rṣi*), and has a vertical third eye on the forehead—all features consistent with this identification. The distinctive manner of securing the hair in a looped topknot is seen in depictions of Śiva on a number of *ekamukhalingas* (one-faced lingas) of the period, from both northern India and Cambodia. The figure holds a flask, a feature of anthropomorphic representations of Śiva from the early Gupta period in northern India; in this case, it is an ascetic's water bottle (*kundikā*) of oval form, unsprouted and with a stopper.<sup>1</sup> In Gupta sculptures, the god's chignon bears Śiva's signature crescent moon, unlike this version. In a unique standing Śiva recovered from the Cham temple A4, My Son, central Vietnam (fig. 113), now preserved in a fragmentary condition, the flask was held in an identical manner, supporting the present work's identification as Śiva.<sup>2</sup>

The god is dressed in the manner of a *rṣi*, in a short, simple loincloth drawn up between the legs and secured at the back, with pleated ends tucked under a belt and folded back in a “fish-tail” pattern. The garment is secured with a slender belt with a cylindrical fixture at the center; beneath this is a second, broader belt with a circular buckle and cloth ties, both probably intended to mimic gold belts of the period.<sup>3</sup> The missing hand likely resembled that of the My Son Śiva, clenched to hold a detachable attribute, perhaps the rosary specific to Śiva (*rudrākṣamālā*), made from the seeds of the fruit of a tree sacred to him. The figure is skillfully sculpted in the round and has bridge supports for the arms and between the ankles. A mortise socket in the elbow of the missing forearm indicates that it was fabricated separately and then assembled.<sup>4</sup> This is all consistent with a seventh-century date.

The Śaiva Pāśupata sect, a powerful force in the Indian Deccan in the first millennium and known from inscriptions to be a major presence in early Cambodia, was famed for its extreme ascetic practices.<sup>5</sup> Its adherents were the ash-smeared frequenters of the cremation ground (*śmaśāna*), paying homage to Śiva Bhairava; the *Skandapurāṇa* makes reference to Pāśupata ascetics as “having a white radiance due to smearing [their bodies] with ashes.”<sup>6</sup> Śaiva *rṣis* appear elsewhere in early seventh-century Khmer and Mon art (see cat. 88, fig. 131) as participants in state ceremonies. A cult-scale icon of Śiva in this form is without precedent in Cambodia; indeed, the only other recorded appearance of this representation of Śiva in all of Southeast Asia is the Cham example from



Fig. 113. Śiva installed on a lustration pedestal. Central Vietnam, 8th century. Recovered from temple A4, My Son, Quang Nam province. Sandstone. My Son site museum, Vietnam. Photographed in situ in 1903



CAT. 96

My Son cited above. The merging of Śaiva imagery with that of the Pāśupata ascetic may account for this unique representation. Pāśupatas are known to have held high rank at the courts of early Southeast Asia, as both spiritual and temporal advisors and ritual enactors. A comparison with the depiction of *r̄sis* officiating at a royal consecration ceremony (*abhiṣeka*) in a mid-seventh-century lintel from Wat Eng Khna (cat. 88) supports this association with Śaiva asceticism.

One may assume that this remarkable sculpture belonged to an ancient city in northeastern Cambodia.<sup>7</sup> Its findspot, Kampong Cham Kau, is at the confluence of the Se Kong and Se San Rivers, tributaries to the east of the Mekong. A number of pre-Angkorian ruins survive in the region.<sup>8</sup> The singular nature of the work defies comparison within the pre-Angkorian oeuvre, however, and one must look to early Champa for the closest iconographic analogy—specifically, to the ascetic Śiva at My Son.

PUBLICATIONS: Parmentier 1912, p. 6; G. Groslier 1925b, pl. 17b; Parmentier 1927, pp. 269, 310, fig. 106; Boisselier 1955, pp. 284–85; Dupont 1955, pp. 119–21, pl. xx, b; Giteau 1960, p. 15; Dalsheimer 2001, pp. 62–63, no. 14; Angkor: *Göttliches Erbe Kambodschas* 2006, p. 67, no. 19; Jessup 2006, pp. 30–31, no. 6.

NOTES: 1. Harle 1974, pl. 53, from Kaushambi, dated equivalent to A.D. 266. 2. The complete work was photographed in situ in 1903, but today only the trunk of the figure survives, the arms and head having been lost. It is displayed in the My Son site museum. 3. Compare Bunker and Latchford 2004, figs. 3.3, 3.6, 3.8, 3.10, 3.11. 4. Alternatively, it may be evidence of a historical repair, perhaps due to a failure of the stone during its original production. 5. K. Bhattacharya 1955. 6. Bisschop 2006, p. 40. 7. Dupont 1955, p. 121, pl. xxi, b, c. 8. Parmentier 1927, p. 230. The findspot is located about seven miles (11 km) east of Tala Borivath in Stung Treng province.

#### CAT. 97

#### Skanda, God of War

Southeastern Cambodia, late 6th–7th century  
Recovered from Teuk Chha, Kampong Siem district, Kampong Cham province, and transferred to the Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom Penh, in 1932

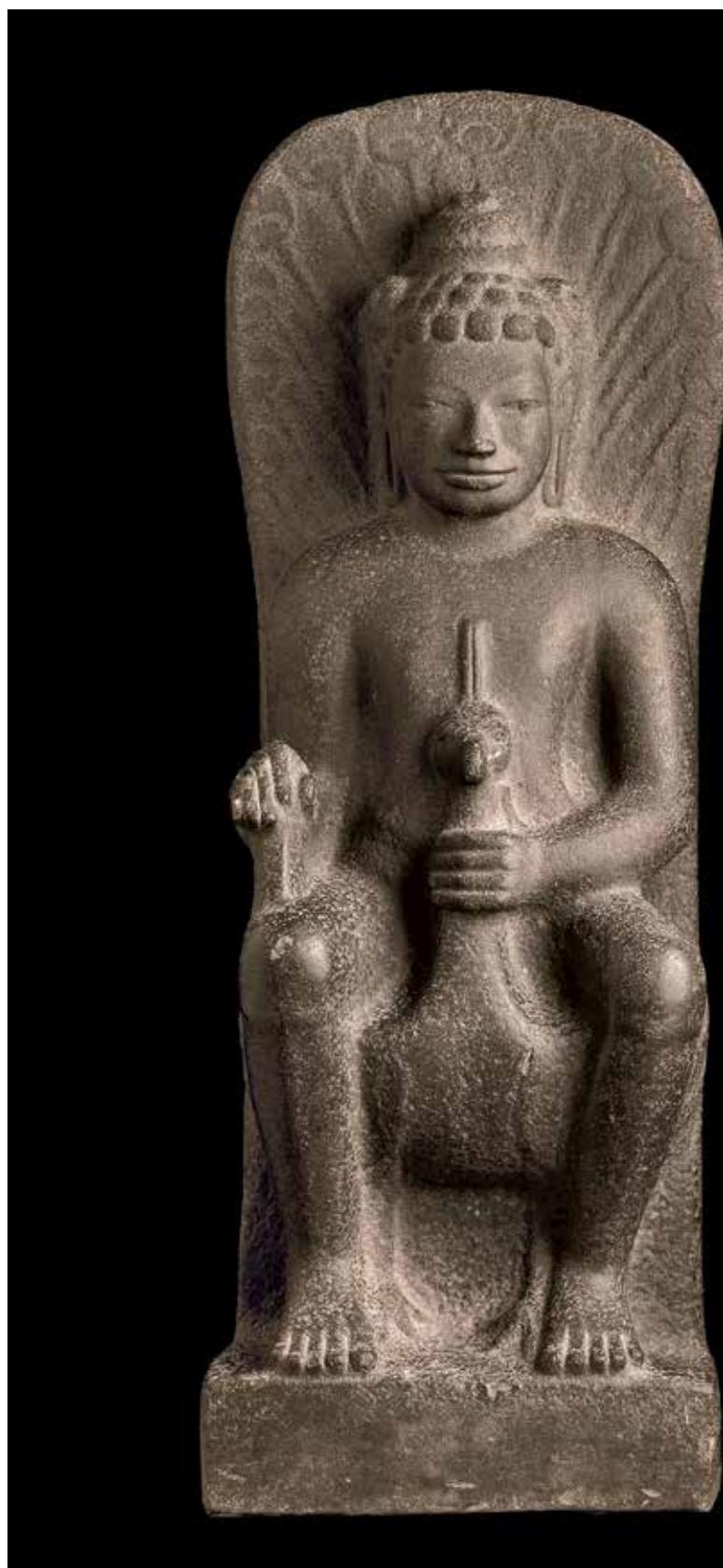
Sandstone  
28 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 9 $\frac{13}{16}$  x 6 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (72 x 25 x 16 cm)  
National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1596)

#### CAT. 98

#### Skanda, God of War

Southern Cambodia, late 6th–7th century  
Discovered in Kedei Ang, Kampong Trabaek district, Prey Veng province, by Étienne Aymonier in 1882–83, and entered the Musée Guimet in 1890  
Sandstone  
26 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 18 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (67 x 48 x 19 cm)  
Musée National des Arts Asiatiques—Guimet, Paris (MG14900)

Venerated in India as the god of war, Skanda is typically accompanied by a peacock, a bird associated with youthful fertility and swift aggres-



CAT. 97

sion in battle.<sup>1</sup> Here, Skanda sits astride the bird, which serves as his divine vehicle (*vāhana*). Variously described as the firstborn son of Śiva and Pārvatī (or Gaṅgā) or of Agni and Gaṅgā, Skanda has obscure origins and probably represents a conflation of a number of Śiva myths. In these two representations, both from seventh-century southern Cambodia, the god is seen grasping the peacock's neck with his left hand and a weapon with his right, more clearly in the

example from the Musée Guimet (cat. 98), where the thunderbolt-shaped blade of his javelin (*sakti*) is depicted. In both versions, the bird's tail feathers form a decorative nimbus behind the youthful god. In the Paris work, he rides the bird, while in the Phnom Penh work (cat. 97), he sits astride it with his feet firmly on the ground.<sup>2</sup> Both are sculpted in high relief, with no open-work detailing—one sign of an early date. Both display the triple topknot of hair (*triśikhā*), an



CAT. 98

Indian convention much favored in early Khmer art to denote childhood and principally shared with representations of the adolescent Krṣṇa, as witnessed by several pre-Angkorian examples in the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh. The broad faces, treatment of the hair curls, and linear eyebrows have affinities with Buddhist imagery from the seventh-century Mon regions of neighboring central Thailand, suggesting a shared visual repertoire.

These steles would most likely have been installed in a secondary shrine within a Śaiva sanctuary, to be visited by devotees before they approached the main cult icon, the *śivalinga*. Inscriptions indicate that Skanda also served in Cambodia as a directional guardian (*dikpālaka*) of the south, so his chapel may be expected to have been so oriented, unlike in India, where the south is traditionally guarded by Yama, the god of death. The epigraphic record for Skanda

worship in the pre-Angkorian period is limited to some references to Kumāra, one of the god's epithets. In successive periods, more frequent references to him appear in the guise of Kārttikeya, where he is recast, uniquely to the Khmer tradition, as riding not a peacock but a rhinoceros.<sup>3</sup>

The two Skandas under discussion belong to a shared seventh-century cultural milieu in southern Cambodia, east of the Mekong River.



CAT. 99

Teuk Chha, source of the National Museum's example, is some 50 miles (80 km) east of the Zhenla city of Angkor Borei; the Musée Guimet's Skanda is from Kedei Ang, some 31 miles (50 km) northeast of it. The physiognomies, including the full, rounded faces, relate closely to known sculptures from Angkor Borei, such as the Kṛṣṇa from Wat Romlok and the torso of a crowned bodhisattva from Angkor Borei (cat. 131).<sup>4</sup> In all likelihood, sculptors and stonemasons from Angkor Borei served the needs of shrines and temples in the wider region, including Phnom Da and sites across the Mekong, such as Teuk Chha and Kedei Ang.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 97: Dupont 1955, pp. 61–62, pl. XIV, b; K. Bhattacharya 1961b, pp. 141–43; Boisselier 1966, p. 291; Bénisti 1981, p. 64; Angkor: Göttliches Erbe Kambodschas 2006, p. 73, no. 24.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 98: Aymonier 1901, pp. 241, 246; Lunet de Lajonquière 1902–11, vol. 1 (1902), p. 53, fig. 64; Coedès 1910, p. 48; Dupont 1955, p. 62; Boisselier 1966, p. 291; Pal 1978, p. 134, no. 90; Bénisti 1981, p. 64, fig. 8; Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 179, no. 25; Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 62–63, no. 16.

NOTES: 1. Skanda has various epithets, among the most popular being Kārttikeya and Kumāra in northern India and Subrahmanyā and Murugan in southern India. 2. A version of the latter treatment (with feet on the ground) is seen in a unique Skanda from late sixth-century central Thailand, preserved at the National Museum, Chandrakasen Palace, Ayutthaya; published in Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 114, ill. no. 1.116. 3. K. Bhattacharya 1961b, pp. 141–43. 4. Dupont 1955, pl. XV, b, Kṛṣṇa from Wat Romlok, Angkor Borei.

#### CAT. 99

#### Ganeśa

Southern Cambodia, 7th century  
Found in Tuol Pheak Kin, Kouk Trap, Kandal Stueng district, Svay Rieng province, and transferred to the Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom Penh, in 1924<sup>1</sup>  
Sandstone

29 1/8 x 24 3/4 x 17 3/8 in. (74 x 63 x 44 cm)  
National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1588)

In the inscriptions of seventh-century Khmer-speaking territories, Ganeśa is consistently called by one of his more popular early names, Ganapati, “lord of the *ganas*

large ears that rest on his massive shoulders, a powerful trunk that extends over his bulbous stomach, and musculature clearly indicated front and back. In his raised left hand, he holds a bowl of sweets, which he savors with his trunk. His lower hand clasps an unidentified object that in later examples would be his broken tusk. The striated detailing of the upper section suggests, however, that it represents a fibrous plant, likely the horseradish (*mūlakakanda*) that he holds in his earliest iconographic form—a legacy of his probable origins as an agricultural deity. This interpretation is supported by early Indian Sastric and Puranic sources from about the fourth century and later, including the fifth-to sixth-century iconographic guide the *Bṛhat Samhitā*, which prescribes *mūlakakanda* as an appropriate offering to Ganeśa/Ganapati in household propitiatory rites.<sup>2</sup> This attribute is seen in sixth-century sculptures at Aihole and Alampur in the Deccan and most spectacularly at My Son, central Vietnam, where one of the greatest sculptural renderings of Gaṇapati survived to the modern era (cat. 100).

Ganapati's grotesque pot-bellied form almost certainly betrays his *yakṣa* origins as a fertility deity linked to agriculture, perhaps Kubera, given the gods' shared association with wealth.<sup>3</sup> It is evident from this Khmer example that by the seventh century, Zhenla had developed a specific style for this most enigmatic of deities that transcended the Gupta models on which it was based. Invocations to Gaṇapati began appearing in Khmer epigraphy in the same period; an inscription at Angkor Borei dated to 611 refers to a sanctuary dedicated to Mahāganapati, and prayers in his honor are recorded at Sambor Prei Kuk, Kampong Thom province.<sup>4</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: G. Groslier 1931, p. 92, pl. XXXIII, 1; Dupont 1955, pp. 60–61, pl. XXI, D; Giteau 1960, p. 6; K. Bhattacharya 1961b, pp. 131–36, pl. XXVII; Boisselier 1966, pp. 290–91; Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 180–81, no. 26; Dalsheimer 2001, p. 99, no. 35; Khun Samen 2002, pp. 72–73, no. 55; Jessup 2006, pp. 34–35, no. 9.

NOTES: 1. This Ganeśa was found together with a sculpture of a horse's head, presumably that belonging to the Kalkin Viṣṇu (cat. 74). 2. Getty 1936, p. 62.

3. This association is explored by Dhavalikar 1991.

4. Coedès 1937–64, vol. 2 (1942), p. 60; K. Bhattacharya 1961b, p. 132. Sanctuaries continued to be dedicated to Śri Gaṇapati into the reign of Jayavarman VII (ca. 1181–1218).

#### CAT. 100

#### Ganeśa

Central Vietnam, late 7th–8th century

Discovered in temple E5, My Son, Quang Nam province, in 1903, and transferred to the Musée Henri Parmentier, Da Nang, in 1918

Sandstone

37¾ x 19½ x 13 in. (96 x 48.5 x 33 cm)

Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang, Vietnam (5.1)

This standing four-armed form of the elephant-headed son of Śiva and Pārvatī is among the most sophisticated early Cham sculptures. It was recovered from temple E5, My Son, in the southwest corner of temple complex E; the original







Fig. 114. Gaṇeśa installed on a lustration pedestal at My Son, Quang Nam province, central Vietnam.  
Photographed in situ in 1903 by Charles Carpeaux

pedestal remains on site. The central sanctuary of this temple complex is devoted to a monumental *śivalinga*. My Son, which served as the religious center of the ancient city of Simhapura (Tra Kieu), the citadel of one of the greatest early Cham polities in central Vietnam, is located in the mountains nine miles (15 km) southwest of the city.

Ganeśa is represented here as the embodiment of the asceticism exemplified by his father, Śiva, displaying the third eye high on the forehead and wearing the tiger skin of an ascetic sage (*rṣi*), secured with a three-cord plaited belt and an elaborate foliate buckle resembling contemporary goldwork. Beneath the belt is a deeply pleated waistcloth; on the reverse, it is drawn up between the legs and its end secured under the belt. An elaborate torque with settings for precious stones is worn around the neck and tied at the back. The sacred cord (*yajñopavīta*) is represented as a snake, the raised head of which appears menacingly behind the bowl of sweetmeats Ganeśa is savoring with his trunk. Snake bracelets adorn each wrist. He displays a right tusk only. A line drawing prepared soon after the sculpture's excavation in 1903 shows all four arms intact (fig. 61), as does a photograph taken in situ in the same year (fig. 114): the clearly visible attributes are a garland and a rosary (Śiva's *rudrākṣamālā*) in the upper right, an ax in the upper left, and a bowl of sweetmeats in the lower left. The lower right hand held a horseradish

(*mūlakakanda*), an elephant's favored treat and a reminder of Ganeśa's early Indian origins as an agricultural deity, an aspect of the god forgotten in later Indian mythology and representations, where it is replaced by his broken tusk. The flayed tiger skin and snake garlands are regular features of Ganeśa sculptures from fifth- and sixth-century northern India.<sup>1</sup>

This sculpture highlights the early eminence of the Ganeśa cult in Southeast Asia. Shrines housing large icons of him are a feature of Brahmanical temples from Cham and Khmer territories spanning from central Vietnam to eastern Thailand, as evinced by a spectacular Ganeśa installed on a large lustration basin that once occupied a shrine at Muang Si Mahosot, Prachinburi province, central Thailand.<sup>2</sup> These works bear witness to a cult that had assumed a prominence not seen in Ganeśa's native India.<sup>3</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Carpeaux 1908, p. 217, fig. 156;

Parmentier 1909–18, vol. 1 (1909), pp. 416, 417, fig. 94;

Boisselier 1963b, pp. 40–41, 47–48, fig. 14; Pham Huy

Thong et al. 1988, p. 45, nos. 18, 19; Brown 1991,

pp. 177–80, 215, fig. 15; Guillon 2001, pp. 78–79, no. 16;

Parmentier, Mus, and Aymonier 2001, pp. 16–17,

no. 46, p. 238; Maspéro 2002, pl. 54; Baptiste and

Zéphir 2005, pp. 196–98, no. 11; Nguyen Van Ku and

Ngo Van Doanh 2005, p. 225, ill. no. 225; Huynh Thi

Doc 2006, pp. 31–32; Guillon 2011, p. 92 and p. 91,

fig. 36; Schweyer 2011, p. 190, ill. pp. 188, 393.

NOTES: 1. Compare Dhalalikar 1991, p. 63, fig. 1;

Brown 1991, p. 210, fig. 10. 2. Published in Brown

1991, pp. 217, 218, figs. 17, 18. 3. Among the largest stone sculptures in all of Southeast Asia are the Angkorian-period seated Ganeśa from mid-eleventh-century Koh Ker, northern Cambodia, and the early fourteenth-century crowned Ganeśa from Singasari, eastern Java; illustrated in Bunker and Latchford 2004, pp. 168–70, no. 53; Getty 1936, pl. 31a.

#### CAT. 101

#### Ganeśa

Central Vietnam, 8th century

Probably from Cam Le, Da Nang province, and transferred to the Musée Blanchard de la Brosse, Saigon, in 1931

Sandstone

32½ x 19¼ x 14¾ in. (83 x 49 x 37 cm), including tenon

National Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City (BTLS 5929)

This is the largest seated Ganeśa preserved from any Cham territory, and along with the standing Ganeśa found in temple E5, My Son (cat. 100), it demonstrates the stature of the Ganeśa cult in the Śaiva world of the early Cham heartland. That no temple context was recorded with this find is regrettable; it is unlikely that such a large work was moved any significant distance from its original place of worship.<sup>1</sup> Ganeśa in pre-tenth-century Southeast Asia is almost universally represented without a crown; this



CAT. 101

work is the only known exception.<sup>2</sup> The god wears a tiered diadem with three floral panels, motifs repeated in progression to the summit. His simple waistcloth has a double fold of pleats that hang down at the front, covering his feet. Like that of his My Son counterpart, his sacred cord (*yajñopavīta*) is in the form of a snake, whose body coils around his torso and whose head similarly rears up at his left shoulder, which has an armband with a beaded border and floral panel in the manner of the diadem. The god is otherwise unadorned, in marked contrast to the My Son Gaṇeśa, who has a full array of jewelry and robes. The elephant features of the head are sensitively and naturalistically rendered and blend seamlessly into the anthropomorphic figure below. The rotund form is a reminder that Gaṇeśa, as Śiva's lieutenant, manages the troublesome dwarflike *ganas* of the underworld, who also serve Śiva. This representation shares with the My Son example the prominent display of a rare feature soon forgotten, the horseradish (*mūlakakanda*), recalling Gaṇeśa's ancestry in early India as a god of agriculture. This plant and the bowl from which he savors food (later described as sweetmeats) are intended to evoke his role as a provider of nourishment to devotees, a benign agent of Śiva's supreme grace.

PUBLICATIONS: Parmentier 1909–18, vol. 1 (1909), pp. 334–35; Malleret 1937–38, vol. 1 (1937), pp. 34–35, no. 1; Boisselier 1963b, p. 58, fig. 24a, b; Pham Huy Thong et al. 1988, p. 87, no. 78; Champa Collection 1994, p. 63, fig. 51; Guillon 2001, p. 40, fig. 11; Nguyen Van Ku and Ngo Van Doanh 2005, p. 247, ill. no. 270; Vietnam: From the Hong River to the Mekong 2010, pp. 182–83, no. 148; Guillon 2011, p. 170, fig. 103; Schweyer 2011, ill. p. 381.

NOTES: 1. Parmentier 1909–18, vol. 1 (1909), pp. 334–35, and reviewed by Malleret 1937–38, vol. 1 (1937), p. 34. 2. Crowned Gaṇeśas become the norm in the Angkorian period, most spectacularly in the monumental Gaṇeśa from Koh Ker, northern Cambodia, which has a ribbon-tied diadem; see Bunker and Latchford 2004, pp. 168–70, no. 53.

#### CAT. 102

#### Śiva's Bull (*Vṛṣabha*)

Southern Cambodia, 7th century

Excavated from a ruined temple site in Bassak, Romdoul district, Svay Rieng province, by Jean Commaille in 1901–2, and transferred to the museum in Phnom Penh in 1902  
Sandstone

13 x 22 x 11 in. (33 x 56 x 28 cm)

National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1584)

Śiva's bull serves as his faithful mount (*vāhana*) and his most devout worshipper—the embodiment of devotion. The young bull is popularly but incorrectly referred to as Nandi, “the joyful,” and is better referred to simply as Vṛṣabha or Vṛṣa, the “white bull.”<sup>1</sup> He is associated with Śiva's supreme wisdom, thus is also worshipped as a theriomorphic form of Śiva himself; witness the third eye prominently depicted on the bull's forehead, which is associated with the primordial fire element in Śaiva cosmology and with the god's power to reveal divine knowledge. In



CAT. 102

this form, Śiva's bull assumed an independent cult status, nowhere more popularly than in Zhenla. Śiva's bull is widely revered in Cambodia to this day for its magical powers and is linked to nature cults evoking the power of the bull, much as in India, where women wishing to conceive stroke the bull's genitals during *pradakṣīna*. Here, he is properly adorned, wearing a full necklace of bells like those still seen in the Cambodian countryside, especially in the southern provinces.

Although not recorded in Jean Commaille's temple survey at Bassak of 1901–2, this work is assumed to have originally occupied either the antechamber to the temple's sanctum (*garbhagṛha*) or a freestanding pavilion (*mandapa*) facing the east door, with a direct sight line to the enshrined linga. Seven shrines were identified within the inner enclosure at Bassak, each of which could have served as a chapel for a secondary deity.<sup>2</sup> The large bull sculpture dated by

inscription to 879 and still in situ at Preah Koh (Temple of the Divine Bull) in Indravarman I's capital, Hariharalaya, at Roluos was undoubtedly originally housed in a *mandapa*, no longer identifiable. Likewise, a spectacularly naturalistic and lifesize silver-bronze-alloy bull, recovered from a well in 1983 at Tuol Kuhea, Koh Thom district, Kandal province, must have been one of a number cast and installed in pre-Angkorian Zhenla: a seventh-century inscription speaks of a silver bull at Sambor Prei Kuk, for which the *mandapa* still survives (fig. 110).<sup>3</sup> A seventh- to eighth-century inscription stele from Tuol Neak Ta Bak Ka temple, Kandal province, records donations to a number of Śaiva sanctuaries and has a sculpted cartouche panel depicting a bull seated on the open petals of a lotus flower.<sup>4</sup> Shrines to Śiva's bull—Preah Koh—are popular in modern-day Cambodia, testifying to the resilience of such cults.<sup>5</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Commaille 1902, p. 267; Lunet de Lajonquière 1902–11, vol. 1 (1902), p. 69, fig. 69; Parmentier 1912, p. 22; Giteau 1965, p. 45, pl. 10; Brand and Chuch Phoeurn 1992, pp. 36–37, no. 3; Jessup and Zéphir 1997, p. 178, no. 24; Dalsheimer 2001, p. 94, no. 32; *Angkor: Göttliches Erbe Kambodschas* 2006, p. 71, no. 22; Jessup 2006, pp. 32–33, no. 8.

NOTES: 1. G. Bhattacharya 1977. 2. The first plan of the temple group at Bassak was provided by Commaille 1902, p. 263, fig. 4. An excavation in the principal temple interior revealed a cache of bronze icons, which were transferred to the museum in Phnom Penh.

3. K. Bhattacharya 1961b, p. 88. 4. K.940. National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ka.1760).  
5. Ang Choulean 1997.



CAT. 103



Fig. 115. Rock-cut relief depicting Aiyanār, guardian of the pool. Sri Lanka, ca. late 7th–early 8th century.  
In situ in Isurumuniya monastery, Anuradhapura

#### CAT. 103

#### Aiyanār

Central Thailand, first half of 7th century

Possibly from Si Thep, Phetchabun province

Sandstone

26 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 12 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (68.3 x 34.3 x 32.7 cm)

Asia Society, New York, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection (1979.73)

#### CAT. 104

#### Head of Male Deity, possibly Aiyanār

Central Thailand, first half of 7th century

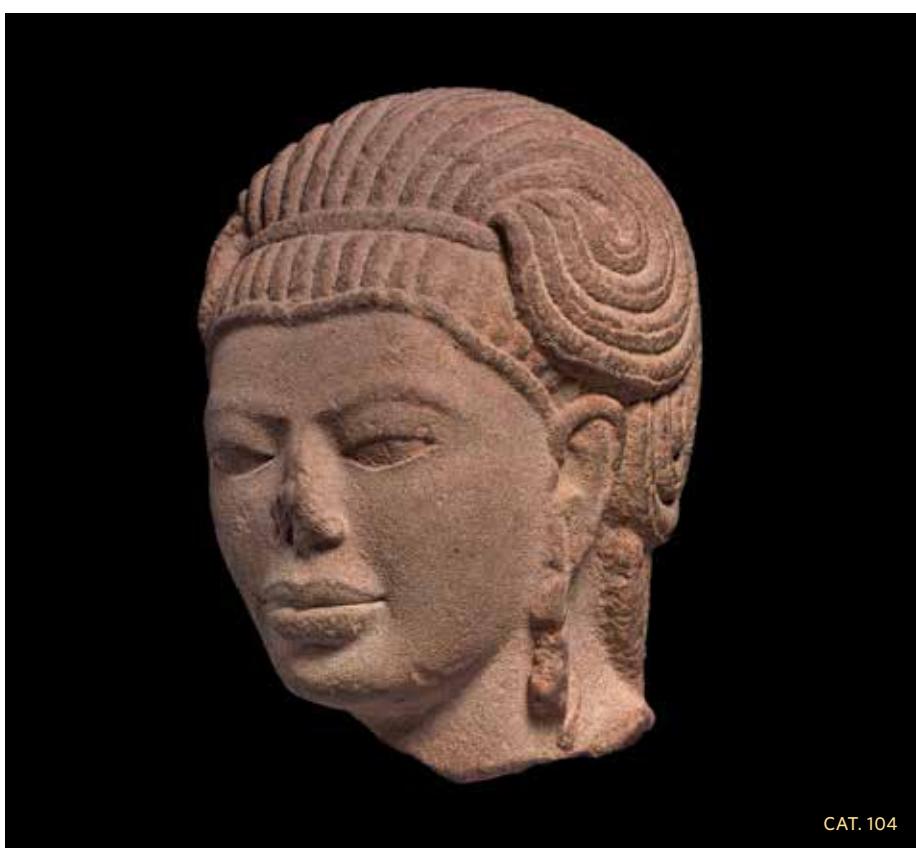
Possibly from Si Thep, Phetchabun province

Sandstone

H. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (26.1 cm)

The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund (1970.11)

The princely figure seated at ease (*līlāsana*; cat. 103), supported by a meditation strap (*yoga-patta*), and the head also from central Thailand (cat. 104) likely represent the same deity, the minor Hindu god Aiyanār (Tamil, lord). Aiyanār emerged as a non-Vedic cult figure in southern India as early as the third century A.D., where he was worshipped as a village guardian. He was perhaps a huntsman who, over time, was deified, first as a local hero (*vira*), then as a member of the Brahmanical pantheon with the gradual Sanskritization of southern India. He is named on third-century memorial (“hero”) stones from Arcot district in Tamil Nadu and is referred to in the famous Tamil Sangam prose-poem the *Silappatikaram*, assigned to the fourth or fifth century.<sup>1</sup> As his fame and following spread, Aiyanār was absorbed into the Sanskrit pantheon as a secondary deity closely aligned with Śiva and was said to be a son of Śiva and Mohini (Viṣṇu in a female guise). As such, he represents a fusion of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava cults and attracted followers from both sects. He is analogous, then, to Ardhanārīśvara, the androgynous form of Śiva, in which Śiva unites in a single form with Pārvatī, his female aspect. It is perhaps relevant that the only complete significant representation of Ardhanārīśvara to survive from the sixth or seventh century (fig. 112) was found in northeastern Thailand and seems stylistically related to these two presumed Aiyanār sculptures.<sup>2</sup> The three works were likely found



CAT. 104

in contiguous regions, Phetchabun and Ubon Ratchathani provinces.

Both sculptures under review here wear long dreadlocks in the manner of Śiva, neatly drawn back and secured with a headband in the Cleveland head and bound tightly around the head, *r̥ṣi*-like (ascetic-like), in the other figure, then allowed to cascade up and over the head, with long locks extending down the back. Both wear ear ornaments of a similar faceted shape, hanging from distended earlobes. The bone structure of the more complete example's upper torso is rendered with uncanny naturalism. To a remarkable degree, the shared facial features define the two works as the product of a single workshop. Each has a broad forehead, high cheekbones, and a strong nose, with the eyes distinctively rendered as shallow recesses with projecting lids and captured with unprecedented sensitivity.

In Indian villages, Aiyanār assumes particular responsibility as a protector of travelers and the night guardian of reservoirs. He is worshipped at dedicated shrines on the periphery of locales in proximity to these ponds; the shrines are marked by over-lifesize painted terracotta horses and elephants, which serve as Aiyanār's vehicles.<sup>3</sup> A rock-cut relief figure at Isurumuniya monastery, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka, overlooking a reservoir adjacent to Lake Tissa, is seated with a raised knee and with a horse's head visible behind him and may be accepted as Aiyanār (fig. 115).<sup>4</sup> The shared posture and the characteristic yoga strap of the Asia Society's example make identification with this lesser southern Indian deity highly credible.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 103: Lee 1970, p. 37; Czuma 1980, pp. 235–38, figs. 13, 13A; Woodward 1983, pp. 379, 380, fig. 1; Pal 1986, pp. 64, 67–68; Leidy 1994, pp. 97–98; Woodward 2009, p. 67, fig. 3.

PUBLICATION CAT. 104: Lee 1969, pp. 39, 101, fig. 2.

NOTES: 1. S. L. Huntington 1981, p. 62, n. 52. 2. For Ardhanāriśvara, see Guy 2006. 3. For Aiyanār riding an elephant, of which several bronze depictions exist from the Cōla period, see Guy 2007, p. 172, pl. 195. 4. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1979; Woodward 1983, pp. 379–80.

#### CAT. 105

#### Brahman Priest, probably Agastya

Malaysia, late 8th–9th century

Excavated from Jalang, Sungai Siput, Perak, in 1962

Copper alloy

H. 20½ in. (52 cm), w. 5⅓ in. (15 cm)

Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur

(MN.BALAIB.45.2008)

Brahman priests and sages (*r̥ṣi*) are assumed to have played a key role as agents of change in first-millennium Southeast Asia. In addition to propagating the new religions, they performed acts of magic to enhance a ruler's status in the eyes of his subjects and the efficacy of his governance. Some rose to high office, as did their children, establishing a hereditary priestly class that served successive rulers, advising in statecraft as well as spiritual matters. Representations of long-haired, bearded holy men appear in some of the oldest surviving pictorial narratives from mainland Southeast Asia. A sandstone lintel from Sambor Prei Kuk, central Cambodia, with a scene of Garudas (mythical bird-man creatures) slaying human adversaries also shows, below its cusped-arch frame divider, six *r̥sis* with piled-up, braided hair and beards, wearing simple *dhotis* and the obligatory *yajñopavīta* (sacred cord), playing instruments, and dancing ecstatically in celebration (fig. 116).<sup>1</sup> In the coronation scene (*abhiṣeka*) on the lintel from Wat Eng Khna, central Cambodia (cat. 88), a large assembly of Brahman priests, similarly attired and holding waterpots and conch shells (*sankha*), queue up to take turns lustrating the king; others dance in celebration. Both scenes, however, differ in intent from the present bronze figure. In all probability, this important icon, which stands almost two feet (52 cm) tall, represents the Vedic sage Agastya, Śiva's supreme devotee. Praised for his devotion in both the Vedas and the Purāṇas, most notably in the *Skandapurāṇa*,<sup>2</sup> Agastya was much revered in insular Southeast Asia, especially in Java. That this image was found in the Malay Peninsula, and another, in northeastern Thailand, points to his wider following in the region.<sup>3</sup>



CAT. 105



Fig. 116. Lintel depicting combatant Garudas and ascetic celebrants. Central Cambodia, 7th century.  
Found at temple S1, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kampong Thom province. Photographed ca. 1910s



CAT. 106

The sage wears the beard and long, braided locks of a *r̄si* but, unusually, the hair is drawn back and cascades down to his shoulders instead of sitting piled high on his head in a *jaṭāmukuta*. He is dressed in a simple, short *dhoti* and wears no jewelry, although his earlobes are pierced and extended, revealing that he once did. His only ornament is the sacred cord, worn loose so that it curves around his bulbous stomach—the legacy, perhaps, of yogic meditation exercises.<sup>4</sup> He holds a spouted holy water vessel (*kundikā*) in his left hand and, judging by another version preserved at Songkhla in southern Thailand,<sup>5</sup> would have held a rosary (*akṣamālā*) in the other. As seen in a lifesize figure from northern Cambodia (cat. 96), the flask is a key attribute of the ascetic Śiva and hence was assumed by his most devout followers.

PUBLICATIONS: Griswold 1962, pls. 1, 2; Subhadradis Diskul 1980, p. 47, pl. 7; *Encyclopedia of Malaysia* 1998, p. 96; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, p. 335, fig. 166.

NOTES: 1. Boisselier 1955, pp. 99, 141, pl. 16.

2. Bisschop 2006, p. 68, stanza 85. 3. It has been suggested—by Griswold 1962—that this might be a portrait of a revered guru, but no single portrait sculpture in Southeast Asia is known before the celebrated and much disputed images of Jayavarman VII (reigned ca. 1181–1218) at Angkor or the presumed (and also disputed) queen portraits from fourteenth-century Majapahit, eastern Java; see Klokke 1994. Agastya is

the focus of special attention at the ninth-century Prambanan temple complex, central Java. 4. Yogic breathing exercises according to Griswold 1962, p. 64. 5. Found in Phang Phra, Sathingphra district, Songkhla province; housed in the Wat Machimawas Museum, Songkhla; and published in Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, fig. 141.

#### CAT. 106 Antefix with Head of Śiva

Central Thailand, ca. 6th century  
Found in Wat Saravas, Ban Na Lao, U Thong, Suphanburi province  
Terracotta  
H. 15¾ in. (39 cm)  
National Museum, U Thong, Suphanburi, Thailand (387/25)

This large terracotta relief once decorated the roofline of a temple or shrine, either aligned along the flat eaves or positioned as an upper gallery antefix to give the structure the illusion of greater height. The bust inside the moon-shaped blind window (Skt., *candraśāla*; Tamil, *kudu*) undoubtedly represents the ascetic Śiva, with a topknot and cascading dreadlocks that frame the stern face. The god gazes out at the world, his wide eyes round and his jaw fixed. He has a forehead marking denoting his third eye

(and indicating omnipresence) and wears large disk earrings (*kundala*). Foliate motifs frame his niche from below.<sup>1</sup> His identity is secured by reference to a near-contemporary depiction of Śiva also from central Thailand: a rock-cut relief depicting an enthroned Buddha preaching to Viṣṇu, Śiva, and some *r̄sis* (fig. 1). There, Śiva has the same topknot, tresses framing the face, and ear ornaments.

A rare stone antefix showing Śiva has survived at Wat Khao Noi, Songkhla province, bearing witness to a now-lost Śaiva shrine in that southern locality.<sup>2</sup> It is stray finds such as these antefixes as well as freestanding devotional sculptures, which have often been moved from their original locations, that are the only clues to the existence of many Brahmanical shrines in the early Thai landscape, the building materials having been recycled over the centuries by local communities. U Thong prospered as an early commercial center, with land connections both west to Myanmar and the Bay of Bengal and south to the Gulf of Thailand. Indian merchants were active in the region, as this legacy of a now-untraced Śaiva temple attests.

PUBLICATIONS: Fine Arts Department 2002a, p. 110; Fine Arts Department 2007a, pp. 22–25; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 116–17, ill. no. 1.120.

NOTES: 1. Meister, Dhaky, and Deva 1986, pls. 394–96. 2. Fine Arts Department 2000, pp. 130–31.



CAT. 107

**CAT. 107****Antefix with Male Head**

Southern Vietnam, 7th century

Probably from a ruined brick temple north of Nui Sam village, Chau Doc district, An Giang province, and transferred by Louis Malleret to the Musée Blanchard de la Brosse, Saigon, in 1944

Terracotta with polychrome and gilding

11 x 17¾ x 11½ in. (28 x 45 x 29 cm)

National Museum of Vietnamese History,  
Ho Chi Minh City (BTLS 1752)

This type of architectural ceramic has a long history. Gable antefixes (Skt., *candraśālā*; Tamil, *kudu*) were a popular device in Indian temples, often housing a bust of an onlooker, sometimes of an amorous couple (*mithuna*). *Kudus* were regularly included in Kuṣāna-period (late 1st–3rd century) depictions of secular architecture and became a fixture in temple architecture thereafter. They make an early appearance in the Khmer-speaking territories, from the early seventh century. Most evidence survives from the Mekong delta and major interior sites such as Sambor Prei Kuk.<sup>1</sup> They feature prominently on the roof profiles of temple S2 in the south group of that complex, which includes a freestanding open pavilion (the Nandī *mandapa*; fig. 110), and in the north group as well, at brick cell N17,

where, besides traces of the temple's foundations, only the solid-walled *mandapa* survives (fig. 117). In the early Cham brick shrines of central Vietnam, *kudus* are typically sculpted into the fabric of the brickwork rather than created separately and attached.<sup>2</sup> Versions are known from Mon sites in Thailand, including a large terracotta one from U Thong (cat. 106) and a stone example from Songkhla, in the peninsula; both depict Śiva, unlike the early Khmer examples.<sup>3</sup>

Excavations at several Funan-era sites in the Mekong delta have produced terracotta *kudus*, including one depicting an amorous couple excavated at Ba The (Oc Eo) and this poised male head enclosed in an elliptical frame with foliate terminals, found in the neighboring district of Chau Doc.<sup>4</sup> It has a broad base and an aperture on the back for securing it with a wood or bamboo dowel to the building it once decorated. That building undoubtedly belonged to a group of shrines of which only vestiges of brick foundations survive, near Nui Sam village.<sup>5</sup> The visible traces of polychrome are of indeterminate date and likely include modern additions.

PUBLICATIONS: Malleret 1959–63, vol. 1 (1959), pp. 297–98, 319–20, no. 4, fig. 30, pl. LXXI, a; Khoo 2003, p. iv and back cover; Le Thi Lien 2006b, pp. 121–23, fig. 202; Vietnam: From the Hong River to the Mekong 2010, p. 209, no. 173.

NOTES: 1. See Parmentier 1927, p. 79, fig. 32; Jessup 2004, pp. 46–47. 2. Le Thi Lien 2006b, p. 122, fig. 197, Chot Mat, Tay Ninh. 3. For U Thong, see Fine Arts Department 2002c, p. 63; for Songkhla, see Fine Arts Department 2000, pp. 130–31. 4. The Oc Eo *kudu* is now in the An Giang Province Museum, Long Xuyen, Vietnam; illustrated in Le Thi Lien 2006b, p. 114, fig. 180. 5. Malleret 1959–63, vol. 1 (1959), pp. 297–98, 319.



Fig. 117. Sandstone *mandapa*, cell N17, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kampong Thom province, Central Cambodia, first half of 7th century

STATE ART



# Dvāravatī Sculpture

Robert L. Brown

Sculptures found in Thailand that date to the seventh and eighth centuries form an artistic corpus that has yet to be fully appreciated. Some of these objects are associated with a seventh-century polity called Dvāravatī that existed in what is today central Thailand. While many possible names for early Southeast Asian polities have been found, primarily in Chinese texts, Dvāravatī's geographic location and probable time period have been securely identified, allowing scholars to link to it unique sculptural innovations in the region. This essay sketches not only the nature of these styles but also the limits defining the concept of Dvāravatī art.

How to identify Dvāravatī and other early Southeast Asian polities named primarily in Chinese texts is a subject of extensive scholarship. Indeed, whether to call Dvāravatī a state, a kingdom, a mandala, and so on is not addressed in this brief essay. Compared to other polities named in Chinese sources, there is local, inscriptive evidence for the existence and location of Dvāravatī. For example, modern scholars have proposed "Funan," a word derived from a Chinese term, as the name of the earliest Indic kingdom of Cambodia and have written about "Funan art." However, local sources do not mention a polity named Funan. For Dvāravatī, on the other hand, the existence of the Chinese term "Duoluobodi," which is related to the Sanskrit toponym Dvāravatī, occurs along with extensive local mentions of the name to justify the current use of the term "Dvāravatī."<sup>1</sup>

A Sanskrit word meaning "having doors or gates," "Dvāravatī" was first used in the seventh century by two Chinese monks, Xuanzang and Yijing. Although they never visited the area in Southeast Asia that they identified as Dvāravatī, they correctly placed it between two other polities, Śrī Kṣetra in the west and Linyi in the east.<sup>2</sup> Dvāravatī is also mentioned in other Chinese sources as sending tribute missions to the Tang court in 638, 640, and 649.<sup>3</sup>

The Chinese textual references have been confirmed by the discovery in central Thailand of a number of silver medals with Sanskrit inscriptions that read śrīdvāravatīśvarapunya, which can be interpreted in several ways but basically means "for the merit of the lord of Dvāravatī." That some medals were found in stupa excavations underlines their Buddhist nature and merit-making purpose. J. J. Boeles first identified this medal type in 1964 from two items discovered at Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province, and over the years, many similar medals have been recovered from sites spread across the Chao Phraya River valley of central Thailand.<sup>4</sup> Paleographic analysis dates these medals to the seventh century, concurring with the Chinese evidence.

A tantalizing insight into how Dvāravatī may have functioned as a political entity is provided by the only stone inscription that mentions the polity. On a broken base that was intended for a Buddha image, it reads "daughter of the lord of Dvāravatī . . . the queen set up the image . . . this of the Tathāgata."<sup>5</sup> The base fragments were kept in a monastery in Nakhon Ratchasima province

called Wat Chantuk, a northeastern site outside central Thailand, where the medals were found. Peter Skilling suggests that the inscription may indicate a marriage alliance between a Dvāravatī princess and a ruling family from this area.<sup>6</sup> Kannika Wimonkasem and Chirapat Prapandvidya have proposed a date of 550–650 based on paleography.<sup>7</sup> The formation of political alliances through the marriage of royal princesses with kings and lords was a key means of consolidating power in Southeast Asia until modern times. This brief inscription seems to show the use of the marriage strategy by a Dvāravatī ruler, revealing the polity's importance at that time among the region's elites. More important for art history, however, the princess could have brought with her a Dvāravatī-style sculpture to install or a Dvāravatī artist to carve the image. Such actions would have facilitated the transmission of artistic styles to different regions.

Within the brief period that Dvāravatī is known to have existed, the late sixth to seventh century, a tremendous amount of art, predominantly Buddhist in nature, was produced, and the Buddha image has proved the most important sculptural type for identifying a Dvāravatī aesthetic (cat. 117). The organization, methodology, and conclusions of Pierre Dupont's *L'Archéologie moniale de Dvāravatī* (The Mon Archaeology of Dvāravatī), published posthumously in 1959, have defined the way in which the polity's sculpture, particularly the Buddha image, has been studied up until the present day.<sup>8</sup> Dupont divided the Buddha sculptures into standing and seated iterations and then supplied an elaborate typological breakdown in comparison to other images.<sup>9</sup> Dupont began his analysis by looking chronologically across South Asian Buddha styles, including Greco-Buddhist, Mathura, Gupta, Amaravati, Anuradhapura, and post-Gupta, each of which contributed to Dvāravatī; thus, the Dvāravatī Buddha sculptures are stylistic composites. The overall criterion for Dupont's chronological ordering of the Dvāravatī objects was their relative similarity to the South Asian examples. Dupont provided three distinguishing characteristics of the Dvāravatī Buddhas: the joined, arched eyebrows; "naked asexuality," to use Dupont's words; and identical mudras executed with two hands.<sup>10</sup> In his discussions, Dupont also pointed out such features as strict frontality, a tendency to symmetry, and the distinct ways the robes are worn (see fig. 118).<sup>11</sup>

A second scholar who advanced our knowledge of Dvāravatī Buddhas is A. B. Griswold. In the article "Imported Images and the Nature of Copying in the Art of Siam," Griswold produced a detailed study of early Buddha images from Thailand, focusing on examples that revealed copying of imported sculptures. Some objects found in Thailand he noted as South Asian imports and others as locally made objects that had foreign models.<sup>12</sup> He identified local copies by finding evidence of a local artist's misunderstanding of a foreign model. He also examined modern reproductions of ancient objects that contain minor mistakes attributable to similar misap-



Fig. 118. Enthroned Buddha. Central Thailand, 8th century. Found in Wat Phra Men, Nakhon Pathom province. Quartzite, h. 12 ft. 1½ in. (3.7 m). National Museum, Bangkok

prehensions. The study demonstrated that the process that created the Dvāravatī Buddhas is different from copying, as these sculptures are unique objects that relate to but are not identical to other works.<sup>13</sup>

The earliest Dvāravatī Buddhas date to about the sixth century, but production began primarily in the seventh century. The predominant source for older images is Gupta-period art, specifically the Sarnath style (see cat. 10).<sup>14</sup> Created in the second half of the fifth century, the Sarnath Buddha was a radical innovation that feminized the figure by depicting a slight body in a stance that often featured slightly bent joints. The head is olive-shaped, with the eyes, nose, and lips grouped closely together in the lower portion of the face, and the eyes are turned down. The robe, with all the folds removed, adheres closely to the body, creating a smooth surface that outlines the form. The genitalia, which had been prominently indicated under the robe in earlier Buddha images from northern India, are not shown, creating an asexual figure.

The Sarnath aesthetic had a far-reaching impact on Buddha images throughout the Buddhist world. Its influence is clearly seen in a sudden change of style during China's Northern Qi dynasty (550–77).<sup>15</sup> The Dvāravatī Buddha image was probably created at the same time, as it shares many characteristics with Chinese sculptures, such as the tightly clinging robe, without folds, that hides the genitals.

If the Gupta-period Sarnath Buddha was highly influential in both sixth-century China and Southeast Asia, one might expect to find imported Indian sculptures in those places. No imports, however, have been recovered in China. In Southeast Asia, only an intriguing but unusual small stone sculpture, discovered at Wiang Sa, Surat Thani province, in peninsular Thailand (cat. 9), suggests a link with the Sarnath style. Complicating the question of how style and iconography transferred from India to Southeast and East Asia during the Gupta period is the small number of extant metal Indian Buddha images, some thirty-two by M. C. Joshi's count.<sup>16</sup> The assumption that metal images were the most likely carriers of the changes is problematic given the few objects found.<sup>17</sup> Of course, one can argue that the artists, not the objects, moved, but Indian artists in China or Southeast Asia would have produced Indian-style, not Northern Wei-style or Dvāravatī-style, sculptures.<sup>18</sup> The other possibility is that Chinese and Southeast Asian artists traveled to

Sarnath, but then they would have had to return to China, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam and all produce similarly modified images—an equally unlikely scenario.

Was there, then, in Thailand before the sixth to seventh century, a Buddha type that already had Indic characteristics over which the Gupta style was laid? While the evaluation of Buddha images found in Thailand is ongoing and opinions on individual works vary, no pre-Dvāravatī sculptures that demonstrate other South Asian styles have been uncovered. One possible exception, a fragmentary Buddha of unclear provenance in the National Museum, Bangkok (fig. 7), suggests southern Indian or Sri Lankan connections in this time frame.<sup>19</sup> Unlike the Chinese examples, which arose from a centuries-old tradition of producing Buddha images beginning in the first century, there is little evidence of image production in Thailand before the sixth century.

Other sculptural types have been used to define the Dvāravatī period. For example, unique to Dvāravatī culture are *dharma-cakrastambhas*, in which Wheels of the Law (*dharma-cakra*) were placed atop stone pillars, and the wheels were held in place by socles that united the upward-pointing tang of the pillar with the downward tang of the wheel (fig. 119). Gravity must have secured the three parts—pillar, socle, and wheel—together as there is no evidence of metal pins or other means of locking them into place.<sup>20</sup> One exceptionally large socle uses anamorphosis to create the illusion, when seen from below, of the overhanging architectural features of a sky palace, proving that the socles were meant to be raised above the heads of viewers.<sup>21</sup>

Wheels of the Law are one of the most popular symbols used in Buddhist art throughout Asia.<sup>22</sup> They are often flanked by deer, which refer to the deer park at Sarnath where the Buddha gave his First Sermon and set his teachings (the Law) rolling like a wheel throughout the world. Also found in Dvāravatī sites are freestanding stone deer that were presumably part of an iconographic scheme with the wheels. Such deer sculpted in the round are known only in Dvāravatī art. Finally, other uniquely Dvāravatī sculptures associated with the wheels are Buddha images shown standing on a flying animal, often accompanied by two standing attendants. These Buddhas were likely placed on the hubs of already existing wheels.<sup>23</sup>

While pillars, socles, wheels, deer, and Buddhas on flying animals create an exclusive group of Dvāravatī sculpture, scholars

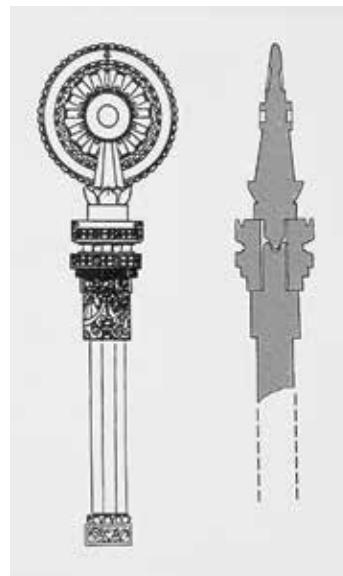


Fig. 119. Hypothetical reconstruction of a Dvāravatī-associated *dharma-cakrastambha* (Wheel of the Law pillar)

have yet to reach a consensus on the meaning of this combined iconography. However, inscriptions on some wheels that excerpt the First Sermon confirm that the wheels evoke the Buddha's teaching.<sup>24</sup> The inscriptions were organized on the objects to suggest that as the wheel turned, the Law emanated forth into the world. Moreover, the image of the Buddha riding a flying vehicle in the decoration of the hub as well as the elevation of the wheel itself gives the impression that the Buddha is giving a lecture from the sky.<sup>25</sup> This scene—the teaching Buddha in the sky—is described in many texts, especially the well-known Śrāvastī Miracles (discussed below), which are among the most popular of the Buddha's life stories to be depicted in South and Southeast Asian art.<sup>26</sup>

Most sculptures from Thailand in this publication are icons—that is, images of single deities, sometimes with flanking attendants—and are meant to be worshipped but carry little narrative content. By contrast, Dvāravatī culture produced considerable narrative art, entirely Buddhist, that illustrates either *jātakas* (stories of the Buddha's past lives) or life stories of the Buddha.<sup>27</sup> Dvāravatī architecture is predominantly brick, and much of the decoration was in stucco and terracotta. Images of the Buddha and bodhisattvas were usually stucco, as were the narrative reliefs that were presented as panels set into niches in the brick walls. Stucco narrative panels from Chedi Chula Pathon, Nakhon Pathom, found *in situ* thanks to their encasement in a stupa basement at an early stage of construction, provide lasting evidence of the use of this material (cats. 151–53).<sup>28</sup> Most stucco imagery likely disappeared with the collapse and abandonment of various monuments. Still, many stucco and terracotta fragments remain, including examples from Wat Na Phra Men, Ayutthaya province, as well as Chedi Chula Pathon and Khu Bua, Ratchaburi province (cats. 77, 146).

Another Dvāravatī relief sculpture found in Nakhon Pathom displays one of the miracles that the Buddha performed at Śrāvastī (Shravasti) in India (fig. 120). The work shows the Buddha creating in an instant a full-grown, bountiful mango tree from a seed while simultaneously multiplying himself in different postures in the sky. The miracle overpowers one of his rivals, the naked ascetic Kāśyapa, who is shown in the largest and most impressive Dvāravatī stone relief supported by his followers as he collapses in defeat. The Buddha sits enthroned with his legs pendant, flanked by divinities, with the tree rising behind him. Among the branches, heavy with clusters of mangoes, are multiple Buddhas in seated, standing, and reclining postures. These iterations display the Buddha's power and authority to those below, just as with the Wheel of the Law pillars. Above the defeat of the heretic is a second scene of the enthroned Buddha, this time preaching to his mother. When the Buddha was only one week old, his mother died and was reborn in Indra's heaven. After his Śrāvastī triumph, the Buddha went there so that his mother could experience the Law. In the relief, she is depicted at the base of the throne to the Buddha's lower right, identifiable by her breasts.

This magnificent work is installed in Wat Suthat Thepwararam in Bangkok but was found at Nakhon Pathom, where the other stone relief of the Śrāvastī Miracles was also discovered. Although it is not known how they would have been displayed, their quality and importance suggest that other stone reliefs were probably created to express narratives of the Buddha's lives. In addition, the sheer number of significant Dvāravatī objects that have been found there as well as the remains of several notable architectural monuments argues for the consideration of Nakhon Pathom as the key urban Dvāravatī site.

The Buddha image, the Wheel of the Law pillar, and the narrative relief are three object types that identify a singular Dvāravatī style of art and characteristic iconography. Even though these forms comprise only a small portion of the entire corpus from Thailand,

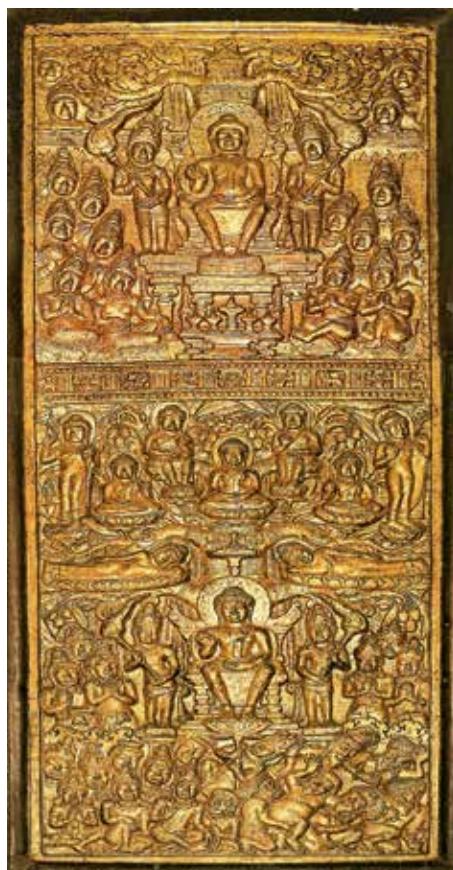


Fig. 120. Relief depicting Buddha preaching to his mother in Tāvatimsa heaven (top) and Śrāvastī Miracles (bottom). Central Thailand, 8th century. Found in Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province. Stone, h. 94½ in. (240 cm). Wat Suthat Thepwararam, Bangkok

Dvāravatī was a real place, from which associated sculptures can be identified, and the evidence for Dvāravatī as the name of a polity dates almost entirely to the seventh century and ends before the eighth century. Yet most scholars speak of Dvāravatī as lasting until the eleventh century, a five-hundred-year period, and as covering a geographic area that spreads over most of modern Thailand. The eleventh century is used as the end of Dvāravatī, as it signals the increasing political dominance of Angkor in Thailand. However, with such little evidence, the political reality between the eighth and eleventh centuries for most of Thailand is still relatively unknown. The urge for scholars to fill the gap with material evidence based on art and architecture leads to an arbitrary classification of the art, as there are few, if any, dated works from this time period. Scholars want to build a bridge between the art, religion, and culture of Dvāravatī and those of modern Thailand, which begins with the appearance of the Thai in the twelfth century. While many connections can be postulated, there is also a danger of elaborating a culture and polity that the scant evidence cannot support.

Thus, Dvāravatī, and probably most art associated with the name, can be securely placed only in the seventh and eighth centuries. It appears that art production declined greatly after this period. Skilling has made similar arguments, as has Pierre Baptiste, specifically regarding the rapid decline of art after the eighth century.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, in an essay entitled "Dvāravatī, un royaume sans histoire" (Dvāravatī, a Kingdom without History), Claude Jacques argues compellingly that the political history of Dvāravatī presented today is a construct, not a reality.<sup>30</sup> While that history may be largely speculative, the art is not. It stands as a testament to the greatness of Dvāravatī's religion, culture, and art.

# Cakra: Quintessential Symbol of the Buddha's Law

Thierry Zéphir

The wheel (*cakra*), vase of plenty (*pūrṇaghata*), tree of enlightenment (*bodhivrksa*), and stupa are preeminent symbols of ancient Buddhist iconography, from the aniconic phase of Indian Buddhist art. They refer specifically to the four most important moments in the life of the historical Buddha: birth (vase); enlightenment (tree); the First Sermon (wheel); and death, or entry into nirvana (stupa). In the codified and metaphorical artistic language of ancient India, these symbols not only allude to the great miracles in the life of the Buddha but also constitute a repertoire of forms in which every follower could visualize Śākyamuni for him- or herself.

With the creation of anthropomorphic depictions of the Buddha during the first century A.D., both in the Kuśāna school of Mathura in northern India and in the Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhara in present-day Pakistan, these symbolic images were largely supplanted by more explicit scenes. In place of the wheel, an image of the Buddha seated with legs crossed and both hands in front of his chest, making the gesture of the “Wheel of the Law set in motion” (*dharmacakramudra*), represented the First Sermon. Still, as a motif evoking the sermon—and, more broadly, the doctrine itself—the wheel has become a major symbol of the faith, no matter the believer’s orientation: Theravāda, Mahāyāna, or Vajrayāna. Always in motion, always rotating, it suggests the uninterrupted repetition of the precepts of the Law and their diffusion in every direction. It stands as the visual expression of Buddhist teaching, through which every being can be guided toward salvation. In Buddhism, the wheel has taken on many meanings, three of which bear particular importance: the jewel wheel (*ratnacakra*), which is the prerogative of the wheel turner, or universal sovereign (*cakravartin*); the Wheel of Life (*samsāracakra*), also called the Wheel of Becoming (*bbavacakra*); and the Wheel of the Law (*dharmacakra*).<sup>1</sup>

The *ratnacakra* is one of the seven treasures of a universal monarch and the essential attribute of his sovereignty. A symbol of temporal power, it moves through the air, accompanying its owner in his perambulations, and stands guard at the gate of his palace. This fabled wheel is a characteristic of the good, or virtuous, monarch, who rules in accordance with the dharma and, specifically in Buddhism, with the Law as promulgated by the Buddha. In ancient Indian iconography, the *ratnacakra* frequently appears on bas-reliefs representing the *cakravartin*, whether in scenes that deal explicitly with certain tales of the Buddha’s past lives (*jātaka*), such as the *Māndhātā Jātaka*, or in more abstract emblems that depict the universal monarch apart from any particular narrative context (fig. 121).<sup>2</sup>

The *samsāracakra* may be interpreted as the believer’s possibilities of rebirth as a sum of the merits or demerits accumulated over the course of multiple lives. The theory of dependent arising, or dependent origination (*pratityasamutpāda*), specifies the mechanisms that govern the inevitable links between cause and effect and lead to successive incarnations in the world—deity (*deva*), semi-divine being (*asura*), human, animal, hungry ghost (*preta*), or one of the damned—from which only the Buddha’s teaching can provide an escape. In India, one of the first illustrations of this theme

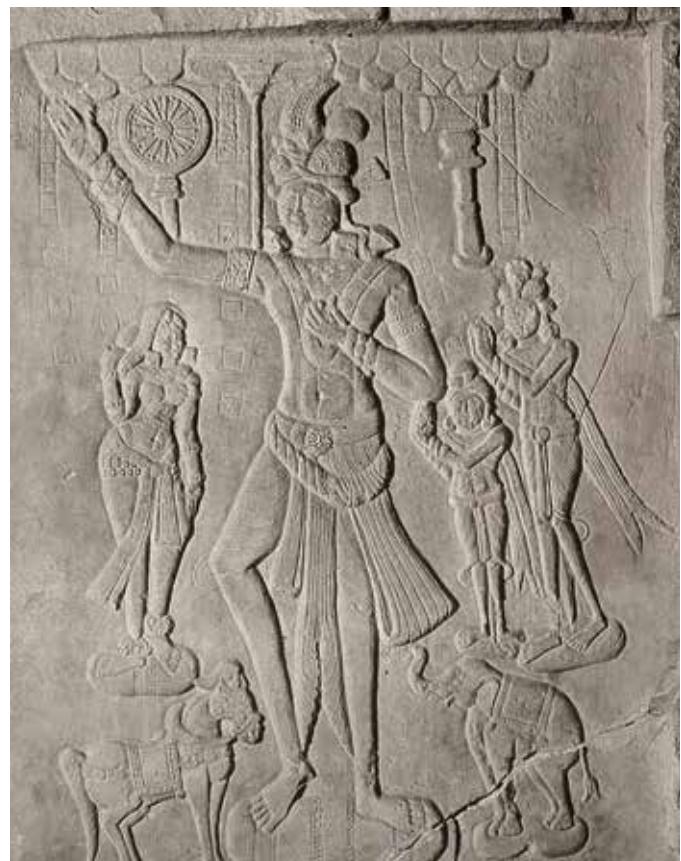


Fig. 121. Relief depicting *cakravartin* (universal sovereign). Southern India, ca. 1st century B.C. Found in Jaggayyapeta, Andhra Pradesh. Limestone, h. 51 1/8 in. (130 cm). Government Museum, Chennai, India

appears in the paintings on the veranda in a monastery cave at Ajanta in Maharashtra (fig. 122).<sup>3</sup>

While the *ratnacakra* and the *samsāracakra* were depicted at relatively specific times and in particular spaces, the *dharmacakra* was represented more frequently, not only in India but elsewhere in the Indianized world—for instance, in Dvāravatī art.<sup>4</sup> The large and rather unexpected number of *dharmacakras* found in the Mon territories of what is now Thailand elevates that symbol to the status of a major icon; it even seems to have competed for preeminence with the image of the Buddha himself. The pillar on which these *dharmacakras* stand refers to the ancient pre-Buddhist symbol as it is evoked, for example, in the *Atharva Veda*: the pillar (*stambha*), the axis mundi that is both demiurge and support of all existence.<sup>5</sup> It thus confers a cosmic quality on the teachings of the Buddha, outside any precise spatial or temporal reference.

Buddhist Law has been reconstituted through a vast body of literature, of which the Pali canon aspires to be the foremost expression.<sup>6</sup> The canon is divided into three “baskets” of texts. The sermon at Sarnath appears in the large division (*Mahāvagga*) of the first basket, *Vinaya Piṭaka* (basket of discipline), and in the grouped



Fig. 122. Mural depicting a *samsaracakra* (Wheel of Life; detail). Central India, 5th–6th century. In situ in cave 17, Ajanta, Maharashtra

discourses (*Samyutta Nikāya*) of the second basket, *Sutta Piṭaka* (basket of discourse). In keeping with the Indian tradition of orally transmitting knowledge, especially religious knowledge, the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* (Sermon on Setting in Motion the Wheel of the Law, or First Sermon) begins with the words “Thus have I heard” and proceeds with the Four Truths of the Noble Ones (*ariyasacca*), the essential content of the discourse: suffering (*dukkha*); the origin of suffering (*samudaya*); the cessation of suffering (*nirodha*); and the path leading to the cessation of suffering (*dukkhanirodhagāminī patipadā*). The path, known as the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariyo atthāngiko maggo*), consists of “right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration.” Next, the *ñāṇa* (Threefold Knowledge) relating to the Four Truths is laid out, each time in identical form. And each time, the Buddha specifies that, once he acquired the Threefold Knowledge about each truth, “vision, knowledge, wisdom, science, and light” arose in him. The sermon ends with the affirmation of the perfect and complete *sammāsambodhi* (enlightenment) that the Buddha had just achieved and of his imminent liberation, following his final life, when he would attain the *mahāparinibbāna* (great final extinction).

The unity between the wheel and these teachings appears even more explicitly in Dvāravatī art, in which some wheels have inscriptions in Pali closely related to the sermon at Sarnath.<sup>7</sup> One of the most beautiful *dharmacakras* bears a series of inscriptions on the rim, spokes, and hub that amount to a kind of summary or adaptation of the sermon (fig. 123). In addition to citations from the First Sermon, some *dharmacakras* have inscriptions connected to the concept of dependent origination, and others reproduce the words of the Buddhist causation formula:

*The states that have arisen from a cause,  
Their cause the Tathāgatha proclaims,  
As well as their cessation.  
This is the teaching of the Great Ascetic.*

Engraved in Late Southern Brāhmī script on the rim, spokes, and hub, these purely religious inscriptions are an integral part of the works, although apparently no specific location was set aside for

them. Most likely, it was rarely possible to read them because the wheels were positioned at the top of the pillars. Despite their theoretical importance, these inscriptions do not seem to have been indispensable, given that the majority of wheels discovered thus far do not bear them. When they are present, they realize in writing what the wheel explicitly represents by virtue of its form: the quintessence of the Law promulgated by the Buddha.



Fig. 123. Inscribed *dharmacakra* (Wheel of the Law). Central Thailand, ca. 7th–8th century. From Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province. Sandstone, diam. 41½ in. (105 cm). National Museum, Bangkok, H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala Collection

# Buddhist Architecture and Ritual Space in Thailand, Seventh to Ninth Century

Stephen A. Murphy

The arrival of Buddhism in Southeast Asia had a transformative effect on the cultures it encountered and within which it developed. New forms of religious worship arose, as did a new social class known as the *saṅgha* (Buddhist monkhood). As the religion evolved, its associated art and architecture did as well. In northeastern Thailand, evidence of monastic architecture is most plentiful at Muang Fa Daed in Kalasin province and Muang Sema in Nakhon Ratchasima province. At both of these early moated urban settlements, the two essential monastic buildings—the *ubosot* (Thai, ordination hall) and the *vihāra* (Skt., assembly hall)—are present by about the seventh century. In Buddhist monasteries, the *vihāra* tended to be larger than the *ubosot*, as the lay community gathered in the former to pray or hear sermons. The *ubosot* had only to accommodate the monks as they performed prescribed rites and rituals. However, for certain essential rituals, such as the ordination ceremony and recitation of the rules of the order (Pali, *patimokkha*),<sup>1</sup> to be properly performed, the *ubosot* needed to be surrounded by a clearly defined boundary.

In northeastern Thailand of the seventh to ninth century, these boundaries were created by markers known as *sema* stones, usually in sets of eight or sixteen.<sup>2</sup> The stones could stand anywhere between three and ten feet (1–3 m) tall and were usually carved with a central stupa motif on one or both sides (fig. 124). In situ

examples can be seen at both Muang Fa Daed and Muang Sema, with *semas* sometimes also used to demarcate stupas. Some examples from Muang Fa Daed and some from the sites of Ban Nong Hang in Kalasin province and Ban Kut Nong in Chaiyaphum province are richly decorated in relief with scenes from the life of the Buddha or episodes from one of his numerous past lives (*jātaka* tales).

One *sema* from Muang Fa Daed appears to illustrate both a *jātaka* and a scene from the life of the Buddha (fig. 125). The Buddha is depicted sitting under the *bodhi* tree (tree of enlightenment) at the center of the composition, flanked by royal fans and flags. Four figures are seated before him, possibly a king, a queen, and their attendants. Were the composition to end there, a number of possible interpretations could be proposed, such as the Buddha preaching to King Bimbisāra or to his own father, King Śuddhodana. However, three other figures appear at the bottom. Two are armed with bows and arrows, while the one in the center leaps upward with a weapon in his upraised right hand. This section has been identified as a scene from the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*.<sup>3</sup> In the tale, the bodhisattva Jyotiṣpāla defends himself against four archers by blocking their arrows with his own iron arrow. This possible conflation of a *jātaka* and a scene from the life of the Buddha is unique in the known *sema* tradition of the Khorat Plateau.



Fig. 124. *Sema* stone with stupa motif. Northeastern Thailand, 8th–9th century. Found in Ubon Ratchathani province. Sandstone, 67 x 29 7/8 x 8 1/8 in. (170 x 76 x 22 cm). National Museum, Ubon Ratchathani, Thailand



Fig. 125. *Sema* stone depicting the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*. Northeastern Thailand, 8th–9th century. Found at Muang Fa Daed, Kalasin province. Sandstone, 64 1/16 x 35 x 5 1/2 in. (164 x 89 x 14 cm). Housed in temple at Muang Fa Daed



Fig. 126. Fragmentary *sema* stone possibly depicting episode from life of the Buddha. Northeastern Thailand, 8th–9th century. Found at Ban Nong Hang, Kalasin province. Sandstone, 23 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 32 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (60 x 82 x 9 cm). National Museum, Khon Kaen, Thailand

A number of other episodes from the life of the Buddha exist on *sema* stones, some of which are fragmentary. An example from Ban Nong Hang (fig. 126), for instance, appears to represent Aṅgulimāla's attempt to kill the Buddha. The son of a Brahman priest, Aṅgulimāla was studying with a guru when he caused offense by supposedly seducing the guru's wife; his punishment was to collect one thousand human fingers. Upon encountering the Buddha, he decided to make him his one thousandth victim. Aṅgulimāla ran after the Buddha with sword drawn, fully intending to kill him. However, unable to catch or defeat him, the murderer asked to receive his teachings instead and subsequently converted to Buddhism and became a monk. This *sema* shows the Buddha on the right of the composition, identifiable by his robes and hand gesture. To the left is a figure with a sword and raised shield, who has been identified as Aṅgulimāla; however, this identification is provisional, as he lacks the necklace of human fingers described in the text. There are numerous episodes in the life of the Buddha in which he is either attacked or accosted by ogres, so other interpretations are possible.

With the establishment of Buddhism in northeastern Thailand, changes began to occur in urban organization, as seen at numerous sites across early mainland Southeast Asia,<sup>4</sup> including Muang Fa Daed and Muang Sema. At the former, in addition to evidence for an *ubosot*, there are fourteen extant stupa foundations, seven of which were placed directly outside the moat—in effect, ringing the settlement.<sup>5</sup> This is an important cognitive shift in the way the

urban landscape was constructed and viewed; not until around the seventh century were areas outside the moat incorporated into settlements.

Muang Sema exhibits a similar form of urban planning. Perhaps the best-known archaeological feature from this site is the over-36-foot-long (11 m) sandstone Buddha image lying in *mahāparinirvāna* posture (fig. 127; two smaller replicas have been placed in front to allow worshippers to perform the Buddhist ritual of applying gold leaf to a sacred image). The site is also well known for the discovery of a Wheel of the Law (*dharmačakra*) in close proximity to the Buddha image. Excavations carried out by Thailand's Fine Arts Department and the National Museum, Bangkok, in 1980 focused on the area surrounding the Buddha image, situated about a third of a mile (500 m) beyond the moat.<sup>6</sup> The excavations revealed foundations of a large building, about 21 by 85 feet (6.5 x 26 m) in area, which once housed the Buddha image. Nine more monuments were excavated in 1999, seven of them within the moat. The largest structure (monument 1) is situated roughly in the center of the settlement. It measures about 147 by 165 feet (45 x 50 m), most likely represents a *vihāra*, and therefore marks the location of a monastery. A nearby structure (monument 4) surrounded by *sema* stones can be identified as an *ubosot*.<sup>7</sup> The seven monuments located within the moat lie very close together, none farther than 325 feet (100 m) from any other. The presence of a *vihāra*, an *ubosot*, and numerous stupas near the center of the urban site clearly indicates both that a monastic community was firmly situated within the settlement framework of Muang Sema and that the relationship between the *saṅgha* and the lay community was a close one.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from these archaeological findings. Located at the very heart of urban settlements, Buddhist monasteries played a key role in the religious and urban life of emerging early polities and states in northeastern Thailand. Substantial patronage must have been available, as the material and human resources required to provide for the *saṅgha* and to complete construction projects on this scale would have been untenable without the support of wealthy patrons and the ruling elite. As the early Buddhist states of Thailand grew and developed in and around various moated settlements, so, too, did the associated monastic architecture and sculpture. Elaborately carved *sema* stones demarcating ritual spaces, *vihāras* housing Buddha images, and stupas punctuating the skyline all contributed to the creation of a new sacred landscape. Buddhism, therefore, was pivotal not only in the development of monumental architecture and perceptions of religious space but also in the spiritual and political evolution of northeastern Thailand.

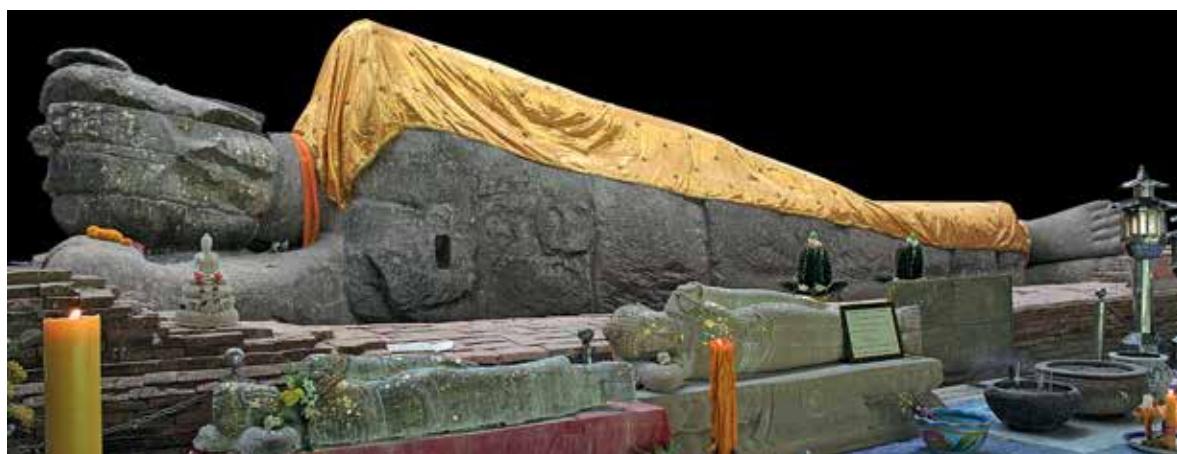


Fig. 127. Buddha in *mahāparinirvāna*. Northeastern Thailand, 8th–9th century. In situ at Muang Sema, Nakhon Ratchasima province. Sandstone, l. over 36 feet (11 m)

# Catalogue

John Guy



CAT. 108

## Enthroned Buddha

Southern Vietnam, late 6th–7th century

Unearthed near Son Tho, Vinh Loi district,

Tra Vinh province, in 1916

Sandstone

22 $\frac{7}{16}$  x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 8 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (57 x 24 x 22 cm)

National Museum of Vietnamese History,

Ho Chi Minh City (BTMT 186)

This sophisticated rendering of the enthroned Buddha seated in the *bhadrāsana* pose is the only known example from the Mekong region of a Buddha type popularized in the Mon territories of seventh- and eighth-century Thailand (cat. 110). Its appearance in the Mekong delta must reflect an influence absorbed from the Mon regions to the west. The same seated posture does, however, occur in clay sealings discovered along the southern coast of Vietnam.<sup>1</sup> The sculpture nonetheless fits stylistically into a group of early Buddhist images from the delta (cat. 47). This Buddha type does not occur in Khmer art but is present in a pre-Angkorian setting at the ancient city of Champasak, southern Laos.<sup>2</sup> That seated Buddha and the Mekong example share with the Mon versions the legs placed in parallel (rarely with spread knees, as seen in western India and central Java) and the hands held in *vitarkamudrā* (teaching gesture) rather than *dharmacakramudrā* (Wheel of the Law gesture), as first noted by Pierre Dupont.<sup>3</sup>

The Buddha gazes forward, his open eyes downcast and reflective, and it can be assumed for this figure type that his missing right hand indicated that he was delivering a sermon (*vitarkamudrā*) or, less likely, offering protection (*abhayamudrā*). His left hand rests palm up on his thigh and appears to hold the end of his robe, which is worn in the open mode, consistent with other early Buddhas from the region. He is seated on a molded platform throne without any trace of a back, and his feet rest on a circular projection that was probably meant to be decorated as a lotus support. While this iconography would define him as the preaching Buddha, made explicit in some examples where he assumes the *dharmacakramudrā*, in China the enthroned Buddha is usually identified as Maitreya, the messianic savior of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Maitreya's popularity blossomed in fifth- and sixth-century China, which, with the circulation of pilgrim-monks, undoubtedly had an impact on monastic communities in mainland Southeast Asia.<sup>4</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: "Chronique" 1916, p. 99; "Archéologie indochinoise" 1921, p. 77; Le May 1938, p. 25, fig. 20;

Dupont 1959a, pp. 278, 279; Malleret 1959–63, vol. 4

(1963), pp. 18, 178, pl. xxxiv; Le May 2004, p. 25,

fig. 20; Dupont 2006, pp. 199–200, pl. 575; Le Thi Lien

2006b, pp. 53–54, fig. 27; Tingley 2009, pp. 148–49,

no. 40; *Vietnam: From the Hong River to the Mekong*

2010, p. 195, no. 156; Revire 2012b, pp. 127–28, fig. 11.2.

NOTES: 1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, pp. 114–15,



nos. 31–37; Skilling 2009a, p. 112; Guy 2011a, fig. 11. 2. The seated Buddha was reportedly discovered within the ancient city walls and is thought by this author to date to the sixth to seventh century. 3. Dupont 1959a, pp. 278, 279. 4. Liu Jinglong 2001. For the Maitreya cult in China, see E. Y. Wang 2005, especially pp. 361–62. See also Revire 2012a; Revire 2012b.

#### CAT. 109

#### Enthroned Buddha Preaching

Myanmar or Thailand, 8th–early 9th century

Reportedly found in Myanmar

Copper alloy with gilding

H. 21¾ in. (55.1 cm)

The Cleveland Museum of Art,

Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund (1989.49)

The Buddha seated with pendant legs (*bbadrāsana*) appears in mainland Southeast Asia early in the sculptural record, as witnessed by a diminutive bronze icon that can be assigned to the second half of the sixth century (cat. 23). The enthroned Buddha is routinely depicted in the mainland with at least one hand raised in the teaching gesture (*vitarkamudrā*), in contrast to later Javanese renderings that favored the turning-of-the-wheel gesture (*dharmaacakramudrā*).<sup>1</sup> In early mainland settings, this Buddha type is found in sites as diverse as Champasak in southern Laos; the Mekong delta (cat. 108); the central Mon territories associated with the polity of Dvāravatī (cat. 110); and the lands of the Pyu and Mon to the west.

This icon, reportedly discovered in Myanmar and therefore assumed to be associated with a Pyu site or, more likely, a Mon site in coastal Myanmar, is among the finest metal versions to have been preserved. The Buddha is seated erect, in a manner closely resembling that in the relief on a pillar base from Wat Sai, Nakhon Pathom, central Thailand (fig. 131). The Buddhas differ only in the placement of the left hand, which in the relief rests in the lap in meditation mode but here is raised, holding the end of the robe. More significantly, both make the gesture of exposition, the enthroned Buddha's gesture par excellence in Mon renderings. In most respects, the Cleveland image displays the classic features of a Dvāravatī preaching Buddha; the treatment of the robe's folds between the legs deviates somewhat, but the flaring of the skirt above the ankles is consistent. The Buddha's throne, which was cast separately, is missing, and the full grandeur of the original ensemble can be envisioned only in comparison to the Nakhon Pathom relief. At the center of the undulating folds of the robes is a precisely observed pleat that closely relates to those of Mon standing Buddhas. Taking these characteristics together with the pronounced topknot of curls (*usnīṣa*), one may assign the Buddha to a late phase of Dvāravatī art and propose that its presence in Myanmar was the result of its transfer, likely as part of religious loot seized during warfare. Local production cannot be entirely dismissed, however, as another bronze enthroned Buddha was recovered in 1920 from a ruined stupa at Twante, west of Yangon, historically a Mon region.<sup>2</sup> Although respecting the conven-



CAT. 109

tions of posture and gesture, that image exhibits a distinctly different physiognomy, suggesting that it was a local production. An object as important as the enthroned Buddha under discussion could well have served as a prototype for local productions, including the Twante Buddha.

PUBLICATIONS: "Recent Acquisitions at the Cleveland Museum" 1991, p. 421, pl. x; Guy 1995, p. 73, fig. 8.

NOTES: 1. These different regional responses to the Indian model are discussed in Revire 2012b. 2. Luce 1985, p. 165, pl. 76b, c.

CAT. 110

### Enthroned Buddha Preaching

Central Thailand, first half of 7th century  
Excavated at site 40, Khu Bua, Ratchaburi province, by Fine Arts Department, Thailand, in 1962

Terracotta

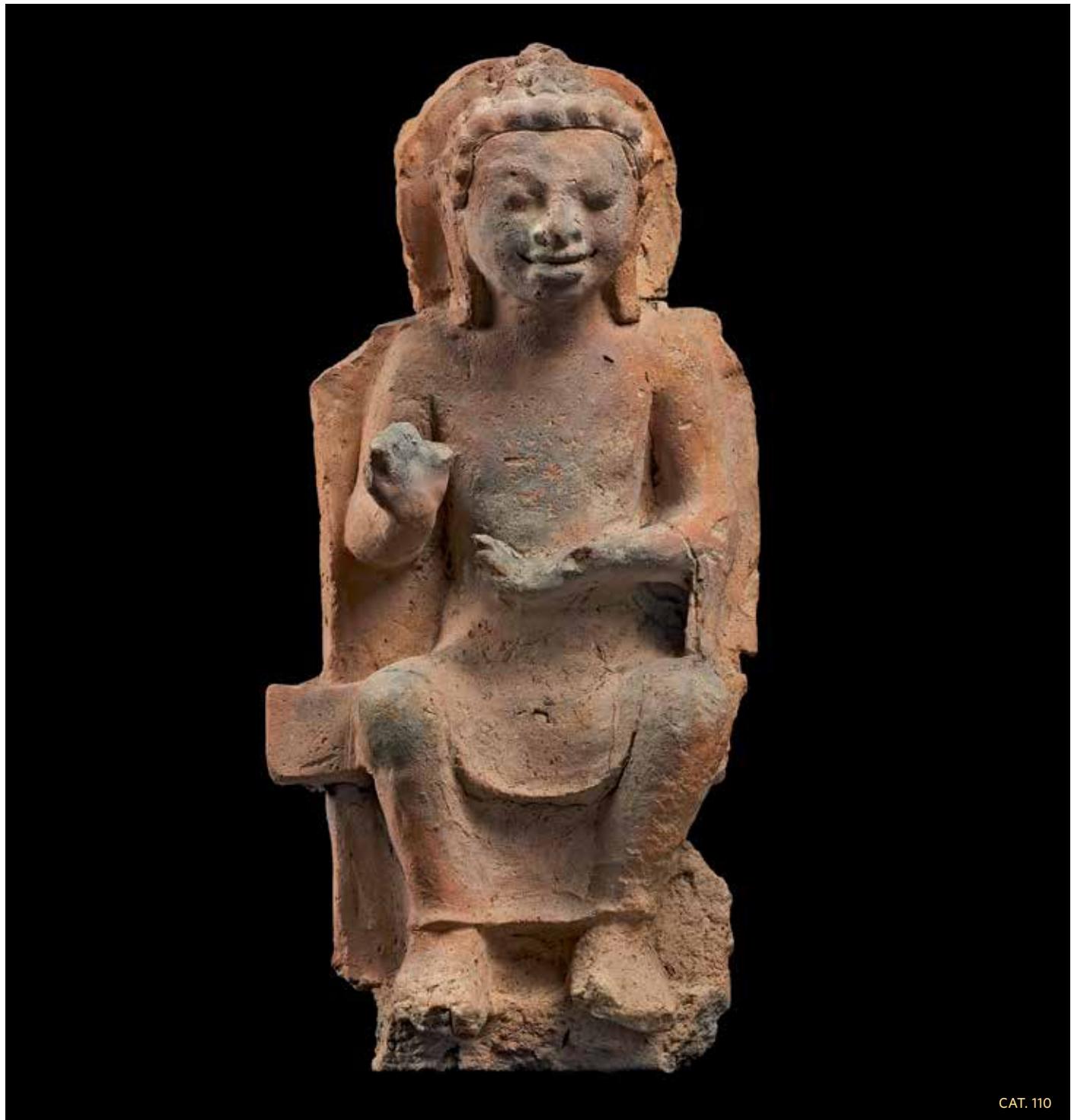
16 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (41 x 17 x 12 cm)

National Museum, Bangkok (441/2504 [129/1])

This diminutive enthroned Buddha appears to be engaged in animated exposition, and the now-damaged raised right hand may have once had conjoined fingers and thumb, indicating *vitarkamudrā*, the teaching gesture. The left hand is also held above the lap in a variant meditation gesture not seen in Indian art but present in

Southeast Asia, China, and Japan. A significant number of terracottas were recovered during the excavation of site 40 at Khu Bua in 1962. Measuring only about 32 feet (9.8 m) on each elevation, the monument is significantly smaller than most stupas of the period, yet its mound has revealed a large quantity of terracotta images, which must have constituted the stupa's main decorative program. The enthroned preaching Buddha occurs in multiple versions at the stupa but is otherwise rarely represented in terracotta in the Mon art of this period, being primarily confined to monumental stone versions—most spectacularly, the set of four icons believed to have been originally installed in four directional shrines at Wat Phra Men, Nakhon Pathom (fig. 118).<sup>1</sup> A few small bronze and stone versions are also known (cats. 23, 109).

The Buddha's seated posture (*bhadrasana*) has parallels in both Indian and Chinese Buddhist art of the seventh century and is associated with auspiciousness and material wealth.<sup>2</sup> This Buddha type originated in the cave art of Ajanta (cave 26, late 5th century), Kanheri (cave 90, mid-6th century), and Ellora (cave 12, late 7th century) in western India, as recorded in both murals and rock-cut sculptures.<sup>3</sup> Its widespread appearance throughout mainland Southeast Asia and Java points to the circulation of portable Indian models, most likely transported by Buddhist missionary monks. A flourish of related imagery appears at sites in late seventh-century China, most notably at Longmen, Henan province, suggesting that Indian models may also have arrived at major Buddhist centers in China around the same time.<sup>4</sup>



CAT. 110

PUBLICATIONS: Boisselier 1965, pp. 142–44; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1969, pp. 60–61, pl. 35B; Piriya Krairiksh 1978, p. 47, fig. 4; Manit Vallibhotama 1988; Fine Arts Department 1992, p. 96, fig. 21; *Moradok khong phaendin* 2006, p. 44; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, p. 212, no. 107; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 142–43, no. 16; Phatcharin Sukpramun 2009, p. 196; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 77, ill. no. 1.57.

NOTES: 1. Revire 2010, pp. 82–86. 2. Revire 2012b. 3. S. L. Huntington 1985, figs. 12.11, 12.25, 12.38. 4. Woodward 1988; Revire 2012b, pp. 129–36.

#### CAT. 111

#### Buddha in Meditation under a Seven-Headed *Nāga*

Central Thailand, 7th century

Found near Muang Si Mahosot, Si Mahosot district, Prachinburi province

Sandstone

H. 29½ in. (74 cm), w. 26¾ in. (67 cm)

National Museum, Bangkok (DV9)

This seated Buddha, deep in meditation, is protected by a seven-headed *nāga* (snake). The Buddha wears his robe over one shoulder in the southern Indian manner and is flanked by two cylindrical stupas with multiple umbrellas, emblematic of Buddha relics. The pot form of the stupas' cylinders (*stūpakumbha*) may be compared to a large stone version recovered at Nakhon Pathom, which is inscribed with the *Ye dhammā* verse in Pali and was probably intended for the summit of a monumental stupa, now displayed in the National Museum, Bangkok.

The theme of the Buddha and *nāga* has its origins in the legend of the meditating Buddha being protected by the *nāgarāja* (snake king) Mucalinda during a mighty rainstorm, which threatened to inundate him in the sixth week after his awakening. The subject is a lesser but persistent motif in early Indian Buddhist imagery.<sup>1</sup> The reception of this imagery in early mainland Southeast Asia seems to have transcended its minor role in India, reflecting, no doubt, the power of water-snake imagery in the region. It has been widely assumed that the prevalence of indigenous *nāga*-cult beliefs contributed greatly to the elevation of the theme in first-millennium Southeast Asian Buddhism.

The presence of a seven-headed *nāga* presiding over the Sabokingking stele inscription from seventh-century Telaga Batu, southern Sumatra (fig. 24)—a talismanic “curse inscription” with possible Buddhist associations—demonstrates this connection. In Cambodia, by the Angkorian period, this type of icon had come to represent “a supreme Buddha in the embrace of an autochthonous spirit of the waters.”<sup>2</sup> How we are to understand it four centuries earlier is less clear. It has been recently argued that the theme, which clearly assumed transcendent Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna Buddhist trappings in the late Angkorian period, had also done so much earlier.<sup>3</sup> Rather than impose twelfth-century Vajrayāna ideas of transcendent Buddhas onto this seventh-century Mon icon, however, it is more credible to argue that what one is witnessing here is a grafting of indigenous snake-cult concepts onto a broader Indic notion of the *nāga*.

as protector of the sacred. That this was also the intended Indian meaning is suggested by variant depictions of the theme at Nagarjunakonda during the third and fourth centuries, for example, where the *nāga*-protected Buddha is represented not only in meditation but also offering protection and preaching;<sup>4</sup> in the latter scene, the Buddha is flanked by two grand pillars surmounted by edge-on views of a wheel (*cakra*; see cats. 122, 123). This suggests that the *nāga*-protected Buddha had a wider meaning in early Indian art, and such a multiplicity of ideas may have circulated and coalesced in early Buddhist Southeast Asia as well.

PUBLICATIONS: Coedès 1928a, pl. vi; Le May 1938, p. 32, fig. 32; Dupont 1959a, pp. 255–58, fig. 494; Bowie 1960, pp. 45, 57, fig. 16, p. 186, no. 3; Fine Arts Department 1967, fig. 15; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1969, pp. 90–91, pl. 55A; Fine Arts Department 1970, p. 12; Subhadradis Diskul 1970, p. 3, fig. 9; Subhadradis Diskul 1971, pp. 34–35; Boisselier 1975, pp. 82–84, pl. 50; Guy 2004b, pp. 160–61, pl. 15.5; Sukchai Saising 2004, p. 115; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, p. 81, ill. no. 53; Gaston-Aubert 2010, pp. 126–27, fig. 4.

NOTES: 1. Dupont 1950. 2. Woodward 1979, p. 72. 3. Sharrock 2012. 4. Stone 1994, pls. 111, 118, 148.

#### CAT. 112

#### Buddha in Meditation

Central Thailand, 6th–7th century

Found in Muang Si Mahosot, Si Mahosot district, Prachinburi province, and preserved at Wat Sra Makheuna, Khok Pip subdistrict, Si Mahosot district; and transferred to the National Museum in 1981

Sandstone

H. 44½ in. (113 cm), w. 29½ in. (75 cm)

National Museum, Prachinburi, Thailand (114/2524)

This stele depicts the Buddha meditating with his eyes closed, his hands resting in his lap, and his feet superimposed in a half-lotus yogic posture (*paryankāsana*). The Buddha displays a small skull protuberance (*usnīsa*) with hair curls arranged in regular bands and wears a simple monk’s robe (*sanghāti*) devoid of pleats or folds. He sits on a single-frieze lotus pedestal and is flanked by two bulbous stupas on two-tier platforms, each surmounted by a square railing (*harmikā*), seven-tiered umbrella (*chattrāvala*), and finial. Radiating behind his head, pipal leaves hang from the branches of a *bodhi* tree. These features identify the intended scene as the Buddha’s meditation at Bodh Gaya upon his enlightenment. The austerity of the image, with the robe worn over the left shoulder only, and the distinctive placement of the Buddha’s upturned feet, which are decorated with an auspicious flower on the soles, point to southern Indian prototypes. Both this work and other imagery from the site, including a circular stupa base reminiscent of the stupas depicted here, suggest an awareness of the late Amaravati style of fifth- to sixth-century coastal Andhra Pradesh, southern India. The style of the two stupas shares much with those seen with the *nāga*-protected Buddha from the same site (cat. 111) and on a small stone stele found in Ratchaburi, western

Thailand, also depicting a Buddha in meditation and flanked by a *dharmacakrastambha* (Wheel of the Law pillar) and a stupa (fig. 21). A comparison can also be drawn to images on the late fifth-century commemorative steles from the Bujang valley, coastal Kedah, Malaysia, especially the Mahānāvika Buddhagupta stele (fig. 65).<sup>1</sup> That this style generated followers in turn is supported by a recent discovery at Tuy Hoa, Phu Yen province, coastal southern Vietnam: an unfinished relief closely following the Muang Si Mahosot stele, carved on the reverse of a recycled lustration basin (fig. 20). Unlike its parent icon, this Buddha is inscribed, within the nimbus and below the lotus stem.<sup>2</sup> The stele is among the earliest indications of Buddhism in the Cham territories and shows clear links to the Mon style of northeastern Thailand. The movement of both monks and artisans could have accounted for these strong regional associations in the sixth to seventh century. Sharing the schematic rendering of volume seen in the present work is the seated *yakṣa* from Tra Kieu, Quang Nam province (cat. 15), the eastern extremity of this stylistic journey.

PUBLICATIONS: Dupont 1959a, pp. 237–48, fig. 479; Fine Arts Department 1999, p. 41; Higham 2002, p. 256; Woodward 2003, p. 43, pl. 4; Gosling 2004, p. 94; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 115–17, fig. 69; Fine Arts Department 2008, p. 40; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, pp. 244–45, no. 125; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 118–19, no. 4; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 76, ill. no. 1.54.

NOTES: 1. Now preserved in the Indian Museum, Kolkata; see Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, fig. 88. See also Guy 2011d, pp. 252–53. 2. Skilling, W. A. Southworth, and Tran Ky Phuong 2010, p. 487, figs. 7, 8.

#### CAT. 113

#### Buddha Calling the Earth to Witness

Northeastern Thailand, 9th–early 10th century

Found in Buriram province and transferred to the National Museum in 1967

Sandstone

33⅓ x 9⅞ x 8⅓ in. (84 x 24 x 21 cm)

National Museum, Bangkok (63/2510)

This meditating Buddha was recovered in the northeastern province of Buriram, near the Cambodian border, but may be assumed to be the product of Dvāravati-influenced workshops in that region. The early moated settlement of Muang Fai is one possibility for its origin. The Buddha is seated with his feet raised in the full-lotus meditation posture (*vajrāsana*). His left hand rests in his lap, while his right, in *bhūmisparśamudrā*, touches the ground to summon the earth goddess to witness his resistance to the myriad temptations cast in his way immediately prior to his awakening. Auspicious marks of Buddhahood (*lakṣana*)—the spiral tuft of hair (*ūrnā*) engraved on the forehead and wheels (*cakra*) on the hands and soles of the feet—are present, all in anticipation of his imminent enlightenment. The pendulous earlobes allude to his earlier life as a prince, when he wore heavy ear ornaments.

The sculpture is among the earliest local depictions of the *bhūmisparśamudrā* iconography, which became ubiquitous in later Southeast





CAT. 112





CAT. 114

Asian Buddhist art. The layered pleating of the robe over the chest suggests an awareness of the Pāla style from eastern India, as does the manner in which the robes follow the form of the body, skin-like. The broad face with joined eyebrows; sensitively modeled eyes with heavy lids, which give them a pronounced lowered gaze; full lips; and heavy snail-shell hair curls reveal the advanced evolution of this Buddha type. A late Dvāravati date should be assigned here.

PUBLICATIONS: Pisit Charoenwongsa and Subhadradis Diskul 1978, pp. 95–96, pl. 42; Woodward 2003, p. 116, pl. 31; Baptiste 2009a, pp. 217–18; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, pp. 238–39, no. 114; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 220–21, no. 56, and front cover; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 262, 263, ill. no. 2.217.

#### CAT. 114

#### Throne Crossbar with *Makara* Finial

Central Thailand, first half of 8th century  
Recovered from Phra Pathom Chedi, Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province, before 1909  
Schist

19 1/4 x 38 5/8 x 7 7/8 in. (49 x 98 x 20 cm)

Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum,  
Nakhon Pathom, Thailand (626/2519)

This throne crossbar probably graced an ensemble of which the monumental seated Buddha now at Wat Na Phra Men in Ayutthaya was the centerpiece (cf. fig. 118) or appeared with a similar ensemble now untraced. It is unclear at which temple in Nakhon Pathom that Buddha and this likely associated crossbar were originally located, but given the different type of stone, Phra Pathom Chedi, where Étienne Edmond Lunet

de Lajonquière recorded the crossbar in 1908, is unlikely.<sup>1</sup> When the monumental Buddha now in Ayutthaya was transported there sometime in the Ayutthaya period, the crossbar was probably abandoned at its original site and, at some point, moved to Phra Pathom Chedi.

The crossbar is decorated with classic Mon-style alternating flower and lozenge motifs with vegetal meander infill. The same motifs are present on the bases of *dharma* pillars from the same site and are closely related to decoration found on a large stone basement ornament recovered at the ancient city of Śrī Ksetra in central Myanmar.<sup>2</sup> The one surviving terminal of the crossbar depicts a horned *makara* (aquatic monster), whose fanged jaws reveal a rearing lion. In this context, the lion presumably alludes to the Buddha's Śākyā clan and to a lion's roar, a metaphor for the Buddha's propagation of the dharma.

The decorative flower-and-lozenge frieze is also seen at My Son, central Vietnam (fig. 128), as is the lion leaping from the jaws of the

*makara*, on the only other surviving monumental throne crossbar.<sup>3</sup> *Makara* terminals on throne crossbars have an early Indian origin, appearing on processional gateways (*torana*) of the late centuries b.c. They are seen in Southeast Asia as early as the late fifth to sixth century, in the thrones of the four Buddhas decorating the Khin Ba reliquary from Śrī Ksetra (cat. 27). The motif is also a recurrent feature of portable clay moldings of enthroned Buddhas—readily transportable icons that circulated widely, throughout the region.<sup>4</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Lunet de Lajonquière 1909, pp. 219–20, fig. 14; Claeys 1931, pp. 395–96, pl. 11, D; Brown 1996, p. 139, fig. 94; Sukchai Saising 2004, p. 189; Fine Arts Department 2005d, p. 86; Guy 2005b, pp. 148–49, fig. 8; Baptiste 2009a, p. 222; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, p. 237, no. 113; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 192–93, no. 42; Piriya Krairiksh 2010, pp. 67–68; Revire 2010, pp. 84–85, fig. 7; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 64–67, ill. no. 1.42.

NOTES: 1. Revire 2010, pp. 84–86. 2. Luce 1985, pl. 10. 3. Guy 2009, fig. 15. 4. Guy 2002.



Fig. 128. Architectural fragment. Central Vietnam, 7th–8th century. Photographed at temple A1, My Son, Quang Nam province, in 1933



CAT. 115

**CAT. 115****Head of Buddha**

Central Thailand, second half of 7th–8th century

Found in Ayutthaya province

Sandstone

12½ x 8½ x 10¼ in. (32 x 22 x 26 cm)

National Museum, Bangkok (DV28)

This spectacular head of the Buddha, notable for its stylization and fine rendering of detail, and another, even larger head preserved in the National Museum, Ratchaburi (cat. 116), share many characteristics. Most distinctive is the pronounced curvature of the eyebrows, which, in this case, meet at the nose in a line that extends down the bridge of the nose, creating an elegant simplicity not seen in earlier Mon Buddha icons. The eyelids are finely incised with a raised double line, which also appears at the edge of the lower lip. The pupils are lightly incised

under characteristic tear-shaped lids, and the lips are full and protruding. The short hair curls and rounded skull protuberance (*usnīsa*)—both auspicious marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of Buddhahood—are arranged in a naturalistic manner rather than in the regimented rows found in lesser works. The three neck folds are present, again understood as an auspicious mark, along with the extended earlobes, a sign of his princely past—here, much damaged.

This type of Buddha appears to represent a different workshop tradition from that of Nakhon Pathom, to which most of the monumental Buddhas are attributed. Rather, the head can be associated with a workshop style centered farther north and represented by several large standing, preaching Buddhas, most notably those from Wat Khoi, Lopburi, and Wat Mahathat, Sukhothai.<sup>1</sup> The Lopburi Buddha, now housed in Wat Benjamabophit, Bangkok,

and the monumental Sukhothai Buddha at the National Museum, Bangkok, are both reminders of the mobility of religious icons in Thailand, even monumental stone ones.

PUBLICATIONS: Coedès 1928a, pl. vi; Dupont 1959a, pp. 178–79, fig. 353; Bowie 1960, p. 52, fig. 6, p. 184, no. 5; Snellgrove 1978, p. 150; Czuma 1980, p. 234, fig. 10; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, p. 240, no. 115, and ill. p. 20; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 148–49, no. 20; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 90, 91, ill. no. 1.86.

NOTE: 1. Piriya Krairiksh (2012, pp. 89–90) argues that all these Buddhas, including the head under discussion, should be identified as the Amitābha Buddha on the grounds that they can be associated with the Sukhāvati sect of Buddhist patronage. That sect had its strongest following in China, and there is little evidence to support the author's interpretation in a mainland Southeast Asian context. For further discussion, see Revire 2013.



CAT. 116

#### CAT. 116 Head of Buddha

Western Thailand, second half of 7th century  
Found in Wat Mahathat, Muang district,  
Ratchaburi province, and transferred to the  
National Museum before the 1920s  
Sandstone with traces of lacquer and gilding  
24¾ x 15 x 16½ in. (63 x 38 x 42 cm)  
National Museum, Ratchaburi, Thailand  
(246/2533 [DV20])

This over-lifesize head, which originally belonged to a monumental Buddha, either standing or enthroned and likely seated in the *bhadrasana* posture with pendant legs, underscores the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record of Dvāravati art. Nonetheless, with its sophisticated modeling and highly finished surface, it provides a glimpse of the standards of execution that were attained. Its size relates it to the renowned quartzite colossi associated with Nakhon Pathom, of

which two are now installed in the grounds of Phra Pathom Chedi, Nakhon Pathom; one in Chao Sam Phraya National Museum, Ayutthaya; and one in the National Museum, Bangkok.<sup>1</sup> This head is sculpted from a different stone and is thus assumed to be from another series of monumental Buddhas, which is otherwise untraced.

The full face and finely modeled, serpentine eyebrow; carefully articulated eyes and upper lip; incised spiral of hair (*ūrṇā*) on the forehead; pronounced conical skull protuberance (*usnīṣa*); and dramatically distended earlobes are all consistent with the Dvāravati style. The Buddha may have once been housed at the Wat Mahathat monastery in Ratchaburi, where the head was found in the early twentieth century. Ratchaburi seems to have been the successor city to Khu Bua, overtaking it in the Khmer period (11th–12th century), and the Buddha may have been transferred from Khu Bua to Ratchaburi during that time. Canals linking the city's enclosure moat to the Mae Klong River would have facilitated its transportation.

PUBLICATIONS: Dupont 1959a, pp. 191–92, fig. 377; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1969, pp. 53–55, pl. 27B; Piriya Krairiksh 1977, pp. 122–23; Baptiste 2009a, p. 222; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, pp. 236–37, no. 112; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 90, 91, ill. no. 1.87.

NOTE: 1. Dupont 1959a, pp. 29, 45–46; Revire 2010, pp. 82–84.

#### CAT. 117 Buddha

Central Thailand, first half of 7th century  
Preserved at Wat Na Phra Men temple,  
Ayutthaya province, and transferred to the  
National Museum by 1928  
Sandstone  
67¾ x 16½ x 13 in. (171 x 42 x 33 cm)  
National Museum, Bangkok (DV6)

This classic Dvāravati standing Buddha displays all the stylistic traits of an early work and, in all likelihood, belongs to the first half of the seventh century. Its characteristics include symmetrical hair curls and a tapering *usnīṣa*, roughly tooled in contrast to the highly finished face and torso, which is wrapped in seemingly diaphanous outer robes (*samghāti*). The robes clearly define the form beneath in the manner of contemporaneous Buddha imagery from the Sarnath school of northern India (cat. 10). A single raised line bridges the eyebrows and nose, and

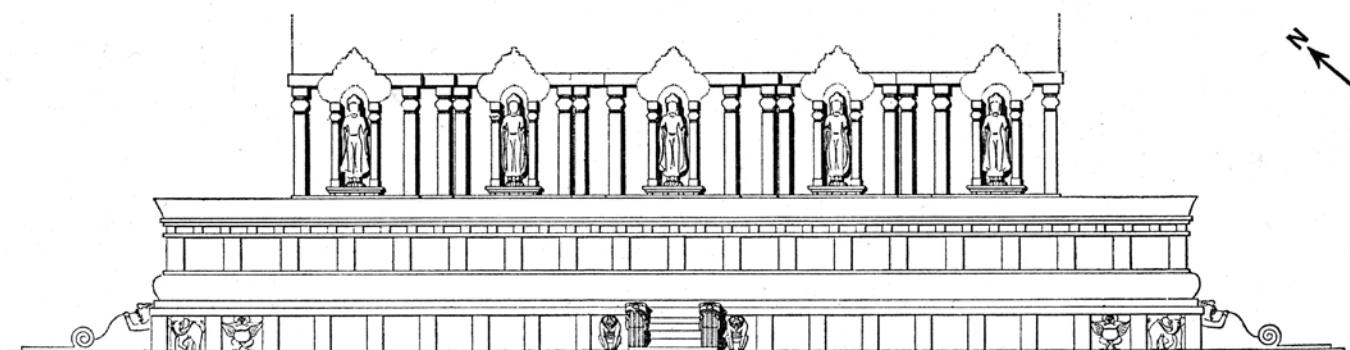


Fig. 129. Hypothetical reconstruction of Chedi Chula Pathon elevation, Nakhon Pathom, central Thailand, 7th–8th century



CAT. 117

lightly incised eyelids and full lips add to the figure's sensual beauty. The Buddha stands in a symmetrical posture on a waisted double lotus pedestal, and its smooth but largely unmodeled back suggests that it was one of a series that once occupied niches in the exterior wall of a Buddhist shrine (see fig. 129). Given the symmetry of the figure and the even fall of the robes, the missing hands were, in all probability, originally raised in the gesture of exposition (*vitarkamudrā*), a favored convention in early Dvāravatī Buddha imagery. The outer robe covers both

shoulders and falls gracefully over the under robe (*antarvāsaka*), which is visible below the knees and evenly pleated; during his monastic residency at Nalanda in northern India, the Chinese pilgrim-monk Yijing (635–713) observed that monks of the “Mūlasarvāstivāda sect pull up their undergarment on both sides,” as seen here.<sup>1</sup>

Although recovered from Ayutthaya, the sculpture almost certainly originated elsewhere. It shares many characteristics, including the type of stone, with works from Nakhon Pathom province, including the great Wheel of the Law pillar

(*dharmacakrastambha*) base recovered from Wat Sai (fig. 131). It was routine practice for Thai rulers to transport revered icons to the capital of the day to enhance the security of the reign through the objects' presence, as witnessed most recently during the reign of Rāma V in the late nineteenth century, when many important Buddha icons were brought to Bangkok and installed in royal monasteries such as Wat Bowonniwet and Wat Suthat Thepwararam.

PUBLICATIONS: Coedès 1928a, pl. III; Dupont 1959a, pp. 189, 193–94, figs. 374, 375; H. G. Quaritch Wales



1969, pp. 46–47, pl. 24; Boisselier 1975, pp. 78–80; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, pp. 234–35, no. 111, and front cover; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 144–45, no. 18; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 53, ill. no. 1.22.

NOTE: 1. Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 53.

#### CAT. 118

#### Head of Meditating Buddha

Central Thailand, 9th century

Recovered from Wat Phra Ngam, near Phra Pathom Chedi, Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province, and donated to the National Museum by Phrathep Suthee in 1916  
Terracotta  
H. 6 3/4 in. (17 cm), w. 5 7/8 in. (15 cm)  
National Museum, Bangkok (361/2511)

The Buddha in meditation was a favored subject in Mon Buddhist art. This surviving fragment of a Buddha head is among the most beautiful extant: the inner calm and peace engendered by deep meditation and enlightenment are readily apparent. Terracotta and stucco were favored materials for sculpting the narrative reliefs along the *pradaksīna* path, which devotees followed in circumambulating the Buddha relics within each stupa. In all probability, this head belonged to a lifesize terracotta relief of the Buddha in meditation, of which the best-preserved example was recovered from site 5, U Thong, central Thailand.<sup>1</sup> Wat Phra Ngam, located northwest of Phra Pathom Chedi, is distinguished by terracotta reliefs of superb workmanship and artistic sensibility. The construction techniques are revealed in the layering of clay on the head and the applied curls of hair that frame the face. The eyes appear closed, suggestive of deep meditation; the Dvāravatī style is evident in the joined eyebrow, full lower lip, and bulbous treatment of the curls. The refined naturalism seen here displays an awareness of eastern Indian Pāla-dynasty Buddhist art of the ninth and tenth centuries, metal examples of which circulated in the Mon territories. The mechanism for the movement of such imagery is unknown, but one may assume that the peregrinations of monks facilitated its wide dissemination.

PUBLICATIONS: Le May 1938, p. 31, fig. 31a; Bowie 1960, pp. 48, 63, fig. 25; Fine Arts Department 1967, fig. 18 and front cover; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1969, pp. 46–47, pl. 17; Fine Arts Department 1970, p. 14; Subhadradis Diskul 1970, p. 5, fig. 15; Boisselier 1975, p. 47, pl. 23; Piriya Krairiksh 1978, p. 50, fig. 13; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 139, 141; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 54–55, ill. no. 31; Zaleski 2009, pp. 175, 177, fig. 10; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 265 and p. 264, ill. no. 2.219.

NOTE: 1. Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, pp. 184–85, no. 82.



CAT. 119

#### Buddha Preaching

Central Thailand, late 8th–mid-9th century  
Excavated from site 11, U Thong, Suphanburi province, in 1963

Copper alloy  
H. 12 5/8 in. (32 cm), w. 3 3/4 in. (9.5 cm)  
National Museum, U Thong, Suphanburi, Thailand (55/2506)

A Buddha standing in a symmetrical posture with a long robe and both hands raised in *vitarkamudrā* (exposition gesture) is a classic form of late Dvāravatī art. This figure is not flexed, as was favored in earlier Dvāravatī and peninsular imagery, but, rather, posed in perfect symmetry, the body centered and the robes draped harmoniously from the raised hands. The Buddha's monastic robes wrap both

shoulders in the northern Indian manner, and the fabric clings to the body, defining its form. The nimbus (*prabhā*) framing the Buddha's head with flaming projections is well preserved. The face, hands, and fingers are beautifully articulated in contrast to the simplicity of the figure—perhaps an intentional device to draw devotees' attention to the essence of the image, the transmission of the Buddha's teachings. The double



CAT. 120

hand gesture, rarely seen in Indian art, is a hallmark of Dvāravati images and may have been meant to evoke the textual description of the Buddha's descent from the Trāyastriṃśa (Pali, Tāvatīṣa) heaven, which he had visited to preach to his late mother. This example was excavated from a stupa foundation deposit at the ancient city of U Thong, underscoring the efficacious character of such relic deposits. It was intended to be forever concealed from sight yet was understood to impart spiritual benefit to devotees.

PUBLICATIONS: Chira Chongkol and Woodward 1966, fig. 25; Fine Arts Department 2002a, p. 121; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 138–40; Fine Arts Department 2007a, pp. 58–59; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 46, 47, ill. no. 24.

#### CAT. 120

#### Buddha Preaching

Central or northeastern Thailand,  
8th–early 9th century

Silver alloy

15½ x 4½ x 3¾ in. (39.4 x 11.4 x 9.5 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Gift of Enid A. Haupt, 1993 (1993.387.6)

This sculpture is a refined and elegant expression of the Mon aesthetic in the late phase of Buddhist art production associated with the Dvāravati kingdom. Whether that political entity was still viable in this period is less than clear, but the distinct aesthetic created by its sculptors in the preceding two centuries still prevailed. The standing Buddha's posture is slightly flexed, enlivening the image, and his hands are sensitively poised. The raised right hand gestures exposition (*vitarkamudrā*), and the lowered hand grants boons (*varadamudrā*). The face and details of dress are precisely defined; the monastic robe is worn in the open mode, exposing the right shoulder, and the extended lower hand draws it out to create an elegant counterpoint to the figure's silhouette. The outer robe returns over the left shoulder and terminates in a pleasing pleat detail. Characteristic of late-period Dvāravati Buddha images, the skull protuberance (*usnīṣa*) is high and pointed, a feature shared both with images from U Thong, central Thailand, such as the fine terracottas recovered from there, and with metal images from the northeast.<sup>1</sup> This icon could have been made in either region.<sup>2</sup>

The image was cast from a silver alloy with a significant copper content. Its original lustrous silver surface is now dulled by compact silver and copper burial corrosion products,<sup>3</sup> which detract little from the remarkably high quality of surface achieved by this metal caster and others of the period.

PUBLICATIONS: Martin Lerner in "Recent Acquisitions" 1994, p. 93; Woodward 2003, pp. 94–95, pl. 22.

NOTES: 1. Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 264, ill. no. 2.218.

2. Woodward 2003, p. 95. 3. See Becker, Strahan, and O'Connor, "Technical Observations on Casting Technology in First-Millennium Cambodia, Thailand, and Vietnam," in this volume.

CAT. 121

### Buddha Śākyamuni Preaching

Central Thailand, late 7th–8th century  
Probably found in Si Thep, Phetchabun province  
Repoussé silver  
H. 5½ in. (14 cm)  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, given in  
memory of Anthony Gardner by Shirley Day  
Ltd (IS.362-1992)

This repoussé plaque depicts the Buddha seated with his feet crossed at the ankles, a familiar posture in mainland Southeast Asian imagery of this period (cat. 112). The head is slightly offset, and in an enlivening feature, the Buddha looks beyond his raised hand, which gestures exposition (*vitarkamudrā*), as if in dialogue with an unseen devotee. A tall, conical skull protuberance (*usnīṣa*) and extended earlobes proclaim the figure's identity, and a large nimbus reveals his divine nature. The plaque relates to a group of small precious-metal repoussé reliefs associated with the major moated urban center of Si Thep (fig. 130).<sup>1</sup> Lay Buddhists presumably commissioned them for donation to a monastery and interment in a relic chamber or reliquary. Some related icons have reportedly been found in a ceramic container at the Buddhist cave retreat of Khao Thamorat, west of Si Thep.<sup>2</sup> There, too, they would have served as meritorious offerings, perhaps deposited in the inaccessible mountain cave by monks at the behest of lay devotees. Small repoussé sheet-metal icons have also been found at a number of other Dvāravatī-culture sites in Thailand, especially in the northeast, such as the hoard from Kantharawichai, Maha Sarakham province.<sup>3</sup> A recently discovered cache at Nong Hua Thong, Savannakhet province, central Laos, awaits publication and can be expected to extend our understanding of this category of devotional object and its distribution.<sup>4</sup>

PUBLICATION: Pal 1978, p. 127, no. 82.

NOTES: 1. Fine Arts Department 2007b, p. 62. 2. See Pattratorn Chirapravati, "The Transformation of Brahmanical and Buddhist Imagery in Central Thailand, 600–800," in this volume. 3. Subhadradis Diskul 1979b, pl. XIII, a, b, c. 4. This significant hoard belongs to a different stylistic category and is mixed with silver and gold utensils, some appearing to imitate the eighth-century metropolitan Chinese style of the late Tang period. See Lorillard forthcoming.



CAT. 121



Fig. 130. Repoussé gold bodhisattva Maitreya. Central Thailand, ca. 8th century. Reportedly from Khao Thamorat, Si Thep, Phetchabun province. Jim Thompson House collection, Bangkok



CAT. 122

**CAT. 122****Dharmacakra (Wheel of the Law)**

Central Thailand, 7th–8th century

Probably found in Si Thep, Phetchabun province  
Sandstone59 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 55 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 11 in. (150 x 140 x 28 cm)  
Newark Museum, Purchase, 1982, The Members' Fund and Special Purchase Fund (82.183)**CAT. 123****Dharmacakra (Wheel of the Law)**

Central Thailand, 8th century

Found in Phra Pathom Chedi, Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province, before 1939  
Sandstone49 x 38 $\frac{3}{16}$  x 11 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (124.5 x 97 x 30 cm), including tenon

Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand (11/2524)

The Wheel of the Law (*dharmacakra*) is the single most important symbol of Buddhism, denoting the Buddha's First Sermon in the deer forest

at Sarnath, where he set Buddhist Law (Skt., *dharma*; Pali, *dhamma*) in motion for the first time. Representations of the wheel elevated on a pillar (*dharmacakrastambha*) assumed a special status in early Mon Thailand: inscriptions from the Pali canon on a number of examples explicitly link them to the Four Truths of the Noble Ones, the subject of the First Sermon. Others bear verses from the Wheel of Becoming (*bhavacakra*) and the Sutra on Dependent Arising (Skt., *Pratityasamutpāda Sūtra*; Pali, *Paticcasamuppada Sutta*), which sets up the Buddhist doctrine of causation.<sup>1</sup> The Newark wheel (cat. 122) is engraved between the spokes with a summary of the first words spoken by the Buddha after his awakening, on his realization of the Four Truths of the Noble Ones (fig. 47).

The immediate prototypes for the Mon *dharmacakrastambhas* were those of Andhra Pradesh, preserved from Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, and Jaggayyapeta, among other sites (fig. 121), and the wheel symbol on pillars can be traced in India to the Maurya period (3rd

century b.c.). There, the wheel had two associations, one with the Buddhist teaching and the other with the *cakravartin*, the universal sovereign, a concept of ideal kingship taken up by early Buddhism.

In an enigma of cultural transmission, the elevated wheel icon was adopted in Southeast Asia exclusively as an expression of Dvāravati culture around the mid-first millennium; wheels have been recorded from all the major Dvāravati sites of central and western Thailand, notably Nakhon Pathom, Ratchaburi, U Thong, Lopburi, Nakhon Sawan, Prachinburi, and Si Thep, as well as from Muang Sema in the northeast and Chaiya on the peninsula. Surprisingly, no evidence exists for their presence in the Mon territories of coastal Myanmar or, indeed, anywhere else in Buddhist Southeast Asia.

For the vast majority of *dharmacakras*, including the two under discussion, the spaces between the spokes were left solid. The well-preserved example from Phra Pathom Chedi (cat. 123) has at its center a plain hub (likely



CAT. 123

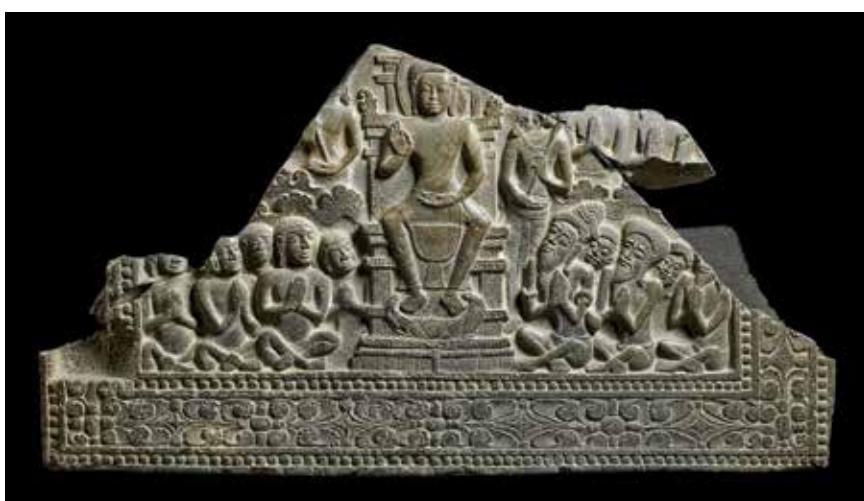


Fig. 131. *Dharmacakrastambha* (Wheel of the Law pillar) base. Central Thailand, 7th–8th century. Recovered from Wat Sai, Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province. Stone,  $23\frac{1}{2} \times 43\frac{3}{4} \times 18\frac{1}{8}$  in. (60 x 111 x 48 cm). Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand (635/2519)

intended to be covered by an airborne Buddha stele like cat. 124) contained within a lotus circle framed by pearl borders, from which radiate twenty-two spokes, each with an elaborately detailed capital. The wheel's rim has a repeating dart motif; other examples have recurring foliate motifs edged by windswept flames, suggestive of the wheel's spinning motion, or alternating floral and chevron medallions. This example is embedded into a triangular stand with a foliate design, which would have been fitted with a tenon into the pillar capital; other stands have figurative motifs, notably including Gaja Lakṣmī, a lion-monster face (*kirttimukha*-like), and a seated figure holding two lotus blooms, undoubtedly intended to represent the Brahmanical sun deity Sūrya, whose popularity in this period is well attested from Si Thep to the Mekong delta (see cats. 68–70). The openwork type of *dharma-*

*cakra* is known from U Thong, Nakhon Pathom, Si Thep, and Chaiya. A miniature terracotta version was found at Nakhon Si Thammarat, and a half-scale, undecorated openwork version, at Yarang.<sup>2</sup> A unique find from In Buri Khao, Singburi province,<sup>3</sup> is a full-scale openwork-spoked wheel in stone, complete with axle, which, although unadorned, was presumably conceived to function as an embodiment of the Buddha's dharma.

Isolated finds of the wheel, without associated pillar supports, are known from the Mekong delta and from Champasak, southern Laos,<sup>4</sup> but they are smaller and much less imperial in concept. Drawing on the model of the relief of a *cakravartin* from Jaggayyapeta, southern India, it has been reasonably assumed that elevated wheels in Dvāravati culture served both to propagate the authority of the Buddha's

teachings and to assert the symbiotic relationship of state and religious authority.<sup>5</sup>

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 122: Brown 1996, pp. 33, 106–8, 116–17, figs. 6a, b.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 123: Pierre Dupont in "Chronique" 1939, p. 362, pl. LXXIII, a; Bowie 1972, p. 35, no. 4a, b, and frontispiece; Brown 1996, pp. 130–32, fig. 31; Phasuk Indrawooth 2008a, fig. 18; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, pp. 88–89, no. 17, and front cover; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 166–67, no. 29, and front cover; Zéphir 2009, pp. 79–80, 81.

NOTES: 1. See Skilling, "Precious Deposits," in this volume; see also Brown 1996, pp. 115–20. 2. Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, pp. 148–49, figs. 47, 48. 3. Brown 1996, p. 87, fig. 39. 4. For the Mekong-delta find, see Malleret 1959–63, vol. 1 (1959), p. 401, no. 129, pl. LXXXIV, b. 5. Certainly, the term *cakravartin* is known in inscriptions from this region; see Skilling 2009b, p. 120. For workshop practices, see Phasuk Indrawooth 2008b.



### CAT. 124 Buddha Preaching on Winged Grotesque with Attendants

Central Thailand, 7th–early 8th century  
Sandstone

16½ x 9¾ x 5⅛ in. (41 x 25 x 13 cm)  
Chao Sam Phraya National Museum,  
Ayutthaya, Thailand (2/5CH)

Among the most enigmatic Buddhist icons created in the Dvāravati style in the seventh and eighth centuries are the triad scenes of the Buddha with two attendants preaching while riding through the air on a winged grotesque of various configurations, popularly termed *phanas-bodi*. There is no specific textual source for this composition, but its proposed association with Wheels of the Law (*dharma-cakra*) is suggested by an interesting feature: the circular tenon on the lower back of the ensemble appears to be designed to fit onto the hub of such a wheel, and a metal rod would have passed through both to secure it in place, as witnessed by original holes, which are otherwise disfiguring.<sup>1</sup> Less clear, however, is the ensemble's meaning. While a number of explanations have been proposed, the simplest and most credible is that of Robert L. Brown: that the triads were a generic reference to a variety of texts that allude to the Buddha's preaching while flying through the air.<sup>2</sup> The supporting creature in this case appears eagle- or Garuda-like but is horned and clearly intended to be hybrid; it has talons below and outspread wings. The closest parallel for this grotesque is a contemporary lintel from early Cambodia that depicts a related horned creature (cat. 18). Both may share a mixed ancestry, with Indian *kirttimukha* (lion's face) and Chinese dragon imagery merging into a new, Dvāravati-style variant.

Here, the Buddha has a broad face with overemphasized facial features and a large skull protuberance (*usnisa*), framed by a plain nimbus. He is depicted with his robe over his left shoulder only and with surviving hand gestures that may be interpreted as *vitarkamudrā* (teaching gesture). Critical to the iconography, he stands on the head of the avian creature, and the two attendants are borne on the creature's



CAT. 125

wings. In related Descent from Trāyastriṃśa (Pali, Tāvatīṣṭha) Heaven scenes (fig. 120), the preaching Buddha is accompanied by Brahmā and Indra, who, the seventh-century Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang relates, carried a fly whisk and an umbrella, respectively, to honor the Buddha.<sup>3</sup> In this example, the outward-leaning staffs suggest that fly whisks were originally depicted on both sides, as was the norm.<sup>4</sup> As the stele was, in all probability, a fixture of a Wheel of the Law, which itself would have been elevated on a pillar (*stambha*) many feet above the ground, the interpretation of the scene as an airborne one seems compelling. In some examples, cloudlike serrations frame the composition, making the sky-borne Buddha reference explicit.

PUBLICATIONS: Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, pp. 92–93, no. 25; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 62–64, 157–58, no. 24.

NOTES: 1. Brown 1996, pp. 82–84, drawing no. 4. 2. Brown 2011b. 3. Beal 1884, vol. 1, p. 203. 4. An example in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (77.83) depicts a combination of fly-whisk and umbrella bearer; see Brown 2011b, p. 18.

**CAT. 125**  
**Socle for a *Dharmacakrastambha* (Wheel of the Law Pillar) with Squatting Lion-Headed Figures**

Central Thailand, 7th–early 8th century  
Found in Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province  
Sandstone

17½ x 26¾ x 26 in. (43.5 x 68 x 66 cm)  
Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum,  
Nakhon Pathom, Thailand (633/2519)

This socle served as part of the architectural ensemble known as a *dharmacakrastambha*, a spoked wheel surmounting a tall pillar with a rectangular footing. It is carved with animated renderings of a squatting lion-headed figure flanked by floral vine tendrils, repeated on each elevation. Each scene has a pearl border, and this device also appears on the underside, an indication that the socle was meant to be viewed from below.<sup>1</sup> The depiction of a lion-headed human was likely intended to evoke the “lion’s roar” of the Buddha’s First Sermon at Sarnath, an allusion to the popular Buddha epithet Śākyasinha, “lion of the Śākya clan.” A literal

representation of this sort is without precedent in Indian art, where such allusions are typically conveyed by lion supports for thrones of Buddha images. The characterization here is more parallel to Indian imagery of the Viṣṇu avatar Narasiṃha, with which the artist may have had a passing awareness, perhaps conflating the two ideas into this unique creation.

The lionlike creatures relate to the high-relief and freestanding terracotta lions that guarded sanctuary entrances to Dvāravatī-period monuments at Nakhon Pathom (cat. 128) and Khu Bua. Another socle from Nakhon Pathom has a roaring lion on opposing elevations, alternating with *kirttimukha* masks; others are decorated with floral meanders alone.<sup>2</sup> The vegetal decoration on this example is characteristic of architectural temple remains from Nakhon Pathom and is a distinguishing motif of the school.

PUBLICATIONS: Brown 1996, pp. 75–77, fig. 65; Sukchai Saising 2004, p. 189; Fine Arts Department 2005d, pp. 90–91; Phasuk Indrawooth 2008a, p. 150; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, pp. 90–91, no. 21; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 128–29, no. 9; Zéphir 2009, p. 79.

NOTES: 1. Brown 1996, p. 77. 2. Fine Arts Department 2005d, p. 90.



**CAT. 126****Stele with Twin Śrāvasti Miracles**

Central Thailand, first half of 8th century  
Found in Wat Chin, Ayutthaya province  
Sandstone  
 $50^{13/16} \times 33^{7/16} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$  in. (129 x 85 x 20 cm)  
National Museum, Bangkok (DV3)

This spectacular stele is a rare representation of a seminal event in the life of the Buddha: his enactment at Śrāvasti (Shravasti), in northern Uttar Pradesh, of magical apparitions to convert a group of nonbelievers. These miracles have sources in both the Pali canon of Theravāda Buddhism and the Sanskrit canon, principally in the Pali *Dhammapadathakatha* and *jātakas* and in the Sanskrit *Divyāvadāna*.<sup>1</sup> For his first miracle, the Buddha, seen here enthroned in the *bhadrasana* posture, with pendant legs supported by a lotus footrest, plants the seed of a mango whose flesh he has just consumed, only for it to flower immediately into a fruit-bearing tree. For the second, the Buddha causes multiple Buddha images to appear in the sky, variously standing, seated, and reclining. A third miracle, not depicted on the present stele, consists of the Buddha's radiating fire and water from his person.<sup>2</sup> Here, the stories of the mango tree and the miraculous apparitions appear to have been conflated, the radiating branches of the newly grown mango tree supporting the Buddha manifestations. The upper register of the stele has two lotus-seated Buddhas, each touching a solar disk, imagery that evokes the Brahmanical sun god Sūrya's homage to the Buddha.

Numerous other scenes surround the enthroned preaching Buddha, who serves as the axis mundi of the composition. A horizontal wall emphatically separates the earthly and heavenly realms. Immediately behind it, a row of *devas* (supernatural beings) worship the Buddha; the two holding fly whisks may be taken to represent Indra (crowned) and Brahmā



Fig. 132. Rock-cut relief depicting enthroned Buddha offering protection, with applied gold-leaf offerings. Western Thailand, 7th–8th century. In situ in Tham Ruesi cave, Khao Ngu, Ratchaburi province

(with matted hair), Brahmanical deities submitting to the Buddha's higher wisdom. Assembled at the lower left are devotees led in worship by King Prasenajit, and at the lower right is the heretical *rishi* led by the obese *yakṣa* Purāṇa Kasayaya. A kneeling devotee wearing large elliptical earrings pours water from a ritual vessel before the Buddha's feet. The throne has a crossbar at shoulder height with *makara* finials, in common with other throne depictions of this period from mainland Southeast Asia (cat. 114).

Only two other large versions of this complex iconographic schema are known in a Dvāravatī context: a panel now preserved at Wat Suthat Thepwararam, Bangkok (fig. 120), but reportedly from Nakhon Pathom, and a stucco version preserved at Tham Cham, a cave near Khao Ngu in Ratchaburi province.<sup>3</sup> A number of miniature versions also exist in the form of clay sealings.<sup>4</sup> The Śrāvasti Miracles, in varying combinations, appear from the beginnings of Buddhist narrative art in India, at Bharhut and, shortly thereafter, at Sanchi.<sup>5</sup> The most direct parallel, probably the springboard for the ideas expressed in the Dvāravatī renderings, is a stele from Sarnath showing the miraculous apparitions in which the buds of a climbing lotus, rather than a tree, support the multiple Buddhas.<sup>6</sup> It is also close in date to the Dvāravatī examples.

PUBLICATIONS: Le May 1938, pp. 30–31, fig. 27; Dupont 1959a, pp. 268–72, fig. 512; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1969, pp. 42–44, pl. 20; Griswold 1970, p. 249, fig. 9; Piriya Krairiksh 1999, p. 39, pl. 13; Sukchai

Saising 2004, pp. 206–9; *Moradok khong phaendin* 2006, p. 36; *Japan and Thailand* 2011, pp. 142–43, no. 26; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 61–62, ill. no. 1.36.

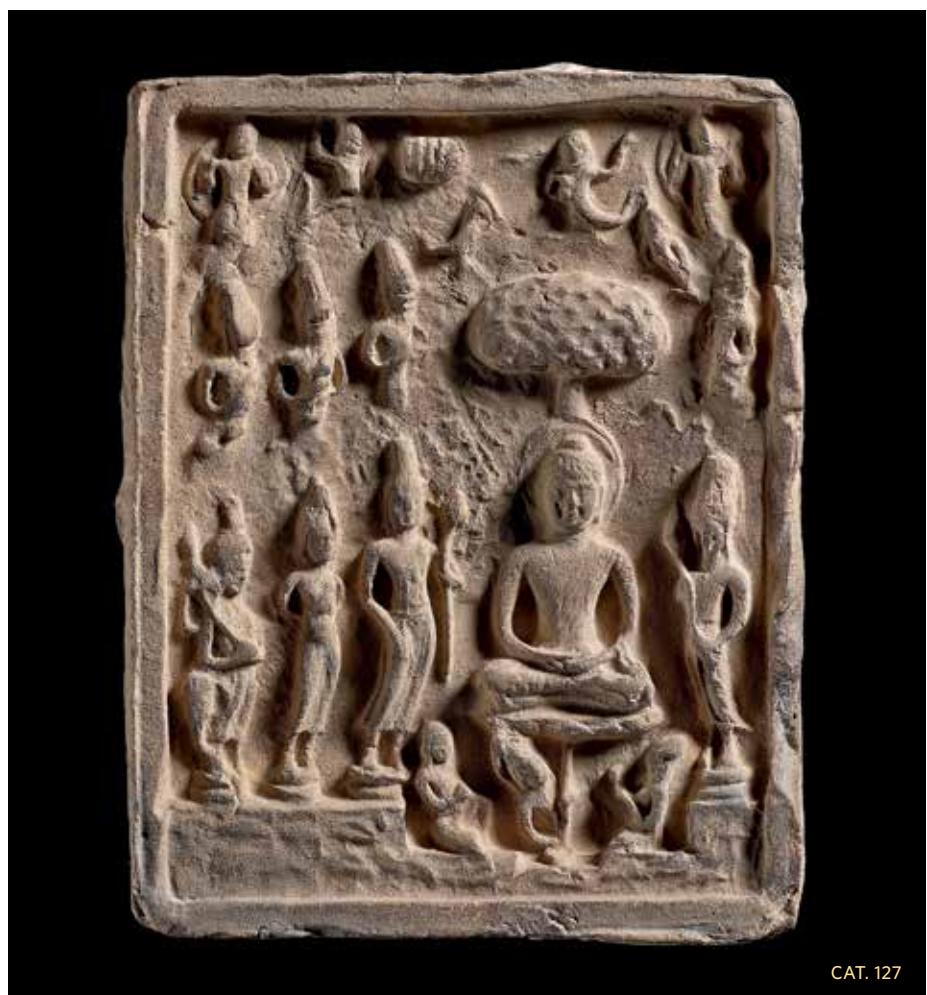
NOTES: 1. The myths are recounted in Coedès 1926–27, pp. 7–10, quoting Foucher's translation (Foucher 1909, pp. 9–10); see also Brown 1984b, p. 79. The principal texts are the *Sarabhamiga Jātaka* and the *Divyāvadāna* text in the *Vinaya Pitaka* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda sect; see Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 206–9, and Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 61. 2. The fire-and-water imagery is popular in versions of the theme from Gandhara; see Brown 1984b, fig. 3. 3. Piriya Krairiksh 1975, fig. 5. 4. One such sealing is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2001.770.3). 5. Brown 1984b, p. 80. 6. Ibid., fig. 6.

**CAT. 127****Sealing, possibly with Śrāvasti Miracle, with Ye Dhammā Inscription on Reverse**

Western Thailand, second half of 7th century  
Reportedly found in Khu Bua,  
Ratchaburi province

Clay  
 $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{5}{8}$  in. (14 x 11.5 x 1.5 cm)  
National Museum, Ratchaburi, Thailand  
(242/2533)

This clay sealing, found in Ratchaburi province, is one of several known examples depicting this subject, including one reportedly found in Nakhon Sawan province, western Thailand.<sup>1</sup> In them, the Buddha meditates beneath a bloom-



CAT. 127



CAT. 128

ing tree, seated on a lotus throne supported by a *nāgarāja* (snake king), who emerges from the waters below. The Buddha is attended by two crowned figures on the shore, each holding a long-stemmed lotus bud. A multitude of celestial beings (*deva*) with hands raised in reverence (*añjalimudrā*) occupy the sky above, accompanied by celestial musicians (*gandharva*). On the reverse, the central Buddhist credo, *Ye dhammā* (Skt., *Ye dharmā*), was incised into the wet clay at the moment of manufacture. It was written in Pali, indicating its intended use in a Theravāda devotional context.

In 1926 George Coedès identified the scene as illustrating some elements of the Śrāvastī Miracles (see cat. 126).<sup>2</sup> The incomplete iconography on the sealing has caused some to challenge this identification, most recently Hiram Woodward, who has proposed an explanation drawn from a complex reading of Sri Lankan texts and sites.<sup>3</sup> If this scene indeed depicts one of the miracles performed by the Buddha at Śrāvastī (Shravasti)—namely, the miraculous appearance of the fruit-bearing mango tree presumably seen above him—then the princely

attendants honoring him can be identified as the gods Indra and Brahmā, and the solar deities in the upper corners as Sūrya. The airborne figures with hands clasped in worship, however, cannot be accepted as multiplications of the Buddha. Although the subject of this series of clay miniature shrines remains inconclusive, a provisional attribution to one of the popular Śrāvastī Miracles seems credible.

PUBLICATIONS: Coedès 1926–27, pp. 7–10, pl. III; *Schätze aus Thailand* 1963, p. 77, no. 41, pl. 22; Pattaratorn Chirapratvi 1994, pp. 127–28, fig. 44; Nandana Chutiwongs 2002, pp. 161–64, pl. 99; Kritsada Pinsri 2004; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 174–76; Thanakrit La-Osuwan 2004; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, p. 56, no. 13; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 73, 105, and p. 71, ill. nos. 45a, b; Woodward 2009, p. 63, n. 1, p. 66; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 71, ill. no. 1.49.

NOTES: 1. Several other sealings are preserved in the National Museums in U Thong (64/2511) and Bangkok and one in the Jim Thompson House collection, Bangkok, published as from Nakhon Sawan province; see Warren 1969, p. 58, fig. 61. 2. First published in Coedès 1926–27, pp. 7–10, pl. III. 3. Woodward 2009.

#### CAT. 128

#### Lion Guardian

Central Thailand, 8th century  
Reportedly found in Wat Phra Men, Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province, by Pierre Dupont in 1939  
Stucco  
22 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 28 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 15 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (58 x 73 x 40 cm)  
Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand (632/2519)

#### CAT. 129

#### Lion's Face

Central Thailand, 8th century  
Excavated from Chedi Chula Pathon, Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province, by Pierre Dupont in 1939  
Stucco  
17 $\frac{5}{16}$  x 18 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (44 x 48 x 18 cm)  
National Museum, Bangkok (4085)

In this sculpture of a guardian lion (cat. 128), with its broad, powerful chest and great mane framing its ferociously expressive face, as if emit-



CAT. 129

ting a mighty roar, the animal both protects the stupa and its holy relics and embodies the “roar of the Buddha,” the Buddha’s teachings heard across the world. The lion’s face is fancifully realized, sculpted in wet stucco to achieve a sureness of line and fullness of form: it has bulging eyes, a flared nose, a deeply furrowed brow, and a cavernous mouth exposing two rows of teeth. The lion is unknown to mainland Southeast Asia, so it no doubt assumed the same mythological status as other imagined creatures.

No sculpted lions have been found intact, but the broken remains here assembled are from Wat Phra Men, immediately west of the ancient city of Nakhon Pathom. The body has been heavily restored. Finds from Chedi Chula Pathon suggest that the lions were installed beyond the entrance balustrade on the stupa pavement, then replicated in the sculptural panels flanking the basement stairs. This lion was probably similarly placed at Wat Phra Men. A large lion’s-face relief (cat. 129), also in stucco, was revealed in situ at Chedi Chula Pathon during the 1939 excavation by the French Mission led by Pierre Dupont and Thailand’s Fine Arts Department. It is spectacular in both size and expressiveness, exhibiting the same features as the sculptural lion from Wat Phra Men, and may be accepted as the product of the same workshop.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 128: Fine Arts Department 2005b, pp. 110–11; Fine Arts Department 2005d, pp. 11, 99.

PUBLICATION CAT. 129: Dupont 1959a, p. 83, fig. 214.



CAT. 130

### CAT. 130 Head of a Male Buddhist Devotee

Central Thailand, 7th–8th century

Reportedly found near Phra Pathom Chedi, Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province  
Stucco

H. 4 3/8 in. (11 cm)

Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum,  
Nakhon Pathom, Thailand

Many stucco figures recovered from Buddhist monuments in Nakhon Pathom depict lay devotees of noble rank, judging by their fine modes of dress and jewelry. This male worshipper wears a generously proportioned cloth decorated with large floral motifs around his head and large, circular earplug ornaments bearing a radiating flower design, which underscore his standing as a man of wealth. This object and other such stucco depictions of Buddhist devotees provide a glimpse into the social hierarchies of Mon society at this time as well as modes of elite dress in the ancient city of Nakhon Pathom. They also serve as a reminder that such centers of Buddhist activity were created and sustained largely through the generous patronage of lay devotees, noble and otherwise. Many were depicted in the narrative reliefs that adorned the lower terraces of the major Buddhist monuments of their day.

PUBLICATIONS: Fine Arts Department 1971, p. 5, fig. 13;  
Fine Arts Department 2005d, p. 23.

# SAVIOR CULTS



# The Transformation of Brahmanical and Buddhist Imagery in Central Thailand, 600-800

Pattaratorn Chirapravati

Recent discoveries and excavations at ancient sites in central Thailand have cast new light on the relationship between Buddhist and Brahmanical imagery in the area, with implications for the art of the wider region. Even though the majority of Dvāravatī art belongs to Buddhism, Brahmanical images, such as those of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, and the *śivalinga*, have been recovered at numerous sites, notably Khu Bua, Ratchaburi province; Lopburi (formerly Lavapura), Lopburi province; Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province; Si Thep, Phetchabun province; and U Thong, Suphanburi province. Objects found together at Dvāravatī sites suggest that the two religions were practiced in parallel and that the societies were not monolithic.

The objects discovered at Si Thep include many stone images of the sun god Sūrya; large, freestanding stone images of the Buddha; and small metal images of Maitreya, Buddha of the Future, found in Klangnai, the site's large, sprawling inner zone. While the discovery of Brahmanical imagery confirms the existence of Brahmanical shrines, Buddhist icons indicate the concurrent presence of a Buddhist monastic and lay community. Two possible explanations for the coexistence of these traditions come to mind. First, iconographic sharing and transfer between the two religions were the norm in India, and one would expect to see evidence of this fluidity in an Indic culture of ancient Thailand. Second, rulers and the court elite need not have adhered to the same faith as the populace.

Analyzing images of Sūrya and Maitreya, in particular, provides a means for exploring this confluence of iconography in the region. This essay contends that at Si Thep, the worship of Sūrya not only was associated with Dvāravatī rulers but also likely had a special connection with the Wheel of the Law (*dharmačakra*).

Furthermore, the double ring shape of Sūrya's beckoning hand gesture (*kaṭakamudrā*) may have been the source of the unique double argumentation hand gesture (*vitarkamudrā*) often portrayed in Dvāravatī images of the Buddha (cat. 119).<sup>1</sup> These connections may indicate links among Sūrya, Maitreya, and the Buddha Śākyamuni not seen elsewhere. Scholarship based on findings at Si Thep suggests that while the standing Buddha with both hands in *kaṭakamudrā* may be Maitreya—the center of the new Buddhist lineage in the Si Thep region—the standing Buddha image with both hands in *vitarkamudrā* may be Śākyamuni.

## Si Thep: Ancient Cosmopolitan Center of the 8th and 9th Centuries

Among ancient sites in central Thailand, Si Thep, Lavapura, and Sab Champa, Lopburi province, have been dated to about the seventh to ninth century. Situated in the Pa Sak River valley, Si Thep was easily accessible from other Mon Dvāravatī settlements, such as Paissali, Nakhon Sawan province, and Sab Champa and Promthin Tai, Lopburi province. Si Thep was discovered by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab in 1904.<sup>2</sup> Several Western scholars later visited—Étienne Edmond Lunet de Lajonquière in 1909, George Coedès in 1932, Jean-Yves Claeys in 1932, and H. G. Quaritch Wales in 1937—and created significant records and analyses of the city.

The city was formed in two parts. In 1962 Thailand's Fine Arts Department first surveyed the inner site, Klangnai, which is circular in shape; the later, outer extension, Klangnok, which is rectangular; and Khao Thamorat, a cave located on a nearby mountain (see fig. 133). In 1966 it partially excavated the inner part of the city and brought objects, such as a linga, stone bells, and lintels, to the

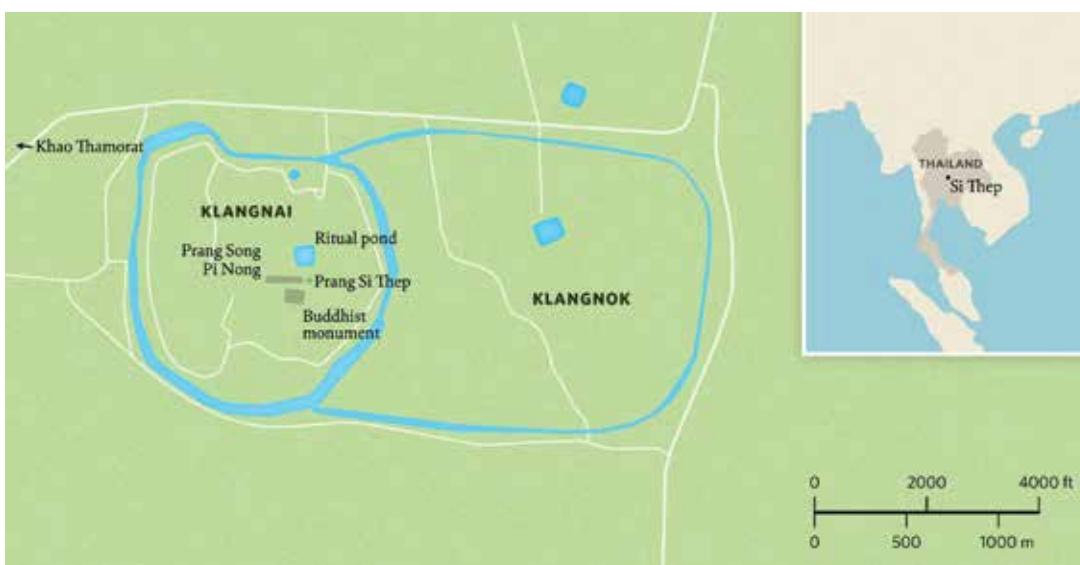


Fig. 133. Si Thep, Phetchabun province, central Thailand

Opposite: Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (detail of cat. 166)



Fig. 134. Sūrya. Central Thailand, 7th century.  
Found in Si Thep, Phetchabun province. Stone,  
h. 42½ in. (108 cm). National Museum, Bangkok.  
Photographed during Prince Damrong  
Rajanubhab's expedition in 1904



Fig. 135. Sūrya. Central Thailand, 8th century.  
Found at Prang Sam Phinong, Si Thep,  
Phetchabun province. Sandstone; h. 33¾ in.  
(85 cm), w. 14¾ in. (37 cm). National  
Museum, Bangkok

National Museum, Ramkhamhaeng, in Sukhothai province.<sup>3</sup> The department fully excavated Klangnai in 1978. Work at Klangnok, however, began only in 2006, and restoration continues to the present day.<sup>4</sup> In 2008, a laterite terraced stupa with a stair at the center, where the four axes meet, and a brick dome at the summit was discovered.<sup>5</sup> Based on the style of the architectural decorations, it can be dated to about the eighth century.<sup>6</sup>

While Si Thep has inspired numerous debates since its discovery in 1904, archaeological remains from Klangnai clearly support Quaritch Wales's hypothesis that the city was on a trade route.<sup>7</sup> A large number of broken ceramics from Tang-dynasty China (618–906) have been discovered there, along with at least three Buddhist tablets with the name of a monk, Wenxiang, noted on the back.<sup>8</sup> The fact that Chinese characters were inscribed on the back of a votive tablet suggests the presence of Chinese monks at Si Thep by this time, as they would have been at the site when the tablets were made. Inscriptions and objects recovered in Klangnai also show that Brahmanism and Buddhism were practiced side by side. Among the most important finds are images of Viṣṇu and Sūrya and large stone images of the Buddha. By the late eighth to ninth century, new Buddhist lineages were arriving from other parts of Asia, such as Sri Lanka and China. Images of Maitreya, who was not yet popular in central Thailand, have been recovered in Si Thep, including at Khao Thamorat. These objects vary in size from small bronze figures of four to six inches (10–15 cm) tall to large stone reliefs of over eight feet (2.5 m) in height and vary in medium (silver, bronze, and stone).

#### Sūrya Images at Si Thep

Scholars remain puzzled and intrigued about several Sūrya images at Si Thep. During his visit in 1904, when the Sūrya images were still in situ, Prince Damrong Rajanubhab described many stone Brahmanical sculptures, one of which was photographed and included in records of his trip (fig. 134).<sup>9</sup> Possibly six Sūryas can be assigned to the period spanning the late sixth to the mid-eighth century (fig. 135, cat. 70),<sup>10</sup> and one scholar, Peter Skilling, has questioned why there were so many Sūrya images at the site.<sup>11</sup>

These finds suggest a prominent role for Sūrya in religious practice at Si Thep; however, sculptures of Viṣṇu, including a number of large icons in Klangnai, and of Kṛṣṇa indicate that Vaiṣṇava worship was prominent there around the seventh and eighth centuries.<sup>12</sup> The Śaura relationship to Vaiṣṇava practice is well known: as written in the Vedas, Viṣṇu is a sun deity born from Sūrya.<sup>13</sup> Interestingly, Viṣṇu seems to have largely displaced Sūrya in Indian worship during the seventh and eighth centuries, and at Si Thep, the two gods appear to have had a similar dynamic. With regard to Śaiva practice, a Sanskrit inscription discovered in Si Thep, dated to the sixth or seventh century, refers to King Bhavavarman I of Zhenla, who commissioned sculptures of Śiva on his accession to power.<sup>14</sup> In nearby U Thong, a copper plate records in Sanskrit the offerings a king made to lingas.<sup>15</sup> The iconographic presence of all three deities opens the possibility that at least three Brahmanical strands—Vaiṣṇava, Śaura, and Śaiva—were practiced in the region.<sup>16</sup>

Moreover, two fragmentary sculptures of Kṛṣṇa Govardhana found at Si Thep indicate the important role of Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu's most popular incarnation. In the great epic the *Mahābhārata*, Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu were elevated to the top rank and surpassed Indra, the highest Vedic god. Statues of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa are among the most frequently recovered from both Funan- and Zhenla-period sites. Among the Vaiṣṇava imagery claimed to be produced during the early sixth-century reign of King Rudravarman of Funan are two large statues of Kṛṣṇa Govardhana discovered at Phnom Da in southern Cambodia. Si Thep thus seems to share similar Brahmanical lineages with the greater Funan and Zhenla region.

The Si Thep Sūrya images are much smaller than those of Viṣṇu, suggesting a role as a minor deity. The average Sūrya image is about 47 inches (120 cm) tall, while the Viṣṇus range from about 55 to 98 inches (140–250 cm).<sup>17</sup> Each figure wears a tall miter-style crown with a foliate motif (made of medallions with affixed curled elements), hoop earrings or ear plugs, and a short necklace decorated with floral patterns that match the hat.<sup>18</sup> Even though the images are missing arms and attributes, they reflect the standard—that is, southern Indian—representation of Sūrya, with the god holding lotus buds rather than blooms and not wearing high boots,



Fig. 136. *Dharmacakra* (Wheel of the Law) depicting Sūrya holding lotus buds. Central Thailand, 7th–8th century. Preserved in a Brahman temple, Bangkok. Stone, diam. 28¾ in. (72 cm). National Museum, Bangkok

as seen in northern Indian images.<sup>19</sup> The transformed Buddhist and Brahmanical iconography of northern India, especially that in the influential Sarnath style, was copied and used as models in the seventh- and eighth-century Dvāravatī art of central Thailand.<sup>20</sup> However, in the second half of the eighth to the ninth century, sources from southern India and Sri Lanka may have begun to inspire Si Thep artisans.

#### Sūrya on the Dharmacakra and Banaspati

In some depictions, Sūrya sits, holding lotus buds, on the base of a *dharmacakra*, the wheel itself supported on the backs of two dwarf-like *ganas* (fig. 136).<sup>21</sup> These representations confirm the iconography of the fragmentary sculptures in the round at Si Thep, with the upraised hands holding lotus buds. At least three *dharmacakras* with Sūrya images have been recorded: two from Nakhon Pathom and one from Muang Si Mahosot, Prachinburi province, a moated site in the northeast dating to about the eighth or ninth century.<sup>22</sup> None from Si Thep displays Sūrya.

A great number of *dharmacakras* found in central Thailand incorporate stone steles showing the Buddha accompanied by two male figures and standing on top of a winged figure in a type of sculpture commonly referred to as a *banaspati*, or a *vanaspati*.<sup>23</sup> In typical depictions, however, the Buddha is flanked by figures standing on a mythical winged creature, also popularly known as a *banaspati*, or an *arunaditya*, and sometimes identified as Garuda, Viṣṇu's vehicle (cat. 124). An example of a stele depicting a mythical vehicle holding lotus flowers and carrying the Buddha can be found in the National Museum, Nakhon Pathom. Although this being has wings and the beak-like nose of Garuda, it holds Sūrya's attribute of a lotus flower in each hand, suggesting a conflation of imagery and meanings. The figure also wears a Viṣṇu-like miter. Arrangements of the Buddha and other male images vary on this type of sculpture; the Buddha's hands perform different gestures, the male figures hold different sorts of attributes, and the vehicles are of different kinds. These reliefs, when attached to the hub of a *dharmacakra*, were an integral part of the wheel's iconography.

Scholars have attempted to identify the textual sources and narrative of this type of stele without success. In the recent article “A Sky-Lecture by the Buddha,” Robert L. Brown proposes a credible interpretation based on texts that allude to Śākyamuni's preaching his dharma in the sky. This act was meant to inspire awe and impress listeners, who were presumably on the ground, or to dominate in a contest with other spiritual teachers.<sup>24</sup> Brown points out that “the sky imagery fits well with the examples of the Buddha in association with clear images of Surya.”<sup>25</sup> Could Sūrya have been a connecting link between the two religious practices, Brahmanism and Buddhism, in eighth-century Si Thep?

Various symbols, such as a wheel, a golden plate, and a lotus, have been used to represent Sūrya.<sup>26</sup> Brown has suggested that the “*cakra*, in an Indian context, is a sun symbol, and the several Dvaravati *cakras* on which the sun god Surya is carved strongly suggest the *cakra* as sun was indicated.”<sup>27</sup> Brown further surmises that the double *katakamudrā*, a gesture used consistently by Sūrya, may indicate an association between the Buddha and the sun.<sup>28</sup> If this is the case, then the transformation of Sūrya's hand position in the seventh century may be the source of the popular double teaching hand gesture (*vitarkamudrā*), a pose that is not known in India and appears only in the Buddhist art of central and northeastern Thailand.

This affinity could imply a shared symbolism between the Buddha and Sūrya. Hiram Woodward suggests that wheels have a solar connotation and that the double hand gesture might signify a Buddha with the transcendent power of mobility.<sup>29</sup> This aspect of the Buddha and the sun is supported by inscriptions found on fragments of pillars. For example, a pillar from Sab Champa reads

Truly, when things [Pali, dhamma] grow plain to the ardent  
mediating Brahman  
Routing the host of Mara does he stand  
Like as the sun when lighting up the sky.<sup>30</sup>



Fig. 137. Buddha with hands raised in *katakamudrā*. Central Thailand, 9th century. Found in Wat Smor Khon, Lopburi province. Stone, h. 33½ in. (84 cm). National Museum, Bangkok



Fig. 138. Rock-cut relief depicting bodhisattva Maitreya flanked by Vajrapāni and a bodhisattva. Sri Lanka, 9th century. In situ in Buduruvagala, Uva province

Woodward argues that this inscription thus reflects a relationship between an understanding of reality and the physical nature of the sun. The three wheels that were found in central Thailand and display a figure of Sūrya at the base further strengthen the solar connection.<sup>31</sup> In these *dharma**cakras*, which symbolize the teaching of the Buddha, Sūrya is the source and symbol of light. This new iconographic representation of Sūrya together with the Buddha clearly reflects the religious preferences that developed in the Si Thep and Dvāravatī regions. Both Brown and Woodward also connect the wheel's solar attribution to its association with royalty. Woodward theorizes that wheels may allude to the notion that a king is a sun on earth or that his family is descended from the sun.<sup>32</sup> He adds, "Surely the worship of Surya is to be connected with monarchs whose titles ended in -aditya (sun)," and sun images and so-named sun monarchs are an eighth-century phenomenon.<sup>33</sup>

Among Brahmanical images, Sūrya is the only deity who has two arms and holds both hands in the same gesture and at the same level, with the fingers folded in such a distinctive position. In Dvāravatī art, only Buddhas share this gesture, such as the one at Wat Smor Khon, Lopburi (fig. 137).<sup>34</sup> In Indian art, the Buddha generally teaches, blesses, and bestows with one hand, while the other holds the end of his monastic robe. In Sri Lanka, from about the late eighth to the early ninth century, however, both the Buddha and several bodhisattvas perform the double ring-shaped hand gesture (*katakamudrā*), as witnessed on the rock-cut relief at Buduruvagala that depicts the future Buddha Maitreya flanked by Vajrapāni and a bodhisattva (fig. 138).<sup>35</sup> This iconography provides further evidence of a shared Buddhist culture and potential early connections with Sri Lanka. It is therefore possible that at Si Thep, this same gesture specifically indicates not Śākyamuni but Maitreya, who appears in other images in the complex. At least three small metal images of Maitreya as a bodhisattva, easily identified by the stupa in the hair, were recovered at Klangnai. The treatment of the hair and the decoration on the jewelry, such as the necklace, reflect the late eighth-century Sinhalese style and help support the popularity of Maitreya at Si Thep.<sup>36</sup>

In addition, at site 11 at U Thong, the name Maitreya was found on the reverse of a small terracotta tablet of a seated male figure wearing a monastic robe. The inscription in Pali and in Southern Brāhmī script reads "Metteyako," meaning Maitreya. On a stylistic and paleographic basis, the sealing can be dated to the seventh century. Skilling, who translated the inscription, comments that the sealing provides further evidence for the use of Pali and the pres-

ence of a Theravādin Vinaya lineage.<sup>37</sup> Pali is the language used exclusively for Theravāda Buddhism, which was centered in Sri Lanka. Several small and large bronzes of Maitreya were unearthed in southeastern Thailand at Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II (the original term that referred to this group of images was Prakhon Chai, cat. 139–42). Woodward speculates that Maitreya was part of a triad with Avalokiteśvara and the Buddha.<sup>38</sup> The same iconography is present at the rock temple of Buduruvagala in Sri Lanka.

At Khao Thamorat near Si Thep, the main Buddha is depicted standing with both hands raised in the same hand gesture, probably *kaṭakamudrā* (fig. 139).<sup>39</sup> At least one major relief figure was Maitreya (cf. cat. 148). In addition, gold repoussé plaques depicting Maitreya were also recovered from a bowl in the cave (cf. fig. 130). The iconographic program of the reliefs may be understood as the ascent and descent of Maitreya.<sup>40</sup> While Maitreya is depicted in the ascent as a seated Buddha in meditation flanked by a stupa and a *cakra*, the descent episode is shown by the large standing Buddha in the front section of the cave. If this interpretation is correct, another iconographic merger is occurring. The experience of practitioners who hiked up the high mountain to the Thamorat cave to be blessed by the Buddha Maitreya, symbol of a new strand of Buddhism, would have been analogous to that of devotees looking on the Buddha Śākyamuni preaching high up on an immense *dharmacakra*.

In examining the iconography of Si Thep, the sun god Sūrya stands as the symbol of transformation between Brahmanical and Buddhist religions when these two beliefs were introduced to central Thailand in the seventh century. Later, the new waves of Buddhist lineages transmitted novel Buddhist practices and teachings to the central and northeastern regions of Thailand during the second half of the eighth and early ninth centuries. New types of objects were produced; images of the Buddha Śākyamuni, future Buddha Maitreya, and bodhisattvas were created for these strains. While Sūrya's double hand gesture of *kaṭakamudrā* is used on the standing image of Maitreya, the double hand gesture of *vitarkamudrā* was developed for Śākyamuni. Southeast Asian Buddhists incorporated different Indian and Sinhalese styles and iconography, seemingly creating their own versions of objects best suited to the ritual and cultural needs at Si Thep and the other Dvāravatī sites.

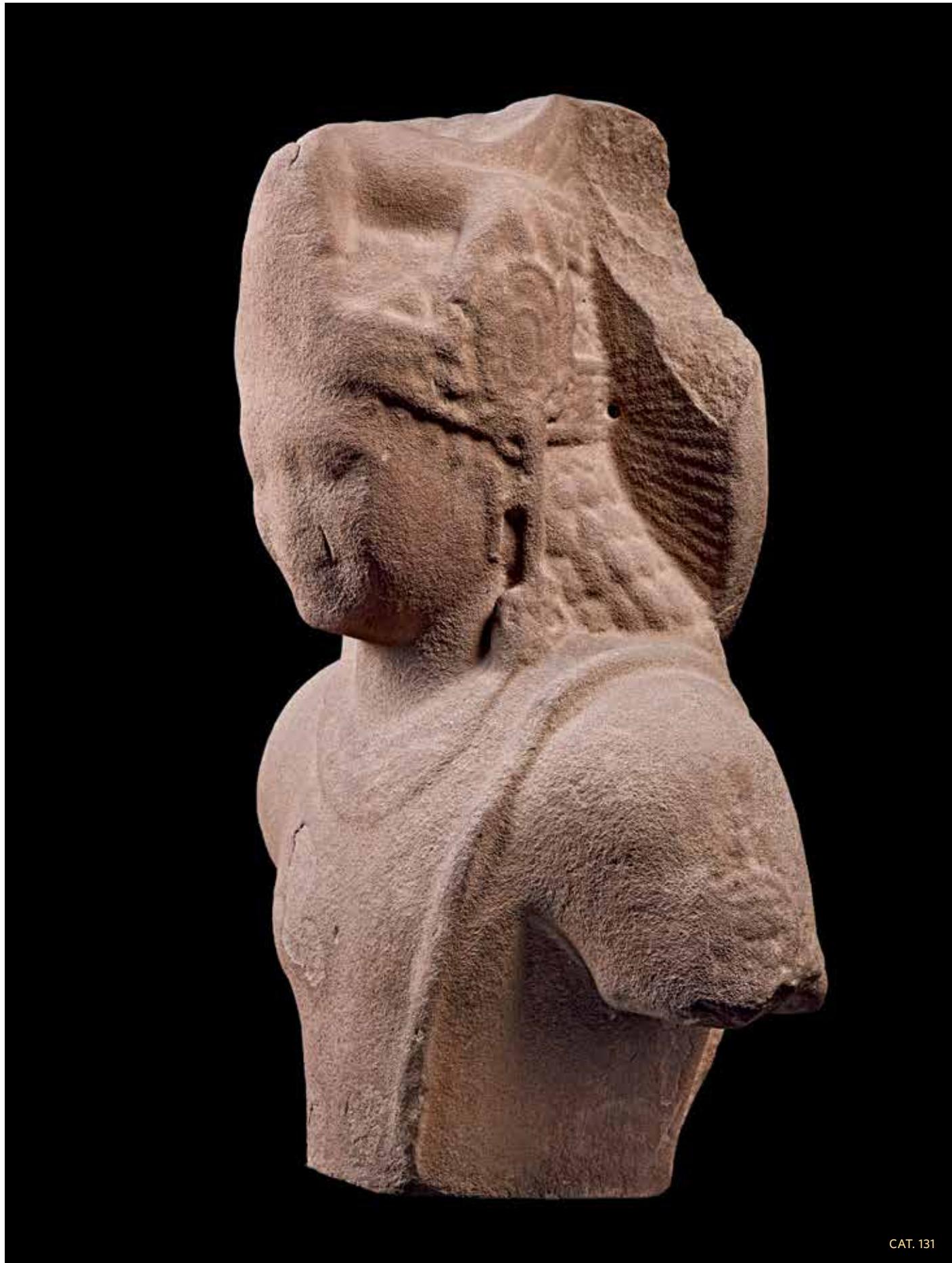


Fig. 139. Rock-cut relief depicting a standing Buddha. Central Thailand, 9th century. In situ in Khaos Thamorat, Si Thep, Phetchabun province



# Catalogue

John Guy



CAT. 131

**CAT. 131****Bodhisattva**

Southern Cambodia, mid-7th century  
Recovered near abandoned temple of Wat Kdei  
Ta Nguoy, Kampong Luong, Angkor Borei  
district, Takeo province  
Sandstone  
H. 28 in. (71 cm), w. 31½ in. (80 cm)  
National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh  
(Ka.1590)

This crowned divinity, best identified as a bodhisattva, of which only the upper torso survives, would have stood an imposing five feet or more when intact. Although much of the detail is heavily eroded, probably by flowing water, the principal elements can be read. The bodhisattva wears a tripartite diadem with elliptical panels, each set with a jewel bordered by a ring of pearls, secured with a decorative headband. Heavy, pendulous ear ornaments; a torque; and elliptical armbands in the same style as the diadem complete the figure's adornment. Long, curling locks of hair are visible at the front, below the diadem, and cascade behind the shoulders. The crowned head is framed by a small nimbus, with radiating markings on the front and plain on the reverse. The sacred cord worn over the left shoulder—analogous to the Brahmanical *yajñopavīta*—is a feature of many early bodhisattva representations in Southeast Asia.<sup>1</sup> The broad facial features as well as the wide, muscular shoulders and chest have a stylistic affinity with those of a Skanda and a Gaṇeśa from neighboring regions (cats. 98, 99).

In many respects, this bodhisattva may be compared to the Avalokiteśvara from Rach Gia, Mekong delta (cat. 137), which, judging by its jewelry and other details, should be close to it in date. They both display a tripartite diadem, suggesting a common identification with Avalokiteśvara, although here, erosion of detail and losses to the upper section of the headdress and nimbus preclude a precise identification.

The torso was discovered with a similarly monumental seated *yakṣa* Kubera, which is nearly six feet (1.8 m) tall (fig. 35).<sup>2</sup> The two works share a skillful handling of volume and form, a robust physique, and an identical treatment of the cascading locks of hair. They are almost certainly products of the same workshop. Taken together, these finds provide clear evidence that Angkor Borei was a major center of Buddhist patronage, in which *yakṣa* cults appear to have also played a role, just as they did in early Indian Buddhism. Moreover, a corpus of Angkor Borei sculptures has established the importance of the workshops there—possibly the principal source of the southern Zhenla style that extended from the metropolitan center of Angkor Borei to its religious center, Phnom Da, and south to the Mekong delta. Extensive riverways, further linked by man-made canals, provided a ready means of distributing even monumental religious imagery.

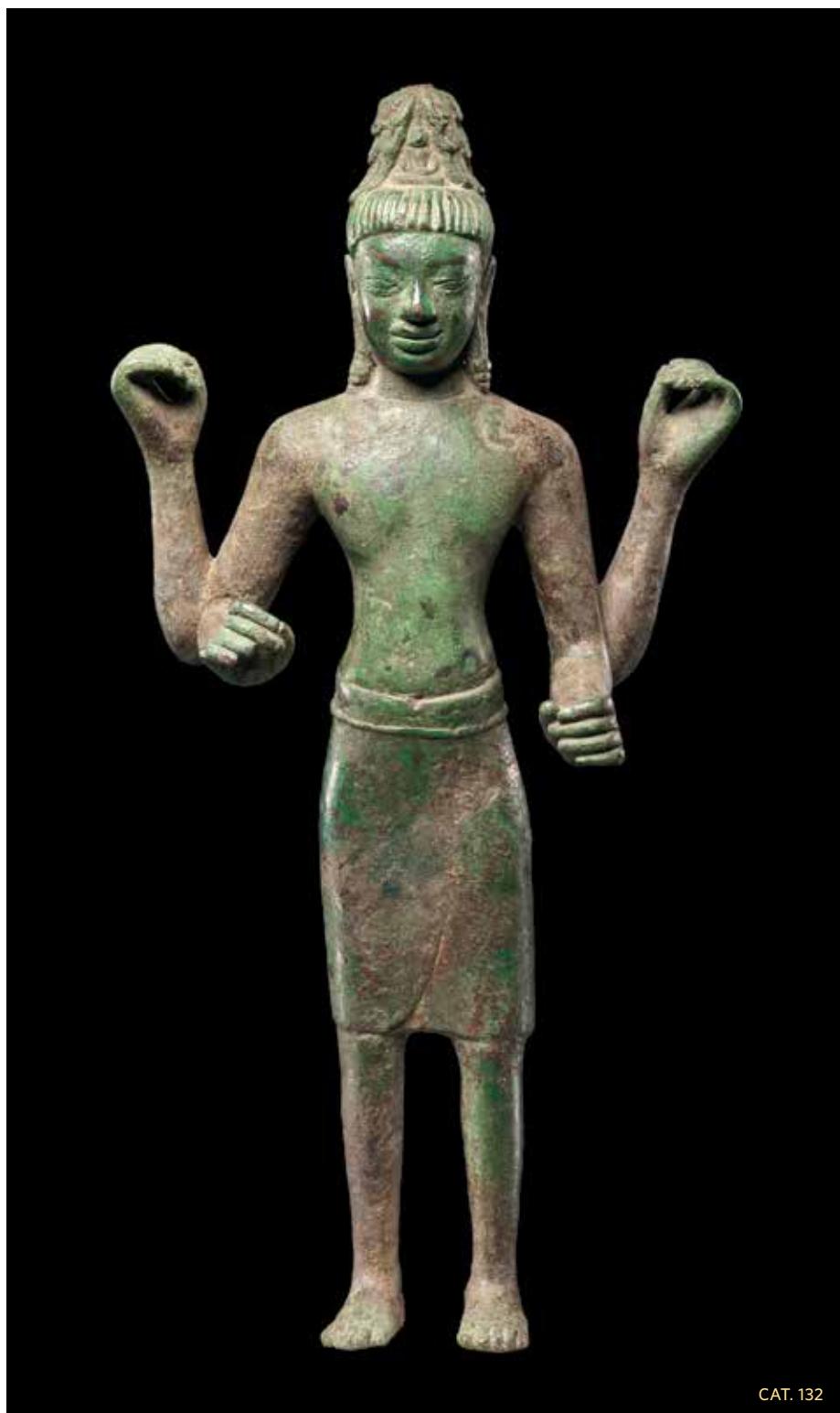
PUBLICATIONS: G. Groslier 1925a, pp. 312–13, pl. iv, B;  
Boisselier 1955, pp. 144, 147, 207, 228, 263, pl. 8A;  
Dupont 1955, pp. 55–56, pl. xvi; Manguin 2010,  
pp. 173–74, fig. 3.

NOTES: 1. Nandana Chutiwongs 2002. 2. Boisselier 1955, p. 263, pl. 8A, where the author identifies the crowned torso as a temple guardian (*dvārapāla*).

**CAT. 132****Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara**

Western Cambodia, second half of 7th–early 8th century  
From Angkor region, possibly Prasat Ak Yom  
Copper alloy  
13¾ x 6¾ x 2⅞ in. (34.9 x 17.1 x 7.3 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Rogers Fund, 1987 (1987.145)

This four-armed Avalokiteśvara closely relates to a cache of small icons recovered by chance at the early eighth-century Khmer brick-and-sandstone temple Prasat Ak Yom. Located on what is now an embankment of the eleventh-century reservoir in Angkor, the West Baray, Prasat Ak Yom was arguably the earliest step-pyramid temple in Khmer history. It has two doorjamb inscriptions, dated 674 and 704, respectively.<sup>1</sup> During excavations in the 1930s, a set of bronzes, all bodhisattvas presumably dedicated for use at the temple, were found secreted away in a cavity behind a lintel. Three were published in 1955 by Pierre Dupont, and a comparison makes clear that this bronze belongs to the same



CAT. 132



CAT. 133

time frame and likely the same workshop that supplied Prasat Ak Yom with its images.<sup>2</sup>

The Avalokiteśvara has a tapering coiffure (*jatāmukuta*) with looped braids framing the Amitābha Buddha seated in meditation. The two superhuman limbs project from the elbows of the natural arms, unlike in contemporary stone sculptures, where they generally emerge from the shoulder. The short waistcloth is wrapped to the front and secured with a simple cord. The Ak Yom bronzes, including this unprovenanced example, provide evidence of a sophisticated bronze-casting tradition in western Cambodia in the seventh century in the service of savior-cult-oriented Mahāyāna Buddhist devotees.

PUBLICATION: Leidy 2000, p. 32, fig. 7.

NOTES: 1. K.753, K.749. For K.749, Coedès (1937–64, vol. 5 [1953], pp. 57–59) proposes a date of 717; however, in a rereading of the inscription, Claude

Jacques (1986, p. 86, n. 5) proposes the date 674.

2. Dupont 1955, pls. XXIX, B, XXX, A, B. See also Bruguier 1994, and for bronzes, p. 296, photo 8.

#### CAT. 133

#### Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

Southern Thailand, second half of 7th century

Probably found in Surat Thani province

Sandstone

17 3/4 x 5 3/4 x 2 7/8 in. (45.1 x 14.6 x 7.3 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,

Samuel Eilenberg Collection, Ex Coll.:

Columbia University, Purchase, Lila Acheson

Wallace Gift, 1987 (1987.218.16)

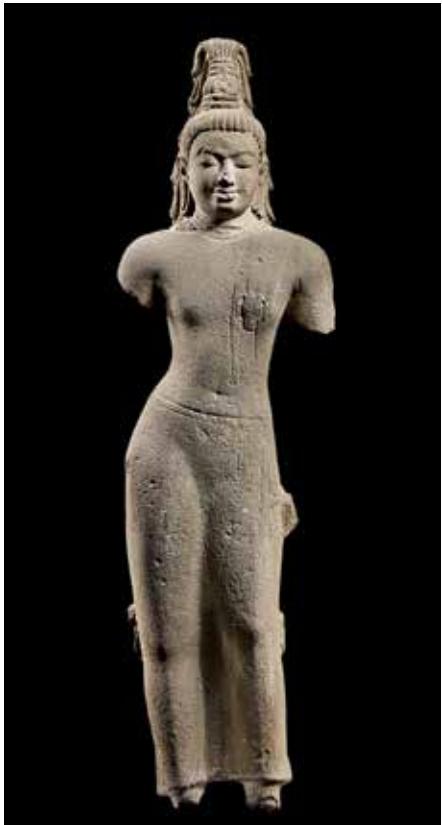


Fig. 140. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Southern Thailand, 7th century. Found in Chaiya, Surat Thani province. Sandstone, h. 44 7/8 in. (114 cm).

National Museum, Bangkok

This masterfully understated vision of Buddhist compassion belongs to the beginnings of such representations in Southeast Asia. The bodhisattva is understood as an ascetic, dressed in a simple, full-length waistcloth secured with a cord, the details lightly incised into the smooth contours of the torso. His long locks of hair are bound into a cylindrical coiffure (*jatāmukuta*) on which presides the Amitābha Buddha and which, on the reverse, descends to the shoulders in four tiers of braids. Heavy, circular pendant ear ornaments are his only adornment, apart from the flayed skin of an antelope (*ajina*) draped across the left shoulder, an attribute of the earliest representations of this bodhisattva, as seen in early seventh-century northern India.<sup>1</sup>

The cult of Avalokiteśvara assumed special importance in Mahāyāna Buddhism during the seventh century, and the iconographic innovations that accompanied it, soon after their development in India, appear to have been shared with mainland Southeast Asian devotees. While the bejeweled bodhisattva, the princely savior, was much favored in Indian depictions such as those at Ajanta (fig. 141) and Sarnath, the unadorned figure prevailed in the Mon and Khmer territories of mainland Southeast Asia. A lifesize stone version (fig. 140), also from the peninsula and assignable to the seventh century, is closely comparable, except for the slight flexing of the torso, and shares the same decorative restraint appropriate to the ascetic pursuit of spiritual perfection.<sup>2</sup> By the eighth century, the celebration of the princely bejeweled savior had prevailed over this taste for asceticism, as spectacularly witnessed in catalogue 166 and figure 145, both recovered from the same region of Surat Thani as the earlier stone bodhisattvas.

PUBLICATIONS: Pal 1978, p. 130, no. 85; Lerner and Kossak 1991, pp. 152–53, no. 123; Leidy 2000, p. 37, figs. 13, 14; Nandana Chutiwongs 2002, pl. 107.

NOTES: 1. One of the earliest such depictions appears on a seated four-armed bronze Avalokiteśvara from the Swat valley in present-day Pakistan, attributed to the early seventh century; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (2012.247). 2. For a bronze version, see Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 80, ill. no. 1.62.

#### CAT. 134

#### Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

Southern Vietnam, mid-7th century

Unearthed at Xeo Da, Luu Nghiep Anh, Tra Vinh province, in 1937, and transferred to the Musée Blanchard de la Brosse, Saigon, in 1942

Sandstone

45½ x 16⅓ x 8⅓ in. (115 x 41 x 21 cm), including tenon

National Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City (BTLS 5531)

The four-armed form of Avalokiteśvara, the embodiment of Buddhist compassion, emerged during the seventh century as the bodhisattva par excellence in pre-Angkorian mainland Southeast Asia. Although the cult was unquestionably popular in India, where it had originated, there is no evidence that it assumed such preeminence there. As the savior summoned in times of peril,



CAT. 134



CAT. 135

Avalokiteśvara as “Lord of the world,” Lokeśvara, assumes a syncretic quality, merging Brahmanical and Buddhist notions of divine saviors. The frequent occurrence of the divinity in both icons and inscriptions supports this interpretation, the most celebrated case being the dedication, dated 875, by the Cham king Jaya Indravarman II to Lakṣmīndra Lokeśvara. In the context of the seventh-century Mekong delta, a degree of syncretism can also be entertained. In India, Avalokiteśvara imagery drew heavily on Śaiva iconography, and the hybrid Śiva-Viṣṇu, Harihara, was especially popular in the wider Mekong region (fig. 90).

The iconography of Avalokiteśvara is consistent in this period: a rosary (*akṣamālā*) and a sacred book (*pustaka*) in the upper hands and, in the lower hands, a lotus (*padma*) and a vase (*kamandalu*), likely detachable and made of gilded bronze or some other precious metal. The small figure enthroned in the headdress here can be identified as the Amitābha Buddha, from whom Avalokiteśvara Padmapāni emanates. The face is full and rounded, and the features are subtly modeled, with a continuous eyebrow ridge and a slender mustache. Unconventionally, the bodhisattva displays the forehead mark (*ūrnā*) usually reserved for images of the Buddha.

The piled-up dreadlocks resemble those of Śiva himself, a feature shared with a cache of large Buddhist bronzes discovered in 1964 in Buriram province, north of the Dangrek Mountains (cats. 139–41).

Stylistically, the icon closely follows the aesthetic established in the Chenla period for Brahmanical images; indeed, it would take only a change of attributes and hairstyle to transform the image into a Viṣṇu or a Śiva, as a comparison with the Harihara demonstrates. The work’s recovery in Tra Vinh province is significant—at least two other major Avalokiteśvara icons have been identified there, both recovered from monastery sites.<sup>1</sup> Such large Buddhist images from the delta are nonetheless rare and affirm that major shrines dedicated to Buddhist savior cults existed in the region. The supporting arch, from which the figure is almost liberated, and the incised rather than modeled costume details support a date in the mid-seventh century. A bronze Avalokiteśvara from western Cambodia also produced in this period (cat. 132) demonstrates that a pan-regional style prevailed in Khmer-speaking territories, if not beyond.

PUBLICATIONS: “Travaux et recherches” 1940, p. 7; Malleret 1959–63, vol. 4 (1963), pp. 21–22, no. 157, pl. xxxv; Nandana Chutiwongs 2002, p. 235, pl. 111; Le Thi Lien 2006b, pp. 57–58; Tingley 2009, pp. 174–75, no. 54; Bunker and Latchford 2011, pp. 93, 100, fig. 4.40.

NOTE: 1. A related but sculpturally less sophisticated four-armed icon was recovered from Wat Cet Dei and a two-armed form from Wat Kbal Tuk, both in Tra Vinh province. See Malleret 1959–63, vol. 4 (1963), pp. 14–15, no. 146, pl. xxxv, and Le Thi Lien 2006b, p. 56, fig. 34; and Nandana Chutiwongs 2002, pl. 110.

#### CAT. 135

#### Head of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

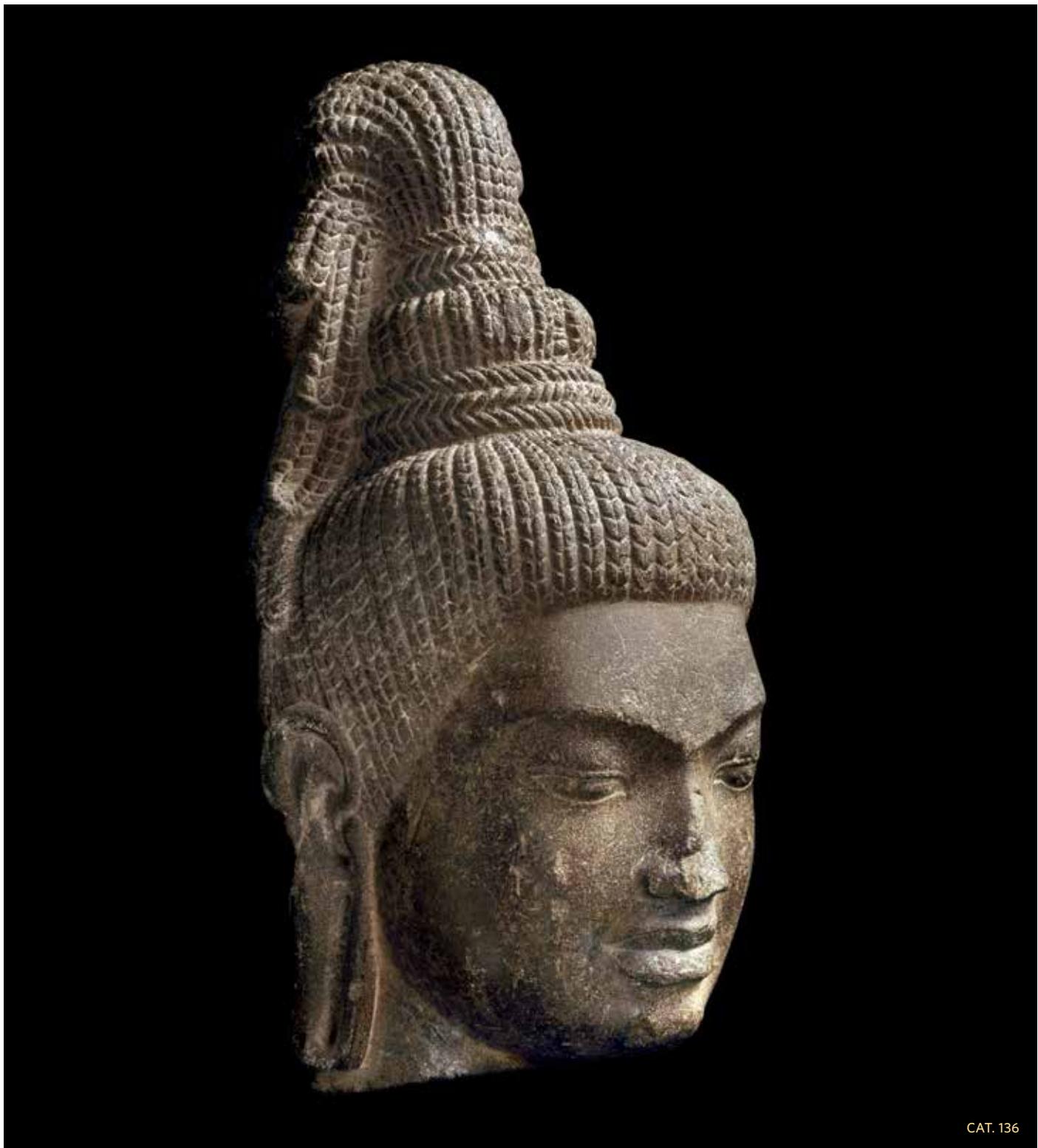
Central Cambodia, last quarter of 7th century  
Probably from Kampong Thom province

Sandstone

8 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (22 x 12 x 12 cm)

Musée National des Arts Asiatiques—Guimet,  
Paris (MA2554)

This head of the savior Avalokiteśvara bears eloquent witness to the importance of the Mahāyāna Buddhist cult of the bodhisattva in pre-Angkorian Cambodia. It also signals a taste for large devotional sculptures, undoubtedly installed in well-endowed temple complexes, where they would have served as important cult icons. The sculpture has no known provenance but has been linked to Kampong Thom province through its remarkable closeness in style and workmanship to a Harihara, now in the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, that was recovered in 1962 from the ruins of the pre-Angkorian temple dedicated to Śiva at Prasat Phum Prasat.<sup>1</sup> The Musée Guimet head bears close comparison to that work in the treatment of the eyelids and incised pupils, fulsome mouth, and general physiognomy. But most of all, it is the near-identical braided arrangement in the crown of matted hair (*jatamukuta*) that links the two sculptures and implies a common source. A *devī* (goddess) from Sambor on the Mekong (cat. 94) also displays this coiffure,



CAT. 136

suggesting that it was a widely shared device in the last quarter of the seventh century. Both the Harihara and the Avalokiteśvara can be assigned to that period. The production of Brahmanical and Buddhist imagery in the same workshop has ample precedent in both South and Southeast Asia.<sup>2</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Régnier 1966, pp. 31, 39, pl. IV; Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 36–37, no. 7.

NOTES: 1. Régnier 1966, pl. II. 2. Such practices are known as far back as Kuśāṇa Mathura in first-century northern India.

#### CAT. 136

#### Head of Bodhisattva Maitreya

Southern Cambodia, last quarter of 7th century  
Sandstone

12 $\frac{3}{16}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (31 x 14 x 13 cm)

Musée National des Arts Asiatiques—Guimet,  
Paris, Bequest of M. Jean Flavien Folie  
Desjardins, 1980 (MA4920)

This bodhisattva head is identified as that of the messianic savior Maitreya by the miniature stupa that is secreted away in the third tier of the towering chignon (*jatāmukuta*). The face is sensitively modeled, with carefully nuanced planes

defining the bone structure. The “almond-shaped” eyes are finely contoured with a double-line lid; the mouth is similarly treated; and the eyebrows are marked only by a shift in plane that meets at the nose. Most spectacular is the hair, braided and bound into an elaborate top-knot, then freely cascading down, with the tresses framing the head. The sculptural finesse of the work is astonishing, as is the interplay between the understated treatment of the face, still and reflective, and the riotous complexity of the hair.

This Maitreya belongs to the international Mahāyāna Buddhist style that emerged in the late seventh century, centered in peninsular Thailand.

A beautiful, nearly lifesize stone Avalokiteśvara from Chaiya in the peninsula (fig. 140) exemplifies this new style. It was clearly indebted to the new waves of Buddha imagery that were being disseminated from northern India, especially from Sarnath, renowned for the aesthetic excellence of the sculpture produced at its monastic workshops. The peninsular style of southern Thailand, which absorbed many of these influences, is seen as far south as the Śrivijayan capital of Palembang, where related Buddhist imagery was produced in both stone and metal.<sup>1</sup> An awareness of the aesthetic is present in this head of Maitreya from Zhenla. That the influence of the peninsular style of the Chaiya region extended to interior Cambodia is a testament to the extent to which these polities were in sustained cultural dialogue.

PUBLICATIONS: *Spiritual Journey* 2004, p. 118, pl. 56; Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 42–43, no. 10. NOTE: 1. See Manguin, "Early Coastal States of Southeast Asia," in this volume.

#### CAT. 137

#### Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

Southern Vietnam, second half of 7th–early 8th century

Discovered during canal construction at Tan Long (Rach Gia), My Tu district, Soc Trang province, in 1919

Sandstone

67½ x 18½ x 11 in. (171 x 47 x 28 cm)

Musée National des Arts Asiatiques—Guimet, Paris (MA5063)

Arguably the most beautiful image of the Buddhist embodiment of compassion from all of Southeast Asia, this savior Avalokiteśvara stands on a pair of lotus blooms, his eyes downcast as he extends grace to devotees. He wears a pleated waistcloth and an elaborate diadem with the Amitābha Buddha prominently displayed. His head is framed by an elliptical nimbus (*mukhamandalā*) that extends upward to form the flaming shrine of the meditating Amitābha Buddha, seated atop a lotus throne on tiered locks of hair (*jatāmukuta*). The nimbus is otherwise undecorated on the front but has a radiating pattern on the reverse, with two registers of ringlets of hair extending to the shoulders. Both hands are lowered, the left holding a lotus bud, evoking Padmapāṇi, the lotus-bearer form of Avalokiteśvara; the other holds what was likely intended to represent the round neck of an ascetic's water vessel (*kamandalu*).

Stylistically, this masterpiece relates to the school of sculpture associated with the pre-Angkorian center of Phnom Da, southern

Cambodia, evinced in the slightly flexed posture, cascading locks of hair, and patterning of the torque and belt. The waistcloth is secured by a detailed belt with jewels set amid vegetal patterns, a design repeated in the torque. Both are intended to evoke the gold jewelry of the period and share the vocabulary of the central Cambodian Prei Kmeng style of the second half of the seventh century.<sup>1</sup> The end of the skirt has a splayed and pleated "fishtail" design, visible below the belt—a feature also shared with other seventh-century sculptures in the region.<sup>2</sup> Gracefully sweeping folds extend the full length of the robe, defining the contours of the body, a treatment developed most fully in the Phnom Da style.<sup>3</sup> The figure is partially liberated from the block of stone: the upper half is worked fully in the round, with openwork arms, but the hands are still supported by solid shafts of stone that extend to the base, and the legs remain embedded in the block.

In all, these characteristics place the sculpture in a late seventh- or early eighth-century setting and suggest a cultural sharing with the workshops of the Phnom Da school. The discovery of this major cult icon in the Mekong delta serves as a reminder of the interconnectedness of religious centers and their workshop practices in this period. Extensive waterway systems in the delta also raised the potential for quarried stone and finished images to travel considerable distances. This sculpture was found in Soc Trang province, coastal Vietnam, which was well connected via a southern branch of the Mekong River to Oc Eo, Long Xuyen, Phnom Da, and thence to Angkor Borei. It is highly likely that skilled sculptors circulated among these centers, ensuring a significant degree of stylistic unity across southern Cambodia and Vietnam. On occasion, important icons may have traveled by the same routes, especially to regions where high-quality stone was scarce.

PUBLICATIONS: "Chronique" 1919, p. 108; Malleret 1954; Boisselier 1955, pp. 65, 100, 129, 137, 208–9, 229–30, 265, pls. 12, 15, b; Dupont 1955, pp. 52–54, pls. XII, B, XIII, A, B; Boisselier 1957, pp. 268–72, fig. 11; Le Bonheur 1989, figs. 1–5; Béguin 1992, p. 64; *Path to Enlightenment* 1996, pp. 60–61, no. 54; Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 152–53, no. 7; Nandana Chutiwongs 2002, p. 219, pl. 109; Bénisti 2003, pp. 207–9, fig. 315; Baptiste and Zéphir 2008, pp. 29–33, no. 5; Dalsheimer 2011, pp. 200–201, no. 34.

NOTES: 1. Bunker and Latchford 2004, p. 17; see also Bénisti 1970, fig. 174. 2. It is more typically associated with the waistcloth worn in the short or drawn-up fashion and not full-length, as depicted here. 3. Dupont 1955, pls. III, V, VI.

#### CAT. 138

#### Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

Northeastern Thailand, first quarter of 8th century

Reportedly found in central or northeastern Thailand, possibly Prachinburi or Buriram province

Sandstone

69<sup>11/16</sup> x 11<sup>13/16</sup> x 7<sup>7/8</sup> in. (177 x 30 x 20 cm)

Philadelphia Museum of Art, W. P. Wilstach Collection (W1965-1-1)

This over-lifesize, two-armed Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva of Compassion, is one of the grandest images to survive from the early eighth century. The distinctive aesthetic seen here situates the sculpture both with the Prasat Ak Yom bronzes (cat. 132) and with a major corpus of bronze Buddhist images known from Buriram province, northeastern Thailand, near the modern Cambodian border. Those bronzes were recovered in a single cache at Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II, an Angkorian temple in Lahan Sai district in Buriram province (cats. 139–42), and constitute the single most important assembly of eighth-century bronzes found in mainland Southeast Asia.<sup>1</sup>

This sandstone bodhisattva has a broad, sensitively modeled face with downcast eyes and a demeanor of calm contemplation. His slender mustache is turned up at the ends, and his full lips are contoured with a defining double line. His long dreadlocks are drawn up and looped into an elaborate chignon (*jatāmukuta*), familiar from Khmer sculptures of the period. Variants of this hairstyle, developed and adapted to a different medium, are seen in the Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat bronzes. Atop the cranium sits a miniature Amitābha Buddha, Avalokiteśvara's identifier. The upper torso is simply modeled and unadorned; the back is minimally modeled, indicating that the work was intended not to be viewed fully in the round but rather to be venerated in a sanctuary. The sweep of the waistcloth enhances the volume of the torso, and simple incised lines suggest the folds of the drapery as it is drawn across the lower body. A double cord with a knot secures it at the waist. This minimalist approach to costume details, drawn rather than carved deeply into the stone, is shared with the four-armed Avalokiteśvara from Tra Vinh province in Vietnam's Mekong delta (cat. 134), likely produced some fifty years earlier. The bodhisattva's two-armed form suggests that he is Padmapāṇi, the lotus bearer. Such a significant icon as this one can be expected to have carried a gilded-bronze lotus in the left hand and to have offered boons to devotees with the right hand. It can also be assumed to have been installed in a sanctuary associated with a substantial monastery.



CAT. 137



CAT. 138

As monastic architecture, like all vernacular architecture, including palaces, would have been constructed in wood, such locations are difficult to identify today. In the period in question, image halls typically had a brick platform only, the superstructure being made of perishable materials and only the stupa necessarily in brick.

PUBLICATIONS: Boisselier 1981, figs. 1–5; Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 154–55, no. 8; Leidy 2000, p. 37, fig. 15.

NOTE: 1. Bunker 1971–72.

#### CAT. 139

#### Bodhisattva Maitreya

Northeastern Thailand, early 8th century  
Excavated from Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II,  
Lahan Sai district, Buriram province

Copper alloy inlaid with silver and black stone  
 $38 \times 14\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$  in. (96.5 x 36.2 x 27.3 cm)

Asia Society, New York, Mr. and Mrs. John D.  
Rockefeller 3rd Collection (1979.63)

#### CAT. 140

#### Bodhisattva Maitreya

Northeastern Thailand, late 8th century  
Excavated from Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II,  
Lahan Sai district, Buriram province

Copper alloy  
 $48\frac{1}{4} \times 20\frac{1}{16} \times 12\frac{3}{8}$  in. (122.5 x 51 x 31.5 cm)  
Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Purchased  
by Kimbell Art Foundation, 1965 (AP 1965.01)

#### CAT. 141

#### Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

Northeastern Thailand, second quarter of  
8th century

Excavated from Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II,  
Lahan Sai district, Buriram province  
Copper alloy inlaid with silver and glass  
or obsidian

$56 \times 22\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{1}{4}$  in. (142.2 x 57.2 x 38.7 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Rogers Fund, 1967 (67.234)

#### CAT. 142

#### Buddha Preaching

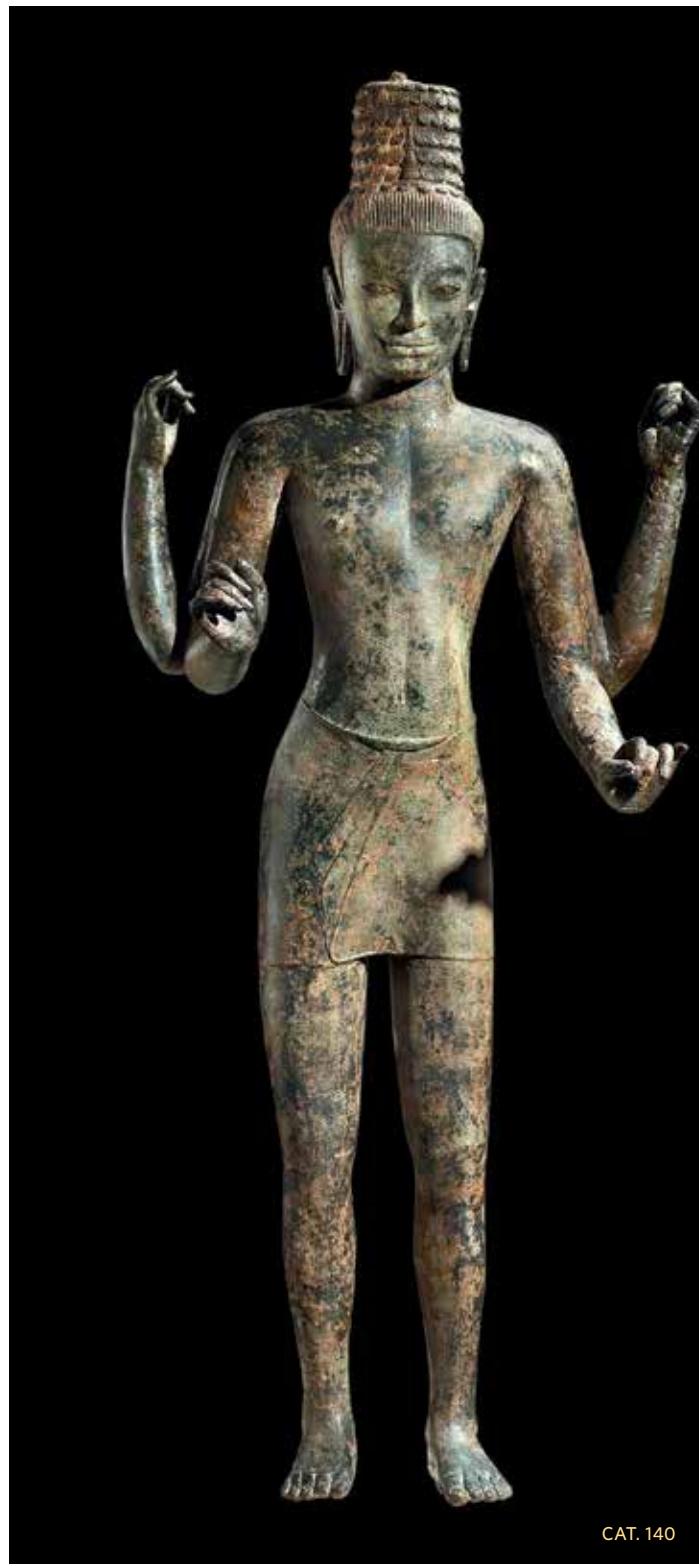
Northeastern Thailand, 8th century  
Excavated from Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II,  
Lahan Sai district, Buriram province

Copper alloy inlaid with glass  
 $32\frac{3}{16} \times 9\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{16}$  in. (83.3 x 23.7 x 18.3 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Rogers Fund, 1982 (1982.220.5)

The most important cache of Buddhist bronze images ever discovered in Southeast Asia was accidentally found in 1964 in a stone-covered burial pit on the grounds of Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II, a tenth-century Khmer brick temple in Buriram province. The reason for their careful concealment within the temple compound is unknown but likely had to do with the appropriation and rededication of the temple, presumably for Brahmanical use. The patinas of some of the bronzes show traces of their having been wrapped in cloth before burial, suggesting that those responsible were treating them with great respect. The cache consists of fifty-three known bronze Buddhist images but undoubtedly many more were not recorded. At that



CAT. 139



CAT. 140

time it was dubbed the Prakhon Chai hoard and dispersed to collections both within Thailand and abroad.<sup>1</sup>

As expected from a hoard, it includes objects from different periods and places. The date range spans from the late seventh century to the first half of the ninth century. Among the oldest works is the four-armed Avalokiteśvara now in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, which represents an early style distinct from the eighth-century cluster. It belongs to a tradition largely represented by stone imagery and clearly copies, in metal, sculptural solutions already resolved in stone, such as the linear definition of the pectoral and abdominal musculature as well

as the conical *jatāmukuta* with looped braids of hair (see cat. 90). In metal imagery, it relates most immediately to the cache of small bronzes found at the temple of Prasat Ak Yom in the Angkor region, which are typified by a symmetrical posture with broad shoulders and well-articulated arms, a short waistcloth secured with a knotted cord, and a tapering coiffure of braided dreadlocks (cat. 132).<sup>2</sup> The San Francisco Avalokiteśvara is the only known large object in this style, and its presence in the hoard raises questions about where it was made. Was it an import, perhaps from western Cambodia, or was it locally cast after imported models or produced by migrant craftsmen?

All the sculptures were lost-wax cast in a copper alloy enhanced to varying degrees with high levels of tin and/or silver, which heightened the surface sheen of the finished bronzes—a marked feature of this group.<sup>3</sup> The variability of the alloys, if systematically analyzed, is a potential indicator of different foundry practices. The images have extended tenons below the heels, which also served to channel the molten metal during casting, the wax matrix having been inverted to receive the metal flow from head to toe. In the larger icons, iron armatures provided stability during the casting process.

The large eighth-century images form a broadly coherent group, of which four

Avakoliteśvaras and two Maitreyas stand out as being among the most important Southeast Asian bronzes of their age.<sup>4</sup> That they are part of a wider phenomenon in the northeastern Thai territories bordering the Dangrek Mountains is witnessed by a monumental standing bodhisattva estimated as 10 to 12 feet (3–3.6 m) in height that was excavated in fragments at Ban Tanot in Nakhon Ratchasima province, a considerable distance west of Buriram province.<sup>5</sup> The looped-braid chignon identifies that work as belonging to the same cultural milieu and time frame (second half of 8th century) as the large bodhisattvas under discussion. All the bodhisattvas belong to a Buddhist ascetic tradition. They are completely unadorned, clad only in short waistcloths secured with a simple cord, not gold jewelry, as frequently suggested elsewhere. The only ornamentation is in the *jatāmukuta*, in which the complex binding and looping of the long braids give an appearance of richness. On closer examination, however, one sees that none is festooned with the strings of pearls and pendant gemstones generally depicted on bodhisattvas and exemplified by the great late fifth-century crowned Padmapāṇi in cave 1 at Ajanta (fig. 141) and the terracotta and stucco versions from Khu Bua (cat. 146).<sup>6</sup> Rather, they are images of extreme restraint and represent an asceticism normally associated with the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, not with princely saviors. The cult of ascetic bodhisattvas, if one may call it that, was particularly powerful in Southeast Asia during the seventh and eighth centuries and was unquestionably the product of elite, most likely royal, patronage. It even generated a metal icon of a meditating bearded ascetic, *r̥si*-like, who has what appears to be a seated Buddha in the *jatāmukuta*, mimicking Avalokiteśvara's iconography.<sup>7</sup> This unprecedented image seems to represent an advanced meditation practitioner who has identified himself with his spiritual mentor, Avalokiteśvara. Such Esoteric practitioners are not unknown in Brahmanism: some Śāiva devotees identified themselves with Śiva, as celebrated in the cult of Agastya, a sage devotee who came to be understood as a minor avatar of Śiva (cat. 105).

The three bodhisattvas under specific discussion here average nearly four feet (1–1.2 m) in height. Figure types and modes of dress provide internal coherence to the group, and they are readily distinguished in terms of chronology only by the treatment of their crowns of hair. The Asia Society Maitreya wears his braided locks drawn up and looped in a configuration seen in early Khmer sculptures, such as the celebrated late seventh-century Harihara from Prasat Andet, central Cambodia (fig. 3), and eighth-century *devī* (goddess) from Sambor on the Mekong (cat. 94). The closest analogy in stone is the over-lifesize Avalokiteśvara in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (cat. 138), which shares not only the generic *jatāmukuta* style but precisely the same ascetic restraint seen in the bronzes. That that work was reportedly found in eastern Thailand further strengthens the case for seeing these objects as part of a single corpus of Buddhist art. The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Avalokiteśvara and the Kimbell's Maitreya



CAT. 141

represent the next phase, from about the mid-eighth century: their cylindrical *jatāmukutas*, of which the Kimbell version is the more refined, have tiers of short loops of braids with projecting ends. The Asia Society and Kimbell four-armed Maitreya are iconographic rarities. In Indian art, Maitreya invariably has only two arms, and this four-armed form appears to be a local innovation, but one with a legacy. A spectacular ten-armed bronze of the early tenth century from central Cambodia demonstrates that it was part of a wider phenomenon.<sup>8</sup>

The Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II cache also includes a small number of preaching Buddhas, one of the largest being catalogue 142. This early eighth-century work looks west to the Mon regions of central Thailand, where this Buddha type was being developed during the seventh century, drawing on northern Indian Sarnath models (cat. 117). Both hands are raised in the gesture of exposition (*vitarkamudrā*), a hallmark of the Dvaravati style in Thailand. Like most of the bodhisattvas in the cache, this Buddha wears a mustache and displays snail-shell-type hair curls in the manner of the later bodhisattvas' spiky *jatāmukutas*. The symmetrically arranged robes are neatly pleated at the outer hem, and the eyes are inlaid.

Historically, the region where the hoard was recovered has been linked to the enigmatic Canasa polity, with a capital named Canaspura, somewhere in the Khorat Plateau, an area served by the Mun River system. Two inscriptions tell us all we know of this kingdom's existence.<sup>9</sup> The Bo Ika inscription, found at Muang Sema, dates to the seventh century. The second inscription, written in Khmer and Sanskrit and dated to the equivalent of 937, was found in Ayutthaya. It refers to the then-ruler of Canasa, Narapatisimhavarman, as a devotee of Śiva and Pārvatī and lists four generations of kings descended from the kingdom's founder, Bhagadatta, who must have ruled sometime in the mid-ninth century. Perhaps these images were hastily buried just inside the temple enclosure wall and covered with laterite stones for fear they would be melted down and their precious metal employed in the service of the new Śaiva orthodoxy. But this remains a plausible scenario, no more. Essentially, this cache of spectacular bronzes—and the brick-and-laterite temple remains of an Angkorian Khmer type—can confirm only that a settlement with a devout Buddhist elite prospered there in the late seventh and eighth centuries and commissioned these unprecedented icons of Buddhist devotion. They are the legacy of one of the many small polities presumed to have been successful in seventh- to eighth-century mainland Southeast Asia. Whatever the polity responsible for these bronzes may have called itself, its existence was not an isolated phenomenon. Rather, such regional powers were clearly in dynamic interaction with one another, as the stylistic history demonstrates.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 139: Boisselier 1967, pp. 286, 306, 308, fig. 23; Lee 1969, pp. 45–46, no. 8; Lee 1970, p. 44, no. 23, ill. p. 37; Bunker 1971–72, p. 70, no. 13, and p. 68, fig. 19; Snellgrove 1978, p. 153; Woodward 1983, p. 381, fig. 3; Mowry 1985, pp. 33–35, fig. 1; Pal 1986, fig. 8; *Treasures of Asian Art* 1992, pp. 62–63, 130–31,



CAT. 142

and front cover; Leidy 1993, pp. 54–57, fig. 7; Leidy 1994, pp. 98, 99, fig. 84; Nandana Chutiwongs and Leidy 1994, pp. 64–66, no. 34, frontispiece and front cover; Jessup and Zéphir 1997, pp. 159–60, no. 12; Leidy 2000, pp. 28, 29, ill. nos. 1–3; Bunker 2002, pp. 114–15, 123, ill. no. 18.

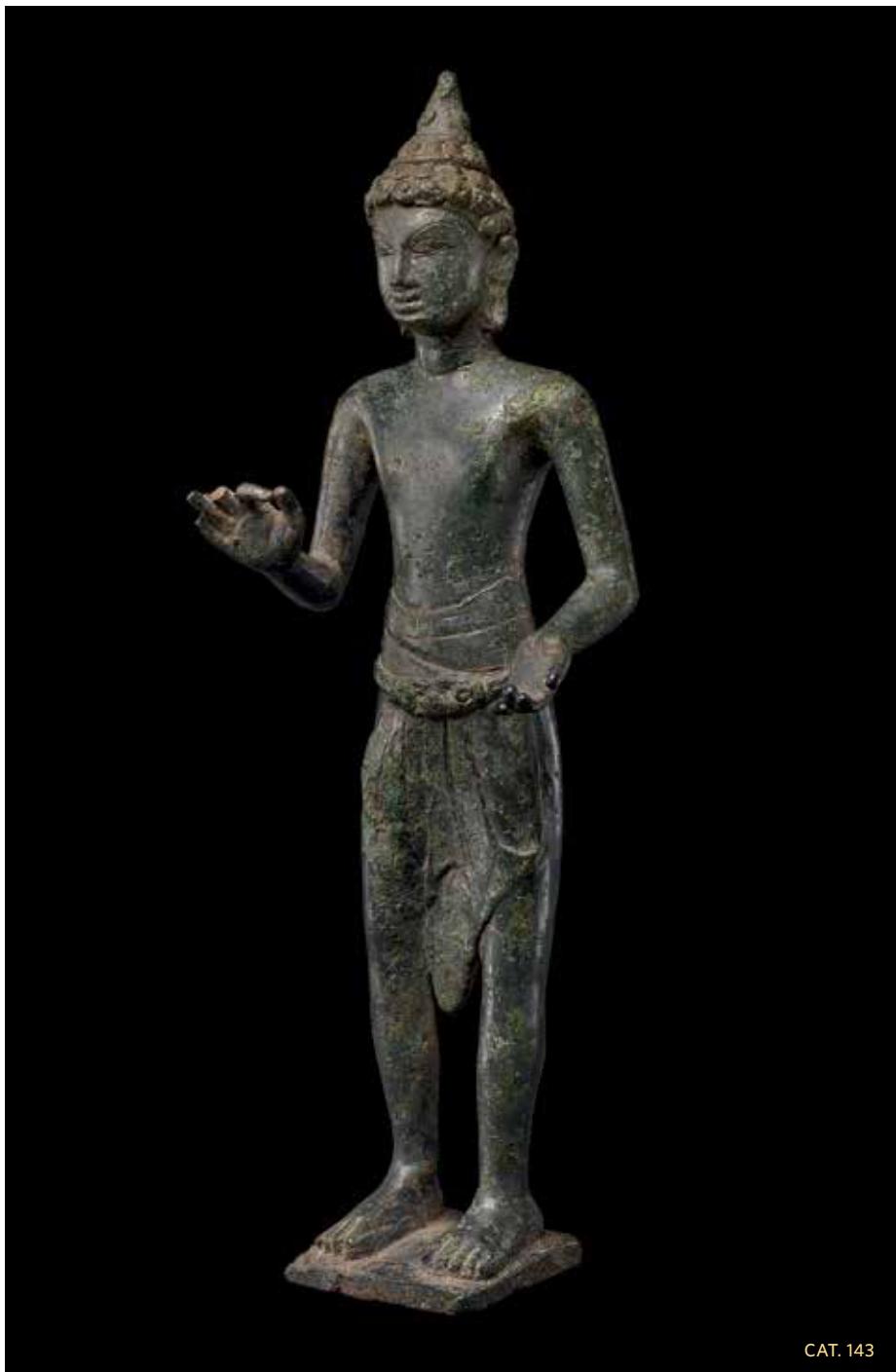
PUBLICATIONS CAT. 140: Bunker 1971–72, p. 71, no. 24, p. 76, fig. 28; Pal 1978, p. 131, no. 87; Nandana Chutiwongs and Leidy 1994, pp. 12, 41, no. 1; Leidy 2000, p. 35, ill. no. 10; Bunker 2002, pp. 116, 117, ill. no. 25; Bunker and Latchford 2011, p. 82, fig. 4.29.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 141: Bunker 1971–72, p. 71, no. 16, p. 75, fig. 21; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1975, p. 106; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1983, p. 104, fig. 32; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987a, pp. 152–53,

pl. 105; Kossak 1994a, pp. 10, 13, fig. 15; Kossak 1994b, pp. 72, 75, fig. 74; Lerner 1994, p. 42, fig. 6; Bunker 2002, p. 116, ill. no. 20; Jessup 2004, p. 56, fig. 57.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 142: Bunker 1971–72, p. 71, no. 15, p. 74, fig. 20; Pal 1977, no. 127; Leidy 2000, pp. 29, 31, ill. no. 5.

NOTES: 1. Bunker 1971–72 discusses the dispersal and the collections where the major icons are housed. Bunker 2002 revisits the subject, defining more precisely the findspot and publishing an inventory of known bronzes from the cache. 2. Dupont 1955, pls. xxix, b, xxx, a, b. 3. See Becker, Strahan, and O'Connor, "Technical Observations on Bronze Casting in First-Millennium Cambodia, Thailand, and Vietnam," in this volume. 4. The Avalokiteśvaras are in the Norton Simon



CAT. 143

Museum, Pasadena (M.1980.14.S); The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (cat. 141); and two private collections. The Maitreyas are those of Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Rockefeller 3rd at the Asia Society, New York (1979.63), and the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth (cat. 140). 5. Boisselier 1967, p. 286, figs. 11, 12, 14. 6. Spink 2009, pp. 51–52, pls. 34–37. 7. Brooklyn Museum, New York (83.120). 8. Woodward 2010a, pp. 31–33, no. 5. 9. K.400, K.949. Woodward 2003, pp. 99–100. See also Woodward 2010a.

**CAT. 143****Bodhisattva, possibly Maitreya**

Northeastern Thailand, first quarter of 8th century

Reportedly found in Surin province  
Copper alloy with high tin content  
9 1/4 x 3 1/8 x 2 1/4 in. (23.5 x 7.9 x 5.7 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Purchase, Friends of Asian Art Gifts, 1989  
(1989.151)

This small image of a standing male is difficult to identify securely. He stands with both arms raised and wears an elaborate waistcloth, wrapped multiple times around the body and fanning out at the front to create the complex pattern of pleats and flared hems that has its origins in mid-seventh-century central Cambodia and was formalized in a Phnom Kulen Viṣṇu at

the beginning of the ninth century (cat. 79).<sup>1</sup> This arrangement is secured by a woven belt with a heavily ornamented buckle—a simplified depiction of known gold belts from this period, also seen on the *devī* from Sambor on the Mekong (cat. 94) and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> The three-tiered conical coiffure (*jatāmukuta*) ornamented with curls is seen in bronzes associated with the Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II hoard from Buriram province, west of Surin (cats. 139–42). The figure stands on a plain, square base, similar to that of stone sculptures of the period. Given that the raised hand gesture is that of exposition (*vitarkamudrā*) and the lowered hand is granting boons (*varadamudrā*), he can be accepted as a Buddhist savior. Although the *jatāmukuta* carries no apparent identifier, the figure may represent Maitreya, the messianic Buddha of the Future, if the headdress itself was intended to be stupa-like.

**PUBLICATIONS:** Martin Lerner in “Recent Acquisitions” 1990, p. 94; Leidy 2000, pp. 37, 40, ill. no. 17.

**NOTES:** 1. Boisselier 1955, p. 26, first identified this mode of dress as the *drapé en poche*. I am grateful to Hiram Woodward for alerting me to this term. 2. For illustrations of the few gold belts to survive from pre-Angkorian Khmer territories, see Bunker and Latchford 2008, pp. 20–21, figs. 3.10, 3.11.

**CAT. 144****Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara**

Central Myanmar, late 7th century  
Found near the Bawbawgyi stupa, Śrī Ksetra, Hmawza, by Archaeological Survey of India (Burma Circle) in 1911–12  
Copper alloy  
H. 7 7/8 in. (20 cm)

National Museum of Myanmar, Yangon (1650)

This is the earliest bodhisattva sculpture to be found in Myanmar. Four-armed, with a seated Buddha prominently displayed in the headdress, it can be securely identified as Avalokiteśvara, the supreme expression of Buddhist compassion.<sup>1</sup> The four-armed representation of Avalokiteśvara emerged in India in Mahāyāna settings of the early seventh century, as witnessed by a bronze from the Swat valley in the northwest (present-day Pakistan).<sup>2</sup> Mahāyāna Buddhism had already prevailed at the royal-endowed rock-cut shrines of Aurangabad in Maharashtra, in the western Deccan, a century earlier.<sup>3</sup>

The figure's flexed posture suggests that it and a companion Maitreya likely formed a triad with a central figure of the Buddha. The face is mustached, and the unbroken line defining the eyebrows imparts a stern countenance, as does the downward cast of the eyes. The looped, conical arrangement of dreadlocks resembles most closely Khmer bronzes of the same period; witness the headdress of the Avalokiteśvara from Prasat Ak Yom, Cambodia (cat. 132) and the later Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II group (cats. 139–42).<sup>4</sup> The heavy treatment of the adornments and the massive sash bow on the hip recall early Viṣṇu imagery from peninsular Thailand, and this image was possibly imported from that region. A distinctive and unusual feature, the large belt buckle with encircling spirals is seen on a single bronze Avalokiteśvara found in Phan Rang in

central Vietnam and on pre-Angkorian lintels (where it reads clearly as floral bosses), pointing to a widely shared tradition (see cat. 88).<sup>5</sup> Stylistically, the Avalokiteśvara from Śrī Kṣetra links more directly than any other Pyu-related bronze sculpture to the international Buddhist style emerging in the late seventh and eighth centuries.<sup>6</sup> It stands alone in the corpus of Pyu bronzes; therefore, it may also have been an import, or its maker may have come from another place. An early phase of the Mahāyāna school of metal casting at Chaiya, southern Thailand, is one likely source, although the work's stylistic traits leave open other possibilities.<sup>7</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Duroiselle 1915, pp. 143–44, pl. LXVIII, fig. 6; Ray 1936, p. 41, pl. 1; Luce 1985, p. 138, pl. 31b; Guy 1999a, p. 24, fig. 10; Nandana Chutiwongs 2002, pp. 81, 122, pl. 28.

NOTES: 1. Luce 1985, p. 138, pl. 31b, follows Duroiselle 1915, pp. 143–44, pl. LXVIII, fig. 6, in identifying it as Avalokiteśvara; Ray 1936, pp. 41, 111, pl. 1, suggests Mañjuśrī. 2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (2012.247). 3. Brancaccio 2011, chap. 4. 4. It also shares many features with the small corpus of Avalokiteśvara bronzes from the Cham territories but is stylistically distinct overall; see Boisselier 1963b, figs. 35–38. 5. Ibid., fig. 34. 6. See Nandana Chutiwongs 2002 for a detailed study of the emergence of this pan-Asian style. 7. Subhadradis Diskul 1980, pt. 2, p. 26, and also pl. 4. Janice Stargardt (personal communication) has suggested a connection with the Dali kingdom in Yunnan, but this bodhisattva is at variance with the classic Dali Avalokiteśvara type, although it has some resonances with certain wrathful deities. See Guy 1995.

#### CAT. 145

#### Bodhisattva, probably Maitreya, Seated in Royal Ease

Central Myanmar, ca. 8th–9th century

Reportedly found in Bagan before 1922

Copper alloy with gilding

7 1/4 x 4 x 3 1/8 in. (17.8 x 10.2 x 8 cm)

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

(IM.39-1922)

This bronze ranks foremost in the small corpus of late Pyu metal Buddhist icons. It depicts a bodhisattva, likely the Buddha of the Future, Maitreya, seated in royal ease (*rājalilāsana*) with his extended arms resting on his knees. He is richly bejeweled and wears an elaborate diadem and crown festooned with hanging garlands of jewels and pearls, at the summit of which is a cylindrical form, likely intended to represent a stupa, Maitreya's identifier.<sup>1</sup> Much of the evidence to support this identification rests on a bronze bodhisattva inscribed *ba-Metriya ba* in Pyu, recovered in the 1926–27 excavation at Bagan from the relic chamber of the Shwesandaw stupa, dedicated by the Bagan king Aniruddha and datable close to 1060.<sup>2</sup> Charles Duroiselle established the bronze as a Pyu-period icon, surmising that its presence in a Bagan royal relic deposit was likely a legacy of the Burmese conquest of Śrī Kṣetra and Thaton and the appropriation of their libraries, skilled artisans, and Buddhist imagery, boastfully claimed in the later Kalyani inscription as having been transported



CAT. 144

to Bagan by 1057.<sup>3</sup> The present bronze is of exceptional quality and must have likewise been transferred to Bagan with its establishment as the unrivaled capital of central Myanmar. But from where? It is almost without precedent, although an examination of two bronzes from Śrī Kṣetra suggests that city as the probable source. One is the standing Avalokiteśvara that shares the same robust treatment of the princely adornments and broad shoulders tapering to a slender waist (cat. 144). The other is a seated Buddha excavated in 1927–28, which displays a similarly strong physiognomy and the plain, elliptical pedestal characteristic of Śrī Kṣetra Pyu bronzes.<sup>4</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Lowry 1974, fig. 18; Lowry 1975, pp. 33–34; Zwalf 1985, p. 161, no. 221; Guy 1999a, p. 24 and p. 23, fig. 9; Sharrock 2010, p. 362, fig. 3.

NOTES: 1. I have previously argued that this is Avalokiteśvara, as not all early forms display the Amitābha Buddha in the crown, including, for example, a bodhisattva from the Krishna River delta that has a budding flower in the headdress (cat. 7); Guy 1999a, p. 24. Viewed in the context of the growing corpus of Pyu bronzes, however, a Maitreya identification—as first proposed by Luce 1969–70, vol. 1, pp. 188–90, and more recently by Sharrock 2010—now seems acceptable.

2. Duroiselle 1930b, pp. 161–65, pl. xxxix, f. 3. Kalyani inscription of King Dhammazedi (reigned 1470–92) of Bagan; see Luce 1969–70, vol. 1, p. 19.

3. Duroiselle 1931, pl. LIV, b.

#### CAT. 146

#### Head of a Crowned Bodhisattva

Western Thailand, first half of 7th century  
Excavated from site 40, Khu Bua,  
Ratchaburi province  
Terracotta with stucco  
16½ x 11 x 7½ in. (41 x 28 x 20 cm)  
National Museum, Bangkok (677/2511)

This crowned and bejeweled head of a Buddhist savior was discovered during the excavation of the circumambulation platform of the ruined stupa identified as site 40, located to the south of the Khu Bua complex, an important Mon monastic center. The head was part of an elaborate program depicting Buddhas and bodhisattvas in high-relief terracotta, which extended around the entire platform of the monument.<sup>1</sup> The reliefs were originally polychromed and must have been a marvel for seventh-century monks and lay devotees to behold as they performed their *pradakīna*. The bodhisattva's countenance can be traced back to the depiction of the same subject in the late fifth-century murals at Ajanta (fig. 141) and, later, Ellora in western India and was part of the shared Buddhist culture. Compared to the stucco-and-terracotta reliefs at Nakhon Pathom, probably belonging to the eighth century and exhibiting an increased stylization characteristic of Mon images, the Khu Bua depiction is realistically rendered, with subtly modeled eyebrows and heavy-lidded eyes that emphasize the downward glance of compassion. The tiered crown, its large diadem fittings overlaid with pendant strings of pearls, is a masterpiece of ornament.

That the head represents a bodhisattva is beyond doubt, although its specific identity is lost to us.<sup>2</sup> The mural of a bodhisattva holding a lotus in cave 1 at Ajanta is accepted as Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi, despite the absence of a representation of the Amitābha Buddha in the crown; the princely saviors of Khu Bua have lost their fragile attributes, but an identification of this head as the Bodhisattva of Compassion seems the most likely.



Fig. 141. Mural depicting bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (detail). Western India, Vākāṭaka period, late 5th century. In situ in cave 1, Ajanta, Maharashtra





CAT. 147

A terracotta standing bodhisattva from Khu Bua has been reconstructed to a height of nearly six feet (1.8 m), giving a sense of the grandeur of these relief depictions of saviors and devotees.<sup>3</sup> The figure is gently flexed, again echoing the northern Indian aesthetic of the mid-first millennium.<sup>4</sup> It is likely that the supreme bodhisattvas attending the Buddha at Ajanta, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāni, also played an important role in the devotional iconography of the Khu Bua stupas of Dvāravatī Thailand. The fragmentary state of the surviving imagery, however, means that the identifications will remain tentative.

PUBLICATIONS: Fine Arts Department 1961, pp. 60–61; Boisselier 1965, pp. 142–44; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1969, pp. 60–63, pl. 39; Bowie 1972, p. 37, no. 6, ill. p. 36; Boisselier 1975, p. 88; Pisit Charoenwongs and Subhadradis Diskul 1978, p. 95, pl. 36; Dhida Saraya 1990, p. 68; Fine Arts Department 1992, p. 91; Dhida Saraya 1999, p. 168; Woodward 2003, pp. 66–67, pl. 9; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 156–58, fig. 109; *Moradok khong phaendin* 2006, p. 47; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, p. 210, no. 105; *Dvaravati Art* 2009, pp. 124–25, no. 7; Phatcharin Sukpramun 2009, p. 194; Zaleski 2009, p. 169; H. Tan et al. 2012, p. 77, no. 10.

NOTES: 1. Fine Arts Department 1992, p. 33; Fine Arts Department 2005c, pp. 19–21. 2. If the central crown motif is interpreted as a stupa, Maitreya may be a provisional identification, but the ambiguity of the motif remains. 3. Woodward 2003, pl. 10. 4. Spink 2009, pls. 34, 35; Guy 2011b.

#### CAT. 147

#### Bodhisattva

Western Thailand, first half of 7th century

Excavated from site 40, Khu Bua,

Ratchaburi province

Terracotta

33½ x 9¾ x 5¾ in. (85 x 25 x 15 cm)

National Museum, Ratchaburi, Thailand

This sensually flexed figure typifies the characterization of bodhisattva images at the height of the Dvāravatī period. The head sports long tresses drawn up into an elaborate coiffure, and the face, with a gently downcast glance, radiates compassion. The treatment of the hair, the ear ornaments, and general demeanor reveals that the sculptor was aware of Buddhist artistic developments in northern India at this time. Buddhist saviors are present in the narrative frieze of the basement platform of site 40 at Khu Bua, a major Dvāravatī monastic center in Ratchaburi province, southwest of Nakhon Pathom. The recurrent depiction of bodhisattva figures underscores their paramount importance in Dvāravatī Buddhism.

Most of the bodhisattvas are generic, but those holding a lotus may be presumed to be Padmapāni (a form of Avalokiteśvara) and those with a *vajra* (thunderbolt scepter) to be Vajrapāni. Rather than representing a cult of the bodhisattva in seventh-century Mon territories, however, these bodhisattvas appear primarily in the service of the Buddha, akin to depictions of Brahmā and Indra honoring the Buddha, seen elsewhere in Dvāravatī art.

PUBLICATIONS: Fine Arts Department 1961; Bowie 1972, pp. 32, 35, no. 3, ill. p. 34; Fine Arts Department 1992, p. 61; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 80–81; Fine Arts Department 2005c, pp. 19–21; Phatcharin Sukpramun 2009, p. 194; Zaleski 2009, pp. 175, 176, fig. 8.

CAT. 148

**Head of Bodhisattva Maitreya**

Central Thailand, late 8th century

Removed from Khao Thamorat, Si Thep district, Phetchabun province; acquired by James Thompson in the mid-1950s; and transferred to the National Museum in 1962

Limestone

H. 14¾ in. (37.5 cm)

National Museum, Bangkok

The hilltop cave Khao Thamorat, about nine miles (15 km) west of the first-millennium moated city of Si Thep, has one of the most extensive sculptural programs devoted to Buddhas and bodhisattvas in mainland Southeast Asia (fig. 139). It contains at least seven reliefs on a

stone pillar in the center of the cave, allowing for circumambulation (*pradakṣina*) by devotees.<sup>1</sup> At least two bodhisattvas appear to depict the future Buddha Maitreya.<sup>2</sup> All the relief heads were removed by robbers in the 1950s, but most have since been recovered.<sup>3</sup> Also reportedly from the cave is a gold repoussé plaque, possibly part of a foundation deposit, that depicts a seated Maitreya making the gesture of exposition (*vitarkamudrā*) while holding a flask and flanked by a *dharmačakra stambha* (Wheel of the Law pillar) and a relic stupa (fig. 130).<sup>4</sup> The figure's high, conical coiffure compares closely to that on this stone head and affirms the predominance of the cult of Maitreya at the site. The same iconography—the Wheel of the Law and a stupa flanking a figure—is depicted in a relief of a meditating Buddha in the inner section of the cave.<sup>5</sup> On nearby elevations of the natural rock interior are three standing Buddhas and two standing four-armed bodhisattvas.<sup>6</sup> The present head, identifiable as Maitreya by the depiction of a miniature stupa in the headdress (*jatāmukuta*), belonged to one of these figures.

The long-robed Dvaravati-style preaching Buddhas may be later in date than the bodhisattvas, which stand in flexed postures and wear short waistcloths more in keeping with the bronzes of the period. The presence of these figures could indicate a long period of monastic activity at the cave, whose relative isolation suggests that it served as a rainy-season shelter for monks in retreat. Dvaravati-period inscriptions do not speak of monks' pursuing such austerities but do refer to hermits, learned Brahmanical or Buddhist ascetics who lived outside society. A Sanskrit inscription at Si Thep names a Brahmanical hermit, Wayasa Rusi, and an inscription in the cave at Khao Ngu, Ratchaburi province, specifically refers to hermits in Buddhist cave sanctuaries.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, it may have been such secluded monks who sculpted the devotional images in the rock at Khao Thamorat.

PUBLICATIONS: Bangkok Home of James H. W. Thompson 1959, pp. 30, 31; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1969, pp. 82–85, pls. 50, 51a; Bowie 1972, pp. 40–41, no. 10a; Boisselier 1975, p. 106; Pisit Charoenwongsa and Subhadradis Diskul 1978, pp. 96, 221–22, pl. 46; Srisakra Vallibhotama 1989, p. 57; Wichai Sankitatikorn 1992; Brown 1996, pp. 87–90; Woodward 2003, pp. 91, 108; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 233–35; Saritpong Khunsong 2009, pp. 230, 231, fig. 4; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 81, 82, ill. no. 1.66.

NOTES: 1. For a fuller discussion of the cave, see Pattaratorn Chirapravati, "The Transformation of Brahmanical and Buddhist Imagery in Central Thailand, 600–800," in this volume. 2. One head, much damaged when chiseled from the cave interior, appears to have traces of a stupa in the crown; reproduced in Bangkok Home of James H. W. Thompson 1959, p. 32. 3. The majority are preserved in the collection of the National Museum, Bangkok.

4. The date of its deposit in the cave remains an open question. 5. This figure could also be a Maitreya, and only a careful study of the surviving heads and their original placement will be able to resolve this identification. 6. Line drawing by Fine Arts Department; published in H. G. Quaritch Wales 1969, pl. 50. 7. Srisakra Vallibhotama 1989, pp. 53–54, 63; Coedès 1929, p. 19.



CAT. 148

CAT. 149

**Candraprabhā, Personification of the Moon**

Central Thailand, late 7th–8th century

Probably found in Si Thep, Phetchabun province  
Repoussé gold

H. 31½ in. (10 cm), w. 1¾ in. (4.5 cm)

Victoria and Albert Museum, London  
(IS.27-1987)

The practice of personifying planets has Vedic origins in ancient India and was undoubtedly part of the veneration of the elements in Southeast Asian antiquity as well, although no evidence survives. Among the earliest depictions of the moon and sun in a Buddhist context in Southeast Asia are found in the fifth- to sixth-century stone reliefs at Śri Kṣetra, Myanmar, where they are consistently positioned to the left and right above depictions of stupas or honorific umbrellas evoking the Buddha's presence (cat. 26).<sup>1</sup> The moon is indicated as a slender

crescent within a disk, the sun as an undifferentiated disk. Sometimes, they are both shown with rays (as in the terracotta votive cat. 53); nowhere does a hare appear in this early phase, as it does here in the figure's *prabhā* (nimbus)—the first known occurrence of what would become a popular device in later Buddhist art, especially in East Asia.

Candraprabhā and Sūryaprabhā (personifications of, respectively, the moon and the sun) rarely appear independently in India but rather are cast in the role of attendants to Mañjuśrī in several Mahāyāna Buddhist texts (the Sādhanas) that detail the ritually required iconography for divinities.<sup>2</sup> A rare sculpture of Mañjuśrī from Hatpukuria, Bangladesh, is attended by personifications of both the sun and the moon.<sup>3</sup> Each stands, bodhisattva-like, with his identifier, a sun or a crescent moon, supported on a lotus bloom.

Candraprabhā, “he who has the moon [*candra*] in his nimbus,” is perhaps best understood from the Indian sources as a planetary deity, although he does seem, as depicted in this gold repoussé plaque, to have assumed bodhisattva-like qualities and may well have been intended to function as a divine savior at the Mon moated urban settlement of Si Thep. The *jātaka* tales of

the Buddha's previous lives provide a literary source. The *Sasa Jātaka* tells of the selfless sacrifice of a rabbit (Pali, *sasa*; Skt., *śāśa*) on the day of the full moon, who jumps into a fire to feed a famished stranger.<sup>4</sup> A variant of this narrative is provided in the *Jātakamālā* of Āryasūra, which contains another key passage that provides a potential scriptural basis for the plaque's imagery: “At full moon even now that image of the hare appears in the moon's disk, in the sky, as a reflected image shines in a silver mirror.”<sup>5</sup> In this context, the hare alludes to selfless acts of giving (*dāna*), leading ultimately to the Buddhist virtue of *dānapāramitā*, the perfection of giving. The story of the hare sacrificing its own body for the benefit of others appears in early Buddhist narrative reliefs at stupa sites, such as some in Andhra Pradesh of the third to fourth century.<sup>6</sup>

The plaque is a rare survivor of this iconography in Southeast Asia and has only one known counterpart.<sup>7</sup> The imagery appears to have been forgotten in later Indian art but was transmitted early to Central Asia, China, Japan, and Tibet, where its memory was preserved.<sup>8</sup> The elegant style of the figure is consistent with both Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures from Si Thep (cat. 71). The figure has broad shoulders, a

slender waist, and narrow hips and stands in a gently flexed posture on a low, rectangular plinth. Both hands are raised, one in the gesture of exposition (*vitarkamudrā*), the other obscured by damage but possibly raised in *abhyamudrā*, offering protection. Three silver plaques depicting Buddhas that were recovered in 1972 at Kantharawichai, Maha Sarakham province, northeastern Thailand, all appear to display this same combination of gestures.<sup>9</sup> The style can also be related to stone sculptures from Si Thep.<sup>10</sup> The treatment of the miter with a spiked finial is an idiosyncrasy of images from this site. A closely related gold repoussé plaque of Viṣṇu (fig. 104), also associated with the culture of Si Thep, underscores the distinctive style that emerged at this major center of religious patronage.<sup>11</sup>

NOTES: 1. Luce 1985. 2. M. Mitra 1999, p. 500. I am grateful to Claudine Bautze-Picron for alerting me to this reference and to both her and Gerd Mevissen for their valuable discussion of this and other aspects of this topic. 3. Haque and Gail 2008, p. 130, no. 5, and p. 534, pl. 490. 4. See this narrative in Cowell 1895–1913, vol. 3 (1897), pp. 34–37, no. 316. 5. *Jātakamala*, v. 37–38, in Speyer 1982, p. 414. 6. At Nagarjunakonda and Goli, among others; see Sankarnarayanan 2010, p. 417. 7. The one other example, also in gold repoussé and attributed to Si Thep, is preserved in the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena (M.1975.15.1.S); published in Pal 2004a, pp. 114–15, no. 83. 8. As seen in a 1573–1619 *tangka* (Tibetan, painting) depicting the Buddha Śākyamuni with *jātaka* tales, from central or eastern Tibet at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2012.461); Pal 1991, pp. 168–69. See also Pal 2004b. 9. The plaques were part of a cache of sixty-six such objects discovered in a jar burial. See Subhadradis Diskul 1979b, pl. xiii, a, b, c. 10. Compare a standing Buddha in the Cleveland Museum of Art (1973.15; Czuma 1980, pp. 229–30, figs. 1, 1a) and another in the collection of Jean-Michel Beurdeley (Pal 1984, pp. 220–21, no. 103). 11. Hiram Woodward has recently suggested, building on the work of Hoshino Tatsuo 2002, that Si Thep may have been an important city within the polity of Zhenla/Wendan; see Woodward 2010b.



CAT. 149

#### CAT. 150

#### Head of a Male Divinity

Central Thailand, 8th century  
Presumed to be from Phra Pathom Chedi,  
Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province  
Stucco

6 3/4 x 5 1/8 x 3 1/8 in. (17 x 13 x 8 cm)  
National Museum, Bangkok (Y4, 59[2/6])

The identity of this divinity is uncertain. While the distinctive conical diadem (*kiritamukuta*) is characteristic of Vaiṣṇava iconography, the third eye evokes Śiva. The elaboration of the crown with large jewels in the diadem and a projecting summit in the form of a flower resonates with the crown of Viṣṇu in the late Gupta-period Daśavatāra temple in Deogarh, central India (ca. 500), and must ultimately derive from that source, albeit through many intermediaries.<sup>1</sup> More immediately, a similar crown type is seen on a reclining Viṣṇu from mid-seventh-century Cambodia (cat. 75). The presence of either Viṣṇu or Śiva in a Buddhist narrative is not unprecedented—witness the cave relief in Saraburi



CAT. 150

province that depicts an enthroned Buddha preaching to Śiva and Viṣṇu (fig. 1). While the precise narrative context in which this face was situated may never be known, one may assume that it was a story about one of the Buddha's lives, past or present. It likely depicted a heavenly sphere occupied by the Brahmanical deities, cast in a role submissive to the Buddha's Law. Perhaps it related to a *jātaka* story in which

a bodhisattva appeared in a former life as a Śaiva hermit.<sup>2</sup>

The deity's heavy eyelids give it an introspective countenance, although they may have been a perspective device to allow devotees to view the figure from a low vantage point; bejeweled bodhisattvas from the same monument have a similarly downward cast to their glances. This example was molded, probably from a

fired-clay matrix also used for other figures in the same program. Decoration was then applied and incised, as in stucco reliefs confirmed as belonging to Phra Pathom Chedi.

PUBLICATIONS: Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, p. 160, no. 53; Zaleski 2009, p. 173; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 117, ill. no. 1.122.

NOTES: 1. Harle 1974, pls. 103, 104. 2. Suggested by Valérie Zaleski (2009, p. 173).



CAT. 151

**CAT. 151****Relief Depicting an Assembly of Noblemen**

Central Thailand, late 7th–8th century  
Excavated from Chedi Chula Pathon, Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province, by Fine Arts Department, Thailand, in 1968  
Stucco  
 $31\frac{1}{8} \times 36\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{11}{16}$  in. (79 x 93 x 17 cm)  
Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand (49/2541)

**CAT. 152****Relief Depicting Kubera Seated in Royal Ease**

Central Thailand, late 7th–8th century  
Excavated from Chedi Chula Pathon, Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province, by Fine Arts Department, Thailand, in 1968  
Stucco  
 $34\frac{3}{8} \times 35\frac{13}{16} \times 6\frac{11}{16}$  in. (88 x 91 x 17 cm)  
Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand (T.15B/28/2521)

**CAT. 153****Relief Depicting a Kinnara**

Central Thailand, late 7th–8th century  
Excavated from Chedi Chula Pathon, Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province, by Fine Arts Department, Thailand, in 1968  
Stucco  
 $35\frac{13}{16} \times 35\frac{13}{16} \times 6\frac{11}{16}$  in. (91 x 91 x 17 cm)  
Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand (T.15)

These three Buddhist reliefs are associated with the protection and beautification of the stupa they originally adorned, Chedi Chula Pathon. The stupa was located in the center of the ancient Mon city of Nakhon Pathom, a moated urban settlement of about 1,830 acres (740 hectares). An excavation was conducted by Pierre Dupont in 1940 in cooperation with the Fine Arts Department.<sup>1</sup> The site was reexcavated in 1968 (fig. 142), when previously undiscovered sections of the basement terrace were exposed to reveal an extensive suite of narrative decoration in stucco and one section in terracotta, the latter evidently belonging to an earlier phase of decoration.<sup>2</sup> This historic renovation suggests that the phase of stucco decoration replaced existing terracotta reliefs. Taken as an ensemble, the decorative program is the most extensive one preserved on a monument in mainland Southeast Asia from this period. Other Mon sites, such as Khu Bua, about 25 miles (40 km) to the southwest, and Si Thep, to the northeast, had related decorative programs but did not place the same emphasis on the *jātakas*, which recount the previous life stories of the Buddha Śākyamuni.<sup>3</sup> The only rival program, arguably earlier, is the series of terracotta plaques recovered from the ruined Khin Ba stupa at Śrī Kṣetra in central Myanmar (cats. 33, 34); the reliquary found there (cat. 27) is assigned to the sixth century, but the basement terracotta plaques are unlikely to be contemporaneous.<sup>4</sup> The Chedi Chula Pathon narratives reflect canonical *jātakas* known from both the Pali canon and Sanskrit *avadāna* texts, the latter accepting into the corpus tales of the lives of other bodhisattvas,

thus setting the scene for those favored by sects with Mahāyāna tendencies.

The Assembly of Noblemen panel (cat. 151) is understood as part of a two-panel scene; the missing half, according to the *Bhojājāniya Jātaka*, would have depicted the bodhisattva, incarnated as the horse Bhojājāniya, being venerated by the group of kings defeated by the general of the king of Varanasi; in a complete rendering of the narrative at Wat Si Chum, Sukhothai province, the general is shown mounting the horse.<sup>5</sup> The five (surviving) noblemen are seated and display finely detailed hair and pendant ear ornaments characteristic of the period. Each holds a baton-like staff, perhaps an insignia of rank.



Fig. 142. Southwest face of Chedi Chula Pathon, Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom province. Central Thailand, 7th–8th century. Photographed ca. 1968

A second panel (cat. 152) depicts an obese crowned figure—best identified as Kubera, the ancient Indian *yakṣa* (nature deity) entrusted as the guardian of the divine treasury and, by extension, the bestower of wealth—seated in royal ease (*rājalilāsana*). It was positioned flanking the stairway entrance to the circumambulation path (*pradaksīna*), where the god could endow worthy worshippers; the panels immediately left and right of the stairs are both devoted to a squatting lion, guardian of the threshold (cat. 128). Kubera is flanked by two female attendants, who fan him with fly whisks (*cāmara*). His crown and torque are elaborated in the northern Indian manner, as seen, for example, at Deogarh, Bhumara, and other Gupta sites.<sup>6</sup> The same deity appears in the stucco decoration at site 19, Khu Bua, but that rendering lacks the grace and refinement of this one.<sup>7</sup>

The third panel (cat. 153), from the northeast elevation, basement level, depicts a celestial musician (*kinnara*), a bird-man creature who occupied the heavenly realms as an entertainer, seen here playing his preferred instrument, the Indian vina. The creature is birdlike apart from the arms and head, the latter beautifully modeled in what has crystallized into a distinctive Dvāravatī-style physiognomy.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 151: Boisselier 1970; Bowie 1972, pp. 49–52, fig. 18a; Piriya Krairiksh 1974a, pp. 4–5; Boisselier 1975, p. 86, pl. 53; Nandana Chutiwongs 1978; Dhida Saraya 1999, pp. 185–86; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 139, 142, fig. 90; Fine Arts Department 2005d, p. 40; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, p. 152, no. 40; Zaleski 2009, p. 171.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 152: Boisselier 1970; Bowie 1972, pp. 49–52, no. 18a, b, c; Piriya Krairiksh 1974a, p. 7, pl. 7; Nandana Chutiwongs 1978; Dhida Saraya 1999, p. 110; Fine Arts Department 2005d, p. 98; Zaleski 2009, pp. 169, 172–73, and p. 168, fig. 1; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 57, ill. no. 1.28.

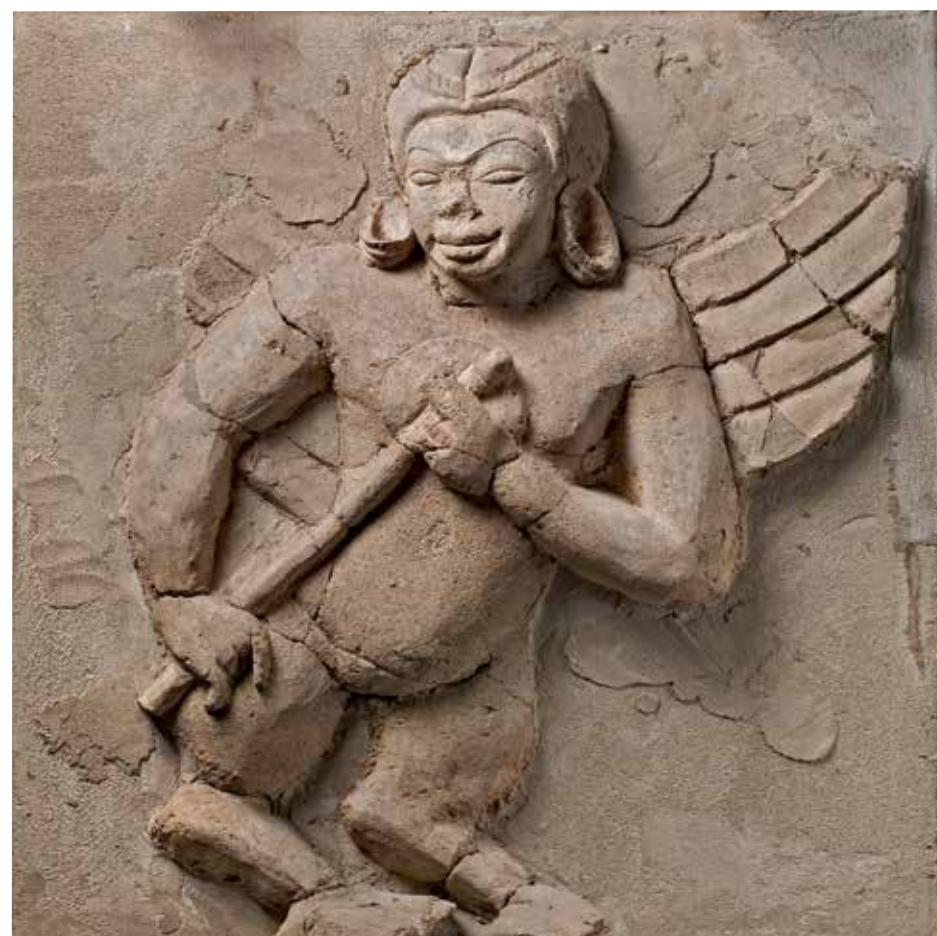
PUBLICATIONS CAT. 153: Boisselier 1970, fig. 10; Piriya Krairiksh 1974a, p. 7, pl. 1; Nandana Chutiwongs 1978; Woodward 2003, pp. 76–80, pl. 13b; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 182, 183, fig. 137; Fine Arts Department 2005d, p. 42.

NOTES: 1. Dupont 1959a. 2. Boisselier 1970; Piriya Krairiksh 1974a; Nandana Chutiwongs 1978. See also Woodward 2003, pl. 13a. 3. Cowell 1895–1913.

4. Duroiselle 1930a; Stargardt 2000. 5. For the *jātaka*, see Cowell 1895–1913, vol. 1 (1895), pp. 61–63; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, p. 152. For Wat Si Chum, see Skilling, Papod Assavavirulhakarn, and Santi Pakdeekham 2008. 6. Harle 1974, pl. 9. 7. Woodward 2003, pl. 15.



CAT. 152



CAT. 153

#### CAT. 154

#### Sealing Depicting Heavenly Palaces

Southern Thailand, second half of 8th century  
Found in Khao Ok Talu, Phatthalung province,  
before 1926

Fired clay

Diam. 2 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (6.5 cm)

National Museum, Bangkok (SV20)

This is a unique miniature depiction of the heavenly-palace motif that had assumed importance since the first appearance of the brick temple in northern India, in the mid-first millennium. Heavenly, or celestial, palaces appear



early in mainland Southeast Asia, as part of the initial phase of Indic-style temple architecture in the region. They are first witnessed at the ancient city of Champasak, a predominantly sixth-century urban center on the west bank of the Mekong River in southern Laos.<sup>1</sup> By the early seventh century, the theme had become dominant on many of the brick sanctuary towers at the royal temple complex of Sambor Prei Kuk in the central Cambodian territory of Zhenla (fig. 143).

Here, three heavenly palaces are depicted: slender pillars on an indented platform support a three-tiered roof on the central palace, two-tiered on the flanking ones. The elaborate architectural features, including the compressed tower (*sikharā*) with a fruit-shaped capping stone (*āmalaka*) and ribbons fluttering from the finials, suggest eastern Indian prototypes of the eighth century. This configuration is also seen at Candi Sari, a three-celled Buddhist shrine in central Java seemingly conceived as a celestial abode of the bodhisattvas and probably built during the first quarter of the ninth century.<sup>2</sup> Unsurprisingly, these palaces also resemble the portable palanquins still employed today during temple festivals to convey the gods in procession.<sup>3</sup>

In this depiction, the central palace is occupied by a Buddha seated on a throne cushion with a *makara* (aquatic monster) backplate, his lowered hand touching the earth to summon the earth goddess to witness his awakening. In the subsidiary palaces, bodhisattvas sit in royal ease on elliptical cushions, a posture favored in Pāla palm-leaf manuscript paintings.<sup>4</sup> All three figures have nimbus. To the left stands a Wheel of the Law pillar (*dharmaśastram*), and to the right is a seated figure, likely intended to represent a donor. Immediately beneath the palaces is a moldled inscription citing the Buddhist credo *Ye dharmā*, written in Northern Nāgarī script.<sup>5</sup> Below the inscription, an ecstatic dancer and a musician with a harp and, possibly, cymbals perform. The obese figure seated with the group is probably Jambhala, the Buddhist counterpart to the *yakṣa* Kubera, the protector



Fig. 143. Relief depicting celestial palace, temple sanctuary N16, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kampot Thom province. Central Cambodia, first half of 7th century

of riches. The molding was found at a cave assumed to have served as a meditation retreat for forest monks, near Songkhla in peninsular Thailand.

PUBLICATIONS: Coedès 1926–27, p. 21, pl. ix; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 84, 85, ill. no. 1.73.

NOTES: 1. Two sandstone celestial-palace antefixes were recovered from the city site and are now displayed in the Wat Phu site museum, Champasak. 2. Degroot 2009, pp. 261–63. 3. Guy 2007, p. 105, pl. 113. 4. Ibid., p. 46, pl. 48. For a discussion of the posture of royal ease, see Nandana Chutiwongs 1994. 5. Coedès 1926–27, p. 21, pl. ix.

#### CAT. 155

#### Enthroned Planetary Deity

Central Vietnam, third quarter of 9th century  
Recorded during excavations near northeast tower at Dong Duong monastery, Quang Nam province, by Henri Parmentier and Charles Carpeaux in autumn 1902, and sold by Parmentier on behalf of École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), Paris

Sandstone

H. 34 in. (86.5 cm), w. 14¾ in. (37.5 cm)  
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Edward L. Wittemore Fund (1935.147)

#### CAT. 156

#### Enthroned Planetary Deity

Central Vietnam, third quarter of 9th century  
Recorded during excavations near northeast tower at Dong Duong monastery, Quang Nam province, by Henri Parmentier and Charles Carpeaux in autumn 1902, and transferred to the Musée Henri Parmentier, Da Nang, in 1918

Sandstone

35⅓ x 16⅓ x 15⅓ in. (90 x 41 x 39 cm)  
Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang, Vietnam (3.5)

These two sculptures of guardian figures were recovered from the Mahāyāna Buddhist monastery of Dong Duong, located some 30 miles (48 km) south of Da Nang.<sup>1</sup> The temple complex was dedicated in 875 by the Cham king Jaya Indravarman II to a syncretic deity named in the foundation inscription as Laksṁindra Lokeśvara.<sup>2</sup> Four such sculptures are known, all recovered from small shrines in the western precinct of the monastery (fig. 144). The complex was configured around three large courtyards, each accessed through a large gateway (*gopura*) watched over by spectacular guardians (*dvārapāla*). These wrathful beings relate stylistically to the Tantric deities of the Dali kingdom of Yunnan.<sup>3</sup> The principal entrance faced east. Within the courtyards were a series of large image houses. The monastery was ravaged by fire, possibly at the end of the tenth century, when the armies of the Dai Viet raided from the north, looting the fabled gold of the Chams.<sup>4</sup>

Both figures sit in royal ease (*rājālīlāsana*) and are unadorned apart from their heavy, multitiered crowns and large, circular ear disks styled as radiating flowers. The Cleveland deity has a forehead mark (third eye), unlike the Da Nang example. Both are mustached. The Da Nang version has textile patterns engraved on



CAT. 155



CAT. 156



Fig. 144. Enthroned planetary deity. Central Vietnam, third quarter of 9th century. Photographed in situ in Dong Duong monastery, Quang Nam province, in 1902

the waistcloth, while the Cleveland version does not, suggesting a degree of haste in its creation. Both pedestals are decorated front and back with a full-length panel of a grotesque mask (*kirttimukha*) emerging from a foliate field.

The identification of these figures has been elusive. Their only attributes appear to be short-bladed daggers held upright in the lowered left hand. Their original locations suggest either directional guardians (*dikpālaka*) or planetary deities (*navagraha*), but the almost total absence of any distinguishing iconography makes these attributions tentative at best.<sup>5</sup> However, contextual evidence from the foundation inscription, ground plan, and archaeological remains at the site provide significant clues. The 875 inscription expressly refers to the shielding presence of the planets.<sup>6</sup> On the inner face of the western enclosure, seven small shrine houses, all oriented toward the principal sanctuary (fig. 144), can still be traced, strongly suggesting that this

group, now incomplete, constituted the *nava-grahas* (five planets plus sun and moon), the protective deities of the inscription.<sup>7</sup> Given their cosmological role in the architectural schema at Dong Duong and the reference to them in the inscription, there is every reason to date them to the immediate period of the temple's foundation, in 875.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 155: Cleveland Museum of Art 1991, p. 29; Cleveland Museum of Art 1998, pp. 166–67.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 156: Parmentier 1909–18, vol. 1 (1909), p. 484; Parmentier 1919, pp. 17–18; Boisselier 1963b, pp. 105–6, fig. 54; Pham Huy Thong et al. 1988, p. 54; Guillon 2001, pp. 96–97, no. 43; Parmentier, Mus, and Aymonier 2001, pp. 17–18, 135–36; Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, pp. 224–26, no. 26; Nguyen Van Ku and Ngo Van Doanh 2005, p. 104, ill. no. 12; Huynh Thi Duoc 2006, p. 71; Tingley 2009, pp. 214–15, no. 62; Woodward 2011, pp. 36–37, fig. 1.

NOTES: 1. Another example, now in the Museum Rietberg, Zurich (RHI 402), was sold by the École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), Paris, before 1932, when it was acquired by Eduard von der Heydt from the collection of Mrs. Paul Mellon, New York; see Boisselier 1963a. The other is in the Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang, Vietnam. 2. T. Nguyen 2005, p. 7. 3. Dali-Cham stylistic connections were first examined by Nandana Chutiwongs in the appendix to chapter 6 of her 1984 PhD thesis, published in 2002. These connections were subsequently examined in depth by Guy 1995. 4. The remaining temple structures were largely destroyed by wartime bombing in 1968. 5. In Cham and Khmer art, planetary deities are more typically accompanied by their vehicles (*vāhana*) and depicted as an ensemble, following Indian conventions, as witnessed by a nine-image relief from Tra Kieu; published in Parmentier 1909–18, vol. 1 (1909), p. 306, fig. 67. 6. Golzio 2004, p. 71. 7. See Woodward 2011, pp. 38–39.

#### CAT. 157

### Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Amoghapāśa

Malaysia, second half of 8th century  
Recovered during tin-mine dredging at Bidor,  
Batang Padang district, Perak, in 1936  
Copper alloy  
H. 36½ in. (93 cm), w. 20½ in. (51 cm)  
Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur  
(MN.BALAIB.40.2008)

This Amoghapāśa, “he whose noose is unfailing” (unfailing both in binding the enemies of Buddhism and in shepherding the faithful to salvation), is the single most important multi-armed sculpture of Avalokiteśvara from this region to have survived. Of the eight radiating arms, only the right frontal forearm is lost. The attributes are remarkably detailed: they are, clockwise from lower left (as viewed), the boons-granting gesture (*varadamudrā*), trident

(*triśūla*), rosary (*akṣamālā*), sacred book (*pustaka*), noose (*pāśa*), and holy water vessel (*kamandalu*), with the projecting hand holding the stem of the lotus whose blossom rests on the left shoulder. The hair is braided and piled up into an elaborate *jatāmukuta*, and a small shrine within it houses the bodhisattva’s spiritual mentor, the Amitābha Buddha. Modestly bejeweled with a sacred cord (*yajñopavīta*), armbands, and bracelets, Avalokiteśvara wears a long waistcloth secured with a belt resembling goldwork.

The elegant style and naturalistic yet supremely dignified demeanor of this figure are shared with stone and bronze imagery from eastern Sumatra, allowing one to see the greater Malay world of the eighth century as stylistically unified.<sup>1</sup> The sculpture has much in common with two Javanese icons similar in beauty and scale, a four-armed Avalokiteśvara from Tekaran and a four-armed Śiva from Tegal. A comparison of the Perak Amoghapāśa and the Tegal Śiva confirms, in a startlingly direct way, the degree to which Mahāyāna Buddhist iconography was indebted to Śaiva imagery: witness the adoption of the *jatāmukuta* hairstyle, the display of the *triśūla*, and the wearing of the tiger-skin hip wrap, not to mention the most obvious borrowing, the manifestation of multiple arms.<sup>2</sup> The genesis of this iconography may be traced to a sixth-century rock-cut depiction of an eight-armed Śiva at the early eighth-century Durgā temple in Aihole, northern Karnataka, in the Indian Deccan.<sup>3</sup> There, Śiva displays the tiger-skin hip wrap, which becomes a signature motif for both Śivas and Avalokiteśvaras in peninsular and insular Southeast Asia in the seventh and eighth centuries.<sup>4</sup>

Stylistically, the Perak Amoghapāśa has its immediate antecedents in the bodhisattva imag-



CAT. 157



Fig. 145. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in twelve-armed form. Northern India, 8th century. Excavated from site 3, Nalanda, Bihar, in the 1970s. Sandstone; h. 58 in. (147 cm), w. 33 in. (84 cm). Archaeological Museum, Nalanda

ery being produced in early eighth-century northern India, illustrated most spectacularly at Nalanda monastery site 3, where a large stele of a twelve-armed Avalokiteśvara was discovered in the 1970s (fig. 145). Nalanda was one of the most influential *mahāvihāras*, and its teachings and associated religious imagery were widely disseminated by monks. The famous propagator of Vajrayāna teachings, Vajrabodhi (671–741), received his theological education at Nalanda and is known to have spent five months in Śrivijaya teaching his Tantric system before reaching China in 720. Such influential teachers undoubtedly played a critical role in the dissemination of new imagery. The Perak bronze could well be a legacy of Vajrabodhi's sojourn in Śrivijaya and testify to the importance of his transmission of Esoteric Buddhism to Southeast Asia.

The unique quality of the image, as well as its technical complexity, raises challenging questions about where it was cast. It is iconographically elaborate and must have been produced under the direction of a highly educated monk fully conversant with the *Sādbhanamālā* and other Sastric texts. As the largest corpus of Buddhist imagery of this sophistication has been found in Sumatra and central Java, it is tempting to assume that the present work was cast at a monastery in one of those regions and imported to the Malay Peninsula by a now-untraceable monastery, presumably in Perak.

Alternatively, as high-quality Buddhist imagery was also being cast in peninsular Thailand, one cannot entirely dismiss the possibility that monastic foundries were operating at the now-lost monasteries in Kedah and elsewhere on the Malay Peninsula, to which the Chinese pilgrim sources allude.<sup>5</sup> Associated evidence in the form of clay sealings depicting eight- and twelve-armed Avalokiteśvaras has been found, uniquely, in cave shelters used for monastic retreat in the Malay interior. Such sealings are not recorded from Sumatra or northern and peninsular Thailand, two regions that share a separate sealing tradition. The Malay-provenanced sealings lend weight to a Malay origin for the Perak Amoghapāśa despite the pitifully small corpus of metal images from there and the absence of significant archaeological evidence beyond the Bujang valley in Kedah, which is overwhelmingly Brahmanical.

PUBLICATIONS: H. G. Quaritch Wales 1939, p. 41, pl. xii; Nilakanta Sastri 1949, p. 106; Lamb 1961c, pls. 101, 102; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1976, pp. 117–20, pl. 11; Subhadradis Diskul 1980, pt. 3, pp. 45–47, pl. 5; *Encyclopedia of Malaysia* 1998, pp. 108–9; Jacq-

Hergoualc'h 2002, pp. 333–34, fig. 160; Nandana

Chutiwongs 2010, p. 7, fig. 20.

NOTES: 1. The style is shared with a lifesize four-armed stone Avalokiteśvara found at Bingin near Muara Kelingi on the Musi River, upstream from Palembang in southern Sumatra, and an eight-armed bronze version discovered in 1927 at the estuary of the Komering River, Palembang; see Schnitger 1937, pls. x, viii, respectively, and Fontein 1990, p. 214, no. 59. For a later dating, see Nandana Chutiwongs 2010, p. 24, fig. 20. 2. This iconographic transference is also seen in the earliest illustrated *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* palm-leaf manuscripts; see Guy 2012. 3. Tartakov 1997, pp. 95–96, dates the temple to ca. 725–30, in the reign of Vijayāditya



CAT. 158

#### CAT. 158

#### Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

Southern Thailand or Sumatra,  
8th–early 9th century

Copper alloy

22 1/4 x 10 1/2 x 5 in. (56.6 x 26.7 x 12.7 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Rogers Fund, 1982 (1982.64)

(696–733/34). I am grateful to Julie Romain for sharing her views on Aihole with me. 4. The tiger-skin hip wrap is a feature seen on smaller bronzes from peninsular Thailand, including a two-armed Padmapāni, an eight-armed Avalokiteśvara, and a rare twelve-armed Avalokiteśvara, as well as from the hoard of Javanese (?) bronze, gold, and silver Buddhist images discovered at Sambas, western Kalimantan (Borneo). For the Thai finds, see Subhadradis Diskul 1980, pt. 2, pls. 28, 19; for the Sambas hoard, see Tan Yeok Seong 1949. 5. The identification of locations named in these sources is not always secure; see Wade, "Beyond the Southern Borders," in this volume.

This four-armed Avalokiteśvara exemplifies the finest qualities associated with the pan-Asian cult of the savior bodhisattva. Through its grace and humanism, the work embodies the qualities of compassion central to Buddhist ethics. The

caring demeanor of the savior's face is readily apparent. Richly adorned in a princely fashion, he stands in a gently flexed manner to ensure that he is accessible and welcoming to his devotee, gesturing the granting of boons (*varadamudrā*) with his lowered hand. The three other hands are lost but can be expected to have held some combination of a rosary (*akṣamālā*), noose (*pāśa*), lotus (*padma* or *nilotpala*), and flask (*kamandalu*). His upper left wrist appears to be entwined with a stem, perhaps that of a missing lotus. Long tresses of braided hair are drawn up and woven into an elaborate coiffure (*jaṭāmu-kuta*), secured with a beaded diadem bearing three prominent medallions. A nimbus created by the construction of hair provides a setting for the Amitābha Buddha, whom this bodhisattva attends in the Western Paradise. Avalokiteśvara wears a broad, diagonal chest sash, which shows no sign of either a flayed antelope or tiger skin, as on the Perak Avalokiteśvara (cat. 157). Beautiful elliptical earrings, suggestive of gemstones in a pearl setting, rest on locks of hair that extend across the shoulders. The two-stranded necklace is unique in representations of this type, but the large floral buckle of the hip belt is seen on a bronze eight-armed

Avalokiteśvara recovered during dredging of the Komering River at Palembang.<sup>1</sup> All the jewelry was undoubtedly intended to represent gold ornaments and would have been gilded in its original state.

This remarkable bronze sculpture, then, shares much with the celebrated Buddhist imagery from Palembang, broadly accepted as the capital of the Śrivijaya maritime polity in the seventh to mid-eighth century.<sup>2</sup> It may have been made there or, given its suggested dating, at Jambi, which had succeeded Palembang as the leading Sumatran entrepôt by the ninth century.<sup>3</sup> A further possibility is that it, along with the Perak Amoghapāśa, to which it must be seen as a successor, was made at one of the monasteries known from Chinese pilgrim sources to have prospered in the peninsula.<sup>4</sup> The polities of Sumatra and much of the peninsula were closely linked by shared commercial activity and, as a result, operated in a cultural sphere in which religious imagery could readily circulate.

PUBLICATIONS: Martin Lerner in Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, pp. 71–72; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987a, p. 154, pl. 106.

NOTES: 1. Schnitger 1937, pl. viii; Fontein 1990, p. 214, no. 59. 2. Manguin 2004, pp. 306–7. 3. Wolters

1967. 4. Evidence surveyed by Skilling 1997b. See also Woodward 2004, p. 347; and Woodward, "Stylistic Trends in Mainland Southeast Asia, 600–800," in this volume.

#### CAT. 159

#### Buddhist Protectress Mahāpratisarā

Western Indonesia, 9th century

Probably from Sumatra, Palembang or

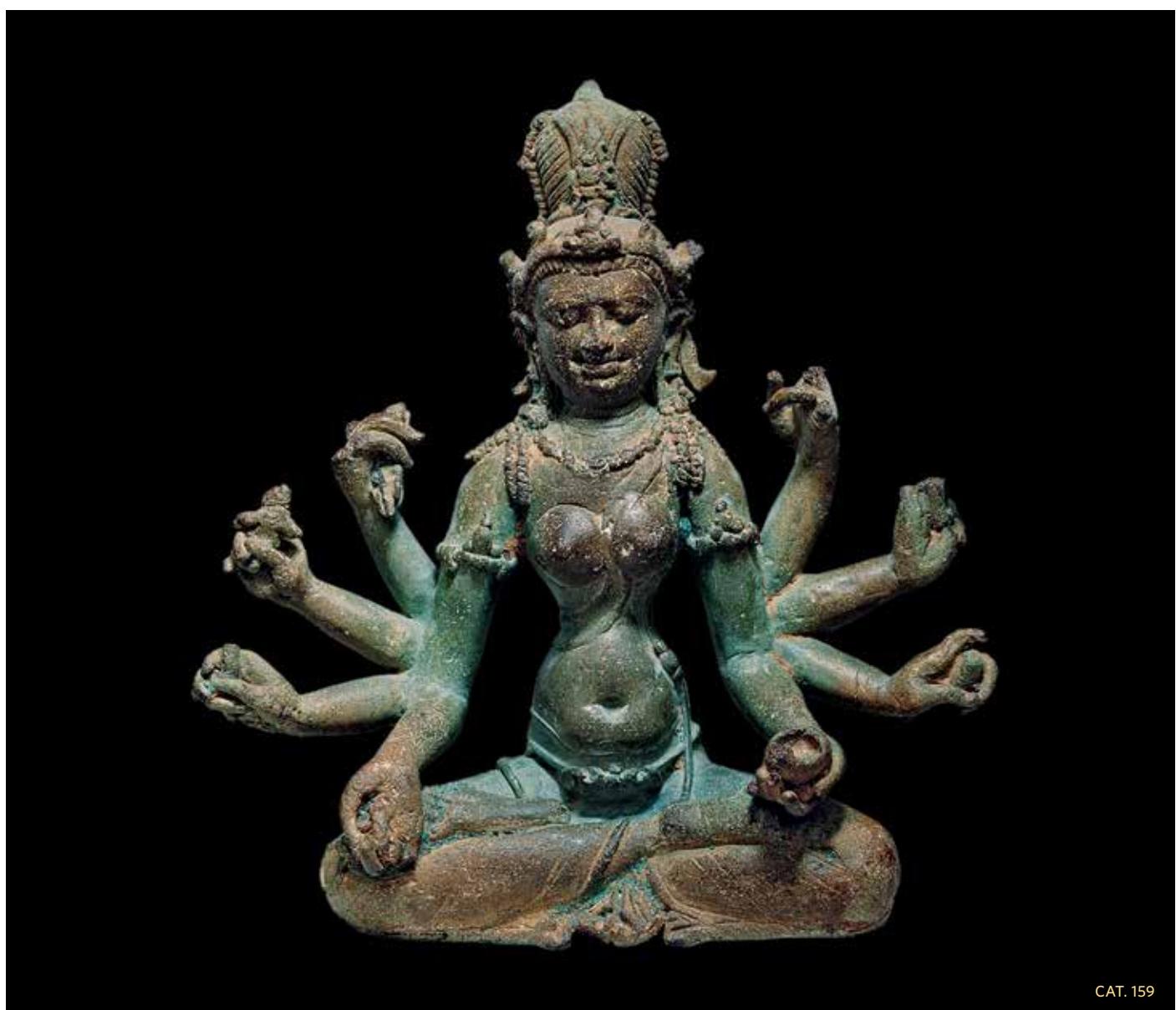
Jambi region

Copper alloy

H. 6 1/4 in. (15.9 cm)

Asia Society, New York, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection (1979.84)

This eight-armed figure is the Buddhist protectress Mahāpratisarā, a deified magic spell (*dhāraṇī*) who seems to make her first appearance around the eighth century.<sup>1</sup> The goddess is one of the myriad Esoteric deities who emerged in India in the latter part of the first millennium as a result of Vajrayāna practices. She is represented both as an independent deity and as a member of the Pañcarakṣā, the five-spell goddesses. She sits in deep meditation in a yogic posture (*vajraparyāṅkāsana*) and holds an array



CAT. 159

of attributes, not all now recognizable. In the *Sādhanamālā*, a prescriptive Esoteric text that lists the attributes of the Pañcarakṣā, she is characterized as having four faces and eight arms, a sweet expression and fair complexion, and “the appearance of a girl of sixteen.”<sup>2</sup> However, early forms of the goddess also exist with a single face, as seen here, before she was codified into the Pañcarakṣā system—that is, before the canonization of the Esoteric Buddhist pantheon into the *Sādhanamālā*. Thus, the one-faced form suggests that the work belongs to the early conception of Mahāpratisarā as an independent spell goddess.<sup>3</sup>

Here, Mahāpratisarā displays an assortment of weapons, some still apparent, employed in the Buddhist notion of “cutting away illusions”: ax, discus, sword, arrow, bow, and lasso, plus the *vajra* (ritual thunderbolt), the indestructible element at the center of Vajrayāna Buddhism, and a sacred book (*pustaka*) evoking scripture, an attribute shared with the Buddhist wisdom goddess Prajñāpāramitā. Her spectacular coiffure (*jaṭāmukuta*) of plaited hair entwined with strings of pearls and jewels and the braids of hair that fall almost to her breasts, together with her tripartite diadem, resonate closely with similar decoration on two bodhisattva icons, a Maitreya and an Avalokiteśvara, recovered from the Komering River near Palembang in 1929.<sup>4</sup> Further strengthening a shared Esoteric dimension, the Avalokiteśvara found there is also eight-armed and, like this Mahāpratisarā, has a slender waist, fleshy anatomy, and closely related ornaments, suggesting that the present work was likely also produced in the region around Palembang.

Mahāpratisarā was particularly worshipped in the Esoteric practices of the monasteries of eastern India, especially those of eastern Bengal, beginning about the eighth century. These communities maintained active links with the monasteries of western Indonesia, Java, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula, where many eminent Indian Buddhist masters went to teach and to study. There is growing evidence from a number of sites, particularly in Sumatra, that Esoteric Buddhism was favored in the region in the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>5</sup> Indian, Chinese, and Southeast Asian monks all circulated in this monastic diaspora, providing a ready means for the transmission of both icons and the texts describing their worship.<sup>6</sup> Images for meditation such as this eight-armed manifestation make it clear that Esoteric tendencies of Buddhist practice were highly favored in Śrivijayan monasticism.

PUBLICATIONS: Asia Society 1981, p. 40; S. L.

Huntington and J. C. Huntington 1990, p. 228, no. 70; Leidy 1994, pp. 110–12, fig. 100; Nandana Chutiwongs and Leidy 1994, pp. 49, 54, no. 30; Mevissen 1999, p. 106, no. 11, p. 120, n. 23; *Trésors des arts asiatiques* 2000, pp. 70–71, fig. 39.

NOTES: 1. De Mallmann 1975, pp. 290–91; Mevissen 1999, especially the appendix, p. 129. 2. Bhattachari 1929, p. 62; Mevissen 1999. 3. Mevissen 1991–92, p. 365. 4. Schnitger 1937, pl. viii; Fontein 1990, p. 214, no. 59. 5. Bautze-Picron forthcoming. 6. In some instances, these were combined: a small ninth- to tenth-century bronze from Java, previously identified as a ten-armed Cundā, was securely reidentified as



CAT. 160

Mahāpratisarā by the mantras she embodies, inscribed on the backplate of the icon; see Griffiths 2011b.

#### CAT. 160 Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Amoghapāśa

Western Indonesia, late 8th–early 9th century  
Reportedly from southeastern Sumatra

Copper alloy

H. 16 1/4 in. (41 cm), w. 9 1/8 in. (23.2 cm)

Private collection, Europe

When represented in this eight-armed form, Avalokiteśvara is known as Amoghapāśa, “he whose noose is unfailing,” after the noose (*pāśa*) he uses to remove impediments to enlightenment. While that device is no longer preserved

in his intact hands, a sufficient number of his other attributes, including the ubiquitous Amitābha Buddha in the headdress, survive to secure the identification. Intact are the rosary (*akṣamālā*), sacred book (*pustaka*), and boons-granting gesture (*varadamudrā*); the incomplete or missing hands can be expected to have displayed the noose, trident (*triśula*), holy water vessel (*kamanḍalu*), and lotus (*padma*). He wears a full-length waistcloth and a slender belt with a clasp.

The majesty of this representation is compelling despite its ascetic form and restrained ornamentation, limited to the diadem, simple bracelets, and belt. In this guise, Avalokiteśvara shares much with Śaiva imagery. The representation as an ascetic and the prominent display of a flayed tiger skin across the hips, with the front

and hind legs pendant, are two such borrowings, and one may assume that the now-missing trident would have further affirmed this influence. It can even be argued that the braided and matted dreadlocks, a hallmark of ascetics (*rishi*), resemble those of Śiva and are another appropriation.

Reportedly from southeastern Sumatra, this is the most complete bronze Avalokiteśvara image known from that region. It compares most favorably with the renowned example,

also eight-armed, dredged up from the Komering River at Palembang in 1929.<sup>1</sup> The complexity of casting such a high-quality multiarmed image attests to the sophistication of the metal workshops supported by the monasteries of Śrivijaya and their patrons.

NOTE: 1. Schnitger 1937, pl. viii; Fontein 1990, p. 214, no. 59.

#### CAT. 161

#### Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

Western Indonesia, 9th century

Found in Central Java province

Copper alloy

13 3/8 x 7 7/8 x 3 1/8 in. (34 x 20 x 8 cm),

including tenon

Musée National des Arts Asiatiques—Guimet, Paris, Gift of J. J. Meijer (MG3816)

Multiarmed forms of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara appear to have been favored in Buddhist worship in the Malay Peninsula and western Indonesia—that is, territory broadly defined in the late first millennium as being under the suzerainty of the Śrivijayan kingdom. Three spectacular large-scale examples are known, all eight-armed; two were found in the peninsula, at Chaiya (cat. 166) and Perak (cat. 157), respectively, and one in Sumatra.<sup>1</sup> A number of smaller ten-armed images from central Java date to the ninth century, but none displays the refined elegance of modeling and casting seen in this image. Eight- and twelve-armed representations in molded clay have also been recovered, most numerously at cave sites in the interior of the Malay Peninsula.

It is clear that in Esoteric Buddhist practice in western Indonesia at this time, the cult of Avalokiteśvara enjoyed special favor. Here, the bodhisattva shows in his ten radiating arms the objects that define his powers.<sup>2</sup> His identifiable attributes include the rosary (*akṣamālā*), holy water vessel (*kamandalu*), lotus (*padma*), and sacred book (*pustaka*); enthroned in a miniature shrine in his headdress is an image of the Amitābha Buddha, seated with his hands in *dhyānamudrā* within a flaming niche. This fiery field of wisdom is repeated in the larger figure's nimbus, from which wild flames leap forth. When first published by Nicolaas Krom in 1916–17, the icon still preserved its bronze parasol, supported on a post secured to the back of the nimbus.<sup>3</sup> The figure wears an assortment of regal jewelry befitting his role as a princely savior, including a heavy belt securing a full-length waistcloth (*paridhāna*), from which a center pleat hangs. The elaboration of the jewelry and elliptical flaming aureole point to strong Bengal influences at work in central Java at this time.<sup>4</sup>

For a hip wrap, the bodhisattva wears a flayed tiger skin in a similar manner to the great Avalokiteśvara from Perak (cat. 157), although here the feline face is displayed on the left hip. In Indian representations, both tiger and antelope skins sometimes appear in a single image, as early as the beginning of the seventh century.<sup>5</sup> This combination also appears in seventh-century southern Cambodia, as on the Harihara sculpture from the Ashram Maha Rosei chapel, Phnom Da, Takeo province. The popularity of animal skins in Southeast Asian representations of Avalokiteśvara underscores the Esoteric nature of the cult as practiced there.

PUBLICATIONS: Krom 1916–17, p. 392, fig. 16; Salmony and Pelliot 1929, no. 2, pl. 9; Hackin 1931, pp. 15–16, pl. XXXIX; Visser 1933; Monod-Bruhl 1939, p. 85; Bernet Kempers 1959, p. 34, pl. 34; Monod-Bruhl 1966, pp. 218, 219, ill. no. 111; Le Bonheur 1971, pp. 157–61; Nandana Chutiwongs 2010, p. 7, fig. 22.



CAT. 161

NOTES: 1. Schnitger 1937, pl. viii; Fontein 1990, p. 214, no. 59. 2. Avalokiteśvara's iconography is explored in de Mallmann 1948, pp. 266–75. 3. As first described by Krom 1916–17, p. 392, fig. 16. 4. Bernet Kempers 1933. 5. As in a bronze Avalokiteśvara from the Swat valley (present-day Pakistan); The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (2012.247).

CAT. 162

**Buddha Attended by Bodhisattvas  
Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya**

Sumatra or southern Thailand,  
second half of 8th century

Reportedly found in southern Thailand  
Copper alloy

7½ x 6½ x 2¼ in. (19.1 x 16.5 x 5.7 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Gift of The Kronos Collections, 1984  
(1984.486.4)

The iconographic configuration seen in this Buddhist triad was much favored in the Mon territories of Thailand and was widely propagated in the Śrivijayan regions of peninsular

Thailand and Sumatra, largely through the circulation of clay impressions produced from metal molds. In this rare instance, however, a metal triad has survived as a complete ensemble. Cast separately and assembled onto the rectangular platform, each figure stands on a lotus-bud pedestal, the central Buddha symmetrically, the flanking saviors in a gentle flex. Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya are identified by their crown insignias, the Amitābha Buddha and a stupa, respectively. The Buddha wears his monastic robe in the open mode, exposing the right shoulder, and the outer robe, held by a raised hand, falls to form a broad drape. This device is seen in bronzes of the sixth and seventh centuries from the Deccan in southern India (figs. 66, 74) and is echoed in the earliest Buddha images cast in the region, such as catalogue 21. The Buddha's right hand signals that he is preaching (*vitarkamudrā*), the gesture par excellence of Buddhas made in the Mon tradition; however, the type was also known more widely, as witnessed by the eighth-century bronze Buddha discovered at Kota Bangun, Kalimantan (Borneo), likely an import from Śrivijaya.<sup>1</sup> As

required of princely saviors, the bodhisattvas are adorned, but in a restrained manner, the decoration largely confined to the headdresses (*jatāmukuta*). Their coiffures are silhouetted by upturned locks of hair, a distinctive feature of eighth-century Buddhist imagery from peninsular Thailand. The Buddhist triad came to be of paramount importance in early ninth-century central Java, where several major temples, built under royal patronage, have these ensembles (albeit with all the figures seated) as their principal cult images, those at Candi Plaosan Lor and Candi Mendut being the best preserved.<sup>2</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Prachum Kanchanawat 1969, p. 39; Subhadradis Diskul 1980, pt. 2, p. 28, pl. 11; Lerner 1984, pp. 112–13, no. 41; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 77, 79, ill. no. 1.60.

NOTES: 1. This Buddha was exhibited in the Dutch pavilion at the 1931 Exposition Coloniale Internationale in Paris and lost in a fire that destroyed the building; Bernet Kempers 1959, p. 49, pl. 97. 2. Ibid., pls. 59–61, 135. For a bronze version, see Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988, p. 64, no. 12.



CAT. 162



CAT. 163

**CAT. 163****Enthroned Buddha Vairocana**

Southern Thailand, late 8th–9th century  
Found in Kosum Phisai district, Maha Sarakham province, northeastern Thailand

Copper alloy  
H. 9 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (24 cm)

National Museum, Bangkok, donated by Khun Phoomopayakkhet in 1927

This majestic Buddha Vairocana is of uncertain origin. Together with the two enthroned Mañjuśrī bronzes (cats. 164, 165), it forms a stylistically identifiable corpus. Two have a reported prove-

nance in northeastern Thailand, while the third's is unknown. If these provenances are secure, then they may point to a highly sophisticated bronze-casting tradition in that region in the late eighth and ninth centuries in the service of Buddhism, a tradition for which evidence is more forthcoming in later centuries, especially at the Khmer provincial capital of Phimai. However, although this Vairocana and the Asia Society Mañjuśrī (cat. 164) were found in northeastern Thailand, neither was likely made there; rather, they were probably imported to the region later, when it became a center for Vajrayāna Buddhism. More plausible is that all

three bronzes were produced by monastic workshops in peninsular Thailand at a time when that region was in close contact with eastern India, notably Bihar and Bengal, absorbing the innovative Esoteric Buddhist ideas and imagery being developed there, especially in the ninth century. With their lion-supported thrones, deeply waisted double lotus cushions with a pearl-beaded band, flame-emitting aureoles, and distinctive umbrellas with flying ribbons, they display a profound understanding of Bengali sculptural models in bronze. Particularly distinctive is the characterization of the four lions that serve as throne supports, a motif largely

confined to early ninth-century Bihar and the monastic bronzes of Nalanda and Kurkihar.<sup>1</sup>

The enthroned Vairocana is represented expounding the Buddha's dharma, both hands raised in *dharma cakramudrā*, the "turning of the Wheel" enacted by the Buddha in his First Sermon at Sarnath. He is seated in an advanced yogic meditation posture (*vajrasana*) on the cushion, beneath which drapes part of a circular floor cloth. The complex backplate, rarely seen intact, has pilasters that carry a crossbar with *makara* (aquatic monster) terminals, which, in turn, support the circular nimbus (*prabhā-mandala*) edged with flames and surmounted by the umbrella (*chattra*) with flying ribbons. Two female attendants with gently flexed bodies complete the ensemble, each standing on a lotus flower and holding a lotus stem. The genesis of this triad can be traced to sixth-century Aurangabad in the western Deccan; cave 6 has been classified as proto-Tantric, with Vairocana at the heart of the mandala, flanked by the female attendants Tārā and Māmaki.<sup>2</sup>

The Chaiya region in Surat Thani province on the Bay of Bandon appears to have been the home of master bronze casters who generated a highly refined style modeled on Bengali prototypes but with a grace and elegance uniquely their own. The pinnacle of the school is a lifesize bronze Avalokiteśvara found at Wat Wiang (fig. 146), which is probably the work recorded in a contemporary inscription as having been cast in 775 and was undoubtedly a royal commission. It may be compared to a lifesize Avalokiteśvara from Mainamati in the Chittagong district, Bangladesh, excavated in 2002 at the Ananda monastery.<sup>3</sup> The Mainamati savior has a gently flexed torso and wears a tripartite diadem from which a short fringe of hair projects and long ringlets fall onto the chest, a necklace, and armbands. His eyes and eyebrows are engraved, his lower lip full. This lineage is the prototype for the great Wat Wiang Avalokiteśvara. The Vairocana and Mañjuśrī under discussion are logically the products of the same tradition a generation or so later, invigorated by ongoing religious exchanges with both eastern India and Java, which would have included the circulation of portable bronze icons.<sup>4</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Le May 1938, p. 17, fig. 14; Fine Arts Department 1967, fig. 21; Subhadradis Diskul 1970, pp. 8–9, fig. 29; Bowie 1972, pp. 56–57, no. 21; Boisselier 1975, pp. 94, 96, pl. 61; Subhadradis Diskul 1980, pt. 2, p. 29, pl. 16; Piriya Krairiksh 1999, p. 22; Sukchai Saising 2004, pp. 159–60; Dvaravati Art 2009, pp. 58, 59, ill. no. 37; Japan and Thailand 2011, p. 144, no. 29, ill. p. 182; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 268, ill. no. 2.227.

NOTES: 1. Bernet Kempers 1933; Ray, Khandalaval, and Gorakshkar 1986, figs. 99a, 101a, 104a, 108, 113; Klokke and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1994. See also S. L. Huntington 1984, figs. 165–68, 177. 2. J. C. Huntington 1981. 3. Lefèvre and Boussac 2008, pp. 178–79, no. 54. For Mainamati's role, see S. L. Huntington 1984, fig. 253. 4. Shipwreck evidence from the Java Sea supports this scenario. See Guy 2004a. For Bengali bronzes found in Java, see Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988, pp. 66–69, nos. 14–17.

#### CAT. 164

#### Enthroned Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī as Sita Mañjughoṣa

Southern Thailand, late 8th century

Reportedly found in Khong district, Nakhon Ratchasima province, northeastern Thailand  
Copper alloy

H. 12 1/4 in. (31.1 cm), w. 6 1/8 in. (15.6 cm)  
Asia Society, New York, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection  
(1979.82)

#### CAT. 165

#### Enthroned Bodhisattva, probably Mañjuśrī

Southern Thailand, late 8th century

Presumed found in Thailand  
Copper alloy with traces of gilding and pigment  
H. 8 3/4 in. (22.2 cm), w. 6 1/8 in. (15.6 cm)  
Asia Society, New York, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection, Gift from the Blanchette Hooker Rockefeller Fund (1994.5)



CAT. 164



Fig. 146. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi. Southern Thailand, possibly 775. Recovered from Wat Wiang, Chaiya, Surat Thani province. Copper alloy and silver, h. 25 in. (63.5 cm). National Museum, Bangkok

In the larger of these two icons (cat. 164), the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is depicted with his hands in the boons-granting gesture (*varadamudrā*), thereby proclaiming himself to be in the Sita Mañjughoṣa form. He is seated in royal ease (*rājālīlāsana*) on a lotus cushion with lion supports, framed by a pearl-edged nimbus (*prabhā-mandala*) that emits flames at intervals below an honorific umbrella with windswept ribbons. Lions, which are universally associated with the Buddha and his teachings, have an additional association here, as Mañjuśrī's vehicle (*vāhana*) is also a lion. The blue lotus (*nilotpala*) stem and flower, which wend their way from the savior's left hand, support Mañjuśrī's two emblems: the sacred palm-leaf book (*pustaka*), which evokes his role as the embodiment of transcendent wisdom, and the sword that rises from it, with which he vanquishes delusions. A second, closely related enthroned bodhisattva, also in the Asia Society's Rockefeller Collection, may be accepted as representing Mañjuśrī as well (cat. 165). It is bereft of its *prabhā-mandala*, which would have carried the identifying attributes of book and sword atop a lotus, but resembles the complete representation in all other respects, including the defining hand gesture, the posture of royal

ease, and the type and placement of flower and jewel adornments. A close scrutiny of the left hand reveals what is undoubtedly the remains of the lotus stem, which would have displayed Mañjuśrī's identifiers. Both figures wear a conical coiffure richly festooned with floral motifs and, in the complete example, representations of five meditating Buddhas, assumed to be the five *jinas* of transcendent wisdom.<sup>1</sup>

Together with the Vairocana in the National Museum, Bangkok (cat. 163), these two Mañjuśrī images constitute a stylistic unity and may be assumed to have shared a common workshop. As suggested by catalogue 163, a monastic foundry in the Chaiya region seems most probable. That Mañjuśrī was highly venerated in eighth-century peninsular and insular Southeast Asia is witnessed by a Javanese inscription of 782. It records the installation of a cult image of Mañjuśrī at the instruction of the Śailendra king's guru, a Bengali, at the center of a mandala of icons at Candi Sewu, central Java.<sup>2</sup>

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 164: Thanphong Kridakon 1965, pl. 5; Lee 1970, pp. 44–45, no. 27, ill. p. 41; Asia Society 1981, p. 40; Woodward 1983, pp. 381–83, fig. 5; Lopez and Rockefeller 1984, fig. 40; S. L. Huntington and J. C. Huntington 1990, pp. 232–33, no. 74; Leidy 1994,

pp. 100–101; Woodward 2003, pp. 93, 96, pl. 21; Bunker and Latchford 2011, p. 206, fig. 6.16.

PUBLICATION CAT. 165: Leidy 1994, pp. 100–101, fig. 86.

NOTES: 1. S. L. Huntington and J. C. Huntington 1990, p. 232. 2. Woodward 1983, p. 382; Degroot 2009, pp. 240–41. For a description of the Candi Sewu mandala, see Bosch 1961, pp. 124–26; Dumarçay 1987.

#### CAT. 166

#### Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

Southern Thailand, late 8th–early 9th century  
Preserved at Wat Phra Borommathat, Chaiya district, Surat Thani province, until 1923, when it entered the royal collection, and subsequently transferred to the National Museum in 1927

Copper alloy with traces of gilding  
H. 30 1/4 in. (76.7 cm)

National Museum, Bangkok (SV24)

This exemplary casting of the Bodhisattva of Compassion in his eight-armed form with his parent, the Amitābha Buddha, enthroned in his crown of matted hair (*jaṭamukuta*) suggests that both it and the famous lifesize torso of the same savior long preserved at Wat Wiang (fig. 146),



CAT. 166

built within Wat Phra Borommathat, Chaiya, were royal commissions. Both works display finely rendered jewelry in relief, revealing the ornateness of royal jewelry of the period.<sup>1</sup> The Ligor inscription, dated 775, discovered at Nakhon Si Thammarat in the peninsula, records a ruler named Dharmasetu, the sovereign of Śrivijaya, who dedicated several temples in the region.<sup>2</sup> One surviving temple, Wat Kaeo in Chaiya, fits the description and may have housed in its sanctuary one of the royally commissioned Buddhist icons referred to in the inscription, notably the Avalokiteśvara torso recovered in the early twentieth century from the nearby monastery of Wat Wiang.

The eight-armed Avalokiteśvara emerged as a favored type during the eighth century in the peninsula, Sumatra, and central Java. The great bronze from Perak, Malaysia (cat. 157), is the most complete example from the mid-eighth-century Buddhist world, and its iconography may be taken as a guide to the original attributes of this example, whose lower arms are now missing. A closely related four-armed Avalokiteśvara found at Tekaran in central Java demonstrates the stylistic traits common to the peninsular bronzes and those of Sumatra-Java.<sup>3</sup> In all likelihood, the Chaiya Avalokiteśvara was made for one of the Śrivijayan shrines noted above before passing into the care of Wat Phra Borommathat.

The stylistic unity represented by this small corpus of master bronzes from the Śrivijayan peninsula and the contemporary Śailendra kingdom of Java raises many questions about the mobility of artists in this period. The presumed monastic foundries around Chaiya would have been responsible for some of the greatest bronzes of this time. During the ninth century, centers of production likely shifted to the west coast of Sumatra, notably Palembang-Jambi, and to central Java, perhaps following significant commercial realignments in the region.

PUBLICATIONS: Coedès 1923, pl. xlvi; Coedès 1928a, pl. xvii; H. G. Quaritch Wales 1937, p. 190; Dupont 1942, p. 106; Bowie 1960, pp. 48–49, 69, fig. 35, pp. 190–91, no. 69; Fine Arts Department 1967, fig. 22; Boisselier 1975, pp. 96, 98, pl. 63; Piriya Krairiksh 1980, pp. 142–43, pl. 32; Subhadradis Diskul 1980, pt. 2, pp. 32, 33, pl. 26; Piriya Krairiksh 1999, pp. 20, 37–43; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, pp. 312–13, figs. 108, 109; *Moradok khong phaendin* 2006, p. 60; Nandana Chutiwongs 2010, p. 7, fig. 21; *Japan and Thailand* 2011, p. 144, no. 30, ill. p. 183; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 246, 248, ill. no. 2.196; H. Tan et al. 2012, p. 87, no. 20.

NOTES: 1. The best-preserved examples of this type of gold jewelry were discovered in central Java; see Wahyono 1999. 2. Fontein 1990, p. 211. 3. Ibid., pp. 210–11, no. 56.



#### CAT. 167

#### Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Lokanātha Granting Boons

Southern Thailand, early 9th century

Entered the National Museum in 1926

Copper alloy

H. 14½ in. (36 cm)

National Museum, Bangkok

This elegant standing figure represents the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara as Lokanātha. In a 1015 edition of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines) *Sūtra*, Avalokiteśvara is consistently referred to as Lokanātha, “Lord of the universe/he who protects the world,”<sup>1</sup> who is descended from the Amitābha Buddha; that image appears in the shrine in the present bodhisattva’s headress (*jatāmukuta*). The bud of a lotus flower is held in the raised hand, while boons are dispensed by the lower hand, held in *varadamudrā*. The long plaits of hair that cascade down the shoulders and the generous quantities of jewelry are both characteristic of peninsular-style Mahāyāna Buddhist imagery. Over the waist-cloth, secured with a (presumed) gold belt, is a tiger skin worn as a hip wrap, as is typical of Avalokiteśvara Amoghapāśa images from Chaiya and farther south, including the important eight-armed example found in Perak, Malaysia, in 1936 (cat. 157). This manner of wearing the tiger skin is rarely seen in Indian representations, where an antelope skin over the shoulder is preferred.<sup>2</sup> As the tiger-skin feature had disappeared in India by the late eighth century, one may assume that the source of the peninsular Thai Lokanātha imagery is traceable to the earlier phase of development, in the seventh century. The tiger-skin hip



CAT. 168

wrap appears on a late eighth-century four-armed Avalokiteśvara from western Indonesia (Sumatra or Java), on the important twelve-armed silvered bronze Lokeśvara from central Java of similar date, and on a bronze Lokeśvara, probably ninth-century, from western Sumatra—all of which are now in the Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta.<sup>3</sup> Ultimately, this group of images can be traced to workshops aware of artistic production both in Bihar (as at Kurkihar and Nalanda) and in Bengal during the eighth and ninth centuries. The Bengali legacy is perhaps most evident in the distinctive conical *jatāmukuta*.

PUBLICATIONS: Le May 1938, pp. 42, 43–44, fig. 44; Bowie 1972, p. 43, no. 12; Subhadradis Diskul 1980, pt. 2, p. 31, pl. 23; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, pp. 314, 315, fig. 114; Japan and Thailand 2011, pp. 144–45, no. 31, ill. p. 184; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 246, 247, ill. no. 2.193.

NOTES: 1. Saraswati 1977, p. xxxvi; Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 246. 2. As on the late ninth-century “Sanchi torso”; see Guy 2007, p. 58. 3. For the four-armed Avalokiteśvara, see Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988, p. 59, no. 7; for the central Javanese Lokeśvara,

Lunsingh Scheurleer 1994, pl. 2; for the Korintji Lokeśvara of western Sumatra, Schnitger 1937, pl. opp. p. 1 and p. 13.

#### CAT. 168

#### Head of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

Central Vietnam, 8th–9th century

Probably found in Quang Nam province

Copper alloy

9 1/16 x 7 1/8 x 7 1/8 in. (23 x 18 x 18 cm)

Musée National des Arts Asiatiques—Guimet, Paris, Gift of Georges Halphen, 2002  
(MA7067)

This head is all that survives of one of the finest metal images of Avalokiteśvara from the Cham territories and attests to the superb metal-casting skills of the artisans who produced devotional icons for local Buddhist monasteries. Here, the bodhisattva is crowned and bejeweled in the manner of a prince, and his braided dreadlocks are drawn up into a high chignon (*jatāmukuta*). The Amitābha Buddha is perched in this dynamic setting, between the crown and

the chignon. A large, clearly defined diadem with three large floral medallions frames Avalokiteśvara’s face, allowing a looped fringe to appear below. These medallions were probably once gilded to resemble more accurately jewelry of this type that has been recovered from Cham sites in recent years. Similar medallions were also employed as armbands and have a close conceptual affinity to late first-millennium Javanese motifs. The towering *jatā* belongs to a pan-Southeast Asian bodhisattva type that was emerging in the eighth and ninth centuries, seemingly from peninsular Thailand, and was shared with the Buddhist art of Sumatra. The lifesize Avalokiteśvara from Wat Wiang, Chaiya, southern Thailand (fig. 146)—the greatest extant bronze in the peninsular style—wears a nearly identical diadem and the same medallion type repeated as armbands.

The most informative stylistic analogies, however, are with Cham art itself. The head has its closest parallels with the Avalokiteśvara from Quang Binh province (cat. 169), a richly adorned four-armed princely savior that provides a clear vision of how the complete figure

would have appeared—both majestic and accessible. The robust energy of the head, achieved through the rigorous modeling of the full-featured face and the magnificent locks of hair, is rarely encountered in metal sculptures of this period. In its sculptural qualities, it resembles the great bronze female deity (likely Prajñāpāramitā) excavated from Dong Duong, Quang Nam province, central Vietnam (fig. 147), which notably shares the pronounced hooked nose.<sup>1</sup> Both show the plastic potential of modeling in wax, resulting in strong and intense images that



Fig. 147. Female deity, probably Prajñāpāramitā. Central Vietnam, late 9th–early 10th century. Excavated from Dong Duong monastery, Quang Nam province. Copper alloy, 45½ x 15½ x 10¼ in. (115 x 39.5 x 26 cm). Museum of Cham Sculpture, Da Nang, Vietnam

undoubtedly would have been icons of great power in their prime. Even today, stripped of their mercury gilding and rich inlays, they have a dynamic presence. In the present work, a rectangular hole directly behind the front diadem medallion provides a rare insight into the consecration rituals associated with such icons. The hole was likely intended to receive a relic deposit (*sarīra*), which would have been secured with a bronze plug.<sup>2</sup> The Dong Duong deity has a recessed, diamond-shaped forehead mark, and that cavity may have served the same function, having once been covered, perhaps, by an inset gemstone or precious-metal plug. Well known in Indian art since the Gandhara period, such ritual deposits of relics or holy texts served to enhance the efficacy of an icon.<sup>3</sup>

PUBLICATIONS: Baptiste and Guillon 2002, pp. 19–20, figs. 1–4; Baptiste 2003, figs. 1, 2, 4; Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, pp. 202–3, no. 14; Guillon 2011, p. 30, pl. xli.

NOTES: 1. Boisselier 1984. 2. This feature was identified and discussed in Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, p. 203. 3. Quagliotti 2004, nos. 9, 26.

#### CAT. 169

#### Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

Central Vietnam, 9th century

Found in local temple near Dai Huu, Quang Binh province; acquired by Father Henri de Pirey; and transferred to the Musée Blanchard de la Brosse, Saigon, in 1923

Copper alloy

29½ x 9¾ x 6¾ in. (75 x 25 x 17 cm), including tenon of 4¾ in. (11 cm)

National Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City (BTLS 1289)

#### CAT. 170

#### Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

Central Vietnam, 9th century

Found in Hoai Nhon district, Binh Dinh province, in 1960

Copper alloy

26¾ x 8¾ x 5¾ in. (67 x 22 x 15 cm), including tenon of 4¾ in. (12 cm)

National Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City (BTLS 1290)

and associated inscriptions, the oldest from 799 and four from as late as the early ninth century. One inscription from Po Nagar temple, farther north at Nha Trang, states that that area was also under the control of Pāṇḍuranga, whose capital appears to have been Virapura.

The widespread popularity of Avalokiteśvara, the embodiment of Buddhist compassion, undoubtedly rests on his role as a divine protector. Both the Quang Binh and Binh Dinh examples are remarkably complete; each displays the key attributes of lotus (*padma*), vase (*kamandalu*), sacred book (*pustaka*), and rosary (*akṣamālā*), although in differing hands. The diadem (*kirita*) with three floral medallions, elaborate coiffure (*jatāmukuta*) with a lotus-enthroned Amitābha Buddha, and rich jewelry relate the Dai Huu bodhisattva to contemporary icons from Sumatra-Java. Other stylistic parallels, in stone sculpture and temple architecture, point to extended contact between these two realms, probably sustained as much through the movement of monks as through commerce.<sup>1</sup>

Both bronze Avalokiteśvaras share their stylized coiffure with the so-called Tārā (probably Prajñāpāramitā) from Dong Duong (fig. 147).<sup>2</sup> The plaited dreadlocks evoke Avalokiteśvara's asceticism and echo Śaiva iconography, as Avalokiteśvara does in so many ways, including in the third eye on the Binh Dinh example. These two exceptionally large bronzes must have served as important cult icons in their respective sanctuaries, just as the Dong Duong female deity did in hers.

PUBLICATIONS CAT. 169: Boisselier 1963b, fig. 38; Champa Collection 1994, p. 76, fig. 80; Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, pp. 203–4, no. 15; Tingley 2009, pp. 187, 208–9, no. 59; Vietnam: From the Hong River to the Mekong 2010, p. 174, no. 142.

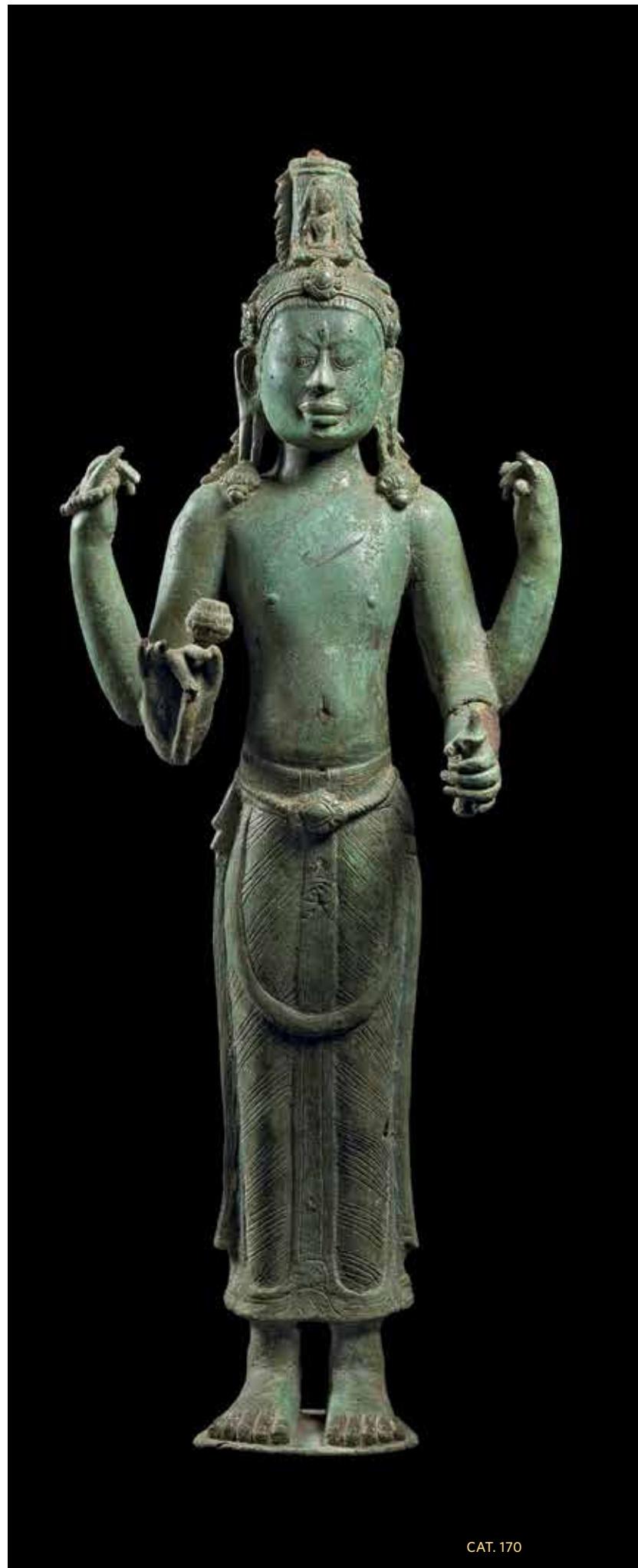
PUBLICATIONS CAT. 170: Louis-Frédéric 1965, p. 268, nos. 289, 290, ill. p. 272. Brocheux 1966, fig. 1; Champa Collection 1994, p. 79, fig. 83; Guillon 2001, pp. 66, 67, fig. 42; Nandana Chutiwongs 2002, pp. 299, 301–4, pl. 175; Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, p. 205, no. 16.

NOTES: 1. Guy 2011c. 2. The Prajñāpāramitā connection was first proposed by Nandana Chutiwongs 2005, pp. 71, 85–86. Hiram Woodward also entertains this identification; see Woodward 2011, pp. 34–35.

These two large bronzes of the Buddhist savior Avalokiteśvara belong to a shared Buddhist culture in the Cham territories of Pāṇḍuranga, centered around Phan Rang. This part of coastal Vietnam is marked by a series of temple sites



CAT. 169



CAT. 170



## Appendices

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### Stone Types and Sculptural Practices in Pre-Angkorian Southeast Asia

Federico Carò and Janet G. Douglas

Early Khmer sculptures of divinities in the round were typically carved from stone material whose aesthetic attributes, such as color, texture, and capacity to attain a polish, were favored at least until the ninth century. Moreover, from the sixth to the ninth century, except for rare exceptions,<sup>1</sup> the stone selected to represent gods was consistently different from that used for architectural and decorative elements, such as cladding slabs and steles. Technical observations also show that statuary stone continued to be different during the Angkorian period, from the ninth to the fifteenth century—a distinction that supports the idea that this could have been a deliberate choice.<sup>2</sup> Although it would be easy to interpret these differences solely on the basis of geographical circumstances, that approach may be too simplistic, especially in the complex case of pre-Angkorian sculpture production.

At first glance, the number and typologies of stone materials used by the Khmers, compared to other ancient cultures, seem relatively straightforward.<sup>3</sup> Khmer sculptures in the round were made almost exclusively of sedimentary rock, mainly sandstone, and sedimentary rock predominates in architectural production as well.<sup>4</sup> However, a close analysis reveals a wide variety of sandstones, sometimes subtly differentiated, which may reflect geographical, political, cultural, artistic, and technical factors, possibly evolving over time.

Sandstone is composed of an assemblage of mineral grains originating from the disaggregation of preexisting rocks whose fragments were transported, deposited, compacted, and cemented through geological processes. Widely represented and exposed in present-day Cambodia, Thailand, Vietnam, and Laos,<sup>5</sup> sandstone has been used for temples and sculptures since pre-Angkorian times.<sup>6</sup>

Analytical methodologies can help determine geological and geographical origins, usage by early Khmer artisans, and patterns of trade of stone materials in Southeast Asia. Among the available techniques is petrographic analysis, the study of the mineral content and texture of rocks through microscopic examination of thin sections.<sup>7</sup> It has been used by scientists to characterize, for conservation and provenance purposes, architectural stone employed in Angkor and more generally in the Khmer Empire.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, petrographic studies of Khmer sculptures of divinities include surveys of pre-Angkorian to post-Angkorian works<sup>9</sup> as well as analysis of productions more restricted in time and space.<sup>10</sup>

According to the limited petrographic data on pre-Angkorian sculptures in the round, mostly collected from well-provenanced works in the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, and the Musée Guimet, Paris, the majority of these sculptures were produced from compositionally and texturally immature sandstones<sup>11</sup> of similar characteristics.<sup>12</sup> Macroscopically, these sandstones appear compact and dark in color, ranging from gray to green. Some clearly exhibit poorly sorted<sup>13</sup> texture, being flecked with visible angular

black grains and tabular white grains. Many surfaces bear traces of a highly polished finish. While these sandstones have similar characteristics, detailed examination reveals slight variations that suggest a complex scenario in which various geological and geographical sources coexisted for the selection of stone material for sculpting the pre-Angkorian gods.

The geological origins and quarry locations of the stone used for pre-Angkorian sculptures remain speculative, largely because detailed geological mapping and petrographic studies are still lacking. Available data, most collected during early field research in Cambodia (third quarter of 20th century),<sup>14</sup> point to a vast, heterogeneous, and poorly studied Triassic sedimentary sequence as the possible source of the favored sandstone types. Triassic sandstone and shale are exposed in several provinces in central, eastern, and southern Cambodia, such as Kampong Cham, Kratie, Kampong Thom, and Mondolkiri, and they are scattered in isolated outcrops in Kampong Speu and Takeo provinces, also in the south.<sup>15</sup> Triassic sedimentary rocks are present in northern Cambodia as well<sup>16</sup> and they extend into Thailand. To date, petrographic analysis of Triassic sandstones exposed in Kampong Speu and Takeo appears to exclude these provinces as sources for pre-Angkorian sculptures of divinities.<sup>17</sup> Altogether, the existing data indicate that the Triassic sedimentary sequence overall is heterogeneous and that it includes numerous types of sandstone varying in their composition, texture, and diagenetic history.

While the Triassic sandstone formations are the most likely source of pre-Angkorian sculptural material, other possibilities, such as Devonian sedimentary formations in southern Cambodia and Vietnam, are being investigated.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, the provenance of sandstone used for architectural elements is better understood, having been identified as sedimentary formations of the Jurassic and Cretaceous periods.<sup>19</sup>

Current research aims to characterize the stone used in pre-Angkorian and Angkorian sculptures in museums and archaeological excavations as well as that found in natural outcrops and possible quarries. The research, when supported by archaeological and art-historical findings, will significantly enhance our knowledge of stone sculpture traditions during this early period of Khmer history.

For this exhibition and publication, petrographic analysis was performed on samples collected from twelve sculptures in cooperation with the National Museum of Cambodia, and the National Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City.<sup>20</sup> The sandstones of two objects have been chosen to represent the two main traditions of pre-Angkorian sandstone carving: a standing Viṣṇu, a sculpture in the round that would have occupied the central position in a pre-Angkorian shrine; and a lintel, an architectural element typically located above a temple's entryway.

### Standing Viṣṇu

The late fifth- or early sixth-century representation of Viṣṇu (cat. 57) from Tuol Koh, Takeo province, southern Cambodia, is made of sandstone with a composition and texture very similar to that of other pre-Angkorian sculptures in the present publication that have been studied, such as a seated Buddha from Angkor Borei (cat. 43). It is composed primarily of fine-grained (average grain size 0.18 mm), poorly sorted grains of quartz, feldspar, and lithic fragments varying in shape from subrounded to angular (fig. 148A).

About 30% of the grains are quartz, in both monocrystalline and subordinate polycrystalline varieties. Feldspar grains—about 36% of the framework—are primarily plagioclase and rare alkali feldspar; they are mostly weathered and often replaced by calcite. Lithic fragments (34%) are mainly volcanic rock and subordinate metamorphic and fine-grained sedimentary rocks. In this sample, volcanic lithic fragments show characteristic microlithic texture, with feldspars and opaque minerals dispersed in a vitreous groundmass. Often such fragments of volcanic rocks are altered, and the groundmass is devitrified and replaced by chlorite. Accessory minerals are abundant epidote, apatite, clinopyroxene, titanite, rutile, ilmenite, zircon, and iron oxides. Secondary calcite, replacing other grains and filling the pore spaces, is particularly abundant in this sandstone (fig. 148B); the presence of other authigenic minerals, such as chlorite, epidote, and sericite, suggests a minor degree of incipient metamorphism.

Most of the other stone samples from sculptural deities share a similar petrography and diagenetic history, which places them among compact, immature sandstones rich in volcanic lithic fragments and most likely belonging to the Triassic sandstone formations of Cambodia. However, within this group, variation in composition and texture can be noticeable, as in the stone of the

standing Buddha from Tuol Ta Hoy (cat. 50), which is very fine grained (average grain size 0.13 mm) and particularly poor in lithic fragments (12%) when compared to the average composition of the studied sculptures.

Only two sculptures studied to date, a Śiva (cat. 96) and a representation of Śiva's footprints (*śivapāda*; cat. 83), both from northern Cambodia, were made with sandstone from the same Jurassic formation, which was exploited intensively for building purposes during the Angkor period.

### Lintel with a King's Consecration

The lintel showing a king's consecration (cat. 88), from Kampong Svay district, Kampong Thom province, central Cambodia, is dated to the mid-seventh century. The stone is a typical example of the Upper Jurassic–Cretaceous quartz-rich sandstone used for decorated lintels and ornamental elements in pre-Angkorian brick temples as well as later Angkorian monuments. The light brown quartz arenite has well-sorted fine grains (average grain size 0.21 mm; fig. 149A), the majority (about 85%) of which are quartz, with subordinate feldspar (5%) and lithic fragments (10%). The grains, which range from subrounded to subangular, are cemented by abundant authigenic quartz and kaolinite (fig. 149B). A thin layer of reddish iron oxides and hydroxides often coats the grains. The few lithic fragments are composed of aphanitic volcanic rock, low-grade metamorphic rock, and argillaceous mudstone, often deformed and squeezed between other grains to produce a fine-grained matrix. The scarce accessory minerals include epidote, apatite, zircon, ilmenite, rutile, and iron oxides. A similar light brown quartz arenite, although poorer in lithic fragments, was used for the lintel in the style of Sambor Prei Kuk in the Metropolitan Museum's collection (cat. 18).

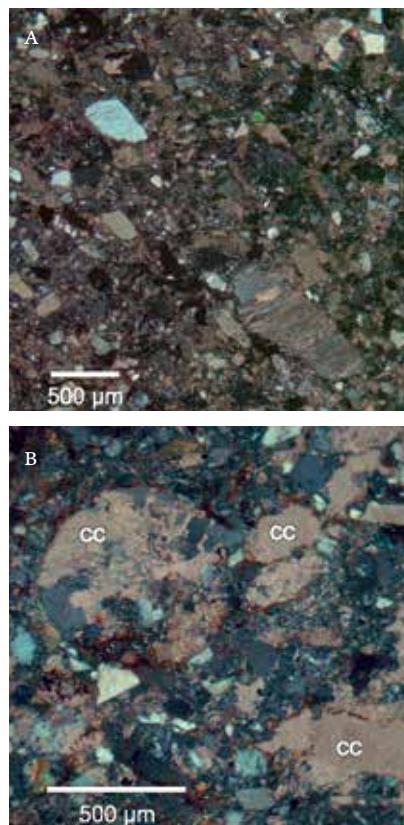


Fig. 148A: Thin-section micrograph of sandstone from standing Viṣṇu (cat. 57). Note heterogeneity of composition and size of constituent grains. 148B: Detail of sandstone from standing Viṣṇu showing abundant calcite (cc) replacing feldspar grains and filling pore spaces. Images were taken with a petrographic microscope with crossed polars.

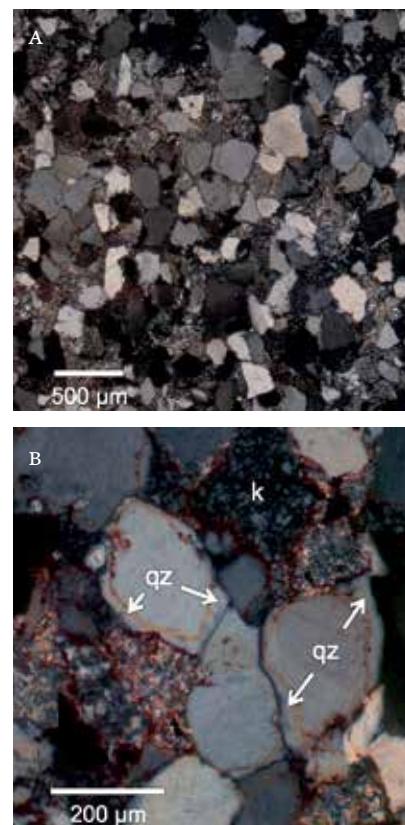


Fig. 149A: Thin-section micrograph of sandstone from lintel with a king's consecration (cat. 88). The grains are well sorted and mostly constituted of quartz. 149B: Detail of sandstone from the same lintel showing quartz (qz) grains cemented by authigenic quartz (arrows) and kaolinite (k). Images were taken with a petrographic microscope with crossed polars.

# Technical Observations on Casting Technology in First-Millennium Cambodia, Thailand, and Vietnam

Lawrence Becker, Donna Strahan, and Ariel O'Connor

Interrelationships among Southeast Asian cultures developed in many directions from the sixth to the ninth century, and the influence of these connections on the fabrication of metal sculptures can be seen in the surviving works. Because of a lack of historical texts and of excavated ancient foundries, knowledge of production methods derives primarily from these extant pieces. Artifacts associated stylistically with the Mon Dvāravatī territories; with the pre-Angkorian Khmer territories; and with Śrivijaya exhibit similarities in metallurgical features as well as some distinctive regional differences.<sup>1</sup> To enhance our understanding of metalworking practices, comprehensive technical studies of many of the early Southeast Asian cast-metal sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum's collection have recently been conducted.<sup>2</sup> When added to past studies, this research provides a body of data that, while not large, gives rise to the following observations. The results are tentative yet tantalizing enough to warrant further investigation.<sup>3</sup>

The modes by which Indic imagery and technology were brought into mid-first-millennium Southeast Asia remain an open question. Holy men, both Brahman and Buddhist, had surely transported Indian sculptures to Southeast Asia by the sixth century, if not before, and methods and materials for creating such sculptures would have been easily disseminated through trade and pilgrimage. The works in the existing corpus, mainly Buddhist in subject, were fabricated in various local production centers. These centers required large quantities of refined metals, and recently discovered shipwrecks give evidence of a vast interregional trade in metals, in the form of ingots and scrap as well as finished objects.<sup>4</sup>

The sculptures under review were all fabricated by the direct lost-wax casting process. Those smaller than about 10 inches (25 cm) in height are generally solid, while larger ones are hollow and supported by iron armatures surrounded by ceramic cores. Gamma and X-radiography reveal armatures extending through the feet, legs, torsos, shoulders, arms, and heads of the figures (see figs. 150–52). Armatures provide a framework for the core, help maintain the core in position during casting, and facilitate handling of larger sculptures. Armatures typically exit through the tangs or feet and out the top of the head, and sometimes through the palms as well. The practice of extending armatures from the head can be traced back to northern Indian foundries.<sup>5</sup> Core pins, also called chaplets, are generally not found on smaller hollow-cast sculptures, because an armature that penetrated the investment was sufficient to keep the core in alignment after the wax was melted out. There is evidence that iron armatures were also used in some solid-cast figures to anchor the wax during modeling.<sup>6</sup> The presence of complex iron armatures in smaller sculptures when simpler methods would have sufficed may simply reflect the conservatism of workshop practice, where techniques are chosen for reasons of tradition as well as utility, or iron armatures may have had a significance independent of function that is not clear to us.

While the sculptures discussed in this essay were all cast in a similar manner, there are regional differences in alloy composition



Fig. 150. Drawing showing internal armature superimposed on X-radiograph of standing bodhisattva Maitreya. Northeastern Thailand, 8th century. Silver alloy, h. 9 1/8 in. (25 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Gifts in memory of Anthony Gardner, 1994 (1994.51). The dotted line represents where the armature originally connected at the ankles.

and surface appearance; indeed, alloy composition itself, whether of bronze or another metal mixture, influenced surface coloration. Most of the images under review were cast from bronze, a copper alloy that contains tin as an essential component and may also incorporate other metals, such as lead and zinc.

When tin is added to copper to form bronze, it generally facilitates casting. Pure copper is challenging to cast because of its relatively high melting point, and numerous pores are liable to form in the metal from the absorption of hydrogen. Thin-walled casts are difficult to produce without significant flaws. When tin and, sometimes, lead are added, the alloy melts at a lower temperature, flows more smoothly, and produces less porosity, allowing for thinner casts. As tin exceeds 10%, however, the alloy's brittleness generally outweighs any benefits in casting, and tin is added at these levels primarily to create a silvery surface luster. The brittle hardness of high-tin alloys inhibits chasing and makes chiseling around casting flaws and hammering in rectangular plugs more difficult; instead, flaws were patched with molten metal.

#### Dvāravatī

The metallurgy of the shadowy Mon kingdom of Dvāravatī is difficult to interpret from the existing bronzes, inasmuch as few sculptures are known and fewer yet have been analyzed. Most are hollow cast, regardless of size, and have iron armatures. The armatures usually begin at the top of the head and, dividing at the hip, travel down through both legs and ankles. Armatures can be elaborate, such as that of an eighth- to ninth-century standing Buddha from Nakhon Pathom province in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum; it is composed of nine pieces riveted together (fig. 151). To date, only three sculptures with core pins have been identified—the Nakhon Pathom standing Buddha and two eighth-century standing Buddhas also in the Museum's collection (1992.99, cat. 142). While no sculptures over 33 inches (84 cm) in height were examined, larger ones were most likely produced.

Of particular interest is the range of alloy compositions found among the Mon Dvāravatī Buddha images. Most of the sculptures analyzed are leaded bronzes with 10% to 16% tin and 1% to 5% lead. The coloration of the sculptures varies depending on the composition of the bronze and the degree of control maintained over the cooling process during casting. While these Buddhas are now heavily corroded, some traces of the original surfaces survive. One of the Museum's eighth-century standing Buddhas (cat. 142) displays very high tin levels—approaching 26%, as analyzed by energy dispersive spectrometry (EDS)—and despite extensive corrosion, remnants of a silvery surface can be seen on the forehead and feet. Another bronze studied, a standing Buddha in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (54.2708), has 22% tin, as measured by inductively coupled plasma atomic emission spectrometry (ICP-AES); today, it is dark gray, but it could originally have been silvery.

A few images are quaternary alloys with enough zinc to indicate that the addition was probably intentional. Two eighth- to ninth-century Mon Dvāravatī Buddhas in the Walters Art Museum (54.2710, 54.2713) contain between 15% and 19% zinc (by ICP-AES).<sup>7</sup> To the west, in present-day Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Kashmir, zinc was used in copper-alloy sculptures beginning in the first century B.C.<sup>8</sup> Some post-Gupta-period sculptures (after 550) contain zinc as a major component, although zinc above 19% was not routinely used in India until about the thirteenth century.<sup>9</sup> The zinc in the Mon Dvāravatī sculptures could have come from zinc-bearing ores (calamines), from ingots transported from India, or from objects brought from India and reused for casting. Perhaps immigrant craftsmen stimulated the discovery of a local zinc source. The presence of more than 5% zinc along with the tin would have contributed to a golden surface.<sup>10</sup> Metallography is needed to determine whether intentional

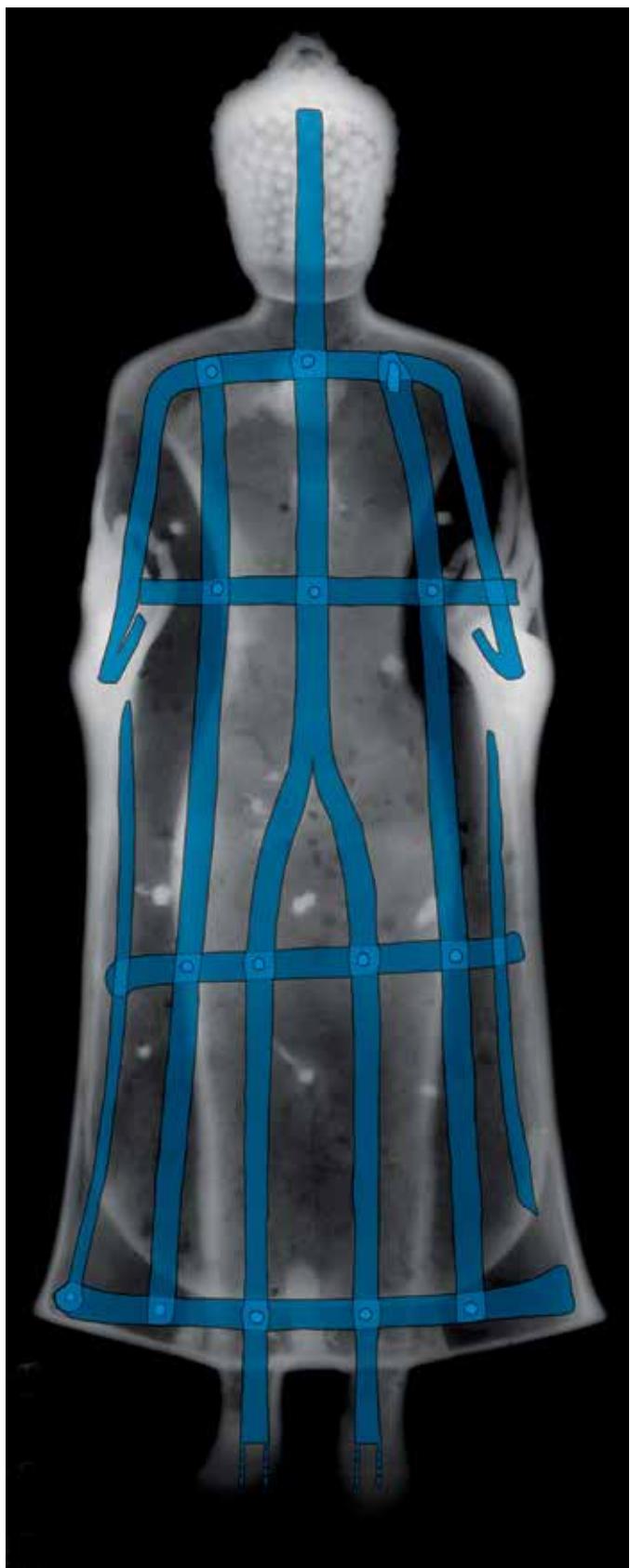


Fig. 151. Drawing showing internal armature superimposed on X-radiograph of standing Buddha. Central Thailand, 8th–9th century. Copper alloy with traces of later leaf gilding, 27 x 10 1/4 x 5 3/8 in. (68.6 x 26 x 13.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1959 (59.149)

segregation of the tin from the alloy, quenching, or other control over the cooling process was used to produce particular surface appearances. It is notable that no Mon Dvāravatī sculptures were gilded.

Two rare standing Buddhas in the Metropolitan Museum were cast in silver (2004.142.1, cat. 120). Like the bronzes, they were hollow cast in one piece and have iron armatures; there are no core pins. The first Buddha (2004.142.1) contains 5.3% copper, 0.4% gold, and 0.2% lead (by EDS). The other (cat. 120) contains much more copper, 12.5% (by EDS); a barely detectable trace of gold, measured by wavelength dispersive spectrometry (WDS) at 0.03%; and 0.3% lead. Neither sample has any traces of zinc, nickel, tin, antimony, or arsenic. The gold may have come from the silver ore source or from small additions made by devotees during a casting ceremony. The original surfaces were clearly meant to be silvery.

#### Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II (Prakhon Chai Hoard)

This corpus of primarily bronze sculptures of bodhisattvas is commonly referred to as the Prakhon Chai hoard after the reported 1964 discovery of the sculptures in that region; it is more precisely associated with the temple remains at Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat in Buriram province, present-day northeastern Thailand.<sup>11</sup> The group is relatively cohesive stylistically and technically, and its dating to the seventh through the ninth century on stylistic grounds is supported by thermoluminescence analyses of core material carried out on two four-armed Avalokiteśvaras in the Museum's collection (1999.90, cat. 141; see also fig. 152). In keeping with the general practice of Southeast Asian sculptors of this period, the figures are primarily hollow cast and contain iron armatures within the ceramic core. The finest examples, with their thin, even walls, are technically exceptional, and the modeling of musculature and facial features is delicate and expressive.

There are two striking characteristics of this corpus, the first being the large size of some of the most important images. They range in height from about 31 to 56 inches (77.5–142.2 cm), and an over-lifesize head of a bodhisattva in the National Museum, Bangkok (708/N), likely came from a standing figure approaching 10 feet (3 m) in height.<sup>12</sup> For the larger sculptures, complex, robust iron armatures protruding from the head, tangs, and feet facilitated handling, and core pins helped maintain the position of the core and the investment when the wax was melted out. Inserting the tangs of completed sculptures into metal or stone bases allowed them to be displayed upright.<sup>13</sup>

Figure 152 shows the position of the armature on the large four-armed Avalokiteśvara (cat. 141). The sculpture, with a height of 56 inches (142.2 cm; with tangs, 62 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. [159 cm]), illustrates the difficulties inherent in casting large objects, as both the left leg and the right foot were cast on after problems with the original pour. Like most Thai and Cambodian figures of the period, this Avalokiteśvara was probably cast upside down, vertically. Generally speaking, patches and cast-on or added elements in Prakhon Chai bronzes are of roughly the same alloy as the main composition. In this respect, the smaller four-armed Avalokiteśvara (1999.90) is anomalous. Although most of the sculpture is approximately 10% tin, 3.5% lead, and 5% zinc (by EDS), the right leg and lower right arm were formed from a separate pour of an alloy containing about 16% tin and less than 1% lead and zinc (by EDS). The boundary between the two alloys is clearly visible on the radiograph. Cast-on elements may not always have been a response to problems in fabrication but may instead have represented a technical choice. For example, the two forward arms of the large four-armed Avalokiteśvara appear to have been cast separately, then inserted at the shoulders.

The second notable feature of the Prakhon Chai group is the silvery coloration of many of the figures. The distinctive, compact

silvery or gray surface results from tin levels that often approach and sometimes exceed 15% in the interior of the alloy and show considerably greater enrichment on the surface from inverse segregation of the tin-rich liquid phase during cooling.<sup>14</sup> For example, tin levels for the large four-armed Avalokiteśvara (cat. 141) range from about 19% in the interior to more than 30% near the surface (by EDS).<sup>15</sup> Although we do not know the precise meaning of the silvery surfaces on these Prakhon Chai bronzes, there is little question that the effect was intentional, since there is no other convincing reason to choose these brittle, problematic high-tin alloys.

While tin levels are generally high in the Prakhon Chai corpus, lead is variable, ranging from trace amounts to 10% or more. Zinc is rarely encountered; of the sculptures examined, only the smaller four-armed Avalokiteśvara (1999.90) contains an appreciable amount, about 5%. The rarity of zinc in Prakhon Chai metalwork, together with the unusual combination of alloys used in the casting of this bodhisattva, suggests that the zinc derives from the remelting of an object, possibly of Indian origin.

A number of silver Prakhon Chai sculptures survive, and it is logical to assume that tin-rich surfaces were meant to emulate silver, particularly because the presumed relative scarcity of silver likely precluded its use for larger works.<sup>16</sup> The same intent may lie behind the unusual alloy of approximately 84% tin and 8.5% lead (by direct current plasma atomic emission spectrometry, DCP-AES) chosen for a pre-Angkorian Lokeśvara in the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh (Ga.5330).<sup>17</sup> The compositions of three silver-alloy Prakhon Chai bodhisattvas in the Metropolitan Museum (1989.237.2, 1994.51 [fig. 150], and 1995.570.8) are variable, ranging from almost pure silver to an alloy approaching 20% copper (by EDS). All three sculptures contain copper as a secondary component and minor amounts of gold and lead. Notably, there are no cast-gold or gilded images in the Prakhon Chai corpus.

#### Pre-Angkorian Cambodia and Vietnam

Unlike the works from Prakhon Chai, the sculptures in the pre-Angkorian group are quite disparate and clearly distinct from other contemporaneous Southeast Asian sculptures—and they are also unlike one another. Nearly all the existing images are small. Few are much larger than a standing Buddha in the National Museum of Cambodia (cat. 51), which is 19 $\frac{5}{16}$  inches (49 cm) in height. However, there are some larger examples, such as a Durgā in a private collection measuring 75 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches (191 cm) in height.<sup>18</sup> Both Prakhon Chai-type images and images from the Cham territories in Vietnam appear to have been stylistic influences. In turn, there was Chinese influence in the Cham territories during this period,<sup>19</sup> as evidenced by two sixth-century Chinese bronze figures found in the Kampong Cham hoard of Cambodian copper-alloy sculptures.<sup>20</sup>

The pre-Angkorian images fall into a number of compositional categories. A standing Avalokiteśvara in the Metropolitan Museum's collection (cat. 132) is composed mainly of copper and high lead, with low or negligible tin by X-ray fluorescence (XRF). There is a rich coppery color under the corrosion.

Two other sculptures of a similar style contain zinc: a small standing Buddha Maitreya from the Khorat Plateau in Thailand has copper and lead with low levels of zinc and tin (by XRF; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982.468), and a Maitreya from the Cambodian Kampong Cham hoard (National Museum of Cambodia, Ga.6940) also has copper and lead with a low level of tin and some zinc (by XRF).<sup>21</sup> Today, the sculptures are covered with corrosion products that disguise their original appearance. Without more detailed quantitative analyses, we cannot venture to state how the original surfaces may have appeared.

A third category is composed of bronzes incorporating 10% to 16% tin and 0.6% to 6% lead; examples are a seventh- to



Fig. 152. Drawing showing internal armature superimposed over photograph of four-armed Avalokiteśvara (cat. 141). The dotted line represents where the armature originally connected the feet at the ankles. The tangs and internal armature extending 6½ in. (17 cm) below the feet are not visible in the image.

eighth-century pre-Angkorian Buddha in the National Museum of Cambodia (Ga.5405; by DCP-AES) and an Ardhanārīśvara in the Metropolitan Museum (1993.387.4; by XRF). Two of the analyzed sculptures are thought to be from southern Vietnam: a standing Avalokiteśvara in the Metropolitan Museum (1993.387.14; by XRF) and a Maitreya in the Musée Guimet, Paris (MG18318; by ICP-AES). The Avalokiteśvara stands apart because of the unusual shape of its armature and its regularly placed core pins. Whether the Maitreya has core pins or an armature is unknown. The surfaces of both sculptures bear traces of mercury-amalgam gilding, which originally would have covered them entirely. The appearance of solid gold is in distinct contrast to the silvery look of the Prakhon Chai pieces, which were being produced farther west during the same period.

### Further Considerations

During this period, metals were scarce and labor-intensive to extract and refine, so existing sculptures were extremely valuable as a source of metal. Because they were often remelted, few early sculptures survive. This initial survey of some of the extant images has demonstrated that from the sixth to the ninth century, Southeast Asian metal sculptures were complex and diverse. All were cast by variations of the direct lost-wax method, and our knowledge of the casting practices is fairly clear. Regional differences show up most prominently in alloy compositions and surface colorations.

While the Buddhist religious context was new in this period, first-millennium Southeast Asian sculptors inherited a long tradition of sophisticated metalworking that extended back to the third or fourth millennium B.C. and included a strong interest in the manipulation of surface coloration through alloy selection and control over the cooling process.<sup>22</sup>

Politics, trade, and religious or philosophical beliefs influenced not only sculptural styles but also alloy compositions. Some Southeast Asian inscriptions mention the Indian practice of prescribing an auspicious alloy called a *navaloha*, a blend of nine metals, for the making of metal objects.<sup>23</sup> The proportion given for each component of the alloy may reflect its relative importance. However, no objects that have been analyzed contain all nine of these metals.

Availability of ores may also have influenced compositions. Cambodia and the Mekong delta are poor in metal ore, requiring importation of all metals except iron. They were probably imported in ingot form, either overland or via maritime trade.<sup>24</sup> Tin and copper are available in northeastern and northwestern Thailand. Laos is rich in copper, lead, and silver, and Myanmar has abundant silver and lead. A rich tin belt runs from central Myanmar down to Malaysia.<sup>25</sup> Although the availability and cost of metals may have been factors in alloy selection, the evidence must be evaluated cautiously. For example, while the presence of rich tin deposits in Thailand enabled the high-tin, silvery surfaces of the Prakhon Chai bronzes, the ready availability of tin does not explain why these surfaces were favored.

Most gold images from the regions studied were produced from gold foil or sheet into which repoussé or chased images were hammered. The mercury-amalgam gilding process was not used to create a gold surface on bronze images. The mercuric sulfide cinnabar, or vermillion, is commonly used in India as a pigment and for ritual purposes, and textual references to mercury distillation and amalgams may date to as early as the Mauryan period (ca. 323–185 B.C.).<sup>26</sup> It does not appear, however, that amalgam gilding was practiced in any South or Southeast Asian country until the sixth or seventh century, when it appears in Vietnam and Indonesia—perhaps influenced by contact with China, which produced amalgam-gilded images as early as the second century.<sup>27</sup> Gilding did not become a general practice in Southeast Asia until later, in the Baphuon period (11th–13th century), when Chinese gilding technology was likely introduced into Vietnam.<sup>28</sup> Chinese records report that ceramic vessels filled with mercury were sent to Angkor during the thirteenth century.<sup>29</sup> It is unclear whether the apparent lack of gilded images in Thailand and Cambodia resulted from religious choice or from the unavailability of mercury sources for gilding. As mentioned previously, some Mon Dvāravati images contain sufficient tin and zinc to impart a golden surface appearance, but it is unclear whether that effect was intentionally sought. Additional study is needed to enhance our understanding of the original appearance of Southeast Asian metal sculptures and of the motivations and circumstances that led to the variations we observe.





# Notes to Essays

## I. LOST KINGDOMS

### INTRODUCING EARLY SOUTHEAST ASIA

1. Coedès 1964 (translated to English in Coedès 1968).
2. Majumdar 1941.
3. Mus 1933; republished in English as Mus 1975.
4. Wolters 1982.
5. Such information is not provided again until the appearance of the Arabic navigational manuals (rutters) in the later eighth century; see Tibbets 1979.
6. Wheatley 1961, p. 15.
7. Wolters 1982.
8. Kulke 1993; see also Woodward 2004, p. 353.
9. Scott 2009.
10. Loofs 1979; Bronson and Dales 1970; Glover et al. 1984; Glover, Yamagata Mariko, and W. A. Southworth 1996; Manguin 2009b.
11. Gupta 2003; Barram and Glover 2008; Glover 2010a.
12. See Bellina, "Southeast Asia and the Early Maritime Silk Road," in this volume.
13. Wheatley 1961, p. 49.
14. Gupta 2003, p. 404.
15. Of the third major religion of the first-millennium Indian subcontinent, Jainism, no trace has been found, a curious absence given the eminent place Jain merchants assumed in the history of Indian commerce. Canonical Jain texts refer to those who ventured to sea to trade, and seafaring ships are depicted on the oldest Jain painted manuscript covers (ca. 10th century).
16. Abraham 1988.
17. Ramesh 2002, appendix of inscriptions, p. 218.
18. See Skilling, "Precious Deposits," in this volume.
19. K.5. Coedès 1931, pp. 1–12.
20. K.1254; translated by Dominic Goodall and Gerdi Gerschheimer, published in Manguin 2010, p. 175.
21. Bisschop 2006, p. 37.
22. Sanderson 2003–4, p. 403.
23. Coedès 1937–64, vol. 4 (1952), pp. 17–19.
24. One site is Kbal Spean, and the other, a river site on Phnom Kulen. Both also have rock-cut depictions of Visñu

and the birth of Brahmā, suggesting a degree of sectarian competition at both sites.

25. Choubey 1997, p. 175.
26. See Wade, "Beyond the Southern Borders," in this volume.
27. Faxian 1886.
28. Manguin and Indradjaya 2011, pp. 113–18.
29. Faxian 1886, pp. 112–14. The Kanheri Avalokiteśvara is published in S. L. Huntington 1985, p. 264, fig. 12.26.
30. Woodward 2003, p. 62.
31. The four stele inscriptions recording this remarkable event were discovered in 1879 and presented in 1880 by the sultan of Kutai to the Batavian Society, whereupon they were deposited in the Batavia Museum, now the Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta. They were first published by Kern 1881 and more exhaustively by Vogel 1918. Three more steles were discovered in 1940 and published in Chhabra 1949.
32. Chhabra 1965, pp. 107–8.
33. Ibid.; Chhabra 1947.
34. Wolters 1967, pp. 193–94; for later Buddhism at this site, Bautze-Picron forthcoming.
35. Cited in Wade, "Beyond the Southern Borders," p. 30, in this volume.
36. *Sui shu*; cited in ibid., pp. 29–30.
37. Skilling 1992.
38. E. Edwards McKinnon, personal communication. I am indebted to Dr. Edwards McKinnon for introducing me to this remarkable location.
39. Wheatley 1961, pp. 151, 268–72.
40. Nilakanta Sastri 1949.
41. Lamb 1961b.
42. Shanmugam 1996, p. 101; Guy 2011d, p. 249. For Wat Khlong Thom, see Glover 1989.
43. See Griffiths, "Early Indic Inscriptions of Southeast Asia," in this volume.
44. Falk 1997.
45. Conventionally characterized as Pallava script; see Chhabra 1965, pp. 40–42.
46. This inscribed boulder has been relocated to a protective shelter sited above the river, at Kampong Muara.
47. For Prasati Ciaruteun and Prasati Kebon Kopi I (the Telapak Gadjah), see de Casparis 1975, p. 18.

and the birth of Brahmā, suggesting a degree of sectarian competition at both sites.

48. As recorded in the Kota Kapur inscription from the island of Bangka.
  49. See Wade, "Beyond the Southern Borders," in this volume.
  50. See Manguin, "Early Coastal States of Southeast Asia," in this volume, and Trigangga 2009.
  51. Filliozat 1969.
  52. Kulke 1991, p. 5.
  53. This history is surveyed by Schweyer 2011, pp. 177–79.
  54. Lamb 1961a.
  55. Glover, Yamagata Mariko, and W. A. Southworth 1996.
  56. Coedès 1956a.
  57. Ibid., pp. 217–19.
  58. National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, and Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta.
  59. Jacques 1995, pp. 68–70.
  60. For more information about Champa, Funan, and Zhenla, see Guy, "Principal Kingdoms of Early Southeast Asia," in this volume.
  61. Kongkaew Weeraprajak 2010.
  62. Brown 1996, fig. 52.
  63. Skilling 2009b, p. 121.
  64. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (1986.482).
  65. Yijing 1896.
- ## PRINCIPAL KINGDOMS OF EARLY SOUTHEAST ASIA
1. See Wade, "Beyond the Southern Borders," in this volume.
  2. See Griffiths, "Early Indic Inscriptions of Southeast Asia," in this volume.
  3. Recent archaeological investigations of Śri Kṣetra indicate habitation in the early centuries A.D.; see Hudson and Lustig 2008. While the ethnicity of the inhabitants is unknown, a degree of cultural continuity suggests that they were likely Pyu.
  4. Luce 1985, p. 47.
  5. See Thein Lwin, Win Kyaw, and Stargardt, "The Pyu Civilization of Myanmar and the City of Śri Kṣetra," in this volume.
  6. Hudson and Lustig 2008, pp. 273–84.
  7. Sarkar 1960, p. 80, pl. XLIV.
  8. Aung Thaw 1968.
  9. Pelliot 1903, pp. 248–303.
  10. See Wade, "Beyond the Southern Borders," p. 26, in this volume.
  11. Coedès 1968, pp. 36–37.
  12. Jacques 1979.
  13. Vickery 1998, pp. 19–21.
  14. Bourdonneau 2003.
  15. Borell 2008b.
  16. Aspell 2013, p. 6.
  17. K.53, K.44. Vickery 1994.
  18. Ibid., pp. 204, 209.
  19. Cham is an Austronesian language, closely related to Malay and Acehnese; Schweyer 2011, p. 9; Vickery 2011, pp. 370–71.
  20. Bellwood 1985.
  21. Chavannes 1904, pp. 193–206.
  22. Vickery 2011, pp. 364–65.
  23. This site and the Thanh Ho fortified citadel on the north bank were first reported by Parmentier 1909–18, vol. 1 (1909), pp. 137–38. Surveyed by this author in 2004, with the museum staff of Tuy Hoa city.
  24. Skilling, W. A. Southworth, and Tran Ky Phuong 2010, pp. 490–91.
  25. Vickery 2011, pp. 372–73.
  26. W. A. Southworth 2004, pp. 209–33.
  27. C.40 and C.174, respectively.
  28. C.96.
  29. K.53. Vickery 2011, pp. 378–79.
  30. C.66.
  31. "Before" meaning "not as far east as."
  32. Beal 1884, p. 200.
  33. Loofs 1979.
  34. Glover 2010b.
  35. Loofs 1979; Bronson 1976; Glover et al. 1984.
  36. Coedès 1963.
  37. See Wade, "Beyond the Southern Borders," pp. 29 and 30, in this volume.
  38. Tibbets 1979.
  39. Guy 2005a.
  40. See Manguin, "Early Coastal States of Southeast Asia," in this volume.
  41. Quoted in Wade, "Beyond the Southern Borders," pp. 29 and 30, in this volume.
  42. Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992, pp. 41–42.
  43. Lamb 1960, pls. 81–166.
  44. Hassan Shuhaimi bin Nik Abd. Rahman and Othman bin Mohd. Yatim 1990, p. 89.
  45. Manguin 1989.
  46. Manguin 1992; Manguin 2004.
  47. Yijing 1896, pp. xxix–xxxii.
  48. Ibid., pp. xxxiii–xxxvii.
  49. Coedès 1930, pp. 33–35.
  50. The Kota Kapur stele is in the Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta

(D90). Published in de Casparis 1975; Miksic 2007, pp. 68–69; Trigangga 2009, p. 86, fig. 6.2.

51. Dalsheimer and Manguin 1998, pp. 97–101.

52. For a comprehensive examination of the archaeological evidence for the peninsular region, see Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002.

53. "Larger Leiden Grant" 1933–34, cited in Guy 1993–94, p. 294.

#### SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE EARLY MARITIME SILK ROAD

1. Majumdar 1941; Coedès 1968.

2. Smail 1961; Benda 1962.

3. Wolters 1982; Pollock 2000; Pollock 2006.

4. Glover et al. 1984; Glover 1989.

5. Bellwood 1985/2007; Solheim 2006; Bulbeck 2008.

6. Glover 1996; Bellina and Glover 2004; Boonyarit Chaisawan 2011; Glover and Bellina 2011; Lam Thi My Dzung 2011.

7. For glass, see Dussubieux 2001; Dussubieux and Gratuze 2010; Dussubieux, Gratuze, and Blet-Lemarquand 2010. For stone ornaments and siliceous stones, see Theunissen, Grave, and Bailey 2000; Bellina 2001; Bellina 2003; Bellina 2007; Theunissen 2007. For jadeite, see Hung et al. 2007; Hung and Bellwood 2010. For metal, see Bennett and Glover 1992; Bennett 2008; Murillo-Barroso et al. 2010; Pryce et al. 2011; Hendrickson, Hua, and Pryce 2013. For ceramics, see Prior and Glover 2003; Bouvet 2011.

8. Solheim 2006; Bellina, Epinal, and Favereau 2012.

9. Flavel 1997; Solheim 2006.

10. For the beads, see Bellina 2001; Bellina 2003; Bellina 2007.

11. Bouvet 2011; Bouvet 2012. Iravatham Mahadevan and Richard Salomon (personal communications) tentatively identified three letters on fig. 27 as part of a fragmentary inscription in Tamil-Brahmi, which seems to read "tū Ra o" and is possibly part of the Tamil word *turavōn* or *turavōr*, which means "ascetic" or "recluse" (Skt., *r̥si* or *sannyāśin*), but not of a Buddhist kind (Skt., *bbikṣu*; Pali, *bbikkhu*). Alternatively, Emmanuel Francis (personal communication) proposes *tūravam*, "common black plum," or *tūravu*, "plum recipient." The inscription may date to the second century on a paleographic basis and is the earliest Tamil inscription found in Southeast Asia. Parallels have been located in Egypt near the Red Sea (at Berenike), where both Tamil-Brahmi and standard Brahmi inscriptions have been found.

12. Once transposed, the inscription on fig. 28 reads *brahaspatiśarmasanāvikasa*

(of the sailor or captain Brahaspatiśarma) according to Oskar von Hinüber and Peter Skilling. Skilling believes it may date to the first to second century, and von Hinüber, to the fourth century at the latest (personal communications). This inscription adds to the known *mahānāvika* references such as the famous Mahānāvika Buddhagupta stele, which was found in Seberang Perai (formerly Province Wellesley; fig. 65), Malaysia; Chhabra 1935, p. 22; Allen 1988, pp. 253–65.

13. Jongeward et al. 2012.

14. Castillo and Fuller 2010; Castillo 2011; Bellina et al. forthcoming.

15. Cameron 2010.

16. Castillo 2011; Castillo in Bellina et al. forthcoming.

17. Bellina 2001; Bellina 2003; Bellina 2007.

18. Junker 1999; Junker 2002; Bellina, Epinal, and Favereau 2012; Morrison and Junker 2002.

19. Manguin 2011a, p. xviii.

20. Bellina 2001; Bellina 2007.

21. Bellina forthcoming.

22. Manguin 2004; Bellina 2013; Bellina et al. forthcoming.

#### BEYOND THE SOUTHERN BORDERS: SOUTHEAST ASIA IN CHINESE TEXTS TO THE NINTH CENTURY

*Transliteration of Chinese in this essay follows the Manyu Pinyin standard except where the original name or title being represented by the Chinese characters is uncertain. In that case, syllables of the represented term are separated by hyphens to possibly facilitate identification. A juán is a subdivision of a traditional Chinese text. The author expresses his gratitude to John Guy for the energy, time, and ideas he contributed in preparing this essay for publication.*

1. "From the barriers of Rinan, or from Xuwen and Hepu traveling by ship for about five months, one arrives at the country of Duyuan. From there, traveling farther by sea for some four months, one arrives at the country of Yilumo. Again sailing for twenty-plus days, one reaches the country of Shenli. Then, proceeding on foot for some ten days, one reaches the country of Fugandulu. From Fugandulu, after sailing for about two months, one reaches the country of Huangzhi." *Han shu*, juan 28. For further discussion, see Wang Gungwu 1998, p. 18; Wheatley 1966, pp. 8–11.

2. Missions from Tianzhu 天竺 came to the Eastern Han court in Luoyang in A.D. 159 and 161 through Jiaozhi, located in what is today northern Vietnam, while another claiming to be from Daqin 大秦 (eastern part of the Roman Empire) also arrived in this

period. A mission from Yetiao 葉調, a possible Southeast Asian polity, arrived in 132. We know nothing of these missions other than the names of the polities that sent them but can assert that they sailed through Southeast Asia. For these references, see Wang Gungwu 1998, pp. 24–25. The third-century Roman coin of Emperor Victorinus found in Thailand and discussed in this publication (cat. 2) may well be a product of such long-distance trade during these early centuries. The same is true of the two coins, one of Antoninus Pius and the other of Marcus Aurelius, found in Oc Eo and of the many Roman coins found along the southeast coast of India. For a broader view of such links, see Raschke 1978.

3. The term *kunlun* was a generic reference to peoples of the maritime realm of Southeast Asia. The origins of the term are unresolved. For an overview of the occurrence and use of the term, see Ferrand 1919.

4. *Jiu Tang shu* (Old History of the Tang), juan 124; *Xin Tang shu* (New History of the Tang), juan 144 (Biography of Tian Shengong 田神功).

5. The most detailed study of Linyi can be found in Stein 1947, while Maspéro 1928 places it in a longer historical context. The *Nan shi* (History of the Southern Dynasties) notes that Linyi was 600 *li* south of Guangzhou, 400 *li* from the southern border of Rinan, and 120 *li* from the sea. For some background on the archaeological vestiges of Linyi, see Yamagata Mariko 2007.

6. *Jin shu* (History of the Jin), juan 97.

7. This reference also accords with the earliest attested inscription recorded for Champa, the fifth-century My Son stele inscription of Bhadravarman I, near the Linyi capital; see Finot 1902. The political affinity of the Vo Canh inscription remains moot.

8. *Nan Qi shu* (History of the Southern Qi), juan 58.

9. This reference is repeated in the *Liang shu* (History of the Liang), juan 54. Soothill and Houdus 1937, p. 185, notes that the term *nirgrantha* refers to "devotees who are free from all ties, wander naked, and cover themselves with ashes. Mahāvīra, one of this sect, called Jñāti 若提 after his family, and also Nirgrantha-jñātiputra 尼陀若提子, was an opponent of Śākyamuni." Here, the reference may simply be to Śaiva Pāśupatas.

10. The unit *wei* 圍 refers to the distance between outstretched arms. Ten *wei* would have been something on the order of 60 feet (18 m).

11. *Nan Qi shu*, juan 58; *Song Shu* (History of the Song), juan 76.

12. *Liang shu*, juan 54. Title/name reconstruction in Maspéro 1928, p. 79.

13. *Sui shu* (History of the Sui), juan 82. For example, Senāpati was equivalent to

"master of troops," while Sarvādhikārin can be rendered as "general superintendent." See Aspell 2013, p. 9. *Putra* is a Sanskrit term and possibly here represents a prince; see Aspell 2013, p. 9.

14. The Chinese text reads 獲其廟主十八枚，皆鑄金為之，蓋其有國十八葉矣。 *Sui shu*, juan 82.

15. Wang Gungwu 1998, p. 84, n. 38. See also Maspéro 1928, p. 93, n. 1.

16. Wang Gungwu 1998, p. 89.

17. Golzio 2004, pp. 33–35. Subsequently, the inscription informs us, the Cham ruler Śri Satyavarman reestablished "a *koṣa* with a face" in favor of the god Īśvara (an epithet for Śiva). This may have been similar to the *lingakosa* included in this publication (cat. 89).

18. *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龟 (Collected Records for Reference), juan 970.

19. *Xin Tang shu*, juan 222C.

20. Liu Xun 劉恂, *Lingbiao luyi* 嶺表錄異 (A Record of Curious Things beyond the Ranges), juan 2.

21. *Sanguozhi* (Records of the Three Kingdoms), juan 60 (Biography of Lü Dai). The mission sent to Funan by Sun Quan 孫權, the first ruler of Wu (reigned 222–52), was led by Zhu Ying 朱應 and Kang Tai 康泰, and both officials wrote books about their experiences; *Liang shu*, juan 54.

22. Li Rongxi 2000, p. 13.

23. See Manguin 2009a.

24. See Stark et al. 1999.

25. Pelliot 1903. Vickery 1998, p. 36, suggests, somewhat critically, that "all modern syntheses of Funan history are based ultimately on Pelliot's reading of the Chinese sources, to which Coedès added inferences and interpretations."

26. Wang Gungwu 1998, p. 35.

27. Writing of the fifth century, the *Nan Qi shu* informs us that "their ships are eight to nine *zhang* [78–88 ft.; 24–27 m] long and six to seven *chi* [6–7 ft.; 1.8–2.1 m] wide. Both front and stern are shaped like a fish." *Nan Qi shu*, juan 58.

28. *Jin shu*, juan 97; *Nan Qi shu*, juan 58. For a local source, see the My Son stele inscription of Prakāśadharma (dated 658). See Golzio 2004, pp. 19–20, for Kaundinya references. Another Sanskrit inscription (K.5), of Dong Thap Muoi (known as Prasat Pram Loven in Khmer), refers to a Prince Gunavarman, younger son of a King Ja[yavarman], who was "the moon of the Kaundinya line." See Coedès 1931, pp. 1–8.

29. *Nan shi*, juan 78. The Hokkien (Min) language retains some earlier Chinese pronunciations of characters; thus, it is often useful in reconstructing medieval Chinese representations of foreign terms.

30. Possibly a Buddha seated on a *nāga* (snake) throne.

31. The creation and distribution of such miniature votive stupas, sometimes

- also serving as reliquaries and made of diverse materials, have long been key elements of Buddhist interactions. *Nan Qi shu*, *juan* 58. For a full translation of the *Nan Qi shu* account, see Pelliot 1903, pp. 256–62.
32. *Nan shi*, *juan* 78.
33. The *Jiu Tang shu*, *juan* 197, tells us that “people of the south refer to Zhenla as the Jimie 吉蔑 Country.” This is an early Chinese reference to the ethnonym “Khmer.”
34. Whether the demise of Funan in the first half of the seventh century played any role in the following events, it is perhaps worth noting that missions to Tang China from Heling also started in 640, and from Shili Foshi 室利佛逝 (Śrīvijaya), in 670–73. Wang Gungwu 1998, p. 67.
35. Aspell 2013, p. 17, translated from the *Sui shu*, *juan* 82.
36. See ibid., p. 17, n. 77, for Angkorian inscriptions in which *kṣatra* is used in the sense of “king, sovereign, monarch, lord, noble, warrior.” Citrasena is known from Khmer inscriptions. See Coedès 1937–64, vol. 7 (1964), Inscription K.978 from Si Thep.
37. Coedès 1968, p. 66, notes that this is likely a reference to the temple of Vat Ph'u (Wat Phu) on Śrī Lingaparvata (Phu Kao) in present-day Laos. Vickery 1998, p. 38, suggests that this *liṅgaparvata* could have been anywhere in Cambodia.
38. *Sui shu*, *juan* 82.
39. *Jiu Tang shu*, *juan* 197. Possibly a reference to the polity later known as Vieng chan/Vientiane. The toponym Wenchan is often rendered by modern scholars in its alternative pronunciation as Wendan, which obscures its likely origin.
40. This was very possibly Purandarpura, the capital of Jayavarman I (reigned ca. 657–81) and likely some later rulers. It is mentioned in Jayavarman's inscriptions K.493 and K.44, but its location has never been ascertained. See Vickery 1998, pp. 352–56.
41. *Jiu Tang shu*, *juan* 222C. The Chinese text reads 國尚佛道及天，天神為大，佛道次之.
42. Some references in Chinese texts to Tuhuoluo 吐火羅 are not to Dvāravati but to the West Asian polity of Toxārestān.
43. A linguistic group under the Mon-Khmer family. The Mon resided in areas that are today parts of Myanmar and Thailand.
44. Coedès 1968, p. 76.
45. Dvārakā, India, which was also known as Dvāravati, is noted in the *Mahābhārata* as being the capital of the Anarta kingdom.
46. Li Rongxi 1996, p. 302. What place Xuanzang meant by “Yamanadvipa” is not known.
47. *Jiu Tang shu*, *juan* 197.
48. Cited in the *Taiping yulan* (Imperial Readings of the Taiping Reign), *juan* 787.
49. Li Rongxi 1996, *juan* 10, p. 302.
50. The earliest radiocarbon-14 date is A.D. 50–200. For further details about this city and its culture, see Luce 1937 and Bob Hudson's Srikssetra Survey Map 2005–2007, accessed August 26, 2013, <http://www.timemap.net/~hudson/Hudson-2007-SrikssetraSurveyMap.pdf>.
51. See Thein Lwin, Win Kyaing, and Stargardt, “The Pyu Civilization of Myanmar and the City of Śrī Kṣetra,” in this volume.
52. Chinese knowledge of this polity likely resulted from the Tang defeat of Nanzhao in 791.
53. Chang Qu 1958, *juan* 4, p. 60.
54. *Jiu Tang shu*, *juan* 197. The endonym attested in the Old Mon palace inscription of Kyanzitha (*Epigraphia Birmanica* 1919–36, vol. 3, pt. 1 [1923], no. ix) is “Tircul.” See Luce 1959b, p. 55.
55. The *Xin Tang shu*, *juan* 222C, adds that the city had twelve gates.
56. Literally, “the relics (śarīra) Buddha City.” The *Man shu* (Book of the Barbarians), *juan* 10, by contrast, notes that the “city of the Buddha’s relics” 舍利城 was twenty days west of the Pyu country.
57. “White image” could be alternatively translated as “white elephant.” A *chi* is a Chinese foot, equivalent to about 14 inches (35 cm).
58. See Wicks 1992, p. 116.
59. This is a reference to the troops of Nanzhao, a major polity located in present-day Yunnan that contested with both the Tang and the Tibetan regimes, as detailed in Backus 1981.
60. Luce 1985, p. 66.
61. Luce 1959a, p. 34.
62. Wang Gungwu 1998, pp. 118–19; *Liang shu*, *juan* 54.
63. Malay term for eaglewood or agarwood.
64. *Lindera erythrocarpa* Makino.
65. *Liang shu*, *juan* 54.
66. Wheatley 1961, pp. 48–49, provides a full translation.
67. *Wenxian tongkao*, *juan* 331.
68. Groeneveldt, Pelliot, Ferrand, Luce, Fujita Toyohachi, and Briggs all locate Panpan on or near the Bay of Bandon (see Wheatley 1961, p. 50). Jacq-Hergoualc'h also sees Panpan as having been the major influence during this period in the southernmost part of the Isthmus of Kra (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, p. 104), and he has detailed the cultural remains he associates with this polity (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, pp. 107–60). He describes a range of religious images from Chaiya, Phunphin, Wiang Sa, and Sathingphra, including Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, lingas, and traditional Buddhas as well as Mahāyāna images, all dating from the fifth to eighth century.
69. *Liang shu*, *juan* 54.
70. Probably the Khmer royal title *kurūñ*. See Vickery 1998, pp. 188–89, 197–98.
71. A generic term for Western foreigners.
72. *Taiping yulan*, *juan* 788.
73. Chinese texts include references to Langyaxiu 狼牙修, Langjashu 郎迦戍, Langjaxu 郎迦戌, Lingjaxiu 棱枷修, Lingyasiija 凌牙斯加, and Longyaxijiao 龍牙犀角.
74. Wheatley 1961, pp. 256–63.
75. Ibid., p. 265.
76. Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, pp. 168–69.
77. See Wang Gungwu 1998, pp. 47, 119.
78. *Nan shi*, *juan* 78.
79. Yijing 1986, pp. 34–35.
80. See Enoki Kazuo 1984.
81. *Nan shi*, *juan* 78; *Song shu*, *juan* 97.
82. Wheatley 2002, pp. 51–55, addresses the various Chinese references, while Hsu Yun-Tsiao 1947 also examines the Chinese texts relating to Dandan. Both conclude that it likely lay on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula.
83. Missions arrived in China in 535 and 617. Other missions from Dandan arrived twice in the 660s; *Sui shu*, *juan* 82; *Xin Tang shu*, *juan* 222C.
84. In the letter that accompanied the envoy, the Dandan ruler wrote that he understood that the Chinese emperor had placed his faith in the *triratna*, that *buddhadharma* had burgeoned under him, that monks had flocked to China, and that religious affairs had flourished. He also offered an ivory image 牙像 (possibly of the Buddha) and two painted votive stupas 畫塔二軀. *Liang shu*, *juan* 54.
85. The *Song shu* gives the name as Panhuang. In Cantonese, the initial graph 琴 (pan in Mandarin) can be pronounced *po*.
86. Later Chinese names for this polity include Pengfeng 明豐 (in the *Yunlu manchao* 雲麓漫鈔), Pengkeng 彭競 (in the *Daoyi zhilue* 島夷志略), Pengheng 朋亨 (in the *Nanhai zhi* 南海), Pengheng 彭亨 (in the *Dongxiyang kao* 東西洋考), and so on.
87. *Song shu*, *juan* 97; *Nan shi*, *juan* 78.
88. *Song shu*, *juan* 97.
89. The *Song shu* gives the name as the “country of Panda.” In Cantonese, the initial graph 熊 (pan in Mandarin) can be pronounced *po*.
90. Note the same royal title in the account of Pohuang above.
91. *Nan shi*, *juan* 78.
92. Wang Gungwu 1998, p. 64.
93. The characters for Chitu—赤土—are pronounced *cek-tou* in Cantonese and *ciab-too* in Hokkien.
94. Wheatley 1961, p. 30.
95. *Sui shu*, *juan* 82. For a full translation, see Aspell 2013, p. 12.
96. Likely Siva's bull; the name Nandin for Siva's bull is a recent development. See G. Bhattacharya 1977. This information is courtesy of Arlo Griffiths.
97. *Sui shu*, *juan* 82.
98. Often erroneously rendered as Jiecha 獬茶.
99. *Da Tang xiyu quifa gaoseng zhuan* (Eminent Monks Who Sought the Law in the Western Regions during the Great Tang), *juan* 2. See Yijing 1986, p. 78.
100. *Xin Tang shu*, *juan* 43C.
101. See Tibbets 1979, pp. 118–28; see also Averbuch 2013, pp. 181–226. For linguistic arguments supporting the phonetic equivalence of Kalāh and Kedah, see Tibbets 1979, pp. 125–26.
102. *Xin Tang shu*, *juan* 43C.
103. Tibbets 1979, pp. 128–35.
104. *Sui shu*, *juan* 3.
105. *Tang Huiyao*, *juan* 96. The *Xin Tang shu* also notes that during the 627–49 period, Linyi envoys came to China together with envoys from Poli and Luocha; *Xin Tang shu*, *juan* 222C.
106. See, for example, Thurgood 1999; Thurgood 2007; Brunelle 2012.
107. *Song shu*, *juan* 97.
108. Schnitger 1939, p. 85, identifies Poli with Panei.
109. Aspell 2013, p. 29, citing Li Min, notes that “there are two basic types of *yingluo* known in Chinese Buddhist art: a single strand that hangs to the lower abdomen in the shape of the letter U, and intersecting strands that meet in the form of an X.” Aspell also mentions that the *Sui shu* notes the wearing of *yingluos* by three Southeast Asian kings—those of Linyi, Chitu, and Zhenla—and suggests that “the *yingluo* was part of a set of royal regalia.”
110. A Chinese foot, equivalent to about 14 inches (35 cm).
111. *Nan shi*, *juan* 78.
112. The use of the name Kaundinya by Funan rulers in the fifth and sixth centuries should also be noted.
113. *Nan shi*, *juan* 78.
114. *Jiu Tang shu*, *juan* 197.
115. *Sui shu*, *juan* 82.
116. Compare *dalam* in Malaya. See Edwards McKinnon 1988, p. 103. This study suggests that Barus extended into what is today Aceh, a supposition supported by Ibn Khurdādhbih, who noted in the *Kitāb al Masālik w’al Mamālik* of 846 that Bālūs (Barus) was two days from Kalah and “to the left” and a source of good camphor, which fits with Barus's being in northern Sumatra and the term's perhaps being a generic one for the northern part of Sumatra.
117. See Tibbets 1979, pp. 141–43.
118. *Tang Huiyao*, *juan* 100.
119. Yijing 1986, pp. 24–25.
120. *Xin Tang shu*, *juan* 222C.
121. Yijing 1986, p. 114.
122. Yijing 1896, p. xxxiii.
123. Wang Gungwu 1998, p. 84, n. 39.
124. The *Xin Tang shu* provides the dimensions of Shili Foshi, noting that it was 1,000 *li* from east to west and 4,000 *li* from north to south. It had fourteen cities, and these were managed separately by two countries. The western country, which had much gold, cinnabar, and

camphor, was called Lang Polusi 郎婆露斯. We have seen above how this name refers to Lam Barus, the northern part of Sumatra, and can only assume that the southern capital controlled the southern part of Sumatra.

125. See Coedès 1992b, p. 99.

126. Both are now preserved in the Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta (D155, D90). Published in de Casparis 1975; Trigangga 2009, p. 86, fig. 6.2; Miksic 2007, pp. 68–69.

127. *Jiu Tang shu*, *juan* 197; *Xin Tang shu*, *juan* 222C.

128. For details of other Muslim envoys to China “surname” Li, see Wade 2010. The envoys are listed on pp. 403–5.

129. While Louis-Charles Damais prefers to identify the name Heling 詹陵 with the Javanese *kadatuan* (royal residence) of Walaij (see Damais 1964), the identification I offer sees other origins for the name Heling. The traditional explanation, associating the term with *keling*, a widespread and sometimes pejorative Southeast Asian reference to people from South Asia (and possibly derived from the name Kalinga), remains useful.

130. Laffan 2005, p. 32. See also Mahdi 2008 and Griffiths 2013b.

131. Zhou Qufei 周去非, *Lingwai daida* 嶺外代答, *juan* 2.

132. *Tong Dian* (Comprehensive Statutes), *juan* 188, and *Xin tang shu*, *juan* 222C.

## II. EMERGING IDENTITIES

### EARLY INDIC INSCRIPTIONS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

1. See Wade, “Beyond the Southern Borders,” in this volume.

2. See Salomon 1995.

3. The gifts mentioned here and on Mūlavarman’s other *yūpas* are all well known from Sanskrit *purāṇa* literature, which recommends various forms of liberality to Brahmins. See Chhabra 1949 and Chhabra 1965 for this group of inscriptions. I cite here the translation to be included in a forthcoming comprehensive study of the inscriptions of Mūlavarman and Pūrṇavarman, on which I am working with Emmanuel Francis. For examples of box-headed script in Champa, see Finot 1902 and Coedès 1939.

4. Several documents from the mainland—in particular, the well-published gold-foil manuscript from Śri Kṣetra—tend to be assigned earlier dates (5th or 6th century) in the scholarly literature (see Falk 1997; Stargardt 2001, p. 505), following the tendency to estimate paleographic dates by comparing script specimens from India while ignoring the

striking similarities within the group of Southeast Asian inscriptions mentioned here. For discussion of this problem, see my forthcoming monograph, coauthored with Emmanuel Francis, on the inscriptions of Mūlavarman and Pūrṇavarman.

5. K.474. For the EFEO inventories of Khmer (K.) and Champa (C.) inscriptions, see Griffiths et al. 2008–9.

6. See Goodall and Griffiths 2013, p. 433, n. 22.

7. For the problem of naming ancient Indic scripts, see Sander 2007.

8. The classic study making the case for the Pallava connection is Vogel 1918. Despite the fact that some of its premises are untenable, this study is still valuable reading.

9. See Finot 1912b; Finot 1913; Falk 1997; Stargardt 2000; Stargardt 2001; Skilling 1997c; Skilling 2002; Skilling 2005b.

10. See Griffiths 2012, p. 477.

11. See, for examples of such Late Northern Brāhmī from Arakan, Johnston 1944; Sircar 1957–58; Sircar 1967. The unpublished inscription on the socle of the Buddha (cat. 41) from Śri Kṣetra is partly engraved in a variety of the same script. The same site has reportedly yielded fragments of a Sanskrit inscription in the same script (Sircar 1976).

12. For the use of this script in ancient Java, see Griffiths, Revire, and Sanyal 2013. The example shown here in fig. 40 is a relatively recent discovery from Candi Plaosan Lor, Central Java province, containing the *Bodhibarbhālaṁkārā-lakṣadhbāraṇi*. I publish this inscription in Griffiths forthcoming.

13. Compare Shafer 1943; Luce 1985, pp. 45–76; Krech 2012.

14. From the period that concerns us here, the only other case is from Bali, where the pillar of Sanur is inscribed with three texts: the first two, in Sanskrit and Old Balinese, are in Siddhamāṭrkā script; the third, again in Sanskrit, is in the local Indonesian Kawi script. See Stutterheim 1934 and Damais 1951.

15. C.40. Compare K. Bhattacharya 1961a; Filliozat 1969; Jacques 1969; Majumdar 1970; Zakharov 2010.

16. For the use of Sanskrit versus local (“vernacular”) languages in the history of Southeast Asian literature, including inscriptions, see Pollock 2006.

17. One exception is inscription C.174, said to originate in Dong Yen Chau, Vietnam; it is the oldest document in the Cham language (Coedès 1939), perhaps as old as the fourth century.

18. For the oldest Mon inscriptions, see Coedès 1952; Diffloth 1984; Bauer 1991a; Bauer 1991b.

19. Compare Francis 2008–9, p. 412. There are some much earlier inscriptions in Tamil Brāhmī script, but they seem to be imports from India and are hence

not directly relevant to Southeast Asian epigraphy (see Boonyarat Chaisuwan 2011).

20. Luce and Pe Maung Tin 1934–56, vol. 4, pl. 355b; Luce 1985, pl. 98a.

21. For relevant publications, see Griffiths and W. A. Southworth 2007; Griffiths and W. A. Southworth 2011.

22. See Skilling 2008.

23. 1892.1103.91. Raven 2004–5, fig. 6.21.

24. See Griffiths forthcoming for several examples.

25. Its inscription is published here for the first time.

26. According to Wisseman-Christie 2004, pp. 92–93, one *suvarna* weighed 38 grams, and there were 16 *māṣas* to the *suvarna*, so that we have  $2.75 \times 38 = 104.5$  grams of gold.

27. Both the paleographic aspect of the characters and the type of inscription clearly point to the ninth century. For similar, although uninscribed, artifacts in the Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta, see Fontein 1990, pp. 284–85, and Bianchini 1995, pp. 64–65 (1555/A85); Brinkgreve, Lunsingh Scheurleer, and Stuart-Fox 2010, p. 88 (6535/A161) and pp. 92–93 (1556, 8968).

28. These are both otherwise unknown figures in Southeast Asian history, and it cannot be excluded that we are dealing with imports from India, where very similar rings (and impressions of such in clay) have been found. The first ring weighs 1.33 ounces (37.525 g), and reportedly originates from Phu Yen, Vietnam. But the piece was acquired from goldsmith Vu Kim Loc of Ho Chi Minh City, and the provenance information is suspect. A provenance in Phu Yen would plead for assigning the ring to the culture of Champa, but as no such rings have been found in that region so far, it might actually be an artifact of the Mekong delta (see Malleret 1959–63, vol. 3 [1962], pp. 310–11, pls. XXXVII–XXXIX; Bourdonneau 2007, p. 128). For a similar early signet ring, unprovenanced but presumed to be Indian, see Boardman and Scarisbrick 1977, p. 87 with pl. 211 (the published reading, Sri Mitrabhavya, is imprecise in several ways and should be corrected: *(śr(i)mitrarbhavasya)*). But the similarity of script and content with cat. 87, which is, in my opinion, most likely an impression from a locally manufactured seal (the seal is catalogued in this volume as being from India), suggests that such rings were also produced locally in Southeast Asia. The second ring was photographed in 1997 by Pierre-Yves Mangin at Oc Eo, where it was held by a villager.

29. See, for instance, Wisseman-Christie 1998 (on Javanese coins) and Mahlo 2012 (on Burmese coins).

30. In numismatics, the term “coin” is used for artifacts that were used as currency, whereas “medallion” designates those that were minted in small quantities and not destined to serve as currency.

31. The brackets indicate elements that are entirely lost, while the parentheses show elements preserved but not legible out of context. The gold coin is currently held by the National Bank of Cambodia and is destined to become a key object in the planned Money and Economy Museum near Wat Phnom in Phnom Penh.

32. See, for instance, Coedès 1963 on what he interpreted as medallions of Dvāravati. Since 1963, a considerably greater number of specimens have become known.

33. The copper plate of Muṇḍuan, from central Java, now in a private collection, dates to 807 and is the oldest copperplate inscription from Indonesia. It has so far been published only in Japanese (Nakada Kozō 1986).

34. See Falk 1997, Skilling 2002, and Griffiths forthcoming, to mention just three relevant publications.

35. Paleographic analysis allows us to situate in time even those inscriptions that do not contain dates, but great precision is not possible with this approach. Compare de Casparis 1979.

36. For later periods, scholars are frequently lucky enough to find dated inscriptions engraved on freestanding sculptures, directly indicating their dates, but no such directly dated sculptures are known from early Southeast Asia.

37. See Griffiths and W. A. Southworth 2011.

### PRECIOUS DEPOSITS: BUDDHISM SEEN THROUGH INSCRIPTIONS IN EARLY SOUTHEAST ASIA

1. The discovery was reported in detail in Duroiselle 1930a. Duroiselle’s list of the diverse contents is on pp. 176–81.

2. Stargardt 2000, pp. 21–22. Other gold texts from Myanmar—for example, the Maunggun plates—were not found with such rich deposits. For the Maunggun plates, see Finot 1912b; Ray 1946, pp. 33–35.

3. Taking recent research into account, I choose to write *bodhisattva* rather than the artificially standardized, and now anglicized, *bodhisattva*. See G. Bhattacharya 2010.

4. For the Pali texts, see Ray 1946, pp. 37–42, and, more recently, Falk 1997 (with references to earlier literature); Stargardt 2000; Skilling 2005b.

5. One variant of these votive stupas is illustrated in Jacq-Hergoualc’h 2002, fig. 61.

- 6.** Salomon 2009 dates them to the first to third century A.D. Some of the latest discoveries have radiocarbon-14 dates of the first century B.C. and even earlier.
- 7.** See Konow 1929, pp. 152–55, inscription LXXX.
- 8.** For the example cited here and further references, see Melzer and Sander 2006, pp. 254–56.
- 9.** Both *Tathāgata* and Great Ascetic are epithets of the Buddha. The stanza is often referred to as the *Ye dharma* (Skt.) or *Ye dhamma* (Pali) verse or, inaccurately, as the “Buddhist creed.”
- 10.** Theravāmsa is a general name for the cluster of schools that is today represented by the Theravāda in South and Southeast Asia and, increasingly, around the world. See Skilling et al. 2012.
- 11.** There is some overlap with Arakan, which merges into the Sanskrit zone of India itself.
- 12.** For Dvāravatī, see Skilling 2003.
- 13.** The fragmentary texts are on the spokes of a stone *dharma* and an octagonal pillar, both from Chainat in central Thailand. See Skilling 1997c, pp. 134–51.
- 14.** Published in ibid., pp. 123–26.
- 15.** There is one exception, the Noen Sa Bua stone inscription, but the figure is damaged, and there are different opinions about how it should be read. In a century of research, there has been considerable disagreement about the dates of individual inscriptions, but the complex questions of dating are well beyond the scope of this essay.
- 16.** The source is the “Great Chapter” of the Vinaya, for which see Oldenberg 1879, p. 2.
- 17.** Skilling, W. A. Southworth, and Tran Ky Phuong 2010. For stylistic comments, see Guy, “Principal Kingdoms of Early Southeast Asia,” in this volume.
- 18.** Skilling forthcoming.
- 19.** The classic source remains de Casparis 1956, pp. 47–167. It is regrettable that there has been no further work on these important texts and that photographs have never been published.
- 20.** Ibid., pp. 168–73.
- 21.** Skilling 1999.
- 22.** For the first, discovered by H. G. Quaritch Wales in 1936 or 1937, see Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002.
- 23.** The terms in Sanskrit are *bodhicitta*, *ratnatraya*, *vajraśarira*, and *anuttarābhisaṃyakṣambodhi*. For the Talang Tuwo inscription, see Coedès 1930 (English trans. Coedès 1992a); Chhabra 1965, p. 38.
- 24.** Dias 1971 lists only three Pali inscriptions for the whole island. All of them are later than our period.
- 25.** See Mudiyanse 1967, pp. 79–105.
- 26.** For some examples, see von Hinüber 1984, especially pp. 3–6; Whitfield 1984, nos. 116, 117.
- 27.** For *banaspatis*, see Pattaratorn Chirapravati, “The Transformation of Brahmanical and Buddhist Imagery in Central Thailand,” p. 223, in this volume.
- THE PYU CIVILIZATION OF MYANMAR AND THE CITY OF ŚRĪ KṢETRA**
- 1.** Variant ethnic names are discussed in Luce 1937; most recently, M. Aung-Thwin and M. Aung-Thwin 2012, pp. 63–65, has argued against the use of the name, but it is used here as the best-known term.
- 2.** Stargardt 1998.
- 3.** This essay discusses only Halin, Beikthano, and Śrī Kṣetra because research data on them is readily accessible. Pyu settlements were, however, more numerous and extended over a wide area of Myanmar. Currently, investigations are being made on a number of sites—Maingmaw, Binnaka, Tagaung, and Dawei, among others—that reveal affinities with Pyu culture.
- 4.** *Glass Palace Chronicle* 1923, pt. 3, paragraph 102, pp. 1–6.
- 5.** Also mentioned in the Bagan-period inscription of the great king Kyanzittha; *Epigraphia Birmanica* 1919–36, vol. 1, pt. 1 (1919), pp. 59–68.
- 6.** Those mentioned in *Glass Palace Chronicle* 1923 are the *Prome Shwesandaw Thamaing* [Chronicle] (p. 11ff.), the *Great Chronicle*, the *New Chronicle*, the *Old Chronicle*, the *Tagaung Chronicle*, the *Arakan Chronicle*, and the *Bagan Chronicle* (pp. 5–8ff.).
- 7.** Backus 1981.
- 8.** Twitchett and Christie 1959; Picken 1984.
- 9.** For a different account of the fall of Śrī Kṣetra, see Kala 1960, cited in Luce 1985, vol. 1, pp. 66, 87.
- 10.** King Kyanzittha’s three inscriptions in the Shwesandaw stupa at Pyay (Prome); *Epigraphia Birmanica* 1919–36, vol. 1, pt. 2 (1920), pp. 3, 6; *Epigraphia Birmanica* 1919–36, vol. 3, pt. 1 (1923), pp. 10, 42.
- 11.** Win Kyaing 2012; Pichard 2012, p. 3, provided by U Thein Lwin. We follow the romanization of Myanmar place-names used by Professor Tun Aung Chain.
- 12.** Since the 1990s, the program of training and excavation has intensified, especially since the creation of the Field School of Archaeology at Śrī Kṣetra in November 2005 by Myanmar’s Department of Archaeology, National Museum and Library, Ministry of Culture. As a result, important new discoveries continue to be made.
- 13.** Stargardt 1990, pp. 85–101; Stargardt, Amable, and Devereux 2012; Stargardt and Amable forthcoming.
- 14.** No fewer than three royal inscriptions of King Kyanzittha of Bagan were installed in the Shwesandaw stupa at Pyay by 1110; *Epigraphia Birmanica* 1919–36, vol. 1, pt. 2 (1920), pp. 3, 6; *Epigraphia Birmanica* 1919–36, vol. 3, pt. 1 (1923), pp. 10, 42.
- 15.** A research project on ancient iron and ironworking in and around Śrī Kṣetra is now being conducted by U Win Kyaing and Dr. Than Htike, Field School of Archaeology, June 2013; Hudson 2013, p. 6, fig. 20.
- 16.** Personal communication from archaeometallurgist Dr. Ni Ni Khet, June 2013.
- 17.** Calibrated date, hence the spread of 150 years; cited in Hudson 2013, p. 6, fig. 20.
- 18.** For a different view, see ibid., fig. 21. Hudson considers the east wall to be part of the oldest fortifications at Śrī Kṣetra, but this is unlikely, as it would have interfered with the full functioning of the irrigation system, and it would surely have been rebuilt during the zenith of the city to the same high standard as the rest of the outer walls.
- 19.** Stargardt 1998.
- 20.** Stargardt 2005.
- 21.** See Guy 1997 for a detailed discussion of this iconography.
- 22.** Luce 1985, vol. 1, p. 48.
- 23.** Hudson 2013, p. 6, fig. 21.
- 24.** Duroiselle 1931.
- 25.** Falk 1997, p. 89.
- 26.** Ibid., pp. 53–92.
- 27.** An inventory is provided in Stargardt 2000, pp. 51–53, based on the original inventory published by Duroiselle 1931.
- 28.** Von Hintüber 2008, pp. 4–5 and p. 205, n. 737; Skilling 2005b, pp. 388–89.
- 29.** Lu Pe Win 1940.
- 30.** Stargardt 1995.
- 31.** Especially by Professors Harry Falk of the Freie Universität, Berlin, and Oskar von Hintüber of the Universität Freiburg, together with Professor Richard Gombrich of the University of Oxford and Janice Stargardt; see Falk 1997; Stargardt 2000, pp. 21–29.
- 32.** Mahlo 2012, pp. 48–49; Than Htun 2007, pp. 83–84.
- 33.** All depicted in Luce 1985, vol. 2, pls. 5–8.
- 34.** Blagden 1917.
- 35.** For instance, that of Luce 1985, vol. 1, pp. 62–63.
- 36.** San Win 2000–2001; Tun Aung Chain 2004.
- 37.** Moore 2007, p. 169.
- 38.** Depicted in Luce 1985, vol. 2, pl. 22c.
- 39.** Example illustrated in Moore 2007, p. 172.
- 40.** Guy 1999a; Brown 2001, pp. 37–38; Moore 2007, chapter 5 and two steles on p. 172.
- 41.** See the southern Mon type of clay molding depicted in Luce 1985, vol. 2, pl. 17a–f.
- 42.** Gordon Luce idiosyncratically coined the name “triads” for such group sculptures and emphasized what he saw as their links with “megalithic” art, which may be confusing, as no megalithic culture in the normal archaeological sense has so far been found in Myanmar; ibid., vol. 1, pp. 52–53, and vol. 2, pls. 10–15, where twenty-two “Buddhist megaliths” are depicted.
- 43.** See Brown 2001 for an excellent discussion of the originality of these groupings in Pyu Buddhist art; also note the resemblance between the banded stupa forms flanking the Buddha in fig. 57 and the small silver stupas discussed and illustrated in this publication (cat. 35A, B).

## EARLY CHAM ART: INDIGENOUS STYLES AND REGIONAL CONNECTIONS

- 1.** Filliozat 1969, especially p. 108. See also W. A. Southworth 2004.
- 2.** Bergaigne 1893, p. 191.
- 3.** Vickery 2005, especially pp. 24–25.
- 4.** See Glover and Bellwood 2004.
- 5.** Boisselier 1963b, p. 2.
- 6.** See *Golden Age of Classical India* 2007, pp. 166–67, nos. 19, 20, and pp. 280–83, nos. 87–89.
- 7.** For the Oc Eo culture, a particularly rich example is held at the National Museum of Vietnamese History, Hanoi. See Malleret 1959–63, vol. 1 (1959), pl. LXXI.
- 8.** Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, p. 176, no. 1.
- 9.** See Boisselier 1963b, pp. 18–20. The inscriptions were translated into French by Louis Finot; see Finot 1902.
- 10.** Boisselier 1963b, p. 22.
- 11.** See Guy 2005b.
- 12.** See ibid., especially p. 145. See also Mus 1933.
- 13.** See Boisselier 1963b, pp. 30–31.
- 14.** Dalsheimer 2001, pp. 62–63, no. 14.
- 15.** Boisselier 1963b, p. 34.
- 16.** See Okada, Mukherjee, and Cerre 1995, pp. 20, 23, 30–31.
- 17.** See Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, pp. 196–98, no. 11; Parmentier 1909–18, vol. 1, pp. 404, 416–17, fig. 94.
- 18.** For the recent discoveries of *kōṣa* in Cham territories, see Guy 2000.
- 19.** See Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, pp. 192–96, nos. 9, 10. For the *kōṣa*, see Baptiste 2002. See also Boisselier 1963b, pp. 38–39.
- 20.** Griffiths and W. A. Southworth 2007. See also Griffiths and W. A. Southworth 2011; Griffiths 2013b.
- 21.** Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2001.
- 22.** See Boisselier 1963b, figs. 28–41. See also Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, pp. 200–205, nos. 13–16.
- 23.** See Baptiste forthcoming.

### III. THE BRAHMANICAL WORLD

#### EARLY COASTAL STATES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA: FUNAN AND ŚRIVIJAYA

1. Research in Sumatra was conducted in the 1980s and 1990s by the Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, Indonesia, in partnership with the École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), Paris. Vietnamese archaeologists, after the reunification of Vietnam, resumed work in the Mekong delta in 1979. Between 1996 and 2002, an excavation program was conducted at Oc Eo in partnership with EFEO.
2. See Wade, "Beyond the Southern Borders," in this volume. Paul Pelliot, in a pioneering article (Pelliot 1903), was the first scholar to provide a thorough account of Funan, based on Chinese textual sources alone. Work done mostly by French scholars until the 1950s was summarized in George Coedès's major synthesis (Coedès 1968; the first French edition of this work dates to 1948 and the English translation is from the final, revised edition of 1964).
3. This kingdom was first identified by Coedès in 1918 on the basis of Old Malay inscriptions found in South Sumatra and Jambi provinces (Coedès 1918). Further translations of Old Malay inscriptions were published in Coedès 1930. English translations of these pioneering articles were published in Coedès and Damais 1992.
4. For the history of Śrivijaya, see Wolters 1967; Manguin 1992; Manguin 1993a; Manguin 2004.
5. Glover 1989; Manguin 2004; Bellina and Praon Silapant 2006; Bellina 2007.
6. See Bellina, "Southeast Asia and the Early Maritime Silk Road," in this volume.
7. Malleret 1959–63.
8. Most of them, unfortunately, were recovered from looters and local people and are therefore disconnected from their original context and nearly impossible to date with any precision.
9. Le Xuan Diem, Dao Linh Con, and Vo Si Khai 1995; Manguin and Vo Si Khai 2000; Manguin 2009a.
10. Stark 1998; Stark et al. 1999; Stark and Bong Sovath 2001; Stark 2003; Stark 2004.
11. Paris 1931. For recent research on ancient canals, see Bourdonneau 2003; Bishop, Sanderson, and Stark 2004.
12. For the gridded, rectangular city plan of Oc Eo and the moat excavation and dating, see Bourdonneau 2007.
13. Pelliot 1903, pp. 274, 280.
14. See Wade, "Beyond the Southern Borders," in this volume.
15. Vo Canh is located much farther north on the coast of present-day Vietnam. The brief Sanskrit inscription

mentions a local ruler; its possible link with Funan is still an open question.

16. All these artifacts have been abundantly discussed and illustrated in Malleret 1959–63, particularly in vol. 3 (1962). See also Malleret 1961; Malleret 1963a; Malleret 1963b; Malleret 1967; Borell 2008b.
17. Contemporary Indian pottery shows signs of having been influenced by Southeast Asian paddle-impression techniques. See Selvakumar 2011.
18. The site is occupied by a modern Buddhist sanctuary, however, and its central structure is inaccessible to archaeologists.
19. For Oc Eo, see fig. 16, p. 16.
20. K.5, K.875, K.1254. Coedès 1931; Coedès 1937; unpublished translation of K.1254, courtesy of Dominic Goodall and Gerdi Gerschheimer. See also Lavy 2003; Manguin 2011b.
21. Dupont 1955; O'Connor 1972; Dalsheimer and Manguin 1998; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002; Lavy 2003; de Havenon 2006–7.
22. Le Thi Lien 2006b; Le Thi Lien 2011.
23. Manguin 2010.
24. See Skilling, "Precious Deposits," in this volume.
25. See Wade, "Beyond the Southern Borders," in this volume.
26. Wolters 1967, specifically chapters 3–5.
27. Indradjaya 2012. See also Manguin 2004; Manguin 2009b.
28. Koestoro, Manguin, and Soeroso 1998; Manguin 2009b, pp. 440–41.
29. See Guy, "Principal Kingdoms of Early Southeast Asia," p. 20–21, in this volume.
30. For Yijing, see Wolters 1986.
31. Wolters 1967; Guy 2005b.
32. Manguin 1980; Manguin 1993b.
33. Wolters 1967; Wolters 1979b.
34. "Shili Foshi," in the seventh-century monk Yijing's chronicle, is a perfect phonetic transcription of the name Śrivijaya, which appears in contemporary Old Malay inscriptions of southern Sumatra. See Wade, "Beyond the Southern Borders," in this volume.
35. As opposed to earlier inscriptions written in Sanskrit elsewhere in Southeast Asia; see Griffiths, "Early Indic Inscriptions of Southeast Asia," in this volume. On these inscriptions, see Coedès 1918; Coedès 1930; de Casparis 1956; Kulke 1993.
36. The capital of Śrivijaya would move north to Jambi only in the late eleventh century. See Wolters 1966.
37. Hassan Shuhaimi bin Nik Abd. Rahman 1990; Manguin 1993a; Manguin 2000.
38. Shipmasters (Old Malay and Old Javanese, *mpubawang*) and traveling merchants (*banyaga*) appear prominently in the Sabokingking inscription.
39. Manguin 2010.
40. Coedès 1959.

41. Coedès 1968, p. 108.

42. Flecker and Mathers 1997; Flecker 2002; Guy 2004a; Y. Tan 2007; Krahl et al. 2010.

#### EARLY TRACES OF HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM ACROSS THE JAVA SEA

1. Wolters 1967; Glover 1990.
  2. Ardika 2008; Manguin and Indradjaya 2006. Often dishes with curved or beaked rims, rouletted wares are so named for the two to three concentric bands featured on the inner part of the base.
  3. TLV decoration is named for its engraved auspicious symbols, which resemble the letters T, L, and V. This type of bronze mirror was popular during the Han dynasty.
  4. Dalsheimer and Manguin 1998.
  5. Djafar 2010, p. 35.
  6. Revire 2010, p. 79.
  7. Manguin and Indradjaya 2011, p. 121, fig. 5.6.
  8. Suhadi 2005; Djafar 2010, pp. 92–93; Skilling forthcoming. The complete mantra is *ajñānāc ciyate karma / janmanah karma kāranah / jñānān na ciyate karma / karmābhāvān na jāyante* (From ignorance acts accumulate / Of birth, acts are the cause / From knowledge no acts accumulate / Through absence of acts, they are not reborn). De Casparis 1956, p. 140. An alternative reading appears in Skilling, "Precious Deposits," p. 61, in this volume.
  9. De Casparis 1956, pp. 57–58; Suhadi 1989.
  10. Ferdinandus 2002.
  11. Coedès 1926–27; Pattaratorn Chirapravati 1997; Moore 2007; Guy 2011c, p. 312, fig. 11.
  12. Skilling 2009a, p. 112; Revire 2010, p. 79.
  13. Revire 2012b, p. 137.
  14. Atmojo 1994, p. 2, has suggested the year 578 Śaka (A.D. 656), but this has not been corroborated to date. Besides Hinduism and Buddhism, one important Indian influence in Indonesia is the Śaka calendar, which differs from the Christian calendar by seventy-eight years. While the Śaka calendar begins with the vernal equinox, it, too, has leap years. Dates on inscriptions found in Indonesia use the Śaka calendar.
  15. For the gold Buddha, see Guy 2011a, p. 171, fig. 3.9. For the recent hoard, see Edwards McKinnon forthcoming.
  16. Sukatno 1990; de Casparis 1998.
- #### HINDU-BUDDHIST SCULPTURE IN SOUTHERN VIETNAM: EVOLUTION OF ICONS AND STYLES TO THE EIGHTH CENTURY
1. The historical and archaeological records have been collected and analyzed by many authors, including Miksic 2003, p. 9, and Manguin 2009a, pp. 103–15.
  2. Malleret 1959–63.
  3. Le Xuan Diem, Dao Linh Con, and Vo Si Khai 1995. Recent discoveries are frequently reported in the proceedings of the annual conference "New Archaeological Discoveries" (*NPHMVKCH*) and have appeared in *Some Archaeological Achievements in South Vietnam 1997–2011*.
  4. Bui Phat Diem, Dao Linh Con, and Vuong Thu Hong 2001, pp. 205–17.
  5. Le Dinh Phung 2006; Witzel and Le Thi Lien 2008.
  6. Le Thi Lien 2011a, p. 428.
  7. Le Thi Lien 2005, p. 862; Le Thi Lien 2006b, pp. 131–40; Ślązka 2011a.
  8. Le Thi Lien 2005; Le Thi Lien and Tran Van Nam 2007; Le Thi Lien and Nguyen Thi Be Tu 2011.
  9. Le Thi Lien 2006b, figs. 28, 31; Malleret 1959–63, vol. 2 (1960), no. 431, pl. lxxiv, 1–3.
  10. Malleret 1959–63, vol. 4 (1963), p. 162.
  11. Ibid., pl. xxi; Le Thi Lien 2006b, p. 44, figs. 11–13. The artistic style of these Buddha images is close to that of secular images in Amaravati art; Knox 1992, pp. 78, 83, 85, 86.
  12. Le Thi Lien 2006b, pp. 42–48.
  13. Ibid., pp. 195–97, table 2.1.
  14. Piriya Krairiksh 1980, pl. 19; Le Thi Lien 2006b, pp. 51, 52, figs. 25, 26.
  15. Le Thi Lien 2006b, fig. 24. A Kuśāna-period Tīrthākara image from Mathura is of a similar type; see P. K. Agrawala 1994, ill. no. 53.
  16. Felten and Lerner 1989, pp. 171–73, pl. 5; Le Thi Lien 2006b, p. 50, figs. 21–23.
  17. Biswas and Jha 1985, figs. 45, 48, 50; Le Thi Lien 2006b, pp. 48–49, 53.
  18. Le Thi Lien 2006b, figs. 20, 27.
  19. Malleret 1959–63, vol. 4 (1963), pl. xxxv.
  20. Le Thi Lien 2006b, pp. 101–13.
  21. Vo Si Khai 1999.
  22. Le Thi Lien 2005, pp. 851–55.
  23. Le Thi Lien 2006b, fig. 90.
  24. Le Dinh Phung 2006, pp. 51, 52; Le Thi Lien 2006b, p. 138. The most primitive drawings on gold plaques showing lingas surrounded by a fence can be related to Mathura stone reliefs of the first century b.c.; see P. K. Agrawala 1994, ill. no. 59.
  25. Malleret 1959–63, vol. 1 (1959), pp. 380–82; Tran Anh Dung and Bui Van Liem 1999, p. 37; Le Thi Lien 2006b, pp. 84–85, figs. 94–98. The most primitive form of the phallic linga has been found at sites of the Harappa culture in Mohenjo-Daro, Pakistan; P. K. Agrawala 1994, ill. no. 58.
  26. Le Thi Lien 2006b, pp. 201–4; comparison of linga size in table 2.3.
  27. Ibid., colorpl. II, figs. 213, 214.
  28. Ibid., pp. 65–66, figs. 46–50.

- 29.** Begley 1973, figs. 3, 4; Biswas and Jha 1985, pl. viii, 12a, b, d; pl. ix, 13a, b.
- 30.** Le Thi Lien 2006b, figs. 60, 74, 77, 78.
- 31.** Ibid., figs. 168–70, 179.
- STYLISTIC TRENDS IN MAINLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA, 600–800**
- 1.** The author's own views have been put forward in Woodward 2003 and Woodward 2010b. They appear here with some modifications. Recent studies that address pre-Angkorian Cambodia include Bunker and Latchford 2004; Baptiste and Zéphir 2008; Bunker and Latchford 2011; Dalsheimer 2011; Dowling 2011. Revisions to the dating of pre-Angkorian Cambodian sculpture will doubtless occur when the objects on view in the Angkor National Museum, Siem Reap, are studied and published.
  - 2.** Woodward 2003. More recent publications are Baptiste and Zéphir 2009; Piriya Krairiksh 2012.
  - 3.** The Lakṣmī lintel comes from Sambor on the Mekong, Kratie province. The provenance is stated erroneously in Giteau 1966, pp. 38–39, and in Dalsheimer 2001, pp. 185–86. Giteau's dating is "fin du style du Sambor Prei Kuk, VIIème siècle." Giteau identified the figure in the medallion as the sun god, Sūrya, who also holds a pair of lotuses in his hands.
  - 4.** Dhar 2010, pp. 216–17, 219.
  - 5.** The inscription of Prasat Phum Prasat, numbered K.145, is published in Coedès 1937–64, vol. 6 (1954), p. 72.
  - 6.** Dhar 2010, p. 47.
  - 7.** The borrowing vs. evolution debate was carried out in two articles: Boisselier 1968; Bénisti 1971. For a brief discussion, see Woodward 2010b.
  - 8.** For illustrations of Khu Bua terracotta ornament, see Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, pp. 198–99.
  - 9.** Dalsheimer and Manguin 1998; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, pp. 116–28; de Havenon 2006–7.
  - 10.** For references to delta lintels at Ashram Maha Rosei, Ba The, and Tuol Kuhea, see Woodward 2010b, p. 94.
  - 11.** For the belts, see Le Bonheur 1989.
  - 12.** Woodward 2009.
  - 13.** Such guilds were predecessors of the Arab shippers who influenced the design of Thai ceramics in the fifteenth century, of the Dutch East Indies Company in the seventeenth century, and of today's international corporations.
  - 14.** Scholars disagree about the date of this object; it is catalogued in this publication as mid-seventh century.
  - 15.** Illustrated in Woodward 2003, pl. 10; Baptiste and Zéphir 2009, p. 186.
  - 16.** Maitreya, shrine door, cave 6, Ellora (Malandra 1993, p. 28 and figs. 21, 35). For a Vajrapāṇi with a *vajra* (thunderbolt) in the left hand in cave 10 at Ellora, see American Institute of Indian Studies photo archive, accessed August 5, 2013, [http://dsal.uchicago.edu/images/aiis/aiis\\_search.html?depth=large&id=44230](http://dsal.uchicago.edu/images/aiis/aiis_search.html?depth=large&id=44230); compare the Khu Bua Vajrapāṇi (Piriya Krairiksh 2012, p. 86, fig. 1.76). An identification of cat. 146 as Maitreya has been proposed; see H. Tan et al. 2012, p. 77, no. 10.
  - 17.** The object is catalogued in this publication as first quarter of the ninth century.
  - 18.** Woodward 2010b.
  - 19.** Bunker 2002; Bunker and Latchford 2011, pp. 82–93.
  - 20.** See Murphy, "Buddhist Architecture and Ritual Space in Thailand, Seventh to Ninth Century," in this volume.
  - 21.** Taking a stone Harihara in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (29.929), in which the chignon has a comparable number of tiers of looped tresses, to be no later than mid-eighth century; Museum of Fine Arts website, Collections, accessed August 5, 2013.
  - 22.** Régnier 1966; Zéphir 1998, p. 497, fig. 429.
  - 23.** For an exploration, see Woodward 2003, pp. 92–98.
  - 24.** The left hand can be raised above the lap (cat. 110), rest in the lap (cat. 126), be placed on or above the left knee (cats. 23, 108), or hold the robe (cat. 109). For China and Southeast Asia, see Rhie 1988, "Postscript," pp. 41–44; Woodward 1988; Tingley 2009, p. 148 (role of the pilgrim Xuanzang); Shibai 2011; Revire 2012b; Nara National Museum 1993, pp. 104–5, no. 80 ("Shaka Nyorai Preaching," embroidered tapestry, Nara period, National Treasure).
  - 25.** Sundberg 2011, p. 139. The author's understanding (pp. 151–53) of Vajrabodhi's stay in Southeast Asia differs from mine.
  - 26.** Woodward 1988. For the Nalandā sculpture, see Asher 1980, pl. 163. For a more traditional dating of cat. 157 (early ninth century) and a survey of images, see Nandana Chutiwongs 2010.
  - 27.** For My Son site F1 and Wat Kaeo, see Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002, pp. 302–5 and figs. 95–102. For the dating of Hoa Lai, see Griffiths and W. A. Southworth 2011. For Damrei Krap, see Stern 1942.
  - 28.** Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988.
  - 29.** For migrations, see Vickery 1998, p. 396.
  - 30.** Baptiste and Zéphir 2005, pp. 192–96.
- IV. STATE ART**
- DVĀRAVATĪ SCULPTURE**
- 1.** Smithi Siribhadra 2009, p. 21.
  - 2.** Li Rongxi 1995, p. 110; Li Rongxi 1996, p. 302; Li Rongxi 2000, pp. 12, 120.
  - 3.** Yamamoto Tatsuro 1979, p. 1147. See also Wade, "Beyond the Southern Borders," in this volume; Luce 1960, p. 281; Wheatley 1983, pp. 224–25.
  - 4.** Boeles 1964. For a list of sites where medals have been found, see Skilling 2003, p. 95. A rather different compilation is published by Phasuk Indrawooth 2003, p. 248.
  - 5.** Skilling 2003, p. 97.
  - 6.** Ibid.
  - 7.** Kannika Wimonkasem and Chirapat Prapandvidya 1999. The 550–650 date is given in the Thai-language version of the article. The English summary uses a fifth-century date, but I assume the latter is an error.
  - 8.** It was prepared for publication by Dupont's wife, who assembled the text from her husband's doctoral dissertation; personal communication from Natasha Eilenberg.
  - 9.** Some categories were represented by a single sculpture.
  - 10.** Dupont 1959a, pp. 177–85.
  - 11.** It should be noted that the hand gestures of fig. 118 are conjectural reconstructions.
  - 12.** Griswold dated the imported Amaravati and Sri Lankan images (such as his figs. 5 and 8) to the fifth century, whereas they are sixth- to seventh-century (von Schroeder 1990, pls. 43D, 43F, 44A). Thus, Griswold's placement of his so-called Amaravati sculptures before the Gupta-period Buddhas is incorrect. There are very few, if any, fifth-century metal Buddhas from Sri Lanka. Von Schroeder sets the earliest metal images in the sixth to seventh century (von Schroeder 1990, p. 176).
  - 13.** Griswold 1966.
  - 14.** Brown 2011a.
  - 15.** Ibid., pp. 323–25.
  - 16.** M. C. Joshi says that he has identified thirty-two metal images dating to the fifth to sixth century (Joshi 2007, p. 55).
  - 17.** Nonetheless, the creation of metal images allowed the movement, in the Gupta period, of Indian artistic styles to Southeast Asia, and this was also the means by which Chinese Buddha styles (which had existed since the Han period) underwent major changes at that time; see Brown 2011a.
  - 18.** The Northern Wei dynasty ruled from 386 to 534.
  - 19.** It is not known when the work entered the National Museum's collection or whence it came; see *Dvaravati Art* 2009, p. 41, ill. no. 20.
  - 20.** Brown 1996.
  - 21.** Brown 1984a.
  - 22.** See Zéphir, "Cakra," in this volume.
  - 23.** Brown 1996. I first proposed this point in my unpublished 1981 doctoral dissertation.
  - 24.** Brown 1996, pp. 99–114.
  - 25.** Brown 2011b.
  - 26.** Brown 1984b. For a Southeast Asian telling of the sky lecture, see Bigandet 1979, pp. 218–19.
  - 27.** For *sema* stones with *jātakas* depicted, see Murphy, "Buddhist Architecture and Ritual Space in Thailand, Seventh to Ninth Century," in this volume.
  - 28.** Piriya Krairiksh 1974a.
  - 29.** Skilling 2003, p. 102; Baptiste 2009a, p. 215. Skilling writes: "Art history gives Dvaravati a longer life, up to the tenth or even the eleventh century, as noted above. But what is the relation between the art and the state or kingdom of Dvaravati, which seems to have flourished for little more than a century? And precisely what, and where, is the corpus of Dvaravati art and architecture of the ninth and tenth or eleventh centuries? There is not much at all on the ground. The life of Dvaravati as an art style and as a period of Thai history seems to have been extended simply to fill an awkward gap, to offer a sense of continuity rather than disjunction. It strikes me that the periodisation serves only to conceal our ignorance to create the false impression that the problems of history have been solved. On the contrary, many questions need to be asked. What happened to Dvaravati? What happened in central Siam during the eighth to tenth centuries?" (Skilling 2003, p. 102).
  - 30.** Jacques 2009, pp. 27–29.
- CAKRA: QUINTESSENTIAL SYMBOL OF THE BUDDHA'S LAW**
- 1.** Phasuk Indrawooth 2008a, pp. 4–5.
  - 2.** Sivaramamurti 1942/1977, pl. xxxiii, 1.
  - 3.** Przyłuski 1920; Okada 1991, ill. p. 42.
  - 4.** Brown 1996; Phasuk Indrawooth 2008a.
  - 5.** Joshi 1997–98.
  - 6.** For that reason, in this paragraph on the sermon, I prefer to use the Pali terminology: for example, *dukkha* (Skt., *duḥkha*), *dhammacakka* (Skt., *dharmačakra*), and so on. For the Pali canon, see *Guide to the Tipitaka* 1993.
  - 7.** Coedès 1956b; Boisselier 1961; Brown 1996, pp. 96–120; Phasuk Indrawooth 2008a, pp. 24–29.
- BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE AND RITUAL SPACE IN THAILAND, SEVENTH TO NINTH CENTURY**
- 1.** This ceremony is performed twice a month, on the full and new moon, and once a year at the end of the rainy season, on the *pavarana* day; see Horner 1962, pp. 6–13, 137–46.
  - 2.** *Semas* are also referred to as *bai semas* (Thai) and *sīmās* (Pali) in the scholarly

literature. For a detailed discussion of these objects, see Piriya Krairiksh 1974b; Murphy 2010. For an overview of their distribution throughout northeastern Thailand and central Laos, see Murphy 2013. For examples from early Cambodia, see Boulbet and Dagens 1973.

**3.** Phonpha Laosirinat and Suthilak Chaisot 1974, p. 383. See also Woodward 2003, pp. 108–12, pl. 27.

**4.** For a fuller discussion of this phenomenon in northeastern Thailand, see Murphy forthcoming.

**5.** Phasuk Indrawooth 2001, p. 104.

**6.** Khemica Wangsuk 2000, pp. 42–43.

**7.** Ibid., p. 45, defines this as a *vibhāra*; however, because of the presence of *sema* stones, I argue that it is, in fact, an *ubosot*; see Murphy forthcoming.

## V. SAVIOR CULTS

### THE TRANSFORMATION OF BRAHMANICAL AND BUDDHIST IMAGERY IN CENTRAL THAILAND, 600–800

**1.** In *katakamudrā*, the index finger and thumb form a ring shape, and the other three fingers fold downward. This hand gesture is also known in Sanskrit as *ābhūyavaradamudrā* or *ābhūyamudrā*.

**2.** Because this region was badly affected by malaria, high officials from Bangkok avoided travel to Phetchabun. As minister of the interior, Prince Damrong Rajanubhab was curious about the region and visited it on February 4, returning to Bangkok on February 25, 1904.

**3.** For more information on Si Thep, see Fine Arts Department 2007b.

**4.** No report of this excavation has been published. The archaeological mound was looted in the late 1960s, and it is believed that a large stone Buddha now in the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, came from this area.

**5.** Woodward 2010b, p. 91.

**6.** Santi Leksukhum 2009, pp. 130–31.

**7.** H. G. Quaritch Wales believed that Si Thep was part of the “imperial trade route” that linked the Chao Phraya River valley (Lavapura) in mainland Thailand with the Khong River (Khong Chiam) in the peninsula. H. G. Quaritch Wales 1969, p. 81.

**8.** For more information, see Chaem Kaewkhla 1981; Brown 1996, p. 37; Pattaratorn Chirapravati 1994, p. 377.

**9.** Damrong Rajanubhab 1974, pp. 145–73. This *Surya* is the only image that seems to be in high relief rather than fully in the round. This feature may

indicate that it was attached to or placed on a wall or niche in the original structure.

**10.** During excavations at Si Thep in January 2013, a recovered fragmentary stone image of a male torso, h. 31½ inches (80 cm), was identified by the Fine Arts Department, Thailand, as Viṣṇu. *Bangkok Post*, March 30, 2013.

**11.** Skilling 2009c, p. 460.

**12.** Fine Arts Department 2007b, pp. 145–59.

**13.** Begley 1973; K. Bhattacharya 1961b, p. 22.

**14.** H. G. Quaritch Wales 1969, p. 82.

**15.** Sph 3/K.964; see Skilling 2003, p. 105.

**16.** For more information, see Skilling 2011.

**17.** Buddhas at Si Thep also range from 55 to 99 inches (140–250 cm).

**18.** Skilling 2009c, p. 460; Pal 2004a, p. 112.

**19.** Banejia 1985, p. 440, n. 3.

**20.** For more on Dvāravatī art, see Brown, “Dvāravatī Sculpture,” in this volume.

**21.** Piriya Krairiksh interprets these figures as Vāmana, an incarnation of Viṣṇu; see Piriya Krairiksh 2012, pp. 109–10. However, similar depictions of dwarfs are common motifs adorning the bases of Buddhist monuments, such as those at Si Thep and Khu Bua.

**22.** For more information on *dharmacakras*, see Brown 1996.

**23.** For more information on this subject, see Nandana Chutiwongs 2002, pp. 208–10; Rungrot Thammrungrueag 2009, pp. 83–87.

**24.** Brown 2011b, p. 23.

**25.** Brown 2011b.

**26.** Banejia 1985, p. 432.

**27.** Brown 1996, p. 171.

**28.** The double *vitarkamudrā* commonly appears on standing Buddha images from the eighth century in the Dvāravatī region. Ibid., p. 83.

**29.** Woodward 1997, p. 48.

**30.** Woodward 2003, p. 69.

**31.** Ibid.

**32.** Ibid., p. 71.

**33.** Ibid., p. 94.

**34.** Fine Arts Department 2009, pp. 46, 48. In Sri Lanka, bodhisattva images also hold their hands in this gesture.

**35.** Prematilleke 1995, pp. 156–59.

**36.** For more information, see Pattaratorn Chirapravati 2012.

**37.** Skilling 2009, p. 111.

**38.** Woodward 2003, pp. 105–6.

**39.** Khao Thamorat differs from other Dvāravatī caves in central Thailand, such as Khao Ngu, Ratchaburi province, and Tham Phra Phothisat, Saraburi province, where the main Buddha

images are portrayed in a pendant-legged position with hands in the teaching gesture.

**40.** Pattaratorn Chirapravati 2012.

## APPENDICES

### STONE TYPES AND SCULPTURAL PRACTICES IN PRE-ANGKORIAN SOUTHEAST ASIA

- 1.** To date, only three examples of well-provenanced pre-Angkorian sculptures have been determined to be carved from the same stone used for building purposes. One of them, the Harihara from Ashram Maha Rosei now at the Musée Guimet, was analyzed by Christian Fischer, as reported in Douglas, Carò, and Fischer 2008. The remaining two, both in the collection of the National Museum of Cambodia, are illustrated in this publication (cats. 83, 96).
- 2.** Delvert 1963.
- 3.** See, for instance, the work on Indian stone sculptures in Newman 1984 and the review of stone materials of ancient Egypt in R. Klemm and D. D. Klemm 2008.
- 4.** There are only a few known sculptures in materials other than sandstone, such as shale (sedimentary) and slate (metamorphic); these rocks were usually employed for doorjambs, sills, and steles because they are easily split into slabs and can be incised in great detail. Basalt and microgranite were also occasionally used for architectural elements.
- 5.** Workman 1977.
- 6.** Jessup and Zéphir 1997.
- 7.** A petrographic thin section is a slice of rock about 30 µm thick mounted on a glass slide, which may be analyzed by means of a petrographic microscope. Because the rock is sliced so thin, light can be transmitted through its constituent minerals and will interact with them, thus permitting their identification on the basis of characteristic optical properties such as relief, color, pleochroism, and birefringence. The petrographic study of sedimentary rocks, such as sandstone, includes evaluation of the mineralogy and abundance of the constituent grains; description of textural features such as grain shape, size, and spatial arrangement; and identification of the natural cementing material that binds the grains.
- 8.** Saurin 1954; Delvert 1963; Uchida Etsuo, Ogawa Yoshinori, and Nakagawa Takeshi 1998; Kučera et al. 2008; André et al. 2011.
- 9.** Baptiste et al. 2001; Douglas 2004; Douglas, Carò, and Fischer 2008.
- 10.** Newman 1997; Douglas and Sorensen 2007; Carò and Douglas 2013.
- 11.** A sandstone is said to be immature when the deposition of its constituent grains occurred quite rapidly and relatively near the parent rock source. These poorly sorted sandstones, often rich in unstable minerals and lithic fragments of variable size, are also called by the generic designation “graywacke.”
- 12.** Newman 1997; Douglas, Carò, and Fischer 2008.
- 13.** Sorting is the measure of the dispersion of the sandstone grain size around the average. A sandstone with grains of uniform size is said to be well sorted, while it is poorly sorted when their size is extremely variable.
- 14.** Saurin 1954; Delvert 1963; Contri 1973.
- 15.** Dottin 1972; Dottin 1973.
- 16.** Contri 1972.
- 17.** Douglas, Carò, and Fischer 2008.
- 18.** Christian Fischer, personal communication, 2012.
- 19.** These sandstones vary in composition from quartz arenite to feldspathic arenite and are thought to belong to the Terrain Rouge (Lower–Middle Jurassic) and Grès Supérieurs (Upper Jurassic–Cretaceous) formations of Cambodia. See notes 8–10 for related bibliography.
- 20.** The authors are particularly grateful to Oun Phalline, former director of the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh; to H. E. Hab Touch, director general for Museums, Antiquities and Monuments, Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts of Cambodia; and to Chhay Visoth, National Museum of Cambodia, for the generous help and valuable support that made this study possible. We are also indebted to Bertrand Porte, sculpture conservator, École Française d’Extrême-Orient (EFEO), for providing the samples collected from pre-Angkorian sculptures at the National Museum of Cambodia and for sharing information about the sculptures included in this study. We thank Tran Thi Thuy Phuong, former director of the National Museum of Vietnamese History, Ho Chi Minh City, for allowing us to study pre-Angkorian sculptures from southern Vietnam. Christian Fischer, research associate at the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, kindly shared the results of his ongoing scientific research on pre-Angkorian stone sculpture and provided insights into the current state of knowledge regarding early Khmer stone traditions.

**TECHNICAL OBSERVATIONS  
ON CASTING TECHNOLOGY IN  
FIRST-MILLENNIUM CAMBODIA,  
THAILAND, AND VIETNAM**

1. Because only a limited number of Śrivijayan sculptures have been studied to date, they are not included in this paper.
2. The authors would like to express their gratitude to Mark T. Wypyski, Research Scientist in the Department of Scientific Research at the Metropolitan Museum, for analyzing the studied objects by scanning electron microscopy/energy and wavelength dispersive spectrometry (SEM/EDS/WDS).
3. The objects discussed in this essay were analyzed by different instrumental methods, making strict comparisons difficult. Some were analyzed at the Metropolitan Museum and the Freer and Sackler Galleries, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., by X-ray fluorescence (XRF), which provides only qualitative surface analyses. Some were analyzed by SEM/EDS/WDS at the Metropolitan Museum; some by inductively coupled plasma atomic emission spectrometry (ICP-AES) at the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, and the Musée Guimet, Paris; and some by direct current plasma atomic emission spectrometry (DCP-AES) at the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, all of which allow quantitative analyses of samples of interior metal.
4. Guy 2004a; Krahl et al. 2010.
5. Bunker and Latchford 2011, p. 64.
6. Jett 2010a, p. 49.
7. Woodward 1997, pp. 66, 70.
8. Examples that contain zinc in the Metropolitan Museum's collection from the area of modern Pakistan are an enthroned Buddha from northern Pakistan dated to 600 (2011.19); a standing Buddha with a radiating halo (1981.188a, b); a standing Buddha (2003.593.2); an eighth-century seated Buddha from northern Pakistan (1987.218.3); an early seventh-century Avalokiteśvara (2012.247); a seventh-century seated Buddha from northern Pakistan (1987.218.3); and a fifth- to sixth-century standing Buddha (1998.414). Others can be found in Reedy 1992 and Pal 2007.
9. Craddock et al. 1998, pp. 27–55, especially p. 52.
10. Fang and McDonnell, p. 58.
11. Bunker 2002.
12. Boisselier 1967, p. 286. A leg and three arms, possibly from the same figure, were also found.
13. Bunker and Latchford 2004, p. 52.
14. Bennett 1999; Bourgarit et al. 2003, pp. 115–16.
15. Copper depletion from burial would also contribute to a tin-enriched surface.
16. Silver, along with black stone, glass, or obsidian, was also used to inlay the eyes of some sculptures.
17. Bourgarit et al. 2003, p. 122.
18. Bunker and Latchford 2011, p. 54.
19. Woodward 2010a, p. 46.
20. Jett 2010b, p. 83.
21. Ibid.
22. See, for example, Wheeler and Maddin 1976; Warangkhana Rajpitak and Seeley 1979; Glover and Bennett 2012.
23. Coedès 1923, p. 15. Coedès mentions five recipes for bronze found in older texts. The first lists 9 parts gold, 8 parts silver, 7 parts copper, 6 parts zinc, 5 parts mercury, 4 parts tin, 3 parts iron, 2 parts bismuth, and 1 part lead. Bunker and Latchford 2011, p. 113.
24. On the tin trade in the region in general, see Glover and Bellina 2011, pp. 21–23, and the sources cited therein.
25. Bronson 1992, pp. 96–104.
26. Kautilya 1915, pp. 83, 87.
27. Jett 1993, p. 193.
28. Except for two possible Vietnamese images, none of the sculptures examined was mercury gilded. Notably, the two Chinese bronzes in the Cambodian Kampong Cham hoard are mercury gilded. See Jett 2010b, p. 86.
29. Bunker and Latchford 2008, p. 130; Treloar 1972a.

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## Abbreviations

BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
BIPPA	<i>Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association</i>
BKI	<i>Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië</i>
FAD	Fine Arts Department of Thailand
FMJ	<i>Federation Museums Journal</i>
JBRS	<i>Journal of the Burma Research Society</i>
JMBRAS	<i>Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of the Siam Society</i>
MBJ	<i>Muang Boran Journal</i>
NPHMVKCH	<i>Những phát hiện mới về khảo cổ học</i>
TBG	<i>Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land-, en volkenkunde</i>

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# Glossary of Sites in First-Millennium Southeast Asia

This glossary provides a synoptic description of the major sites presented in this publication and, where appropriate, cross-references the works of art from those sites that are illustrated and discussed in the catalogue. It is comprehensive but not exhaustive.

## CAMBODIA

**Angkor Borei** was an ancient settlement in what is now Takeo province, southern Cambodia. It was occupied as early as the second century B.C. and, from the second to the sixth century A.D., was an urban center of the political entity called Funan in Chinese sources. A brick wall still encircles the site, within which more than a dozen collapsed brick monuments have been located, together with Brahmanical and Buddhist sculptures. *Cats.* 43, 46, 131

**Koh Krieng** is an island in the Mekong River, Sambor district, Kratie province, eastern Cambodia. Two sculptures of female Brahmanical divinities were discovered at a small brick sanctuary on the island, indicating that it was an important regional center during the seventh and eighth centuries. *Cats.* 94, 95

**Phnom Da** is a hill three miles (4.8 km) south of Angkor Borei in Takeo province, southern Cambodia. It has a major brick temple dedicated to Viṣṇu at its summit and a number of cave shrines on its slopes as well as one constructed sanctuary, Ashram Maha Rosei, which dates to the mid-seventh century. A group of pre-Angkorian sculptures was discovered in the sanctuaries and shrines, giving rise to the term “Phnom Da style.” *Cats.* 63, 72, 73, 91

**Phnom Kulen**, a mountainous plateau approximately 20 miles (32 km) northeast of Angkor in Siem Reap province, central Cambodia, was sacred to the Khmers and, according to inscriptions, was the location of Jayavarman II’s reconsecration in 802. Numerous brick sanctuaries dating to the pre-Angkorian and early Angkorian periods are located on the mountain, together with kiln sites for ceramic production and irrigation systems for water management. *Cat.* 79

**Sambor on the Mekong**, in Kratie province, eastern Cambodia, has traces of a group of Brahmanical monuments dated by stele and doorjamb inscriptions to the seventh to ninth century. High-quality sculpture has been recovered from various sites. Chinese sources refer to a seventh-century polity in this region named Śambhupura, which appears to have been subsumed into a great Zhenla entity by the mid-eighth century. *Cats.* 62, 85, 94, 95

**Sambor Prei Kuk** was a major Zhenla city in the pre-Angkorian period located on a tributary of the Mekong River in what is now Kampong Thom province, central Cambodia. It was initially named Īśānapura after its founding king, Īśānavarman, who reigned in the early seventh century; his surviving inscriptions span from 616–17 to 635. Extensive remains of many large brick sanctuaries are preserved today, together with temple enclosure walls, gateways, and processional paths. Numerous finely carved lintels, many of unique design, are in situ; others have been recovered from the site. Around 650 the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang referred to the polity by the name Īśānapura, a measure of its regional prominence at the time. It was occupied from about the early seventh to the mid-tenth century. *Cats.* 13, 18

## INDONESIA

**Batujaya** is a Buddhist temple complex located near the coast of the Java Sea in Karawang regency, West Java province. Recent excavations have identified more than thirty structures, thirteen of which are brick temples. The site was inhabited from the first century B.C. on, with the densest phase of occupation spanning from the fifth to the eighth century. Most of the Buddhist temple construction appears to date to the sixth and seventh centuries. Temple plans bear close comparison to contemporary Dvāravati Buddhist structures in central Thailand.

**Cibuaya**, a village in Karawang regency, western Java, was the findspot of two stone Viṣṇu images dating to the late fifth to sixth century, representing some of the earliest evidence in the region for the adoption of Brahmanism and for the premier place assigned to Vaiṣṇava beliefs.

**Kota Kapur**, on the island of Bangka in Bangka-Belitung province, was the findspot, in 1892, of a Śrivijayan inscription dated 686, which celebrated, in the Old Malay language, the Śrivijayan campaign to subjugate western Java. In the same location, an early Vaiṣṇava shrine was discovered during excavations conducted more than a century later.

**Kutai**, in Kutai Kartanegara regency, East Kalimantan province, is where a group of early Sanskrit inscriptions was discovered in 1879, establishing this eastern Borneo locale as one of the earliest recorded kingdoms in Southeast Asia to express royal authority through Indic language and ritual. The seven stele inscriptions describe the performance of Vedic rituals for the benefit of a local ruler, Mūlavarman. Written in a Southern Brāhmī script, they are assigned to the late fifth century. *Cat.* 52

**Leksono**, in Wonosobo regency, Central Java province, was the findspot of a gold hoard in 1903. The hoard contained a number of repoussé plaques dating to the eighth to ninth century and representing Hindu deities such as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Harihara, and Pārvatī, now preserved in the Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta.

**Malayu Jambi** was likely the political center of the Sumatran coastal region during the tenth and eleventh centuries and appears to have served as a successor state to Śrivijaya, whose capital was Palembang. Its location is associated with the modern city of Jambi, but historical sources place it farther up the Sumatran coast.

**Padang Lawas** is a regency of extensive size in the hinterland of northern Sumatra that, in the late first millennium, provided a trade route between the east and west coasts of the island. There are at least twenty-five elaborate Vajrayāna Buddhist brick shrines, many built on earlier foundations of undetermined date. Three of these, Biaro Bahal I, II, and III, were constructed between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries and have the two-story *vihāra* plan associated with the monasteries of eastern India. Lion carvings also relate to Cōla-dynasty southern India and to Polonnaruwa, the eleventh-century Sri Lankan capital.

**Palembang**, a modern city in South Sumatra province, has been identified by archaeological and epigraphic evidence as the epicenter of the port kingdom of Śrivijaya around the seventh to ninth century. Numerous sculptural finds over the past century attest to the prevalence of Buddhism during that period, and Chinese written sources affirm the scale and importance of the monasteries maintained there. *Cat. 159*

**Semarang**, the capital of Central Java province, was the source of one of the most spectacular two-armed silver bodhisattva images ever discovered in Indonesia. The seated Mañjuśri was unearthed by a local farmer in October 1927 at the village of Semongan, Semarang, and is now preserved in the Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta.

**Sikendeng**, on the west coast of Central Sulawesi province, was the findspot of a near-lifesize seventh- or eighth-century bronze Buddha image, probably imported from Sri Lanka and now preserved in the Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta.

**Tugu**, today a northern suburb of Jakarta in West Java province, was the findspot of the longest inscription belonging to the kingdom of Tārumānagara under the rule of King Pūrṇavarman. Datable to the late fifth or sixth century, it is one of the earliest examples of the use of Sanskrit in Southeast Asia. According to the Kota Kapur inscription, Tārumānagara succumbed to Śrivijaya in the late seventh century. *Cat. 157*

## LAOS

**Champasak**, on the west bank of the Mekong River in Champasak province, southern Laos, was a major city in the pre-Angkorian Khmer territories that likely served as the regional capital, known as Śreṣṭhapura. Along with the temple complex Wat Phu, sited on a nearby mountain slope, the ancient city played an important role in the early adoption of Brahmanism in the region. Champasak was also renowned as a place of pilgrimage for its celebrated linga-shaped mountain (Śrī Liṅgaparvata), Phu Kao, as recorded in the fifth-century inscription of King Devanika. It remained an important sacred site and destination for pilgrims throughout the Angkor period and beyond.

**Nong Hua Thong**, a site on the east bank of the Mekong River in Savannakhet province, central Laos, about 150 miles (240 km) north of Wat Phu, is demarcated by a double-moated earthwork. A hoard of more than one hundred gold and silver objects in a terracotta jar was uncovered by a villager in 2008. A Sanskrit inscription on one of the bowls, dated to the eighth century, mentions an individual who donated land, slaves, cattle, and money to maintain the cult of Śiva. Archaeological excavations are ongoing and should provide important information regarding the dating and nature of the settlement as well as its regional affiliations, especially with Mon territories in northeastern Thailand.

## MALAYSIA

**Bidor**, a town in Batang Padang district, Perak, was the findspot of the largest and most complete eight-armed bronze Avalokiteśvara sculpture ever recovered in Southeast Asia. No archaeological context has been identified for this object, which was discovered at a tin-mining operation in 1936, but in all likelihood, its presence in Perak signals the existence of a wealthy monastic community there in the eighth or ninth century, probably part of the now-untraced Gangga Negara kingdom. *Cat. 157*

**Heluodan** appears to have been located in the modern state of Kelantan on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. It disappeared from the Chinese records in the sixth century and was replaced by the name “Dandan.” It was likely one of the polities subjugated by Funan.

**Jalong**, in Sungai Siput district, Perak, was the findspot, in 1962, of a bronze Brahman, possibly identifiable as the Śaiva sage Agastya. Along with the eight-armed Avalokiteśvara, it is likely associated with the now-untraced Gangga Negara kingdom. *Cat. 105*

**Lembah Bujang** is a valley and series of estuaries of the Bujang River, located in Kedah. It hosted a succession of entrepôts, with epigraphic evidence pointing to contact with India from the sixth century. Both Buddhist and Hindu brick monuments were built over the course of the settlement’s history, which lasted until the fourteenth century. Kedah was known first as “Chitu” to the Chinese, who dispatched a mission there in 607, and later that century as “Jietu,” a Chinese phonetic rendering of the name Kedah. By the end of the seventh century, it appears to have become subject to Śrivijaya, and subsequently, Buddhist monks visited it as a center of learning. There is archaeological evidence for trade with Tang China and the Persian Gulf in the late first millennium. *Cats. 19, 20*

## MYANMAR

**Bago**, Bago division, southern Myanmar, is the site of an ancient Mon city and maritime port to which the traditional Burmese chronicles give a founding date of 825 but which undoubtedly had a much earlier history.

**Beikthano** was a large urban settlement established by the Pyu, located in what is now the Magway division of central Myanmar. The site shows substantial evidence for the early adoption of Buddhism, primarily in the form of architectural remains; at least one large monastery and an associated “great stupa” (*mahāchedi*) have been identified and excavated. Buddhism was present at the settlement from the early to late first millennium.

**Halin**, in the Sagaing division of Upper Myanmar, is a sizable urban site associated with the Pyu population, with the clearest evidence for Buddhism preserved in a large fragmentary stele of a bodhisattva and adorants. The site dates from about the fifth to the ninth century and likely served as the principal Pyu capital after the decline of Śri Ksetra.

**Kyontu**, in Waw township, about 20 miles (32 km) northeast of Bago in the Bago division of Lower Myanmar, was the findspot of stupa remains and a series of fifth- to sixth-century terracotta plaques depicting a variety of Buddhist themes, which were set into a brick-and-laterite enclosure wall.

**Linyang** is a possible forerunner to the Pyu kingdom whose capital was Śri Ksetra. Its precise location is unknown.

**Piao** is a Chinese term for the Pyu kingdom found in the ninth-century Chinese chronicle the *Man shu* (Book of the Barbarians), which provides a detailed description of the life of the kingdom’s inhabitants. It most likely refers to the northern Pyu city of Halin.

**Śri Ksetra** was a large urban settlement near what is now Pyay, on the northern border of the Bago division of central Myanmar. Evidence for Buddhism comes from the site’s numerous stupas and burial and habitation sites. Only one relic chamber has been discovered intact, at the Khin Ba stupa. Excavations in 1926–27 revealed a rich deposit of relics, including a gold-leaf Pali manuscript and a gilded-silver reliquary. The city was founded in the early centuries A.D. and reached its height as an urban center between the fifth and ninth centuries. *Cats. 12, 24–34, 41, 53–56, 144*

**Tagaung** was an early walled city located in the Irrawaddy (Ayeyarwady) River delta, southern Myanmar, and was, according to the later Burmese chronicles, the first kingdom established in Myanmar. The discovery of multiple levels of occupation suggests that the city was, at the least, a center of major regional importance.

**Thaton** was the capital of an early Talaing (Mon) kingdom in southern Myanmar known as Rakṣapura and likely associated with the kingdom of Rāmaññadesa. As early as the third century, Rāmaññadesa was referred to in a Chinese source as “Lijing,” “where they worship the Buddha.” Located on the Gulf of Martaban, it prospered as an important port in the early Indian trade to mainland Southeast Asia. The Buddhist monastery of Kelasa, located nearby, is believed to have been established by missionaries sent by the Indian emperor Aśoka in the third century B.C. and, according to Sinhalese chronicles, to have sent representatives to a major religious ceremony in Sri Lanka in the second century B.C. In national lore, Thaton is equated with Suvarṇabhumi, the legendary “Land of Gold.” Although celebrated as the source of Buddhism in Myanmar, it is also the findspot of significant Brahmanical sculptures from the second half of the first millennium. Bagan inscriptions and later chronicles state that Thaton was conquered by the Bagan king Anawrahta in 1057, and its skilled artisans and scribes taken to Bagan. That the first Burmese-language inscription, dated 1058, is written in Mon script supports these accounts. Thaton was displaced by Bago as the region’s capital in the fourteenth century.

## THAILAND

**Chaiya** is a coastal town in Surat Thani province, peninsular Thailand. It was likely part of the Panpan kingdom early in its existence and probably functioned as a regional capital during the height of Śrivijaya’s power, in the seventh to ninth century. The existence of both the brick Buddhist sanctuary of Wat Kaeo and of the Wiang Sa inscription, issued by a king of Śrivijaya in 775, demonstrates a major Śrivijayan presence in the eighth century. Wat Kaeo and the adjoining ruins may represent the three sanctuaries dedicated by that ruler, which, according to the inscription, housed a Buddha, a Padmapāṇi, and a Vajrapāṇi, respectively, along with three stupas built on the order of the king’s chaplin. *Cats. 42, 166*

**Khao Thamorat** is a cave sanctuary located on a mountainside 10 miles (16 km) west of Si Thep in Phetchabun province, central Thailand. The interior is decorated with lifesize rock-cut depictions of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, sculpted, likely by monks, over an extended period, up to the ninth century. Its proximity to Si Thep suggests that it served as a mountain retreat for the monastic communities there. *Cat. 148*

**Khu Bua** is a moated site located in Ratchaburi province, western Thailand, 25 miles (40 km) southwest of Nakhon Pathom and close to the coast of the Gulf of Thailand. It appears to have flourished at the height of the Dvāravatī kingdom in the seventh and eighth centuries. Numerous stupa remains make it clear that Buddhism was the predominant religion practiced there. The stupas’ lavish narrative programs in terracotta and stucco indicate that these monasteries enjoyed prosperous patronage, probably from an international merchant community. *Cats. 11, 86, 114, 118, 123, 125, 128–30, 150–53*

**Langkasuka**, a polity known by that name in Chinese sources from the seventh century on, was most likely located on the east coast of peninsular Thailand, around either Pattani or Yarang. In the third century, the same place appears to have been known to the Chinese as “Dunxun.” Around 539, Langkasuka sent to the Liang-dynasty court an envoy, of whom a portrait painting survives, a unique depiction of a Southeast Asian individual of this period.

**Muang Fa Daed** is a large moated site in Kalasin province, northeastern Thailand. Best known for its large number of Buddhist *sema* stones (Thai, temple boundary markers), it also possesses the foundations of an ordination hall and traces of numerous brick stupas. The site shows evidence of occupation from the Iron Age through the Dvāravatī and Ayutthaya periods.

**Muang Sema** is a moated site in Nakhon Ratchasima province, northeastern Thailand. A large reclining Buddha dated to the seventh to ninth century is located within a brick structure that likely functioned as a *vihāra* (assembly hall). Brick foundations of numerous other stupas and an ordination hall are also extant, and a *dharmacakrastambha* (Wheel of the Law pillar) recovered at the site is preserved nearby at the modern-day monastery of Muang Sema, affirming the long presence of a thriving Buddhist community there.

**Muang Si Mahosot** was a moated urban settlement located in present-day Prachinburi province, central Thailand, with riverine connections to the gulf, ensuring early international access. It shows evidence of both Buddhism and Brahmanism from the sixth to the ninth century, with numerous large-scale sculptural and architectural remains recorded. A large temple tank excavated into the laterite landscape has interior walls decorated with a carved frieze of *makaras* (aquatic monsters), elephants, and lions—a unique feature of this period in Thailand, whose only parallels are found in wall reliefs at the Zothoke stupa in Bilin, in the state of Mon in Lower Myanmar. *Cats. 60, 111, 112*

**Nakhon Pathom** is a large moated site in Nakhon Pathom province, central Thailand, some 30 miles (48 km) west of Bangkok. It was inhabited from the early first millennium and, from about the seventh to the tenth century, functioned as one of the main centers of Mon culture within the Dvāravatī realm. Three of the largest and most significant Dvāravatī brick stupas that survive at the site are Chedi Chula Pathon, Phra Pathom Chedi, and Wat Phra Men. *Cats. 11, 86, 114, 118, 123, 125, 128–30, 150–53*

**Panpan**, a Buddhist polity on the Isthmus of Kra in peninsular Thailand, is known to have sent envoys to China in the mid-fifth century. It was most likely located on the Bay of Bandon at Chaiya, in Surat Thani province.

**Phong Tuek** is an archaeological site in Kanchanaburi province, western Thailand, marking an important overland trade route between Pyu Myanmar and Dvāravatī central Thailand in the mid-first millennium. Possible foundations of a stupa have been identified, among other structural remains. It has yielded significant discoveries, including an early bronze Buddha image thought to be an Indian import and a Roman-style Byzantine bronze oil lamp bearing a medallion design associated with the cult of Dionysus, most likely datable to the fifth to sixth century.

**Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat I and II** are two small Khmer brick temples located on a hilltop in Lahan Sai district, Buriram province, northeastern Thailand, 25 miles (40 km) southwest of the modern town of Prakhon Chai. Dating to about the tenth century, Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II was the findspot of the so-called Prakhon Chai hoard, a group of more than two hundred bronze Buddha and bodhisattva images. *Cats. 139–42*

**Si Thep**, in Phetchabun province, central Thailand, is one of the largest known Dvāravatī moated urban sites. Two monumental stupas are still extant, Khao Klangnai, located inside the original moat, and Khao Klangnok, outside it. These structures, along with large original Brahmanical and Buddhist sculptures, indicate the practice of both religions from about the sixth to the eighth century. The polity likely had trade links extending eastward to southern Cambodia and the Mekong delta and southward to other Dvāravatī cities, such as U Thong and Nakhon Pathom. *Cats. 70, 71, 103, 104, 121, 122, 149*

**Takuapa** is the site of a historic city-state located in Phang Nga province on the west coast of peninsular Thailand, whose harbor was an important transshipment point to Laem Po, Surat Thani province, across the peninsula, which likely served as Chaiya’s international port. This overland route thus linked India, via the Bay of Bengal, to the Gulf of Thailand and beyond, to China. Significant archaeological remains, including large Vaiṣṇava sculptures, have been found there, as well as an early ninth-century inscription recording the construction of a temple tank by an expatriate Indian merchant community.

**Tambralinga** appears to have emerged as early as the fifth century as an entrepôt in the trans-Asian trade, centered in present-day Nakhon Si Thammarat province on the east coast of peninsular Thailand. In addition to serving long-distance commerce, it probably supplied forest products and tin to that trade. A significant number of the early conch-on-hip-type Viṣṇus have been recovered in the region, along with śivalingas, confirming the early presence of Brahmanical shrines and reflecting the region's early interactions with India. Tambralinga is recorded as sending its first envoy to Tang China in 616. In its subsequent devotion to Buddhism, it shares much with the polity of Dvāravatī and, by the eighth century, had become an important extension of the Śrīvijayan realm, probably through commercial alliances, and likely served as a regional capital. The city of Nakhon Si Thammarat, which came to prominence around the twelfth century, is widely accepted as the successor to Tambralinga.

**Tham Phra Phothisat**, a cave shrine situated on the mountain Khao Nam Phu in Saraburi province, central Thailand, contains a rock-cut relief depicting a unique scene of the enthroned Buddha preaching to Śiva and Viṣṇu, both of whom make obeisance to him. In addition to a stupa constructed within the principal cave, there are other shrines in the interior passages.

**Tham Ruesi** ("ṛṣi's [ascetic's] cave") is one of four caves located on Khao Ngu, a mountain in Ratchaburi province, western Thailand, that was used for religious retreat; the other three caves are Tham Cham, Tham Chin, and Tham Fa Tho. Tham Ruesi houses an over-lifesize rock-cut enthroned preaching Buddha. At the feet of the image is an inscription in Sanskrit and Mon dating to the sixth or seventh century, which reads "the meritorious deed of the holy hermit... Śrī Samādhigupta."

**Tuohuan** was a Mon polity most likely located in the south, on the coast of the Gulf of Thailand, and possibly associated with Muang Si Mahosot in Prachinburi province, central Thailand.

**U Thong** is a moated site in Suphanburi province, central Thailand. Evidence for its occupation dates back to the early or mid-first millennium. From the sixth to the ninth century, it functioned as one of the main urban centers of the Dvāravatī polity. Numerous brick stupas survive at the site and, along with the Buddhist sculptures recovered there, both sandstone and terracotta, indicate its adoption of Buddhism around the middle of the first millennium. *Cats.* 2, 23, 87, 119

## VIETNAM

**Dong Duong** is a royal-endowed Mahāyāna Buddhist monastery located at the Cham capital named Indrapura, founded by Jaya Indravarman II in what is now Quang Nam province, central Vietnam. In 875 this ruler dedicated the large monastery he established at Indrapura to Lakṣmīndra Lokeśvara, a form of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The Dong Duong sanctuary consisted of a large complex divided into three courts, each containing stupas, image halls with elaborately carved pedestals, and a variety of Buddhist sculpture. *Cats.* 155, 156

**Linyi/Huanwang/Zhanpo** are three successive names in the Chinese sources for a polity that originated in the second century and was located directly south of Chinese-administered areas, near the modern city of Hue in central Vietnam. Whether it was the earliest recorded Cham state or a predecessor of different ethnicity is unclear, but it appears to have been absorbed into Cham territories by the mid-first millennium.

**My Son**, in Quang Nam province, central Vietnam, served as the principal sanctuary site for a major Cham polity centered at Tra Kieu. It has the largest group of preserved Cham monuments, and associated with it is the earliest group of Sanskrit inscriptions linked to a named Cham ruler, dating to the fifth century and celebrating Śiva. The brick temples were embellished with elaborately carved lintels and pediments and housed a corpus of Brahmanical sculpture unique to the site. My Son continued to be active as a religious center at least until the fourteenth century. *Cats.* 76, 100

**Ngu Hanh Son** ("Marble Mountains") is the name of five large outcrops containing caves in Da Nang province, central Vietnam. One of the caves contains Cham sculptures datable to the tenth century, most of which had been relocated from unidentified sites elsewhere. *Cat.* 78

**Oc Eo**, an early urban center located at Ba The, a hill site in An Giang province, in the Mekong River delta, southern Vietnam, was first identified by aerial photography, and excavations began in 1944. Artifacts recovered at the site indicate that it was an important entrepôt of the political entity known through Chinese sources as Funan. Oc Eo was active between the first and seventh centuries and was linked by a system of waterways and man-made canals both to the coast and to the interior. Angkor Borei, some 50 miles (80 km) to the north in present-day Cambodia, was directly navigable via this system. *Cats.* 68, 80

**Phan Rang**, Ninh Thuân province, in central Vietnam, was the location of a major Cham kingdom that established itself as the capital of the new Virapura dynasty during the eighth century. Several significant Cham sites are located in the area, known in contemporary inscriptions as the kingdom of Pāñdurāga, including Po Khlong Garai.

**Po Khlong Garai** is a group of Cham temple towers situated on a hill about six miles (10 km) northwest of, and dominating, the Phan Rang plain in central Vietnam. Four of at least six original buildings remain and have been extensively restored, providing important evidence on the later stylistic evolution of Cham architecture. While the site was undoubtedly an important Cham religious center from the late first millennium, inscriptions attribute the extant buildings to the reign of Jaya Simhavarman II (1287–1307).

**Po Nagar**, founded before 781 as the early Cham capital of Kauthāra, is a Cham religious center located on the Cai River estuary of Nha Trang, Khanh Hoa province, central Vietnam. Inscriptions record a series of depredations in which the temple's cult icons, honoring the mother goddess Yang Ino Po Nagar, were destroyed or stolen. As a ritual center for Cham kings, it was repeatedly renewed, honoring the goddess, who was closely identified with the Hindu goddesses Bhagavatī and Durgā. The Po Nagar temple provides important evidence of the interplay between religion and royal power in Cham society.

**Tra Kieu** is located in the Thu Bon River valley in Quang Nam province, central Vietnam. Inscriptions record the name of the site as Simhapura, while archaeological excavations indicate that it was already an important economic and political center during the first half of the first millennium. *Cat.* 15

**Vo Canh**, near the coast of central Vietnam at Nha Trang, Khanh Hoa province, was the find-spot of an inscription assigned to the fourth or early fifth century, one of the oldest Sanskrit inscriptions found in Southeast Asia. It is assumed to belong to one of the earliest Cham polities of the region in which it was found. The inscription, written in a Southern Brāhmī script, recounts the success of a ruler called Śrī Mara and calls for allegiance from his extended family.

# Index

Page numbers in *italics* indicate illustrations.

- Acehnese language, 30  
Āgamas (texts), 28, 152, 153, 158, 165  
Agastya (Brahman priest/Śaiva sage), 185, 185–86, 236  
Agni (deity), 176  
Airāvata (elephant vehicle), 12  
Aiyanār (nature deity), 42, 184, 184–85  
Ajanta (caves in India), xiv, 32, 192, 193, 199, 229, 236, 240, 242  
Amaravati style/period (India), 7, 8, 35, 37, 71, 80, 98, 105, 119, 163, 200, 212, 278n11, 279n12  
Amitābhā (Amitābha Buddha), 37, 205, 228, 229, 230, 232, 240, 250–55, 258, 260, 261, 262  
Ananta (world-snake), 151, 152  
Anawrahta (Bagan king), 308  
Andhra Pradesh (India), 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 19, 32, 34, 36, 44, 67, 68, 69, 77, 80, 89, 91, 98, 102, 119, 131, 133, 137, 159, 163, 192, 200, 212, 244  
Angkor Borei, xv, xvi, 9, 12, 14, 16, 26, 47, 57, 93, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 104, 105, 112, 113, 124, 136, 146, 148, 171, 172, 178, 179, 227, 232, 266, 306  
Angkorian period/dynasty, 113, 128, 131, 133, 138, 154, 156, 170, 173, 177, 181, 182, 200, 265  
Āngulimalā (would-be murderer of Buddha), 195  
Aniruddha (Bagan king), 239  
antefixes, 35, 37, 48, 84, 133, 163, 186, 186–87, 187, 248  
Antoninus Pius (Roman emperor), 33, 274n2  
Anuradhapura (Sri Lanka), xiv, 8, 9, 35, 36, 91, 93, 98, 184, 185, 189  
Arakan language, 54  
Archaeological Survey of India, 58, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 91, 238  
Archaic Greek manner, 47  
Ardhanārīvara, 46, 133, 169, 170, 184, 185, 270  
Arthaśāstra, 145  
Asavarman (father of Mūlavarman), 10  
Ashmolean Viṣṇu, 131, 137  
Ashram Maha Rosei, 163, 171, 254, 306  
Asiatic Society of Bengal, 75  
Aśoka (Maurya emperor), 53, 80n3  
Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra, 260  
Atharva Veda, 192  
Atiśa (monk), 76  
Austroasiatic language family, 55  
Austronesian language family, 24, 25, 55, 113, 273n19  
Avalokiteśvara (Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara; Bodhisattva of Compassion), 47, 62, 124, 127, 154, 221, 224, 242, 257, 269–70, 270; Ajanta cave 1 mural, 229, 236, 240; from Angkor region, possibly Prasat Ak Yom, 128, 227, 227–28, 230, 232, 235, 238, 269; from Bingin, 115; Buddha attended by Maitreya and, 255; from central Java province, 254, 254–55; from Chaiya, 228, 229, 232; from Dai Huu, 262, 263; head, central Cambodia, 230, 230–31; head, central Vietnam, 261, 261–62; from Hoai Nhon district, central Vietnam, 262, 263; mariners, associated with cult of protection of, 10; in *Nanzhao tuzhuan*, 31; from northeastern Thailand, first quarter of 8th century, 154, 232–34, 234, 236; from Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II, 128, 234–38, 235, 236, 269, 270; probably from Surat Thani province, southern Thailand, second half of 7th century, 228, 228–29; from Rach Gia, 17, 119, 126, 227, 232, 233; from southern Thailand or Sumatra, 8th–early 9th century, 251, 251–52; from Śrī Ksetra, 238–39, 239, 240; torsos, 35–38, 36, 258, 260; in twelve-armed form, from Nalanda, 128, 250, 251; Wat Phra Borommabhat, 115, 220, 254, 258–60, 259; Xeo Da, *ii*, 229, 229–30, 232  
Avalokiteśvara Amoghapāśa, 250, 250–51, 252, 253, 253–54, 260  
Avalokiteśvara Lokañatha, 260, 260–61  
Avalokiteśvara Padmapāni, 230, 240, 242, 258  
Ayeyarwady (Irrawaddy) River, 28, 54, 59, 63, 64, 88, 308  
Aymonier, Étienne, 168, 176  
Bagan: kingdom and territories, x, xiv, xvii, 63, 64, 86, 88, 107, 109, 139, 239, 240; period, 16, 59, 63, 64, 109; style, 109  
Bago, xiv, 45, 307, 308  
Bala (monk), 93  
Balaputradeva (Śailendra prince, then Śrivijayan ruler), 21, 115  
Balarāma (7th incarnation of Viṣṇu), 146, 148  
Bali (island), xv, xvii, 53, 56, 57, 116–17, 158, 276n14  
Bangka (island), xv, xvii, 21, 31, 54, 113–14, 117  
Baphuon period, 270  
Baptiste, Pierre, 34n1, 191  
Barus, xvii, 30, 276n116  
Batavian Society, 273n31  
Ba The (Oc Eo), 16, 65, 112, 113, 120, 131, 140, 141, 171, 173, 187  
Batujaya, xvii, 20, 116–17, 117, 306  
Batu Pahat: Candi Bukit Batu Pahat, Bujang valley (site 8), 20; monolith depicting seven stupas, 62, 74–75, 117  
Bautze-Picron, Claudine, 244n1  
Beikthano, xiv, xvi, 15, 16, 28, 63, 65, 67, 78, 80, 89, 132, 307  
Bengal (India), 10, 17, 22, 25, 27, 28, 32, 74, 91, 128, 253, 254, 256, 257, 258, 261  
Beurdeley, Jean-Michel, 244  
Bhadra (epithet for Śiva), 47  
Bhadravarman I (Champa ruler), 12, 18, 47, 70, 274n7  
Bhadreśvara (epithet for Śiva), 12, 18, 47, 167  
Bhadreśvarasvāmin, 70  
Bhagadatta (founder of Canasa), 237  
Bhagavat (Viṣṇu), 9, 113  
*Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, 139, 146  
Bhallika (merchant and patron saint of guild), 127  
Bharhut (India), xiv, 32, 217  
Bhavavarman I (Zhenla ruler), 12, 13, 16, 17, 222  
Bhoja, 31, 161  
Bhojajāṇīya, 246  
*Bhojajāṇīya Jātaka*, 246  
Bhūdevi, 153  
Bidor, xvii, 250, 307  
Bihar, 21, 151, 154, 159, 164, 250, 256–57, 261  
Bimbisāra (king), 194  
Blagden, Charles, 68, 77  
Bodh Gaya, xiv, 41, 107, 200  
*Bodhigarbhālamkāralakṣadhbārāṇī*, 276n12  
bodhisattvas: head of crowned bodhisattva, 127, 154, 240–42, 241; Khu Bua, western Thailand, first half of 7th century, 242, 242–43; lintel, bodhisattva bronzes found behind, 227; relief with enthroned bodhisattvas, probably depicting *Mughapakkha Jātaka*, 85–86, 86, 87; sealing with Buddha between two bodhisattvas, 117; sealing with enthroned Buddha and *dharmacakra*, 61; spelling of, 276n3; torso, 178, 227; from Wat Kdei Ta Nguoy, 226. *See also specific bodhisattvas*, e.g., Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya  
Boisselier, Jean, 71, 72, 87, 152  
Borneo (island), xv, xvii, 13, 14, 59, 61, 107, 114, 158. *See also* Kalimantan  
Borobudur stupa, Java, x, 83  
Bṛahaspatisārma, 274n12  
Brahmā, 77, 119, 131, 151, 151–53, 152, 154, 157, 163, 165, 215, 217, 218, 242, 273n24  
Brahmanism: Buddhist temple rededicated to, 234; Cham art and, 69, 70, 72; divine savior notions in, 230; Dvāravati aesthetic tradition and, 221; in early Southeast Asia, 3–10, 12, 26, 31, 74–75; Esoteric practices in, 236; in Funan and Śrivijaya, 113, 306; hermits in, 243; in Indonesia, 116, 117; in mainland Southeast Asia, 128, 143, 181, 186; ritual tray, iconographic schema of, 164; in southern Vietnam, 118, 119–21, 141; transformation of imagery of, in central Thailand, 221–24. *See also specific deities*, e.g. Śiva, Viṣṇu.  
Brahmans, 4, 8, 9, 10, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 123, 152, 166, 185, 185–86, 195, 223, 267  
Brahmī script, 8, 32, 53, 61, 274n11, 276n11, 276n19  
Brown, Robert L., 214, 223, 224  
Buddha: associated with Champa (Bengal) after awakening, 17; attended by Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, 255; awakening of, 41, 60, 107, 200; from Buddam (Buddhapad), 102, 105; from Candi Tingkip, 115; from central Thailand, 268; in Dvāravati aesthetic tradition, 189–91; early statues of, 7–8, 8, 10, 28; first anthropomorphic depictions of, 192; First Sermon of, 38, 39, 60, 86, 90, 190–93, 212, 215, 257; footprints of, 159; in Funan and Śrivijaya, 113; Garuda as protector of, 153; gold, inscription of words in, 58; with hands raised in *katakamudrā*, from Wat Smor Khon, 223, 224; historical Buddha, 80, 192, 236; Imminent Buddha, 193, 200; in Indonesia, 117; inscriptions of words of, 58; Khao Thamorat rock relief, central Thailand, 9th century, 211, 221, 222, 224, 243, 280n39, 308; in *mahāparinirvāṇa*, 195; in mainland Southeast Asia, 127, 128; from Malay Peninsula, 6th century, 75, 75–76, 104; from Nen Chua, 119; new forms and postures for, 62; in Pyu and Śrī Ksetra culture, 63, 65, 68; relics of, 28; from Sangkat Da, 104, 104–5, 269; sealing with Buddha between two bodhisattvas, 117; on *sema* stones, 194, 194–95, 195; sheet-gold sculptures, 41; Siddhārtha Gautama, 80, 86, 98; from southern Cambodia, mid-7th century, 101–2, 102; in southern Vietnam, 119, 121; from Śrī Ksetra, 89, 89–90; Sri Lanka relief of Buddha protected by multiheaded *nāga*, 7, 9; on stele, 19; symbolic images for, 192; Thailand, probably

- oldest Buddha recovered from, 7, 8; throne-stele evoking presence of, 41–42, 65, 68; torsos, 7, 8, 10, 80; transformation of imagery of, in central Thailand, 221–24; from Wat Na Phra Men temple, 39, 50, 97, 101, 127, 189, 206–9, 207; zinc, statues containing, 281n8. *See also alternative names and manifestations*
- Buddha, enthroned: on Khin Ba reliquary, 15, 16, 41, 54, 58, 65, 66, 67, 80–82, 81, 84, 90, 101, 204, 246; in meditation, from Khin Ba relic chamber, 84; preaching enthroned Buddhas, 75–76, 76, 196, 198, 199, 199–200; sealing with enthroned Buddha and attendant bodhisattvas below *dharmacakra*, 61; sealings with enthroned Buddha calling earth to witness, 106, 107, 107–9, 108, 244; from Son Tho, 119, 196, 196–98, 197; Tham Ruesi cave, enthroned Buddha offering protection, 217; from Wat Phra Men, 189, 190, 199, 204
- Buddha, future. *See* Maitreya
- Buddha, granting boons: as Avalokiteśvara Lokañātha, 260, 260–61; from Bujang valley site 16A, 75; from Mahakam River basin, 105, 105–7; Śākyamuni, Sarnath, ca. 475, 39, 75, 190, 206; Sarnath region, first half 6th century, 8, 38, 38–39, 190; from Tuol Ta Hoy, vi, 102–4, 103, 266
- Buddha, heads: from Angkor Borei region, 101, 104; from Ayutthaya province, central Thailand, 205; meditating Buddha, from Wat Phra Ngam, 208, 209; from Mekong delta, 97, 97–98; from Vijiaderpuram, 98; from Wat Mahathat, 205, 206; from Wat Romlok, 97–98, 98, 101
- Buddha, in meditation: on clay tablets with Chinese inscriptions, 13; head of meditating Buddha, Wat Phra Ngam, 208, 209; from Kan Wet Khaung Gon, 54, 68, 91–93, 92, 107; from Khin Ba relic chamber, 84; from Phnom Cangek, 93, 99, 99–101, 100, 196; Samadhi Buddha, Sri Lanka, 89, 91, 93; under seven-headed *nāga*, Muang Si Mahosot, viii, 18, 19, 81, 133, 200, 201, 202, 211; on steles, 8, 10, 18, 19, 21, 60, 74, 74–75, 200; Sungai Mas stele, 8, 10, 18, 21, 74, 74–75; from Wat Phra Borommabhat, 52, 93, 94
- “Buddha of the present age,” 58
- Buddha, offering protection: from Tham Ruesi cave, 217; from Wat Kampong Luong, 93, 95
- Buddha, preaching: from Aung Seigon stupa, 91; from central or northeastern Thailand, 8th–early 9th century, 210, 269; enthroned Buddhas preaching, 75, 75–76, 196, 198, 199, 199–200; to his mother in Tāvatīmīsha heaven, 191, 215; from Khin Ba relic chamber, 84, 84–85; from Malay Peninsula, 7th century, 75, 75–76; from Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II, 234–38, 237, 268; probably from Sri Lanka, 6th century, 35, 35–36, 271; Śākyamuni, probably from Si Thep, 211; Shitpyin village, central Myanmar, 8th century, 90, 90–91; to Śiva and Viṣṇu, Tham Phra Phothisat, 3, 36, 145, 186, 244–45; from Tuol Preah That, 96, 97, 101, 102, 105; from U Thong site 11, 128, 188, 209, 209–10, 221; on winged grotesque with attendants, 153, 214, 214–15, 223
- Buddha, touching earth/calling earth to witness: Bebe temple stele, 68; Buriram province, northeastern Thailand, 200–204, 203; Lemyethna temple stele, 68; sealings with enthroned Buddha calling earth to witness, 106–8, 107–9, 244; from Śrī Ksetra, 89–90, 90; from Yahanadagu stupa, 109
- Buddha’s Law (dharma), 26, 38, 192–93, 245
- Buddhism: aniconic phase, 192; architecture and ritual space of, in Thailand, 194–95; ascetic tradition, 236; Brahmanism, former Buddhist temple rededicated to, 234; causation doctrine, 9, 59–61, 62, 97, 193, 212; Cham art and, 69, 70, 73; consecration ceremonies, 97; divine savior notions in, 230; Dvāravatī, 36, 50, 127, 189–91, 208, 210, 242, 268; early Indic inscriptions and, 53, 54, 55, 57; in early Southeast Asia, ix, 3, 4, 6, 8–10, 14, 16, 19, 21, 22, 26, 27, 30, 31, 44, 74–75, 105, 107; Esoteric, 37, 236, 251, 252, 253, 254, 256; footprints, worship of, 159; in Funan and Śrivijaya, 112–15; funerary practices, 78; in Indonesia, 116–17; inscriptions in Southeast Asia and, 58–62; lotus in, 82; Mahāyāna, x, 19, 37, 38, 61, 62, 73, 115, 117, 124, 128, 192, 196, 200, 228, 229, 230, 231, 238, 239, 244, 246, 248, 250, 260; in mainland Southeast Asia, 122, 124, 127, 128, 143, 152; in Malay Peninsula, 75; monasticism and diaspora of, 76; *nāga*-cult beliefs and, 200; Pyu civilization and, 64, 65–68, 78, 79, 85, 91; reliquary, central Myanmar, 6th century, 80–82, 81; savior cults, 230, 238, 240, 242, 262; in southern Vietnam, 118–21; stupa-building in, 87; Theravāda, 10, 54, 62, 192, 217, 218, 224; transformation of imagery of, in central Thailand, 221–24; Vajrayāna, 192, 200, 251, 252, 253, 256
- Bujang River valley (Lembah Bujang), xv, xvii, 10, 20, 29, 35, 74, 75, 200, 251, 307
- bulls, 10, 29, 159, 163, 164, 164–65, 182–83, 183
- Burmese language. *See* Myanmar language
- Candi Blandongan, Batujaya, western Java, 10, 116, 117
- Candraprabhā (personification of the moon), 243–44, 244
- Carpeaux, Charles, 152, 181, 248
- Chaiya, xv, xvii, 6, 7, 9, 21, 38, 93, 128, 130, 131, 132, 137, 145, 212, 214, 228, 232, 239, 254, 257, 258, 260, 261, 308
- Chalukya period, 131, 135
- Chalukyas (people), 137
- Cham: aesthetic tradition, 34, 45, 49, 69–73, 124, 128, 129, 152, 154, 167, 174, 179, 187, 250; as ethnolinguistic identity, 6, 17, 33, 34, 69, 70, 248; language and inscriptions, xviii, 14, 17, 18, 30, 47, 55, 59, 70, 72, 167, 273n19, 276n17; polities and territories, 12, 14, 18, 19, 26, 33, 34, 45, 47, 48, 69, 70, 72, 122, 167, 181, 200, 239, 261, 262, 269; royal dynasty, 12, 17, 18, 72, 230, 248
- Champa (Campā), ix, xviii, 6, 14, 15, 17–19, 25–26, 27, 28, 30, 54, 55, 70–73, 87, 129, 151, 152, 154, 167, 176
- Champasak, xv, xvi, 9, 12, 13, 14, 35, 45, 47, 113, 139, 153, 154, 157, 158, 159, 164, 166, 171, 196, 198, 214, 248, 307
- Chandragupta II (Gupta ruler), 161
- Chandragupta Maurya (emperor), 145
- Chang Jun (Chinese envoy), 29
- Chang Qu (author), 28
- Chang’an (Xi’an), 9, 26, 30, 31, 40, 64
- Chansen, xvi, 6, 8, 165
- Chao Phraya River, xvi, 27, 59, 189
- Chedi Chula Pathon, 40, 85, 87, 191, 206, 208, 218, 219, 246
- Chirapravati, Pattaratorn, 133, 143, 211, 218, 221, 243
- Chronicle of the Island (*Dīpavamsa*), 61
- Ciaruteun River, xvii, 11, 11–12, 74, 159
- Cibuaya, xvii, 6, 7, 9, 117, 131, 306
- Citrasena (Kṣatriya; surname of Zhenla king), 26
- Citrasena (Mahendravarman), 12, 13, 17, 275n36
- Claeys, Jean-Yves, 47, 71, 204, 221
- Coedès, George, xviii, 3, 19, 27, 99, 114, 132, 148, 160, 163, 218, 221, 274n25, 275n37, 276n32, 278n3, 281n23
- coins: defined, 276n30; Roman, 16, 32, 32–33, 274n2; Southeast Asian, 27, 28, 42, 44, 56, 57, 58, 67, 79–80, 82, 84, 88, 88–89, 276n31
- Cola dynasty/style, 21, 28, 38, 133, 139, 185, 306
- Commaille, Jean, 182, 183
- Compassion, Bodhisattva of. *See* Avalokiteśvara
- Cunda, 253
- Dalet, Robert, 97, 130, 131
- Damrong Rajanubhab (prince), 35, 36, 39, 221, 222, 280n2
- Da Rang River, 18
- Dashi, 31
- Deccan (India), xiv, 8, 9, 44, 75, 76, 79, 105, 134, 135, 159, 174, 179, 238, 250, 255, 257
- Descent from Trāyastriṃśa Heaven scenes, 191, 210, 215
- Devanika (king), 9, 12, 157, 158, 159, 166
- Devonian period, 265
- Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta*, 193
- Dhammapadathakatha*, 217
- Dhammadzedi (king), 240
- Dharmakīrti (Ātiśā’s guru), 76
- Dharmasetu (ruler), 260
- Diansun, 26
- Dianxun, 28–29
- Dipankara Buddha, 8, 10
- Dīpavamsa* (Chronicle of the Island), 61
- Divyāvadāna*, 217
- Dong Duong, x, xv, xvi, 17, 19, 73, 167, 248, 249, 262, 309
- Dong Thap, xvi, 9, 112, 113, 118, 119, 121, 131, 132, 134
- Dunxun, 6, 15, 27, 28, 112
- Dupont, Pierre, 85, 146, 148, 189, 196, 218, 219, 227, 246
- Durgā/Durgā Mahiśāsuramardini, 119, 121, 124, 135, 136–39, 136–40, 156, 171, 172, 174, 250, 269
- Duroiselle, Charles, 58, 78, 80, 82–86, 239
- Dutch East Indies Company, 279n13
- dvārapālas*, 42, 73, 83, 83–84
- Dvāravatī: aesthetic tradition, 19, 36, 50, 62, 71, 117, 119, 122, 124, 127, 128, 143, 189–91, 192, 198, 200, 204, 206, 208, 209, 210, 212, 214, 215, 217, 221, 223, 224, 242, 243, 247, 279n29, 306; Buddhism and Buddha imagery, 36, 50, 127, 189, 190, 208, 210, 242, 268; earliest documents of culture of, 55; kingdom and territories, ix, 6, 13, 14, 15, 19–20, 27, 28, 39, 40, 59, 62, 86, 97, 101, 122, 127, 143, 189–91, 198, 210, 211, 212, 221, 224, 267; metallurgy, 268–69, 270; religious traditions, 164, 189–91, 214, 221, 224, 242; royal dynasty, 189, 221
- East India Company, 74
- Edwards McKinnon, E., 273n38
- Esoteric Buddhism, 37, 236, 251, 252, 253, 254, 256
- Fan Chuo (author), 28, 88
- Fan[sh]iman (Funan king), 6, 26
- Faxian (Chinese pilgrim-monk), 9–10, 38, 101, 102
- Finot, Louis, 77, 159, 160, 163
- First Sermon, Buddha’s, 38, 39, 60, 86, 90, 190–93, 212, 215, 257
- Five Dynasties period, China, 26
- footed dish with equestrian hunting scene, 33, 33–34
- Four Truths of the Noble Ones, 18, 59–61, 60, 61, 193, 212
- Funan: aesthetic tradition, 45, 46, 97, 113, 115, 119, 121, 171, 187, 189, 222; archaeology of, 111–12, 118; and Champa, 47, 69; and China, 20, 26, 274n21; history of, 112–13, 121, 274n25; and India, 112; inscriptions, 12, 17, 278n15; kingdom and territories, ix, 6, 12–13, 16, 27, 28, 89, 93, 111, 118, 141, 189, 275n34, 306, 307, 309; and Zhenla, 17, 26
- Funan ji* (Account of Funan), 28
- funerary vessels: Buddhist auspicious emblems, funerary urn with, 77, 78; King Sihavikrama, funerary casket of, 54, 65, 68, 76–77, 77, 78, 80, 91; at Pyu sites, 16, 77, 78
- Gaja Lakṣmī, 8, 134, 164, 214
- Ganapati, 178–79
- ganas (dwarfs), 34, 49–50, 50, 178, 182, 223
- Gandhara (India), 23, 58, 192, 217, 262
- Ganeśa, 71, 72, 93, 119, 121, 132, 149, 178–82, 227
- Gāṅgā, 176
- Gangga Negara, 307

- Garuda (mythical human-bird creature), 12, 42, 65, 77, 120, 152, 153, 153–54, 155, 164, 165, 185, 214, 223
- Gauḍī (monk from Bengal), 128
- Gautama, Siddhārtha, 80, 86, 98. *See also* Buddha, historical; Śākyamuni
- Gautila Jātaka, 34, 34–35
- Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*, 63–64, 277n6
- Glover, Ian C., 19, 22
- Go Cay Thi temple, Oc Eo, 16, 113
- Goloubew, Victor, 160
- Govardhana (mountain), 146, 148
- “Great Chapter” of the Vinaya, 277n16
- Great Chronicle (*Mahāvamsa*), 61
- Greco-Buddhist style, 189, 192
- Griffiths, Arlo, 11, 72, 73
- Groslier, George, 44, 136, 146, 149, 160, 227
- Guanyin (goddess of mercy), 62
- Guha Dipa (guru of Jayachandravarman and Harivikrama), 91
- Gulf of Thailand, 6, 8, 13, 26, 27, 38, 111, 112, 186
- Guṇavarman (Kashmiri monk), 17
- Guṇavarman (prince), 9
- Gupta period, style, and rulers (India), 25, 34, 39, 42, 47, 49, 50, 67, 68, 70, 71, 77, 84, 87, 93, 97, 101, 118, 119, 146, 153, 154, 159, 164, 165, 169, 174, 179, 189, 190, 244, 247, 268
- Guttila (harpist in *jātaka*), 35
- Guy, John, 71
- Haanawichai, Montri, 32
- Halin, xiv, xvi, 15, 28, 63, 65, 78, 86, 89, 307
- Han dynasty, China, 25, 116, 274n2
- Han shu* (History of the Former Han), 25, 274n1
- Harappa culture, 278n25
- Hari (Viṣṇu), 9, 113, 169
- Harihara, 4, 4–5, 120, 128, 131, 148, 154, 168–74, 169, 170, 230–31, 236, 254, 279n20, 280n1
- Hari Kambujendra (Lord of Kambudja), 272
- Harivikrama, 91
- Hayagrīva, 149, 151
- heads: Aiyānār (nature deity), 184, 184–85; Avalokiteśvara, 230, 230–31, 261, 261–62; Cham head fragments from Phu Ninh, 71; crowned bodhisattva, 127, 154, 240–42, 241; foreign merchants, 40; Harihara, 120, 168–71, 169; *kupeeyok* hat, brick depicting West Asian merchant wearing, 40; *lingakoṣas*, 167, 167–68; lion, 218–19, 219; Maitreya, 224, 225, 231, 231–32, 243; male Buddhist devotee, 219; male divinity, 244–45, 245; Śiva, My Son, temple A4, 72, 167; Viṣṇu, 139. *See also* Buddha, heads
- Heavenly Spirit (Chinese name for Brahmanical deities), 26–27
- Heluodan, 27, 29, 113, 307
- Heydt, Eduard von der, 250
- Hinduism. *See related concepts, e.g.* Brahmanism
- historical Buddha, 80, 192, 236
- Hokkien language, 26, 28, 274n29
- Huang Chao (Chinese rebel), 25
- Huanwang, 25–26, 309
- Hudson, Bob, 275n50, 277n18
- Ibn Khurdādhbih, 275n116
- Iksvāku dynasty (India), 12, 34, 46, 68, 79, 80, 105
- India. *See specific cities and regions*
- Indra, 12, 35, 86, 146, 164, 215, 217, 218, 222, 242
- Indra’s heaven, 191
- Indravarman I (king), 183
- intaglios, 4–6, 6, 7, 8, 112, 116, 164
- Intan shipwreck, western Java Sea, 109
- Iron Age, 64, 65
- Irrawaddy (Ayeyarwady) River, xiv, 28, 54, 59, 63, 64, 88, 308
- Īśānapura, 12, 17, 19, 26, 27, 56, 71, 172, 173, 306. *See also* Sambor Prei Kuk
- Īśānasena (son of Citrasena), 26
- Īśānavarman I (king of Zhenla), 17, 18, 56, 57, 71, 172, 306
- Īśāneśvara (epithet for Śiva), 152, 167
- Īśvara (epithet for Śiva), 274n17
- Jacq-Hergoualc'h, Michel, 29, 72–73
- Jainism, 159, 273n15
- Jalong, xvii, 185, 307
- Jambhalā (Buddhist counterpart to Kubera), 248
- Jātakamālā* of Āryasūra, 10, 244
- jātakas*. *See specific titles*
- Java (island), xv, xvii, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 20, 21, 25, 28, 29, 30–31, 37, 38, 51, 53–57, 61, 72–74, 76, 82, 83, 85, 105, 111, 114–17, 128, 131–33, 157, 159, 181, 185, 186, 196, 198, 199, 248, 250, 251, 253–55, 257, 258, 260–62
- Jayachandravarman (king), 68, 91
- Jaya Indravarman II (king), x, 19, 230, 248, 309
- Jayanasa (king), 114
- Jaya Simhavarman II (king), 309
- Jayavarman (surname of Funan king), 26
- Jayavarman I (ruler), 163, 275n40
- Jayavarman II (ruler), 128, 154, 306
- Jayavarman VII (ruler), 179, 186
- Jia Dan (author and cartographer), 30
- Jin dynasty, China, 18, 25, 26
- Jin shu* (History of the Jin), 26
- Jiu Tang shu* (Old History of the Tang), 26, 27, 274n4, 275n33, 275n39
- Jurassic period, 265, 266
- Jyotipāla (bodhisattva), 194
- Kaitabha (demon), 151
- Kalimantan, xv, 10, 11, 35, 37, 38, 53, 61, 62, 74, 105, 107, 116, 117, 251, 255, 306
- Kalkin (Viṣṇu’s future avatar), 149, 149–51, 150, 179
- Kalkipurāṇa*, 151
- Kalyani, 239, 240
- Kampong Sungai Mas, xvii, 20, 74
- Kanchipuram, xiv, 71, 127
- Kang Tai (envoy and author), 28, 274n21
- Kaniṣka (Kuṣāṇa emperor), 82
- Kapuas River, xvii, 61
- Kārttikeya, 177, 178
- Kāśī, 86
- Kāśyapaparivarta* (*Ratnakūṭa*), 62
- Kaundinya (surname of king of Poli), 26, 30, 275n112
- Kauthāra, 26, 309
- Kautilya (tutor of Chandragupta Maurya), 145
- Kawi script, 54, 276n14
- Kedah, ix, 10, 14, 15, 20, 20–21, 29–30, 31, 76
- Kedukan Bukit (inscription near Palembang), 21
- Kelantan, 29
- Keling, 31
- Khao Thamorat (Buddhist cave retreat), xvi, 211, 221, 222, 224, 243, 280n39, 308
- Kharoṣṭhī script, 58
- Khin Ba mound, 15–16, 41, 42, 58, 59, 65–67, 65–68, 77–90, 80, 85, 101, 204, 246, 307. *See also* relic chamber, Khin Ba
- Khmer: aesthetic tradition, 17, 41, 45, 51, 70, 71, 72, 98, 104, 120, 123, 129, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 148, 151, 152, 154, 163, 166, 168, 172, 174, 177, 179, 187, 196, 227, 232, 236, 237, 238, 250, 265; as ethnolinguistic identity, 6, 69, 70; language, 14, 16, 17, 18, 26, 55, 59, 70, 122, 145, 146, 149, 157, 158, 159, 178, 187, 230, 237; religious culture, 139, 159, 170, 234; royal dynasty, 71, 128, 148, 154; territories and polities, 9, 12, 16, 18, 26, 46, 48, 50, 105, 111, 112, 113, 128, 140, 145, 159, 168, 181, 206, 229, 256, 265
- Khu Bua, xvi, 19, 40, 50, 84, 86, 124, 127, 152, 153, 191, 199, 206, 215, 217, 221, 236, 240, 242, 246, 247, 308
- Koh Ker, 151, 181, 182
- Koh Krieng, xvi, 124, 131, 172, 306
- Kompong Preah style, 123, 127
- Kota Kapur, xvii, 12, 21, 31, 114, 115, 117, 273–74n50, 306, 307
- Kouk Trap, xvi, 124, 149, 151, 178
- Krishna River, 36, 37, 44, 105, 137, 240
- Krom, Nicolaas, 254
- Kṛṣṇa, 146, 148, 177, 178, 222
- Kṛṣṇa Govardhana, 17, 124, 146–48, 146–49, 222
- Kubera, 8, 46, 46–47, 179, 227, 246, 247, 248
- Kumāragupta II or III (Gupta king), 154
- Kundunga (grandfather of Mūlavarmā), 10
- Kunlun (city), 25
- kupeeyok* hat, brick depicting West Asian merchant wearing, 40
- Kuśāṇa period/dynasty, 70, 93, 119, 131, 132, 158, 169, 187, 192, 231
- Kuśānas, 141
- Ku Śrī Rudravarman (king), 25
- Kutai, xv, xvii, 10, 11, 37, 38, 105, 116, 117, 306
- Kyanzitha (Bagan king), 275n54, 277n5, 277n9, 277n14
- Kyonto, 45, 307
- Lakṣmaṇa, 148
- Lakṣmī, 37, 48–49, 49, 77, 119, 122, 122–23, 124, 125, 127, 134–35, 135, 164, 279n3
- Lakṣmīndra Lokeśvara, 230, 248, 309
- Lakuliśa, 161
- Langkasuka, 6, 10, 14, 15, 21, 27, 28–29, 29, 308
- Leclère, Adhémar, 163, 172
- Leksono, xvii, 306
- Lembah Bujang. *See* Bujang River valley
- Lhok Cut (Luocha/Luoyue), 27, 29, 30
- Liang dynasty, China, 10, 12, 28–29, 71
- Liang shu* (History of the Liang), 12, 28, 71
- Liang zhigong tu* (Illustrated Tributaries to the Liang), 29
- Licchavi temple, 154
- Li Henei (Heling envoy), 31
- Lingaparvata (Śri Lingaparvata; mountain), 9, 12, 13, 26, 158, 159, 166
- lingas (*sivalingas*), 9, 12, 20, 26, 71, 72, 113, 114, 118, 120–21, 123, 132, 133, 152, 156–59, 157, 158, 161, 163, 165, 167, 168, 174, 177, 181, 183, 221, 222, 278n24–25; *acalalingas*, 158; *banalingas*, 156, 158; *calalingas*, 158; Cat Tien, sanctuary G1A, 118, 157, 159; *caturlingas*, 167; *ekamukhalingas*, 49, 157, 165, 167, 174; flaming, 123; *lingakosas*, 167, 167–68; *lingapūjā*, 159, 167; *lingarūpa*, 156; miniature rock crystal, 158–59, 159; *mukhalingas*, 119, 120; My Son linga altar, temple A10, 158; *pancamukhalingas*, 167; Phu Kao linga and lustration basin, 159; tripartite, 132
- Lingodbhavamūrti myth, 123, 151, 156, 157, 163, 165, 165–67, 166, 266
- Lingwai daida* (Notes on Things beyond the Ranges), 31
- lintels: with anthropomorphic dragon in foliage, 50–51, 51, 123, 214, 266; bodhisattva bronzes found behind, 227; Cambodian, 122–23; with dancer and musicians flanked by *nāgarājas*, 44–45, 44–46, 123; with floral bosses, 239; with Garudas slaying human adversaries, Sambor Prei Kuk, 185, 266; Lakṣmī celebrated on, 122, 124, 125, 127, 134–35, 135, 279n3; with Lingodbhavamūrti myth and king’s consecration, Wat Eng Khna, 41, 47, 123, 154, 157, 163, 165, 165–67, 166, 176, 185, 266; in mainland Southeast Asia, 122, 122–23, 123, 124, 127, 128; with *makara* confronting horned nature deity, 50, 51, 214; with *makara-torana*, Virupaksha temple, 135; with monster face and celestial celebrant, 50, 51; petrographic analysis of, 265, 266; from Prasat Phum Prasat, 50, 123, 127; from Si Thep, 221; with Viṣṇu Anantaśāyin and birth of Brahmā, 124, 151–53
- Linyang (Rāmañña/Rāmaññadesa), 27, 28, 307
- Linyi, 15, 18, 25–26, 27, 28, 30, 47, 189, 309
- lions, 33, 34, 86–87, 87, 133, 135, 204, 214, 215, 218, 218–19, 219, 247, 256, 258, 272, 306
- Liu Fang (Chinese general), 26
- Lokapālas, 42
- Lokeśvara (bodhisattva), 119, 230, 261, 269
- Lolo (people), 63
- Lopburi, x, xvi, 6, 8, 165, 205, 212, 221, 223, 224
- lotus: Avalokiteśvara and, 230, 232, 240, 242, 250, 252, 253, 254, 260, 262; Brahmā and, 77, 151, 152, 163; Brahmans holding, 166; buds, petals, and flowers, as decorative elements, 33, 34, 83, 88, 135, 164, 214; bull seated on, 183; double lotus pedestal or stand, 50, 74, 91, 93, 208; female attendants of

- Vairocana with, 257; flanking lotus stems, 37, 37–38, 107, 134, 200, 258; Lakṣmī, as attribute of, 134, 164; lotus-born Brahmā issuing from Viṣṇu's navel, 77; lotus pedestals and footrests, 77, 102, 103, 134, 153, 196, 200, 217, 255; lotus thrones and throne cushions, 80, 84, 99, 107, 217, 218, 232, 256, 258, 262; Mañjuśri with, 258; *padmāsana* (lotus posture), 79; palms and soles of Buddha, lotus-flower pattern on, 84; *paryākāsana* (half-lotus posture), 200; silver lotus flower and stem, 58, 82, 82–83; Śiva, lotus feet of, 54, 159; squatting *gāna* figure, lotus base with, 49–50, 50; on Śrāvasti Miracles stele, 217; steles depicting, 8, 10, 18, 19, 21, 74, 74–75, 200; sun and moon on, 244; Sungai Mas stele, 8, 10, 18, 21, 74, 74–75; Sūrya and, 135, 141, 143, 222, 223; *vajrāsana* (full-lotus posture), 200; Viṣṇu holding, 120, 140, 145
- Low, James, Captain, 74, 75
- Luce, Gordon, 28, 277n42
- Lunet de Lajonquière, Étienne Edmond, 132, 133, 172, 204, 221
- Luocha/Luoyue (Lhok Cut), 27, 29, 30
- Luocheng, 28
- Madhu (demon), 151
- Madhya Pradesh (India), 32, 71, 151
- Mādhyamika sect, 74
- Mahābhārata*, 12, 19, 166, 222, 275n45
- Mahācaitya (stupa in Nagarjunakonda), 80
- Mahāganapati, 179
- Mahānāvika Buddhangupta stele, 10, 74, 200, 274n12
- Mahānidesa, 11
- Mahāpratisarā, 252, 252–53
- Mahāvagga*, 192
- Mahāvamsa* (Great Chronicle), 61
- Mahāvīra (arhat), 274n9
- Mahāyāna Buddhism, x, 19, 37, 38, 61, 62, 73, 115, 117, 124, 128, 192, 196, 200, 228, 229, 230, 231, 238, 239, 244, 246, 248, 250, 260, 309
- Mahendravarman (Citrasesa), 12, 13, 17, 275n36
- Maheśvara yoga, 161
- Mahiṣa (buffalo demon), 136, 138, 139
- Mahiṣāsuramardini, 113, 114, 138, 138–40, 139
- Maitreya (Buddha of the Future or future Buddha Maitreya), 119, 128, 149, 196, 198, 211, 221–22, 224, 225, 231, 231–32, 234, 235, 236, 236–40, 238, 240, 242, 243, 253, 255, 267, 269, 270, 279n15
- Malay (as ethnolinguistic identity), 6, 12, 14, 21, 28, 55, 74, 114, 250, 251
- Malayu, 15, 21, 30, 31, 114, 306
- Malleret, Louis, 111, 112, 118, 156, 171, 187
- Māmaki, 257
- Man (Nanzhao) rebels, 28, 275n59
- Māndhātā Jātaka*, 192
- Manguin, Pierre-Yves, 276n28
- Manigramam (guild), 11
- Mañjuśri, 239, 244, 256, 257, 257–58, 258, 307
- Mañjuśri as Sita Mañjughoṣa, 257, 257–58
- Man shu* (Book of the Barbarians), 28, 88, 275n56
- Mara, 12, 107, 223
- Marcus Aurelius (Roman emperor), 33, 274n2
- Mathura, xiv, 146, 157, 161, 163, 169
- Mathura style/school, 101, 119, 131, 134, 189, 192, 231
- Maurya period/dynasty, India, 32, 80, 212, 270
- medallions, 47, 49, 56, 57, 122, 123, 127, 134, 143, 151, 165, 214, 222, 252, 261, 262, 276n30, 276n32
- medals, 19, 20, 189, 279n4
- Mekong River, xvii, 12, 16, 26, 45, 102, 111, 112, 122, 124, 131, 157, 159, 172, 177, 232, 248
- Mellon, Mrs. Paul, 250
- Merbok River, xvii, 21, 29
- merchants, 8–13, 17, 20–21, 25, 30, 32, 33, 40, 55, 74, 114–15, 127, 165
- Mevissen, Gerd, 244, 253
- Mohini, 170, 184
- Mon: aesthetic tradition, 39, 41, 68, 71, 87, 88, 105, 119, 174, 189, 196, 198, 199, 200, 204, 205, 209, 210, 212, 240, 255, 268–69, 270; as ethnolinguistic identity, x, 6, 15, 69; language, 17, 55, 59, 145, 212, 276n18; society, 219; territories, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 27, 28, 32, 45, 59, 68, 76, 77, 84, 86, 89, 104, 109, 152, 153, 154, 177, 187, 192, 196, 198, 209, 212, 221, 229, 237, 240, 242, 244, 246, 255, 267, 268
- Muang Fa Daed, xvi, 19, 164, 194, 195, 308
- Muang Sema, 194, 195, 212, 237, 308
- Muang Si Mahosot, xvi, 9, 18, 50, 124, 132, 181, 200, 223, 308
- Mucalinda (*nāgarāja*), 200
- Mughapakka Jātaka*, 85–86, 86
- Mūlasarvāstivāda sect, 208, 217
- Mūlavarman (local ruler at Kutai), 10, 11, 53, 276n3, 306
- Munduan inscription, 54, 56, 276n33
- Mun River, xvi, 237
- murals, 32, 192, 193, 240
- Murugan, 178
- Mus, Paul, 3
- Musi River, xvii, 12, 21, 113–15, 251
- Myanmar language, 54–55, 63, 64, 86
- My Son, xv, xvi, 3, 12, 14, 17, 18, 34, 46, 47, 49, 51, 70, 70–72, 71, 72, 73, 122, 128, 129, 133, 152, 152–53, 153, 154, 158, 163, 167, 168, 174, 176, 179, 179–81, 180, 181, 182, 204, 274n7, 274n28, 279n27, 309
- My Thanh, 18, 19, 60
- nāga* (snake or serpent), viii, 3, 7, 9, 26, 47, 70, 71, 154, 200, 201
- nāgarāja* (snake king), 44, 44, 45, 49, 200, 218
- Nāgarakṛtāgama*, 28
- Nāgarī* script, 11, 248
- Nagarjunakonda, xiv, 16, 34, 35, 78–80, 80, 137, 200, 212, 244
- Nāgasena, 26
- Nakhon Pathom, xv, xvi, 9, 19, 20, 32–33, 40, 41, 59, 60, 85–87, 101, 117, 145, 164, 189, 190, 191, 193, 198–200, 204–6, 206, 208, 209, 212–15, 213, 217–19, 221, 223, 240, 242, 244, 246, 268, 308
- Nalanda (India), xiv, 21, 59, 128, 161, 208, 250, 251, 257
- Nanhai ("Southern Seas"), 14, 62, 114
- Nan Qi shu* (History of the Southern Qi), 25, 26, 71, 274n27
- Nan shi* (History of the Southern Dynasties), 10, 29, 30, 274n5
- Nanzhao tuzhuan* (Illustrated Account of Nanzhao), 31
- Narapatisimhavarman (ruler of Canasa), 237
- Narasimha (Viṣṇu avatar), 215
- Nārāyaṇa, 146
- Neolithic period, 23
- Ngu Hanh Son ("Marble Mountains"), 154, 309
- Nha Trang, 12, 17, 18, 26, 112, 167, 262
- Ni Ni Khet, 277n16
- Nong Hua Thong, 211, 307
- Northern Nāgari script, 11, 248
- Northern Qi dynasty, China, 50, 51, 190
- Northern Wei dynasty, China, 190
- Oc Eo, xvi, 9, 16, 26, 32, 33, 57, 70, 87, 89, 101, 111–14, 118–20, 140, 156, 171, 173, 187, 232, 274n2, 277n7, 309
- Old Balinese language, 276n14
- Old Javanese language, 59
- Old Khmer language, xviii, 59, 146
- Old Malay language, 12, 14, 21, 114, 278n34
- Old Mon language, 59, 275n54
- Padang Lawas, 10, 30, 306
- padma*. See lotus
- Padmapāni (form of Avalokiteśvara), 230, 240, 242, 258, 308
- Pahang, 29
- Pāla styles and dynasty, 54, 91, 128, 204, 209, 248
- Palembang, xv, xvi, 6, 8, 12, 21, 31, 61, 76, 111, 113–15, 114, 115, 116, 232, 251, 252, 253, 254, 260, 306, 307
- Pali language, 9, 11, 14, 16, 35, 54, 55, 58–63, 60, 65, 67–69, 80, 82, 86, 91, 97, 192–94, 200, 210, 212, 215, 217, 218, 223, 224, 244, 246
- Pallava period, kingdom, and territories, 25, 36, 54, 71, 72, 128, 133, 138, 139, 170, 276n8
- Pallava script, 11, 54, 91
- Pañcaraksā, 252, 253
- Pānduranga, 18, 27, 72, 167, 262, 309
- Pāṇḍya period, 25
- Panpan, 6, 7, 14, 15, 21, 26, 27, 28, 30, 275n68, 308
- Paraśurāma, 148
- Parmentier, Henri, 71, 152, 159, 160, 171, 179, 248
- Pārvatī, 139, 169, 172, 176, 179, 184, 237
- Pa Sak River, 221
- Pāśupatas, 9, 25, 159, 161, 163, 174, 176
- Pelliot, Paul, 16, 26, 274n25, 278n2
- Perak, 29, 128, 185, 250, 251, 252, 254, 260
- Phan Rang, xv, xvi, 17, 55, 167, 238, 262, 309
- Phnom Da, xv, xvi, 9, 12, 16, 17, 105, 124, 129, 136, 137, 146, 148, 149, 163, 168, 170, 171, 178, 222, 227, 232, 254, 306
- Phnom Kulen, x, 9, 72, 83, 124, 128–29, 154, 159, 164, 238, 306
- Phong Tuek, xvi, 19, 33, 308
- Phoomopayakkhet, Khun, 256
- Phra Pathom Chedi, 9, 20, 40, 60, 164, 204, 206, 209, 212, 213, 215, 218, 219, 244, 245, 246
- Phu Kao (mountain), 9, 12, 13, 158n1, 159, 307
- Piao, 15, 28, 64, 88–89, 307. *See also* Pyu pillars, 12, 20, 35, 41, 50, 59, 132, 157, 163, 165, 190, 192, 193, 198, 200, 223, 243, 248; Liṅgaparvata inscription pillar, 12; Mūlavarman inscription pillar, 10, 53; of Sanur, Bali, 276n14; Wheel of the Law pillars (*dharmačakraṭambhas*), 9, 19, 60, 153, 190, 191, 192, 200, 204, 208, 212–15, 213, 215, 243, 248
- Pirey, Father H. de, 262
- planetary deities, x, 141, 143, 243–44, 244, 248–50, 249
- Po Khlong Garai, 46, 309
- Po Nagar, 17, 18, 26, 70, 71, 72, 262, 309
- Prabhāsēvara (epithet for Śiva), 152
- Prajñāpāramitā (wisdom goddess), 37, 37–38, 253, 262
- Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (Perfection of Wisdom Sutra), 62, 251
- Prakāśadharma (Vikrantavarman I; king), 71, 152, 167, 274n28
- Prakhon Chai, xvi, 128, 224, 235, 269, 270. *See also* Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II
- Prakrit language, 13, 59, 62, 67, 97
- Prasat Ak Yom, 128, 227, 228, 232, 235, 238
- Prasat Andet, 4, 154, 171, 235
- Prasat Hin Khao Plai Bat II, xvi, 128, 224, 232, 234, 237, 238, 269, 308. *See also* Prakhon Chai
- Prasati Ciaruteun (carved boulder in Ciaruteun River, Java), 11, 11–12, 273n46
- Prasati Kebon Kopi I, Ciampéa, Telapak Gadjah carved boulder at, 12, 273n47
- Prasat Phum Prasat, 123, 127, 128, 173, 230
- Prasat Rup Arak, x, 128, 129, 154
- Prasenajit (king), 217
- Pratītyasamutpāda Sūtra* (*Paticcasam-uppada Sutta*; Sutra on Dependent Arising), 59, 212
- Preah Ko, 183
- Pr̥thivi, 163
- Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemy), 16, 28
- Purāṇa Kasayaya (*yakṣa*), 217
- Purāṇas (texts), 10, 27, 156, 165, 179, 185, 276n3. *See also* specific titles
- Pūrnavarman (king), 9–12, 11, 54, 74, 159, 276n3, 307
- Pyu: aesthetic tradition, 16, 41, 44, 63–68, 77, 78, 79, 86, 88–91, 109, 239, 240; Buddhism, 64, 65–68, 78, 79, 85, 91; figurines of dancers and musicians from, 45, 64; language, 11, 14, 16, 54, 55, 58, 59, 63, 64, 68, 77, 80, 91; silver coins, 67, 84, 88, 88–89; territories, ix, x, 4, 6, 10, 11, 14, 15–16, 27, 28, 45, 54, 58, 59, 63–68, 77, 78, 80, 82, 84, 86–89, 91, 107, 132, 153, 198, 277n3
- Rach Gia, xvi, 17, 47, 119, 120, 121, 124, 126, 161, 227, 232
- Rājarāja I (king), 21
- Rāma (deity), 146
- Rāma V (ruler), 208
- Rāmañña/Rāmaññadesa (Linyang), 27, 28, 308

- Ratnakūta (Kāśyapaparivarta)*, 62
- Rāvana (demon), 72
- relic chamber, Khin Ba, 15, 58, 65–68, 80, 87, 89, 307; Buddha, preaching, 84, 84–85; coins, 89; cover, 58, 68, 78–80, 79, 85, 243; *dvārapālas*, 42, 83, 83–84; enthroned Buddha in meditation, 84; miniature stupas, 85, 88; reliquary, 15, 16, 41, 54, 58, 65, 66, 67, 80–82, 81, 84, 90, 101, 204, 246; silver lotus flower and stem, 58, 82, 82–83
- relic chamber, Shwesandaw stupa, 239
- reliefs, rock-cut: of Aiyānār, guardian of the pool, 184, 185; Aurangabad shrines, 238; Batu Pahat monolith depicting seven stupas, 62, 74–75, 117; Buduruvagala, Sri Lanka, Maitreya flanked by Vajrapāni and bodhisattva, 224; Durgā temple, Aihole, eight-armed Śiva, 250; enthroned Buddha preaching type originating with, 199; with Garudā, near Bhagalpur (Champa), 154; Kanheri shrine, 10; Khaō Thamorat standing Buddha, 211, 221, 222, 224, 243, 280n39, 308; Longhuta sanctuary, 51; Mamallapuram sanctuaries, 138; Prasati Ciaruteun (carved boulder in Ciaruteun River, Java), 11, 11–12, 273n46; of Śiva's footprints (*śivapāda*), i, 9, 54, 159–60, 160, 266; Telapak Gadjah (carved boulder, Prasati Kebon Kopi I, Ciampéa), 12; Tham Phra Phothisat, Buddha preaching to Śiva and Viṣṇu, 3, 36, 145, 186, 244–45; Tham Ruesi cave, enthroned Buddha offering protection, 217; with Viṣṇu Anantaśayin and the birth of Brahmā, 151, 154, 273n24
- reliefs, stucco and terracotta, 40, 45, 50, 84–88, 86, 87, 124, 128, 186, 186–87, 187, 191, 209, 217, 218–19, 219, 240, 245, 246, 246–47, 247
- reliquaries: casket inscribed in Prakrit with Sutra on Dependent Arising and donative information, 59; from Khin Ba mound, 15, 16, 41, 54, 58, 65, 66, 67, 80–82, 81, 84, 90, 101, 204, 246; reliefs intended for, 211; steatite containers used and reused as, 23, 24
- Revire, Nicolas, 117
- Riputra, 29
- ritual tray, 164
- Roluos, x, 154, 183
- Romain, Julie, 251n3
- Roman coins, 16, 32, 32–33, 274n2
- r̥ṣis (sages), 9, 86–87, 87, 152, 159, 163, 166, 174, 176, 181, 185, 186, 217, 236, 254, 274n11
- Rudra, 161
- Rudra Mahalaya, 159
- Rudravarman I (Funan king), 12, 17, 146, 222
- Śabdavidyā (Sanskrit grammar), 31
- Sabokingking inscription stele, Indonesia, 6, 21, 31, 114, 200
- Sādbhanamālā, 251, 253
- Sādhanas, 173, 244
- Sāgaramatipariprcchā Sutta (texts), 61, 74
- Sa Huynh–Kalanay (aesthetic tradition), 23
- Sa Huynh period, 47, 69
- Sailendra dynasty, 115, 117, 258, 260
- Śaiva cult and devotees, 8, 9, 12, 21, 25, 44, 47, 55, 70, 71, 118, 120, 152, 156, 157, 159, 160–65, 167, 168, 174, 176, 177, 181–84, 186, 222, 230, 236, 237, 245, 250, 253, 262
- Śaka era, calendar, and dates, 21, 72, 117, 160, 167, 278n14
- Sakka, 35
- Śākyā clan, 204, 215
- Śākyamuni, 39, 58, 192, 211, 221, 223, 224, 236, 244, 246
- Śākyasinha (epithet for Buddha), 215
- Salankayana script, 11, 91
- Salween (Thanlwin) River, xvi, 55
- Samadhi Buddha in meditation, Sri Lanka, 89, 91, 93
- Sambas hoard, 35, 251
- Śambhupura, 172, 173, 306
- Sambor on the Mekong, xvi, 122, 125, 127, 134, 154, 163, 172, 173, 230, 236, 238, 306
- Sambor Prei Kuk, xv, xvi, 4, 9, 12, 14, 17, 19, 26, 27, 35, 44, 45, 50, 51, 70, 71, 87, 123, 135, 151–53, 156, 157, 163, 165, 172, 173, 183, 185, 187, 248, 266, 306
- Sammitiya sect, 38
- Samyutta Nikāya*, 193
- Sanderson, Alexis, 9
- Sangam, 184
- Sarabhamīga Jātaka*, 217
- Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*, 194
- Sarnath, India, xiv, 38, 101, 190, 192, 193, 212, 215, 257
- Sarnath style/school, 8, 38, 39, 75, 97, 101, 119, 190, 206, 217, 223, 229, 232, 237
- Sarvādhikārin, 274n13
- Sasa Jātaka*, 244
- Sastras (texts), 10, 32, 93, 131, 145, 158, 179, 251
- Śatapattha Brāhmaṇa*, 166
- Śātavāhana dynasty, 32, 46, 68, 105
- Satyadeveśvara inscription, 55
- Śaura, 222
- sealings, 8, 32, 35, 55, 59, 60, 61, 106–8, 107–9, 117, 154, 164, 164–65, 196, 217, 217–18, 224, 247–48, 248, 251
- seals, 4–6, 6, 7, 8, 23, 32, 55, 56, 57, 87, 112, 116, 154, 164, 165
- Semarang, xvii, 307
- Senapati (envoy from Panhuang), 29, 274n13
- Shravasti (Śrāvasti; India), xiv, 191, 217, 218
- Siddhamāṭrkā script, 54, 276n14
- Siddhārtha Gautama, 80, 86, 98. *See also* Buddha, historical; Śākyamuni
- Sihavikrama (king), funerary casket of, 54, 65, 68, 76–77, 77, 78, 80, 91
- Sikendeng, xvii, 8, 10, 307
- Silappatikaram, 184
- Si Thep, xv, xvi, 9, 13, 14, 19, 47, 50, 59, 60, 133, 141, 143, 145, 184, 211, 212, 214, 221, 221–24, 243, 244, 246, 280n6, 308
- Śiva: antefix with head of, 84, 163, 186, 187; as ascetic, 71, 174–76, 175, 186, 266; Avalokiteśvara iconography and, 230, 250, 254; in Cham art, 70, 71, 72; early anthropomorphic depiction, southern Cambodia, mid-7th century, 168, 235; in early Southeast Asia, ix, 3, 8, 9, 12, 13, 18, 44, 47, 49, 51; footprints (*śivapāda*), rock-cut relief, i, 9, 54, 159–60, 160, 266; in Funan and Śrivijaya, 113; head of, 72; identification of Śaiva devotees with, 236; in mainland Southeast Asia, 120, 123, 129; male divinity head and, 244–45; Prasat Hin Khaō Plai Bat II cache and, 237; Pyu civilization and Śri Ksetra, 77, 83, 84, 86; sealing inscriptions showing devotion to, 8; in Si Thep, 222; stone types and sculptural practices, 266; from Tegal, 250; Tham Phra Phothisat, rock-cut relief, Buddha preaching to Śiva and Viṣṇu, 3, 36, 145; tympana of, 14, 73; Vṛśabha (Śiva's bull), 182–83, 183
- Śiva Bhairava, 174
- śivalingas. *See* lingas
- Śiva Madadeva, 167
- Śiva Natarāja, 44, 114
- Śivapurāṇa, 159, 165
- Śiva-Rudra, 161
- Śiva Śrī Vṛddheśvara, 72
- Skanda (god of war), 133, 176, 176–78, 177, 227
- Skandapurāṇa, 9, 159, 160, 167, 174, 185
- Skilling, Peter, 189, 191, 222, 224, 274n12, 279n29
- socles, 60, 190, 215, 276n11
- Sogdians, 40
- Song dynasty, China, 26, 28, 29, 30, 71, 114, 115
- Song shu* (History of the Song), 30, 71, 275n85
- Southern Brāhmī script, 11, 12, 13, 18, 21, 159, 193, 224, 306, 309
- Śrāvasti Miracles, 86, 128, 191, 216, 217, 217–18
- Śrēsthapura, 9, 12, 14, 47
- Śrēsthavarman (ruler), 12
- Śri Bhadravarman (king of Panhuang), 29
- Śri Bhadravarman (ruler of Poda), 29
- Śrīdevī, 153
- Śri Gaṇapati, 179
- Śri Ksetra: Bawbawgyi supa, 16; Buddhas and bodhisattvas from, 91–93, 107, 109, 238–40; cultural continuity at, 273n3; figurines of dancers and musicians from, 45, 64; funerary vessels from, 76–77, 77, 78; inscriptions, 54, 58, 59; Khin Ba mound, 15–16, 41, 42, 58, 59, 65–67, 65–68, 77–90, 80, 85, 101, 204, 246, 307 (*See also* relic chamber, Khin Ba); personified planets at, 243; religious culture of, 9, 10; stupas, 16, 79–80, 82; throne stele, 19, 40–41, 44; topographical map, 63; as urban center, xiv, xvi, 6, 14, 15, 19, 27, 28, 62–68, 189, 307
- Śri Lakṣmī, 134, 164
- Sri Lanka: Buddhas and bodhisattvas from, 7, 8, 9, 10, 35–39, 75, 89, 91, 93, 99, 104, 190, 222, 224, 279n12; Buduruvagala rock-cut relief, 224; Fanxian in, 9–10, 101; fire pearl from, 30; inscriptions and texts from, 58, 61–62, 218; merchant guilds in, 127; rock-cut relief depicting Aiyanār, guardian of the pool, 184, 185; Roman coins discovered in, 32; Samadhi Buddha in meditation, 89, 91, 93; Si Thep artisans inspired by, 223; stupas in, 80; Sumatran markets and, 116; temple architecture in, 34; Theravāda Buddhism centered in, 224; Vajrabodhi in, 128
- Śri Lingaparvata (mountain), 9, 12, 13, 26, 158, 159, 166
- Śri Mara (local Vietnamese ruler, probably Cham), 12, 309
- Śri Prabhudevi (Pyu/Śri Ksetra ruler), 80
- Śri Prabuvarman (Pyu/Śri Ksetra ruler), 80
- Śri Samādhigupta (hermit), 309
- Śri Satyavarman (Cham ruler), 72, 167, 274n17
- Śrivijaya, ix, x, 6, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 30–31, 54, 76, 111, 113–15, 117, 119, 128, 232, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 260, 267
- Stargardt, Janice, 82n4, 239n7
- steles: of Avalokiteśvara, 251; Ban Wang Phai, Si Thep, 145; Bhadravarman I stele inscription, My Son, 274n7; Brahmanical stele, 162, 163; of Buddha, 19, 68; in Cham art, 69, 72; deity seated on multiheaded *nāga*, My Son, temple G1, 3, 47, 49, 70, 71; of Devanika, Wat Luong Kau, Laos, 157; in early Southeast Asia, 6–12, 18, 19, 21, 26; inscriptions on, 55, 57, 60, 114, 161, 163, 167, 183; Kota Kapur, 21, 273–74n50; Lemyethna temple stele, 68; Mahānāvika Buddhagupta stele, 10, 74, 200, 274n12; with meditating Buddhas, 18, 19, 200, 201, 202; Muang Si Mahosot stele, 19, 200; Noen Sa Bua stone inscription, 277n15; Prakāśadharma stele inscription, My Son, 71, 152, 167, 274n28; Prasat Neak Buos, 160; preaching Buddha on winged grotesque with attendants, 153, 214, 214–15, 223; Pyu civilization and Śri Ksetra, 68, 77, 86; Sabokingking inscription stele, Indonesia, 6, 21, 31, 114, 200; with Śaiva trident and vase of plenty, 161; with Śaiva trident, ax, and vase of plenty, 9, 53, 159, 160–63, 161; Sarnath, 217; *sema* stones, 194, 194–95, 195, 279n27, 279–80n2, 280n6; with Śrāvasti Miracles, 128, 216, 217, 218; stone types and sculptural practices, 265; Sungai Mas stele inscription, 8, 10, 18, 21, 74, 74–75; throne steles, 19, 40–44, 41–43, 65, 84; *trisūla* (trident) stele, Kampong Cham province, 9; Vo Canh inscription stele, 11, 12, 18, 55, 69, 112, 278n15, 309; Wheels of the Law and, 223
- Stern, Philippe, 72, 73, 154
- Sthaviravāda school, 38
- Stoclet, Adolphe, 149
- Strahan, Donna, 267
- stupas: Aung Seigon stupa, 91; Batu Pahat monolith depicting seven stupas, 61, 62, 74–75, 117; Bawbawgyi stupa, 16, 67, 68, 79, 238; Borobudur stupa, Java, 83; as Buddhist symbol, 192, 243; at Candi Blandongan, 10; Cham art and, 70; Chedi Chula Pathon, 40, 85, 87, 191, 206, 208, 218, 219, 246; cylindrical, 67, 68, 79, 80, 85, 200; deposits and offerings, 58, 89, 91, 107, 109, 189, 191, 198, 209, 210, 240; in early Southeast Asia, 10, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26, 29, 32, 34, 38; funerary jars with stupa-like covers, 78; Gwebinet stupa, 67;

- Hpayahtaung stupa, 64, 65, 68, 77; Hpet-leik stupa, Bagan, 86; inscriptions and, 58–59, 59, 60, 61, 62; Kaniska stupa, 82; Khin Ba stupa mound, 15–16, 41, 42, 58, 59, 65–67, 65–68, 77–90, 80, 85, 101, 204, 246, 307; Khu Bua, 190, 242; Klangnok, 222; Lemyethna temple stele with, 68; lion figure protecting, 219; in mainland Southeast Asia, 124; Maitreya and, 224, 231, 238, 239, 242, 243, 255; meditating Buddha flanked by, 200, 201, 202, 224; miniature and votive, 7, 9, 28, 50, 58, 62, 84, 85, 88, 117, 243, 274–75n31, 276n5; Nagarjunakonda stupas, 16, 34, 35, 78, 79–80, 80; narrative reliefs, 191, 219, 244; Payagyi stupa, 65, 67, 68, 76, 79; Payama stupa, 45, 64, 67, 68, 79; in Pyu and Śrī Ksetra, 45, 64, 67, 68, 79–80, 89; relic-chamber cover, Khin Ba, 58, 68, 78–80, 79, 85, 243; renovation of, 87; ritual landscape in Thailand and, 194, 195; sealings depicting, 107, 117; *sema* stones and, 194, 195; Shwesandaw stupa, 64, 239, 277n14; small Phase 1 cylindrical stupa, HMA51, Śrī Kṣetra, 67; on steles, 18, 19, 68, 194, 200; Sungai Mas stele depicting, 8, 10, 18, 21, 74, 74–75; Thupayone stupa, 68; Yahandagu stupa, 109; Zothoke stupa, 132
- Subrahmanya, 178
- Suddhodana (king; Siddhārtha's father), 194
- Sui dynasty, China, 10, 17, 26, 29–30, 50, 51, 114
- Sui shu* (History of the Sui), 10, 17, 26, 29–30
- Sukhāvati sect, 205
- Sulawesi, xv, xvii, 8, 10
- Sultan of Kutai, 273n31
- Sumatra, xiv, xv, xvii, 6, 8, 10, 12–14, 21, 25, 30–31, 54, 61, 76, 111, 113–17, 200, 250–55, 260–62, 275n116
- Sungai Mas stele inscription, 8, 10, 18, 21, 74, 74–75
- Sun Quan (Wu ruler), 274n21
- Suparaga Jātaka*, 10
- Sūrya, 47, 99, 113, 119, 135, 140–45, 141–43, 164, 214, 217, 218, 221, 222, 222–24, 223, 280n9
- Suryadatta (patron), 99
- Sūryaprabhā, 244
- Sūryavarman I (ruler), 151
- Suthee, Phrathep, 209
- Sutra on Dependent Arising (*Pratitya-samutpāda Sūtra; Paticcasamuppada Sutta*), 59, 212
- Sutta Piṭaka*, 193
- Suvarṇabhūmi ("Land of Gold"), 8, 10
- Suvarṇadvīpa ("Island of Gold"), 10
- Svayamutpannesvara, 167
- Tagaung, 63, 89, 308
- Taiping yulan* (Imperial Readings of the Taiping Reign), 28
- Takuapa, xiv, xvii, 9, 11, 38, 134, 137, 145, 308
- Tambralinga, xvii, 14, 21, 39, 309
- Tamil language/people, 10, 11, 23, 35, 48, 55, 163, 165, 184, 186, 187, 274n11, 276n19
- Tang dynasty, China, 19, 20, 21, 26–28, 30, 31, 34, 40, 64, 89, 114, 117, 189, 211, 222, 274n4, 275n52, 307
- Tang Huiyao* (Institutional History of the Tang), 26, 30
- Tantra/Tantric teachings, 128, 248, 251, 257
- Tapussa (merchant and patron saint of guild), 127
- Tārā, 38, 257, 262
- Taruma/Tārumānagara, 11, 12, 14, 15, 21, 31, 114, 115, 116, 117, 159, 307
- Tathāgata, 59, 97, 189, 277n9
- Tāvatimsa (Trāyāstriṁśa) heaven, 191, 210, 215
- Taw Sein Ko, 64
- Telaga Batu, 6, 21, 31, 200
- Telapak Gadjah (carved boulder, Prasati Kebon Kopi I, Ciampea), 12
- Telegu scripts, 77
- Temiya (prince), 86
- Temiya Jātaka*, 86
- Tham Phra Phothisat, xvi, 3, 36, 145, 309
- Tham Ruesi, xvi, 217, 309
- Than Htike, 277n15
- Thanlwin (Salween) River, 55
- Thaton, xiv, xvi, 9, 15, 77, 239, 308
- Thein Lwin, 63, 80
- Theravāda Buddhism, 10, 54, 62, 192, 217, 218, 224
- Theravādin (language), 62, 224
- Theravamsa, 61, 62
- throne crossbars, 1, 41, 107, 204, 217, 257
- throne steles, 19, 40–44, 41–43, 65, 84
- Thu Bon River, xvi, 12, 17, 18, 25, 47, 70
- Tibeto-Burman language group, 54, 63
- Tircul, 15, 275n54
- Tirthāṅkara, 278n15
- TLV decoration, 116, 278n3
- Tonle Sap, 26, 102, 111, 151, 154, 165
- torsos: armatures for, 267; Avalokiteśvara, 35–38, 36, 258, 260; bodhisattva, 178, 226, 227; Buddha, 7, 8, 10, 80, 82; from Champasak, 12; Harihara, 171; Sanchi torso, 262; Viṣṇu, 137
- Tra Kieu, xvi, 6, 12, 14, 17, 18, 25, 47, 71, 181, 200, 250, 309
- Trāyāstriṁśa (Tāvatimsa) heaven, 191, 210, 215
- Triassic period, 265, 266
- Trivikrama (avatar of Viṣṇu), 11, 146, 148
- Tugu, xvii, 307
- Tuohuan, 309
- tympana, 14, 45, 46, 72, 73, 124, 152, 152–53, 167
- Udaitācārya (Śaiva guru), 9, 161
- Udayādityavarman II (king), 152
- Udayagiri (India), xiv, 49, 134, 151
- U Khin Ba (owner of mound at Śrī Kṣetra), 65
- Umā, 110, 111, 117, 127, 138, 139, 171, 171–73, 172, 173, 264
- urns, 65, 68, 77, 77–78, 78, 85
- U Thong, xv, xvi, 8, 19, 32, 33, 50, 55, 76, 84, 128, 145, 163, 164, 165, 186, 187, 209, 210, 212, 214, 218, 221, 222, 224, 309
- Vaikānasāgama, 152, 153
- Vairocana, 256, 256–57, 258
- Vaiśnava cult and devotees, ix, 6, 9, 17, 42, 44, 77, 113–15, 117, 121, 124, 134–36, 139, 143, 146, 152, 164, 165, 168, 171, 184, 222, 244
- Vājimukha, 149, 150
- Vajrabodhi, 128, 251
- Vajrapāni, 224, 242, 279n15, 308
- Vajrayāna Buddhism, 192, 200, 251, 252, 253, 256, 306
- Vākāṭaka dynasty, India, 71, 146, 240
- Vāmana, 280n21
- Varāha, 157, 165
- Varanasi (India), xiv, 35, 39, 101, 146, 160, 246
- Varman clan/dynasty, 16
- Vasudeva (Viṣṇu), 130
- Vedas (texts), 151, 185, 192, 222
- Vedic religion, 10, 12, 139, 149, 184, 185, 222, 243
- Victorinus (Roman emperor), 32, 32–33, 274n2
- Vijaya. *See* Śrīvijaya
- Vijayāditya, 251
- Vikrama dynasty, 68, 77, 80, 93
- Vikrantavarman I (Prakāśadharma; king), 71, 152, 167
- Vikrantavarman II (king), 71
- Vinaya, 224
- Vinaya Piṭaka*, 192, 217
- Viṣṇu: Ashmolean Viṣṇu, 131, 137; Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya iconography and, 230, 238; in Cham art, 71; Cibuaya statue, 4–6, 6; in Dvāravati aesthetic tradition, 221; in early Southeast Asia, ix, 3, 4–7, 9–12, 21, 42, 47, 49; footprints of (*viṣṇupāda*), 9, 10, 11; in Funan and Śrīvijaya, 113, 114; gold plaque of Viṣṇu with devotee, 145, 244; from Go Thap, 113, 120, 131–32, 132, 134; from Hao Duoc, 113, 132, 140; head, from Champasak, 139; in Indonesia, 116, 117, 118; intaglio, 4–6, 6, 7, 8; Kota Kapur statue, 114; in mainland Southeast Asia, 124, 128, 129; male divinity head and, 244–45; mounted on Garuda, 154, 155; from Muang Si Mahosot, 124, 132–33, 133; from Nhon Thanh, 120, 121; Patapan shrine figure, Bali, 116, 117; from Prasat Rup Arak, x, 129, 154–56, 156, 238; Pyu civilization and Śrī Kṣetra, 65, 77; from Si Thep, 144, 145, 244; Si Thep cult of, 222, 223; in southern Vietnam, 119, 120, 121; stone types and sculptural practices, 265, 266; from Takuapa, 134, 137, 145; from Tan Hoi, 124, 132; from Tan Phu, 134; from Tham Phra Phothisat, 3, 36, 145; from Tuol Koh, 124, 130, 130–31, 266; from Wat Sala Thueng, Chaiya, 4–6, 6. *See also* avatars, alternative names, and manifestations
- Viṣṇu Anantaśāyin, 77, 151, 151–53, 152, 153, 154, 273n24
- Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa, 156, 157
- Viṣṇu Garuḍasana, 154
- Viṣṇukuṇḍin rulers/dynasty, 137
- Viṣṇu Trivikramapāda, 11, 146, 148
- Viṣṇukarman (divine architect), 86
- Vo Canh inscription stele, 11, 12, 18, 55, 69, 112, 278n15, 309
- Vong The, 120, 158
- Vṛṣabha, 182–83, 183
- Wales, H. G. Quaritch, 35n8, 38, 75, 221, 222, 280n6
- Wat Eng Khna, xvi, 47, 123, 151, 154, 157, 163, 165, 176, 185
- Wat Kaeo, 128, 260, 308
- Wat Khlong Thom, xvii, 11, 33
- Wat Na Phra Men (Ayutthaya), 49, 117, 191, 204, 206
- Wat Phra Men (Nakhon Pathom), 190, 199, 218–19
- Wat Phu, xvi, 157, 158, 163, 248
- Wayasa Rusi, 243
- Wenxiang (monk), 13, 222
- Wenxian tongkao* (Comprehensive Study of Administrative Documents), 28
- Western Paradise of the Amitābha Buddha, 252
- Wheatley, Paul, 28, 275n82
- Wheel of the Law pillars (*dharma-cakrastambhas*), 9, 19, 60, 153, 190, 191, 192, 200, 204, 208, 212–15, 213, 215, 243, 248, 276n11, 308
- Wheels of the Law (*dbaramacras*), 19, 29, 42, 59, 60, 61, 78, 192–93, 193, 195, 196, 212, 212–15, 213, 221, 223, 223–24, 243, 277n13
- Win Kyain, 44, 63, 80, 277n15
- Wolters, O. W., 6, 22, 113, 114,
- Woodward, Hiram, 132, 218, 223, 224, 244n11, 262n2
- Xi'an (Chang'an), 9, 26, 30, 31, 40, 64
- Xin Tang shu* (New History of the Tang), 26, 28, 30, 275–76n124, 275n105
- Xuanzang (pilgrim-monk and author), 19, 27, 38, 40, 189, 215, 279n12, 306
- Yajñeśvara (Lord of Yajña), 139
- yakṣa/yakṣi* (nature spirit), 2, 3, 46–48, 46–49, 50, 71, 179, 200, 217, 227, 247, 248
- Yama (god of death), 177
- Yang Ino Po Nagar, 309
- Ye dharmā* (*Ye dhamma*) verse, 9, 18, 59, 61, 97, 217, 217–18, 248, 277n9
- Yijing (pilgrim-monk and author), 13, 20, 21, 26, 30, 31, 114, 189, 208, 278n34
- Yilang (monk), 29
- Yixuan (monk), 29
- Yogaśayana (iconographic type of Viṣṇu Anantāśayin), 152
- Yudee, Shin, 164
- Yunnan, 28, 63, 64, 239, 248
- Zéphir, Thierry, 70
- Zhanpo, 25–26, 27, 309
- Zhenla: aesthetic tradition, 45, 51, 71, 101, 104, 120, 151, 152, 157, 171, 173, 179, 227, 230, 232; inscriptions, 159, 160, 183, 222; kingdom and territories, ix, 6, 9, 12, 13–18, 26–27, 46, 111, 113, 159, 178, 244, 306; religious culture of, 134, 149, 151, 152, 166, 171, 183, 222, 248; rulers/royal dynasty, 12, 17, 134, 222; Water Zhenla and Land Zhenla, 128–29
- Zhian (Chinese monk), 29
- Zhu Ying (Chinese envoy), 274n21

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