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The Art and Architecture of Thailand

by

Hiram Woodward

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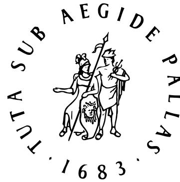
From Prehistoric Times through the Thirteenth Century

BY

HIRAM WOODWARD

SECOND EDITION



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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It was in 1979, when I was still teaching at the University of Michigan, that Prof. Dr. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw invited me to write the Thailand volume for the old Kunst- und Archaologie section of the Brill Handbuch der Orientalistik. I accepted the offer. Preliminary work on the book commenced, and much was accomplished after I received a grant from the Social Science Research Council in 1981. From the fall of 1982 through the spring of 1986 I taught at the University of Vermont, and by July 1986, when I became the Curator of Asian Art at the Walters Art Gallery (now Museum), the book had achieved a shape close to that of the volume now in the reader's hands.

In the following years, the Brill book (as I thought of it) was put aside and then addressed again, in numerous repetitive cycles. My views changed; new material appeared; the work of other scholars had to be recognized. By the time one section was altered, another was in need of improvement. *The Sacred Sculpture of Thailand*, with overlapping subject matter, was published in 1997. If the cycle were to continue, it would be the chapter on prehistory that would receive the most attention.

For help over the years I am grateful to Aphorn na Songkhla; Sarah M. Bekker; Robert L. Brown; Emma C. Bunker; David P. Chandler; Stanislaw Czuma; J. C. Eade; Natasha Eilenberg; the Fine Arts Department of Thailand (with appreciation for the courtesies and kindnesses of numerous officials); Charlotte Galloway; Henry D. Ginsburg; I. C. Glover, Luis O. Gómez; Betty Gosling; John Guy, Martin Lerner; Manat Ophakun; Robert D. Mowry; Forrest McGill; the late M. R. Mittarun Kasemsri; Nandana Chutiwongs; Carl H. Ostertag; Piriya Krairiksh; Pisit Charoenwongsa; Santi Leksukhum; S. L. Rieb; Smitthi Siribhadra; Srisakra Vallibhotama; Donna K. Strahan; Carol Stratton; M. C. Subhadradis Diskul; Sulak Sivaraksa; Tej Bunnag; John Adams Thierry (whose library and photo archive, the Southeast Asian Art Foundation, was an absolutely indispensable resource); Sylvie Frère Thierry; Nancy Tingley; Jay van Rensselaer; the staff of the Walters Art Museum; Ann, Andrew, and Emily Woodward; David K. Wyatt; Patricia M. Young. The line drawings in the text were produced by Glenn Dellon, a number of them incorporating sketches made by Michael Gray.

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   b. Fa Daet, site 10. After Piriya, "The Cula Pathon Cedi" (1975).
19. Eleventh-century Khmer temples: ground plans.
   a. Muang Tam. After Smitthi and Moore, *Palaces of the Gods* (1992), p. 332.

b. Kamphaeng Yai. After a plan by the Fine Arts Department of Thailand.
c. Phanom Wan. After Manit, *Guide to Pimai and Antiquities* (1962).
20. Wat Kû Kut, Lamphun: plan. After *Kân khŷ̨n tabîan bôrânsathân phâk ny̨a* (1982), p. 257.
21. 13th-century stūpas.
a. Wat Phra Phai Luang, Sukhothai. After Sa-nguan, *Phutthasinlapa Sukhôthai* (1978), p. 44.
b. Tep Pranam, Angkor. After Marchal, "Note sur la forme du stūpa au Cambodge" (1954), p. 584.
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d. Stūpa in the compound at the Phra Barommathât, Nakhon Si Thammarat. After Claeys, "L'Archéologie du Siam" (1931), fig. 39, p. 376, and Parmentier, *L'Art architectural hindou dans l'Inde et en Extrême-Orient* (1948), fig. 29d, p. 180.
22. Lotus petal designs, Sukhothai and Lopburi.
a. King Ram Khamhaeng's throne, Royal Palace, Bangkok, detail.
b. Wat Phra Sî Rattanamahâthât, Lopburi, main *prâng*, southwest corner, stucco ornament. Both after Santi, *Wiwatthanakân khǫ̂ng chan pradap luat lâi* (1979), p. 8.
23. Thirteenth-century monuments: ground plans.
a. Prâsât Tâ Mŷ̨an Tot, Surin province. After *Report of the Survey and Excavations . . . Part Two* (1967), p. 54.
b. Prâsât Mŷ̨ang Sing, Kanchanaburi province. After Raphîsak et al., *Râi ngân kân khut tæ̂ng bûrana Prâsât Mŷ̨ang Sing* (1977), p. 60.
c. Wat Kamphæ̂ng Læ̂ng, Phetburi. After Lunet de Lajonquière, "Le domaine archéologique du Siam" (1909), fig. 5.
d. Monument 486, Angkor. After Marchal "Monuments secondaires et terrasses bouddhiques d'Aṅkor Thom" (1918), pl. II.

CHAPTER ONE

THE GEOGRAPHIC, PREHISTORIC, AND ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING

Culture cannot be derived from a map, and to understand how great a barrier a mountain may be it is necessary to know how people feel about crossing over it. A map of the drainage and river systems of Thailand (map 1) may not coincide with a map of cultural regions, yet it does provide suggestive evidence of how such a map might be drawn.

The focus of any study of the art of Thailand must be the great cities of the lower Chao Phraya basin—Bangkok, and its predecessors Ayutthaya, Lopburi, and (west of the Tha Chin River) the ancient Dvāravatī city today called Nakhon Pathom. The culture of the first millennium, commonly known as Dvāravatī, seems to have extended no further north than the province of Nakhon Sawan, where the Ping River branches. Much less is known about the inhabitants living further north, in the upper plain, either at that time or earlier. Yet it was this upper plain that with the flowering of Sukhothai in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries became a region of crucial importance.

To follow the Yom and other rivers of the north-central region northward is to enter yet a different realm, that of Lan Na, "the million paddy fields."[1] The Ping River leads to Lamphun, or Haripuñjaya, which was a Mon center of the eleventh–thirteenth centuries, and then to Chiang Mai, the capital in subsequent centuries of an independent Lan Na.

Within the Chao Phraya drainage basin there is one other subregion, that along the middle and upper reaches of the Pa Sak River—a kind of direct artery, north to south, that is isolated by hills to the east and west.[2] This situation accounts in part for the

[1] Penth, "The Orthography of the Toponym Lān Nā" (1980).

[2] For some indication of the geographical importance of the Pa Sak River in the nineteenth century, Kennedy, "An Indigenous Early Nineteenth Century Map of Central and Northeast Thailand" (1970).

special position of the city of Si Thep, particularly important in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Eastern Thailand, corresponding primarily to Prachinburi province, was another stepping stone between east and west, with a drainage system consisting of the Bang Pakong River and its tributaries. The chief site in ancient times was Muang Si Mahosot. The eastern boundary of this region does not not coincide with the modern Cambodian border. There is a separate area along the border, comprising Aranyaprathet and other districts, in which the rivers flow east rather than west, and where the ties to Cambodia were especially strong. The region even further south—the southeast coast—is one that has not played much of a role in art—or in other history—save for the appearance in the seventh century of lintels in Cambodian style.

The map divides the entire Northeast into two great sections, one comprising the Mun-Chi basin, the other smaller tributaries that flow northward or eastward into the Mekong. In the Sakon Nakhon basin created by one of these tribuaries, the Songkhram, the prehistoric Ban Chiang culture flourished. A different ceramic sequence characterizes another important prehistoric site, Non Nok Tha, one hundred thirty kilometers to the southwest, in the Phong watershed, within the upper reaches of the Mun-Chi basin. It also seems to be the case that the Buddhist-boundary-stone culture of the first millennium A. D. was somewhat less established in the northern area draining directly into the Mekong than it was along the Chi and its tributaries—at sites extending from the river's very sources almost to the point where it joins the Mun.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the accessibility of the Mekong gave to the far Northeast a character different from that of the Mun-Chi basin. This basin can itself be conveniently divided into two halves. The key site of the more northerly half was at the end of the first millennium the city of Fa Daet, standing not far from the point where the Chi River, flowing west to east, joins the Lam Pao and turns southward. Characterizing the southern half are the sites that lie between the southern tributaries of the Mun, as it traverses, west to east, across the entire Northeast. This is a region that has been strongly shaped by its proximity to Cambodia. The conquerors who established the Cakravartin dynasty of Cambodia were active at both ends of the Mun—at its mouth and in Si Thep—in the years before 600. Later, the Khmer expansion northward in the

tenth century resulted in three hundred years of construction in a Cambodian idiom. In the border areas, Khmer is spoken today.

On the western edge of the Chao Phraya basin are two separate regions. The mountainous, northerly one drains into the Salween—and makes almost no appearances in art history. The Mae Klong River system, on the other hand, is particularly interesting for its role both in prehistory and during the course of the first millennium. At the head of the Khwae Noi ("lesser branch") is the Three Pagodas Pass, one of the most accessible routes into Burma. Along the river are important prehistoric sites—most particularly Ban Kao—and the important Dvāravatī town of Khu Bua. Although there are no physical barriers between the Tha Chin River and the lower Mae Klong, there are good reasons to suppose the area of the river's watershed had a distinctive identity both in prehistoric times (with boat coffin burials not yet found elsewhere, and ceramics with links to wares found in Malaysia) and later (with Khu Bua's terracottas and rectangular city plan unmatched to the east).

The rivers of the peninsula, finally, are also worthy of notice. They help define three key regional centers, one around the Bay of Bandon, one at Nakhon Si Thammarat, and the third among the northern-flowing rivers below the Thale Luang. But, of course, other geographical features are as equally important—notably the proximity, across the gulf, of the Mekong delta.

Prehistoric Thailand

Dramatic increases in our knowledge of prehistoric Thailand, beginning in the 1960s, were accompanied by equally dramatic disagreements among prehistorians about the proper interpretation of the evidence that had been uncovered. This was especially the case with the date of the first appearance of bronze.[3] Adding to the difficulties

[3] For example, Loofs-Wissowa, "The Development and Spread of Metallurgy in Southeast Asia: A Review of the Present Evidence" (1983). For general surveys of prehistory, Higham, *The Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia from 10,000 B. C. to the Fall of Angkor* (1989); Higham, *The Bronze Age of Southeast Asia* (1996); Higham and Rachanie Thosarat, *Prehistoric Thailand: From Early Settlement to Sukhothai* (1998); Bronson and White, "Radiocarbon and Chronology in Southeast Asia" (1992); Phiriya, *Prawatsât sinlapa læ bârânkhadî nai Prathêt Thai* (1990); Phisit, "Chum chon samai kộn prawatsât" (1982).

was the fact that interpretations involved presuppositions that inevitably seemed to have an ideological component, ones that in the starkest terms made Southeast Asia either a region of significant cultural innovation or the recipient of advances achieved elsewhere. For some years (and in certain circles, still), it was not easy to say, "this is what probably happened," without seeming to take sides.

In recent years, these battles have receded into the past. Books by Charles Higham provide encyclopedic surveys that the art historian whose primary interests are in the later period can turn to for guidance. The shape of the discussion in the pages that follow, nevertheless, was determined by an attempt to come to grips with the contending views of the 1960s and 1970s, and to provide an art-historical perspective on both the issues and the data. There are few citations to publications of the 1990s.

Much of the prehistory that archaeologists have presented makes social development its core subject—even though the gulf between this concern and the data immediately presented by an excavation may be a broad one. The prehistory of the Northeast can be seen, for instance, as having three distinct stages: one of initial settlement; a second in which bronze appeared (between 2000–1500 B. C., or perhaps earlier); and a third, beginning around 500 B. C., involving the development of iron working and of centralized societies.[4] Another perspective is ecological, bringing to the fore an awareness of such matters as that forageable nutrient might have been so abundant in certain communities, especially ones near the coast, that the pressures for developing agriculture were minimal. Some scholars have looked for an internal dynamic, such as an interest by a growing elite in status symbols. Sometime around the middle of the second millennium B. C. these might have included a turtle-shell breast ornament at Khok Phanom Di (in Chonburi province);[5] 500–1000 years later, of a calcite bangle brought to Ban Chiang (from a site such as Tha Khae in Lopburi province, where stone bracelets were manufactured);[6] and, in the course of the second half of the first millennium B. C., of Indian etched glass beads, which have been found at a number of sites.[7]

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[4] Higham, *Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia* (1989), p. 99.

[5] Ibid., fig. 2.30, p. 84.

[6] White, *Discovery of a Lost Bronze Age: Ban Chiang* (1982), p. 84. Suraphon, "Lakthân čhâk Bân Thâ Khæ/Ancient Settlement at Ban Tha Kae in Lopburi" (1984), p. 22.

[7] For views on the the significance of luxury trade, Higham, *Archaeology of Mainland*

As in every historical situation, the relationship between internal developmental trends and outside stimulus was a delicate one. Within each region, differentiation might come about as a result of craft specialization: not every village could have a copper mine, such as existed at Phu Lon in Nongkhai province, near the Mekong River.[8] Outside forces impinging upon a world of scattered speakers of indigenous languages belonging to the Austroasiatic family were several in number, some better attested than others. First were the seaborne movements of Austronesian speakers. These may first have become a factor in the third millennium B. C., as speakers of languages ancestral to the Malagasy, Malay, Tagalog, and of the island world stretching from Madagascar to Polynesia began their long seaborne voyages. They remained a factor long after, not only bringing the installation of ancestors of the Cham and various Montagnard in Indochina, but serving as a means of coastal communication, linking southern China to coasts along the entire peninsula and throughout the islands. Linguistic evidence also makes it possible to speak of a second outside force, but with somewhat less certainty. Austro-Asiatic speakers spread into Burma and from there to India, a legacy being the present-day speakers of Munda languages. They may be imagined as providing a landborne link to the subcontinent. Finally, there is another pathway for contact, one that is the most speculative in nature: this is the path that leads north, to Kunming, Chengtu, Kansu province (along the edge of mountains at China's western borders), and, eventually, Tun-huang. This is a pathway that raises the spectre of diffusionism and the possibility that the movement of Central Asian nomads might actually have had repercussions in Southeast Asia. Nomadic influence is present in the art of the kingdom of Tien in Yunnan at the end of the first millennium B. C., and such elements cannot be overlooked in assessing outside forces.

Thai prehistory may be said to begin at Tham Phi (Spirit Cave) in Mae Hong Son province in far northwestern Thailand. Cord-marked ceramic shards appear in the upper layers of a site that had been visited for thousands of years previously by people making stone tools of a Hoabinhian type. In the seventh millennium B. C. (according to radiocarbon dates), cord-marked and burnished ceramics began

Southeast Asia (1989), p. 312; Glover, *Early Trade Between India and Southeast Asia: A Link in the Development of a World Trading System* (1989).

[8] Suraphol, "Current Research" (1988), pp. 109–14.

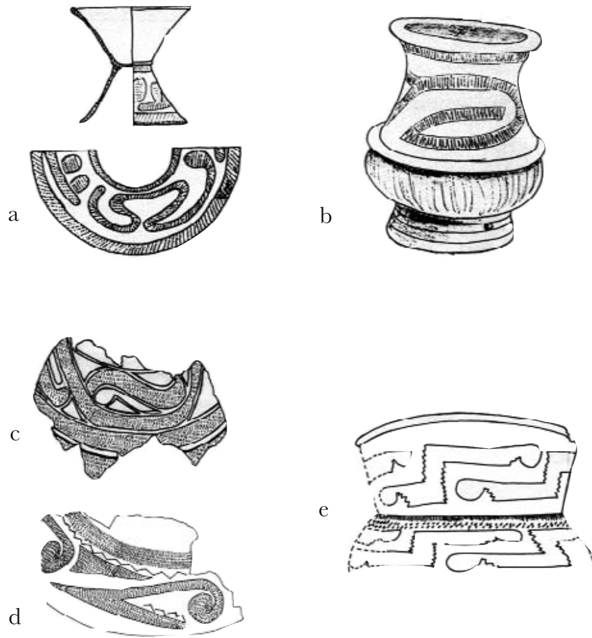

Figure 1. Prehistoric ceramics: incised designs. (a) Ban Kao. (b) Ban Chiang. (c) Ban Chiang, burial 40. (d) Non Nok Tha, layer 21. (e) Non Nok Tha, layer 9.

to be made, as well as new types of stone tools—flaked and polished quadrangular adzes and polished slate knives.[9] The cord-marked ceramic tradition has been considered by some to have characterized most of Southern China and mainland Southeast Asia at the same time and for several millennia thereafter.[10]

Neolithic and Bronze Age Design

Where and when this pattern was broken is not known. The extant archaeological record appears to begin with sites in northeastern Thailand in which the earliest ceramics have incised and impressed decor, as can be seen in fig. 1b–d. None of these sketches depicts

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[9] Gorman, "Excavations at Spirit Cave, North Thailand: Some Interim Interpretations" (1972), pp. 95–96, 98.

[10] E.g., Bellwood, *Man's Conquest of the Pacific* (1979), pp. 153–56.

what throughout the ages has been the most common type of vessel in Thailand, a globular cooking pot. At the site of Ban Chiang, a spherical cord-marked pot with smooth everted lip, probably dating from toward the end of the second millennium B. C., has been described as looking much like the pots made in Ban Chiang today for steaming rice or cooking soup.[11] The traditional pot generally has an upper part differentiated in some way from the round-bottomed lower part, which might have a cord-marked surface.[12] Differences among pots lie in the breadth of the mouth, the profile of the lip, the shape of the upper part (which may be concave in silhouette), the treatment of its surface (perhaps polished), and the nature of the union between upper and lower parts (perhaps carinated, joining at a sharp angle). Most of the significant prehistoric ceramics come from graves; a number of the interred vessels are cooking pots or look like cooking pots, but there are also vessels which because of their elaborate decor or shape would appear to be presentation vessels or objects made especially for interment. Yet habitation and burial sites have not been compared sufficiently to be able to define a separate class of mortuary ceramics. Of the two pieces from Ban Chiang in fig. 1, fig. 1b did not come from a grave while fig. 1c is a fragment of a jar that held the bones of an infant.[13]

The pedestal bowl from Ban Kao, Kanchanaburi seen in fig. 1a is from a burial that has been placed in a neolithic phase of 1800–1500 B. C.[14] The site of Ban Kao was one of the first Thai sites to be systematically excavated, beginning in 1961. The pedestal bowl shares with the Ban Chiang jar in fig. 1b at least two features: both vessels stand on a conical ring foot, though the Ban Kao one is considerably taller, and both bear similar ornament, in the form of a

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[11] White, *Discovery of a Lost Bronze Age: Ban Chiang* (1982), p. 64.

[12] On such cooking pots as a class of object, Loofs-Wissowa, "Diffusion of Early Pottery in Southeast Asia: Some Suggestions" (1980).

[13] Ban Chiang, burial 40 of 1974: *Expedition* 24, no. 4 (Summer 1982), fig. 4, p. 21. For view in situ, White, *Discovery of a Lost Bronze Age: Ban Chiang* (1982), fig. 24, p. 23; catalogue, no. 28, p. 61, "3000–2000 B. C."

[14] Sørensen, *Ban Kao: Neolithic Settlements With Cemeteries in the Kanchanaburi Province*, pt. 1, *The Archaeological Material From the Burials* (1967). Some archaeologists have argued that this is not the date of the graves but the level of the soil into which the graves were later cut. Parker, "A Review of Evidence From Excavations of the Thai-Danish Expedition at Ban Kao" (1968). Followed by Macdonald, "The Bang Site, Thailand: An Alternative Analysis" (1978). Their view is followed cautiously in Higham, *Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia* (1989), pp. 159–60.

twisting S or snakelike device with incised border and interior pattern, created by impressing a comb (Ban Kao) or by what has come to be called rocker stamping (Ban Chiang). There is also a small molding in the Ban Kao vessel at the union of foot and bowl, though it is not nearly so prominent a feature as the flange that separates neck from body at Ban Chiang. This Ban Chiang pot is considered among the very oldest of the discoveries at the site. In many ways it may be considered a modified cooking pot, in which the division between the lower part, the cord-marked bowl, and the decorated upper part has been emphasized by the appliqué flange.

The presence of the ornament distinguishes fig. 1a from all the other ceramic objects excavated at Ban Kao, which are notable for their smooth polished surfaces and lack of ornamentation. Per Sørensen, who excavated the site, believed that the Ban Kao population was intrusive and that the culture did not grow out of an earlier stone-age culture. There is not yet enough evidence, however, to indicate the displacement of any population. Sørenson saw a land-based connection with China, but it also may be that the decisive developments were in part brought about by the movement of speakers of Austronesian (the language or languages ancestral to Malay and hundreds of related tongues), who sometime around 3000 B. C. must have begun their extraordinary seaborne peregrinations.[15] The Ban Kao ceramics evidence a relationship with smooth-surfaced wares made in Malaya, the Philippines, eastern Indonesia, and, ultimately, China, as exemplified by Ban Kao and Lungshanoid tripod vessels similar in outward appearance (though differently constructed). The distinctive tripod vessels—a pot resting on three tall conical legs—are similar to ones found in Surat Thani province and western Malaysia.[16] Also suggesting a connection with the Indonesian archipelago is the presence of bark-cloth beaters, which at Ban Kao were made of clay,[17] and the practice of tooth filing.[18] The Ban Kao economy cannot be fully reconstructed, but it is likely that there, as elsewhere in Thailand, steps were taken toward the development of rice

[15] Bellwood, *Man's Conquest of the Pacific* (1979), pp. 121–24.

[16] For Tham Buang Baep, Khiri Ratthanikhom district, Surat Thani, and Gua Berhala, Phiriya, *Prawatsât sinlapa* (1990), fig. 3.24, p. 93.

[17] Bellwood, *Man's Conquest of the Pacific* (1979), pp. 169–70, 173.

[18] Sood, "A Preliminary Report on Non-Metrical Characteristics of Neolithic Skeletons Found at Ban Kao, Kanchanburi" (1966), p. 4. On tooth filing, for example, Suzuki, *The Religious System and Culture of Nias* (1959), pp. 82–83.

agriculture. The earlier cultures had probably been dependent on root crops.

The snakelike design that ornaments the conical foot of the Ban Kao pedestal bowl would appear to be an intrusive element. Plain smooth-surfaced wares represent one type of ceramic; decorated cord-marked wares another. The two types may be either complementary aspects of a single tradition or, more probably, two distinct traditions that met and intermixed at certain sites. Pedestal bowls of Ban Kao type were never discovered at Ban Chiang, in Udon Thai province, but they have been found elsewhere in the Northeast. Among smooth-surfaced wares, a significant type is a pedestal bowl with proportions similar to those of fig. 1a but with an incurved mouth rim. This is found at Ban Kao,[19] in Lopburi province at the site of Khok Charoen,[20] and in the Northeast at Non Nok Tha (Phu Wiang district, Khon Kaen).[21] At both Khok Charoen and Non Nok Tha, the examples were coated with a red slip and polished. These vessels are a unifying element, either over a broad span of time (following published datings) or over a relatively narrow one (if some of the datings are revised).[22]

The other three sketches in fig. 1 are only of fragments; each is an example of incised-and-impressed decor in the Northeast. The patterns, however, are somewhat different from that seen in fig. 1b; they are more regular and would appear to belong to a more fixed repertory. This is especially the case with fig. 1d, part of the shoulder of a large jar excavated at Non Nok Tha.[23] Fig. 1e, the most rectilinear of the patterns, illustrates a section of a jar identified as coming from a layer immediately below the earliest metal-bearing layer at Non Nok Tha.[24] The fragment in fig. 1d belongs to the

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[19] Sørensen, *Ban Kao: Neolithic Settlements* (1967), pls. 46–48; Phiriya, *Prawatsât sinlapa* (1990), fig. 3.22, p. 90.

[20] Watson, "Kok Charoen and the Early Metal Age of Central Thailand" (1979), pl. IIIb.

[21] Illus. Solheim, "Early Pottery in Northern Thailand and Conjectures on Its Relationships" (1980), pl. IV, p. 48, where it is described as coming from the lowest levels. According to Watson, "Kok Charoen" (1979), p. 59, the Non Nok Tha pedestal bowls are from layer 20 (i.e., early middle period or Non Nok Tha phase). For another red-slipped vessel excavated at Non Nok Tha, White, *Discovery of a Lost Bronze Age: Ban Chiang* (1982), no. 16, p. 58, where it is dated to ca. 2000 B. C., the early middle period or early bronze age at the site.

[22] For a discussion of the issue, Watson, "Kok Charoen" (1979), pp. 60–61.

[23] Solheim, "Early Pottery" (1980), pl. VII, p. 51.

[24] See the chart, p. 118, Bayard, "Excavation at Non Nok Tha, Northeastern Thailand: an Interim Report" (1970/72).

same period. The Ban Chiang version (fig. 1c) takes a somewhat freer approach and would appear less likely to belong to a repertory of established patterns. The two Non Nok Tha examples must also be judged to have greater aesthetic interest, evincing sensitivity toward the pleasure of opposing the round to the zigzag, or of giving springiness to a curved form (by not pressing it too hard against something fixed, for example).

These two Non Nok Tha fragments are in fact atypical for the site and may have been made elsewhere.[25] The triangle hooks seen in fig. 1d constitute a pattern that can be seen in related form in Vietnam, at the site of Phung Nguyen in the Red River delta region.[26] It might be possible to think of such a pattern—ultimately descended from painted designs on the neolithic pottery of China—as representing a southwestward migration of a Phung Nguyen motif. Whether the Ban Chiang S-spiral (fig. 1b) is a local development of such a motif, as fig. 1c appears to be, is another matter. There is, after all, the parallel with Ban Kao. Other sites demonstrate the spread of incised-and-impressed curvilinear patterns without necessarily shedding light on the direction of the dispersal. At Khok Phanom Di (Phanat Nikhom district, Chonburi), near the eastern shore of the northernmost part of the Gulf of Thailand, beautifully executed lustrous black ceramics with incised decor appeared on the site in fully developed form, in a spot where an earlier ceramic tradition had been one of cordmarking.[27] The interior of a finely made bowl is decorated with a design related to the triangle hook of fig. 1d, but there is a field-ground reversal (something which can also be seen at Phung Nguyen).[28] Simple geometric devices are more common than scrollwork at Khok Phanom Di, and the patterning between incised lines appears to be pricked or rouletted rather than rocker-stamped. Despite the absence of bronze at the site, which yielded radiocarbon dates ranging from about 2000 to 1400 B. C., the characteristic incised black ceramics may belong to a slightly later period than the examples in fig. 1.

[25] Bayard, "Chronology, Evolution, and Diffusion in the Later Southeast Asian Cultural Sequence: Some Comments on Higham's Recent Revision" (1992), p. 272.

[26] E.g., Nguyen Ba Khoach, "Phung Nguyen" (1980), fig. 13a.

[27] Higham, *Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia* (1989), pp. 65–89.

[28] Ibid., fig. 2.31, p. 88. For Phung Nguyen, Ha Van Tan, "Prehistoric Pottery in Viet Nam and Its Relationships with Southeast Asia" (1984–85), fig. 2, p. 138. For additional Khok Phanom Di ceramics, Phiriya, *Prawatsât sinlapa* (1990), fig. 3.35, p. 104.

More directly relevant is Tha Khae, Lopburi, where incised-and-impressed curvilinear patterns related to the types seen at Ban Chiang and Non Nok Tha (figs. 1c, d, e) have been uncovered in strata that apparently predate 1500 B. C.[29] Other sites in Lopburi province have yielded related wares, including ones in which the treatment might be more like that of the Ban Kao "snake" of fig. 1a.[30] Curvilinear incised and impressed patterns can also be seen on vessels from the site of Khok Charoen, Lopburi, possibly of the late second millennium B. C.[31] It has been asked, however, whether these patterns might have a connection with Yunnan.[32] Fig. 1 illustrates a single vessel from western Thailand and four from the Northeast, but in fact incised and impressed ceramics were made in intervening locations as well. The nature of the historical connections is not known, and some prehistorians may even question that they exist, preferring to see independent local traditions. "In no part of Southeast Asia familiar to the present writers is the prehistoric pottery well enough understood for stylistic or technical details to be a reliable guide to the chronology of newly discovered sites and those that lack datable carbon," Bronson and White have written.[33] But due to the fact that the association between carbon and artifact—especially at burial sites—can be a tenuous matter, the radiocarbon dates are contradictory and subject to dispute.[34]

All of the examples in fig. 1 may belong to more-or-less the same period—just before and around the same time as the earliest appear-

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[29] Rispoli, "Preliminary Report on the Pottery from Tha Kae, Lopburi, Central Thailand" (1992), pp. 129–42, with dates taken from the chart on p. 175 of an article in the same volume: Cremaschi, Ciarla, and Pigott, "Paleoenvironment and Late Prehistoric Sites in the Lopburi Region of Central Thailand" (1992). Also Suraphol, "Current Research on Ancient Copper-Base Metallurgy in Thailand" (1988), pp. 113–14.

[30] Ban Sap Lamyai, branch district Tha Luang, illus. *Læng bôrânkhadî Prathêt Thai lêm 2* (Bangkok: FAD, 1988), p. 42; Ban Chon Muang, Khok Samrong district, illus. ibid., 87. The Ban Sap Lamyai example may have a Phung Nguyen counterpart: Ha Van Tan, "Prehistoric Pottery" (1984–85), fig. 2, lower right.

[31] Phiriya, *Prawatsât sinlapa* (1990), fig. 3.42, p. 112. This is apparently the cylindrical pot described in Watson, "Kok Charoen," p. 56.

[32] Watson, "Pre-Han Communication from West China to Thailand" (1992), p. 176.

[33] Bronson and White, "Radiocarbon and Chronology" (1992), p. 496.

[34] Especially at Non Nok Tha. See, for example, Bayard, "Chronology, Evolution" (1992). Reasons for tracing the site of Ban Chiang no further back in time than 1500 B. C. were presented in 1994: White, "Modeling the Development of Early Rice Agriculture: Ethnoecological Perspectives from Northeast Thailand" (1995), p. 63 n. 2, referring to a paper by Higham.

ance of bronze artifacts. The first bronze dates from before 1000 B. C., probably before 1500, and possibly before 2000.[35] It may have remained absent in central Thailand even after its introduction in the Northeast, and custom may have prevented its deposit in graves, thus distorting the archaeological record. Even after the relative dates for the objects in fig. 1 are clarified, it may be difficult to determine the direction of the flow of influences: along the Red River, between northern Vietnam and Yunnan; from the Red River southwestward and south into Thailand; from northern Vietnam to Thailand and the Philippines (and back again), following sea routes.[36] Bringing Yunnan into consideration brings to mind the existence of a north-south corridor along China's western edge and the argument that an antler discovered in a Ban Kao grave is evidence of the presence of a shamanism that might be related to a Siberian type.[37]

From the Bronze to the Iron Age

Sites in central Thailand may yet provide the fullest picture, but it is the Northeast from which the greatest amount of evidence has come. At the end of the early period at Ban Chiang, toward the end of the second millennium B. C., red pigment distinguishing field from ground was added to the pots with incised curvilinear designs (paralleling a similar development in the late Jōmon wares of Japan). It continued to be made in the middle period, after 1000 B. C., when it was joined by a distinguished white pottery in the form of tall carinated jars. Broken over the bodies of the deceased, these jars have been painstakingly reconstructed by the excavators. Much evidence about the developments of the first millennium B. C. comes from the site of Ban Na Di (Nong Han district, Udon), about twenty kilometers southwest of Ban Chiang and just beyond the limits of the Songkhram watershed. According to the elaborate report pub-

[35] Bronson and White, "Radiocarbon and Chronology" (1992), p. 497.

[36] Solheim has written a series of articles comparing motifs, but his studies have not incorporated ceramic evidence from Yunnan. See Solheim, "Chinese and Southeast Asian Art Styles and Their Relationship" (1982–83), pp. 112–21 and earlier articles referred to therein.

[37] Sørenson, "The Shaman's Grave" (1965). For an antler at Ban Chiang, White, *Discovery of a Lost Bronze Age: Ban Chiang* (1982), pp. 24–25 and fig. 52, p. 43. Cf. also Quaritch Wales, *The Making of Greater India* (1974), p. 87.

Figure 2. Bracelet, pot, and cattle figurine, from burial 38, Ban Na Di.

lished in 1984, Ban Na Di was for about the first seven hundred years of the first millennium B. C. a cemetery for a peaceful bronze-age population. Three items from a single grave of this period appear in fig. 2: a pot, a bronze bracelet, and a typical if fragmentary hand-modeled figure of a bull, in which the clay has been stretched out and manipulated to evoke the lean curves of the animal's back and at least a part of its sinuous horns.[38]

The Ban Na Di evidence suggests that decisive changes did not occur until the late centuries B. C., with the coming of iron and the introduction of the water buffalo and, if not earlier, of wet-rice agriculture. At Ban Na Di these developments were probably due to "expansive pressures from another social group," and a period of increased warfare and political complexity began.[39] At Ban Chiang, the late period (300 B. C.–200 A. D.) is characterized by the well-known painted pottery (fig. 3). The pot illustrated in pl. 1, of exceptionally large dimensions, is not an excavated example and may have been made at another site in the region. Its elegant curvilinear scroll can be seen as a descendant of the early incised scrolls like the one in fig. 1c, despite the absence of intervening objects in the archaeological record. Other patterns may somehow be descended from

[38] Higham and Amphan, *Prehistoric Investigations in Northeastern Thailand* (1984), pt. 1, p. 162.

[39] Ibid., pt. 3, pp. 701, 725.

Figure 3. Ceramics from Ban Chiang: painted designs.

the less regular motif seen in fig. 1b. Such patterns were classified by Penny van Esterik as "sigmoid designs." They bear a resemblance to the letter S and can be made to look like snakes, genital organs, or human figures but are not necessarily to be regarded as inherently representational.[40] Most of the Ban Chiang repertory can be generated, it seems, from the interaction of scrolls and Ss. On the other hand, occasionally, motifs appear that look like direct borrowings from contemporary Han China.[41]

In some of the pots with sigmoid designs there is a tendency toward bilateral symmetry. Examples appear in fig. 3. There are even instances in which two snakes appear to be attached at the tail.[42] This sort of pattern permits more limited readings than do the curvilinear designs in fig. 1: there is the suggestion of a central point of bifurcation and thus of something, if only a point, that is not a snake, that might even be opposed to snakes, and therefore of a relationship ultimately akin to the bird-and-serpent opposition of historic times.

Not much, however, can be said about the connections between Ban Chiang and historic cultures. There probably were sites in the region continuously inhabited until later historical times, but no undisturbed ones have been identified and excavated.[43] The modern descendants of the painted designs—if they exist at all—seem to lie in

[40] van Esterik, *Cognition and Design Production in Ban Chiang Painted Pottery* (1981), pp. 54, 59–61.

[41] Toyohito Ōda, *Bachen-to Taiken* (1978), pl. 38. This glamorous publication illustrates the most impressive group of Ban Chiang–type wares ever assembled.

[42] van Esterik, *Cognition and Design Production* (1981), pp. 58–60 and fig. 51.

[43] Srisakra, "Ban Chiang Culture and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage in the Northeast Thailand" (1982–83).

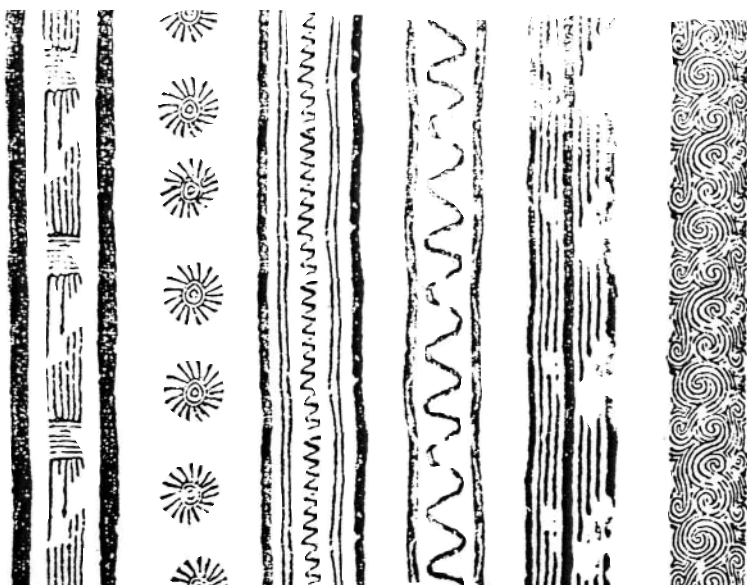

Figure 4. Impressions from ceramic rollers from Ban Chiang.

textile designs (as in supplementary warp banners) of the same region. This connection, which can be sensed in the stylized bisymmetrical human figures around the rim of the pot in pl. 1, directs attention to the ceramic rollers found at Ban Chiang (fig. 4). Although they look as if they could have been used to decorate fabric, they probably never were.[44] They are found in children's graves, and so perhaps they were charms—but probably charms with personal or family associations. They could be used, say, to make marks in mud in the course of a children's game. They also evoke a mode of pattern-making that has much in common with certain kinds of textile design, ikat especially. The excavations have revealed evidence of silk and hemp. Even more fascinating than the rollers are the many small bronzes found in clandestine excavations at Ban Chiang and other sites across the Northeast, but, scattered as they are in private collections, they await systematic study. These go beyond decorative objects such as more elaborate forms of the bracelet seen in fig. 2 (which are widespread, and characterize a site as far away as Ban

[44] White, *Discovery of a Lost Bronze Age: Ban Chiang* (1982), p. 75.

Yang Thong Tai in Chiang Mai province).[45] From Ban Don Tan (Don Tan district, Mukdahan) have come ladles and bracelets upon which stand three-dimensional human and animal figures, in a fashion reminiscent of the Tien bronzes of Yunnan, which date from the second century B. C.[46]

Around the turn of our era there is some evidence of the growth of larger political units and a good deal of evidence of the increased importance of longer-range and more regular trade, but the local cultures varied in nature. Ban Chiang was just one development among many. Further south, in the upper Chi valley, at Non Chai (Khon Kaen district, Khon Kaen) ceramic finds included among large quantities of red-slipped and plain-finish shards a red-on-buff pottery that superficially resembles the painted pottery of Ban Chiang but in fact is different in style, the preference being for simple geometric designs of parallel or cross-hatched lines, sometimes with dots.[47] Clay molds for bracelets apparently indicate the use of lost-wax casting techniques (contrasting with the bivalve stone molds used earlier to cast bronze implements).[48] A survey of two adjacent sites about fifty-five kilometers south (in Ban Phai district, Khon Kaen) indicated the presence of buff ceramics painted with radiating red lines, burial urns (probably for secondary burials), and upright stones (either prehistoric memorial stones or later Buddhist boundary stones).[49] Secondary burials—in which the buried skeletons have been disinterred and placed in urns—are characteristic of the site of Sa Huynh in Vietnam.[50] Sixty-five kilometers to the southeast of Non Chai, in the middle Chi valley, a key site is Ban Chiang Hian (Maha Sarakham district, Maha Sarakham), situated adjacent to the low-terrace level suitable for wet rice cultivation and eventually moated.[51] In the 1500–1000 B. C. period, red-on-buff painted ceramics had been pro-

[45] Doi Saket district: Phiriya, *Prawasât sinlapa* (1990), fig. 3.50, p. 123.

[46] Ibid., fig. 3.67, p. 138.

[47] Bayard, Pisit, and Somsuda, "Excavations at Non Chai, Northeastern Thailand, 1977–78" (1986), p. 36.

[48] Ibid., p. 50.

[49] The two sites are Ban Muang Phia and Ban Kham Riam, *Læng bôrânkhadî Prathêt Thai lêm 3* (1989), pp. 253–58 and color plates.

[50] Higham, *Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia* (1989), pp. 230–31. In the cited literature, there is no indication of a scientific analysis of remains in order to determine the age of the deceased. Infant jar burial occurred at an earlier period at Ban Chiang.

[51] Higham, *Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia* (1989), pp. 210–11 (map).

duced here that appear unrelated to Ban Chiang or Ban Na Di wares of the same time.[52] The bronze bells and bracelets from the end of the first millennium B. C., however, are similar to those of Ban Chiang's late period.[53]

Along the Mun River itself, there is an intriguing mixture of painted pottery with simple designs, burial urns, and bronze artifacts. At Ban Kan Luang (Ubon district, Ubon), a site near the eastern end of the Mun dated on comparative grounds to the period 500 B. C.–A. D. 100, exquisitely made bronze bracelets were discovered, related to those belonging to the late period at Ban Chiang. The primary excavated materials at Ban Kan Luang were urns which contained small cord-marked pots (but no painted ones).[54] From sites in Surin province there is some evidence that in the course of the first millennium B. C. painted and white wares were produced that bear a relationship to the pottery of Ban Chiang Hian.[55] Rims with red and brown stripes are common, and the placement of skulls in urns suggests the practice of secondary burial. To the west, just north of the Mun at the eastern edge of Nakhon Ratchasima province, is Ban Krabuang Nok, where at the lowest level, along with bronze ornaments and iron slag and implements, was discovered a pottery with simple cross hatching in red, similar to that found at Non Chai and Ban Chiang Hian. Jar burials were associated with a subsequent phase.[56]

Further west, another 70 kilometers upstream, lies the later temple site of Phimai. Archaeological investigations in the environs of Phimai have made possible some broad conclusions about developments in the area.[57] There is no evidence of settlement before the first millennium B. C. Iron came into use sometime between about

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[52] This "early" phase could be somewhat later: see Welch and McNeill, "Excavations at Ban Tamyae and Non Ban Kham, Phimai Region, Northeast Thailand" (1988–89), pp. 118–19.

[53] Higham and Amphan, *Prehistoric Investigations in Northeastern Thailand* (1984), pt. 3, p. 705; for the full report on Ban Chiang Hian by Payom Chantaratiyakarn, ibid., pt. 2, pp. 585–643.

[54] *Bôrânkhadî khụ̂an Pâk Mûn/Archaeology of Pak Mun Dam* (1992), pp. 32–48.

[55] Pornchai, "Special Characteristics of Ancient Pottery in the Mun-Chi Basin" (1982–83).

[56] Phâsuk, *Kân sụksâ lǣng bôrânkhadî thî Bân Krabụ̂ang Nǭk/A Study on the Archaeological Site at Ban Krabuang Nok* (1990). For another perspective on jar burials, van Esterik, "Continuities and Transformations in Southeast Asian Symbolism: A Case Study From Thailand" (1984).

[57] Welch and McNeill, "Excavations at Ban Tamyae" (1989).

800 and 400 B. C. At the same time, potters began to use rice chaff as the primary temper (rather than sand and grog), suggesting that wet-rice agriculture had become fully established. Sometime around 200 B. C., a new type of burnished pottery, of much technical finesse, was introduced. In Phimai black ware, as it is called, the insides of bowls are decorated with streaks produced by pulling a blunt object over the surface, and the shoulders of pots are frequently decorated, sometimes with impressed circles.[58] Phimai black ware, which might bear a relationship to contemporary Indian polished black pottery, appears to have been produced in a single spot and traded to outlying areas. In this period (200 B. C.–A. D. 300), the moat around Ban Tamyae, one of the excavated sites, was probably dug.

The number of moated sites in the Northeast extends to 800 (of a total of 1200 in Thailand),[59] and they are especially common in the valley of the Mun River and its tributaries, the elevation of settlement varying from the flood plain itself to the surrounding high or middle terrace, where there was greater access to timber, salt, and the laterite that was a source for iron ore.[60] The moats provided water during the dry season; the moated Ban Chiang Hian might have accomodated as many as 2,000 people.[61] It is not known at what point in the first millennium B. C. the first moats were dug.

As interesting as these developments about two thousand years ago along the Mun River are those far to the north, in Laos.[62] Nothing precisely like the Hua Pan menhirs (mid-first millennium B. C.?) or giant stone vessels of the Plain of Jars (early first millennium A. D.

[58] For Phimai black, Solheim, "A Preliminary Report on a Pottery Complex in Northeastern Thailand" (1965); Solheim and Ayres, "The Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Pottery of the Khorat Plateau, with Special Reference to Phimai" (1979). For the stratigraphy at Phimai, see also Pornchai, "Potteries from Ban Bang Pun and Ban Prasat" (1984). For some indication of the geographical extent of Phimai black ware, Quaritch Wales, "An Early Buddhist Civilization in Eastern Siam" (1957), p. 44.

[59] Bayard, Pisit, and Somsuda, "Excavations at Non Chai, Northeastern Thailand, 1977–78," (1986), p. 14.

[60] Higham, *Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia* (1989), pp. 217–19. The study of aerial photographs is Moore, *Moated Sites in Early North East Thailand* (1988). A survey of numerous Mun basin sites, with plans of some, is *Lǣng bôrânkhadî Prathêt Thai lêm 4* (*phâk tawan ôk chîang nụ̂a tộn lâng*) (1990), where most such sites are ascribed to the historic period.

[61] Higham, *Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia* (1989), p. 219.

[62] Colani, *Mégalithes du Haut-Laos* (1935). Higham, *Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia* (1989), p. 229, suggests a date of 300 B. C.–300 A. D.

and later?) has been found in the Northeast, though the stone vessels may be the functional equivalent of burial jars. One type of associated artifact is worthy of note. This is comb-incised pottery, with parallel and wavy lines juxtaposed. The ware may be descended from a type produced in Vietnam at the end of the second millennium B. C.[63] Rarely a Ban Chiang–type painted jar appears with wavy lines imitating comb incision,[64] but the significant point is how distinctive the Ban Chiang and Plain of Jars cultures were. On the other hand, the same sort of comb-incised pottery was an important component in the Mekong delta seaport assemblage at Oc-eo in the early centuries A. D., and there are also Malayan connections.[65] All this suggests a mosaic of regional styles, with unpredictable links among them.

Rock Paintings

Someone traveling northwest from Ban Chiang will encounter hills—and a more monumental aspect of prehistoric culture—after about 100 kilometers. Near Phra Phutthabat Bua Bok (Ban Phu district, Udon) there is a fascinating group of rock formations—massive boulders perched on smaller rocks, perhaps as a result of excavation in prehistoric times.[66] Extending for a distance of twenty-three kilometers along the north-south range, moreover, are rock shelters with prehistoric paintings.[67] They cannot be dated exactly, but the use of red pigment and the generic similarity of some of the non-representational designs to those on the painted jars of Ban Chiang suggest that the paintings and the jars date from about the same period.[68]

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[63] Dong Dau: Hà Văn Tân, "Nouvelles recherches prêhistoriques et protohistoriques au Vietnam" (1980), p. 127 and fig. 6.
[64] E.g., *Arts of Asia* 12, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 1982), p. 92.
[65] Malleret, *L'Archélogie du delta du Mékong*, vol. 2, *La civilisationmaterielle d'Oc-èo* (1960), pp. 117, 120 and pls.
[66] Illustrations of the menhirs, e.g., *MBJ* 9, no. 1 (Dec. 1982-March 1983), pp. 42–43.
[67] Surveyed in Suraphon, "Prehistoric Rock Paintings in Udon Thani" (1978). Also *Sinlapa tham nai Îsân* (1988).
[68] E.g., Suraphon, "Prehistoric Rock Paintings" (1978), p. 41.

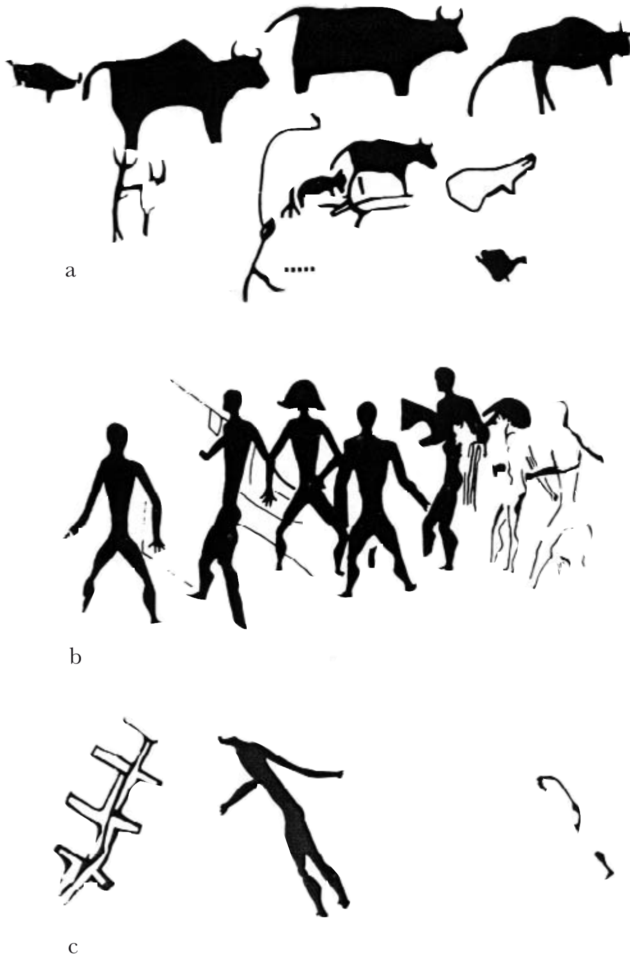

Figure 5. Drawings of rock paintings on faces of the giant boulder, Phra Phutthabat Bua Bok complex, Udon Thani. (a) Eastern shelter. (b) Northern shelter. (c) Western face.

One of the most interesting groups of paintings is that on the sides of a gigantic boulder 15 by 27 meters (and four meters high). The eastern and northern sides of this boulder slope outwards, creating rock shelters. The paintings in the eastern shelter (fig. 5a), which is known as Tham Wua ("Cattle Cave"), depict six cattle, of various dimensions, moving northward or counterclockwise—a calf, three humped cattle, a cow and calf below, together with what may

Figure 6. Menhirs (the solid blocks) around a rock shelter, *tambon* Ban Muang Phan, Udon Thani.

be tree branches and two unidentifiable animals.[69] (To the left, not appearing in fig. 5a, are two animals walking in the opposite direction [southward]; one may be a chevrotain, a small deerlike ruminant.) Around the corner, within the northern shelter (Tham Khon, "People Cave"), is a group of seven or eight human figures (fig. 5b), the one on the left facing the others, but the group as a whole seeming to move clockwise, or in the direction of the cattle of fig. 5a. The figures move their arms, and their legs are spread apart, as if engaged in a ritual dance of confrontation. Around the farther corner (fig. 5c) on the western face of the boulder is another person; pulling something with his left hand, it seems, he walks towards a geometric construction. While this man is painted in red, as are the others, the ladder-like form in front of him is white.

Presumably these paintings recorded or assisted in the carrying out of some ritual activity. In the vicinity is a group of menhirs (fig. 6) surrounding another rock shelter; these may be memorial stones,[70] and "megalithic" beliefs should provide clues to the meaning of the paintings. The great boulder, for instance, memorializes a chieftain, and a sacrifice of cattle ensures that the spirit of the chief, lodged

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[69] Following the description in *Sinlapa tham "klum Bân Phû" čhangwat 'Udǫn Thânî* (ca. 1986), pp. 24, 62. Also Suraphon, "Prehistoric Rock Paintings" (1978), pp. 31–34.

[70] Described in Srisakra, "Sêmâ isân" (1975), p. 109.

in the boulder, will be a beneficial influence come harvest time.[71] Alternatively, a cattle sacrifice culminates three days of festive license and initiates the New Year, recreating the world after a time of chaos.[72] Of course there can never be a definitive interpretation. One intriguing matter is the meaning of the ladder-like white form in fig. 5c. If it is a space in which to travel—as seems possible—does it lead to some desirable place (as in a shaman's voyage, or in the same sort of climb-to-heaven symbolized by the thread squares hung up at graves by the Lawa),[73] or does it merely trip up undesirable spirits (in Lao thought, spirits and the dead move in straight lines, people at right angles)?[74] Of course, it may do both. Some of the nearby shelters have paintings with far more elaborate and extensive geometric constructions. These, too, look like spaces to wander in or, to put it another way, like maps, so much so that it might even be asked if they could be maps of real places rather than of just imaginary ones. Somewhat similar "maps" have been found in Vietnam, and they may be roughly contemporary.[75]

Some of the prehistoric paintings of Thailand have been found on the walls of caves or of rock shelters in which tools of a Neolithic type have been found. Unfortunately, this association does not provide conclusive evidence of the date of the paintings, and it can be argued that most if not all are products of the metal age, roughly contemporary to those in Ban Phu district.[76] Paintings have been found to the west of Phra Phutthabat Bua Bok in Phu Kradung district of Loei province,[77] as well as on the opposite edge of the plateau, along the Mekong River in Don Tan district, Mukdahan.[78]

[71] In accordance, for instance, with von Fürer-Haimendorf, "The Problem of Megalithic Cultures in Middle India" (1945), p. 74.

[72] As in Archaimbault, *La course de pirogues au Laos: un complexe culturel* (1972), p. 94.

[73] Kauffmann, "Stone Memorials of the Lawā (Northwest Thailand)" (1971), p. 140 on the "megalithic" associations of the thread square.

[74] Clément, "The Spatial Organization of the Lao House" (1982), p. 69.

[75] Goloubew, "Roches gravés dans la région de Chapa (Tonkin)" (1925).

[76] Surveys and monographs published by the Fine Arts Department are mentioned in the other notes. Older surveys include Phisit, "Chum chon samai kộn prawatsât" (1982), pp. 122–131, with illustrations of sites mentioned here; Preecha, "Prehistoric Rock Paintings and Rock Engravings in Thailand" (1972); Chin, "Phâp khîan sî bon phanak tham samai kộn prawatsât" (1964).

[77] See especially Amphan, "Phâp khîan sî samai kộn prawatsât thî Tham Phâ Khộng, Bân Huai Som Tai, tambon Phâ Nok Khao, amphœ̂ Phû Kradụng, čhangwat Lœ̂i" (1981).

[78] Kerr, "Note on some Rock Paintings in Eastern Siam" (1924).

Further down the Mekong lies an important group in Khong Chiam district, Ubon.[79] Other significant sites are those in Sikhiu district, Nakhon Ratchasima (where there are men with antlers, and a dancing figure may be dressed as a rooster);[80] at Khao Pla Ra, Ban Rai district, Uthai Thani (where a man with a sash around his waist and feathers in his hair leads a bull, part of whose body is depicted in X-ray fashion);[81] and at two sites in the Mae Klong basin, Tham Rup and Tham Ta Duang (where ithyphallic men appear to be carrying suspended drums).[82] There are also sites on the peninsula.

A loose bundle of traits connects these paintings. Some features suggest the existence of beliefs preserved among the Lawa: the "maps" resemble the cobweb-like thread squares; the presence of drums recalls their use to announce a death; and the possible association of menhirs parallels the erection of wooden memorial pillars.[83] Feather headdresses suggest a connection with Dong Son culture, for they appear on the bronze drums of the second half of the first millennium B. C. At the same time, the inclusion of humped cattle in the murals indicates the possible involvement of cattle traders. No definite connection with Indian cave paintings can be established, although there are generic similarities, perhaps most apparent in the paintings in Uthai Thani.[84] A speculative explanation would attribute the spread of the painting styles to cattle traders moving across Burma, traders with ties to the tribals responsible for the Indian murals and to the ancestors of the Lawa, all speakers of Austro-Asiatic languages. If the paintings date from the late first millennium B. C., however, these traders did not speak a language parent to both Munda and Lawa, for such a language can only have been spoken long before 500 B. C.[85]

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[79] Suraphon, "Phû phâ hæ̂ng khwâm tâi thî Không Čhîam" (1981).

[80] *Sinlapa tham khao čhan ngâm Nakhǫ̂n Râtchasîmâ* (1988); Phatraphi, "Prehistoric Paintings at Kao Chan Ngam" (1983).

[81] Amarâ, *Sinlapa tham Khao Plâ Râ 'Uthaithânî/Rock Art at Khao Plara Uthai Thani* (1990); illus. *MBJ* 5, no. 5 (June-July 1979), pp. 9–12, 15–18.

[82] *Sinlapa tham Kânchanaburî* (Bangkok: FAD, 1989), pp. 38–63.

[83] For these practices, Kauffmann, "Some Social and Religious Institutions of the Lawā (Northwestern Thailand), Part III" (1980).

[84] Compare Erwin Neumayer, *Prehistoric Indian Rock Paintings* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 181–82, for two sites in Rajasthan.

[85] Diffloth, "Austro-Asiatic Languages" (1978).

Central Thailand

By 1000 B. C., suggest ceramic finds from Khok Phanom Di (Chonburi) and Khok Charoen (Lopburi), the interest in elaborate curvilinear patterns (such as those seen in fig. 1) had diminished, and simpler geometric devices, especially triangles, had become a more prominent element in ceramics bearing decoration.[86] A parallel development seems to have taken place in Vietnam.[87] In the course of the first millennium B. C. connections can also be made with Vietnam, especially with Sa Huynh culture (ca. 800–300 B. C.).[88] The links can be demonstrated by related types of pattern making as well as by imported objects. Significant sites include the Artillery Center, Lopburi[89] and Khok Phlap (Ratchaburi), south of Nakhon Pathom, where wares with narrow bands of incised and pricked triangles have been found.[90] At the "sawmill site" in Kanchanaburi a rectangular box, identified as a coffin, with incised rectilinear bands separated by pricked zigzags was uncovered.[91] Both types of object suggest connections with the pottery of the Philippines and at Sa Huynh.[92] These connections are even more obvious in the case of jewelry—like a double-headed nephrite pendant found elsewhere in Ratchaburi province—belonging to types well known in the Philippines and Vietnam.[93]

The subsequent centuries brought additional significant contacts abroad. The Ongba Cave (on the Khwae Yai branch of the Mae Klong) was the site for the burial of at least ninety wooden boat-

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[86] Higham, *Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia* (1989), fig. 2.28, p. 81; Watson, "Kok Charoen" (1979), pl. IIId. Also Sap Champa and the object illustrated in *Khrûang thuai nai Prathêt Thai* (1980), pl. 25, p. 61; Veerapan, "Sab Champa, Lopburi province" (1971–72), p. 95 and figs. 6 and 7.

[87] E.g., Ngo Sy Hong, "The Sa Huynh Culture: Recent Discoveries" (1984–85), pp. 153–55.

[88] Dates from Higham, *Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia* (1989), p. 232.

[89] Associated radiocarbon dates are circa 1225–700 B. C. (*Bôrânkhadî* 4, no. 2 [Oct. 1972], p. 188). The site is briefly described in Chin (1967), p. 57.

[90] Sot Daeng-iat, "Kân patibat ngân khut samruat læ̂ng bôrânkhadî thî Khôk Phlap čhangwat Râtburî" (1978). See also the illustrations in *MBJ* 4, no. 4 (July-Sept. 1978).

[91] Sørensen (ed.), *Archaeological Excavations in Thailand: Surface Finds and Minor Excavations* (1988), p. 81 and pl. 34.

[92] Bellwood, *Man's Conquest of the Pacific* (1979), fig. 8.7, p. 213, and text, p. 193; illus. *AP* 3 (1959), fig. 2.

[93] Chin, "Nothing is New" (1978), illus. p. 8. Also Fontaine, "On the Extent of the Sa-huynh Culture in Continental Southeast Asia" (1980).

shaped coffins.[94] Similar burials have been found in Szechwan (China), Niah Caves (Borneo), Palawan (Philippines), and at the Dong Son–type sites of Vietnam itself.[95] Six bronze kettledrums were deposited in pairs in the cave, two near a burial dating from about 300 B. C. All the drums apparently figured in burial rituals. An analysis of their decoration indicates that the drums were of disparate age, were probably manufactured in Vietnam rather than Yunnan, and were not new when they were deposited.[96] At the same time, the use of boat coffins and—possibly—the local representation of drums in paintings (at Ta Duang, as mentioned above) suggest that the local people were adherents of Dong Son beliefs. More than a dozen ancient drums have been found on the peninsula, others in Uttaradit and Suphanburi provinces and in the Northeast, but none comes from so rich a context.[97] Far rarer than drums are large backpack-shaped bronze urns, with ornament consisting of elements such as interlocking scrolling *Js*. Only six are known—three found in Indonesia, one in Cambodia, and one in Chaiyaphum province in Thailand.[98] Although they share certain elements with the drums and may have been made at about the same time, they were probably produced at a different, unknown center, and then distributed as items of prestige.

It is a journey of about eighty-five kilometers downstream from Ongba Cave to the confluence of the two branches and the modern town of Kanchanaburi. About twenty kilometers northeast of Kanchanaburi, toward U Thong, lies the cemetery of Ban Don Ta Phet (Phanom Thuan district), which was first excavated in 1975. One of the most extraordinary objects from the site—uncovered by

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[94] Sørensen (ed.), *Archaeological Excavations in Thailand: Surface Finds and Minor Excavations* (1988), pp. 95–133; Sørensen, "The Ongbah Cave and Its Fifth Drum" (1979).

[95] Hà Văn Tân, "Nouvelles recherches" (1980), pp. 129–30.

[96] Sørensen (ed.), *Archaeological Excavations in Thailand: Surface Finds and Minor Excavations* (1988), pp. 108–130.

[97] For drums found in Thailand, ibid., and references therein. Also: Chin, *Samai kộn prawatsât*, p. 5; Khêmchât, "Raî ngân kân samruat læ sụksâ klộng mahôrathụk na Bân Yuan Thao tambon Thêparât 'amphœ̂ Sichon čhangwat Nakhộn Sî Thammarât" (1985); Suphanburi, illus. *MBJ* 9, no. 3 (Aug.-Nov. 1983), p. 133. Also Prathum, "Kân phop klộng mahôrathụk lûk mai thî 'amphœ̂ Phunphin čhangwat Surât Thânî" (1975) and Prathum, "Klộng mahôrathụk Kọ, Samui" (1978). For two of these three drums from Uttaradit (with associated vessels), *Samutphâp phiphit-thaphan/Album of Art Exhibits*, vol. 1 (1955), pls. 9–13.

[98] Glover, "Large Bronze Urns in Southeast Asia: Some New Finds and a Reassessment" (1992); illus., *MBJ* 16, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1990), cover.

villagers before the official excavations—is the fragment of a bronze bowl (fig. 7). Eventually nearly 300 bronze containers—primarily bowls with a diameter of 20–25 centimeters—were found in the course of excavations in 1975, 1980–81, and 1984–85.[99] Other outstanding objects include a lion pendant of orange carnelian (which has been compared to a crystal lion found in Taxila)[100] and bronze finials in the form of birds (pl. 2).[101] The technical similarities of the bowls to some found at Indian sites raised the possibility that the Indian examples were imported from Thailand.[102] The sheer number of the Ban Don Ta Phet bowls, their high tin content of 20–31%, suggesting a local or peninsular ore source, and additional technical studies all appeared to confirm that they must have been made in Thailand.[103] The place of Ban Don Ta Phet in a system of worldwide trade was also born out by the approximately 3,000 beads found in the graves, of both glass and precious stone, a sizable proportion of which must have been of Indian manufacture. The bronze bird finial of pl. 2, which was excavated at Ban Don Ta Phet in the 1980–81 season, may provide evidence of a movement of techniques and styles from Southeast Asia to India. This object must be related to Han-dynasty censers with openwork covers and bird finials,[104] and the form has survived in the ceramic censers of the Batak of Sumatra.[105] At the same time, it is not without connections to southern Indian metalwork of ancient times[106] In this forceful cock, which has what may represent a stone disc around its neck, the simplified

[99] Glover, *Early Trade* (1989), p. 31. For the discovery of the bronze bowl of fig. 7, Chin, *Bân Dộn Tâ Phet* (Bangkok: FAD, 1976), pp. 3–4. For an assessment of the site, Glover, "Ban Don Ta Phet and its Relevance in the Pre- and Protohistory of Thailand" (1980). See also Kunlaphanthadâ, "Watthanatham Bân Dộn Tâ Phet" (1982).

[100] Glover, *Early Trade* (1989), p. 28 and figs. 17–18.

[101] Illus. *Sinlapâkộn* 26, no. 1 (March 1982), p. 78.

[102] Warangkhana and Seeley, "The Bronze Bowls From Ban Don Ta Phet, Thailand, an Enigma of Prehistoric Metallurgy" (1979).

[103] Bennett and Glover, "Decorated High-Tin Bronze Bowls from Thailand's Prehistory" (1992), pp. 199, 206.

[104] Fontein and Wu, *Unearthing China's Past* (1973), fig. 47, p. 104, and no. 44, p. 105; Laufer, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty* (1962), fig. 39, p. 186; Hejzlar, *The Art of Vietnam* (1973), pl. 33. For the modeling, also Fontein and Wu, *Unearthing* (1973), no. 47, p. 111.

[105] Bartlett, "The Labors of the *datoe*: part II" (1931, rpt. 1973), pl. XIX, p. 205.

[106] Allchin and Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilization* (1968), pls. 30B–31B (Adichanallur).

Figure 7. Drawing of the engraved design on a bronze bowl from Ban Don Ta Phet. Fine Arts Department of Thailand.

mass of the head balances the elegant curves of the individual tail feathers, the head and tail projecting from a miniaturized body that is supported by tautly poised and angled legs.

The bronze bowl fragment (fig. 7), its engraved design thought to have been produced by a mechanically operated wheel,[107] can also be assigned a place in this web of international connections. From one point of view it must be considered a stylistic descendant of the decor on Dong Son–type bronze drums. Attesting to a connection are the juxtaposition of figure with architecture (however hard to read) and the use of circles with a central dot. In one of the drums from the Ongba cave, such circles (in the drums, cast, not engraved) serve as nodes on bird-figures but also are disembodied, floating elements,

[107] Bennett and Glover, "Decorated High-Tin Bronze Bowls" (1992), p. 200.

somewhat as they are here.[108] At the same time, the Ban Don Ta Phet bowl must be attached, if only marginally, to a southern Chinese incised-bronze style of the first century B. C. and the first A. D., of which there is also evidence from Lach-truong in Vietnam.[109] There is an even stronger relationship, however, with an incised high-tin bronze jar from Kulu in northwestern India, of about the second or first century B. C.[110] Fragments of bowls in an identical style discovered at other sites since 1975 strengthen the Indian aspect of the Ban Don Ta Phet bowl: in one of these, a woman is similarly seen next to an architectural construction (depicted both from the front and, diagonally, from the side), but more of her body is visible, and she conforms to the Indian ideal of narrow waist and broad hips.[111] Around the side of the same vessel is an elephant, overlapping a deer that faces the opposite direction. Among the animals that appear on still other bowls are a horse, a horned ram, a humped cow, and a buffalo. The designs bear a relationship to a largely lost Indian secular art of about the first century A. D. that has left traces in the Begram ivories and in aspects of the art of Amaravati.[112] Although the excavators proposed a date in the fourth century B. C., one no earler than the first century B. C. fits better with patterns of development in India and China.

Beads provide another means to trace the patterns of trade. Perhaps the most striking of the Ban Don Ta Phet beads were the more than fifty examples of carnelian and agate with white stripes created by chemical etching or staining. Evidently of Indian manufacture, they are most fully paralleled among the finds at Taxila.[113] Many of the glass beads are faceted, in imitation of gemstones. Another important archaeological site for glass beads is Ban Bon Noen (Phanat Nikhom district, Chonburi), where a particularly unusual type—orange, with a red core—was found in considerable quantity in two occupation layers, as if a large shipment arrived in the community

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[108] Sørensen (ed.), *Archaeological Excavations in Thailand: Surface Finds and Minor Excavations* (1988), pl. 48.22.

[109] Fontein and Wu, *Unearthing China's Past* (1973), pp. 118–24.

[110] Glover, *Early Trade* (1989), p. 31 and fig. 27. Illus., Jeanine Auboyer, *Daily Life in Ancient India* (1965), fig. 25.

[111] Bennett and Glover, "Decorated High-Tin Bronze Bowls" (1992), fig. 2, p. 193.

[112] For the intersection of the Begram ivories, Amaravati, and international trade, Stern, "Les ivoires et os découverts à Begram: Leur place dans l'évolution de l'art de l'Inde" (1954), pp. 31–35.

[113] Glover, *Early Trade* (1989), pp. 19–28.

around 200 B. C., providing beads that were were passed down as heirlooms for centuries thereafter.[114] Around Sathing Phra on the peninsula onyx beads and glass also provide evidence of early trading connections with India and ultimately the Mediterranean.[115] An important peninsular trading center for beads—and eventually a manufacturing center as well—was the Khuan Lukpat site (Khlong Thom district, Krabi), which has been plausibly identified as the Roman trading emporium Ptolemy called Takkola.[116] A carnelian animal pendant similar to the Ban Don Ta Phet lion, types of glass bead found also at Arikamedu (on India's southwestern coast), Roman carnelian intaglios of the first or second century A. D., and a polished stone (a seal) incised with eight letters in an Indian Brahmi-like script have all been found there.[117] At a certain point in time, craftsmen at the site started to produce both glass and stone beads.[118]

Khuan Lukpat has been called a "colonial enclave" and "some type of early offshore technology park in a tropical wilderness."[119] Nothing is known of the poltical setting in which it operated. This is also true of Ban Don Ta Phet. It too may have been a kind of enclave, dependent on sustained relations with overseas traders for cultural sustenance, and with only a tangential relationship to the local powers that be, whom it enriched but ideologically only affected minimally. Later such enclaves in Southeast Asian history would include the Buddhist monasteries of seventh–eighth-century Srivijaya and the seventeenth-century settlements of European traders on the southern edge of the city of Ayutthaya. If, on the other hand, the people buried in the Ban Don Ta Phet cemetery were an integral part of a local society, then one would expect archaeological research to eventually uncover more traces of the Indianized society that flourished in the first five centuries of our era.

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[114] Pilditch, "The Glass Beads of Ban Bon Noen, Central Thailand" (1992).

[115] Stargardt, "The Satingpra Civilization and Its Relevance to Srivijayan Studies" (1982).

[116] Mayuree, "Khlong Thom: An Ancient Bead and Manufacturing Location and an Ancient Entrepot" (1987). For other artifacts, Phasook, "Presence of the Romans in Southeast Asia, Especially Thailand" (1992).

[117] Prîchâ, "Aksộn run rǣk nai phâk tai khộng Prathêt Thai" (1996). Cf. Kongkaew, "Inscriptions from South Thailand" (1986), p. 7.

[118] Peter Francis (Jr.), "Glass Beads in Malaysia" (1991), p. 102.

[119] Glover, *Early Trade* (1989), p. 9, (a) citing Bronson (referring to Renfrew), "Glass and Beads at Khuan Lukpad, Southern Thailand" (1990), (b) Glover's words.

Ethnic Identification

Nearly all the present-day inhabitants of Thailand speak one or another dialect of Thai. Two thousand years ago the situation was quite different. In Dvāravatī times the vernacular of both the central plains and the Northeast was apparently Mon. As the modern Mon of the central plains have come from Burma in recent times, scholars assumed that the Dvāravatī language had disappeared from Thailand until Gérard Diffloth identified a linguistic descendant in the language of the Nyah Kur, who live in the region of the Pa Sak River valley.[120] "Proto-Old-Mon," the language immediately ancestral to that of the Dvāravatī inscriptions, was probably spoken two thousand years ago in the central plains and perhaps even more widely. What other languages were spoken within the borders of Thailand is not certain. Beside the Nyah Kur, speakers of modern Mon-Khmer languages include the Lawa, Khmu, and Souei, considered the indigenes, respectively, of northern Thailand, northern Laos, and southern Laos. The parents of these languages split from Mon (and Khmer and Vietnamese and other languages in the Mon-Khmer division of the Austro-Asiatic languages) more than three thousand years ago, but they cannot be placed on a map of the first millennium B. C. with any conviction.[121]

Within the Mon-Khmer division are twelve languages, one of which Khasi. The Khasis of Assam seem to have preserved certain cultural traits evidenced by the stone vats of the Plain of Jars in Laos.[122] If in fact the Khasis are the descendants of the Plain of Jars people, the implication is that displacement has been considerable and that there is no obvious place to look, say, for the descendants of the Ban Chiang population. It is possible to imagine the inhabitants of Thailand two thousand years ago as speaking various Mon-Khmer languages but lacking cultural uniformity. The evidence is least clear on the peninsula, but given the fact that the peninsular Negrito languages are part of the same Mon-Khmer family, the Dvāravatī-like character of some early peninsular sites, and the pres-

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[120] Diffloth, "Reconstructing Dvāravatī-Old-Mon" (1981), pp. 117–27. For an overall view, Shorto, "The Linguistic Protohistory of Mainland South East Asia" (1979).

[121] Diffloth, "Austro-Asiatic Languages" (1978), pp. 480–84.

[122] Gourdon, *The Khasis* (1914).

ence of Mon-language inscriptions, a good case can be made for a Mon identity.[123]

Mon-Khmer languages have been associated with populations susceptible to anemia because of the presence of hemoglobin E.[124] Evidence for such anemia has been found among the skeletons of both Ban Kao and Ban Chiang.[125] The two populations nevertheless differ. The peoples of Southeast Asia and Oceania can be considered varying mixtures of Mongoloid and indigenous Australoid strains.[126] The Ban Kao people, like modern Thais, were strongly Mongoloid—an aspect that might be connected with the Austronesian aspects of their culture. The people of Ban Chiang seem to have been less Mongoloid, and rather more like modern Polynesians.[127]

The clearest legacy of the movement of Austronesian speakers is the presence of the Cham language in Vietnam, and the ancestors of the Cham were quite probably responsible for the Sa Huynh culture of the first millennium B. C.[128] The exact boundary lines of the penetration of Austronesian language and of Austronesian cultural elements, are, however, necessarily fluid and uncertain. One region of interest is the Mun River basin, with its jar burials of two thousand years ago; the question arises as to whether Cham influences of the period around the ninth century A. D. should be understood against the background of earlier cultural connections. Another key area is that of the Mae Klong River; perhaps Ban Kao's connections with the peninsula and the island world also left a legacy, pulling the inhabitants toward seaborne relations and away from their neighbors to the east, who eventually became the people of central Dvāravatī. Ban Don Ta Phet could be understood in such a light. On the eastern coast of the tip of the gulf, perhaps the beads of Ban Bon Noen herald the relationship that the inland urban center of Muang Si Mahosot, Prachinburi was to have with the peninsula. Austronesian speakers, having initially been responsible for creating connections, might in later centuries have been instrumental

[123] N. Ś. 2 and 3.

[124] Flatz, "Hemoglobin E in South-East Asia" (1965).

[125] Sood, "A Preliminary Report" (1966), p. 6; Pietrusewsky, "The Ancient Inhabitants of Ban Chiang" (1982), p. 46.

[126] Bellwood, *Man's Conquest of the Pacific* (1979), pp. 44–47.

[127] Pietrusewsky, "The Ancient Inhabitants of Ban Chiang" (1982), pp. 45, 48; Chin, *Ban Chiang Prehistoric Cultures* (1975), p. 14.

[128] Higham, *Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia* (1989), p. 233.

in preserving them. At any rate, the fundamental importance of these people is suggested by the fact that the Dvāravatī word for "iron" was borrowed from an Austronesian language.[129]

Two other languages or language families of concern are Karen and Tai, the ancestor of modern Thai. The Karen, whose language is probably Tibeto-Burman in origin, make bronze drums that descend from the drums of Dong Son and Tien, but their own legends affirm that they learned the art from another ethnic group in the distant past.[130] The language of the people of Tien and, beginning in the eighth century, of those of the Nan-chao kingdom is not known; possibly it was another Tibeto-Burman language, related to modern Lolo.[131] Tai speakers must have played a role in linking Tien to Dong Son, along the course of the Red River, where they were then living. Chinese sources state that the fierce people of this region had pile dwellings and used bronze drums.[132] Among the cultural features the historical Thai of Sukhothai shared with Tien and later Yunnanese societies was the use of cowries as a currency.[133] Lao tradition associates the beginnings of history with Muang Thaeng, at or near Dienbienphu, southwest of the Red River in Vietnam. There are good reasons for considering this region, now home of the Black Tai, a kind of staging area for speakers of all the languages of the southwestern branch of Tai, of languages now spoken southwest of the Red River. Proto-Southwestern Tai probably came to be spoken in this area in the course of the first millennium A. D.[134]

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[129] Diffloth, *The Dvaravati Old Mon Language and Nyah Kur* (1984), p. 140.

[130] Cooler, *The Karen Bronze Drums of Burma* (1995), pp. 29–30.

[131] Pulleyblank, "The Chinese and Their Neighbors in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times" (1983), p. 435.

[132] Ibid., pp. 434–35.

[133] Wicks, *Money, Markets, and Trade in Early Southeast Asia: the Development of Indigenous Monetary Systems to AD 1400* (1992), pp. 171–72.

[134] Chamberlain, "The Origins of the Southwestern Tai" (1972): 233–44; Li, "Tai Languages" (1982), pp. 989–92.

CHAPTER TWO

THE FIRST MILLENNIUM A. D.

A thousand years may lie between the Ban Don Ta Phet bowl (fig. 7) and the time in the tenth century when Khmer styles and political power impacted strongly upon Thailand. It is a period within which developments can be meticulously followed in China, in most of India, and even in neighboring Cambodia, thanks to the abundance there of both dated inscriptions and sacred lithic architectural complexes. Developments in Thailand are less easily traced. Region to region, they varied in nature. Knowledge of later Thai history promotes a focus on central Thailand and on the political entity Dvāravatī in the seventh and eighth centuries, especially at the sites of Nakhon Pathom and U Thong. There is much to be said both for such a concentration and for a more multifocal viewpoint, in which each region is allowed to speak for itself throughout the period as well as when it seems to have the most to say (the Mae Klong basin, at Khu Bua, in the second half of the seventh century; the Mun basin, at "Prakhon Chai," around 800; the Chi basin, at Fa Daet, in the ninth century, and so forth). Given the present state of understanding, a survey of art and architecture must make of the material what it will, and methodological consistency is not achievable.

Indianization

If indeed by the end of the first millennium B. C. there were enclaves with stronger cultural and economic ties to a milieu of international traders than to local political structures, the problem remains of establishing the relationship of such enclaves to the less internationally-directed communities. Archaeology may establish whether the distinction is valid and, if it is, contrast the material culture of the two societies. What it may not be able to do is to clarify the nature of ideological exchange. At precisely what point does the local ruler endeavor to bring into his entourage a foreign advisor who promotes

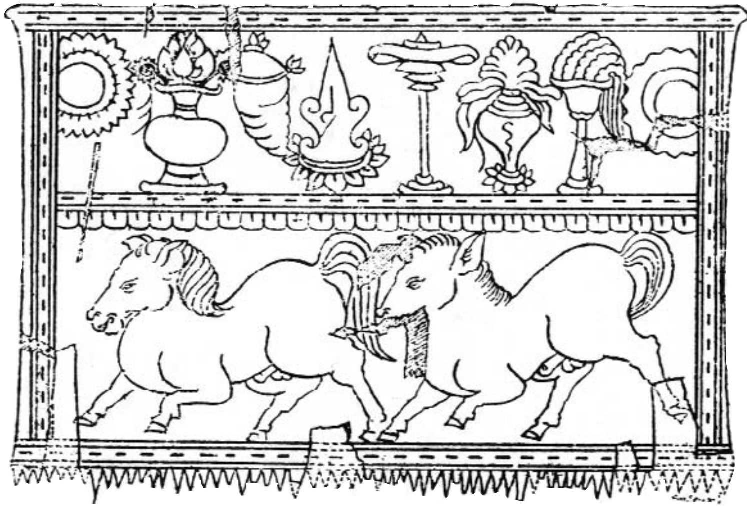

Figure 8. Drawing of the design on the ivory comb excavated at Chansen. Fine Arts Department of Thailand.

the adoption of Indian religions and titles? What are the points of congruence between native beliefs and the foreign religion? Or is it the leaders of the enclave who "go native"? A body of speculation exists about such matters, raising issues that will continue to be discussed even as the archaeological record becomes increasingly rich.[1]

An ivory comb excavated at Chansen (Takhli district, Nakhon Sawan) in central Thailand (fig. 8) makes an interesting case study, especially when seen against the background of the bronze bowls of Ban Don Ta Phet (fig. 7). Piriya Krairiksh once considered the comb a local product but dated it to the fifth century, not unreasonably seeing in it connections with the murals of Ajanta.[2] Jean Boisselier intimated that whether or not it was imported, it may be even later.[3]

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[1] On Indianization in general, Mabbett, "The 'Indianization' of Southeast Asia: Reflections on the Prehistoric Sources" (1977); Wheatley, *Nāgara and Commandery: Origins of the Southeast Asian Urban Traditions* (1983); Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia* (1985), pp. 26–77; Hermann Kulke, "Indian Colonies, Indianization or Cultural Convergence?" (1990); Glover, *Early Trade Between India and South-East Asia: a Link in the Development of a World Trading System* (1989); Higham, *The Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia* (1989); Brown, "Indian Art Transformed" (1992); Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), pp. 183–99; Mabbett, "The 'Indianization' of Mainland Southeast Asia: a Reappraisal" (1997).

[2] Piriya, *Bǣp sinlapa nai Prathēt Thai/Art Styles in Thailand* (1977), pp. 52–53.

[3] Boisselier, *Thai Painting* (1976), p. 19.

To such views, the excavator, Bennet Bronson, responded that the radiocarbon dates from the layer in which the comb was found make a date later than A. D. 300–350 impossible and that "the comb is in fact more securely dated than the great majority of early Indian objects."[4] Indeed, it seems that the motifs on the comb can be paralleled at Amaravati and that a third-century date is entirely possible. The layer in question corresponds to Phase II, for which Bronson proposed dates of 1/50–200/250 A. D.

Some of the bronze bowls from Ban Don Ta Phet have animals in procession,[5] and their rounded rumps are echoed in the horses on the comb. If the culture of South and Southeast Asia is viewed as an encompassing entity, the engraved design on the comb can be understood as a development of that on certain incised bowls. Within Thailand itself, however, the comb seems to represent something of a cultural loss. The unexpected merger at Don Ta Phet of Chinese, Dong Son, and Indian elements (fig. 7 and pl. 2) is extraordinary; if the art of the region had continued to develop in the same direction, both its independent qualities and its generic ties to China would be far more evident. The auspicious symbols on the comb, on the other hand (sun, vase, cornucopia, *śrīvatsa*, parasol, conch, flywhisk, moon), belong entirely to the Indian tradition.

Something of the world of which the comb was a part can be reconstructed from archaeological excavations and written records. Chinese sources tell of the kingdom of Fu-nan and permit the history of the kingdom to be divided into two periods. The first period extends from the first century A. D.—from the time of the legendary marriage of an Indian named Kaundinya to a local princess—to the first half of the fifth century. Within the first period, historical evidence of a relationship between Funan and the peninsula (and possibly central Thailand) is furnished by a passage describing conquests in the early third century by the Funanese king called in Chinese Fan Shih-man. In the first half of the fifth century there was a "second Indianization" and a second Kaundinya, said to be an Indian brahman who arrived in Fu-nan by way of P'an-p'an, a state on the peninsula. This second period lasted until the rise and expansion of

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[4] Bronson, "The Late Prehistory and Early History of Central Thailand with Special Reference to Chansen" (1979), p. 331.

[5] Glover, "Ban Don Ta Phet and its Relevance" (1980), pp. 28–29.

a new state in the late sixth century and early decades of the seventh.[6] In the standard view, Fu-nan was a Mekong Delta state with a cosmopolitan seaport at Oc-eo and an interior capital at the foot of the mountain Ba Phnom—the place later Khmer incriptions called Vyādhapura.[7]

In his periodization of Chansen, Bennet Bronson established phases that correspond roughly to those derived from historical evidence. His Phase II (1/50–200/250 A. D.) ends at about the time of Fan Shih-man's expedition; Phase III (200/250–450/500) ends a little after the "second Indianization,"; and Phase IV (450/500–600/650) lasts about as long as Fu-nan itself.[8] Phase II is that of the ivory comb. No evidence for inhumation burials was found, and the people—unlike those of Ban Don Ta Phet—may have already cremated their dead as a result of influences from India. Some of the pottery may have Indian connections; some is comb-incised, like that of Oc-eo and the Plain of Jars.[9]

Both Phases III and IV at Chansen are characterized by artifacts similar to those found at Oc-eo and at another central plains site, U Thong.[10] "They include," Bronson summarized, "a distinctive type of torque-like ring in tin or gold called by Malleret *anneaux alourdis*; earthenware stamps which may have been used for printing designs on fabrics; small bronze bells decorated with filigree spirals; gold jewelry of various kinds, stone bivalve moulds for making this jewelry; and a type of coin or medal decorated with a *triśula*-like design and known to archaeologists as 'Fu-nan' coins despite their probable Burmese origin."[11] Bronson went on to inquire about the probable relationship between elite objects, hierarchically-organized societies,

[6] For Fu-nan, Cœdès, *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie* (1964), pp. 74–78, 81–85, 91–94, 108–120, 125–133.

[7] For an alternative view, Boisselier, *Nouvelles données sur l'histoire ancienne de la Thailande* (1965).

[8] Bronson, "The Late Prehistory and Early History of Central Thailand" (1979), p. 317.

[9] Ibid., pp. 329–330, 324. Because such comb-incised pottery is so widespread, Bronson is reluctant to see any significance in its appearance here (ibid., p. 335 n. 4).

[10] For additional Chansen finds, Wilailak, "Phiphithaphan Čhansên." (1996). For illustrations of some of the U Thong finds, Čhirâ and Woodward, *Nam chom phiphitthaphan sathân hæ̂ng chât 'Û Thộng čhangwat Suphanburî/Guide to the U-Thong National Museum, Suphanburi* (1966). For a discussion, Boisselier, "Ū-thòng et son importance pour l'histoire de Thailande" (1966).

[11] Bronson, "The Late Prehistory and Early History of Central Thailand" (1979), p. 323.

and entities like Chansen and U Thong that "begin to look vaguely like states." Then he wrote:

> Such an impression is reinforced when we consider the number of objects in Chansen III and IV which seem to be actual imports from overseas. About one-seventh of one per cent of the site's surface was excavated; the objects were found widely distributed through numerous separate trenches whose locations were chosen randomly with respect to the protohistoric strata. Yet those strata produced two Chinese artifacts, one possibly Burmese artefact, several objects which might be from Oc-eo, and no fewer than eight metallic blackware bowls, at least two of which are close enough in paste to the Hanbantota examples to have actually come from Ceylon. The indicated volume of extra-regional trade is very large for a site as undistinguished and remote as Chansen.[12]

To such a list of exotic objects could be added the Roman coin of Victorinus (r. 269–71) found at U Thong (but not in an archaeological context) and other Roman artifacts.[13]

The picture is a complex one. There certainly were Indian immigrants in Thailand, if not necessarily at Chansen, and pottery considerably more Indian in character than that at Chansen has been found elsewhere in Southeast Asia.[14] Indian elements are found at various levels, and there was an evident desire of an elite for foreign luxury goods. The presence of cloth stamps suggests a waning interest in supporting local traditions of cloth manufacture, which may have involved the ikat technique. At the same time, change extended beyond the interest of elites in exotic luxury items; if this had not been the case, the practice of cremation (presumably) would not have been adopted.

If, on the other hand, it is assumed that the archaeological record at Chansen is the upcountry reflection of a truly Buddhist culture in an urban community closer to the coast, then weight can be given to the evidence that has been uncovered. At U Thong, this consists of stucco fragments of figures—disciples and the Buddha—with a robe adjustment like that in Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda sculpture and plausibly attributable to the third or fourth century A. D.[15]

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[12] Ibid., p. 325.

[13] Phasook, "Presence of the Romans in Southeast Asia, Especially Thailand" (1992).

[14] Walker and Santoso, "Romano-Indian Rouletted Pottery in Indonesia" (1977/1980).

[15] Čhirâ and Woodward, *Nam chom phiphitthaphan* (1966), nos. 4 and 6. For early brickwork in U Thong, Loofs-Wissowa, "Problems of Continuity" (1979), p. 349.

Funanese Art

In A. D. 503, following the ascension of the Liang dynasty in Nanking, Fu-nan sent a tribute mission. Among the objects brought by the envoys was a coral image of the Buddha.[16] In the same decade Funanese monks in Nanking were busy translating Buddhist texts, among them a version of the Aśoka legend (T. 2043), a *Prajñāpāramitā* in 700 lines (T. 233), and other Mahāyāna sūtras.[17] On another tribute mission in 519, the envoys reported that in Fu-nan there was hair of the Buddha twelve feet in length. The Liang emperor Wu (r. 502–49), a fervent Buddhist, sent an emissary of his own to acquire the hair. If the temple he built in the 520s had not subsequently burned, the nature of the Buddhist art at his court would be less of a mystery. A group of sixth-century stelae from Chengtu, Szechuan, may provide clues to the Nanking court style, however; in them there is a robust modeling only assimilated decades later in northern China, a reflection of the Amaravati mode of wearing the monastic robe, and such Indian motifs as the predella of dancers and musicians (as can be found, for instance in Badami Cave 2).[18]

It cannot be demonstrated that all this activity was a reflection of what was going on in Fu-nan itself.[19] An undated Sanskrit inscription (K. 40) of King Rudravarman (r. 514-after 539) from Vat Bati in Ta Keo province—a spot near the presumed Funanese capital of Vyādhapura—provides few clues regarding the nature of Funanese Buddhism. Its mention of relics of the Buddha may or may not be an indication of an outlook comparable to that of the Emperor Wu—Mahāyānist, yet focused on the historical reality of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Although no Cambodian images of the Buddha can be positively identified with the reign of Rudravarman, the Buddha of Vat Chrak and the wooden Buddha from Tháp-mu'ò'i suggest, as does the Chinese material, sources in the Amaravati tradition and in developments in the Deccan.[20]

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[16] Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai Trade" (1958), p. 121; Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire* (1951), p. 29.

[17] *Hôbôgirin*, fasc. annexe, *Tables du Taishô Issaikyô* (1931), pp. 144, 150.

[18] Soper, "South Chinese Influence on the Buddhist Art of the Six Dynasties Period" (1960), figs. 8–10.

[19] Architectural relationships with Cambodian structures a century later were pointed out in Alexander C. Soper, "Two Stelae and a Pagoda on the Central Peak, Mt. Sung" (1962).

[20] Vat Chrak: Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), pl. XL, 2. Tháp-mu'ò'i: Malleret,

Buddhism was not the exclusive religion of Fu-nan, as is evident from the Chinese reports, from inscriptions, and from material remains. Most relevant to works found in Thailand is a group of stone images of Viṣṇu; in each the deity holds the conch held with his lower left hand against his hip.[21] Although the latest of these images could date from the first half of the seventh century, the earliest may have been carved in the fifth century or even before. In the central plains, numerous small objects of Funanese type have been found, especially at U Thong, but little or nothing in the way of large-scale sulpture. Stone images of Viṣṇu that may be grouped with the Funanese sculptures have, on the other hand, been found on the peninsula (pl. 3). The "second Kaundinya" had ruled P'an-p'an, a peninsular state, before ascending the Fu-nan throne in the first half of the fifth century, and so there was a shared heritage. Much of Fu-nan's Indian trade, furthermore, seems to have crossed the peninsula,[22] where the people may have been Mon speakers, as that is the language of a sixth–seventh-century inscription preserved at Nakhon Si Thammarat (Th. 28).

P'an-p'an's first mission to China occurred in the 424–53 period; later ones date from 455, 457–64, seven different times in the 527–540 period (including once in 536, when "Buddhist relics, miniature painted stūpas, leaves of the Bo tree, excellent crystallized sweetmeats, and perfumes" were presented), 551, 571, and 584. It is said in Chinese records that in P'an-p'an are "numerous brahmans come from India in search of wealth" and "ten monasteries where Buddhist monks and nuns study their canon."[23] P'an-p'an may have been situated in Surat Thani province.

Other peninsular principalities of the period were Lang-ya-hsiu (Langkasuka), which sent tribute to China in the years 515, 523, 531, and 568, and Kedah.[24] Kedah seems not to have made an appearance

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L'Archéologie du Delta du Mékong (1959–63), vol. 4, pl. XXI. The latter has provided a C-14 date of A. D. 180–480: Smith and Watson (eds.), *Early South East Asia* (1979), p. 505.

[21] Tuol Koh (Ta Keo prov.): *Dupont, La statuaire préangkorienne* (1955), pl. 23A; O'Connor, *Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam* (1972), p. 43n. Oc-eo: Malleret, *L'Archéologie du Delta du Mékong* (1959–63), vol. 1, pl. 72; O'Connor, *Hindu Gods* (1972), fig. 4. Bathê: Malleret, *L'Archéologie* (1959–63), vol. 1, pl. 83 ab; O'Connor, *Hindu Gods* (1972), p. 43n. Vat Brah Dhatu, Châu-doâc: Malleret, *L'Archéologie* (1959–63), vol. 1, pl. 83c.

[22] Hall, *Maritime Trade* (1985), pp. 68–75; Wang Gung-wu, "Nanhai Trade" (1958), pp. 53–55.

[23] Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (1961), pp. 49, 118–19.

[24] Ibid., pp. 118, 252–65. On Lang-ya-hsiu, also Jacq-Hergoualc'h, "Une cité-état de la Péninsule malaise: le Langkasuka" (1995).

in the Chinese records until 638 (when "Chia-cha" sent tribute), and a string of temples along the Bujang River marks the activities of the seventh century and later. An earlier history is suggested by inscriptions found a few miles to the south.[25] The Bukit Meriam inscription contains the Buddhist *ye dharmā* formula ("all phenomena proceed from a cause . . ."), followed by a second verse beginning *ajñānācciyate karma*, "through ignorance karma is accumulated."[26] (These two stanzas are also found together in an inscription at Batu Pahat, in western Kalimantan.)[27] Another inscription, on which there is an engraving of a stūpa, contains the second of the two stanzas and a passage with the name of the sea captain Buddhagupta of Raktamṛttaka, who evidently hoped that erection of the stone would help effect a successful voyage.[28] This Raktamṛttaka may have been that identified as the site of Rajbadidanga in the Murshidabad district of West Bengal, where in the seventh century a Buddhist monastery was visited by Hsüan-tsang.[29] Although it has not been identified with a Chinese toponym, another peninsular site, the trading emporium of Khlong Thom in Krabi province, was apparently issuing its own coinage in the course of the first half of the first millennium; the small gold coins, modeled on a silver prototype associated with Pegu in Burma, had a conch on the obverse, a *śrīvatsa* on the reverse, and were used for exchange.[30] A number of stone seals have been found at the site, bearing Pallava-type letters.[31]

The Funanese and peninsular images of Viṣṇu fall more readily into a group than do images of the Buddha. The Viṣṇu from Chaiya

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[25] *Federation Museums Journal* 6 (1961), map. p. 71; text, pp. 78–85. The relevant material is gathered together in Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *La civilisation de ports-entrepôts du sud Kedah* (1992).

[26] Chhabbra, "Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture During Pallava Rule, as Evidenced by Inscriptions" (1935), pp. 14–15.

[27] Ibid., pp. 41–44.

[28] Ibid., pp. 17–20. For the palaeography, De Casparis, *Indonesian Palaeography* (1975), p. 19 (second half of the fifth century). Cf. Kộngkæ̂o, "Čhârụk run ræ̂k khộng Mâlêsîa" (1989), pp. 30–38, who puts all of these inscriptions in the seventh century on palaeographic grounds. For a related tablet with a *ye dharmā* inscription, Allen, "An Inscribed Tablet from Kedah, Malaysia: Comparison with Earlier Finds" (1986–87). For a comparison with Ajanta, Jacq-Hergoualc'h, "A propos des figurations de stūpa de deux inscriptions malaises" (1994). Also, Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *La civilsation de ports-entrepôts du sud Kedah* (1992), pp. 219–24.

[29] Das, "Foundation Human Sacrifice" (1968), pp. 72–73.

[30] Wicks, *Money, Markets, and Trade in Early Southeast Asia: the Development of Indigenous Monetary Systems to A. D. 1400* (1992), pp. 221–22.

[31] Kongkaew, "Inscriptions from South Thailand" (1986), pp. 7–8.

(pl. 3) is a chunky and severely frontal image, different from Indian prototypes because the sculptor was not particularly interested in rounded countours or swelling volumes. Yet it is neither boring nor inept. The interesting relationships of the layered accoutrements are the two-dimensional ones, as can be seen in the incised curves of the dhoti, the heavy verticle pleat, and the sway of the sash, leading into the conch. These and other elements interact in a way that pulls the eye from one part to another and then back again.

In his thorough study of this image, Stanley J. O'Connor wrote that "the most immediate stylistic influence seems to be from the fourth-century art of the Andhradeśa" and that it "should be dated no later than 400 A. D."[32] Nevertheless it is probable that the work was produced after rather than before 400 and that a northern Indian model played a role. Some of the motifs are very early in type; the earrings, for instance, are somewhat similar to those on fourth-century images from Gaya district.[33] But the necklace and the placement of two belt-ends on the left thigh are more satisfactorily paralleled in Gupta images of around 400 or later.[34] A fifth- or even sixth-century date seems probable.[35] The other three peninsular images of the group, all found in Nakhon Si Thammarat province, do not particularly help to narrow the date. One, with a small spoked aureole behind the head, would be an alternate response to an Indian model of about the same time; in it, there is a greater interest in bulging flesh.[36] A second has a foliate-patterned mitre that is proportionately very tall, and the lowered right arm holds an attribute.[37]

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[32] O'Connor, *Hindu Gods* (1972), p. 39.

[33] Asher, *The Art of Eastern India, 300–800* (1980), pls. 8–9.

[34] Necklace: J. C. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture* (1974), fig. 10 (Cave 3, Udayagiri), fig. 33 (Viṣṇu from Besnagar). Belt ends: ibid., fig. 41 (Vajrapāṇi, Sanchi). The foliate-patterned mitre somewhat resembles that on the Bhumara Yama, perhaps of the early sixth century (ibid., fig. 110; caption, p. 51).

[35] A comparison with a sixth-century Viṣṇu at the Circuit House, Mandasor, is made in Brown, "Indian Art Transformed: The Earliest Sculptural Styles of Southeast Asia" (1992). The dates of images of this type have also been discussed in Dalsheimer and Manguin, "Viṣṇu mitrés et réseaux en Asie du Sud-Est" (1998).

[36] National Museum, Nakhon Si Thammarat: O'Connor, *Hindu Gods* (1972), fig. 3; Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 2; *MBJ* 4, no. 3 (April-June 1978), p. 95. The Sanchi Museum Vajrapāṇi (n. 34) has a related aureole.

[37] National Museum, Nakhon Si Thammarat: O'Connor, *Hindu Gods* (1972), fig. 2; Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 3; Boisselier, "Recherches archéologiques en Thaïlande, II, Rapport sommaire de la Mission 1965" (1969), fig. 23. The third image, from Ban Phang Kam (Sichon district), is illustrated in Jacq-Hergoualc'h

The most readily identifiable type of Buddha image is the standing figure with a robe adjustment following that of Amaravati (having a bare right shoulder and a gathering of folds on the left-hand side, the influence of which was noted in sixth-century Szechuan).[38] A stone image of the type, heavily damaged, has been placed in the fifth century, and the full, rounded volumes make such a date possible.[39] Its provenience is unknown, but a stone head with somewhat similar characteristics was discovered in Sichon district, Nakhon Si Thammarat.[40] The date of bronze images of the type has long been a matter of speculation Key examples are an image from Sungai Kolok, probably imported, and another from Nakhon Pathom that may have been locally made.[41] There are votive tablets that suggest one approach to the issues. Pl. 8B shows a modern plaster, now in Songkhla, of a type found at the site of Khuan Saranrom (Phunphin district, Surat Thani).[42] The postures of the attendant figures place the votive tablets in the seventh or eighth century—implying that the Buddha with Amaravati-type robe (in stone and bronze as well as in clay) was a fixed iconographic type that persisted over a number of centuries.[43]

Sacred structures of brick must have been erected in the sixth century, but stronger evidence for their existence comes from terracotta architectural elements and stone Śivaliṅga than from the ruins of any single site. A false window with human face from U Thong,[44] a terracotta figure of a flying angel found at Muang Si Mahosot (Khok Pip district, Prachinburi—the site sometimes called Muang Si Mahosot, sometimes Dong Si Maha Phot),[45] an *ekamukhaliṅga* from

et al., "Le région de Nakhon Si Thammarat" (1996), p. 367, where there is also a discussion of archaeological evidence.

[38] Griswold, "Imported Images and the Nature of Copying in the Art of Siam" (1966). For Szechwan, note 18 above.

[39] Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 8; Piset and Subhadradis, *Thaïlande* (1976), fig. 47.

[40] Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 7.

[41] Griswold, "Imported Images" (1966), figs. 5, 12; Boisselier, *Heritage of Thai Sculpture* (1975), fig. 37; Piriya, *Prawatsât sinlapa nai Prathêt Thai* (1985), fig. 4.35, p. 210.

[42] *MBJ* 1, no. 1 (Sept. 1974), p. 20.

[43] On the problem of early Gupta-type images, cf. Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pls. 4 and 5, and see the next section.

[44] Čhirâ and Woodward, *Nam chom phiphitthaphan* (1966), no. 15; Piriya, *Prawatsât sinlapa nai Prathêt Thai* (1985), fig. 4.44, p. 224.

[45] Piriya, *Prawatsât sinlapa nai Prathêt Thai* (1985), fig. 4.56, p. 235. In choosing the name Muang Si Mahosot, I am following the usage of Srisakra Vallibhotama. See also *Nam chom phiphitthaphan sathân hœ̂ng chât Prâčhînburî* (1985), p. 13.

Nong Wai (Chaiya district, Surat Thani)[46]—all may be plausibly assigned to the sixth century (or even the fourth or fifth). Parallels for certain motifs, such as the hair tied with a ribbon at the top of the head, can be found in fourth- or fifth-century Champa.[47]

One important stone image of the Buddha from Muang Si Mahosot can be assigned to the sixth century (pl. 4). The Buddha is carved in high relief against a flat back slab. His feet are loosely crossed at the ankles, in a fashion associated with the Amaravati tradition (and seen in a stucco from U Thong), and he is flanked by a pair of engraved stūpas, reminiscent in shape to the one that appears on the mariner Buddhagupta's inscription.[48] One of the most intriguing qualities of this image is the way the modeling of the face and body, with their rounded but rather schematic volumes, evokes Chinese Buddhist sculpture of the second half of the sixth century.[49] This is a reminder that a significant component of Southeast Asian Buddhist culture arose from the passage of monks between India and China.

The Cakravartin Dynasty

Sui Wen-ti's troops entered Nanking in 589, and the Ch'en fell. After centuries of division, China was again ruled by a single emperor. Missions to the southern court had continued practically up to this time; P'an-p'an's last mission was in 584, Fu-nan's in 588. But in 590 there were revolts in Hanoi and Canton, and established trading patterns must have been disrupted. It was at this very time that a new dynasty came to power in Cambodia. In Chinese annals the name Fu-nan disappears; Cambodia became known as Chen-la.

Relations with China were avoided until 616 or 617, shortly following the accession of Īśānavarman. Before then two kings ruled, the first being Bhavavarman, the second his brother or cousin

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[46] Illus. Bowie (ed.), *The Sculpture of Thailand* (1972), no. 17, pp. 48–49, where dated eighth–ninth century; O'Connor, "An Ekamukhaliṅga from Peninsular Siam" (1966) (seventh–eighth century); Piriya, *Prawatsât sinlapa nai Prathêt Thai* (1985), fig. 4.32, p. 208, where dated 450–500.

[47] Boisselier, "Le Nâgarâja de Mĩ So'n et les débuts de l'hindouisation du Champâ" (1995).

[48] Čhirâ and Woodward, *Nam chom phiphitthaphan* (1966), no. 6; for the Buddhagupta slab, n. 28 above.

[49] E.g., Sickman and Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China* (1971), fig. 81, p. 123 (Amitābha, Royal Ontario Museum, A. D. 577).

Mahendravarman, the two being grandsons of a figure called the Cakravartin (K. 978) or Sārvabhauma (K. 496).[50] The inscriptions of the two kings have for the most part been found in locations that seem to have been outposts of the kingdom, along its borders, or at the sites of military campaigns.[51] Describing himself as a conqueror, Bhavavarman set up a liṅga at Banteay Neang in Battambang province (K. 213), and an inscription found at Si Thep mentions his accession (K. 978). The brother or cousin Citrasena, as he was known before his accession, was meanwhile busy establishing liṅgas in Kratie province along the Mekong (K. 116, K. 122) and south of the Mun River in Thailand's Nakhon Ratchasima province (K. 514), and into the Chi watershed as far north as Khon Kaen (K. 1102). After his accession he seems to have been especially active in the region where the Mun joins the Mekong (K. 363, 377, 497, 508). Yet he also managed to build a tank in what must have been the opposite corner of the kingdom— in Ta Phraya district of Thailand's Prachinburi province (K. 969).

The capital during this period presumably lay at Thala Borivat, on the Mekong opposite Stung Treng. Somaśarman, brother-in-law of Bhavavarman set up an inscription there (Veal Kantel, K. 359), and in this region a number of small sanctuaries have been found.[52] It is the lintels that provide the most evidence regarding the style of the period. These have a double arc, as do their Indian prototypes, and although none of them can be positively identified with the sanctuary at which Somaśarman set up his inscription, they are older than the lintels of Sambor Prei Kuk, the earliest of which date from the reign of Mahendravarman's son and successor Īśānavarman.[53]

[50] Jacques, "'Funan,' 'Zhenla': the Reality Concealed By These Chinese Views of Indochina" (1979), pp. 373–74. Cf. Jacques, "Khmers in Thailand" (1989), p. 18. See also Vickery, *Society, Economics, and Politics in Pre-Angkor Cambodia* (1998), pp. 71–82 ("The Dangrek Chieftains").

[51] Groslier, "Prospection des sites khmers du Siam" (1980), p. 40 and map 2. The political significance of two early Phimai inscriptions (K. 1000, K. 1009) has not been determined.

[52] Lévy, "Thala Bŏrivăt ou Stu'ṅ Trèṅ: sites de la capitale du souverain khmer Bhavavarman Ier" (1970), pp. 113–29; Henri Parmentier, *L'Art khmer primitif* (1927), pp. 214–30.

[53] Bénisti, "Recherches sur le premier art khmer, I, Les linteaux dits de Thala Borivat" (1968); Giteau, *Guide du Musée National: 2* (ca. 1966), pp. 54–55; Dupont, "Les linteaux khmers du viie siècle" (1952), p. 64; Parmentier, *L'Art khmer primitif* (1927), pp. 225, 229.

Lintels of the "Thala Borivat" style have also been found in Thailand, three in Chanthaburi province (pl. 5A) and one or two in Ubon.[54] The two locations can be seen as standing at the ends of an arc running from the northern to the western frontier of the kingdom of Mahendravarman and Bhavavarman, a frontier otherwise marked by their inscriptions. In Chanthaburi, inscriptions of Īsānavarman were found (K. 502, 503), but perhaps the lintels predate his accession in 616. If that is the case, Chanthaburi may have served as a seaport for the empire of Bhavavarman and Mahendravarman.

Sculptural evidence pertaining to the period is less firmly established; no images can be connected with either an inscription or a lintel. A seventh-century inscription found at Robang Romeah (K. 151), not far from Sambor Prei Kuk, tells of the establishment of an image of Viṣṇu during the reign of Bhavavarman, in A. D. 598, but the image has not been identified. At any rate it is images of Viṣṇu that are of primary concern, and images showing him wearing a long robe. One key work is the Viṣṇu of Kompong Cham Kau;[55] because it was found on a Mekong tributary northeast of the site of Thala Borivat it must bear some relationship to developments there. Two other images were found in Kandal province: in the Viṣṇu of Tuol Chuk, the curves of the tightened muscles present an imposingly dramatic effect, and the horse-headed "Viṣṇu-Kalki" of Kuk Trap is notable for its long hips and the bulky, squared-off gathering of cloth between the legs.[56]

Īśānavarman came to the throne before A. D. 616/17 and reigned until after 627—perhaps the mid-630s.[57] A number of the structures

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[54] Two lintels at Wat Supattanârâm, Ubon Ratchathani: Suriyavudh, *Thap lang nai Prathêt Thai/Stone Lintels in Thailand* (1988), pp. 10–11, 11–12. One lintel at Wat Khao Phlội Wæ̂n, Chantaburi: Smitthi and Mayurie, *Thap lang/Lintels* (1989), fig. 7, p. 61. Of two lintels from Wat Thộng Thua, one remains there: ibid., fig. 9, p. 61; Subhadradis, "The Stone Lintels of Thala Borivat Style in Thailand" (1972); Nộ na Pâknam, *Wiwattanakân lâi Thai/Evolution of Thai Ornament* (1971), fig. 12.

[55] Dupont, *La statuaire préangkorienne* (1955), pl. XVIII (Phnom Penh Museum B. 30, 5). For a study in which certain conclusions about the date of this and other Viṣṇu images parallel those proposed here, see Dalsheimer and Manguin, "Viṣṇu mitrés et réseaux en Asie du Sud-Est" (1998).

[56] Dupont, *La statuaire préangkorienne* (1955), pls. XVII B, XIX A. Photographs of the lintel and *mukhaliṅga* at the nearby Vat Vihear Tranh of A. D. 613 (K. 748) would presumably help to date the Tuol Chuk Viṣṇu more precisely; see Parmentier, "Complément," *BEFEO* 35 (1935): 36, and cf. Dupont, *La statuaire préangkorienne* (1955), pp. 79–80.

[57] Claude Jacques believes the reign ended in 628: Jacques, "New Data on the

at Sambor Prei Kuk—his presumed capital of Īśānapura—must date from this period. Examples of the Sambor style in the western flank of the kingdom are three lintels found at Prâsât Khao Nội (Aranyaprathet district, Prachinburi) and a fine female torso now in Bangkok.[58] These works may date from the 630s, when the region appears to have become independent, at the time of or a little before two local inscriptions of A. D. 637 and 639 (K. 506, 505, the latter Buddhist).[59]

Long-robed Viṣṇu images similar to the Cambodian ones have been found in Muang Si Mahosot and on the peninsula. Examples appear in pls. 6 and 7. It has been generally supposed that the peninsular sculptures are the oldest and influenced, in turn, the statuary of Muang Si Mahosot and ancient Cambodia. In fact it is not possible to arrange the images chronologically with much conviction, or even to be sure whether it is the presence or absence of certain motifs (the diagonal sash, the knotted belt), certain technical features (reserves of stone between mitre and upper hands), or qualities of modeling that should be taken as the determining characteristics. As the peninsular images and the ones from Muang Si Mahosot are carved from a gray sandstone (probably a graywacke) indistinguishable in appearance, furthermore, it is not certain how many of the images were carved in the regions where they were found.[60] Not all the images need date from around 600; some—especially those with a diagonal sash and knotted belt—may have been carved considerably later in the seventh century. But the distribution of the type must be the result of political, cultural, and commercial ties that were in existence at the beginning of the century.

The Muang Si Mahosot image illustrated here (pl. 6) was excavated in 1975 and so was not included in Pierre Dupont's study of the Viṣṇu images.[61] It is a sculpture of power and delicacy—power

VII–VIII Centuries in the Khmer Land" (1990), p. 254. On this question, Vickery, *Society, Economics, and Politics in Pre-Angkor Cambodia* (1998), pp. 340–42.

[58] Illus. *Bôrânkhadî* 3, no. 4 (1972), p. 64, fig. 3; Boisselier, *Heritage of Thai Sculpture*, p. 109, fig. 72. On Prâsât Khao Nội, Subhadradis Diskul, "Pre-Angkorian Discoveries in Thailand," (1990); *Prâsât Khao Nội čhangwat Prâčhînburî* (1990); Smitthi and Mayurie, *Thap lang/Lintels* (1989), pp. 64–67.

[59] Jacques, "The Khmers in Thailand: What the Inscriptions Inform Us" (1989), p. 17.

[60] Identification of the stone, here and elsewhere, thanks to Mr. S. L. Rieb (personal communication, 1971).

[61] Siri and Watcharin, "Râi ngân kân khut tæ̂ng læ khut khon thêwasathân mâilêk 25 læ 26" (1977); Dupont, "Viṣṇu mitrés de l'Indochine occidentale" (1941).

as the result of the solidity of the lower part of the body, delicacy as the result of a sensuous delight in making palpable certain aspects of the anatomy, as in the neck. This is the only Viṣṇu of the type with earrings; gold ones were probably attached to the others. It is also the only Viṣṇu to be found at the site of a shrine with significant architectural features. This was a rectangular laterite platform (fig. 9), probably with stairs on the east, and with six wooden columns to support a roof. The form of the sanctuary may not be recoverable, but the evidence presented by the excavators suggests something unique: a platform for offerings on the eastern wall of the sanctuary and an entrance only on the back side. Sanctuaries of comparable form were excavated in Beikthano, Burma.[62]

The largest and most powerful of the peninsular images is the one from Takua Pa (pl. 7). In a sense it is a development of the potentialities of a Gupta image—just as was the Chaiya Viṣṇu (pl. 3)—but in a very different direction. The rounded, well-fed volumes of

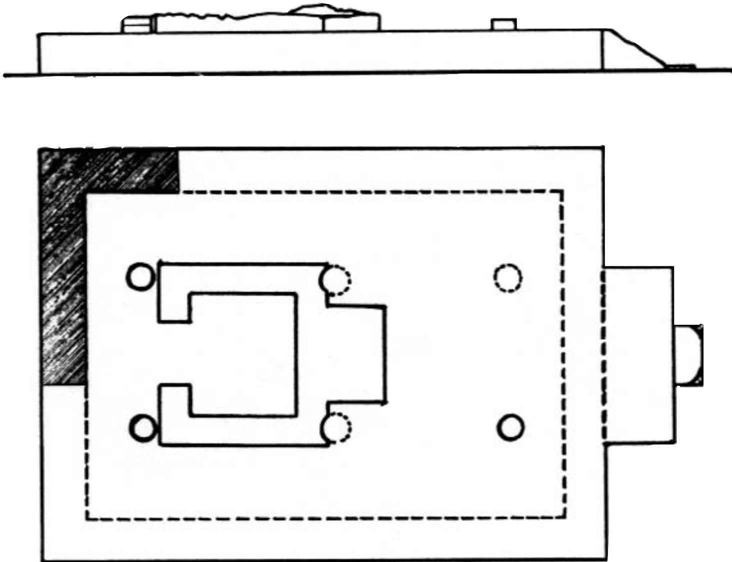

Figure 9. Shrine 25 at Muang Si Mahosot, elevation and plan.

[62] Aung Thaw, *Report on the Excavations at Beikthano* (1968), figs. 15 (site 9) and 17 (site 11), who assigned a first–fourth-century date—clearly too early.

the bodies of Indian gods become here something more full of tension and more dependent on bone and muscle. The tension is due not merely to the anatomy itself but to structural organization. It is apparent, for instance, that the thick central pleat has an important role in supporting the image; it is this role that gives to the central vertical a concentration of force that allows the taut curves of calves and thighs to play off it so dynamically. Pierre Dupont put this image at the very head of a long-robed series, putting it back—for him—in the sixth century.[63] For Stanley J. O'Connor, on the other hand, the Viṣṇu was the product of a "development in which local preoccupations were expressed by opening up the image so that it stands freely and actively in space," and hence no earlier than 650 and perhaps more than a hundred years later.[64] The importance of the pleat, however, suggests that the Takua Pa image does not belong among the very latest of the group of related images, all of which may be no later than the third quarter of the seventh century, when a somewhat different style seems to have arisen.

Archaeological investigations at the peninsular site of Sathing Phra have revealed shards that appear related to those excavated at Sambor Prei Kuk, datable to the 620s.[65] One of the areas that is most rich archaeologically is Sichon district, Nakhon Si Thammarat, where at least fifty sites have been identified.[66] It is apparent that this area

[63] Dupont, *La statuaire préangkorienne* (1955), p. 128.

[64] O'Connor, *Hindu Gods* (1972), pp. 48–49. On stylistic development see also O'Connor, "Satingphra: An Expanded Chronology" (1966). For O'Connor, the two key traits marking the last stage of this development were the absence of a sash and the placement of arms away from the body (O'Connor, "Brahmanical Sculptures of Peninsular Siam" [1965], pp. 149–50). Dependence on these two traits, however, lumps the Takua Pa Viṣṇu together with images that may indeed belong to a last stage but do not have a central pleat as a supporting element. See Dupont, *La statuaire préangkorienne* (1955), pp. 130–32, pls. XIX B (Viṣṇu of Trung-dien) and XXII D (Viṣṇu of Srah Prah Theat). Cf. Boisselier's remarks on the Sichon image (*Hindu Gods* [1972], fig. 22) in *Heritage of Thai Sculpture* (1975), p. 99. Piriya Krairiksh (*Art in Peninsular Thailand* [1980], p. 102) apparently accepted the developmental sequence proposed by O'Connor but shoved it back in time, making the Takua Pa Viṣṇu a late sixth-century work. But that may be too early. See also Quaritch Wales, *The Making of Greater India* (1974), p. 47n.

[65] Stargardt, "The Satingpra Civilization and its Relevance to Srivijayan Studies" (1982), app. 4b [p. 7].

[66] For descriptions of Sichon, Preecha, "Si Chon: An Ancient Hindu Site" (1984); Preecha, "Sichon: An Ancient Brahmanical Settlement on the Malay Peninsula" (1983). Other areas of archaeological significance include *tambon* Na San, Nakhon Si Thammarat district (O'Connor, "Ancient Sculptures From Tambon Na San" [1982], illustrating a stone Gaṇeśa) and Mok Lan, near Tha Sala. For a discussion

flourished in the seventh century, and its history is probably traceable back into the Fu-nan period, to the sixth century and earlier. Long-robed Viṣṇu images have been discovered here as well as numerous Śivaliṅgas, which are similar to ones found in Cambodia.[67] Inscriptions that may belong to this period also suggest links with Cambodia, both on palaeographic and cultural grounds.[68]

Another group of images that should be placed in a comparable timespan is that depicting Gaṇeśa, who was worshiped as an independent deity ("Mahāgaṇapati"—leader of Śiva's troops) in the Phnom Da region, according to an inscription of 611 (K. 557).[69] At least some of the Gaṇeśa images should probably be pushed back into a somewhat earlier period, in the second half of the sixth century. The images have been found at disparate sites, from Vietnam and Cambodia to the peninsula, and in a variety of postures—some seated with legs crossed at the ankles, some in royal ease, others standing. Petrological analysis might reveal more clearly where the Gaṇeśas were carved and whether the pattern of their distribution should be tied to religious proselytization or to a political network.

No group of Buddha images of the early seventh century exists that supports the same degree of patronage or spread of related stylistic ideals as do the Viṣṇu images or the Śivaliṅgas. It is apparent, however, that by the seventh century the Amaravati image type was

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of sites, see Jacq-Hergoualc'h et al., "Le région de Nakhon si Thammarat" (1996), pp. 368–79.

[67] O'Connor, "Some Early Siva Liṅgas in Nakhon Si Thammarat, Peninsular Thailand" (1983).

[68] On types of script, SEAMEO . . ., *Final Report* (1983), p. 219, summarizing a paper of Prasert na Nagara. The Śaiva Chong Khoi Valley inscription (Ron Phibun district, Nakhon Si Thammarat), discovered in the 1970s, has letters that have been read as the placename Śrīvijaya, but the reading *Śrī Vidyā* (part of an epithet of Śiva) appears preferable. See Chûsak and Cha-êm, "Silâ čhârûk hup khao Chộng Khội" (1980); Kongkaew, "Inscriptions from South Thailand" (1986), p. 9, with a transcription into Devanagari characters.

[69] Brown, "Gaṇeśa in Southeast Asian Art" (1991), p. 180, which also provides a survey. Brown's suggested dates are in general later than those assumed here. Among the images he refers to but doesn't illustrate (notes 7 and 21, pp. 192, 194) are the one in Bôt Phrâm, Bangkok and the one in the Cleveland Museum of Art (87.147) of unknown provenance. The former (in royal ease) appears in Piriya, *Prawatsât sinlapa lœ bôrânkhadî nai Prathêt Thai* (1990), p. 238, where a 550–600 date is proposed. The latter (a standing figure) might date from the early seventh century (illus. *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 75, no. 2 [February 1988], p. 35). See also *The Gaṇeśa of the National Museum: Exhibition at the National Museum of Phnom Penh* (2000).

no longer the sole or chief model and that sources ultimately Gupta in origin were playing a role.[70] One seventh-century stone image of the seated Buddha discovered in Sathing Phra district is closely related to Cambodian examples.[71] The development of the standing image is difficult to piece together from disparate bronzes and votive tablets. In the small image of unknown provenance that Pierre Dupont put at the head of his discussion of Dvāravatī bronzes, the right hand is lowered in *vara-mudrā* and stocky proportions are combined with a slight sway.[72] This is a type that can be seen in Nepal, in a Burmese bronze, and in a bronze from Kedah with bared right shoulder; it was associated with the Buddha Dipaṅkara, first of Śākyamuni's Buddha predecessors, who appears in such a pose at Nalanda.[73] A bronze discovered at Phong Tuk seems to exemplify a rather different sort of image, one that can be attached to the "Sandalwood" Buddha lineage important in the Far East: the looping folds of the Buddha's robe are indicated by incised lines, and in the left hand of the standing Buddha, which is extended at about waist height, no robe end appears.[74]

King Īśānavarman sent missions to China again in 623 and 628. In 635, P'an-p'an returned to the scene with its final mission. Īśānavarman may still have been alive in 637, but in 638 the rash of missions was quite likely a response to the king's death and to an altered balance of power.[75] This was not only the year of missions from states in northwestern Cambodia, it marks the first appearance to the scene of Kedah (Chia-cha) and Dvāravatī (To-ho-lo). The implication is that in the two decades prior to this year Cambodia had dominated the political and economic order of the region. In the

[70] Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 5, a votive tablet from Krabi province depicting a standing Guptaesque Buddha with raised left arm and right in *vara-mudrā*. See also Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokiteśvara* (1984), p. 229.

[71] Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 19.

[72] Dupont, *L'Archéologie môn*e (1959), fig. 423 and p. 211 (for fig. 424, read 423).

[73] For Nalanda, Paul, *The Art of Nalanda: Development of Buddhist Sculpture 600–1200 A. D.* (1987), pp. 45–46 and pls. 13–14. The others: Snellgrove (ed.), *Image of the Buddha* (1978), figs. 87, 126, 127, 129, pp. 125, 173–75; le May, *The Culture of South-East Asia* (1964), fig. 7; Griswold, "Imported Images" (1966), fig. 17.

[74] Lyons, "Dvāravatī, a Consideration Of Its Formative Period" (1979), p. 356 and pl. Xa. This bronze may also have a stylistic connection with the Funanese wooden image from Tháp-mu'ò'i, Malleret, *L'Archéologie du Delta du Mékong* (1959–63), vol. 4, pl. XXI.

[75] Vickery, "Review Article: What to Do About *The Khmers*" (1996), p. 392, taking issue with Jacques, "New Data on the VII–VIIIth Centuries" (1990), p. 254.

middle decades of the seventh century new influences arrived, and new styles developed across the map.

The Appearance of Dvāravatī

In A. D. 638, 640, and 649 a Southeast Asian state known as To-ho-lo or To-lo-po-ti sent tribute to China, where the T'ang dynasty had begun its rule a generation previously.[76] If this were the only evidence preserved, To-ho-lo would be as disembodied a ghost as are many other ancient toponyms. Hsüan-tsang and I-ching, two Chinese monks who traveled in India in the seventh century also recorded the existence of To-lo-po-ti, however, and even in the nineteenth century it was recognized that the local name that lay behind the Chinese transcription was Dvāravatī.[77]

Confirmation of the existence and location of Dvāravatī eventually came in the form of two silver medals found in Nakhon Pathom. The medals are inscribed with the words *śrīdvāravatīṣvarapuṇya*, "the meritorious work (or works) of the lord of Śrī Dvāravatī."[78] Possibly the meritorious work was the stūpa or stūpas under which the medals were buried. Additional medals with the same legend have turned up in Lopburi, Chainat, and Uthai Thani provinces.[79] One medal, of unknown provenance, is an indication of the state's farflung contacts: it has the same words written in Kharoshthi script, which was used in northwestern India, rather than in the Pallava script ordinarily used throughout Southeast Asia.[80] There is no doubt, therefore, that a state calling itself Dvāravatī wielded power in the seventh century.

What territories the political entity Dvāravatī ruled, and for how long, may never be known. It is entirely possible that the findspots

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[76] Tatsuro Yamamoto, "East Asian Historical Sources for Dvāravatī Studies" (1979).

[77] Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (1968), 2:200; Chavannes (trans.), *Les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'Occident* (1894), pp. 69, 203.

[78] Boeles, "The King of Śrī Dvāravatī and His Regalia" (1964). On the basis of the variant *śrīdvāravatīśvaradevīpuṇyā*, "the meritorious queen of the lord of Dvāravatī," Cha-êm Kæ̂okhlâi argues that *merit* should be understood adjectivally: "Sî Thawârawadî" (1991), which includes photographs of the medals and other coins.

[79] List, with references, Bauer, "Notes on Mon Epigraphy" (1991), fig. G, p. 51. See also Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), p. XXIII.

[80] Cha-êm, "Čhâryk rîan ngœ̂n thawârawadî: lakthân mai" (1991).

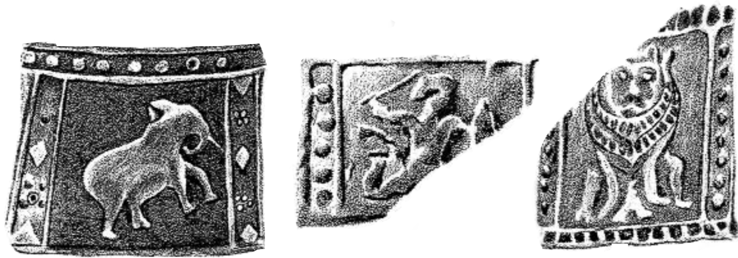

Figure 10. Sketches of ceramic shards from Chansen.

of the silver medals are an indication of the limits of the kingdom. This would mean that Lopburi (with its own medals, marked Lavapura) was—at least for a period—a separate polity. Dvāravatī also issued silver coins, which have a conch on one face, a "temple" enclosing a *vajra* on the other. The oldest, found at Nakhon Pathom, were evidently intended for use as foundation deposits. A later type with a conch design on both faces was used for trading purposes; hundreds have been recovered at U Thong.[81] Dvāravatī can also be defined culturally, in high art, by such forms as standing images of the Buddha (pl. 11), *dharmacakra*, or wheels of the law (fig. 14, pl. 5B), and brick stūpas with stucco or terracotta ornament. Everyday artifacts, too, can be defined as Dvāravatī, and in the period around the seventh and eighth centuries, both a cord-marked everyday pottery and various fine wares characterize many Dvāravatī sites.[82] Among the fine wares are vessels with stamped designs in the body (fig. 10)—designs similar in character to those found carved in stone or formed in stucco (pl. 13AB). Another Dvāravatī (and pre-Dvāravatī) ceramic shape is the spouted vessel, an Indian form introduced into central Thailand and the Northeast (and also China) in the early centuries A. D.[83] For a period of time there was a widespread culture with a degree of homogeneity in its grander and simpler artifacts. There is also a typical townplan (fig. 11b), first established in the pre-Dvāravatī proto-historic period, with circular earthenworks

[81] Wicks, *Money, Markets, and Trade* (1992), pp. 157–63.

[82] For Dvāravatī ceramics, Phâsuk, *Datchanî phâtchana din phao samai Thawârawadî/Index Pottery of Dvāravati Period* (1985).

[83] Ibid., pls. 1–7, 22–28, and fig. 10.

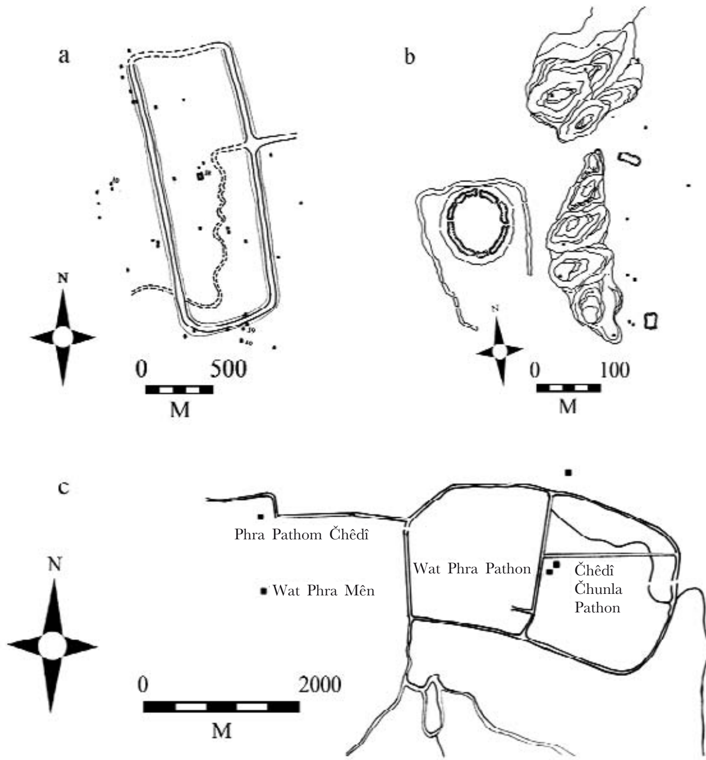

Figure 11. Dvāravatī town plans. (a) Khu Bua. (b) Muang Bon, Nakhon Sawan. (c) Nakhon Pathom.

and moat, and sometimes a fair number of religious foundations outside the small central area. Essentially the type is the same in central Thailand and the Northeast. The Chansen moat was built in the "Dvāravatī" phase (phase V), after ca. 600.[84] As many as sixty-one towns from the Dvāravatī or Lopburi periods have been spotted in the Chao Phraya basin alone, and some 1200 sites (not all necessarily of the Dvāravatī period) can be identified in aerial photographs of Thailand as a whole.[85] It is the largest and most important cities (Nakhon Pathom, Khu Bua) in which a somewhat different plan is found (figs. 11a, 11c).

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[84] Bronson and Dales, "Excavations at Chansen, Thailand, 1968–1969" (1970), p. 44.

[85] Srisakra, "Tam sộng fang nam Mæ̂ Klộng/Pre Fourteenth Century Settlements

The political borders of Dvāravatī are not known, but the name can be used in a cultural sense. An alternative is "Mon." There is no doubt that Dvāravatī people spoke Mon, for that is the only vernacular language recorded. To use the word *Mon* instead of Dvāravatī is awkward, however, for it implies that linguistic and stylistic borders overlie one another.[86] The name Dvāravatī is a real one, and the concept of Dvāravatī culture is a legitimate one, but the story of the rise and fall of Dvāravatī art is elusive. Scholarship is strewn with wildly contradictory opinions. The reasons are simple: not a single work of Dvāravatī art can be dated with any exactitude. About many important works there is not even a consensus about which are generally early, which are late. The uncertainty of the chronology has made it difficult to deal with readings of Dvāravatī character that depend on views of the development of its art. Dvāravatī is of "great interest," thought H. G. Quaritch Wales, primarily because of its "lack of any progressive evolution, either through elaboration from simpler forms or through the pressure of a local genius."[87] But questions about what constitutes a "progressive evolution," or about whether "local genius" can even be detected in the absence of both outside stimulus and favorable material conditions are beside the point so long as the nature of the development of Dvāravatī art has not been firmly established.

Trends in Seventh-Century Art

The rise of Dvāravatī is merely one of several diverse developments of the seventh century, characterized in general by new influences from India, the absence of any single dominant center, and the increasing importance of Buddhism. In Cambodia a new, intrusive style of architectural decor appeared, that called Prei Kmeng, and a regional school of sculpture developed (it is here argued), that of

Along the Mae Klong River" (1977). 1200 sites: p. 18, n. 59. 900: Kụkrit (ed.), *Laksana thai* (1985), p. 268. For northeastern sites, Moore, *Moated Sites in Early North East Thailand* (1988). See also Higham and Amphan, "Irregular Earthworks in N. E. Thailand: New Insight" (1982).

[86] On nomenclature, Piriya, *Bæ̂p sinlapa nai Prathêt Thai* (1977); reviews of this by H. G. Quaritch Wales and M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, *JSS*, vol. 66, pt. 2 (July 1978), pp. 247–59.

[87] Quaritch Wales, "Dvāravatī in South-East Asian Cultural History" (1966), p. 41.

Phnom Da. On the peninsula the cult of Viṣṇu does not seem to have totally disappeared, but a small number of sculptures of Viṣṇu, in their way, reflect the arrival of new influences. In one work, a limestone image said to come from Sathing Phra, Viṣṇu's discus and conch are attached to the edges of the circular nimbus, a feature perhaps derived from the Deccan, and the flattened chest and curved profile formed by the inside of the arms reflect a new aesthetic outlook.[88] The sculptural traditions of Muang Si Mahosot were carried to Si Thep, and a graywacke sculpture of a seated Aiyanar from Si Thep indicates some of the transformations: in this case the anatomical concerns of the Muang Si Mahosot sculptors (as can be seen in pl. 6) have been applied to the creation of the southern Indian deity whose task it is to guard water tanks (and the Aiyanar is said to have been found in one of Si Thep's ponds).[89] The cult suggests the presence of immigrants. A Mon-language inscription at Khao Wong Cave near Lopburi mentions the placename Anurādhapura.[90] At Isurumuni, in the Sri Lankan Anuradhapura, Aiyanar made an approximately contemporary appearance in the mid-seventh century.[91] Another artifact suggesting a close link with Sri Lanka—though of uncertain date (possibly 761, the purported date of inscription K. 997)—is a pair of Buddha footprints at Sa Morokot near Muang Si Mahosot. They are carved in laterite, bear *cakra* on the soles but no other symbols, and extend 3.5 meters in length.[92]

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[88] O'Connor, *Hindu Gods* (1972), fig. 18a. Stanley J. O'Connor, "Satingphra: An Expanded Chronology" (1966), p. 141, suggested late eighth century for this image. On the circular nimbus, Boisselier, "Le Viṣṇu de Tjibuaja et la statuaire du Sud-est Asiatique" (1959). For comparisons, Michell, "Dating the Mahākūteśvara Temple at Mahakuta" (1975), fig. 5, p. 249; Harle, "Some Remarks on Early Western Cālukya Sculpture" (1970), pl. XXXI. Another Viṣṇu that stands apart from the full-scale long-robed images and is also likely to postdate them is said to have come from site 4 at Khao Kha in Sichon district: Nongkhrân, "Khao Kha" (1999), p. 72 (31 cm. in height, in high relief).

[89] Leidy, *Treasures of Asian Art: The Asia Society's Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection* (1994), fig. 82, p. 97; Woodward, "Interrelations in a Group of South-East Asian Sculptures" (1983). Provenance: information received by Dr. Robert D. Mowry.

[90] Read by Thœ̂m Mîtem and Čhampâ Yũangčharœ̂n in *Čhârụk bôrân run rǣk phop thî Lopburî lǣ klai khîang* (1981), pp. 51–55. For another reading, Bauer, "Notes on Mon Epigraphy II" (1991), p. 64, where translated, "The king of Anurādhapura and [. . .] his wife sang and danced together with the people [. . .] (?) (. . .) and (then) entered here [the cave sanctuary]." Also translated in Nai Pan Hla, "The Major Role of the Mons in Southeast Asia" (1991), p. 16. See also Thœ̂m Mîtem and Champâ Yũangčharœ̂n, "Chârụk bon phanang pâk tham Nârâi" (1984).

[91] van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Rock-cut Sculptures at Isurumuṇi" (1979).

[92] For western-language references, Quagliotti, *Buddhapadas* (1998), pp. 195–98.

Figure 12. Phra Phôthisat Cave, Saraburi: rubbing of the figures.

Also belonging to the Muang Si Mahosot–Si Thep tradition and equally indicative of significant cultural change is the relief at Phra Phôthisat (formerly Phra Ngam) Cave (Kaeng Khoi district, Saraburi), along a route that might be taken between central and northeastern Thailand. Approximately life-sized figures were carved in low relief on a wall (fig. 12). On the left sits the Buddha, his right hand performing a gesture of exposition, his left hand holding an end of his robe. Beside the Buddha is a seated divinity, usually identified as Śiva, with flaring hair and a rosary in his left hand. Beside him is a standing Viṣṇu. Held high are the discus and conch broken off in the Muang Si Mahosot image (pl. 6), but the lower hands are crossed, in a gesture of respect—a gesture made by a nāga king depicted on a Sambor Prei Kuk lintel.[93] The mitre seems to have some ornament at the bottom[94] and so is not, therefore, exactly like

Also Subhadradis, "A Pair of the Lord Buddha's Footprints at Sa Morokot, Dong Si Maha Pho, Prachinburi" (1986), p. 31. Phîraphon and Surasak, "Bôrânsathân Sa Mọrakot" (1988), say (p. 13) that archaeological evidence by-and-large supports a date in the 14th century B. E. (750–850). Piriya, *Prawatsât sinlapa nai Prathêt Thai* (1985), fig. 4.20, p. 190, dates the footprints to A. D. 50–100 on the basis of a comparison with Amaravati reliefs. In *Cham læ prawatsât læ bôrânkhadî* (1988), in an extended discussion (pp. 66–76), Boisselier suggests that the central hole and x-shaped cavity in the middle of the pair dates from the Jayavarman VII period, the date of the adjacent shrine, while the footprints themselves belong to the Dvāravatī period.

[93] Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), fig. 33b.

[94] Photograph in *MBJ*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Oct.-Dec. 1975), p. 41.

the ones seen in pls. 6 and 7. The figure wears a long robe, but it is treated as diaphanous. Farther to the right is an adorant, his hair in a topknot, and two celestials. The choice of figures is unique, and one straightforward explanation—that the Buddha is merely preaching to the gods—leaves questions about the composition of the figures and about why the carving should have been executed in a cave.[95] There must be other, local themes at work—having to do with royal identification with the Buddha, with the relationship of the Buddha to the Brahmanical gods, and with the cave as a place of birth. A seventh-century Cambodian lintel from Vat Eng Khna shows a king being anointed, and the similarity of pose and throne suggest that the Buddha here is a kind of surrogate for a king.[96] Perhaps the Buddha in the cave is somehow to be understood as the offspring of the attending Hindu gods. Although many of the figures ultimately have sources in the Buddhist caves of western India, the asymmetrical composition evokes certain schemes at Mahabalipuram of the first half of the seventh century.[97] Other features also suggest a relatively early date, if not in the seventh century then possibly even earlier: the fact that the Buddha holds a robe end (a trait that soon passed out of fashion); and the flying figures, related to ones found in low relief in terracotta at Muang Si Mahosot and U Thong.[98]

Stylistic developments within Cambodia in the middle decades of the century left significant traces in the border areas. Toward the end of Īśānavarman's reign or after his death the size of the kingdom was reduced. In A. D. 639 four principalities in northwestern Cambodia sent tribute to China.[99] One of these, Chiu-mi (in the far

[95] Dhanit, *Brahma With Four Faces* (1967), pp. 8–9.

[96] Lintel illus. Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), pl. XXXII, 1. The local myth involved could parallel that of Kaundinya and the *nāgī* Somā: Porée-Maspero, "Nouvelle Etude sur la Nāgī Somā" (1950). For an interpretation making use of an encounter between the Buddha and Śiva described in the Burmese cosmology *Lokapaññati*, Boisselier, "Propos sur Tham Phra Photisat et les cavernes bouddhiques de Thailande" (1993). For color photographs, *MBJ* 15, no. 1 (Jan.-March 1989).

[97] Kanheri: illus. Pal, *The Arts of Nepal, Sculpture* (1974), fig. 53. Varāha-maṇḍapam, Mahabalipuram: Srinivasan, *Cave-Temples of the Pallavas* (1964), pl. XLI.

[98] Bančhop and Nikhom, *Bôrânkhadî mʉ̂ang Prâčhînburî* (1971), p. 51; Čhirâ and Woodward, *Nam chom phiphitthaphan* (1966), no. 16.; Piriya, *Prawatsât sinlapa nai Prathêt Thai* (1985), figs. 4.56 and 4.44. In Dr. Piriya's scheme, these works as well as the relief (fig. 4.64 and pp. 241–42) date from the first half of the sixth century. He also points out a Chinese element in the draperies of the celestials, which can be compared to Lung-men.

[99] Wolters, "North-western Cambodia in the Seventh Century" (1974), pp. 355–84.

northwest of the Cambodia of the period) remained independent—or else regained its independence a second time—for together with Fu-na, which may have been in the Aranyaprathet region, it sent tribute to China again in 671. Īśānavarman's successor Bhavavarman apparently conducted a military campaign in the region; in an inscription (K. 1142) from the Aranyaprathet district, he claimed to have have conquered Śambūka—a name there are reasons to believe could refer to Dvāravatī itself (Th. 16). At the top of the inscription are lotus-like designs that are a new element in the decorative vocabulary, and similar motifs appear on two Prei Kmeng–style lintels at the nearby Prâśt Khao Nộị (where there are also lintels in the earlier Sambor style).[100] A third Prei Kmeng–style lintel was found at Wat Thộng Thua in Chanthaburi. At the ends of a fourth, from Prâsât Bân Nộị, Wattana Nakhon district, Prachinburi, are outward-facing *haṃsas*—a unique occurrence.[101] In another area altogether a sanctuary of the period still stands at Prâsât Phum Phôn in Sangkha district, Surin. Near the brick sanctuary tower is a plainer brick cell that apparently had no superstructure; its exquisite lintel has been despoliated.[102] The last related works are now at Wat Sa Kæ̂o in Ubon province. One is a large stone overdoor, with ornament in relief in eight different zones.[103] Parts of the decor resemble the scrolling vegetation on the Vat Phu inscription (K. 367) of Bhavavarman's successor Jayavarman I (reigned before 657–after 681).[104] The other work is a stone pedestal incorporating bands of foliage and floral motifs rather like those on Bhavavarman's inscription.[105]

The exact date of the sculptures assigned to the "style of Phnom Da" is an issue long unresolved. An inscription from after A. D. 1200 (K. 549) connects the Viṣṇu of Phnom Da—and by inference

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[100] For the design at the top of the inscription, Jacques, *Corpus* (1986), pl. 49 *bis*. Lintels: *Prâsât Khao Nộị* (1990), pp. 47, 52: lintels 2 and 4, found east and west of the northern monument.

[101] Wat Thộng Thua: *MBJ* 2, no. 1 (Oct.-Dec. 1975), p. 57; Nộ na Pâknam, *Wiwattanâkân lâi Thai/Evolution of Thai Ornament* (1971), fig. 20. Prachinburi: Pisit and Subhadradis, *Thaïlande* (1976), fig. 92; Subhadradis, "Pre-Angkorian Discoveries" (1990), fig. 10, p. 23; Subhadradis, "Two Stone Lintels From Prachinburi" (1968), pp. 54–55.

[102] Smitthi and Mayurie, *Thap lang/Lintels* (1989), pp. 72–73; *Report of the Survey . . . Part Two* (1967), p. 65 and figs. 75–78.

[103] Most fully illustrated *MBJ* 12, no. 2 (April-June 1986), pp. 34–36.

[104] *Bôrânkhadî khộan Pâk Mûn* (1992), p. 83. Also *MBJ* 12, no. 2 (April-June 1986), p. 39.

[105] Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), pl. XXX, 3.

related works from the region of ancient Vyādhapura—with King Rudravarman of Fu-nan (r. 514–after 539). This interesting belief is the basis for the traditional date. Jean Boisselier's doubts about the validity of a sixth-century date slipped into print in the 1960s, but he never presented his case in full.[106] By and large, the Phnom Da style can be seen as a regional tradition made possible, in part, by the absence of a strong central monarch in the years between the death of Īsānavarman (628?) and the accession of Jayavarman I (before 657). One scheme would place the high-relief Kṛṣna Govardhana, with its echoes of the long-robed Viṣṇu tradition, around 620; the Viṣṇu of Phnom Da and related sculptures around 640; and the Harihara of Asram Maha Rosei—its coiffure and the bulge of flesh below the navel indicating connections with Sri Lankan or Southern Indian traditions—around 660.[107] This Harihara, the two sanctuaries Asram Maha Rosei and Kuk Preah Theat, the lintel at Sambor Prei Kuk N-22 (like those at the just-named sanctuaries, it has a double arc), and the Sambor inscription of Jayavarman I (K. 439) would form a contemporaneous cluster.[108] The elegant Sanskrit inscription of Jayavarman's court physician (K. 53) provides evidence that a Brahman from Chidambaram in southern India lived in the delta region.[109]

Outside influences evidently played a role in the rise both of the Prei Kmeng and the middle and later phases of the Phnom Da

[106] Bhattacharya, "Hari Kambujendra" (1964–65), p. 78n. Boisselier's ideas can be found in his *Il sud-est asiatico* (1986), pp. 177–80. (I thank Mrs. Natasha Eilenberg.) There he dates the sculptures to a period after the Harihara of Prasat Andet, a scheme that is not accepted here.

[107] These proposals were presented at a colloquium at the National Gallery, Washington in 1997. For illustrations of the sculptures, Jessup and Zéphir, *Sculpture of Angkor* (1997), pp. 142, 161, 165.

[108] Asram Maha Rosei: Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), pl. VIII, 3. Kuk Preah Theat: Parmentier, *L'Art khmèr primitif* (1927), fig. 62. N-22 lintel: Dupont, "Les linteaux khmers du VIIe siècle" (1952), fig. 30, p. 56. See also Bénisti, *Rapports entre le premier art khmer et l'art indien* (1970), fig. 72.

[109] Jacques, "Le pays khmer avant Angkor" (1986), pp. 77–78. Briggs, *Ancient Khmer Empire* (1951), p. 55, quotes Barth: K. 53 is especially similar to the Badami inscription of A. D. 578 but superior in epigraphic quality. The failure of K. 53 to refer to Jayavarman's predecessor Bhavavarman (II) may be evidence for an assertion of independence in the mid-seventh-century period. The inscription K. 54, found like K. 53 at Kdei Ang, mentions a Śivadatta, believed by Jacques to be the same Śivadatta mentioned in an inscription (K. 1150) found in Aranyaprathet district: Jacques, "Le pays khmer avant Angkor" (1986), pp. 79–81, 88. On this inscription, also Vickery, *Society, Economics, and Politics in Pre-Angkor Cambodia* (1998) (see index).

styles. The same must be said about one of the most significant developments of the second half of the seventh century, the spread of Buddhism. One Cambodian Buddhist inscription (Vat Prei Veal, K. 49, from the Ba Phnom area) mentions Jayavarman I and was set up in A. D. 664. Another (K. 163), on the northernmost of three towers at Ampil Rolum (between Sambor Prei Kuk and the Tonle Sap) records gifts to the Buddha, Maitreya, and Avalokiteśvara, images of whom must have been placed in the three sanctuaries. This triad is the one the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-tsang had observed at the Mahābodhi temple during his stay in India (629–45).[110] Although the inscription is undated, the towers probably belong to the late seventh century.[111] In both inscriptions Buddhist monks are given the title *pu caḥ añ*, "our elder lord."[112]

Early Dvāravatī

Apparent in early Dvāravatī works are outside connections of two main sorts—one with Cambodian art, as it had developed by the mid-seventh century, the other with an imprecisely defined peninsular and Indian (or perhaps Sri Lankan) strain. The Cambodian aspect tends to characterize Hīnayāna work in stone (especially wheels of the law) at Nakhon Pathom. The peninsular aspect is more apparent in the evidently Mahāyāna terracottas of Khu Bua. The most elusive element in the Dvāravatī background is the role of local tradition.

Robert L. Brown's exhaustive study of the motifs found on wheels of the law (pl. 5B, fig. 14) suggested that all the motifs, though ultimately Indian in origin, passed through Cambodia before reaching Dvāravatī.[113] It was not the very earliest Cambodian art, like that

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[110] Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World* (rpt. 1968), 2:119. For the theme in earlier Indian art, Nandana, *The Iconography of Avalokiteśvara* (1984), pp. 32–33, 41–43.

[111] Bénisti, "Recherches sur le premier art khmer, III, Aux confins des styles de Prei Kmeng et de Kompong Preah" (1971); cf. Boisselier, "Les linteaux khmers du VIIIe siècle: Nouvelles données sur le style de Kompong Preah" (1968), p. 134.

[112] Pu, "lord," is an Austronesian loanword reasonably common in pre-Angkorian inscriptions and is not restricted to monks. (I thank Prof. Philip N. Jenner for responding to queries.) Vickery, *Society, Economics, and Politics in Pre-Angkor Cambodia* (1998), pp. 221–22, calls the word "Chamic."

[113] Brown, "The Dvāravatī *Dharmacakras*, A Study in the Transfer of Form and Meaning" (1981); revised as Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996).

on the lintel (pl. 5A), however, on which all motifs could be found, only that of the Prei Kmeng style, formed by the middle of the seventh century. It is even possible to point to historical evidence, as Brown did, to explain the connection. A goldplate inscription found at U Thong (K. 964) names King Harṣavarman, grandson of Īśānavarman; King Harṣavarman gave a *koṣa* or mask to a Śivaliṅga.[114] If this Īśānavarman is identified as King Īśānavarman of Cambodia (r. mid-610s–?628), his grandson may have been responsible for bringing Cambodian artisans into the Dvāravatī territories. Something of this process might be observed by comparing pls. 5A, 5B, and 9A. The Wat Thộng Thua lintel fragment (pl. 5A) of the late sixth or early seventh century can be seen as providing the pattern found on the Dvāravatī *dharmacakra* of pl. 5B.

The Garuda on the lintel provides another connection, one with a Dvāravatī Garuda who supports a Buddha and Bodhisattva-like attendants (pl. 9A). Belly, chest strap, earrings, and hands (with nāgas or lotus stems) are similar. Although the Garuda on the lintel doesn't wear a big-bead necklace, a sprite on a Sambor-style Prâsat Khao Nội lintel does.[115] The move of a Garuda from a lintel to a stele on which it serves as the Buddha's vehicle would appear to have required a bold intervention. A possible prototype for this sort of Dvāravatī stele is a sculpture of Viṣṇu discovered at Srikshetra, Burma.[116] The substitution of a Buddha for a Viṣṇu, like the Phra Phôthisat Cave relief, evokes a world in which adherents of the Buddhist and Hindu divinities either battled one another or gave and took without paying attention to customary distinctions. Buddhist thought does make a place for magical powers akin to Viṣṇu's: the technical term is *bala nārāyaṇa* or Viṣṇu power.[117] An inscription in Chaiyaphum province calls the king—and by implication the Buddha—a sky-traveler (*svarrābaha*, K. 404), and perhaps related ideas are involved. In the later steles the Garuda was replaced by a less easily recognizable monstrous bird, called Banaspati in Thai, as the result of a modern borrowing (via Dutch scholarship) from Indonesian. The individual elements in the early Buddha-on-Garuda sculptures

[114] Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), pp. 49–50. Brown also brings K. 1142 into the picture, following Jacques, "Le pays khmer avant Angkor," pp. 73–75, illus., p. 72.

[115] *Prâsât khao nội* (1990), lintel 5, p. 54.

[116] Illus., Aung Thaw, *Historical Sites in Burma* (1972), p. 28.

[117] La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* (1971), 7:72–73, 84.

may be derived from Khmer art, but at the same time a new iconographic type has been invented, possibly as the result of a stimulus of which a trace has been preserved in Srikshetra.

The stone wheels of the law (*dharmacakra*)—which will be discussed in the following section—were set up outside stūpas, as had been the case in India. Votive tablets from Khu Bua and the southern site of Khuan Saranrom, however, suggest that at least in that milieu smaller *dharmacakra* were placed beside Buddha images.[118] A small stone *dharmacakra* discovered in Yarang district, Pattani, suggests the possibility of an intriguing connection.[119] A bronze wheel was uncovered at Rajbadidanga in Bengal—thought to be the Raktamṛttika (Red Earth Land) from which the captain Buddhagupta of the Kedah inscription had sailed.[120] There was also a Red Earth Land ("Ch'ih-t'u") on the peninsula, known to have been situated somewhere south of Lang-ya-hsiu or Langkasuka and therefore probably south of Yarang district but conceivably in it.[121] Terracotta architectural elements such as false windows found at the Yarang sites exhibit cultural connections with Dvāravatī.[122]

The Yarang sites fall into three groups, at Ban Prawae, Ban Jalae, and Ban Wat. A brick sanctuary at Ban Jalae ("BJ 13") has an interior circumambulation path (like that of the stone sanctuary of Asram Maha Rosei in Cambodia, for which a date around 660 was proposed above). In the cella a number of small terracotta stūpas and votive tablets were deposited.[123] Among the votive tablets are those

[118] Pisit and Subhadradis, *Thaïlande* (1976) fig. 50; Khuan Sarânrom (Phunphin, Surat Thani), illus. *MBJ* 1, no. 1 (Sept. 1974), p. 24.

[119] Illus., Quaritch Wales, *Malay Peninsula in Hindu Times* (1976), pl. 6A. For a presentation of the Yarang sites, Jacq-Hergoualc'h et al., "Une cité-état de la Péninsule malaise: le Langkasuka" (1995). Earlier publications include Srisakra Vallibhotama, "A Survey of Ancient Settlements in Southern Thailand" (1982). For a plan of Muang Prawae, SEAMEO . . ., *Final Report* (1983), p. 263.

[120] Sudhir Ranjan Das, *Archaeological Discoveries From Murśidābād District (West Bengal)* (1971), pp. 36–37 and plate. For the Kedah inscription, above, p. 40.

[121] Yamamoto, "Reexamination of Historical Texts Concerning Srivijaya" (1983), pp. 171–72. The connection of the Yarang sites with Langkasuka is made in Jacq-Hergoualc'h et al., "Une cité-état de la Péninsule malaise: le Langkasuka" (1995). For a different view, based on a 1987 survey, Welch and McNeill, "Archaeological Investigations of Pattani History" (1989). For the same survey, Sawâng, *Mư̂ang bôrân Yarang/The Moated Town, Environment, and Associated Sites of Yarang Complex* (1988).

[122] Illus., *MBJ* 5, no. 2 (Dec. 1978–Jan. 1979), pp. 70–73.

[123] Jacq-Hergoualc'h et al., "Une cité-état de la Péninsule malaise: le Langkasuka" (1995), pp. 50–58; Jacq-Hergoualc'h, "Archaeological Research in the Malay Peninsula" (1997).

showing single stūpas, groups of three stūpas, and the Buddha seated between two stūpas, all inscribed in southern Indian characters with either the *ye dharmā* saying (the "Buddhist creed") or the words *khasamanaya nirodha mārge ye va* ("on the path to annihilation, in accordance with the method"), in Sanskrit.[124] On epigraphical grounds, the tablets can be dated to the first half of the seventh century. In Dvāravatī, the Buddhist creed appears frequently, though written with Pāli rather than Sanskrit spellings, and the theme of the Buddha between two stūpas can be seen, for instance, in the Muang Si Mahosot stele, pl. 4.

A strong argument can be made that Yarang influenced Dvāravatī, and it is tempting to connect it with the early seventh-century toponym Ch'ih-t'u or Red Earth Land, rather than with Lang-ya-hsiu or Langkasuka. The Chinese evidence concerning Ch'ih-t'u is significant, for it does suggest the presence of a culture that in certain ways may have anticipated Dvāravatī. It has long been realized that two Ch'ih-t'u titles rendered in Sanskrit as *nāyaka* and *(adhi)pati* reappear on the pedestal of a seventh-century Dvāravatī image of the standing Buddha (Th. 16). Ch'ih-t'u seems to have stood politically and culturally somewhat outside the orbit of the early seventh-century principalities with Viṣṇu cults. After the accession of the Chinese emperor Yang-ti in 604—perhaps through parricide—there began a period of crazed military adventurism. Aware of the riches that lay to the south, in 605 Yang-ti sacked the capital of Champa, bringing the destruction of more than a thousand Buddhist texts. Desire for luxury goods from even farther afield led to a 607 mission to Ch'ih-t'u, Red Earth Land (or Raktamṛttaka in Sanskrit). Ch'ih-t'u welcomed the Chinese in 608 and immediately sent a return mission back to China; two other missions followed in 609 and 610. Thereafter Ch'ih-t'u vanished entirely, never to be heard of again.

It is possible to advance different explanations for Yang-ti's lack of interest in the major powers of P'an-p'an and Chen-la. Perhaps the fortunes of these states were at such a low ebb that they were not worth bothering with. It may be, however, that in the early 600s P'an-p'an was again trading vigorously with Cambodia and

[124] Inscriptions on these tablets (surveyed in ibid.) were published in Kộngkǣo, "Wikhrọ čhârụk Mữang Yarang" (1990). See also Jacq-Hergoualc'h et al., "Une cité-état de la Péninsule malaise: le Langkasuka" (1995).

providing a safe transpeninsular shipping route. It was just that Yang-ti wanted to bypass this axis and go where he was welcome. A decade later both states did send missions, P'an-p'an in about 616, Ch'en-la in 616–17. But the brief interest in the Red Earth Land has fortunately meant that a valuable account of the state has survived. On each of the triple gates of the city were "paintings of spirits in flight, *bodhisattvas* and other immortals." The buildings in the royal palace consisted of "multiple pavilions with the doors on the northern side" and in front of the king's couch was a recumbent golden ox. After the king's body was cremated, his ashes were placed in a golden jar and deposited in a temple. The king's father, a Buddhist, had abdicated "so that he could preach the Word," and it was "the custom to worship the Buddha." But "greater respect is paid to the brahmans."[125]

A beautiful votive tablet (pl. 8A), of a type found in Ratchaburi and elsewhere, also provides evidence for stressing Dvāravatī's links with the peninsula. Long thought to depict the Great Miracle at Śrāvasti—with the lotus created by the Nāga kings, and the gods assembled to the side of the Buddha in the moment before the emanation of multiple Buddha figures—the tablet might possibly have some other subject altogether.[126] It may date from the second half of the seventh century. In the upper corners are two gods in discs—perhaps the sun and moon—as found in undoubted Dvāravatī representations of the Great Miracle. Stylistic and iconographic sources can be found at Ellora, but perhaps the forms of the western caves have been transformed by passage through southern India. Not only such details as the tall, conical, banded mitre worn by the figure on the Buddha's left but a penchant for certain stylistic conventions—the asymmetrical arrangement, the flowing curves of the body profiles, the varying scale of the figures, the textured ground from which figures emerge at an angle characterize mid-seventh-century Mahabalipuram, especially the Varāhamaṇḍapam. Perhaps the depiction of the sun and moon can be traced to the same source.[127]

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[125] Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (1961), pp. 27–30.

[126] Nandana, *The Iconography of Avalokiteśvara* (1984), pp. 226–29, 258. Her proposed date was first half of the eighth century. For the standard view, Brown, "The Śrāvastī Miracles" (1984).

[127] Trivikrama panel: Srinivasan, *Cave-Temples of the Pallavas* (1964), p. 148 and pl. XLIV.

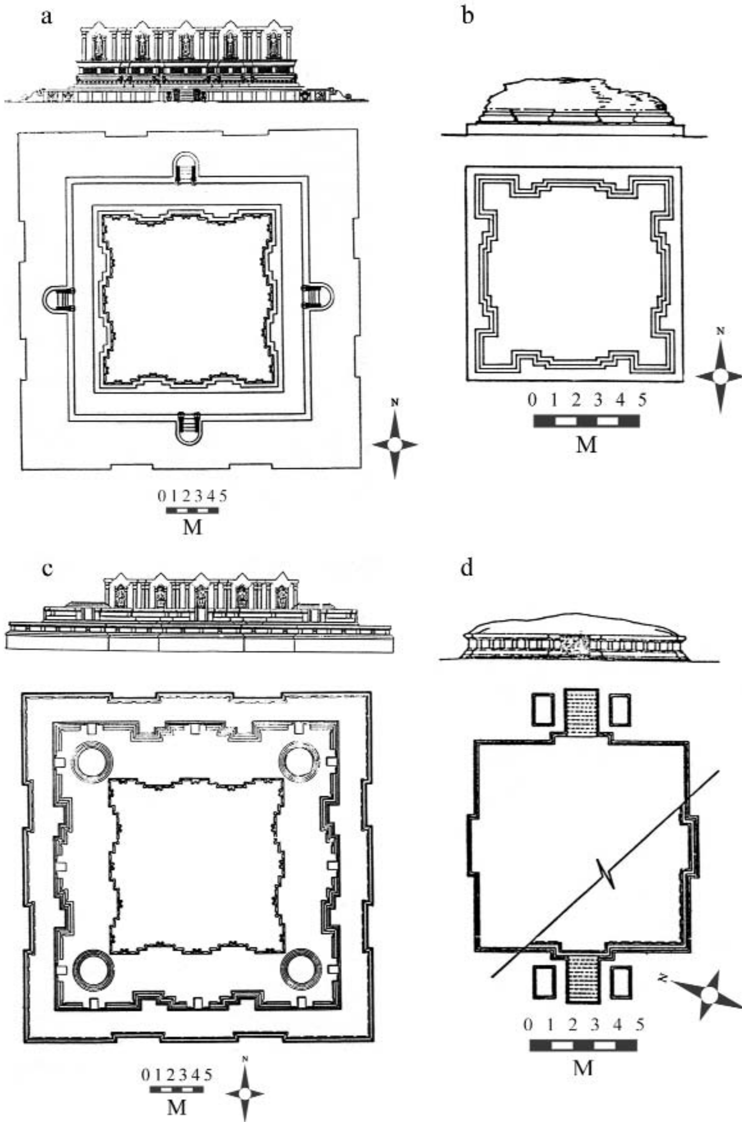

Figure 13. Dvāravatī *čhêdî* ground plans and elevations. (a) Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon, Nakhon Pathom, state I. (b) Site 40, Khu Bua, Ratchaburi. (c) Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon, Nakhon Pathom, state III. (d) Site 10, Khu Bua, Ratchaburi.

Two of the oldest Buddhist Dvāravatī structures are stūpa 40 at Khu Bua (fig. 13b) and—at the very center of the largest Dvāravatī city, Nakhon Pathom (fig. 11c)—Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon (fig. 13a). Only the lower parts of these two brick stūpas remain. The buildings had superimposed stories, each apparently with its own characteristic schema and dominant features. Because the culminating domes have long since disappeared, it is difficult to get a complete sense of the relationship of one story to another. At both Khu Bua 40 and Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon, re-entrant angles are an important element. The outline of the stūpa bases is somewhat similar to that of the Brahmanical shrines at Sambor Prei Kuk. The general organization recalls some stūpa bases among the ruins of Sarnath but does not seem to be identical to anything there. The insets or re-entrant angles must be imagined, in part, as an expressive feature, because of the way they helped create strong contrasts of dark and light in the strong sun.

Of the many terracotta figures excavated at stūpa 40 at Khu Bua in 1961, only two appear here (pls. 9B, 10). The head (pl. 9B) must have originally been attached to a figure like that in pl. 10 and so also should be considered as representing a guardian. The broad mouth and lowered lids suggest a fathomless control and calm. This head numbers among the earliest works of Dvāravatī art.[128] (The pair of terracotta figures from Khu Bua commonly identified as Bodhisattvas—one with an antelope skin over the left shoulder, and holding a flask—must date from the same time, if facial modeling can be taken as the primary characteristic.)[129] As M. C. Subhadradis Diskul pointed out, the wonderfully complex coiffure of the pl. 9B head recalls forms found at Elephanta in the sixth century.[130] Comprising the headdress is a variety of elements that Dvāravatī was not to retain, turning instead to an increasingly limited vocabulary.

The various fragments from Khu Bua were not fitted together until the mid-1960s, and the standing figure long resisted completion because no one had expected that proportions of the lower part

[128] Piriya, *Sacred Image* (1979), no. 12, p. 100 "early seventh century"; Pisit and Subhadradis, *Thaïlande* (1976), fig. 39, caption p. 227: "vers le 7e siècle." Nandana's date for the contemporary Bodhisattva (next note) is 650–750 (*Iconography* [1984], p. 257). For Boisselier (at one point in his thinking), "Travaux de la mission . . . 1966" (1972), p. 56.

[129] Bowie (ed.), *Sculpture of Thailand* (1972), no. 2, p. 33, and no. 13, p. 45.

[130] Pisit and Subhadradis, *Thaïlande* (1976), p. 227.

of the body to be so drawn out. The pose and proportions recall Mahabalipuram to some extent. This guardian is not exactly like any of the standing figures on the two votive tablets seen in pls. 8A and 8B, for their rhythms are a little more regular. But the sensibility at work is not so different. The tendency in the Khu Bua guardian for the left side of the torso to become a segment of an arc can also be found in the tablet with many figures (pl. 8A), and body movement in both cases is essentially two-dimensional, parallel to the background surface. Indeed, the overall original effect of Khu Bua stūpa 40 must have been rather like that of the votive tablet; in each there were many isolated attendant figures of varying scale.

The Dharmacakra

More than three dozen of the typical Dvāravatī *dharmacakras* or wheels of the law are known. Most were made of a stone sometimes identified as limestone, the great majority at Nakhon Pathom. A detail of one of the earliest *dharmacakras*, found at stūpa 2 at U Thong, appears in pl. 5B, and fig. 14 is a sketch showing the supposed original appearance of the *dharmacakra* found with socle and column outside

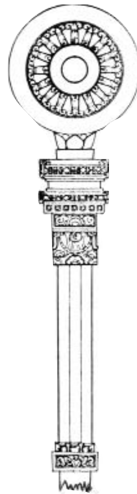

Figure 14. Conjectural reconstruction, the *dharmacakra* and associated pillar found at site 11, U Thong.

stūpa 11 at U Thong. Many, though probably not all the Dvāravatī *dharmacakras* were originally raised high on columns in similar fashion. Near the site of Muang U Taphao (Manorom district, Chainat), a round brick base, seven meters in diameter, supported an octagonal pillar surmounted by a wheel.[131] Votive tablets suggest that there was an alternative function—placing a *dharmacakra* beside a Buddha image. But it was the *dharmacakra* high on a column, near a stūpa, that had ancient Indian roots. Later examples have been found in Godaveri district, Andhradesa, and at Sanchi.[132] The fifth-century example at Sanchi, a copy of the Mauryan type, may have been a direct progenitor of the Dvāravatī wheels.[133]

Pāli inscriptions found on the wheels themselves, or on the socle or the supporting column, provide insights into the meaning of the wheel. As suggested by the presence of small stone-carved deer that may have been placed on the socles, the wheels symbolize the content of the first sermon at the Deer Park at Sarnath. There are four noble truths and three aspects of knowledge (*ñāṇa*, Skt. *jñāṇa*) about the truths: that this is a truth (*saccañāṇam*), that it ought to be perfectly known (*kiccañāṇam*), and that it is perfectly known (*katañāṇam*). Or, in the translation by Peter Skilling:

> Insight into into truth, task, and accomplishment each performed four times make up the three turnings and twelve aspects (*dvādasākāra*) that are the wheel of the dhamma of the Great Sage.[134]

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[131] *Bôrânkhadî Mụ̂ang Û Taphao* (1991), illus. p. 34. The paleography of the inscription on this wheel is discussed in Bauer, "Notes on Mon Epigraphy" (1991), pp. 48–55. He dates the wheel and the pillar to the sixth century.

[132] Quaritch Wales, *Dvaravatī* (1969), fig. 11B, p. 121, and p. 136, referring to *Indian Archaeology: A Review* 1959–60, p. 67 and pl. LVII C, and 1954–55, p. 61.

[133] Brown, "Dvāravatī *Dharmacakras*" (1981), pp. 99, 143, 151–52. Illustrated Williams, *The Art of Gupta India: Empire and Province* (1982), fig. 141. Brown's revised opinion was that none of the Indian wheels, the Sanchi wheel included, was a model: Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), p. 166.

[134] Skilling, "New Pāli Inscriptions from South-east Asia" (1997), p. 149. For a complete survey of the inscriptions, Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), pp. 99–120. Among the publications on the *dvādasākāra* are: Cœdès, "Une Roue de la Loi avec inscription en Pāli provenant du Site de P'ra Pathom" (1956); Boisselier, "Un fragment inscrit de Roue de la Loi de Lop'buri" (1961); *Bôrânkhadî Mụ̂ang Û Taphao*, pp. 179–83; Uraisri, "Une nouvelle inscription de la région de Lopburi" (1975) (column from Sap Champa). For textual aspects of the *dvādasākāra* see La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* (1971), 4:245–48; *Lalitavistara* 421.1,2; Skilling, "A Buddhist Verse Inscription From Andhra Pradesh" (1991); Skilling, "The Advent of Theravāda Buddhism to Mainland South-east Asia" (1997), p. 94.

The wheels, also, as might be expected, have a solar aspect. From Sap Champa in Lopburi province have come fragments of a pillar inscribed with various passages from Buddhist texts.[135] One verse (the *Buddha-udāna-gāthā*) makes clear the solar connection:

> Truly, when things [*dhammā*, "phenomena," here including the Four Noble Truths] grow plain to the ardent mediating brahman,
> Routing the host of Māra does he stand
> Like as the sun when lighting up the sky.[136]

The inscription suggests a relationship between the proper understanding of reality and the physical nature of the sun. At the base of two or three of the wheels there is a figure of Sūrya, further strengthening the solar connections.

That there also existed *dharmacakras* which flanked Buddha images is indicated by votive tablets, such as ones found in Phunphin district, Surat Thani, on which the Buddha, seated in mediation, has on his right a small wheel, raised on a platform to the height of his head; on the other side is a stūpa.[137] A tablet with a similar arrangement was discovered inside stūpa 1 at Khu Bua.[138] One interpretation would be that the wheel is solar, the stūpa lunar, and the Buddha more brilliant than either. The study of Dvāravatī (and other Southeast Asian) coinage makes it clear that the pairing of the sun and the moon was a widespread theme.[139] There were probably local genealogical associations, having to do with sun and moon dynasties. A sun and moon connection is not certain, however, and there are also votive tablets with two *dharmacakras*, and others with two stūpas.[140]

As mentioned above (p. 62), one of the discoveries at Ban Prawae in Yarang was a small stone wheel with eight spokes, placed on a rectangular socle over a bull capital, the whole less than half

[135] Uraisri and Anchana, "Une nouvelle inscription de la région de Lopburi" (1975). For an inscription with a passage with somewhat similar content from the Khuddhaka Nikāya, found at Ban Phrom Hin, Khok Samrong district, Lopburi, Cha'em, "Silâ čhârụk phuttha 'uthân" (1985).

[136] Horner (trans.), *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-piṭaka)*, vol. 4, *Mahāvagga* (1951), p. 3.

[137] *MBJ* I, no. 1 (Sept. 1974), p. 24.

[138] Pisit and Subhadradis, *Thaïlande* (1976), fig. 50.

[139] Gutman, "The Ancient Coinage of Southeast Asia" (1978).

[140] For Brown's interpretation, "The Śrāvastī Miracles" (1984). For pairs of *dharmacakra*, Brown, "Dvāravatī *Dharmacakra*" (1981), p. 257 and figs. 86 and 87, from U Thong.

a foot high. The Ban Prawae wheel has been dated as early as the fifth century.[141] Whether or not it is so old, it does have a chance of having been intended for placement beside a Buddha image. What has not been established is whether such a placement ought to be distinguished doctrinally from placement beside a stūpa and from an emphasis on a Pāli-language *dvādasākāra*.[142] Another wheel fragment found in the south, at Nakhon Si Thammarat, is made of terracotta; conceivably it, too, was set up beside an image rather than a stūpa.[143]

Robert L. Brown studied the patterns on the stone *dharmacakras*. There are three main motifs used on the felly bands—the lozenge and circle (as in pl. 5B), the volutes and circle, and the rinceau. He believed that all three were dependent upon the Khmer seventh-century repertory rather than directly upon Indian patterns. The earliest wheels, which tend to be the ones carved in the round, are found, interestingly enough at disparate sites—U Thong, Nakhon Pathom, Lopburi, Si Thep, and Chaiya.[144] These wheels have various similar characteristics, but they are not uniform. Nevertheless, at some point in time in the seventh century there must have been significant political or religious intercourse among all these sites. Most of the later wheels, the eighth-century ones, have been found in Nakhon Pathom, which became either religiously or politically isolated—or perhaps both. It is true, as Robert Brown has observed (following the lead of Quaritch Wales) that the development is away from "the organic and complicated to the geometric and simplified."[145] The repertory of motifs grew smaller, and their character changed, it would be safe to say, in other media as well. But there need not have been a qualitative decline in art as a whole; it may have been a matter of creative energies being channeled elsewhere than upon the *dharmacakra*.

Brown's intensive study of the *dharmacakra* has led to a number of intriguing questions. One is whether there was some indigenous concept that the wheel of the law usurped or embodied. On one hand,

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[141] Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), p. 34.

[142] See also Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), pp. 72 (the triad is "the heart of Dvāravatī Buddhist visual imagery") and 87 (Thamȏrat Cave, Si Thep).

[143] Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 25.

[144] Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), p. 136. The epigraphist Christian Bauer, on the other hand, dated most of the inscribed *dharmacakras* to the sixth century: Bauer, "Notes on Mon Epigraphy" (1991), fig. F, p. 50.

[145] Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), p. 135.

the solar aspect of the wheel might have associations with royalty; wheels might allude to the notion that a king is a sun on earth, or that his family is descended from the sun. On the other hand, the connection could be more mystical and allude to shamanistic powers of actually visiting the sun (or moon), as found in Taoism and—it has been proposed—incorporated into Borobudur.[146] Other questions relate to the political implications of the distribution of the earliest and the latest *dharmacakra*. Quite possibly the links among principalities established by the *dharmacakra* in about the middle decades of the seventh century, in a period when regional divisiveness beset Cambodia, paralleled a linkage evidenced earlier in the seventh century by the long-robed Viṣṇu images. And in both cases, petrological analysis might clarify the question of the extent to which the images and wheels were distributed from a central point. The later wheels, nearly all found in Nakhon Pathom and unlikely to have been made any later than the eighth century, open the way to speculation as to why the quality of workmanship declined and why at some point production ceased altogether.

First Sermon Socle

When the Buddha gave his first sermon—the expounding of the wheel of the law—he had for an audience the *pañcavaggiyā*, five companions from his years as an ascetic. At the end of the sermon, the Buddha proclaimed that one of the five had attained understanding. This disciple was ordained and then the other four. Later the Buddha presented a second sermon, proclaiming that no self or soul can be found among the constituents of the person.[147] An important relief found in Nakhon Pathom (pl. 12) appears to show the *pañcavaggiyā* before ordination on the Buddha's left, after ordination on his right.[148] This relief comprises one face of a stone block that evidently originally served as a socle for a *dharmacakra*. It corresponds to one of

[146] Woodward, "On Borobudur's Upper Terraces" (1999).

[147] Thomas, *The Life of Buddha* (1949), p. 88. Canonically, the second sermon took place five days later; see Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, 1:62. But there is a Chinese account in which the preaching seems to have been more or less continuous: see Wieger, *Les vies chinoises du Buddha* (1951), p. 89.

[148] Cf. Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), p. 32, where it is suggested that the figures are *ṛṣis* depicted as worshipers of the Buddha.

the three elements forming the ensemble that appears in fig. 14—to the pedestal placed between the pillar and the lotiform base of the wheel. It is more of a substitute for this form, however, than a development. Although two somewhat related socles exist, they have depictions only of a monster mask, a lion, and a *narasiṃha*.[149]

This socle may be assigned a date of convenience of around 700. Internal evidence supports such a date, for comparison of the ruby-and-diamond motif of the border with the early *dharmacakras* (pl. 5B) suggests the passage of some decades. On the socle this pattern is somewhat shallower, perhaps somewhat more schematic, perhaps more refined. Evidence of a different sort comes from Cambodia and from East Asia, and in both cases this evidence suggests that the period around 700 was one in which fresh outside influences were reaching Southeast Asia. In Cambodia the style of Kompong Preah succeeded that of Prei Kmeng in about the early eighth century. The lintels of two dated temples, Phum Prasat (A. D. 706) and Preah Theat Kvan Pir (A. D. 716), mark the change.[150] The new lintel type was surely intrusive, and perhaps outside influences were at work in the Dvāravatī territories at about the same time. One motif that according to Mireille Bénisti had a limited life span in Khmer art around the beginning of the eighth century was the bilobate oval, and this motif appears also on the socle, as the ruby element in the border, replacing the earlier open flower.[151] The presence of the bilobate oval supports a date of circa 700.

As in the early Phra Phôthisat Cave relief (fig. 12), the Buddha on the socle (pl. 12) is seated in "European" fashion, the forward edge of his robe hanging down from above his knees; beneath is a undergarment folded in such a way that it forms a panel in the front. The end of the Buddha's shawl lies pleated over his shoulder. The Buddha in the cave relief held a robe end in his left hand; this Buddha has placed his left hand in his lap. The posture is one also seen in a group of votive tablets found on the peninsula and in

[149] Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), figs. 66a, 66b, and 65.

[150] K. 145 and K. 121: Boisselier, "Les linteaux khmers du VIIIe siècle" (1968), figs. 3, 4, 16.

[151] Bénisti, "Recherches sur le premier art khmer. II. 'La bande à chatons,' critère chronologique?" (1969). Cf. Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), pp. 141–43. Its occurrence in Yarang district should be noted: *MBJ* 5, no. 2 (Dec. 1978-Jan. 1979), p. 73.

Nakhon Sawan province.[152] The composition is very different from that of the votive tablet seen in pl. 8A. Instead of asymmetry, there is balance; instead of a graded scale, a uniform one; instead of isolated figures, ones grouped to form an audience. There is a sophisticated use of texture and of varied height of relief. In sum, the organization seems so different from that of the votive tablet that it is necessary to think of two entirely different modes. One cannot have developed from the other. There is much in the relief that looks forward to compositional schemes found at Borobudur at the end of the eighth century: the sense of entourage or audience, the individualization of the figures, the sharp demarcation between sitting and standing figures. These themes were not developed at Nakhon Pathom, and so there must have been a counterpart in painting established elsewhere in Southeast Asia, one that became the basis for the composition of the Borobudur panels.

The relief must at least have had local precursors, perhaps Buddhist counterparts of the seventh-century Khmer lintel of Vat Eng Khna, with its row of standing figures.[153] At the same time, however, there are some Far Eastern works of art that suggest either that the Dvāravatī relief was inspired by a Chinese painting or that a Chinese pilgrim passed through Southeast Asia with an irrecoverable Indian model. The posture of the Buddha, with left hand in lap, for instance, is attested in one of the reliefs from the Pao-ch'ing-ssu Temple in Si-an of 703 or 704, in Japanese tiles from a temple founded in 703, and in a Nara-period embroidered tapestry, one of the National Treasures of Japan.[154] The tapestry depicts Śākymuni preaching, and in the foreground are arranged the disciples. This tapestry also

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[152] Peninsula: G. Cœdès, "Siamese Votive Tablets" (1926/1954), pl. II (Khao Ok Thalu, Phatthalung); *MBJ* 1, no. 1 (Sept. 1974), p. 23 (Kuan Saranrom). Said to have come from Nakhon Sawan: *6 Soi Kasemsan 2* (1962), [p. 18, left]. For additional discussions and illustrations of the type: Mya, *Votive Tablets of Burma* (n.d.), pt. 2, figs. 53, 54; O'Connor, "Buddhist Votive Tablets and Caves in Peninsular Thailand" (1974), fig. 17; Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 23; Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokiteśvara* (1984), pls. 83, 86, 100; Woodward, "Southeast Asian Traces of the Chinese Pilgrims" (1988); Piriya, "Mon Terracotta" (1978). For the left hand in lap, also see van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "Einführing in die Kunst Thailands" (1963), p. 28.

[153] Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), pl. XXXII, 1.

[154] On the role of Chinese pilgrims, Woodward, "Southeast Asian Traces of the Buddhist Pilgrims." For Japan, Nara National Museum, *Nihon bukkyo bijutsu no genryū/Sources of Japanese Buddhist Art* (1978), no. 40, p. 41; nos. 88, 89, p. 144; no. 11, p. 254.

includes cloud space dividers, counterparts of the forms over the heads of the disciples in the relief. With no surviving Dvāravatī painting on cloth, and without precise dates, the relationship of the relief to its Central Asian, Chinese, and Japanese counterparts cannot be fully understood. But it seems probable that there was at least some Chinese role in its genesis, and in the years around 700.

The Standing Image in Stone

As quintessentially Dvāravatī as the wheels of the law are the stone images of the standing Buddha. An example now in Seattle appears in pl. 11. The picture of Dvāravatī sculpture presented so far is a disjointed one. The first sermon socle cannot be a development of the terracottas from stūpa 40 at Khu Bua. They belong to different schools and—possibly—different sects. Where does an image like that of pl. 11 fit in?

Although the lower arms of this image have been broken off, as is the case with other early examples, both hands surely performed *vitarka-mudrā*—as had probably been the case in the older Buddha-on-Garuda (pl. 9A). The double gesture became established sometime in the seventh century, for reasons that have never been established.[155] It was accompanied by the symmetrical treatment of the lower part of the Buddha's robe. In an alternative Dvāravatī type, much fewer in number, the right hand is lowered in *vara-mudrā* and a left hand holds the robe, in accordance with the Dipaṅkara tradition.[156] The double *vitarka* was not universal, however; sometimes the fingers of the right hand are lowered against the palm in a gesture of beckoning (*kaṭakahasta-* or *āhūya-mudrā*).[157]

Pierre Dupont made an exhaustive study of the Dvāravatī stone images known to him, and he classified them in groups of images that were made either about the same time or sequentially. The

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[155] Brown has proposed that the double gesture evokes that of Sūrya: *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), p. 83. Chinese influence has also been suggested, e.g., Pal, *The Ideal Image* (1978), p. 123.

[156] Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), figs. 38 and 39 and p. 56; Boisselier, *Heritage* (1975), p. 77, pl. 43 (National Museum, Lopburi); with the left arm at waist height, Warren, *The House on the Klong* (1968), fig. 5, p. 17.

[157] Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), p. 83; Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), p. 33.

Seattle image (not discussed by Dupont) might be placed with Group B images, falling a little later than those Dupont (no doubt correctly) considered the oldest.[158] It appears to belong to a stage in which there was a high consciousness of facial proportions, of the way lips and eyes should be properly curved and sharply outlined. The Buddha would postdate the Khu Bua terracottas, but it is less easy to place it in relationship to the first sermon socle (pl. 12), for which a date of circa 700 has been proposed. If somewhat earlier, then the facially differentiated disciples on the socle might be understood as a loosening of restraints. If the Seattle image is somewhat later, then the facial proportions would be a refinement of the vigorous explorations seen in these same disciples, and the image, as a work of about the first quarter of the eighth century, would parallel in its degree of stylization an approximate Cambodian contemporary, the Harihara of Prasat Andet.

At the same time, there needs to be explained the kinship of this and other Dvāravatī Buddha images with Indian sculptures of the fifth-century Sarnath style, as is apparent in the curves of the eyes and the flexion of the lips. There is no evidence that the Sarnath style was established in Southeast Asia in the fifth century and somehow remained alive, nor is it likely that a mere internal refinement of either the Khu Bua terracottas or of such earlier stone images as the Buddha on Garuda (pl. 9A) accidentally gave to the face of the Seattle Buddha a Sarnath look. What is more probable is that the seventh-century revival of interest in the Sarnath type—a revival evident in the stuccos of Site III at Nalanda[159]—was in the second half of the seventh century carried to Dvāravatī. Such a hypothesis suggests a role for the Chinese pilgrims who in the late seventh century traveled between Nalanda and China, with stops in Southeast Asia along the way.[160] As a result of such circumstances a memorable image was created, in which the relationships of eyebrow to eyes to lips have an exquisitely refined subtlety.

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[158] Dupont, *L'Archéologie mône* (1959), 1:174–88. Cf. Piriya, "The Cula Pathon Cedi" (1975), p. 138.

[159] See n. 73 above.

[160] Chavannes (trans.), *Les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'Occident* (1894). For supporting iconographical evidence, Boisselier, "Un buddha de bois préangkorien et ses affinités indonésiennes" (1991).

Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon and its Reliefs

The stūpa of Čhunla Pathon in Nakhon Pathom was excavated by Pierre Dupont in 1939–40, and the story of its successive renovations became a cornerstone in his study of Dvāravatī art and architecture, published in 1959. In 1968, it was discovered that Dupont had stopped excavating just before reaching the most interesting part of the monument, namely a series of stucco panels around the plinth (fig. 13a, pl. 13AB). Subsequently the archaeological evidence was used by Jean Boisselier and Piriya Krairiksh to reach very different conclusions about the chronology and nature of Dvāravatī art.

Boisselier proposed that the stucco panels were made no earlier than the late eighth century and were the product of a renascence in Dvāravatī art, due to influence from Śrīvijaya, the maritime Buddhist kingdom with a capital at Palembang in Sumatra.[161] Piriya Krairiksh, who addressed the subject matter of the reliefs in a monograph published in 1974 and then the monument as a whole in his dissertation of 1975, initially favored a much earlier date, no later than the middle of the seventh century.[162] It might appear that a structure built in successive states, with one skin covering another, would offer clear and unambiguous evidence regarding the development of Dvāravatī art. Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence can be interpreted in divergent ways. Nevertheless, there are good reasons for dating the most significant aspect of the monument—its stucco reliefs—to sometime in a period running from the later decades of the seventh century into the eighth century.[163]

Pl. 13A shows a part of the southwest face of the monument in the course of the 1968 excavations. The reliefs are now on display in the museum in Nakhon Pathom. Despite what Dupont thought (fig. 13a), it is not entirely certain that the monument ever had quite the appearance shown in the plate. On top of the plinth, reaching

[161] Boisselier, "Récentes recherches à Nakhon Pathom" (1970). For the acceptance of this late dating by M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, see "Review Article: *Das Heilige Bildnis*" (1980), p. 168, under figure 14. Boisselier reiterated his views on the ca. 800 influence of Śrīvijaya on Khu Bua in "Comments on Dvaravati Art in Thailand" (1991).

[162] Piriya, *Buddhist Folk Tales Depicted at Chula Pathon Cedi* (1974); "The Cula Pathon Cedi" (1975). Subsequently Dr. Piriya revised his dating downwards somewhat, e.g., *The Sacred Image* (1979), no. 14, p. 104, and no. 12, p. 100.

[163] In concurrence with Nandana, "Review Article: On the Jātaka Reliefs at Cula Pathon Cetiya" (1978), p. 147.

out as far as the reliefs, was built a new story (having moldings at the top with a rhythm somewhat like those behind the Buddha's shoulders on the first sermon socle, pl. 12). But this new story turned the projecting staircases on the middle of each face into false stairs, and Piriya Krairiksh suggested that the reliefs (and the stairs) may have been covered when the new story was built.[164]

The stucco reliefs on the seventy-two panels may not belong to the original fabric, for on the northeast side there are four terracotta panels and one with both terracotta and stucco, perhaps indications that once terracotta reliefs covered the entire perimeter of the monument. Given the proportions of the surviving terracotta reliefs, it is thought that they belong to an earlier period, not merely an initial phase of a single sculptural campaign.[165] At least one of the terracotta reliefs depicts a scene from the story of Maitrakanyaka, a tale found in various Sanskrit *avadāna* collections.[166] Among the stucco reliefs are single figures, such as a *kinnara* (pl. 13B), in which the stylistic concerns are akin to those seen in the stone Buddha in pl. 11—the shape and modeling of the eyebrows, the newly discovered ideal facial shape, and the lively interaction among the different outlines. The other panels are devoted to narrative scenes, both from canonical *jātakas* and from *jātakas* and *avadānas* known only in Sanskrit texts. It is not yet clear whether this is an indication of the presence of a Buddhist sect different from that responsible for the wheels of the law, with their Pāli inscriptions.[167]

Pl. 13A shows nearly half of the southwest face. Cut off at the left is a panel with a stucco lion-man, seen full face, which was originally paired with a matching figure on the left-hand side of the stair. The latter figure was modeled on top of an earlier stucco of a man riding a horse and so indicates that there were at least two

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[164] Piriya, "The Cula Pathon Cedi" (1975), pp. 174–77; Dupont, *L'Archéologie mône* (1959), figs. 202, 207.

[165] Nandana, "Jātaka Reliefs" (1978), pp. 134–35.

[166] Piriya, *Buddhist Folk Tales* (1974), pp. 8–10.

[167] Cf. Nandana, "Jātaka Reliefs" (1978), pp. 138–48. It may be that seventh-century Sarvāstivādin restorations of the Dharmarājika stūpa in Sarnath could provide clues to sectarian distinctions in Dvāravatī. See Archaeological Survey of India, *Annual Report*, 1906–07, pp. 46–47, 96; 1914–15, p. 129. Skilling's view appears to be that the Pāli-language inscriptions provide solid evidence for the dominance of the Theravāda, although this may have had regional peculiarities: "The Advent of Theravāda Buddhism to Mainland South-east Asia" (1997).

phases to the stucco reliefs.[168] The remaining panels can be identified as follows:

> 35 (left end). This *yakṣa* was originally paired with a similar figure on the other side of the central stair.
> 33, 32. *Hasti*. A tale not found in the Pāli *Jātaka* but known from the Sanskrit *Jātakamālā* of Ārya Śūra—a story about the birth of the Bodhisattva as an elephant who sacrificed his own body out of compassion for starving men.[169]
> 31. *Śyāmaka-jātaka*.
> 30. *Viśvantara-jātaka* (*Vessantara*).[170]
> 28 (far right). There are elephants—supporters of Sumeru—at all four corners of the monument.

Some sense of the general direction taken by Dvāravatī art in the course of the eighth century, and a context for Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon, can be acquired by looking at the Great Miracle relief now at Wat Suthat in Bangkok (pl. 14). The man in the left foreground, with his hand before his chest, is King Prasenajit, and on the opposite side are six figures representing the Buddha's six heretical opponents, the fat naked one being Pūrana Kāśyapa the brahman, who is converted upon seeing the miracle. Celestials behind clouds stand at the level of the Buddha's throne, and above are the magical twin appearances. At the sides, the standing Buddhas reach out to touch discs—probably the sun and the moon. Most of this accords with the *Divyāvadāna* account of the Great Miracle, and the pairing of King Prasenajit with Pūrana Kāśyapa is attested in one of the fifth-century Sarnath steles depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha.[171] A frieze separates the Great Miracle from an upper register in which the Buddha is shown seated in the same fashion as below. Here he is evidently preaching in Tāvatiṃsa heaven to his mother—the female figure seated below the throne to our left.

When this relief is compared to the first sermon socle (pl. 12), it can be seen that the postures of the figures and the composition are comparable. The subtleties of the first sermon relief—its textural distinctions, its variations in height of relief—are absent in the Wat Suthat relief, however, suggesting for it a date somewhat later.

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[168] Krairiksh, *Buddhist Folk Tales* (1974), figs. 7–9.
[169] Ibid., pp. 18–20.
[170] Nandana, "Jātaka Reliefs," p. 136 and fig. 5.
[171] Cf. Brown, "The Śrāvastī Miracles in the Art of India and Dvāravatī" (1984).

Compositional elements may be similar, for the six heretical opponents in the Great Miracle relief parallel the five disciples on the socle, but there is a loss of sophistication. The Wat Suthat relief makes a cosmological division, with a terrestrial event below, a celestial one above. The incorporation of the frieze inevitably evokes architectural organization, everything above such a plinth in a temple or a stūpa symbolically representing a heavenly realm.

The frieze in the relief is divided into symmetrically arranged panels with emblematic single figures. Some of the panels at Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon are of this sort, the ones at the corners and in the middle; the rest are narrative. It may be that a movement toward a preference for single figures can be seen in a broader perspective. A key monument built at Nalanda in the second half of the seventh century was Site No. 2, a temple having a plinth decorated with stone panels, most of them with single figures in keyhole niches. The terracotta figures at temples further east—Antichak (Vikramaśīla), Paharpur, Mainamati—are related in type, but seem to be a little later.[172] It cannot be said that at Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon a preference for single emblematic figures—such as are found at these monuments—replaced an interest in narrative. The interest in narrative continued. But it may be that there was an increasing bias toward single figures.

Developments further west, in the Khu Bua cultural area, can be traced in the stuccos at Fâ Thô Cave near Ratchaburi, now long destroyed, where there is a depiction of the Great Miracle that has numerous stylistic echoes of the stone relief (pl. 14).[173] Stuccos from site 10 in Khu Bua itself appear later in date than those of the Fâ Thô Cave or Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon, and composition and architectural context are obscure. By the time stūpa 10 was built at Khu Bua, the religious climate had changed from the time of the terracotta Mahāyāna Buddhist figures at site 40. The biggest structure at Khu Bua, Wat Khlong, a rectangular platform near the center of the city (fig. 11a), with dimensions of 66 × 22 meters and a lower

[172] Asher, *Art of Eastern India* (1980), pp. 48–49, pls. 72–75; pp. 92, 93, 98, pls. 210–14, 216–19, 246. The *kinnara* at Vikramaśīla, pl. 214, might be compared to the Nakhon Pathom one, pl. 13B here.

[173] Piriya, "Pratimâkam samai thawârawadî thî bọriwên tham Khao Ngû čhangwat Râtchaburî" (1975). I am inclined to consider the celestials (fig. 15) as part of the original fabric and older than Khu Bua site 10.

story of moldings and an upper one of engaged columns, for an extant height of seven–eight meters, may belong to the end of the Mahāyāna phase. The molding sequence and fragments of stucco decoration, which has qualities in common with the Kompong Preah style of Cambodia, suggest a date around the early eighth century.[174] The dimensions of Wat Khlong are paralleled only at Khao Khlang Nai at Si Thep, where the Mahāyāna tendencies of early Khu Bua were developed. At Khu Bua itself, on the other hand, the culture became more like that at Nakhon Pathom, and it may even be that the political situation in the eighth century was different from that in the seventh. The monument at which was uncovered the largest number of relief sculptures—after the terracottas of stūpa 40—is stūpa 10 (fig. 13d), which lacks the play of stūpa 40's re-entrant angles. Among the stuccos from stūpa 10, the best known depict five members of an all-girl orchestra; the figures constitute a group of attendants or participants in a scene—and hence must have formed part of a composition somewhat like that of the first sermon socle (pl. 12) and, like the socle, anticipated the compositional schemes of the Borobudur reliefs.[175] Illustrated here (pl. 15) is a single seated figure, a continuation of the bias detected at Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon (pl. 13). The elements in the crown are simpler than those found at Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon, and the reduction to simple triangles is a tendency also evident in the Wat Suthat relief (pl. 14). Inside the triangular elements, instead of a variety of forms (as there had once been at Khu Bua, pl. 9B), there is a reduced vocabulary—in the direction of tendrils with hooked ends. The facial modeling is more vapid than that of the Čhunla Pathon stuccos and does not reveal the same concern for the interrelationship of curves evident, for instance, in pl. 13B. Very probably the same could once have been said about the figure's relationship to its original frame or to surrounding figures.

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[174] Somsak, *Bôrânkhaî Mʉ̂ang Khû Bua* (1992): p. 45 for site 10; p. 51 for Wat Khlong; figs. 94–97 for stucco fragments recovered at Wat Khlong. For a plan and elevation of Wat Khlong, Boisselier, "'Travaux de la mission . . . 1966' (1972)," fig. 32. The molding sequence at Wat Khlong resembles that at Wat Phra Mên, Nakhon Pathom, state I: Dupont, *L'Archéologie mône* (1959), vol. 1, pl. I.

[175] Bowie (ed.), *The Sculpture of Thailand* (1972), no. 26, p. 61.

Śrīvijaya and the Peninsula

It has been seen how the long-robed sandstone Viṣṇu images and Śivaliṅgas of the peninsula must be connected with the culture of Cambodia's Cakravartin dynasty in a period extending from the late sixth century until 638 and perhaps beyond. One Viṣṇu image, possibly of limestone, it was suggested (p. 55), provides evidence of a shift in outlook, perhaps the result of new Indian connections in about the third quarter of the seventh century. The subsequent period in the history of the peninsula may be thought of as lasting until 775, the year of the "Ligor" inscription. It was a predominantly Buddhist period, and could be called the "Śrīvijaya" period, but the material evidence is much slimmer than is that for Dvāravatī. Some of this evidence has already been mentioned. Other works of art, archaeological discoveries, historical sources, and inscriptions provide a very slender basis for a cohesive account.

Political developments that may have started in the 630s brought the demise of hitherto important states like P'an-p'an, which sent its final mission in 635. Following Kedah's mission of 638 several decades must pass before another Chinese source can be picked up. The last quarter of the seventh century was the period of the rise of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya. The Chinese monk I-ching arrived in Śrīvijaya (Fo-shih) in Sumatra in 671, and in 673 he embarked for Tamralipti in India.[176] The return voyage occurred in 685. Some time after that, but before I-ching's return to China in 695, Kedah apparently became a dependency of Śrīvijaya.[177] Sumatran inscriptions of the 680s record events connected with the kingdom's rise to power.[178] A Chinese envoy visited Śrīvijaya in 683, and it sent missions to China in 702, 716, 728, and 742 (but not again until 904).[179]

I-ching's account of his own journey and the brief biographies he wrote of the other Chinese pilgrims provide information about the monastic networks of the second half of the seventh century. Kedah was an important site, as was the east-coast peninsular state of Langkasuka, possibly in Yarang district. Two pilgrims died there,

[176] Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (1961), p. 42.
[177] Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce* (1967), pp. 229–30, 238.
[178] Cœdès, *Les Etats hindouisés* (1964), pp. 155–60. Also de Casparis, "Some Notes on the Epigraphic Heritage of Sriwijaya" (1982).
[179] Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce* (1967), p. 231.

and a third stopped at Langkasuka on his way to Java.[180] Nalanda was by far the most significant Indian center. The chief Indian seaports were Tamralipti and Nagapattinam, and so there were opportunities for intercourse with southern as well as northern Indian Buddhists.

The role Chinese and other monks may have had in bringing ideas to Dvāravatī has been touched upon, but the archaeological evidence from Kedah itself pertaining to I-ching's time is somewhat limited. There are a number of simple undecorated sanctuaries along the Bujang River but little in the way of sculpture.[181] In 1976 there was uncovered a cruciform structure that can be compared to Wat Phra Mên in Nakhon Pathom, and in 1977 an octagonal monument was excavated that may or may not be related to the octagonal-base Dvāravatī stūpas.[182] The most concrete evidence regarding the nature of the Buddhism practiced in Kedah is a small stone bar engraved with a verse from the *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchā* (T. 400).[183]

The last Śrīvijaya mission took place in 742, and the middle decades of the eighth century were the period in which the Śailendra dynasty of central Java was becoming increasingly powerful; its control was effected by 778, and then and in the coming decades it was responsible for the great Buddhist monuments of central Java. In 767 the Javanese state Ho-ling sent a mission for the first time in nearly a century; Ho-ling continued to send missions until 818; and subsequently the Javanese kingdom in contact with China was recorded as She-po.[184] The last concrete document concerning Śrīvijaya in this period is the 775 inscription (Th. 23) known as that of Wat Sêmâ Mųang or Ligor—though there is a body of opinion that holds (no doubt correctly) that it came from Chaiya, not Nakhon Si Thammarat.[185] This inscription records the establishment by the king of Śrīvijaya of three brick shrines containing images of Avalokiteśvara,

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[180] Chavannes (trans.), *Les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'Occident* (1894), pp. 57, 78, 100.

[181] Quaritch Wales, "Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya" (1940), sumarized (as is material in the following two notes) in Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *La civilisation de ports-entrepôts du sud Kedah* (1992).

[182] Adi Haji Tahar, "Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Peninsular Malaysia 1976–1982" (1983).

[183] Quaritch Wales, "Archaeological Researches" (1940), pp. 8–10 and pl. 8.

[184] Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce* (1967), p. 214.

[185] E.g., Boribal and Griswold, "Sculpture of Peninsular Siam in the Ayuthya Period" (1951/1954), n. 17, p. 238.

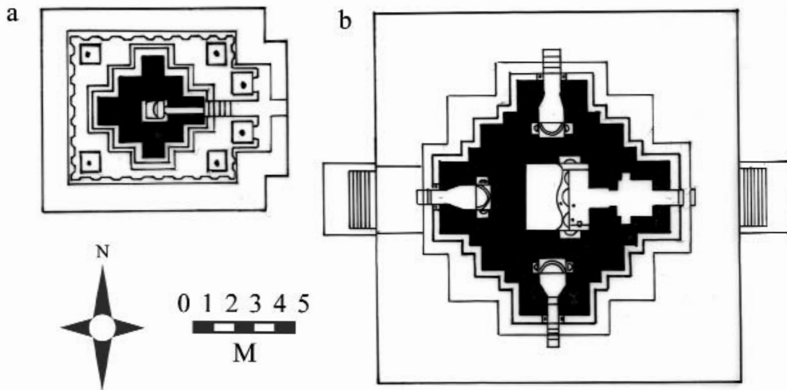

Figure 15. Groundplans of peninsular shrines. (a) Phra Barommathât, Chaiya. (b) Wat Kæ̂o, Chaiya.

the Buddha, and Vajrapāṇi, as well as three stūpas. On the other face of the stele is an unfinished later inscription that may have been carved at the order of the Śailendra king Bālaputra, who was exiled from Java to Śrīvijaya before 860. As Bālaputra's maternal grandfather is thought to have been the king of Śrīvijaya responsible for the three shrines, it would have been appropriate for him to record a donation there.[186] How large a state this king of Śrīvijaya ruled in 775 is not known; a good assumption is that it was somewhat smaller than it had been in the late 600s or early 700s and that the rise of Java was accompanied by the waning of Śrīvijaya power.[187] Unfortunately the three shrines of the foundation have never been identified, although it is possible that one of them is the shrine of Wat Kæ̂o in Chaiya (fig. 15b), which may have been subsequently modified.[188]

Significant stone sculptures from this period are few indeed; bronze images are more numerous but hard to assign to a particular locality. Votive tablets and archaeological evidence of monumental structures help to fill in the picture somewhat. It cannot yet be demonstrated

[186] Boechari, "On the Date of the Inscription of 'Ligor B'" (1982). See also Quaritch Wales, *Malay Peninsula in Hindu Times* (1976), pp. 103–6; de Casparis, "The Dual Nature of Borobudur" (1981), p. 56 (for the date of the second face).

[187] For this line of argument, Smith, "Mainland South East Asia in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries" (1979), p. 452.

[188] Jacq-Hergoualc'h et al., "Une étape de la route maritime de la soie" (1998), pp. 295–301.

that the workshops responsible for the Viṣṇu images at some point turned to the production of Buddhist statuary. The Lokeśvara from Chaiya that appears in pl. 16 is carved from the same sort of grayish sandstone (graywacke?) as are the Viṣṇu images, which makes continuity conceivable. (It again raises problems in regard to identifying the place of manufacture of all the sandstone sculptures.) The Chaiya Lokeśvara and the Takua Pa Viṣṇu (pl. 7) exhibit a comparable interest in making the figure exist in space, and it is possible to imagine the later sculptor smoothing and relaxing the Viṣṇu's bold muscles, its taut erect body coaxed into a relaxed and svelte flexion.

The Chaiya Lokeśvara must be put into some sort of relationship to the Khu Bua stūpa 40 Bodhisattva: the antelope skin over the shoulder, the knotted belt, the flexed posture all suggest that the two works owe at least something to a common model.[189] There must also be a connection between this Lokeśvara and another from Chaiya—a smaller one, carved from what might be limestone, and probably of a different iconographic type. Because of facial modeling and coiffure, the latter can be compared to one of the Phnom Da style sculptures of Cambodia (a comparison made by George Cœdès in 1928).[190] These connections suggest a date in about the third quarter of the seventh century.

Probably the right hand of the Chaiya Lokeśvara was lowered in *vara-mudrā*, and the left was raised, holding a lotus. It is a posture found in one of the Phnom Da–style images.[191] The reserves on the Bodhisattva's left side evidently reached out to support the lotus stem while the one on the right may have joined an attendant figure. The Bodhisattva to the Buddha's right on the votive tablet, pl. 8A, suggests the appearance. This is the type the *Sādhanamālā*, the eleventh-century collection of invocations, calls the Lokanātha.[192] Nalanda

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[189] Illustrated, Bowie (ed.), *Sculpture of Thailand* (1972), no. 2, pp. 32–33. Piriya Krairiksh (*Sacred Image* [1979], p. 80) placed the Chaiya Bodhisattva in the late sixth century and proposed that it had a fifth-century Sarnath prototype (illus. Williams, *Art of Gupta India* 1982], fig. 96). The caption (p. 227) in Boisselier, *Heritage of Thai Sculpture* (1975), p. 97, fig. 62, suggests eighth century.

[190] Cœdès, *Les collections archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok* (1928), caption to pl. XI. The coiffure connection was pursued by Dupont in *La statuaire préangkorienne* (1955), pp. 66–68.

[191] Avalokiteśvara of Rach-gia, illus. Jessup and Zéphir, *Sculpture of Angkor and Ancient Cambodia* (1997), no. 7, pp. 152–53. For discussions of the posture, Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokiteśvara* (1984), pp. 338–39.

[192] De Mallman, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara* (1967), p. 52.

images with this posture and an intact lotus stem have been placed in the eighth century.[193] Related stone-carving techniques can be seen in a Chinese Bodhisattva dated A. D. 706.[194] The Indian and Chinese examples suggest that monks returning from Nalanda may have helped inspire the Chaiya Lokeśvara, and raise the possibility of a date for it closer to the year 700 than to 650.

The "Lokanātha" was not the most common type of standing image. Among bronzes a number have survived of a type of Lokeśvara which at Ajanta is shown with a right hand raised, holding a rosary, and the left hand holding both a flask and the lotus stem.[195] One source may have been the Deccan or Southern India, as exemplified by the Krishna Valley bronze in the British Museum.[196] A second possible source is Sri Lanka.[197] Unfortunately there are too few bronzes, and too little can be said about their place of manufacture, to reach firm conclusions about the relationship between the Nalanda and the southern Indian strains in the standing images of Lokeśvara from Thailand.[198]

The peninsula is archaeologically rich, but in excavated Buddhist monuments it is poor in comparison with central Thailand. Four brick terraces on the hill of Khao Kha in Sichon district, Nakhon Si Thammarat, may date from no earlier than the mid-seventh century, but they were Hindu.[199] The Yarang sites described above (pp. 62–63) no doubt continued to flourish. They have yielded architectural elements (such as diaper work) that are paralleled at Čhedî Čhunla Pathon.[200]

A second area of importance was the region around Chaiya. Trading activities in the eighth–tenth centuries are well attested by

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[193] Asher, *Art of Eastern India* (1980), pl. 164, for example.

[194] University Museum, University of Pennsylvania: Mizuno, *Bronze and Stone Sculpture of China* (1960), fig. 151, p. 66.

[195] De Mallman, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara* (1967), p. 136. For this type, a bronze in the Lopburi Museum (Piriya, *Art Styles* [1977], no. 4; Boisselier, *Heritage of Thai Sculpture* [1975], pl. 26) and one in Bangkok (Subhadradis [ed.], *Art of Srivijaya* [1980], pl. 9 and pp. 27–28).

[196] Snellgrove (ed.), *Image of the Buddha* (1978), fig. 88, p. 126.

[197] E.g., from Phunphin district, illus. Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), no. 39. For the Sri Lankan Mahāyāna sculptures, von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures of Sri Lanka* (1990), pp. 209–308.

[198] For a helpful analysis, the chart in Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokiteśvara* (1984), pp. 498–99 (the central Thai but not the peninsular images).

[199] Nongkhrân, "Khao Kha" (1999); cf. Jacq-Hergoualc'h et al., "La région de Nakhon Si Thammarat" (1996), pp. 369–70.

[200] *MBJ* 5, no. 2 (Dec. 1978-Jan. 1979), pp. 70–73; also notes 119 and 121 above.

the quantities of T'ang ceramics uncovered at Laem Pho.[201] Phunphin district, south of the town of Chaiya, has yielded one of the large sandstone Viṣṇus in Bangkok, two smaller Viṣṇu images, and the torso of what may be a Lokeśvara,[202] and at the Surat Thani psychiatric hospital, which lies within the same district, is an important Buddhist site, Khuan Saranrom, where a large cache of votive tablets was found.[203] The stūpa base excavated there is somewhat similar in its outline to the platform at Phong Tuk (Kanchanaburi province) and may date from the eighth century.[204] By and large the votive tablets represent types earlier discovered elsewhere. There are tablets with an Amaravati-type robe adjustment, similar to pl. 8B; a variant in which the central standing Buddha has more of a Dvāravatī look; tablets of a sort discussed in connection with the first sermon socle (pl. 12), with a European-seated Buddha, left hand in lap, his right hand raised; ones with a mediating Buddha flanked by *dharmacakra* and stūpa (as mentioned in the section on *dharmacakra*, p. 69); tablets with a single Buddha meditating or in *Māravijaya*; and small, bell-shaped votive stūpas. A similar group of votive tablets was uncovered in the sanctuary BJ 13 at Yarang.[205]

Two additional types of votive tablet found on the peninsula provide important evidence of religious developments. One depicts eight Bodhisattvas, the other the twelve-armed Avalokiteśvara. Neither was found at the BJ 13 sanctuary, and apparently neither type numbered among those of the Khuan Saranrom cache. The explanation for this is likely to be chronological, if these two Mahāyāna types did not appear until some time in the eighth century, later than the time of the Khuan Saranrom and Yarang groups. Tablets with a central

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[201] Laem Pho, *tambon* Phum Riang, Chaiya district. Khêmchât, "Laemphô . . ." (1984); Ho Chuimei et al., "Newly Identified Chinese Ceramic Wares From Ninth Century Trading Ports in Southern Thailand" (1990). For a brief survey of Chinese ceramics, Tharapong et al., "Early Chinese Ceramics in Sothern Thailand" (1989).

[202] O'Connor, *Hindu Gods* (1972), figs. 17a & b; figs. 24a, 24b, and 25; figs. 26a, 26b.

[203] Boisselier, "Recherches archéologiques . . . 1965" (1969), pp. 62–63 and figs. 27, 28. Anuwit, *The Structure Types and Pattern Bonds of Khmer and Srivijayan Brick Architecture in Thailand* (1981), pp. 176–77 and figs. 182, 183. According to Anuwit, there is too much mortar used in the construction for the technique to be considered Dvāravatī. The votive tablets are illus. *MBJ* 1, no. 1 (Sept. 1974), pp. 20–28.

[204] Cœdès, "The Excavations at P'ong Tük and Their Importance For the Ancient History of Siam" (1927/1954), p. 220.

[205] Jacq-Hergoualc'h et al., "Un cité-état de la Péninsule malaise" (1995), fig. 13, p. 55.

Buddha in *dharmacakra-mudrā*, surrounded by eight seated figures, have been found in Phunphin district, and the subject matter must be the eight Bodhisattvas of the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra*.[206] As the type has an Indian prototype, and its key-hold niche connects it to the seventh-century reliefs at Site No. 2, Nalanda, it can be dated either to the late seventh century, the time of the Chinese pilgrims, or—preferably—the first half of the eighth, at least before the return of the presumed carrier of the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra*, the translator Amoghavajra, to China in 746.[207] These tablets have the creed in northern Indian or Nāgarī characters.[208] The second sort of votive tablet depicts the twelve-armed Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, sometimes erect, sometimes—especially at Malaysian sites—standing with a pronounced sway.[209] Again there is a northern Indian connection, for a stele depicting this rare iconographic form and dating from about the early eighth century was discovered at Nalanda in 1971.[210]

The votive tablets may give a false impression of actual workshop production on the peninsula in the eighth century. One truly indigenous product is likely to be the sandstone Lokeśvara from Wat Phra Barommathât, Chaiya, illustrated in pl. 17.[211] This is the work of a sculptor who made no attempt to emulate the gracefulness of works in other media (or earlier sculptures in stone); he lumped together the elements below the waist to ensure structural support. Some of the qualities of this statue can be traced back to stylistic tendencies established earlier—the curve to the left arm, the heavy rounded shoulders. But the jewelry is of a later type and has widespread

[206] *Mộradok thâng watthanatham phǣndin thai kộn Phutthasathawat thî 19* (1970), p. 92 (type of Cœdès, "Siamese Votive Tablets" (1926/1954), pl. VIII, center).

[207] For this sort of tablet, Subhadradis (ed.), *Art of Srivijaya* (1980), pls. 45 and 53; Pal, "A Note on The Mandala of the Eight Bodhisattvas" (1972–73); Woodward, "Southeast Asian Traces of the Buddhist Pilgrims" (1988); Bautze-Picron, "Le groupe des huit grands bodhisatva en Inde: genèse et développement" (1997), pp. 14, 30. A distinction is made in Jacq-Hergoualc'h et al., "Un cité-état de la Péninsule malaise" (1995), p. 58 between the earlier and later types of tablet, but there the later type (represented by fig. 17) is given a ninth–tenth-century date.

[208] Cœdès, "Siamese Votive Tablets" (1926/1954), caption to pl. VIII, p. 169.

[209] Ibid., pl. VIII, left bottom; Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 36; Woodward, "Southeast Asian Traces" (1988), fig. 5, p. 78.

[210] Asher, *Art of Eastern India* (1980), pl. 163.

[211] The dates suggested for this image (from Wat Phra Barommathât, Chaiya) have varied: Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 40 ("late 9th century"); Subhadradis (ed.), *Art of Srivijaya* (1980), pl. 5 and text p. 26 (tenth or eleventh century). The sandstone might have a peninsular source (S. L. Rieb, oral communication, 1971).

correspondences; the armlets are a little like those in eighth-century Dvāravatī stucco (pl. 15), the cummerbund like that on ninth-century Cham bronze images of Avalokiteśvara, and the necklace pendants like those seen in Javanese sculpture.[212] The tiger skin around the waist, a kind of royal cushion associated with the god Śiva, appears in both earlier and later sculpture.[213] This stone Lokeśvara might well date from a period as early as the third quarter of the eighth century, but as it is an isolated object, its position cannot be ascertained with certainty. If this dating is correct, the beautiful bronze Lokeśvara from Chaiya must be considered an imported object.[214]

Śrīvijaya, Muang Si Mahosot, Si Thep

The true lineage of large-scale sandstone sculpture depicting figures with limbs projecting into space—the lineage of pls. 6, 7, and 16—does not lead to this peninsular Lokeśvara, pl. 17, but to the sculpture of Si Thep (pl. 19). It will be seen that it is possible to give shape to certain late seventh-century and eighth-century developments in farflung places by paying attention to parallels in the insular world.

Mention was made above (p. 87) of votive tablets found on the peninsula depicting the twelve-armed Lokeśvara standing in a flexed position—a rare iconographical type in favor for a relatively brief period of time in the eighth century. The bronze illustrated in pl. 18 is reported to have been found in Prachinburi province and is a central Thai version of this iconographic type.[215] It is a sculpture of consummate grace, the feet slightly apart, the thighs supremely long, the left hip (with tiger skin) thrust out so that the profiles of the

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[212] Necklace pendants: *Borobudur: Chefs-d'œuvre du Bouddhisme et de l'Hindouisme en Indonésie* (1978), no. 27. Cummerbund: Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa* (1963), figs. 37, 38; Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokiteśvara* (1984), pls. 172, 174. A related, fragmentary bronze is in the Berlin Museum: *Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin: Katalog 1976*, no. 344, p. 96 and pl. 209; Rajeshwari Ghose, *In the Footsteps of the Buddha: an Iconic Journey from India to China* (1998), no. 40 (catalogue entry by Piriya Krairiksh).

[213] Jacq-Hergoualc'h et al., "La région de Nakhon Si Thammarat" (1996), pp. 393–95, for a discussion, with references.

[214] Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pp. 138–39.

[215] Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokiteśvara* (1984), p. 237, where identified as Dvāravatī; for the attributes, pp. 244–46. Her date is the last decades of the eighth century or early years of the ninth.

sides of the body interestingly contrast, and the shoulders slanted but the rounded face erect. The double incisions on the Bodhisattva's robe suggest a connection with Sri Lankan practice. The pedestal, consisting of a deeply contracted pair of rising and falling petals supported by a flaring molding and slightly rounded foot, has a profile that can be seen on other Dvāravatī bronze images of the eighth century, including images of the Buddha. In the period of the sandstone Viṣṇus in the seventh century, relations between Muang Si Mahosot (the chief site in Prachinburi province) and the peninsula were close. Whether the links in Buddhist practices suggested by this twelve-armed Lokeśvara were of the same nature cannot be known.

There is a Chinese toponym, "T'o-yüan," which might be identifiable as Muang Si Mahosot. It sent tribute to China in 644 and 647 but sometime later became a dependency of Dvāravatī.[216] This fits in at least partly with archaeological evidence; no early *dharmacakra* has been found in Muang Si Mahosot, for instance, but there is a later one, suggesting an initial period of religious independence from Dvāravatī.[217] It is also the case that the sandstone sculpture tradition of the city was subsequently developed not at Muang Si Mahosot itself but at Si Thep, just as might be expected if a Dvāravatī kingdom centered further west disrupted Muang Si Mahosot's own workshops. The statue chosen here to exemplify the Brahmanical sculpture of Si Thep is an image of Viṣṇu (pl. 19).[218] Comparison with the earlier Viṣṇu from Muang Si Mahosot (pl. 6) makes it clear that here is a continuous tradition, concerned with the same anatomical features in chest and shoulders, a tradition that was pushed in certain directions by outside influences. The Asia Society sculpture of the southern Indian deity Aiyanar, found in Si Thep but even closer in modeling than is the Si Thep Viṣṇu to the Viṣṇu of pl. 6, suggests—as indicated above (p. 55)—that immigrants from Sri Lanka could have been responsible for stimulating the developments.[219]

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[216] Smith, "Mainland Southeast Asia" (1979), p. 450.

[217] Illustrated, *MBJ*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Oct.-Dec. 1975), p. 49.

[218] The sculpture has been dated as late as the ninth century (Bowie [ed.], *Sculpture of Thailand* [1972], no. 23, pp. 58–59), and sometimes one or another of a group of related sculptures is placed in the sixth century (e.g., Pal, "Art from Southeast Asia" [1988], pp. 84–85).

[219] Woodward, "Interrelations in a Group of South-East Asian Sculptures" (1983), pp. 379–80; Dofflemyer, "The Ancient City of Si Thep: A Study of the Extant Brahmanical Sculpture" (1982), pp. 147–48.

The Si Thep Viṣṇu of pl. 19 can be no earlier than the second half of the seventh century and presumably was made at some point in the eighth century. It now seems that after its early Brahmanical activities at the time of Mahendravarman in the late sixth century, the ancient city of Si Thep went through a Buddhist phase. Among the evidence is a group of wheels of the law, considered as dating no later than the earliest wheels from central Thailand; one of the motifs particularly seems to have been a direct borrowing from the early Khmer repertory.[220] Other works are a Khmer-looking seated Buddha—unfortunately headless—on which the creed was incised in Pāli, and—possibly—a substantial rectangular brick structure, Khao Khlang Nai, with proportions like those of Wat Khlong at Khu Bua, and with a molding sequence and use of dentils reminiscent of practice in the earlier phase of central Dvāravatī.[221]

When the twelve-armed Lokeśvara (pl. 18), the stone Viṣṇu (pl. 19), and a gold plaque said to have come from Si Thep (pl. 20) are looked at together, it can be seen that, despite the differences of medium and iconography, the artists had similar concerns. In each case, the pedestal defines a section of space that when extended provides an imaginary envelope for the figure—one that can be stretched, even pierced, but continues to provide a foil for the undulations of the body. In all three works the position of the feet is of great importance, for it is the opening chord in this counterplay between body and imaginary envelope. Such formal concerns were not unknown in an earlier period—the sculptors responsible for the Khu Bua terracotta guardian, pl. 10, and the Phra Phôthisat Cave relief, fig. 12, were aware of them—but pls. 18, 19, and 20 reveal a common outlook, and therefore historical linkages, within a certain timespan. Perhaps, though, some of these stylistic tendencies were more tied to Mahāyāna Buddhist and Brahmanical traditions than to the Hīnayāna milieu of central Thailand.

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[220] Illustrated, Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), figs. 6–9. The motif is what Brown calls "the ring of foliage curls" ("Dharmacakras" [1981], pp. 74–77).

[221] Buddha: illus. Subhadradis, "New Discoveries at the Town of Sitep" (1968), fig. 5, opp. p. 65. (The Buddha should be compared with the early Cambodian type, especially the example found on the peninsula at Sathing Phra, Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* [1980], pl. 19.) For Khao Khlang Nai, Suriyavudh, "Khlang Nai: Decorative Stucco Figures of the Religious Monument" (1989). He suggests a somewhat later date for Khao Khlang Nai (750–850). Also (for stucco), *MBJ* 18, no. 2 (April-June 1992), pp. 77–82.

It is not only the bronze twelve-armed Lokeśvara which (on account of its connections with the votive tablets) has ties to insular developments, for the gold plaque (pl. 20) does too. A silver twelve-armed Lokeśvara found in central Java must, on stylistic grounds, be assigned a pre-Śailendra (pre-778) date.[222] It shares with the twelve-armed Lokeśvara of pl. 18 the tiger skin around the waist, the pelt over the shoulder, and the long robe with double incisions, but is less attenuated a figure. A related object, also pre-Śailendra in date, is a gold plaque depicting Viṣṇu found at Gemuruh in central Java in 1903.[223] The Si Thep and Gemuruh plaques are evidently descended from similar Pallava models, to which the Javanese example is probably more faithful than is the one from Si Thep. The attendant figure on the latter cannot be given a name, for instance; he is unlikely to personify one of the Viṣṇu's attributes, since all four are clearly shown in the god's hands. The parallel figure on the Javanese plaque, however, has a clear identity; he is a humanoid Garuda, with wings and snake-like nāga in his hands.

Two images of the standing Buddha provide evidence that the sculptors who produced the monumental Brahmanical figures also created some Buddhist works—ones in which the facial modeling is reminiscent of that of the Čhêdî Čhunla Pathôn stuccos while the pose and modeling of the body share qualities with the pl. 19 Viṣṇu.[224] Somewhat later—it would seem—after the demand for freestanding Brahmanical sculptures waned, another Buddhist phase began, one exemplified by the heads of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas from the walls of Thamǫ̂rat Cave fifteen kilometers west of the city. The relief figures at the cave consist almost entirely of images of the standing Buddha, but there are three Bodhisattvas, one of them four-armed and wearing a short loin cloth, which has been identified as the source for one of the removed heads, a Maitreya with tiered headdress.[225]

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[222] Jakarta Museum A 43 62 c, illus. *Borobudur: Chefs-d'œuvre du Bouddhisme et de l'Hindouisme en Indonésie* (1978), no. 58. See also an Avalokiteśvara found in Surat Thani province, illus. *Pramuan phâp pratimâ* [belonging to M. R. Thanphong Kritdâkǫ̂n] (1965), no. 15.

[223] Jakarta Museum A 31 486 a; illus. *Borobudur: Chefs-d'œuvre* (1978) no. 50.

[224] The two images are illustrated in Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), figs. 49 and 50. Earlier publication: Czuma, "Mon-Dvaravati Buddha" (1980) (proposing later seventh century); Pal, *Light of Asia* (1984), no. 103, pp. 220–21 (eighth century).

[225] They are most thoroughly illustrated in *6 Soi Kasemsan II* (1962), pls. 12–17. The Maitreya is illustrated in Bowie (ed.), *The Sculpture of Thailand* (1972), no. 10a, p. 41. For the identification of the body of the Maitreya, Wichai, "Mahâyân thî

These figures, in turn, provide a link to the bronze sculptures of the Prakhon Chai group. A votive tablet fragment found at Si Thep with an inscription in both Sanskrit and Chinese probably dates from the same time as the cave sculptures.[226] Evidently the city was a cosmopolitan center in the period around the late eighth century.

Śrīvijaya, Central Thailand

As outlined above (p. 82–83), Śrīvijaya power waned in the middle decades of the eighth century, just as Central Java was in the ascendency. Śrīvijaya missions to China stopped after 742, and in 768 the Javanese state of Ho-ling sent a mission for the first time in nearly a century.[227] The peninsular inscription of 775 (Th. 23), which records on one face the establishment by the king of Śrīvijaya of three brick shrines, is best understood as the product of a kingdom with a reach considerably less than had been the case a half century previously.

Among the sources for central Javanese art of the Śailendra period were earlier Javanese art (like the Gemuruh gold plaque) and "Śrīvijayan" art—as far as the latter can be defined from finds in Sumatra or on the peninsula, or inferred from such Dvāravatī works as the first sermon socle (pl. 12). There were other new stimuli, however, most importantly from Bengal. Śailendra control of central Java was achieved by A. D. 778. In one of the earliest Śailendra foundations of 782—thought to be that of Chandi Sewu—there is mention of a teacher from Gaudi, or Bengal.[228] It is the Bengal connection which is significant for Dvāravatī chronology, for it is possible to isolate a group of Bengali-style bronzes found in Thailand (including pl. 21).

Mʉ̂ang Sî Thêp" (1992). For a fuller but less accurate sketch of the images in the cave, Nikhom, "Khwâm phinât khộng phâp čhamlak thî tham khao thamộrat" (1968).

[226] Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), fig. 52ab and text, pp. 36–37; *Čhârʉk bôrân run rɛ̂k* (1981), pp. 99–102.

[227] Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce* (1967), p. 214, Wang Gung-wu, "Nanhai Trade" (1958), p. 123.

[228] For the Kelurak inscription, Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java* (1971–72), 1:41–47. For the connection with Chandi Sewu, Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Dvārapāla of Borobudur" (1981), p. 19. For a general analysis of the role of Bengal, Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke, *Divine Bronze: Ancient Indonesian Bronzes from A. D. 600 to 1600* (1988), pp. 27–30.

These, in turn lead toward the identification of other objects in which there is a Bengali element. There may have been a moment—say around the 770s or 780s—at which the impact of Bengali influences was especially marked.

One of the Bengali-type bronzes, found in Khong district, Nakhon Ratchasima, appears in pl. 21. Another bronze belonging to the group was found in Kosum Phisai district, Maha Sarakham, and a third was acquired in Lopburi.[229] The Bodhisattva in pl. 21, a unique form of Mañjuśrī, has massively rounded shoulders, upon which are clustered the little beads that form armlets, necklace, and ringlets. The conical headdress is adorned with rosettes and the figure of a Buddha in meditation; its profile is similar to that seen on one of the attendant figures on a plaque discovered at Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon (pl. 23A), and various sorts of conical headdresses in later Dvāravatī art can be traced back to such a source.[230]

The twelve-armed Avalokiteśvara from Prachinburi province (pl. 18) and the Si Thep gold plaque (pl. 20) provide evidence of connections with the peninsula and Java prior to the time of the Bengali impact—perhaps at a moment before Śrīvijaya power had begun to diminish in the middle of the eighth century. In central Thailand too, there are features that have a Śrivijaya character and make an appearance sometime in the eighth century—or perhaps the ninth (whether prior to, at the same time as, or later than the moment of the Bengali impact it is not always possible to determine). One such trait is the presence of smaller stūpas at the corners of a brick stūpa, such as at Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon in its third state (fig. 13c) and sites 2 and 9 in U Thong. The much rebuilt Phra Barommathât at Chaiya (fig. 15a)—although a shrine, not a stūpa—has related structures at the corners, and may provide evidence of the spread of the convention.[231] Perhaps this building in its original state was one

[229] These include: (1) Asia Society (pl. 21), discussed, for instance, in Woodward, "Interrelationships," Huntington and Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree*; no. 74, pp. 232–33; (2) Royal Ontario Museum, publ. Munsterberg, *Sculpture of the Orient* (1972), p. 40; (3) National Museum, Bangkok (from Kosum Phisai district, Maha Sarakham), illus. Boisselier, *Heritage* (1975), p. 96, pl. 61; (4) Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (acquired Lopburi), publ. Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), pp. 64–66; for others, ibid., p. 293, n. 81. See also Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), nos. 48–51.

[230] E.g. Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), pp. 67–68.

[231] Piriya Krairiksh wrote that the monument had been restored too many times to make it possible to propose a date (*Art in Peninsular Thailand* [1980], p. 49). In an alternative scheme, if Boechari's interpretation of the second face of the 775

of the sources upon which Śailendra-period architects drew, beginning in the 770s, rather than the implantation of a Javanese architectural form in the Śailendra period. Another new type was the octagonal stūpa, seen in Kedah and at site 13 in U Thong (fig. 18a).[232] In this case, although the concept may have spread in the eighth century, the Dvāravatī example at U Thong seems no earlier than the ninth century.

At the U Thong octagonal stūpa an important bronze image of the Buddha was excavated in 1963.[233] Sixty-five centimeters in height and cast in two pieces, it is presumably older than or contemporary to the stūpa. The type is that seen in pl. 22—right shoulder bare, a slight sway to the body, the right hand exhibiting *vitarka-mudrā*, the left hand forward in a kind of *vara-mudrā* that may be no more than a vestige of a robe-holding gesture. This is what the left hand does in the earliest Southeast Asian examples of images with this pose, found in Cambodia.[234] In early Dvāravatī the type was avoided, and almost all the surviving examples were made of bronze. Compared to the standard-type stone image in Seattle (pl. 11), there is a relaxation of tension: the eyes are similarly double-curved and have a ridge or lip around them, but the curve is less severe; a similar observation could be made about the mouth. The facial shape has subtly altered; it is somewhat less round and more heart-shaped. Two features also characterize terracotta high-relief images of the Buddha found at U Thong (especially site 5) and belonging to the period of monuments with corner stūpas: one is the broadly pleated shawl (*saṃghāṭī*) that lies on the Buddha's left shoulder; the other is the gem that surmounts the *uṣṇīṣa*.[235] This gem may be a Bengali-inspired

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inscription is correct (above, n. 186), Javanese elements were brought to the peninsula in the mid-ninth century. Dvāravatī epigraphy might provide evidence of mainland–insular connections in this later period: a Pāli-language inscription found in Khok Samrong district, Lopburi, shares some epigraphical pecularities with the Wat Sêmâ Mụ̂ang inscription (Th. 23), side 2. See Cha-'êm, "Silâ čhârụk Phuttha-'uthân" (1985). Also supporting the later date is the apparent Javanese influence on the monster masks on the Mt. Kulen lintels, which have no lower jaws.

[232] For Kedah, Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *La civilsation de ports-entrepôts du sud Kedah* (1992), pp. 46–50 (site SB 1).

[233] Manat, *Phra kru mụ̂ang Suphan* (1963), fig. 15; Sanộng, *Phra phuttharûp læ thêwarûp/Outstanding Sculptures* (1975), pl. 23 (coll. *phra khrû* Khanânamsamanâčhan [Pao], Bangkok).

[234] Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), fig. 64, p. 269.

[235] For U Thong site 5, *Râi ngân kân samruat læ khut tæ̂ng bôrânwatthusathân mụ̂ang kao 'Û Thộng* (1966), pp. 18–19 and figs. 41–43; for discussion, with references, Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), no. 10, pp. 63–64, and 50–51.

trait.[236] Despite these connections with the town of U Thong, it is by no means certain that the bronze in pl. 22 was cast in central Thailand; the modeling of the brows, for instance, is rather like that seen in a Maitreya from the Northeast (pl. 26). A number of bronzes belonging to this iconographic type were, in fact, made in northeastern Thailand.

Evidence of some of these developments can be seen at Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon in its third and final state (fig. 13c). The terrace platform, with its reliefs (pl. 13), was covered over and upon its upper surface four small corner stūpas were built. The standing Buddha images of the original niches of the main body of the monument were replaced with images of nāga-protected and pendant-leg Buddhas.[237] A group of four repoussé plaques uncovered by Pierre Dupont must have been deposited when the monument was enlarged.[238] One is illustrated in pl. 23A. The Buddha sits on a rectangular throne, his right hand in a teaching gesture. His face and those of the attendants seem schematized in the direction of an inverted triangle, somewhat in the manner of the Khu Bua stucco of pl. 15. The figure on the left has a conical coiffure ornamented with small elements, and a fold of his waist cloth hangs low between his legs. Also associated with State III are decorated bricks, some of which have simple lozenges in reliefs.[239] In a painted one, the foliate forms of early Dvāravatī ornament have been turned into stems with hooks at the end—a tendency observed in the triangular ornaments on the crown of the Khu Bua stucco, pl. 15.

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[236] Piriya, *Art Styles* (1977), pp. 78–79.

[237] The third state according to Jean Boisselier may date from the late ninth or early tenth century (Boisselier, "Récentes recherches" [1970], pp. 61–63). Piriya Krairiksh, on the other hand, proposed a date at the end of the seventh or in the early eighth century (Piriya, "Cula Pathon Cedi" [1975], p. 36). Differences of opinion exist as well about what constitutes State III. Dr. Piriya proposed that the painted and carved bricks beneath the corner stūpas belong to State II, not State III and that the nāga-protected Buddhas belong to an even later, post-State III period. To this problem a sensible response might be that in the absence of a full archaeological analysis it is preferable to associate the bricks with State III and that if the nāga-protected and pendent-leg Buddhas are not contemporary, perhaps the latter should be assigned to State II—close to the time the popularity of the hand-in-lap type is attested by the first sermon socle (pl. 12)—and the nāga-protected Buddhas to state III.

[238] Dupont, *L'Archéologie mône* (1959), figs. 265–68; text, pp. 88–90. Dupont assigned these plaques to the very end of the Dvāravatī period (p. 90).

[239] Not illustrated in ibid. See also Anuwit, "Phâp rûp bukkhon bon phæ̂n 'it bæ̂p Thawârawadî" (1983), pp. 54–57.

The seated Buddhas and attendants seen in pl. 23A and on the other plaques bear comparison with figures on the votive tablets of the type seen in pl. 23B.[240] Here is another Great Miracle, simplified in form when compared to the great relief (pl. 14), and with significant substitutions—instead of the pendant-leg Buddha, for instance, here is a cross-legged one. There is no interest in indicating a ground-plane, no overlapping of figures, no cloud space-dividers (in the manner of the first sermon relief, pl. 12). Instead, each figure is isolated and provided with a kind of platform in space. Some elements derive from the Wat Suthat relief and can be understood as simplifications of it, but outside influence traceable to Bengal seems to be at work at the same time. One of the plaques found at the Triple Gem monastery in Mainamati of about the late seventh century has a ground line that provides support for a kneeling adorant and creates the same sort of shallow stage for isolated figures.[241] There may also be a connection between the conical coiffure seen both in the plaque (pl. 23A) and in the tablet (pl. 23B) and that on the bronze Mañjuśrī (pl. 21).

Pls. 24 and 25 illustrate two additional objects that can be discussed in the context of a middle-Dvāravatī period, in the eighth and ninth centuries. The stucco head in pl. 24 may be identified as having come from the site of Khu Bua (possibly monument 31).[242] The diadem, an ornamented band with central floral medallion, is different from that seen in earlier Dvāravatī stuccos or terracottas and is more like that in the Bengali-style Mañjuśrī (pl. 21). Parallels can be found on Śrivijayan bronzes of apparent pre-Śailendra date, including one from the Palembang area.[243] In this head there is much

[240] The inscription consists of the *ye dhammā* formula in Pāli. Cœdès, "Votive Tablets" (1926/1954), p. 167 and pl. III, right.

[241] Asher, *Art of Eastern India* (1980), pl. 112, and pp. 63–65. Cf. also pls. 131–33, of the second half of the eighth century.

[242] For this site east of the town, evidently disturbed before official Khu Bua excavations began in May 1961, Somsak, *Bôrânkhaî Mụ̂ang Khû Bua* (1992), fig. 48 and text p. 37. Pl. 24 and stylistically related heads are identified as having come from Ratchaburi province in *6 Soi Kasemsan II* (1962), unpaged [pp. 21–23]. A stucco head of the Buddha that can be added to this group is Lerner, *The Flame and the Lotus* (1985), no. 39. Another is Seattle Art Museum 63.29. (I thank Mr. Carl H. Ostertag.)

[243] *Borobudur: Chefs-d'œuvre du Bouddhisme et de l'Hindouisme en Indonésie* (1978), no. 42. Also the bronze triad found in southern Thailand but possibly Javanese in origin, Lerner, *The Flame and the Lotus* (1985), no. 41, pp. 112–13.

that is classically Dvāravatī in feeling—the shape of the face, the curve of the eyes—but it has been combined with accoutrements that reveal connections with a larger arena of eighth- and ninth-century art.

By the late eighth and ninth centuries Muang Si Mahosot seems to have fallen fully within the cultural orbit of Dvāravatī, but the grayish sandstone (or graywacke) of the older local tradition continued to be used. The nāga-protected Buddha illustrated in pl. 25, attributable to eastern Thailand (although brought to Bangkok from Ayutthaya), could belong to the second half of the eighth century. The concept of the mask is not new; it appears on a *dharmacakra* socle at Nakhon Pathom.[244] This mask may have at least some similarities to the those having no lower jaw on the Javanese-influenced Khmer lintels of the Kulen style, however, pushing the date into the ninth century.[245] The facial shape is somewhat like that seen in the bronze standing Buddha, pl. 22, with marked contraction from temples to chin, and the theme of the nāga-protected Buddha can be linked to the appearance of the type at Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon in its third state.

The situation at Muang Si Mahosot in the eighth century is illuminated by a lengthy inscription discovered there—if, that is, the inscription (K. 997) really dates from A. D. 761, and the nearly completely effaced numerals at the head of the text were once *683*.[246] A Pāli portion consists of praise of the Triple Gem (from the *Telakaṭagāthā*) while the Khmer portion names the author (Vuddhasira, possibly a monk), dates the inscription to the cyclical year of the ox (the earliest instance of cyclical-year dating known in Thailand), and appears to refer to the establishment of a footprint, possibly the one that was uncovered at Sa Morokot in 1986 (above, p. 55). Here is evidence of a Dvāravatī Theravāda in apparent close communication with Sri Lanka, as well as of the simultaneous use of the Khmer language.

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[244] Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), fig. 66a.

[245] Coral-Rémusat, *L'Art khmer. Les grandes étapes se son évolution* (1951), pl. VII, fig. 19.

[246] See the references listed in the bibliography of inscriptions. Cœdès read the numerals as "863 (?)" (= A. D. 941), which was a year of the ox (*chalu*, cf. K. 351, K. 618): see his list in *Inscriptions du Cambodge* (1937–66), 8:224. For the date of the inscription, cf. also the review by Jacques of *Prachum silâ čhâr̥uk*, vol. 3, *BEFEO 57* (1970), p. 233.

All these works of art raise questions about the role of Java and Javanese art within Thailand following the rise of Śailendra power in the 770s. The southern Cham kingdom of Panduranga, in which Buddhist traditions were strong, suffered Javanese raids in 774 and 787. Perhaps Dvāravatī experienced similar attacks. A few decades later, Champa itself was acting as an expansionist power, raiding Cambodia in the 810s. It was perhaps at this moment that the Cham-style temple Prasat Damrei Krap was built at Phnom Kulen.[247] By and large, classical Javanese art of the late eighth and first half of the ninth centuries did not have a positive impact upon Dvāravatī. Looked at this way, the celebrated bronze torso of Avalokiteśvara discovered at Chaiya must be considered an import from Java, and one that did not produce local progeny because at the time there were no active bronze workshops in the area in a position to follow its inspiring lead.[248] The works discussed in this section may either predate or postdate possible raids from Java in the 770s. If they predate such raids, then perhaps the period around 800 was a fallow one for the Dvāravatī kingdom of central Thailand. If they postdate the 770s, then the art of Dvāravatī around 800 can be looked upon as making use of elements from Bengal, on one hand, and on Śrīvijayan features that had spread decades previously, on the other. Armies from Nan-chao may have entered the region in the 830s; if they had an effect on Dvāravatī, that might have been yet another blow.[249]

The Northeast

In Chinese eyes, Cambodia was divided during the eighth century into "Land" and "Water" Chen-la. A trip to the capital of Land Chenla, or Wen-tan, is described in Chinese sources; it lay in modern Laos or northeastern Thailand.[250] Wen-tan sent tribute to China along

[247] Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa* (1963), pp. 13–14, 63–64.

[248] Illus. Boisselier, *Heritage of Thai Sculpture* (1975), pl. 60, p. 95. Dr. Piriya proposed this might be one of the images cast in 775: Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), p. 138. It has been suggested that a stone head of the Buddha at Wat Khanaram (Na San district, Nakhon Si Thammarat) demonstrates Javanese influence, but this in fact may not be necessary: Jacq-Hergoualc'h et al., "Le région de Nakhon Si Thammarat" (1996), pp. 390–92.

[249] Backus, *The Nan-chao Kingdom and T'ang China's Southwestern Frontier* (1981), p. 129.

[250] R. B. Smith, "Mainland South East Asia in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries"

with Chen-la in 711 and 717; it subsequently sent missions of its own in 753–54, 771, and, for the last time, 799. It remained powerful; that is to say, practically until the time of the consecration ceremony of 802 (according to a later inscription) held for Jayavarman II on Mt. Kulen northeast of the future site of Angkor, a ceremony culminating a generation-long period of territorial aggrandizement.[251]

There is no reason why the art of eighth-century (and even later) northeastern Thailand should not be called "Wen-tan," despite the ignorance regarding both the location of the capital and the extent of its territories. It may be as legitimate a name as Dvāravatī. "Javā"—the kingdom remembered as Cambodia's enemy in the time of Jayavarman II (K. 956)—may also be a legitimate name; it is one that has persisted in regional tradition as a name for Luang Prabang.[252] The words Dvāravatī (in a cultural sense) or Mon have been used instead, however. There are sufficient debts to and similarities to the art of the central plains to make the name Dvāravatī an acceptable one. Numerous Mon-language inscriptions indicate that Mon was the primary vernacular language, at least north of the Mun.[253] Stone inscriptions in both Khmer and Sanskrit, meanwhile, attest to a cultural indebtedness to Cambodia. What above all distinguishes the Northeast is the importance given to Buddhist boundary stones (*sīmā* or *sêmâ*).

Though the art of the Northeast is today less well known than that of the central plains, eventually it will be possible to tell the story of its development in some detail. There are enough boundary stones to permit a history that would extend from the eighth century into the eleventh, and there is also a handful of inscriptions. Two inscriptions provide the name of a kingdom—Canāśa (K. 400) or Cānāśa (K. 949), and others give names of kings. But Canāśa may or may not have been Wen-tan. The Bộ Îkâ inscription (K. 400)—one of the inscriptions to mention Canāśa—was found at

(1979), pp. 448–49. Higham and Amphan proposed the Mun-Chi basin as a location in "Irregular Earthworks" (1982), p. 109. Jean Boisselier has drawn attention to two other significant Chinese toponyms, Chu-chiang and San-pan, which are discussed in Briggs, *Ancient Khmer Empire* (1951), p. 47. See Boisselier, "Comments on Dvaravati Art in Thailand" (1991), p. 15.

[251] Jacques, "Etudes d'épigraphie cambodgienne, VIII, La carrière de Jayavarman II" (1972).

[252] Groslier, "Les Syam Kuk des bas-reliefs d'Angkor Vat" (1981), p. 111.

[253] Surveyed in Bauer, "Notes on Mon Epigraphy" (1991).

Muang Sema, an ancient town in Sung Noen district of Nakhon Ratchasima. Paleographically it may date back to the seventh century.[254] (On the other side is an inscription of A. D. 868, recording the establishment of a liṅga and mentioning that the area was then depopulated.)[255]

A wheel of the law was found at Muang Sema, and so it was in the religious orbit of Dvāravatī. Although this wheel has some unique features (like a monster mask), Robert Brown's analysis of motifs suggests that it should be placed relatively late in the sequence—after the first sermon socle (pl. 12) and so probably in the eighth century. At Muang Sema, at the site known as Ban Hin Tang, there is also a configuration of boundary stones that are just unfinished slabs of red sandstone, some big and thick, others more slender (fig. 16). A group—as reported in 1975—surrounded a low mound.[256] The chronological relationship of such unfinished stones to the finished ones has not been determined, but it may be surmised that both prehistoric unfinished pillars and the historical *sīmā* were memorials to deceased ancestors.[257] Mon-language inscriptions on some of the *sīmā* appear to call the erection of the stone a meritorious activity, the fruit of which should go to a relative.[258] At Ban Hin Tang, not all the rocks are in a circle, and here as elsewhere there is some question about whether they necessarily enclosed a building. At the same time, inscriptions identify the stones as *sīmā*, although in one such case, the inscription pertains to a single stone, not a set (K. 981).

The earliest figured boundary stones also provide some evidence of associated beliefs. One of the earliest *sīmā* must be the one sketched

[254] For the findspot, Lunet de Lajonquière, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*, vol. 2 (1907), fig. 100, p. 299 and p. 300. See also, *Plan and Report of the Survey and Excavations of Ancient Monuments in North-Eastern Thailand 1959* (1979), pp. 60–61.

[255] Claude Jacques has proposed that the date is 750 (= A. D. 828), not 790: *Corpus des Inscriptions du pays khmer, Planches*, vol. 1 (ca. 1986), pl. 91. He has also pointed out that the expression *kambudeśātare* on this face could mean either "inside Cambodia" or "outside Cambodia": "The Khmers in Thailand" (1989), p. 19.

[256] Srisakra, "Sêmâ isân" (1975), description of Ban Hin Tang on p. 92. This splendid and lengthy survey is not easily available.

[257] Cf. Quaritch Wales, *Dvaravati* (1969), p. 110: the stones "obviously had a special significance for the native population cognate to what they had previously attributed to menhirs . . . ."

[258] Čhampâ and Thœm, "Čhârụk bai sêmâ Wat Nôn Silâ phutthasattawat thî 14" (1985), pp. 83–89. In Chum Phae district, Khon Kaen. The reading and translation are questioned in Bauer, "Notes on Mon Epigraphy" (1991), p. 65.

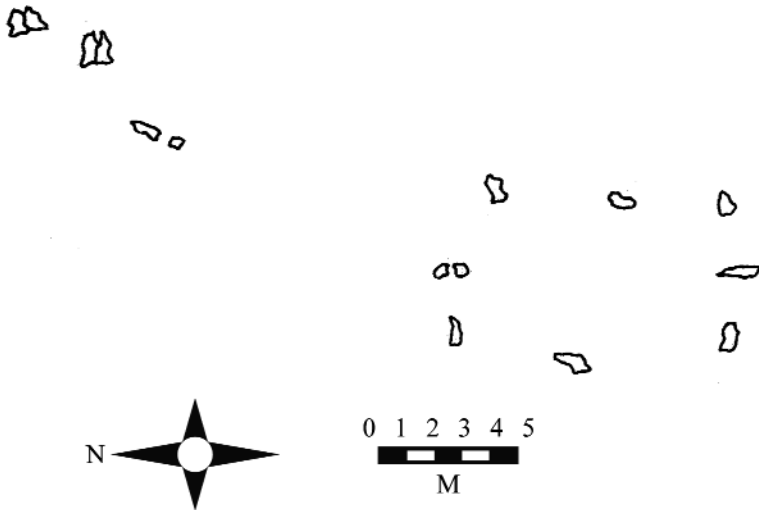

Figure 16. Plan of the stone markers at Ban Hin Tang, Nakhon Ratchasima.

in fig. 17b—not found in the Northeast but near the site of Muang Bon (Phayuha Khiri district, Nakhon Sawan), a small town probably established sometime in the seventh century (fig. 11b). At the bottom, in the low-relief depiction, is a stand, then a pot, or *kumbha*, and then other elements to which it is hard to give names; for the sake of convenience, they might be called a stalk and a finial. Such pots apparently served as burial urns, and near stūpa number 13 at Muang Bon the remains of one were found.[259] Such a practice recalls the secondary burials that were carried out in northeastern Thailand in late prehistoric times (see p. 16–17) and that have also have been found at Fa Daet, a site rich in boundary stones of about the ninth century.[260] There were also many burial urns placed in and around sacred structures at Beikthano in Burma.[261] Furthermore, at Thap Chumphon in the same province of Nakhon Sawan, two later (ca. eighth–ninth century) terracotta *kumbha*-type stūpas have been found (fig. 17c), bearing the *ye dhammā* formula and, on one, a reference

[259] *Bôrânwatthu samai Thawârawadî hæ̂ng mai* (1965), fig. 92.
[260] Phâsuk, "Dvaravati Culture in the Chi Valley: A Study on Muang Fa Daed Song Yang" (1994). For a prehistoric instance, Solheim, "Thailand" (1961), p. 40.
[261] Aung Thaw, *Report on the Excavations at Beikthano* (1968), sites KKG 1 and 14, pp. 23–26 and pls. XLI and XLII.

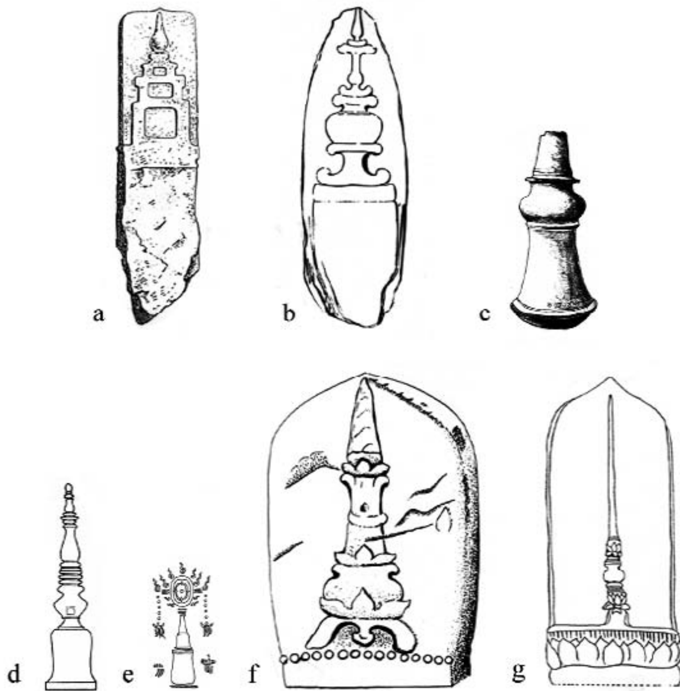

Figure 17. Sketches of *kumbha* stūpas. (a) Boundary stone at Hin Khon, Pak Thong Chai district, Nakhon Ratchasima. (b) Boundary stone from near Muang Bon, Nakhon Sawan. c. Terracotta *kumbha* from Thap Chumphon, Nakhon Sawan, with inscription in characters of the ninth-tenth centuries. In Mon, "This *kyāk puṇa* [meritorious offering] was made by the ancestors near the *vihāra*." In Pali: *ye dhammā* . . . (d) Bronze reliquary from Na Dun district, Maha Sarakham. (e) Silver sheet with repoussé design, from Kantharawichai district, Maha Sarakham. (f) Boundary stone, Phnom Kulen. (g) Boundary stone, from Ban Tat Thong, Yasothon.

to ancestors. If these *kumbha*-type stūpas served as urns, they suggest that the Muang Bon stele itself can be said to have had a kind of memorial character.[262]

The *kumbha* stūpa became an important element in the art of the Northeast. It is found not only depicted on *sīmās* and on small sheets of silver (fig. 17e) but, three-dimensionally, in bronze (fig. 17d). Such a container was used as a reliquary and placed under the plain

[262] For the Muang Bon stele see also Brown, *Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law* (1996), p. 95 and fig. 91; also Quaritch Wales, "Muang Bon, a Town of Northern Dvāravatī" (1965).

laterite base of what was evidently once a stūpa. In each case there is a variation upon the units found at Muang Bon (fig. 17b): stand, *kumbha*, stalk, and finial. The silver sheet (fig. 17e), one of sixty-six found in a jar beneath a laterite platform for a Buddha image at a site in Kantharawichai district belongs to the tradition of the Si Thep plaque (pl. 20) and can be dated to the eighth or ninth century—as should the bronze reliquary from Na Dun (fig. 17d), about fifty kilometers south of Kantharawichai (where the silver plaques were found).[263] The more slender, attenuated—and presumably later—type of *kumbha*-stūpa (fig. 17g) need not postdate the ninth century (p. 111 below). If the Muang Bon stele was itself the source for all the variations, then an important route of intercourse between the central plains and the Northeast must have passed through Si Thep and Kaset Sombun district, Chaiyaphum.

Close together in Kaset Sombun district are a number of different sites with *sīmā*, on some of which are important inscriptions.[264] But these incriptions, together with others of the period found at

[263] Bronze reliquary: Sathâphộn, "Kan khut tæng bôrânsathân thî amphœ̂ Nâ Dûn čhangwat Mahâ Sarakham" (1981), pp. 71–87. M. C. Subhadradis Diskul proposed a date in the tenth or eleventh century for the silver plaques: "The Development of Dvāravatī Sculpture and a Recent Find from North-east Thailand" (1979), pp. 364–65. There are boundary stones that may be associated with the silver plaques; see Sisak, "Sêmâ Isân" (1975), p. 101.

[264] Following *Lǣng bôrânkhadî Prathêt Thai lêm 4* (1990), pp. 15–26, the Kaset Sombun and nearby sites may be described as follows:

Site 5, Ban Non Khong (*tambon* Sa Phon Tong, Kaset Sombun district). *Illustrated: MBJ 3*, no. 1 (Oct.-Dec. 1976), p. 54; Nộ na Pâknam, *Sinlapa bon bai sêmâ* (Bangkok), fig. 10. *Inscription*: probably the site described by Seidenfaden as Phu Khio Kao ("Complément" [1922], pp. 89–91) and hence the source for K. 404.

Site 7, Ban Hua Khua (*tambon* Nong Kha, Kaset Sombun district), with groups of *sīmā* at Ban Nang Thanom and Non Ku, from which inscription was taken.

Site 8, Ban Phan Lam (*tambon* Sa Phon Thong, Kaset Sombun district), with groups of *sīmā* at Non Hin Tang. *Illustrated: MBJ 3*, no. 1 (Oct.-Dec. 1976), pp. 54, 55. *Apparent inscriptions*: K. 965, and K. 977.

Site 9, Ban Pho Yai (*tambon* Ban Lao, Chaiyaphum district and province).

Site 10, Ban Kut Ngong (*tambon* Na Nong Chaeng, Chaiyaphum district and province). Illustrated: *MBJ* 6, no. 1 (Oct.-Nov. 1979), pp. 26–27 *Inscriptions*: Jy 8, Jy ii, Jy iii (Bauer, "Notes on Mon Epigraphy" [1991], p. 56).

Ban Pho, Kaset Sombun district. Possibly to be identified with Ban Hua Khua, site 7 above. *Plan: MBJ* I, no. 2 (Jan.-March 1975), p. 95.

One of the above Kaset Sombun sites: a *sīmā* with a seven-line incription and an episode from the *Matiposaka-jātaka* is carved in low relief. See Sinchai, "Pratimânwitthayâ: phâp salak bon bai sêmâ čhâk amphœ̂ Kasêt Sombûn čhangwat Chaiyaphûm" (1975).

Kumphawapi district, Udon Thani (K. 981–83), Kuchinarai, Kalasin (K. 511), and at Hin Khon (K. 388–89) in Pak Thong Chai district, Nakhon Ratchasima, do not reveal as much as might be hoped about religious orientation.[265] According to one Sanskrit inscription from Kaset Sombun (K. 404), Cuḍāmaṇī, a high-ranking lady or queen, was ornamented by dharma-filled wisdom (*prajñā*)—a Mahāyāna quality. Another inscription, concerning an *ācārya* ("master") named Candrāditya ("moon sun"), mentions the Abhidharma, possibly suggesting a Hīnayāna rather than a Mahāyāna orientation (K. 965).[266] This inscription is one of the few in Northern Indian letters, as is another Kaset Sombun *sīmā* text that dates from 991 and mentions a *sugatapratimāvuddhasīmā*, evidently an image of the Buddha set up within a set of boundary stones.[267] One of the Kumphawapi district inscriptions (K. 981) states that a monk (*bhikṣu*) honored by Brahmans erected a stone (*śilā*) which functions as a *sīmā*. The Hin Khon inscription was set up by a prince-turned-monk (*rājabhikṣu*) who gave four *sīmā* of the best stone (K. 388), along with even more substantial donations.[268] An old sketch of a *sīmā* at Hin Khon from a group of six pairs appears as fig. 17a. It is possible that originally the form at the top was more *kumbha*-shaped.[269]

This *sīmā* culture spread to Phnom Kulen in Cambodia, where there are two mounds surrounded by eight pairs of *sīmā*, forming perfect rectangles. On a number of these, *kumbha*-stūpas appear on one face (as in fig. 17f), wheels of the law mounted on *kumbhas* on the other, in the same sort of pairing remarked upon in votive tablets (above, p. 69).[270] The progressive development of the design of *kumbha* stūpas places the Phnom Kulen *sīmās* prior to the time of Jayavarman's

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[265] K. 981 is illustrated in *MBJ* 1, no. 2 (Jan.-March 1975), fig. 9, p. 97. See also *JSS* 54, no. 2 (July 1966), pl. XV following p. 182.

[266] K. 404: Cœdès's reading (*Inscriptions*, vol. 7 [1964], p. 73) differs greatly from Cha-êm, "Silâ čhârųk Phû Khîo 'ân læ plǣ mai" (1989), p. 235, which has been followed here. She also gives it a later date, around the tenth century.

[267] Cha-êm, "Čhârųk Kasêtsombûn" (1994).

[268] On this inscription see also Filliozat, "Sur le Çivaisme et le Bouddhisme du Cambodge, à propos du deux livres récents" (1981), p. 84.

[269] See the description of the site of Hin Khon, Lunet de Lajonquière, *Inventaire descriptif des Monuments du Cambodge*, vol. 2 (1907), pp. 242–43.

[270] It has also been suggested that Buddhists from northeastern Thailand, attracted by the fame of Phnom Kulen, came to the site and established monasteries there. Boulbet and Dagens, "Les sites archéologiques de la region du Bhnam Gulen" (1973), 51–52 (illus., figs. 1–17, pp. 125–34). See also Quaritch Wales, "Recent Dvāravatī Discoveries, and Some Khmer Comparisons" (1980), pp. 51–52.

802 ceremony; they must mark the southernmost extent of Land Chen-la or Wen-tan cultural penetration. The kingdom's last mission to China occurred in 799, and an inscription of 791 (K. 244), in praise of Lokeśvara, has been found in the Angkor region—evidence of the presence of Buddhists. After completing his conquests, it can be surmised, Jayavarman chose as ceremonial site a place already sacralized by religious activities.[271]

Prakhon Chai

In 1964 several dozen metal sculptures were unearthed somewhere in Buriram province and quickly entered the international art market, where they became known as the Prakhon Chai bronzes.[272] They came, in fact, from Plai Bat Hill, which straddles Prakhon Chai and Lahan Sai districts and is the site of two tenth- or early eleventh-century temples, Prâsât Plâi Bat (1) and, further west, near the findspot, Prâsât Plai Bat (2), in Lahan Sai district.[273] One of these bronzes appears here as pl. 26. Its strengths have been much admired: the grace of the posture; the proportions and placement of the long legs; the precisely thought-out but seemingly casual relationship between the folds of the loin cloth and the belt that holds it up; the fleshy quality to the torso; the aristocratic elegance to the curve of the fingers; the vigorous rhythm of the strands of hair. The illustrated bronze is an image of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, and, although no

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[271] For the career of Jayavarman II, Vickery, *Society, Economics, and Politics in Pre-Angkor Cambodia* (1998), pp. 393–404.

[272] Illustrations of a large number appear in Bunker, "Pre-Angkor Period Bronzes from Pra Kon Chai" (1971–72). See also Boisselier, "Notes sur l'art du bronze dans l'ancien Cambodge" (1968); Le Bonheur, "Un bronze d'époque préangkorienne représentant Maitreya" (1972); *Pratimâkam samrit chin 'ek phop mai čhâk Burîram/New Acquisitions of Three Bronzes from Buriram* (1973); Woodward, "Interrelations in a Group of South-East Asian Sculptures" (1983); Nandana and Leidy, *Buddha of the Future: an Early Maitreya from Thailand* (1994).

[273] See *Phǟnthî thâng bôrânkhadî čhangwat Burîram* (1990), p. 109. The true provenance was earlier published in Pisit and Subhadradis, *Thaïlande*, figs. 101 and 103, captions, p. 239. For the two separate sites on Plai Bat hill: Prâsât Hin Plâi Bat (1), first published in *Report of the Survey . . . Part Two* (1967), p. 52 and figs. 35–37, subsequently Anuwit, *Bǟp khrong sâng* (1981), figs. 121–22; Prâsât Hin Plâi Bat (2), published in *Thamnîap bôrânsathân khộm nai Prathêt Thai lêm 2 čhangwat Burîram* (1993), pp. 33–35. The latter is the monument illustrated in Bunker, "Pre-Angkor Period Bronzes from Pra Kon Chai" (1971–72), figs. 1–3. I thank Mr. Martin Lerner and Mrs. Emma Bunker.

proper sets of three have been identified, worship was probably centered upon the Avalokiteśvara-Buddha-Maitreya triad (cf. p. 60).

Some of the qualities of the Rockefeller collection Maitreya can only be explained by reference to eighth-century Cambodian developments that have not been described here; the mustache, for instance, probably has as predecessors those on the Harihara of Prasat Andet and the Avalokiteśvara in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, both probably of the first half of the eighth century.[274] But the Maitreya needs also to be seen against the background of the Prachinburi twelve-armed Avalokiteśvara (pl. 18) and the Si Thep Viṣṇu (pl. 19). Part of the power of this bronze derives from the fact that it suppresses the more emphatic curves and rhythms of these works. As a result the body seems less self-absorbed in its own rhythmic flow and more capable of impinging upon the viewer's space. These works, along with the Cambodian ones already mentioned, go far to explain the ancestry of the Maitreya, and yet some other element seems to be present, too.

This other factor may be the impact of Bengal. The standing figures in the Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon plaque (pl. 23A) and the Great Miracle tablet (pl. 23B) have angular presence that distinguishes them from the smooth-flowing and languid grace of the Avalokiteśvara and the Viṣṇu (pls. 18, 19). Quite possibly it is the influence of such objects which accounts for the rather different poses that can be seen in the Prakhon Chai bronzes. At the same time, an image like the Mañjuśrī of pl. 21, which represents another aspect of the Bengal connection and could have been in the region as early as the second half of the eighth century, might have stimulated the exploitation of what, in contrast to the earlier sculptures, are fuller volumes and softer modeling.

These observations may shed some light on the ancestry of the Rockefeller Maitreya, but they illuminate only dimly the position of the Prakhon Chai bronze culture as a whole, and the nature and location of the center where they were made. Technically, the sculptures of Prakhon Chai type are characterized by a relatively high amount of tin, in the range of 14 to 20%, but only after more and more bronzes are subjected to analysis will the geographical range

[274] Boisselier, "The Avalokiteśvara in the Museum's Wilstach Collection" (1981); Jessup and Zéphir, *Sculpture of Angkor and Ancient Cambodia* (1997), no. 8, pp. 154–55.

of the workshop tradition become clearer.[275] About eighteen kilometers northwest of Plai Bat Hill, the findspot, is the hill of Phu Phra Angkhan (Nang Rong district), where has been discovered a set of stone boundary stones, each with a standing figure.[276] They are in worn condition, and the faces have been restored, but the figures carry lotus stems, and it seems probable that they represent Bodhisattvas. At least one small Prakhon Chai–type bronze, a Maitreya, has a skirt adjustment—with cloth flaring out to the side—similar to that on the boundary stone figures.[277] But this image is likely to be later than most of the Prakhon Chai sculptures. This skirt adjustment and the rendering of the feet seen on the boundary stones, furthermore, resemble those on the *sīmā* at Muang Fa Daet (pl. 27 and below), which depict *jātakas* and are unlikely to be earlier than the ninth century. The Phu Phra Angkhan *sīmā*, therefore, would appear to postdate the majority of the Prakhon Chai bronzes and cannot be used as evidence for the nature of the setting in which they arose. The Mahāyāna Buddhist community responsible for the *sīmā* evidently drew on the skills of craftsmen of disparate backgrounds following the retreat of Wen-tan, in the decades after the re-establishment of Cambodia under the leadership of Jayavarman II. The Mahāyāna and Buddhist boundary stone culture that had earlier spread to Phnom Kulen and the Angkor area withdrew as Jayavarman encroached upon its territories and was consecrated at Phnom Kulen itself in 802.

Three other sites can be mentioned in connection with the Prakhon Chai bronzes. The first, about 50 kilometers northwest of Prâsât Plâi Bat, is Muang Ban Fai, where a group of three bronzes of related style were uncovered.[278] A town with a moat, a flattened circle in plan, Muang Ban Fai has the plan of hundreds of other sites in the Northeast and in central Thailand (the type of fig. 11b).[279] No *sīmā*

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[275] Kulpanthada, "The Scientific Studies of Bronze Sculptures" (1993); Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), pp. 66–67.

[276] Illustrated, *Phǣnthî thâng bôrânkhadî čhangwat Burîram* (1989), pp. 40, 105; *MBJ* 12, no. 2 (April-June 1986), pp. 49, 51, 52, 57, 69.

[277] Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, acc. no. 131.1999, H. 10 cm.

[278] Muang Ban Fai, formerly in Lam Plai Mat district is now in Nong Hong district. See *Phǣnthî thâng bôrânkhadî čhangwat Burîram* (1989), p. 101. The objects were originally published in *Pratimâkam samrit chin 'ek phop mai čhâk Burîram/New Acquisitions of Three Bronzes from Buriram* (1973).

[279] On these towns, Moore, *Moated Sites in Early North East Thailand* (1988).

have been reported in Muang Ban Fai, but a Dvāravatī-period nāga-protected Buddha was found there.[280] At a second site, Ban Tanot (Non Sung district, Nakhon Ratchasima), at which was found a giant bronze Bodhisattva head in Prakhon Chai style, there are also uncarved *sīmā*—though these may or may not have been set up by the people who worshiped the Bodhisattva.[281] The most distant site is Si Thep, where on the walls of the nearby Thamǫ̂rat Cave are carved images of the standing Buddha, accompanied by a smaller number of Bodhisattvas. These figures are probably somewhat older than the Prakhon Chai bronzes.[282]

Geographically and chronologically, an important Sanskrit inscription of A. D. 829 (from Kham Thale So district, Nakhon Ratchasima, Nm 38) ought to shed light on these developments, but it can be interpreted in various ways. It is strongly Brahmanical in character and concerns the foundation of an image of the god Harihara at a mountain *āśrama*. But it goes on to describe the establishment at another location of an image of the *sugata*—conceivably the Buddha. It may be that by 829 a new sort of Cambodian culture had been implanted in the region, but it is more probable that the Wentan/Prakhon Chai culture was still strong. One way to reconcile the written and material evidence would be to stress the small bronze sculptures of meditating hermits who seem simultaneously to be Bodhisattvas and Hindu ascetics. One such bronze depicts a bearded figure with a small Buddha image in front of his *jaṭā*. Rather similar figures excavated at Si Thep are unbearded and have Maitreya's stūpa on their head.[283]

Sites in the Central Chi Region

Characteristic artifacts include not only Buddhist boundary stones but also giant images of the reclining Buddha. Two lie in the cen-

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[280] Illustrated, Pisit and Subhadradis, *Thaïlande* (1976), fig. 41, p. 28; first published, Subhadradis, "The Buddha and the Snake King" (1971).

[281] Srisakra, "Sêmâ isân" (1975), p. 93. For the head, Bowie, *Sculpture of Thailand* (1972), no. 10b, pp. 40–41.

[282] See n. 225 above. On stylistic grounds a bronze Avalokiteśvara might be attributable to Si Thep: Nandana and Leidy, *Buddha of the Future* (1994), fig. 36, p. 68.

[283] Ibid., fig. 49, p. 84 (Brooklyn Museum; see also Pal, *The Sensuous Immortals* [1977], fig. 129, pp. 212–13). For Si Thep, Wichai, "Mahâyân" (1992), pp. 119–21.

tral Chi area,[284] and a third stands on Phu Wiang Mountain in the western hills (pl. 28).[285] It is 3.75 meters long. In the same district (Chum Phae) have been found two inscriptions, one mentioning a *puṇyakṣetra*, here meaning (suggested Cœdès) a place of pilgrimage (K. 985). The reclining Buddha, at the top of a mountain, requires an exhausting walk to reach and must itself have been such a place. In its facial modeling and arrangement of curls, and because of the presence of a small gem surmounting the *uṣṇīṣa*, the Phu Wiang image is reminiscent of the nāga-protected Buddha with the mask (pl. 25). In its present state it is rather less refined, however, and suggestive of what could be accomplished some distance away from a metropolitan center.

Muang Fa Daet (Kamalasai district, Kalasin) was a flourishing center in the central Chi region. Best known for its figured boundary stones (pl. 27), Fa Daet contained a number of monasteries, and excavations uncovered the bases of stūpas, various types of votive tablet, and stucco fragments.[286] The inhabitants may have continued to carry out secondary burials, in urns, into the Buddhist period.[287] Phra Thât Yâ Khû, one of the largest stūpas (fig. 18b), had an octagonal base—a form found also at U Thong. Excavated on the western and southern sides of Phra Thât Yâ Khû were two boundary stones, one with scenes identified as the *Kulāvaka-jātaka*, the other (pl. 27) depicting the *Sarabhaṅga-jātaka*.[288] The religious orientation at Fa Daet appears to have been Theravāda. At Wat Nôn Silâ in Khon Kaen province a somewhat later *sīmā*, one decorated with an undifferentiated swordlike spire, has a Mon-language inscription that gives personal names, states that the stone constitutes a merit-

[284] Phu Khao, Sahatsakhan district, Kalasin province, and Phu Po, Kalasin district, *MBJ* I, 2 (Jan.-March 1975), p. 87.

[285] Phu Wiang, Khon Kaen: *MBJ* 3, no. 1, p. 46; *MBJ* 2, no. 4, cover; *MBJ* 7, no. 1, p. 89; inscription, *MBJ* 3, no. 1, p. 45.

[286] Fa Daet Sung Yang, *tambon* Nong Paen, Kamalasai district, Kalasin. For illustrations of votive tablets, some of the stuccos, and a report on excavations at an adjacent habitation site, Phâsuk, "Dvaravati Culture in the Chi Valley: A Study on Muang Fa Daed Song Yang" (1994). Also, Piriya, "Cula Pathon Cedi" (1975); Subhadradis, "Mueng Fa Dæd: An Ancient Town in Northeast Thailand" (1956). For Mon-language inscribed tablets (one the *kyāk* of Āditya), Prasân and Cham, "Kham 'ân čhârụk thî thân phra phuttharûp 'aksộn læ phâsâ mộn bôrân" (1968).

[287] Phasook, "Dvaravati Culture in the Chi Valley" (1994), pp 105, 118.

[288] Phộnphan and Suthilak, "Pratimânwitthayâ: bai sêmâ thî Mụ̂ang Fâ Dæ̂t Sûng Yâng (1974).

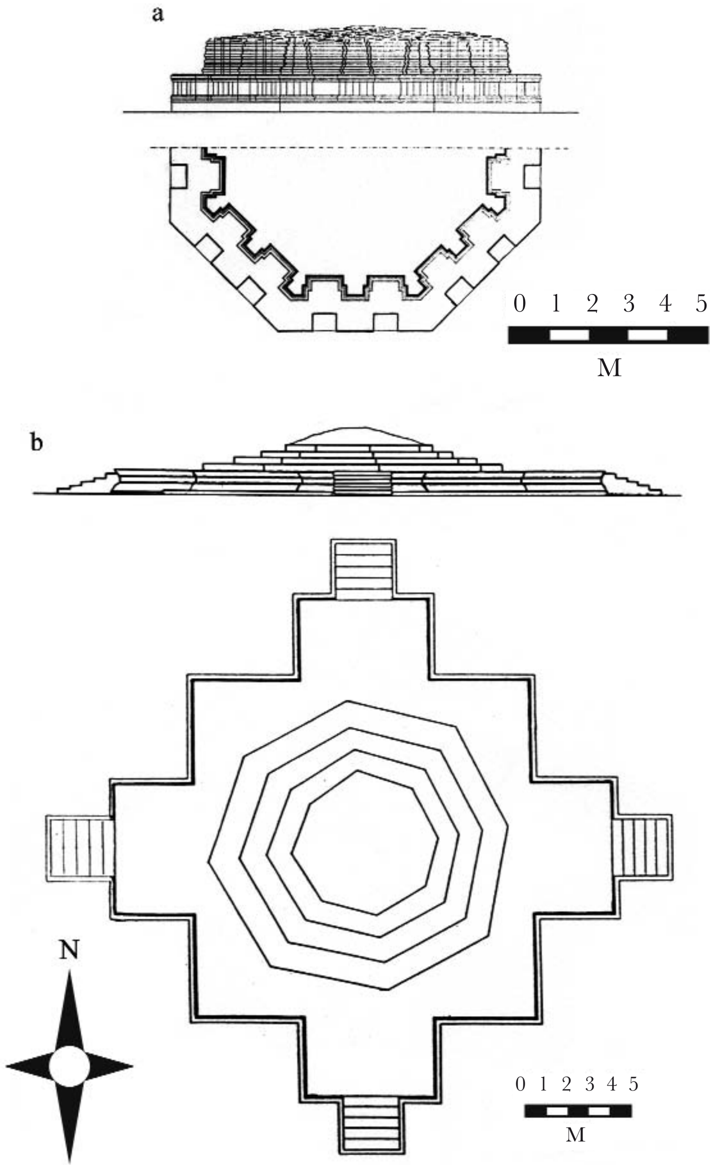

Figure 18. Octagonal stūpas ground plans. (a.) U Thong, site 13. (b.) Fa Daet, site 10.

winning dedication, and mentions the coming of the Buddha of the future, Maitreya.[289]

There are various reasons for dating such boundary stones to the ninth century.[290] The development of *kumbha*-stūpas (fig. 17) provides clues to the chronology. The slender attenuated type produced at Ban Tat Thong in Yasothon province (fig. 17g) presumably belongs to the end of the sequence. At the same site is an ablution spout or *pranala* having at least some connections with ninth-century Khmer style.[291] (And one boundary-stone-shaped inscription found in Yasothon province records a foundation of A. D. 889.)[292] Among the figured boundary stones, those with two or three large-scale figures may be earlier than those that like pl. 27 have tiers of smaller figures. Examples of such larger-figured steles can be found at Phnom Kulen and in Chaiyaphum and Udon Thani provinces.[293] The development of the *kumbha*-stūpas can be understood as a progressive stylization. The changes undergone by the figured *sīmā*, on the other hand, might have been a response to an exterior model. The *Sarabhaṅga-jātaka* stone (pl. 27) might be compared with the votive tablet of pl. 23B. In both instances appear figures of about the same scale, against a plain background, each (with one exception on the boundary stone) in its own space—figures whose vertical superimposition is partly but not wholly translatable into the dimension of depth. Some of the motifs match up as well—the conical coiffure composed of many small units, the Buddha with legs crossed at the ankles. In another, better-known Fa Daet boundary stone a similar sort of offering table appears beneath the Buddha.[294] There are suggestions in the stele of an older form of composition: the cloud barriers echo those of the first sermon socle (pl. 12), as does the single instance of overlapping figures. It would appear that an older compositional format has been

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[289] Čhampâ 'Ṷangčharœ̂n, "Čhârụk bai sêmâ Wat Nôn Silâ phutthasattawat thî 14" (1985), in Chum Phae district.

[290] As suggested by Boisselier, "Travaux de la mission . . . 1966" (1972), p. 50; followed by Piriya, "Semas with Scenes from Mahānipāta-jātakas in the National Museum at Khon Kaen" (1974), p. 57.

[291] Illustrated, *MBJ* I, no. 2, fig. 29, p. 105. Cf. Prasat Kraham, Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), pl. XXX, 1.

[292] Cha-'êm, "Silâ čhârụk Non Sang phutthasathawat thî 12–13" (1983). Inscription at *tambon* Bung Kae, Maha Chana Chai district, giving the name of the monarch Somāditya and establishing stone images and *mūrti*.

[293] *Arts Asiatiques* 27 (1973), fig. 134; *MBJ* 6, no. 1, p. 26; *MBJ* 6, no. 1, p. 32.

[294] Piriya, *Art Styles* (1977), no. 23, pp. 96–97.

transformed by the influence of one newly introduced—a format of which the votive tablet of pl. 23B provides an example from another region.

The *Sarabhaṅga-jātaka* is the story of the Bodhisattva's existence as Jotipāla, whose skill with the bow and arrow allowed him to succeed in a test, as he defended himself from the arrows shot by royal archers. Other *jātakas* depicted on the boundary stones of Fa Daet include the *Mahā-ummagga* (546), *Khaṇḍahāla* (542), *Vidhurapaṇḍita* (545), *Sāma* (540), and *Vessantara* (547)—all from the final ten lives known as the *Dasajāti*.[295] Everything depicted could have come—and probably did come—from canonical Pāli sources. Pl. 27 and the other Fa Daet *sīmā* provide evidence of a Theravāda art of about the ninth century, an art of vigor and originality that owes something to both older Northeastern traditions and more recent influences.

Late Dvāravatī: the Cham and Khmer Connections

It has already been pointed out that after the Javanese raids on the Cham kingdom of Panduranga in 774 and 787, there is little substantive evidence regarding the role of Java in the political affairs of the mainland and that there are few indications that local workshops ever endeavored to imitate the classic Javanese styles. A group of sculptures in southern Indian style provides yet another indication of a degree of political and cultural weakness. At Takua Pa, a Tamil inscription erected by a merchant gild called the Maṇikkarāman has been dated to the time of the Chola king Nandivarman III, who reigned in about the middle of the ninth century.[296] A group of Brahmanical sculptures found at Takua Pa—presumably imported images—probably dates from the same time.[297] The inscription and the images may well be an indication of a power vacuum on the peninsula in the mid-ninth century, when Java itself was in fact still quite strong. There is no body of local work that can be considered a response to the Takua Pa images.[298] Meanwhile, the exiled Śailen-

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[295] Piriya, *Buddhist Folk Tales* (1974), p. 18 and fig. 30.
[296] Sastri, "Takuapa and its Tamil Inscription" (1949).
[297] O'Connor, *Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam* (1972), pp. 52–60.
[298] A possible exception might be the Chaiya Buddha head, if it was locally carved: Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 64.

dra king Bālaputra, who appears to have resided in Chaiya in the mid-ninth century (see above, p. 83), did not—according to this scenario—stimulate a large-scale adoption of Javanese culture. Yet, at the same time, judging from the evidence of Chinese ceramics at Laem Pho and at Ko Kho Khao on the west coast, commercial activities flourished.[299]

On the peninsula, connections with Cambodian developments can only be picked up later, in the tenth century. The kingdom with which cultural relations were most important in the ninth century was apparently Champa. A Cham-style temple on Mt. Kulen (Pr. Damrei Krap) is one example of the Cham outreach; Wat Kæ̂o in Chaiya (fig. 15b) is another. Among the Cham features of this brick temple are the double pilaster strips and the form of the colonnettes beside the entrance. Jean Boisselier suggested a date in about the middle of the ninth century.[300] That may place it in the same period as the Takua Pa sculptures—a period in which the peninsula was evidently subject to intrusion and commercial exploitation. The Cham connection may be pushed both backward and forward in time, however. The ground plan of the sanctuary is similar to that of Chandi Kalasan—a central Javanese temple founded by the Śailendras in 778 (but thought to have been subsequently modified). If this is the date of Wat Kæ̂o, its Cham features might parallel those of the Avalokiteśvara in pl. 17, with its Cham-like cummerbund. At the same time, a red sandstone image of the seated Buddha (with a *vajra* on the base) found at Wat Kæ̂o evokes somewhat later Cham sculpture (of the tenth century, suggested Boisselier).[301] A proposal that may resolve some of these discrepancies is that Wat Kæ̂o is in reality one of the monuments erected by the king of Śrīvijaya in 775 but was subsequently modified.[302] In the later period—the last decades of the ninth century and the tenth—may also be placed the stuccos

[299] Jacq-Hergoualc'h et al., "Une étape de la route maritime de la soie" (1998).

[300] Boisselier, "Dégagement du Phra Chedi de Wat Keo, Chaiya" (1979), p. 44. See also Subhadradis, "Chedi at Wat Keo, Suratthani" (1980). The chronology of "Cham" architecture of the eighth and ninth centuries is not based on documentary evidence, and the precise position of Wat Kæ̂o may turn out to be somewhat earlier or later than the mid-ninth century: see, for instance, the important modifications made by Boisselier in "Les linteaux khmers du VIIIe siècle" (1968), p. 142.

[301] Illustrated, Boisselier, "Dégagement du Phra Chedi de Wat Keo, Chaiya" (1979), figs. 7–9.

[302] Jacq-Hergoualc'h et al., "Une étape de la route maritime de la soie" (1998), pp. 295–301.

of Khûhâ Sawan Cave in Surat Thani.[303] The stuccos include a pendant-leg Buddha with other figures in an architectural setting.

Did the Cham "connection" also help shape the later art of the central plains? After excavating at Phong Tuk in 1927, George Cœdès noted that a golden flower discovered there had a Cham counterpart.[304] A late-Dvāravatī terracotta demon suggests a relationship with Cham art (pl. 29A). Although the diadem can be considered an elaboration of that in the Philadelphia stucco head (pl. 24), it is unlikely that the busy, curving outlines of the leaves—as on the medallions or at the summit of the head—would have developed without the spread of a type of pattern-making apparent in the vermiculous decor at the late ninth-century Cham temple of Dong-du'o'ng.

A somewhat similar facial modeling and outline to the mustache characterize the silver image illustrated in pl. 30, but the matter of a Cham connection is less straightforward. Although it is not known where it was found, this image is more probably a work of the central plains than of either the peninsula or the Northeast. It may have no single feature that need be explained by Cham influence. Some of its features—like the modeling of the face—should be understood against the background of much older works, such as the first sermon socle (pl. 12). At the same time, however, it seems possible that Cham art served as a stimulus for the rejuvenation that seems to have taken place in the ninth or tenth century, and that without this stimulus, the straight-sided face and particular curve to the jointed eyebrows seen in pl. 30 would not have come into being.

The central pleat visible between the legs has long been recognized as a late Dvāravatī trait. A somewhat related pedestal, on which the petals also are in the process of unfolding away from the base (possibly to be connected with a type seen in T'ang China) characterizes a tenth-century Khmer-style eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara found in Songkhla province.[305] The silver Buddha must be somewhat older. Behind its flamey aureole lie such nimbuses as the one on the Mañjuśrī of pl. 21. The form of the flames, however, is characteristically late Dvāravatī. These flattened and incised hooked leaves are descended from elements in the seventh-century repertory, and they can be seen in an (apparently) earlier form on the diadem of

[303] Illus., Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. VIII, p. 13.
[304] Cœdès, "The Excavations at P'ong Tük" (1927/1954), pp. 215–16.
[305] Illus., Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 62.

the stucco head illustrated in pl. 24. The study of *dharmacakras* indicates how seventh-century patterns became increasingly geometricized but not how, in other media, flattened and incised hooked leaves were treated with increasing vigor. Such leaves were an important feature of the stucco architectural decoration at Phong Tuk and at U Thong.[306] Such decoration is associated at U Thong with the octagonal stūpas nos. 15 and 28, and Boisselier pointed out the similarity of a stucco *makara* from site 28 to Khmer examples of the late ninth century.[307] (In addition to U Thong nos. 13 [fig. 18a], 15, and 28, an octagonal stūpa stood at Phong Tuk.)[308] The Cambodian connection cannot be said to have been one brought about by the imposition of the newly formed Angkorian style upon Dvāravatī. Instead, it must have been a matter of a give and take of the sort of which there may be earlier instances, as in the mask at the base of the nāga-protected Buddha (pl. 25).

The tablet illustrated in pl. 29B suggests a connection even more elusive. It was found at Ban Samphao Lom in Doembang Nangbuat district, Suphanburi, where other interesting votive tablets of a late Dvāravatī type have been discovered.[309] Certain motifs can be paralleled in the Fa Daet stele of pl. 27: the simple nimbus, full Bo tree, paired ecclesiastical fans. The stūpa to the right is somewhat similar to those in the nāga-protected Buddha stele (pl. 25). The defeated and homage-paying member of Māra's army on the lower part of the tablet must be distinguished in style, however, from the figures on the boundary stone (and from those on the Nakhon Pathom tablet of pl. 23B as well). Here is a compositional dynamism and an interest in imparting a nervous energy to the outlines of the forms. Yet another outside influence seems to be at work—quite possibly Pāla art. The character of the lower part of the tablet is roughly akin to that of the late ninth-century relief fragment at the Bakong

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[306] Dupont, *L'Archéologie mône* (1959), figs. 291, 296–303; at U Thong, e.g., Čhêdî 15, Boisselier, "Travaux de la mission . . . 1966" (1972), fig. 11.

[307] Ibid., p. 35. U Thong nos. 15 and 28: Boisselier, "'Travaux de la mission . . . 1966' (1972)," figs. 9 and 19. U Thong no. 13: *Râi ngân kân samruat læ khut tæ̂ng bôrân sathân mụ̄ang kao 'Û Thộng* (1966), p. 9.

[308] Dupont, *L'Archéologie mône* (1959), pp. 107–108. Piriya Krairiksh placed U Thong stūpas 15 and 28 in a period preceding that of Fa Daet ("The Cula Pathon Cedi" [1975]).

[309] Chumnum Sụksâ Wattanatham-Bôrânkhadî, *Lum nam čhao phrayâ nai samai bôrân* (1966), p. 61.

in Roluos, Cambodia, though it lacks the latter's pattern and texture. Perhaps artists in the two regions were making use of the same sorts of foreign art in different ways.

Another work in which a connection with Pāla art may be detectable is the Buddha image from Buriram province in pl. 31. Taken by itself, the face of this image, with its curvilinear, ridged eyes might be considered a Dvāravatī work of the seventh or eighth century. It may be distinguished, however, from traditional older image types on account of the position of the legs (*vajrāsana*) and the right hand (*Māravijaya*), the rounded, fleshy, modeling of the hand, and the treatment of the mantle (*saṃghāṭī*), which hangs down nearly to the level of the elbows. A date around the late ninth century and a Pāla source of around that time are possibilities; if this is the case, then the work may just precede the expansion of the Khmer kingdom into the Mun basin during the time of King Yasovarman (r. 889–900).[310]

In the course of the tenth century the relationship between the Dvāravatī lands and the kingdom of Cambodia changed substantially. There are several different stories, some better understood than others, and all interlocking: the fate of the local traditions in the shadow of Angkorian political and cultural expansion; the creation of a provincial Khmer Buddhist art, and development of a cosmopolitan Buddhist art, culminating in the building of the Bayon by Jayavarman VII at the end of the twelfth century.

The loss of artifacts and the absence of documentation make the story of Dvāravatī art hard to tell and obscure some truths that may have a universal relevance: that there is a torch that is passed from generation to generation (or, to put it differently and perhaps more correctly, artists recognize the beacons of the past and use them to light their own fires); yet only rarely is a momentum sustained in a single place or in a single medium for more than a few generations; and outside stimulus is crucial. Therefore, to concentrate on a single spot or a single medium in Dvāravatī or kindred art and to be disappointed by the degree of creativity is to have had unrealistic expectations. The torch wanders from spot to spot, and if its course cannot always be traced, that does not mean that it has died out. As the art of these centuries comes to be better understood, the paths of the torch will be more easily and exactly followed.

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[310] Compare, for instance, the Bodh Gaya image dated by Susan L. Huntington to the late ninth century: *The "Pāla-Sena" Schools of Sculpture* (1984), pl. 103.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CAMBODIAN EXPANSION

Once a capital was established at Angkor around A. D. 900, the Khmers consolidated the monarchical, social, religious, and architectural institutions that defined Cambodian life for three hundred years. The political power of the central court rose and fell, and political control over the affected parts of Thailand fluctuated, but everywhere it is the cultural life of Cambodia that allows historians to give shape to developments in Siam. Khmer cultural influence was followed by a development that could hardly have been foreseen—the swift collapse of classical Khmer civilization after about 1200. It is almost as if the domination of central Siam was a victory that could only be won at the expense of the defeat of the traditional institutions. To these two great events—the Khmer expansion and subsequent cultural transformation—must, from the perspective of 1300, be added a third, namely the arrival in Thailand of a new ethnic group, the Thais, who by 1300 stood in a position of supremacy.

The period between 900 and 1300 brought also the establishment of enduring iconic and architectural forms. One is the Buddha image in the earth-touching gesture, today generally called in Thai *Māravijaya*, victory over Māra. Another is the type of tower known as the *prâng*—initially a sanctuary tower, later a tower with four false doors. A third is the crowned Buddha image. To say that these elements were a Khmer gift to Thailand would not be exactly correct. True, all three are first found together in a Khmer temple, the Buddhist temple of Phimai, dating from the years around 1100. But the Tantric Buddhist elements found at Phimai are from the Khmer point of view intrusive. The language of art and architecture that gave substance to the crowned and earth-touching Buddhas merely happened to be Khmer. Even the sanctuary tower need not have taken a Khmer form, though under the circumstances it did, creating a enduring legacy. The word *prâng* first appears as *praṅ*, meaning "high tower," in an inscription of 639 (K. 79), and so it is probably of

Khmer origin, but by the tenth century it was assimilated to Sanskrit *prāṅgaṇa*, "courtyard."[1]

The establishment of these iconographic and architectural types might well have occurred, therefore, without any Cambodian expansion at all. Meanwhile, many of the cultural elements that can be considered classical Khmer were rejected, either swiftly or over a period of years. Stone carving never took hold, except for a period at Ayutthaya. The carved stone lintel never entered the local repertory. Stylistic concerns evident in Khmer sculpture—the interplay of volumes, the sharp textural distinctions, and the role allotted to horizontal elements—were never fully embraced. Indeed, they were challenged and made obsolete. The iconographic types most strongly associated with the official Khmer Buddhism of the late twelfth century—the nāga-protected Buddha and the Mahāyāna divinities Avalokiteśvara and Prajñāpāramitā—were rejected with varying speed in the course of the thirteenth century. Khmer Hinduism had no lasting popular impact.

This pattern of rejection was certainly not total. Other phenomena could be explored: memorial images, images sacred to particular localities, court ceremony, funerary monuments. Not all such features need have had Cambodian origins, however. The extent of the debt is hard to measure, due to a lack of knowledge about both Dvāravatī and Tai traditions. It is reasonably certain that there were local continuities. But no full sequence of locally made objects—in brick, stucco, or bronze—has yet been identified as belonging to the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The long-term response to the Khmer penetration was rejection. Yet it is not possible to grasp in any concreteness the societies doing the rejection, or to assess their relationship to Dvāravatī traditions.

The Northeastern Provinces

In 868 a Khmer speaker named Aṅsadeva established a golden liṅga somewhere in or near Muang Sema, in Nakhon Ratchasima province,

[1] This is the conclusion to be reached from Jenner and Pou, *A Lexicon of Khmer Morphology* (1982), p. 234, although one of the authors later insisted the word must derive from Sanskrit *prāṅgana*, "courtyard." See Pou, "From Old Khmer Epigraphy to Popular Tradition: A Study in the Names of Cambodian Monuments" (1992), pp. 17–18.

according to an inscription that describes the place as inside Kambudeśa (Cambodia) and abandoned (K. 400).[2] This was recorded in an archaic script on the reverse side of a stone slab commemorating the much earlier donation by the lord of Śrī Cānāśa. The earlier inscription and the uncarved boundary stones that might date from the same time were described in the last chapter (pp. 99–100 and fig. 16). It is symptomatic of the mix of activities that were taking place in these border regions in the ninth century—and later as well—that a stone slab discovered in the same area has upon it an image of the meditating Buddha, above him, within a niche of Cham style, the representation in low relief of a stūpa.[3] This stele cannot date from long before or after 868. It was a time, therefore, when local scribes were writing Sanskrit in an old-fashioned way; when local Buddhism was still being followed; when Cham influence had penetrated the region; when Śaivaism was spreading; and when, meanwhile, the territory of Cambodia was growing. The kingdom of Śrī Cānāśa was itself not dead in 868, but where it lay and what territories it controlled are not known. It lasted for at least another seventy years, for a stone inscription of 937, giving the name of the *adhipati* of Śrī Cānāśa, was discovered in Ayutthaya (K. 949).[4]

In the decades following 868, nevertheless, evidence for Khmer activity in the region is abundant. At the temple site of Phanom Wan, little more than fifty kilometers to the east of Muang Sema, a lintel of late ninth-century type was discovered; it can be associated with a door-jamb inscription (K. 1065) of Yasovarman (r. 889–900) that speaks as well of the authority of the king's predecessor Indravarman I (r. 877–89).[5] Sometime later, at a site ten kilometers west of Phanom Wan, a short inscription (K. 396) was set up that includes the posthumous name of Harṣavarman I (r. 912–22). On Plai Bat Hill, the site where the "Prakhon Chai" bronzes were discovered (p. 105 above), an inscription was set up in 925 (B.R. 19),

[2] Following Jacques, "Khmers in Thailand" (1989), p. 19. Cœdès translated *kambudeśāntare* as "outside of Kambudeśa."

[3] Illus. Piriya, *Art Styles* (1977), no. 22.

[4] It is interesting that the *-siṅha-* element in the name of this *adhipati* (Śrī Narapatisiṅhavarman) reappears in the name Jaysiṅhavarman, who conducts the Lavo troops on the walls of Angkor Vat. Earlier Chaiyaphum occurrences can be found in K. 404 and K. 977.

[5] Smitthi and Mayurie, *Lintels*, (1989), no. 41, p. 41; Piriya, *Art Styles* (1977), no. 11; Pisit and Subhadradis, *Thaïlande* (1976), fig. 93.

naming those responsible for the maintenance of the temple (Plâi Bât [2]) that might have been established in the same year. (A bronze Prajñāpāramitā said to come from Prachinburi province may indicate that the Prakhon Chai school of bronze-casting remained vigorous until the early tenth century.)[6] On nearby Phanom Rung, two brick sanctuaries were built around the same time.[7] An inscription that may date from the Jayavarman V period (ca. 968–1000) refers to the site as Vnaṃ Ruṅ ("the broad [i.e., flattop] mountain")[8] and speaks of a *devasthāna*,[9] while another inscription (K. 1068) mentions gifts to the Kamrateṅ Jagat Vnaṃ Ruṅ—the Lord (principal image?) Phanom Rung. Around the middle of the tenth century, finally, a splendid temple, Prâsât Mụ̂ang Khæ̂k, was established a few kilometers east of Muang Sema itself. The lintels from this temple may be somewhat less refined than others made nearer the capital in the same period, but the central figures—Indra, Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī, the dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu—were carved in high relief with astounding vigor.[10]

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[6] Smitthi, "Note sur un bronze d'époque angkorienne representant Prajñāpāramitā" (1975), pp. 117–19.

[7] Suriyavudh, *Prâsât Khao Phanom Rung* (1992), pp. 105–09, the dating based on the style of a colonnette fragment (illustrated, p. 108). Lintels: Suriyavudh, *Thap lang* (1988), pp. 32–33, 38–39; Smitthi and Mayurie, *Lintels* (1989), fig. 57, p. 95. Also Subhadradis, "Kamnot 'ayu Prâsât Phanom Rung" (1974), figs. 3–6; Piriya, *Das heilige Bildnis/The Sacred Image* (1979), no. 23; Anuwit, *Bæ̂p khrong sâng* (1981), p. 206.

[8] Pou, "From Old Khmer Epigraphy to Popular Tradition" (1992), p. 15.

[9] Inscription Phanom Rung 3 (K. 1120?): *Čhârụk nai Prathêt Thai* (1986), 3:235–43. For the cult of Vnaṃ Ruṅ, also Nandana, "To Kaṃmrateṅ Jagat Vnaṃ Ruṅ" (1989).

[10] Smitthi and Moore, *Palaces of the Gods: Khmer Art & Architecture in Thailand* (1992), pp. 90–97; *Plan and Report of the Survey and Excavations of Ancient Monuments in North-Eastern Thailand 1959* (rpt. 1970), pp. 60, 77–79 and figs. 64–78. The beautifully illustrated *Palaces of the Gods* does not entirely replace more complete surveys and more specialized studies of the Khmer monuments of the Northeast. A very thorough guide: Freeman, *Khmer Temples in Thailand and Laos* (1998). For surveys: Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, 3 vols. (1900–1904), vol. 2, *Les provinces siamoises* (1901), pp. 101–36, 182–216, 240–77; Lunet de Lajonquière, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*, vol. 2 (1907), pp. 97–315; Seidenfaden, "Complément à l'inventaire descriptif," (1922); *Plan and Report . . . 1959* (rpt. 1970); *Report of the Survey and Excavations of Ancient Monuments in North-Eastern Thailand Part Two: 1960–1961* (1967); Subhadradis, *Sinlapa samai Lopburî* (1967), pp. 5–15 (for a chronological list of monuments); Surasak, "Râingân kân samruat bôrânsathân nai khêt čhangwat Burîram Surin læ Sîsakêt" (1976). For specialized studies: Anuwit, *Bæ̂p khrong sâng lae rabîap kân kộ 'it sathâpatayakam sakun châng Khamen lae Sîwichai/The Structure Types and Pattern Bonds of Khmer and Srivijayan Brick Architecture in Thailand* (1981); Suriyavudh, *Thap lang nai Prathêt Thai/Stone Lintels in Thailand* (1988); Smitthi and Mayurie, *Lintels* (1989).

It may be correct to consider Mʉ̂ang Khæ̂k (or another nearby tenth-century monument, Nôn Kû)[11] provincial in style, but this is primarily because it stands at a certain distance from a cosmopolitan structure of the period, not because its characteristics can be described in terms of an older local tradition. Essentially this pattern continues until the building of the temple of Phimai in the closing decades of the eleventh century, where local Buddhist iconographic traditions were incorporated, in a way not possible in the earlier tenth- and eleventh-century Hindu shrines. But within this broad framework there were variations, as the introduced Cambodian styles give birth to their own local traditions. The Prâsât Mʉ̂ang Khæ̂k lintels have a frieze at the top filled with a row of seated hermits having beards, crossed ankles, and hands in adoration. The same feature can be seen on an earlier Phanom Wan lintel[12] and can be traced back to Angkorian lintels of the late ninth century. In the course of the eleventh century, the frieze of hermits seems to have been somewhat more significant element in lintels at various sites in the Northeast than in the lintels at temples south of the Dong Raek range.

A highway ran northwesterly from Angkor across the modern border and another 110 kilometers to Phimai.[13] This corridor, as it developed in the second half of the tenth century and in the course of the eleventh, apparently became an increasingly integral part of the kingdom of Cambodia; meanwhile the area around Muang Sema at the western end of the Mun River watershed decreased in importance. Traveling toward Phimai along this highway meant passing by important temples and population centers. At the modern Cambodian border, where a pass through the hills leads to the Cambodian plain, is the eleventh-century Prâsât Tâ Mʉ̂an Thom; an inscription (K. 376) attests to tenth-century activity in the area. In Ban Kruat district of Buriram province, west of Tā Mʉ̂an Thom, lie another temple, Prâsât Bai Bæ̂k,[14] and an important kiln site.

[11] FAD, *Plan and Report . . . 1959* (rpt. 1970), pp. 75–77, figs. 48–61.
[12] Smitthi and Mayurie, *Lintels* (1989), fig. 45, pp. 84–85.
[13] For the location of the highway, Lunet de Lajonquière, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge, Cartes* (1911).
[14] Smitthi and Moore, *Palaces of the Gods*: (1992), p. 36; for lintels from the site, Subhadradis, "A Study Trip to the Antiquities in Prachinburi, Buriram, Surin, and Sisaket" (1972), figs. 7–9.

Cambodian brown-glazed wares, the dominant type, are unusual among the world's ceramics for their silhouettes, which frequently have stronger parallels in metalwork and stone architectural elements than in earlier pottery. The introduction of pale green celadon and chocolate stoneware glazes—probably in the late ninth or early tenth century—is no doubt due to contact with Chinese potters, perhaps of Kuangtung province.[15] Chinese shapes can be seen in bowls and spouted ewers, but they are the exception.[16] Production of pale green wares ceased after the eleventh century, but brown-glazed wares were made at least into the thirteenth. Thirty kilometers bring the traveler to an area with three important complexes: Phanom Rung, Plai Bat Hill, and Mụ̂ang Tam. Tenth-century activity at Phanom Rung has already been mentioned; at some point in the first half of the eleventh century the site was enriched by a sandstone sanctuary.[17] Prâsât Plâi Bat (2) may date from the early eleventh century.[18] After another fifty kilometers the traveler will arrive in the area of Muang Ban Fai, an ancient site where Prakhon Chai–type bronzes were discovered (p. 107 above). Phimai stands yet another thirty kilometers away, but about half that distance brings the traveler to the environs of Muang Phlap Phla, a town perhaps as old as Muang Fai but one that remained important into the period of concern, for an aerial photograph shows a rectangular, Khmer-type city superimposed upon an irregularly oval one characteristic of the Dvāravatī period.[19]

After a spate of mid-tenth-century activity around the time of Rājendravarman (r. 944–68), the amount of construction in the Northeast seems to have dropped off. In the last decades of the tenth century and first part of the eleventh, there was activity at Angkor, but the precise sequence of monuments is not well understood. Along the southern edge of the Dong Raek mountains, near Chong Tako, a pass further west than the one by Prâsât Tâ Mụ̂an Thom, a Śaiva

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[15] Rooney, "Khmer Ceramics and Chinese Influences" (1995), p. 89.

[16] For bowls and ewers, see the illustrations in *MBJ* 3, no. 2 (Jan.-March 1977), pp. 46–47. It is possible that the Yüeh green wares of Chekiang province were also a source. For Khmer ceramics in general, Brown, *The Ceramics of South-East Asia: Their Dating and Identification* (1988); Cort, "Khmer Stoneware Ceramics" (2000).

[17] The *prâng nội*. Smitthi and Moore, *Palace of the Gods* (1992), pp. 286–87; Suriyavudh, *Prâsât Khao Phanom Rung* (1992), pp. 98–105.

[18] See chap. II n. 273.

[19] Huai Thalaeng district. *MBJ* 3, no. 2 (Jan.-March 1977), p. 42.

temple was established in 1007 (Phnom Saṅkè Kòṅ or Khao Lôn, Aranyaprathet district, Prachinburi). The inscription states that Sūryavarman had then been ruling since 1002 and records the establishment of a liṅga and of images of Śambhu (Śiva) and Devī (K. 232). (Sūryavarman's power was not consolidated until 1011.) A lintel from the temple represents a rare type that seems to have been a dead end: the branches beside the mask neither extend horizontally nor are they broken into quarters; they form two scrolling spirals on each side.[20]

Work at Prâsât Mṳ̂ang Tam (fig. 19a) can be divided into two phases that may have followed closely one after the other, or perhaps overlapped—first the five brick sanctuaries upon a platform (pl. 32), together with two libraries, and second the enclosing system of an inner gallery, four ponds, and an outer walled enclosure with four *gopuras*, all in sandstone (pl. 33A). The lintels on the brick shrines might be contemporary to the Khao Lôn lintel of 1007—the central *kāla* masks have some features in common—but otherwise they belong to different families. The lintel at the northeastern shrine (pl. 32) shows Śiva seated in *sukhāsana* upon the bull Nandi, his right arm holding a trident, his left around his spouse Umā. The lateral branches are horizontal, and across the top is a frieze of seated hermits, somewhat narrower than that at Prâsât Mṳ̂ang Khæ̂k, but of the same type.[21]

The lintels of the second phase at Prâsât Mṳ̂ang Tam, that of the gallery and *gopura* system (pl. 33A), are in character similar to those at a number of sites, especially Preah Vihear, where most of the structures must date from between 1018 and 1049, the timespan of the inscriptions at the complex (K. 380). The shrine lintel (pl. 32) reveals, in comparison, fewer striations and contains more non-vegetal elements. The sculptor of the *gopura* lintel (pl. 33A) was more aware of cosmopolitan currents and gave to the pendant foliage a steady rhythm of small units and a hierarchy of larger ones, which both keep the eye busy and provide it with an overall structural order. The shrine lintel lacks this steady rhythm and easily perceived

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[20] The lintel, illustrated in Subhadradis (who questioned the date), *Sinlapa samai Lopburî* (1967), fig. 29, is now in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (B68 S13), illustrated in *A Decade of Collecting* (1976), no. 235, p. 162.

[21] The lintel is illustrated in Smitthi and Moore, *Palaces* (1992), p. 191, Smitthi and Mayurie, *Lintels*, fig. 70, p. 105, and Giteau, *The Civilization of Angkor* (1976), p. 25.

hierarchy of parts. As can be seen in pl. 33A, other features connect the Mṳ̂ang Tam galleries and *gopuras* to Preah Vihear as well, most particularly the design of the pediments, with a plain ground lying between the inner foliate fan and the pediment frame. Another common characteristic is the bare-headed nāga, seen as terminant of the pediment frame in pl. 33A and a prominent feature of the railing around the Mṳ̂ang Tam ponds.[22] All this suggests that when the local political powers established the brick shrines they were not able to draw on craftsmen who were up to the standards of the royal workshop; a little later, in the 1020s or 1030s, the time of the sandstone gallery and *gopuras*, they were. Within the gallery and *gopuras*, there are two main types of lintel, in quarters (pl. 33A) and with horizontal branches, and two main types of pilaster, with stalks either winged (pl. 33A) or fan-outlined. The distribution of the types is orderly, suggesting that the layout was planned at a single moment in time.[23] A third pilaster type, with spirals, is confined to the interior of the outer eastern *gopura*.

Prâsât Kamphæ̂ng Yai (Uthumphon Phisai district, Sisaket) lies in another region altogether, to the east, north of Preah Vihear. The overall plan (fig. 19b) is similar to that at Mṳ̂ang Tam, with sanctuaries upon a common base, northern and southern libraries entered at the west, and enclosing galleries with balustraded windows, made of two shades of sandstone. The shrines and supporting base are of laterite, brick, and sandstone. An inscription in the eastern *gopura* (K. 374) records the dedication of land to the temple in 1042; though neither the content of the inscription nor physical evidence makes it possible to determine how much of the temple was completed before 1042 and how much after, a period around the 1040s fits in with other evidence. On the striking inner lintel from the main sanctuary, Indra sits on a profiled Erāvaṇa, and a frieze of *haṃsas* stretches across the top (in the position of the previously encountered hermits). Where the branch is divided into quarters, it is surmounted on each side by a Garuda—a feature not seen at Mṳ̂ang Tam but paralleled at Sdok Kak Thom (Ta Phraya district, Prachinburi) in

[22] On the innovative aspects of the nāga balustrade, see Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), pp. 134, 201–202.

[23] Anuwit Čharœ̄nsuphakun, "Kân 'ộk bæ̂p læ khatisanyalak khộng Prâsât Mṳ̂ang Tam" (1988).

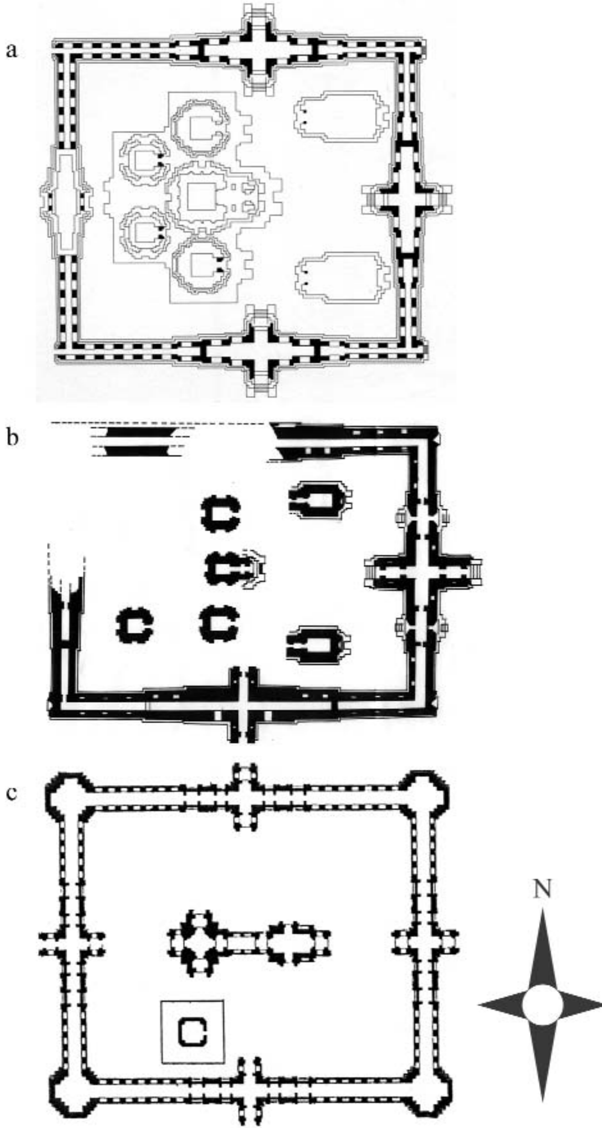

Figure 19. Eleventh-century Khmer temples: ground plans. (a) Muang Tam. (b) Kamphaeng Yai. (c) Phanom Wan.

1052 or thereabouts.[24] In the northern and southern libraries, the inner and outer lintels differ in type, the inner lintels being of a pictorial type that developed at some point in the course of the eleventh century and not seen at Mụ̂ang Tam. As can be seen in pl. 33B, the outer lintel of the southern library, divided into quarters, has at the center a rarely depicted Gaja Lakṣmī while on the inner pictorial lintel appear Umā Maheśvara. The fourth sanctuary, that of the southwest, may have held images of the same pair, judging by the width of the platform.

It is less easy to draw conclusions about the development of freestanding stone sculpture, although eventually petrological analysis may make it possible to attribute works now scattered around the world to northeastern Thailand (and to sort out certain items of recent manufacture). A pair of stone guardian figures excavated at Mụ̂ang Tam belongs to the same period as the galleries and gopura and falls within the mainstream of Khmer sculpture.[25] So does a female divinity uncovered at Phanom Rung, a work very likely contemporary with the building of the brick sanctuary that stands south of the main shrine.[26] Another major work (pl. 34), in bronze, has been identified as a guardian, perhaps Nandikeśvara, chief of Śiva's troops, but it may simply represent Śiva.[27] This sculpture, excavated at Kamphæ̂ng Yai, attains the full mastery of the greatest cosmopolitan Khmer sculpture, the controlled sinuous curves of facial features and

[24] Subhadradis, "Prasat Kamphaeng Yai in Northeastern Thailand" (1991). The fragmentary Sdok Kak Thom lintel in the Prachinburi National Museum can be dated to the same time as the famous inscription (K. 235); cf. Smitthi and Mayurie, *Lintels* (1990), p. 216.

[25] Smitthi and Moore, *Palaces* (1992), p. 167. See also two articles by Suriyavudh, "The Statue of Siva: A Recent Discovery at Prasat Muang Tam" (1990); "Uma Devi: A Recently Discovered Statue at Prasat Phnom Wan" (1990).

[26] *Sculptures From Thailand* (1982), no. 13; Sarah Hammond, "Prasat Phnom Rung: A Khmer Temple in Thailand" (1988), fig. 33, p. 62.

[27] Smitthi and Moore, *Palaces* (1992), p. 152; Suriyavudh, "Rûp thawânrabân samrit" (1989); Gray, "Notes on the Bronze Sculpture Discovered at Prasat Sa Kamphaeng Yai, Si Saket Province, in May 1989" (1989); Subhadradis, "Thailand: Recent Finds at the Sanctuary of Kampaeng Yai" (1990). A group of bronzes show a male figure with left hand on hip. In one of these, the right hand holds a trident, identifying the figure as Śiva: Christie's New York 17 September 1998, lot 178. In the other cases the identification is ambiguous: Brand (ed.), *Traditions of Asian Art Traced Through the Collection of the National Gallery of Australia* (1995), p. 47 (lost removable right-hand attribute); Pal, *Sensuous Immortals* (1977), no. 145, p. 239 (= Metropolitan Museum of Art L. 94.48; right hand holding a lotus); Royal Ontario Museum Loan 975.16 (right hand with an unidentified object).

of the details of the jewelry both contributing to and softening an aloof presence. The character of the modeling and details of the jewelry resemble that of the giant head of the reclining Viṣṇu recovered at Angkor, which is probably a work of the Udayādityavarman period (1050–66), when once again there was major construction at Angkor. The Kamphæ̂ng Yai bronze was most probably made shortly before Udayādityavarman's reign.[28] The alloy (96% copper, 4% tin) indicates a stronger connection with Angkorian casting practices than with those that have been attributed to the Phimai region, where higher proportions of lead and tin seem to have been the rule.[29] A large circle of bronzes in western collections, some of them depicting adorants or worshipers, can be attached to the same school, which was evidently productive in the years following the end of Udayādityavarman's reign in 1066.[30]

Yet another temple with an enclosing gallery system of two-colored sandstone is Prâsât Hin Phanom Wan at the far end of the northwest highway, where the earliest activity dates from the late ninth century (fig. 19c). The tower-sanctuary of the eleventh-century main temple is reached through a forechamber and neck, much as at Preah Vihear or, later, at Phimai and Phanom Rung. In 1055, an inscription (K. 393) was cut at the sanctuary door, and an inscription of 1082 (K. 391) provides evidence of continued activity at the site.

This inscription mentions King Jayavarman (VI) and thus is one of the pieces of evidence relevant to the troubled political history of the period. Udayādityavarman, who built the Baphuon at Angkor and reigned from 1050 to 1066, was succeeded by his brother (r. 1066–80), whose rule seems to have been weak, for he was followed not by a member of his family, but by a king who established a new lineage, known as the Mahīdharapura dynasty. In 1065, in the reign of Udayādityavarman, there had been a revolt—Kamvau's revolt. The population centers along the Angkor–Phimai road were somehow involved; in 1067, Harṣavarman's nephew restored a

[28] A view supported by an unpublished inscribed and dated bronze in a private collection (information from Martin Lerner).

[29] Warângkhana, "Kân 'anurak pratimâkam samrit" (1992). The evidence for regional attribution according to foundry practices appears in Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997).

[30] For a list, Felten and Lerner, *Thai and Cambodian Sculpture* (1989), pp. 224–27. Six are purported to have come from either Buriram or Sisaket province.

liṅga that had been smashed by Kamvau's men at Prasat Preah Khset, a site halfway between Angkor and Tâ Mụ̂an Thom at the modern border (K. 237). One possibility is that the Mahīdharapura dynasty had its origins along the Angkor–Phimai route, perhaps even in Phimai itself.[31] It seems more likely, however, that the family's home was further east, around Koh Ker. At the temple of Phnom Sandak, northwest of Koh Ker, the inscription most elaborate in its praise of monarchs of the dynasty was cut in 1110 (K. 191), and in 1119 the official who had been instrumental in the family's rise to power left an inscription at the same temple (K. 194). Furthermore, if it is asked what the royal workshops were doing following the completion of the Baphuon, a good response is that they were building Prasat Khna Sen Kev, a temple about fifteen kilometers southeast of Koh Ker—in the home territories, it can be surmised, of the most powerful family in the kingdom. If the Mahīdharapura dynasty monarchs did originally come from this area, then the local officials or chieftains along the Angkor–Phimai road must be understood as allies and supporters of the Mahīdharapura monarchs—and perhaps for a period more powerful than either the first Mahīdharapura king, Jayavarman VI (r. 1080–1107), or the second, Dharaṇīndravarman (r. 1107–13). Local officials apparently had the power to recruit the finest craftsmen in the kingdom, thus resulting in the construction of the great temple of Phimai in the decades following the building of Prasat Khna Sen Kev. In the far northeast, a similar situation may have prevailed, for extensive work at Vat Phu was carried out in the same Jayavarman VI period.[32]

North of the Mun

From the late tenth century onward it is possible to point to four different sorts of development north of the Mun. First is the gradual northward encroachment of both Cambodian political power and art styles. Second is the adaption by the older boundary-stone culture of Khmer stylistic elements, accompanied, probably, by geo-

[31] As proposed in Jacques, "Khmers in Thailand" (1989), p. 22.

[32] Dumarçay, "Notes d'architecture khmère" (1992), p. 136. For the chronology of the period, also Boissselier, "Bĕṅ Mãlã et la chronologie des monuments du style d'Aṅkor Văt" (1952), p. 222.

graphical movement to more remote sites—though little can be surmised about the political situation. Thirdly, there seem to have been certain long-range Khmer thrusts—up the Mekong River, for instance. And finally there is the presence at the site of Thât Phanom (Nakhon Phanom province) of a culture distinct from that of both the boundary-stone and the Angkorian traditions.

It is possible to observe the spread of both Cambodian styles and political power up the tributaries that flow southward into the Mun—for instance, in the area around Prâsât Kû Kradộn (Kaset Wisai district, Roi Et). An entirely pictorial lintel there, probably of the second half of the eleventh century, bears a scene from the Rāmāyaṇa.[33] Meanwhile, another thirty kilometers or so to the east an inscription at Kû Ârâm (K. 373), probably of the eleventh century, lists the names of Cambodian officials. North and west, this picture of imperial integration continues. A trip of about thirty kilometers up these tributaries brings one to the vicinity of Muang Champasi in branch district Na Dun, Maha Sarakham, a site that flourished in Dvāravatī times (see fig. 17d), and where Mon was spoken. Here an inscription dating from the reign of Jayavarman VI (r. 1080–1107) was erected (K. 1094). Near or at Champasi have been found fine examples of eleventh-century Khmer sculpture, including a nāga-protected Buddha.[34] Later—at the end of the twelfth century—laterite shrines were built here.[35]

The people of Champasi had been builders of stūpas and modelers of stuccos, and at an unknown moment this they apparently ceased to be.[36] Such is equally the case at Fa Daet, in the nuclear Chi region, about eighty-five kilometers north of Kû Kradộn.[37] There

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[33] Illustrated, *MBJ* 3, no. 2 (Jan.-March 1977), p. 58.

[34] Eleventh-century torso: Piriya, *Art Styles* (1977), no. 28. Uncrowned nāga-protected Buddha, Khon Kaen National Museum. Dvārapāla (?) head: Pisit and Subhadradis, *Thaïlande* (1976), fig. 105. Crowned naga-protected Buddha (ca. early twelfth century) and Śiva (first half of the twelfth century): *Nam chom phiphithaphan sathân hæ̂ng chât Khộn Kæ̂n* (1972).

[35] Kû Bân Dæ̂ng and Kû Santarat, illus., Prayûn, *Bôrânsathân nai čhangwat Khộn Kæ̂n lae čhangwat klai khîang* (1972), p. 18, figs. 1–3.

[36] Twenty-five *čhêdî* were uncovered by the Fine Arts Department in 1971, by which time the site had been thoroughly pillaged: Prayûn, *Bôrânsathân nai čhangwat Khộn Kæ̂nlæ čhangwat klai khîang* (1972), pp. 19–20.

[37] The unpublished Fa Daet excavation report was studied by Piriya Krairiksh, who appears to date the *čhêdîs* and stuccos to a time prior to Khmer expansion ("Chula Pathon Cedi" [1975]). For a stucco male figure that deserves further analysis, see *MBJ* 2, no. 4 (July-Sept. 1976), p. 49—a figure from Fa Daet site 5 ("Chula Pathon Cedi," fig. 451 and text, pp. 322–23).

are no Khmer sites near Fa Daet; perhaps the population was displaced. There are reasons to believe that some of the *sīmā* carvers of Fa Daet were forced to move into outlying regions. On stylistic grounds, *sīmā* of various types appear to postdate pl. 27 (the Fa Daet *sīmā* illustrating the *Sarabhaṅga-jātaka*), and some of these can be considered developments of the Fa Daet type. Sometimes the general profile was kept, but the proportions were much attenuated, and foliage appeared at the base. This type can be found on the upper reaches of the Chi, at Muang Chai Wan in Manchakhiri district.[38] Much further north, in Ban Phu district of Udon, Khmer-influenced niches with figures replaced the foliage in a *sīmā* of similar proportions.[39] *Sīmās* of square section are another type—one paralled in the Khmer repertory.[40] Examples have been found at the square town of Nong Han in Udon province,[41] and at the site of Ban Huai Hin Tot, about 60 kilometers northeast of Fa Daet.

These examples come from areas that lie a certain distance from Fa Daet, where such *sīmā* have not been found. The notion that the *sīmā*-carvers of Fa Daet were driven away and became re-established elsewhere is arguable on the basis of pl. 35, a detail of one of the *sīmā* from Ban Huai Hin Tot. Piriya Krairiksh identified the dancing figure as the nāga princess who sings for a husband on Black Mountain in the *Vidhurapandita-jātaka*.[42] Many of the elements are similar to those in pl. 27—the height of the relief, the platform tilted to create space, the interest in conveying movement, the cloth (whether banners or scarves) in low relief. At the same time, the development is an interesting one: the vivacity and lightness of the figure is conveyed in part by her isolation and by the interplay of rhythm and scale between the two legs, two arms, and two ends of the scarf.

According to Dr. Piriya, this is the second in a sequence of scenes running counter-clockwise, the first being an earlier episode from the Jātaka, the third being a seated figure identified as the Bodhisattva Maitreya (the fourth side having foliage). Inscribed beside this seated

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[38] Prayûn, *Bôrânsathân nai čhangwat Khộn Kǣn* (1972), pp. 12–13 and illus.; illus. *MBJ* 4, no. 3 (April-June 1978), p. 59.

[39] Sisak, "Sêmâ Isân," fig. 32, p. 106.

[40] Piriya Krairiksh suggested that the tapered pillar-type semas evolved from a massive straight-sided type: "Semas with Scenes" (1974), p. 39. For Khmer examples, Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), fig. 50.

[41] Illus., Nộ Na Pâknam, *Sinlapa bon bai sêmâ/The Buddhist Boundary Markers of Thailand* (1981), fig. 14a, p. 93. For this town, *MBJ* 2, no. 4 (July-Sept. 1976), 34.

[42] Piriya, "Semas with Scenes" (1974), p. 54.

figure is a Khmer or Khmer-sounding title (*-kaṃmrateṅ*) followed on a second line by a personal name that has not been entirely read (K. 510).[43] The figure might, therefore, be the donor rather than Maitreya. Beneath these figures in relief—buried in the earth in the view of pl. 35—are bisymmetrical scrolls of foliage, having the organization of a Khmer lintel of the tenth or eleventh century, by which the carver was probably influenced.[44] It is apparent in the details, however, that he was quite comfortable with his own non-Khmer style of vegetation. The *sīmā*, therefore, seems to be a positive response to a Khmer stylistic challenge of (probably) the late tenth or the eleventh century. It is not possible to say whether the title had been bestowed upon the presumed patron by Cambodian rulers or was one used in an independent or semi-independent political entity.

The upper reaches of the Chi take one not just to the site of Chai Wan but toward the hills that mark the western edge of the northeastern region. Here is the reclining Buddha of Phu Wiang Mountain (pl. 28). Perhaps there was a kind of culture of the hills, extending both south and north, in which natural rock formations had a sacred value. At Phu Phra in Chaiyaphum a row of seven seated Buddha images was carved in a rock shelter,[45] next to a Buddha image carved in reverse *Māravijaya*.[46] The striated hair, which comes to points on the temples, suggests the work of an untrained sculptor, following a vaguely Khmer model, perhaps as early as 1000. The justification for the pose is not known, but here seems to be a situation different from that at Ban Huai Hin Tot: not a well-trained sculptor coping well with a Khmer challenge but a group either without a sophisticated tradition or recently deprived of its tradition filling its religious needs. A somewhat similar situation, and somewhat similar carving style, is in evidence at the northern end of this north-south corridor. At Vang Sang, north of Vientiane, seated and standing Buddhas were carved in the living rock.[47] The date 928 (A. D. 1006), carved

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[43] Illus., ibid., fig. 19.

[44] Illus., *MBJ* 1, no. 2 (Jan.-March 1975), p. 98 and Nộ Na Pâknam, *Sinlapa bon bai sêmâ* (1981), fig. 14, p. 93.

[45] *MBJ* 2, no. 2 (July-Sept. 1976), pp. 55–56; FAD, *Plan and Report . . . 1959* (rpt. 1970), fig. 46.

[46] FAD, *Plan and Report . . . 1959* (rpt. 1970), fig. 45; Subhadradis, *Sinlapa samai Lopburî* (1967), fig. 30.

[47] Best illustrated, Pierre-Marie Gagneux, "Les sculptures rupestres de Vang Sang," *La Revue Française de l'Elite Europienne* 203 (Oct. 1967), 40–43; also Ch. Batteur, "Sculptures rupestres au Laos" (1925), 203–4 and pl. 28.

beneath the two large seated images may well be the date of the group as a whole.

The intermediary site is Wat Phộ Tâ near Phra Phutthabat Bua Bok, on the Phu Phan range, close to the prehistoric paintings of fig. 5. Here in the rock is carved a Buddha, seated in meditation in a well-carved triangular niche with lozenges on the frame and scrolled terminants, such as can be found at Banteay Srei.[48] On a smaller scale are figures of the standing Buddha. One can be seen in pl. 36A. The pose, with left arm at the side and right hand performing a gesture, is one that became popular in late Dvāravatī times.[49] It appears at Vang Sang and had entered the Khmer repertory somewhat earlier, in about the middle of the tenth century (pl. 36B is an example). Other conventions—the raised belt, the pleated undergarment visible between the legs—are late Dvāravati features as well. The curve of the left arm provides a stylistic link to the Dvāravati reclining Buddha images (e.g., pl. 28). A date in the second half of the tenth century, before rather than after Vang Sang, is plausible.[50] This amalgam of Dvāravatī and Khmer styles also characterizes the tall *sīmā* mentioned above, with niches at the foot, found not far away in Ban Phu district. If Mon speakers were responsible, as seems possible, then perhaps they were long-established inhabitants, who at this point in time were able to acquire the services of a stone carver who knew Khmer styles well.[51]

Phra Phutthabat Bua Bok is far enough north that it is necessary to take into account the Mekong River as a route of communication with the political and artistic centers of Camboda. Farther east in Udon province, as already mentioned, there is the square town of Nong Han. This Nong Han is the legendary kingdom Nong Han Noi, the "lesser Nong Han" (the other Nong Han—Nong Han Luang—is a lake on the edge of Sakon Nakhon).[52] The principal

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[48] Illus. Pisit and Subhadradis, *Thaïlande* (1976), fig. 58; Prayûn, *Bôrânsathân nai čhangwat Khộn Kǣn* (1972), fig. 6 and p. 32; *MBJ* 6, no. 1 (Oct.-Nov. 1979), pp. 60–61.

[49] Dupont, *L'Archéologie mône* (1959), figs. 399–400; Boisselier, *Heritage* (1975), fig. 46; Piriya, *Art Styles* (1977), no. 13.

[50] K. 996, a Sanskrit inscription of A. D. 1026, may help, however.

[51] Guillon, "Recherches sur quelque inscriptions mon" (1974).

[52] As pointed out by Srisakra, "Lǣng bôrânkhadî thî thûk lộ̧m/Some Forgotten Sites in Udorn and Nongkai" (1976), p. 40. See also Pruess (ed. and trans.), *The That Phanom Chronicle: A Shrine History and Its Interpretation* (1976), p. 8.

monument in Sakon Nakhon, the Lao-style Phra Thât Chœ̂ng Chum, was originally a Khmer-style sanctuary, a door jamb of which preserves an eleventh-century inscription in Khmer, albeit with idiosyncratic local features (K. 369). Outside the town stands Phra Thât Nârâi Čheng Weng, a Khmer shrine having a lintel and a pediment stylistically akin to others carved much further south in the second half of the eleventh century.[53] There is nothing in the physical evidence that need contradict a local legend: that the ruler whose queen established Phra Thât Nârâi Čheng Weng was the great-grandson of the king of Indapat, or Angkor, and the grandson of the city founder. Sometime later, after seven years of drought, the populace migrated to Cambodia.[54]

The Klam flows from Lake Nong Han to the Mekong River at Thât Phanom. The brick tower of Phra Thât Phanom, which collapsed in 1975 and was soon rebuilt, is like no other monument in Thailand (pl. 38A). The original shrine, with its carved brick decor, is older than the Nong Han structures, which are in no apparent way local developments of it. The study of brick construction methods led Anuvit Charernsupkul to group Phra Thât Phanom with brick monuments that fall between Mụ̂ang Khæ̂k and Mụ̂ang Tam, belonging to a style vaguely Pre Rup and falling in the middle or second half of the tenth century.[55] The carved bricks, comprising vertical panels that lie between pilasters (and engaged colonnettes) and the corners, on the other hand, have connections with the art of Champa—as found at Mi-so'n A-10 (perhaps early tenth century)[56] or at still older monuments.[57] A section of one of these panels appears in pl. 38A, on the right-hand side of the eastern or front face, flanking the original sanctuary entrance. The general character of the foliage,

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[53] Smitthi and Moore, *Palaces* (1992), pp. 212–17; Prayûn, *Bôrânsathân nai čhangwat Khộn Kæ̂n* (1972), figs. 2–3, pp. 42–43; Subhadradis, "Dancing Siva in Lopburi Style" (1972), pp. 146–47; *MBJ* 2, no. 4 (July-Sept. 1976), pp. 44, 53–54.

[54] Prayûn, *Bôrânsathân nai čhangwat Khộn Kæ̂n* (1972), pp. 41–42. For evidence in the region of strong Cambodian connections in the eleventh century, the figures on the boundary stones in Sawang Daen Din district of Sakhon Nakhon (80–90 kilometers northwest of Sakhon Nakhon itself): *MBJ* 1, no. 2 (Jan.-March 1975), p. 111.

[55] Anuwit, *Bæ̂p khrong sâng* (1981), pp. 140–41, 197, 206.

[56] Stern, *L'Art du Champa (ancien Annam) et son évolution* (1942), pls. 28a, 38ab.

[57] Boisselier suggested for Phra Thât Phanom a date in the second half of the ninth century or early in the tenth (earlier than here proposed): "Rapport de Mission . . . 1964" (1965) [*Sinlapâkộn*], pp. 52–53.

and especially its bilateral symmetry, can be matched in tenth-century Champa, as can the horse in flying gallop, a borrowing from China.[58] The style of the foliage is not uniform on all four faces. On the north side, for instance, there is no bilateral symmetry and there are numerous pointed leaves, somewhat like those found on Northern Celadon ware of the early Sung dynasty.[59] Yet the style of the elephants, horses, and figures is approximately the same.

In each one of the panels appear a man on a horse and a man on an elephant, the elephant and the horse taking top position in alternate panels. The animals and riders move toward the eastern entrance, the end of the two lines being the southwest corner, for the animals of the western side are moving in a clockwise direction on both panels. At the end of what might be considered the longer line, on the southern panel on the western side, the horseback rider, his hair tied in a bun at the back of his head, is accompanied not only by a parasol holder (as in pl. 38A) but by a figure carrying what has been identified as a fire box of the sacred fire.[60] The legendary history of Phra Thât Phanom, a compilation which in its original form seems to date from the time of the installation of a Buddha relic and restoration in the late seventeenth century, identifies the carved brick figures as the ancient kings—the same kings who appear in the Sakon Nakhon legends mentioned above, from which the compilers of the Phra Thât Phanom history probably borrowed.[61] The intuition—that the figures on elephants and horses are real people, not gods—feels correct.

Phra Thât Phanom may be considered a Śaiva shrine of the tenth century. Cham elements of various sorts have been noted in different parts of Thailand. Phra Thât Phanom brings additional substance to the theme of Cham influence, a theme, however, hard to trace in the written evidence. The tenth-century Thât Phanom was built over an older brick monument, and so there must have been local cultural continuities.[62] One possibility is that here was a commercial

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[58] Boisselier, *La Statuaire du Champa* (1963), fig. 86.

[59] E.g., Wirgin, "Sung Ceramic Designs" (1970), p. 24, the "sickle-leaf scroll."

[60] Manit et al., *Phra Thât Phanom* (1975), p. 44. Also le May, *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam* (1938/1962), fig. 58.

[61] Pruess (trans.), *That Phanom Chronicle* (1976), p. 40. For the pediments, Manit et al., *Phra Thât Phanom* (1975), pp. 37, 83 (south: Śiva as teacher?); p. 41 (west: Siva?); p. 51 (North: Viṣṇu?).

[62] Anuwit, *Bæ̂p khrong sâng* (1981), pp. 134–36. There are sketches of the con-

center brought into the Cham orbit through a marriage alliance. But with the Vietnamese raids on Champa and the Cambodian expansion, there was little chance for Phra Thât Phanom to bequeath a legacy of later Cham-style structures.

Cambodian expansion may be the dominant theme of the tenth and eleventh centuries, but there are many sub-themes. The local sculptors were capable of what seems to be creative response (Ban Huai Hin Tot, pl. 35); of replacing the old stylistic language with a crude adoption of Khmer-like forms (Phu Phra, Vang Sang); and of what seems to be skillful adoption of Khmer motifs mixed with more traditional elements (Wat Phộ Tâ, pl. 36A). In a dynamic situation, the developments cannot be expected to be uniform.

Central Siam: General Considerations

In the lower Northeast, Khmer culture was firmly implanted; much further north, communities attached to traditions established long previously responded creatively to Khmer influence. Such a pattern can be paralled in central and northern Siam. Lopburi, however, remained an outpost of Khmer culture rather than a true extension. It is the site of Khmer-type temples but not of sandstone monuments emulating those of the capital, as were the temples south of the Mun River. Nevertheless, in the far north, the Mon settlements of the kingdom of Haripuñjaya (to be discussed in the following chapter) would represent a prolongation of Dvāravatī civilization, touched but not overwhelmed by Angkor. In between these two poles (of Haripuñjaya and Lopburi), there is a patchwork of varying developments, which intensive archaeology may or may not ever be able to transform into a high-resolution panorama. Even at a site from which there is a good deal of evidence, such as Dong Mae Nang Muang (Nakhon Sawan province), where a Khmer-language inscription (of A. D. 1167) and miscellaneous late-Dvāravatī-type artifacts were found, the evidence cannot be fitted together in a way to provide a clear picture.

It might even seem that speculation on the basis of floating objects is more fruitful. From the perspective of later centuries, continuous local tradition was important: Ayutthaya, like Dvāravatī, was Buddhist, not Hindu; Ayutthaya, like Dvāravatī, built with brick and stucco, not stone (though the building methods of the middle Ayutthaya

period, it has been pointed out, are more Dvāravatī-like than those of the early Ayutthaya period, which resembled those of Sukhothai).[63] Perhaps, therefore, the absence of archaeological evidence, of inscriptions, and of adequate study of the material that survives has meant that the threads of continuity remain largely undetected or undefined. Take, for an example, the head of a bronze Buddha standing in double *vitarka-mudrā* (pl. 37).[64] The presence of small curls beside the forehead and on the temple is evidence of a connection with the arrangement in the Cham art of Dong-du'o'ng,[65] an arrangement also reflected at Vang Sang, Laos (p. 131), in tenth-century Khmer art,[66] and in a head of the Buddha—probably tenth-century in date—from Nakhon Ratchasima province.[67] The fact that the incised lines at the top and bottom of the outer edges of the eyes do not join suggests the influence of tenth- or eleventh-century Khmer sculpture. Here, therefore, is a Mon sculptor (presumably) responding to the fashions of the times in a creative way. The conclusions one can draw from such an example are few in number, however, when it is not known where the bronze was made. The softly modeled eyebrows recall those seen in a late-Dvāravatī terracotta head (pl. 29A). Without a context, it is impossible to say what the next generation of sculptors was doing: whether they, too, were updating Dvāravatī traditions, or whether they were abandoning them.

This bronze Buddha image has Cham connections, and it is thus representative of an important aspect of the art produced in the period around the tenth century, seen in Cham-connected works ranging from Thât Phanom in the Northeast to Khûhâ Sawan Cave in the South (pp. 133 and 114). In the later Dvāravatī period there were also elements that suggest a connection with Cambodian art (in stucco decor and in the design of a mask; above, pp. 115 and 97), but a connection that appears to have no apparent relationship to political expansion. The directions taken by Mon art in the tenth

struction and photographs of the objects deposited in the late seventeenth century in *Čhotmaihât kân bûrana patisangkhộn 'ong Phra Thât Phanom* (Bangkok: FAD, 1979).

[63] Anuwit, "Kânsџ̂ksâ rabop khrông sâng . . . bot thî 3 kân kộ 'it bǣp Sukhôthai 'Û Thộng" (1975).

[64] Illustrated, Dupont, *L'Archéologie mône* (1959), fig. 437; Bowie (ed.), *Arts of Thailand* (1960), fig. 22; *Schätze aus Thailand* (1963), fig. 24.

[65] Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa* (1963), fig. 47.

[66] Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), pl. XLII, 1.

[67] Subhadradis, *Sinlapa samai Lopburî* (1967), fig. 109; Subhadradis et al., *The Suan Pakkad Palace Collection* (Bangkok, 1982), no. 15, p. 38.

and eleventh centuries may not, however, merely be a matter of late Dvāravatī tendencies, characterized by Cham and Khmer elements, finally succumbing to severe pressures from Cambodia. The reason is that in neighboring Burma the eleventh century brought the flowering of a Buddhist and largely Mon civilization, and this civilization was dependent in many ways upon that of Pāla India. Pāla-type votive tablets have been found in Siam, and at least some of them must have been fashioned or imported in the tenth and eleventh centuries. From a stylistic point of view, the tablet illustrated in pl. 38B could date from the period around A. D. 1000.[68] The broadly rounded shoulders characterize stone images—probably of the eleventh century—in Thaton, Burma.[69] In pl. 39A can be seen a bronze image having many of the features seen in the tablet: the posture, the swelling abdomen, the full rounded curves of the shoulders, the plump cheeks. If this bronze was made in central Siam in the eleventh century, it could be used to demonstrate that Mon Buddhist art took a radically new turn in Siam, one that paralleled the important developments at Pagan in Burma. Here would also be evidence that many of the stylistic and iconographic features of fourteenth-century Sukhothai art had long-standing local roots. Once again, however, the absence of a context for the bronze image of pl. 39A, which was deposited at Wat Râtchabûrana in Ayutthaya in 1424, makes such assertions entirely speculative.

Another aspect of Khmer expansion is the Khmer appropriation of iconic types—types which would then henceforth have a Khmer character to them. A key Khmer inscription and a key image both come from the same site—the brick sanctuary of Beng Vien (Siem Reap province)—and may date from the same time—in or shortly after 946. The inscription (K. 872) claims that Rājendravarman (r. 944–68) won victories over Champa and Rāmaṇya, that is, Monland. There are earlier mention of Mons in Khmer epigraphy,[70] but they appear as slaves. Although it is not know what territories "Rāmaṇya" consisted of in the tenth century,[71] Rājendravarman's victory was

[68] Woodward, "The Life of the Buddha in the Pāla Monastic Environment" (1990).
[69] Woodward, "Some Buddha Images and the Cultural Developments of the Late Angkorian Period" (1980), fig. 21 and pp. 172–74, where this issue is discussed using other examples.
[70] Groslier, "Les Syam Kuk des bas-reliefs d'Angkor Wat" (1981), p. 112, n. 23, draws attention to two, K. 66 and K. 76.
[71] Groslier (ibid.) believes that Rāmaṇya here refers to Khorat.

probably a significant one. The foundation, furthermore, was Buddhist, and the inscription provides the earliest evidence for the worship of a triad that much later—during the reign of Jayavarman VII—became the primary focus in a state cult. This triad consisted of the Buddha, Lokeśvara (i.e., Avalokiteśvara), and Prajñāpāramitā, who is called the begetter of the series of Jinas. The notion that the Perfection of Wisdom is the mother of Buddhahood can be found in the very earliest Prajñāpāramitā texts.[72] Lokeśvara, by implication, is the father of Buddhahood.

A Buddha image from Prasat Beng Vien is in the National Museum at Phnom Penh and depicts the Buddha standing, his left arm at his side, his right arm broken but presumably, when extant, performing the gesture of instruction.[73] In Dvāravatī art this iconographic type is characteristic of the later period.[74] It is the type seen in the Wat Phộ Tâ sculptures (pl. 36A), for which a date in the second half of the tenth century has been proposed, and at Vang Sang (A. D. 1006). In pl. 36B is illustrated yet another floating bronze (like pl. 39A, it was deposited at Wat Râtchabûrana in Ayutthaya). The way the robe falls over the left wrist is much like that in the Prasat Beng Vien image; the belt can be compared to that on the Buddha in the Wat Phộ Tâ relief; the severe horizontality of the incised line of the eyebrow parallels much in the tenth-century Khmer art, but the smooth transition from face to hair opens the possibility of a slightly later date, one in the eleventh century. Yet again, the absence of a context means that there is a limit to the conclusions that can be drawn. What it is important to realize is that in this period iconographic types were established across stylistic boundaries. The Buddha with left arm at the side was not a significant type in the later eleventh or the twelfth century, but towards the end of the thirteenth century it became popular again. The survival may be the result of cultural connections between Sukhothai and northeastern Thailand.

The nāga-protected Buddha is the second iconographic type to consider. It had been established in Dvāravatī art in a period substantially earlier than the tenth century (pl. 25; pp. 95 and 97 above), and like the left-arm-at-the-side Buddha, it was borrowed into Khmer

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[72] Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature* (1960), p. 9 and passim.

[73] Boisselier, *La statuaire khmère* (1955), pl. 91 and pp. 88, 116–17, 217, 245–56.

[74] E.g., Piriya, *Art Styles* (1977), no. 13 (illus. also, Boisselier, *Heritage* [1975], fig. 46, p. 80).

art, perhaps at about the same time—the mid-tenth century. The nāga-protected Buddha quickly became, as the Beng Vien type did not, the chief form of the Buddha for the Cambodians.[75] It appears at Phimai and is the central Buddha in the art of the Jayavarman VII period. Although Western art historians frequently invoke the name Mucalinda when discussing nāga-protected Buddhas, there is no evidence that for the Khmers these images represent specifically or primarily the episode in which a serpent shelters Śākyamuni during the third week following his enlightenment. Instead, as will be argued below (p. 151–52), the key concepts are more likely to involve the serpent's transformative powers and its ability to help transport the soul to a heavenly realm.[76] The fact that the type became so firmly connected with Cambodian cultural hegemony may account for its eventual disappearance in the period after the thirteenth century.

A third iconographic type is the most common image in Dvāravatī—the standing Buddha, both hands performing the same gesture. Some idiosyncratic images of the tenth and eleventh centuries attest to the continuation of the type in the period of Cambodian penetration: one, perhaps the work of a Khmer-trained sculptor in tenth-century Lopburi;[77] another, likely to have been the work of a Muang Si Mahosot sculptor reacting to Cambodian styles in the course of the eleventh century (pl. 40). This nearly life-sized sculpture stands isolated, with no other works identifiable as those by the same sculptor (or by his teacher, or his disciples). The belt, seen also in pls. 36A and 36B, is a tenth–eleventh-century feature; other ties to the same works include the central pleat of the undergarment, visible between the legs, the pinched torso (shared with the bronze, pl. 36B), and the excessive distance from the bottom of the lower edge of the robe to the bottom of the undergarment (shared with Wat Phộ Tâ, pl. 36A). Of the three works, this large stone image has the least Khmer face; the soft modeling of the eyebrows is somewhat reminiscent of that in the late Dvāravatī bronze, pl. 37, but here the head, raised on a high neck, bounded by firm jaw, has an

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[75] Dupont, "Les Buddha sur nāga dans l'art khmer" (1950); Subhadradis, "The Buddha and the Snake King" (1971), pp. 32–35.

[76] *Bhujaṅga* in the Preah Khan inscription refers to the Rāmāyaṇa's arrows-become-snakes; the statements in Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), p. 72 are erroneous.

[77] Piriya, *Art Styles* (1977), no. 26; discussed Woodward, "Studies" (1975), I:37–38.

individuality shared more by bronzes with a folkish character.[78] It was not until somewhat later, at Phimai, that the Buddha with double gesture was renewed, transformed, and given new meanings with the addition of a crown.

Another iconographic type deserving mention is that of the standing Buddha with right palm raised, left palm lowered. This type entered the Khmer repertory in the tenth century and continued to be made into the twelfth.[79] The appearance of this type as well as the others appears to indicate how important to the region as a whole was the establishment of Buddhist temples within Cambodia—as at Prasat Beng Vien. The authoritative Buddhist images were increasingly, it would appear, ones that were Khmer in style.

Central Siam: a Geographical Perspective

It is not yet possible to tie this description of trends together with an archaeological record. The sort of archaeological evidence that is crucial in a period of cultural change—the sort that establishes when worship ceased at a particular temple or that a town was suddenly abandoned has simply not accumulated. Nor are there enough inscriptions. One potentially significant inscription, thought to have been found in Lopburi province, dates from 923 and lauds the then-reigning monarch Jayavarman.[80] The Lopburi inscription (Th.19) which conveys King Sūryavarman I's order of 1022 that the *tapas* of *yogins* and of Mahāyāna and Sthavira monks be offered to the king himself is the first solid indication of Khmer political control in the Chao Phraya basin (if indeed the inscription was not moved from elsewhere). Before then, there is plenty of evidence regarding cultural penetration but uncertainty about the political situation.

Rājendravarman (r. 944–68) left two inscriptions along the modern border, in the districts of Aranyaprathet (A. D. 941; K. 957) and Ta Phraya (K. 999). In both instances he seems to appear as a Śaiva temple administrator (K. 958, st. 11), before his ascension

[78] E.g., Dupont, *L'Archéologie mône* (1959), figs. 440, 442.

[79] Woodward, "Studies" (1975), I:41–42; this is a type mistakenly dated to a much later period in Dupont, "Le Buddha de Grahi et l'école de C'aiya" (1942), pp. 105–113 and pl. VII C.

[80] The "*čhārụk* An Jayavarman" is published in *Čhārụk nai Prathêt Thai* (1986) 3:74–81.

to the throne. There may or may not be a connection between these activities, the western expansion of the kingdom and Rājendravarman's victory over the Rāmaṇya (above, p. 137). A lintel depicting Viṣṇu at the center, probably from Rājendravarman's time, comes from an unidentified temple in Wattana Nakhon district, just west of Aranyaprathet.[81] Once the jump is made into the neighboring geographical region, that of the Prachinburi–Bang Pakong River basin, the situation is less clear—though potentially it is quite rich. At the site of Ban Nong Thale in Kabinburi district there are Khmer vestiges that may date from the tenth century.[82] Although the stone Buddha image in pl. 40 has here been attributed to Muang Si Mahosot, archaeological evidence from there and from Muang Khok Khwang, on the other hand, reveals little or nothing about the tenth or eleventh centuries.[83]

The more northerly route of communication between east and west ran westward from the site of the early tenth-century Khmer-style Prâsât Mụ̂ang Khǣk (above, p. 120) to the Pa Sak River watershed and on to Lopburi. Perhaps in the tenth century there was more intercourse in this region than through Muang Si Mahosot. At Si Thep a fragmentary Khmer-language inscription may date from the tenth century (K. 979). Near the banks of the Pa Sak River in Chai Badan district, there must have been activity; here was the Dvāravatī site of Sap Champa, and at some point in time Khmer culture became established, as evidenced by a brick shrine (Prâng Nâng Phom Hộm),[84] an eleventh-century antefix (or possibly twelfth) from the site showing a standing female figure,[85] and stray finds like a small eleventh-century nāga-protected Buddha.[86]

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[81] Subhadradis, "Two Stone Lintels From Prachinburi" (1968), pp. 54–55.

[82] Prânî, "Râi ngân kân samruat . . . thî čhangwat Saraburî læ čhangwat Prâčhînburî" (1967), pp. 123–24 and second page of plates following p. 124.

[83] Publications devoted to these sites include Bančhop and Nikhom, *Bôrânkhadî Mụ̂ang Prachînburî* (1971) and *Bôrânkhadî Dong Sî Mahâ Phôt* (1967). Two sites further south deserve mention. One is Muang Phra Rot, Phanat Nikhom dist., Chonburi: Sîsak, "Dong Sîmahâphôt kap kân damœ̄n-ngân bôrânkhadî," in *Bôrânkhadî Dong Sî Mahâ Phôt* (1967), p. 22; Boisselier, "Recherches, II" (1969), p. 57. The other is Muang Si Phalo, Chonburi district: Srisakra, "Dong Sîmahâphôt," p. 22; Boisselier, "Recherches, II" pp. 57–58 (as third Muang Phra Rot).

[84] Huan, *Lopburî thî nâ rû* (1969), pp. 153–54 and illustrations; *MBJ* 10, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1984), p. 13.

[85] *Sculptures From Thailand* (1982), no. 15.

[86] Woodward, "Studies" (1975), I:54, and fig. 34; Chantharakasem National Museum, Ayutthaya, 14/5*kh*.

Lopburi had evidently been a Dvāravatī town of importance. The name Lava or Lavo appears on a Dvāravatī-period medal found near Nakhon Pathom,[87] in a Khmer inscription of A. D. 611 (K. 557), and in one of the locally found Khmer inscriptions (Th.21), and it survives today as Lop-(=*laba*)buri. The innermost moat appears to date from Dvāravatī times.[88] Excavations at Wat Nakhộn Kôsâ in 1986 brought to light stucco fragments—head of the Buddha, supporting dwarf, colonnette fragment, and molding with the bilobate motif—that may be plausibly attributed to the period around 700.[89] The largest body of stuccos, discovered in 1937, on the other hand, appears to date from considerably later and may be no earlier than the oldest surviving "Khmer" monument—Prâng Khæ̂k.[90] These stuccos are loosely related in style to the head of a guardian in pl. 29A.

Prâng Khæ̂k (pl. 39B for an interior view) consists of three brick towers, large parts of which were rebuilt (using mortar) in about the seventeenth century.[91] In style the sanctuaries are not far distant from Baksei Chamkrong at Angkor, built in the first half of the tenth century. The bricks vary in size—a characteristic of Dvāravatī practice, according to Anuwit Charernsupkul.[92] Inside the sanctuaries bricks extend out from the walls, forming trefoil niches (pl. 39B). They suggest the presence of Pāla influence—as can be seen by looking at pl. 38B—but painted niches somewhat similar in form have been found in a tenth-century Cambodian temple.[93]

In and of themselves, Prâng Khæ̂k and the Lopburi stuccos do not reveal anything about the local political situation; both an independent and a subservient ruler could equally well have made use of local craftsmen. If, on the other hand, an unfinished tenth-century lintel now in Ayutthaya did in fact come from Lopburi, perhaps activities there should be seen in an imperial context, the lintel being so high in quality.[94] At any rate, inscriptional evidence of impe-

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[87] Boeles, "A Note on the Ancient City Called Lavapura" (1967), pp. 113–14.
[88] The outermost wall dates from the seventeenth century; a middle one is of indeterminate date. Srisakra, "Lawô" (1975).
[89] Nộ na Pâknam, "Kân khut tæ̂ng bôrânsathân thî Wat Nakhộn Kôsâ" (1987).
[90] Dupont, *L'Archéologie mône* (1959), 1:114–17, 205–06, 264; figs. 307–15; see also figs. 417–18.
[91] Boisselier, "Rapport . . . 1964" (1965), p. 41; "Recherches archéologiques . . . 1965" (1969), p. 54.
[92] Anuwit, *Bæ̂p khrong sâng* (1981), pp. 141–42, 197.
[93] Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), pl. LXIII.
[94] Woodward, "Studies" (1975), fig. 2.

rial control appears by the 1020s, during the reign of Sūryavarman I (1002/1011–1050)—if this inscription was indeed set up in Lopburi. An unpublished inscription from the king's reign states that Lavapura (Lopburi) was at this time a jungle filled with tigers, more terrible in appearance than a cremation ground; an official, appointed "chief of the Mons," was charged with restoring its former glory.[95] The actual extent of Sūryavarman's military exploits in fact remains undetermined.[96] It is possible that the laterite foundation known as Sân Sung dates from the Sūryavarman period, or at least from the eleventh century.[97]

There are works of eleventh-century sculpture, two impressive nāga-protected Buddhas among them, that are essentially cosmopolitan in style and are likely to have been imported, either in the eleventh century or later.[98] The whole question of a local sculptural tradition in the tenth and eleventh centuries—indeed right up to the very end of the twelfth century—is an open one. One approach posits a continuous surviving series that begins with a "late Dvāravatī" earth-touching Buddha, in which there are Khmer elements.[99] According to an alternative view, Khorat-series sandstone images exhibiting an eleventh or early twelfth-century character are in fact no older than the late twelfth, though perhaps dependent on a body of older, wooden sculpture, now lost.[100] This uncertainty gives double importance to two works, a Brahmā (pl. 41B) and a pair of goddesses that probably date from the late eleventh or very early twelfth century.[101] The medium is hard, dark stone; it is been proposed that both slabs were carved from what had once been a Dvāravatī pillar.[102] Here

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[95] Kamaleshwar Bhattacharya, "The Present State of Work on the Sanskrit Epigraphy of Cambodia," unpublished paper (2001). This inscription is housed in the Conservation d'Angkor.

[96] Cf. Luce, "Some Old References to the South of Burma and Ceylon" (1965), p. 270; Sotsai, "Khamen mai chai chât" (1975).

[97] Boisselier, "Rapport . . . 1964" (1965), p. 41.

[98] Two large images found in Ayutthaya: Woodward, "Studies" (1975), fig. 36 and 1:53–54; Subhadradis, *Art in Thailand* (1979), fig. 47. Heads found at the Mahâthât, Lopburi: Woodward, "Studies" (1975), fig. 35; Subhadradis, *Sinlapa samai Lopburî* (1967), fig. 38. A Baphuon-style male torso, said to have come from Sân Sung, now in Munich, Museum für Volkerkunde 445, illustrated, Munsterberg, *Sculpture of the Orient* (1972), pl. 45.

[99] Pisit and Subhadradis, *Thaïlande* (1976), fig. 44.

[100] Woodward, "Some Buddha Images" (1980), p. 157.

[101] Subhadradis, *Sinlapa samai Lopburî* (1967), figs. 37, 39, from Sân Sung; Pisit and Subhadradis, *Thaïlande* (1976), figs. 108, 111.

[102] As observed by Boisselier, *Heritage* (1975), p, 116.

is arguably a local product. The facial type is somewhat like that seen in a small nāga-protected Buddha from Suphanburi (pl. 41A), but there is a strong element of schematic simplification, especially evident in the planar treatment of the eye sockets. Another significant feature is the bifurcated chin, bordered by the curved outline of a beard.

Moving westward from Lopburi, the north-south riverine arteries are crossed: the Chao Phraya, the Suphanburi, and the Mae Klong. It may be too easy to conclude that at the old Dvāravatī centers there was disruption and displacement, that Mon inhabitants were forcibly resettled as prisoners of war or were decimated in a series of plagues—too easy because much of the evidence is merely negative evidence, and because certain kinds of artifacts like small Dvāravatī bronzes have not been adequately studied. Nevertheless, the absence of the Khmer-type objects suggests abandonment at the scientifically excavated—though modest—site of Chansen,[103] and the same pattern appears to hold for much more significant towns like U Thong and Khu Bua. At Nakhon Pathom, there was significant activity in the thirteenth century, and so the city was probably not abandoned, but works of the eleventh and earlier twelfth centuries have not been identified.[104]

In some cases, it is possible to glimpse intrusive objects of Khmer workmanship. Among the bronzes found at Phong Tuk, for instance (though not excavated *in situ*), is a small tenth-century bronze image of the Buddha seated within an aureole.[105] In other cases it is possible to point to sites that may have become settled in this period, like Ban Nong Chaeng (Don Chedi district, Suphanburi), at which a tiny stone eleventh-century nāga-protected Buddha was found, on the order of the image from Wat Pû Bua, Suphanburi (pl. 41A).[106] Sometimes it is merely a matter of tantalizing gaps. The lobed frame on the votive tablet from Ban Samphao Lom (pl. 29B) on the

[103] Bronson and Dales, "Excavations at Chansen, Thailand, 1968 and 1969: a Preliminary Report" (1972).

[104] Among objects that deserve further study, Pisit and Subhadradis, *Thaïlande* (1976), fig. 33.

[105] Cœdès, "The Excavations at P'ong Tuk" (1927/1954), pl. 15, third from right; in Dupont, *L'Archéologie mône* (1959), 1:112, "une imitation de modèles khmères"; Woodward, "Studies" (1975), 1:29–30 and figs. 8–10.

[106] U Thong National Museum. On Ban Nong Chaeng (also known as Ban Rai Rot), Boisselier, "Recherches . . . 1965" (1969), pp. 52–53, and "Travaux . . . 1968" (1972), p. 43.

Suphanburi River in Doembang Nangbuat district, for instance, is relevant to designs seen on thirteenth-century bronze altarpieces. Two other somewhat related tablets have been found at the same site, as was a Pāla bronze.[107] There are hints, therefore, of continuities among Pāla-influenced objects dating from late Dvāravatī times onward. Much in the way of architectural remains has been destroyed, as at Ban Samphao Lom, however; and it will take both skillful archaeology and careful study to define the lineages that survived Khmer intervention.

Thirty kilometers north of Doembang Nangbuat district is Sankhaburi or Muang San, later an important center. An eleventh-century lintel here may have come from the site of Ban Dong Khon, which has both Dvāravatī and Lopburi period vestiges.[108] Sixty kilometers north lies a site in Tha Tako district with indications of eleventh-century activity, in the form of stone nāga-protected Buddha images, plus Dvāravatī ruins that would appear to somewhat pre-date the eleventh century.[109] From there, another fifty kilometers to the northwest, along the course of the Ping River, brings one to Dong Mae Nang Muang, in Banphot Phisai district, Nakhon Sawan, where a significant inscription of A. D. 1167 was discovered (below, p. 163). The little-known monumental and sculptural remains suggest that Dong Mae Nang Muang was indeed a town at which Dvāravatī traditions were maintained into a late period. There is evidence of contact with Haripuñjaya.[110] It is hard to know, however, just how late a stele with a standing Buddha, his feet clumsily oversized, may be.[111] At any rate, if the Fine Arts Department reported no Khmer artifacts, the inscription itself is in the Khmer language, and so even here the pattern of Khmer penetration applies.

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[107] For Somphao Lom (and other sites in Doembang Nangbuat district), Srisakra Vallibhotama's account in *Lum nam Čhao Phrayâ nai samai bôrân* (1966), pp. 51–53. For illustrations of the two tablets, Srisakra, *Bôrânkhadî thai nai sathawat thî phan mâ* (1982), pp. 60–61. The eighth-century date proposed by M. R. Suriyavudh Suksavasti for the Parileyaka tablet seems too early: Suriyavudh, "Phra phim pâng Pâlelai nai sinlapa mộn (Thawârawadî)" (1984).

[108] *MBJ* vol. 10, no. 3 (Oct.-Dec. 1984), p. 127; Khongdet Praphatthộng, "Chainât," *Bôrânkhadî* 1 (1967), p. 96.

[109] Manô Klîpthộng, "Kân khut tæng . . . Khao Tî Khlî čhangwat Nakhộn Sawan" (1991), pp. 129–31. (Khao Ti Khli, *mû thî* 3, *tambon* Don Kha, Tha Tako district.)

[110] For an account of the unpublished Fine Arts Department surveys of 1956 and 1966, Woodward, "Studies" (1975), I, 87; also below, n. 168.

[111] Illus. Khîan, *Phutthânusộn* (1957), fig. 20.

Phimai

Phimai, in Indic spelling *bimāya* or *vimāya*, was the name of the principal image at this great temple (pls. 42–45). The fact that a name found in inscriptions is today a placename argues for a degree of cultural continuity more substantial than any survival so far encountered. Although no central Thai historical traditions include references to Phimai, it is, nevertheless, certain that Phimai occupied a seminal position in the religious heritage of central Thailand. It was at Phimai that the crowned Buddha became established as an iconic type, and the temple must be considered the prototype for the *prâng* of central Thailand.

An inscription from the region dated 1066 proclaims a Vajrayāna Buddhist doctrine, which it calls the Śrīsamāja (perhaps in reference to the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*), involving worship of the five *sugata* (Jinas) plus Vajrasattva. This inscription, like the Phimai temple itself, combines Vajrayāna elements with older local traditions. Dhanu, the author, records that he has installed nine Buddha images that his teacher, Dharaṇīndrapura by name, had restored. These images, known as *Buddhalokeśvara*, lord-of-the-world Buddhas, had been set up at some time in the past to help prevent Javā—probably Wentan or its successor—from attacking Cambodia. Dhanu does not doubt that he lives in Cambodia, and if the "protecting lord of the all-around lighted sphere" (*Śrīsamantaprabheśvara*) is really a reference to King Sūryavarman I, it is he who is given credit for consolidating Buddhism in the kingdom.[112]

Geographically, Phimai lies in a position peripheral to both Angkor, on one hand, and Lopburi and Ayutthaya, on the other. This eccentric position helps explain its dual role. After the death of Harṣavarman III in 1080, a new family came to power—probably, as suggested above (pp. 127–28), a family powerful in the Koh Ker region, where the temple of Khna Sen Kev was built. Some of the stone carvers of Prasat Khna Sen Kev must have been subsequently taken to Phimai, where the rather more developed ornament is of equally high quality. Features of this ornament can be seen in the

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[112] Chirapat, "The Sab Bāk Inscription: Evidence of an Early Vajrayana Buddhist Presence in Thailand" (1990). I take *sugatādikādika* on line 25 to mean "*sugata* after *sugata*" and to refer to the nine images mentioned in the Khmer text rather than to "the Dhyāni Buddhas and Ādibuddha."

photograph of the distant cornice (pl. 43): the integrity given to each register; the deep undercutting; the precision and sharpness of the rhythms; the attention to the role of light and shade; and the opposition and balance of forms, as in the spreading and contracting pendent elements within the frieze, or the crosses and Xs within the quatrefoil band. Another development was the increasing prominence of figured lintels (pls. 44–45), and here, too, the designers were building upon earlier eleventh-century cosmopolitan tendencies. If the Mahīdharapura dynasty did not come from Phimai, what accounts for the movement of the kingdom's finest craftsmen to this eccentric location? The inscription on the main gate of the second enclosure provides a clue: in A. D. 1108 V. K. A. Śrī Virendrādhipativarman established an image of a Buddhist deity who is called the *senāpati*, or general, of the principal image, the K. J. Vimāya (K. 397).[113] The implication appears to be that Virendhrādhipati served the reigning king, Dharaṇīndravarman (r. 1107–1113), as general, just as the image he erected served the lord Vimāya. Virendrādhipati was, therefore, the king's loyal servant, but possibly at the same time an *éminence grise* more powerful than the king himself. He makes an appearance later among the generals in the procession of the southern gallery at Angkor Wat.[114]

Presumably most but not necessarily all of the temple was completed when Virendra put up his inscription, probably in A. D. 1112. Although the figural style and the ornament at the temple should be viewed in the context of royal Khmer traditions, the design of

[113] Inscriptions of Phimai: K. 397–99 and K. 954; for a gold sheet with a diagram and brief mantra, *Prachum silâ čhâr̥ųk*, vol. 4 (1970), p. 266 (inscr. 129). The *senāpati* founded by Virendrādhipati was Trailokyavijaya, but it is not certain that in form the image was this Tantric deity because the name appears as an epithet for other deities in the tenth and twelfth centuries (K. 214, K. 240, K. 529). The inscribed image base (K. 954) is in the site museum at Phimai. An example of the sort of Tantric text presumably known at Phimai is Bischoff (trans.), *Ārya Mahābala-Nāma-Mahāyānasūtra* (1964). Claude Jacques has suggested (without speculating on the form taken by the statue) that the *kamrateṅ jagat* Trailokyavijaya was a "tutelary genius," the spirit of a deceased army chief and that K. J. Vimāya was another genius, the "master of the town of Phimai," an image (again, its concrete form left open) that would have stood near the inscription. See Jacques, "The Kamrateṅ Jagat in Ancient Cambodia" (1985), p. 275; also Jacques, *Angkor* (1997), pp. 149–50, 256 (presumably at the Bayon Jacques reads *vimāya* in shrine 18 where Cœdès had originally read *viṣaye* [K. 293.25]). For an assessment of Jacques's views, Woodward, "Practice and Belief in Ancient Cambodia" (2001).

[114] Aymonier, *Le Cambodge* (1900–04), 3:253.

the temple as a whole suggests the presence of other currents. Two significant features can be seen in pl. 42, which shows the temple after completion of the reconstruction in the 1960s, and both are important to subsequent Thai developments. One is the treatment of the re-entrant angles at the corner of the sanctuary: three corners (two in the photograph) are allowed to run from dado to cornice unimpeded. The second feature is the height of the moldings around the sanctuary: the dado carvings are almost as high as the first false window, and visitors at ground level are overwhelmed by the molding sequence. Neither of these features appears entirely explicable merely in terms of royal traditions. It may be possible that there was some sort of regional tradition, an independent development starting from Prâng Khæ̂k in Lopburi. But surviving brick temples are not sufficient to demonstrate that this was the case, and perhaps outside influence, possibly from northern India, also played a role.

The religious imagery is complex, and it is not clear how the parts are all supposed to fit together. The pediment over the main entrance, on the south, features a dancing Śiva (as at Phanom Rung), and the inclusion of the Tamil female saint Kāraikkakkālamnaiyār indicates contact with southern India.[115] On the other pediments and lintels of the exterior Śaiva themes continue, as on the eastern pediment of the hall (pl. 42), where on the upper part of the outer pediment Śiva can be seen with Umā on a bull, but scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa are more prominent.[116] Not all the reliefs have been identified. At the foot of a pilaster beside the main southern entrance a Tantric Buddhist figure appears, his feet on a corpse, his hands holding a *vajra* and a *ghaṇṭā*; he may be Vajrasattva in a secondary role as one of the sixteen *vajra* beings in certain esoteric maṇḍalas.[117] The fact

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[115] Phanom Rung pediment, illus. Smitthi and Moore, *Palaces of the Gods* (1992), p. 291. For representations of the dancing Śiva at Phimai and elsewhere, Subhadradis, "Dancing Siva in Lopburi Style" (1972), pp. 146–47. See Bénisti, "Kāraikkakkālamnaiyār in Cambodia" (1971) for this theme.

[116] For discussions of the Rāmāyaṇa depictions, Subhadradis, "Kân sǫ̂m prâsât hin Phimai" (1967), pp. 9–16; Boeles, "A Ramayana Relief from the Khmer Sanctuary at Phimai in North-East Thailand" (1969), pp. 163–69; Uraisri and Nandana, "Essai d'interpretation d'une scène du Rāmāyana representantée sur un linteau d'art khmer" (1974).

[117] Illus., Boeles, "Two Yoginīs of Hevajra from Thailand" (1966), fig. 6. For the sixteen *vajra* beings, for example Ryujun Tajima, *Les deux grands maṇḍalas et la doctrine de l'ésoterisme Shingon* (1959), pp. 168–69.

that Phimai is a Tantric Buddhist temple is, therefore, not completely disguised by the imagery of the exterior, yet the Buddhist message lies in the interior. The south-facing main image, the lord Vimāya, is either lost or lying unidentified, but, like the deity of the innermost southern lintel,[118] this image was probably a nāga-protected Buddha. The other four interior lintels have Buddhist subject matter and may each involve conquering. The outer southern lintel depicts the defeat of Māra;[119] on the western lintel (pl. 44) is a standing crowned Buddha at the center of a crowd of figures; and the northern and eastern lintels, both themselves stretched-out maṇḍalas, have at their centers forms of Vajrasattva and Samvara, respectively.[120]

In surveying the Buddhist inscriptions of Cambodia, Jean Filliozat pointed out that many of the elements in Khmer Buddhism can be understood in a Śaiva context.[121] This is to be explained in part by the Śaiva-like character of Buddhist Tantrism, in part by a Khmer tendency toward syncretism. How much of Phimai can be understood sheerly in Śaiva terms is an open question.[122] Dharaṇīndravarman I's inscription at Phnom Sandak (A. D. 1110, K. 191) opens by stating that Śiva, though unique, appears twofold, in knowledge (*jñāṇa*) and activity (*kriyā*). Perhaps at Phimai the images can be divided into spheres of uniqueness, knowledge, and activity. Near Prasat Khna Sen Kev (and Phnom Sandak), in the presumed home territories of the Mahīdharapura dynasty is a little-known Buddhist temple that may have both stylistic and iconographic points of connection with Phimai.[123]

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[118] Illus., Seidenfaden, "An Excursion to Phimai" (1923), opp. p. 16: Manit, *Guide to Pimai and Antiquities in the Province of Nagara Rajasima (Khorat)* (1962), fig. 35.

[119] Illus., Woodward, "The Bàyon-Period Image in the Kimbell Art Museum" (1979), fig. 6: Manit, *Guide to Pimai* (1962), fig. 36.

[120] North: Smitthi and Moore, *Palaces of the Gods* (1992), p. 246; Manit, *Guide to Pimai* (1962), p. 45 and figs. 38–39; Boeles, "The Buddhist Tutelary Couple Hārītī and Pañcika Protectors of Children, from a Relief at the Khmer Sanctuary in Pimai" (1968). West: Boeles, "Two Yoginīs" (1966), fig. 7; Seidenfaden, "Excursion" (1923), illus. opp. p. 15; Manit, *Guide to Pimai* (1962), figs. 40–41.

[121] Filliozat, "Sur le Çivaisme et le Bouddhisme du Cambodge, à propos de deux livres récents" (1981).

[122] The term *vimāya* appears in a southern Indian text of about 1300 as an epithet of Śiva (*Kuñcitāṅghristava*, stanza 272: Smith, *The Dance of Śiva* [1996], pp. 21, 243; translated "illusion-free").

[123] Prasat Phong Tuk (i.e., Prasat Phnom Penh 262), photographs of a lintel and of a guardian or Tantric *krodha* (Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokiteśvara* [1984], pl. 158), taken by Yves Coffin.

One of the inscriptions most relevant to the temple is a fragmentary one found within the temple compound, bearing a date equivalent to A. D. 1041 (K. 953). Although it is unlikely that any of the main temple dates from that period, a brick and stucco ruin probably does.[124] On one face of this inscription there is a stanza invoking Śiva, who is both unique and multiple; on the other side is a verse praising the Buddha in comparable terms: though nondual, he has four bodies, as if in fear of the four Māra (*catuṣkāyaś caturmmārabhayād iva*). The inscription lends itself to the hypothesis that the main image, the lord Vimāya, is the nondual Buddha, and that his four bodies are represented on four of the lintels: on the outer southern lintel he conquers *devaputra* Māra, Māra as he appeared to the Buddha at the time of the enlightenment; and on the western, northern, and eastern lintels he conquers the remaining three Māra, evil (*kleśa*), the aggregates that form the personality (*skandha*), and death (*mṛtyu*).[125] It is conceivable that the name Vimāya has a double meaning and is intended to convey both this uniqueness and this multiplicity: on the one hand it is "the one free from illusion," but it may also be "the one manifesting various illusions."[126]

On the inner western lintel (pl. 44), the Buddha stands between two trees. He wears a metal belt with pendants, and older photographs show his head and diadem. His hands, long disappeared, presumably executed *vitarka-mudrā* with both hands. To the Buddha's right a man with Brahmanical hairbun crouches, his hand holding a bell (*ghaṇṭā*) in front of the tree. Many of the attendant figures hold vessels—some cylindrical, some in the form of half-seated ani-

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[124] Anuwit, *Bæ̂p khrong sâng* (1981), pp. 175–76.

[125] Using the inscription of Pr. Prah Khset of A. D. 1167 (K. 237), Nandana Chutiwongs proposed viewing the lintels as embodying aspects of the Buddha according to the following scheme: Viṣṇu (inner southern lintel, with nāga-protected Buddha); Buddha (W), Brahmā (N); and Śiva (E). See *Iconography of Avalokiteśvara* (1984), p. 390, n. 86.

[126] For a discussion of *vimāya*, Woodward, "Studies" (1975), 1:64 (and n. 122 above). In accordance with his understanding of the meaning of the term *kamrateṅ jagat*, Claude Jacques has written, "This 'god of Vimaya'—the old name for Phimai—has often been taken to indicate the name of the Buddha statue supposedly at the center, but this is highly unlikely. He appears in fact to be the guardian of the city and apparently stood in the exact center of the southern entrance pavilion, while the central god, whether ot not he was the Buddha, would have been of Indian origin" (Jacques, *Angkor: Cities and Temples* [1997], p. 150). He does not suggest a possible form for this "guardian." The Preah Khan stele (K. 908, st. 159) refers to the *sugata* Vimāya, supporting identification as the Buddha.

mals, some in the form of a *kuṇḍikā*. In a lower register there are three dancers and numerous musicians. The rhythmic precision and complexity in the dancing and moving figures, and the textural differentiation apparent in the relationship of the Buddha to the trees that frame him, are comparable to what can be seen in the ornament of the temple as a whole (pl. 43). If a Māra is being conquered here, as has been suggested, it may be the Māra death. The two trees evoke the twin trees that stood on either side of the couch upon which the Buddha lay at the time of his passing into nirvana at Kusinara. The vessels held by the members of the court may allude to some sort of funerary rite. The Buddhist inscription of Bat Cum (A. D. 953, K. 268) says that the Buddha, who has exterminated Māra the enemy king by the detachment that rises from *samādhi*, just as fire rises from a funerary pyre, shines and rejoices as a supreme king (*adhirāja*) in the splendid palace of nirvana. The stanza pulls together the themes of the defeat of Māra and funerary rites; even more importantly, it presents an image—that of Buddha as supreme king in the palace of nirvana—that accounts for the royal attire.[127]

An unfinished lintel at Phimai (pl. 45)—its original destination unknown—can be interpreted in such a way as to strengthen funerary associations of the western lintel and of the monument as a whole.[128] The crowned Buddhas of the upper register should be identified as cosmic Buddhas, gathered temporarily at this spot from the different points of space. On the lower register is a group of human figures, some male, some female. The most important personage lies prostrate on the ground, his arms outstretched. Two kneeling female figures behind him tenderly caress his legs. Perhaps they are his wives. Two men, closer to the center of the lintel, make offerings. A horizontal bar separates the two realms, the human and the transcendent. At the center of the lintel, however, there is a link between the realms, in the form of the nāga coils that support a figure of the Buddha, an uncrowned Buddha. So the nāga, it could be said, lifts the Buddha out of the worldly realm into the heavenly.

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[127] Cœdès drew attention to the relevance of the term *adhirāja* to the problem of Buddhas in royal attire in *Bronzes khmèrs* (1923), p. 39.

[128] For a technical discussion, Pichard, "Notes dur quelques ouvrages inachevées à Pimai et à Panom Rung" (1974), where illustrated as figs. 9–10. For a discussion of some of the meaning of the nāga in traditional thought, Davis, *Muang Metaphysics* (1984), pp. 224–30 (writing about Upagupta).

Beneath the nāga there is a bird, which seems to be supporting the serpent, pushing its coils into the upper register. Then there is a vessel, perhaps of bronze, with an elaborate spout, and something coming out of the spout, something that might in fact be a flame emerging from a lamp, a flame that at the top is crooked, as it turns and touches the middle of the nāga's three coils. One possible interpretation is that the bird and the nāga are imaginary but the vessel with its flame, like the important personage presenting it, is real. What is depicted is the lighting of a funeral pyre. The Buddha is really the soul of the deceased, and the imaginary bird and nāga carry this soul aloft to join the transcendent Buddhas.

Such a highly speculative interpretation leads to the general notion that the nāga can be considered a means of transport to a heavenly realm. The unfinished lintel—regardless of where it was originally intended to stand—would have complemented the funerary theme of the western lintel. This lintel, however, may embody other themes, important for the role of the royally attired Buddha in subsequent centuries. When George Cœdès discussed the lintel in 1923, he suggested that it be interpreted as representing a legend found in later Lao, Cambodian, Thai, and Burmese literature, that of King Jambūpatī, a heretic king who is finally converted by the appearance of the Buddha as king of a magically created city.[129] In some ways the single stanza in the Bat Cum inscription seems to apply to the lintel more satisfactorily. At the same time, however, it makes sense to think of the Jambūpatī tale—which is very much the tale of a conquest—as also one which perhaps in an earlier form was part of the Phimai milieu. As the crowned Buddha spread as an iconic type in the twelfth century, it did not carry with it all the deities of Phimai's esoteric Buddhism. But a story much like the Jambūpatī tale must have traveled with the images of the Buddha in royal attire.

Even though the stanza from the Bat Cum inscription appears relevant to the Phimai lintel, to what degree Phimai Buddhism is descended from that of Bat Cum is not known. One issue is the matter of fourfold relationships, as found—apparently—among the

[129] Cœdès's comments appear in Seidenfaden, "Excursion" (1923), p. 14. On the Jambūpatī legend, see also Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), pp. 79, 212, 219, 233, and references. For a somewhat different approach, Fickle, "Crowned Buddha Images in Southeast Asia" (1974) and Fickle, "The Pointed-Crown Buddhas of Thirteenth-Century Central Thailand" (1997).

lintels of Phimai, and triadic systems. The Bat Cum inscriptions (K. 266–68) invoke triads consisting of the Buddha, Vajrapāṇi, and either Lokeśvara or Prajñāpāramitā; to what extent the Buddhists who worshiped these triads should be distinguished from worshipers of the Beng Vien triad—Buddha, Prajñāpāramitā, and Lokeśvara—has not be determined. Similarly, the connection between these systems, the later Phimai developments, and the sophisticated esoteric Buddhism found in the Cham inscription of An-thai (A. D. 902) is not clear.[130]

A tenth- or early eleventh-century stele that may have been made in the Phimai region can be understood as mediating between threefold and fourfold systems.[131] On one side is a nāga-protected Buddha, on the other an eight-armed Lokeśvara; on the narrower faces appear a four-armed Lokeśvara, to the nāga-protected Buddha's right, and Vajrapāṇi, to his left. It is possible, therefore, to take the four-armed Lokeśvara, the nāga-protected Buddha, and the Vajrapāṇi as representing a standard triad. Beneath all these deities are female figures, and so the stele has a strong Tantric cast. In addition to this and other four-sided steles, an inscription of A. D. 1026 (K. 230) provides evidence of the existence of groups of four deities.[132] Whatever the extent of the indebtedness of Phimai to earlier Cambodian Buddhism, however, the complexity and specificity of the "Vajrasattva" and "Samvara" lintels on the north and west indicate that fresh outside influences were a significant factor.

Why was the Dvāravatī type of double gesture borrowed for the Buddha of the western lintel? If the associations with death and with quasi-resurrection as supreme king in the palace of nirvana are valid, then it may be that the image type was that of certain memorial sculptures important for familial reasons to the builders of the temple. (There are other lintels with standing crowned Buddhas, sometimes in a row of seven, but their original location is not known.) Archaeological excavation at Phimai indicates that in the upper layers Khmer glazed wares were mixed with the Phimai black ware that had been characteristic of the area since perhaps sometime in

[130] On the An-thai inscription, Boisselier, *Statuaire du Champa* (1963), pp. 121–22; Mabbett, "Buddhism in Champa" (1986), pp. 300–303.

[131] Subhadradis, "Bai sêmâ salak/Three carved stone slabs of Lopburi style" (1975); Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokitésvara* (1984), pp. 340, 344, 380–81, and pl. 118.

[132] For other references to systems of four, Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokitésvara* (1984), p. 334.

the early first millennium (above, p. 18).[133] In other words, the building of Khmer-style temple at Phimai did not involve the displacement of local people or the eradication of the local culture. The Buddha of the western lintel is a tenuous but equally significant link with these regional traditions.[134]

Bronzes recovered at or near Phimai include a Tantric Buddhist deity in the dance pose of *pratyālīḍha*, with *vajrahūṃkāra-mudrā* (pl. 46A).[135] There are reasons for believing it to be a form of Trailokyavijaya, the *krodha* mentioned in one of the Phimai inscriptions (K. 397).[136] The fullness of the upper torso of this figure suggests that it is really a Baphuon-style figure, perhaps datable to about the third quarter of the eleventh century and therefore older than the major part of the temple itself. An interesting feature is the string necklace, which also appears on certain Buddhist dancing female partners that may well be the product of the same milieu.[137] Perhaps the necklace type is derived from northern India and can be taken as evidence for the spread of Tantric concepts in the middle decades of the eleventh century, exactly at the same time Tantric masters were moving from the Pāla monastic centers to Tibet.

Technical analyses of both the bronze alloys and of the clay cores may clarify the extent to which a local Phimai workshop had unique practices. Of especial interest is the question of mercury-gilded bronzes: where they were made, for how long a period, and whether the technique was introduced from Pāla India, Java, or elsewhere. Some Buddhist bronzes which have been associated with Phimai appear

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[133] B. A. V. Peacock, oral communication, July, 1971. Cf. Welch and McNeill, "Excavations at Ban Tamyae and Non Ban Kham, Phimai Region, Northeast Thailand" (1988–89).

[134] For the question of pillars to support lights in Dvāravatī and at Phimai, Brown, "The Dvāravatī 'Dharmacakras'" (1981), p. 229.

[135] Bowie (ed.), *Sculpture of Thailand* (1972), no. 32, p. 69.

[136] For the same reasons the figure on a Pāla plaque in the National Museum, New Delhi, with the same iconography, has been identified as Trailokyavijaya: Saraswati, *Tantrayāna Art: an Album.* (1977), no. 178, pp. LXIV–LXV. For a full account, Rob Linrothe, *Ruthless Compassion* (1999), pp. 178–213.

[137] Boeles, "Two Yoginīs" (1966), figs. 2, 3, 11. For a comparable string necklace on a Buddha image attributed to eleventh-century Phimai, *Eighty Works in the University of Michigan Museum of Art* (1979), no. 23. For a string necklace among Jhewari bronzes, Huntington, *The "Pāla-Sena" Schools of Sculpture* (1984), fig. 260. The dancing female figures in Cœdès, *Bronzes khmèrs* (1923), pl. XIX, 1 (also Boisselier, *Heritage* [1975], fig. 82, p. 119) and pl. XIX, 3 (also Pal, *The Sensuous Immortals* [1977], no. 150, p. 246) are stylistically related to the Hevajra specified in note 139.

to provide evidence for the persistence of a local tradition dating back some centuries. One of the bronze altarpieces that with some confidence can be placed very early in a sequence that was produced from the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries (and possibly later) is illustrated in pl. 46B. It was said to have been found at Phimai and may be assigned a date of ca. 1100. The general model is Pāla: a stylized Bodhi tree appears at the top; the aureole is round-arched, bordered by a pair of moldings and flattened leaves; the standing Buddha is a Phimai transformation of the Dvāravatī iconic type, with both of the Buddha's hands in *vitarka-mudrā*, but with a ribbed crown, necklace, and jeweled belt with pendants. The Buddha stands on a round pedestal, framed by a cut-out base, both resting on a lower supporting base having a middle frieze of supporting lions. A standing image with close stylistic ties to this Buddha, in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, was discovered to be made of an alloy of 80% copper, 22% tin, and 6% lead.[138] The very high level of tin suggests that the workshop descended from that responsible for the Prakhon Chai bronzes and that the elevated amount of lead is be a feature distinguishing the local tradition from that of the capital.

The bronze workshops associable with Phimai may be said to have had a dual offspring, but in neither case can the details of the lineages be traced, and the story has to be picked up again at some point in the second half of the twelfth century. One tradition was that of Tantric images. A celebrated Hevajra, for instance, whose body is twisted in a manner much like that of Kṛṣṇa on a Phimai lintel, came to the Bangkok National Museum from Battambang province in Cambodia.[139] This may or may not mean that bronze-casters active at Phimai moved elsewhere after 1113. The other legacy consists of altarpieces, with either a seated or a standing crowned Buddha. The first tradition was Tantric, the second Hīnayāna. As the official art of the Sūryavarman II period was predominantly Brahmanical, and the amount of Buddhist art produced is not known, the immediate fate of Phimai's bronze workshops is obscure.

[138] Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), cat. no. 18, p. 89.

[139] Bowie (ed.), *Sculpture of Thailand* (1972), no. 35, p. 73; also Cœdès, *Bronzes khmèrs* (1923), pl. XXX.

The Age of Sūryavarman II

It was in many ways the political disunity of the kingdom that made Phimai possible. Jayavarman VI and Dharaṇīndravarman may not have ruled over all of Cambodia, but their successor, Sūryavarman II, who removed his great uncle Dharaṇīndravarman from the throne in 1113, most certainly did. Once again Angkor became the focus of activity, and in creating Angkor Wat, Sūryavarman outbuilt all his predecessors. This concentration of power was once again followed by a period of weakness at the center, however, for after Sūryavarman II's death sometime around 1150 Dharaṇīndravarman II was unable to maintain the firm guiding hand of his predecessor. The relationship between center and periphery is exemplified by the missions from Lo-hu (Lavo, Lopburi) to China. The mission of 1115 must have occurred while Sūryavarman was in the process of reuniting the kingdom, an attempt by Lavo to see if independence could be maintained through diplomacy. The mission of 1155 evidently took place after Sūryavarman's death; it may be understood as a declaration of independence.[140]

In the case of Brahmanical shrines, the evidence suggests that 1113 was in no way a watershed. One of the inscriptions of Vat Phu, for instance, provides support for cultural continuity: it first describes activities of Jayavarman VI in A. D. 1103, and goes on to state that an image was erected in the *vraḥ prāṅ* in A. D. 1132 (K. 366). Along the Angkor–Phimai route, the major construction was at Phanom Rung, a long-established sacred site. Whether construction of the main temple there spans the Jayavarman VI–Dharanīndravarman–Sūryavarman II periods, or dates entirely from the reign of Sūryavarman II, however, has not been determined.

Prâsât Khao Phanom Rung is a tower-sanctuary with antechamber, much like Phimai in plan but distinguished from Phimai by its Brahmanical orientation, its dramatic hilltop setting, and its elevated causeway and monumental stair. Many elements suggest stylistic continuity with the Buddhist temple; the entablatures at both sites, for instance, are similar in organization, and both are developments of the scheme at Prasat Khna Sen Kev. Independent sculptures, such as the half-seated door guardians and stone slabs with directional

[140] Cœdès, *Les Etats* (1964), p. 298.

deities in relief, can be understood almost entirely in terms of the Phimai heritage.

Adding interest and complexity to the story of Phanom Rung is a group of inscriptions, some of which were uncovered in the course of the restorations that were carried out from 1977 until 1988.[141] One inscription (Phanom Rung 8) appears to record the deposit—possibly by Sūryavarman II himself—of gold-plate images, including one of the dancing Śiva, in a foundation stone. Another inscription was found in two sections, the top part (K. 384) observed in the nineteenth century, the bottom (K. 384 *bis*) uncovered in 1972. The author of this inscription was Hiraṇya, who in the Sūryavarman II period erected a golden image of his father and teacher Narendrāditya (K. 384). This Narendrāditya, a cousin or nephew of Sūryavarman II, initially had a military career and then retired to Phanom Rung as a Śaiva guru adhering to Paśupata doctrines. Conceivably an interior lintel at the temple depicts Narendrāditya's consecration as a Śaiva hermit, flanked by the followers who have accompanied him from Angkor.[142]

Prâsât Phanom Rung may surely be considered Narendrāditya's temple, but whether it was established by him, for him, or in memory of him remains unclear, as is the question as to whether he was a man with deep roots in the area or something of an interloper at the time of his arrival. The sculptural imagery that supports the Śaiva orientation is found on three key axial pediments: the first, at the eastern entrance gopura, depicts Śiva Dakṣiṇamūrti (as if Nārendraditya were an embodiment of Śiva the teacher); the second, at the entrance to the antechamber porch, bears the dancing Śiva; and the third, an upper pediment at the entrance to the antechamber proper, has been identified as an enthroned Śiva and Umā blessing the *asuras*.[143] Pediments on the southern and western faces also bear Śaiva themes, and rows of *ṛṣis* appear on the interior.

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[141] See the list at the end of "Inscriptions Cited," p. 234 below. Unfortunately the existence of two separate numbering systems, both beginning with the letters *BR*, makes for ambiguity. The book *Prâsât Phanom Rung* (1988) is filled with fine color illustrations. See also Smitthi and Moore, *Palaces of the Gods* (1992), pp. 267–305.

[142] Suriyavudh, *Prâsât Khao Phanom Rung* (1992), pp. 326–28. This speculation derives from the unpublished Silpakorn University thesis of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

[143] Suriyavudh, *Prâsât Khao Phanom Rung* (1992), p. 265. The identifications that follow all come from this book. For the sojourn of the reclining Viṣṇu lintel in the U. S. A., Munsterberg, *Sculpture of the Orient* (1972), p. 54; for the return, *Prâsât Phanom Rung* (1988), p. 103.

Below the dancing Śiva of the principal pediment is a lintel depicting the Viṣṇu Anantāśāyin (pl. 47), making a juxtaposition of the creation and destruction of the world. This lintel is at once powerfully tense, because of the poised serpent and the foliage, and gentle, because of the goddesses' caressing hands. Viṣṇuite subject matter, primarily in the form of scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa, in fact dominates the remaining exterior pediments and lintels. Viṣṇu Trivikrama also appears, as does Kṛṣṇa—in combat, supporting Govardhana, and killing Kaṃsa. Indra is shown on a few lintels; the Mahābhārata makes a very limited appearance; and the directional deities can be seen on antefixes. There are echoes of Phimai, in the presence of the dancing Śiva on the principal axial pediment and in the role of the Rāmāyaṇa. Open questions include whether the inner lintels were intended to have a privileged function (as at Phimai), how to understand the relationship to contemporary imagery at Angkor, and whether the combination of Śaiva subjects with the Rāmāyaṇa scenes is intended to allude to the consecutive stages of Nārendrāditya's career.

The impressive nāga bridge or elevated terrace at the foot of the grand staircase leading to the Phanom Rung sanctuary may be later than the sanctuary itself.[144] The terminating nāgas have crowns (or borders) consisting of narrow registers of shallowly incised decor.[145] This feature also characterizes nāgas found at the Angkor Wat–style temple of Beng Mealea.[146] As can be seen in pl. 48A, the terminating nāgas of the pediments on the sanctuary tower also have these bands of shallow decor (as do the nāga antefixes), but they are sandwiched between the nāga heads and the robust border of leaves. At Phimai only a molding separates the leaves from the heads. Such details hint at a chronological sequence, and at a stretched-out but unbroken period of construction.

Two other important monuments apparently also belong to the decades around the beginning of Sūryavarman's reign. They share a significant motif—the entrance-flanking pillars displaying on one

[144] Subhadradis, "Kamnot 'âyu Prâsât Hin Phanom Rung" (1974), pp. 241–42. Illustrated, Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), pl. XIII, 2.

[145] Illus., ibid., pl. LV, 2; *Report of the Survey . . . 1960–1961* (1967), fig. 2.

[146] Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), pl. LV, 3; Coral-Rémusat, *L'Art khmer* (1951), fig. 135. Boundary stones at Phanom Rung and Beṅ Mâlâ are also similar: Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), p. 200.

face a guardian, on the other a *devatā* garbed in a manner associated with the Angkor Wat style.[147] At the three brick towers of Prâsât Prâng Kû (Sisaket province) lintels evoke (or did evoke, before most of the stone elements were removed) the earlier eleventh-century style but include dancers and architectural elements of a sort found at Phimai.[148] On lintels at the quincunx of brick towers at Prâsât Sikhǫ̂raphum (Surin province), the integration of the foliate tradition with Phimai's two-registered figuration is achieved differently: below, a bold dancer is flanked by scrolling foliage while the upper third consists of an arcade containing figures.[149] As for freestanding Brahmanical sculpture in northeastern Thailand during the Sūryavarman II period, very likely certain local workshops, with regional characteristics, remained active.[150]

Buddhist Traditions

If all the resources were flowing toward Angkor, where there was a demand for craftsmen, and if the imperial art of the time was overwhelmingly Brahmanical, then there may in fact be little provincial Buddhist art to describe during the reign of Sūryavarman himself. That may be an accurate picture, but it is by no means a certain one, for it depends on judgments of chronology that are simply too subtle.

In the region around Angkor the only Buddhist sanctuary that may date from the time of Sūryavarman is Prasat Sasar Sdam, where a shrine held a stone stūpa.[151] A lintel depicts the assault of Māra, but the army is dispersed among scrolling foliage, in a manner typical of other lintels of the Angkor Wat period.[152] The members of the army, however, are in style similar to figures on the *māravijaya* lintel of Phimai, or to the figures on a bronze image base that shows

[147] Another pillar of this sort was photographed by Srisakra Vallibhotama at Wat Supat in Ubon and presumably came from a temple in the area.

[148] *Report of the Survey . . . 1960–1961* (1967), figs. 79–83.

[149] Ibid., figs. 55–64 and Smitthi and Moore, *Palaces of the Gods* (1992), pp. 218–25.

[150] A presumed example is Prâsât Hin Bân Kathin (Chok Chai district, Nakhon Ratchasima), *Survey and Excavations*, vol. 1, figs. 15–16.

[151] "Chronique," *BEFEO* 37 (1937), p. 363 and pl. C. Prasat Sasar Sdam lies 10–15 kms. east of Roluos.

[152] Marchal, *Le décor et la sculpture khmèrs* (1951), fig. 89.

the army attacking on one side of the Buddha and paying homage on the other.[153] There is nothing Tantric at Prasat Sasar Sdam, and nothing at Phimai like the Prasat Sasar Sdam stūpa. It has been suggested that the monolithic columns that surround the stūpa are Sinhalese in inspiration.[154] If that is the case, various schools of Buddhism must have been developing within Cambodia as a result of direct contacts abroad. Somewhat similarly, knowledge of scenes like the cutting of the Bodhisattva's hair, depicted at Beng Mealea if not during Sūryavarman's reign then immediately thereafter, need not have reached central Cambodia via the Thai provinces but through some other route.[155]

Phimai did not give rise to other Tantric Buddhist temples, at least not in the Sūryavarman period. Some significant Buddhist stone sculptures have been found in the Northeast, but their chronological position and relationship to architectural remains are hard to fix: one is a Lokeśvara found at Prâsât Tâ Mụ̂an Thom;[156] another is a crowned nāga-protected Buddha from Kû Santarat, Maha Sarakham.[157] Such artifacts tend to have a floating character that is even more of a concern in looking at central Siam—not merely in the obvious case of bronzes, but with stone sculpture as well. The three nāga-protected Buddhas illustrated in pls. 52–54, each assignable to the "Angkor Wat style," can be used to illustrate some of the issues. The first two could well predate 1113 while the third might belong to the third quarter of the century. In the stele in Suphanburi from Wat Khao, said to be made of green stone (pl. 52),[158] there is a sophisticated unfolding of forms—the forehead wrapped by the diadem, the *uṣṇīṣa* that spreads out to fill the diadem, the hood that frames the head and crown while also filling the space of the niche, the undulant curves of the "architectural" parts matching in rhythm the curves of the "natural" serpent hood. If this is a work that was carved locally, it suggests the movement of a highly trained sculp-

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[153] Norton Simon Foundation. Illus. Woodward, "The Bàyon-Period Buddha Image" (1979), fig. 5.

[154] Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokitésvara* (1984), p. 312.

[155] Boisselier, "Bĕṅ Mãlã" (1952), pp. 217–18.

[156] Subhadradis, *Sinlapa samai Lopburî* (1967), fig. 16; Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokitésvara* (1984), pl. 127; Čhanyâ, "Khộ sangket kiokap 'Awalokitêsuan sî kộn sinlapa Lopburî" (1975); *Sculptures From Thailand* (1982), no. 16.

[157] Illustrated *Nam chom phiphitthaphan sathân hæ̂ng chât Khộn Kæ̂n* (1972).

[158] *MBJ* 10, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1984), p. 46.

tor to an unidentified urban center somewhere in the Suphanburi region around the early twelfth century. It rests isolated as a work of stone sculpture, and although it is possible to imagine it as standing at the head of a series of twelfth-century bronze images produced in the Suphanburi region, no sequence of bronzes that would span the entire century has ever been assembled.[159]

The second sculpture is the exquisite sandstone nāga-protected Buddha from Ta Phraya district, Prachinburi province, along the modern border (pl. 53). This is a region so long integrated into the Khmer kingdom that there is no point in looking for regional features.[160] There are some particularities that suggest a date slightly later than that of the Suphanburi stele: the coils are both graded and thicker, and between the necks on the hood narrow bands of scales appear, whereas the hood in the Suphanburi stele, consisting merely of overlapping necks, has a treatment inherited from the eleventh century. Other differences may be considered personal ones: the sculptor of the freestanding image is less concerned with making the parts fit together in an intimate way, and so the *uṣṇīṣa* is narrower, the shoulders squarer, and the eyebrows have a degree of relief. The result is an image of considerable individuality.

The third nāga-protected Buddha, seen in pl. 54, is much better known. It makes the first two images look quite similar. The coils are much thickened; the scales and the necks now vie with one another on an equal basis; and the medallions on the neck are halved—a "Lopburi school" feature of significance. The Buddha wears a solid crown that curves down at the temples, rather than a flexible metal diadem. A lengthening process seems to have occurred, affecting not only the *uṣṇīṣa* and the earrings but the face as well, bringing a loss of the sense of spherical volumes, and an increase in the degree to which facial features can be perceived as separate units. Unfortunately, it is not known where this image, which was brought to Bangkok from Ayutthaya, was made. The stone has been identified as granite, found both in the hills that supply Khorat-series sand-

[159] Bronzes discovered in Suphanburi province are collected in two remarkable and important books by Manat Ôphâkun, *Phra kru Mŷang Suphan* (1963) and *Phra Mŷang Suphanburî* (1969). See also *Sinlapa bôrânwatthu Suphanburî* (1967), a guide to a loan exhibition at the U Thong National Museum.

[160] For eleventh- and twelfth-century works from Aranyaprathet district, Subhadradis, *Sinlapa samai Lopburî* (1967), figs. 20 (Prâsât Khao Sa Čhæ̂ng Dongrak), 36 (male torso, Suan Pakkad Palace), and 42 (Śiva from Prâsât Nǫ̂ng Khû).

stone and in western Siam.[161] Regardless of how it stands to the first two nāga-protected Buddhas geographically, chronologically it must stand at a certain distance, and it is more likely to date from the period following the reign of Sūryavarman II than from the reign itself.

A certain number of sandstone images of the nāga-protected Buddha bearing crowns and more-or-less conforming to the Angkor Wat–style type have been found in Lopburi. They too might date from the time following the death of Sūyavarman II, especially if this was the period in which the Mahâthât was conceived and started to take form (p. 223). It has also been suggested that stone workshops were not active in Lopburi until the 1190s, when stone images were carved based on lost wooden examples of the previous decades.[162] At any rate, the production of Buddhist bronzes following Angkor Wat traditions in the Suphanburi and Lopburi regions during the second half of the twelfth century must be presupposed. One example might be the bronze nāga-protected Buddha seen in pl. 55, with upper-torso modeling reminiscent of the early Angkor Wat style (pl. 53) and facial proportions something like those in pl. 54, but with three tiered coils that gradually swell more dramatically than those in pl. 54. A mat has been placed upon the topmost coil, and the crowning pedestal is ornamented with medallions.

Phimai can be connected architecturally to the central plains via Si Thep. As Si Thep was—apparently—a constantly occupied town, it has the potential of yielding a continuous record from Dvāravatī times into the thirteenth century. Be that as it may, one of its two best-preserved sanctuary-towers, known as Prâng Sî Thêp (pl. 50A), must be brought into a relationship with Phimai, for it develops certain elements that had come into prominence there: one is the configuration of the shaft of the body of the temple, with multiple re-entry angles rising to the main cornice; the other is the role of basement stories, which lift the sanctuary high off the ground. (Of course Prâng Sî Thêp is considerably smaller than Phimai.) Prâng Sî Thêp is built of both laterite and brick, the latter, according to Anuwit Charernsupkul, recalling in technique that of older structures such as Thât Phanom and Prâng Khæ̂k, Lopburi.[163] It is a monument that can

[161] I thank Mr. S. L. Rieb.

[162] Woodward, "Some Buddha Images," p. 161 and figs. 2 and 3.

[163] Anuwit, "Kân kamnot 'âyu prâng thî Mų̂ang Sî Thêp" (1979). For Si Thep, see also Mirâ, "Lakthân mai čhâk kân khut khon thî Sî Thêp" (1984); Thidâ, "Sî

be seen as a precursor of Wat Mahâthât in Lopburi (pl. 51), which is similarly characterized by a shaft of multiple re-entrant angles and a basement of even greater height. The connection gives rise to the speculation that the Lopburi Mahâthât originally took shape in the twelfth century, perhaps in the decades following Sûryavarman's reign.[164] The stucco lintel incorporated into the fabric of the Mahâthât (pl. 50B) can be understood as dependent on Si Thep stone lintels of the period (either the late eleventh or the first half of the twelfth century), sharing with them the unusual trait of the presence of three tiers of scrolling leaves below the horizontal branch.

The period following the death of Sūryavarman II around 1150 was crucial for subsequent developments in Thailand, for it was yet another period of weakness at Angkor.[165] If the Lopburi Mahâthât, with its stucco lintel, took form in this period, then it is easy to understand why the monument should have become a pivotal point of focus in the thirteenth century. Even when the post-Sūryavarman period is filled with specific concrete evidence—a key inscription—rather than with mere speculation, however, the kind of history that emerges is shadowy and murky. On Sunday, February 5, 1167, the great king (*mahārāja*) Aśoka presented gifts to a relic (*braḥ śariradhātu*, for *śarīradhātu*) installed in a monument at Dhanyapura, a town now known as the site of Dong Mae Nang Muang in Nakhon Sawan province, where the inscription describing the gifts was discovered (K. 966). This relic had the same name—Śrī Dharmāśoka—as the king himself. What did this mean? Perhaps that the king gave his personal name to a relic of the Buddha, or perhaps that the relic consisted of the remains of a former king, also called Aśoka, which his successor installed at Dhanyapura. There are several good reasons for favoring the latter interpretation. Dvāravatī ceramic reliquaries or urns found in Nakhon Sawan province (fig. 17c) and the

Thêp khų̂ Sî Čhanâsa" (1985); Anuwit, "Khrông kân 'uthayân prawatsât Sî Thêp" (1987). For the lintel from Prâng Sộng Phî Nộng, Suriyavudh, *Thap lang nai Prathêt Thai/Stone Lintels in Thailand* (1988), pp. 66–67 ("early 12th century"); Smitthi and Mayurie, *Lintels: A Comparative Study of Khmer Lintels in Thailand and Cambodia* (1990), no. 119, pp. 152–53 ("12th century").

[164] This scenario was proposed in Woodward, "Thailand and Cambodia" (1995).

[165] However, Claude Jacques proposed a connection between Angkor and Lopburi ("Lavodaya") in 1165, based on a new reading of stanza 108 in the southwest Prasat Chrung inscription (K. 288): see Jacques, "Khmers in Thailand" (1989), pp. 22–23 and Boisselier, "La royauté Khmère dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle" (1987–88), p. 121n.

presence of skeletons by stūpas at Dong Mae Nang Muang both suggest that stūpas served a funerary function,[166] and chronicles from the peninsula provide evidence for the use of Dharmāśoka as an inherited title.[167]

One face of the inscription recording the gift is in Pāli, the other in Khmer. On the one hand, the use of Khmer provides evidence for Cambodian cultural penetration; on the other hand, the content of the inscription and its archaeological setting argue for the continued strength of indigenous political and religious institutions. Khmer-type artifacts, according to Fine Arts Department surveys of 1956 and 1966–67, were conspicuously absent at Dong Mae Nang Muang. Instead, here were brick stūpa bases of Dvāravatī type, Dvāravatī-type bronze Buddha images (a number standing, with right hand raised, left lowered), some terracotta fragments, and a stone image of the Buddha standing between two attendants.[168] Except for the language of the inscription, Dhanyapura was apparently largely untouched by Khmer culture. There may, however, have been some contact with Haripuñjaya: at Čhêdî 5, at which the inscription was found, a votive tablet was uncovered showing the Buddha with a pointed crown.

King Dharmāśoka did not reside at Dhanyapura, and there is some question about where his kingdom lay. If all or part of his predecessor's remains were installed at Dhanyapura, then he is likely to have had familial ties of some sort with the town. Lopburi is a possible capital; it was independent in A. D. 1155, not long after Sūryavarman II's death (if it is correct to assume that "Chen-la Lo-hu," which sent the 1155 mission to China, meant "the Lopburi in or near Cambodia").[169] Haripuñjaya is another possibility, as is Nakhon Si Thammarat, where the name or title Dharmāśokarāja was in use. It may also be that a Dvāravatī-successor kingdom was able to estab-

[166] Fine Arts Department reports on Dong Mae Nang Muang are in three folders, one of 2499–2501 B. E., and two of 2509.

[167] Wyatt (trans.), *The Crystal Sands* (1975), pp. 29, 94–95; the Phatthalung chronicles, as cited in *Prachum silâ čhārųk*, vol. 3, p. 17.

[168] Finds are illustrated in Nakhộn, "Khao Kalộn læ̂ng bôrânkhadî" (1993). On the site, see also Wyatt, "Relics, Oaths, and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Siam" (2001).

[169] Wolters, "Tambralinga" (1958), p. 605; Wolters, "Chên-li-fu" (1960), p. 18; Cœdès, "Nouvelles données" (1958), p. 142, n. 39.

lish itself in this period, with a capital at Nakhon Pathom or somewhere in Suphanburi province.

Ideologically speaking, the most significant clue provided by the Dong Mae Nang Muang inscription may be the use of Aśoka as a personal name. At one point in the Nakhon Si Thammarat chronicles, the local Aśoka is able to recover relics long buried in the earth. His legacy from the Buddha, in other words, consists not just of the relic but of the right to uncover the relic. Its possession by the king gives him a right over the soil, a right that has been willed to him by the Buddha. The king's power—over the soil, over the local spirits, and over the populace—derives from circumstances that situate him clearly both in time—at a certain distance from the historical Buddha—and in space, upon ground sacralized by the Buddha's relics. His legitimacy rests on grounds different from that assumed by the rulers of Angkor or Phimai.

CHAPTER FOUR

CREATING A NEW ORDER

The last great phase of Cambodian dominance coincides with the reign of Jayavarman VII, who came to the throne in 1181 and died at an unknown date between 1206 and 1220.[1] Subsequently, the dominant Buddhism was a different sort, characterized by a bundle of iconographic traits I shall call Ariya ("Noble"). Some understanding of the Ariya movement helps give shape to the thirteenth century, especially because epigraphical evidence and dated buildings or objects are so few and far between. Ariya ideology can be understood in various ways: as a reaction against Jayavarman VII's imperial pretensions; as a continuation of trends that can be detected in the decades before the monarch's ascension, when there was weakness at the capital and when such evidence as the Dong Mae Nang Muang inscription of 1167 reveals beliefs quite opposed to those of Angkor; as a "Mon" resurgence; and as an attempt to create an order that would sound the death knell for such traditional Angkorian practices as the composition of royal Sanskrit inscriptions and the building of monumental stone temple-tombs. This chapter will take a regional approach, circling through Thailand and introducing the themes of ideological change again and again, and close with a focus on the central plain, prior to the establishment of a new Buddhist identity at Sukhothai in the middle decades of the fourteenth century, and to the foundation of the city of Ayutthaya in 1351.

The strands in Jayavarman VII's Buddhism were many. At the core lay a triad that had been worshiped in the tenth century, consisting of Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara), the Buddha, and Prajñāpāramitā, a triad that Jayavarman saw in familial terms—identifying his father and mother with the flanking couple, the two producing Jayavarman just as compassion and wisdom together engender enlightenment.[2]

[1] For the date of Jayavarman's death, Jacques, *Angkor: Cities and Temples* (1997), p. 277.

[2] Woodward, "Tantric Buddhism at Angkor Thom" (1981), p. 58.

The standard icon is the nāga-protected Buddha. The Bodhisattva Lokeśvara could—as at Banteay Chmar—become a supreme cosmic savior, and beginning in about the last decade of the twelfth century he was featured on temple pediments.[3] The cult of the healing Buddha, Bhaiṣajyaguru, was the stimulus for Jayavarman's construction of hospitals throughout his empire. Meanwhile, Tantric elements were also present—elements that apparently formed an esoteric but congruent aspect of the dominant triad.[4] In addition, there was a consciousness of basic elements in Buddhist cosmology; this interest led to the creation at Neak Pean of a Lake Anavatapta, source of the sacred rivers, and to a view of the Bayon as a re-creation of the palace of the god Indra.[5]

In interpreting the faces of the towers of the Bayon, scholars have sought explanations that accord with one or another of these different strands. In one view, the faces represent the Buddha, or the Buddha in Tantric manifestations—*vajra* aspects conquering and guarding.[6] According to another view, in the words of Nandana Chutiwongs, "from the high towers, Lokeśvara looked in all directions, watching over the welfare of the universe, ruling over all the gods, great and small, who emanated from him and were worshiped in the temples in all parts of the empire."[7] Still another explanation, rooted in traditional Cambodian and Thai Buddhist nomenclature and cosmological texts, has it that the faces represent the visit to Indra's palace by the gods of the Brahma heavens.[8] It is also possible to suppose that more than one explanation is correct, either because of syncretism or because one rationale replaced another, perhaps at the time of a change in plan at the Bayon; the faces may have been planned as "Vajra" beings, it has been proposed, but were later transformed into the gods of the Brahma heavens.[9]

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[3] Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokiteśvara* (1984), pp. 318–28.

[4] Woodward, "Tantric Buddhism" (1981).

[5] Giteau, *The Civilization of Angkor* (1976), pp. 213–14.

[6] Boisselier, "Vajrapāṇi dans l'art du Bàyon" (1957); Woodward, "Tantric Buddhism" (1981).

[7] Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokiteśvara* (1984), p. 327. This identification stems from Mus, "Le symbolisme à Aṅkor-Thom: Le 'Grand Miracle' du Bàyon" (1936).

[8] Jean Boisselier's theory, presented in Snellgrove (ed.), *The Image of the Buddha* (1978), p. 410, and amplified in a Siam Society lecture of 1987 ("The Meaning of Angkor Thom" [1997]); see also Woodward, "Tantric Buddhism" (1981).

[9] Woodward, "Tantric Buddhism" (1981).

The views of the Ariya sect that dominated Siam in the thirteenth century, in the post-Bayon period, must be distinguished from the cults of Jayavarman's triad, of Lokeśvara, of the healing Buddha, and of the greater part of Buddhist Tantrism. The provisional term, Ariya, has been taken from *ariyārahantapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha*, the monastic sect of the noble arhats, the name given by the Kalyani inscriptions of Pegu to the pre-Sinhalese sect in Burma.[10] The Thai historian Prince Damrong Rajanubhab recognized this phase in the religious history of Thailand, but he called it "Hīnayāna of the Pagan type."[11] In the absence of written documentation, it must be characterized entirely in terms of iconographical features, for which the contemporary names, in either Pāli or the vernacular, are unknown: Buddha images in the earth-touching pose; images with pointed crowns; groups of three Buddhas; Buddhas holding a hand in front of the chest; and, in architecture, friezes of masks, and guardian masks at corners. These features are ones found also, for the most part, in the art of Pagan, and beyond that, in Pāla India. A few works with Ariya characteristics may predate the time of Jayavarman VII—in fact, in Haripuñjaya they certainly do—but by and large their presence signals a post-Bayon date.

Pl. 56, for example, shows a votive tablet of a type made in Lamphun (Haripuñjaya), probably in the twelfth century. In the upper register, the mirrored gestures of the two flanking Buddhas, each with his inner hand held in front of his chest, suggest that they are magically produced; if this is not an actual depiction of the miracle of double appearances (as in pls. 14 and 23B), then it must be considered an allusion to it, one that links this miracle to the Buddha's enlightenment at Bodh Gaya. There is other evidence for associating the hand-before-chest gesture with the enlightenment: one Burmese type of votive tablet consists of an earth-touching Buddha under a representation of the Mahābodhi temple, flanked by standing Buddhas performing gestures like those seen here (a votive tablet of this sort was uncovered at Sukhothai);[12] the corner towers at Pagan's replica of the Mahābodhi temple have Buddhas with a hand-before-chest

[10] Blagden, *The Medieval Mon Records*, Epigraphia Birmanica 3, pt. 2 (1928), p. 196.

[11] Damrong, *Tamnân phra phutthačhêdî* (1960), pp. 82–85.

[12] Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* (1969–70), vol. 3, pl. 56; Woodward, "Ram Khamhaeng's Inscription: the Search for Context" (1991), fig. 3.

pose;[13] and Buddha images of the same sort appear on a small model of the Mahābodhi temple in Boston.[14] The pose can also be found in Pāla manuscript painting.[15] At the temple of Kamphǣng Lǣng in Phetchaburi a Buddha image in the southern niche of the southern shrine (pl. 80A and fig. 23c) appears to follow a comparable pattern; here the standing Buddha can be imagined as one produced either by the image inside the shrine, or by the image inside the central shrine just to the north. At the post-Bayon Monument 486 at Angkor (fig. 23d), two secondary shrines are attached to the northern and southern sides of a much older sanctuary, one dating from the tenth century, and within the niches of the flanking shrines appear standing Buddha images, in hand-before-chest poses.[16] The theme of north and south flanking shrines can be extended to cases in which there is no evidence for standing Buddha images: at the Lopburi Mahâthât (pl. 51), flanking shrines of brick were attached to a central laterite sanctuary. At Sukhothai, the "gold" and "silver" shrines mentioned in Ram Khamhaeng's inscription of the late thirteenth century may also have been flanking structures—ones still extant in the Mahâthât compound.[17] Many votive tablets exhibit a comparable arrangement, and in pl. 80B, a metal version of a thirteenth-century ceramic tablet, an earth-touching Buddha appears between two nāga-protected Buddhas. Another extension of the theme makes the "produced" Buddhas the twenty-seven Buddhas who preceded Śākyamuni; these Buddhas appear around the base of a twelfth-century bronze image (pl. 70B) and—more frequently—in the leaves of the aureole surrounding a principal image, as can be seen in the Kimbell altarpiece (pl. 71).[18]

Buddhist subjects or styles emanating from Pāla India have been an element in earlier pages of this history: examples are the votive tablet (pl. 38B) depicting the earth-touching Buddha in a trefoil niche, with undulant-profiled colonnettes (a reflection of the Bodh Gaya

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[13] Barely visible in Dumarçay and Smithies, *Cultural Sites of Burma, Thailand, and Cambodia* (1995), pl. 3.

[14] Not, however, visible in Guy, "The Mahābodhi Temple" (1991), fig. 15.

[15] British Library Or. 12461 fol. 220 (a manuscript that appears to have stylistic connections with Burmese art).

[16] Woodward, "Thailand and Cambodia: the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries" (1995), fig. 8; Marchal, "Notes sur le monument 486" (1925).

[17] Woodward, "Ram Khamhaeng's Inscription: the Search for Context" (1991).

[18] Woodward, "The Bàyon-Period Buddha Image" (1979).

style of the early eleventh century) and the three-dimensional reflection of the type in bronze (pl. 39A). Much of the imagery at Phimai has Pāla sources. The fresh subject matter appeared in two guises: in a kind of Indo-Burmese style and in an entirely Khmer style. An example of the first is the votive tablet in pl. 68A, which probably dates from the second half of the twelfth century or the early thirteenth. As in the earlier tablet (pl. 38B), the colonnettes are turned and support a trefoil arch, but the Buddha is of a new physical type—one that emerged in the twelfth century as a result of a mutually reflecting process—according to one analysis—at Bodh Gaya and Pagan.[19] It has rounded shoulders, a head sunk into the body in such a way that no neck is visible, and an extremely long, rounded right arm. At the sides are motifs and concepts that were totally transformed into a Khmer idiom at Angkor in the late twelfth century: tassels on the colonettes and adorants.[20] In fact, adorant images became an important subject at Angkor toward the end of Jayavarman VII's life.[21] An artist working in one milieu might respond to the formal qualities of such a tablet, such as the way the body of the Buddha funnels from waist to shoulders. On the other hand it is possible to respond to subject matter alone and to present it in a new idiom. An example would be the bronze altarpiece in pl. 70B, of about the third quarter of the twelfth century. Here is an Ariya theme, that of the Buddhas of the past (which appear on the front and sides of the base). But the stylistic concerns are classically Angkorian: a solid, architectonic human body, a framing rounded diadem, a strong sense of horizontals, and a precise and delicate texturing. The border of buds characterizes such objects as a bronze nāga-protected Buddha found in Surin province and now in Cleveland, a work that might date from the post-Sūryavarman II period.[22]

A hundred years and more later, the popularity of these Ariya themes began to fade slowly. Eventually a new religious order was established at Sukhothai in the mid-fourteenth century, with the return of the monk Śrīsaddhā to Sukhothai from Sri Lanka (ca.

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[19] Woodward, "The Indian Roots of the 'Burmese' Life-of-the-Buddha Plaques" (1997–98).

[20] Third period: Stern, *Les monuments du style du Bàyon* (1965), fig. 27.

[21] Woodward, "The Jayabuddhamahānātha Images" (1994/95).

[22] The Cleveland Buddha is illustrated in Cunningham et al., *Masterworks of Asian Art* (1998), p. 163; for the provenance, *6 Soi Kasemsan II* (1962), [pp. 30–31].

1340s)[23] and the arrival of Medhaṅkara from Martaban in 1361.[24] Even so, Ariya flanking shrines characterize what are thought to be early Ayutthaya-period monasteries such as Wat Mahâthât in Ratchaburi.[25] One iconic development that may date from the time of Ram Khamhaeng in the late thirteenth century was the move into prominence of the standing Buddha with right arm performing a gesture at the side (pl. 63). This type was a revival of a tenth–eleventh-century icon (pl. 36)—a revival for which the Lao connections of early Sukhothai culture may provide an explanation—and was evidently adopted for the giant "eighteen-cubit" images at Wat Saphân Hin and Wat Mahâthât in Sukhothai. The concept of a Buddha measuring eighteen cubits may have come from Haripuñjaya and Pagan.[26]

The rise of Ariya features following the death of Jayavarman VII makes little sense unless this sort of Buddhism had roots in an earlier period—especially in the period between the reigns of Sūryavarman II and Jayavarman VII. The ultimate sources presumably lie in Dvāravatī, in a Buddhism that was then transformed by the influence of Phimai Tantrism and, more strongly, by Burmese developments of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The strategy of the sections that follow will be to close in on central Siam: to try to discern the shape of developments in Haripuñjaya, Sukhothai, the peninsula, and then Cambodia itself (together with northeastern Thailand), before returning to the central plains.

Haripuñjaya

The most vigorous living alternatives to the Khmer way of doing things lay in the kingdom of Haripuñjaya. It was the Mon city that continued to flourish with religious and political independence as other centers succumbed to Cambodian domination, and it remained

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[23] Gosling, "Once More, Inscription II—An Art Historian's View" (1981), pp. 27–28. Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art* (1967/68), pp. 15–23.

[24] Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), p. 151.

[25] *Borânkhadî* 6, no. 2 (Dec. 1975), fig. 14ab, p. 75. The chronicles also date Wat Phutthaisawan in Ayutthaya to 1353: *Phra râtchawang lê wat bôrân* (1968), pp. 39–42.

[26] Ratanapañña, *The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror* (1968), p. 110 for *atthārasa*. For images with this gesture, Woodward, "Ram Khamhaeng's Inscription" (1991); Piriya, *Khmer Bronzes* (1982), pp. 51–52.

a cultural center even after its seizure by the Thai leader Mang Rai in 1281.[27] A votive table of Lamphun type (pl. 56) has already been used to illustrate Ariya themes, and surely Haripuñjaya was an important center for the dissemination of Ariya beliefs. Relatively speaking, there is a wealth of information about Haripuñjaya—a historical tradition, preserved in Pāli and Thai, as well as inscriptions and artifacts—that helps to establish a chronology of the art and architecture of the sites of Haripuñjaya (modern Lamphun) and its sister towns Wiang Mano, Wiang Tha Kan, and Wiang Tho.[28]

The Pāli chronicle the *Jinakālamālī*, compiled in the sixteenth century, recounts that in a year equivalent to A. D. 662, the year after the sage Vasudeva had established Haripuñjaya, the princess Cammadevī came to rule from Lava or Lopburi.[29] Scholars have read into these legends evidence of ethnic change, involving the Lawa (the Mon-Khmer aborigines) and a subsequent arrival of Mon, and of an early period in which Buddhism had not yet penetrated the region.[30] It has also been pointed out that some of the earliest examples of Haripuñjaya art, of the tenth or eleventh century, appear to have stronger links with the Mon art of the Northeast than with central Dvāravatī.[31] The votive tablet, pl. 56, evokes the art of various regions. The outer attendants of the lower register, probably Bodhisattvas, may have descended from the figures on the plates deposited under the corner stūpas at Čhêdî Čhunla Pathôn (pl. 23A). The cusped inner frame around the upper Buddha recalls the late-Dvāravatī tablet found in Ban Samphao Lom, Suphanburi (pl. 29B). There may be a connection between the small stūpas—if they can be so called—on the sides and at the summit of the architectural construction and a late-Dvāravatī stele found in Sung Noen district

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[27] Date given in the Chiang Mai chronicle; eleven years earlier than the date in the *Jinakālamālī*, Wyatt and Aroonrut, *The Chiang Mai Chronicle* (1995), p. 33.

[28] For these sites, Srisakra, "Khwǟn Hariphunchai/The Kingdom of Haripunjaya" (1974). Wiang Mano: Srisakra, "Wîang Manô/Wieng Mano" (1978). Wîang Thâ Kân (or Thakân): Sa-nguan, "Wîang Thakân" (1967). For finds at Doi Suthep, *MBJ* 10, no. 2 (April-June 1984), p. 146.

[29] Ratanapañña, *Sheaf of Garlands* (1968), pp. 96–97.

[30] Condominas, "Notes sur l'histoire lawa: a propos d'un lieu-dit lua' (lawa) en pays karen" (1974); Swearer, "Myth, Legend, and History in the Northern Thai Chronicles" (1974).

[31] For instance, Piriya, *Sinlapawatthu samkhan nai phiphitthapansathân hǟng chât Hariphunchai* (1979), nos. 2 and 4, pp. 16–17, 20–21. For northeast connections see also Srisakra, "Khwǟn Hariphunchai" (1974), p. 269.

(above, p. 119).[32] This architectural construction, finally, is reminiscent of the Phra Barommathât at Chaiya (above, p. 93 and fig. 15a). It would appear, therefore, in the light of these manifold relationships, that Haripuñjaya art incorporated various of the Dvāravatī traditions.

Dvāravatī sources alone cannot account for the nature of Haripuñjaya art. There were also contacts with two distinct parts of Burma, the kingdom of Pagan (about 400 kilometers to the northwest) and the sites of the Mon kingdom, Pegu and Thaton (about 200 kilometers to the southwest). The monuments of Pagan have been studied, and their chronology is pretty well understood; at Pegu and Thaton, on the other hand, and at probably other sites in the region as well, much presumably lies undiscovered. This point was driven home by the appearance on the art market in the 1980s of both stuccos and small gold repoussé plaques, possibly from around Thaton.[33]

If the narrative sequence given in the *Jinakālamālī* is correct, then Haripuñjaya history was punctuated by the following events: (1) evacuation to Thaton (Sudhammanagara), due to cholera; (2) removal of the population to Pegu (Haṃsāvatī), as a consequence of an invasion from Pagan; (3) the reign of King Ditta, who led an assault on Lopburi and returned defeated, but following a Lopburi invasion, built a monument called the Mahābalacetiya, using defeated Lopburi warriors as craftsmen; the reigns of (4) King Adicca (founder of the Great Reliquary *čhêdî*, the *stūpa* at Wat Phra Thât Haripuñjaya), of (5) King Dhammika, who established an eighteen-cubit image of the Buddha (a giant image, equivalent in height, it was thought, to the actual height of the Buddha), and (two reigns later) of (6) King Sabbasiddhi; (7) then following Sabbasiddhi, twelve more monarchs—none of whom is recorded as having made a religious foundation—before the seizure of the city by the Thai warrior King Mang Rai in 1281.[34] The actual dates given in the *Jinakālamālī* cannot be relied

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[32] Piriya, *Art Styles* (1977), no. 22, pp. 94–95.

[33] Perhaps some of the gold plaques from Burma fall in a late period and were made by craftsmen who left Haripuñjaya following the Tai takeover. For examples of gold, Stark, *Gold and Silver Auction, Part 1, Ancient to Tribal* (1992) and Hasson, *Ancient Buddhist Art from Burma* (1993). The plaques are sometimes catalogued as Pyu, 7th–9th century (which some may be). For an example in a western museum, Cleveland Museum of Art 87.154, illus. *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 75, no. 2 (Feb. 1988), p. 66, catalogued as "Pyu Kingdom region, ca. 12th c."

[34] "Ratanapañña, *Sheaf of Garlands* (1968), pp. 104–10.

upon, but evidence from an inscription (L. Ph. 2) has led to the supposition that Sabbasiddhi was ruling in 1218.[35]

A group of Mon-language inscriptions evidently dates from Sabbasiddhi's reign, and there is just a handful of earlier inscriptions. Considered as the oldest are three brief ones on terracotta tablets (pl. 60A). Another early Mon inscription, on a small stone stele (Ch. M. 45) has nine brief lines recording a religious foundation,[36] and a somewhat later inscription (L. Ph. 36), in Pāli, mentions King Dhammika. Each of the three early tablets is inscribed in Mon with the name of an arahant, respectively Piṇḍola, Bhaddiya, and Jotiya. On his tablet (pl. 60A), Jotiya has a broad, rounded face, and the halo around his head has an inner border of knobs—a feature seen at Pagan and at the pyramid at Wat Kû Kut (pl. 57).[37]

Čhêdî Kû Kut (pls. 57 and 60B; fig. 20), as it is called, is a pyramid with niches on five upper stories, three abreast on each face. (An octagonal monument stands nearby.) Each niche holds a standing Buddha, his right hand on the chest, his left at his side. The total number of Buddhas is sixty. Perhaps seated images were once placed around the base, one facing each direction. The monument is constructed of blocks of laterite used as bricks—a technique found earlier in Dvāravatī sites at Phong Tuk and U Thong.[38] Some outside influence must account for the pyramidal form, possible sources being Polonnaruwa in Sri Lanka and Nagapattinam on the southeastern coast of India, where somewhat similar pyramids stand or once stood.[39] At the same time, Čhêdî Kû Kut may also have something to do with the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh Gaya, at least conceptually: the corner towers at Pagan's Mahābodhi temple have somewhat similar

[35] Cœdès, "Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieux du Laos occidental" (1925). It has been proposed that a number in the Wat Ban Luai (L. Ph. 6) inscription can be interpreted as a date; in a reading by Dr. Prasert na Nagara, equivalent to A. D. 1183: Čhampâ, Thôem, and Khongdêt, *Wikhrǫ̂ silâ čhārưk nai phiphitthaphan sathân hǣng chât Hariphunchai* (1989), p. 25n.

[36] The site Wiang Mano has yielded, among other artifacts, a votive tablet of the sort illus. in pl. 56 and a standing bronze image of the Buddha, his hands in double *vitarka*, his pointed crown following a Pāla model: Srisakra, "Wîang Manô/Wieng Mano" (1978)

[37] Bauer, "Notes on Mon Epigraphy II" (1991), pp. 61–62. For knobs at Pagan: Luce, *Old Burma*, (1969–70), vol. 3, e.g., pl. 284D.

[38] Anuwit, *Bǣp khrong sâng* (1981), p. 65.

[39] Sat Mahal Prasada, Polonnaruwa. For the China Pagoda, Nagapattinam: Ramachandran, *The Nagapattinam and Other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum* (1954), p. 15 and pl. XXI.

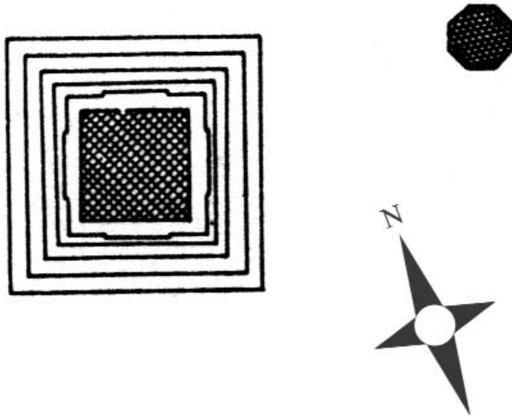

Figure 20. Wat Kû Kut, Lamphun: plan.

niches, and, in a ca. nineteenth-century northern Thai manuscript, the Mahābodhi temple is shown as a pyramid.[40]

The niches are surmounted by trefoil arches (compare pls. 38B and 68A) that bear foliation somewhat reminiscent of ornament in the stucco lintel at the Mahâthât, Lopburi (pl. 50B). Within these leaves are human or humanoid figures—a motif found at Angkor at Thommanon, a temple that can be situated in Sūryavarman II's reign (1113–after 1150).[41] The terminating *makaras* are also related to those in Khmer art. These connections in style and motif point to a period of construction well before the time of Jayavarman VII. An interesting bronze of Khmer type helps confirm the exchange of motifs in a period prior to the late twelfth century: beside a standing crowned Buddha in double *vitarka* are pillars that have intermediate moldings like those at Čhêdî Kû Kut and support an undulant arch surmounted by leaves containing prancing figures.[42] The Buddha images in the niches at Čhêdî Kû Kut, all of stucco, show evidence

[40] In the Cornell University library, illus., Sommâi et al., *Phra čhêdî nai Lân Nâ Thai* (1981), fig. 24, p. 105.

[41] Illus., Lan Sunnary, "Etude iconographique du temple khmer de Thommanon (Dhammananda)" (1972). Early in Sūryavarman's reign: Boisselier, "Bĕṅ Mālā" (1952), p. 222. See also the Christianville plantation bronze, Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), pl. LVIII, 1, and Bénisti, "Notes d'iconographie khmeáre, IX: le fronton de Yeai Pu" (1973).

[42] Illus. Prachum, *Nangsŷ phâp phra phuttharûp* (1969), no. 17, p. 112.

of refurbishment over the centuries; it is not impossible that the faces (pl. 60B) were originally akin to that on the Jotiya tablet (pl. 60A). It has also been proposed that originally the arms performed a double *vitarka-mudrā*.[43]

These observations about Khmer elements at Čhêdî Kû Kut would tend to confirm the identification of the monument as the Mahābala-cetiya built by the defeated Lopburi warriors at the command of King Ditta.[44] The *Jinakālamālī* might be referring to the imperial troops of Sūryavarman II, to the army of an independent Lopburi in the third quarter of the twelfth century, or—with somewhat less likelihood—to the troops of Jayavarman VII. At any rate, Čhêdî Kû Kut cannot be fully understood without presupposing significant earlier contacts with Burma—ones of which the chronicle's account of a populace fleeing first to Thaton, then to Pegu, returning each time to Haripuñjaya, may be the reflection.

If the votive tablet is an example of Haripuñjaya art from the period before Čhêdî Kû Kut, it is a work that cannot be easily reconciled, from the stylistic point of view, with another, for which there are also good reasons for supposing to date from the eleventh-twelfth century. This is the terracotta standing Buddha in pl. 58. In this hand-modeled figure, presumably intended for a niche on a pyramidal monument resembling Čhêdî Kû Kut, the boldly-incised eyes are wide-open, broad eyebrows cross the bridge of the nose, and a straight-sided face abruptly joins a dramatically V-shaped chin. The modeling recalls the folksy vigor of terracottas at Pagan's Hpetleik pagodas, so much so that there must either be a direct connection or hardly more than a single missing link.[45] The Pagan terracottas have been dated to the eleventh century, a dating that would appear to push back pl. 58 as well. Perhaps, in fact, the Pagan reliefs are later and somewhat intrusive; if such is the case, there could still be a close connection between the terracottas at the two sites, but the Haripuñjaya terracotta figure would postdate rather than predate Čhêdî Kû Kut.

The metal repoussé figure illustrated in pl. 59 has much of the same vigor observed in the terracotta: the bold curves of the eyebrows,

[43] Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), p. 117 and p. 297, n. 20; Piriya, *Prawatsât sinlapa* (1985), pp. 147–48.
[44] Inter alia, Penth, *A Brief History of Lān Nā* (1994), p. 5.
[45] Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), pp. 117 and 128, and fig. 128.

eyes, mustache, and lips reveal comparable concerns, and the two works cannot lie far apart in date. In the metal figure, however, the right hand, with thumb and forefinger nearly touching, is held in front of the chest, and the left hand, simply and flaccidly modeled, hangs down at the side. The pose is a reflection of a well-known eleventh-century Pagan type, where it characterizes flanking Buddhas on votive tablets (pl. 56 is a variant of some complexity, in which the less important arms do not hang down at the sides as they do in the Pagan tablets or in pl. 59). The repoussé Buddha is also crowned, with a diadem bearing triangular elements of a Pāla type. A very similar crown characterizes a Haripuñjaya terracotta head of the Buddha.[46] Perhaps the crown, in a repoussé figure such as this, connotes themes of replication and identity of essence: the crown, in other words, is a sign that Buddhas are essentially indistinguishable, one from the other, and that to become a Buddha is to become identical to all Buddhas past and future.

The left hands of the stucco Buddhas at Čhêdî Kû Kut (pl. 57) hang in a way reminiscent of that seen in the repoussé figure. Piriya Krairiksh proposed that the posture of the Buddhas was altered in a period somewhat later than the foundation of the monument, and so perhaps the hands of the Buddhas on the monument date from the same time as the repoussé plaque.[47] An inscription of King Sabbasiddhi (L. Ph. 2), found at Wat Kû Kut, describes the restoration of a *ratanacetiya* following an earthquake, possibly in 1218. Unfortunately, there are too many uncertainties—in regard to date, the identification of the *ratanacetiya*, and the extent of restoration—to allow this to become a fixed point in Haripuñjaya art history.[48]

There are other inscriptions that date from the same period. It has been proposed that some of these were paired, one inscription being King Sabbasiddhi's, the other that of a high-ranking monk

[46] Boisselier, Heritage (1975), pl. 109, pp. 150, 212–33 (thirteenth century); Piriya, *Sinlapawatthu* (1979), no. 8, pp. 28–29 (first half of the twelfth century). The implied dating here falls between these two proposals.

[47] Piriya, *Khmer Bronzes* (1982), p. 51.

[48] Cf. Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), p. 117. Although the term *ratanacetiya* is generally taken to refer to Čhêdî Kû Kut, it signifies the octagonal monument according to Sommâi, Kamon, and Surasingsamruam, *Phra čhêdî nai Lân Nâ Thai* (1981), p. 62. The term means "corner *čhêdî*" in Phânurangsi, *Chîwiwat* (1928), pp. 85–86, in reference to the corner *čhêdî* at the Phra Barommathât Nakhon Si Thammarat, which have the form of stūpa shrines (fig. 21c).

called the *tju mahāthera*.[49] One inscription that might permit the dating of artifacts was found at Wat Mahâwan (L. Ph. 3) and mentions a structure identifiable as a pyramid.[50] A terracotta head of the Buddha from Wat Mahâwan appears in pl. 61A. This is a mold-formed head; it refines and gives an elegant grace to the vigorous curves of the hand-modeled Buddha in pl. 58. There are a fair number of heads with rather similar characteristics. It might be supposed that the reign of Sabbasiddhi—perhaps around the 1210s—was a flourishing period in which not only were a number of inscriptions set up, but a good many monasteries were established or supported. Some of these contained stepped pyramids with niches that called for the production of similar figures in varying sizes, a production achieved relatively easily through the use of molds.

From Sabbasiddhi's time until the seizure of the city by the Thai warrior King Mang Rai in 1281, another twelve monarchs ruled, but the *Jinakālamālī* provides no information about foundations, nor are there any inscriptions that appear to date from this period. Workshops must have remained active because in 1288, Čhêdî Kû Kham, a sixty-niche pyramid along the order of Čhêdi Kû Kut, was built in the enclave of Wiang Kum Kam.[51] In this area, a fragmentary inscription, partly in Mon, partly in Thai, suggests that significant cultural exchange took place in the late thirteenth century, between the established Mon Buddhists of Haripuñjaya and the predominantly animist Thais.[52]

Something of the direction taken by Haripuñjaya sculpture is suggested by the bronze head illustrated in pl. 61B. Here is subtle restraint and benign calm strengthened by the sharpness of the small pointed curls. This head may have been made in the first half of the fourteenth century, after the spread of the flame *ketumālā*, possibly somewhat earlier.[53] Perhaps only after the 1281 Thai conquest

[49] Following the analysis in Čhampâ, Thœ̂m, and Khongdêt, *Wikhrọ silâ čhârụ̂k nai phiphitthaphan sathân hǣng chât Hariphunchai* (1989), p. 28. The certain Tju inscription is L. Ph. 7, the possible L. Ph. 4 and L. Ph. 5.

[50] For a discussion of the relevant phrase in the Wat Mahâwan inscription, Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), p. 130 and p. 297, n. 23.

[51] Wyatt and Aroonrut, *Chiang Mai Chronicle* (1995), p. 34.

[52] Penth, "New Evidence from Lān Nā Concerning the Development of Early Thai Letters and Buddha Images" (1985); Penth, "Five Fragments of an Inscription from Wat Kan Thom, Chiang Mai Province" (1989).

[53] Piriya Krairiksh suggests ca. second quarter of the fourteenth: Piriya, *Sinlapawatthu* (1979), no. 27, pp. 62–63.

was bronze-casting much practiced at Haripuñjaya, and presumably Haripuñjaya-like stylistic traits spread south as a consequence of the links among the new Thai kingdoms.

Sukhothai

It was in Sukhothai that the most famous (if not the earliest) Thai-language inscription was set up in A. D. 1292 or shortly thereafter, and for a brief period around 1300 the city was a great political power in Siam. Somewhat later, in the middle decades of the fourteenth century, it became the center for the artistic innovations that are now looked upon as supreme accomplishments—accomplishments that lie beyond the scope of this book. In the creation of what is known as the Sukhothai style, the key factors were Sri Lanka, the Mon territories of Lower Burma, and local tendencies.[54] If there was a touchstone that helped prompt the developments of the fourteenth century, it might have been a work like those represented by the votive tablet and bronze seen in pls. 38B and 39A, with some elements taken from Pāla India, others possibly from southern India. If this sea-shift had not occurred, the Buddhist art of Sukhothai would have remained in character predominantly Khmer, with certain Mon elements added.

Ram Khamhaeng's inscription (Th. 1) and other inscriptions of Sukhothai present a principality that was an outpost of the Cambodian empire before it became politically independent and ethnically Thai sometime in the middle decades of the thirteenth century. The beginnings of civilization in the Sukhothai region are still obscure: Dvāravatī settlement may yet be established[55] or the significance of a tenth-century Khmer inscription revealed (K. 992). A lintel discovered at Wat Sî Sawai depicting the reclining Viṣṇu has suggested provincial Khmer activity in the period around A. D. 1100, but in the absence of confirming evidence, it might be regarded as a later import.[56]

[54] For a discussion, Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), pp. 145–55.

[55] Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokiteśvara* (1984), p. 271, n. 67.

[56] Ram Khamhaeng National Museum, Sukhothai. Although what is visible at Wat Sî Sawai dates from a much later period, it was founded at an early date, though Boisselier has suggested no earlier than the Jayavarman VII period ("Rapport . . . 1964" [1965], p. 41). Also Subhadradis, *Sukhothai Art* (ca. 1979), fig. 12, p. 41. Prince Subhadradis suggested that the lintel was imported: "'A New Dating of Sukhothai Art' by Dr. Piriya Krairiksh" (1986), p. 25.

Among the Buddhist bronzes found at Wat Phra Phai Luang and Wat Mahâthât are ones that may belong to the first half of the twelfth century,[57] and a female torso of Angkor Wat style was found in the region.[58] The oldest building is the laterite shrine known as Sân Tâ Phâ Dæ̂ng, for which a date within the reign of Sūryavarman II has been proposed, and the form of which can be tied to the Phimai architectural tradition.[59] Three image bases aligned inside suggest that here once stood a triad of some sort. A head of Avalokiteśvara found at Sukhothai bears rosettes in the crown—a late Angkor Wat–period characteristic—and the sprightly facial modeling makes a date any later than the very early Bayon period improbable.[60] On account of both its style and its material the head is unlikely to be a local product. Perhaps it was brought to Sukhothai very early in the Jayavarman VII period, when imperial power was asserted.

Angkorian control in the region during the reign of Jayavarman VII is evidenced by the laterite sanctuary of Čhao Čhan, Chaliang and by a fragmentary statue of a meditating figure that is similar in certain respects to the images identified as portrait images of Jayavarman VII.[61] It is probable that the laterite towers at Wat Phra Phai Luang (where the meditating figure was discovered) were erected by the local administrator in the Jayavarman VII period; at the still-standing northern tower (pls. 64 and 65A) appear Bayon-type intermediate cornices at the height of the pediments, and the western pediment, with its stucco earth-touching Buddha image, follows a compositional format common at Angkor. There is no specific evidence that the Wat Phra Phai Luang towers were intended to house images of Jayavarman's Mahāyāna triad, but the presumption is a reasonable one.

It may have been shortly after the death of the Khmer king Indravarman II in 1243 that the two Thai leaders Pha Muang and Sri Indraditya, one of whom had received his title and a sacred

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[57] Khana Kammakân Prap Prung Bûrana. . . ., *Râi ngân kân samruat . . . Sukhôthai* (1969), p. 67, bottom left; Woodward, "Studies" (1975), fig. 52 (Sukhothai Museum, 8/2497).

[58] Subhadradis, *Sinlapa samai Lopburî* (1967), fig. 43.

[59] Boisselier, "Rapport . . . 1964" (1965), p. 41. Illus. Subhadradis, *Sukhothai Art* (ca. 1979), fig. 15, pp. 46–47.

[60] Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), fig. 94.

[61] Wat Čhao Čhan, illus. Subadradis, *Sukhothai Art* (ca. 1979), fig. 95, pp. 210–11. The statue: Boisselier, "Rapport . . . 1964" (1965), p. 43; illus. Subhadradis, *Namchom phiphithaphansathân hæ̂ng chât Ram Khamhæ̂ng* (1964), fig. 54.

sword from the "sky spirit" of Angkor, carried out their revolt.[62] Ram Khamhaeng came to the throne in or near 1279. These regnal shifts allow various objects and remains that appear to date from the thirteenth century to fall into one of three periods—those of Jayavarman VII's immediate successor or successors, of Sri Indraditya, and of Ram Khamhaeng. The works include sculptures associated with Sân Tâ Phâ Dæ̂ng, architectural remains at Wat Phra Phai Luang, a group of steles or Buddhist boundary stones (pl. 62), two laterite pyramids (at Wat Kộn Læ̂ng, pl. 65B, and Wat Mahâthât), the gate at the Mahâthât, Chaliang (pl. 66), and various bronzes (pl. 63). By and large what this body of works reveals is an independence from the workshops of Lopburi and a close connection with Angkor, on one hand, and with traditions stemming from northeastern Thailand—whether Mon, Khmer, or Thai—on the other.

Five stone torsos found at the site of Sân Tâ Phâ Dæ̂ng are usually dated—like the shrine itself—to the twelfth century, but they may in fact be later. The grayish sandstone from which they are carved suggests that they may not have been local products; they also resist identification (perhaps they were idealized donor portraits). Stylistic features like the slenderness of the legs, it has been argued, suggest a date before the impact of the Bayon style.[63] A male figure is garbed like some Bayon-style *dvārapālas*.[64] But the stronger stylistic ties may in fact be with Angkorian sculpture of the thirteenth century, as found at Preah Pithu.[65] Maybe the connection was one effected in the Sri Indraditya period. That is also likely to be the case—as has been argued on somewhat stronger grounds—with the rows of stūpas that flank the columned *wihân* at Wat Phra Phai Luang (pl. 65A); these stūpas, which have a waisted profile and have no *harmikā*, echo in form and configurations those at Angkor's Tep Pranam terrace (figs. 21a, 21b).[66]

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[62] Griswold and Prasert na Nagara, "King Lödaiya of Sukhodaya" (1972), p. 87.
[63] Prince Subhadradis, in his review (1978) of Piriya, *Art Styles*, p. 257. For other bibliographic references, Piriya, *Das heilige Bildnis* (1979), no. 30, pp. 136–37.
[64] E.g., Marchal, *Le décor et la sculpture khmérs* (1951), fig. 164.
[65] On Preah Pithu T and the related sculpture found there: Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), p. 259, n. 3 and fig. 63d. See also the section below on thirteenth-century Cambodia.
[66] Gosling, *A Chronology of Religious Architecture at Sukhothai* (1996), p. 13 and pls. 2.1 and 2.2, p. 37.

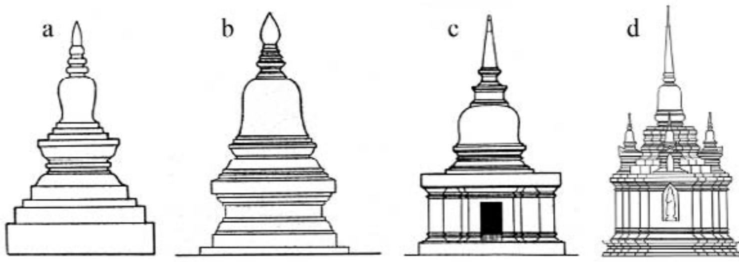

Figure 21. Thirteenth-century stūpas. (a) Wat Phra Phai Luang, Sukhothai. (b) Tep Pranam, Angkor. (c) Corner stūpas on terrace, Phra Barommathât, Nakhon Si Thammarat. (d) Stūpa in the compound at the Phra Barommathât, Nakhon Si Thammarat.

Two steles (pl. 62) are carved from one or another variety of metamorphic rock in the phyllite-slate category and may be considered local products.[67] Related steles or boundary stones have been found at Angkor, adding to the evidence for significant links in the Sri Indraditya period.[68] As types of object the steles can also be associated with the one in Suphanburi (pl. 52), which may date back to the early twelfth century. There may also be connections with older four-faced Mahāyāna steles. One carved in the Northeast in about the second half of the tenth century has arch terminants with undulant tips that could have grown into those in pl. 62A, and its flattened, undecorated leaves could have been a model for those in pl. 62B.[69] In the stele with the crowned Buddha, the leaves have been lightened through incision with a drill (a technique that recalls Phimai).[70] The crown is composed of triangular elements like those in the Haripuñjaya repoussé Buddha (pl. 59), and ultimately Pāla in derivation, but they treated in an idiosyncratic manner. Above the frame is a stylized Bodhi tree, a subject seen much earlier (pl. 4), but found also on objects that are likely to be contemporary (pl. 83).

The second stele (pl. 62B) belongs to a group found at Wat Phra Phai Luang and presumably formed part of a set of boundary stones.[71]

[67] Mr. S. L. Rieb, oral communication.

[68] *Angkor: Khmer Art Exchanged with l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* (1998), p. 8, fig. 4 and fig. 5 (from terrace 65, Angkor Thom).

[69] Subhadradis, "Bai sêmâ salak" (1975), fig. 1.

[70] E.g. the cresting of the arches over the seated figures on the northern interior lintel, Smitthi and Moore, *Palaces of the Gods* (1992), p. 246.

[71] Others are in the National Museum, Bangkok.

According with twelfth-century custom is the unclothed upper torso, without indications of the Buddha's robes. The tiered *uṣṇīṣa* suggests a date no earlier than the Jayavarman VII period. Yet a date in the mid-thirteenth century is more probable. Although there are some points of connection with Bayon-style sculpture further south, as in the handling of the face,[72] what calls for comment is the absence of such steles in the lower plains.

The crowned Buddha stele (pl. 62A) is evidence of the presence of Ariya Buddhism, and there is some archaeological evidence for an interest in triads, another Ariya Buddhist subject. A group of buildings constructed for the most part with large, irregularly sized laterite blocks, in the Bayon-style manner, should be dated to the thirteenth century.[73] In the Wat Phra Phai Luang compound itself, these structures include two chapels and a terrace east of the towers. One chapel, to the west of the southern tower (pl. 65A, lower left) can be identified as an ordination hall (*bôt*) because of the presence of boundary stones; the other, a *wihân*, in the northeast corner of the compound (pl. 65A, above the pyramid) has a wide altar upon which three Buddha images of equal size once stood. At Wat Mahâthât, two laterite shrines north and south of the innermost *wihân* suggest the adoption of the Ariya theme of flanking images. Probably these two shrines are the Buddhasālā and the Sālā Braḥ Māsa (*sālā* of the Lord Gold) mentioned in Ram Khamhaeng's inscription.[74] It is not known, however, what may have originally stood directly between them at the site now of the *wihân*. Another terrace of the same period is that of the *bôt* at Wat Aranyik.[75]

One architectural type of considerable importance has no necessary relationship to Ariya beliefs. This is the stepped pyramid. The importance of the type was demonstrated by Betty Gosling, who proposed that the oldest pyramid was the one at Wat Kộn Lǣng (pl. 65B), the next oldest the one underlying the lotus-bud tower at the Mahâthât.[76] The somewhat irregular blocks of laterite suggest that

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[72] E.g., Chainat, Woodward, "Studies" (1975), figs. 298–99.

[73] Gosling, *A Chronology of Religious Architecture at Sukhothai* (1996), pp. 112–14.

[74] Ibid., p. 114. Illus., *Borânkhadî* 6, no. 3 (May 1976), fig. 5, p. 71. For a proposed plan, Woodward, "Ram Khamhaeng's Inscription: the Search for Context" (1991), fig. 2, p. 422.

[75] Gosling, *A Chronology of Religious Architecture at Sukhothai* (1996), pp. 113–14.

[76] Gosling, "History of Sukhothai" (1983), pp. 223–26; cf. Gosling, *A Chronology of Religious Architecture at Sukhothai* (1996), pp. 219–34.

the Wat Kộn Lǣng pyramid could have been erected close in time to that of the structures just discussed. At this pyramid, the increasing height of the upper stories makes for a powerful rhythmical climax, which the double staircase reinforces as it provides room for some solitary ritual action. What was the function of such a pyramid? The vague similarities with older Khmer pyramids and with surviving pyramidal *thât* or stūpas in Luang Prabang suggest that here is a form adopted by Thai on the upper Mekong as they encountered Khmer civilization at some earlier period, perhaps around the tenth century. The pyramids may have had a funerary function—either as actual cremation towers or as catalalques for lying-in-state, or both. The transformation of the Mahâthât pyramid into a tower for a relic of the Buddha in the 1340s would merely have strengthened an ancient and widespread connection between the stūpa and death rites.

In 1996, on the other hand, Gosling proposed that the Wat Kộn Lǣng pyramid was actually the "Phra Khaphụng," a site south of the city, according to Ram Khamhaeng's inscription, at which a territorial spirit was propitiated. Such a stepped artificial mountain honoring a "god of the soil," she argued, has parallels in China.[77] An interpretation along these lines strengthens the attribution to the early Thai period, in the reign of Sri Indraditya.

The laterite pyramid may also be understood in an entirely Buddhist context. An inscription of 1219 from Wat Bang Sanuk in Phrae province (about 100 kilometers up the Yom River from Sukhothai), it was recognized in 1996, must be the earliest known Thai-language inscription (Th. 107). This inscription records donations to a monastery, including the stamping of 11,108 votive tablets and the breaking of laterite to create a structure that was then covered with stucco. The site has not been identified archaeologically, but there is the possibility that the laterite structure was a pyramid rather than merely a *čhêdî*.

Ram Khamhaeng also established *khadân hîn*, "stone slab(s)," as a site for authoritative speech, both on the part of monks and the king himself. The *khadân hîn* was identified by Cœdès as a stone platform preserved in the Royal Palace in Bangkok, carved on the sides with a design—stylized lotus petals composed of flattened undulant elements—

[77] Ibid., pp. 21–22 and 233–34.

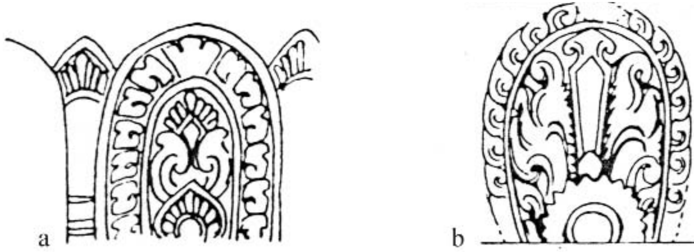

Figure 22. Lotus petal designs, Sukhothai and Lopburi. (a) King Ram Khamhaeng's throne, detail. (b) Mahâthât, Lopburi, main *prâng*, southwest corner, stucco ornament.

that is stylistically appropriate for the late thirteenth century (fig. 22a).[78] The type of stone matches that of Ram Khamhaeng's inscription.[79] The inscription names the slab the *manaṅsīlāpātra*, "stone vessel of the mind" or "the place Manosilā in vessel form." Manosilā is a mythical spot in the Himalayas, in Buddhist scriptures a place where, among other things, a lion roars the doctrine.[80]

Ram Khamhaeng can be seen in various lights: as a pre-Buddhist ur-Tai; as follower only of the Buddhism of his patriarch (*saṅgharāja*) from Nakhon Si Thammarat, whom he installed at the Monastery of the Forest-Dwelling Monks (Araññika, today Wat Saphân Hin) on a hill west of the city;[81] or as one influenced by earlier Sukhothai traditions, as well as by contacts with King Mang Rai in the North and with places such as Martaban in Burma, as Thai and Burmese chronicles relate.[82] King Ram Khamhaeng's concerns with social welfare, for instance, can be understood both in terms of ancient Tai political traditions and as an adoption of the utopian Buddhist visions of the Burmese king Kyanzittha.[83]

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[78] For an alternative identification, ibid., pp. 18–20, 233. Also Gosling, *Sukhothai: Its History, Culture, and Art* (1991), p. 35.

[79] Chiraporn, "The Scientific Investigation of the Inscription of King Ram Khamhaeng" (1990).

[80] Woodward, "Ram Khamhaeng's Inscription: the Search for Context" (1991).

[81] Th. 1.2.27–31.

[82] For meetings with Mang Rai, Wyatt and Aroonrut, *The Chiang Mai Chronicle* (1995), pp. 43–44. The legend of Wareru/Makato/Phra Chao Fa Rua, Thai ruler of Martaban, and his relations with Sukhothai is found in the Mon chronicle *Rājadhirāj* and the Thai compilation *Culayuddhakaravaṃsa*.

[83] In his inscriptions, e.g. *Epigraphia Birmanica*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (rpt. Rangoon: Government Printing, 1960), p. 123. See also Woodward, "Ram Khamhaeng's Inscription" (1991).

Among the other works identifiable in the inscription, two are especially worthy of note. One is the stone wall surrounding the Mahâthât at Chaliang, established in 1285; the other is the mention of two eighteen-cubit (*aṭṭhāraśa*) images at sites identified as Wat Saphân Hin and the Mahâthât.[84] The massive gate at the entrance to a monument where the king installed relics has a pillared summit angled defensively toward the intermediate directions (pl. 66). It was possibly restored in the sixteenth century, but if its original decoration was close to that visible today, it demonstrates the persistence of a tradition of stucco modeling and of an imagery that must be related in some way to that of the Angkor Thom gates, presenting a cosmological hierarchy consisting, from bottom to top, of *yakṣas*, heavenly dancers, either regents of space or figures of Indra, and the four faces of a being in the Brahma heavens.

The *Jinakālamālī*—as stated above—says that King Dhammika of Haripuñjaya erected an eighteen-cubit image, and though the mention could be anachronistic the concept may have reached Sukhothai from the North. Ram Khamhaeng's eighteen-cubit images were subsequently restored, but there seems to have been an appropriate pose, that of the Buddha with right forearm extended, palm flat, "forbidding the relatives" from fighting with each other in the nineteenth-century terminology (*ham yât*).[85] This pose can be seen in bronzes associated with Sukhothai. The first (pl. 63A) was excavated at Wat Mahâthât in Sukhothai and can be attributed to the Sri Indraditya period.[86] The soft, manipulative modeling of the face recalls qualities of one (pl. 62B) of the two stone steles, while the ornamented border between forehead and hair is a motif that has connections with the treatment of the lower edge of the diadem in the other stele, with crowned Buddha (pl. 62A). The flair of the lower outside edges of the robe echoes the profiles of a number of twelfth-century crowned Buddhas performing a double gesture. As an iconographic type, this image is a descendant of the much earlier ones found in bronze (pl. 36B) and in stone at Wat Phộ Tâ (pl. 36A). Here, however, the left hand is turned in a three-quarter view, in front of the robe, as if an accommodation were being made

[84] Gosling, *A Chronology of Religious Architecture at Sukhothai* (1996), pp. 23, 14, and 20–21.
[85] *Rûang phra phuttharûp pâng tâng tâng* (1959), p. 89.
[86] Khana Kammakân, *Râi ngân kân samruat* (1969), p. 31.

between the older type and the Haripuñjaya style (pl. 59). The second image (pl. 63B), part of a collection formed by an abbot in nearby Sawankhalok, has a rounded *uṣṇīṣa* and simple open eyes, connecting it with the stele with crowned Buddha (pl. 62A). The designs on the right palm and at the center of the belt echo Khmer styles. The facial type—a little bland—is not dissimilar to that seen in the Brahma faces on the gate (pl. 66). In contrast to the face of the bronze considered earlier (pl. 63A), there is a suppression of individual character and a striving for a polished benign smoothness. Something of a similar character can also be observed in the fourteenth-century Haripuñjaya bronze head, pl. 61B.

Such bronze images would appear to show that Ram Khamhaeng, when setting up his eighteen-cubit images, called upon an iconographic type that already been established in Sukhothai for some decades and that furthermore—on the evidence of the Wat Phộ Tâ relief (pl. 36A)—may have been known to and adopted by Thai speakers on the upper Mekhong before their arrival in Sukhothai. Perhaps the type had, therefore, a history somewhat like that of the stepped pyramid.

The Peninsula

This section is illustrated with just a few works (pls. 67–69), and, indeed, the number of objects produced on the peninsula in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was not large. Two of the objects can be associated with the Nakhon Si Thammarat region, two with Chaiya. It is easier to point out the Burmese and Khmer elements in these objects than it is to elucidate the regional characteristics.

The Sukhothai inscriptions—it has been seen—permit the shift to Thai dominance to be connected to specific historial events. The chronicles of Nakhon Si Thammarat, which contain legends based on events of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, do say that Śrī Saiyaṇaraṅga—an Indicized name for Phra Ruang, "lord dawn," a name also given to Ram Khamhaeng—captured the city in a year equivalent to A. D. 1274 and that his brother became ruler.[87] But it is not clear how much credit can be given to such a

[87] Wyatt (trans.), *The Crystal Sands* (1975), pp. 86–87.

statement, and the general impression given by the legends is one in which the *paramadhātu*—the reliquary or stūpa of Nakhon Si Thammarat—holds the central position, as society intermittently collapses and kings from elsewhere—Burma, Cambodia—enter the scene for a few brief moments.

At Sathing Phra, the archaeological record shows, there was a long period of prosperity, lasting without indications of disturbance from the second half of the ninth century to the late thirteenth.[88] Economically speaking, the eleventh century appears to have been a high point, when quantities of fine earthenware kendis were made for export.[89] Throughout this period, the excavator, Janice Stargardt, concluded, the Mon indigenes were ruled by elites whose cultural ties initially were with central Java, subsequently with southern Sumatra. The sort of object that demonstrate these connections is frequently indeterminately "Śrīvijayan"—so far unyielding in regard to the nature of site-specific styles. An example is a Sathing Phra bronze figure of a dancing Tantric deity, presumably a member, like the related East Javanese bronzes of Nganjuk, of an esoteric Buddhist maṇḍala.[90] There are also Buddhist objects that while revealing little about what, if anything, was being produced locally, point in other directions—to Sri Lanka[91] and Nagapattinam (where in A. D. 1006 the king of Śrīvijaya established a monastery).[92] At other sites on the peninsula have been found objects with Pāla connections; from Khuhâ Phimuk Cave in Yala province, south of Sathing Phra, for instance, comes a Pāla bronze votive stūpa, probably of the tenth century.[93]

Whether sites further north, when pinpointed and excavated, will disclose so long a period of uninterrupted prosperity is another matter. At Laem Pho, a port for the ancient city of Chaiya, shards of Chinese

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[88] Stargardt, "Kendi Production at Kok Moh, Songkhla Province, and Srivijayan Trade in the 11th Century" (1983), pp. 181–89.

[89] Stargardt, "The Satingpra Civilization and its Relevance to Srivijayan Studies" (1982), app. S 4b.

[90] Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 43. See also *Nam chom phiphithaphansathân hâng chât Songkhla* (1983); O'Connor, "Satingphra: an Expanded Chronology" (1966).

[91] A bronze Buddha image: *Pramuan phâp pratimâ/A Collection of Sculptures* (1965), pl. 22.

[92] The beautiful gilt-bronze Buddha from Sathing Phra, ca. ninth century, may have Nagapattinam connections (Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* [1980], pl. 54). On Nagapattinam and the A. D. 1006 monastery, Ramachandram, The *Nagapattinam and Other Buddhist Bronzes* (1954), p. 17.

[93] Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 53.

ceramics ceased to accumulate at about the end of the T'ang dynasty, (after a period of more than a century?).[94] Sung shards have been found elsewhere in Chaiya.[95] Among the outside intruders in the later centuries were the Cholas. In the mid-1020s King Rajendra carried out a raid, he claimed, that struck cities on the peninsula.[96] Evidence of a Chola presence—probably as a result of somewhat less militaristic commercial endeavors—is presented by an inscription found at Nakhon Si Thammarat and by a Sūrya image at Chaiya.[97] Whereas the earlier commercial penetration that left behind the Takua Pa sculptures (above, p. 112) had little or no noticeable cultural impact, echoes of the modeling of the Chaiya Sūrya—especially its big round shoulders—can be found in later Buddhist sculpture.[98] At the same time, a small bronze Sri Lankan Buddha image found at Sathing Phra suggests that such features could have spread entirely through the medium of Buddhist art.[99]

According to the analysis of Kenneth R. Hall, in the second half of the eleventh century, Chola interest and support shifted southward to Kedah from the west-coast port in the Takua Pa–Ko Kho Khao area (more or less across the isthmus from Chaiya).[100] This shift was accompanied by an increased Burmese role in the affairs of the northern part of the peninsula. The Burmese king Narapatisithu (r. 1173–1210) claimed in 1196–98 to rule beyond Takua Pa, as far south as a city ending in *-nagara*.[101] The chronicles of Nakhon Si Thammarat retain a memory of a King Narapatīrājarāja, in an episode with an associated date of A. D. 1176, and so it may be that there was a southward push, if not necessarily the first, during his reign.[102] A

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[94] Khemchati, "The Excavation at Laem Pho: a Srivijayan Entrepot?" (1983), pp. 153–63; Khemchati, "Læ̂m Phô: kân sụ̂ksâ khrụ̂ang thuai tâng prathêt/Ceramic Finds from Laem Pho in Chaiya" (1984).

[95] SEAMEO . . ., *Final Report* (1983), p. 220.

[96] Wheatley, *Golden Khersonese* (1961), pp. 199–201.

[97] Th. 29; O'Connor, *Hindu Gods* (1972), fig. 34 and pp. 60–63.

[98] Woodward, "Some Buddha Images and the Cultural Developments of the Late Angkorian Period" (1980), pp. 172–73.

[99] *Pramuan phâp pratimâ* (1965), pl. 22.

[100] Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia* (1985), pp. 199–202.

[101] Luce, "The Career of Htilaing Min (Kyanzittha)" (1966), p. 59.

[102] Wyatt (trans.), *The Crystal Sands*: (1975), pp. 72–77. Evidence from a Kalyani inscription of Pegu can also be used to suggest relations between Burma and the peninsula in the last quarter of the twelfth century: A. B. Griswold, "Siam and the 'Sinhalese Stupa'" (1964), pp. 76–77.

Mon-language inscription found at Nakhon Si Thammarat—perhaps, but not necessarily a reflection of Burmese influence—has been dated to about the thirteenth century (N. S. 2). It mentions a pair of nāgas, or possibly an object decorated with a pair of nāgas.

The metal tablet illustrated in pl. 68B was probably made in the early fifteenth century, not long before it was deposited at Wat Râtchabûrana in Ayutthaya, but it is a faithful copy of an older type of ceramic tablet found in Nakhon Si Thammarat and further south.[103] The give-away Burmese elements are the attendant figures in their lobed and be-gemmed frames: they are Brahmā, on the left, holding a parasol, and Indra, on the right, blowing a conch. The two gods—as depicted at Pagan—visit the Buddha shortly before his enlightenment.[104] The Buddha's legs are crossed in *vajrāsana*, his right hand is placed on his knee, and his bodily proportions are squat. Compared to Buddha types that had some international currency, those seen within Pāla-type frames, as on the votive tablets in pls. 38B and 68A, this figure of the Buddha appears to belong to a different physical family, or to obey a whole different set of proportional rules. Tracing the lineage backward is no easy task, although there is likely to be a connection with works associated with the spread of Bengali influences in the late eighth and the ninth centuries.[105] The Buddha-type is, in turn, the progenitor for what became known in Nakhon Si Thammarat (and elsewhere) as the "Sihing" Buddha, a cult image of later centuries.[106]

The standing Buddha in pl. 67, a bronze image preserved at the Phra Borommathât in Nakhon Si Thammarat, shares with the Buddha of the tablets a small number of not insignificant features—especially a rounded face and a smoothly projecting chest. A date in the

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[103] Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 68; the Bangkok National Museum example (Sv 100) came from Wat Thao Khôt, *tambon* Ban Na, Nakhon Si Thammarat district and province. For additional discussion, Woodward, "The Emerald and Sihing Buddhas" (1998); Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture of Thailand* (1997), pp. 184–85. For an assortment of possibly related image types: Boisselier, *Heritage of Thai Sculpture* (1975), fig. 59, p. 94 (Indonesian sources?); Subhadradis (ed.), *Art of Srivijaya* (1980), pl. 14 (East Bengal sources?); *Pramuan phâp pratimâ* (1965), pl. 14 (from Surat Thani, Pāla type); ibid., pl. 56 (from Nakhon Si Thammarat: "big round shoulder," with some Pāla elements; the image most relevant to the beginnings of the mature Sukhothai style).

[104] Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* (1969–70), vol. 3, pl. 296c.

[105] Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), p. 65, figs. 60 and 62.

[106] Woodward, "The Emerald and Sihing Buddhas" (1998).

eleventh or twelfth century (or perhaps the tenth) is likely.[107] There are fewer elements in this image than in the tablets to provide a connection with Burma: the lozenges with pearl-petalled rosettes might be compared with motifs in eleventh-century murals at Pagan, and the footed pedestal with two sequential projections evokes the powerful influences from Pāla India upon Pagan.[108] The double *vitarka* is a Dvāravatī-like feature, and the aureole has sources in T'ang Chinese Buddhist images, implying that here is either a copy of some much older, now-lost image or the tail-end of a buried tradition.[109] Suggesting a maintenance of the peninsular links to Cham culture that had been observed in an earlier period are other elements, such as the cloth panel between the legs of the pedestal's splayed-legged *yakṣa* (evidently standing for Māra's army) and the scrollwork that rises from the pedestal left and right.[110] At the same time, these foliate motifs are somewhat similar in character to patterns on an unusual stone lintel-like architectural element found in Sichon district.[111] In both cases the roots would lie in carved wooden architectural elements. As the bronze image came from neighboring Tha Sala district, there was probably a significant urban center still active in the Sichon–Tha Sala area when the two works were made. But this may have been in the thirteenth century (compare the club bearers at Chaliang, pl. 66, and at Lopburi, pl. 49B) rather than the eleventh–twelfth.

The strongest stylistic elements in the bronze sculpture known as the Buddha of Grahi (pl. 69) have a Burmese character, yet the image has many Cambodian features, and it bears a Khmer-language inscription on the base. Links to Cambodia were an important aspect of peninsular culture, just as had been the case in earlier centuries. A striking bronze image of the eleven-headed Lokeśvara, Khmer in

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[107] Proposed dates include the twelfth century (Piriya Krairiksh) and the fifteenth-sixteenth (Prince Subhadradis). Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 67; Subhadradis (ed.), *Art of Srivijaya* (1980), p. 38 and pl. 44.

[108] Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagán* (1969–70), vol. 3, pl. 229 (Abeyadana). The pedestal type is attested in India by the tenth century: S. Huntington, *The "Pāla-Sena" Schools of Sculpture* (1984), fig. 44.

[109] As noted in Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), p. 69. In general, a possible link to eighth–ninth-century developments, which may include a source for the scrollwork.

[110] Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa* (1963), figs. 164–66 and fig. 160 (eleventh and twelfth centuries).

[111] Wat Čhêdî Luang, Sichon district: Prîchâ, "Si Chon" (1984), p. 40.

style, for instance, was found in Songkhla and has been dated to the late tenth century.[112] This bronze provides just a hint that Mahāyāna Buddhists in Cambodia and on the peninsula were in contact with one another at the time. A second bronze, probably of the eleventh century, is interesting in another way: a six-armed Prajñāpāramitā, this figure has reasonably been suggested to have been the product of a peninsular workshop (and would be one of the starting points in identifying local productions, even though it has no provenance), but its skirt is arranged in a Cambodian way.[113] Another type of Buddhist image is traditionally associated with the South: this is the bronze standing Buddha, right palm raised and left lowered—a tenth-century Khmer adaptation of a late Dvāravatī iconographic type. Such images were undoubtedly made elsewhere in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, however, and were not necessarily a southern invention.[114] This Buddhist exchange between the peninsula and Cambodia in the tenth and eleventh centuries could may well have been responsible for the introduction of Phimai's Tantric Buddhism, quite independent of any political interaction. (The supposition that the ruler of Tāmbraliṅga [predecessor to Nakhon Si Thammarat] claimed to be king of Cambodia in the early eleventh century is now discredited.)[115]

In the middle of the twelfth century, according to Chinese records, Cambodia ruled as far south as Grahi (probably Chaiya)—perhaps evidence of a land-based expansion during the reign of Sūryavarman II.[116] The accuracy of Chao Ju-kua's A. D. 1225 account may be in question, but, according to him, Grahi by that time—or once again—was under the umbrella of Śrīvijaya.[117] The northernmost of the principal cities of the peninsula, said Chao Ju-kua, was Teng-liu-mei, a dependency of Cambodia at the head of the gulf. The

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[112] Piriya, *Art of Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 62.

[113] Lerner, *The Flame and the Lotus* (1984), no. 40, pp. 110–11.

[114] Such images, given an Ayutthaya-period date in Dupont, "Le Buddha de Grahi et l'école de C'aiya" (1942), are discussed in Woodward, "Studies" (1975), 1:41–42. For a tenth-century example said to have come from Nakhon Si Thammarat, *Pramuan phâp pratimâ* (1965), pl. 61. For examples called southern on stylistic grounds, Piriya, *Art of Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pls. 60–61.

[115] Wolters, "Tambralinga" (1958); Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge* (1937–66), 7:169; O'Connor, "Tambralinga and the Khmer Empire" (1975); Vickery, "The Reign of Sūryavarman I" (1985).

[116] Cœdès, *Les Etats* (1964), p. 296.

[117] Wheatley, *Golden Khersonese* (1961), pp. 61–74.

mountain there, where "Śākyamuni entered into nirvana," Piriya Krairiksh suggested, may be the site of the Dvāravatī-period reclining Buddha at Fâ Thô Cave near Ratchaburi.[118] Further south lay Grahi, in the orbit of Śrīvijaya, and below that Tan-ma-ling (Tāmbraliṅga).

This Chinese evidence indicates that Grahi, around the 1180s (more or less the period in which there might also have been a Burmese incursion into the peninsula), owed its allegiance either to Cambodia or to Śrīvijaya. If it were not for certain characteristics of the sculpture upon which it is placed, the Buddha of Grahi inscription could be said to reflect these various forces well (pl. 69). This text, inscribed on the base in Khmer, says the work was established by the ruler of Grahi (Th. 25).[119] The year, says the inscription, was 11004 or 11005 (presumably recording a spoken "eleven hundred four" [or five]). The date is usually given as A. D. 1183 (1105 + 78), since the inscription adds that it was a year of the hare, which 1183 was. Pierre Dupont doubted that the Buddha image could be as old as that, and partly in response to this doubt, J. G. de Casparis pointed out that the *mahārāja* who ordered the *senāpati* or military governor of Grahi to establish the image had a name close to that of a king ruling in Sumatra in 1286.[120] Therefore, perhaps the number 11004 should be disregarded altogether, the two names taken as one-in-the same *mahārāja*, and the nāga and the Buddha taken as contemporary. Boisselier responded positively to De Casparis's proposal and Piriya Krairiksh, after first embracing the earlier date, changed his mind and accepted the later one.[121] From the political point of view either seems possible. Although Grahi lay in a border area, both the statements of Chao Ju-kua and the apparently long period of Śrīvijayan overlordship at Sathing Phra make plausible the authority of a Sumatran king in Grahi either in 1183 or about a century later.

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[118] Piriya, *Khmer Bronzes* (1982), p. 31; illus. Piriya, "Pratimâkam samai Thawârawadî" (1975), fig. 13.

[119] For a more extended discussion, Woodward, "Studies" (1957), 1:91–102.

[120] Dupont, "Le Buddha de Grahi" (1942); de Casparis, "The Date of the Grahi Buddha" (1967).

[121] Boisselier, *Heritage of Thai Sculpture* (1975), p. 217, n. 24; Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), p. 67; Piriya, *Khmer Bronzes* (1982), p. 47. See also Quaritch Wales, *Malay Peninsula* (1976), p. 166. Looking at the matter as an epigraphist, Prasert na Nagara upheld the earlier date: SEAMEO . . ., *Final Report* (1983), p. 218. It is observed in Kongkaew, "Inscriptions from South Thailand" (1986), p. 14, that the characters have similarities with those in the Haripuñjaya inscriptions.

Unfortunately, art history cannot settle the controversy. One by one relevant pre-1183 sources for nearly all the traits can be identified. The iconography is first encountered in a bronze of about the eleventh century, one that appears to have connections with either the art of the peninsula or with lower Burma, because of the big round shoulders.[122] A handful of other such images can be placed in the period between the two great kings Sūryavarman II and Jayavarman VII.[123] Perhaps the enlightenment has been joined to the sheltering episode of one of the following weeks, or perhaps the nāga is primarily a container, standing for transformative powers (as suggested above, p. 152) or for a quality such as masculine energy.[124] The style of the hood is based upon that of a Khmer-style bronze like the nāga-protected Buddha in Cleveland, said to have been found in Surin province, and dating from about the third quarter of the twelfth century.[125] It is true that the elaborateness of the mat upon which the Buddha sits exceeds that of most images of the period, but it can be understood as a variation upon the design in the approximately contemporary pl. 55, where the legs are similarly angled and medallions decorate the center and corners of the border directly beneath the Buddha's legs. This bronze image, judging on the basis of a fragmentary stone image preserved at Nakhon Pathom, might be a product of the Nakhon Pathom–Suphanburi region.[126] For the pleated shawl, there are various possible sources, among them the Jhewari bronzes from the northernmost part of the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal.[127] The bulge at the waist and the spreading, fan-like torso, so different from the Khmer in sensibility, are somewhat reminiscent of Dvāravatī modeling, can be seen in the votive tablet

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[122] Woodward, "Some Buddha Images" (1980), fig. 22.

[123] Woodward, "Studies" (1975), fig. 84 (priv. coll.); Sanộng, *Phra phuttharûp* (1975), pl. 62 (coll. Mrs. Sukanya Puchai). More problematical, as far as date is concerned: *Pramuan phâp pratimâ* (1965), pl. 78 (lead, from Nakhon Pathom). Both are crowned. Uncrowned, of either twelfth or thirteenth century date: Sanộng, *Phra phuttharuûp* (1975), pl. 43 (coll. Prince Bhanubandhu).

[124] See also Subhadradis "The Lord Buddha Protected by the Naga in the Attitude of Subduing Mara" (1990).

[125] See n. 22 above.

[126] For the Nakhon Pathom image, Woodward, "Studies" (1975), fig. 85 and text 1:97–99. The design on the topmost coil is paralleled in a thirteenth-century stone image in Chainat, ibid., fig. 342.

[127] S. Huntington, The *"Pāla-Sena" Schools of Sculpture* (1984), fig. 262; for other possibilities, Woodward, "Studies" (1975), 1:97n., and Boisselier, *Heritage of Thai Sculpture* (1975), fig. 49, p. 83.

of pl. 68A, and are matched in bronzes from lower Burma.[128] They also help account for the fleshiness of the hand, though this is not without connections to the nearby earlier stucco Buddhas in the Khuhâ Sawan Cave.[129] The flat, layered, and cut-out quality of the ornament on the coils and the back of the hood have parallels of a general sort in the early art of Pagan.[130] The Buddha of Grahi would appear to be a copy of an image type established in central Siam in the third quarter of the twelfth century, one that spread to Grahi at that time; the craftsman who made the image, on the other hand, had been trained in some other tradition, one with stronger ties to Burma.

At the same time, this picture of a plausible situation does not demonstrate the impossibility of a considerably later date for the Grahi. Far from it. If the image dates from the later thirteenth century rather than from 1183, however, its historical position is rather different, and such features as the modeling of the torso and of the right hand would have to be seen no longer as prototypes for forms that characterize certain images made in central Siam in the second half of the thirteenth century, but simply as parallel instances. If there existed a sequence of works from Chaiya into which the Buddha of Grahi could be tightly inserted, the chronological variables would not be so great. There are too few objects, which are themselves controversial. Looming over the Buddhist sculpture of Chaiya, for instance, is a sandstone image of the meditating Buddha, probably of the seventh century.[131] A later sandstone head was recognized as having affinities with the Buddha of Grahi by Dupont;[132] Piriya Krairiksh has dated it to the late eleventh or early twelfth century, Prince Sutbhadradis to the eighth or ninth.[133]

Judging from historical sources, the thirteenth century was marked by the rise to prominence of Nakhon Si Thammarat, or of its predecessor Tāmbraliṅga. Tāmbraliṅga was the state responsible for an

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[128] E.g., Luce, *Old Burma* (1969–70), vol. 3, fig. 437a.

[129] Illus., cover, *MBJ* 2, no. 2 (Jan.-March 1976).

[130] E.g., Kyaukku temple, Luce, *Old Burma* (1969–70), vol. 3, pls. 135–40.

[131] Dupont, *L'Archéologie mône* (1959), fig. 477; Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 17 ("sixth century"). Boisselier wrote that it may belong to the Bayon period (*Heritage of Thai Sculpture* [1975], p. 217, n. 17).

[132] Dupont, "Le Buddha de Grahi" (1942). Also Boribal and Griswold, "Sculpture of the Peninsular Siam in the Ayudhya Period" (1951), p. 234.

[133] Piriya, *Art in Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 64; Subhadradis (ed.), *Art of Srivijaya* (1980), p. 26 and pl. 6.

inscription of A. D. 1230 (Th. 24) and for invasions of Sri Lanka which Sinhalese sources date to 1247 and about 1260.[134] Very probably in the thirteenth century there was still considerable activity at an urban center in Sichon or Tha Sala districts along the coast north of present-day Nakhon Si Thammarat, in an area rich in remains from a considerably earlier period (above, p. 48–49). Tāmbraliṅga may have stood here.[135] There are also sites closer to Nakhon, however, that appear to have been active in these centuries.[136] Tāmbraliṅga's involvement with Sri Lanka, culminating with the legendary arrival of the "Sihing" Buddha in the time of Ram Khamhaeng, may well explain the general absence of Ariya Buddhist traits in the region. Nakhon Si Thammarat was properly Sri Lankan Theravādin before the rest of Siam, and it provided Ram Khamhaeng's Buddhist patriarch.

Chao Ju-kua names other principalities further south. One of these must be Sathing Phra. He also describes Langkasuka, traditionally placed in the Pattani region (p. 62 above). According to the archaeological evidence from Sathing Phra, economic decline was setting in at about this time; population was decreasing, and the canals were allowed to silt up. At about the end of the thirteenth century, concluded Janice Stargardt, there was an outside invasion, followed by a short period in which the Śrīvijayan aspects of the elite culture were replaced by something more Mon. Finally, around 1340 or before, there was another invasion and the city was abandoned.[137]

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[134] Wyatt (trans.), *The Crystal Sands*: (1975), p. 88n; *Culavaṃsa* 83.36–48 and 88.62–75.

[135] For Sichon district; O'Connor, "Si Chon: An Early Settlement in Peninsular Thailand," (1968), fig. 5 (a 12th–13th-century votive tablet); Preecha Nonsuk, "Sichon: an Ancient Brahmanical Settlement on the Malay Peninsula" (1983), and the same author's "Si Chon: 'u 'arayatham 'itthiphon satsanâ phrâm/Si Chon: An Ancient Hindu Site" (1984) and (for *tambon* Mok Khalan in Tha Sala district), "The Ancient Settlement of Mok Khalan" (1983).

[136] Tha Rua, four miles south of Nakhon (Quaritch Wales, *Malay Peninsula* [1976], pp. 153, 176, and pl. 20B); the Phra Wiang area of the present-day city. Sung but not pre-Sung sherds are reported from both areas. See Prathum Chumphengphan, "Khộ sangkêt lâng prakân kio kap 'anâčhak Tâmpharaling" (1978), pp. 102–3. Objects from Phra Wiang include an eleventh-century Pāla throne arm (Subhadradis [ed.], *Art of Srivijaya* [1980], pl. 2) and a ca. twelfth-century Khmer bronze nāga terminant (O'Connor, "Tambralinga" [1975], fig. 3): see *Sinlapâkộn* 25, no. 3 (July 1982), pls. following p. 80. The site of Na San, eleven kilometers northwest of the city, has yielded artifacts of an earlier period: O'Connor, "Ancient Sculptures from Tambon Na San" (1982). Also Jacq-Hergoualc'h et al., "La région" (1996).

[137] Stargardt, "Satingpra Civilization" (1982).

These two incursions correspond roughly to statements in Chinese sources that in 1295 the people of the state of Hsien or Siam (see below, p. 227) and of Malayur had long been killing each other, and that shortly before 1332 there were attacks from the same quarters upon the Singapore area.[138]

Remaining in Chaiya is a group of sandstone images of the standing Buddha, some with the right forearm extended, some with the left.[139] One appears in pl. 68C. The revival of the hand-gesturing-at-the-side pose, it was argued in the previous section, dates from the second half of the thirteenth century and can be related to speakers of Thai. Compared to the Grahi Buddha, there is in pl. 68C a looseness of facial structure and an absence of tautness; these qualities, exemplified by the broad and kindly mouth, suggest the impact of Bayon-style sculpture. Some aspects of the arrangement of the robe are paralleled in later Lopburi sculpture of the central plains, from about the second half of the thirteenth century. If this image belongs to the late thirteenth century, the Grahi is surely older. Still, the face exhibits a persistence of some of the older Chaiya traditions, and the ornament in front of the Buddha's *uṣṇīṣa* is a variant upon the one seen on the Buddha of Grahi.

Twelfth- and thirteenth-century peninsular architecture is equally difficult to trace. The key form of the period is the stūpa with the cruciform base. An excavated example appears to be at Wat Laong, Chaiya, where the design of the lower part is in the tradition of the basement of Wat Kæ̂o (above, p. 113).[140] The related stūpa at Wat Sathing Phra must have been established before the destruction of the city in the first half of the fourteenth century.[141] A third example, at the Phra Borommathât, Nakhon Si Thammarat, has long been recognized as the probable replica of the original stūpa (fig. 21d), constructed when the present stūpa was built in the thir-

[138] Cœdès, *Les Etats* (1964), p. 367; Wolters, *The Fall of Srivijaya in Malay History* (1970), p. 78.

[139] Boribal and Griswold, "Sculpture of Peninsular Siam" (1951), figs. 1–14; Piriya, *Art of Peninsular Thailand* (1980), pl. 66. Suggested dates include fourteenth century (Piriya Krairiksh) and thirteenth–fifteenth (Prince Subhadradis): Piriya, *Art Styles* (1977), pl. 55; Subhadradis (ed.), *Art of Srivijaya* (1980), p. 38 and pl. 42.

[140] Banjong, "The Excavation and Renovation of Wat Lo-ong Amphoe Chaiya, Surat Thani" (1983), pp. 235–43; Anuwit, "Sathâpattayakam bæ̂p Sîwichai nai khâp samut phâk tai Prathêt Thai" (1983).

[141] Illus., *MBJ* 2, no. 2 (Jan.-March 1976), p. 51.

teenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth century.[142] The date of the original foundation is not known, but the artifacts found at Phra Wiang and Tha Rua suggest that it was not earlier than the eleventh century. As for the form of the surviving stūpa, it is not clear whether it should be ascribed entirely to the fourteenth or fifteenth century or merely to a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century rebuilding of an intermediate-period monument. At any rate, the corner (or *rattana-*) *čhêdî* at the extant stūpa (fig. 21c) have square bases which, with their moldings and niches, both formally and typologically hark back to earlier traditions.

This survey of the peninsula has identified developments which had an impact elsewhere: a Mahāyāna Buddhist art in the tenth and eleventh centuries, for instance, and the presence of stylistic features of a vaguely Burmese sort in the twelfth century, as reflected in the Buddha of Grahi (if this is considered as dating from A. D. 1183). There are aspects of culture that suggest continuity, both with the past and with the developments of later centuries—as in the sculpture of Chaiya and in architecture. There are other aspects that have more the quality of final moments. The Buddha image from Tha Sala district (pl. 67) might be seen as such a final moment, in that it seems to sum up, and had little influence. Yet the Buddha type seen in pl. 68B—considered a kind of companion piece here—with right hand on the knee and legs in *vajrāsana* had considerable progeny because it was the type preserved by the Buddha Sihing of Nakhon Si Thammarat. The peninsula in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as in earlier periods, maintained a composite and elusive identity, and at crucial moments it was the springboard for stylistic and iconographic features that subsequently became prominent elsewhere.

Angkor

Thanks primarily to the existence of two long dedicatory inscriptions, set up in 1186 and 1191 at the temples of Ta Prohm and Preah Khan at Angkor (K. 273, K. 908), there is a brief period of

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[142] Parmentier, *L'Art architectural hindou dans l'Inde et en Extrême-Orient* (1948), p. 180; Claeys, "L'Archéologie du Siam" (1931), fig. 39.

relative clarity in the political and ideological history of Cambodia. This contrasts with the situation in the third quarter of the twelfth century, in the years between the death of Sūryavarman II and the Cham invasion of 1178 (or Jayavarman VII's accession in 1181), as well as with the situation in the decades after 1191, when there is only a relative chronology, based almost entirely upon the study of monuments. The temple of Ta Prohm was dedicated to the monarch's mother in the guise of the Buddhist goddess Prajñāpāramitā. Among the data the inscription provides is the existence within the kingdom of 102 hospitals (*ārogyaśālā*, st. 117). The foundation of a number of these is recorded in a sequence of identical "hospital" inscriptions, also dating from 1186, found at sites as far north as Vientiane (K. 368). These inscriptions are dedicated to the healing Buddha, Bhaiṣajyaguru, whose cult is best known from Japanese evidence, and contain the famous line about how the king "felt the afflictions of his subjects more than his own, because the suffering of the people constitute the suffering of the king, more than his own suffering."[143]

The Preah Khan inscription records the foundation of a substantial temple complex dedicated to the king's father in the guise of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara. It also provides key information about developments in the provinces: that around the kingdom stood 121 "Houses of Fire," and how twenty-three images named "Jayabuddhamahānātha" were sent to various cities, some as far west as "Śrījayavajrapurī," the modern Phetchaburi. In 1995, it was proposed that these images can be identified as the stone sculptures of Lokeśvara to which adhere small figures of the Buddha, the "Lokeśvara irradiant."[144] They confirm that by 1191 a profound stylistic shift had taken place, in the direction of rounded contours and the expression of a fleshy humanity. Further confirmation of this shift is provided by a bronze finial now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (pl. 70A), perhaps made at Angkor, perhaps in the provinces. The Buddha is a representative of the new human type, and decorative details such as the C-scroll border on the support are matched almost exactly by a those on an inscribed mirror base presented by Jayavarman VII to a hospital in Buriram province in 1192 (K. 973).[145] The new

[143] Cœdès, *Angkor: an Introduction* (1963), p. 104.
[144] Woodward, "The Jayabuddhamahānātha Images of Cambodia" (1994–95).
[145] Woodward, "Studies" (1975), 2:147–48 and figs. 378–79.

Buddha image type has features seen also in the central nāga-protected Buddhas of the later (but not the earliest) bronze depictions of Jayavarman's triad: the Buddha is uncrowned, his lids are lowered, and a robe covers one shoulder. This finial, of unknown function, provides evidence for an interest in the historical Buddha and the *Māravijaya* scene in the 1190s. It shows two members of Māra's army and the earth goddess (Mother Dharaṇī in the later Thai tradition) whose hair becomes a conduit for all the waters of the ocean, which create a flood and sweep Māra's army away. This is a theme that might first have appeared in the early twelfth century.[146]

The Bayon, the great monument at the center of Jayavarman's city-within-a-city (Angkor Thom), was evidently established before 1191. To this time belong such diagnostic features as pediments having a standing figure of Lokeśvara in the central position and sculptural groups depicting the nāga-protected Buddha flanked by Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramita. Many of these pediments were subsequently covered by subsequent construction, suggesting an ideological shift, but there are no inscriptions to reveal the nature of the new outlook. It has been argued that the decision to add additional sanctuaries surmounted by giant faces at the Bayon was the result of a change in religious beliefs. Initially just sixteen towers were planned, and the surmounting faces might have been those of "*vajra* beings" belonging to a Vajrayāna that was viewed by Jayavarman as an esoteric but congruent counterpart to the values of his Lokeśvara-Buddha-Prajñāpāramitā triad. The additional towers (which also changed a cruciform enclosing gallery system into a quadrangular one) can be viewed as reasons for believing that now the faces—in accordance with the traditional Cambodian view—represented the Brahmas of Buddhist cosmology's Brahma heavens visiting the thirty-three gods of Indra's heaven.[147]

There is, furthermore, other evidence suggesting a shift in religious outlook before Jayavarman's death. When George Cœdès published the inscriptions from the chapels (Prasat Chrung) at the four corners of Angkor Thom in 1952, he commented that they must be the last inscriptions of Jayavarman VII's reign—the literary spirit that had

[146] Woodward, "Bàyon-Period Buddha Image" (1979), pp. 76–77.
[147] Woodward, "Tantric Buddhism at Angkor Thom" (1981); for Boisselier's views, n. 8 above.

animated the compositions from earlier in his rule, like those of Ta Prohm and Preah Khan, was nearly extinguished, and it had at last become difficult for the authors to express praise with fresh figures of speech.[148] Perhaps the Sanskrit pandits were dispirited because they were no longer held in such esteem. The Prasat Chrung monuments have the Lokeśvara pediments and partially false balustraded windows characteristic of the second period of the Bayon style, but, according to Philippe Stern, the second period could not have advanced very far.[149] This suggests that the Prasat Chrung inscriptions were composed not long after 1191, the date of Preah Khan. If so, Jayavarman had lost the will to command more such traditional inscriptions from his pandits long before his death.

Among still other indications of change are the fact that, decades later, Jayavarman was said to have had a chaplain from Burma, who might indeed have brought a shift in outlook (K. 405). At some point in time, the king underwent a ceremony, a kind of higher consecration known as an Indrābhiṣeka (according to a brief inscription in the outer gallery of reliefs at the Bayon)—a ceremony that conceivably had a Burmese origin.[150] The portrait images of Jayavarman VII, which show him as a worshiper (a figure akin to those on the Burmese-style votive tablet, pl. 68A), suggest that towards the end of his life the king conceived of himself as an auditor of the Buddha, one who, in Burmese fashion, was privileged to hear a prediction as to when in the future Buddhahood might be achieved. If such is the case, then the earlier belief system—implying a union with the Buddha through a combination of wisdom and compassion—had been displaced by one characterized by a linear sense of past and future, a belief system characteristic of Ariya Buddhism and of the Dong Mae Nang Muang inscription (pp. 163–65 above).[151]

All of these shifts, however speculative they may be, are shifts away from the Mahāyāna Buddhism that inspired Jayavarman's great monuments and toward a Buddhism that has a more Hīnayāna character. Did the changes take place before or after the king's death?

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[148] Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge* (1937–66), 4:208.
[149] Stern, *Les monuments khmers du style du Bàyon* (1965), pp. 107–08.
[150] Cf. Woodward, "Tantric Buddhism" (1981), pp. 62–63.
[151] For the portrait images, Woodward, "Jayabuddhamahānātha Images" (1994–95); for the connection with Burma, Woodward, "Influence and Change" (1994).

It is thought that he was still alive in 1206 and may even been living in 1214—plenty of time for the views of the 1190s to have evolved.[152]

Even if Jayavarman lived as long as once thought—until 1218—there is no question that work on the Bayon continued after his death. In 2000, archaeological evidence—in the form of shards of Chinese export wares—was published that indicates that construction was still going on in the fourteenth century, far longer than anyone had previously imagined.[153] So little is known about events of the decades following Jayavarman's death that the only reason even a name—Indravarman—can be given to Jayavarman's successor is that he is briefly mentioned in an inscription that postdates 1295 (K. 567). Quite possibly the queens and princes remained on automatic pilot, adhering as best they could to what they considered the wishes of the deceased monarch. The changes at the Bayon included the creation of the additions that covered over the Lokeśvara pediments, the enlargement of the central sanctuary by filling in between the original chapels, the building of a raised terrace around the central sanctuary, the squaring of the cruciform plan, thereby making an inner quadrangular gallery that became the setting for reliefs with scenes from Hindu myths; and at some point the turning of the Bayon into a Hindu temple—by carefully chiseling away hundreds and hundreds of images of the Buddha (not only at the Bayon but at the other temples of Jayavarman VII), smashing and throwing the principal image, a nāga-protected Buddha, into a pit and putting a statue of Harihara in its place, sealing off the chapels containing Buddhist images and inscriptions, and blocking entrances to the outer gallery, with its scenes of the life of Jayavarman VII.[154] Although sequences for all these changes have been proposed, the evidence consists of hard-to-interpret details. Following the death of Jayavarman VII and the reign of Indravarman, the next historical turning point is the succession in 1243 or soon thereafter of Jayavarman VIII, who reigned until 1295. There is general agreement that the

[152] Jacques, *Angkor* (1977), p. 277.

[153] Shimizu, "Preliminary Report on Ceramics Recovered from the Northern 'Library' of the Bayon Complex, Angkor Thom" (2000).

[154] For the later history of the Bayon: Dumarçay, *Le Bàyon* (1967–1973), pt. 2, pp. 59–60 and passim; Dagens; "Etude sur l'iconographie du Bàyon" (1969), pp. 154–55; Jacques, *Angkor* (1997), pp. 252, 254, and 281. For additional views on later work at Angkor, Christophe Pottier, "La quatrième dimension du puzzle . . ." (1999).

anti-Buddhist iconoclasm must date from Jayavarman VIII's reign. It now seems probable that positive developments at the Bayon, such as the creation of the inner gallery of bas-reliefs, were his responsibility as well, as Claude Jacques proposed.[155]

When Philippe Stern published his book on the Bayon-style monuments in 1965, he created three successive periods, culminating in a "third period—highly advanced," in which were placed the royal terraces at Angkor. One reason why the shape of the thirteenth century has been so poorly understood—apart from the absence of inscriptions—is that a Theravāda Buddhist sanctuary, Preah Palilay, and a group of nearby Hindu shrines, Preah Pithu, were long given earlier dates when they are in fact post-Bayon monuments.[156] Preah Palilay and the Preah Pithu complex stand east and west of each other north of the palace compound in Angkor Thom. Preah Palilay is significant for this study because it must bear a relationship to an important structure in Lopburi, the Mahâthât. Unless it postdates 1295, three different timespans can be proposed. It may shortly predate 1243, with some of the Preah Pithu structures falling shortly thereafter.[157] Another possibility was put forward by Claude Jacques, who speculated that Preah Palilay might have been built near to 1295 (the last year of Jayavarman VIII's reign), when the monarch may have been less obdurate in his opposition to Buddhism and "may have at last discovered the virtue of tolerance."[158] The third possibility is that both Preah Palilay and Preah Pithu belong merely at one point or another in the long reign of Jayavarman VIII because what was under attack was not Buddhism in general but only the Mahāyāna Buddhism of Jayavarman VII. Perhaps the two complexes, both lying north of the palace compound at Angkor, bear a complementary relationship to each other.

Preah Palilay consists of a sanctuary elevated high upon three terraces; to the east stands a tripartite *gopura*.[159] Scenes on pediments

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[155] Jacques, *Angkor* (1997), pp. 246–63.
[156] Stern, *Les monuments khmers du style du Bàyon* (1965).
[157] Proposed in Woodward, "Thailand and Cambodia" (1995).
[158] Jacques, *Angkor* (1997), p. 283.
[159] Marchal, "Le temple de Prah Palilay" (1920); Maurice Glaize, "Le gopura de Prah Palilai" (1940). Illustrations: Dupont, *L'Archéologie mône* (1959), figs. 535–36; Boisselier, *La statuaire khmère* (1955), pl. 97; Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), pl. XLIV, 2; Wooodward, "Some Buddha Images" (1980), fig. 19; Woodward, "Thailand and Cambodia" (1995), fig. 7. Earlier opinions about the date: first it was thought that

and lintels include the standing Buddha, uncrowned, his hands in double *vitarka*; the defeat of Māra, the taming of the elephant, and the *parinirvāṇa*. On a pediment taken to Phnom Penh the Buddha's right hand touches the earth, and the left hand may originally have held an ecclesiastical fan in front of the chest.[160] The Buddha is attended by two worshipers who must be identified as Śiva and Viṣṇu (despite the lack of four arms). The Śiva shares many characteristics with a free-standing bronze Śiva discovered in Ayutthaya (pl. 85), who holds a rosary in his left hand, probably carried a trident in his right, and bears a distinctive coiffure seen at both Preah Palilay and Preah Pithu. If this bronze is of Angkorian manufacture, as seems possible, it indicates how the local sculptors were able to forge ahead in the aftermath of the Jayavarman period: by retaining large-scale jewelry and certain human qualities, but re-instituting in the face a more traditional configuration. Probably contemporary with Preah Palilay is the nearby Tep Pranam terrace (fig. 21b); its possible connection with Wat Phra Phai Luang in Sukhothai (pl. 65A), on account of the similarly placed stūpas, has already been mentioned (p. 181).[161]

Developments in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries include the construction of the small Viṣṇuite temple of Maṅgalārtha, established by Jayavarman VIII in A. D. 1295.[162] In 1296–97 the Chinese ambassador Chou Ta-kuan visited and left a description of a flourishing city; he mentions a recent and devastating war with

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the sanctuary belonged to the early Angkor Wat period and the *gopura* to the Bàyon period (e.g., Dupont, *L'Archéologie môn*e [1959], pp. 282–83; Boisselier, "Běṅ Mālā" [1952], pp. 223, 225), later that the two structures were built at the same time, either in the period transitional between the Angkor Wat and Bàyon styles or in the Bàyon period itself; that is, after 1177 (Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* [1966], p. 48n., p. 265n., and fig. 43e; Stern, *Les monuments du style du Bàyon* [1965], p. 124.) Madeleine Giteau continued to attribute the sanctuary and gopura to different periods, calling the sanctuary lintel in Phnom Penh Angkor Wat style (*Guide du Musée National*: 2 (n.d.), pp. 50–51) the *māravijaya* pediment "debut du XIIIeme siecle—style du Bàyon," (ibid., pp. 77–78).

[160] Boisselier, *La statuaire khmère* (1955), pl. 97. Opinion about the fan from personal observation. At Pagan, the fan is sometimes an attribute of a Buddha preaching in heaven: Aung Thaw, *Historical Sites in Burma* (1972), pl. opp. p. 91. In Thai tradition the fan in left hand combined with right *māravijaya* is known as *jayavatana* 'increasing victory': *Rȗang phra phuttharûp pâng tâng tâng* (1959), p. 117.

[161] Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), p. 97.

[162] K. 567. Marchal, "Monuments secondaires et terrasses bouddhique d'Aṅkor Thom" (1918).

Siam and states that Buddhist monks were called by a Thai form of address.[163] Pāli, the language of the Theravāda scriptures, was used as a sacred language in an inscription of 1309 (K. 754). Probably dating from sometime in the fourteenth century is Monument 486, at which wings were attached to a tenth-century shrine (fig. 23d).[164] As mentioned above (p. 169), on these wings are false doors with standing Buddha images, hands in front of the chest; the whole conception is Ariya Buddhist. Many Ariya themes, it would appear, had an impact at Angkor only at a late date.

A significant group of steles of thirteenth- or fourteenth-century date depicts events in the life of the Buddha. Two were found 500 meters south of the northwest Prasat Chrung.[165] One shows the presentation of alms bowls to the Buddha by the *lokapāla*, and the other illustrates the monkey's gift of honey in the Parileyaka Forest. To these steles should be added a relief now in Bangkok showing the birth of the Buddha.[166] The type of Buddha image in these steles somewhat resembles the nāga-protected Buddha known as the "Commaille."[167] Outside influence is at work—but from Burma or even India, rather, it would appear, than from Thailand.

Even if a satisfactory sequence could be constructed for these sculptures and sanctuaries, extending from around the middle of the thirteenth century into the fourteenth, it is not clear how much would then be revealed about developments in Thailand. There are indeed developments that indicate an exchange of ideas, such as the flanking

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[163] Chou Ta-kuan, *Notes on the Customs of Cambodia* (1967), pp. 7, 24, 38, 40.

[164] Marchal, "Notes sur le monument 486" (1925). On the date, Woodward, "Thailand and Cambodia" (1995). Boisselier, on the other hand, opined that the additions were made in two separate periods, the standing Buddhas of the false doors dating only from the sixteenth or seventeenth century: *Le Cambodge* (1966), pp. 95, 179, 277n, 319 and caption to pl. XLV, 2, p. 467.

[165] Finot "L'archéologie indochinoise" (1917–30), p. 26 and pl. IAB. For the *lokapāla*, Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), pl. XLIV, 3; for the monkey (Conservation d'Angkor), *Pacific Cultures* (1939), pl. B, p. 45. The *lokapāla* stele was placed at the end of the period of the Bayon style by Madeleine Giteau; Boisselier called it post-Bayon: Giteau, *Guide du Musée National*: 2 (n.d.), p. 53; Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), p. 277.

[166] Pal, *Light of Asia* (1984), no. 23, pp. 80–81. Said to bear an inscription (K. 976). Among unpublished objects that could clarify the art of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are the inscribed steles K. 294 (the past Buddha Dharmadarśi, with a Pagan-type inscription) and K. 930, a boundary stone with Buddha images. These and other boundary stones are housed in the archaeological depot, Siem Reap.

[167] Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (1966), pl. XLV, 1, and p. 277.

rows of stūpas found at Wat Phra Phai Luang (pl. 65A), perhaps belonging to the third quarter of the thirteenth century, and the Tep Pranam terrace at Angkor, possibly of the same date. In its organization, a pediment with stucco figures at the Mahâthât in Lopburi bears comparison with a pediment at Preah Palilay.[168] What is more important is how independent the Buddhist traditions seem; the narrative reliefs at Preah Palilay and on the various relief sculptures are not found in Thailand. What gradually emerged out of the Jayavarman VII period was a Theravāda Buddhism largely independent of that of Thailand.

The Imperial Order, in the Provinces

Sukhothai, the Northeast, and the old Dvāravatī culture regions of central Thailand all experienced the imperial thrust in the 1180s and 1190s. Yet the monuments created in the different regions were not uniform, and the part the imperial structures played in subsequent cultural history varied considerably.

At Wat Phra Phai Luang in Sukhothai, the Khmer towers of the Jayavarman VII period became the core of an increasingly elaborate Thai monastic complex. In the Northeast, on the other hand, there is little or no evidence either of currents that anticipate future developments or of a Khmer sanctuary being transformed into a site for Hīnayāna worship. The buildings and images of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were extensions of imperial ideology, without apparent distinctive ties to the local social order. The chief building type was a laterite sanctuary, with *gopura* and small library or chamber for ritual objects. Some of these are chapels attached to the hospitals mentioned in the 1186 inscriptions; others may be the "Houses of Fire" of the Preah Khan inscription.[169] In the *gopura* at

[168] Woodward, "Thailand and Cambodia" (1995).

[169] Cœdès, "Les hôpitaux de Jayavarman VII" (1940); Cœdès, "Les gites à étape à la fin du XII siècle" (1940); Smitthi and Moore, *Palaces of the Gods* (1992), 311, 313; Jacques, *Angkor* (1997), pp. 269–70. Cœdès, "Les hôpitaux" identified five hospital inscriptions found in northeastern Thailand in addition to the Sai Fong inscription (K. 368). He listed an additional thirteen chapels in northeastern Thailand. For plans and some illustrations of many chapels, *Plan and Report* (rpt. 1979) and *Report of the Survey and Excavations . . . Part Two* (1967). For some other chapels, Maha Sarakham province, Kû Bân Dæ̂ng and Kû Santarat, both in branch district Na

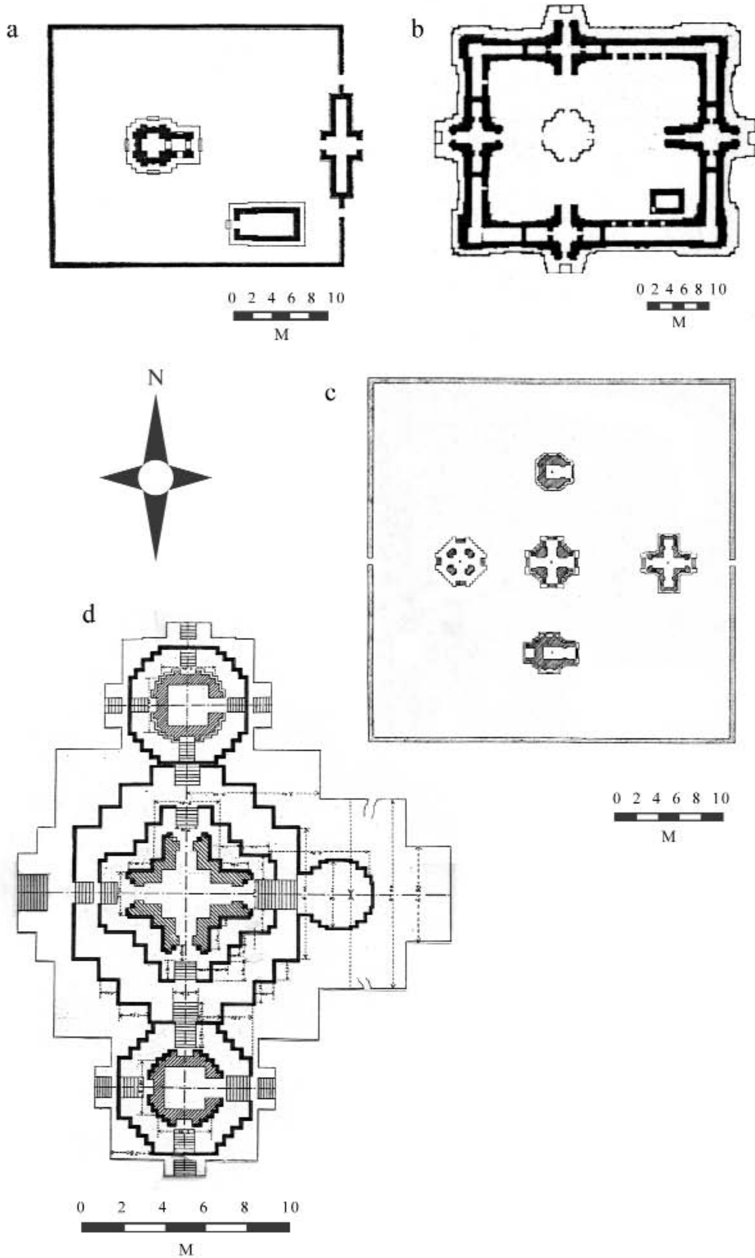

Figure 23. Thirteenth-century monuments: ground plans. (a) Prâsât Tâ Mŷan Tot, Surin. (b) Prâsât Mŷang Sing, Kanchanaburi. (c) Wat Kamphɛ̂ng Lɛ̂ng, Phetchaburi. (d) Monument 486, Angkor.

Prâsât Tâ Mo̜an Tot (fig. 23a), along the modern border in Surin province, was found a "hospital" stele (K. 375), one of the many set up by Jayavarman VII in 1186. This shrine, as well as many others like it, was a chapel attached to an *ārogyaśālā*, or hospital. Two types of image have been found in these chapels. One is an adorsed, seated four-armed Lokeśvara, similar to images found elsewhere in the kingdom and possibly but not necessarily dating from 1186 or before.[170] The other type is a crowned Vajradhara, in three examples of which the bell and *vajra* are held before the chest;[171] in a fourth example (a figure seated in royal ease), upon each knee.[172] The horizontal emphasis to the facial features of these images recalls earlier twelfth-century styles, and so the images can be comfortably dated to 1186. The iconographic relationship of these Vajradharas to the healing Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru, who is invoked in the 1186 hospital inscriptions, is unclear: it is curious that images of Bhaiṣajyaguru have never been isolated.

For the most part these hospital chapels lacked decoration, though sometimes they appear to have incorporated older lintels.[173] At the shrine Kû Bân Dæ̂ng in Maha Sarakham and collected at Prâng Kû in Chaiyaphum are lintels with Bayon-period imagery—the nāga-protected Buddha, flanked by Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā.[174]

Dun: Prayûn, *Bôrânsathân nai čhangwat Khô̜n Kæ̂n* (1972), pp. 17–18 and illustrations; *MBJ* 3, no. 2 (Jan.-March 1977), p. 64. Sakon Nakhon province, Wat Kû Bân Mâ, Sawang Daen Din district: *MBJ* 9, no. 1 (Dec. 1982–March 1983), p. 35. Sakon Nakhon province, Phra Thât Phû Phek, Phanna Nikhom district: *MBJ* 6, no. 1 (Oct.-Nov. 1979), p. 37.

[170] Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokiteśvara* (1984), p. 342, lists three: from Prâsât Hin Khôk Prâsât, Nang Rong district, Buriram (*Plan and Report* [rpt. 1979], fig. 39): Nakhon Ratchasima province; from Wat Sî Sawâng Nârâi, Prachinburi province (her fig. 128).

[171] Prâsât Hin Khôk Prâsât, Nang Rong district, Buriram (*Plan and Report* [rpt. 1979], fig. 38); Prasat Bân Samô̜, branch district Prang Ku, Sisaket (*Report of the Survey and Excavations . . . Part Two* [1967], fig. 90); Kû Santarat, branch district Na Dun, Maha Sarakham (*Prayûn, Bôrânsathân nai čhangwat Khô̜n Kæ̂n* [1972], fig. 4, following p. 18).

[172] Found at Wat Buraphârâm, Surin: *Report of the Survey and Excavations . . . Part Two* (1967), fig. 66.

[173] E.g., Prâsât Nô̜ng Kû, Thawatburi district, Roi Et (*Report of the Survey and Excavations . . . Part Two* [1967], fig. 105); Prâsât Kamphæ̂ng Nô̜i, Sisaket (ibid., fig. 92).

[174] Kû Bân Dæ̂ng, branch district Na Dun, Maha Sarakham, with Indra on Erāvaṇa at each end of the lintel (Prayûn, *Bôrânsathân nai čhangwat Khô̜n Kæ̂n* [1972], fig. 2, opp. p. 18); Prâng Kû, Chaiyaphum (descr. *Plan and Report* [rpt. 1979], p. 73).

Another lintel at Prâng Kû, perhaps a little later in date, shows a single Buddha atop a *kāla* mask.[175] At only one shrine, Kû Sîdâ, north of Phimai in Bua Yai district of Nakhon Ratchasima province, are there remains of stucco decoration.[176]

Imperial activity at long-established temples included the construction at Phimai of a pair of laterite shrines flanking the main temple, perhaps at the very end of Jayavarman's life; one held a portrait image of the king, the other apparently a kneeling companion female image. They faced the principal icon in the main sanctuary, and the hands of each are thought to have been raised in adoration (or in the attitude of hearing a prediction).[177] The portrait image of Jayavarman was presumably imported from Cambodia, and two other fine Buddhist sculptures found at Phimai—a nāga-protected Buddha and an uncrowned standing Buddha—probably were as well.[178]

All this suggests that in the 1180s, 1190s, and early 1200s few stone carvers were active in the Northeast, their services, obviously, being required at Angkor.[179] The situation in regard to bronze-casters may have been different, workshops possibly remaining active throughout the twelfth century. The Prajñāpāramitā illustrated in pl. 72 was found in Surin province;[180] it is unlikely to predate Jayavarman's adoption of his Mahāyāna triad and so may be attributed to the 1180s, 1190s, or early 1200s. The way the sprightly grace of certain kinds of Angkor Wat–style faces is turned into something softer and more openly expressive is characteristic of much Bayon-period sculpture in general. The presence of medallions on the skirt is common in works that were likely to have been made at the capital. Sometimes considered a provincial trait is the curve given to the lower edge of the crown. In fact, Sūryavarman II, as depicted in the

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[175] Illus., *MBJ* 13, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1987), p. 52.

[176] *MBJ* 3, no. 2 (Jan.-March 1977), cover & p. 4; Anuwit, *Bæ̂p khrong sâng* (1981), figs. 150–51.

[177] Illus., Cœdès, *Les collections archéologiques* (1928), pls. XVIII–XIX. For an early account, McCarthy, *Surveying and Exploring in Siam* (1900), p. 31. For a discussion of the image type, Woodward, "The Jayabuddhamahānātha Images" (1994–95). For the local legend, of Arabimba and Brahmadatta, *MBJ* 3, no. 2 (Jan.-March 1977), p. 69.

[178] Seated image, illus. Cœdès, *Les collections archéologiques* (1928), pl. XX; standing, Piriya, *Art Styles* (1977), no. 41.

[179] For possible exceptions, e.g., two female images at Phanom Rung, Subhadradis, "Kamnot 'âyu Prâsât Phanom Rung" (1974), figs. 21–22.

[180] *6 Soi Kaseman II* (1962), [p. 29].

bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat, wears an inflected crown;[181] nevertheless, the crown here, with its medallions, suggests connections with crowns on images of the standing Buddha like the one in pl. 73, a descendant of the Phimai type (pl. 46B). The shape of the ornamented hair, furthermore, has connections with the contracted-foot *uṣṇīṣa* seen in the large stone Buddha image in pl. 54. It would appear, therefore, that the maker of the bronze Prajñāpāramitā was aware of the Buddha-image types rooted in provincial twelfth-century tendencies.

A second Northeastern bronze must date from the time when the cult of Jayavarman's triad was in decline: this the large altarpiece in the Kimbell Art Museum, said to have been discovered in Chaiyaphum province (pl. 71).[182] As an ensemble it offers certain problems: the workmanship of the Buddha and of the tabernacle differ, and the absence of a lotus pedestal raises the question of whether the two parts were conceived together. Nevertheless, independently, the parts make sense as having an origin in the same place at about the same time. The altarpiece embodies important Ariya Buddhist themes. Along the framing pilasters and surmounting the arch are small pointed-crowned Buddhas in frames, a total of twenty-seven, fifteen of which perform the earth-touching gesture with the right hand, and twelve with the left. These Buddhas are the Buddhas of the past, the twenty-eighth Buddha being Gotama, whom they frame. At the same time, the mirrored gestures have to allude to the miracle of double appearances. The placement of the Buddhas of the past on surrounding leaves can be seen on thirteenth-century votive tablets. The Buddhas of the past make an earlier appearance on the pedestal of pl. 70B (dating from 1150–90), which may also be a product of a Northeastern workshop. The presence of a central pleat at the waist links the two works. The Kimbell Buddha retains many Angkor Wat–type features—open eyes, a robeless torso—but in the looseness of treatment it shows the impact of Bayon-style sculpture, perhaps specifically in the form of the *dvārapālas* that reached Si Thep, which appears to have remained a vital city in the Jayavarman period.[183]

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[181] Finot, Goloubew, and Cœdès, *Le temple d'Angkor Vat* (1929–32), pl. 563.

[182] Woodward, "The Bàyon-Period Buddha Image" (1979), a discussion of the Kimbell Buddha.

[183] For the Si Thep sculpture, Cœdès, "Note sur quelques sculptures provenant de Srideb (Siam)" (1932).

One of the stone lintels at Prâng Kû, Chaiyaphum, attributable to the period around the 1210s, 1220s, or 1230s,[184] suggests that the Kimbell Buddha might have had a context, a setting that can be reconstructed. The general absence of thirteenth-century architectural remains in the Northeast is a stumbling block in the attribution of other elaborate bronze Buddhist altarpieces to particular sites. A number of bronzes suggest Northeastern manufacture, yet there are few sites to which Buddhist activity can be assigned. Technical analyses show that in the Jayavarman VII period Angkorian workmanship was characterized by the use of almost pure copper, by thick casting, and by the use of interior armatures. The evidence is not sufficient to indicate whether in the same period workshops in the Northeast still adhered to the high-tin alloys of the Phimai tradition or whether they had succumbed to cosmopolitan practices.[185]

It may have been some years following his coronation in A. D. 1181 that Jayavarman VII re-integrated the Chao Phraya plain into the kingdom, perhaps not until after 1186. The hospital system described in the Ta Prohm inscription of that year covered the Northeast, extending as far as Vientiane, and probably incorporated the Sukhothai region (given the evidence of Wat Chao Chan, Chaliang; p. 180 above). The absence in the central plains of hospital inscriptions, images of Vajradhara, or of the seated Lokeśvara, as found in the Northeast, and apparently of hospital chapels as well, suggests that the status of the central plains was in 1186 in some way different from that of the rest of the kingdom. In the undated Phimanakas inscription, however, one of Jayavarman's sons is identified as lord of Lavodaya (K. 485, st. 57), and by 1191 the situation had clearly changed, for in the Preah Khan inscription, among the twenty-three towns having images with the name Jayabuddhamahānātha were ones listed in an orderly sequence as follows: Lavodayapura (Lopburi), Svarṇapura (Suphanburi), Śambūkapaṭṭana, Jayarājapurī (Ratchaburi), Śrī Jayasiṃhapurī (Muang Sing), and Śrī Jayavajrapurī (Phetchaburi) (K. 908, st. 116–17). Vestiges of the Jayavarman VII period have been found at all these sites, including Svarṇapura and Sambūkapaṭṭana, if they are identified with Noen Thang Phra (Sam Chuk district, Suphanburi)[186] and Kosinarai (Ban Pong district,

[184] Illus., *MBJ* 13, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1987), p. 52. Third period of the Bàyon style.
[185] Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997).
[186] Suriyawudh, "Nœ̂n Thâng Phra: lǣng bôrânkhadî khamên bǣp Bâyon nai

Ratchaburi).[187] These Jayabuddhamahānātha were most likely the "radiating" Lokeśvara, the stone sculptures in which the body of the standing Bodhisattva is covered with many small images of the Buddha (perhaps to be considered Buddhas found in each of the Bodhisattva's pores of skin) and with figures on the waist and chest (probably standing for a method of meditation akin to Kuṇḍalinī yoga).[188] Examples have been found at some of the sites mentioned in the Preah Khan inscription—two near Lopburi,[189] one at Kosinarai,[190] one at Prâsât Mụ̄ang Sing.[191]

The local polities that now joined an imperial network had identities of their own. Lopburi was a long-established city, and Nakhon Pathom was still inhabited in this period (perhaps it was the Svarṇapura of the inscription). In addition to the vestiges at Noen Thang Phra, activities in Sam Chuk district of Suphanburi province are known through the evidence of a hoard of twenty-thirty bronzes discovered together in an urn in *tambon* Bang Khwak in 1963.[192] Mostly Buddhist but some Brahmanical (including two Viṣṇus and a Śrī), these bronzes include a number that surely postdate 1191, and so therefore they provide ambiguous evidence for activities in the previous decades; only the fact of production can be assumed. The evidence regarding stucco is equally unsatisfactory: the post-1191 sites include Lopburi, Muang Sing, Noen Thang Phra, Nong Chaeng (Don Chedi district, Suphanburi),[193] Kosinarai, and Nakhon Pathom, but where the craftsmen that made these stuccos came from and where the pre-1191 phase of the tradition is to be discovered are mysteries.

čhangwat Suphanburî" (1987), pp. 23–32; Subhadradis, "Khwâm kâo nâ nai kân sụ̄ksâ prawatsât 'Esîa 'Âkanê samai bôrân" (1981), pp. 66–79.

[187] "Râi ngân kân samruat læ khut tæ̂ng bôrânsathân bọ̄riwên Sa Kôsinârâi amphœ̂ Bân Pông čhangwat Râtburî" (1966); Trî, "Mụ̄ang Samphûkapattana" (1973).

[188] Woodward, "The Jayabuddhamahānātha Images of Cambodia" (1994–95).

[189] At Wat Tham Yai Khuha Sawan (from 1928 to 1940, in the Bangkok National Museum): Huan Phinthuphan, *Lopburî thî nâ rû* (1969), pp. 106–8; Tri, "Muang Samphukapattana" (1973), illus. opp. p. 66.

[190] Subhadradis, *Sinlapa samai Lopburî* (1967), fig. 55.

[191] Subhadradis, "Notes on Recent Excavations at Prasat Muang Singh" (1978), pp. 109–11, fig. 13; Piriya, *Sculptures from Thailand* (1982), no. 21, pp. 130–31.

[192] Manat, *Phra kru mụ̄ang Suphan* (1963), p. 57 and figs. 44–45, 60–64, 71, 73, 79, 89, 94, 138; Manat, *Phra mụ̄ang Suphan* (1969), pp. 29, 33, 35.

[193] Boisselier, "Recherches archéologiques . . . 1965" (1969), pp. 52–53 and figs. 9–10; Boisselier, "Travaux . . . 1966" (1972), p. 43.

There was, at any rate, a flurry of activity around 1191. The art involved was one hatched at Angkor, and although additional geological evidence is needed to determine where the radiating Lokeśvaras were carved, they were probably not local products. The monuments that rose at the same time include Phra Prâng Sâm Yột (the "Three Prang") at Lopburi (pl. 78A) and Prâsât Mụ̄ang Sing, on the Khwae Noi in Kanchanaburi province, about seventy kilometers upstream from Phong Tuk (fig. 23b). Phra Prâng Sâm Yột shares with Angkor's Preah Khan *gopura* (of about 1191)[194] an interesting feature: abutting the central tower are false wings or slender buttresses that not only distinguish the corners of the central tower from those of the two end towers but also serve to break up the vertical mass of the shaft. They telescope the monument down to human proportions and increase the aura of approachibility conveyed by the multiple entrances: make, in sum, a kind of architecture that is as much a counterpart to the warmth of Bayon-style sculpture as Phimai (pl. 42) is a counterpart of the more remote quality of earlier Khmer sculpture. Presumably Phra Prâng Sâm Yột was originally intended to house the members of the Jayavarman VII triad—Prajñāpāramitā, a nāga-protected Buddha, and Lokeśvara.

Some images of Lokeśvara found at Lopburi probably date back to this period (pl. 74A) and exemplify the mature Jayavarman style, with rounded brows and broad mouth, a relative absence of interest in texture and line, and a desire to explicitly convey ideals of compassion. Such a head can be considered one of the foundations from which later Lopburi sculpture grew, as can be seen in pl. 74B, one of a small number of over-life-sized images that must postdate 1191. Here are lowered lids and a broad, firm mouth, but there is a degree of exaggeration and self-indulgence. The upper torso is shown unclothed—a rejection of the newer fashion. Incised lines on the thighs evoke the portrait images of Jayavarman, making it seem as if the Buddha were wearing a loin cloth. The nāga hood represents yet another step in an evolution that can be traced from the eleventh century: originally the necks merely overlapped (pl. 52); then scaly sections were inserted between the necks (pl. 53); subsequently the scaly sections grew in width and importance (pl. 54);

[194] Illus., Stern, *Les monuments khmers* (1965), figs. 108–9; plan, *Arts et Archéologies Khmers 2*, no. 1 (1924), fig. 10, p. 20.

and finally they seem to have taken over, leaving the heads nearly detached from the striped necks (pl. 74B). Such a massive sculpture demonstrates that at a point in time following the establishment of imperial hegemony the local rulers were able to command considerable resources.

At Prâsât Mų̂ang Sing sculptures of the Mahāyāna deities have been found in two separate structures.[195] In the main temple (fig. 23b), which must date from about 1191 or a little earlier, a nāga-protected Buddha was placed in the central sanctuary and images of Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramita in the directional entranceways.[196] Somewhat later a temple was built to the northwest, its sanctuaries all joined together in a way somewhat like that seen in the final period of the Bayon style at Angkor.[197] Eleven stone pedestals were uncovered, six four-armed Lokeśvaras, and one Prajñāpāramitā; perhaps some of the missing images were nāga-protected Buddhas. The words *Braña Jaiyakara*, probably a personal name, appear on one of these pedestals, written in letters that have more in common with those on the Dong Mae Nang Muang stele and an A. D. 1213 nāga-protected Buddha found in Lopburi than on imperial inscriptions.[198] The sculpture, all of a piece, its place of manufacture as equally uncertain as that from the earlier temple, is slightly different in style: there is a turn away from the softened contours of the high-Bayon style to sharper edges and stronger curves.[199] The modeling of a nāga-protected Buddha found in Suphanburi province appears to share some of the traits of the later Lokeśvaras, which must date from the late 1190s or from the first two decades of the thirteenth century.[200] Nothing exactly the same has been found in Lopburi, implying that the regional styles differed somewhat.

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[195] Subhadradis, "Prasat Muang Singh" (1978); Subhadradis., "Further Notes on Prasat Muang Sing" (1981); Raphîsak et al., *Râi ngân kân khut tæ̂ng burana Prâsât Mų̂ang Sing* (1977). For an introduction, Smitthi and Moore, *Palaces of the Gods* (1992), pp. 316–21.

[196] For Subhadradis, "Prasat Muang Singh" (1978); figs. 11 & 14, Raphîsak et al., *Prâsât Mų̂ang Sing* (1977), pp. 44–45.

[197] Plan, Subhadradis, "Further Notes" (1981), plan 2.

[198] Kǫngkæ̂o, "Čhârų̂k Prâsât Mûang Sing" (1988).

[199] Compare especially Piriya, *Art Styles* (1977), no. 42, pp. 134–35 (Subhadradis, "Prasat Muang Sing" [1978], fig. 11) with Subhadradis, "Further Notes" (1981), fig. 14.

[200] Illus., Chira and Woodward, *Guide to the U-Thong National Museum* (1966), fig. 42.

Phra Prâng Sâm Yột and Prâsât Mụ̄ang Sing are two key monuments from the time of Jayavarman VII. Phra Prâng Sâm Yột remained a focus of attention in the succeeding decades and centuries; Prâsât Mụ̄ang Sing was never adopted to the needs of those who were not followers of the Mahāyāna.[201] Stucco ornament played an important role at both sites. The laterite hospital chapels of the Northeast had no stucco decoration, and the one temple on which stucco decor survives—Kû Sîdâ in Nakhon Ratchasima province (p. 209 above)—may postdate the hospital chapels. At Prâsât Mụ̄ang Sing, on the other hand, many fragments of stucco decoration were found—both human faces and elements of ornament.[202] Given the short period in which the Mahāyāna was followed in the central plains, it is not likely that the stucco was added long after 1191; it is probably original. Of all the stucco ornament found at Bayon-period or post-Bayon sites—on the monuments of Lopburi and at Nakhon Pathom, Kosinarai, Noen Thang Phra, and Nong Chaeng—it is the Prâsât Mụ̄ang Sing stucco, furthermore, that appears to have the closest connection with Dvāravatī traditions. It is thus entirely possible that Dvāravatī stucco techniques were kept alive at some unidentified place (or places) in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and that artisans who were heirs to the old techniques were called upon for the decoration of Prâsât Mụ̄ang Sing.

The unfinished sandstone pediment frames at Phra Prâng Sâm Yột (pl. 48B), although not especially high in quality, must be part of the imperial campaign of around 1191. The laterite hospital chapels of northeastern Thailand never received any stucco ornament, and so perhaps stucco decoration was not originally planned at the Lopburi temple, yet it must have been added close to the time that the pediment carving ceased. The guardian masks of the angles at ground level—destroyed in the 1970s—and the *kāla* masks of the upper frieze (pl. 49A) are both concepts inspired at least ultimately by the art of Pagan, though both make occasional appearances at Angkor in the Bayon period.[203] Pl. 79A illustrates one of the lower entabla-

[201] In the absence of a sequence of dated epigraphs from central Thailand, the date of the abandonment of Prâsât Mụ̄ang Sing must depend on archaeological, not epigraphical evidence (cf. Subhadradis, "Further Notes" [1981], p. 168).

[202] Illus., Raphîsak et al., *Prâsât Mụ̄ang Sing* (1977), pp. 46–58; Subhadradis, "Prasat Muang Singh" (1978), figs. 19–22.

[203] Friezes are ubiquitous at Pagan; for guardian figures at corners, see especially

tures that break up the vertical mass of the central tower. Here is a translation into stucco of Angkorian ornament of about 1191. (The style is also found at Noen Thang Phra in Suphanburi province.)[204] In the row of leaves below the scroll, the masses are lightened by incision, and the parts have a clear rhythmic order. The upper cornice (pl. 49A) may be contemporary, but it exhibits a different sensibility. The volutes beneath the mask have a thinner, more tendril-like character than the corresponding elements on the lower frieze; the leaf band is also more stemlike; and the elements over the head of the nāga, though they have a palpable energy, lack the articulated rhythms of the leaves on the lower entablature.

Central Siam: a New Course

In 1200, 1202, and again in 1205, "Chen-li-fu," a state west of Lopburi and north of the peninsula, sent tribute to China.[205] The people who may have been responsible for Prâsât Mŷang Sing, people living in or near the Tha Chin and Mae Klong watersheds, had taken an independent path as few as nine years after the Preah Khan inscription had proclaimed Jayavarman's farflung empire. Lopburi's political ties may not have been severed until many decades later, but throughout the thirteenth century it was a culturally independent principality.

Which ethnic group was responsible—the Mons, the newly arriving Thais, or the Cambodians (who need not have felt any political allegiance to Angkor or—indeed, least of all—any loyalty to the ideologies of Jayavarman VII)? None of the three can be pushed out of the picture completely. From the religious point of view, there was undoubtedly a Mon resurgence. Surely the Khmer language was widely spoken, at least among the elite. And although firm evidence of Thai speakers is hard to detect before the final decades of the thirteenth century, there must have been pockets of adventurous villagers or displaced prisoners of war for decades or even centuries.

Kyaukku Onhmin, Luce, *Old Burma* (1969–70), vol. 3, pl. 135. For Angkor, Stern, *Les monuments khmers* (1965), fig. 94 (frieze, Banteay Kdei) and fig. 80 (corner mask of Bayon lintel).

[204] Illus., Srisakra, "Nœ̂n Thâng Phra" (1983), p. 51.

[205] Wolters, "Chên-li-fu" (1960).

Descendants of the Dvāravatī Mons live today in parts of Phetchabun, Chaiyaphum, and Nakhon Ratchasima provinces and call themselves Nyah Kur.[206] The connections of Ariya themes with the Mon of Haripuñjaya suggest that Mon speakers were instrumental in spreading Ariya iconic types. Mon speakers formed the basis of the population of the peninsula and were apparently still present in the thirteenth century (above, p. 190). The term "Dharmāśoka" (originally, the "righteous Emperor Asoka"), which is found in the southern chronicles in a thirteenth-century context, also appears in the A.D. 1167 inscription of Dong Mae Nang Muang and can be taken as having Mon associations (above, p. 164). Because of the royal names and the attention paid to relations with Haripuñjaya, the Thai-language legends of Nakhon Pathom can also be interpreted as indicating that Nakhon Pathom was Mon in the century before the establishment of Ayutthaya in 1351.[207] At the same time, Ayutthaya-period texts provide abundant evidence of Khmer speakers in Lopburi as late as the 1430s, and these people must have had a centuries-old history.[208] As for the Thai, it is now thought that the "Syam Kuk" depicted and so labeled in the reliefs of Angkor Wat were not Thai at all but members of some other ethnic group.[209] The term Syam or Siam should be taken as a geographical rather than an ethnic identification.[210]

A Lopburi nāga-protected Buddha (pl. 75A) bears a Khmer-language inscription and a date equivalent to A. D. 1213 (K. 995):

> 135 śaka rakā nakṣatra āditya
> *[1]135 of the Great Era [= A. D. 1213], year of the cock, Sunday*
>
> śrī ca madhyāhin git prati-
> *. . . at noon, established*
>
> ṣṭhā braḥ buddhasamādhi ai-
> *a samādhi Buddha,*
>
> ṭadeṁ vraḥ buddha śrīmahābō-
> *desiring [*aiṭadeṁ *for Pāli* iṭṭhaṁ*] Enlightenment.*
> [the Thai translator has *at the Bodhi tree*]

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[206] Diffloth, *The Dvaravati Old Mon Language and Nyah Kur* (1984).
[207] Thiphâkǫrawong, *Rŷang Phra Pathom Čhêdî* (1936), analyzed in Woodward, "Studies" (1975), 1:152–58.
[208] E.g., Vickery, "The *2/k. 125 Fragment*: A Lost Chronicle of Ayutthaya" (1977).
[209] B.-Ph. Groslier, "Les Syam Kuk des bas-reliefs d'Angkor Vat" (1981).
[210] Michael Vickery, "Review Article: A New Tamnan About Ayudhya" (1979), p. 137.

dhi āya vraḥ śaka
At Phra Sok [following the Thai translation],

candasvāratna git
Candasvāratna has

thve eṅ
done [this] himself.

The donor Candasvāratna, evidently a monk, has performed an act of merit that he hopes will lead him toward Enlightenment. Language and script place this text at a considerable distance from Angkor. The Buddhist affiliation would appear to be some form of Hīnayāna. The nāga, in an image such as this, can either be understood as a kind of standard container or, perhaps, as an agent of transformation (cf. p. 152). Stone sculptures with coil supports having the same proportions, such as the example seen in pl. 75B, must date from about the same time. Not only are there specific elements, such as the broad mouth, that are indebted to the Jayavarman style (pl. 74A), the overall warmth and sense of humanity could not have been achieved had not the sculptors been aware of Jayavarman's expression of compassion not long before. At the same time, this humanity moves in the direction of individuality, an avoidance of canonical standards, and a degree of folksiness and clumsiness, especially in the modeling of the torso. The Khmer tradition alone cannot explain everything we see; the sculptor must have been aware of other currents, as found in a bronze from Suphanburi province, and perhaps ultimately peninsular (see pls. 68A, 68B, and 69).[211]

Although pl. 75B and the especially large nāga-protected Buddha (pl. 74B) share qualities—such as a certain lumpishness—and may not be distant in date, they must belong to separate tiers of production. The large Buddha was presumably created at the behest of a ruler, and it adheres in fundamental ways to Bayon-style ideals. For the patron of the small Buddha (pl. 75B), and others like it, Bayon ideals might not have held the same normative position. If image size is an indication of social position, then the Ariya images showing the Buddha with hand in front of his chest performing *abhaya-mudrā* occupy an intermediate position; perhaps they are to be associated with a local elite disinguishable from the rulers. The two products of the Lopburi stone workshops seen in pls. 76 and

[211] For the bronze, Woodward, "Some Buddha Images" (1980), fig. 6.

77 represent a strong and distinctive aspect of Lopburi stone carving. Pl. 76 could well be the work of the same sculptor responsible for one of the handful of Lokeśvara sculptures, and so the turn to Ariya subjects could not have occurred long after 1191.[212] The face is enlivened by the play of linear elements, somewhat analogous to what can be seen in the Kimbell bronze (pl. 71), and perhaps owed in part to the proximity of Angkor Wat–style models.

The head in pl. 77, a robust presentation of sinuous curves, is the work of one of the best Lopburi sculptors, whose hand can be seen in other works, such as a nāga-protected Buddha in the Lopburi National Museum. Adept at producing vigorously undulant outlines and volumes, he seems to have taken certain aspects of Bayon-style sculpture found, for example, in the *devas* of the Angkor Thom gates, and made use of them in making a Buddha image that has no parallel at Angkor. Either he was a local sculptor who had some familiarity with later aspects of the Bayon style, or perhaps an actual immigrant from Angkor, who arrived in Lopburi when the pace of production fell following the death of Jayavarman. At the same time, there is a degree of awkwardness that is not distant from that seen in the two nāga-protected Buddhas (pls. 74B and 75B): apparent here in the heavy descent of the robe edge (compared with the sweeping arc in pl. 76, which must be earlier) and in the impression of discontinuity given by the torso, behind the left arm. Another way to understand the head in pl. 77 is to suppose a relationship to one of the phases of sculpture in Lamphun (pls. 60B, 61A, and 59). All these considerations would tend to place such a standing Buddha in a period no later than about the 1220s, when the Lopburi elite might have been able to define itself by drawing on the strengths of the traditions of both Angkor and Haripuñjaya.[213]

A few bronzes can be connected to these stone sculptures of the early thirteenth century.[214] A cache of thirteen objects deposited in

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[212] Bangkok National Museum Lopburi #75, brought from Khûhâ Sawan cave near Lopburi in 1929; Woodward, "Studies" (1975), fig. 314.

[213] This is a relatively contracted chronology. A more drawn-out chronology has also been put forward, e.g., the radiating Lokeśvara from Muang Sing is not earlier than the second decade of the thirteenth century: Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokiteśvara* (1984), p. 383. Or, Phra Prâng Sâm Yôt is considerably later than 1191, being one of the last monuments of the Jayavarman VII period: Boisselier, "Rapport de Mission . . . 1964" (1965), p. 41.

[214] Woodward "Studies" (1975), 2:73.

a large urn, uncovered in 1997, included nine images of the standing crowned Buddha, one altarpiece with an uncrowned *Māravijaya* Buddha, two stūpa-shrine models with niches on four faces (beneath the stūpa bell), and a ceremonial bowl on stand.[215] These objects appear to confirm what has earlier been surmised—that the primary bronze workshops of Lopburi followed an Angkor Wat–style tradition through the second half of the twelfth century and perhaps well into the thirteenth. One standing crowned Buddha that has been attributed to Lopburi and given a date within the Bayon period—in part because of some details at the back, having to do with belt treatment—can be seen in pl. 73.[216] Its crown and necklace are similar to those on one of the excavated bronzes. The hand gestures are *abhaya-* rather than *vitarka-mudrā*, which had characterized images attributable to the first half of the twelfth century, and the modeling is somewhat broader and more flaccid than had earlier been the case.

The pointed crown does not characterize any of the images in the Lopburi deposit. A more diverse group of bronzes discovered somewhere in Suphanburi province includes one image similar in character to pl. 73 as well as one (pl. 82) that is rather different: a standing figure, performing a double gesture, with pointed crown, flaring earrings that rest on the shoulder, overscaled jewelry elements, and, in comparison with pl. 73, an avoidance of the detailed incised ornament of the Angkor Wat–style bronze-casting tradition.[217] For the facial type, the antecedents appear to be works that have been assigned to about the third quarter of the twelfth century: the large nāga-protected Buddha of pl. 54 or the bronze that shares features with the Grahi (pl. 55), works that should be understood as independent provincial developments. The ideal Jayavarman face (pl. 74A) does not have an apparent role, yet it is unlikely that the pl. 82 bronze predates the impact of the Bayon style or the establishment of imperial control. The warmth of the Bayon style should be seen as a liberating factor, making possible the folk-like character, the out-of-kilter proportions of the medallions, and the toleration of awkwardness.

[215] Phûnsî Čhîpkæ̂o, "Phra phuttharûp læ bôrânwatthu bæ̂p Khamên phop mai thî mų̂ang Lopburî," *MBJ* 23, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1997), pp. 121–22.

[216] For visual comparisons that support the argument, Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), pp. 109–10.

[217] On this deposit, see Woodward, "Studies" (1975), 1:119–20, 2:60–66.

The crown elements in pl. 82 are triangular, dependent upon the Pāla-type crown found at Haripuñjaya (pl. 59) but rudimentary in nature. A similar type of pointed crown can be seen in pl. 81A, which is one of the stucco heads excavated at the site of Kosinarai, where a Jayabuddhamahānātha was discovered. At none of the sites with stuccos (except for Lopburi) is it possible to reconstruct the original setting for the stucco heads that now rest in museums; perhaps they ornamented pediments. The treatment of the eyes in the Kosinarai head evokes Dvāravatī, specifically the Khu Bua head in pl. 24. Khu Bua stood not far away, and if it was no longer an active monastic site, it had probably been abandoned not much more than a hundred years previously.[218] Still, no evidence for a living tradition of stucco production has been uncovered. Here is a face with an appealing directness that seems to owe little to Angkor. As in certain formulaic thirteenth-century Lopburi stone sculptures, individual facial features appear to be the sculptor's building blocks: the nose that joins eyebrows, the protruding lips, the widely opened eyes. It is somewhat convenient to think of this stucco head as dating from later than the 1191 distribution of the Jayabuddhamahānātha images, but there is no unassailable evidence showing why it could not date from exactly that year or even somewhat earlier.

In bronze, similar qualities of modeling can be seen in the Ariya triad discovered in Uthai Thani province (pl. 83). The Kimbell assembly (pl. 71) belongs approximately to the same period. Earlier examples of such altarpieces would include pl. 46B (ca. early twelfth century) and pl. 70B (perhaps 1150–90). Pl. 83 shares a number of elements with contemporary altarpieces: the Bo tree at the top, an aureole (here, one which follows the scheme of pl. 70B), the tripartite pedestal, and the base with medallions, legs, and a triangular pendant element. It is distinguished by the degree to which the facial modeling has such an autochthonous character and by the tendency to make elements such as the lower parts of the tripartite pedestals seem layered—a characteristic more Burmese than Khmer. The pointed crowns are made up of leaf-like elements, suggesting a connection with the crowns over the faces on the Bayon towers. But little else can be linked to any established chronological development, and so it might be best to ascribe it merely to the first half of the thirteenth

[218] For a late stucco at Khu Bua, ibid., 1:48–49 and fig. 29.

century. A comparison has already been made (p. 182) with pl. 62A from Sukhothai, which may date from the middle years of the thirteenth century.

Lopburi's Wat Phra Sî Rattanamahâthât

No doubt the three towers of Phra Prâng Sâm Yột were re-dedicated in the early thirteenth century: the images of Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā presumed to have stood in the northern and southern towers were replaced by flanking Buddha images, possibly but not necessarily standing Buddhas, the hand in front of the chest. But Phra Prâng Sâm Yột never became a focal monument, attracting additional structures (or not until the seventeenth century). That role fell emphatically to the temple called here the Mahâthât (pl. 51), a building diametrically opposed to Phra Prâng Sâm Yột in key ways. Phra Prâng Sâm Yột is an easily approachable building; it has a multiplicity of entrances, and its broken-up wall surfaces provide a human scale. The Mahâthât (the tall tower, on the right in pl. 51), on the other hand, seems to keep the visitor at a distance. Its central sanctuary can only be entered through the forechamber, and the stairways in the other directions lead only to niches. At ground level, the visitor is overwhelmed by the moldings that creep so high up on the sides of the building. The corners of the sanctuary, furthermore, extend unbroken to the main cornice, making the porticos seem like appurtenances stuck on to the central mass rather than, as at Phra Prâng Sâm Yột, welcoming extensions.

Various kinds of evidence can be used to date the Mahâthât, and contradictory conclusions can be reached.[219] According to a scenario proposed in 1995 and outlined above (p. 163), the lintel on the

[219] The view presented was proposed in Woodward, "Thailand and Cambodia" (1995). For earlier opinions: Boisselier, "Rapport . . . 1964" (1965), pp. 39, 41 (not built earlier than the thirteenth century or—no doubt—the late thirteenth); Samitthi, "Wiwatthanakân phra prâng" (1971); Woodward, "Studies" (1975), 1:115–17, 1:168–76, 2:1–15, esp. p. 15; Santi, *Wiwattanakân* (1979), pp. 9–10 (inter alia); Piriya, *Khmer Bronzes* (1982), p. 47. A dissenting position was taken by Anuwit Charernsupkul, whose studies of building techniques led him to believe that brickwork of a sort seen at shrine 16C in the Mahâthât Lopburi compound and at Wat Nakhộn Kôsâ in Lopburi—and, therefore, also at the collapsed flanking towers of the Mahâthât itself—did not survive the spread of the technique of building with large, irregular blocks of laterite in the Jayavarman VII period: Anuwit, *Bæ̂p khrong sâng* (1981), p. 198 (English summary) and Anuwit, "Wat Mahâthât Lopburî" (1976).

southern face of the forechamber (pl. 50B) is part of the original fabric of the monument, which must then have been founded in the twelfth century, very likely during the time of Lopburi's independence following the death of Sūryavarman II. The lineage ran from Phimai (pl. 42) through Si Thep (pl. 50A) to Lopburi, where a Phimai type of sanctuary was raised high upon a plinth, the relative height of the moldings around the sanctuary walls was much increased, and the porches were turned into porticoed niches. A thirteenth-century architect could, in fact, reject the intermediary cornices of the Bayon style and return to a display of three corners at each angle of the sanctuary without raising the building so high. At thirteenth-century Kamphaeng Laeng in Phetchaburi (pl. 80A and fig. 23c), for instance, one of the shrines displays three corners, but the scale of the structure fits in with the other more Bayonesque shrines in the complex. The decision to elevate the lower parts of the shrine, a primary concern for the Mahâthât architects, was a decision that had been made in the twelfth century. Once the Mahâthât became a prime focal point in the thirteenth century, a path was set from which in later centuries there was no retreat, for basements became increasingly higher.

According to the proposed scenario, work at the Mahâthât was interrupted with the re-establishment of Angkorian hegemony before 1191 and commenced again only at some point after the death of Jayavarman VII. The stucco ornament around the southern porch door (pl. 78B) dates from this time. Elements of this decoration share with the main cornice at Phra Prâng Sâm Yột (pl. 49A) a tendency to make use of stemlike elements. As in the scroll in pl. 79A, petals present spherical surfaces and enclose interior space, but the treatment is less robust. The use of beads (common at Pagan, but also important at Phimai) is a new element. They tend to replace the ball flowers found at Phra Prâng Sâm Yột (above the masks in pl. 49A). The Mahâthât dado ornament apparently cannot, however, be derived from the Phra Prâng Sâm Yột stucco, and there is likely to have been a fresh outside source. This could either have been something from the later phase of the Bayon style at Angkor or from the monument of Preah Palilay, where somewhat similar ornament can be found.[220] There is also a connection between the design of

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[220] Especially Marchal, "Le temple de Prah Pàlilay" (1920), fig. 20.

one of the pediments at the Mahâthât—showing a *Māravijaya* Buddha with two attendant figures—and a Palilay pediment, one in which one of the worshipers, identifiable as Śiva, shares qualities with the bronze Śiva in pl. 85.[221] Furthermore, Preah Palilay itself is raised high on terraces—a development for which the Lopburi Mahâthât would have to be responsible, if it was indeed founded in the third quarter of the twelfth century. It should be concluded, therefore, that a degree of religious intercourse and reciprocal influence explain the connections between the two monuments. It was stated above (p. 203) that Preah Palilay is probably no earlier than the 1240s or later than the 1290s. The Thai evidence cannot conclusively narrow the range of dates, though the mid-century date appears the more probable.

Either in the same campaign that brought the Mahâthât to completion and provided it with stucco ornament or soon thereafter, brick wings were added north and south, transforming the structure into an Ariya monument. Each wing held a tower. The southern one fell at some unknown time in the past, but the northern one stood until about the end of World War II and appears in old photographs, of which pl. 51 is one. These towers resembled the two early brick *prâng* of Monument 16C in the temple compound and at nearby Wat Nakhộn Kôsâ. There are no Ariya votive tablets in which the central Buddha is nāga-protected; as in the Haripuñjaya tablet of pl. 56, he is invariably in the earth-touching pose. The adoption of Ariya beliefs meant the displacement of the nāga-protected Buddha—the dominant icon of the Jayavarman period—by the *Māravijaya*. The flanking Buddhas in Ariya votive tablets, however, are sometimes in the attitude of meditation, and in the small bronze plaque illustrated in pl. 80B, they are nāga-protected. This plaque, and the related tablets, are a pictorial counterpart to the Mahâthât with wings attached: the slightly awkward touching of the bases of the central and flanking images echoes the relationship between laterite and brick at the Mahâthât (though, true, the distinction of material was hidden by stucco). The plaque suggests that a place was made in the Ariya system for nāga-protected Buddhas, as subsidiary images, and this notion must account for the continued production of stone nāga-protected Buddhas at Lopburi well into the Ariya period (but not beyond).

[221] Woodward, "Thailand and Cambodia" (1995), figs. 6–7.

The flanking towers can also be associated with the standing Buddha, hand on chest: the upper tier of the Lamphun tablet (pl. 56) provides a model. This is the pose found at the Kamphaeng Laeng shrine in Phetchaburi (pl. 80A and fig. 23c), surely built before the north and south flanking shrines were added at the Mahâthât. It is also found in the later Monument 486 at Angkor.[222] In general, however, the flanking images in the bronze groupings tend—like the central figure—to assume the *Māravijaya* pose (pl. 83).

In the stucco decoration at both Phra Prâng Sâm Yột and the Mahâthât the work of a number of different hands is detectable; what is not known is when these different hands were at work. At the Mahâthât there are sections that display derivation from Burma rather than from Angkor. Due to the way stucco is ordinarily crafted in successive layers, the physical evidence does not easily yield telltale signs of repair. One section of decoration at the Mahâthât, for instance, shares certain features with the lotus panels on Ram Khamhaeng's stone throne, the *manaṅṣīlāpātra* of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (fig. 22).[223] If this decor is original, it would argue for a date for the Mahâthât toward the end of the possible timespan rather than the beginning. More likely it is a repair, perhaps of the late thirteenth century, perhaps (as Santi Leksukhum proposed) of the early Ayutthaya period.[224]

The brick sanctuary towers of Monument 16C in the Mahâthât compound and at Lopburi's Wat Nakhộn Kôsâ much resemble the lost flanking towers at the Mahâthât. Their stucco decor provides indications of the path of development into the fourteenth century. Both examples are derived from the elements in the Mahâthât dado. At Monument 16C (pl. 79B), the stems and leaves have become separated from one another and their three-dimensional relationship is lost; what is left is a pleasantly rhythmic but largely two-dimensional pattern. Circlets enlarge the role of the earlier beads. At the *prâng* at Wat Nakhộn Kôsâ (pl. 49B), finally, there is a movement away from individually modeled plastic masses towards flat surfaces, which are now sharply incised with different patterns. The nāga cresting,

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[222] Ibid., fig. 8.

[223] For the date of the installation, Penth, "Difficulties with Inscription No. 1" (1991), p. 533.

[224] Santi, *Wiwattanakân* (1979), pp. 9–10, arguing against the position taken in Woodward, "Studies" (1975).

compared to that at Phra Prâng Sâm Yột (pl. 49A) is light and vibrant. The bar-rosette band above the frieze is a new motif. Another motif, the *yakṣa* with club, can be seen also at the Chaliang gate of around 1300 (pl. 66).

Developments in Sculpture

The meditating Buddha in pl. 84 is a distinguished object, capable of engaging our attention, oblivious of the absence of grace in its bodily proportions. One significant reason for dating it toward the end of a period of concentrated stone production at Lopburi is that it is characterized by a number of motifs that are rare in stone but can be observed in bronze images, many of which cannot be as old as the bronzes already discussed. The Buddha wears a tiara (compare pl. 81B), held in place by heavy straps reaching on four sides to the *uṣṇīṣa* (less obtrusive straps can be seen in the stone standing Buddha, pl. 77). His eyes are open. The heavy shawl that hangs over his left shoulder is folded in such a way that incised lines form a reverse letter L (as in pls. 86A and 86B). The pedestal consists of a single band of upright lotus petals—actually an old concept (cf. pl. 52, the Suphanburi stele), but one not typical of Lopburi stone production.

Clearly, the quality of humanity is something made possible by the innovations of the Bayon style, and comparable awkwardnesses in the body have been observed in other Lopburi sculpture, such as pls. 75B and 77. One feature that particularly helps set this sculpture apart is the presence of open eyes. Open eyes had been normal in the twelfth century, and they do characterize a certain number of Lopburi stones of the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries. Furthermore, if bronze workshops adhering to older norms remained active well into the thirteenth century, then Angkor Wat–type open eyes were always present as an alternative. Nevertheless, the eyes in this sculpture have a remarkable insistence.

It may be possible to explain everything in terms of elements at hand. If such is the case, then the Kimbell bronze (pl. 71) makes an instructive comparison: a work evidently later than 1191 but with the unclothed torso and open eyes that adhere to earlier traditions. The result is a figure both tense and remote, something quite different from the stone meditating Buddha. Perhaps there is a connection in

another direction, with the bronze half-seated Śiva illustrated in pl. 85, already linked to the Preah Palilay–Preah Pithu milieu at Angkor. If a tie between Preah Palilay and the Mahâthât sometime in the middle decades of the thirteenth century (or perhaps later) helps explain elements at both sites, then a comparable connection might be at work in the stone meditating Buddha, playing a role in its facial proportions and modeling.

If at this point there was a turn away from stone at Lopburi, then the building blocks of an art history become even more disparate, scattered, and elusive. Trends can be surmised: away from Ariya Buddhism, away from pointed crowns and elaborate tabernacles, toward *Māravijaya* Buddhas of increasing size, with no crown or tabernacle. It has already been proposed (pp. 186–87) that at Sukhothai the standing Buddha with left hand at the side, right hand raised in a gesture, emerged as a significant iconic type in the final decades of the thirteenth century (pl. 63). The instances in stone at Chaiya may be no older than this (pl. 68C, the posture reversed). Therefore, the spread of this iconic type may serve as a chronological marker.

It has been seen that the last decades of the thirteenth century were marked by new situations: this was the period of the capture of Haripuñjaya, the rise of King Ram Khamhaeng, a war between Siam and Cambodia, and, in the far south, the end of a long period of Śrīvijayan culture in Sathing Phra. In Chinese annals, the late thirteenth century is the period of the rise of Hsien or Siam, which in the 1278–82 period China considered invading, and to which in July, 1282, the first of several Chinese embassies was dispatched.[225] It was evidently pressures from Hsien that brought a spate of missions from Lopburi (Lo-hu) to China—in 1289, 1291, 1296, 1297, and 1299.[226] The Chinese records provide much evidence for not identifying Hsien with Sukhothai; at the same time, it seems hard to divorce Sukhothai expansion from the activities of Hsien, wherever it may have stood.[227] Ratchaburi and Nakhon Pathom seem at least as likely as a site in Suphanburi province or in the vicinity of

[225] The passages are translated in Flood, "Sukhothai-Mongol Relations" (1969).
[226] Paul Pelliot, "Deux itineraires de Chine en Inde," *BEFEO* 4 (1904):241–43.
[227] For discussions of the Hsien question, Wolters, "A Western Teacher and the History of Early Ayudhya," *Social Science Review*, spec. issue 3 (June 1966), pp. 88–97; Vickery, "A New Tamnan About Ayudhya" (1979), pp. 134, 155–56, 176–77; Piriya, *Khmer Bronzes* (1982), pp. 45–46; Penth, "Difficulties with Inscription No. 1" (1991), pp. 530–32.

Ayutthaya. The only Thai-language legendary accounts that appear relevant are those of Nakhon Pathom ("Nagara Jaiyaśrī"), which describe the foundation of a monument by the king of Lopburi ("Lawô") and, thirty-five years later (possibly in A. D. 1312), the capture of the city by a king of Sukhothai, followed by the movement of armies north to Lamphun, where homage is paid to relics of the Buddha.[228] These legends also provide reasons for believing that Nagara Jaiyaśrī was ethnically Mon prior to the Sukhothai invasion, as Hsien may have been. At any rate, the series of missions from Lopburi to China should be understood not as an indication of a recent rise to power but of an altered situation: after a long period of apparent strength and prosperity, Lopburi's position was being challenged.

In carrying the story forward from the meditating Buddha (pl. 84), motifs provide some guidance. The shawl incised with a "reverse-*L*," seen on the stone Buddha, for instance, also characterizes two bronzes, pls. 86A and 86B. The latter comes from Muang San, a site in Chainat province in which the architectural vestiges, of the fourteenth and perhaps late thirteenth centuries, exhibit ties to both Haripuñjaya and Lopburi, and in which were found a number of the bronze Buddha images with certain Khmer-like elements—sculptures belonging to the so-called U Thong style. In pl. 86B, the facial modeling strongly recalls that of a Lopburi-type stone image in the local museum, one depicting the standing Buddha, hand on chest.[229] Therefore it is possible to suppose a rather short time gap—or none at all—between the two works. The much smaller image, pl. 86A, was deposited at Wat Râtchabûrana in Ayutthaya in the 1420s. An exquisite object, it takes a path that is regrettably nearly unique, apparently drawing on Dvāravatī and Haripuñjaya features in the joined, incised eyebrows and the open eyes. It is the work of a sculptor working in an unknown location, taking advantage of a moment of crisis or freedom to establish an individual identity.

Pl. 81B belongs to a group of stucco heads found at Nakhon Pathom sometime before 1929.[230] The tiara—a feature already mentioned—has roots in much twelfth-century Khmer art, and the facial

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[228] These legends are summarized in Woodward, "Studies" (1975), 1:153–57.
[229] Woodward, *Sacred Sculpture* (1997), fig. 114.
[230] Cf. ibid., fig. 149.

modeling is not without links to the Bayon style; nevertheless, this head, and the others of the group to which it belongs, may well not date any earlier than about the late thirteenth century. Unfortunately, it is not easy to integrate sequences of ornament with those of sculpture, even when—as in the case of Monument 16C in Lopburi (pl. 79B)—the two are combined. With a broad mouth, turned up slightly at the edges, the Nakhon Pathom stucco head provides a bridge to works that are even more advanced. One of these is the stone head from Lopburi, pl. 87B. Here is a rounded *uṣṇīṣa* of small curls, surmounted by a new element, possibly a flame, that proclaims the establishment of a fresh iconic tradition. Some sort of break in Lopburi stone production must be assumed, following the meditating Buddha, pl. 84, and prior to this head, yet the break might in fact have had little duration. There are also stylistic connections to the large bronze Buddha seen in pl. 87A. Its pedestal type, on the other hand, is one that might not have been established until the second half of the fourteenth century, and the curved shawl differentiates it from earlier works.

Another feature in the Nakhon Pathom head is the vertical clefting below the nose and on the lower lip. There are many earlier instances of such clefting, but it becomes a rather common feature in works of the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. It provides a connection with a tall image of the standing Buddha in the Lopburi Museum, pl. 88, which bears significant clefting on the chin. This sculpture was possibly but not necessarily made in Lopburi. The ornament upon the central pleat has ties to earlier phases of bronze production while the face exhibits some similarities with the bronze of the same iconic type discovered in Sukhothai (pl. 63A). Another sculpture which can be brought into the picture is the head from Lamphun, pl. 61B. It can be supposed that the regional interconnections suggested by these similarities must be due in part to the movement of Thai-speaking people in the final decades of the thirteenth or early decades of the fourteenth century.

INSCRIPTIONS CITED

Abbreviations

B.R.	Buriram
Ch.M.	Chiang Mai
K.	Khmer
Kh.K.	Khon Kaen
L.Ph.	Lamphun
N.S.	Nakhon Si Thammarat
Ph.R.	Phanom Rung
Th.	Thai

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Appendix

Phanom Rung inscriptions according to *Prâsât Phanom Rung* (1988), p. 80:

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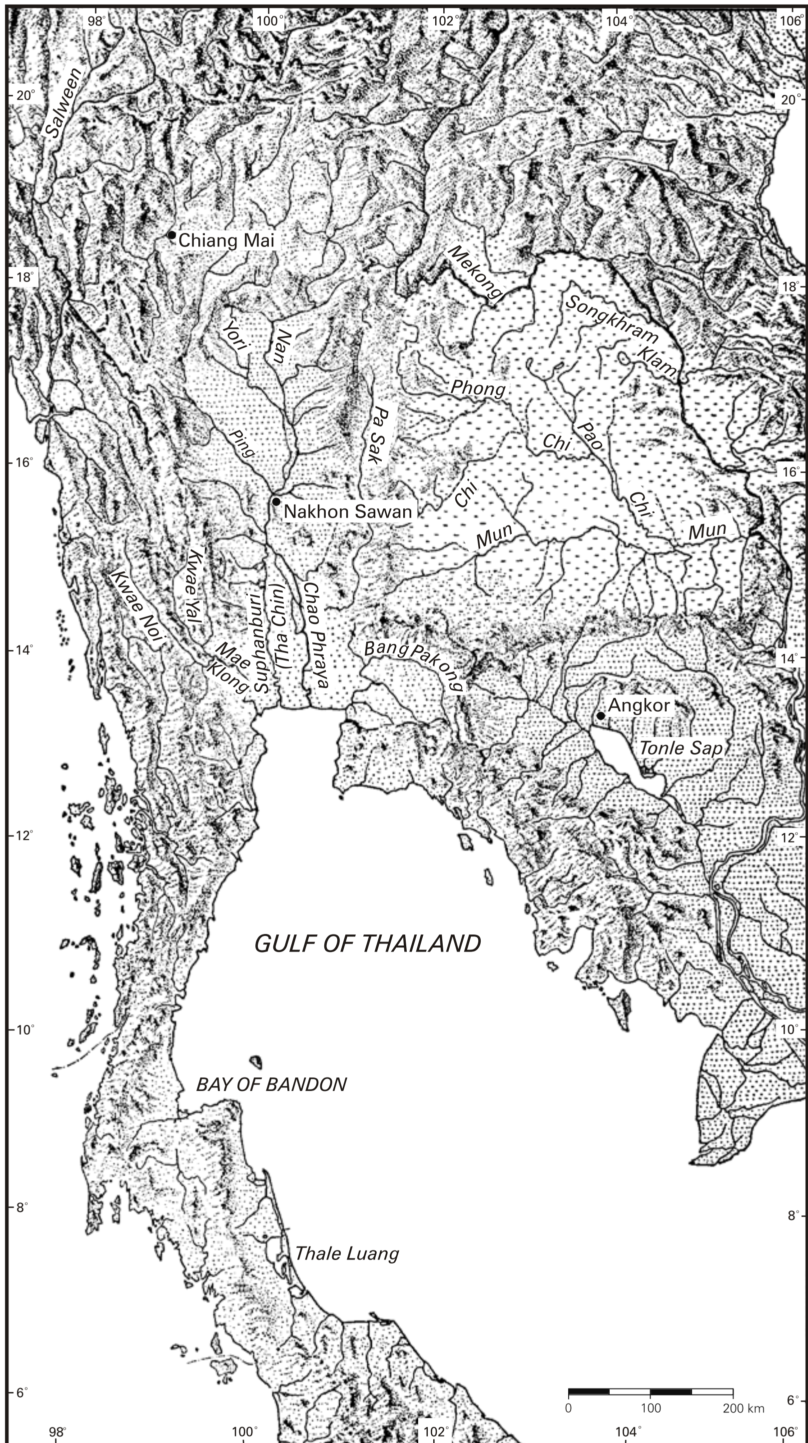
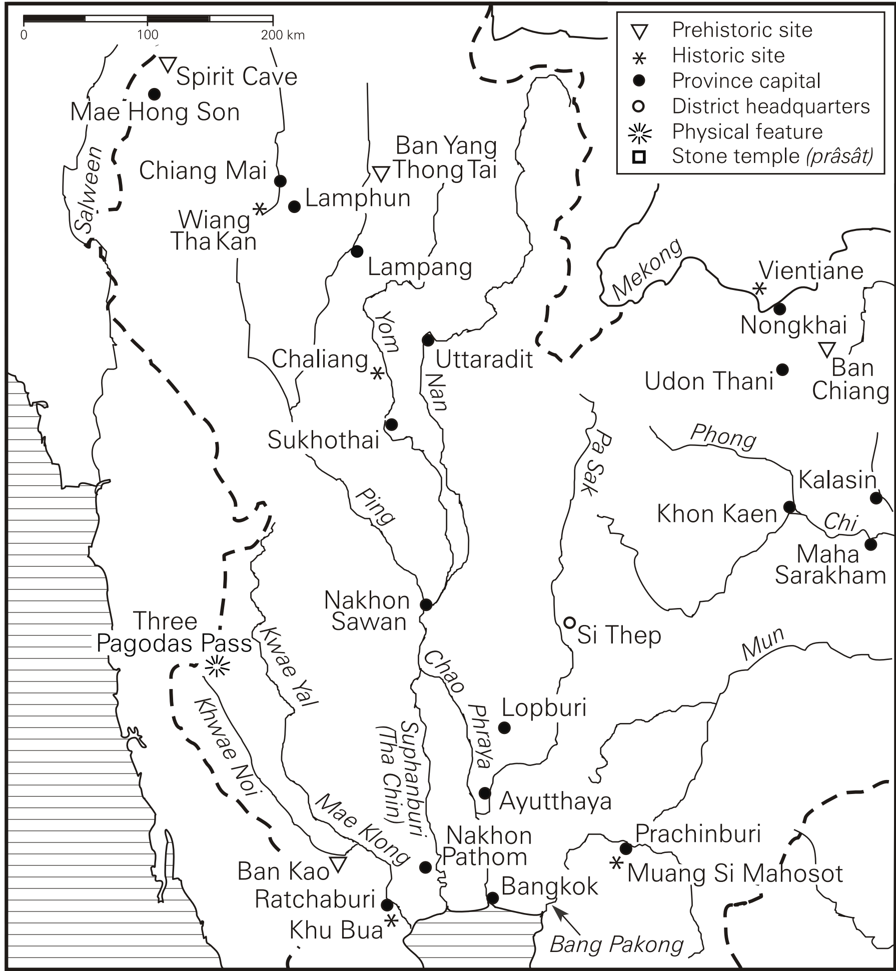
Ph.R. 2	B.R. 11	K. 1067	
Ph.R. 3	B.R. 16		
Ph.R. 4	B.R. 9	K. 1068	
Ph.R. 5	B.R. 12	K. 1066	
Ph.R. 6	B.R. 13	K. 1072	
		K. 1091	
		K. 1071	
Ph.R. 7	B.R. 1	K. 384	
	B.R. 10	K. 384bis	
Ph.R. 8	B.R. 14		*Sinlapâkộn* 31 no. 2 (1987)
Ph.R. 9	B.R. 15		
Ph.R. 10		K. 1090	

Ph.R. 11
Ph.R. 12
Ph.R. 13
Ph.R. 14
Ph.R. 15
K. 1092

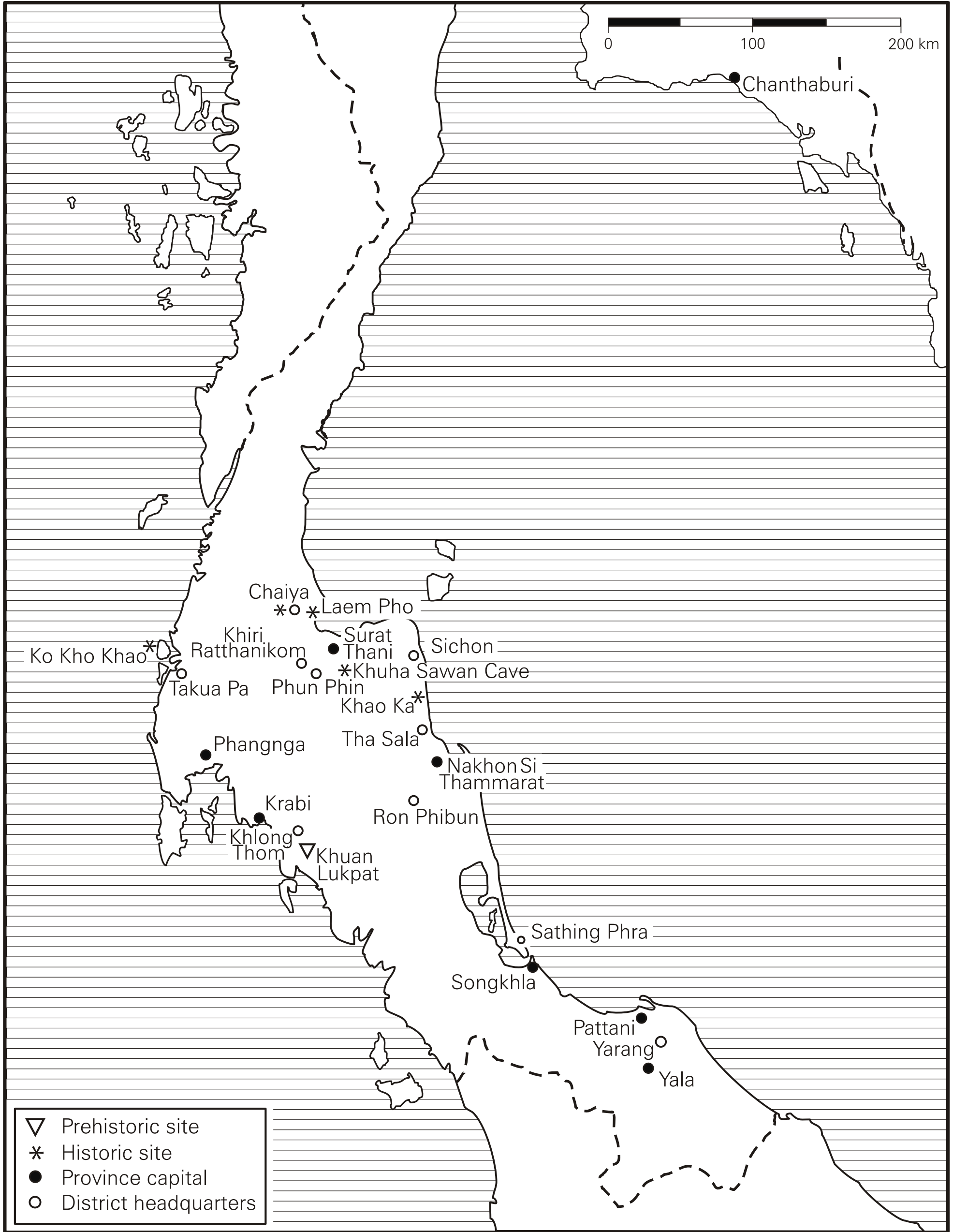
MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS



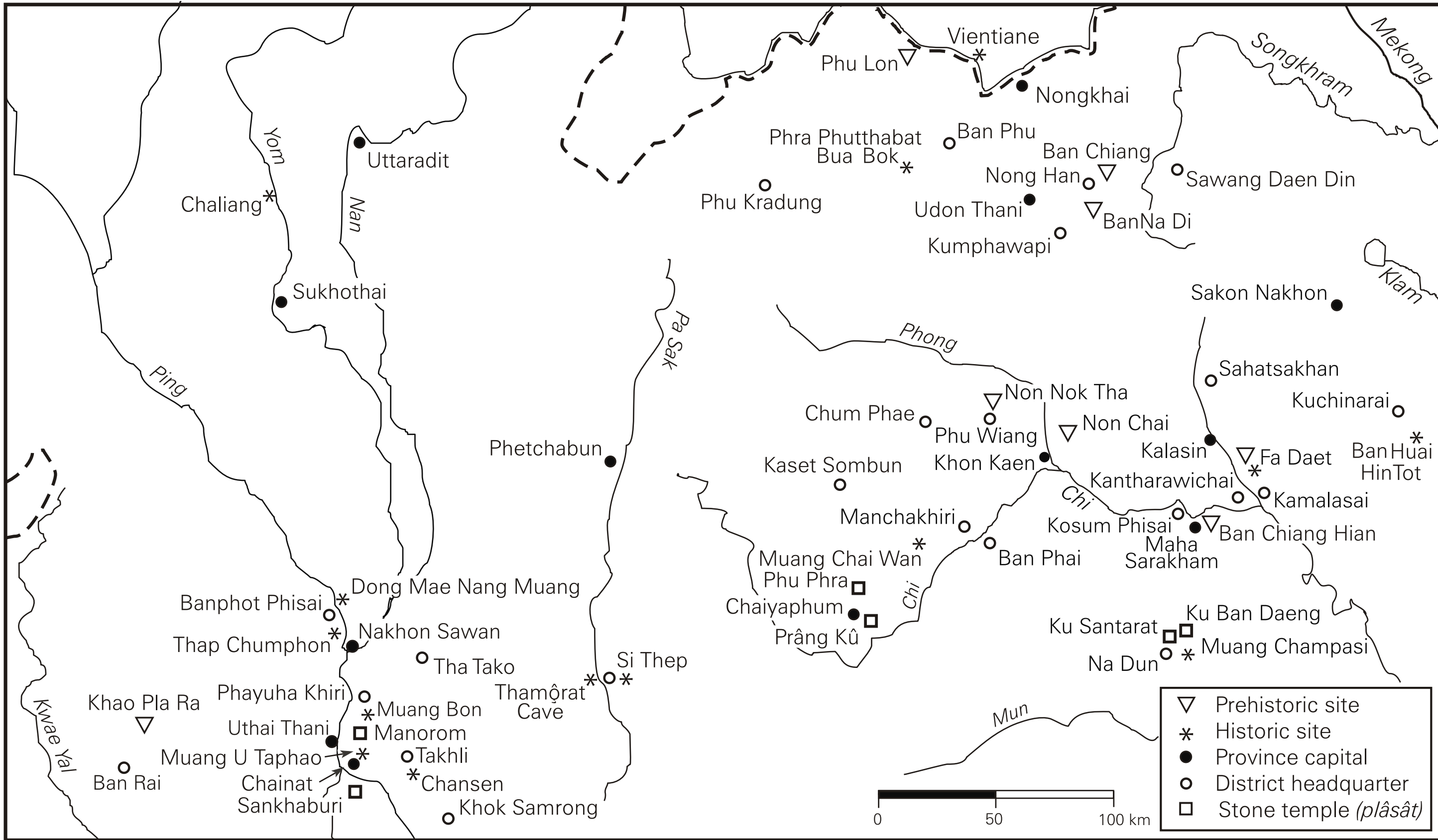
Map 1.



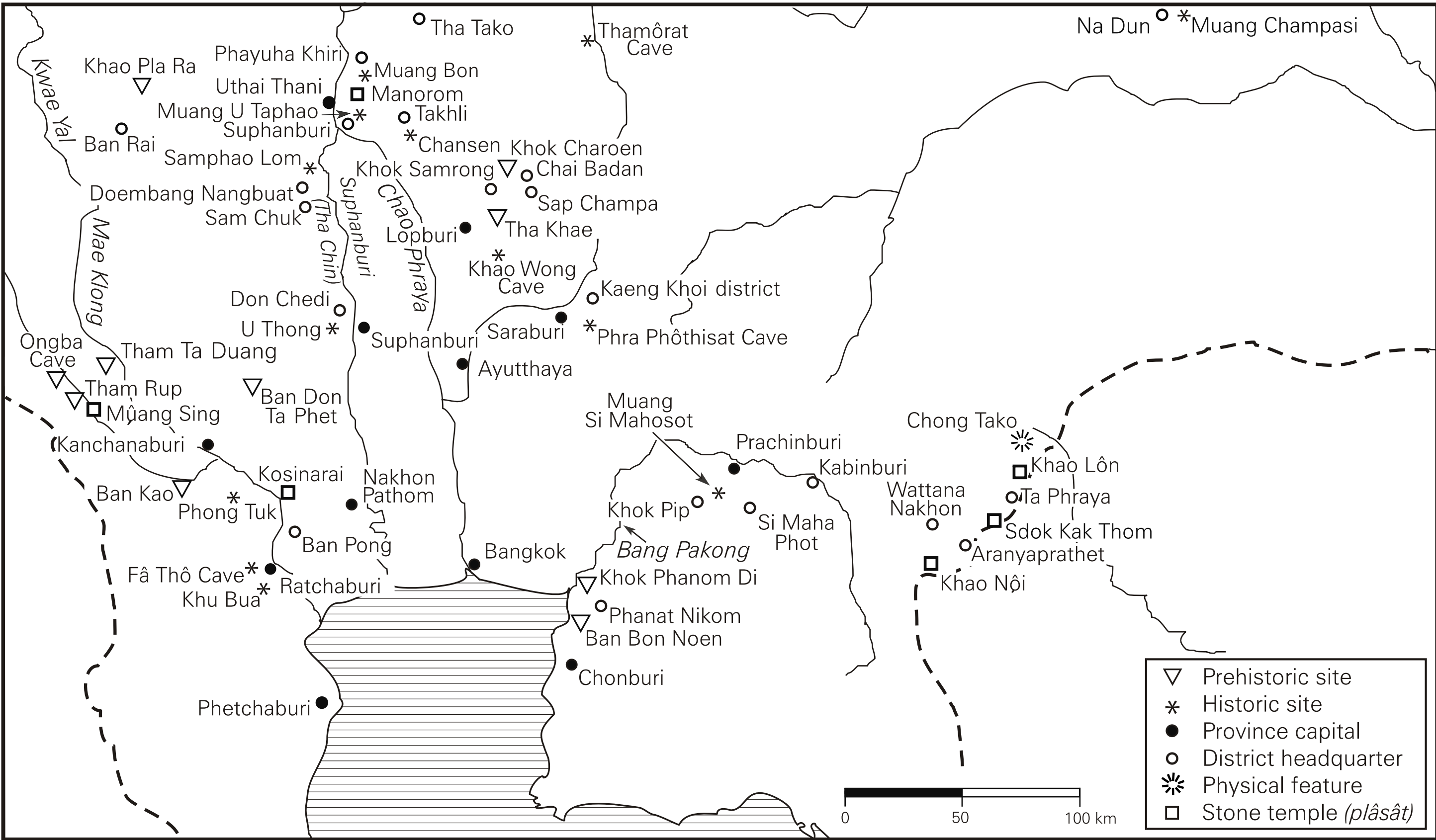
Map 2



Map 3



Map 4.



Map 5

Map 6.

1. Jar with spiral design, human figures below the rim. Fine Arts Department of Thailand.

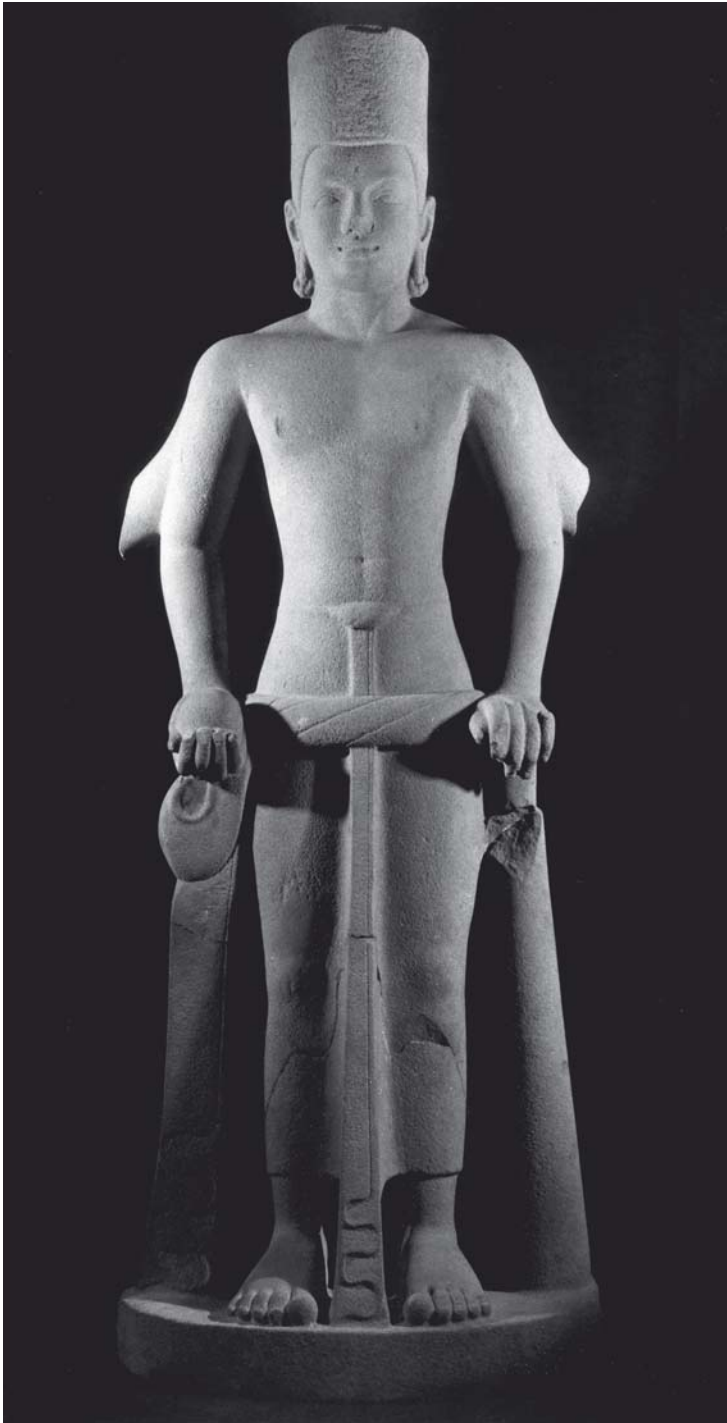
2. Cover with finial in the form of a bird, from Ban Don Ta Phet. Fine Arts Department of Thailand.

3. Viṣṇu, from Chaiya. National Museum, Bangkok.

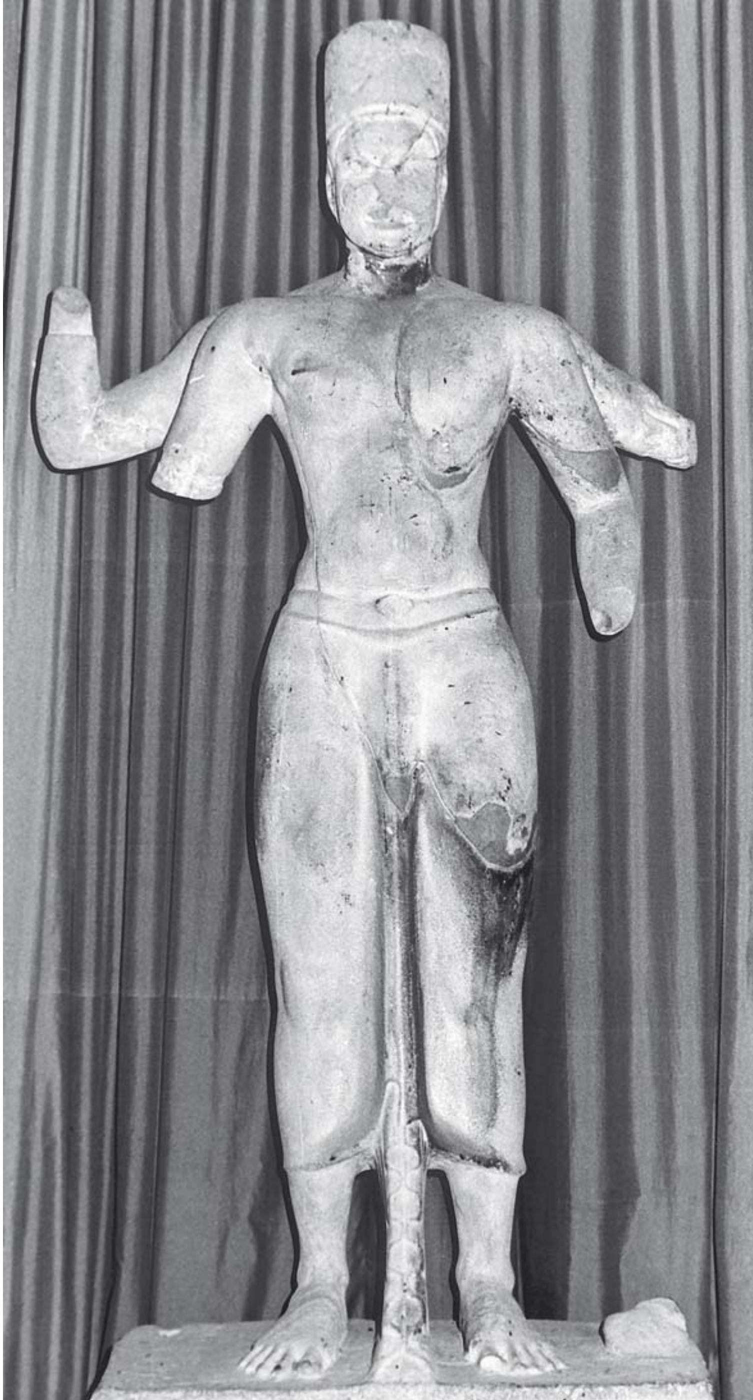
4. Buddha in meditation, from Khok Pip district, Prachinburi. Prachinburi National Museum.

5. (A) Fragment of a lintel, from Chanthaburi province. National Museum, Bangkok.

5. (B) *Dharmacakra*, from U Thong. Detail. U Thong National Museum.

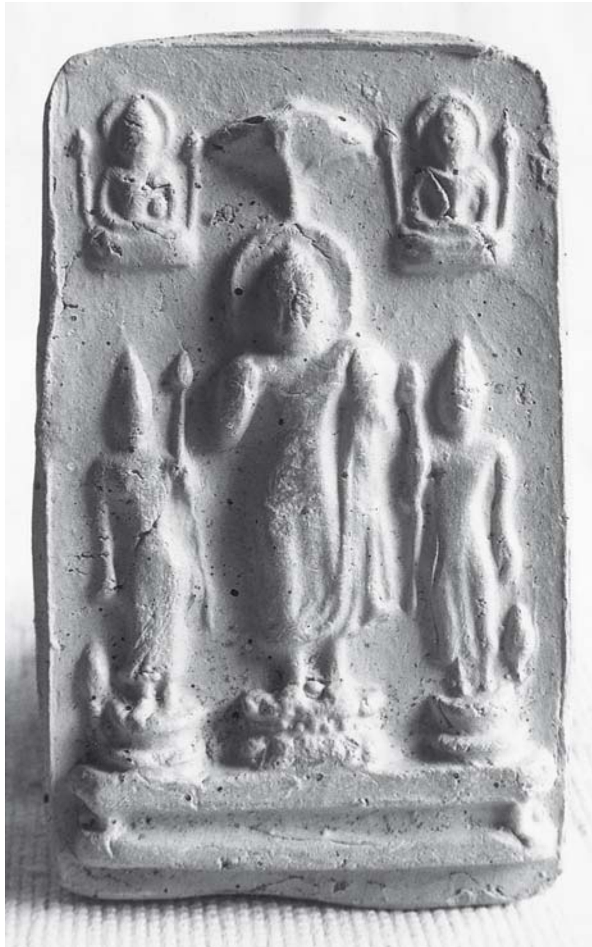


6. Viṣṇu, from Muang Si Mahosot, Prachinburi. Prachinburi National Museum.



7. Viṣṇu. Stone. From Takua Pa district, Phangnga. National Museum, Bangkok.

8. (A) Votive tablet: Buddha with attendants. National Museum, Bangkok.

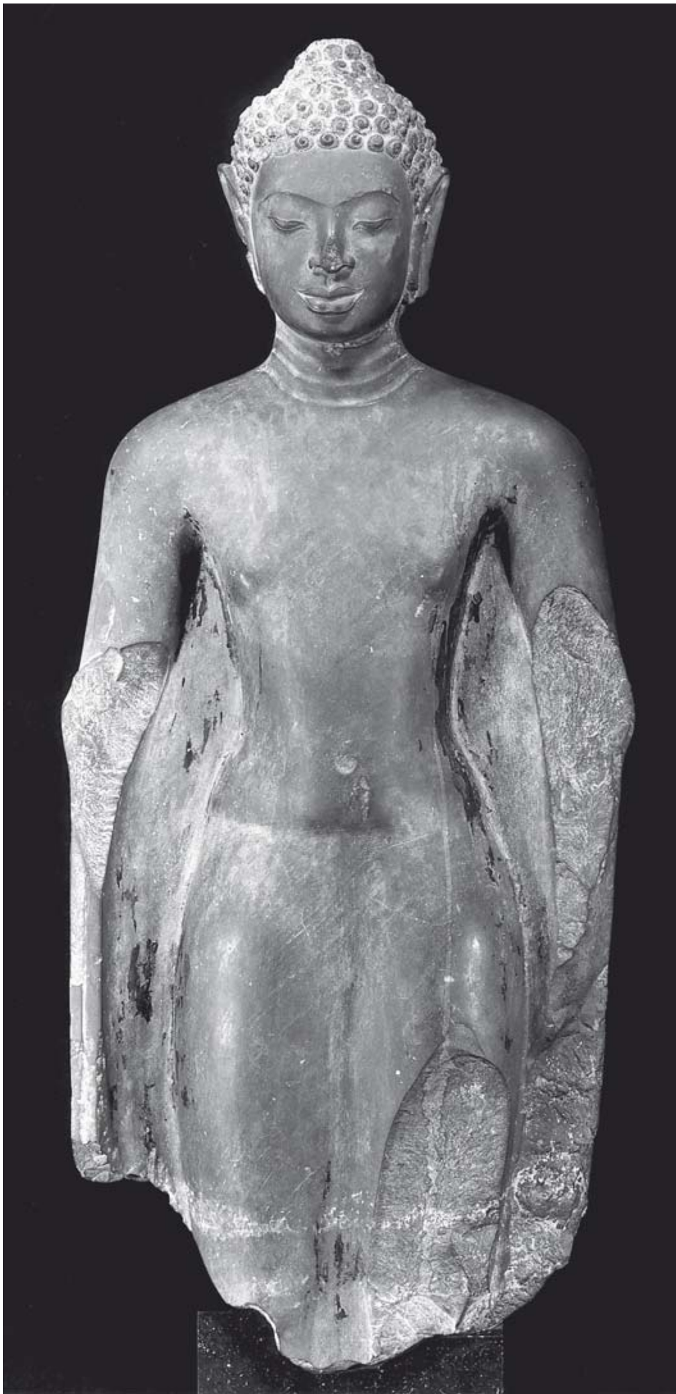


8. (B) Votive tablet: standing Buddha with attendants, modern plaster. Wat Machimâwât, Songkhla.

9. (A) Buddha on Garuda. Private collection.

9. (B) Head of an attendant figure, from site 40, Khu Bua. National Museum, Bangkok.

10. Attendant figure, from site 40, Khu Bua. National Museum, Bangkok.

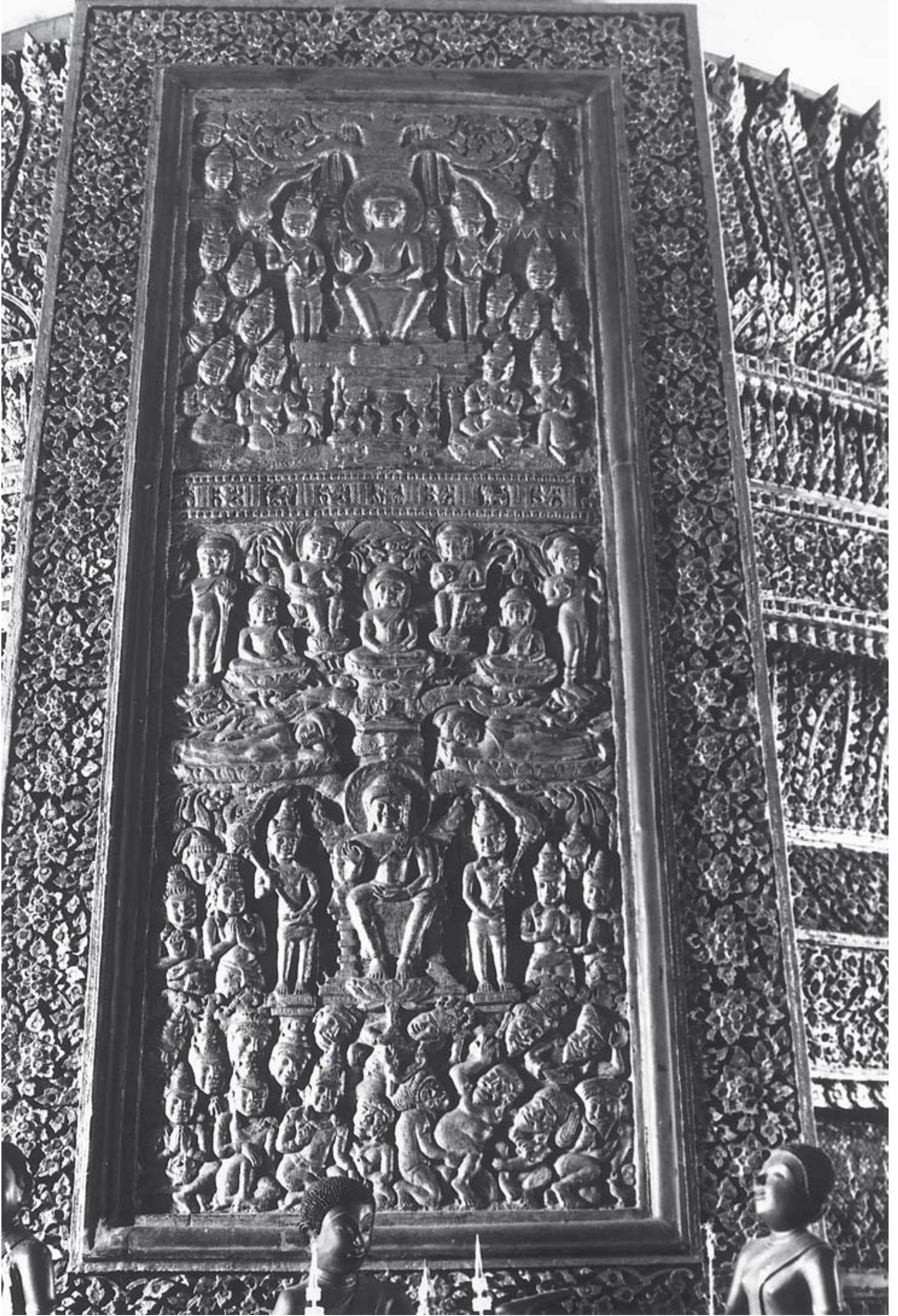


11. Standing Buddha. Thomas D. Stimson Memorial collection, Seattle Art Museum.

12. The Buddha's first sermon. Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom.

13. (A) Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon, Nakhon Pathom (1968).

13. (B) *Kinnara*, from Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon. Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom.



14. The Buddha preaching in heaven (above); the miracle of double appearances (below). Wat Suthat, Bangkok.

15. Seated royal figure, from site 10, Khu Bua. National Museum, Bangkok.

16. Lokeśvara, from Chaiya. National Museum, Bangkok.

17. Lokeśvara, from Chaiya. National Museum, Bangkok.

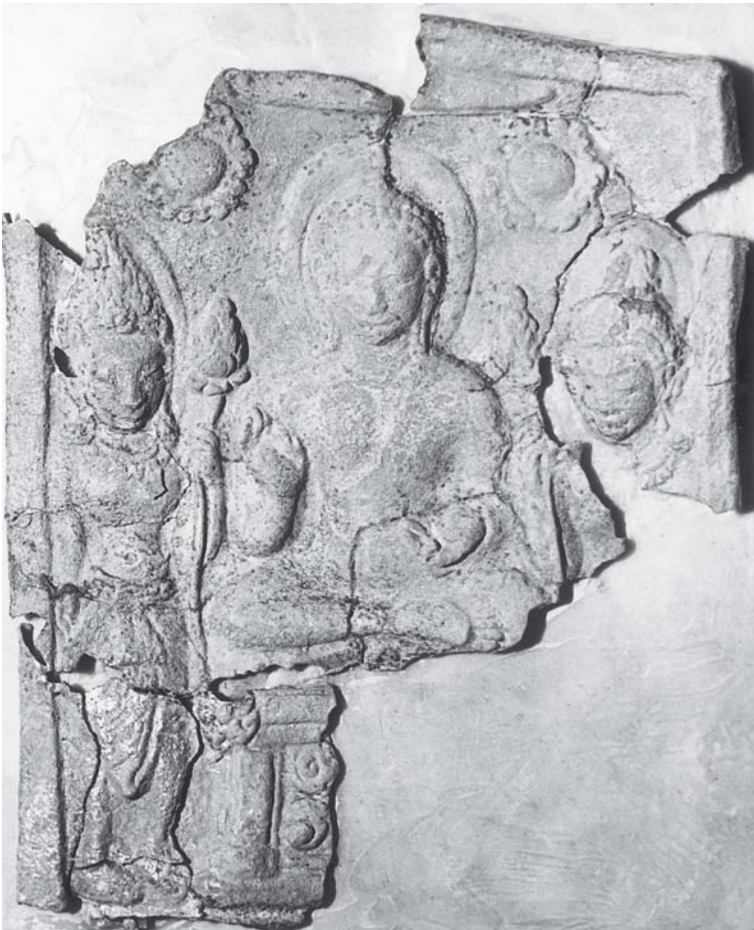
18. Twelve-armed Avalokiteśvara. Private collection.

19. Viṣṇu, from Si Thep. National Museum, Bangkok.

20. Viṣṇu with attendant. Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena.

21. Mañjuśrī. The Asia Society, New York, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection.

22. Standing Buddha. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Enid A. Haupt.



23. (A) Seated Buddha with two attendants, from Čhêdî Čhunla Pathon, National Museum, Bangkok.

23. (B) Votive tablet: the Buddha's miracle of double appearances. National Museum, Bangkok.

24. Head of a divinity, from Khu Bua. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

25. Nāga-protected Buddha. National Museum, Bangkok.

26. Maitreya. The Asia Society, New York, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection.

27. Boundary stone: *Sarabhaṅga-jātaka*, from Fa Daet, Kalasin. Fine Arts Department of Thailand.

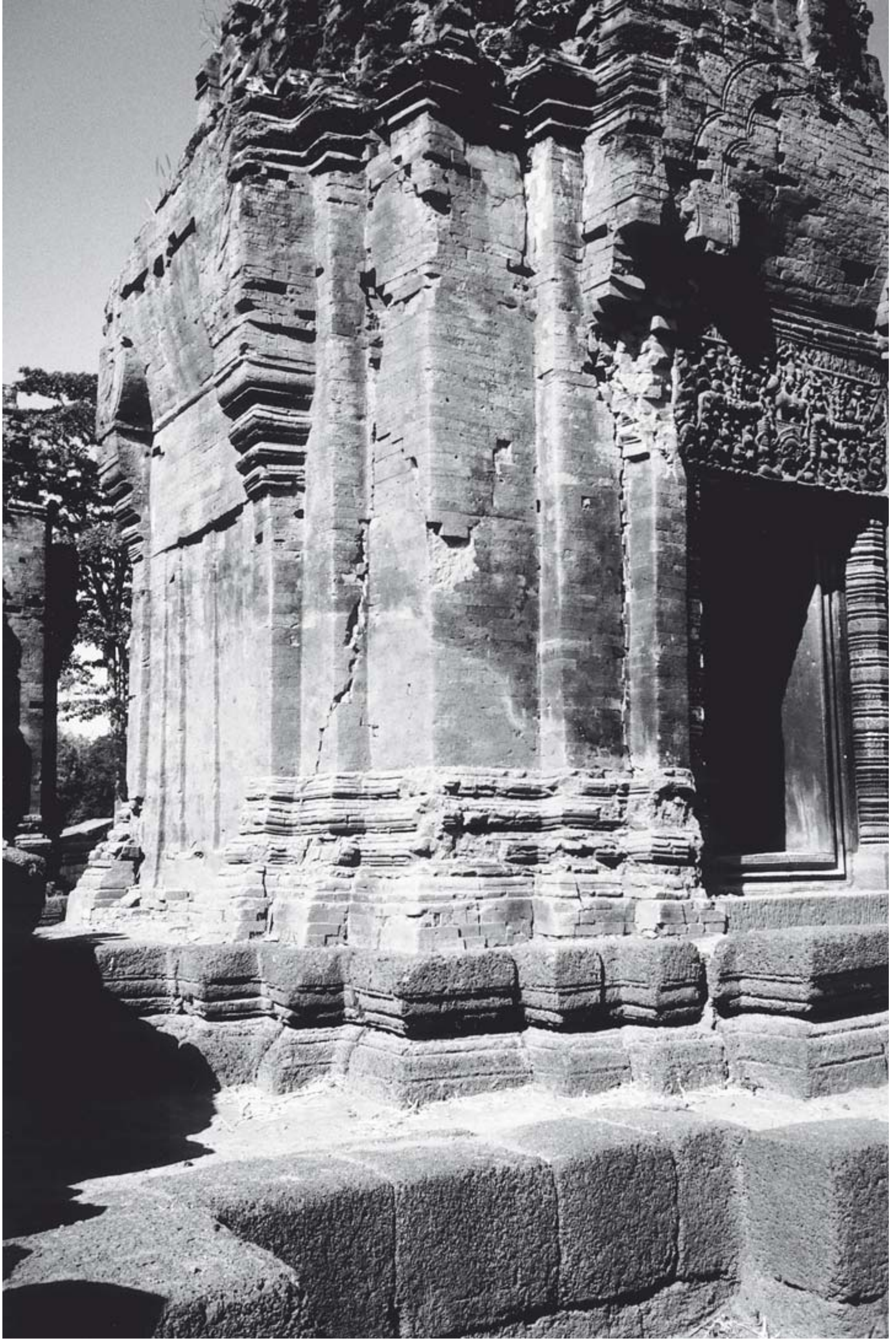
28. Reclining Buddha, Phu Wiang mountain, Khon Kaen.

29. (A) Head of a demon. National Museum, Bangkok.

29. (B) Votive tablet: seated Buddha, from Ban Samphao Lom, Suphanburi.

30. Standing Buddha. The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund.

31. *Māravijaya* Buddha, from Buriram province. National Museum, Bangkok.



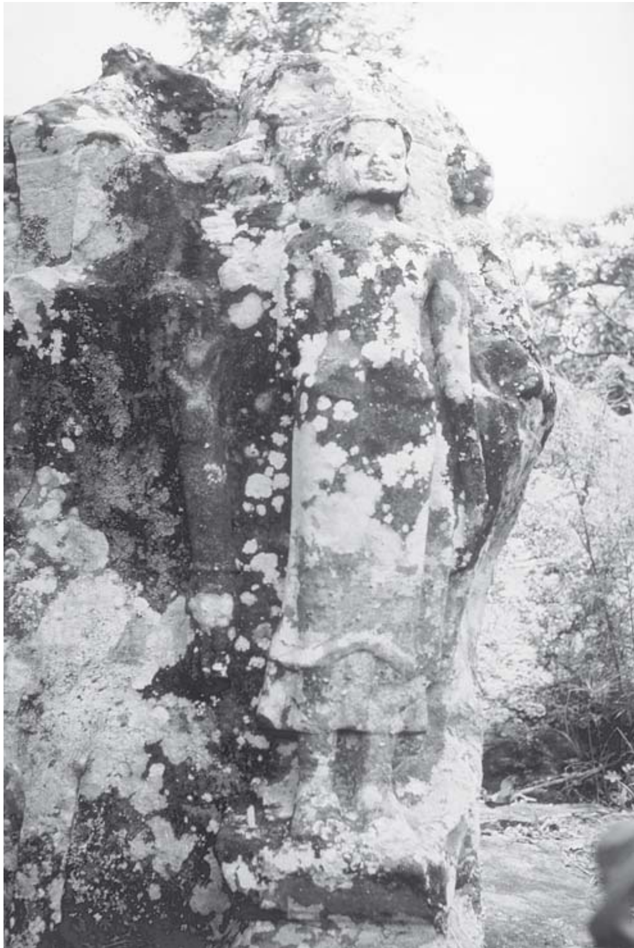
32. Northeastern shrine, Prâśât Mʉ̈ang Tam.

33. (A) Lintel and pediment, eastern inner gopura, Prâsât Mư̆ang Tam.

33. (B) Lintel depicting Gaja Lakṣmī, southern library, Prâsât Kamphæ̂ng Yai.

34. Śiva, from Prâsât Kamphæ̂ng Yai. Fine Arts Department of Thailand.

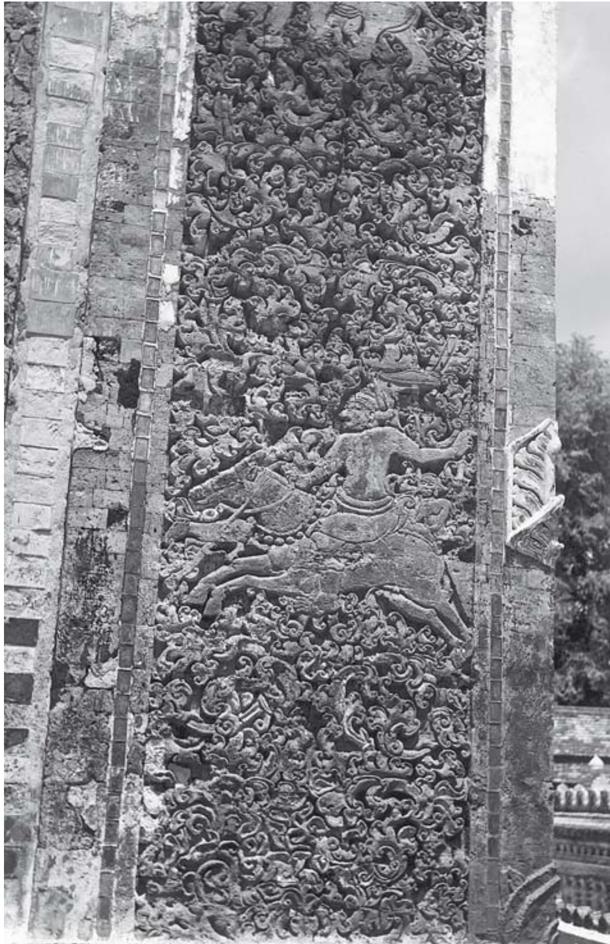
35. Boundary stone: scene from the *Vidhurapaṇḍita-jātaka*, Ban Huai Hin Tot, Kalasin.



36. (A) Standing Buddha, Wat Phộ Tâ, Udon Thani.

36. (B) Standing Buddha. Chao Sam Phraya National Museum, Ayutthaya.

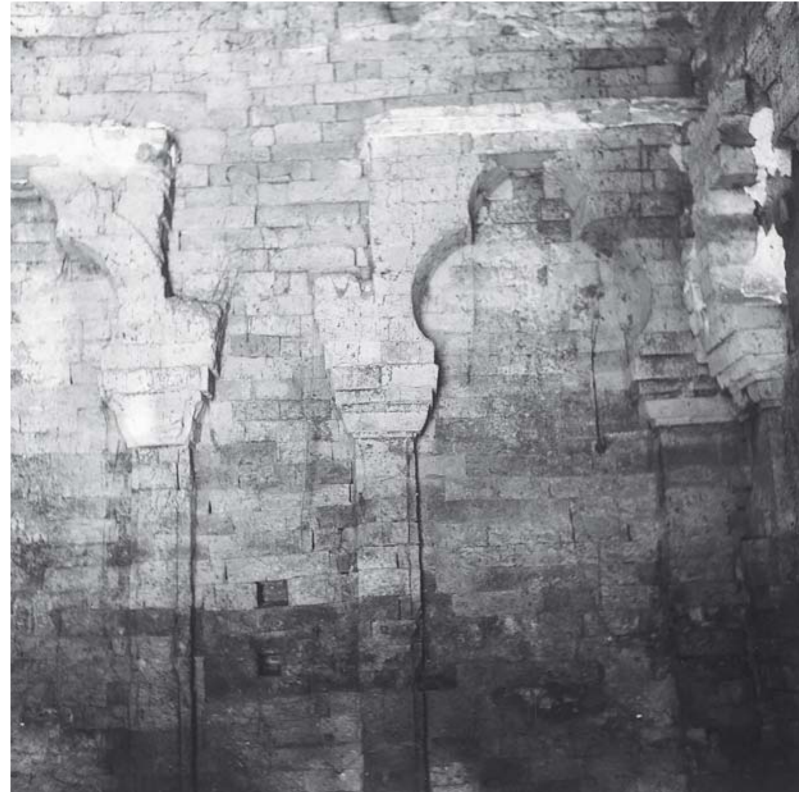
37. Standing Buddha, from Nakhon Ratchasima province.
National Museum, Bangkok.



38. (A) Horse and rider in foliage, Phra Thât Phanom.

38. (B) Votive tablet: *Māravijaya* Buddha. National Museum, Bangkok.

39. (A) *Māravijaya* Buddha. Chao Sam Phraya National Museum, Ayutthaya.



39. (B) Interior niches, Prâśât Mų̛ang Khaǣk, Lopburi.

40. Standing Buddha. National Museum, Bangkok.

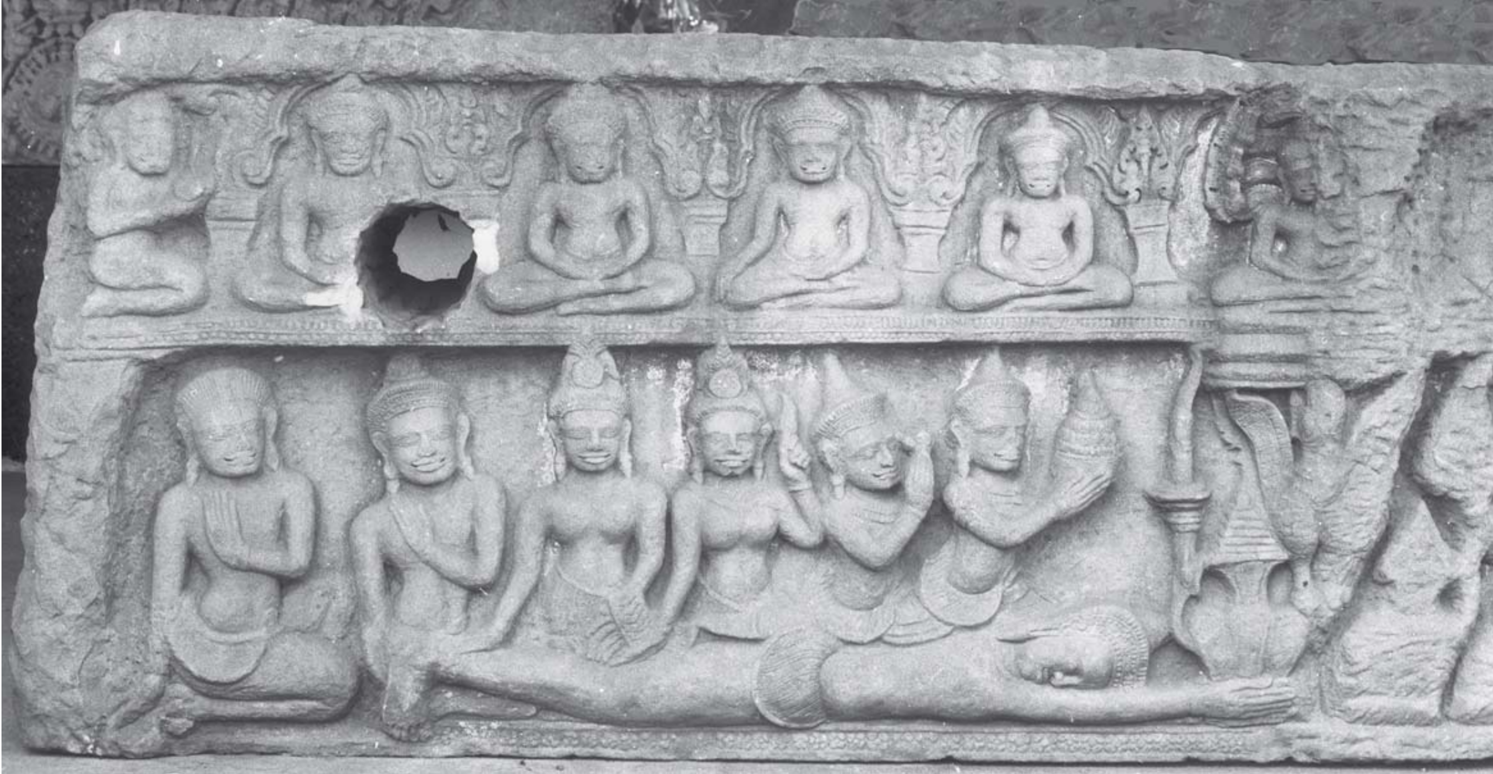
41. (A) Nāga-protected Buddha, from Wat Pû Bua, Suphanburi. Fine Arts Department of Thailand.

41. (B) Brahmā, from Lopburi. National Museum, Bangkok.

42. Phimai temple, from the east.

43. Primary cornice, Phimai.

44. Inner western lintel, Phimai.



45. Left side of unfinished lintel, Phimai.

46. (A) Tantric deity, possibly Trailokyavijaya, from Phimai. National Museum, Bangkok.

46. (B) Standing Buddha in tabernacle, said to have come from Phimai. Private collection.

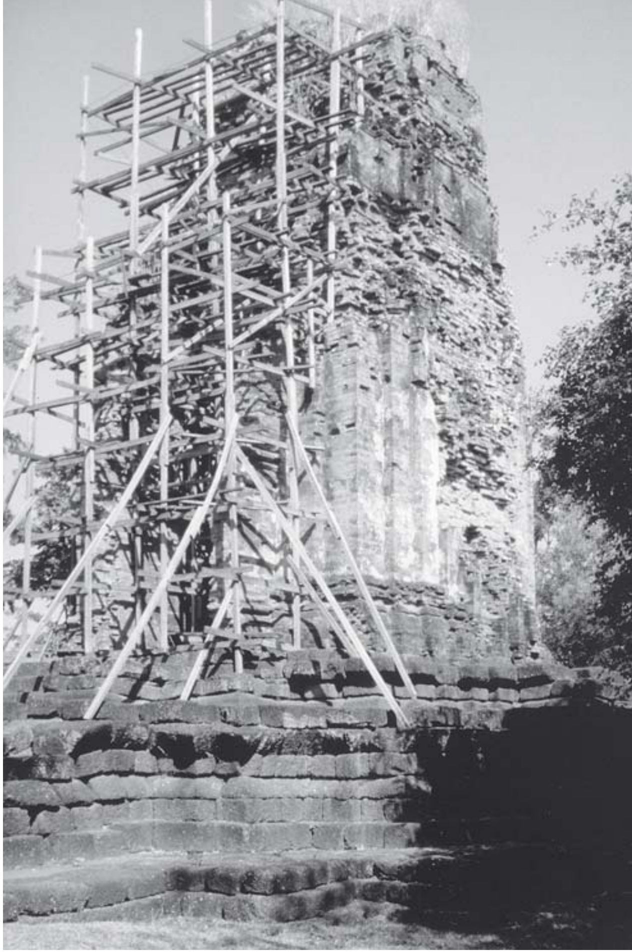
47. Principal entrance, with reclining Viṣṇu lintel, Prâsât Phanom Rung.

48. (A) Nāga terminant to pediment, Prâsât Phanom Rung.

48. (B) Nāga terminant to pediment, Phra Prâng Sâm Yột, Lopburi.

49. (A) Main cornice, Phra Prâng Sâm Yột, Lopburi.

49. (B) Nāga terminant and lower part of the principal cornice, main *prâng,* Wat Nakhộn Kôsâ, Lopburi.



50. (A) Prâng Sî Thêp, Si Thep, Phetchabun province.

50. (B) Lintel, southern entrance to the forechamber, Wat Phra Sî Rattanamahâthât, Lopburi.

51. Wat Phra Sî Rattanamahâthât, Lopburi (1920s).

52. Stele with Nāga-protected Buddha. Wat Suwannaphum, Suphanburi.

53. Nāga-protected Buddha, from Ta Phraya district, Prachinburi. Fine Arts Department of Thailand.

54. Nāga-protected Buddha, from Wat Nâ Phra Mên, Ayutthaya. National Museum, Bangkok.

55. Nāga-protected Buddha. Chao Sam Phraya National Museum, Ayutthaya.

56. Votive tablet: assembly of Buddhas at the Mahābodhi temple.

57. Upper levels of the western face, Wat Kû Kut, Lamphun.

58. Standing Buddha, from Lamphun. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, gift of Alexander B. Griswold.

59. Standing crowned Buddha. National Gallery of Australia, Canberra.

60. (A) Votive tablet: the arhat Jotiya. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

60. (B) Head of the Buddha, western face, Wat Kû Kut, Lamphun.

61. (A) Head of the Buddha, from Wat Mahâwan, Lamphun. Hariphunchai National Museum, Lamphun.

61. (B) Head of the Buddha. Hariphunchai National Museum, Lamphun.

62. (A) Stele with crowned *Māravijaya* Buddha. Ram Khamhaeng National Museum, Sukhothai.

62. (B) Stele with Buddha in meditation, from Sukhothai. Chao Sam Phraya National Museum, Ayutthaya.

63. (A) Standing Buddha, from Wat Mahâthât, Sukhothai. Ram Khamhaeng National Museum, Sukhothai.

63. (B) Standing Buddha, from Sawankhârâm, Sawankhalok. Fine Arts Department of Thailand.

64. Northern *prâng*, Wat Phra Phai Luang, Sukhothai.

65. (A) Wat Phra Phai Luang, Sukhothai.

65. (B) Pyramid at Wat Kộn Lǣng, Sukhothai.

66. Upper part of the gate, Wat Mahâthât, Chaliang.

67. Standing Buddha. Nakhon Si Thammarat National Museum.

68. (A) Votive tablet: *Māravijaya* Buddha, in niche, beneath Mahābodhi temple tower. Private collection.

68. (B) Votive tablet: *Māravijaya* Buddha, with Indra and Brahma. Chao Sam Praya National Museum, Ayutthaya.

68. (C) Standing Buddha. National Museum, Chaiya.

69. Nāga-protected *Māravijaya* Buddha (the Buddha of Grahi). National Museum, Bangkok.

70. (A) Finial with *Māravijaya* Buddha. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Andrew and Martha Holden Jennings Fund.

70. (B) Enthroned Buddha in meditation. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase, F1937.29.

71. Enthroned crowned Buddha. Kimbell Art Museum.

72. Prajñāpāramitā, from Surin province. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

73. Standing crowned Buddha. Chao Sam Phraya National Museum, Ayutthaya.

74. (A) Head of Lokeśvara, from Wat Phra Sî Rattanamahâthât, Lopburi. Fine Arts Department of Thailand.

74. (B) Nāga-protected Buddha. National Museum, Lopburi.

75. (A) Nāga-protected Buddha (A.D. 1213). National Museum, Lopburi.

75. (B) Nāga-protected Buddha. National Museum, Lopburi.

76. Standing Buddha. Fine Arts Department of Thailand.

77. Standing Buddha, from Wat Nâ Phra Mên, Ayutthaya. Fine Arts Department of Thailand.

78. (A) Phra Prâng Sâm Yột, Lopburi.

78. (B) Southern entrance to the forechamber, Wat Phra Sî Rattanamahâthât, Lopburi.

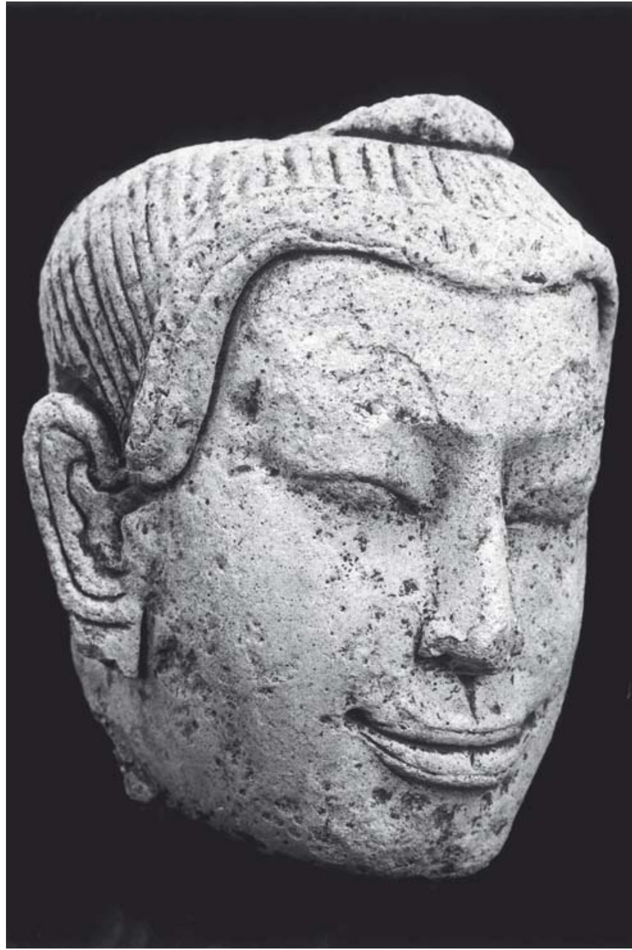
79. (A) Lower cornice, Phra Prâng Sâm Yột, Lopburi.

79. (B) Mask, Monument 16C in the Wat Phra Sî Rattanamahâthât compound, Lopburi.

80. (A) Southern tower, Wat Kamphǣng Lǣng, Phetburi.

80. (B) Tablet: Three Buddhas. Private collection.

81. (A) Head of the crowned Buddha, from Kosinarai, Ratchaburi. Fine Arts Department of Thailand.



81. (B) Head, probably of the Buddha. Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom.

82. Standing crowned Buddha, from Suphanburi province. Private collection.

83. Triad of enthroned crowned Buddhas, from Don Khwang, Uthai Thani. National Museum, Bangkok.

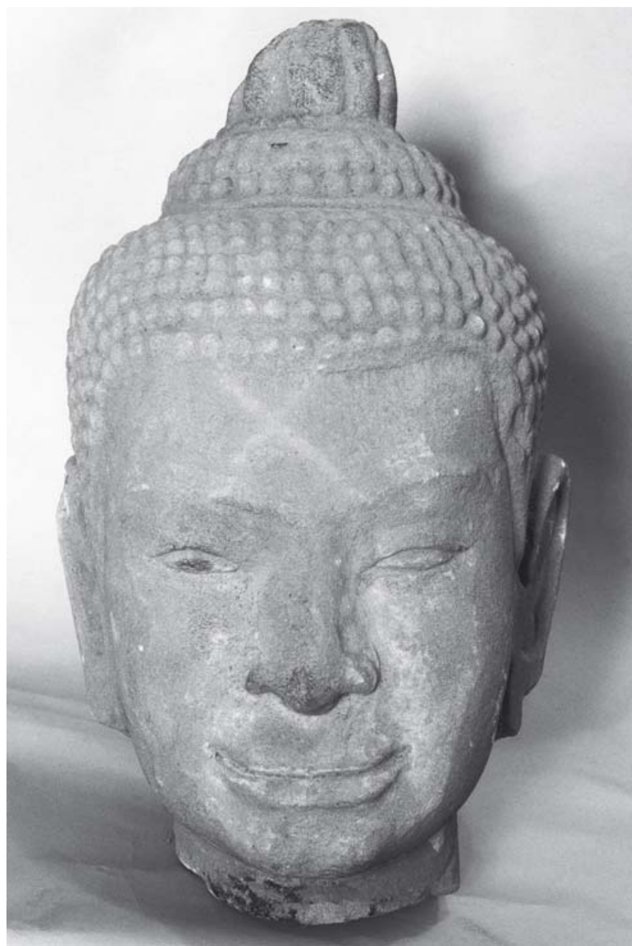
84. Buddha in meditation, from Wat Phra Sî Rattanamahâthât, Lopburi. National Museum, Bangkok.

85. Śiva. National Museum, Bangkok.

86. (A) *Māravijaya* Buddha. Chao Sam Praya National Museum, Ayutthaya.

86. (B) *Māravijaya* Buddha, from Muang San, Chainat. National Museum, Bangkok.

87. (A) *Māravijaya* Buddha. National Museum, Bangkok.



87. (B) Head of the Buddha, from Wat Phra Sî Rattanamahâthât, Lopburi. Fine Arts Department of Thailand.

88. Standing Buddha. National Museum, Lopburi.

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Abbreviations

AP	*Asian Perspectives*
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*
EFEO	Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient
FAD	Fine Arts Department of Thailand (Krom Sinlapâkộn)
JSS	*Journal of the Siam Society*
MBJ	*Muang Boran Journal*

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