

BUDDHIST SCULPTURE FROM SUMATRA,
PENINSULAR MALAYSIA AND PENINSULAR THAILAND
DURING THE SRĪVIJAYAN PERIOD (7th - 14th C.A.D.)

by

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ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to establish the nature of the Buddhist sculpture found in Sumatra, Peninsular Malaysia and Peninsular Thailand. From this, it is hoped that new light will be thrown on the relationships between Palembang, the assumed capital of Srīvijayan Empire, and other areas, the consequent effects upon the fluctuations of power of Palembang over other areas, and the role of Palembang as a source for Mahāyāna Buddhism expansion in South East Asia.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. In the first chapter, the aim of the study is set out, with a survey of past work on Srīvijaya and finally the approach to be undertaken.

The second chapter is a survey of the topography and archaeology of the sites from where the sculptures were found, while the third chapter discusses the rise of local workshops producing Buddhist images in composite forms of style, traces their origins. The fourth chapter is the study of the oldest Avalokiteśvara image in the Srīvijayan Empire. The fifth chapter establishes the beginnings of the stylistic relationships between Palembang and the Peninsula which culminate in the production of masterpieces, such as those found in Jaiyā, that may be dated to the middle of the 9th century A.D. In this chapter too the significance of the Avalokiteśvara images with tiger symbols are discussed. The sixth chapter deals with images which were influenced by Indo-Javanese and later by Cōḷa art and considers their implications.

The arguments are illustrated and supported by photographs, maps and plans.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AA Artibus Asiae (Ascona)
- ABIA Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology (Leiden)
- BCAI Bulletin de la Commission Archeologique de
l'Indo-Chine. Paris
- BEFEO Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient.
(Hanoi)
- Bijdragen Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
(The Hague)
- BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African
Studies. (London)
- DBP Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. Kuala Lumpur
- EI Epigraphica Indica. New Delhi
- FMJ Federation Museums Journal. Kuala Lumpur
- IAL Indian Art and Letters, London
- JA Journal Asiatique. Paris
- JASB Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Calcutta
- JBRB Journal of the Burma Research Society. (Rangoon)
- JFMSM Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums,
Malaya
- JGIS Journal of the Greater India Society. (Calcutta)
- JHUM Journal of Historical Society, University of
Malaya, Kuala Lumpur
- JISOA Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art, India
- JMBRAS Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal
Asiatic Society. Singapore, Kuala Lumpur
- JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great
Britain and Ireland. (London)

- JSBRAS Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Singapore)
- JSEAH Journal of South East Asian History. Singapore
- JSS Journal of the Siam Society. Bangkok
- JUPHS Journal of United Province Historical Society, Bengal
- Rūpan An Illustrated Quarterly Journal of Oriental Art, Calcutta, India
- TBG Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde uitgeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Batavia, 's Gravenhage.

CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEMS OF THE 'NATURE OF SRĪVIJAYA'

The present study is concerned with a connected account of the artistic aspect of the Srīvijayan Empire. My aim is to present it as a contribution to the knowledge of Srīvijaya, its history and art. It is hoped that it will elucidate further the shadowy nature of the empire, the dominant maritime power of South East Asia for more than five hundred years, whose maritime traditions, according to some scholars¹ who believe in the continuity of Malay history, were inherited by Malacca, a great emporium and centre of political influence. According to the Malay analyst of Sejarah Melayu, the rājas of Malacca were the heirs of Srīvijaya.²

Prior to 1918, the name 'Srīvijaya' was unknown to modern scholarship, and there was no agreement among scholars on the precise meaning of the T'ang Shih-li-fo-shih. Blagden, for instance, asserted that it was the name of a king and not a kingdom.³ He says that, 'Srī Wijaya, ruler of a country named Parawis ...' The T'ang transcription was incorrectly restored into Sanskrit as Srībhōja,⁴ but in 1918, Professor Coedès, who examined the Srīvijayan inscription found at Jaiyā,⁵ established that the correct transcription should be 'Srīvijaya' and not 'Srībhōja',⁶ and that it was a name of an empire. This empire began as a kingdom, presumably, in the second half of the 7th century A.D. in South-eastern Sumatra and rose into a great commercial power, gaining the 'commercial hegemony' of South East Asia after pursuing a policy of

expansion.⁷ By the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. its presence was felt as far north as the Bay of Bândôn in the Peninsula⁸ after it had acquired power over the Straits of Malacca. The Chinese, in 742 A.D. quoted the empire as '... a double kingdom and the two parts have separate administrations'.⁹ Barus in the northern half of Sumatra was believed to be the 'western kingdom'.¹⁰ Before this event took place, Srīvijaya had already established itself in Kedah.¹¹ The limit of Srīvijayan sphere of influence on the west coast of the Peninsula is reflected in Arab records in the ninth and tenth centuries. The merchant, Sulayman, as generally believed, records that Kalāh-bar was part of the empire.¹² Although scholars do not agree on the exact location of Kalāh-bar, there is strong archaeological evidence which suggests that Takuapā town, on the western side of the Isthmus of Kra on the Peninsula, is the entrepot as described by the Arabs in their records. Thus, it is not impertinent to suggest that Kalāh-bar was situated where Takuapā town is.¹³ Ignoring the fluctuations of Srīvijayan control over its territories, the maximum limit of its sphere of political influence on the east coast of the Peninsula would be Jaiyā and on the west coast would be Takuapā town while on the island of Sumatra would be the Sunda Straits as attested by the Srīvijayan inscription from Lampung, and finally Lamuri would represent the limit on the north-western tip of Sumatra which was mentioned by Chau Ju-kua.¹⁴ The Srīvijayan possessions would include the numerous islands south of the Peninsula and off the shore of the east coast of Sumatra. Mas'udi in the tenth century says

that it needed two years in a fast sailing boat to visit all the ruler's islands.¹⁵

With the existence of Srīvijaya, a number of problems emerge. A number of scholars, including Professor Coedès himself, using different views of approach have offered their contributions towards the solution of these problems. The first problem which concerned these scholars was the identification of this empire in references to it, contained in Arabic, Chinese and South East Asian literatures. Renaudot in 1718 brought to light a name 'Zapage'¹⁶ when he translated an Arabic text of 851 called 'Ahbar-as-Sin wa'l-Hind'. Scholars working on Chinese writings came across Chinese toponyms, Shih-li-fo-shih of I'Tsing and San-fo-ch'i of the Sung and Ming. Various transcriptions were invented. Ferrand in 1922 identified 'Zapage' with Srīvijaya,¹⁷ and Majumdar says, 'It is quite clear that 'Zabag' was originally a different kingdom; and had extended its authority over Srīvijaya at least as early as 10th century A.D.'¹⁸ and he locates it in the Peninsula, that is, at Ligor. It is, however, wrong to infer that the Arabs consider 'Zabage' a kingdom or an empire. I prefer to equate 'Zabage' with a geographical area which Professor Coedès rightly points out to be the whole of Malaya including Sumatra.¹⁹ The identification of the Chinese toponyms of Shih-li-fo-shih and San-fo-ch'i was established in 1918 by George Coedès, who proved beyond doubt the existence of an empire called Srīvijaya in his classic work 'Le Royaume de Crīvijaya'.²⁰ Blagden reverses his earlier stand when he says, "It seems now highly probable

that Srīvijaya was not the name of the king who set up that kingdom but rather of his kingdom."²¹ In 1919, Professor Krom noted that, "On particular points we may have differences with Coedès, but it cannot be gainsaid that he has set before our eyes Sri-Vijaya Palembang as the Great Power of the Archipelago from the 7th century A.D."²² And in 1922, Ferrand realising that much of Srīvijaya was still unknown and that he found no indication of it in the dictionaries and geography or history was confident that oriental texts would provide information for historians to reconstruct the history; he presented a collection of annotated texts bearing on the history of Srīvijaya before his death in 1945.²³

The suddenness and lateness of the appearance of the empire and its rapid expansion motivated Professor Wolters to explore its origins.²⁴ He realises that Professor Krom's²⁵ work and Van Leur's²⁶ work on the origins of Srīvijaya, important though they are, do not contain enough evidence and leave notable gaps. To supplement the evidence, Professor Wolters in his work, Early Indonesian Commerce suggests the possibility of Indonesian products being substituted for the western Asian produce, and he also suggests the possibility of the Indonesians taking on active part in the 'Po-ssū' trade. With the use of ancient texts he was able to disclose a pattern of information which is consistent with the way maritime trade was developing in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., when it was primarily a trade between China and Western Asia and not between China and Indonesia.²⁷

This is a very significant and unique contribution, in the

sense that, it explains why only in the 4th century A.D. that 'urbanised societies' began to be present in Sumatra, while the mainland South East Asia, according to Chinese as well as archaeological sources, possessed Indianised kingdoms such as Oc-Eo in South Vietnam (2nd-3rd centuries A.D.), U-Thong and Chansen in Central Thailand (1st-3rd centuries A.D.).²⁸ The most conclusive evidence for the existence of Pre-Srīvijayan settlement in Sumatra is the urbanised site at Kota China.²⁹ On the evidence of pre-T'ang coins it could be inferred that, the site had an 'urbanised society' as early as pre-Sung. Although a number of Han dynasty ceramics³⁰ had been found in the areas near the Sunda Straits, we could not say with certainty that earlier settlements could be found in Sumatra.

The problems of the location of the capital of Srīvijaya and the relationship between Srīvijaya and the Sailendra provoke a series of discussions among scholars. I Tsing, the Buddhist pilgrim, was the first to leave a record of Srīvijaya when he stopped there, on his way to India in 671 A.D.³¹ His mysterious statement, "that Malayu was now Srīvijaya"³² can be interpreted in two ways. Either, "Malayu at the present becomes Srīvijaya" or "Malayu is the present Srīvijaya". The location of Malayu may have been, originally, Jambi and Palembang. Sejarah Melayu records that the north of rivulet Tatang, near Palembang, is the Malayu River.³³ The 644 A.D. mission from "Malayu" to China³⁴ may have meant that Jambi and Palembang were under one rule but the capital was at Jambi. Not long afterwards Palembang became

powerful and took the name Srīvijaya for its kingdom. This must have taken place between I Tsing's in 671 A.D. and Malayu's mission in 644 A.D. The power of Malayu-Jambi must have been dimmed by the rising power of Srīvijaya and as stated by I Tsing, "Malayu" which may have meant Jambi, became a part of Srīvijaya. The capital of Srīvijaya in Malay tradition must have been near Bukit Seguntang, their Mahameru. But later with the decline of Srīvijaya's power at Palembang, Jambi became prominent again. This took place during the period 1079-1082 A.D.³⁵ The Nāgara-Kertāgama³⁶ mentioned that Jambi and Palembang belonged to "Malayu". Geographically, we can say that "Malayu" states comprised Palembang, Jambi, Minangkabau and Dharmasrya.³⁷

Most scholars agree that Jambi was once called "Malayu", however, not many scholars believe that the seat of power of I Tsing's Srīvijaya, first, at a place on the south-eastern coast of the Peninsula, then at Kampar, on the east coast of Sumatra and finally this capital moved to Palembang.³⁸ Dr Quaritch-Wales on the other hand locates the capital at Jaiyā which later moved to Ligor on the basis of "Srīvijayan art type".³⁹ He has been strongly supported by Thai scholars.⁴⁰ Poerbatjaraka in 1952⁴¹ in his interpretation of Kedukan Bukit inscription, proposed that a Minangkabau chief, who after a stay at Jambi continued to Palembang and established himself there and founded a kingdom which he called Srīvijaya. In spite of differences in opinions among scholars over the location of I Tsing's Srīvijaya,

most scholars are under the impression that the seat of the empire without any doubt was at Palembang, after 700 A.D. Professor Coedès in 1936 critically reviewed Dr Quaritch-Wales' theory and strongly suggested that the seat of the empire cannot be anywhere else but Palembang.⁴² And he finds strong support from Professor Wolters who finds a great consistence between epigraphic evidence and I Tsing's record to confirm the theory that Srīvijaya originated in Palembang.⁴³

A need arises to explain the political relationship between Srīvijaya and the Sailendra. As a reaction to the study of Jaiyā inscription, face B, by Professor Coedès in 1918, Professor Krom in 1919⁴⁴ proposed a Sumatran period in Javanese History. Professor Krom's theory is based on the belief that the identity of the Sailendra of inscription, face B, with the king of Srīvijaya of face A of the inscription are the same and hence from the beginning the rulers of Srīvijaya were Sailendras. The Kalasan inscription of Java of 778 A.D. and the Keluruk inscription of 782 A.D.⁴⁵ also mention Sailendra. Again this dynasty is mentioned in the Nālandā inscription of Bihar.⁴⁶ It was dated 860 A.D. and here the ruler of Sumatra is mentioned as a descendent of the Sailendra. Scholars have studied this problem from two aspects; firstly its origins and secondly the link between java and Sumatra. The origins of the Sailendra have been studied with inconclusive results. Hirananda Sastri⁴⁷ suggests that the Sailendras were the immigrants from Kalinga or Southern India. R.C. Majumdar⁴⁸ on the other hand believes that the

Sailendras came from Kalinga, spread their power through Lower Burma to the Peninsula. Professor Coedès⁴⁹ traces the title to early Funan in Indo-China. But Przyluski believes that under Mahāyanā Buddhism, the deity Śiva was confounded with Buddha and thus the title Sailendra was evolved.⁵⁰ It is clear, however, that there is no evidence directly connecting with any known dynasties in Kalinga, South India or Funan, but it is connected with the worship of Śiva and the political concept of Cakravatin which Sailendra symbolises.⁵¹ The nature of the link between the Sailendra of Java and of Sumatra had been established. It is believed that a member of this dynasty, expelled from Java about 856 A.D. established himself, probably shortly afterwards, in Sumatra.⁵² Presumably there was some form of marriage alliances between Java and Sumatra ruling families as indicated by the Nālandā inscription. This, however, was a common form of political diplomacy in South East Asian history: it was for instance characteristic of the Malacca Sultanate. It is not impossible for an expelled member of the Sailendra dynasty of Java to find himself accepted as a ruler of Srīvijaya at Palembang.

The permanency of Palembang as a seat of power of the empire has been doubted by Professor Wolters.⁵³ The statement from Sung shih that the king of "San-fo-ch'i is styled Chan-pei"⁵⁴ and Chou-chu-fei's writing in 1178 which stated that in 1079 A.D. the kingdom of San-fo-ch'i, sent an envoy of Chan-pei to bring tribute, were inferred by some scholars as records for the transfer of capital. Chan-pei was recognised by Groeneveldt as the transcription

for Jambi and, therefore, the new capital of Srīvijaya was at Jambi. Hirth and Rockhill⁵⁵ in 1911 considered that the transfer took place after the Javanese conquest of Palembang in 1377. In their conclusion they ignored the fact that Jambi sent a mission to China in 1079 and 1082 but took into account the fact that Chau Ju-kua mentioned Pa-lin-feng was still a dependency of San-fo-ch'i.⁵⁶ The exact date of the transfer of the capital were only considered by Professor Wolters in his work, A note on the capital of Srīvijaya in the eleventh century.⁵⁷ The Srīvijayan ruler, Diwākara,⁵⁸ had a Taoist temple in Canton repaired according to the Srīvijayan inscription of Canton in 1079. Diwākara was not the same person as the Tamil ruler Kulottunga I, who became king in 1070 A.D.⁵⁹ In 1079 also a mission from Jambi came to the court of China. From the time of this mission there was no more communication between Palembang or Jambi with China till 1082 when another mission from Jambi was recorded by the Chinese who this time received the mission much more graciously than the last mission.⁶⁰ This was a significant event in terms of relationships between Jambi and Palembang, since it established the fact that from 1082 onwards the focus of power of the Srīvijayan Empire was now shifted to Jambi. The circumstances for this transfer could not be attributed to the Cōla intervention in the affairs of Srīvijaya in the 11th century A.D. but rather to the event that took place in Southern Sumatra in 1079-1082 period.⁶¹ After 1082, the Chinese resumed the use of the name San-fo-ch'i, which they had been

familiar with since the beginning of the Sung dynasty and which Professor Coedès had established as the same name as the T'ang Shih-li-fo-shih, and not Jambi any more.

Important though these studies are, they still leave us with a number of problems before we can define with certainty what the term "Srīvijaya" really meant. A need still remains for us to look into such questions as the degree of Srīvijayan control, the fluctuations of its power and its cultural impact on the various parts of its empire and also on any other area which Srīvijaya was in contact. The most recent contribution and the most significant in the study of Srīvijayan external relationships with other powers is Professor Parnavitana's study of the relationships between Srīvijaya and Java and particularly very penetrating in his analysis of Srīvijayan and Cōla belligerent relationships in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D.⁶² As far as the internal problems of the empire we have at our disposal Professor Wolters' work on The fall of Srivijaya in the Malay History.⁶³ Here, he gave us three types of territories of Srīvijaya, an empire, made up of quasi-independent powers, which Srīvijaya had to contain. To some degree this study provides us with a sample of what Srīvijaya was and also the list of the component parts, but fails to explain the cultural impact Srīvijaya ever had over these quasi-independent centres. We do not know why each area was subjugated by Srīvijaya and this is particularly important, especially for Kedah. To fill the gaps, it is essential that a further study of the character or the nature of the empire is undertaken.

This kind of approach is further recommended especially in the absence of connected information regarding the culture of the empire. Scholars have formed their own conclusion about the nature of the empire, and to some extent those Srīvijayan studies concerned mainly with the political development and economic aspect came into play only to explain the rise and fall of the empire. The general impression which most historians have about the nature of the empire on the basis of the established political fraemwork formed by Professor Coedès in 1918 is that the term "Srīvijaya" implies politico-social and cultural entity. As such, they envisage Srīvijaya as Angkor's equivalent culturally, and hoped that large scale field-work in Sumatra might unearth sites and inscriptions which could confirm their belief. Professor Wolters,⁶⁴ in 1962, was optimistic enough to hope that the result of the 1954 survey of the southern Sumatra⁶⁵ would be followed more large scale field-work which would bring greater result. In 1973, however, a very intensive survey was conducted jointly by the Archaeological Survey of Indonesia and the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania,⁶⁶ which did not produce any new find as far as Srīvijaya is concerned. No new sites were reported nor vast monumental complexes which were the standard features of the rice rich plains of South East Asia, were discovered. Consequently, the great disparity between archaeologically and historically derived evidence led Dr Bennet Bronson, the leader of the team from the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to make general comments such as, "Srīvijaya, though not entirely a myth, will prove to

have been quite different from what we have imagined."⁶⁷ The main reason for scholars to make such comments, even though Dr Bennet Bronson, for instance, had stated at the outset that "Its goals were unambitious by comparison with the sophisticated hypothesis-testing research being done by archaeologists elsewhere in the world",⁶⁸ is that while historians speak of Srīvijaya which endured for more than half a millenium, Srīvijaya which is known to epigraphy cannot be shown to have lasted for more than 25-50 years. And the existence of other inscriptions mentioning Srīvijaya by name do not provide conclusive evidence for the survival of Srīvijaya after the early part of the 8th century A.D. Since so much effort has been given to look for inscriptions and sculpture which can be assigned to the later period or the later capital of Srīvijaya, it seems improbable that any more of these will be found. In view of the fact that archaeological data were non-existent, therefore, some scholars would prefer to the analogy of trade orientated coastal state like Malacca with number of bases which are relatively impermanent and with fluctuating success, when the traditional emphasis is much more on commerce than on the building of monumental complexes such as Angkor.

This found favour among veteran scholars such as Professor Coedès. Van Leur⁶⁹ divides the regions of South East Asia into two main categories. The first category consists of the large population centres supported by rich rice producing plains such as Java and Thailand, the second category of the small populated coastal settlements which relied heavily on fishing and

trade with outside world as well as with the people of the hinterland.

Yet for all these impressions they remain a statement of belief rather than fact. And finally, while art historians coin the term "Srivijayan Art",⁷⁰ for the art found on the Peninsula, no scholar has yet attempted to make a comprehensive study of all the art of the Srivijayan period especially in terms of the relationship between the art of the Peninsula and that of Sumatra. The lack of synthesis and synthesisers and interpreters who are specialised in this field of study sometimes burdens field-workers with making interpretations, which to my mind give rise to more controversies rather than helping to provide a more concrete study. Dr Bennet Bronson had to make such interpretation as "little of the 1st millenium art in Sumatra looks much like the material dubbed 'Srivijayan' by specialists working on the south-eastern mainland",⁷¹ without really comparing in detail the art from the two areas.

Ignorance of the true nature of the empire can also lead scholars to hold views regarding various problems of the empire which do not withstand analysis. Reasoning from the geographical factors, M.C. Chand, feels that it is impossible to believe that Palembang was once the capital of the Srivijayan Empire, since an empire such as Srivijaya must have its capital in a district that could grow enough food,⁷² and that other evidence such as epigraphy is very controversial. Yet the statement of Chau Ju-kua cannot be ignored, since he clearly states that

rice was imported.⁷³ The basis for the interpretation of the problems of the empire must depend on an accurate definition of the nature of the empire.

The question then arises: what means are there at our disposal to pursue this kind of study? Internal primary sources synchronic with the events to which they relate are more or less non-existent. It is true that a number of inscriptions mentioning Srīvijaya by name were found but they do not give a coherent picture.⁷⁴ And internal tertiary sources in historical form are few and difficult to interpret on account of their legendary and mythopoeic style. But scholars who have examined Malay Chronicles, such as the Sejarah Melayu and Hikayat Raja2 Pasai believe that they contain elusive but important historical events.⁷⁵ Professor Wolters has shown methods of extracting verifiable happenings from Sejarah Melayu to construct the events leading to the fall of Srīvijaya as envisaged by the Malays,⁷⁶ and forward a view that, "Traditions concerning the princely house of Malacca preserved in Sejarah Melayu may, therefore, contain a Malay perspective for what we call 'the history of Srīvijaya'." Professor Krom, on the other hand, in 1931,⁷⁷ did not share this view. He said that the memories of old Srīvijaya must have disappeared by 14th century. In the light of textual studies of Sejarah Melayu and Hikayat Raja2 Pasai, R.O. Winstedt⁷⁸ came to the conclusion that Hikayat Raja2 Pasai is the oldest Malay chronicle, written between the period 1350-1524. Sejarah Melayu was found to be influenced by the Hikayat Melaka, whose main theme was written in Sanskrit.⁷⁹ This in turn was influenced

by the Hikayat Raja2 Pasai. It has been suggested that this was to some degree influenced by the scholars of Palembang who inherited the Malay traditions of the Srīvijayan Empire.⁸⁰

There is little doubt that certain aspects of the society can thus be glimpsed through the eyes of the Malay chronicles. As for the inscriptions, Dr de Casparis has shown that the life at the beginning of the period was full of trouble; there was much bloodshed and many people were killed.⁸¹ The inscriptions provide us with an insight into religious practices, the methods by which the ruler exercised his power over the territories and also how the administrative structure was organised, though little work has yet been done on the last topic.

The non-existence of dates in Sejarah Melayu and Hikayat Raja2 Pasai and in some inscriptions make it necessary to supplement the information gleaned from these sources with non-South East Asian material. Easily the most valuable source is that which is incorporated in Chinese dynastic histories, predominantly annalistic in character, encyclopaedias, records and gazetteers.⁸² The Chinese have been in contact with South East Asia since early in the Christian era; and there is no shortage of references to South East Asian places, although, before the 7th century A.D. Chinese materials were more numerous for the mainland South East Asia than for the islands. There are, however, limitations to the use of this kind of material. Apart from the barrier of the language there are the difficulties represented by tertiary sources,

which are that they are historic records but written after the events which they purport to refer to. There is also the problem of the treatment of "barbarians" in the Chinese documents.⁸³ Professor Wolters commented that we must remember when we use both the Malay and Chinese sources that they stemmed from different historical traditions and concerned with very different topics which have to be considered within their special context of interest.⁸⁴ For information regarding certain aspects of the Srīvijayan dominion, one is fortunate to have one of those rare eye-witnesses' accounts by a Chinese traveller and Buddhist scholar, I Tsing. Unfortunately, to this pious monk, Srīvijaya was a scene for furthering one's knowledge of Sanskrit grammar before proceeding to India, and also where theology and philosophy were flourishing.⁸⁵

The Muslim world of the Middle East came into contact with further shores of the Indian Ocean and beyond and by the late 8th century A.D. Arab and Persian literature was becoming aware of the existence of South East Asia. By the 9th and 10th century, Arabo-Persian writings gave a second most important body of information by reflecting the fame of Srīvijayan Empire. I am inclined to interpret the term "Zabag" as the name they used for the Peninsula and Sumatra and "Sribusa" for the capital of Srīvijaya on the island of Sumatra.⁸⁶ For a number of reasons, this source has to be used with a lot of caution. With the exceptions of Abū Dulaf and Ibn Battūtah, all the other authors gave second-hand information.⁸⁷ Also,

it had been a tradition among Arabo-Persian scholars of this period to repeat accounts given by earlier authors.

In spite of the fact that these texts are available, one way or another, in unsatisfactory form, they can provide a coherent account of the empire by calling upon extra-historical disciplines, linguistics, anthropology and archaeology. This synthetic approach has proved to be successful in dealing with the history of South East Asia. Prominent among scholars who used this kind of approach in their studies were Professor Coedès and Professor Krom. The ideal approach is to undertake this study by subjecting the evidence from literature and epigraphy to archaeological investigation.⁸⁸ In order to achieve congruency between literary and cultural materials for the Srīvijayan Empire, excavation would be the answer.

But for the location of his material in time and indeed in most other aspects of his research, the archaeologist has to rely upon three factors: stratigraphy, association and typology. Stratigraphy and association depend on the method of excavation. Unfortunately, however, even though a large number of antiquarian finds have been discovered in the various parts of the empire, none of them could be associated with systematic, well published archaeological fieldwork. Much was done before the second world war, mostly by amateurs or self-trained professionals.⁸⁹ The world war interrupted field research as a result it went on a decline. The period 1940-1974 saw the following archaeological work in Sumatra:

a survey of the southern part of shell middens in Aceh by Teuku Jacob in 1960s, a survey of the southern part of the island by the Archaeological Survey of Indonesia in 1954;⁹⁰ and a brief epigraphic survey by Drs Buchari in Lampung in 1954 also, and in 1973 a research at Kota China with further excavation in 1974.⁹¹ A very intensive survey of Sumatra was carried out jointly by the Archaeological Survey of Indonesia and the Field Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in 1973 and followed by an excavation at Palembang in 1974.⁹² As for the Peninsula we are indebted to the work of Dr Quaritch-Wales,⁹³ Ivor H.N. Ivans,⁹⁴ Alastair Lamb,⁹⁵ J.Y. Claeys,⁹⁶ Lunet de Lajonquiere,⁹⁷ and also the works of the archaeological services of Thailand. It is interesting to note that, although archaeological field-works after the Second World War period have increased and more systematic, the material finds were surprisingly small compared to the period before the Second World War.

Chief among the finds were the sculptures. Almost all the sculptures in stone, bronze and other metals are "floating objects", and discovered fortuitously. With few exceptions⁹⁸ none bears an inscription or date: they are thus unfixed in archaeological context. They were not found in any direct association with a dated monument, nor was any monument found with an inscription. The Jaiyā inscription, for instance, commemorates the foundation of three monuments which Thai scholars believe to be the three ruined temples at Jaiyā which are called Wat Keu, Wat Long and Wat Wian.⁹⁹ It is logical that

these conditions should discourage art historians and also archaeologists to use the material. But it has been proved by scholars that these shaped stones and bronzes contain recoverable messages.

Scholars, such as Phillipe Stern have proved that by focussing on the style of Khmer art, it was possible to determine their date and their evolution in the absence of any inscription to guide.¹⁰⁰ This method has been proved to be adopted successfully by other scholars faced with the problem of chronology. The most relevant to our study is the work of Pierre Dupont¹⁰¹ whose study of the isthmian sculptures enabled him to see that they were of great variety of styles which can be classified into known styles of Indian and Indonesian, and to say whether they were imported. Professor Griswold has gone a step further by demonstrating which were the imported images and which were the local made.¹⁰² The works of Phillipe Stern, Boisselier,¹⁰³ and Professor O'Connor¹⁰⁴ saw improvement in the method used by Herr Alfred Salmony who studied in 1925 the evolution of art in Thailand by assigning each sculpture to a local school whose characteristics had been predetermined.¹⁰⁵ It is following this method that I present this study as a contribution to the study of South East Asian culture.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. C.D. Cowan, "Continuity and change in the International History of maritime South-east Asia", JSEAH, 1968, ix/i. He recognised three periods in the development of the Malay maritime activities in the international trade of South East Asia. First period, 8th to the 10th century, where Srīvijayan maritime and commercial systems were not so much rivals but neighbours operating within a political and cultural system which included the very different land-based, agricultural Javanese polity. The second period, 10th to the 15th century, when the power of the Javanese states increased to result in the decline in the Srīvijayan Empire and culminate in the predominance of the Java-based polity of the Majapahit period. The third and final period, 15th to the 17th century, saw the final eclipse of Srīvijaya but also the decline of Majapahit and the ultimate rise of Malacca with maritime traditions taken over from Srīvijaya. The insight into the Malay society of Malacca as provided by the Sejarah Melayu, would bring to the fore the experiences of their forebears during the Srīvijayan period. Professor Wolters, The Fall of Srīvijaya in the Malay History, believes that by looking at the Sejarah Melayu, the Malay way of life during the Srīvijayan period would emerge (p. 18). Another scholar who advocates in this process of continuity is R.O.

Winstedt, A History of Malaya, 1962 (p. 46) where he suggested the reason for choosing Malacca by Parameswara was that Malacca was an outlying post in his ancestor's Peninsula.

2. To give sanctity to the princely ancestor of the rājā of Malacca, Sang Nila Utama, was anointed at Palembang on the Bukit Seguntang, the Malays' Maha Meru. This may be linked to the Sailendras, the Kings of Mountains, who were also linked with Srīvijaya. For the ceremony, see Sejarah Melayu, Shellabear, 3rd edition, 1915, Chapter 2.
3. C.O. Blagden, "The Kota Kapur (Western Bangka) inscription", JRAS (Straits Branch), 64, 1913, p. 69.
4. S. Julien, Methode pour de chiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits qui se recontrent dans les livres Chinois ... inventée et démontrée par M. Stanislus Julien, Paris, 1861, transcribed as Crībhoga; cf. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Srīvijaya, 1967, p. 21. Subsequently, it was rendered as Srībhoga by J. Takakusu, A Record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (671-695 A.D.), Oxford, 1896. But later it was rendered as Srībhoja or Crībhoja.
5. I wish to put on record here that it is more correct to call the Ligor inscription as the Jaiyā inscription on the strength of the assertion of the Thai scholars that the inscription should be thus correctly labelled. The Jaiyā inscription of Candrabhanu must now be read as the Ligor inscription of Candrabhanu.

6. G. Coedès, "Le Royaume de Crīvijaya", BEFEO, XVIII, 1918, pp. 1-36.
7. O.W. Wolters, "Srivijayan expansion in the seventh century", AA (Felicitation Volume presented to Professor Coedès on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday), XXIV, 3/4, 1961, pp. 417-424.
8. The term "Peninsula" refers to both Peninsular Malaysia and Peninsular Thailand. For the expansion see O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, 1967, p. 15.
9. Ibid., p. 17.
10. Ibid., p. 18.
11. Ibid., p. 15 note 2.
12. G. Ferrand, "L'empire sumatranais de Crīvijaya", JA, Juillet-Sept., 1922, pp. 1-104; Oct.-Dec., 1922, pp. 161-246.
13. Alastair Lamb, "Takuapā: the probable site of a pre-Malaccan entrepôt in the Malay Peninsula", Malayan and Indonesian Studies, (ed.), J.S. Bastin and R. Roolvink, 1964, pp. 56-61.
14. F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill (translations), Chau Ju-kua, St Petersburg, 1911, pp. 62-72.
15. G. Ferrand, op.cit., pp. 56-61.
16. E. Renaudot, Anciennes relations des Indes et de la chine, pp. 75-78. His text was translated by J. Sauvaget in 1948, see cf. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, p. 21.
17. G. Ferrand, op.cit., pp. 163-6.
18. R.C. Majumdar, Suvarnavīpa, p. 217.

19. G. Coedès, "A propos d'une nouvelle theorie sur le site de Crīvijaya", JMBRAS, XV/3, 1936, p. 5.
20. G. Coedès, "Le royaume de Crīvijaya", BEFEO, XVIII, pp. 1-36.
21. C.O. Blagden, "The Empire of the Maharaja, King of the Mountains and Lord of the Isles", JRAS (Straits Branch), 81, 1920, p. 24.
22. N.J. Krom, De Summatraanische periode der Javaansche geschiedenis, Leiden, 1919; cf. Nilakanta Sastri, "Srīvijaya", BEFEO, XXXX, 1940, p. 239.
23. G. Ferrand, op.cit.
24. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce.
25. N.J. Krom, Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis, The Hague, 1955; see translation by Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, JGIS, XIII, 1954, pp. 1 - 72 and JGIS, XVI/1 & 2, pp. 1-82, particularly pp. 110-4.
26. J.C. van Leur, Indonesian Trade and Society, The Hague, 1955, pp. 105-6.
27. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, pp. 87-94.
28. Bennet Bronson and F. Dales, "Excavations at Chansen, Thailand", Asian Perspective, XV, 1972.
29. E. Edwards McKinnon and Tengku Luckman Sinar SH, Kota China, Berita Kajian SuMatera, IV/1, Oct. 1974.
30. Orsoy de Flines, Guide to the ceramic collection, Museum Pusat, Jakarta, 1972, pp. 13-15.
31. J. Takakusu, A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago, by I Tsing, 1896, p. XXX.
32. J. Takakusu, ibid., pp. XXIX-XXX.

33. Sejarah Melayu, Shellabear, 1915, p. 18.
34. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, pp. 235 and 237.
35. O.W. Wolters, "A note on the capital of Srīvijaya in the eleventh century", AA, Suppl. XXIII/1, 1966.
36. T.G.Th. Pigeaud, Java in the fourteenth century: A study in cultural history, Javanese texts in transcription. III, The Hague, 1960.
37. For the study of the "Malayu states" based on ethnology, see David Sjaferoeddin, "Pre-Islamic Minangkabau", Berita Kajian Sumatera, IV/1, Oct. 1974.
38. J.L. Moens, "Srīvijaya Yava en Kataha", JMBRAS, XVII/II, 1939, pp. 8-20.
39. H.G.Q. Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of ancient Indian cultural expansion", IAL, IX (N.S.), pp. 1-31.
40. The latest attempt to place the capital of Srīvijaya at Jaiyā rather than at Palembang was made by M.C. Chand, "Background to Sri Vijaya Story", JSS, 62/1, 1974, pp. 210-1, in spite of the fact that most scholars have agreed that Palembang was the most convincing location.
41. R.Ng. Poerbatjaraka, Riwayat Indonesia, Djakarta, 1952, p. 35.
42. G. Coedès, "A propos d'une nouvelle theorie sur le site de Crīvijaya", JMBRAS, XIV/3, 1936, pp. 1-9; and also, "A possible interpretation of the Kedukan Bukit inscription (Palembang)", Malayan and Indonesian Studies, 1964, pp. 24-32; and "On the origins of the Sailendra of Indonesia", JGIS, 1, 1934.

43. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, pp. 208-9.
44. N.J. Krom, De Summatraanische periode der Javaansche geschiedenis, Leiden, 1919.
45. F.D.K. Bosch, TBG, 1928, pp. 18-22, for the Keluruk inscription.
46. Ibid. for the Kalasan inscription see pp. 57-62. Nilakanta Sastri, History of Srīvijaya, 1949, provides with the English translation, pp. 122-3.
47. Hirananda Sastri, "The Nalanda copper-plate of Devapaladeva", EI, XVII/7, 1924, pp. 310-27. Also, Nilakanta Sastri, History of Srīvijaya, 1949, pp. 127-8. and Dr de Casparis discusses the dating of the inscription, Prasasti Indonesia II, 1956, p. 260.
48. R.C. Majumdar, Suvarṇadvīpa, I, p. 227.
49. G. Coedès, "The origins of the Sailendras of Indonesia", JGIS, I/2, 1934, pp. 61-70.
50. Przyluski, "The Sailendravamsa", JGIS, II, 1935, p. 30.
51. Nilakanta Sastri, History of Srīvijaya, p. 47.
52. J.G. de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia II, 1956, pp. 258-60.
53. O.W. Wolters, "A note on the capital of Srīvijaya in the eleventh century", AA (Suppl.), XXIII/I, 1966.
54. Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, compiled from the Chinese sources, Batavia, 1876, p. 63.
55. F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua, 1911, pp. 65-6, notes 12 and 18.
56. For deliberations on the conditions in Palembang between 1079-1082 A.D. see O.W. Wolters, AA (Suppl.), XXIII/I, 1966.

57. O.W. Wolters, AA (Suppl.), XXIII/I, 1966.
58. Tan Yeok Seong, "The Srīvijayan inscription of Canton (A.D. 1079)", JSEAH, II, 1965, pp. 13-24.
59. O.W. Wolters, AA (Suppl.), XXIII/I, 1966. Here the writer argues that it is impossible to transcribe the name Diwākara of Srīvijaya into Kulottunga, the ruler of Cōḷa in 1070 A.D. They were two different personalities. Also, the Chinese refer to the Cōḷa Kulottunga as a "king" while the Srīvijayan Diwākara was referred to as a "chief", pp. 228-30.
60. O.W. Wolters, *ibid.*, p. 237.
61. O.W. Wolters, *ibid.*, p. 237.
62. S. Paranavatina, "Ceylon and Srīvijaya", AA (Suppl.), XXIII/I, 1966, pp. 205-12.
63. O.W. Wolters, The fall of Srīvijaya in Malay history, 1970.
64. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, p. 24.
65. Amerta, 3 (1955), pp. 1-40.
66. Bennet Bronson, Basoeki, ... , Laporan Penelitian Arkeologi di-Sumatra, 20 Mei-8 Julai, 1973, Jakarta.
67. Bennet Bronson, The prehistory and early history of Sumatra, Chicago, 1973, p. 26.
68. Bennet Bronson, "An archaeological survey in Sumatra", Sumatra research bulletin, 1973, pp. 87-94.
69. J.C. Van Leur, Indonesian Trade and Society, The Hague, 1955.
70. G. Coedès, "Les collections archeologiques du Musée National de Bangkok", Ars Asiatica, 12, 1928, pp. 1-36.
71. Bennet Bronson, Basoeki, ... , Laporan Penelitian Arkeologi di-Sumatra, p. 59.

72. M.C. Chand, "Background to the Sri Vijaya Story, Part I", JSS, 62/1, pp. 210-11, 1974.
73. F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua, p. 63 note 1.
74. Bennet Bronson, The prehistory and early history of Sumatra, Chicago. Six inscriptions from Sumatra mentioned Srīvijaya by name while the inscription from Jaiyā dated 775 A.D. also mentioned Srīvijaya by name. For the list of inscriptions see, G. Coedès, "Les inscriptions malaises de Crīvijaya", BEFEO, XXX, pp. 29-80; and J.G. de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia II, 1956; and H. Kern "Inscriptie van Kota Kapoer", BKI, 67, pp. 393-400. The most complete and up to date list is in Laporan Peneletian Arkeologi di-Sumatra, Appendix I, pp. 60 ff.
75. Kamaruzzaman Shariff, "Sejarah Melayu as a historical source", JHUM, II, 1963-64, pp. 41-50; Zainal Abidin Wahid, "Sejarah Melayu", Asian Studies, IV/3, 1966, pp. 445-51; Hsu Yun Tsiao, "Meninjau Sejarah Melayu dari segi nilai sejarah", DBP, X/10, 1966, p. 44; T. Iskandar, "Tun Seri Lanang Pengarang Sejarah Melayu", DBP, VIII/5, Mei 1964, pp. 226-30, discusses the various versions of Sejarah Melayu and defines what the term "author" means in the writings of the Malay Chronicles.
76. O.W. Wolters, The fall of Srīvijaya in Malay history, p. 7.
77. N.J. Krom, Hindoe-Javaanschie geschiedenis's Gravenhage, 1931, p. 412, based on the English translation by Himansu Bhusan Shankar, JGIS, XIII, 1954, p.1-72 and JGIS, XVI/1/2, pp. 1-82, 1957.

78. R.O. Winstedt, "The Malay Chronicles from Sumatra and Malaya", Historians of South East Asia, (ed.), D.G.E. Hall, 1961, pp. 24-8.
79. Linehan, "Notes on the texts of the Malay Annals", JMBRAS, XX/2, 1947, p. 105.
80. T. Iskandar, "Tun Seri Lanang, Pengarang Sejarah Melayu", DBP, VIII/5, May 1964, pp. 226-30.
81. J.G. de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia II, p. 4 where the inscription mentioned vanah pramihranah which could be translated as "much was the bloodshed".
82. P. Wheatley, "Chinese sources for the history of the Malay Peninsula in early times", Malayan Historical Sources, University of Singapore, 1962, pp. 1-9.
83. A.H. Christie, "Some writings on South East Asia pre-history", Historians of South East Asia, (ed.) D.G.E. Hall, London, 1961, p. 108; and also C.W. Wolters, The fall of Srivijaya in Malay history, pp. 24-5.
84. O.W. Wolters, *ibid.*, p. 6.
85. J. Takakusu, A record of the Buddhist religion ..., pp. xi-xiv.
86. G. Ferrand, L'empire sumatranais ..., pp. 74-5 where Abul Fida said, "we read in Ibn Said the Isles of Zabag are celebrated by ... the largest is the isles of Sribusa ... its capital Sribusa."
87. P. Wheatley, "Arabo-Persian sources for the history of the Malay Peninsula in ancient times", Malayan Historical Sources, 1962, p. 10.

88. In South East Asia we come across numerous names mentioned by the Chinese but scholars never agree on their exact location. On the other hand the results of many archaeological researches in South East Asia have unearthed a good number of sites whose culture could be defined but the problem is that archaeologists could not give a name to any of the sites as recognised by the Chinese. So the answer is to co-relate the names of sites given by the Chinese to the sites excavated.
89. In the case of Sumatra I refer to the work of Westenenk, Djawa, I, 1921, pp. 5-11; Perquin, OV, 1928, pp. 123-8; F.D.K. Bosch, OV, 1930, pp. 151-57; and Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 1937.
90. Amerta, 3, 1955, pp. 1-40.
91. E. Edwards McKinnon and Tengku Luckman Sinar SH, Research at Kota China, Preliminary notes published in Sumatra Research Bulletin, III/1, Oct. 1973 and IV/1, Oct. 1974.
92. Bennet Bronson, Basoeki, ... , Laporan Penelitian Arkeologi di-Sumatera, 1973.
93. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", JMBRAS, XVIII/1, 1940, pp. 1-85.
94. Ivor H.N. Evans, Papers on the ethnology and archaeology of the Malay Peninsula, Cambridge, 1927.
95. Alastair Lamb, "Miscellaneous papers on early Hindu and Buddhist settlements in Northern Malaya and Southern Thailand", FMJ, VI, 1961, pp. 1-90.

96. J.Y. Claeys, "L'archeologie du Siam", BEFEO, XXXI, 1931, pp. 361-448.
97. Lunet de Lajonquiere, "Le domaine archeologique du Siam", BCAI, I, pp. 188-262.
98. The known dated sculptures and temples are:
- i) Rambahan Amogapaşa, dated 1286 A.D., H. Kern, TBG, 49, p. 159.
 - ii) Bronze Lokanatha from Gunung Tua dated 1024 A.D., Bosch, OV, 1930, p. 130.
 - iii) Temple Si-Joreng Belangah, Padang Lawas, dated 1179 A.D., Schnitger, The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 1937, and
 - iv) Ganesa-headed pillar, Schnitger, ibid., p. 16.
99. For the description of Wat Keo and its plan, see J.Y. Claeys, "L'archeologique du Siam", BEFEO, XXXI, p. 379 and pl. XXXIX.
100. Philippe Stern, Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'evolution de l'art Khmer, Paris, 1927.
101. Pierre Dupont, "Le Buddha de Grahi et l'ecole de Caiya", BEFEO, XLII, 1942, pp. 105-106.
102. A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", AA, in essays offered to Professor G.H. Luce, 1966.
103. Jean Boisselier, Le statuaire khmère et son evolution, Paris and Saigon, 1955.
104. S. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, Ascona, 1972.
105. Herr Alfred Salmony, Sculpture in Siam, 1925.

CHAPTER 2

SITES: TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

On the following pages the main sites that have unearthed the sculptures for this study will be surveyed briefly. They will be discussed under one of the three headings:

- 1) Peninsular Thailand¹
- 2) Peninsular Malaysia
- 3) Sumatra

This chapter will be accompanied by seven maps and three plans.

1) Peninsular Thailand

i) Jaiyā: a small provincial town situated midway between Bangkok and the border of the east coast of Peninsular Malaysia which is about 600 miles each way and it is about 4 miles from the coast of the Bay of Bandon. The town is in the rice growing area. It is known today for three things. To the pious and superstitious Thais it is a place where one can go and pray and fulfil one's vow because the Monastery of Great Relic (Wat Mahādhātu) has been regarded by many Thais as very sacred. It is known for its silk cloth.² Lastly, it is known for its antiquities. The majority of the finds that are now in the National Museum, Bangkok that are supposed to come from Peninsular Thailand came from Jaiyā.

Among the number of stone sculptures found at Jaiyā is the "aberrant" statue of Viṣṇu which Professor

O'Connor considers as the oldest image ever discovered in South East Asia, older than the Viṣṇu from Oc-Eo, and dates it to not later than 400 A.D.³ There are a number of Buddha images carved in stone which can be classified as Dvāravatī such as, Plates 13 and 14. The Avalokiteśvara images which may be classified to the period between 8th and 10th century A.D. show local stylistic development but with strong impulses coming presumably from Sumatra and Java and have been dubbed as "Srīvijayan art".⁴ The Sūrya stone has been regarded as a representative of the Cōḷa art in Jaiyā.⁵

There is some confusion over the provenance of the two inscriptions, the Ligor Inscription (775 A.D.)⁶ and the Jaiyā inscription of Candrabhanu.⁷ According to Professor Coedès the Ligor Inscription came from Wat Sema Muang, Nakorn Sri Thammarâj and the Jaiyā Inscription came from Jaiyā.⁸ But the Thai scholars think that the Ligor Inscription came from Wat Hua Wiang, Jaiyā while the National Museum, Bangkok says that it came from Wiang Sa.⁹ The confusion must be over the word 'Wiang'. The Thai scholars and the Jaiyā people believe that the inscription which among other things states that, "This king, the lord of Srīvijaya ..., has erected this triad of excellent brick houses, the abode of Padmapāni, of the Mara-slayer (i.e. Sakyamuni) and Vajrapāni ..." ¹⁰ refer to the three temples which are now in ruins at Jaiyā. These temples are known as Wat Hua Wiang, Wat Long and Wat Keu.¹¹ These ruins are of bricks and situated on the other side of the railway lines from the town centre. It is about 200 metres from Wat Hua Wiang to Wat Long and 200 metres

from Wat Long to Wat Keu. Wat Keu was built on cruciform plan just like Chandi Kalasan in Java according to Dr Quaritch-Wales.¹² He sees Cham influence in Wat Keu. This is in agreement with the view of Professor Coedès.¹³ In addition to the ruins of the three temples there is a great temple called Wat Mahādhātu. Claeys has produced plans and pictures of this temple and Dr Quaritch-Wales believes that it may be dated to the Sailendra period.¹⁴

The Fine Arts Department of Thailand has set up a branch at Jaiyā and its office is situated just outside the compound of Wat Mahādhātu. A museum was built near the office and now it is filled with recent collection of antiquities from Jaiyā. Among these antiquities are the votive tablets whose dates range from 10th to 13th century A.D.¹⁵ and also Sung ceramics.

Many scholars have visited Jaiyā but only Dr Quaritch-Wales¹⁶ and Claeys¹⁷ stayed long enough to dig trial trenches. The former envisaged Jaiyā as a centre of diffusion of Indian culture to Java.¹⁸ Dr A. Lamb sought connections with the early history of Malaya.¹⁹ Professor O'Connor suggested that Jaiyā could be equated with P'an-P'an from where Funan received its second period of Indianisation.²⁰

ii) Nagara Sri Dharmarāja (Nakorn Sri Thammarāj): It is also a provincial town. It is situated about 60 miles to the south-east of Jaiyā. Although the town today is just 5 miles from the sea, it has been suggested that it was much closer to the sea in ancient times.²¹ Just like any other town in Peninsular Thailand the lands are used mainly for rice growing and rubber planting.

The town is known as Nakhon to the people and as Ligor to the Malaysians. Because of the existence of many ancient temples and other archaeological finds, the Fine Arts Department, Thailand makes it its 8th region, with an office there. Formerly all the finds which had not been sent to the National Museum Bangkok were kept in a building in the walled-complex of Wat Mahādhātu. But now they are being kept in a newly built museum.

The town can be divided into two main parts. The oldest part lies within a walled enclosure where many of the religious structures are to be found but unfortunately many of them are today in ruins.²² Wat Mahādhātu is the largest of these monasteries. It is built in a form of a large bell-shaped stupa. The date of the monument is believed to be 13th century A.D., but it is also thought that it enclosed an older monument.²³ A small masonry structure situated in the compound of Wat Mahādhātu according to Claeys shows stylistic kinship to Chandi Kalasan of Central Java as well as to the Cham towers at Đông-Düöng and Mi-Son.²⁴ There are three Brahmanical temples in the town. One of them is a ruined brick Siva temple.²⁵ Next to it is a ruined Siva temple which Dr Quaritch-Wales in 1935 dated as not earlier than 10th or 11th century A.D. on the evidence he obtained from his trial trenches.²⁶ But in 1974, on his second visit, stated that it cannot be earlier than 12th century A.D.²⁷

From the evidence of statuary it seems that Nagara Sri Dharmarāja must have existed earlier than what

Dr Quaritch-Wales has suggested. Among the numerous sculptures are the two stone Viṣṇu which Professor O'Connor dates to the 5th century A.D.²⁸ They are now in the newly completed museum. Besides these sculptures there are the five lingas which Lajonquiere mentioned and was dated by Professor O'Connor as being 6th/7th century A.D.²⁹

In addition to the sculptures and lingas there are the inscriptions. The first of these inscriptions is the one inscribed on the stairway near to the small museum of Wat Mahādhātu and was dated by Professor Coedès to the 5th/6th century A.D.³⁰ Then there is the Tamil inscription. Another inscription³¹ inscribed on a granite slab which according to Dr de Casparis may be dated to the 6th century A.D. or earlier.³² Finally there is the inscription of Candrabhanu (1230 A.D.) for which Professor Coedès gave Jaiyā as its provenance.³³

Although the Brahmanical sculptures and the inscriptions suggest that Nagara Sri Dharmarāja must have existed as early as the 5th century A.D., Dr Quaritch-Wales³⁴ believes that the town cannot have existed earlier than 12th century A.D. on the basis of the results of his 1974 trial trenches, and concludes that the state Tāmbralinga cannot be Nagara Sri Dharmarāja but rather the whole area between Nagara Sri Dharmarāja and Jaiyā. The sites between these two towns such as Ban Na Khon, Si Chon, and Tha Sala produced evidence of existence from the 5th to the 6th century A.D.³⁵ All the Brahmanical finds and inscriptions originated from such sites and were brought to Nagara Sri Dharmarāja.

iii) Satingphrâ: It is under the 9th administrative region of the Fine Arts Department, Thailand with its headquarters at Songkhla. The town is situated about 20 miles to the north of Songkhla on the narrow Satingphra Peninsula which has on its west the four inland lakes; Thala Noi, Thala Luang, Thala Sap, and Thala Sap Songkhla and on the east is the Gulf of Siam. The old town of Songkhla is at the southern tip of the Peninsula, which is about 44 miles in length and 3 miles in breadth.³⁶ The present town of Songkhla is on the opposite entrance to the Thala Sap Songkhla.

The Satingphrâ Peninsula from Ranot to old Songkhla is dotted with many monumental remains. A record of these remains is kept by the Fine Arts Department, which I was given the opportunity to see in 1974. Among these temples are Wat Sii Yang, Wat Chedi Ngam and Wat Satingphrâ. They were built to a cruciform plan, a plan according to Dr Quaritch-Wales associated with Srivijaya.³⁷ These temples encased the older temples.

The old town of Satingphrâ is believed to have existed from the 11th century by Dr Quaritch-Wales³⁸ on the basis of his trial excavations. Dr A. Lamb dates the site to the 12th century A.D. on the basis of the bronzes he saw in the Songkhla Museum,³⁹ the Wat Majjhimawas. Older images of Brahmanical iconography such as a stone Ganesa and several long-robed Viṣṇu have been dated to a period, 8th to the 13th century A.D.⁴⁰ These older images may have been brought to the museum from older sites situated outside Satingphrâ.⁴¹ A number of votive

tablets of the type found at Jaiyā and Nagara Sri Dharmarāja have been discovered in several places in Satingphrâ Peninsula and are now kept in the museum.

2) Peninsular Malaysia

iv) Kedah: It is a west-coast state in the northern part of Peninsular Malaysia. The coast-line of Kedah borders the Indian Ocean, and its southern limit is at the entrance to the Straits of Malacca. Today Kedah is one of the chief rice growing areas of Malaysia. The highest mountain in Kedah is the Kedah Peak (ht. 3978 feet) and has been an important landmark to the ships coming from the Bay of Bengal on entering the Straits of Malacca, and also to the fishermen whose villages dotted the coast-line. From Kedah it is possible to go to the east coast of Peninsular Thailand or Malaysia by land route by following the railway lines. In Kedha there are many remains of Hindu-Buddhist monuments.

These monuments lie in the west-central Kedah and include parts of the district of Kota Star, Yen, Kuala Muda, Kulim and Butterworth. It is bounded by lines of latitude $5^{\circ}30'$ N and $6^{\circ}0'$ N and longitude $100^{\circ}15'$ E and $100^{\circ}32'20''$ E. They are in the area on the southern slope of Kedah Peak between Sungai Merbok and Sungai Muda. The most concentrated area is in Bujang Valley, the area on both banks of River Bujang (a tributary of River Merbok). The other sites are the Matang Pasir, and Tikam Batu on the south of Bujang Valley that is on the

north bank of River Muda.

Researches in the area were firstly carried out by Colonel James Low, then the superintendent in Province Wellesley in the 1830s.⁴² In 1920s and 1930s I.H.N. Evans carried out sporadic excavations.⁴³ This was followed, by far the most important work, by Dr and Mrs Quaritch-Wales under the sponsorship of the governments of Kedah, Johore and Perak. Altogether over 30 sites had been investigated and trial trenches were dug.⁴⁴ After the Second World War further excavations and surveys of the area were carried out. As the result of the publication of a report by Dr Quaritch-Wales of a site at Matang Pasir in 1947⁴⁵ the site was revisited by Professor K.G. Tregonning and Dr M. Sullivan in 1958.⁴⁶ This was followed by excavation under the direction of Dr M. Sullivan in 1957.⁴⁷ Further works were done by Dr A. Lamb⁴⁸ in 1959, 1960, 1961 and in 1968 by Mr D.A.V. Peacock together with the Archaeological Unit of the University of Malaya and Muzium Nagara.⁴⁹ In 1974 the Archaeological Unit of the Muzium Nagara excavated a new site called site 50 and this unit also completed the reconstruction of Chandi Bukit Pendiak (site 16) and sites 11 and 5.

The features of these monumental remains are as follows. They can be divided into three main types based on the plans. The first type is the chandi temple of a single unit where the vimana and mandapa are joined together (cf. plan 1). Sites 4-8 confirm to this feature. The second type is where, in addition to the vimana and

mandapa joined together, there is another extra unit (cf. plan 2). Site 11 is typical of this type. The third type is where vimana and mandapa are in two separate units (cf. plan 3). These are Chandi Bukit Pendiak, site 17 and most of Bujang sites and also the Matang Pasir site. These chandi temples employ blocks of stone with cutting to form bases for timber pillars supporting the roofs. Dr A. Lamb, who made a study of these socles from site 8, found that they can be classified into 5 types and suggested that great care must have been taken to make them and that they played a part in the ritual of the temple constructions.⁵⁰ The materials for the walls are of four types. They are river boulders cut up into blocks (as seen in site 8), bricks and laterite, and at site 11, small stones from the river. All these chandi temples face towards east but they have different types of vimana and mandapa. Chandi Bukit Pendiak for instance has square mandapa and square vimana, while other sites may have both rectangular mandapa or square mandapa but rectangular vimana or the reverse.

On the evidence of associated finds and ceramics Dr A. Lamb proposes 4 phases of Indianised occupation.⁵¹ First phase is the early Buddhist phase represented by three Buddhist inscriptions (The Bukit Meriam Mahanavika Buddhagupta inscription, the one discovered by Col. James Low, and the third is the Bukit Choras inscription). The settlements during this phase are scattered along the coast. They may be dated to the period beginning from 4th or early 5th century A.D. The second phase is the Srīvijayan

phase and the evidence for the dating of this period is the inscribed tablets from Dr Quaritch-Wales' site 2.⁵² To this phase he ascribes the bulk of Bujang sites and includes also sites 16 and 16a. The date is between 7th and 9th century A.D. He does not think that the settlements resulted from direct Pallava influence, and that Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat reliquaries and the pillar bases architecture refer to relationships with Java and Sumatra.⁵³ The absence of Tang dynasty ceramics infers that the site was not yet involved with entrepot trade.⁵⁴ The third phase is the Pengkalan Bujang phase, starting from the end of 11th century to the 14th century A.D. This phase saw Pengkalan Bujang as an entrepôt trading centre. The sites included in this phase are the Merbok Estuary, Batu Lintang, Matang Pasir and Tikam Batu. The final phase is the Kuala Muda phase in view of the absence of Yuan dynasty ceramics in the Bujang Valley but are found all along the River Muda. He believes that the changes resulted from the shifting of the estuary of Muda River from the Merbok Estuary.

These views set out by Dr A. Lamb disagree with what Dr Quaritch-Wales formulated in the 1940s.⁵⁵ Dr Quaritch-Wales proposed four waves of Indian cultural expansion to this area. His main arguments were based on the typology of the chandi temples. But his theory was formulated when the typology was still not very clear and even as late as 1970 it was still believed that there are only two types of chandi temples.⁵⁶ It is also impossible to date the site just using the typology since in one area all types exist side by side and presumably the

availability of the materials determines the type of chandi temples to be constructed.

v) Perak: It is a state in Peninsular Malaysia which borders the southern boundary of Kedah. Just as in Kedah, the river must have played an important role in the rise of settlements as well as their decline. Perak River is the second major river of Peninsular Malaysia. It flows into the Straits of Malacca and drains a large part of the north-western Peninsular Malaysia, and it is about 170 miles long. It is subject to yearly flooding and it has swift streams flowing in its upper reaches with strong rapids and waterfalls. This led to the possibility of damming the river for hydro-electric power at Chendroh. But on the lower level the river is very gentle resulting in the formation of both tidal and freshwater swamps. It is not surprising that we find a very extensive mangrove swamp in the lower course of the river.

The demarcation between lower course and the upper reaches must have destructive effects on the settlements along the river banks. There is the possibility that the ancient settlements in Perak have been buried by alluvial soil. It is not surprising that there is no trace of settlements of the kind that are found in Kedah. There were, however, a number of bronzes discovered in various depth by miners in Perak. The bronzes are as follows:

- a) A bronze Buddha;⁵⁷
- b) A bronze throne of Buddha;⁵⁸
- c) A standing Buddha;⁵⁹

- d) A standing bronze Avalokiteśvara;⁶⁰
- e) A four-armed Avalokiteśvara;⁶¹
- f) A seated Avalokiteśvara.⁶²

Sumatra

vi) Palembang: Palembang today is the largest town in Sumatra. It is situated about 50 miles from the sea. The River Musi runs through the town. According to R. Soekmono⁶³ the town is situated upon neogene and other tertiary sediments and not on alluvial soil. During the Srīvijayan period it was on a narrow promontory which began in the Sekayu region and Palembang was at the very edge.

Among the archaeological sites in Palembang are: a) Bukit Seguntang, situated on the western part of Palembang. Today the hill is used for a Muslim cemetery. According to the reports in 1974⁶⁴ there are traces of old bricks and in 1960 a small stupa was recovered but there is no trace of it now. Other finds are recorded by Schnitger in his work.⁶⁵ The most important find is the Bukit Seguntang Buddha (plate 1).

b) Gedung Suro: The six foundations excavated by Westenack in the 1930s are still being preserved and in 1974 they were re-excavated.⁶⁶ The Buddha images which are now in the Palembang Museum had been excavated by Westenack. To the south of the site is a plantation and ceramics of Sung and Ming dynasties were found. Schnitger⁶⁷ had discussed briefly the other finds from the site.

c) Telaga Batu/Sabukingking: This site is situated about 300 metres to the north of Geding Suro. It is in the form of an island, and square in shape with a well in the centre and facing the four cardinal points.⁶⁸ The discovery of a number of inscriptions there indicates that it is a very important site.⁶⁹

Palembang does not produce any new finds except for the mitred Avalokiteśvara found at a site where the house, Sarang Waty, is. The most extensive survey was carried out by Schnitger in 1935 and 1936 and his work is still the most useful.⁷⁰

vii) Jambi: It is a town situated on the River Batang Hari and like Palembang it is also about 50 miles from the sea. R. Soekmono also believes that during the Srīvijayan period the Jambi area was a gulf penetrating as far west as Muara Tembesi and three islands protected its entrance from the sea.⁷¹ The formation of the alluvial plains between the town and the sea is due to the depositions of River Batang Hari.

There are two main archaeological sites of Jambi. a) Karang Berahi Utara: this area consists of two villages. One is on the north-east and the other on the north-west of River Merangin. The village of the north-east is the place where the Kota Kapur inscription of 686 A.D. was found. Originally it was used as a stepping stone by villagers going to the mosque.⁷²

b) Muara Jambi: it is situated on the River Batang Hari and to the south of Jambi. Here remains of 7 brick buildings were found. They have been dated to the period

between 1050-1300 A.D. The sculptures now in the Istana Solok (Solok Palace) are believed to have come from there.⁷³

The work of Schnitger is the most detailed for the finds from Jambi.⁷⁴ A list of inscriptions discovered in the area is found in the Laporan Peneletian Arkeologi di-Sumatera.⁷⁵

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. The term "Peninsular Thailand" refers to the area south of the Isthmus of Kra to the border of Peninsular Malaysia.
2. They are produced in the Malay-Thai villages found along the coast.
3. Stanley J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, p. 39.
4. See note 70 chapter 1.
5. Stanley J. O'Connor, op.cit., p. 63 fig. 34.
6. G. Coedès, "Le royaume de Crīvijaya", BEFEO, XVIII/6, 1918, pp. 29-30; and Nilakanta Sastri, History of Srīvijaya, pp. 119-21.
7. I have given my view regarding the provenance of the two inscriptions in note 5 chapter 1. G. Coedès, "Le royaume de Crīvijaya", BEFEO, XVIII/VI, pp. 32-3; and Nilakanta Sastri, History of Srīvijaya, pp. 132-34.
8. G. Coedès, Recueil des inscriptions du Siam, part 2, Bangkok, 1929, pp. 20-4.
9. M.C. Chand Chiraya Rajani, Review articles: "Background to the Srivijayan story", Part 1, JSS, 62, Jan. 1974, pt. 1, pp. 185-6.
10. For the transcription in English see Nilakanta Sastri, History of Srīvijaya, p. 121, inscription VI.
11. Boribal Buribhand and A.B. Griswold, "Sculpture of Peninsular Siam in Ayuthya Period", JSS, XXXVIII/2, 1951, p. 26; and also H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Langkasuka and Tāmbraṅga, Some Archaeological notes", JMBRAS, XLVII/1, 1974, p. 39.

12. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, Towards Angkor, London, 1937, p. 153; and The Making of Greater India, London, 1951, pp. 38-9.
13. G. Coedès, "Les collections archæologiques du Musée National de Bangkok", Ars Asiatica, 12, 1928, p. 26.
14. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, Towards Angkor, p. 187. For the plan and elevation see J.Y. Claeys, "L'archeologie du Siam", BEFEO, XXXI, 1931, p. 379 and pl. XXXIX.
15. For the dating of Professor G. Coedès' type II votive tablets, "Siamese votive tablets", JSS, XX, 1927, pp. 1-23. See also A.H. Lamb, "Mahāyāna votive tablets in Perlis", JMBRAS, XXXVII/2, 1964, pp. 47-59 and it has been dated to a period between 10th and 13th century A.D., p. 56.
16. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, Towards Angkor.
17. J.Y. Claeys, "L'archeologie du Siam", BEFEO, XXXI, pp. 361-448.
18. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, The Making of Greater India, p. 39.
19. A.H. Lamb, "Notes on Satingphrâ", JMBRAS, XXXVIII/1, 1964, p. 74.
20. Stanley J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, pp. 39-40.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 21. He interprets P.D.R. Williams-Hunt, "An introduction to the study of archæology from the air", JSS, XXXVII/2, 1949, p. 108.
22. According to Lajonquiere there are as many as 50 monasteries in the town. Lunet de Lajonquiere, "Essai d'inventaire du Siam", BCAI, 1912, p. 148.
23. Stanley J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, p. 25.

24. J.Y. Claeys, "L'archeologie du Siam", BEFEO, XXXI, p. 374; and for plan and elevation see pp. 376-7.
25. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "A newly explored route of Indian cultural expansion", IAL, IX/1, 1935, pp. 1-35, pl. VII.
26. Ibid., p. 23.
27. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Langkasuka and Tāmbraḷiṅga", JMBRAS, XLVII/1, p. 36.
28. Stanley J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, p. 39, figs. 2 and 3.
29. Ibid., p. 25.
30. G. Coedès, Recueil des inscriptions du Siam, pt. 11, p. 39.
31. A.H. Lamb, "Miscellaneous papers", FMJ, VI, 1961, p. 70, pl. 117.
32. Stanley J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, p. 27; and A.H. Lamb, *ibid.*, p. 70.
33. G. Coedès, "Le royaume de Crīvijaya", BEFEO, XVIII/6, pp. 32-3; and Nilakanta Sastri, History of Srīvijaya, p. 134.
34. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Langkasuka and Tāmbraḷiṅga", JMBRAS, XLVII/1, p. 36.
35. Ibid., pp. 39-40.
36. Janice Stargadt, "Southern Thai waterways, Archaeological evidence on agriculture, shipping and trade in the Srivijayan period", MAN, 8/1, 1973, p. 5.
37. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, *op.cit.*, p. 31.
38. Ibid., pp. 30-1.
39. A.H. Lamb, "Notes on Satingphrâ", JMBRAS, XXXVIII/1, pp. 74-84.

40. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Langkasuka and Tāmbraḷiṅga", JMBRAS, XLVII/1, p. 30.
41. Ibid., p. 31.
42. Colonel James Low, "An account of several inscriptions found in Province Wellesley, on the Peninsula of Malacca", Miscellaneous papers relating to Indo-China, 1, 1886, pp. 223-5. Reprinted from JASB, XVII/2, pp. 62-6.
43. I.H.N. Evans, Ethnology and archaeology of the Malay Peninsula, 1927.
44. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian civilization in Malaya", JMBRAS, XVIII/1, 1940, pp. 1-85.
45. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, JMBRAS, XX/1, 1947, pp. 10-11.
46. A.H. Lamb, "Further research at Matang Pasir", JMBRAS, XXXII/1, 1959, p. 10.
47. M. Sullivan, "Excavations in Kedah and Province Wellesley", JMBRAS, XXXI/1, 1958, pp. 180-219.
48. A.H. Lamb, "Further works at Matang Pasir", JMBRAS, XXXII/1, 1959; Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat, Monographs on Southeast Asian subjects, No. 1, Singapore, 1960; "Miscellaneous papers", FMJ, VI, 1961, pp. 1-90.
49. D.A.V. Peacock, "New light on the ancient settlements of Kedah and Province Wellesley", Malaysia in History, 13/2, 1970.
50. A.H. Lamb, "Recent archaeological works in Kedah", JMBRAS, XXXII/1, 1959, pp. 223-4.
51. A.H. Lamb, "Miscellaneous papers", FMJ, VI, 1961, pp. 78-86.

52. For different views regarding the dating see JMBRAS, XVIII/1, 1940, pp. 5-10; and also J.G. de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia, II, 1956, p. 104. The tablets are now in the Raffles Museum, Singapore.
53. Dr A. Lamb sees a parallel in the plan of Chandi Biaro Si Topajan, Padang Lawas with the chandi temples of type with separate vimana and mandapa. The closest example is the Matang Pasir site. "Miscellaneous papers", FMJ, VI, 1961, p. 16.
54. Ibid., p. 81.
55. H.G. Quartich-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian civilization in Malaya", JMBRAS, XVIII/1, 1940, pp. 1-85.
56. D.A.V. Peacock, "New light on the ancient settlements of Kedah and Province Wellesley", Malaysia in History, 13/2, 1970.
57. I.H.N. Evans, Ethnology and archaeology of the Malay Peninsula, 1927, pp. 135-6, pl. XLIII-III.
58. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian civilization in Malaya", JMBRAS, XVIII/1, p. 50.
59. J.W. Wright, Twentieth century impressions of British Malaya, 1908. This image was discovered at a depth of 18.3 metres.
60. H.G. Quartich-Wales, "Researchs on ancient Indian civilization in Malaya", JMBRAS, XVIII/1, pl. 79. It was discovered in 1936 at Bidor.
61. Ibid., pl. 80. It was discovered at a depth of 5.6 metres.
62. Ibid., pl. 81. It was discovered in 1938.

63. R. Soekmono, "Geomorphology and the location of Crivijaya", Madjallah Ilmu-Ilmu Sastra Indonesia, Maret/Djuni, IV/1-2, 1968, p. 63.
64. Bennet Bronson, Laporan Penelitian arkeologi di-Sumatera, 1973, p. 7.
65. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 1937, pp. 1-4.
66. This was excavated by the team from Dinas Purbakala, Indonesia and the team from the University of Pennsylvania Museum, in 1974.
67. F.M. Schnitger, op.cit., pp. 1-4.
68. Bennet Bronson, Laporan Penelitian arkeologi di-Sumatera, p. 8.
69. Ibid., index I.
70. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, pp. 1-4.
71. R. Soekmono, "Geomorphology and location of Crivijaya", Madjallah Ilmu-Ilmu Sastra Indonesia, p. 71.
72. Bennet Bronson, Laporan penelitian arkeologi di-Sumatera, p. 11.
73. Ibid., p. 22.
74. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, pp. 5-10.
75. Op.cit., Index I.

CHAPTER 3THE STANDING BUDDHA IMAGES

A number of standing Buddha images discovered in Sumatra and the Peninsula, bear to a certain degree features of certain Indian type. There are three possible explanations of this phenomenon. Firstly, the images could have been made in India and then exported to those areas. Secondly, the images could have been made in those areas but by craftsmen who came from India. Finally, they could be local creations produced by craftsmen who acquired the technique directly or indirectly from India.

Since none of them was dated or bore any other inscription, and all found in non-archaeological context, they have to be examined on the basis of: (1) technical aspect of arranging the upper garment and undercloth; (2) body type and proportion; (3) iconography. It is true that this approach is not wholly reliable but it is the only available method to elucidate certain facts about them.

The Standing Buddha from Bukit Seguntang

The Buddha image of Bukit Seguntang (Pl.1) is now lying in the compound of the Palembang Museum, Rumah Bahari. It was carved out of granite and stands well over 3.60 metres including the double-lotus pedestal. L.C. Westenhenck, the Resident of Palembang, came upon a

fragment of it in 1920, and P.J. Perquin of the Archaeological Survey of Netherlands-India carried out a partial reconstruction of it in 1928 after further fragments of the image were recovered at the foot of Bukit Seguntang.¹ Both arms and legs as well as the head were missing. In 1935, Schnitger identified one of the Buddha heads in the Batavia Museum, now the Museum Pusat Djakarta, as the missing head and carried out further reconstruction. The outcome of this reconstruction can be seen in his work, The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra.² This massively built image, particularly because of the singularities of stylisation of its monkish garment and the importance of its provenance, which scholars attached to the history of the Empire of Srīvijaya, has received much attention.

(1) Technical aspect of the arrangement of the upper garment and the undercloth.

The image wears the upper garment³ in covering mode arranged in what Professor Griswold called the "Gandhāran" scheme which had been the standard arrangement for all schools of art, Gandhāra, Kusana school of Mathurā and Amarāvati, Gupta, Post-Gupta and Pāla, when draping the upper garment over both shoulders.⁴ Viewing from the front, it appears that the upper garment is draped with circumflex inflection so as to enable the right hand to be free.⁵ At the bottom hemline, the garment is switched upwards forming a trough-like curve.

The manner of showing the upper garment is remarkable. Folds appear to be tucked in beneath one

another. This is done by representing the folds in convex flutings. The folds sweep downwards in a series of concentric arcs with their radii increasing proportionately. There is a sense of mobility imparted to the garment as the folds adhere to the garment which in turn hemmed in to the torso in certain places giving the outline of the erect and slender torso, especially between the two legs where a groove separates them.

(2) Body type and proportion

The posture of the body is erect and it is massively built. It reminds us of the body type of the Amarāvati and Ceylon⁶ standing Buddha images. But on closer examination one finds that the Bukit Seguntang image is much slimmer. This conclusion could be achieved by comparing the ratio of the chest and waist to the actual height of the body. It is in fact much closer to the Pāla type.⁷ From the 7th century A.D., at Nālandā, this type of body proportion could be seen in the standing Buddha images.⁸ The missing feet must be closer together than those in the Amarāvati or Ceylon type and must be much nearer to the Pāla.

Present Dating

A number of scholars have made their contributions towards the study of this image particularly in the context of its relationship with the history of Srīvijayan Empire. Professor Krom was the first to

publish a photograph of it and with reservations attributed it to the Indian school of Amarāvati.⁹ He defined Amarāvati as "not so much the particular locality of that name which is referred to as the whole phase of Indo-Buddhist art usually indicated by that appellation".¹⁰

A year later his cautious opinion found strong support from an Indian scholar, Devaprasad Ghosh, who was convinced that the opinion was no less than conclusive and ascribed it to a date not later than 4th century A.D.¹¹ He did not regard such an opinion as surprising in view of the fact that several Amarāvati Buddha images of Āndhra-Īkṣvāku period had been recovered from several parts of south east Asia.¹²

Another scholar, Dr. Bachhofer, on the other hand, felt that the image belonged to a period around 2nd century A.D. This suggestion is not impossible according to Dr. Nilakanta Sastri as long as the image was influenced by South India.¹³ Another Indian scholar R.C. Majumdar¹⁴ strongly felt that the image was not influenced by South India but rather by Northern India. He attributed the image to the Gupta period of 5th century A.D. Schnitger, on the other hand, thought that 6th century A.D. would be more acceptable.¹⁵

The theories advanced so far are irreconcilable with the stylistic testimony of the image as well as the historical evidence that has come to light. A need arises to reexamine the view that the image is an echo of the Amarāvati school.

Amarāvati Analogies

The conclusions reached by Devaprasad Ghosh, following and developing on Krom's idea, more than four decades ago were based on the study of the characteristic features of the drapery "showing prominent folds". In Amarāvati art, developed standing Buddha images were believed to be well established by the end of the second century A.D. and the beginning of the third century A.D. This view is shared by many scholars and is true of all sites at Amarāvati Nāgārjunakonda and other sites in the Andhrādesa.¹⁶

The most distinctive feature of the standing Buddha images of the Amarāvati school of this mature stage is that the upper garment is heavily rendered into narrow accordian-pleats, and falls into billowing folds at the bottom especially near the left foot.¹⁷ Although this Buddha type is regarded by scholars such as Barrett, as the original creation of the Amarāvati craftsmen derived from the relief images on the Great Stupa at Amarāvati,¹⁸ it has been pointed out by Sivaramamurti that they show elements which may have been derived from Gandhāra.¹⁹ The closest link between Gandhāra and Amarāvati can be seen in the standing Buddha images with both the shoulders covered which could be regarded as the earliest of the Amarāvati Buddha type depicted mostly in relief at its mahacetiya.²⁰ Here the upper garment is reduced to a schematic pattern of disproportionate loops, which fall vertically on the surface. But the mature period of Amarāvati school was associated with the standing Buddha

images with the right shoulder bared. Both types, have massive form and the garments are opaque. The mature style presumably influenced the Ceylon school.²¹ The Ceylon type shares a common feature with the older images of the Amarāvati school in the way the right hand is raised above the shoulders.²²

A comparison of the Bukit Seguntang image with the images of the Buddha of the Amarāvati school will bring out the dissimilarities. This is particularly true in the treatment of the upper garment. Consider Amarāvati images (Plates 2 and 3)²³ together with the Bukit Seguntang image. Although the folds were represented by the process of convex flutings in all the images, the folds on the Bukit Seguntang were arranged in concentric arcs, the ratio of whose radii is proportionately, whereas in the two Amarāvati images the folds were arranged in loops applied to the surface in no specific ratio. The upper garment adhered tightly to the body in the Bukit Seguntang figure but in the Amarāvati images the whole outline of the body was replaced by the outline of the upper garment. Thus the Amarāvati images provide us with the impression that they were heavily draped. In both the front and rear aspects of the Bukit Seguntang image, the dissimilarity in the treatment of the upper garment from the Amarāvati type can be seen clearly.²⁴

In the case of the Amarāvati Buddha with one shoulder bare the folds at the bottom hemline are rendered in accordian-like pleats²⁵ whereas in the images in the covering mode, the bottom hemline is heavily articulated and without the presence of the folds²⁶ but with circumflex-

inflection²⁷ which rises vertically to the right wrist. The technique of over emphasising the border of the bottom hemline in the Bukit Seguntang image so as to show that the material of the upper garment was diaphanous is atypical of Amarāvati type.

It can be said that the Bukit Seguntang image does not fit with certainty into any group of Amarāvati images, from whatever view, front or back, we look at it. If ever there is any affinity between the two styles, then it would be the result of familiarity on the part of the sculptor of the Bukit Seguntang image with the artistic traditions of both North and South India.²⁸ There is no evidence to suggest that the sculptor was connected with Amarāvati and there is nothing to suggest that it was made by an Indian sculptor as suggested by Nilakanta Sastri²⁹ nor made in Amarāvati, an assumption made by Dr. Bachhofer³⁰ when he says, "The export of Buddhist sculpture from Vengi overseas to the East must have started as early as the 2nd century A.D. for the small bronze Buddha of P'ong Tuk and the enormous stone Buddha of Seguntang belong to a phase in the development of South Indian sculpture which ended about A.D. 150." According to Schnitger³¹ there is no granite in Palembang and so he assumed that the image was made in Bangka. A number of reasons will be advanced later to confirm the belief that the image was made locally rather than imported especially from Vengi region of South India.

In assessing the antiquity of the Bukit Seguntang image Devaprasad Ghosh assumed that in South

East Asia, the earliest sculptures discovered in Burma, Siam, Campa, Funan, Java and Celebes all belonged to the Amarāvātī school.³² But this is not necessarily so, for other scholars have suggested a source in Ceylon, some even arguing for a Ceylonese origin for the Amarāvātī type.³³

One of these Buddha images is a bronze, 55 cm. high, image which belonged to the H.R.H. Prince Bhambandhu Yugala of Thailand (Plate 4). This image was found at Sungai Kolok, in Narathiwat Province, Peninsular Thailand, a district about 200 miles to the south of Jaiyā inside the assumed northern limit of Srīvijayan Empire.³⁴ The image has its right hand in vitarkamudrā, while the left hand holds the end of the upper garment. At the back of the head are the remains of a lug which was meant for securing a halo, but now a steel supporting rod is attached to these remains. The image is standing on a wooden double-lotus pedestal which is a recent addition.

To a certain degree this image provides us with the evidence of the presence of the Amarāvātī type of Buddha in the sphere of Srīvijayan political influence. The image, however, is stylistically and iconographically different from the Early Amarāvātī Buddha type. As a result of this, opinion regarding its origin are divided. Professor Griswold categorises it as an import from Ceylon.³⁵ But if we examine the image closely we notice the image clasps one end of the upper garment in its left hand. In the Ceylon type³⁶ and also in the Early Amarāvātī type the image did not hold any part of the upper

garment. The left hand is held high in the case of the Amarāvati type with the back of the fist facing outwards and the Ceylon type the hand is held high but close to the body. The right hand is outspread and turned slightly inward, and is held higher than the shoulder level in the Early Amarāvati type. In the case of the Ceylon type although the right hand is also held above the shoulder level³⁷ it is not outspread but held vertical to the body. There is, however, an image from Amarāvati³⁸ with its robe represented as in the mature manner with one shoulder uncovered. The differences are that the contours of the belly and legs are much more visible and the missing left hand appeared to be held much lower in that image than in the mature style. The right hand is held in vitarkamudrā just as in the Sungai Kolok image. I have yet to see an image of standing Buddha of this style from Ceylon with such hand positionings. Both the images from Sungai Kolok and Đông-Düông have their pleats arranged as concentric arcs with the elbow as the centre.³⁹

This is unfamiliar in the Ceylon type. In the case of images whose rear part cannot be seen, it is possible to say almost with certainty, whether the fold line is arranged in concentric arcs in the Amarāvati manner or in that of Ceylon, when the folds are arranged in the opposite direction. This arrangement can be clearly seen in the large (11.6 metre) standing stone Buddha from Avukana, Ceylon.⁴⁰ Here, I would like to disagree with Professor Griswold on the origin of the Sungai Kolok and Đông-Düông images. They must most probably be the products of Amarāvati not of Ceylon but rather of the

period between 4th and 5th century A.D. Later images from the Āndhrādesa bear no relation to the mature style of Amarāvati nor to the Sungai Kolok image, but were made with the upper garment represented as transparent to display the outline of the undercloth and with a heavy swag added to the bottom hemline.⁴¹ Vincent Smith⁴² considered these later images as the products of the period between 5th and 6th century A.D. in view of the fact that they possessed the external characteristic of the Sarnath School of the 5th century A.D. It is possible to place our Sungai Kolok image in a period not earlier than 4th century A.D. but not later than 6th century A.D. The style of the Bukit Seguntang image corresponds only in the treatment of the bottom hemline with the Sungai Kolok image. They both have a heavy swag. On the other hand the Bukit Seguntang image had its upper garment at the back represented just like those of the Ceylon type, when in the Ceylon type however, Buddha images with both shoulders covered are not known.⁴³ It is, however, not uncommon to find Buddha images in South East Asia in composite styles, deriving from different schools of art.

An example of a Buddha of mixed artistic heritage is the bronze standing Buddha (50 cm.) found at Songkhla, south of Jaiyā but north of Sungai Kolok. It appears that from the front it is draped in the Gupta/Post-Gupta convention where the upper garment is reduced to transparency, revealing the contours of the body and limbs and also allowing the hem of the undercloth to be seen at the waist. On closer examination, however, it is found that

it is more nearly related to the standing bronze Buddha, now in Boston,⁴⁴ which scholars such as Coomaraswamy dated to the Gupta period and the 5th century A.D. If we consider the treatment of the upper garment at fixed places such as the legs, we will find that the bottom part of the upper garment as well as the undercloth is ridged in the case of the Boston image,⁴⁵ the Songkhla image (Plate 5) and the main image found at Ajanta, Cave VI.⁴⁶ This style for treating the upper garment at fixed places became well developed in the Pāla School and could be seen as early as the pre-Devapāla image at Kurkihar.⁴⁷ All these images have common features: they are in open mode (that is they have the right shoulder uncovered) and the robes are represented as diaphanous with no pleats except for the pre-Devapāla image at Kurkihar,⁴⁸ but the hands are arranged differently. Presumably the style of representing the upper garment and the undercloth must have evolved in the Buddhist cave tradition. At Ajanta, which represents the most complete Buddhist cave site with cave dating from 2nd century B.C. to ca. 6th century A.D., Bagh, Aurangābād, Kanheri, and finally Elūrā which represents the end of the line of Buddhist rock-cut cave in 7th century A.D., all provide examples of standing Buddhas robed in diaphanous cloth.⁴⁹ The standing Buddha image in the open mode was not popular in the Gupta period in Northern India. This phenomenon was commented upon by Bachhofer.⁵⁰ The only northern evidence we have of Buddha clothed in open mode is from the Sarnath School of Early Kuṣāna.⁵¹ But contemporary

with the cave tradition of about 6th century A.D. the number of standing Buddha robed in open mode began to increase. Places such as Ladakh, Tibet,⁵² Nālandā, Kurkihar,⁵³ as well as Southern India did produce standing Buddha images in open mode, pleatless and linking the style to the cave tradition. Other features, such as the arrangement of hands and the presence and absence of *ūrṇā* and the style of the representing the *uṣṇiṣa*, are differently represented in images of different areas. The Songkhilā image is only identical with the cave tradition in the treatment of the robe. Looking at the upper garment from the rear, we notice a perpendicular line running down right to the bottom edge. This is evidently the result of wearing the upper garment in open mode in the "Mathurān" scheme just as in the mature style of Amarāvati and Ceylon. The *uṣṇiṣa* too is a compromise between the mature style of Amarāvati and Ceylon and the type occasionally found at Sārnāth;⁵⁴ it is not as prominently rounded as in the cave tradition. But the Songkhilā image does not have *ūrṇā* and the left hand is placed much higher than the Boston image and those of the mature style of Amarāvati or Ceylon. I believe that the Songkhilā image, because of its composite nature, is a product of local manufacture strongly influenced by the cave tradition as well as by the mature style of Amarāvati and Ceylon and a date of late 6th or early 7th century A.D. is suggested.

An almost identical image (Plate 6) was discovered in the vicinity of Bukit Seguntang. It is a

standing bronze Buddha with the upper garment arranged in open mode. It is corroded but it is possible to see that the upper garment does not have pleats. It is 15.6 cm. high, including the double-lotus pedestal.

From the Peninsula, a heavily corroded image was discovered at a place called Tanjong Rambutan, Perak. Its provenance was a tin mine when it was recovered from a depth of 18.3 metres. This image (Plate 7) was first reported by R.J. Wilkinson⁵⁵ in 1907, and was illustrated in Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya.⁵⁶ According to R.O. Winstedt⁵⁷ a photograph of the image was sent to Professor G. Coedès who thought that the image almost certainly was of the Gupta school. It is impossible to say where the image is now, but it was at one time with Mr Alma Baker, C.B.E., at Batu Gajah, Perak.

This image, again I believe belongs to the same period and style as the Songkhla image and the bronze image of Bukit Seguntang. It has its upper garment in open mode and with the pleats stretched out. The right hand, however, is not placed as close to the body as the image in Plate 6 and is much closer to the arrangement in the Sungai Kolok image (Plate 4). The garment is made of diaphanous material as in the other two images, Plates 5 and 6. The upper garment does not end in a heavy swag unlike the Early Amarāvati or the Ceylon School.

Conclusion on the Bukit Seguntang image (Plate 1)

The Bukit Seguntang image (Plate 1) can be classified as a product of a local school influenced by pre-

Devapāla Nālandā tradition (7th century A.D.), but sculptured by an artist who was familiar with the Ceylon School. At Nālandā we do come across Buddha images whose upper garments are represented by convex flutings falling down in concentric arcs.⁵⁸ It is a simplification of the folds represented in an unbroken fall of lengthening curves from the neck, inherited from the preceding traditions of Mathurā, Amarāvati and Gandhāra. The beginnings of this process of simplification of the complicated folds can be traced to the period of the Sultanganj Buddha (Plate 8), now in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery. The presence of ūrṇā and the closely pleated lower hemline at the ankles enable us to date it to the pre-Devapāla period.⁵⁹ On the basis of the dates found on a number of the bronzes found at Kurkihar⁶⁰ Stella Kramrisch⁶¹ was able to establish the date for the pre-Devapāla style as may then be dated to approximately the same period, on the basis of the style of the upper garments, since images at Kurkihar⁶² of the pre-Devapāla period also show modification of the Early Amarāvati style, by simplifying the folds of the upper garment.

There are strong evidence to support the view that the image was made in Palembang itself. At the moment in Palembang there is an unfinished seated Buddha⁶³ about 1.53 metres high, whose provenance was a place called Bingin on the Musi River. It is now in the Palembang Museum (Plate 9). Thus it is impossible to say that the image was imported, even if the granite is not obtainable in Palembang. This discovery must surely call into question Bachhofer's⁶⁴ suggestion that the Bukit Seguntang

image an import on the grounds of its material.

Other locally made images

The beginnings of the production of religious images on the Peninsula may be dated to around 4th century A.D. as attested by the Viṣṇu from Jaiyā.⁶⁵ But the earliest known Buddha produced on the Peninsula is the image (Plate 10) described by Dr. Quaritch-Wales who discovered it in the course of excavations in Kedah in 1941. The upper garment is worn in the Gandhāran manner and open mode. As a result of the two corners, namely the top left corner and the right bottom corner, being grasped in the left hand an inflection which Professor Griswold termed as acute-inflection was formed.⁶⁶ This kind of inflection occurred also in the image from Bukit Seguntang and differs from that of the Songkhla image as observed from both the sides as well as the rear. It is, however, similar to the arrangement in the Gupta image of fifth century A.D. Sārnāth. This image is the one on the lower right hand corner of the sandstone of the scenes from the life of the Buddha (Plate 11). The pleats are stretched out, except for the back part where we can trace on the right shoulder a series of pleats ending in small hooks which presumably represent the pleat-ends.

At the first sight one would associate this image with the cave tradition just as the image (Plate 5), but detailed examination shows that certain features are different. The bottom hemline is not pulled in at fixed places but runs horizontally. This I consider as an

inheritance from the Gupta school of Sārnāth.⁶⁷ The flat *uṣṇisa*, although not a very common feature of the Gupta school, does occur on Buddha images of the Gupta period such as the seated Buddha inscribed with the year equivalent to A.D. 449⁶⁸ and the standing Buddha from Varanasi, (Bharat Kala Bhavan) which is dated to the later half of the 5th century A.D.⁶⁹ It is, therefore, quite justifiable to date this image to the later half of the 5th century A.D.

Another Buddha image (Plate 12) was recovered from a tin mine at Pengkalan, Ipoh, Perak.⁷⁰ It was badly damaged and the image on display at the National Museum, Kuala Lumpur has been recast after restoration. It must therefore be treated with some care. The sketchy folds on the upper garment as seen from the front, suggest influence of the Gupta school of Mathurā. The upper garment had been rendered as transparent, just as in the Buddha images of the Gupta school at Sārnāth. But the difference is that at Sārnāth the upper garment is represented as smooth. The bottom hemline of the image is in the circumflex inflection, and may then be dated to the same period as the relief from Sarnath.

In some respects, Plate 12 is typical of Gandhāran inspiration. There is, however, a distinction. The bottom hemline in the Gandhāran school had been represented at exactly the same level in front and the back⁷¹ whereas in Plate 12 the bottom hemline hangs much lower at the back than the front and is just the same as in the Sārnāth and Mathurā schools. The body posture on the other hand is reminiscent of the cave tradition and the body is much slimmer than those of the Gandhāran period.

This kind of body posture presumably began to be adopted during the late Gupta period, say about 450 A.D. or slightly earlier.⁷² It is a common feature in the cave tradition of Ellūrā, Aurangābād, and Elephanta which had been developed under the aegis of the Kalachhuris.⁷³

If we look closely at the way the upper garment had been represented at the neck, it reminds us of the Mathurān style. But the presence of large curls, the low uṣṇiṣa, and the lug at the back point to the Peninsula as the place of its manufacture. There is another example of that style found on the Peninsula. But this image is much more sophisticated and well manufactured too compared to the image (Plate 12)⁷⁴ which will be discussed later.

On the Peninsula, as well as Palembang, by the sixth century A.D. a slow development both in the technical mystery over the medium and a stylistic vocabulary which reflected local and not Indian preoccupations took place.⁷⁵ The so-called Dvāravatī school was the most prominent on the Peninsula. Among its chief centres of productions were Nāgara Pathama and Lopburi. A cursory examination of the Buddhist images from these two centres show that they are different from any other schools in many aspects and that their distinctive features are characteristic of a separate tradition.

At Jaiyā before the political influence of Srīvijaya was felt, presumably in 775 A.D., the standing Buddha images found there (Plates 13 and 14), are classified as Dvāravatī. The chief characteristics of these images are as follows: the upper garment is worn in

closed mode, in the Gandhāran manner and rendered in U-inflection.⁷⁶ The earliest known application of the U-inflection is in the 5th century image from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,⁷⁷ and it appears too in the post-Gupta whenever the upper garment is in the covering mode and is quite common in the Pāla school.⁷⁸ The hemline of the upper garment at the back runs horizontally but at a lower level than the hemline in front. It is at the same level as the hemline of the undercloth. The lower part of the front hemline ends in tube-like folds, while in the rest of the upper garment the folds are stretched out. The hands are held forward and they are both in vitarkamudrā.⁷⁹ There are a few exceptions where the left hand, instead of performing the vitarkamudrā, holds one or both corners of the upper garment.⁸⁰

Professor Griswold has suggested that the Dvāravatī images have both their hands in vitarkamudrā by accident. The image maker who made the first of the Dvāravatī images had copied a bronze image with the left hand broken. Being confronted with such a dilemma and having no idea of the original position of the left hand, the artist who made the image positioned the left hand in the same mudrā as the right. Through the process of copying the older images, this particular double mudrā had been made into a hallowed and sanctified ideal. This was further enhanced later on by the belief that when Buddha descended from the Tushita Heavens, after preaching to his mother, via the ladder that stretched from earth to heaven, he was in this particular stance.⁸¹ But the first explanation of the accidental mudrā seems to be

contradicted by archaeological evidence presupposing that the Dvāravatī was a Mon kingdom. If we consider the fact that among the inscriptions in Old Mon was one on a standing Buddha image found in the Kawgun cave, Lower Burma, which says, "This image of Buddha, it was I queen of [Martaban] dwelling in the town of Duwop, who carved it and made this holy Buddha. The votive tablets of earth in Duwop or elsewhere in this kingdom, it was I and my followers alone, who carved them. May there come or there will come teachers who carve Buddha stone."⁸² and another inscription belonging to 5th-7th century A.D. in Mon also states that it was the work of a holy hermit in Sri Samadhugupta,⁸³ that it is impossible for the double mudrā to be accidental. The subject of the association of the mudrā with that of Buddha preaching to his mother must be attractive to the Mons. It is also true in the case of the votive tablets whose function had greatly changed from that of a souvenir from the holy places in India to that of sanctified objects associated with magic powers.⁸⁴

According to Professor Griswold, it was a post-Gupta image in covering mode, with both hands raised but with the left hand fingers broken that the Dvāravatī artist copied.⁸⁵ His view, however, was criticised by Professor D.K. Dohanian who said that, "The duplication of mudrā is not unknown in Buddha images (and those of Bodhisattvas) in Ceylon and Vengi region. This vitarkamudrā is often (?) performed by standing images (from South India and Ceylon) together with the kaṭaka (or simha hasta) mudrā. The kaṭaka mudrā is similar

to the vitarkamudrā. But then again, the duplication of the mudrās is not unknown in Indian imagery; duplicated attributes and gestures which suggest them are common in images of Sūrya.⁸⁶ On the point of duplication it is not likely that an artist who was making a Buddha image to copy the mudrā of the Bodhisattva or a Sūrya.

The other characteristics of the majority of Dvāravatī standing Buddha images are that the snail curls of the hair are of abnormal size and the face is elliptical in form with bulging upper eyelids. The lightly outlined eyebrows on a broad face with a flat nose and thick lips.

In Dvāravatī art, whenever the standing Buddha image is made in covering mode, the upper garment is represented in U-inflection. The U-inflection is very common in the cave tradition whenever the upper garment is in covering mode and the U-inflection is kept in place by the left hand which holds the two ends of the lower part of the upper garment.⁸⁷ But in the Dvāravatī dominant type the U-inflection is held together by winding round the waist.

Nāgara Pathama, one of the chief centres of Dvāravatī school in the 7th century A.D. produced standing Buddha images with the transparent upper garment in the open mode, stretched out pleats, and the hands in double vitarkamudrā as dominant type.⁸⁸ The style of representing the upper garment must have been acquired through copying the style of the images from South India,⁸⁹ and also through familiarity with the cave temple tradition. But later,

probably in the late 7th century or early 8th century A.D. the dominant Buddha type began to be represented in closed mode. This I believe could be the result of the influence of Sārnāth school of the Gupta period which became more dominant later. The most prominent of the Sārnāth type of standing Buddha found in the Peninsula are the small sandstone relief discovered by Dr. Quaritch-Wales at Wiang Sa, Surastradhani, Siam⁹⁰ and the stone statute discovered at Nāgara Pathama.⁹¹ They are almost identical to the Gupta style of Sārnāth; for example the stone relief.⁹² The Dvāravatī school, however, combined the double vitarkamudrā with the upper garment represented in the Sarnath manner as its dominant style. In this period could be placed the stone fragments from Jaiyā and Surastradhani (Plates 15 and 16), and also the life size standing Buddha found at Wat Keu, Jaiyā (Plate 14) and the bronze standing Buddha from Pomerang, Jaiyā (Plate 13) on the basis of the arrangement of the upper garment and in some cases the double vitarkamudrā.

The Pāla type of standing Buddha image

From Solok, a village to the west of Jambi, came a Buddha image (Plate 17), 1.72 metres in height. At the present moment it is standing in the Museum Pusat Djakarta. The discovery of the image was made in 1830.⁹³ The image wears the upper garment in covering mode. There is no sign of any folds on the upper garment and this enables us to see a slender body in an erect posture under the robe.

The image is carved from a sandstone and is not totally in the round. This is because the feet are not really separated from each other, or from the back support. The lower part of the upper garment, in front, is given a symmetrical outline by rounding upwards the corner at the right side just as in Plate 1, in order to match the other side which is raised by the left hand. The upper garment and the undercloth are caught in at certain places and this is particularly clear on the calf. The undercloth ends on each side of the body in the shape of the swallow's tail. As both the hands are missing, it is not possible to say what the mudrās were or whether the left hand was holding any part of the garment. It is also impossible to say whether the ūrnā was present because the face too was badly damaged but the hair is made up of big snail curls and the uṣṇiṣa is very prominent.

The image, Plate 17, has been dated by Schnitger as a product of the period 6th/7th century A.D.⁹⁴ Taking into consideration the features of the rendering of the upper garment one would associate the image, Plate 17, with the Pāla images (Plate 18), and the standing Buddha image, Patna Museum No. 3 (Plate XXXI, fig. I),⁹⁵ and also (Pl. XXX, fig. 2).⁹⁶ Both the Patna Museum images have been assigned a date of 8th century A.D. This is based on the following factors. First, the class these two images represent is the connecting link between the Gupta and Pāla plastic traditions where the moulding of the body is still Guptan but the face is of new tradition.⁹⁷ Second, there is present an undated inscription on the pedestal at the back whose style of characters belonged to

the 8th and 9th century A.D. Finally, the rendering of the upper garment is nearly as sophisticatedly done as the later Pāla images⁹⁸ and more close to the later Pāla images than the pre-Devapāla images discovered at Kurkihar⁹⁹ which has been dated to about the last quarter of the 7th century A.D.¹⁰⁰ There is, however, a slight difference between the images, Plate 17 and the Pāla images in the rendering of the upper garment, which may be attributable to one of two possibilities. The first would postulate minor variation on a common prototype. The principle of the common prototype is based on the belief that common sense and magic require every Buddha image to be copied from an older one.¹⁰¹ Stella Kramrisch believes that "the manner in which the garment is switched upwards at the hemline is but a lax recapitulation of the eastern Indian convention, so sharply delineated in the Sultanganj Buddha".¹⁰² Professor Griswold, on the other hand, suspects that all Nālandā images with close mode are copies of a single statue, perhaps the 80-foot copper figure of the Buddha standing upright which Hsuan-tsang saw in the six-storeyed pavilion.¹⁰³ The second explanation for the difference in the treatment of the upper garment at both sides of the body between the Pāla images and the Jambi image, Plate 17, may be technical. The Pāla images whose upper garments end up with swallow's tails are bronzes while the Jambi Buddha is in stone. It is much more difficult to produce swallow's tail on stone than on bronzes.

In the case of Buddha images whose upper garments are transparent and pleatless, I believe that it is

reasonable to assume that they were the product of adaptation by Pāla sculptors of the Gupta style, particularly the Gupta school of Sārnāth. At Jambi, the site of Malayu of I Tsing, a number of Gupta images of standing Buddha attributable to the Sārnāth school type had been recovered. Among them was the one removed from Muara Jambi in 1906 and whose head was sent to Penang. It was about 1.05 metres high.¹⁰⁴ According to Schnitger, it resembles the sandstone Buddha in high relief found at Wiang Sa, Surastradhani Province, Thailand.¹⁰⁵

The very beautiful standing Buddha image in bronze recovered at Palembang in 1929 can be classified as of the Pāla type.¹⁰⁶ The image (Plate 18) wears the upper garment in close mode and with the pleats stretched out which again reminds us of the Gupta school at Sārnāth. But the rendering of the upper garment is un-Guptan. The slight variation in the representation of the eyes provides another difference from the Gupta derivative which form its base. In the image, the features such as the thick lower lip, the prominent uṣṇiṣa, the ears and the nose remind us of the Gupta style but the "mongoloid" eyes provide them with a different expression from the Guptan type, which is, however, still unlike the common mask-like facial expressions found on the Pāla images after the Devapāla period. It belonged to the period where experimentations took place during one and a half centuries before the standard Pāla type was established in the later part of the 8th century A.D. During this period of experimentation a wide range of expressions can be found.

There is another example of the Pāla type of standing Buddha image found in the empire of Srīvijaya. The image, Plate 19, is a standing Buddha image, lacking head and feet, excavated by Westenhenck at Geding Suro, Palembang and now is in the Palembang Museum. It is made from sandstone and its upper garment is rendered like the Jambi image, Plate 17, but the workmanship is much finer. It may be dated to the same period as the bronze image, Plate 18, about last quarter of the 8th century A.D.

The contact with Nālandā became much closer and probably a number of Buddhists from the various parts of the empire of Srīvijaya visited and studied at Nālandā. This supposition is based on the fact that according to the Devapāladeva copper-plate inscription of Nālandā dated in the 39th year of Devapāla, the third ruler of the Pāla dynasty, which corresponds to c. 850-860 A.D.,¹⁰⁷ a monastery was founded by Balāputra, king of Suvarnadvīpa at Nālandā and Devapāla himself donated five villages for the upkeep of the monastery. This has been interpreted as a monastery for the use of pilgrims from Srīvijayan Empire.¹⁰⁸ It is, therefore, not surprising that a number of Buddha images found in the empire of Srīvijaya dated to the period between the last quarter of the 7th century to the end of the 8th century had certain affinities with the Pāla type of images.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Nilakanta Sastri, History of Srīvijaya, p. 102; and F.M. Schnitger, The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, pp. 2-3.
2. The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, pl. 1.
3. The upper garment is the second garment or robe (uttarāsaṅga). Buddha is normally shown wearing the "Three Garments" (ticīvara). The first garment is the undercloth (antarvāsaka) and the third garment is the shawl (sanghāṭi) which is the duplicate of the robe. In the images of the empire of Srīvijaya the shawl is mostly omitted except in the later images from Jaiyā which will be discussed later. For the discussion of the type of garments see: A.B. Griswold, "Prolegomena to the study of Buddha's dress in Chinese sculpture", AA, XXVI/2, pp. 125 ff.; Theodore Bowie (ed.), The Sculpture of Thailand, New York, 1972, p. 15 f.
4. By "covering mode" it means that both the shoulders are covered. I reserve the term "open mode" for images with the right shoulder uncovered.
5. For the discussion on the various types of inflections see: A.B. Griswold, "Prolegomena to the study of Buddha's dress in Chinese sculpture", AA, XXVI/2, pp. 90 ff.; and "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", AA, Suppl., XXIII/2, 1966, pp. 40-73.
6. A.K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, 1965, Pl. XXXIII, figs. 137, 139, 141; and Heinz Mode, Die buddhistische plastik auf Ceylon, 1963,

- pls. 122, 123, 126; and see also A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in Siam", AA, Suppl., XXIII/2, fig. 7.
7. H. Zimmer, The art of Indian Asia, II, 1955, pl. 379; Bernet Kempers, "The bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese art", Bijdragen, 90, 1933, pl. 1; K.P. Jayaswal, "Metal images of Kurkihar Monastery", JISOA, II/2, 1934, pl. XXXI.
 8. Ibid.
 9. N.J. Krom, "Antiquities of Palembang", ABIA, 1933 for 1931, pp. 29-33.
 10. Ibid., p. 32.
 11. Devaprasad Ghosh, "The early art of Srīvijaya", JGIS, I/1, 1934, p. 32.
 12. The existence of Amarāvati school of sculpture in South East Asia has been pointed out by various scholars. See: Devaprasad Ghosh, "Amarāvati school of sculpture", Cal. Review, Feb. 1931, pp. 22-6; Mirella D'Ancona Levi, "Amarāvati, Ceylon, and three imported Bronzes", Art Bulletin, 34, March 1952, pp. 1-17; A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", AA, Suppl., XXIII/2, pp. 37-73.
 13. Nilakanta Sastri, History of Srīvijaya, p. 103.
 14. R.C. Majumdar, "Origin of the art of Srīvijaya", JISOA, 1935, pp. 75-8.
 15. F.M. Schnitger, The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 1937, p. 3.
 16. D. Barrett, Sculptures from Amarāvati in the British Museum, London, 1954, pp. 40 ff.; K.L. Gunawardena,

- "Archaeological evidence for Indian influences upon the early historical culture of South East Asia", M. Phil. Thesis, 1967, p. 41.
17. A.K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, pl. XXXIII, fig. 137.
 18. D. Barrett, "The later school of Amarāvati and its influences", IAL, XXVIII, 1954, p. 41.
 19. C. Sivaramamurti, Amarāvati sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, Madras, 1942.
 20. T.N. Ramachandra, "Excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa", Indian Historical Quarterly, XXVIII/2, 1952, pp. 107-22.
 21. This view confirms the conclusion reached by Pawnludevage Leelananda Prematilleke, "Religious architecture and sculpture of Ceylon (Anurādhapura period)", Ph.D. Thesis, 1964, p. 225. It refutes the belief that Ceylon influenced Amarāvati: for different view see Sri Gunasinghe, JHSS, III/1, p. 59; cf. P.L. Prematilleke, *ibid.*, p. 220.
 22. This can be seen among the images from Ceylon produced in the work of Heinz Mode, Die buddhistische plastik auf Ceylon, pls. 122, 123, 126, 127, 130 and 131.
 23. Examples of Amarāvati images see A.K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, pls. 137 and 141.
 24. If we look at the image from Amarāvati in A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", AA, Suppl. XXIII/2, figs. 5b and 6b, and compare to the image pl. 1 (Seguntang Buddha) we can see the differences.
 25. A.K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, fig. 137.

26. Ibid., fig. 141.
27. A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", AA, Suppl., XXII/2, fig. 26.
28. Professor G. Coedès in his survey of the extension of the Indian culture over various parts of South East Asia concluded that all parts of India contributed to this expansion but the South took the greatest share in it. Les états hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie, Paris, 1964, p. 61.
29. Nilakanta Sastri, History of Srīvijaya, p. 103.
30. Bachhofer, JGIS, II, 1935, p. 126.
31. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, p. 3.
32. Devaprasad Ghosh, "Sources of the art of Sri-Vijaya", JGIS, III/1, 1936, p. 52.
33. For different view see A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", AA, Suppl. XXIII/2; and Mirella d'Ancona Levi, "Amarāvati, Ceylon and three imported images", Art Bulletin, XXXIV, 1952.
34. The sphere of Srīvijayan political influence has been discussed in chapter one of this study.
35. A.B. Griswold, op.cit., pp. 42-3; and V. Gooubew, JCBRA, XXXI/83, 1930, p. 457.
36. D.T. Devendra, Classical Sinhalese Sculpture, London, 1958, figs. 71, 72 and 75; and The Buddha image and Ceylon, Colombo, 1957, pl. VIII-XIII.
37. Ibid.
38. Mirella d'Ancona Levi, "Amarāvati, Ceylon and three imported images", Art Bulletin, 1952, pl. 10.

39. See pl. 4 and AA, Suppl. XXIII/2, fig. 6(b).
40. Ibid., fig. 8(b); and Heinz Mode, Die buddhistische plastik auf Ceylon, fig. 130; and D.T. Devendra, Classical Sinhalese sculpture, fig. 75.
41. As an example see: The stone Buddha of Gummudurru and Jaggayya peta in IAL, XXVIII, 1954, p. 48.
42. V.A. Smith, History of fine art in India and Ceylon, Oxford, 1911.
43. D.T. Devendra, Buddha image and Ceylon, p. 63.
44. A.K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian art, pl. 159.
45. Ibid.
46. A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", AA, Suppl. XXIII, fig. 18.
47. K.P. Jayaswal, "Metal images of Kurkihar", JISOA, II/2, 1934, pl. XXIX.
48. Ibid.
49. One such example is the sculpture from facade of cave XIX at Ajantā, see Hugo Munsterberg, Art of India and South-east Asia, New York, 1970, pl. 95. Also see Dīpaṅkara Buddha and Megha from the wall relief in cave XXXV at Kanheri, taken from Archaeological Survey West India, IV, p. 66; cf. Albert Grunwedel, Buddhist art in India, 2nd edition, London, 1965, translation by A.C. Gibson from German, Buddhistische kunst in Indien, 1893.
50. Bachhofer, JGIS, II/2, p. 124.
51. A.K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian art, pl. XXII, fig. 83 and pl. XXIII, figs. 84 and 85.

52. Madanjeet Singh, Himalayan art, UNESCO Art Book, Macmillan, 1971, pl. on page 45. Although it had been dated to the 5th century A.D. I feel that by comparing it to the seated image with date 725-56 A.D., it is reasonable to assume that the date of the standing image cannot be earlier than the 7th century A.D.
53. K.P. Jayaswal, "Metal images from Kurkihar", JISOA, II/2, pl. XXIX, the image has pleats on its upper garment but it is in open mode. At Kurkihar, a village situated in the district of Gayā, about 210 pieces of metal images were discovered in 1930. On the basis of the date found on a number of these images Stella Kramrisch was able to date and establish a chronology for those images, ranging from 670 A.D. to later Pāla period 1183 A.D., pp. 70-82 and images on pl. XXIX has been dated to c. 670 A.D.
54. J.C. Harle, Gupta sculpture, Oxford, 1974, pl. 66.
55. R.J. Wilkinson, Papers on Malay subject, Kuala Lumpur, 1907.
56. Arnold Wright, Twentieth century impressions of British Malaya, 1907.
57. R.O. Winstedt, "Buddhist images from Malaya and Sumatra", IAL (N.S.), XVI/1, pp. 41-2.
58. H. Zimmer, The art of Indian Asia, II, pl.
59. Its characteristics are much closer to the Nālandā type rather than Gupta. Professor A.B. Griswold dates to the 6th or 7th century A.D. "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", AA, Suppl. XXIII/2, p. 70.

60. K.P. Jayaswal, "Metal images from Kurkihar", JISOA, II/2, see note 53 above.
61. Ibid., p. 77.
62. Ibid., pl. XXIX.
63. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, p. 4.
64. Bachhofer, JGIS, II, 1935, p. 126.
65. Stanley J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, p. 39.
66. A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", AA, Suppl. XXIII/2, p. 59.
67. J.C. Harle, Gupta sculpture, pl. 52 and 66.
68. Ibid., pl. 55.
69. Ibid., pl. 66.
70. I.H.N. Evans, Ethnology and archaeology of the Malay Peninsula, 1927, pp. 153 ff., pl. XLII and XLIII; and H.G. Quartich-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", JMBRAS, XVIII/1, p. 50.
71. Hugo Munsterberg, Art of India and Southeast Asia, fig. on p. 142; and see also A. Grunwedel, Buddhist art in India, p. 174.
72. J.C. Harle, Gupta sculpture, Oxford, 1974, p. 27.
73. Ibid., p. 24.
74. For comparison see the image discovered at Wiang Sa, Surastradhani province, and now is in the National Museum, Bangkok. It is carved out of sandstone and it stands at 17 cms. See A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in Siam", AA, Suppl. XXIII/2, fig. 22 and also figs. 25 and 26.

75. For the opposite views see: H.G. Quaritch-Wales, The making of greater India, London, 1951; and also "A newly explored route of Indian cultural expansion", IAL, IX/1, 1935, pp. 1-35; 1e May, The culture of South-east Asia, London, 1965. Dr Quaritch-Wales attributes the decline in the artistic products of South East Asia to the waning in the Indian colonization process. Professor O'Connor explains the decline in Hindu artistic creativities on the Malay Peninsula due to the efforts put up by local image makers were channelled towards producing Buddha images. Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 1968.
76. A.B. Griswold, "Prolegomena to the study of Buddha's dress in Chinese sculpture", AA, XXVI/2, discusses the inflections. The earliest known application of U-inflection is in a 5th century A.D. image from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, see Ramachandran, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, 1938, Madras, pl. XXXIV/2.
77. Ibid.
78. A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", AA, Suppl. XXIII/2, p. 64.
79. Diskul, M.C. Subhadradis, Griswold, E. Lyons, The arts of Thailand, Theodore Bowie (ed.), Bloomington, Indiana, 1960, figs. 9, 12, 18 and 22.
80. P. Dupont, Archeologie mone de Dvaravati, 1959, fig. 433.
81. For opposing view see A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", AA, Suppl. XXIII/2, p. 66.
82. Nai Pan Hla, "Mon literature and culture over Thailand and Burma", JBR, XLI/1-2, 1958, p. 66.

83. Ibid.
84. G. Coedès, "Siamese votive tablets", JSS, 20, 1926, pp. 49-52.
85. A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", AA, Suppl. XXIII/2, p. 66.
86. Ibid., p. 66 note 78.
87. Ibid., fig. 26.
88. Theodore Bowie (ed.), The sculpture of Thailand, fig. 5.
89. Ramachandran, The Negapattinam and other Buddhist bronzes in the Madras Museum, Madras, 1954, pls. V/2, V/3, V/4.
90. A.B. Griswold, "Imported images and the nature of copying in the art of Siam", AA, Suppl. XXIII/2, fig. 22; and also H.G. Quaritch-Wales, Towards Angkor, London, 1937, p. 76.
91. Op.cit., fig. 26.
92. Ibid., fig. 23.
93. F.M. Schnitger, The archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, p. 7.
94. Ibid., p. 7; and Bernert Kempers, "The bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese art", Bijdragen, 90, 1933, fig. 1.
95. K.P. Jayaswal, "Metal images of Kurkihar Monastery", JISQA, 11/2, 1934.
96. Ibid.; and also H. Zimmer, Art of Indian Asia, pl. 379.
97. K.P. Jayaswal attributes the new facial expression to the information given by Mañjusrī Mūlakalpa that when Buddhism began to decline (i.e. in the Imperial Gupta and Post-Gupta period) a class of monk artists arose who became philosophers in the science and art

of image making and who sought to revive Buddhism through the art appeal of newly flourished images. See "Metal Images of Kurkihar Monastery", JISOA, II/2, 1934, p. 74.

98. Ibid., pl. XXXIII, fig. 3.
99. Ibid., pl. XXIX.
100. Ibid., p. 77.
101. A.K. Coomaraswamy, The Origin of the Buddha image, New Delhi, First Indian Edition, 1972, p. 3; also, AA Supplementum XXIII/2, p. 37. On the question of the essential element to be copied, scholars are divided. Professor Griswold prefers the iconography, while Dr Bosch who devoted an article to the Buddha images of Java, T.B.G. 57, pp. 97-116, felt that the consideration of the arrangement of the robe was unimportant. This is because three of the nineteen standing Buddha images in Jakarta Museum and two of twenty-two from Leyden have their shoulders covered and they do not fit into his theory that all metal images of standing Buddha must be represented with shoulders covered just like those in stone but seated must have one right shoulder uncovered. This influenced the standing Buddha and resulted in the disappearance of standing Buddha images with both shoulders covered. Once this had occurred any such image with shoulders must be due to a mistake. But if we study in detail the representation of the upper garment of both types of image, there are clear differences in style. It is impossible to generalise in Bosch's manner.

102. JISOA, II/2. See discussion by Stella Kramrisch, p. 78.
103. AA, Supplementum XXIII/2, p. 70 note 95.
104. F.M. Schnitger, The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, p. 7.
105. Ibid., p. 7; cf. AA, Supplementum XXIII/2, fig. 22.
106. R.C. Majumdar, "Origin of the Art of Sri-Vijaya", JISOA, June 1935, p. 76. He attributes it to the Gupta period prior to the 7th century A.D.
107. A number of views regarding this dating have been put forward. Nilakanta Sastri, History of Sri Vijaya, for instance equates the 39th year with 850 A.D., p. 55; R.C. Majumdar, History of Bengal, I, states that Devapāladeva's reign was between 810-860 A.D. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, p. 23, dates the inscription to 860 A.D. The ruler, Balaputrādeva has been assumed to be a member of Sailendra dynasty who was expelled and ruled at Suvanadvīpa or Sumatra. Dr. Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia II, pp. 258-260, also discussed the alliance between Srīvijaya and the Sailendra. Prof. G. Coedès, "L'inscription de la stèle de Ligor: Etat présent de son interprétation", Oriens Extremus, VI/I, 1959, pp. 42-48. For the inscription see Hirananda Shastri, EI, XVII/7, 1924, pp. 310-27 with plate. Bosch, T.B.G., 65, 1925, pp. 509-88; Stutterheim, Javanese Period, 1929.
108. Bernert Kempers, "Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese art", Bijdragen, 90, 1933, p. 7.

CHAPTER 4

THE MITRED AVALOKITEŚVARA

The most recent and major find since Schnitger's¹ day in Palembang was in the early 1960s. It is a standing figure carved out of a block of sandstone (Plate 20). At the moment it is kept in a house called Sarang Waty and is owned by Bapak Basaruddin Itjoh. The house is situated in the eastern part of Palembang, about 500 metres to the west of Telaga Batu or Sabukingking where about 30 small inscribed stones were found.² Most of the short inscriptions consist of the work siddhayātra, either alone or preceded by jaya, sometimes it is preceded by jaya- and followed by sarvvasatvāh or by sarvvasatva.³ Besides these small inscribed stones and 3 fragmentary inscriptions, a large stone inscription, 118 cm. high and 148 cm. wide was also recovered from the same area.⁴ These inscriptions, palaeographically, belong to the period as the dated inscriptions of Kedukan Bukit, Talang Tuwo, and Kotakapur and can be dated to the period of the end of the 7th century A.D. and the first half of the 8th century A.D.⁵ and can be classified as the products of the first period of the empire of Srīvijaya.⁶

The image is a two-armed Avalokiteśvara about 1.3 metres. The sandstone is highly polished. It is in one piece with the pedestal, which is unpolished. The right hand is in varadamudrā, while the left forearm is raised about 100° from the hip, with the fore-finger touching the thumb giving the impression that it is holding something; the other three curling towards the palm.

The image which has a youthful face wears a tall headdress. The prominent lower lip reminds us of the special feature of Gupta images; its rounded face gives the head a formal air. The ears are large with extended lobes but with no ear-rings. The neck too is devoid of ornamentation but the shoulder is adorned with a scarf which passes over the flat chest. It has broad shoulders, the waist, however is slim and may be compared with what Dr Stutterheim describes as, "extremely high slender waist beginning in front right under the pectoral muscle".⁷ This feature is also typical of the pre-Khmer images. One such example is the Avalokiteśvara from Phnom Ta Kream, Battambang.⁸ The Avalokiteśvara from Vat Po Veal has been given a date roughly in the 7th century A.D. just like the Avalokiteśvara from Ak Yom, Siem Rap which is now in the National Museum Phnom Penh.⁹ If we place together the mitred Avalokiteśvara from Palembang and the two Pre-Angkor images we would notice that they share a common type of body structure.

It was reported that near to the place where the mitred image was recovered was a stone wall which was believed to be part of an ancient building. Unfortunately, however, the wall had been destroyed when I visited Palembang in July, 1974. Presumably it could be the shrine which had housed the image because the image was believed to be fixed to the ground. This belief is based on the fact that the image is top heavy.

A number of votive stupas with the Buddhist creed, Ye Dharma, inscribed on each were discovered about 100 metres

away from the spot where the mitred Avalokiteśvara was recovered. This took place in the early 1960s but all of them were given away by the finder to various people. Dr Alastair Lamb in 1961 during his researches on the Mahāyāna Buddhist votive tablets discovered in Perlis had enquired from Dr C.A. Gibson Hill if he had known of any discovery of Mahāyāna Buddhist votive tablets in the neighbourhood of Palembang.¹⁰ To this he received a positive reply in the form of some photographs of a small collection of tablets from the neighbourhood of Palembang. Dr Hill did not mention from which part of Palembang he obtained them nor the source of the photographs. I am sure that the photographs were those of the tablets discovered as reported by the curator of Palembang Museum since the period coincides, and so too the type of the tablets.

The same type of tablets, however, was subsequently discovered by the team from the Indonesian Archaeological Survey together with Dr Bennet Bronson from the Pennsylvanian Field Museum in July 1974. I was fortunate to be able to see personally the tablets. The tablets are in the form of stupas made of unbaked clay in two sizes of 5.08 and 7.62 cm. in diameter approximately. Each stupa carries an inscription stamped in mud with a cover. It appears that the cover too was inscribed. But in reality it was the mark from the stamped inscription. The mud pad, on which the inscription was made, is round and the bigger type is about 5.08 cm. in diameter while the smaller type is about the size of a two-pence coin. The two facing tablets containing the inscription were

placed at the level of the base of the stupa and concealed from view by a roughly shaped lump of clay placed under the base of the stupa. They were apparently made from moulds and then dried in the sun and that was why a light shock would be sufficient to break them open and release the tablets containing the inscription. Professor Coedès in his study of the Siamese pra-bimb, was of the opinion that the tablets had been brought by pilgrims and possibly from India.¹¹ The Palembang tablets are so fragile that it would be impossible to transport them over long distances and I am convinced that they were produced locally.

In trying to assess the antiquity of the mitred Avalokiteśvara and the practice of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Palembang the testimony of epigraphy is of interest. It is true that the image bears no inscription but it is true also that it was discovered in the area where the majority of inscriptions discovered in Palembang came from. The inscriptions found in Sumatra, although far from abundant, make up a large proportion of the total number of Sumatran artifacts that can be securely dated to the early historic period, that is, from the second half of the 7th century onwards. According to the Archaeological report of Sumatra¹² there are 67 inscriptions known in Sumatra of which the majority have been dated to the 7th century period. Palembang produced the biggest number. We owe our knowledge of the inscriptions to Professor G. Coedès, L.C. Damais and Dr J.G. de Casparis.¹³ A preliminary study of the inscriptions found on the base of the votive stupas have been studied by Drs Machi Suhadi, the epigraphist,

in the Archaeological Survey team which discovered the tablets in 1974. He believes that the inscriptions could be dated to a period of 7th century A.D. on the basis of epigraphy.¹⁴ The inscriptions are in Sanskrit belonging to the same style as those on the 30 small inscribed stones, which had already been ascribed to 7th century A.D.

It is not surprising to find this practice of making votive stupas and depositing inscribed tablets at the bases as early as the 7th century A.D. in Palembang. This practice was not restricted to Palembang only but had been known to have occurred in other parts of Buddhist world. Hiuen-tsang recorded that it was a general practice in India to make small stupas of sweet-scented dough and to deposit an abstract of a sutra, called dharmasarira, in their interiors.¹⁵ I Tsing who sojourned in Palembang in 671 A.D., 685-689 A.D. and 689-695 A.D. besides stating that there were Mahāyānists in Palembang also mentioned the same practice¹⁶ and so did Fa-hsien.¹⁷ The votive stupas and other inscriptions belonging to the period of 7th century A.D. obviously must suggest the existence of a holy site in or near the spot where people had deposited such objects in the course of many years. Is it possible that the mitred Avalokiteśvara might come from such a site?

If we consider the chronology of the votive tablets discovered in other parts of the Srīvijayan Empire, it would help to elucidate further the dating of the inscriptions of the votive stupas from Palembang. From known archaeological evidence so far it is apparent

that the votive stupas from Palembang are the oldest. This is because Professor G. Coedès in his paper "Siamese Votive Tablets"¹⁸ had carried out an extensive survey of the votive tablets found in sites throughout Thailand and had divided them into a number of distinct groups, of which those from the Southern Thailand were classed as Type II. His dating for this Type II is 10th century A.D. on the ground that the style of the representations of Buddha and Avalokiteśvara recalls the style the statues of Bodhisattvas found at Jaiyā.¹⁹ Professor Coedès attributes these images to the Indo-Javanese style of the Sailendra dynasty to which the rulers of the Srīvijayan Empire were related. The Srīvijayan Empire extended its influence over the Peninsula from 7th century to 12th century A.D.²⁰ But the practice of making votive tablets became apparent only in the 10th century A.D. on the Peninsula. Dr Alastair Lamb, who made a study of the votive tablets discovered in Perlis, Malaysia, at Gua Kurong Batang and Gua Berhala in 1961²¹ confirms that the dating of the inscriptions based on epigraphy should be between 10th and 13th century A.D.²²

Another possibility for the Palembang tablets to be much older than the Peninsular one is based on typology. We have evidence that in South Bali too a number of votive stupas were recovered near Pejeng.²³ In every respect they are almost similar to the Palembang type except for the inscriptions used. The inscriptions on the tablets show the type of pre-nāgarī-script which was used in Central Java in the 8th century A.D.²⁴ whereas those on

the Peninsula used the Nāgarī script. So far there is no evidence that before the 8th century A.D. the votive tablets produced were in other than stupa form in the South East Asia. There are reports of find in Burma of votive tablets and dated to the 10th century A.D. on the ground that the inscriptions used were that of Nāgarī type and they were not found on votive stupas.²⁵ Among the theories advanced so far regarding the functions of the votive tablets is as "mementoes and as ex-votos"²⁶ from Kapilavastu, Buddhagayā, Benares and Kusinagara. The object that was visited at Kusinagara was the spot marked by a stupa where Buddha died.²⁷ So the votive stupas would represent the most venerable object which is connected with Buddha. Professor G. Coedès regards the making of votive tablets as merit making and Dr Bosch had shown that the tradition of making stupas for merit has its origin in the time of emperor Aśoka.²⁸ It is natural therefore, that the idea of making votive tablets which can be deposited in stupas should be much earlier than making votive tablets with iconographic imprints.

Perhaps the dating of the mitred Avalokiteśvara on the basis of association with votive stupas is not convincing enough. So the next consideration is the style of the image itself. The tall smooth head-dress is reminiscent of several Viṣṇu figures found in various parts of South East Asia running from Cochin-China to the Peninsula,²⁹ Sumatra,³⁰ and Tjibuaja.³¹ Dr O'Connor has argued convincingly that they are the products of South East Asian workshops. The oldest image, that is, the

Jaiyā Viṣṇu can be dated to the 4th century A.D. The latest images he dates to the 8th century A.D.³² He believes also that the impulse received from Mathurā via Āndhradesa greatly influenced the stylisation of the products³³ which were later modified by Gupta and post-Gupta influences. On the basis of the head-dress alone we could date the image to a period between the 4th and 8th century A.D.

Other factors such as the modelling of the waistline convince us that the treatment is almost identical with the Bangka Viṣṇu.³⁴ We have seen earlier that the kind of waistline is also to be found in the pre-Khmer images of the 6th century to 7th century A.D. Dr Stutterheim considers that the Bangka Viṣṇu on the basis of the association between the inscription of Kota Kapur with the image of Viṣṇu could be dated roughly to the end of the 7th century A.D. Before one could date more precisely the mitred Avalokiteśvara, other supporting evidence must be indicated. Perhaps it sounds strange to compare a Mahāyāna image with that of a Viṣṇu.

We have, however, evidence of inter-religious borrowings in terms of stylisation and attributes of Gods. If we look at the history of the development of Buddhism from its beginnings as it spreads, the converts naturally carried into their new religion much of their reverence for the old Hindu gods and they found that traditions embraced Indra, Brahmā, and others of their former divinities.³⁵ In the Gandhāran art, jātakas scenes were depicted and Buddha's attendants were recognised as Brahmā

and Indra at first but later on these attendants were Vajrapāni and Maitreya with the coming of Mahāyāna schools. Indra or Sakra became Satamanyu and Vajrapāni, and his heaven of Swarga was named Trayastrimsaloka, Brahmā had his attributes transferred to Maitreya or possibly to Mañjuśrī. Avalokitesvara or Padmapāni has some analogy to the attributes of Viṣṇu or Padmanabha.³⁶ These inter-religious borrowings did not end at Gandhāra but went on even to the medieval period in India. C. Sivaramamurti quoted an example of a carving belonging to the medieval period and now in the Indian Museum where Harihāra is flanked by Buddha and Sūrya.³⁷ It is also true in Java where Buddhism and Śaivism went hand in hand.³⁸ In Palembang the Buddhism practised there was found to be tainted with Tantricism as early as the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. according to Professor G. Coedès³⁹ and Dr. J.G. de Casparis who made a study of the inscriptions found in Palembang particularly the Kota Kapur inscription.⁴⁰ In the Ligor inscriptions of 775 A.D. of side "A" the king of Srīvijaya ordered the building of three brick buildings, as abodes of Padmapāni, Śākyamuni and Vajrapāni while on the face "B" of the same stele the name of the king was Viṣṇu.⁴¹ This again shows that there were elements of syncretism in the religion of the empire of Srīvijaya as early as the 7th century A.D. and it would follow that in art too such elements would find their way.

Comparison of the stylisation of the dhoti of the mitred Avalokiteśvara with the dhoti of the bodhisattva

from Bukit Seguntang, Plate 21, will give further indication of the date of the image. The Bukit Seguntang image has a broad band which extends from the left shoulder across the chest. The lower part of the trunk is dressed in a smooth kind of dhoti, fastened around the waist by means of a flat cloth belt which is tied in front and producing a loop which hangs down. The way of the dhoti is worn is similar to the way the sarong is worn during the present day by Malay women. Although the dhoti of the mitred Avalokiteśvara is worn in the same style, the sculptor was not able to give as much naturalism as the way the dhoti of the bodhisattva trunk was treated. In view of this fact, we could say that the result was rather mediocre and regression from the product of the trunk. Technically too the mitred Avalokiteśvara is very inferior especially in the sense of proportion. We find that it is top heavy, and so had to rely on a heavy and tall pedestal for balance; also the sculptor is not totally in the round since the right hand is still not free from the hip and both the legs are attached to the back support. This again reminds us of the pre-Khmer sculptures where a majority of them have supports either in the form of struts or mandorlas.⁴²

On the basis of comparative study of the stylisation of the way the dhoti were represented in the art of Khmer, J. Bosselier was able to date the trunk of the Bukit Seguntang image and concludes that it must have been made during the last quarter of the 7th century A.D.⁴³ It is possible too that the style of representing the

dhoti of the mitred Avalokiteśvara is, although slightly inferior, of the same class as that of the Bukit Seguntang image.

Indian and Ceylon Analogies

The closest example to the mitred Avalokiteśvara is the Avalokiteśvara image, Plate 22, discovered on the site of an ancient monastery called Situlpavuva in Ceylon.⁴⁴ The material for both images is sandstone. Both of them are standing and they both have miniature effigy of Buddha represented in their head-dress. The similarities do not end there for the elongated head-dress, rounded outline of the faces, broad shoulders, high slender waist and smooth slim lower limbs. The treatment of the dhoti, which is both transparent and clinging to the body with angular corners, is remarkable in both images.

According to Paranavitana the style of the Ceylonese Avalokiteśvara shows close affinities with the Pallava school of art.⁴⁵ But in Pallava art, Avalokiteśvara does not wear the head-dress in the form of cylindrical mitre. A bronze image of Avalokiteśvara⁴⁶ dredged up from a canal in the Kistna Delta, Āndhra State and attributed to the Pallava dynasty and dated to 7th century A.D. will confirm this assertion. It is true, on the other hand, the head of Hindu gods such as Viṣṇu wears cylindrical mitre and a long dhoti.⁴⁷ Presumably the close similarities between the mitred Avalokiteśvara from Palembang and the Ceylon Avalokiteśvara is due to sculptors

from both areas having been influenced by the prevailing trend in representing the head-dress of Hindu gods rather than the head-dress of Avalokiteśvara. The Palembang sculptor must have been very familiar with the popular representation of the head-dress of Viṣṇu found in the various parts of Srīvijaya which could be dated between 4th and 8th century A.D. and possibly too with the head-dress of Avalokiteśvara from Ceylon since we have seen that the Bukit Seguntang Buddha, Plate 1, too had certain elements of a Ceylon Buddha. The Ceylon Avalokiteśvara must have been influenced by the popular style of the tall head-dress of the abundant sculptures of Hindu gods of the Pandya-Pallava period especially from the great centres at Māmallapuram and Kānchīpuram. This is because in spite of the fact that the Pāndya-Pallava period saw striking developments in religion, literature and art, there was, however, a strong reaction against the growing influence of Buddhism and Jainism. The result of this was the strong increase in the bhakti movement which the sculptures and the temples of the period register the best and the highest form of arts attained in South India.⁴⁸ It is natural that the best should be followed as example.

Iconography

I have stated earlier that the image is that of an Avalokiteśvara. This assertion is based on the fact that the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara could be recognised by the presence in his head-dress of a small figure

of Buddha from the 2nd century A.D. onwards.⁴⁹ According to the system of the five Jinas, each Jina corresponds to a certain bodhisattva and Manushī-Buddha. In the case of the Avalokitesvara its Jina is Amitābha and the Manushī-Buddha is Sākyamuni. The Avalokiteśvara is the Padmapāni-Avalokiteśvara which according to Benoytosh Battacharyya⁵⁰ in his analysis of the 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara as depicted in the Macchandar Vahal, the temple of Matsendranatha, Padmapāni-Avalokiteśvara is the non-Tantra form of the Avalokiteśvara and is supposed to create all animate things by command of his Dhyāni-Buddha or Jina Amitābha. But the question of the identity of the Buddha represented in the head-dress of Avalokiteśvara is not definitely settled up to at least the middle of the 7th century A.D. on the evidence of various texts. Mr Agrawala in his article, "Dhyāni-Buddha and Bodhisattvas"⁵¹ says on the subject of texts that, "we do not find the mention of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas in the literature of the Mahāyāna Buddhists prior to the time of Indra Bhūti (c. A.D. 700-750). We meet with none of them in the works of Asvaghosha (c. first century A.D.), Nagārjuna (second century A.D.) and his disciple Āryadeva."

Between the period 2nd century A.D. 700/750 A.D. only two of the five Jinas were known - Amitābha and Aksobhya. Although it was known during this period that Avalokiteśvara was one of the followers of Amitābha and the combination Amitābha-Avalokiteśvara had been attested, there was still no reference to this combination as Padmapāni.⁵² Every figure with a Buddha in its head-dress irrespective of what the gesture of the Buddha

should be considered as Avalokiteśvara at this early stage. The chief feature of the Avalokiteśvara were the pink lotus (padma) and in the case of bodhisattva represented as dvārapāla Avalokiteśvara could be recognised from its ascetic form, wearing no ornaments and with his tiara-chignon as head-dress. Using these characteristics as guide it could be established that the sculptures at Ajanṭā Cave IV, depicting the Miracles of Bodhisattva, had as its centre the sculpture of Avalokiteśvara even though the Buddha in the head-dress is in the gesture of turning the wheel of the Law (dharmacakramudrā), and so too in the case of Bodhisattva's images excavated at Nālandā and Sārnāth dated according to their style between 5th and 11th century A.D.⁵³ are the images of Avalokiteśvara even though the Buddha in the head-dresses are in the gesture of calling the earth to witness (bhūmisparsamudrā).⁵⁴

Only during the last period of the Indian Buddhist art, that is, during the Pala-Sena period that Buddhist iconography in India was codified and the gesture of the Buddha image in the crown of Bodhisattvas are fixed. Avalokiteśvara-padmapani is distinguished by the presence of the image Buddha in its crown in the abhayamudrā. The mitred Avalokitesvara from Palembang has in its head-dress a Buddha and the gesture is in the bhūmisparsamudrā. On the stylistic comparison and the other evidence discussed earlier, the image could be dated to a period roughly in the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. and the beginning of the 8th century A.D. Even though the attribute in the left hand is missing it is reasonable to say that the image is that of Avalokiteśvara and not

Vajrapāni. This is because no image of Vajrapāni has yet been found which could be dated before the beginning of the 8th century A.D.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the fore-finger of the left hand appears to be touching the thumb giving the impression that it is holding something which could not possibly be vajra.

Summary

On the basis of the evidence discussed above, it would appear that the mitred Avalokiteśvara image from Palembang is probably the oldest Avalokiteśvara ever discovered in the empire of Srīvijaya. The last quarter of the 7th century date ascribed to it earlier could place it to the beginning of the establishment of the empire of Srīvijaya from a kingdom with its centre somewhere near Palembang. It can be traced to the period of Indian art where the question of the gesture of the Buddha in the head-dress of Avalokiteśvara had not yet been codified. This period also coincided with the flowering of the Pāṇḍya-Pallava art during which sculptures and temples register the best and the highest form of art in South India. Directly or indirectly, the mitred head-dress can be attributed to this art but with adaptations by the sculptor who must have been familiar with the same type of head-dress found on Viṣṇu in various parts of South East Asia particularly in the empire of Srīvijaya itself.

A glance at the image will convey us with the

impression that its style is different from the figures of Avalokiteśvara found in Java or other parts of South East Asia in terms of the stylisation of the head-dress. The strikingly tall head-dress may be the prototype for the much more stylised, ornamented head-dress of the Avalokiteśvara images found in the empire of Srīvijaya which belonged to the later period. I would regard the image as the product of the local art of the kingdom responsible for the inscriptions discussed earlier which was neither Javanese nor Indian - in short Srīvijaya.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. F.M. Schnitger, The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 1937.
2. Ibid., p. 1.
3. Siddhayatra is believed to be a reference to a journey to acquire supernatural powers. J.G. de Casparis, "Selected Inscriptions from the 7th century to the 9th century A.D.", Prasasti Indonesia, II, Bandung, 1956, p. 2 discusses the views put forward by other scholars regarding the significance of the term Siddhayatra.
4. J.G. de Casparis, *ibid.*, p. 15.
5. Ibid., p. 2.
6. For the discussion on the chronology of the Srīvijayan Empire see the first chapter of this study.
7. W.F. Stutterheim, "Note on the newly found fragment of a four-armed figure from Kota Kapur, Bangka", IAL (N.S.), XX/2, 1937, p. 107.
8. Madeleine Giteau, Khmer Sculpture and the Angkor Civilisation, Thames and Hudson, London, 1965, Pl. XIII.
9. Khmer Sculpture and Angkor Civilization, 1965, Pl. IV.
10. Alastair Lamb, "Mahāyāna Buddhist Votive Tablets in Perlis", JMBRAS, 37/2, 1964, p. 59.
11. G. Coedès, "Siamese Votive Tablets", JSS, XX, 1927, pp. 1-6.
12. See Appendix I and II, Laporan Penelitian Arkeologi di-Sumatera, edisi II, 1974. Yayasan Purbakala Indonesia.

13. The inscriptions have been studied by the following scholars: G. Coedès, "Les inscriptions Malaises de Crīvijaya", BEFEO, XXX, pp. 29-30; L.C. Damais, "Etudes d'epigraphie Indonesians", BEFEO, XLVII, pp. 7-290, 1955; and J.G. de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia II, 1956.
14. This information was communicated to me when I visited Palembang in 1974.
15. S. Beal, Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Record of the western world translated from the Chinese of Hiuan-Tsiang (A.D. 629), London, N.D.
16. J. Takakusu, A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (671-695 A.D.), by I-Tsing, Oxford, 1896, p. 150.
17. J. Legge, A record of Buddhistic Kingdom, Oxford, 1886, p. 44.
18. "Siamese Votive Tablets", JSS, XX, 1927, pp. 1-23.
19. Although Professor Coedès equates the style to the mature style of Avalokiteśvara, I am inclined to say that they are related to the style of images which I date later on in this study to the period after 10th century A.D. Cf. Plates 45 and 47.
20. R.O. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce ..., pp. 227-228.
21. Professor Coedès' study of the pra-Bimb found in Thailand was based on the discoveries made prior to 1927. From Peninsular Thailand and Malaysia he discussed the pra-Bimb discovered at Jaiyā, Nakorn Sri Thammaraj, Patalung, Sating Phrâ, Songkhla, Krabi and Trang. See fig. 6, cf. "Siamese Votive

- Tablets", JSS, XX, 1937, pp. 1-23; and Alastair Lamb, "Mahāyāna Buddhist Tablets in Perlis", JMBRAS, 37/2, 1964, fig. 1.
22. "Mahāyāna Buddhist Tablets ...", JMBRAS, 37/2, 1964, p. 56. He had consultation with Sir Chhabra, Joint Director of the Archaeological Survey of India, who felt that had the objects were found in India, he would date them to 12th century A.D.
23. F.D.K. Bosch, Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology, The Hague, 1961, p. 179.
24. Ibid., p. 179.
25. M.C. Duroiselle, ARASB, 1912-13, p. 17.
26. A. Foucher, "Les debuts de l'art bouddique", JA, 1911, p. 65.
27. "Siamese Votive Tablets", JSS, XX, 1937, p. 3.
28. Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology, 1961, pp. 180-81; and "Siamese Votive Tablets", JSS, XX, 1937, p. 4.
29. G. Coedès, Etudes d'Orientalisme (Musée Guimet), Vol. I, 1932.
30. W.F. Stutterheim, "Note on the newly found fragment of a four-armed figure from Kota Kapur, Bangka", IAL (N.S.), XX/2, 1937, pp. 105-109.
31. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, Pl. 23, fig. 2.
32. Wirjosuparta, R.M. Sutjipto, "The second Visnu-Image of Cibuaja in West Java", Madjalah Ilmu-Ilmu Sastra Indonesia, 1/2, 1963, pp. 170-187.
33. Stanley O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam.

34. "Note on the newly found fragment of a four-armed figure from Kota Kapur, Bangka", IAL (N.S.), XX/2, 1937, figs. 1, 2.
35. Albert Grunwedel, Buddhist Art in India, 2nd edition, 1965 (translated by A.C. Gibson). He traces the derivatives of Buddhist Gods from Hinduism, pp. 183-4.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
37. C. Sivaramamurti, Art Asiatique, I, 1954, fasc. 2, p. 109, fig. I.
38. "Note on the newly found fragment of a four-armed figure from Kota Kapur, Bangka", IAL (N.S.), XX/2, 1937, p. 109.
39. "Les inscriptions Malaises de Crīvijaya", BEFEO, 30, p. 55.
40. Prasasti Indonesia II, p. 29 ff.
41. Nilakanta Sastri, History of Srīvijaya, 1949, pp. 42 f., on the discussion of the views by various scholars on the relationships between face "A" and face "B".
42. Sherman E. Lee, Ancient Cambodian Sculpture, The Asia House Inc., New York, 1969, p. 15.
43. J. Boisselier, Art Asiatique, fasc. IV, Tome IV, 1957, p. 267.
44. S. Paranavitana, "Recent Archaeological Work in Ceylon", IAL XI/I, 1937, pp. 24-35, Pl. II, fig. a.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
46. Indian Art, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1969, Pl. 10.

47. There is a fine example of the Viṣṇu image dating 7th century A.D. and now in the Wolff Collection, New York. See Hugo Munsterberg, Art of India and Southeast Asia, New York, 1970, Pls. on pp. 128-129.
48. Nilakanta Sastri, History of South India, Oxford University Press, 2nd Impression, 1971, p. 5.
49. Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, "Head-dresses with figurines in Buddhist Art, IAL, (N.S.), XXI/2, 1947, pp. 80-89. Here she has verified the definition of Avalokiteśvara.
50. Benoytosh Battacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, Oxford University Press, 1924, pp. 32-33 and 188, no. 105.
51. V.S. Agrawala, "Dhyāni-Buddhas and Bodhisattvas", JUPHS, XI/ii, Dec. 1938; cf. Marie-Thérèse Mallmann, op.cit., pp. 85-6.
52. Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, op.cit., p. 86.
53. Ibid., p. 87.
54. Ibid., p. 87; for the photographs of the images see ASI (Annual Report), 1929-30, Pls. XXXIV/a, 1930-34, Pls. LXVIII/a and 1907-8, p. 67.
55. Ibid., pp. 85-7.

CHAPTER 5

THE AVALOKITEŚVARA WITH TIGER SYMBOL

Among Buddhist sculpture found in the sphere of Srīvijayan political influence are the Avalokiteśvara which many of them share a common iconographic symbol: the tiger skin with its head. The representation of this interesting iconographical symbol places these images apart from other Avalokiteśvara found in that area.

These images are now either in private collections such as Plates 23 and 27 or now on display in the National Museum in Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and Jakarta. One of these images, the one on display in the National Museum, Kuala Lumpur was examined by Dr Alastair Lamb. He recognised the significance of the symbol in terms of the development of art in the history of the Srīvijayan Empire. In his writing on "A note on the Tiger Symbol in some South East Asian representations of Avalokiteśvara"¹ he associates the symbol with Śiva. He noticed that this kind of icon found favour among the Buddhist sculptors of the Malacca Straits region, while not, as far as he knew, appearing in the Indian representation of Avalokiteśvara and so concluded that it is an example of Srīvijayan art and of Srīvijayan origin.² His conclusion, however, needs to be examined further since a few other sculptures of Avalokiteśvara from other Buddhistic countries outside India carry this iconographical symbol. Sherman E. Lee, for instance, in an article in the Pierre Dupont memorial

volume of Artibus Asiae illustrates an image of Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol from Java.³ This tiger icon can also be seen on the amoghapāṣa Avalokiteśvara in a mandala from Tibet illustrated in the work of G. Roerich.⁴

I. The Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol from Palembang

The image (Plate 24) is four-armed and life size and was discovered at a place called Bingin on the upper part of river Musi.⁵ It is carved out of sandstone. At present it is in the National Museum, Jakarta. Three of its arms are missing and it is impossible to say what attributes they may have carried. The remaining left upper hand is attached to the shoulder by means of the attribute it is holding. The dhyāni-Buddha, Amitābha, in its head-dress points to its identification as the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The dhyāni-Buddha is in abhayamudrā, a fact which according to de Mallmann points to a date after the middle of 7th century A.D.⁶

It is later in date than the mitred Avalokiteśvara which has been discussed earlier. Though both of them share common stylistic features such as tall head-dress, the formal facial expression, the half-closed eyes and prominent lower lips which are common to the Gupta images, and large ears with extended ear-lobes and no ear-rings, Plate 24 is far superior in terms of the way it is made. It shows much more naturalism especially in the representation of the hair, tresses of which can

be seen falling onto the shoulder. This treatment of hair is common to the later images of Avalokiteśvara from the Srīvijayan Empire. They are also identical in terms of ornamentation, that is they do not wear any ornament at all except for the diadem worn by the image (Plate 24).

They both fit into definition of the Avalokiteśvara which Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann⁷ observes in Mahārāshtra where Avalokiteśvara is always shown as an ascetic, wearing no ornament, and with his tiara-chignon as his only head-dress. This seems to be the standard procedure for representing Avalokiteśvara in India and South East Asia prior to the Pāla-Sena period as attested by numerous examples from sites such as Kanheri,⁸ Bagh⁹ and Āndhra Pradesh.¹⁰ But the way the dhoti is represented in Plate 24 is different from the Indian type. It points to the development in technique of local workshop in producing religious images. It must be the culmination from a modest beginning as seen in the mitred Avalokiteśvara.

The two bronze Avalokiteśvara, Plate 25 (height 8.5 cm.) and Plate 26 (height 9.5 cm.) recovered from Bukit Seguntang¹¹ may be the intermediary style between the mitred Avalokiteśvara and Plate 24. This is based on the treatment of the hair and the long dhoti. The two bronze Avalokiteśvara wear tall head-dress but the hair is short without tresses falling onto the shoulders. For that reason, maybe, that Schnitger suspected them to be Cham bronzes although he did not offer any reason for his suspicion. Other features, however, do not fit into any of the characteristics of the Cham Avalokiteśvara.¹²

The mitred Avalokiteśvara was unknown to him then.

It seems that the belt of both the bronzes are still of cloth type but the image maker must have tried to make the dhoti as natural as possible by adding patterns.

The absence of ornament too indicates that they must be related to the mitred Avalokiteśvara and Plate 24.

Plate 25 may then be dated to the middle of the 8th century A.D. and the two bronzes to the beginning of the 8th century A.D. This makes Plate 24 the oldest known Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol.

The bronze Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol from Satingphrâ

During my last visit to the Silpakorn University, Bangkok, before proceeding to the Southern Siam in 1974 to visit archaeological sites there, I was shown an unpublished collection of photographs of archaeological materials which an archaeological team from the university had surveyed.¹³ Among them was the photographs of a bronze Avalokiteśvara discovered at Santingphrâ. This Avalokiteśvara (Plate 27) is still with the finder and it is hoped that the Songkhla Museum will be able to acquire it soon. Together with the pedestal, which is made of bronze, it stands at 16 cms. It has four arms and the attributes they carry are not clear. Only the lower left hand is free while the three other hands are attached to the shoulders and the right thigh. It wears a sash which runs over the left shoulder. The only ornament it has is the bracelet around the right lower wrist.

The style of the head-dress is reminiscent of

the two bronze Avalokiteśvara (Plates 25 and 26) from Bukit Seguntang and so too is the dhoti which is held together by what appears to be a cloth belt. This style is not unique in Peninsular Thailand because we have other examples of Avalokiteśvara from there with the same style. I refer to the Avalokiteśvara from Pun Pin (Plate 28).¹⁴

The Pun Pin Avalokiteśvara (height 61 cm.) is almost identical in all respects with the two bronze Avalokiteśvara. The dhoti are represented in the same style and they wear the same type of belt. They do not have any ornament and the hair does not fall onto the shoulders as in the case of Plate 24. All three images have their hands missing. I believe that they belong to the same period that is the beginning of the 8th century A.D.

There is another example of Avalokiteśvara with tall head-dress but with no trace of tresses of hair on the shoulders. It is a stone image from Jaiyā (Plate 29). This image (height 115 cm.) is now in the National Museum, Bangkok.¹⁵ The hands and feet are missing. Over the left shoulder can be seen an antelope skin hanging down and the head of the antelope is on the left breast. It does not have any ornament and the long dhoti is secured by a thin belt. But the style of the dhoti is different from the Pun Pin image; it is nearer to the Palembang image (Plate 24). It too requires supports to maintain balance just as the Palembang image. My belief is based on the fact that broken portions of stone can be seen projecting from both sides of the legs at the knees. The

style of the dhoti too, that is plain type, is just like the Palembang type. But it does not wear a tiger skin. It is, however, much more naturalistic than the Pun Pin image. I consider that it is later in date and may be of the same period as the Palembang image.

A bronze Avalokiteśvara with twelve arms (Plate 30) and stands at 28.5 cm.¹⁶ from the collections of Dr Viroj Kanasut, Bangkok has the same style of head-dress as Plate 29. It stands in triple flexion. The attributes, which can be distinguished consist of a water-pot, a lotus and possibly a club and a book in the right hands. Several of the hands exhibit mudrās. The dhoti has the same style as the Pun Pin image but the belt may be of the same type as Plate 29. It stands on double-lotus pedestal. Although it was found at Pracinapuri,¹⁷ a place to the North-east of Bangkok, on the basis of style I consider it as a product of Peninsular Thailand. It was probably produced during the second half of the 8th century A.D.

There are strong indications to warrant (Plates 25, 26, 28, 29) belonging to a common stylistic group. They have their hair done into tall head-dresses which requires that the hair must first of all be gathered together and be secured by a band. The next stage is to lift up the free ends: to make the hair stand up more bands must be added. The hair above the last band is allowed to fall down. In the case of Plates 24 and 27 which I consider as the latest of this stylistic group the hair above the last band is then braided into a number

of tresses and allowed to fall onto the shoulders.

The next common feature which this stylistic group shares is the long dhoti secured by a cloth belt. The dhoti of stone images, however, do not have any pattern on them while the bronze images share a common type of pattern which consists of lines marked at intervals, almost horizontally. This difference between the way the dhoti of stone and bronze images prevailed throughout the 8th century A.D. as witnessed.

On the evidence discussed above it is possible to assume that the Satingphrâ image was made in the middle of the 8th century A.D. and may be the youngest of the group. This is because tresses of hair appear to fall onto the shoulder and it has a tiger skin wrapped around the dhoti just as in the Palembang Avalokiteśvara.

The Jaiyā stone Avalokiteśvara with tiger skin

The image (Plate 31) is now on display in the National Museum, Bangkok. It came from Wat Mahādhātu, Jaiyā. The material used to carve the image is sandstone. Together with the double-lotus pedestal it measures 1.00 metre in height. The parts from the waist down to the feet are carved in relief. The hands are resting on two supports placed on each side of the hips. The supports appear to grow out of the lotus pedestal. The right hand is in the varadamudrā and on the palm can be seen the engraving of the eight-petal lotus which symbolises the cakra.¹⁸

It shares a common characteristic with stone images (Plates 24 and 29) in that it still requires supports to maintain its stability. But it shows a development in technique applying the supports. This development may have been achieved by borrowing the technique used by sculptures to provide supports for stone Viṣṇu images of the style which reached its culmination point by 800 A.D. in Peninsular Thailand.¹⁹ During this period, too, due to demand for Mahāyāna Buddhist images, the workshops that produced Viṣṇu images now exclusively occupied themselves in producing sculpture to serve the Mahāyāna.²⁰

From the evidence of statuary it is apparent that the areas under the political influence of Srīvijaya in the Peninsular Thailand from the 8th century A.D. the style of Avalokiteśvara images were independent of the Dvāravatī style. A comparison between the Avalokiteśvara classified as Dvāravatī with those Avalokiteśvara from the areas show the differences. A typical example of the Dvāravatī Avalokiteśvara is an image (Plate 32) discovered in the course of an excavation of a ruined monument south of the town Ku Bua, Rajburi.²¹ The main difference is the style of the head-dress.

Plate 31 may then be dated to the second half of the 8th century A.D. It reflects a change in trend of style from the earlier images of Avalokiteśvara found in the Srīvijayan Empire particularly to that of the Santingphrā Avalokiteśvara which may be considered as the nearest example in the development of the series.

It has more jewellery adorning the body. The jewels comprise bracelets, necklace, armllets and ornamental belt. It appears that the functional belt holding the long dhoti is made of metal. The treatment of the dhoti too shows more naturalism when compared to the earlier images. Fold lines appear on both sides of the legs and between the legs. Although the head-dress is not as tall as those on the earlier images the presence of the tiger skin and the tresses of hair falling onto the shoulder brings it into the series of Avalokiteśvara images found in the Srīvijayan Empire.

The Mature Style of Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol

This style presumably ran through the later part of the 8th to the middle of the 9th century A.D. period in the areas dominated by the Srīvijayan political influence. The images available for study concerning this period are all bronzes, and share common stylistic tradition with the earlier images but have a distinction of being much more advanced in terms of technique in representation of the various parts. For instance a new stylised addition to the conventional head-dress appears. This is the pleated hair which frames the head-dress to make it appear like a tall crown. The hair that falls in tresses onto the shoulders is beautifully arranged and pleated. Jewels such as diadem, bracelets, armllets and necklace are worn. The dhoti is supported by a metal belt and is represented as in the earlier stone images,

without patterns, and attached to the legs at certain places.

Although no Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol showing the features of the mature style is found in Palembang, there is, however, an image without the symbol (Plate 33) which matches that description. It was found in 1929 in the Komering River, Palembang and is now in the Jakarta Museum.²² The dhoti is represented just as in the earlier bronze images but on the sides of the legs folds are present just like the Jaiyā stone image. Other aspects of the image satisfy the criteria for the mature style. It may be dated to the end of the 8th century A.D. or the beginning of the 9th century A.D. on the basis of the development of the style in the Srīvijayan Empire.

There is strong evidence to suggest that Srīvijaya had established a strong bond with Pāla rulers of Bengal particularly in about 850 A.D. as attested by the Nālandā inscription of Bihār.²³ This relationship between Srīvijaya and Nālandā began probably in the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. through pilgrims such as I Tsing.²⁴ It is evident that the contact was not one way and pilgrims as well as students from Srīvijaya must have visited Nālandā and other holy places in India. The results of this confrontation with Buddhist art particularly at Nālandā must have brought about further development in the style of images in the Srīvijayan Empire and this must be only in spirit rather than in actual borrowing of the style. This is because the style

of Avalokiteśvara images in the area is common only to the particular area. It is not surprising, therefore, to have scholars divided over the question of whether 'Srīvijayan art' is influenced by Pāla art or not. Bernert Kempers²⁵ for instance does not see any similarity between Avalokiteśvara from Palembang and Jaiyā and those of Pāla style. His view was shared by R.C. Majumdar.²⁶ Devaprasad Ghosh on the other hand believes that features such as the "bow-like double curve of waistline" found on the Palembang Avalokiteśvara was influenced by the Pāla style.²⁷ I believe that the spirit of the development in the Pāla art such as the definition of Avalokiteśvara which should be dressed as Indian prince with many ornaments rather than as an ascetic must have brought about the changes in the way the Avalokiteśvara images are represented. The only similarity between the Avalokiteśvara from Palembang with that of Pāla Avalokiteśvara may be in the Mongoloid eyes.²⁸

The first example of the mature style of the Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol is Plate 34 (height 34 cm.). It is a two-armed Avalokiteśvara and it is now in the National Museum, Bangkok. The right hand is in varadamudrā and the left hand is holding a lotus. It has been identified as Padmapāni Avalokiteśvara in accordance with the epithet, Padmapāni (he held the lotus flower).²⁹

The second image (Plate 35) is an eight-armed Avalokiteśvara and comes from a tine mine in Bidor, Perak. It was discovered in 1931. The attributes which it carries are as follows:

<u>Left hands</u>	<u>Right hands</u>
Pustaka	Akṣamala
Paṣa	Tridandi
Padma	hand broken off
Kalasa	<u>varadamudrā</u>

Over the left shoulder is draped a sash. On the left shoulder is the lotus whose stalk is held in the left hand. Quaritch-Wales has identified it as Mahavajranatha.³⁰ But a similar type of Avalokiteśvara described by G. Roerich³¹ is identified as Amoghapaṣa Avalokiteśvara. This coincides with the definition of Amoghapaṣa given by A. Getty.³² So, this eight-armed Avalokiteśvara must be Amoghapaṣa.

The final example of this series is also an eight-armed Avalokiteśvara standing on a newly made pedestal (Plate 23). It belongs to Dr Viroj Kanasut.³³ If we are to compare this image with the two other images in this series, we will notice that it is much more stylised and has more ornaments adorning the body. Besides the armlets, necklace, bracelets, it wears also the decorative belt just like Plate 31. Its belt is also treated much more sophisticatedly. It reminds us of the style of the belt worn by images of Central and Eastern Javanese Period³⁴ where the decorative ends of the belt is represented as falling onto the thighs reaching the knee. But Plate 23 wears one belt only not as in the Javanese images. The shoulder is draped with an antelope scarf in a naturalistic style. A tiger skin is wrapped around the dhoti.

On the basis of the style of the image especially in the treatment of the ornaments and other decorative elements, it reflects a further development in style achieved by local artists. The culmination of this achievement is the productions of the two bronze Avalokiteśvara images (Plates 36 and 37) found in Jaiyā and are now considered as masterpieces in the National Museum, Bangkok. Plates 35, 36 and 37 may then be dated to the middle of the 9th century A.D.

The significance of the tiger symbol

The representation of tiger symbol on Avalokiteśvara images with six to eight arms merely confirms that the images are Amoghapaśa Avalokiteśvara if they hold the special emblem, pasa (lasso). According to A. Getty, the Amoghapaśa, a Tantric form of Avalokiteśvara, may or may not wear a tiger skin.³⁵ Although the cult of Amoghapaśa was popular in all the Buddhistic countries,³⁶ only Amoghapaśa images from the Srīvijayan area, Java and Tibet, on the present knowledge, have the tiger symbol represented on them. This is a very interesting phenomenon because these countries had close contacts with Srīvijaya. Java, for instance, may be related to Srīvijaya through the Sailendra dynasty, ignoring the fact that it is still uncertain where the dynasty originated.³⁷ Atiśa, who reformed Tibetan Buddhism in 11th century A.D., studied in Srīvijaya.³⁸ It is impossible to say where the first Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol was made, in spite of Dr A. Lamb's suggestion that it

might be Srīvijayan in origin. His suggestion is based on the belief that only Srīvijayan area produced such images.³⁹ So, in the light of the evidence of the existence of Amoghapaṣa images in areas outside Srīvijaya the idea has no foundation. There is, however, another possible reason to support his suggestion. It is seen that the images from Srīvijayan area are much older in date than those images found outside.

In the Srīvijayan area the representation of the tiger symbol is not confined to the Avalokiteśvara with six and eight arms only but also to images with two and four arms. No text is known to have existed at the moment which can be used to identify them since they do not conform to the definition of Amoghapaṣa. All that can be said about them at the moment is that they may be based on sadhana that are unknown at the moment. Alternatively, we may take up the suggestion of Dr Lamb that tiger symbol is related to Siva.⁴⁰ There are a number of Śiva images found in Srīvijayan area and Java that have the tiger symbol and have been identified as Śiva-Mahadēva.⁴¹

Another possibility of the significance of the symbol is that those images with that symbol may represent the portrait statues. It has been suggested that many of the Hindu-Javanese statues beside being the cult images of a god, they can also be considered as a spiritual portrait of a deceased king.⁴² An example of such an image is the statue of Śiva situated in the central chamber of Candi Lara-Djonggarang, Prambanan.⁴³ It is believed to be the image of King Balitung, and it wears a

tiger symbol around the highly decorated dhoti.⁴⁴ If this suggestion is true then the idea of producing portrait statues and identifying them with a cult god must have started earlier in the Srīvijayan area than that of Java and Cambodia. In the Srīvijayan area the cult of Avalokiteśvara was the most popular. According to Professor Wolters it is possible to interpret the Malay Annals regarding Srī Tri Buana, the Palembang king, as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara.⁴⁵ The memory of practices of the early part of the Srīvijayan history must have been kept alive. We have seen earlier on that the Malay Annals also remembers the oath taking ceremony which took place early as the end of the 7th century A.D.⁴⁶ It is possible that the idea of wearing an extra piece of cloth over "sarong" or trousers as existed today for ceremonial purposes especially by the ruling class may have originated from the representation of tiger skin over the dhoti.

Why was tiger chosen as a symbol? In India according to Asis Sen, the carnivorous, lion, tiger, etc., irrespective of sex, represent female-principle.⁴⁷ In China the tiger is an emblem of magisterial dignity and courage and fierceness and its head has been found painted on the shields of soldiers and embroidered upon court robes as insignia⁴⁸ though it was also associated with autumn and as the guardian of the west.⁴⁹ The Malays too associate the tiger with courage and one of the forms of self-defence is called silat-harimau (harimau means tiger and silat is the form of Malay self-defence).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. Alastair Lamb, "Miscellaneous papers", RMJ, VI, 1961, pp. 89-90.
2. Ibid., pp. 89-90.
3. Sherman E. Lee, "An Early Javanese Bronze"; The Gupta International Style and clay technique", AA, XIX/3-4, fig. 3.
4. G. Roerich, Tibetan Paintings, Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1925, p. 59 and facing plate.
5. F.M. Schnitger, The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, p. 4, Pl. X.
6. Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, "Head-dresses with figurines in Buddhist Art", IAL (N.S.), XXI/2, 1947, p. 87.
7. Ibid., p. 87.
8. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, Pl. 164; and also Debala Mitra, Buddhist Monuments, Calcutta, 1971, p. 165, Pl. 106.
9. A. Grunwedel, Buddhist Art in India, Pl. 141.
10. A bronze from Andhra Pradesh, Eastern Chalukya style about 700 A.D. It is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum; see India Art, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1969, Pl. 10.
11. F.M. Schnitger, The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, p. 3, Pl. VI.
12. This view is based on the comparative study with Cham Avalokiteśvara images such as those published in the work of J. Boisselier, La statuaire du Champa, Paris, 1963, figs. 32-41.

13. The photographs were shown to me by Mr Srisakra Vallibhotama, Graduate School, Silpakorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.
14. Theodore Bowie (ed.), The sculpture of Thailand, p. 59, Pl. 24.
15. Ibid., p. 31, Pl. I; and see also George Coedès, "Les collections archeologiques du Musée National de Bangkok", Ars Asiatica, 12, 1928, Pl. 12.
16. Theodore Bowie (ed.), The sculpture of Thailand, p. 42, Pl. II.
17. Ibid., p. 42.
18. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, Buddhist Iconography, Oxford University Press, 1942, p. 191, where he defines it as the characteristic symbol of the Hindu god Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. A. Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914. In Buddhism it symbolises the Wheel of Law. The wheel symbol was first represented as a sun-disc which developed into a full blown lotus with the centre surrounded by eight petals, from that it developed into a wheel with eight spokes, p. 166. In Cambodian art, both Viṣṇu and Avalokiteśvara have their palms engraved by the symbol earth (bhu) which in the case of Avalokiteśvara can be seen on the Rach-Ghia Avalokiteśvara. This shows that there is the interchangeability of attributes between Hindu and Buddhist Gods.
19. J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, 1972, pp. 48-49.

20. This phenomenon is recognised by J. O'Connor, *ibid.*, p. 58.
21. Theodore Bowie (ed.), The Sculpture of Thailand, p. 32.
22. F.M. Schnitger, The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, p. 2, Pl. VIII.
23. Hirananda Shastri, "The Nālandā Copper Plate of Devapāladeva", EI, Vol. XVII, 1924, pp. 310-327.
Nilakanta Sastri, History of Srī Vijaya, p. 55;
and R.O. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, p. 23.
24. J. Takakusu, A Record of Buddhist Religion ...
25. Bernert Kempers, "The Bronzes from Nālandā and Hindu Javanese Art", Bijdragen, 90, 1933, p. 74.
26. R.C. Majumdar, "The Origin of the Art of Sri Vijaya", JISOA, June 1935, p. 16.
27. Devaprasad Ghosh, "Sources of the Art of Sri-Vijaya", JGIS, III/I, Jan. 1936, p. 53.
28. Cf. Plate XXVIII/2, K.P. Jayaswal, "Metal Images of Kurkihar", JISOA, 2/2, 1934.
29. A. Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism, pp. 58-9;
and Theodore Bowie (ed.), The Sculpture of Thailand, p. 43.
30. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya", JMBRAS, XVIII/I, 1940, p. 51.
31. G. Roerich, Tibetan Paintings, p. 59.
32. A. Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism, p. 63.
33. M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, Masterpieces from Private Collections, Bangkok, June 1970, p. 9, fig. 16.

34. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, Amsterdam, 1959, Pl. 41-42 and 135.
35. A. Getty, Gods of Northern Buddhism, p. 63.
36. For the examples from Japan and China, see W.E. Clark, Two Lamaistic Pantheons, Camb., Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1937, Harvard Yenching Institute Monograph Series 3, pp. 5-6, vol. I and 220, 267 Vol. 2.
37. de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia, II, 258-60 discussed the relationship between Sumatra and Java.
38. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, History of Srivijaya, p. 147; cf. S.C. Das, "Indian Pandits in Tibet", Journ. Buddh. Text. Soc. India, I, 1893.
39. A.H. Lamb, "Miscellaneous papers", FMJ, VI, 1961, pp. 89-90.
40. Ibid.
41. Examples of these images see, Jan Fontein, R. Soekmono and Satyawati Suleiman, Kesenian Indonesian Purba, Asia House Gallery, New York, 1972, Pls. 50, 51 and 52.
42. B. Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, p. 61.
43. Ibid., Pl. 157.
44. Ibid., p. 61.
45. R.O. Wolters, The Fall of Srivijaya in Malay History, pp. 128-135.
46. de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia, II, pp. 15-32. It appears that from the present knowledge of inscriptions from Cambodia, Java and the Srivijayan area, the oath taking ceremony was practised much earlier in the Srivijayan area than in other parts of South East Asia. See de Casparis, *ibid.*, note 48, p. 29.

47. Asis Sen, Animal Motifs in Ancient Indian Art, Calcutta, 1972, p. 67.
48. C.A.S. Williams, Outline of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs, Shanghai, 1932, pp. 394-5.
49. A.H. Christie, Chinese Mythology, The Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd, London, New York, Sydney, Toronto, 1973, 2nd edition, p. 23 and the plate depicting a leaping tiger from Chou Dynasty, p. 29; and the plate of bronze tiger of Chou Dynasty c. 10th century B.C. and p. 34 the painting of a leaping tiger.

CHAPTER 6STYLES OF IMAGES DURING THE MIDDLE OF THE 9th CENTURYA.D. TO THE 14th CENTURY A.D.Indo-Javanese Style

From the middle of the 9th to the 10th century, Buddhist sculpture in Sumatra and the Peninsula shared certain features with Indo-Javanese sculpture. This phenomenon may not be regarded as a discontinuity in the development of the artistic traditions because technically the images of this period are not inferior to those images related to the style of Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol. They differ from the earlier images in the treatment of certain features only.

The first is a stone image, Plate 38, discovered between Temples II and VI of Geding Suro, Palembang.¹ Although its head and feet are missing it is still possible to make out the ornaments that it is wearing. It wears armlets, necklace, ear-rings, and a metal type of belt. There are altogether 11 strands of hair which can be seen on the shoulders and the back. Around the long dhoti is worn an extra piece of cloth which goes down to the knees. This is equivalent to the cloth worn over the Malay dress called samping and it is worn like the tiger skin in the Avalokiteśvara and Śiva images. Below the belt are the double-loop sashes which are tucked at the hips with the free ends falling down parallel to the legs.

Stylistically it reminds us of the number of figures carved in relief on Chandi Sewu.² Chandi Sewu has been dated approximately on the evidence of small inscribed stones, to the first half of the 9th century A.D.³ On the basis of the development of the style of representation of the dhoti I am inclined to date Plate 38 to a period between the middle of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century A.D. This is because up to the first half of the 9th century it appears that the style of images associated with the Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol seems to dominate the style of sculpture in Sumatra and the Peninsula. It is possible that the new trend in style particularly in the treatment of dhoti must have been encouraged by the new political relationships with Java. Dr de Casparis⁴ has pointed out that about 856 A.D. a member of Sailendra dynasty, Bālaputra, from Java must have established himself in Sumatra. In Java by the beginning of the 10th century A.D. this style of double-loop sashes became much more elaborately decorated as can be seen on the Chandi Lara-Djonggarang, Prambanan which scholars have generally assumed to be dated to the early part of the 10th century A.D.⁵

This style of double-loop sashes may have been originated and developed in Southern India during the Pallava period. Mireille Benisti in her studies, Rapports entre le premier art Khmer et l'art Indien,⁶ attributes such an image (cf. fig. 284) to a style found at Amarāvati and another example of the same style of representing the sashes has been given by Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann;⁷ this also came from Amarāvati. A date of post-Gupta

period has been given. This is true because of the presence of a bow above the functional belt and this was popular with the Pallava,⁸ and not with the Cōḷa.

Another image of this period is Plate 39 discovered at Korintji, West Sumatra. It is a bronze Avalokiteśvara (height 16 cm.) which is now in the Jakarta Museum.⁹ The left hand is in varadamudrā while the right hand holds a lotus. With the exceptions of the style of the head-dress and the treatment of the belts of the dhoti it shares other features of earlier Avalokiteśvara images. The head-dress is much shorter and no such style so far is known to have existed in Java¹⁰ or in Sumatra and the Peninsula. As such it is a local product with its own style. The ornamental belt, however, reminds us of the belt worn by images in Chandi Sari which possibly dated to the 9th century A.D.¹¹ but it is not worn on exactly the same position.

The seated bodhisattva, Plate 40 (height $17\frac{1}{2}$ cms.) and now in the Palembang Museum may be dated to this period too.¹² It is seated in rājalilā-sana on a double lotus with a pedestal. The same type of ornaments as Plate 39 are worn but the head-dress is much shorter. From its left hand a stalk of lotus appears to rise and ends up with an open lotus. Behind the image is a large rounded flaming halo with a parasol attached to its top.¹³

The way the posture is represented reminds us of an Indo-Javanese image.¹⁴ This image which is now in the British Museum has been suggested by Dr Coomaraswamy as being similar stylistically to another Indo-Javanese

image.¹⁵ On the pedestal of this second image is an inscription in old Javanese which has been attributed to the period between 9th century to 11th century A.D.¹⁶ While the first Indo-Javanese image sits on padmasāna on a simhasāna, the second has the same kind of seat as Plate 40. Just as the second Indo-Javanese image which may be dated as later than the first so too Plate 40. The main justification for this belief is the style of the parts of the throne and the back-piece.

First is the halo which must have been derived from the flame halo. J.D. Plante in his study of the pre-Pāla sculpture has suggested that those flame-halos which are closely packed side by side so that the effect is more foliate than flame-like is much later in date.¹⁷ Comparatively, Plate 40 is much more foliated than the first Indo-Javanese bronze.

The second part is the part on which the image sits. Tracing the development of this part in Sumatra and the Peninsula it appears that the padmāsana on a pedestal is much later than the padmāsana on a simhasana. The Padmapāni Avalokiteśvara, Plate 41, seated on padmāsana on a simhasāna,¹⁸ on the account of its style which is very close to the style of Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol, may be dated to the early part of the 9th century A.D. Considering the style of the flame-halo it fits into the definition of less foliate as the representations of the flame are far apart. To this style may be added the two bronze Buddha, Plates 42 and 43,¹⁹ but on the basis of the seats and the flame-halo they must be somewhat later in date than Plate 41 but younger than Plate 40.

From Peninsular Malaysia there is a bronze standing Avalokiteśvara image, Plate 44 (height 26 cms.) which was discovered in 1908 from a tin mine and now is in a private collection.²⁰ The pedestal on which it stands is a double-lotus. It has a large flame-halo backing and the style of the representation of the flame-halo is reminiscent of the style of the seated Padmapāni from Sumatra, Plate 41, and so too is the head-dress. But the representation of the dhoti with the double-loop sashes is identical to the Palembang stone image, Plate 38. Since the image is quite corroded it is not clear though if it wears a short piece of cloth over the long dhoti. Nevertheless on the account of the long dhoti with the double-loop sashes and the style of the flame-halo it may be dated to the same period as Plate 38.

In Peninsular Thailand we have evidence of local sculptors adopting certain aspects of Indo-Javanese art during this period. Examples of such adaptation of Indo-Javanese style can be seen in the style of an eight-armed Avalokiteśvara image, Plate 45, which at the moment is in the National Museum, Bangkok. The image is very corroded and all its right arms are missing. Its head-dress and ornaments still reflect the style of the earlier images but the treatment of the dhoti with double-loop sashes over it indicates the influence of Indo-Javanese style. This image together with two other images, Plates 46 and 47, discovered from Jaiyā and Satingphrā may be dated to the second half of the 9th century A.D. But on the account of the style of the head-dress the

National Museum image must be the oldest of the three while the Satingphrâ must be the youngest. The Satingphrâ image is now in Wat Matchemawat, Songkhla and originally must have had its diadem, necklace, ear-rings, and armlets embedded with precious stones since spots where these stones were once embedded can still be seen. It is not clear what bodhisattva Plates 46 and 47 represent as all the attributes are missing.

South-Indian Style

By the 11th century A.D. one can see that South Indian styles had to a certain degree affected the stylistic tradition of Buddhist sculpture in Sumatra and the Peninsula. For instance the dated Lokanatha-Avalokitesvara (height 45.5 cms.), Plate 48, from Gunung Tua, Sumatra, clearly shows strong Cōla manifestation. This view was first put forward by Sherman E. Lee although no comparative example was ever given.²¹ The image stands between two Tārās presumably although one of the Tārās is missing. They stand on a pedestal. The inscription on the pedestal indicates that it was made by a master smith called Sūrya²² in 961 (= A.D. 1039). The use of the Malay word barbwat guarantees that it was made in Sumatra.

Looking at the way the dhoti is represented one would recall the style of the early Cōla tradition. In this style besides having a functional belt or girdle an image wears two extra non-functional belts or ornamental

belts just over the functional belt. Mid-way between the hips and the chest another ornamental belt is worn.²³ This style differs slightly with the late Pallava style where instead of the two ornamental belts it wears a kind of bow.²⁴ The Lokanatha-Avalokitesvara wears two sashes too just as in the case of the images influenced by the Indo-Javanese style but instead of the sashes arranged in double-loop in a form of crescent they now form into a handleless inverted belt. This is just like in the early Cōla style.²⁵

The head-dress of the Lokanatha-Avalokitesvara which is tall is arranged differently from the earlier style. It is much more compact and covers a wider circumference of the head. Together with the ornaments it wears, this style definitely is much closer to the early Cōla style than the earlier style in Sumatra.²⁶

In Peninsular Thailand too, the style of the early Cōla found favour among the sculptors. Professor O'Connor has asserted that the Brahmanical images of Pra Narāi Hill, Takuapā, were influenced by the late Pallava,²⁷ but only in the 11th century A.D. did Southern India styles have any influence on the Buddhist sculpture. A Buddhist sculpture in bronze, Plate 49, of an Avalokitesvara from Satingphrā may be attributed to the early Cōla style in Peninsular Thailand. This bronze bust is now in the Wat Matchemawat, Songkhla. It wears necklace, armlets, functional belt and an ornamental belt just above it, and another ornamental belt between the bust and the hips. The hands are missing. Adorning the head is a bell-shaped head-dress which reminds us of the style of head-dresses

of Hindu images of the early Cōḷa period.²⁸

The strong Cōḷa influence seen on these Buddhist images may to a certain degree be attributable to the Cōḷa raid in the 11th century A.D. on the Peninsula and Sumatra.²⁹ But subsequently the relationship between Srīvijaya and the Cōḷa became improved and more cordial because in about 1090 A.D. the Srīvijayan ruler had a temple built at Negapatam.³⁰ The discovery in Sumatra of a fragmentary Tamil inscription at Lobu Tuwa dated saka 1010 (1088 A.D.)³¹ which mentions a corporation of Tamil merchants provides us with evidence that the Tamils had trading activities in Sumatra just like that in the Peninsula as attested by the inscription of the south Indian merchants found at Takuapā related to the 9th century Pallava images of Pra Narāi Hill.³²

From the 12th century A.D. it appears that the styles of images in Sumatra and the Peninsula developed independently. In Sumatra the style is dominated by the styles of Indo-Javanese art of the East Javanese period. These images are found in sites nearer to the Straits of Malacca than those of the images discussed earlier. From Palembang and Jambi there is no evidence so far of Buddhist images which may be attributed to this period. An example of the image of this period is the Bhairava from Padang Rotjo', Sungai Langsat, Central Sumatra (height 4.41 m.)³³ Plate 50.

This enormous image is now in the Jakarta Museum but was transported from Fort de Kock (Bukit Tinggi). It is believed that the deity is supposed to

represent a Buddhist Bhairava and a portrait statue of the Sumatran king Ādityavarman.³⁴ The deity is standing on a naked man lying on his back and supported by a lotus cushion erected on a pedestal made up of eight skulls. It wears a pair of trousers and a piece of cloth, samping, is worn over it. The piece of cloth is decorated with skulls and crescent moon motifs. In the right hand it holds a knife while in the left it holds a skull. The head-dress is arranged in high coiffure. Hair covers legs, arms, breast and cheeks. The large eyes give an impression of demonic expression. Around the arms and in the ears the image wears ornaments of snakes.

It is from the style of the belt or girdle that the style of the East Javanese period may best be seen. The large clip in the shape of kala-head from which a belt hangs down may be compared with the kala-heads found in the art of East Javanese period. The Kala-head of the image lies between the style of the kala-head seen on Chandi Djago and Chandi Singasari. In the Chandi Djago style³⁵ the face is much more human than the Kala-head of the Central Javanese period.³⁶ Here the mouth is that of rākṣasa, with bulging eyes, and claw-like hands. But in Chandi Singasari³⁷ it is much less naturalistic, the lacking lower jaw is replaced by floral motifs. The style of the skull used as pedestal also points to the relationship with East Javanese period being reminiscent of the skull pedestal of Chakra-chakra image of Chandi Singasari.³⁸

From Central Sumatra came another image, now in the National Museum Jakarta and stylistically belonging

to this period. It is an Amoghapaṣa from Rambhan, Plate 51 (height 1.63 m.). It is believed that this image was brought from Java to Sungei Langsat and consecrated again in 1347 by Ādityavarman.³⁹ It is almost identical in style to a bronze plaque⁴⁰ of Amoghapaṣa (Plate 52) which is believed to originate from Tumpang.⁴¹ The difference between the two is the decoration of the pedestal. In the case of Plate 51 the pedestal is decorated with seven jewels of a universal ruler or chakravartin. The bronze plaque stands on a double-lotus pedestal. The ornaments, the treatment of the dhoti, are almost identical too. The head-dress seems however to be different and may be a representative of the style of the head-dress prevailing in Sumatra at that time. The bronze plaque wears the common type of head-dress of the East Javanese period, while the stone relief, being commissioned for the Sumatran court, would be required to conform to Sumatran dress.

In Peninsular Thailand the style of the Buddhist sculpture during this period, 12th to 14th century A.D., displayed a stylistic tradition different from that of Sumatra. For instance, images from Jaiyā were no more related to Indo-Javanese style as were those in Sumatra. A standing Buddha image, Plate 53, carved in stone and in covering mode with the Dvāravatī type of U-inflection was discovered at Wat Mahādhātu, Jaiyā. It may be dated to about 12th century A.D. since it has features of the Dvāravatī school as well as elements of the early Lopburi school of the Menam Chao Praya plain. This Lopburi school received strong Khmer influence since the

11th century A.D. to the late 13th century A.D. Lopburi was a stronghold of Khmer power in Central Thailand.⁴² The image wears a belt, decorated with pendants, typical of the Khmer styles of the Angkor Wat and Bayon. From the centre of the undercloth runs a frontal panel. A similar frontal panel can be seen on the standing Buddha image of the Lopburi school.⁴³ The tradition of representing the frontal panel on the standing Buddha images was maintained at Jaiyā in the later style there. An image of a walking Buddha, Plate 54, found at Wat Mahādhātu, Jaiyā, wearing the upper garment in open mode and pleatless, has a frontal panel attached to an undecorated belt.⁴⁴ It may be dated to a period later than Plate 53, probably to about 13th century A.D.

The dated Buddha of Grahi, Plate 55 (height 165 cms.) discovered at Wat Wiang, Jaiyā may again be considered as a style peculiar to Jaiyā. This style is connected with Khmer style in the way the legs are folded. In the sculptures of seated Buddha in Sumatra the legs are crossed rather than folded,⁴⁵ while the Buddha seated with folded legs is common in the Khmer style.⁴⁶ The image is seated on a Nāga's coil with the Nāga's hood shadowing it. It is the Nāga heads recall those of the Khmer style of Bayon (late 12th to early 13th century A.D.).⁴⁷ The monastic robe is in the open mode. The uṣṇiṣa is smooth and round, and a flame-fringed bodhi-leaf and jewel is fixed in front.

According to the inscription this image is dated to 1183 A.D. The name of the ruler mentioned in the inscription resembles that of the ruler of the 13th century

Malayu,⁴⁸ has been interpreted as a regain of power over Jaiyā by the Srīvijayan ruler at Malayu before the coming of Thai.⁴⁹ But this view was not shared by other scholars.⁵⁰ This is because the inscription, in Khmer but written in scriptsof Sumatra and Java, does not necessarily imply that there was a regain of power by Srīvijaya in the 13th century A.D. even though there is added evidence of the similarity of the title. There is a difference of a century between the two. The use of the Khmer language may indicate, just as the style of the image, the strong connection between Jaiyā, and the Khmer civilisation but not necessarily the subjugation of the area by the Khmer.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. F.M. Schmitger, The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, 1937, p. 2, pl. III and IV.
2. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, 1959, pl. 124.
3. Ibid., p. 54.
4. J.G. de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia, II, 1956, pp. 258-60.
5. Op.cit., p. 59, pl. 157.
6. Mireille Benisti, Rapports entre le premier art Khmer et l'art Indien, Paris, 1970, p. 110, fig. 284.
7. Marie Thérèse de Mallmann, Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokitesvara, Paris, 1948, pl. XXXIIb.
8. James C. Harle, "The early Cōḷa temple at Pullamangai", Oriental Art, IV/3, p. 103.
9. F.M. Schmitger, The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, p. 13, pl. I; and Jan Fontein, R. Soekmono, Satyawati Suleiman, Kesenian Indonesia Purba, 1972, p. 149, pl. 25.
10. Kesenian Indonesia Purba, p. 149.
11. Ancient Indonesian Art, p. 53, pl. 120.
12. The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, p. 4, pl. VII.
13. For the study of the significance of the parasol see: Jennine Auboyer, "The symbolism of sovereignty in India according to iconography", IAL, 1938, pp. 26-36.
14. A.K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian art, 1968, pl. CXIX, fig. 363.
15. A.K. Coomaraswamy, "Mahāyāna Buddhist images from Ceylon and Java", JRAS, I, 1909, p. 290, pl. 11, fig. 4.

16. Ibid., pp. 285-290.
17. J.D. Plante, "A pre-Pāla sculpture and its significance for the international Bodhisattva style in Asia", AA, XXVI/1, p. 259.
18. Hugo Munsterberg, Art of India and Southeast Asia, New York, 1970, pl. on p. 207. This image is now in the Boney Collection, Tokyo, and stylistically must have developed from the Pāla type of images such as the stone Avalokiteśvara, Le May, Buddhist art in Siam, fig. 45.
19. The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, p. 4, pl. VII.
20. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", JMBRAS, XVIII/1, 1940, p. 51, pl. 81.
21. Sherman E. Lee, "An early Javanese bronze, The Gupta international style and clay technique", AA, XIX, 1956. Bernert Kempers has a different view regarding the style, see Ancient Indonesian Art, p. 69.
22. Sherman E. Lee, *ibid.*, gives the date as 1028 A.D. while Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian art, gives the date as 1039 A.D. But the first correct reading of the date was given by Louis-Charles Damais, "Etude d'epigraphie Indonésienne", BEFEO, LIII/1, 1955, pp. 207 ff.
23. Douglas Barrett, Early Cōla Bronzes, Bombay, 1965, pl. 73. The Viṣṇu image has been dated to 975 A.D.
24. James C. Harle, "The early Cōla temple at Pullamangai", Oriental Art, IV/3, p. 103.
25. *Op.cit.*, pl. 73.
26. *Ibid.*, pl. 13, 14, 64 and 77.

27. Stanley J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, p. 54.
28. O.C. Gangoly, South Indian bronzes, Calcutta, 1915, fig. 4, a Gaṇeśa and see also pl. XLVII (3rd from right), and LXXII.
29. Nilakanta Sastri, History of Srīvijaya, 1949, pp. 79-84.
30. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, "The larger Leiden plate", EI, XXII, 1933-34, pp. 213-281. R.C. Majumdar, "Note on the Sailendra Kings mentioned in the Leiden Plates", EL, XXII, 1933-34, pp. 281-4. History of Srīvijaya, p. 84.
31. The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, pl. XII-XVI; and Ancient Indonesian art, p. 87, pl. 259.
32. Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, p. 54.
33. Op.cit., p. 87.
34. Ibid., p. 87.
35. Ibid., p. 78, pl. 232; see also Willem F. Stutterheim, "The meaning of Kala-makara ornament", IAL, VIII/1, 1929, pp. 27-52.
36. Ancient Indonesian art, p. 78, pl. 232.
37. Ibid., pl. 233.
38. Ibid., p. 79, pl. 236.
39. Ibid., pp. 87-8, pl. 260; and The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, p. 8, pl. XVI.
40. Op.cit., p. 87, pl. 258.
41. Ibid.
42. Theodore Bowie (ed.), The sculpture of Thailand, New York, 1972, p. 78.
43. Ibid., fig. 40.

44. Ibid., p. 112, pl. 68.
45. The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, pl. XI and VII.
46. Op.cit., p. 67.
47. Ibid., p. 67.
48. J.G. de Casparis, "The date of Grahi Buddha", JSS, LV/1, 1967, pp. 31-40.
49. H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Langkasuka and Tāmbralinga", JMBRAS, XLVII/1, 1974, p. 39.
50. Op.cit., pp. 31-40.

CHAPTER 7CONCLUSION

From the study of the styles of the Buddhist sculpture found in Sumatra and the Peninsula and dated to the 7th - 14th century A.D., a number of new facts emerge which should help to elucidate further the nature of Srīvijaya, its art and the relationships between Palembang and other areas. One of these facts is about the nature of the art itself. It seems that the development of the styles went through many phases. Each phase has characteristics of its own. The phase, early 8th century to the middle of the 9th century A.D., provides the evidence for similar development of style in Palembang and the Peninsula.¹ This certainly has a bigger implication than the too comprehensive definition which scholars attach to the term "Srīvijayan Art".² On the basis that the styles did not remain static, varied and non-homogeneous during the Srīvijayan period, the term "Srīvijaya" may be used safely to imply political and chronological but not cultural entity.

The non-homogeneous nature of the art may be attributed to the fact that when Srīvijaya first consolidated its power over the Peninsula its artistic tradition was still in its infancy as attested by the Bukit Seguntang Buddha and the mitred Avalokiteśvara. In the Peninsula on the other hand the artistic tradition was well established. A number of workshops which produced religious images is believed to have existed as early as the 4th century A.D.³ producing first Hindu images and later Buddha

images.⁴ The Buddha images are of mixed heritage deriving from different schools of India and Ceylon.

A partial explanation may lie in the trading activities of the South East Asian rulers and chieftains which led to contacts with Ceylon and India, particularly South India.⁵ Pilgrims⁶ between China and India also contributed to their knowledge of Indian religions and possibly to their desire to introduce these into their territories. Indian religions and political ideas, whether introduced by Indian traders or brought back by South East Asian visitors to India, contributed to the growth of South East Asian states which strive to expand at one another's expense. But the very variety of contacts and influences was inevitably reflected in stylistic variations and forms.

The Buddha images in Sumatra which may be dated to the 7th and 8th century A.D. show that the local artists were much inspired by the pre-Devapāla school of Nālandā and by the Ceylon school. The Bukit Seguntang Buddha is a typical example of this characteristic. The mitred Avalokiteśvara typifies the Ceylon connection as well as pointing to the beginning of the production of Avalokiteśvara images by local artists. But in the Peninsula, particularly Peninsular Thailand, by the end of the 7th century A.D. an independent school of Buddhist art had already been well established. It was the Dvāravatī school and examples of this school can be found as far south as Patani district.⁷ By the beginning of the 8th century A.D. Dvāravatī school had its influence

slowly being eroded by the influence coming from Palembang. The implication is that with the increase of Srīvijayan political power over Sumatra and the Peninsula by the end of the 7th century A.D., religious influence followed. This influence reached as far north as Pun Pin on the Bay of Bandon. There is no artistic evidence that Jaiyā was influenced by Palembang before 775 A.D.

During the period, 7th to the 8th century A.D., the areas in the Peninsula which were related to Palembang as attested by literary and sculptural evidence may be divided into two types. The first is what Professor Wolters classified as landfall ports,⁸ the second comprised towns of great antiquity.⁹ Chieh-ch'a and Langkasuka (Lang-chia-shu) may be classified in the first type,¹⁰ while the second type included Tan-ma-ling (Tāmbraliṅga) and P'an-P'an.¹¹ Scholars mostly believe that Chieh-ch'a is equivalent to modern Kedah,¹² Langkasuka as a district running from Ranot in Satingphrā Peninsula to Patani,¹³ P'an-P'an in the area around the Bay of Bandon¹⁴ and Tāmbraliṅga was a district between Jaiyā and Nakorn Sri Thammarat.¹⁵ It may be possible to say that the extension of power by Palembang over these Peninsular centres was due to the geographical limitations of Palembang as the centre of an empire. Palembang had to rely on food supply from outside,¹⁶ as did the Malacca Sultanate in the 15th century A.D. The areas in the Peninsula are known for producing rice exceeding local consumption. Tan-ma-ling or Tāmbraliṅga was among the areas which was noted for this surplus food production.¹⁷

On the archaeological evidence Kedah, during this period was not yet to be regarded as an entrepôt.¹⁸ I presume that the conquest of Kedah in the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. was to gain possession of a port of call that controlled the Straits of Malacca as well as an area that produced rich supplies of rice.

The power of Srīvijaya was extended over Jaiyā by 775 A.D., a fact which may be implied from the Jaiyā inscription. This inscriptional evidence seems to tally with sculptural evidence. On the images of Avalokiteśvara found at Jaiyā the tiger symbol which was first seen on the Avalokiteśvara found at Palembang had by now been taken up by the artists from Jaiyā. The first of these Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol from Jaiyā is the two-armed image (Plate 32). Stylistically it may be dated to the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. From this period on, there was a parallel development in style between Sumatra and the Peninsula. The style was homogeneous and the Avalokiteśvara images which may be classified to this period, extending to the middle of the 9th century A.D., represent Buddhist art which has been labelled "Srīvijayan Art" and which I term the mature Buddhist style of the Srīvijayan period.

Presumably there was stability in the empire during the period, 775 A.D. to about the middle of the 9th century A.D. The Buddhist images, particularly those which may be dated to the middle of the 9th century A.D. discovered in Jaiyā, reflect the climax of achievement in style and technology. Professor Wolters has suggested

that the period following 775 A.D. shows that the empire did not suffer from serious dynastic or other instability.¹⁸ During the period between 742 and 902 A.D. no missions are recorded from Srīvijaya to China.¹⁹ Mission-sending to China was a common feature in the foreign policy of most countries in South East Asia and it is an indicator of the political situation in South East Asia. In the early part of the 7th century A.D. Srīvijaya was one of the countries in South East Asia that sent mission to China but by the end of the 7th century A.D. the mission from Srīvijaya was the most important and the other countries in Sumatra and the Peninsula were prevented from sending missions.²⁰

The style of the Buddhist sculpture from Palembang suggest that its beginning was greatly influenced by the pre-Devapāla school of Nālandā. Although scholars are divided over the question of whether "Srīvijayan Art" was influenced by the Pāla school, it is quite certain that the spirit of the development of the Pāla school must have played an important role in shaping the style of the Buddhist images during the period, 7th to the middle of the 9th century. This spirit may have come to Sumatra and the Peninsula via Palembang because if we accept the fact that Palembang was Fo-shih (Srīvijaya) of I Tsing then Palembang was a centre of Buddhist learning as depicted by I Tsing.²¹

"In the fortified city of Fo-che, Buddhist priests number more than one thousand, whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all subjects that exist just as in Madhyadesa (India); the rules and

ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the west in order to hear [lectures] and read [the original Buddhist texts] he had better stay at Fo-che for one or two years and practise proper rules then proceed to Central India."

From this statement it is possible to infer also that scholars from other parts of Sumatra and the Peninsula came to Palembang to study. I am inclined to compare the organisation of religious centres in Palembang with the various religious centres in Peninsular Thailand today where in large temple complexes, the majority of the buildings are in wood and only the shrines are in brick. Students live in a number of wooden huts. Such a complex would leave few easily dateable remains on the surface.

It is possible that scholars from Sumatra and the Peninsula after completing their studies in Palembang returned to their respective places and brought back the knowledge they acquired. The idea of Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol which was first seen in the Palembang Avalokiteśvara and later on became popular in the Peninsula may be due to such a contact. Other parts of South East Asia also adopted Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbol. We have Java whose images of Avalokiteśvara could be dated to the mature style of Avalokiteśvara images in Sumatra and the Peninsula.

All the evidence suggests that Palembang was a centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism in South East Asia, perhaps as a result of the contacts that must have been developed with Nālandā. Consequently by 850 A.D. Srīvijaya had established a monastery at Nālandā presumably to cater for scholars from various parts of Srīvijayan Empire who

went to study there.²² The discovery of Avalokiteśvara images with tiger symbol in Tibet is another evidence for the importance of Palembang as a centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It confirms the contact Palembang had with Tibet testified by historical sources. It stated that Atīśa, a Tibetan scholar, who in 11th century A.D. reformed Tibetan Buddhism, studied at Srīvijaya.²³ The other implication from this contact is that both Tibet and Srīvijaya practised the same kind of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

This idea of Palembang as a source for the spread of certain aspects of Buddhist art to the Peninsula, contradicts the theory that the Peninsula was essentially the stepping-stone in the eastward spread of Indian culture.²⁴ The same view was voiced by Dr Lamb when he says that, "if indeed we have a trans-isthmian trade route, then Cham or Javanese influence at Nakorn Sri Thammarat and Chaiya is just as reasonable as direct Tamil influence at Takuapa."²⁵ With the increase of Buddhist influence from Palembang to the Peninsula from the later part of the 7th century A.D. to the middle of 9th century A.D. Buddhist art took precedent over Hindu art. Professor O'Connor attributes the presence of the three Pallava sculptures at Takuapā to the expansion of Mahāyāna Buddhism under the Sailendra.²⁶ Takuapā, which is believed to have existed from the late 7th century A.D. as an entrepôt and declined in the early Sung period, on the evidence of the Pra Narāi sculpture and the associated Tamil inscription must have received direct Tamil influence.²⁷ It is probable, if it is true that there was the trans-isthmian

trade between Takuapā and Nakorn Sri Thammarat and Jaiyā in the late 7th century A.D., that the extension of Srīvijayan influence as attested by the 775 A.D. inscription, was an attempt to control the Takuapā entrepôt.²⁸ The result of the decline of Takuapa led to the rise of Kedah as an entrepôt in the Sung period.²⁹

The second half of the 9th century A.D. saw a new influence on the Buddhist art of Sumatra and the Peninsula: this was Indo-Javanese. As I have suggested earlier this influence had been brought about by the succession of a Javanese prince to the throne of Srīvijaya in about 856 A.D.³⁰ The influence was on the dhoti only, while other parts of the image indicate that each area decided to adopt different style of head-dresses. The non-homogeneity in the style of the head-dress may suggest a few things. In the present Malay society, head-dress enables a viewer to determine from which state a person comes, and also his position in the ruling class. Although we are able to ascertain from the sculpture that by the 2nd half of the 9th century, each area of the Srīvijayan Empire adopted a different style of head-dress we are not able to state the relationships between Palembang and other areas. If we consider the literary information, in 853 and 871 A.D., Chan-pei or Jambi sent a mission to China,³¹ then it is possible to say that the power of Srīvijaya from Palembang was being challenged. According to Professor Wolters, Tāmbraliṅga on the Peninsula was independent of Srīvijaya by the end of the 10th century A.D.³² Both sculptural and literary evidence

show that by the 10th century A.D. the Srīvijayan maritime and commercial systems began to decline. This was presumably due to internal factors such as the power of Palembang as capital being seriously challenged by Jambi over the question of kingship, and the inability of Palembang as capital to hold together the empire with the independent of Tāmbraliṅga. The external factor may be due to the rise of the power of Javanese states.³³

The archaeological evidence, too, suggests that the centre of artistic activities shifted to first Jambi in the 11th century A.D. and later on to sites further north lying closer to the Straits of Malacca. From Jambi came four huge makaras.³⁴ According to Bernert Kempers,³⁵ these makaras are much bigger than the Javanese makaras. They are dated, according to the inscription, to about 1064 A.D. During the 11th century A.D. traces of Indo-Javanese influence in the sculpture of Sumatra and the Peninsula had disappeared, and Cōḷa influences seem to control the style of the Buddhist sculpture unlike the situation from the middle of the 9th to the 10th century A.D. when there was a common style of dhōti and different styles of head-dress, the sculptures found in Sumatra and Palembang were influenced by Cōḷa styles, which varied from one area to another each area chose. The implication from the sculptural evidence is that, by the 11th century A.D., Srīvijaya-Palembang had no more control over the artistic activities of Sumatra and the Peninsula and perhaps many of the areas had ended their political connections with Srīvijaya-Palembang. Between 1079-1082 A.D. the capital of Srīvijaya had shifted to Jambi.³⁶

At the end of the 10th century A.D. and the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Srīvijaya was at war both with the Cōlas and the Javanese.³⁷ The trade monopoly of Srīvijaya was challenged by vassals of Srīvijaya, Pansur in 1088 and Kedah in 1068.³⁸

By the twelfth century A.D. there was no homogeneity at all in the Buddhist art of Sumatra and the Peninsula. Sumatran art definitely shows strong influence from East Javanese style. The Buddhist images found in Peninsular Thailand are of local styles. Each area had developed an independent style unrelated to Sumatran style. This once again tallies with the political situation glimpsed from the Chinese sources. Professor Wolters noted that since the end of tenth century Srīvijaya was forced to resist new trading tendencies and tried to compel shipping to its port, but harbours such as Lamuri and Kedah were able to handle international trade goods.³⁹ Consequently, by the end of thirteenth century A.D. Srīvijaya was no longer an extensive imperial power.⁴⁰

Although Srīvijaya did not leave behind large temple complexes, it did leave behind a number of traditions which up to the present day are still being strongly guarded in Malay society. The Malay annalist of Sejarah Melayu regarded the rājas of Malacca as heirs of Srīvijaya,⁴¹ and descended from the rājas incarnated from Avalokiteśvara.⁴² This idea may tally with the sculptural evidence. A number of Avalokiteśvara images, some of them may be classified as Amoghapaśa Avalokiteśvara while others

could not be named using the known texts, wear tiger skin. The Avalokiteśvara with tiger symbols may be associated with kingship. Later images of Amoghapaśa were also associated with cakravatin.⁴³ The idea of clothing an image of Avalokiteśvara with tiger skin may be responsible for later images in Sumatra being clothed with an extra piece of cloth over the trousers or dhoti. This became that part of Malay dress called samping. It is possible too that the tradition of attaching great importance to the head-dress of Avalokiteśvara images in the Srīvijayan Empire by choosing a standard head-dress peculiar to an area may have led to the evolution of head-dress as part of uniform for Malay dress.⁴⁴ The head-dress in the Malay society reflects the state the wearer comes from and also the status of the wearer. The sculpture too suggests that a particular type of head-dress would be for a particular area.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. This fact has never been explored before. Dr Bennet Bronson for instance did not see the continuity of the existence of Srīvijaya after the early part of the 8th century. Bennet Bronson, The Prehistory and early history of Sumatra, Chicago, 1973, p. 26. Alastair Lamb, "Miscellaneous papers", FMJ, VI, 1961, pp. 89-90. He sees the relationships between Sumatra and the Peninsula Avalokiteśvara only in tiger symbol.
2. P. Dupont, "Varieties archaeologiques le Buddha de Grahi et l'ecole de Caiyā", BEFEO, XLII, 1942, pp. 103-8. He criticised the too comprehensive definition of "Srīvijayan art".
3. S. O'Connor, Hindu gods of Peninsular Siam, 1972.
4. A number of Buddha images which may be dated to the period up to the 7th century A.D. are found in the Peninsula such as Pl. 7, 10, 12.
5. R.E.M. Wheeler, "Arikamedu; An Indo-Roman station on the east coast of India", Ancient India, 2, 1946, pp. 17-24. A.H. Christie, "An obscure passage from the Periplus", BSOAS, 19, 1957, pp. 345-53. R.O. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, 1967. For recent reconstruction of direct Indonesian trading voyages across the Indian Ocean to East Africa, based on a passage in Pliny's Natural History, see J. Innes Miller, The spice trade of the Roman Empire 29 B.C. - A.D. 64, Oxford University Press, 1969, ch. 18. It provides evidence for the antiquity of Indonesian

migration to Madagascar as well as the Indonesian participation in maritime trade. Bennet Bronson, and F. Dales, "Excavations at Chansen, Thailand, 1968 and 1969, A preliminary report", Asian Perspective, XV, 1972, provides evidence for the trading contact between South India and Thailand.

6. Among the Chinese pilgrims who stopped at the capital of Srīvijaya were I Tsing, Wu-hsing (for discussion on his journey, see R.O. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, p. 208 and note 76) out of 37 monks who travelled to India by sea 15 cases have been cited by Roland Braddell, "Notes on ancient times in Malaya, Che-li-fo-che, Mo-lo-yu, and Ho-ling", JMBRAS, XXIV/1, 1951, pp. 1-27, and 9 stopped at Srīvijaya.
7. See H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Langkasuka and Tāmbraḷiṅga: some archaeological notes", JMBRAS, XLVII/1, 1974, pl. 5 .
8. R.O. Wolters, The fall of Srīvijaya in Malay History, p. 9.
9. Ibid., p. 9.
10. This is because we have seen that they both cater for ships coming for shelter from the monsoon. A number of pilgrims stopped at these places.
11. P'an P'an is believed to be the place, where Kaundniya started from, on his way to Fu-nan. S. O'Connors, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, p. 40.
12. R.O. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, pp. 203, 208.
13. Quaritch-Wales, "Langkasuka and Tāmbraḷiṅga", Fig. I; and also P. Wheatley, Golden Khersonese, 1961, figs. 46 and 47.

14. P. Wheatley, Golden Khersonese, p. 50.
15. Quaritch-Wales, "Langkasuka and Tāmbraliṅga",
JMBRAS, XLVII/I, 1974, fig. I.
16. Hirth and Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua, note 1.
17. P. Wheatley, Golden Khersonese, p. 77.
18. A.R. Lamb, "Miscellaneous papers", FMJ, VI, 1961.
19. R.O. Wolters, "A note on the capital of Srīvijaya
in the eleventh century", AA, Suppl. XXIII/I, 1966,
p. 226.
20. R.O. Wolters, "Srīvijayan expansion in the seventh
century", AA, XXIV, 1961, pp. 3-4.
21. J. Takakusu, A record of Buddhist religion as prac-
tised in India and the Malay Archipelago (671-695 A.D.)
by I Tsing, 1896, p. XXXIV.
22. See Chapter 3, note 97.
23. See Chapter 5, note 38.
24. Quaritch-Wales, Towards Angkor, London, 1937.
25. A.R. Lamb, "Miscellaneous papers", FMJ, VI, 1961, p. 73.
26. S. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam, p. 58.
27. A.R. Lamb, "Miscellaneous papers", FMJ, VI, 1961,
pp. 73-5.
28. A.R. Lamb, "Miscellaneous Papers", FMJ, VI, 1961,
pp. 75 and 86. He had proposed in view of the
similarity of Chinese wares at Satingphrâ to those
of Pengkalen Bujang, Kedah that the former was the
eastern terminus of a Srīvijayan trans-Peninsular
route of which Pengkalen Bujang was the western
terminus.
29. Quaritch-Wales, "Langkasuka and Tāmbraliṅga",
JMBRAS, XLVII/1, 1974, pp. 15-40.

30. J.G. de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia II, pp. 285-60, note 4, chapter 6.
31. R.O. Wolters, "Note on the capital of Srīvijaya in the eleventh century", AA, Suppl. XXIII/I, 1966, p. 226.
32. R.O. Wolters, "Tāmbraḷiṅga", BSOAS, XXI/3, 1958, pp. 587-607. Tamils were trading in the north eastern coast of Sumatra by 1088 A.D.; see K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, "A Tamil merchant guild in Sumatra", TBG, 72, 1932, pp. 314-27.
33. C.D. Cowan, "Continuity and change in the international history of maritime South East Asia", JSEAH, IX/1, 1968.
34. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, pl. 199.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
36. R.O. Wolters, "A note on the capital of Srīvijaya in the eleventh century", AA, XXIII/I, 1966, p. 237.
37. R.O. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, p. 251.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 251.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 252.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 252.
41. See Chapter 1, note 2.
42. R.O. Wolters, The fall of Srīvijaya in Malay history, pp. 128-35.
43. Bernert Kempers, Ancient Indonesian Art, pp. 87-89.
44. See plate 56 for the different types of head-dresses worn by rulers of Malaysian states.

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PLATE 1a.



PLATE 1b.



PLATE 1c.



PLATE 2.



PLATE 3 .



PLATE 4a.



PLATE 46 .



PLATE 4C.



PLATE 5a.



PLATE 5b.



PLATE 6



PLATE 7.



PLATE 8



PLATE 9



PLATE 10



PLATE II



PLATE 12.



PLATE 13

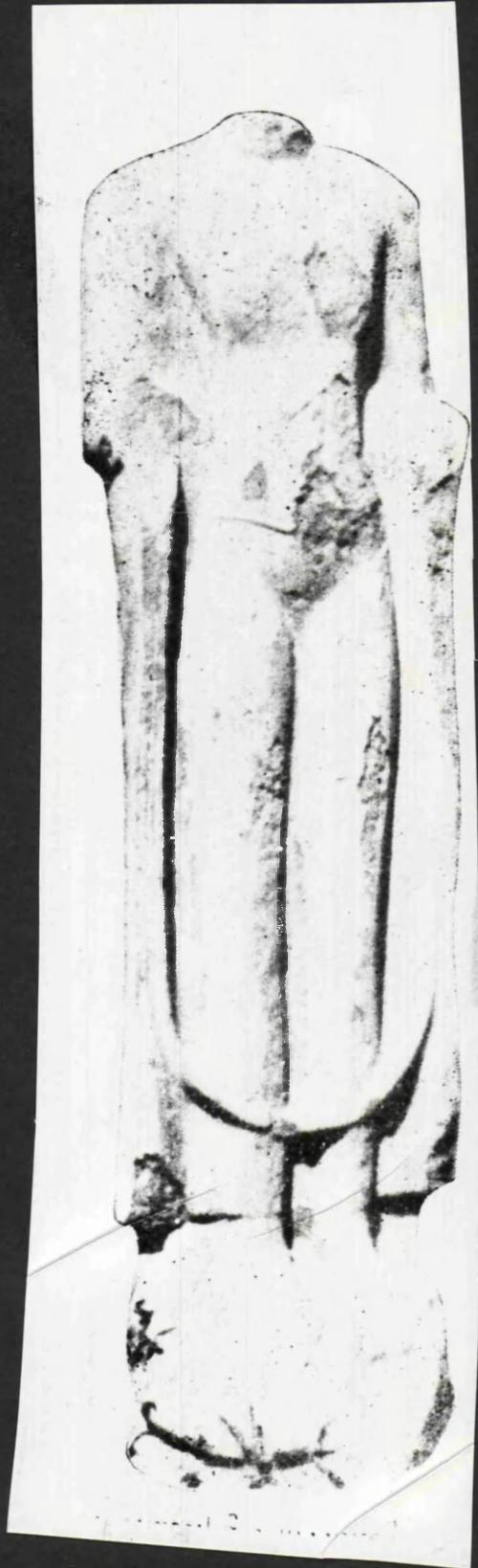


PLATE 14



PLATE 15

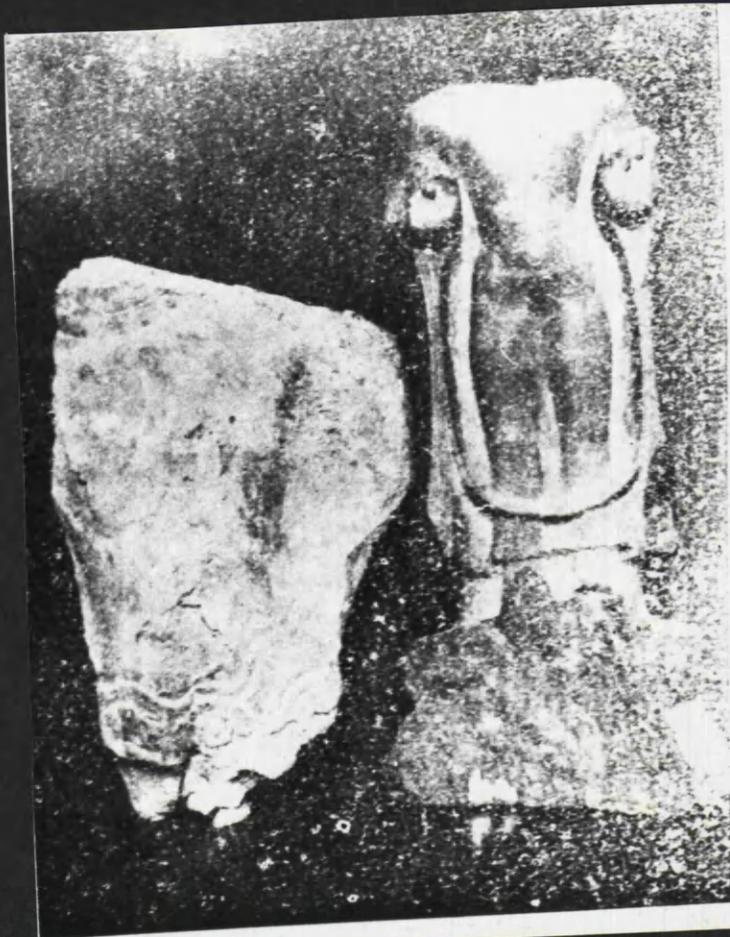


PLATE 16



PLATE 17



PLATE 18 .

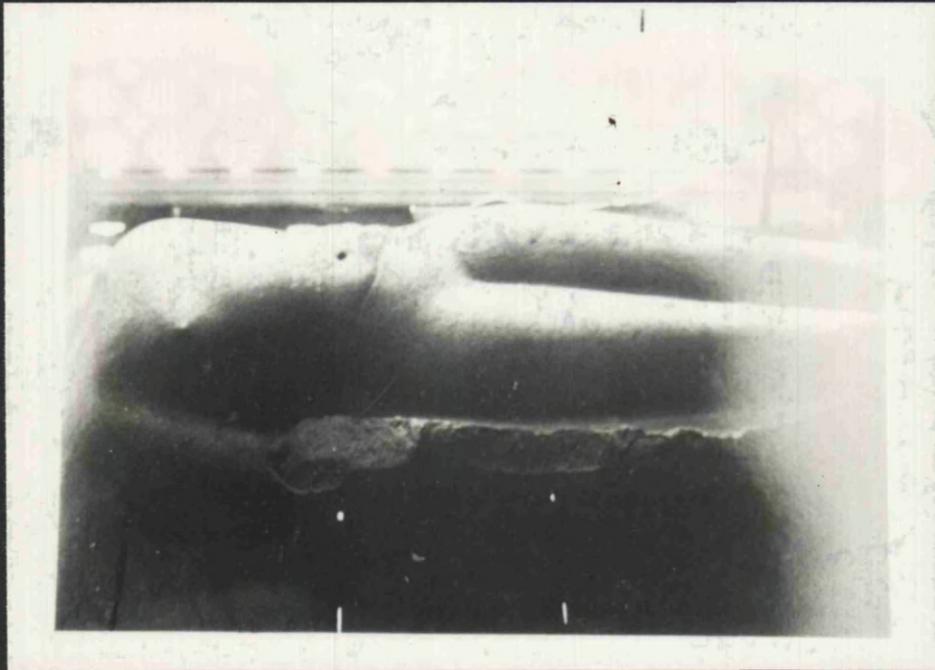


PLATE 19.

PLATE 20a.



PLATE 20b.



PLATE 20c

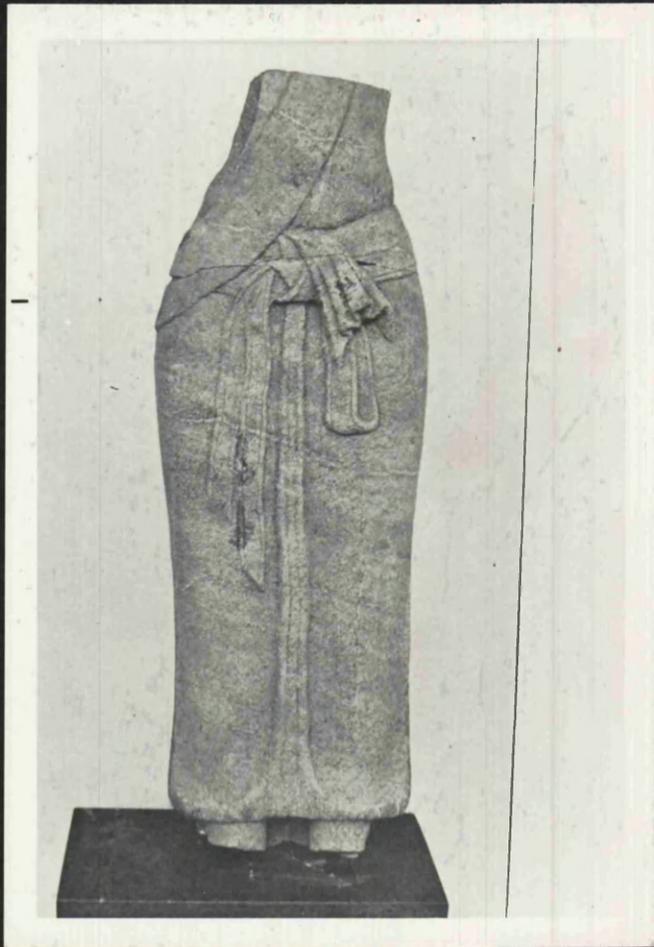


PLATE 21



PLATE 22b.



PLATE 22a.



PLATE 23



PLATE 24.



PLATE 25.



PLATE 26.



PLATE 27a.



PLATE 27b.



PLATE 28



PLATE 29



PLATE 30



PLATE 31.



PLATE 32.



PLATE 33 .



PLATE 34 a.



PLATE 346.



PLATE 35



PLATE 36



PLATE 37 .



PLATE 38.



PLATE 39.



PLATE 40



PLATE 41



PLATE 42 .



PLATE 43



PLATE 44 .



Fig. 1111

PLATE 45



PLATE 46



PLATE 47.



PLATE 48



PLATE 49



PLATE 49.



PLATE 50 a.



PLATE 50 b.

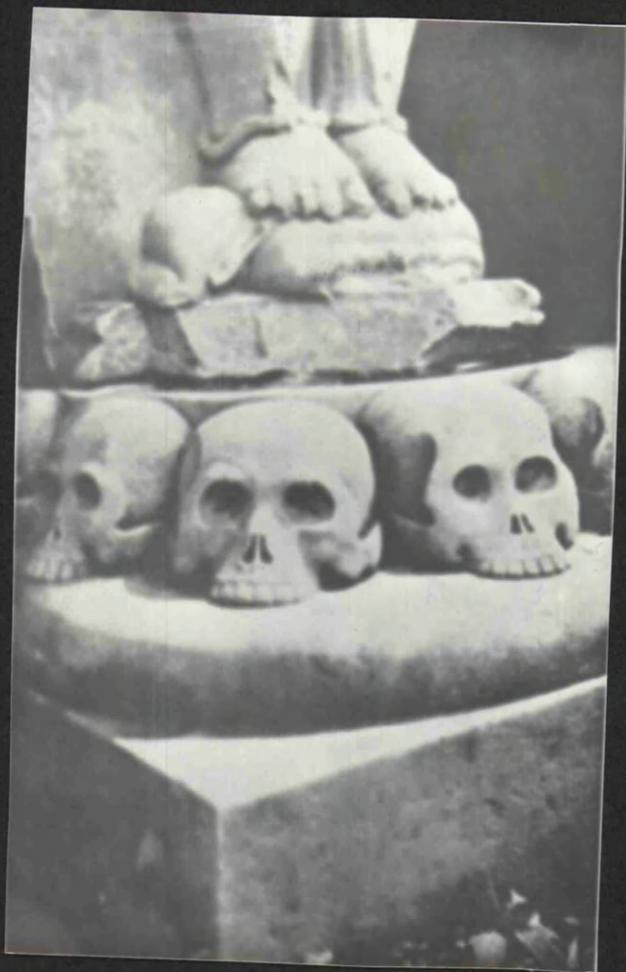


PLATE 50c.



PLATE 50d.



PLATE 51



PLATE 52 .

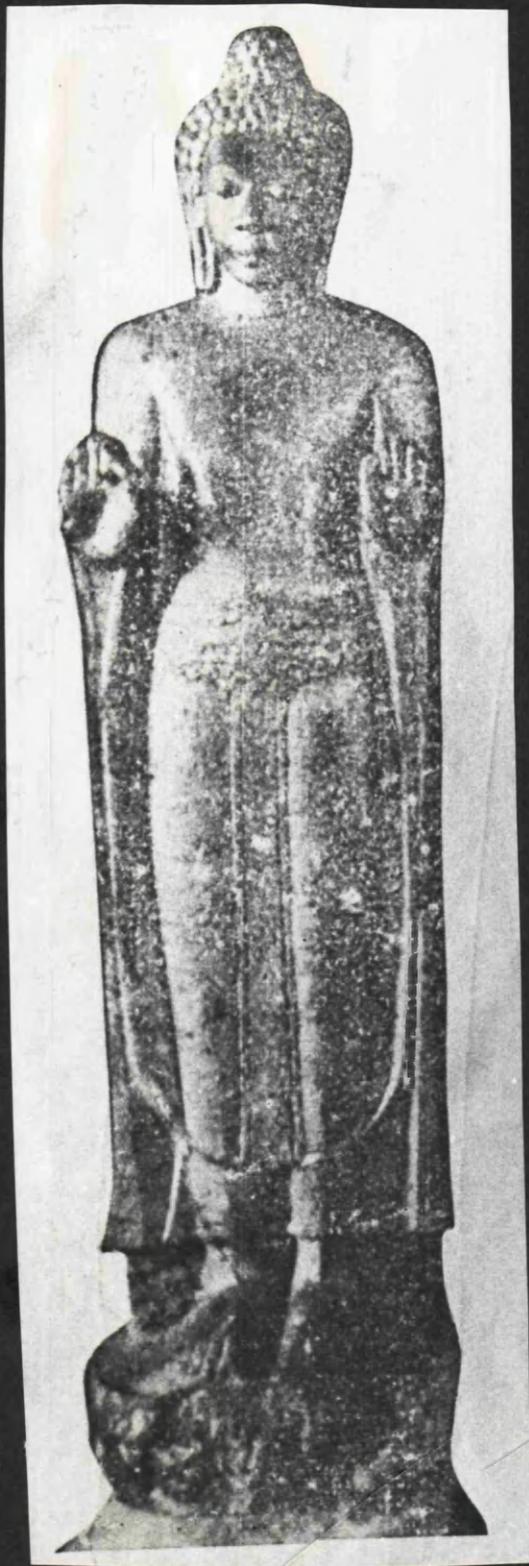


PLATE 53 .



PLATE 54.



PLATE 55a.

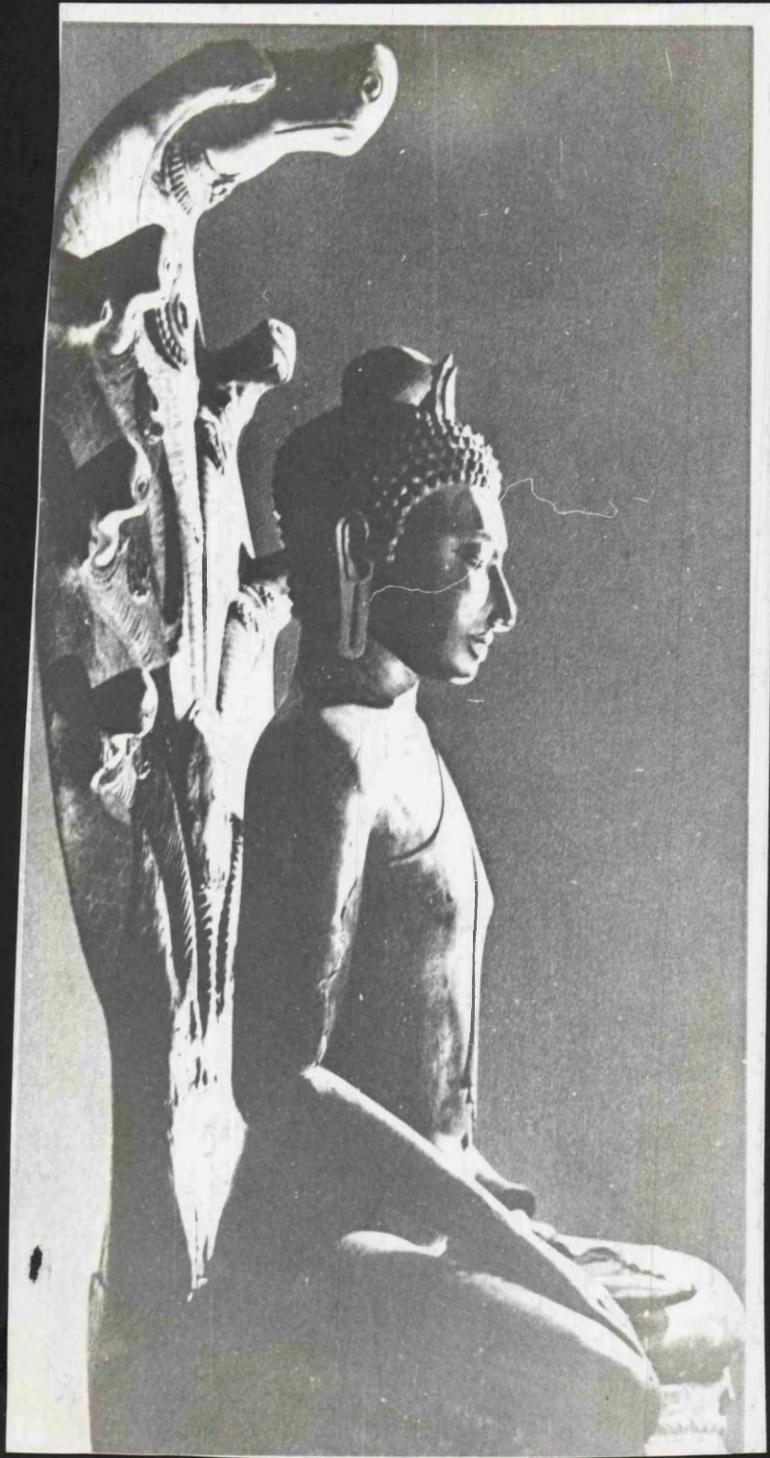


PLATE 55b.

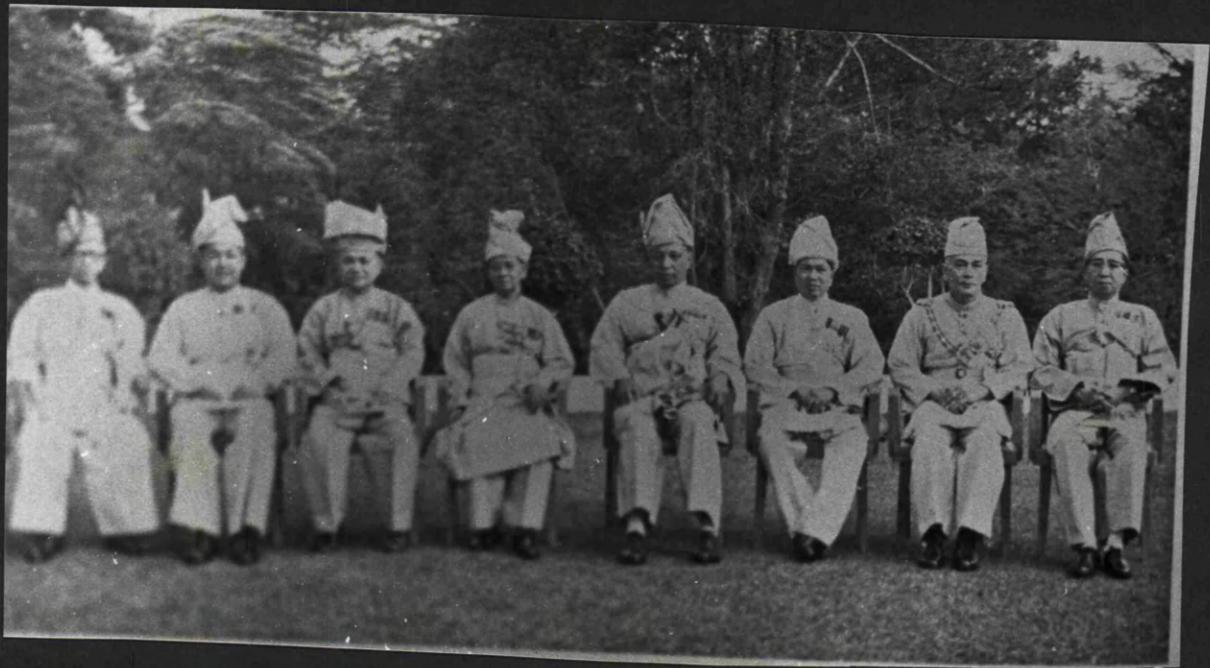
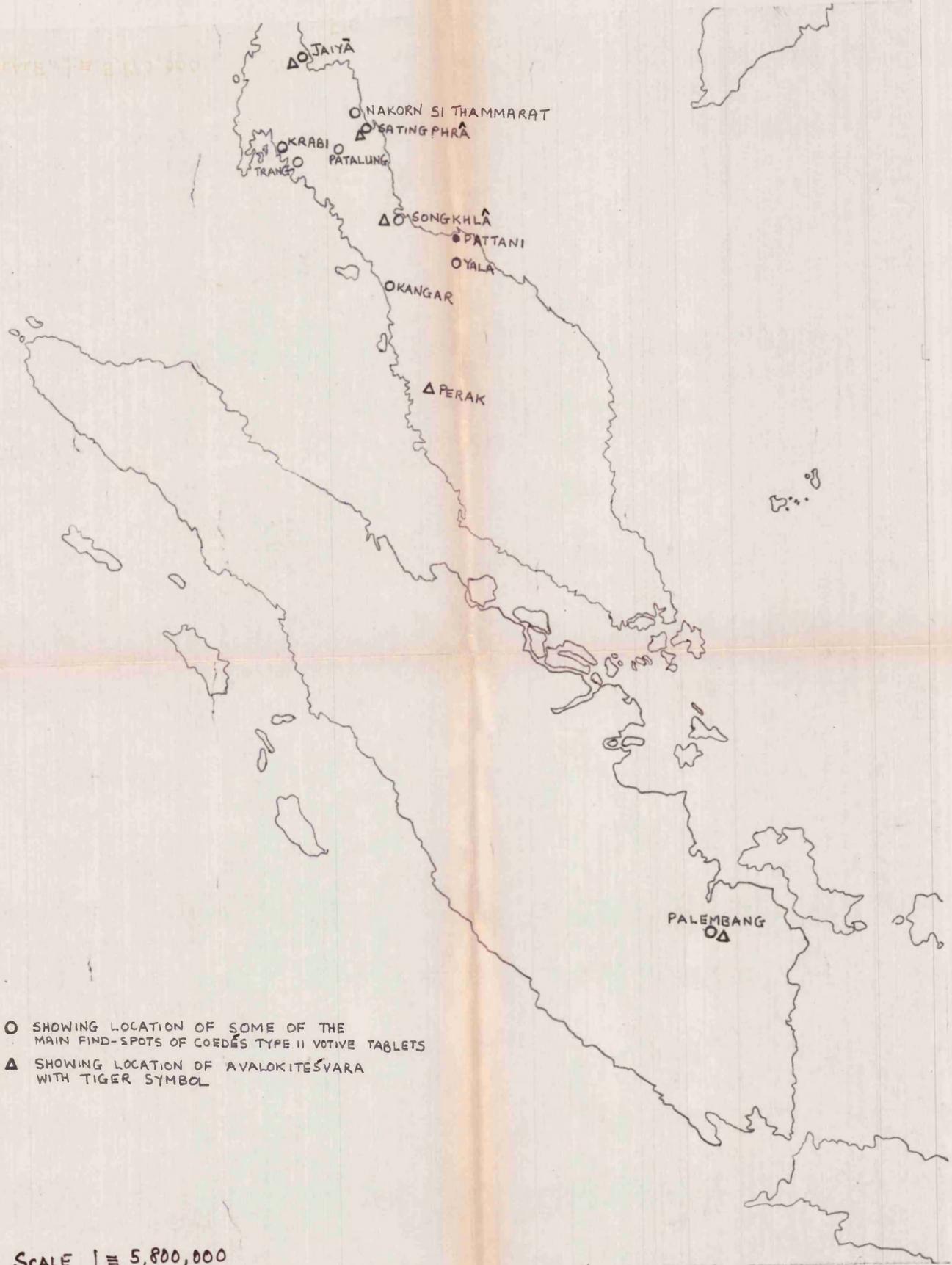


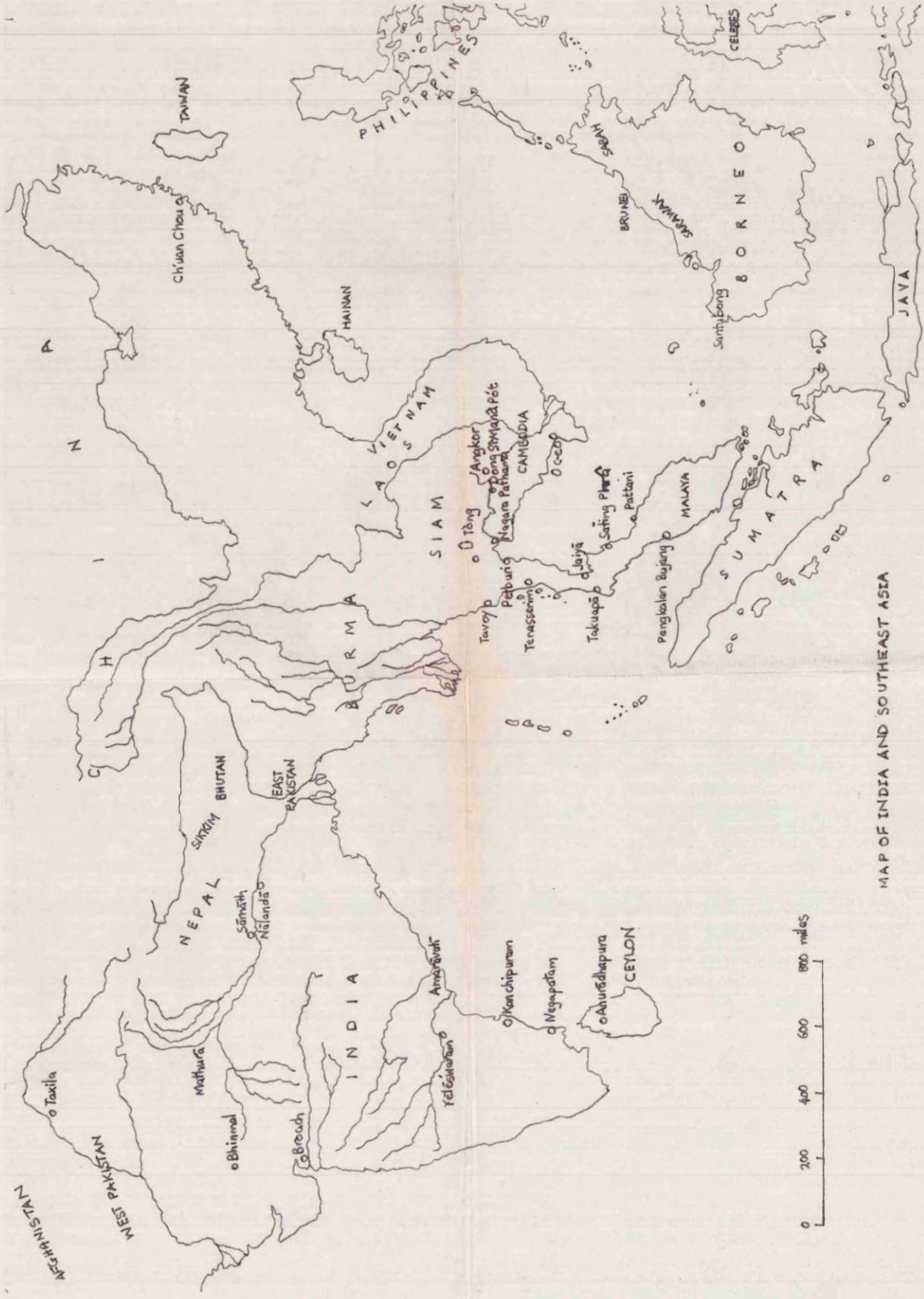
PLATE 56.



- SHOWING LOCATION OF SOME OF THE MAIN FIND-SPOTS OF COEDÈS TYPE II VOTIVE TABLETS
- △ SHOWING LOCATION OF AVALOKITESVARA WITH TIGER SYMBOL

SCALE 1 ≡ 5,800,000

FIG. II



MAP OF INDIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

FIG. III

SKETCH MAP OF PENINSULAR
MALAYSIA SHOWING POSITION OF
KEDAH, PERAK



FIG. IV

PART OF KEDAH SHOWING POSITIONS
OF THE ANCIENT SITES

• ANCIENT SITES 0 1 2 3 MILES

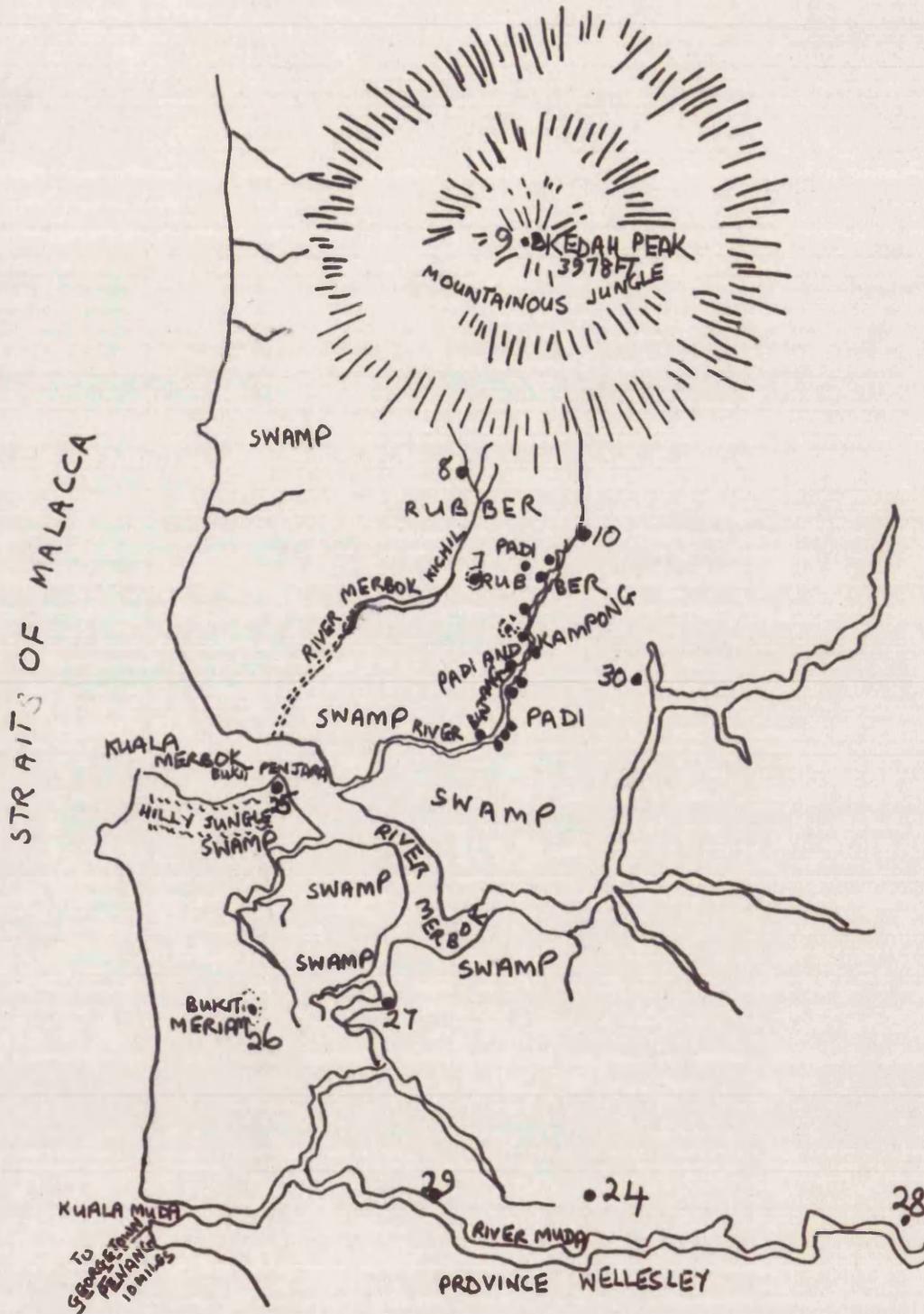


FIG. V

UPPER REACHES OF RIVER BUJANG,
KEDAH, SHOWING POSITIONS OF THE
ANCIENT SITES

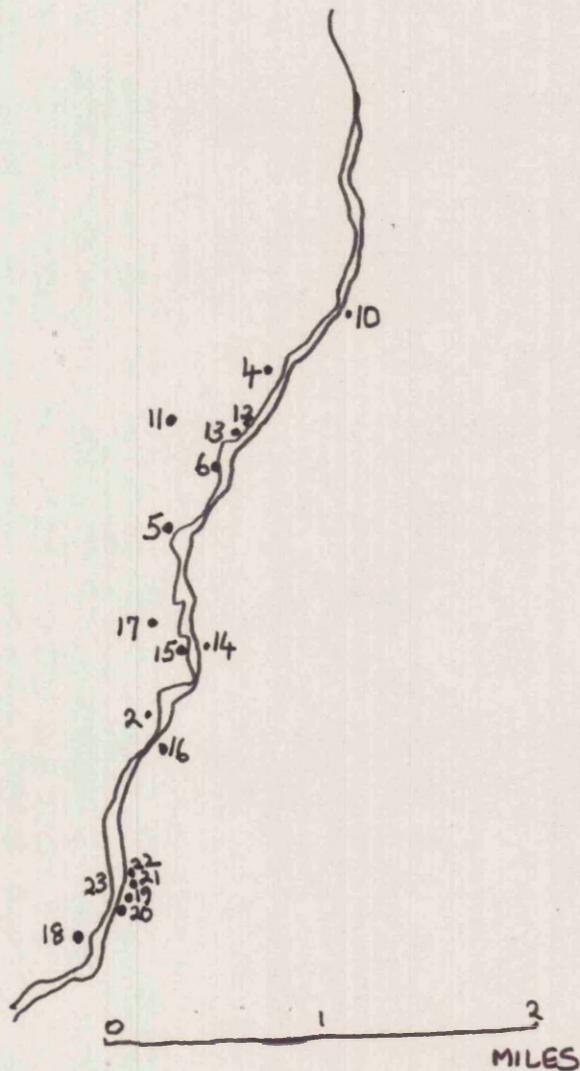


FIG. VI

PLAN OF KEDAH SITE 15

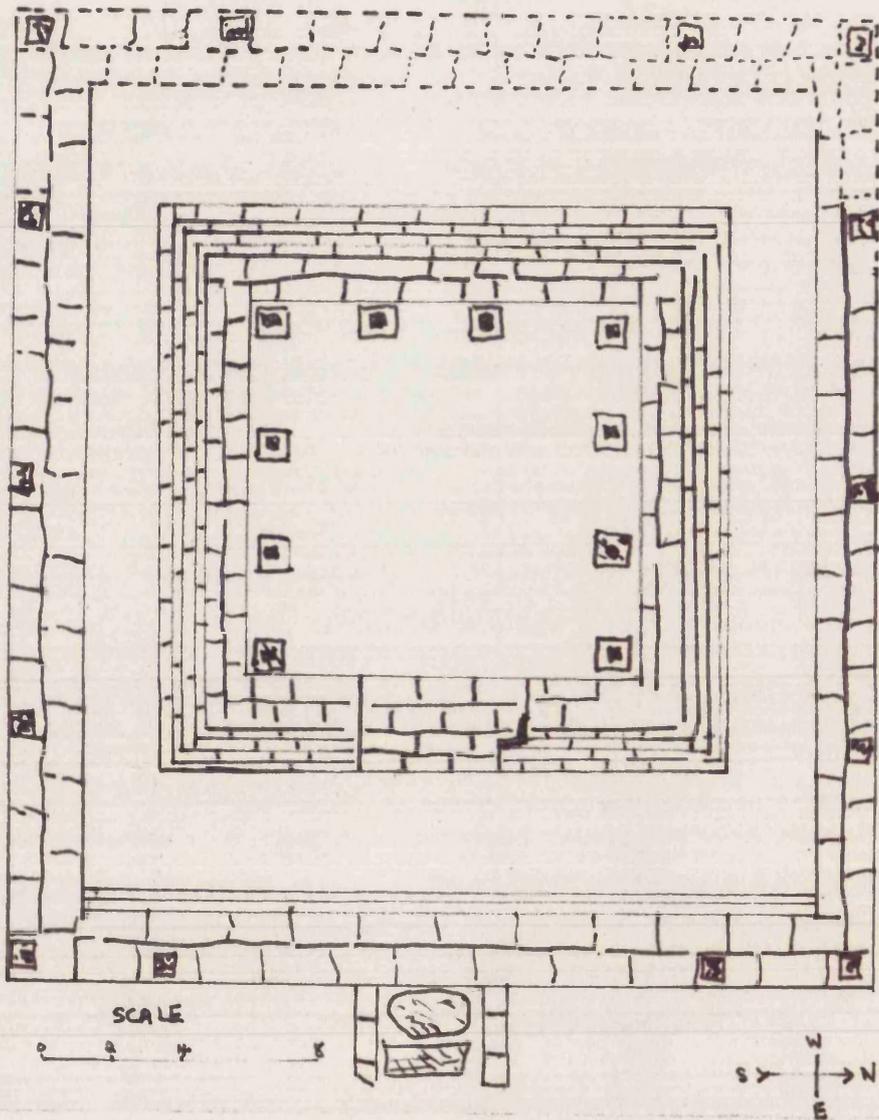


FIG. VIII

PLAN OF KEDAH SITE 5

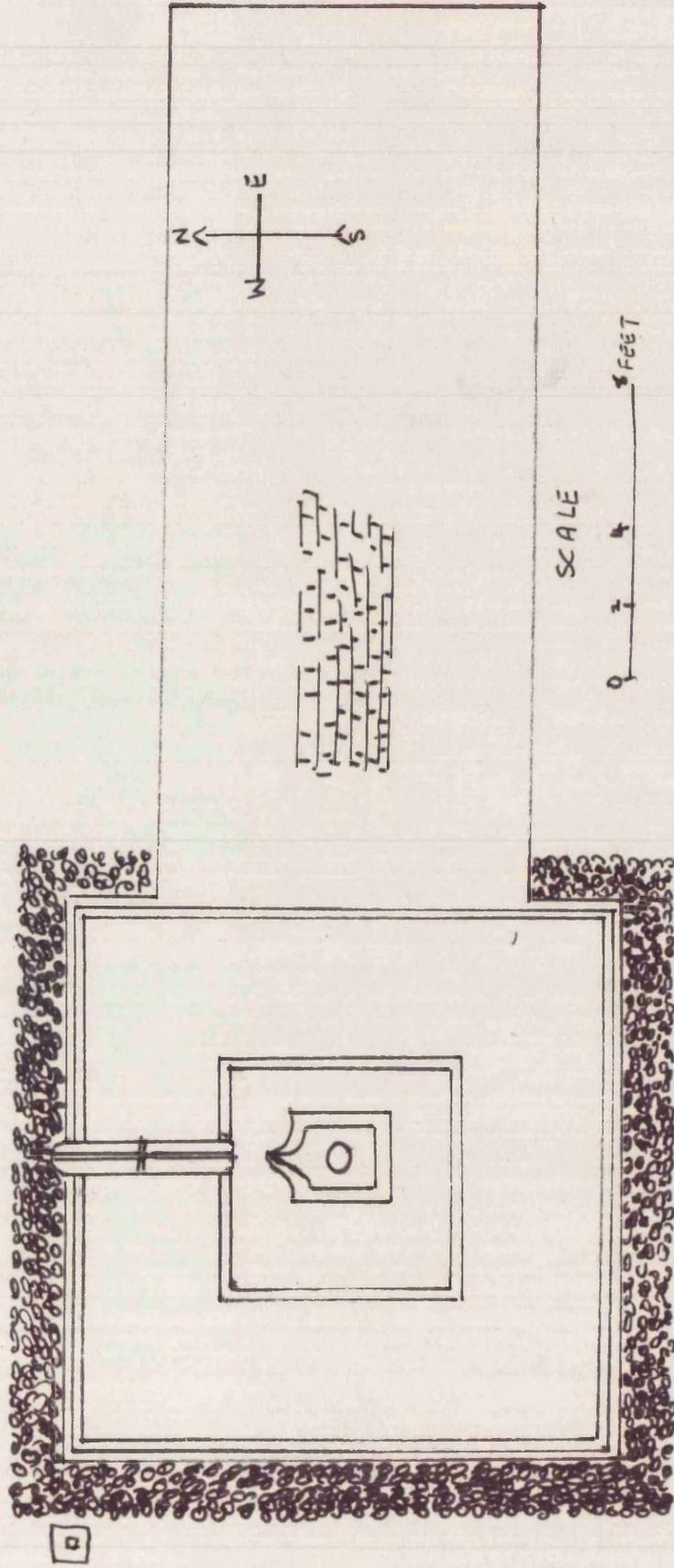
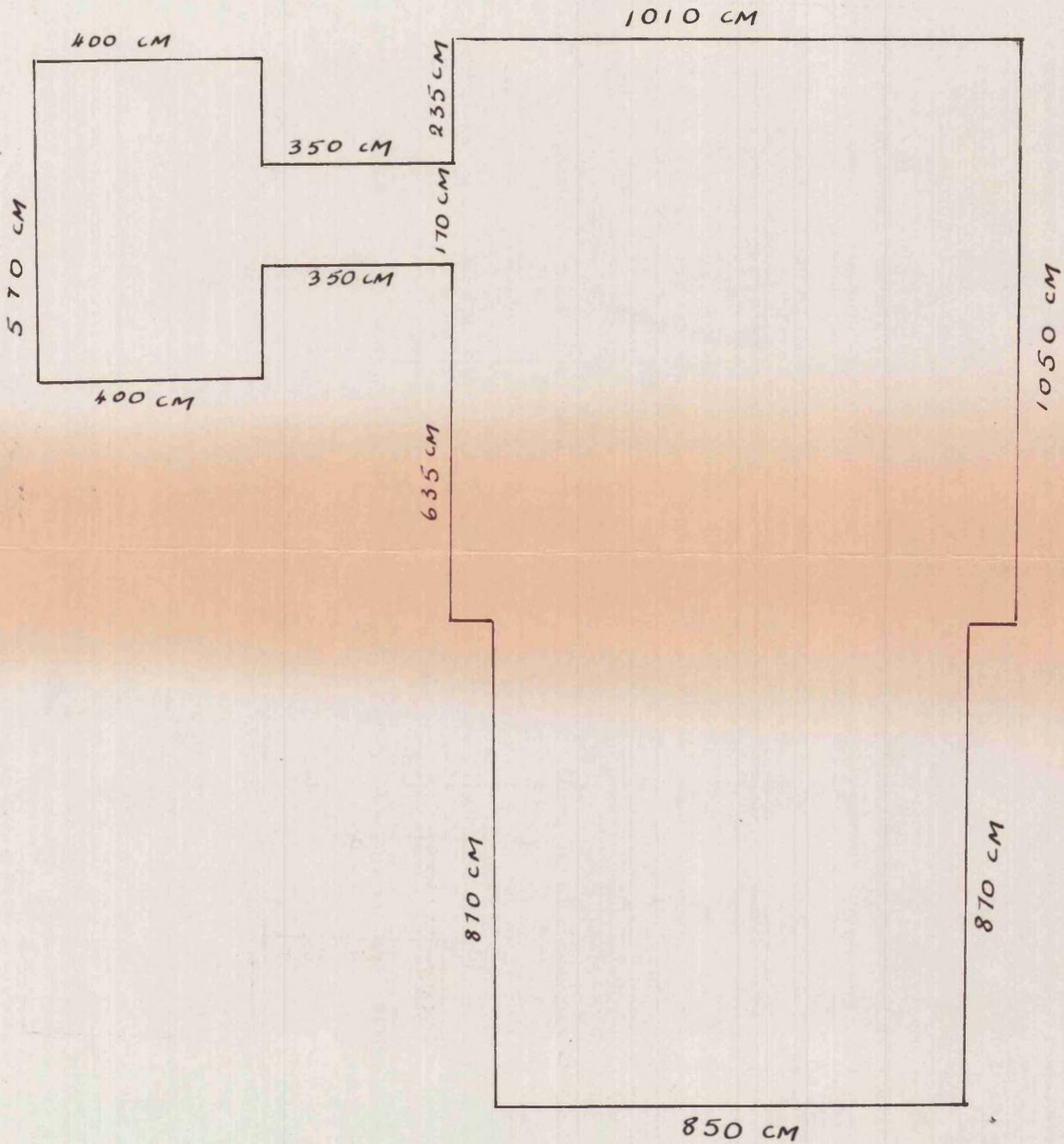


FIG. IX

SITE 11



SCALE:
1 CM = 10 METRES

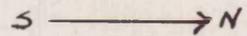


FIG. X