

THE BUDDHA IMAGES OF NORTHERN SIAM

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(1)

Some of the Buddha images of northern Siam are powerfully majestic, some are serenely gentle, a great many have a very friendly look. If in the last analysis they cannot match the ethereal masterpieces of Sukhodaya for sheer inspiration, they are much easier to appreciate at first acquaintance. They are less sublimated, they are closer to our everyday experience, they are more personal.

I do not mean that they are "realistic" in the western sense. Realism would be contrary to every ideal of Buddhist art. Realism could not possibly evoke a proper recollection of the great Indian Sage who long ago passed into Total Extinction. A Buddha image is never intended to *look* like a human being. It always has certain peculiarities, such as a rounded protuberance on top of the skull, called "ushnisha", elongated ear-lobes, and so on, which set it apart from merely human portraits. To the philosopher it expresses an idea, it is a "Reminder of the Doctrine"; to the simple, it is a supernatural protector.

But the northern sculptors were not quite so ready as their predecessors at Sukhodaya to put realism away, not so resolute in altering human forms to make them comply with the "supernatural anatomy" that the holy texts ascribed to the Buddha.

From a technical point of view the northern images are as good as any bronzes ever made in Southeast Asia.

Their quantity is enormous. They crowd the monasteries of the north; plenty of good examples can be seen in Bangkok—in the National Museum, in different monasteries, and in private collections; a few have even found their way to the museums of Europe and America.

Anyone who examines a large number of these images will see that they fall quite naturally into several different groups on the

basis of type and style. Connoisseurs long ago distinguished the main groups of northern images from one another and established a classification, with a tentative time-table.

But something went wrong.

In order to explain it, I shall have to give the words "type" and "style" more precise meanings. Though they are related, they are not the same thing.

The type of a Buddha image depends on its iconography, and its iconography means three things: anatomy, costume, posture. There is little latitude for choice. The anatomy may vary, within limits, as to the form of the "supernatural" details and the canons of proportion. The costume may be a monastic robe or a princely garment; if monastic, there are several different ways it may be disposed; if princely, the decorations may be varied. There are "four decent attitudes" (walking, standing, sitting, reclining); there are less than a dozen usual "gestures" of the hand, all symbolic; and when the image is seated there are three different ways the legs may be arranged. That is just about all the iconography the Hinayana image-maker has at his disposal. Of the rich iconography of Indian art, developed long ago, it is only this tiny fraction that he adopted. He has kept it essentially constant ever since. Unlike the European artist, he has not the slightest desire to be original. On the contrary, he prides himself on being a good copyist.

There are excellent reasons for this. The patron who commissions an image is usually not a connoisseur: he is either a Prince offering a handsome gift to religion, or else merely a citizen wishing to "make merit"—perhaps in connection with his sixtieth birthday or some other occasion. So when the sculptor asks him what he wants the image to look like, the line of least resistance is for him to say: "Oh, make it look like such—and—such," naming one of the best-known statues in the community. In any case, unless the patron is a severe rationalist (and rationalists must have been in the minority in medieval times) the main motive is to produce a miraculous device. In order to inherit some fraction of the infinite power

the Buddha himself possessed, an image *must* trace its lineage back to one or another of the (legendary) likenesses of him made by some artist, human or divine, who knew him personally. In theory every Buddha image ever made is a copy, or a copy of a copy, or a copy of a copy of a copy, of one of those "authentic" likenesses. The safest thing to do is to copy some statue that has already proved, by its unusual magic power, the legitimacy of its descent. Since by that very fact it will have already become illustrious, there is every reason to copy a famous model, none at all to copy an obscure one.

In this way one single model inspires an endless series of imitations. Some of them may be made not long after the model itself, and by sculptors of the same school; others may be made decades or centuries later by sculptors trained in a quite different tradition. But they will all duplicate its iconography.

Style consists of more subtle matters — use of material, plastic quality, planes and masses, rhythm, facial expression, incidental detail, and so on. These are the things, easier to see than to measure and describe, that go to make up what a casual observer might call the "general appearance". If the ordinary patron was no more than vaguely aware of them, they make all the difference to *us*: they decide whether an image is beautiful or ugly. In all these things the sculptor is far less dependent on his model than on his own experience. If the model happens to be a product of his own school he instinctively reproduces its style; if it is not, he will get the iconography right enough but attach his own stylistic habits to it. Style is governed chiefly by the kind of training he has had, the degree of skill he has achieved, and his own taste. Style varies from school to school, and to some extent from sculptor to sculptor.

Since very few Buddha images are inscribed with dates, and none before a comparatively late period, type and style are often the only available guides to classification and dating. Type is an easy guide to follow, but may prove misleading; style, though more elusive, is more reliable.

The old classification and time-table went astray because it depended too much on type and not enough on style. One group of images was more or less overlooked; another was misdated by several centuries and given a name — "Early Chiangsaen" — that we now know is meaningless.

In the present paper I shall correct these mistakes and use some new names. Here is the revised time-table I propose, which is based on recent studies:

THE SCULPTURAL STYLES OF NORTHERN SIAM

Name	Approximate Dates (expressed in the Christian Era)
1. Lamphun Style (Mon and Northern Thai)	13th-14th century
2. "Style of the Abbot Sumana" (Northern Thai Imitations of Sukhodaya)	1370 - 1470
3. Style of the Northern Thai Golden age	} 1455 - 1565
a. Lion Type (usually called "Early Chiangsaen")	
b. Mixed Types (usually called "Later Chiangsaen")	
4. Later Styles	Up to the present

To anyone accustomed to the old time-table my revision will no doubt come as a surprise, especially in connection with the drastic treatment I have given "Early Chiangsaen". I have removed it from its old home and spread it all over the north; I have made it anywhere from 300 to 600 years younger; and I have given it exactly the same dating as the so-called "Later Chiangsaen" - in the Golden Age of Northern Thai art and letters.

Though my revision may be surprising, it is not fanciful. When I first proposed it to my friend Luang Boribal Buriband, the

archeological expert of the Fine Arts Department in Bangkok, he was frankly sceptical; but being an open-minded and scholarly gentleman, he thought it worth looking into and has now accepted it.

The conclusions I am presenting in this paper are really the result of joint studies made by Luang Boribal, Mr. Kraisi Nimmanaheminda of Chiangmai, and myself. In due course I shall defend our position.

But first I must sketch in the historical background and discuss the beginnings of Northern Thai art. (1.)*

(2)

In the 13th century the Eurasian continent from Poland to Manchuria was collapsing under the blows of the victorious Mongols. Before his death in 1227 Genghis Khan had made himself master of all China north of the Yellow River and created an empire that stretched the entire breadth of Asia. Under his successors the terrible momentum continued. The Golden Horde swept through Russia, attacked Hungary, destroyed the Caliphate of Baghdad. Kublai Khan crushed the Sung kingdom; by 1279 he was Emperor of the whole of China, while the rule of his vassals reached to central Europe and Arabia. He was the sovereign of a greater population than any man before him had ever been. The splendor of his court at Peking, where he perpetuated the culture of the conquered Sungs, fascinated the Venetian Marco Polo.

Without conquering the Southeast Asia Peninsula, the Mongols upset its old patterns of political power.

At the beginning of the century the Khmer, who had long ago absorbed the Mon kingdom of Dvaravati, still dominated central Siam as far north as Svargaloka. Beyond their frontiers lay an offshoot of Dvaravati, the Mon kingdom of Lamphun, which managed to maintain its independence after the mother country was extinguished. Lamphun, though the Khmer had failed to add it to their empire, was no menace to them. But they were soon to lose their hegemony to another people the Thai.

* N.B.—All numerals in the text refer to the Supplementary Notes which follow, pages 128-150.

The Thai had long been settled in an independent kingdom in Yünnan, where - though their Chinese neighbors regarded them as "barbarians" - they had developed a considerable culture. They were brave soldiers and good organizers, quick learners and clever assimilators.

For a very long time Thai emigrants had been drifting down from Yünnan into Southeast Asia. These early emigrants, perhaps for the most part adventurers, landless peasants and fugitive slaves, were not individuals of a very high type. The proud Khmer rulers, apparently secure in their splendid capital at Angkor, scarcely noticed the Thai communities that were growing up inside their empire. The Thai did not constitute a danger until they were reinforced by a new influx of their fellow-countrymen, this time probably including some members of the upper classes, who were leaving Yünnan because of political troubles there even before the Mongol conquests.

The countryside around Svargaloka, four hundred miles away from Angkor, was administered by Thai lords under Khmer vassalage. In about 1220 two of these lords suddenly revolted, captured Svargaloka and its twin city Sukhodaya, and proclaimed the province an independent state. Phra Ruang, one of the two successful rebels, became its first King. (1.)

Sukhodaya, "the kingdom of Phra Ruang", within a generation replaced the Khmer Empire as the strongest power in Southeast Asia. Though it acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Mongol Court at Peking, it was to all intents and purposes independent.

At Sukhodaya, under Phra Ruang and his descendants, Siamese culture developed rapidly. For there the Thai were in close touch with the age-old sophisticated material civilization of the Khmer; and there too they got in touch with Ceylon, the fountainhead of Hinayana Buddhism. These and other influences the Thai synthesized into something new and characteristic. We do not know precisely when this happened, but the process was well under way if not quite complete by the end of the 13th century, and the full flowering

came soon after. In the middle of the 14th century Sukhodaya was forced to submit to the suzerainty of a recently-established Thai kingdom farther to the south, but Phra Ruang's descendants continued to reign as vassals of Ayudhya.

The splendor and refinement of the Sukhodaya civilization in the days of its greatness are illustrated by plenty of tangible remains. Many of its monuments still stand, though badly damaged. Several long, interesting inscriptions composed by its Kings can still be read. And thousands of beautiful images that once adorned its cities have been rescued from the ruins.

But in northern Siam the Thai were not so early favored by circumstances. Unlike their kinsmen at Sukhodaya, they were not in close touch with an old civilization.

The only cultural center of any account in the north was Lamphun, which was ruled by a Mon dynasty until very near the end of the 13th century. Holding steadfastly to the Hinayana Buddhism and the artistic tradition which the founder of the city had brought from Dvaravati, the Lamphun Kings recorded their religious foundations and their gifts to the monkhood in stone inscriptions written in the Mon language interspersed with Pali; they built stupas in the form of tall slender pyramids; they caused artists to carve Buddha images in stone or model them in terra cotta. (2.)

The stone statues must have been very much like the Dvaravati art that flourished at Nagara Pathama and the neighboring regions from the 6th to the 11th or 12th century. They may be contemporary with it; but as surviving examples are too fragmentary to give any clear impression I have not taken them into account in my time-table. The terra cotta Buddhas are more plentiful and in better condition. They too are closely related to Dvaravati art. (Fig. 1.) The eyebrows meet over the bridge of the nose so as to form a continuous line; the smooth clinging monastic robe, which covers both shoulders, has delicately stylized folds at the lower corners of the skirts. Things like these suggest the relationship of Dvaravati art, and the plastic style confirms it. (3.)

Beyond Lamphun lay a wild hinterland of forest and mountain, peopled mostly by primitive tribes. But in the clearings of the lowlands between the mountain chains there were settlements of Thai. Their political power was growing, they had already displaced the tribes from the most desirable lands.

But of their religious or artistic activities before the closing years of the 13th century we know absolutely nothing. We do not even know whether they were Buddhists or not. Perhaps they remembered something of the Mahayana that prevailed in their former homeland; but probably they were for the most part animists, honoring the kindly spirits and demons, appeasing the mischievous ones. Such spirits and demons, then as now, were everywhere. Any big tree or rock, any hilltop or stream, might harbor one of them. Some were bloodthirsty monsters, some were good-hearted protectors, all of them were touchy. Though their anger was easy to incur and hard to escape, they could be placated with gifts of food and flowers or coerced by sorcery.

Not only in religion but in material skills as well, the northern Thai of this period must have been far less advanced than their kinsmen in the land of Phra Ruang. They have left not a single inscription, not a single monument. (4.)

They needed a spiritual awakening and a course of technical training before the arts could come to life among them.

In 1292 both these things became possible. In that year King Mengrai, the ruler of several small states in the extreme north of Siam, succeeded in capturing Lamphun. Four years later, he founded a new capital at Chiangmai, but for nearly a century Lamphun remained the cultural capital of his realm, which had grown to include most of northern Siam.

King Mengrai was perhaps already a Buddhist before he took Lamphun; but now he and his followers came into close contact with Buddhism as an established religion - a religion served by an organized brotherhood of monks and equipped with a solid tradition of art and letters. Now, just as Phra Ruang's people had absorbed

so much learning from the Khmer a generation or two earlier, so the Thai of the north were to absorb all they could from the Mon inhabitants of the captured city. But the culture they found at Lamphun is not to be compared with the elaborate civilization of the Khmer, and its new Thai rulers could not hope to rival the religious and artistic achievements of Sukhodaya.

If the Thai ruling classes in King Mengrai's new dominion were nominally Buddhists, many of them must have been still animists at heart - for, as we shall see, a King of Chiangmai over 200 years later openly renounced the Doctrine and gave his patronage to the cult of demons. The lower classes could not grasp the real meaning of the Doctrine at all. The obstacles were too great for Buddhism to overcome quickly.

Because of a fact that is eloquent in itself, it is difficult to form a clear idea of the state of art and culture in King Mengrai's kingdom. Though Thai archeological remains are not entirely lacking, as they were for the period before he captured Lamphun, they are still very scanty for the next 75 years. There are only a few monuments, and no inscriptions at all.

The monuments are slender pyramidal stupas of the same sort the Mon of Lamphun had been in the habit of building. The architects and the image-makers, though they were now working for a Thai patron, were still Mon, or at least trained in the Mon tradition. During all this time the Buddha images must have been simply a continuation of the Lamphun style. I know of only one or two bronzes; they are in the Dvaravati tradition, and quite small. (5.) All the best examples are in terra cotta, and there are not a great many of them. There is no sure way of telling which images date from before the capture of Lamphun and which after. (Fig. 1.)

I am inclined to think the "Lamphun Style" - chiefly in terra cotta - was the only style of Buddha image known to the founder of Chiangmai and his successors for three generations.

(3)

An event that occurred in 1369 gave Buddhism and Buddhist art a fresh impetus. It is described at length in the oldest Thai

inscription that has been found anywhere in northern Siam. (1.)

King Kiina, the ruler of Chiangmai at that time, was an ardent Buddhist. He must have been dissatisfied with the condition of religion in his kingdom. The old Mon Buddhism, inherited from Lamphun, needed to be reinforced. He had heard glowing accounts of the Sect of Forest-Dwelling Monks, who were led by men educated and ordained in Ceylon. They were firmly established at Sukhodaya, where Phra Ruang's descendants, reigning as vassals of Ayudhya, had been deeply impressed by their devotion and their miraculous powers. The King of Chiangmai, "desiring the arrival of some Forest-Dwellers", invited one of their leaders, the Abbot Sumana, to come and settle in the north in order to preach the Doctrine. The Abbot hesitated for some time before accepting. Perhaps he did not want to leave Sukhodaya, where the Forest-Dwellers were so much honoured; perhaps he felt the north was not yet ripe for a big missionary effort. When he finally accepted, the King went to Lamphun to meet him, received him with deep respect, and installed him in a monastery there which he had prepared for him - the place now known as the Monastery of the Standing Buddhas.

The reason the monastery is so named is this. Soon after his arrival, Sumana - doubtless feeling he needed a device of religious propaganda such as had been so successful at Sukhodaya - suggested to the King that he should have four large Standing Buddhas cast in bronze. The monarch assented "with delight and gladness". The project, begun under the Abbot's supervision, took two years to complete. (2.)

If only we knew just what those Standing Buddhas looked like! Unfortunately, about fifty years ago the monument where they were installed was completely rebuilt; and the four Standing Buddhas, which were by now in a bad state of repair, were reverently sealed up inside it - quite beyond the archeologist's reach. (3.) But a certain mutilated part of the inscription seems to say that they were made in imitation of some famous image the Abbot had seen elsewhere - presumably at Sukhodaya. (4.)

Is it not a fair guess that this event introduced the Sukhodaya style of bronze sculpture into the north? From the King's eager delight, which is so faithfully recorded in the inscription, we can infer that Sumana's suggestion was a novel one; we can infer that the Northern Thai, unlike their kinsmen in the land of Phra Ruang, were not yet in the habit of using bronze for large statuary.

About the time the work was finished, King Kūna transformed his own pleasure-garden at Chiangmai into a monastery and invited Sumana to take up his residence there. Chiangmai, besides being the political capital of the north, now became its cultural capital as well.

While King Kūna was busy with these works, his brother the Prince of Chiangrai was not idle. What he did was perhaps no less effective in making the art of Sukhodaya known in the north.

There are several different versions of the story but they agree in most important particulars. A monk who had recently arrived from Kamphaengphet showed the Prince a wax replica of a very famous image in the possession of the ruler of that state. Known as the "Sinhalese Buddha" or "Sihing", it was a seated figure made out of an alloy of gold, silver and tin. After describing the many wonders it had performed, the monk related its history. It had been cast ages ago in Ceylon, from a model miraculously created by a pious Serpent-Demon who had known the Buddha personally. It remained in Ceylon, the monk continued, until King Phra Ruang of Sukhodaya managed to obtain it and take it to his capital, where he and his descendants held it in high esteem. Quite recently, however, the King of Ayudhya commandeered it - only to lose it soon after by a trick devised by the ruler of Kamphaengphet. The Prince of Chiangrai, having listened with eager attention, now determined to get it for himself. He marched south at the head of an army, made a demonstration of force, and demanded the image. Its unhappy possessor, bidding farewell to it "with all sorts of affectionate words", reluctantly gave it up. The Prince of Chiangrai triumphantly took it to Chiangmai, and later to his own state where he had a bronze replica made of it. (5.)

Now what was this famous image? Its "history", written at Chiangmai in the Golden Age, though replete with fabulous details in the earlier section, is matter-of-fact enough in dealing with events in the 14th century. No less than three different images are pointed out today that are supposed to be the original, according to beliefs in different parts of the country. (6.) But not one of them was really made in Ceylon, as is clear from their style. If Phra Ruang really got a Sinhalese image, it had probably disappeared before the Prince of Chiangrai ever heard of it.

In those days there was no such thing as scientific connoisseurship. Though every important image had its own name, there were always numerous copies which were called by the same title. Sooner or later one or more of them would inevitably become identified with the original, either by mistake or by design. An image that displayed an unusual degree of supernatural power was a tempting prize; its owner knew perfectly well that rival princes might even start a war to capture it. If he had the most elementary prudence he would hide it at the first sign of danger and put a substitute in its place. In case of necessity he could always surrender the substitute with a great show of reluctance. If this happened the original would be safe, but would lapse into obscurity and eventually lose its identity. On the other hand, a less prudent owner might be taken by surprise and forced to surrender the original before he could hide it. Or it might be stolen. Then one of the copies would be put in its place and ostentatiously worshiped. There would now be two "originals". This sort of thing might happen again and again over a long period of time, so that finally the piously-recorded "history" of the original would be applied to a copy at fourth or fifth hand that might have very little resemblance to it.

Whether the people of Sukhodaya who surrendered the image to the King of Ayudhya had already been deceived by such a substitute, or whether they succeeded in fooling that monarch, whether the wily ruler of Kamphaengphet was himself the victim of a double play, whether he deceived the Prince of Chiangrai knowingly or innocently—there can be no possible doubt that there

was a slip somewhere. It does not matter to us exactly where the slip occurred, because in any event it took place within the orbit of Sukhodaya art and just about the time the Sukhodaya high classic style was drawing to its close. Whoever picked out the substitute had plenty of images to choose from. So long as he picked a seated figure, and one that was not too unconvincingly new, its precise appearance would not matter. The line of least resistance would be to choose one that had been made twenty or thirty years earlier, near the peak of the style.

The two earliest instances of casting bronze Buddhas in the north mentioned in any of the more reliable records are Sumana's work at Lamphun and the Prince of Chiangmai's order to make a copy of the image he brought home with him. If my reasoning is correct, two different models, one standing and the other seated, but both of them in the Sukhodaya high classic style or closely related to it, were thus introduced into the north.

Image-makers are always the "forgotten men" in Siamese chronicles. There is no means of knowing who executed the work either for Sumana or for the Prince of Chiangrai. Were they imported from the land of Phra Ruang? Did they instruct northern apprentices in the new art? Did the apprentices, having mastered it as best they could, transmit it to a new generation of northern sculptors?

More than likely the answers to these questions should be "yes". For there is, in fact, a fairly large group of northern bronze images that are obviously intended to be imitations of the Sukhodaya high classic style. (Figs. 2 and 3.) Unfortunately there is no way of dating any of them with complete certainty, but there is good reason to believe they should be ascribed to the period between Sumana's arrival and the introduction of other types of Buddha image about a hundred years later. In honor of the good Abbot (though he was not solely responsible), I propose to name this whole group of Northern Thai imitations of Sukhodaya: "the Style of Sumana".

In anatomy, costume, and posture their iconography stems straight from the land of Phra Ruang.

The "halo" is a jet of flame springing from the top of the head; spiral curls cover both the skull and the ushnisha; the earlobes are long; the shoulders are broad, the chest full, the arms elongated; the footsoles are flat and the heels projecting. These are all features of the "supernatural anatomy" which the Sukhodaya artists, with resolute faith, took from the description of Buddha's person in the Pali texts. Modern scholarship has traced how such features grew out of a series of misunderstandings; but the Sukhodaya artists gave them a deep spiritual meaning. The north copied them, incompletely and without fully realizing their import. The north also copied certain peculiarities that Sukhodaya had taken from another source - the stereotyped similes used in Sanskrit poetry to describe gods and heroes. The shape of the head, therefore, is "like an egg"; the curls of the hair are "like the stings of scorpions". The nose is "like a parrot's beak" and the eyebrows "like drawn bows above it"; the chin, with its incised oval line, is "like a mango stone". The arms are "smooth and rounded, like the trunk of an elephant"; the hands are "like lotus flowers just beginning to open", with the finger-tips turning backward like petals. (7.)

The monastic robe is thin and clinging. It exposes every contour of the body and limbs beneath it. But though it does not *look* in the least like a real monk's dress, it is a perfectly correct three-dimensional diagram of one. Since the right shoulder is bare, the space between the arm and body on the side is left open; but on the other side it is closed so as to represent the cloth falling from the left shoulder. The flap of material hanging over that shoulder descends to the waist in front and to the hip behind, ending in a notch shaped like a fish-tail. A fine line across the chest, at the wrist, and at the ankles shows the division between cloth and flesh. (8.)

The Buddha sometimes stands or walks, with one arm falling at the side and the other raised to perform the gesture of "Dispelling Fear". (Fig. 2.) But more often he sits on a plain undecorated

pedestal, his legs folded "tailor-fashion", one of them resting on top of the other; his left hand lies in his lap, while his right is placed on the knee with the fingers pointing downward. (Fig. 3.) For the episode most commonly represented is his "Victory over Mara". The great Sage has, up to this moment, been sitting with both hands in his lap, in the classic position of the Yogi meditator, striving for the Supreme Enlightenment that will so soon come to him; now, when Mara, the Lord of Evil, has come to tempt and assault him, the Sage has interrupted his meditation just long enough to move his right hand to his knee and point downward so as to "Call the Earth to Witness" his accumulated merit which will put Mara's demons to flight.

Since all this iconography is so like Sukhodaya, how do we know that the whole series of images was not made at that place and transported bodily to the north? They are betrayed by their plastic quality, by all the things that go to make up style. At their worst they are crude and heavy; in the Walking Buddhas there is no feeling of motion, only an awkward displacement of one leg. Even the best seated images, which are very good indeed, lack the marvelously fluid line, the sensitive modeling, the spiritual energy of the Sukhodaya high classic. By comparison they have a slight coarseness of feature or heaviness of jaw. Small details are less refined, Sukhodaya transformed the end of piece of cloth into a stylized pattern of infinite elegance; but the north simplifies the pattern and reproduces it in a perfunctory way.

In its formative period, therefore, the bronze sculpture of the north is a sort of provincial version of Sukhodaya art. This is the first time the northern craftsman learned to make large bronze castings. A few of the images are colossal, a great many nearly life-size. Technically, for most part, they are above reproach. If the sculptor, conscientiously reproducing the externals of Sukhodaya statuary, somehow misses its real spirit he is not always to be blamed. The patron chose the model to be copied less for its beauty (as we would judge such a quality) than for its magical

properties. At first he might choose some lesser work of the Sukhodaya school or some locally-made imitation improvised from the recollection of an original seen long before. As time went on and the school grew, the patron would be more and more apt to choose a model from among the products of the school itself.

Since there are not yet enough data available, we cannot trace the ups and downs of "Sumana's Style" during the course of its existence; we cannot determine just how fresh drafts of influence from Sukhodaya affected it, or decide how it came to an end. Most likely it gradually merged into one of the types that became popular in the Golden Age.

If my reasoning is sound, the main flourishing of "Sumana's Style" should be dated from 1370 to about 1470. (9.)

(4)

Under the patronage of such zealous monarchs as Kūna and his immediate successor Buddhism made brisk progress. But in the next reign it got a set-back.

King San Fang Kaen, who came to the throne in 1401, did a shocking thing. He repudiated the Doctrine, "favored the heretics at the expense of the faithful, sacrificed buffaloes and oxen to the demons of gardens and trees, hilltops and forests". He confiscated the property of Buddhist monasteries and turned it over to the sorcerers. But he did not put a complete stop to Buddhist activities, for there were many laymen brave enough to help the monks in their adversity. Even without assistance from the King, a group of twenty-five monks from Chiangmai was able to travel to Ceylon, where they studied for several months and were re-ordained with the most orthodox rites. When they returned, rich with their knowledge of the Pali sacred writings, and accompanied by two Sinhalese monks, they were prepared to risk the King's displeasure for the sake of the Doctrine. They were living at Lamphun in 1441, when the heretic King was deposed and his son Tiloka mounted the throne. (1.)

This was the beginning of the Chiangmai Golden Age. King Tiloka, a staunch Buddhist, quickly set about undoing his father's

evil work and restoring the Doctrine to its rightful place. Laymen and laywomen, from the King and Queen downward, delighted to shower honours and rich gifts on the monks of the Three Sects. The Forest-Dwellers could meditate in peace, the Garden-Dwellers come out of their obscurity, the City-Dwellers preached openly in the capital and provincial centers. The stage was set for a great revival of Buddhist art and letters. Pali studies advanced rapidly. (2.) During the reigns of King Tiloka and his successors there was great literary activity, both in Pali and in Thai, as we know from the books that have survived and the dozens of stone inscriptions that have been found dating from the Golden Age. (3.) Old monasteries were restored and new ones built. To supply them with enough Buddha images would require a huge production.

With the help of his Minister of Works, Mūn Dam Phra Khot, the King attacked the problem energetically, raising production by several hundred percent and introducing some quite new types of images.

But the expression "new types" cannot have the same meaning in Buddhist art as in the west. Since every Buddha image *must* be a copy of an older one in order to be authentic, a newly-invented type simply would not work; it would have no supernatural power. The image-makers of Siam usually followed the safe rules of iconography they had learned from their teachers, who had learned them from *their* teachers. . . and so on, ultimately back to India. But from early times they have shown much more originality in matters of style than most critics have given them credit for. From early times they have been stylistically independent of India - so much so that they sometimes evolved what we might be tempted to call a "new type", though they themselves would have thought the expression insulting. At Sukhodaya, for example, they took an old formula the Indians had used in bas-reliefs for a thousand years; then, by modifying it in accordance with the sacred texts and Sanskrit poetry, by "realizing it in the round" and executing it in bronze, they created the Walking Buddha. From an aesthetic

point of view it was an astonishing invention; but in the eyes of orthodox it was no more-or rather no *less*-than a copy.

At Chiangmai something just as startling was about to happen. Ever since Sumana's arrival the sculptors had been content to copy Sukhodaya models, and copies of Sukhodaya models, preserving both type and style to the best of their ability. But what would they do if they were given an unfamiliar model to copy - a model that was itself a replica of some much older and more famous statue in another part of the Buddhist world?

This was the challenge they were about to meet. This was the challenge that brought the Northern Thai Lion Type into existence at Chiangmai

(5)

The time has now come for me to discuss this controversial type of image and to defend my views concerning it.

First I shall describe it. Then I shall explain the reasons why, up till now, it has been mistakenly called "Early Chiangsaen" and dated anywhere from the 9th to the 12th century. Finally I shall give my reasons for placing it in the Golden Age and try to reconstruct the circumstances of its origin.

Its characteristics are strongly marked and easy to recognize. (Figs. 4 through 6, and 8 through 12.)

In iconography it is different from Sukhodaya. The "halo" is not a flame, it is a smooth knob in the form of a lotus bud. The face is plump, its shape an oval tending toward the round. The chest is massive and corpulent, the waist slim. The body structure is stiff rather than supple, but covered with an ample integument of soft, almost bulbous, flesh. Although the general form of the monastic robe recalls Sukhodaya, there are certain differences: the flap of cloth over the left shoulder, though it ends in the same sort of notched design, does not descend to the waist but stops just above the nipple; and usually a ridge-like fold, passing over the left wrist, falls along the left thigh, where it ends in a notch like the one above the nipple. The legs of the image, which is

invariably in the attitude of "Calling the Earth to Witness", are not merely folded tailor-fashion; they are crossed in the tightly-locked "lotus position" with both footsoles turned up. The pedestal, though sometimes plain, is more often decorated with lotus petals.

(1.)

This is an earthly art. The features of the supernatural anatomy, in so far as they are not omitted altogether, are summarily treated - except the "lion-like torso", which is announced vehemently. The Sukhodaya image, an expression of divine "fiery energy", was conceived in silhouette and modeling as the memory-picture of a flame; these images, on the other hand, seem more like expressions of temporal prestige, conceived as the memory-picture of a well-fed lion. While they have a certain opulent grace, they are heavy. Some of them - indeed the greatest masterpieces - seem less like reminders of the gentle Doctrine than figures of temporal power, designed to frighten the beholder into good behavior. Their faces are majestic to the point of arrogance. (For instance Figs. 4, 5, 6.) They convey no sense of meditation or serenity, of self-denial or kindness. They "Call the Earth to Witness" with an air of command that will not take "no" for an answer. They are alert, aggressive, self-indulgent and self-satisfied authoritarians. And as such they are superb.

This is the Lion Type at its most characteristic. Only a few examples are so emphatically majestic; in most of them the sense of power is more restrained - but it is always there.

To anyone acquainted with Indian art, the Lion Type will at once recall the Buddhas that were being produced in Bengal and Birha at the time of the Pala and Sena Kings - say from the 8th to the 12th century. (Fig. 7.) All the most striking things about the type are straight Pala - from the plump face and wide-open eyes to the tightly-locked legs, from the arrangement of the robe to the decoration of the pedestal. There is no possible doubt that the type is closely related, somehow or other, to Pala sculpture. (2.) It was this fact that first led connoisseurs astray in dating it.

Here is how it happened. About thirty years ago, when archeologists were beginning to study the sculpture of Siam on a systematic basis, there was a huge mass of images that had to be classified. It was clear that the earliest *Thai* art in Siam must have been either Sukhodaya, which arose in the 13th century, or else this northern group of unknown age. Since Sukhodaya, sculpture was much further removed in spirit and execution from any likely Indian prototype, it seemed probable that the Lion group was "Pre-Sukhodaya". That being the case, the archeologist did not want to give it the obvious name "Chiangmai", after the capital of the north, because Chiangmai was not founded until well after Sukhodaya. So that named it "Chiangsaen", after a place on the Mekhong River, where some of the finest examples had been discovered. (3.) Though Chiangsaen itself was founded even later than Chiangmai, it was supposed to have been built on the site of a much older city, Ngön Yang.

Since the Lion Type was so obviously inspired by Pala art, it was natural to conclude that it must date from the 12th century at the very latest, and perhaps indeed from much earlier. As the terms "Pre-Sukhodaya" and "Chiangsaen" became more and more firmly attached to it, some writers tried to fit it in with the history of Ngön Yang as reported in the old Chronicles. Admittedly the Chronicles, when dealing with events prior to the middle of the 13th century, were no more than a mass of legends with dates thrown in almost at random. But when the Chronicles said that Ngön Yang was flourishing as early as the 9th or 10th century, the presence of these Pala-inspired Buddhas on its alleged site seemed to prove for once that there was more than a grain of truth in them.

We now know that there is nothing to support this theory. Not a bit of architecture or any other antiquity has been found in the Chiangsaen area that dates from the Ngön Yang period. (4.) In order to believe that the Thai of Ngön Yang were in a position to produce these masterpieces, we should require some evidence of two things: first, that Buddhism was strongly established there at

the time; and second, that the northern Thai already had a very high degree of technical skill. But there is no such evidence. Everything suggests that these prerequisites were not fulfilled until the Golden Age.

So much for negative arguments. Now we come to something more tangible.

With the aid of three of my learned friends, I have recently examined no less than twelve bronze Buddhas of the Northern Thai Lion Type with *dated* inscriptions on their pedestals. (Five examples are illustrated in Figs. 8 - 12.) In examining the ones that are still in the north I was with Mr. Kraisi Nimmanaheminda of the Chiangmai Buddhist Institute. In examining those in Bangkok, I was with Luang Boribal and Mr. Cham Parian, the expert epigraphist of the national Library, who deciphered the inscriptions for me. (5.)

The inscribed dates, when transposed into the Christian Era, range from 1469 to 1565. The first date is near the middle of King Tiloka's reign, and the last is a few years after the Burmese conquest of Chiangmai. So far as we can rely on this evidence alone, therefore, the Lion Type - long miscalled "Early Chiangsaen" - just about coincides with the Golden Age of the north. (6.) And there is further evidence to show - with unexpected precision - that it was introduced into Chiangmai between the years 1455 and 1469.

The evidence appears in the "Chronicle of the Seven Spires Monastery", which was probably written at a time not long after the events it recounts. Though some errors have crept into it from successive recopyings of manuscripts, it seems to be on the whole reliable and checks well with facts known from other sources. The monastery whose history it relates still exists, though in ruins, about two miles from Chiangmai.

It was founded in 1455 by King Tiloka, the Chronicle tells us, "in a pleasant position upon high ground, near the bank of a stream." The first thing he did was to plant a young Bo tree. This was no ordinary sapling: it had been carefully grown from a cutting taken

from a descendant of the most sacred tree in the world. That ancient original, which stood at Bodhgaya in India, had sheltered the Founder of Buddhism at the greatest moments of his career - when he sat under its branches in deep meditation, when he triumphed over the evil Mara by calling the Earth to Witness his accumulated merits, and when he finally attained Perfect Enlightenment.

Having planted the young Bo tree, the King went on to reconstruct the historic scene of those great moments and the weeks that came after. As the Chronicle puts it, "he commanded memorials to be erected symbolizing the Seven Holy Stations, exactly as they are in India at the place where the Lord overcame Mara". Each of these Seven Stations, which are duly listed in the Chronicle, marked one of the seven spots where the Buddha spent the seven weeks following his Enlightenment: the Adamantine Seat under the Bo tree, where he sat motionless, absorbed in many thoughts, for the first week; his Stance, a place not far to the northeast where he stood and gazed with unblinking eyes at the Bo tree throughout the second week; the Walk between the Stance and the Bo tree, where he paced back and forth for the third week; the House of Gems, miraculously erected by the gods to shelter him during the fourth week, which he spent thinking out the seven books of Metaphysics he would preach; the Banyan near the goat-herd's hut where he sat for the fifth week enjoying the bliss of salvation, and where Mara again tried in vain to tempt him; the Pond from which the pious King of the Nagas, or Serpent-Demons, emerged in order to shelter him with his hood from a storm that raged during the sixth week; and finally the Mimusops tree under which he sat during the seventh week, receiving on the forty-ninth day a myrobolan fruit offered by the god Indra. And at each of these Seven Stations the King installed an image of Buddha performing the action connected with it. (7.)

In building this monastery, King Tiloka was making a copy, on a smaller scale, of the most sacred temple in the whole Buddhist world, the "Mahabodhi" at Bodhgaya, which had been built at the

site of the original Bo tree. The main shrine of the Mahabodhi consisted of a 180-foot tower in the shape of a slender truncated pyramid, surrounded by four lesser ones of the same form, all five of them springing from one huge square plinth. Devout princes had embellished its precincts with many lesser monuments and memorial trees. A King of Burma who reigned at Pagan built a replica of the temple in his own capital. One of his successors restored the original monument in 1298 - the Muslims, who had conquered the region some time before, seem to have made no objection to this pious activity on the part of a Buddhist King. But some time afterwards the monument fell into neglect. In modern times it has again been restored and again become the object of Buddhist pilgrimages. Guides show the pilgrims the dead trunk of the original Bo tree which has been exhumed, and some lively younger trees descended from it; they point out a sculptured stone that was the Adamantine Seat, a brick stupa marking the Buddha's Stance, an old pond (now filled up with earth) where the Naga King used to live, and so on. (8.)

No less famous than the Mahabodhi Temple was the great cult image in it - an image that bore the name Buddha Sakyasingha, "Lion of the Sakyas", after one of the many titles the Founder of the Doctrine was known by. Though it disappeared long ago, there is no doubt what it looked like, for countless facsimiles of it have been found in the débris of the temple compound. It portrayed the Buddha wearing a thin monastic robe, sitting in the attitude of "Calling the Earth to Witness" with his legs crossed in the lotus position. On festival days it was decked out with a crown and ornaments of real gold and rich jewels. (9.) Like the Emerald Buddha at Bangkok in the hot season, it was on such occasions "Wearing the Attire of Royalty", or, as the Siamese say, "song-khriang".

The facsimiles that give us this information were made by craftsmen of the Pala school for sale to the pilgrims. Every pilgrim after doing obeisance to the famous statue at the scene of the

Enlightenment would naturally want to buy a replica of it to take home and worship, keeping it always as a memento of his pious journey. If he was poor, he would have to be content with a small clay votive tablet stamped with a miniature of the statue, of the sort known in Siam as "phra phim". But if he was rich he could buy a large slab of black stone with a facsimile of the statue skilfully carved in high relief. In some of them the statue is copied in its ordinary state, wearing the monastic robe; in others it wears the Royal Attire, with the golden ornaments reproduced in stone as if they were a part of the statue itself. (10.)

Even if the Chronicle had not told us, we could have guessed that in building the Seven Spires Monastery King Tiloka was trying to transplant to Chiangmai some fraction of the sanctity of the Mahabodhi Temple at Bodhgaya just as he transplanted the sanctity of the Bo tree. We could have guessed it from the official name he gave the new establishment - Mahabodharama, "Monastery of the Mahabodhi". We could have recognized it in the architecture. With the Chronicle to help us, we can even identify the remains of some of the lesser monuments and trees that were intended to reproduce the memorials of the Seven Stations just as they were in the compound at Bodhgaya: an ancient Bo tree, now stunted; a hewn stone under it, representing the Adamantine Seat; the ruins of a brick stupa that marked the Buddha's Stance; a long rectangular pond such as a Naga King would live in. (11.)

The Chronicle of the Seven Spires does not say how King Tiloka got the plans of the Mahabodhi Temple to guide his builders. But another Chronicle says he sent a mission of thirty architects and craftsmen, headed by his Minister of works, Mūn Dam Phra Khot, to Bodhgaya for the purpose. The story, which is quite in keeping with the King's character, may well be true. (12.)

Unfortunately the Seven images the King set up at the Holy Stations have all vanished. But since he took such pains to plant an authentic descendant of the Bo tree and to reproduce the temple with its seven memorials, we cannot doubt for a moment that the

principal statue was a replica of the Lion of the Sakyas. The Chronicle describes it with unusual care: "under the Bo tree there is an image of Buddha seated in the position of 'samadhi bejra', his right hand placed on his knee and his left hand lying in his lap. The name of this image is 'Buddha Victorious over Mara'." Transposed into more familiar terms, the description means that it was in the attitude of "Calling the Earth to Witness" and that the legs were crossed in the lotus position. (13.) It is a description that might equally well fit the original Lion of the Sakyas or any good copy of it.

Mün Dam Phra Khot, if he went to Bodhgaya, would surely have obtained just such a copy to take back to the King - a slab of black stone carved in high relief, made by Pala artists long ago for sale to wealthy pilgrims who came to Bodhgaya. (14.) This, I think, was how the Lion Type of image came to be introduced into northern Siam.

* * * *

There is no way of knowing at what point during the construction of the monastery (which took from 1455 to 1476) the image was set up under the Bo tree. But it must have been there in 1469, the date of the first one of the twelve inscribed bronzes that reproduce its iconography.

There is no record of any statuary being made during the earlier part of King Tiloka's reign, which is not surprising. (15.) During the long reign of his heretical father the demand for expensive Buddha images must have been small. The sculptural tradition must have declined, but what was left of it was still in the manner of Sukhodaya. How did he go about reviving it, so as to produce enough images for the many monasteries he founded or enlarged? No doubt he ordered all the sculptors remaining in his kingdom to take on as many apprentices as possible. Perhaps he also sent young men to be trained in some of the cities of the Ayudhya kingdom, the inheritor of the Sukhodaya tradition, where the bronze technique was still excellent even though artistic quality was declining.

Training would take a long time, but in due course production got going on a big scale. Many of the sculptors were ordered to copy the Lion image at the Seven Spires. Some of them made magnificent works of art, but not one ever made a copy that really looked like the original. Yet their kingly patron and the lesser patron who followed his example must have been satisfied, otherwise they would not have kept on ordering them in such quantity. "Copying" had a very different meaning to those patrons than to a generation that cannot get along without cameras. If the iconography was right, the copy was good; if the copy was beautiful, so much the better, but its beauty could be quite different from the beauty of the original.

In Siam, as in India, the best artists never worked directly from a model. They would study the model with intense concentration for days on end, trying to fix in their minds not so much its "arbitrary appearance" as its "essentials". Then they would return to the workshop, again resort to intense concentration, and set to work reproducing the vision they had conjured up.

No wonder King Tiloka's sculptors, while seeming to "copy" an alien model, really created something new. The prototype was a stone relief, but they were "copying" it in bronze and in the round. (16.) No wonder they used the splendid bronze technique they had learned. No wonder they gave their images a solid three-dimensional quality the original lacked. No wonder they made other changes based on their earlier training. In certain passages of the modeling they used little tricks that were unknown to Indian art but much favored by Sukhodaya, such as accenting the silhouette of lips with an incised line. Though they made the flap of cloth over the shoulder end above the nipple, just as in the original, they gave its termination the same notched pattern they had always been used to. They did not always reproduce the ridge-like fold that passed over the Lion's left wrist and fell across the thigh. They never put in the semicircular ruffle that the Pala artists had invariably carved on the pedestal in front of the ankles to denote the

"divine cloth" on the seat—but that was perhaps because the ruffle had become obliterated before the Lion reached the Seven Spires. Though they preserved most of the Pala iconography they never forgot the plastic lessons of Sukhodaya. (17.) And though some of them managed to redouble the Lion's haughty majesty, others tempered it with a certain sweetness.

The most famous Chiangmai copy of the Lion of the Sakyas, as everyone who has lived in the capital of the north knows well, is the image called Phra Singha, "the Lion Buddha", which is in a crypt at Wat Phra Singha Luang. The very name of this image links it to the Lion of the Sakyas. (18.) And in Chiangmai itself the name "Phra Singha", besides being applied to the most famous example, has from King Tiloka's time up to the present been used as a sort of generic term to describe any seated Buddha image that has the Pala iconography. (19.) These are additional reasons why I have chosen the name "Lion Type" as the most suitable to describe the whole series.

At some unknown date the Lion image vanished from its place under the Bo tree at the Seven Spires. (20.) What would be more natural in this painful circumstance than to choose a substitute from among the many copies already made, set it up in the identical spot, and worship it as though it had been there all along? Perhaps the substitute was the Phra Singha that is now at Wat Phra Singha Luang; perhaps it was another. (21.)

The copies in turn inspired further copies. The Lion Type soon became popular all over northern Siam. Excellent examples have been found at Lamphun, Lampang, Chiangrai, and - of course Chiangsaen. Chiangsaen was by now a flourishing city, quite capable of producing fine statuary. But there is no longer any good reason to call the type itself after a secondary center. Its origin and its real focus were in the capital. It deserves the more inclusive name "Northern Thai Lion Type".

It is a product of the Golden Age. I assume the Burmese conquest in 1556 had a discouraging effect on art and culture in

general, but perhaps not immediately. (22.) Over 200 years later, when northern Siam was liberated from Burma, the image-makers again turned to the Phra Singha for inspiration; they are still making replicas of it today at Chiangmai. So it is impossible to give any definite closing date for the series. But we can be pretty sure that the best examples were made between 1455 and 1565.

6

The Lion Type of image, though it is the most striking, did not monopolize the attention of sculptors during the Golden Age. There are several other sorts that have long been correctly ascribed to that period though they were usually called, for no very good reason, "Later Chiangsaen". I propose to call them the Northern Thai Mixed Types. (1.)

They are at first a little puzzling, for their iconography is so varied that it is easy to miss the important fact: their plastic style is reasonably uniform, and really not different from the style of the Lion Type bronzes. The variations in their style are no greater than would normally be expected in a period of a hundred years, with sculptors of different degrees of skill imitating a number of dissimilar models. They look, in fact, as if they were made by sculptors trained in the Sukhodaya tradition, who then practised copying the Lion Type, and who were finally asked to copy statues of several different schools both new and old.

The best of them I might almost say the nicest seem to have been inspired by the "Buddha Jinaraja" at Bishnuloka, which is itself a lovely example of late Sukhodaya art. They have many of its superficial traits, and some of its gently meditative quality as well. The halo is a flame, the flap of cloth over the left shoulder descends all the way to the waist, the legs are folded tailor-fashion rather than crossed, and very often the four fingers of each hand are equal in length. The modeling is simple, direct, and competent. (Fig. 13).

The style of these statues is essentially different from "Sumana's Style", though probably there was a gradual transition. The images of "Sumana's Style" were earnest but rather unsophisticated copies of Sukhodaya high classic models which it was not easy to imitate successfully, so they often resembled second-rate products of the parent school. But these statues are more deft and at the same time more independent adaptations of a later model. Without meticulously duplicating its externals they have got something of its spirit. (2.)

These are very pleasant pieces to look at. They have little of the trance-like anatomy that is at first so disturbing in the high classic art of Phra Ruang's land. They have none of the dreadful arrogance of the Lion Type masterpieces. Their intention is neither to transport the beholder to a world above and beyond the reach of the senses nor to frighten him into good behavior. They are warm and friendly, as though the artist had in mind some agreeable and very human Abbot, but threw in things like the ushnisha and the equal fingers as a concession to orthodoxy.

In pieces of another sort, the ingredients are mixed differently. (3.) One may have a flame halo and at the same time legs crossed in the lotus position; another, conversely, may have a halo in the form of a knob and at the same time the legs folded tailor-fashion. The flap of cloth over the shoulder may be long or short, but it usually ends squarely. The pedestal is nearly always decorated with lotus petals, and it sometimes has a lower base besides, with incised or perforated decorations.

The Sukhodaya Buddhas had confined themselves to an elegantly meager repertoire of no more than four different gestures. Most of the northern Buddhas are equally restrained, but a few of them assume quite unexpected attitudes.

In several cases they must have been inspired by the images, now vanished, that once marked the Holy Stations at the Seven Spires. The monastery Chronicle, having already provided such a

useful clue to the character of the most important image, goes on to describe the other six: at the Stance, a Buddha "standing with his hands crossed in front of his waist while he gazes with unblinking eyes at the Bo tree"; between the Stance and the Bo tree, a Walking Buddha; in the House of Gems, a Buddha "standing with his hands crossed in front of his breast while he thinks out the seven books of Metaphysics"; at the Banyan, a Buddha seated with crossed legs, "holding up his right hand to halt Mara"; near the Pond, a Buddha "sitting in meditation under the hood of the Naga King"; finally, at the Mimusops tree, a Buddha seated with crossed legs, "stretching out his right hand to receive the myrobalan fruit from Indra." The Chronicle leaves some intriguing questions unanswered. Were these images free-standing sculptures or were they reliefs? Were they imported from India or made on the spot? Two of the types described sound like adaptations of Sukhodaya models, two like adaptations of Indian models, and two like new inventions improvised from the holy texts. These last two are especially puzzling, since as a rule it never occurred to Thai sculptors or their patrons to invent new types of Buddha image. But they may have been regarded less as images than as "Scenes from Buddha's Life", such as appear in painting. (4.)

In any case we can be sure they inspired copyists. For among the innumerable bronze statuettes dating from the Golden Age there are several sets of seven just as they are enumerated in the Chronicle. Sometimes three other types, unconnected with the Seven stations, are added to make a set of ten. These are: a Standing Buddha carrying the alms-bowl; a Buddha sitting on a bench "in the European fashion", receiving the offerings of the Elephant and the Monkey; and a Reclining Buddha. (5.)

Besides being found in sets any one of these types may exist independently. (Figs. 14 and 15.) There are also a few other curious pieces, such as the "Ascetic Buddha", his body wasted from the austerities he first practised in a vain attempt to reach Enlightenment. (6.) (Fig. 16.)

Among the Mixed Type Buddhas, there are some variations in costume. Usually they wear the monastic robe with the right shoulder exposed, but sometimes both shoulders are covered. (7.) And a good many wear the Attire of Royalty, reproducing in bronze the real ornaments that statues like the Lion of the Sakyas wore on festival days. (8.) (Fig. 17.)

By far the most famous statue of the Northern Thai Mixed Type is the Emerald Buddha, which is now in the Chapel Royal of the Grand Palace at Bangkok. It is made out of a single block of greenish stone such as is quarried in the neighborhood of Nan. On stylistic grounds I should say it was carved during King Tiloka's reign. (9.)

Another very famous one is the "Phra Buddha Sihing" which is now in the Buddhaisvarya Building of the National Museum at Bangkok. Every year during the Sangkranta festival it is moved out into the Royal Plaza in front of the Grand Palace, where crowds of people come to pay obeisance and pour ceremonial water over it. This statue has long been a puzzle to archeologists. But its facial features and its modeling make me feel certain that it is a product of the Northern Thai Golden Age. (10.)

Images of the Mixed Type were made all over the north, for a long period of time. I have seen some at Chiangmai, Müang Fang, Müang Thoeng, and Chiangsaen dated as late as the 17th and 18th centuries. Even during the Golden Age the artists did not *always* succeed in producing beautiful images; all too frequently they made the heads an awkward shape or the eyes squinting, the arching eyebrows raised as if in surprise or the faces merely insipid. As time went on these faults became more common, especially in the provincial centers where the sculptor might be copying some cult image that was not a first-rate work of art. The kingdom of Lan Chang, which remained independent long after Chiangmai fell to the Burmese, also adopted the Mixed Types. (11.) Its sculpture is abundant, but mostly of mediocre quality. The modeling is apt to

be crude, the faces pinched-looking. The pedestals, made in the form of flowers, animals, boats, and other things, are elaborate and often charming.

Phayao was the center of a school of sandstone sculpture that turned out a large quantity of Buddha images. They mostly look as if mass-production methods had been used. But the stone-carvers were not without talent when they were allowed to display it. (Fig. 18)

They made a few quite beautiful Buddha images and some delightful reliefs as well. The school may have started in the Golden Age, but I suspect its biggest production was in the 17th or 18th century. Its existence at all is rather surprising, as the other provinces of the north took no interest in stone sculpture. Ayudhya, though it was far away, is the only likely school that might have inspired it. (12.)

7

I think that any reasonably open-minded reader will now see the logic of my time-table. It fits in well with the known facts of history and archeology. And it ascribes the types that exist in least abundance to the period when Buddhism had serious obstacles to overcome, the types that exist in the greatest abundance to the period when it enjoyed its greatest prosperity.

Before the capture of Lamphun in 1292, the northern Thai produced no sculpture at all or at least none has been found.

During the reigns of King Mengrai and his successors for three generations, it was virtually impossible for any major art to have been produced in the north except in the immediate orbit of Lamphun. Buddhism was making progress, but slowly; history records very few religious foundations. The images I attribute to this period are all in the Lamphun style, and they are not very numerous.

With the reign of King Kūna Buddhism received a new impetus from the land of Phra Ruang. The northern craftsmen, after a period of training, became masters of the technique of bronze casting. They produced a fair number of images, which imitate, but do not match, the Sukhodaya high classic style.

When King Sam Fang Kaen became a heretic Buddhism suffered a serious reverse, and Buddhist art declined.

The Golden Age started in the reign of the devout King Tiloka and lasted until shortly after the Burmese conquest. Just as would be expected, the great majority of northern images, including all the best ones, date from this period. Their sculptural *style* is consistent enough, although it does not at first appear so because the artists were deliberately imitating different models of very different character. That explains how Pala art exploded like a time-bomb at Chiangmai hundreds of years after it had been forgotten in India. That explains also how several other sorts of images, including some rather eccentric ones, came to be produced at the same time, perhaps even by the same artists.

I hope no one will regret that I have had to destroy the myth of "Pre-Sukhodaya" art. It was a myth that failed to take into account the obstacles that Buddhism would have to overcome and the technical problems that would have to be solved before such an art could arise. It would imply that, at a period anywhere from 300 to 600 years before the Golden Age, Buddhism had sprung suddenly into existence among the northern Thai strong, fully organized, and equipped with a brilliant artistic technique. The myth deserves to be destroyed: it is not only contrary to common sense, it is also unjust to the real heroes of the struggle. For it took courage on the part of the monks, resolution on the part of Buddhist Kings, and a sense of dedication on the part of the artists, to make the Golden Age a reality.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

to the article "*The Buddha Images of Northern Siam*"

by Mr. A.B. Griswold

Abbreviations :

BEFEO - Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient

JSS - Journal of the Siam Society

SECTION 1.

1. Most of the historical data in the present article, except where otherwise noted, are derived from Coedès, *Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental*, BEFEO, XXV. The chronology is that of *Jinakalamalini*, which seems more reliable than that of *Bamsavatara Yonaka*. I have also made frequent use of Coedès, *Les Etats hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*.

SECTION 2.

1. Coedès, *Les Etats hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Chapter XII; see also the references cited therein.

2. Coedès, *Documents*, 15 ff; Dupont, *Art de Dvâravati et art khmèr*, *Revue des arts asiatiques*, 1935; Claeys, *L'archéologie du Siam*, BEFEO, XXXI.

3. Dupont, *op. cit.*

4. The Seven Spires Monastery at Chiangmai, part of which was formerly thought to go back to this time, really dates in its entirety from the Golden Age, as has recently been proved by one of the learned members of the Siam Society. See Hutchinson, *The Seven Spires*, JSS XXXIX, i, 5-6.

5. They are now in the Lamphun museum. But most of the bronzes in that museum are of later date; so also is the large

Walking Buddha at Wat Kalakòt, which is sometimes attributed to the reign of King Mengrai (see section 3, note 9.). The pyramidal stupa of Wat Si Liam at Kum Kam is probably the monument referred to in *Jinakalamalini*, which tells us that in 1303 King Mengrai "built a gilded cetiya containing sixty statues of Buddha". (See Coedès, *Documents*, 90.) Though much restored, it provides a useful hint as to the style of architecture prevailing in King Mengrai's reign. It is much like the pyramidal stupa at Wat Kukut that one of the Mon kings of Lamphun had long before built. The pyramid at Wat Kukut also contains sixty Buddhas-though some of them are broken. They are standing figures of terra cotta, of the sort I have already described, arranged in five ascending rows of three on each face of the structure. (See Claeys, *op. cit.*, 429 ff.; LeMay, *Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam*, 110.) Wat Si Liam seems to prove that King Mengrai encouraged his architects to go on in the Mon style of Lamphun; and it is more than likely he encouraged his sculptors to do the same thing. This must have continued until the Sukhodaya style was introduced in about 1370 (see section 3).

SECTION 3.

1. See Coedès, *Documents*, 195 ff.—This inscription is very enlightening. Since it is the earliest Thai inscription that has been found anywhere in the north, we may wonder how much interest the Northern Thai had taken in literary composition before 1370. The Thai words are interlarded with Pali and Sanskrit, used so incorrectly that some people have formed a poor idea of its author's scholarship. The events described in it are amplified in *Jinakalamalini*. See Coedès, *loc. cit.*, 95 ff.

2. Coedès, *op. cit.*, 198-200.

3. The monument at the Monastery of the Standing Buddhas at Lamphun as described by Claeys (*op. cit.*, 437), LeMay (*op. cit.*, 129), and Hutchinson (*op. cit.* 31) is the present one. The original one (I was told by a very old monk who had seen it) was of an

entirely different character. If this is true, any conclusion based on the present monument regarding Burmese influence in Sumana's time is invalid. — Most of the architecture in Burmese style, so frequent in northern Siam at the present time, does not even date from the period of the Burmese occupation (mid-16th to late 18th century): it dates from the 19th-century "teak prosperity" that enriched many Burmese residents of the region.

4. Coedès, *op. cit.*, 198 note 6.

5. Coedès, *Documents*, 97 ff.; BEFEO, XVII, ii, 40. The date at which the Prince of Chiangrai took the image to the north is not quite clear. *Jinakalamalini* does not give a date, but inserts the story between events that occurred in 1369 and 1371 (Coedès, *loc. cit.* 97, 102). For another version, see Notton, *P'ra Buddha Sihinga* (Bangkok, 1933), which gives the important information that the Sihing was a seated figure (page 8).

The Chronicles of famous images, as M. Lingat pointed out in his illuminating article *Le culte du Bouddha d'Émeraude* (JSS XXVII), all have certain features in common and borrow freely from one another. They are consequently rather baffling at first, and no serious archeologist would take them at face value. But useful information *can* be extracted from them if their character is understood.

Even in the fabulous early portions of these Chronicles there is more than a grain of truth. Long before they were written down the stories were memorized and passed on from generation to generation, but not without getting muddled. The early portions, therefore, are meaningless as referring to specific images; they record rather the spread of an iconography. Looked at in this light, the travels of the "Emerald Buddha" (Gandhara, Ceylon, Angkor, central Siam), of "Sihing" (Ceylon, Nagara Sridharmaraja, Sukhodaya), of the several "Sikhi" images (Dvaravati, Angkor; Dvaravati, Lopburi, Lamphun; Dvaravati, Thaton, Pagan, Lampang) are not utterly fantastic.

As the date approaches when the legends were committed to writing, they become more definite. The adventures of particular statues are remembered in some detail.

The written accounts of these adventures are, from here on, relatively matter-of-fact. But there is plenty of room for confusion. Every owner likes to think the image in his possession is the most miraculous ever; if he hears a story about the wonders another image has performed, he will soon be repeating it about his own-and believing it. The different versions of the same legend are not very consistent. Each legend (perhaps each version) refers to a particular image which undergoes several changes of identity. The following adventures are reported of one or another of the images: it is miraculously rescued from a shipwreck; a prince is forced to give it up to a more powerful neighbor, but persuades him to return it - or else promises he will deliver it after a lapse of seven days; its own possessor cannot identify it; when it is in danger it is masked with mortar so as to look like an inferior piece; it exists from the outset in five different examples; a queen who gets hold of it promises to return it as soon as she can have a copy made; a prince who obtains it immediately orders replicas cast; and so on. Each of these adventures is the signal for a possible change of identity.

Though each part of each legend refers to a particular statue, the successive parts really refer to a series of replicas or substitutes. Most likely the replica or substitute was in each case made locally and not very long before the substitution took place. The substitution, which was not necessarily fraudulent, transmitted the "identity" of the original to the substitute.

This is the general principle that allows us to infer, for instance, that the statue the Prince of Chiangrai got at Kamphaengphet was in the Sukhodaya style, or that a statue that "emerges from a long obscurity" at Chiangrai in the Golden Age was itself a product of Golden Age manufacture. (There may be some exceptions; see section 6, note 20.)

Substitutions may continue, though at a slackened pace, after the main body of the legend has been written down. The historical postscripts or other data, often used today to identify some existing image as the original of a given legend, really refer either to the last substitute in the legend or to a later one still. (Cf. section 6, notes 9 and 10.)

6. Cf. below, section 6, note 10.

7. For a fuller description of the Sukhodaya anatomy, and the sources it came from, see Griswold, *The Buddhas of Sukhodaya*, scheduled to appear in "Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America" for 1953.

8. Ibid.

9. The group of images I attribute to "Sumana's Style" has been overlooked up to now, or been lumped with other groups. I should therefore perhaps explain in more detail the course of my reasoning. I think it is sound, but I do not claim it is final.

Until recently it was thought that the "Early Chiangsaen Style" (which I have re-named the Lion Type) prevailed in the north from the 12th century (or earlier) until Sumana introduced a strong influence from Sukhodaya, and that the merger of the two produced the "Later Chiangsaen Style" (i.e. one of the Mixed Types). (See LeMay, op. cit. 129 ff. Note that both the temple and the image he describes at the Monastery of the Walking Buddhas really date from the time of the "restoration" about fifty years ago, not from Sumana's period at all.)

For reasons that will appear in section 5, we now know that the Lion Type and the Mixed Types both appeared in northern Siam for the first time shortly after 1455. As soon as that became evident, it was necessary to ask what styles had prevailed before 1455. The question was difficult at first, since practically all the northern Thai statuary that had been noticed until then consisted of one or another of these types. Were we to believe that the

Northern Thai made no images at all before 1455? That was too drastic a conclusion. A re-examination of all the northern types produced the only plausible answer. After eliminating all examples of the Lion Type and the Mixed Types of the Golden Age, plus the later styles, only two important groups were left: first, the Lamphun terra cottas, which had mostly been considered to date before the Thai conquest of Lamphun; and second, the "conscientious but not always very successful Northern Thai imitations of the Sukhodaya high classic", which had previously escaped notice as a distinct group. These, then, were the only two groups available to fill the void from 1292 to 1455. Of these two groups it seemed obvious that the Lamphun terra cottas were earlier. But just when did the second start?

It was rather tempting to suppose that it had started long before Sumana's time, perhaps in the reign of King Mengrai himself. King Ram Khamhaeng of Sukhodaya was a friend and ally of King Mengrai, and is said to have been present when the site of the new capital was chosen. If I was right in saying that Sukhodaya was far more advanced than the north at this time, would it not be natural for King Mengrai to turn to his friend for learned men to teach his people, for builders to construct the new capital in the most up-to-date fashion, and for artists to make handsome images of Buddha? It was indeed possible, therefore, that Sukhodaya exercised some influence on Chiangmai statuary from the very beginning. But on the whole it seemed unlikely, for the following reasons: *Jinakalamalini* does not record the casting of any bronze images before Sumana's arrival; the other Chronicles, which are unreliable in dealing with the whole period before the mid-14th century, only record a few before Sumana's time, and then in a vague and unconvincing manner; King Küna seems to have been delighted at the novelty of Sumana's suggestion; the first solid evidence of strong *cultural* influence from Sukhodaya on the north is Sumana's inscription, which seems to have introduced the Sukhodaya

alphabet; the next evidence, admittedly less solid, is the arrival and reproduction of an illustrious seated image from the Sukhodaya region at about the same time.

Simple logic led to the conclusion that the group of "conscientious but not always successful imitations of the Sukhodaya high classic" came into being as a result of models introduced by Sumana himself and by others about the same time. For the sake of brevity I decided to name the group in his honor.

The two best-known Standing or Walking Buddhas in northern Siam (the north does not make a sharp distinction between standing and walking images) are colossal figures, both at Chiangmai. One is at Wat Cetiya Luang (see fig. 2.). It is supposed to have been cast between the years 1438 and 1441 (see Notton, *Annales du Siam*, I, 50, and II, 92). The date appears plausible enough. The other one is at Wat Kalakòt (illustrated, in Claeys, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCIII). Tradition ascribes it to the reign of King Mengrai (see Coedès, *Documents*, 31); but surely there is some confusion here. (It may have been merely dedicated to his memory, like Number (xii) in note 5 of section 5 below.) The artistic quality of both these images is very mediocre-perhaps because of difficulties connected with their large size; but perhaps also because of the mediocre quality of the prototypes that inspired them. For the latter, doubtless, were Sumana's Standing Buddhas-which, being a first attempt in the north and perhaps improvised from the recollection of a Sukhodaya original seen some time before, may not have been very good.-At Wat Sadet, near Lampang, there is another colossal Walking Buddha, of far better workmanship. It comes from Nan, which was at one time part of the Sukhodaya kingdom and later was conquered by Chiangmai.

Many of the Seated Buddhas of the "style of Sumana" are quite beautiful. The sculptors very likely had one or more Sukhodaya models available for direct study-such as the image the Prince of Chiangrai brought from Kamphaengphet. It is comparatively easy

to make an attractive copy of a Seated Buddha; making a Walking Buddha involves problems of design that only the Sukhodaya high classic was ever able to solve perfectly. Examples of Seated Buddhas in "Sumana's Style", besides the one illustrated in Fig. 3, may be seen at Wat Cetiya Luang, where there are also plenty of examples from the Golden Age. (Both sorts are illustrated in Claeys, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXXIX.)

SECTION 4.

1. Coedès, *Documents*, 33 ff.; 104 ff.
2. The author of *Jinakalamalini*, writing in 1516, was able to use the Pali language fluently and correctly—in sharp contrast to Sumana in 1370 and to the author of *Camadovivamsa* in the early 15th century. See Coedès, *op. cit.*, 12, 15, 33.
3. Cf. Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, I, 25 ff.

SECTION 5.

1. For the sake of simplicity in describing the leg positions of seated images I use terms that are the nearest English equivalent. The purist, who could justly claim that they are not quite correct, is invited to read *virasana* in place of "folded tailor-fashion", and *vajrasana* in place of "lotus position". - The usual decoration of the pedestal consists of broad lotus petals alternating with narrower ones, with a line of beading above to represent the stamens. Sometimes there is a single row of petals, and sometimes there are two, the top row turning up and the lower row turning down. - The Northern Thai Lion Type (under the name Chiangsaen or Pre-Sukhodaya) is well described in LeMay, *Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam*, Chapter VIII.

2. For convenience, I shall refer to both Pala and Sena art as "Pala", since Sena art was merely its continuation. - LeMay (*loc. cit.*) brings out vividly the similarities between the Lion Type and Pala images.

3. Coedès. *Les collections archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok*. Cf. JSS, XXXI, 193 (a warning by Coedès himself against taking his classifications too literally). LeMay (op. cit., 108) wisely leaves the question of the dates of the "Chiangsaen" school open, but guesses that the earliest examples may date in the 12th century. In an article of which I was the joint author in 1951 (JSS XXXVIII) I dated its "chief flourishing" in the 13th-14th century; at that time I supposed that the few dated images I had seen (late 15th century) were late examples of a school that had mainly flourished earlier. That supposition has proved wrong. - Incidentally, the notion that "Early Chiangsaen" art was "Pre-Sukhodaya" led to some wrong conclusions about the rise of Sukhodaya art. It was often assumed that "Early Chiangsaen" must have influenced the rise of the Sukhodaya school; and wishful thinking even made it possible to point to images that were supposed to show "the transition from Early Chiangsaen to Sukhodaya". We now know that Sukhodaya was the first Thai art in Siam, and that the influence was from Sukhodaya to the north, rather than the other way round.

4. People who are reluctant to give up the old chronology might perhaps argue that the northern Thai of the 12th century or earlier built splendid monuments that have all disappeared, and recorded their history in elaborate inscriptions that still lie buried. But no useful conclusions can be drawn from such guesswork. For references to Ngön Yang in the Chronicles, see Notton, *Annales du Siam*, index, s.v. Ngeun Yang and Hirana Nagara.

5. The dates in the inscriptions are all expressed in "Culasakaraja" (CS), except the last one, which is in the Buddhist Era. The statues, in chronological order with the dates transposed into the Christian Era, are as follows:

- (i) (1469). Bronze Buddha, ht. 1.33 m.; Wat Kalakòt, Chiangmai. Inscription on base dated CS 831. (See Fig. 8.)

(ii) (1477). Bronze Buddha, inlaid with gems, ht. 63 cm.; Wat Phra Singha Luang, Chiangmai. This image is called "Phra Chao Thong Thip". Inscription on base dated OS 839. (See Fig. 9.)

(iii) (1481). Bronze Buddha, ht. 63 cm.; vihara of Wat Pencamapabitra, Bangkok. Inscription on base in Northern Thai words and character: "In the year 843, in the sixth month, Prahmra Chao (?) (had this image) cast and placed it in the Pupbarama (sic)." - Pupbarama looks like a phonetic spelling of Pubbarama, the official name of Wat Ket, Chiangmai, a monastery founded by King Müang Kao in 1496 "in the place where his grandfather and father had lived when the latter was heir apparent." Müang Kao's father was King Phra Yot Chiangrai, and his grandfather was Prince Bün Rüang, who never came to the throne. (See Coedès, *Documents*, 116-117.) Though Wat Ket was not "founded" until 1496, it may have existed earlier as an adjunct of the princely household.

(iv) (1484). Bronze Buddha, ht. 64 cm.; Vihara of Wat Pencamapabitra, Bangkok. Inscription on base dated OS 846.

(v) (1485). Bronze Buddha, ht. 75 cm.; vihara of Wat Pencamapabitra, Bangkok. Inscription on base in Thai and Pali, northern Thai character. Gives the name of the donor, Mahasilamangala, and the date 847.

(vi) (1486). Bronze Buddha, ht. 64 cm.; Vihara of Wat Pencamapabitra, Bangkok. Inscription on base in Pali, Northern Thai character; consists mostly of scriptural quotations, together with the date: 848, 6th month. (See Fig. 10.)

(vii) (1491). Bronze Buddha, ht. 72 cm.; sala of Wat Pencamapabitra, Bangkok. Inscription on base in Thai and Pali, northern Thai character. First line: "In the year of the Boar, 853". Remainder consists of scriptural quotations. (See Fig. 11.)

(viii) (1502). Bronze Buddha, ht. 52 cm.; collection of Dr. Charanphat Issarangkul na Ayudhya, Bangkok. Inscription on pedestal in Pali, northern Thai character, consisting of a synopsis of the Four Noble Truths. At base is the date: 864.

(ix) (1503). Bronze Buddha, ht. 1.21 m.; Wat Jaya Sri Bhumi (Wat Pantakön), Chiangmai. Inscription on base in northern Thai character, with the date 865.

(x) (1508). Bronze Buddha, ht. 90 cm.; sala of Wat Pencamapabitra. Inscription on base in Thai and Pali, northern Thai character, divided into three registers. The upper register, after expressing some pious hopes for Nirvana, continues: "This Phra Singha was dug up at Wat Phra Singha Dibyalaya, early in the afternoon on Tuesday, the 7th day of the rising moon, in the second month. Chao Phaya Aggavarasetha, son of Maha Uparaja Nan Brahma Gam, ordered it to be set up." Middle register: "Good fortune! On Wednesday, the 8th day of the rising moon, in the second month, year of the Serpent, CS... (illegible) ... there was an assembly of pious laymen and laywomen, presided over by Maha Uparaja Aggavarasetha (illegible) . . and his consort Aggarajadevi . . . May their sons and daughters, their nephews and nieces, as well as all beings born in the Kamaloka, be united in the Lord Buddha." The next line is illegible. The lower register, in so far as it is legible, says: "Hail to all men and to the divinities of Indra's and Brahma's heavens all these divinities and also this Phra Singha throughout 5000 years." - As to the three digits in the middle register, the first is perhaps 8, the second is certainly 7, and the third perhaps 0. The year CS 870 was in fact a year of the Serpent, and the style of writing suggests that this date is approximately correct. The assembly must therefore have taken place in 1508. Although the upper register does not give a year, it must have been inscribed on the day before the middle register, since if the years were different the sequence of days would not correspond. But what actually took place?

In northern Siam, when an image is to be cast, the mould is usually put upside down into a pit in the ground so as to receive the molten metal more conveniently. Perhaps it was "dug up" on the Tuesday and ordered to be installed the next day. But the ceremonies are usually held during the casting and during the installation, *not* merely when it is "ordered to be set up". Yet several weeks or months must elapse between the casting and the installation for the image to be smoothed and polished. The same would apply if it were an old image, long buried underground, that had been "dug up"-it would take time to repair and clean it and to prepare a place for it. I can think of only one possible explanation: an old broken image had been discovered underground in the monastery compound some months before, and it had been decided to melt it down in order to make a new one as was so often done (cf. 12 below). But the old image was not disturbed while the mould for the new one was being prepared. Finally, when all was ready, the old one was "dug up" on the Tuesday. In accordance with the usual time schedule, it was melted down that evening, and early the next morning the metal was poured into the prepared mould, with appropriate ceremonies to mark the occasion of the casting. The date 1508 is therefore the date of the image as it appears today. I cannot identify either the monastery or the persons involved.

(xi) (1523). Bronze Buddha, ht. 1.03 m.; Wat Yuan, Chiangkham. Inscription on the base in Sukhodaya character gives name of donor and the date CS 885, year of the Goat.

(xii) (1565). Bronze Buddha, ht. 2.20 m.; Wat Jaya Phra Kierti, Chiangmai. Called "Phra Chao Mengrai". Inscription on front of base is in Burmese, on rear in northern Thai language and character, stating that this image was cast in memory of King Mengrai and that metal collected from old broken images was used. Date: BE 2108. (Fig. 12.)

6. If none of the twelve inscribed Buddhas is of the very top quality, some are quite near it; and all of them are competent works. Some of them must have been even better before they were "cleaned". For a generation ago it was the fashion in the northern capital to clean the patina off old bronzes, and the scraping often ruined the finest details and changed the facial features greatly. Incidentally, this accounts for the fact that Lion Type bronzes from Chiangmai got a poorer reputation among serious archeologists than those from Chiangsaen-for the latter had escaped being cleaned. But I have recently seen at Chiangmai plenty of bronzes that were not spoiled by scraping, and they are at least equal to those from Chiangsaen. Curiously enough, of all the inscribed Buddhas, the one that bears the latest date is the largest and best. Definitely these inscribed Buddhas are not the tail-end of an art. (Cf- note 3 above.)

7. Hutchinson, *The Seven Spires*, JSS, XXXIX, i, 43 ff. and 54 ff. (Note that the Siamese description of the statues is more complete than the English). - For the account of how Buddha spent the seven weeks following his Enlightenment, see *Buddhist Birth Stories*, translated by Rhys Davids, vol. I, 105 ff.

8. Valisinha, *Guide to Buddhagaya*, Calcutta, 1950; Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 81 f.

9. Mus, *Le Buddha Paré*, BEFEO, XXVIII.

10. Examples of the replicas, both in clay votive tablets and in black stone, may be seen at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, at the National Museum, Bangkok, and many other places. Two of them in monastic robes are illustrated in Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (second edition, Oxford, 1930), plate 70; one wearing the Royal Attire is illustrated in Coomaraswamy, op, cit., fig. 228; another in Chanda, *Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, plate XIV. Cf. Coedès, *Tablettes votives du Siam*, in *Etudes asiatiques de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*; translated as *Siamese Votive Tablets*, in JSS XX.

11. Hutchinson, op. cit., 9, 10, 17.

12. Hutchinson, op. cit., 54. - The Siamese use the expression "samadhi bejra" to describe the "lotus position" or "vajrasana" (see section 5, note 1). The word "vajrasana" may also be used to describe the Adamantine Seat. The Siamese use the term "Maravijaya" (Victorious over Mara) as equivalent to the Sanskrit "bhūmisparsamudra" (gesture of Calling the Earth to Witness).

13. I am indebted to Mr. Kraisi Nimmanaheminda for this story, which appears in a MS Chronicle (of unknown age). However he tells me that another version, which he has also seen in MS form, though giving many of the same particulars, states that Mūn Dam Phra Khot's thirty-man mission got the plans not from Bodhgaya, but from the replica at Pagan. It is generally agreed that Mūn Dam was quite a traveler: according to the Northern Chronicles, he had gone to Ceylon to get the plans of two other buildings (Coedès, op. cit., 111 note 5); according to the "Chronicle of Mahathera Fa Bot", he had been to Ceylon and Taxila to study the Doctrine and the Vedas (Notton, *Annales du Siam*, I, 47). If Mūn Dam was really ordered to get the plans of the Mahabodhi, did he go to Pagan or to Bodhgaya? The first would have been easier, but King Tiloka would have preferred the second, and there was nothing, I think, to make the journey impossible. Though Bodhgaya was in Muslim hands, it was no doubt accessible to Buddhist visitors from Southeast Asia who had plenty of money-for the Burmese repaired the temple there in 1298, and a prince of Sukhodaya visited nearby Patana about the mid-14th century (see Coedès, *Recueil*, 145; cf. Coedès, *Les Etats hindouisés*, 367); there is no reason to think the Muslims would have changed their attitude by the mid-15th. Can the question be decided by comparing the architecture of the Seven Spires first with the Pagan replica and then with the Bodhgaya original? Later restorations make that difficult; and in any case King Tiloka would have been interested in reproducing only what he considered the essential

features, not the minutiae: The main features of all three monuments are similar enough (note that they all three contain radiating arches, which are unusual in the architecture of India and Southeast Asia). The proportions of the towers at the Seven Spires Monastery seem to me to resemble Bodhgaya a little more closely than Pagan. But one fact seems to be conclusive: at Pagan there is no trace of monuments to mark the Seven Holy Stations. In that climate, which has preserved many other things so well, it seems unlikely that if they ever existed they would have totally disappeared—especially the Naga King's pond. I feel almost certain, therefore, that the plans really came from Bodhgaya.

14. Even if Mūn Dam only got as far as Pagan, he might still have obtained there a Pala stone relief of the same sort, brought from Bodhgaya earlier. Such images travelled widely. Some have been found at Pagan. A Pala stone relief of another type from Bodhgaya is still preserved at Chiangmai, where it has presumably been since the Golden Age. (LeMay, *op. cit.*, 104.) On the other hand, Mūn Dam *might* have obtained a replica of the Lion of the Sakyas made in stone or bronze in the Pagan style. In any case the results at Chiangmai would have been just about the same, because the Pagan style of Buddha image was itself a faithful copy of Pala art. But if King Tiloka's craftsmen absorbed any ideas from Burma, two things are sure: first, the ideas were iconographical and not stylistic, because Burma had no tradition of using bronze with skill on a large scale; second, such iconographical ideas were based on the Pagan style, and not on Burmese sculpture of their own day for by that time Burmese sculpture had changed considerably, and for the worse. - It is always possible that the Pagan style was known at Chiangmai before King Tiloka's time; but for all the reasons I have cited I believe it was not a major influence there until after 1455, if at all.

15. The earliest dated image is the one already referred to (1469). The earliest sculptural activity in King Tiloka's reign mentioned in any of the Chronicles I have seen is in connection

with the building of the Seven Spires (1455-1476), if we except some uncertain references in the "Chronicle of Mahathera Fa Bot." The earliest mentioned by *Jinakalamalini* is in 1483 (Coedès, *Documents*, 115). But *Jinakalamalini* treats the building of the Seven Spires rather summarily. The stucco reliefs depicting *devatas* at that monastery show how strong the Sukhodaya influence still was at the period.

16. The *immediate* prototype at the Seven Spires was, as I have said, probably a stone relief. Even if it was not, the *ultimate* prototype at Bodhgaya was certainly made of stone, perhaps in high relief, perhaps nominally "free-standing" but placed against a wall background. Professor Feroci, the eminent Italian sculptor who has taught for many years at the Fine Arts Department in Bangkok, tells me that in his opinion many of the Lion Type bronzes look like adaptations from a stone original.

17. To reduce the relationship to a formula, perhaps oversimplified: "Sukhodaya plastic influence, reacting on Indian Pala iconography, produces the Northern Thai Lion series." This is quite different from the erroneous formula usually accepted before: "Early Chiangsaen art, plus Sinhalese artistic influence, equals Sukhodaya art."

18. It may be objected that "Singha" also means Ceylon, and the legendary history attached to the Phra Singha connects it with that island, not with Bodhgaya at all. That is quite true. "Singha" and "Sihing" are probably two different forms of the same word, and both of them can mean either "Lion" or "Ceylon". I think, though, it was because of a confusion due to the double meaning that the Phra Singha of Chiangmai became identified with the Phra Buddha Sihing that the Prince of Chiangrai got from the wily ruler of Kamphaengphet. (See above, section 3.) By the time of the Golden Age that image had no doubt vanished, though its legendary history was well known ("Sihinganidana", Chronicle of the Ceylon Buddha: NB, *not* "Singhanidana"), and

there were plenty of copies of it though perhaps not identified as such. The Phra Singha was in reality a totally unrelated statue (it has nothing whatever to do with Ceylon in type or style, nor is it of a type the Prince of Chiangrai would have obtained within the orbit of Sukhodaya art); was a copy of a copy of the Sakyasingha of Bodhgaya and was named after it. But pious people had Ceylon on the brain, and they had a "Chronicle of the Ceylon Buddha" that had to be applied to some statue or other. So they applied it (perhaps not simultaneously) to several different ones, including the Phra Singha. In this particular case there was no other justification than the confusion between a name that was really intended to mean "Lion" and a similar name that was intended to mean "Ceylon". For a photograph of Phra Singha, see Notton, *P'ra Buddha Sihinga*, Bangkok, 1933, page 50; for a drawing, see Coedès, *Documents*, 98. - For photographs of a second and third claimant to the title, see Notton, *ibid.*, page 2 and page 14. Regarding the second, see below, section 6, note 10; regarding the third, which need not concern us here, see Luang Boribal and Griswold, *Sculpture of Peninsular Siam*, loc. cit.

19 One of our twelve inscriptions, for instance, specifically refers to the image it is inscribed on as *this Phra Singha*. (See note 5 above, 10.) A replica recently cast at Chiangmai has an inscription on the pedestal referring to the image as *this Phra Singhā*. - At Nagara Sridharmaraja, in much the same way, any image with Pala iconography, made in imitation of the Phra Buddha Sihing that is the most venerated image in *that* place, is referred to in inscriptions as *this Phra Buddha Sihing*. See Luang Boribal and Griswold, *Sculpture of Peninsular Siam*, loc. cit., 53.

20. I suspect this event took place in 1515. One of the legends of famous images, the "Chronicle of the Buddha Sikhi", tells us that in that year the King of Ayudhya, having invaded northern Siam, took possession of a famous image of *black stone* that had been presented by King Anohrata of Pagan to Queen Cammadevi

(sic!). (See Coedès, *Documents*, 123 ff.) Applying the method suggested in section 3, note 5, this legend *could* mean the northern Thai had obtained from Pagan an image made of the black stone that is so characteristic of Pala art, they venerated it highly enough to confuse it with an earlier legend, and they were forced to surrender it to the invading King of Ayudhya in 1515. I am inclined to think that some parts of the "Sikhi" legend really relate to the Pala image that King Tiloka set up at the Seven Spires. One difficulty: the King of Ayudhya took the Sikhi Buddha from Lampang, not from Chiangmai.

21. Some elderly inhabitants of Chiangmai, I am told, say there is a tradition that the present Phra Singha in their city is only about 75 or 100 years old, having been cast as a substitute for an "original" a much smaller image that was removed to Bangkok at that time. If that smaller image was King Tiloka's black-stone Pala relief, I do not know where it now is. But more likely it was simply another one of the many copies.

SECTION 6

1. Was the Lion Type particularly associated with one of the Three Sects, and other types with each of the other two? It might be thought, for instance, that a type with the four fingers of each hand of equal length would appeal most to the Forest-Dwellers, whose orthodoxy and whose knowledge of the Pali texts were outstanding. But it seems more likely that they were contented with any statue that they were told came from Ceylon, or even that was said to be imitated from a Sinhalese model. The Lion, having been installed at the Seven Spires (an establishment of the Forest-Dwellers), was said to be Sinhalese even though it certainly was not. Some images apparently indicated their preference for living in a large city, by making themselves too heavy to carry when they were about to be moved away. (Coedès, *Documents*, 103, note 3; 115.) It might be thought this indicates the City-Dwellers preferred a certain type. But miracles of this kind are attributed to both the Emerald Buddha and the "Sihing" - both theoretically of Sinhalese type, and therefore supposedly most regarded by the Forest Dwellers.

2. Images of this sort are very numerous, and enough of them bear dated inscriptions to confirm the opinion that all the best ones should be ascribed to the Golden Age. But there are some border-line cases, perhaps transitional between Sumana's Style and the Golden Age Style, and it is sometimes hard to decide which to attribute a given image to. On the other hand the Golden Age images could hardly be mistaken for Sukhodaya pieces of any period, because the faces are quite different. The following check-list may be useful to anyone trying to decide by a process of elimination whether to ascribe a given piece to Sukhodaya art (Sk), to the Style of Sumana (Sm), to the Northern Thai Golden Age (GA), or to later Northern Thai art (L):

a. Fold of cloth over left shoulder ending squarely, especially if it has an X-shaped design incised at the lower part: certainly neither Sk nor Sm.

b. Pedestal decorated with lotus petals: certainly not Sm.

c. Pedestal decorated with lotus petals and, underneath it, a lower base which is smooth except for some incised or perforated decorations: certainly neither Sk nor Sm.

d. Narrow ridge separating forehead from hair: certainly not Sk or Sm.

e. Good modeling and pleasant face: probably not L.

3. A few of them are quite peculiar looking. Some must have been made in deliberate imitation of relatively unfamiliar models. The "Buddha with Sharp Shins", made in 1493 and kept at Wat Siriköt, Chiangmai, looks like an attempted enlargement of a small U-Thong original. The fragmentary "Phra Lavo" at Lamphun is very likely inspired by some Khmer model. Again, certain varieties seem to have been associated with a particular region. A good many images from Müang Fang, for instance, have a curious cast of countenance, with a very short straight nose. Perhaps the main cult statue there happened to have this peculiarity and so set the fashion.

4. For the list, see Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, 54 f. It sounds like a curious mixture. The Walking Buddha does not exist in the round in Indian art, though it may appear in relief or painting. It was par excellence the specialty of Sukhodaya. But in Sukhodaya art it does not mean "pacing back and forth between the Stance and the Bo tree", it means "impressing in the soft earth the seal of his Footsole". (See Griswold, *The Buddhas of Sukhodaya*, *loc. cit.*) (Ordinarily it must have meant the same thing at Chiangmai, as we can see from a Chiangmai Walking Buddha in the National Museum at Bangkok showing the Footprint in three successive enlargements on the pedestal.) The Buddha seated in meditation under the protecting hood of the Naga King, though it had disappeared from Indian art with the Amaravati school, was a great favorite of the Khmers and sometimes represented in Sukhodaya sculpture (the Chiangmai copies seem to be based on the latter). The Buddha sitting cross-legged with his right hand upraised was common in India (where the gesture meant Dispelling Fear rather than Halting Mara), but was unusual in Siam after the end of the Dvaravati period. The Buddha standing with his hands crossed in front of his breast, previously unknown in Siam, sounds like an adaptation (or a misunderstanding?) of the Buddha standing and performing the Wheel-Turning Gesture, which was not unusual in India and at Pagan. (Note that the texts, at least the versions I have seen, say that during the fourth week, when the Buddha was thinking out the Metaphysics, he was sitting cross-legged (Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, 104), not standing, as the Chronicle would have it.) The Buddha standing with his hands crossed in front of his waist, and the Buddha sitting with his right hand outstretched to receive the myrobalan fruit, are like nothing I have seen anywhere else except in painting.

Now where did all this iconography come from and how did King Tiloka get hold of it? The Chronicle does not tell us whether the set consisted of paintings, reliefs, or free-standing statues (for the Siamese word I have translated as "image" might mean any of

the three). The King would hardly have installed paintings in the exposed position of some of the Seven Stations, but he might have had his sculptors make bronze "copies" of paintings or even of small clay reliefs for that purpose. In modern times cheap lithographs of pietistic scenes, both Hindu and Buddhist, are current in India and Southeast Asia; their predecessors were clay reliefs and perhaps also paintings on wood.

In the oldest Siamese paintings that still exist, scenes from the Life of Buddha are a favorite subject and the Seven Stations are sometimes included. These paintings date from the late 18th and early 19th century, but they are undoubtedly in a much older tradition. So very likely the Chiangmai painters knew the subject well.

5. The Northern Thai Reclining Buddhas (and the Walking ones too) are usually rather awkward adaptations of Sukhodaya models. I do not know where the Northern Thai got the iconographical formula of the Buddha carrying the alms-bowl, unless from paintings. Buddhas seated "in the European fashion" were made in Siam in the Dvaravati period, though not often thereafter; but they were not uncommon in Pala art.

6. Did this idea come from painting? Though the treatment is very different, the subject at once recalls the famous "Ascetic Buddha" of Gandharan sculpture.

7. Even when the Buddha is seated.-In Sukhodaya art, especially in the later period, the robe nearly always covers both shoulders when the Buddha is standing; but never, so far as I know, when he is seated, walking, or reclining.

8. Sometimes these ornaments are superimposed on a monastic robe, sometimes worn on an apparently nude torso. In any case it is easy enough to distinguish such images from the Buddhas in Royal Attire that the sculptors of Ayudhya were turning out in such quantities about the same time, as the style of ornamentation is different. Moreover, Ayudhya usually preferred to make Buddhas in the Royal Attire in the standing position; but

all the Chiangmai Buddhas in Royal Attire I have seen are seated. Oddly enough they are usually seated tailor-fashion rather than in the lotus position of Pala art. One notable exception: the large bronze Buddha in Royal Attire in the Gallery of Wat Pencamapabitra, which comes from Lamphun. The label "Haripunjaya style" that it bears is rather deceptive, as it suggests an earlier period. The image really belongs to the Golden Age. Was it King Tiloka who got from Bodhgaya the idea of honoring certain Buddha images by presenting them with real ornaments, and so introduced a custom that survives today in the case of the Emerald Buddha? (cf. Lingat, *Culte du Bouddha d'Emeraude*, JSS XXVII.)

9. There is additional evidence in favor of this view. Besides its unusual material, the Emerald Buddha has some unusual sculptural features. Both hands lie in the lap, in the position of Meditation; the skull and ushnisha, instead of being covered with spiral curls, are smooth as if shaven clean. These features are rare in the sculpture of northern Siam, but more usual in Ceylon. I am inclined to think the Emerald Buddha is a northern Thai "copy" of a Sinhalese original. The copyist, as usual, picked out two or three of the most striking features to imitate, but otherwise remained true to the style of his own time. The various Chronicles of the Emerald Buddha borrow a section from the legend of the Sihing to explain how it got to northern Siam. There is a good deal of confusion here, and the author of *Jinakalamulini* (which seems to give the least confused version) almost seems embarrassed. When he tells us that, after a long period of obscurity, "the Emerald Buddha again became famous at Chiangrai in the reign of King Tiloka", we can be pretty sure it is a signal for a change of identity: at this moment a newly carved statue assumes the role of its Sinhalese model. The date of this event is doubtful, but may have been about 1444 (see Lingat, *op. cit.*). The Sinhalese model may have been a statuette brought back by the Chiangmai monks who returned from Ceylon in 1430 (see section 4). Being Sinhalese it would easily be identified with the vanished Sihing, and the identification transferred to the newly carved statue. The

green stone from which it was carved may have been obtained by King Tiloka as booty in his conquest of Nan. (Cf. Lingat, op. cit.) That event took place in 1443 or 1449 (Coedès, *Documents*, 109, note 3). In any case the date 1444 (see above) for the completion of the carving of the Emerald Buddha seems a bit too early. - Lingat's article contains excellent photographs. - The Emerald Buddha is not the only image of the Northern Thai Mixed Type that is made of an unusual material. Others are made of gold, silver, crystal, sandalwood, and so on. But the great majority are in bronze, while plaster was used as a cheaper substitute.

10. This statue (which is illustrated in LeMay, op. cit., fig. 131 and in Notton, *P'ra Buddha Sihinga*, page 2) is one of the three which, according to beliefs in different localities, are supposed to be the original referred to in the "Chronicle of the Sinhalese Buddha". Neither of the other two has anything Sinhalese about it. But this one has. The position of the hands in meditation and the angle of the head both suggest Ceylon. Luang Boribal was at one time of the opinion that this statue was actually made in Ceylon, and that its differences from Sinhalese art were due to drastic alterations that were made on it about a century ago. There is no doubt that the alterations *were* made, and these added to the puzzle. But I think the facial features (if looked at separately from the hair, which has been altered) are typical of the Northern Thai Golden Age. Like the Emerald Buddha, it seems to be a Golden Age "copy" of a Sinhalese model, though a different one. Both models might have been statuettes brought from Ceylon by the Chiangmai monks who returned in 1430.

11. The Chiangmai style of Buddha image, especially "Wearing the Royal Attire", was also adopted in the Shan States and Sipsong Panna. Cf. LeMay, op. cit., fig. 122.

12. The school seems to have centered at Phayao, but it spread to Chiangkham, Thoeng, and elsewhere. The stone head illustrated in LeMay, op. cit., fig. 125, should be attributed to it. - Some miniature stupas from the same school may be seen at the National Museum, Bangkok.

ROMANIZATION

In the Romanization of Siamese words I have used whichever of the two main systems, graphic and phonetic, seemed to be the more convenient—usually graphic for words closely related to Sanskrit or Pali, and phonetic for Thai words. I have omitted all diacritical marks in Sanskrit and Pali, and all but a few in Thai words. In case of confusion, the following list may be referred to :

Pāla

Phayao พระยา

Phra (Brah) พระ

Phra Chao Thong Thip พระเจ้าทองทิพ

Phra Lavo พระลาว

Phra Phim (Brah Bimba) พระพิมพ์

Pubbārāma บพพาราม

Ram Khamhaeng (Bāma Gāmhəng) รามคำแหง

Śākyasingha (Śākyasimha)

Śālā ศาลา

Samādhi Bejra (i.e. Vajra) สมาธิเพชร

Sangkrānta (Songkrān) สงกรานต์

Sihing (Sihinga) สิงห์

Singha (Simha) สิงห์

Song-Khrüang ทรงเครื่อง

Sukhodaya (Sukhōthai) สุขโขทัย

Svargaloka (Sawankhalok) สวรรคโลก

Ushnīsha

U-Thong อุทอง

Vajrāsana

Virāsana

Vihāra วิหาร

Wat Cetiya Luang วัดเจดีย์หลวง

Wat Jaya Phra Kierti วัดชัยพระเกียรติ

Wat Jaya Śrī Bhūmi วัดชัยศรีภูมิ

Wat Pantākön วัดปันตันกิน
 Wat Peñcamapabitra (Benchamabophit) วัดเบญจมบพิตร
 Wat Śiriköt วัดศิริเกิด
 Wat Yuan วัดหย่วน
 Ayudhyā (Ayuthya) อโยธยา
 Bamsāvātāra Yonaka พงศาตารโยนกะ
 Bhūmisparśamudrā
 Bishnuloka (Phitsanulok) พิษณุโลก
 Bodhgayā
 Brahmā
 Bun Rūang บุญเรือง
 Cetiya เจดีย์
 Culasakkarāja
 Devatā
 Dvāravatī ทวารวดี
 Gandhāra
 Hīnayāna
 Jinarāja จินราช
 Kamphaengphet (Kāmbang Bejra) กำแพงเพชร
 Kūnā กุณา
 Lampāng ลำปาง
 Lamphūn ลำพูน
 Lān Chāng ลานช้าง
 Lapburī (Labapurī) ลพบุรี
 Mahabodhārāma
 Maha Uparājā Nān Brahma Gām มหาอุปราชา นาน พรหม ตำบล
 Māra
 Māravijaya
 Nāga
 Nagara Pathama (Nakhōn Pathom) นครปฐม
 Nagara Śrīdharmarāja (Nakhōn Sītharmarāj) นครศรีธรรมราช

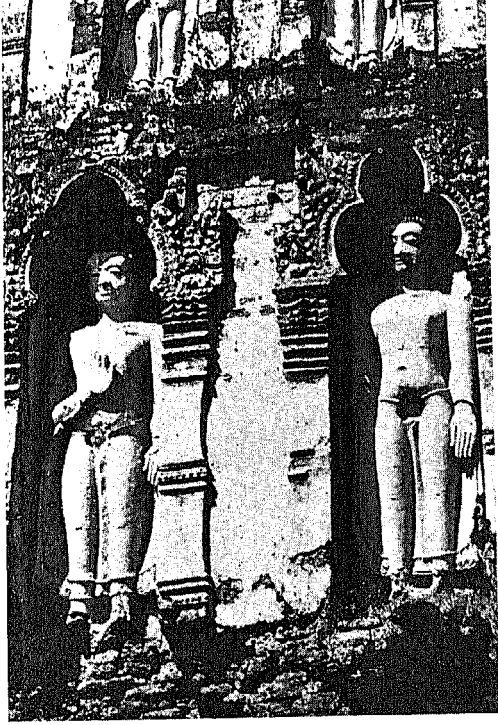


Fig. 1. Standing Buddhas. Terra cotta. Lamphun Style. In situ at Wat Kukut, Lamphun. (These figures might date from the original construction of the monument or from a restoration either before or after the Thai captured Lamphun in 1292.)

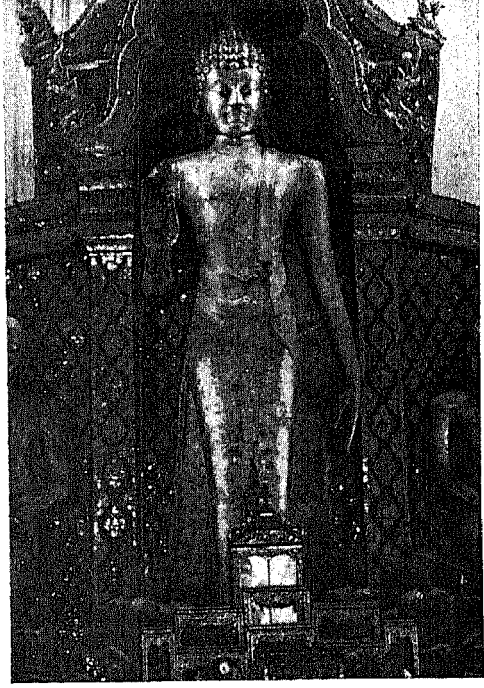


Fig. 2. Standing or Walking Buddha. Bronze. Height about 9 metres. "Style of the Abbot Sumana". Wat Cetiya Luang Chiangmai.



Fig. 3. Seated Buddha. Bronze. "Style of the Abbot Sumana." Buddhaisvarya Building, National Museum, Bangkok. (Formerly in the collection of the Prince of Chiangmai.)



Fig. 4. Seated Buddha. Bronze. Height about 1 metre. Style of the Northern Thai Golden Age, Lion Type. Gallery of Wat Pencamapabitra, Bangkok.

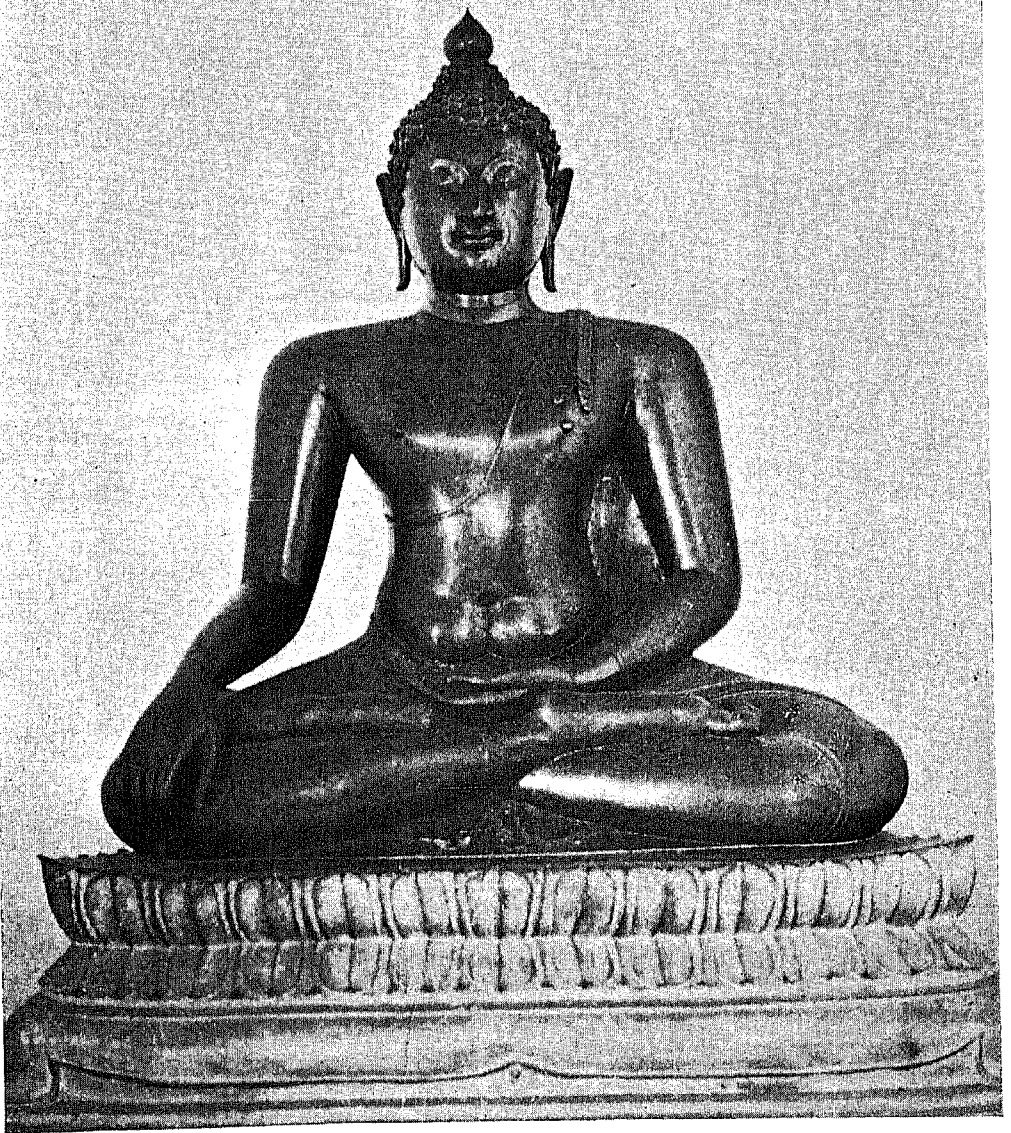


Fig. 5. Seated Buddha. Bronze. Style of the Northern Thai Golden Age, Lion Type. Gallery of Wat Pencamapabitra, Bangkok.



Fig. 6. Detail of Seated Buddha in Fig. 5.



Fig. 7. Seated Buddha, Black stone relief. Pala style. From Bodhgaya, India. Now in the National Museum, Bangkok. (This is one of the numerous replicas of the Lion of the Sakyas found among the debris in the Mahabodhi Temple compound at Bodhgaya.)



Fig. 8. Seated Buddha. Bronze. Height 1.33 m. Style of the Northern Thai Golden Age, Lion Type. Wat Kalakot Chiangmai. Image cast in 1469. (See section 5, note 5, i).

Fig. 9. Seated Buddha. Bronze inlaid with gems
Height 63 cm. Style of the Northern Thai Golden
Age, Lion Type. Wat Phra Singha Luang, Chiangmai.
Image cast in 1477. (See section 5, note 5, ii).



Fig. 10. Seated Buddha. Bronze. Height 64 cm.
Style of the Northern Thai Golden Age, Lion
Type. Vihara of Wat Pencamapabitra, Bangkok.
Image cast in 1486. (See section 5, note 5, vi)

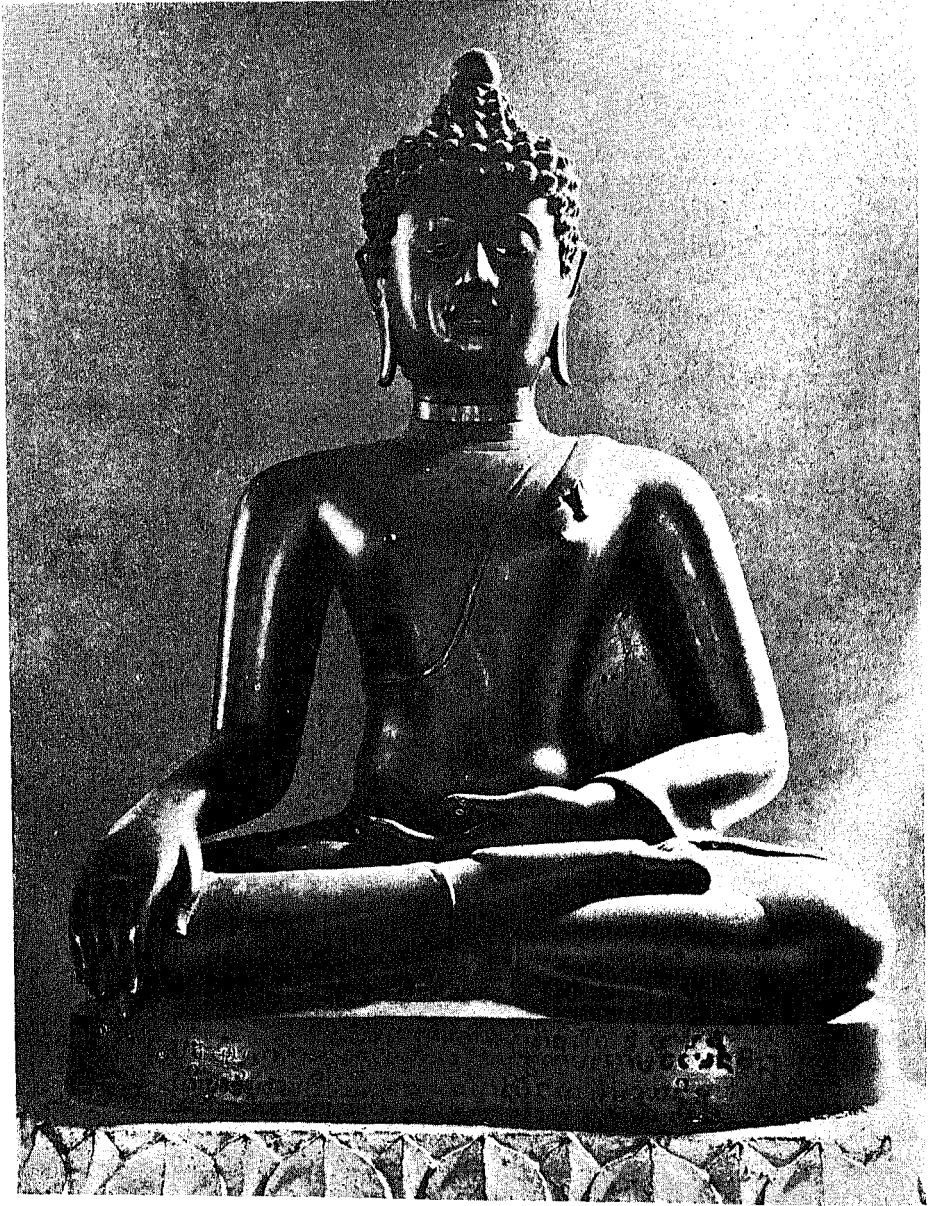


Fig. 11. Seated Buddha. Bronze. Height. 72 cm. Style of the Northern Thai Golden Age, Lion Type. Sala of Wat Pencamapabitra, Bangkok. Image in 1491. (See section 5, note 5, vii)



Fig. 12. Seated Buddha, Bronze. Height 2.20 m. Style of the Northern Thai Golden Age, Lion Type. Wat Jaya Phra Kierti, Chiangmai. Image cast in 1565. (See section 5, note 5, xii).



Fig. 13. Seated Buddha. Bronze. Height 2.35 m. Style of the Northern Thai Golden Age, Mixed Type. From a monastery at the foot of Doi Suthep, near Chiangmai. Now at Wat Phra Singha Luang, Chiangmai. Image supposed to have been cast in 1492 by the widow of King Tiloka.

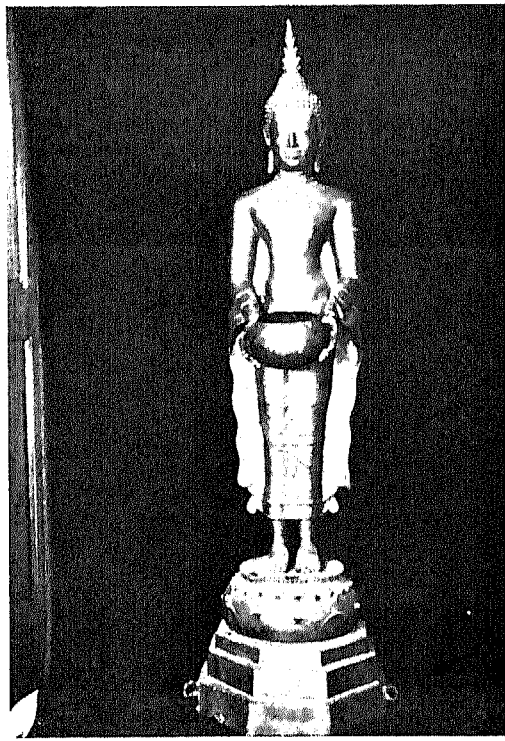


Fig. 14. Standing Buddha Carrying Alms-Bowl. Bronze. Height 1.27 m., including pedestal. Style of Northern Thai Golden Age, Mixed Type. Collection of H.R.H. Prince Chalermbol Yugala, Bangkok.



Fig. 15. Buddha "Seated in the European Fashion", Receiving the Offerings of the Monkey and the Elephant. Bronze. Style of the Northern Thai Golden Age, Mixed Type. Collection H.R.H. Prince Chalermbol Yugala, Bangkok.

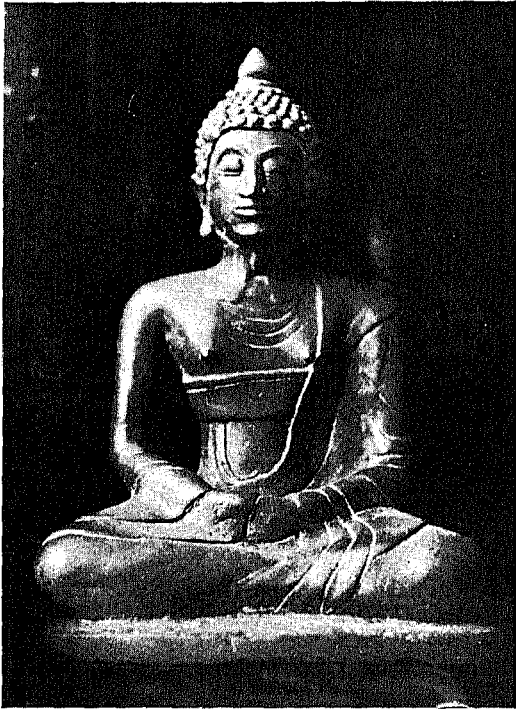


Fig. 16. "Asoetic Buddha". Bronze. Height 28 cm. Style of the Northern Thai Golden Age, Mixed Type. Vihara of Wat Pencamapabitra, Bangkok.

Fig. 17. Seated Buddha Wearing the Attire of Royalty. Bronze. Height 90 cm. Style of the Northern Thai Golden Age, Mixed Type. Gallery of Wat Pencamapabitra, Bangkok. (See section 6, note 8.)





Fig. 18. Head of Buddha, Stone. Height 23 cm. Wat Rajagriha, Phayao.

THE "PHI" (ฝ)

Phya Anuman Rajathon

Edited by Margaret Coughlin

Introduction

The belief in supernatural beings is innate in man. The Thai people as a race call such supernatural beings by the generic word "phi", which includes both gods and devils. The phi, like man in a general sense, are of two classes, the good Phi and the bad phi. When the Thai came in contact with the highly hinduized Khmer or Cambodians in Central Thailand in the 12th century A.D. and had become a ruling race in that region, they adopted most of the Khmer hinduized cultures, especially the ruling class. Throughout subsequent centuries the Thai and the Khmer mixed racially and culturally to an appreciable degree. By this time the Thai were gradually becoming known as the Siamese and the old Thai word "phi" like its owners had also undergone a change in meaning. In the famous stone inscription of the great Siamese King Ramkamhang dated 1283 A.D. reference was made to the King of Khmer of that time as "phi fa" which literally meant the heavenly phi. Actually "phi fa" meant a divine king, which cult had been adopted by Siamese kings of the later periods. Instead of referring to a divine king as phi fa as hitherto, it has now changed into a "thep" or "thevada" from the Sanskrit "deva" and "devata" which mean a god or, literally, a shining one. It followed that all the good phi of the Thai had by now become thevada or gods in their popular use of the language. The generic word "phi" therefore, degenerated into a restricted meaning of bad phi. It now means a ghost, a devil or an evil spirit. Nevertheless the old meaning of phi in certain cases is not yet dead and still lingers in some expressions in the language. For instance, of any evil deed done in secret, we sometimes say as a warning, "men never see the evil deed done but the phi does." In order not to divulge the source of any formula, especially a