

SCULPTURE OF PENINSULAR SIAM IN THE AYÚTHYA PERIOD

BY

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I

INTRODUCTION

1. *Various Schools of Art in Siam*

The usually accepted classification of the ancient statuary of Siam—Dvaravati, Chiengsaen, Sukhothai, Ayuthya, etc.—are those proposed by Professor Georges Coedès in 1926. They were not intended to constitute “water-tight compartments”, but simply to serve as a very general and flexible framework which might later be subdivided and modified in accordance with the results of new discoveries and further research.

As such, they have proved a most useful guide for study.

But there has been a tendency to adopt them too literally.¹ This can lead to difficulties.

1. Coedès himself complains, for instance, that some time after the proposal of these classifications, the antique dealers of Bangkok commenced to offer “genuine U-Thong Buddhas” for sale; whereas, in reality, the classification “U-Thong” was intended merely as a tentative label for a large and diverse transitional category probably dating from a little prior to the foundation of Ayuthya (1350) and continuing through the early decades of the Ayuthya period. (See Coedès, review of *Le May's Buddhist Art in Siam*, *JSS*, vol. 31, 1939.). In our personal experience, we have seen both dealers and collectors, who, from carelessness or from

The various styles of sculpture in Siam originated under complex influences, developed irregularly in space and time, merged perceptibly or imperceptibly with one another, and usually survived in altered form or as a persistent (though waning) influence long after they had disappeared as independent schools. There are some well-defined schools, such as the classic school of Sukhothai, whose flourishing may be dated with some confidence. But even with these schools it is difficult to provide a precise date for the beginning, and quite impossible for the ending. It might be thought, for instance, that the Sukhothai School came to an end in the 14th century, because in that century the kingdom of Sukhothai became at first a vassal, and then an integral part, of the kingdom of Ayuthya; but in the Sukhothai region for a long time afterwards many bronze statues continued to be made whose

a wish to magnify the value of their possessions by increasing their age, attribute a piece to a certain "period", and automatically date it from the earliest time that could possibly be assigned to the style so named. For instance, because Le May (Buddhist Art in Siam, v. infra) gives the 10th century as the earliest possible date for the beginnings of the (early) Chiengsaen style, all Chiengsaen pieces in the hands of dealers in Nakhon Kasem, including "Late Chiengsaen", some of which actually bear inscriptions of the 15th or 16th century, automatically become "more than 1000 years old". Dupont, in the article discussed further on in the text (BEFEO, 1942) remarks on an unfortunate tendency of derivative writers to consider all of the art of Peninsular Siam occurring between the style of Dvaravati and the purely Thai schools as belonging to the art of Sri Vijaya. This in spite of the fact that Coedès, in discussing the classification Sri Vijaya, says that he has classed many objects from the Malay peninsula under the label "Sri Vijaya" for convenience, and with the specific reservation that "this does not mean that they should all be attributed to the artistic influence of the Palembang kingdom." (Coedès, Les Collections archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok, Ars Asiatica, Paris and Brussels. 1928.)

general aspect is closer to the classic Sukhothai style than to the National (Ayuthya) school. Furthermore, the influence of the Sukhothai style entered as one of the chief components into the National style itself.

The components of the National style are very complex and have not yet been systematically studied. The recession of the Khmer political dominion from central Siam in the late 13th century did not put an abrupt stop to Khmer art in the region; Khmer art not only became an important component of the succeeding U-Thong and National styles, but also was destined to play for some centuries a more specific role in archaistic works and conscious imitations.² A more distant, but no less important, component of the National style was the influence of Dvaravati art, both indirectly through its influence on Khmer art and directly through its semi-independent survival and merging into the U-Thong style. Leaving aside the ultimate influences from external sources (such as Gupta, Pala, Burmese and Sinhalese), the most immediate components of the National style are of course Thai and Khmer. The influence of these components, as well as the more remote ones, was by no means uniform or regular. Different pieces show much more of one, much less of another.

2. *The National Style in Siam*

As the kingdom of Ayuthya spread its political dominion over most of what is now the kingdom of Siam, the Ayuthya style of sculpture was widely adopted. Hence, from about the 15th century onward, it is correct enough to refer to it as "the National

2. *One of the most conspicuous examples is the large bronze Siva in the National Museum, Bangkok, which was brought from the Brahmanic Temple at Kamphaeng-Phet, and which bears a date equivalent to 1510 A.D. (Illustrated in LeMay, Buddhist Art in Siam, Cambridge, 1938, plate 203.) — See Coedès, Recueil des inscriptions du Siam, Bangkok, 1924, Part I. p. 157.*

Style". Geographical variations in sculptural style tended to die out. In the North, however, which was only occasionally under the political dominion of Ayuthya, the Chiengmai School led an independent existence until the 16th century or later, but with strong drafts of influence from the Ayuthya School. But wherever the kingdom of Ayuthya exercised political control the authority of the National Style in art was strong, and most of the statues made after the 15th century in the provinces or vassal states of the kingdom of Ayuthya are difficult or impossible to distinguish from the ordinary types made in the capital itself.

The authority of the National Style was a centralized one, radiating in all directions from the capital at Ayuthya. It lasted nearly four hundred years, from the 14th century to the late 18th.³

It is an odd fact that, of all the schools of art that have flourished on Siamese soil, the National School has up to the present been subjected to the least research by serious students. There is a much greater mass of study material available, historical data, inscriptions, archeological sites, and sculptural examples, on the National Style than on any of its predecessors; but this material has not yet been systematically examined as a whole. It is not yet possible, therefore, to trace the development of the National Style with any assurance, or to assign precise dates to its various subdivisions.

The comparative lack of interest shown by scholars toward the National School may partly be explained by its rather

3. That is, the National Style did not immediately spring into being with the foundation of Ayuthya in 1350, and the U-Thong style (sometimes called "Early Ayuthya") continued to flourish at least until the late 14th century, gradually giving place to the National Style at about that time. The destruction of Ayuthya by the Burmese in 1767 marks the close of the Ayuthya (National) Style of sculpture. The tradition, of course, did not die, but lasted in a debased form well into the 19th century, gradually giving place to unrestrained eclecticism.

stereotyped and unimaginative character, and the mediocre artistic quality of most of its enormously numerous output. For the most part, it must be admitted that the sculpture of the National Style deserves its poor reputation. The National School suffered from a progressive mania for quantity that amounted almost to a psychosis. In such conditions, it could hardly be expected that its production would be very distinguished. But in spite of the indifferent quality of the great mass of its output, the National School produced some works of art that are of interest either because of their artistic value or for some special archeological reasons.

3. *Ayutthya Stone Sculpture*

By far the most important of the productions of the National Style of statuary are in bronze. But wood, plaster, and stone were also used.

During the Khmer occupation of Central Siam (early 11th to late 13th century), the School of Lopburi was the leading exponent of the Khmer style of sculpture in Siam.⁴ Although this school produced bronzes, most of them are of comparatively small size. The major sculpture of the Lopburi school is of stone. The most popular and characteristic type was the Buddha seated on the Naga.

We have already noticed that in Siam changes in political dominion did not usually put a sudden stop to the style of art

4. *The earliest productions in considerable quantity of the Khmer School of Lopburi appear to be contemporary with the style of Angkor Wat (beginning of the 12th century). The recession of Khmer political dominance in Central Siam took place at the end of the 13th century. The Khmer School of Lopburi (as distinguished from the U-Thong and the "pseudo-Khmer" art that flourished later in the Lopburi region) may therefore be dated approximately 1100-1300.*

previously existing in a given locality. So far as bronze is concerned this is true of the School of Lopburi, which continued and even increased its production of bronze images in the Khmer tradition after Khmer political rule had been replaced by Thai in that area. But it seems that the contrary is true in the case of stone.⁵

It appears, indeed, that when the Thai conquered Central Siam from the Khmer they rejected the use of stone for sculpture and confined themselves to the use of bronze, more in harmony with their own heritage. The Khmer temples were allowed to fall into ruin, and the sculptors of Lopburi ceased to work in stone. It was not until three centuries later that King Prasat Thong of Ayuthya (1630-1655), who solidified Thai power over Cambodia and adopted the Cambodian royal traditions, commanded that the use of stone for sculpture should be revived on a large scale.⁶

5. *LeMay* (Buddhist Art in Siam, p. 142), devoting a brief notice to the school of stone sculpture of the Ayuthya period, terms it the "Tai-Lopburi School". Apparently without examining the question with care, he comes to the very natural conclusion that it centered in Lopburi as a direct outgrowth of the Khmer stone school of sculpture of that place, and that it led either a continuous or intermittent life from the 14th to the 16th or 17th century at least. If our view is correct, the sandstone heads illustrated in Figures 186-189 of *LeMay's* book should all be dated in the 17th century.

6. *H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab*, History of Buddhist Stupas in Siam (in Siamese), Bangkok, 1926. King Prasat Thong was not the first Thai king to conquer Cambodia, nor was he the first to take up the Khmer royal traditions. (The Thai first captured Angkor as early as 1430, and Angkor was definitively abandoned as a capital by the Khmer in 1450.) But King Prasat Thong consolidated Ayuthya's political control over Cambodia and assumed the Khmer traditions of kingship more deliberately and systematically than his predecessors.

This surprising fact, while it cannot be proved conclusively, is supported by strong evidences.

In the first place, there are only one or two examples of sculpture in stone that can be plausibly classified as U-Thong.⁷ The U-Thong style, represented by a very large number of bronzes originating in the Menam Vally, is the mixed Khmer-Thai style (resting on a substructure of Dvaravati tradition) which flourished both prior and subsequent to the founding of Ayutthya (1350): namely, at the time when the Thai were conquering or absorbing the territories held by the Khmer in Central Siam. The artists of these conquerors, though much influenced by the bronze statuary of the conquered (and no doubt many of the U-Thang bronzes were actually the work of Khmer artists remaining in Siam after the political defeat of the Khmer) did not adopt the stone sculptural tradition. Since it appears that the use of stone for sculpture practically ceased in Central Siam in the 14th century, there is no good reason to suppose that it revived thereafter until the artificial impetus it received in the 17th century.

In the second place, there are certain large stone Buddhas in the Ayutthya and Lopburi regions that may be confidently assigned to the reigns of King Prasat Thong (1630-1655) and his son King Narai (1656-1688) as they form an integral part of foundations attested by inscriptions and records to have been ordered by these monarchs.⁸ Now, all the known stone sculpture of Central Siam of the Ayutthya School bears such a close stylistic resemblance to these dated figures that it is reasonable to consider it as contemporary with them.⁹

7. *Le May, op. cit., fig. 169.*

8. *E. g., Wat Chaiwattanaram, Ayutthya, by King Prasat Thong; installation of a large stone Buddha at Prang Sam Yot, Lopburi, by King Narai.*

9. *A possible exception may be noted in the "pseudo-Khmer" stone sculptures of Central Siam of the Ayutthya period. This category (paralleling the more plentiful archaistic bronze images*

In the third place, there is no known sculpture in stone of the Ayuthya (National) Style for which there is any direct evidence of dating outside the period 1630-1688 (reigns of King Prasat Thong and his son King Narai, plus two very brief intervening reigns).

King Prasat Thong and King Narai exalted themselves by reviving and restoring the glories of the Khmer past in Siam. To celebrate his suzerainty over Cambodia, King Prasat Thong built Wat Nakhon Luang, a large-scale architectural model of Angkor Thom in sandstone and laterite, on the Pa-Sak River between Ayuthya and Tha-Rüa. King Narai established a secondary capital at Lopburi, partly because of the accessibility of Ayuthya to invasion from the sea, but partly perhaps so that he could be surrounded with relics of Khmer art.

These two monarchs adapted existing Khmer antiquities to the uses of Hinayana Buddhism in its form of a state religion. They restored and altered decaying Khmer monuments. They buil new monuments of a design intended to echo the Khmer

mentioned above) was apparently not very numerous, and has not been carefully studied. We take it to describe stone statues made definitely in the Khmer tradition, however debased, and showing little or no Thai iconographical influence. (These statues may indeed have been made by Khmer "stay-behind" artists rather than Thai). in addition to certain Brahmanic works, this category would include some Buddhas seated on Nagas, and a few standing Buddhas. Available examples of the latter are rare and in poor condition. Two or three of them are to be seen in the go-down of the Lopburi Museum. The bodies have lost their heads and arms; the most characteristic remaining feature is a sort of belt decorated with rosettes in the Khmer style. These standing stone Buddhas are reminiscent of a group of wooden Buddhas of the 16th-17th century at Angkor Wat which reflect the impact of Thai influence on Khmer tradition. The description given in the present article of the stone sulpture of the Ayuthya (National) School of course excludes the "pscudo-Khmer" category.

style.¹⁰ They modified the appearance of old Khmer stone statues (especially Buddhas seated on the Naga) by the addition of plaster and lacquer, converting the Khmer facial features into features in the Thai tradition.¹¹ At the same time, they caused new stone images of Buddha to be made in vast quantities.

It appears that the Ayuthya school of stone sculpture, artificially brought into being by King Prasat Thong, came to an end in the latter part of the reign of King Narai. After his reign, there is no known stone sculpture that may be plausibly attributed to the Ayuthya period. Kaempfer, a German who visited Ayuthya in 1690, mentions "many images as big as the life and bigger, skilfully formed of a mixture of plaister, rosin, oyl, and hair, the outside of which is first varnish'd over with black and then gilt."¹² The prevalence of this technique may be attributed to the general artistic decline that became pronounced toward the end of the 17th century and continued steadily until the fall of Ayuthya, and to the ever-increasing demands for "mass production" of Buddha images by quick and easy methods, without much regard for artistic values.

10. *E.g., the bot in front of Prang Sam Yot, Lopburi, built by King Narai. For a study of the imitations of Khmer architecture made in Siam during the Ayuthya period, see Parmentier, L'art pseudo-khmer du Siam et le prang, J. Greater India Soc., vol. IV.*

11. *LeMay, op. cit., p. 74. Several examples of this are to be seen at the Lopburi Museum. These examples show the lacquer in various stages of preservation and dilapidation. Incidentally, this lacquer, though an affront to the artistic sense, has been of value in preserving some of these Khmer statues intact against the ravages of time and weather.*

12. *LeMay, op. cit., p. 144; quoted from Engelbert Kaempfer, The History of Japan, translated by J.G. Scheuchzer, Glasgow, 1906, p. 47.*

On the basis of the above considerations, and in the absence of any direct evidence to the contrary, we have tentatively accepted the view that the stone sculpture of the Ayuthya (National) Style was an artificial revival started in the reign of King Prasat Thong, and ending with the reign of King Narai, and was therefore confined exclusively to the 17th century.¹³

Many of these stone images are by no means without artistic merit. But their great number and rather repetitive quality gives them a monotonous air.

The material used was generally white sandstone, sometimes red sandstone. They were lacquered and gilded. Sometimes the lacquer was put on in a heavy layer; in this case the modelling of the stone was often sketchy and crude, the final details being introduced in the lacquer. Sometimes the lacquer was no more than the equivalent of a light sizing to hold the gilding; in this case the modelling of the stone itself was more finished.¹⁴ The subtle

13. *It is always possible that such a theory, based partly on negative evidences, may be upset by later discoveries. Even if it be not accepted literally, and it be supposed that some examples of stone sculpture of the National Style were made both before and after the 17th century, nevertheless it appears probable that the great majority was made in the 17th century.*

14. *There are hardly enough available examples on which the original lacquer and gilding (as opposed to later restorations) may still be traced in order to gain a positive idea of the precise method used or of the original resultant effect. Some examples have the flesh-parts and rasmi tinted with a thin sizing of vermilion lacquer upon which the gilding seems to have been placed directly; while other portions of the statue were covered with a thicker layer of black lacquer and then gilded. Others seem to have the layer of black lacquer put on over the thin sizing of red; but in this case the black may have been a later addition; as it is hard to see what purpose the red could have had if covered with black. In some cases the thin red coloring of the flesh and rasmi was apparently intended*

delicacy of faded vermillion and worn gilding to be seen on some of these statues today perhaps is largely due to the effects of time and weather.

The usual position of these Buddhas is seated in *Maravijaya*.¹⁵ The upper garment passes crosswise over the chest, leaving the right arm, shoulder, and breast bare, but covering the left breast, shoulder, and arm. A scarf, represented as a simple

to be final, while the hair and clothing were covered with heavier black lacquer and gilded (e.g., stone head from Ayuthya in the possession of one of the present authors.) The sandstone head from Chaiya, now in the National Museum, Bangkok, which is discussed below, at present has the face lacquered and gilded, while the hair is covered with black lacquer. This head is earlier than the National (Ayuthya) style, and we have no means of knowing when the lacquer and gilding were added. A number of stone statues of the Ayuthya period at present have certain parts lacquered and gilded, and certain parts merely lacquered in black. Without being conclusive these facts seem to suggest that, in the Ayuthya period as well as other periods of Siamese art, a number of different schemes of color and gilding were employed.

15. Of course without the Naga. While a large number of heads of these statues have been preserved, especially in the Ayuthya and Lopburi Museums, the bodies are relatively scarce. This is due to the fact that the great harvest of heads was reaped during the course of excavations in building the Northern Railway; the heads were considered valuable enough to keep, but the bodies were generally broken up and used as ballast in the railway construction. Stone bodies in other positions — seated on Nagas or standing — have also been found; but it appears more correct to classify them as "pseudo-Khmer" rather than in the main tradition of the National School. Kaempfer, in the passage from which an extract has already been quoted, implies that all or nearly all the images he saw in 1690 were seated in the position of Maravijaya: "The right hand rests upon the right knee, and the left lies in the lap." (*loc. cit.*)

fold of cloth, originates at the back near the left hip, passes over the left shoulder, and falls nearly to the waist in front. The *rasmī* is usually in the form of a flame, of the ordinary Ayuthya sort, deriving directly from Sukhothai art.¹⁶ It often contains a representation of the "magic syllable" *Om*. Sometimes it is surrounded at the base by a ring of small lotus-petals.

While we may be pretty certain that all or nearly all of these stone sculptures date from either the reign of King Prasat Thong or that of King Narai, it is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to distinguish between the two reigns. Two types of head may be distinguished. The first is slightly more square-jawed and Khmer in appearance; the curls of the hair are represented as round knobs, in a sort of honey-comb pattern, often with a narrow fillet between hair and forehead. The second is more oval and feminine; the eyebrows and nose are reminiscent of Sukhothai art; and the hair

16. *We use the iconographical terminology peculiar to Siamese art, rather than that applicable to the art of the Hinduized Orient in general. We use it solely for descriptive purposes and not with any implication that it alludes correctly to any given attribute of the Buddha or incident in His life. The nomenclature of gesture, codified in Bangkok in the 19th century, is very likely in many cases based on a misconception of the original intention; but it has the advantage of conveying to the student of Siamese art certain specific and well-known conventions. Similarly, in describing the various members of the headdress, we use the Siamese iconographical terminology adopted by Prince Damrong. In this terminology the ketumala is the more or less hemispherical projection above the skull, covered with curls and supposed to represent a growth of hair. (In the art of the Hinduized Orient in general it is usually called ushnisha.) The rasmī is the feature surmounting the ketumala and supposed to represent a sort of aureole, as, for instance, the typical flame of the Sukhothai School, or the typical lotus-bud of the Chiengsaen School. (LeMay calls this feature the ketumala. See LeMay, op. cit., pp 114 and 118.) The parallels are as follows:*

is represented either as knobs in a honeycomb pattern or spirals in a series of longitudinal rows, without fillet. It would be tempting to assign the first type to the reign of King Prasat Thong and the second to the reign of King Narai, but this cannot be regarded as a certainty.¹⁷

| Indian | Siamese | Description |
|--|--|---|
| a. <i>Bhumisparsa</i> | <i>Maravijaya</i> | <i>Seated, with right hand resting on right knee; left hand lying in lap.</i> |
| b. <i>Abhayamudra</i> with right hand | <i>Ham Yat (Forbidding the Relatives to Dispute)</i> | <i>Right forearm extended forward with hand upward.</i> |
| c. <i>Abhayamudra</i> with left hand | <i>Ham Phra Kaen Chan (Rejecting the Sandalwood Image)</i> | <i>Left forearm extended forward with hand upward.</i> |
| d. <i>Abhayamudra</i> with both hands | <i>Ham Samut (Calming the Ocean)</i> | <i>Both forearms extended forward with hands upward.</i> |
| e. <i>Varamudra</i> | <i>Pang Prathan Phon (Bestowing Favors)</i> | <i>Arm falling at side, hand open, palm facing forward.</i> |
| f. <i>Ushnisha</i> | <i>Ketumala</i> | <i>More or less hemispherical projection above skull, supposed to represent a growth of hair.</i> |
| g. ? | <i>Rasmi</i> | <i>Ornament representing aureole above ushnisha or ketumala.</i> |

17. It is possible that heads of the first type belonged to "pseudo-Khmer" bodies, rather than to the ordinary statues seated in *Maravijaya* of the National School. The second type seems to be that which inspired the 17th-century modifications of the genuine Khmer Buddhas of Lopburi by the addition of lacquer and gilding.

Like the other manifestations of the art of the National School these stone sculptures, the idea of which originated at Ayuthya and Lopburi, became popular throughout the kingdom. Numerous examples, indistinguishable from the art of the capitals, have been found in various parts of Siam. It is not difficult to guess how this came about. It was presumably by three processes: first, the sending of examples from the capitals to provincial centers, where they were then imitated; second, the sending of artists from the capitals to work in provincial centers; and finally, the sending of local artists to the capitals for training. It is generally impossible to distinguish between metropolitan and provincial examples of this art; even the least successful examples in the provinces may be matched by equally sorry productions from the two capitals.

But occasionally, in certain parts of Siam, the stone sculpture of the 17th century displays local variations that are so striking as to deserve special attention. There are seven such statues in Wat Phra-Maha-That, Chaiya, in Peninsular Siam.

II

CHAIYA

1. *17th Century Stone Statues at Wat Phra-Maha-That, Chaiya*

Wat Phra-Maha-That, Chaiya, is a very ancient foundation, dating from the time that Chaiya was a part of the Sri Vijaya Empire.¹ It contains a famous *stupa*, dating possibly from the 8th century, which, despite successive restorations, has not lost its essential character. The Wat seems to have led a continuous existence from that time to this. A considerable number of ancient images have been found in the vicinity of this and other Wats in the Chaiya district. Some of these are of Dvaravati style, some of "Pre-Khmer" style, and others are rightly or wrongly attributed to Sri Vijaya art. Here, therefore, it would not be surprising to find echoes of such earlier styles in the art of the 17th century.

The *stupa* is surrounded by a rectangular open gallery, built in 1901. At that time a collection of 163 images of the Buddha, ranging in height from about 1 metre to about 2 metres, which had been in the possession of the Wat for an unrecorded period of time — presumably since their manufacture — was installed in the gallery and may still be seen there.

These images of the Buddha are made of red sandstone, of a sort which is to be found in the mountain of Nang-E, about 6 kilometres from the Wat. Quarries in that mountain have been

1. *It has been argued that Chaiya was in fact the capital of the Sri Vijaya Empire at the time of its greatness. (See Quiritch Wales, IAL, IX, 1935, p. 8 et seq.) But it is more generally believed that the capital was at Palembang, Sumatra. (See Coedès, JMBRAS, XIV, iii. Cf. LeMay, op. cit., p. 38 et seq., with references; Nilakanta Sastri, Sri Vijaya, BEFEO, XL, 1940, with references; Coedès. Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie, Paris, 1948, p. 141 et seq. et passim, with references.) The resolution of this point is not essential for our present purposes.*

worked for centuries, and fragments of sculpture have been found there. This red sandstone appears to be of a different sort from that used in sculptures of the National School from Central Siam, but no geological examination has been made to prove the point conclusively.

The technique used in the manufacture of these 163 images of the Buddha appears to be similar to that used in the 17th century stone images of the National School from Ayuthya and Lopburi.

The majority of the Buddha images in the gallery are figures seated in the attitude of *Maravi jaya*, in the ordinary tradition of the stone sculpture of the reigns of King Prasat Thong and King Narai. They are monotonously repetitive, and if they ever had any artistic merit at all, it is now concealed by a heavy covering of lacquer and gilt.²

There is, however, a group of seven Standing Buddhas (one in front of the *bot* and six in the gallery) which are much more interesting. (Figs. 1-14.) Their artistic value, while not of the very first order, is much superior to the others. Like the others they are made of the local red sandstone, lacquered and gilded. It is not clear how much of this lacquer and gilt is original, and how much due to a later restoration. In addition to their superior quality these seven statues display several remarkable variations, not only from the other statues of the same period in the gallery but also from the whole corpus of known stone sculpture of the Ayuthya period.

Their position is standing. The facial features are out of the ordinary. Some of the gestures ("Rejecting the Sandalwood Image" and "Bestowing Favors") are unusual. Certain details of

2. In addition to the images at Wat Phra-Maha-That, a considerable number of other stone Buddhas of the 17th century — mostly in red sandstone — exist at other sites in and near Chaiya. Most of them are very dilapidated, or have been unskilfully restored. Insofar as we have had the opportunity to inspect them, we have observed nothing worthy of remark about them.



Fig. 1 *Gilded Stone Buddha in front of Bot, Wat Phra-Maha-That, Chaiya.*
Height : 1.65 m.



Fig. 2 *Detail of Same*



Fig. 3 *Detail of Same*



Fig. 4
*Gilded Stone Buddha
in Gallery, Wat Phra-
Maha-That, Chaiya.*
Height : 1.55 m.



Fig. 5
*Gilded Stone Buddha
in Gallery, Wat Phra-
Maha-That, Chaiya.*
Height : 1.52 m.



Fig. 6 *Gilded Stone Buddha in
Gallery, Wat Phra-Maha-
That, Chaiya.*
Height : 1.32 m.



Fig. 7 *Detail of Same*



Fig. 8 *Detail of Same*



Fig. 9 *Gilded Stone Buddha in Gallery,
Wat Phra-Maha-That, Chaiya.*
Height : 1.18 m.



Fig. 10 *Detail of Same*



Fig. 11 *Detail of Same*

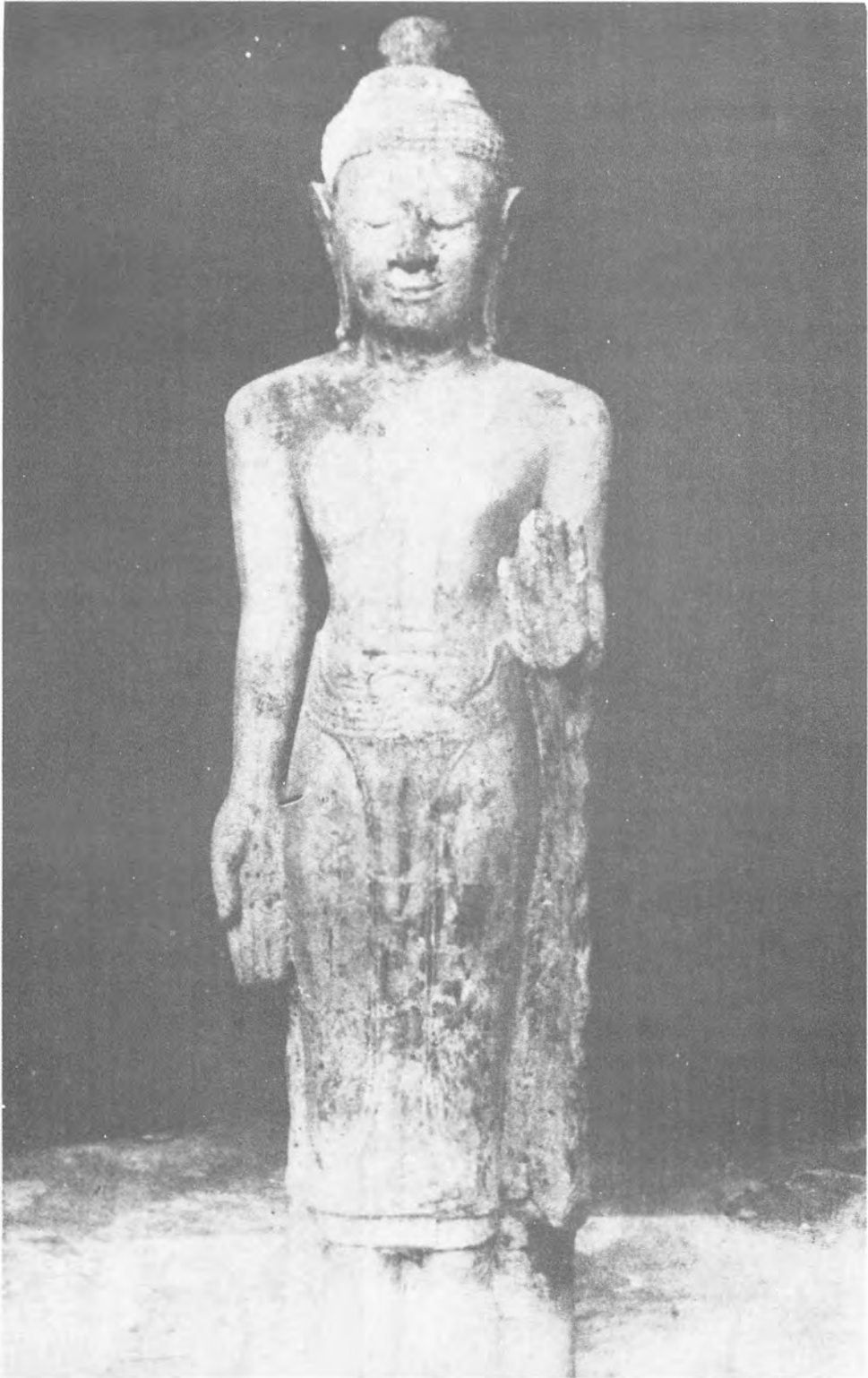


Fig. 12 *Gilded Stone Buddha in Gallery, Wat Phra-Maha-That, Chaiya.*
Height : 92 cm.



Fig. 13 *Gilded Stone Buddha in
Gallery, Wat Phra-Maha-
That, Chaiya.*

Height : 1.72 m.

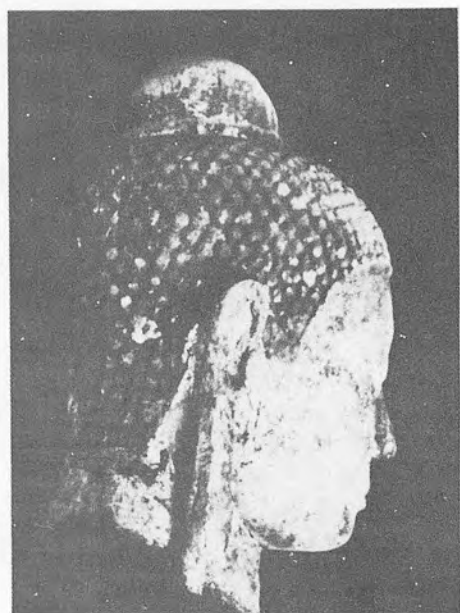


Fig. 14 *Detail of Same*

the clothing — particularly the scarf represented in several pleats — are peculiar. And the headdress of all seven of them, with the ornament in the form of a *bodhi*-leaf, is quite exceptional.

Viewing these statues as a group, we arrive at several preliminary impressions. From their technique and general style they must date from the Ayuthya period; therefore, since they are in stone, they probably date from the 17th century. Despite some individual differences among them their most striking variations from the ordinary art of the Ayuthya School are generally shared in common among them; this is true to such a degree that it seems certain that they are all productions of a single artist or at least a single *atelier*. They have been in Wat Phra-Maha-That longer than the recollection of living man, and presumably since their manufacture. The *atelier* that created them was therefore probably the 17th century *atelier* of Chaiya.³

Unfortunately, there is no record at Wat Phra-Maha-That giving any information about the origin of these statues, nor of the *atelier* that produced them. In order to deduce the probable facts about such an *atelier*, and to account for the peculiarities of these seven images, we must seek other parallels. In this search our most obvious clues are the exceptional details of the seven statues—the unusual gestures, the pleated scarf, and the *bodhi*-leaf ornament in the headdress.

2. *The School of Chaiya*

That a sculptural school of Chaiya existed some centuries earlier is highly probable. This idea was propounded by Pierre

3. *For convenience in making the distinction, we have arbitrarily used the word atelier to refer to the producers of the 17th-century images at Chaiya, while reserving the word "school" for the earlier School of Chaiya discussed by Dupont (v. infra). No distinction as to the type of organization is intended.*

Dupont in a brilliant and intuitive article published in 1942.⁴ Dupont's article studies five objects which he proposes to attribute to a single school—the School of Chaiya. They are all of earlier date than the seven standing Buddhas we have been discussing, but their peculiarities present undeniable analogies with this group.

Three of the objects considered by Dupont are small bronze statuettes, formerly in the collection of H.M. King Rama VII, now in the National Museum at Bangkok, and which are said to have come from Chaiya. Dupont tentatively dates them in the 15th century. They are of no great artistic merit, but certain iconographical peculiarities are interesting. All three of them represent the Buddha as standing and performing a double gesture—"Forbidding the Relatives to Dispute" (right hand), and "Bestowing Favors" (left hand). Two of the statuettes have the scarf represented as a fold of cloth in several pleats, falling over the left shoulder and reaching nearly to the waist. And the headdress of one of them contained a small leaf which was perhaps a *bodhi*-leaf.⁵

The two other objects studied in Dupont's article are of much greater interest. The first is the famous "Buddha of Grahi", now in the Bronze Room of the National Museum, Bangkok. (Fig. 15.) The second is a head of the Buddha, made of white sandstone lacquered and gilded, now in the Stone Room of the same museum. (Fig. 16.)⁶

4. *Pierre Dupont*, Variétés archéologiques: le Buddha de Grahi et l'école de C'aiya, *BEFEO*, XLII, 1942.

5. *The leaf was clearly visible when the statuette was inspected by Dupont in 1936. At that time the three statuettes were covered with patina. They have since been cleaned. In Siam the process of cleaning sometimes involves rather promiscuous scraping and filing. The leaf, whether original or not, has now been lost.*

6. *Dupont erroneously states that this head is made of bronze. The "Buddha of Grahi" is illustrated in LeMay, op. cit., Fig. 45.*



Fig. 15 *The Buddha of Grahi,*
National Museum, Bangkok.
 (Illustrated in Dupont's article)



Fig. 16 *Gilded Sandstone Head from*
Chaiya, National Museum,
Bangkok.
 Height : 35 cm.
 (Illustrated in Dupont's article)



Fig. 17 *Bronze Buddha, Collection of Lady
Harisachandra, Bangkok.*
Height : 41 cm.

The Buddha of Grahi was dug up in a paddy-field near Wat Hua-Wieng, Chaiya, in the reign of King Rama V (1868-1910). Its previous history is unknown. It is a large bronze figure of the Buddha, seated on a Naga. The Buddha and the Naga are cast in separate pieces and were not necessarily made at the same time. The Naga is of Khmer type. It bears an inscription in the Khmer language, but written in a rather peculiar character, stating that the image was ordered by the Governor of Grahi.⁷ The date given is the equivalent of 1183 A.D. Grahi is the ancient name of Chaiya. At this time the Empire of Sri Vijaya was approaching its decline and Chaiya was probably already a part of the Empire of Malayu.⁸

While the Naga is of Khmer type, the Buddha is not. Some of the characteristics of this Buddha conform to a well-known type; legs superimposed one upon the other, rather than crossed; right hand in the attitude of *Maravijaya*; upper garment clinging close to the body, and falling along the left side after passing over the left shoulder. These are typical of Thai art of the 13th and 14th centuries. But here the likeness ceases. The arrangement of the hair is heavy and bulging. The *ketumala* is nearly hemispherical and is decorated with a *bodhi*-leaf in front.⁹ The scarf, falling over the left shoulder and reaching nearly to the waist, is represented as a piece of cloth folded into several pleats. Some of these details recall the three bronze statuettes.¹⁰

Dupont tentatively dates this Buddha image in the 14th century. LeMay, on the other hand, gives some persuasive reasons for believing that the Buddha image, although made separately

7. Coedès, Recueil des inscriptions du Siam, II (Bangkok, 1929), p. 45; Coedès, A propos de la chute du royaume de Çrivijaya, BT LV, vol. 83, 1927, p. 468.

8. Coedès, Les États hindouisés, pp. 274, 301.

9. See Note 16 to Section I, above.

10. Dupont, loc. cit.

from the Naga, and probably by a different hand, is contemporary with it—i.e., late 12th century, and shows considerable influence of late Dvaravati art.¹¹

Finally we come to the Buddha head in gilded sandstone from Chaiya. Its early history is unknown. It had formerly belonged to the collection of Wat Phra-Maha-That, Chaiya, for an unrecorded time. In 1928 Luang Boribai Buribhand, one of the authors of the present article, was instructed by H.R.H. Prince Damrong to go to Chaiya to search for "Sri Vijaya" sculptures.

11. *LeMay, op. cit., pp. 48-49.* — *LeMay is surely right in relating the Buddha of Grahi to a certain type of seated bronze image which he calls "late Dvaravati". The affinities between this type of seated bronze image and the Buddha of Grahi are striking. The type to which we refer is a category that exists in considerable quantity — particularly in the statuette size — but which has not yet been systematically studied, classified, or satisfactorily related to its predecessors and successors. (It is represented by Figures 35, 67 and 87 in LeMay's book, as well as by a number of pieces in the National Museum and in private collections in Bangkok.) Tentatively, its outstanding features may be listed as follows: legs usually superimposed one upon the other, and right hand performing the gesture of Maravijaya (but sometimes both hands resting in lap, and occasionally legs crossed); legs drawn inward (i. e., position of the legs, viewed from above, shows concave curve from one knee to shins to other knee); dimension from knee to knee approximately equivalent to dimension from top of pedestal to neck of image; facial features more in Dvaravati or Khmer tradition than in Thai tradition; headdress surmounted by cone-shaped ornament. This category of statuette appears to constitute a mixed style in which late Dvaravati, Khmer and Thai elements have their part in varying degrees in different examples. Depending on which elements predominate, statuettes of this class have sometimes been classified as late Dvaravati, sometimes as Khmer, and sometimes as U-Thong. LeMay (op. cit.) seems to suggest that some of the statuettes of this*

Upon his arrival, he was at once struck by the high quality of this head. At that time it was attached to a standing body. The body was made of cement, lacquered and gilded, and was of modern workmanship — probably dating from the restoration of Wat Phra-Maha-That in 1901. Luang Boribal ordered the image to be removed to Bangkok. In transit the cement body was broken; and as it was of no artistic value it was thrown away upon arrival and the head only installed in the Museum. Prior to installation, at the order of Prince Damrong, a small *bodhi*-leaf, in imitation of that on the Buddha of Grahi, was made in plaster and placed in front

class represent a transition from late Dvaravati to Khmer, and others the re-transition from Khmer to U-Thong and Ayuthya. This may be so, but it would be difficult to establish positively on the basis of the evidence in hand. Another possible hypothesis is that they represent the semi-independent survival of the Dvaravati style into the Khmer and Ayuthya periods, contaminated in varying degrees by elements of the latter styles. So little systematic attention has so far been paid to this class of statuette that we do not even feel on firm ground in considering it to constitute a "style" or "school", and we are certainly not so bold as to propose dates for it, except within very broad limits (i. e., 11th to 15th centuries). For our present purposes, it is sufficient to notice that (a) whatever this class of statuette may be, it is partly, and probably basically, derived from late Dvaravati art; (b) the characteristic position and form of the body are strikingly recalled by the Buddha of Grahi; (c) the typical cone-shaped ornament of the headdress — whatever its origin — is recalled by at least two, and possibly all three, of the bronze standing statuettes illustrated in Dupont's article. To sum up this rather complicated argument, we may say that both the Buddha of Grahi, and the three statuettes illustrated by Dupont, show marked affinities with a type of art which is either late Dvaravati or at least strongly influenced by the latter. The pleated scarf may have been imitated from certain Dvaravati statues, such as that illustrated in Coedès, Recueil, Part I, Plate V, left side.

of the *ketumala*. The leaf was then lacquered and gilded. (This was its condition when the photograph was taken which appears in Dupont's article.) Several years later the plaster *bodhi*-leaf fell off and was not replaced. Traces of where it was formerly stuck on may still be detected. In its present condition the head probably approximates fairly closely to its original appearance — although we cannot be sure whether the remaining lacquer and gilding are partly original or entirely the work of a restorer.

The facial features of this stone head are very regular, and reminiscent of Indian or Indo-Javanese models. The *ketumala* is almost hemispherical. This head is closely analogous to that of the Buddha of Grahi; although the face is a little different there are the same peculiarities of hair arrangement.¹²

Dupont concludes that the various relationships of the five pieces discussed, taken together with the fact that all five were found at Chaiya, justify the conception of a "school" of art — the "School of Chaiya". He considers that it was Sinhalese influence — one of the major component influences of Sukhothai art — that probably gave rise to the School of Chaiya at about the same time as the rise of Sukhothai and U-Thong art, and that this influence was intimately connected with the spread of Sinhalese Buddhism in Siam from the 13th century onwards.¹³

Although some of the proposals in Dupont's article may be left subject to further verification or modification, his main point seems incontestable: namely, that a school of sculpture existed in Peninsular Siam, centering about Chaiya, at some period between the late 12th century and the end of the 15th. (The precise dating of the products of this school within these limits may be left undecided).

We must now ask ourselves whether the school had come into existence earlier than the late 12th century, and whether it continued to exist after the 15th.

12. Dupont, *loc. cit.*

13. Dupont, *loc. cit.*

The answer to the first question is intimately connected with the whole question of the existence of a school of "Sri Vijaya" art in Peninsular Siam. Convenient as the term may be as a general label, it seems to imply that, during the period of the Sri Vijaya Empire's political ascendancy over Peninsular Siam (approximately 8th – 12th century), works of art were produced in that area sufficiently homogeneous in character to constitute a "school".¹⁴ Examples of ancient statuary emanating from Peninsular Siam display a great variety of styles, each style often represented by only one or two examples. Since in most cases these more or less isolated specimens can correctly be integrated into known Indian or Indonesian styles, and have no stylistic descendants of their own in Siam, it may be assumed that they were imported. On the other hand, a sufficient number of smaller bronzes, sufficiently homogeneous in style, has been found in Peninsular Siam to justify the notion of a real school of art. It is these images, ultimately deriving from the "Late-Gupta" art of the west coast of India, which can probably be correctly termed Sri Vijaya art. Indo-Javanese parallels enable us to date this art as beginning about the 8th century.¹⁵

Instead of trying to untangle the question of Sri Vijaya art, which has caused prolonged and sometimes acrimonious controversy among learned writers and zealous amateurs, it will be sufficient for our purposes here if we distinguish between the strict and the loose definitions of "Sri Vijaya art". The strict definition should cover only those objects made by the artists of the Sri Vijaya Empire, within the limits of that Empire. It is not necessary here to decide what objects, if any, may be correctly attributed to this classification. The loose definition of "Sri Vijaya art", on the other hand, may be conveniently used as a sort of catch-all to

14. *For the history of Sri Vijaya, with evidences and ample references, see Coedès, Les États hindouisés, p. 141 et seq. et passim.*

15. *Dupont, loc. cit.*

cover a very wide variety of stone statues and bronzes found in Peninsular Siam (exclusive of Dvaravati art), and dating from the 7th or 8th century to the 12th or even later. Whether all or any of these objects should be attributed to Sri Vijaya art as narrowly defined, and indeed whether they were locally made or imported, are questions which we leave open.¹⁶

The significant fact is that not only a certain number of Dvaravati sculptures but also a considerable number of sculptures that may be loosely called "Sri Vijaya" have been found in Chaiya and its neighborhood. Whether locally made or brought from elsewhere, presumably most of these objects have been in Chaiya and its neighborhood since ancient times and were known to artists

16. *If we add to the specimens of "Sri Vijaya art" as thus loosely defined which are to be found in public collections a number of bronzes in private collections, the quantity becomes reasonably impressive. (e.g., collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubhandhu Yugala, Bangkok; collection of H.R.H. Prince Chalermbol Yugala, Bangkok; collection of Mr. Hok Seng, Bangkok; some smaller private collections at Surat-Thani, Bandon and Nakhon Sri-Thammarat. Cf. the bronze Buddha standing on a lotus pedestal supported by Yakshas, dug up in Amphö That-Sala, Changwat Nakhon Sri-Thammarat in 1946, and now in the museum of Wat Maha-That, Nakhon Sri-Thammarat.) Adopting the classification "Sri Vijaya" as a convenient catch-all (as in fact the National Museum at Bangkok has done) permits us to avoid the touchy question of whether all, some, or none of the statuary found in Peninsular Siam and dating before the adoption of the National Style in that region can be correctly defined as Sri Vijaya art in the proper sense. In the present article, where the word "Sri Vijaya" appears in inverted commas, reference is made to the classification as loosely defined, and without implication that the objects are the products of artists working within the confines of the Sri Vijaya Empire. Where reference is made to the art of Sri Vijaya as strictly defined, it is so stated.*

of intervening periods.¹⁷ Furthermore, those objects known today probably represent only a small proportion of the ancient statuary which was once at Chaiya. This is particularly true of smaller bronzes. Such "Sri Vijaya" bronzes have been dug up at Chaiya

17. To cite some of the more important examples:

(a) Torso of standing stone Buddha, Dvaravati style, preserved at Wat Kaco, Chaiya;

(b) Torso of standing stone Buddha, Dvaravati style, preserved outside the library of Dhammadana House, Chaiya;

(c) Stone Vishnu from Chaiya, now at National Museum Bangkok (Museum number K. Kh. 3; see Dupont, *Vishnu mitrés de l'Indochine occidentale*, BEFEO, XL, 1940.)

(d) Stone Bodhisattva from Wat Phra-Maha-That, Chaiya, now in the National Museum, Bangkok (Museum number S.V. 13.)

(e) Statues illustrated in Coedès, *Les Collections archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok*, *Ars Asiatica* (G. Van Oest), Paris and Brussels, 1928, Plates XII-XVII.

The presence of these and other works of art in the Chaiya area since ancient times very likely contributed to the formation of later local styles. Several of these objects are unquestionably importations. But the likelihood that a local school of sculpture existed at Chaiya between the 8th and 12th centuries is supported by the existence of architectural remains, which, though in a ruinous condition, display a sufficiently high artistic merit to justify the assumption that the architecture was accompanied by locally made statuary. The architecture has strong analogies with Hindu-Javanese art (as have many of the statues found at Chaiya). Aside from the stupa of Wat Phra-Maha-That, three of the most important early remains at Chaiya are Wat Long, Wat Hua-Wiang, and Wat Kaco. (See LeMay, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Coedès, *Le Musée National*; Claeys, *L'Archéologie du Siam*, BEFEO, XXXI, 1931; Quaritch Wales, *Culture Changes in Greater India*, JRAS, April 1948; also the references cited in those works.) These remains are notable for the fineness of their brickwork; the bricks are made with care and

accuracy, and joined in the structure without mortar. A good many years ago, two ancient stones bearing Sanskrit inscriptions were shipped from Peninsular Siam to Bangkok. (These inscriptions constitute Number XVIII and XXIV in Coedès' *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, Bangkok, 1929.) One came from Wat Sema-Müang at Nakhon Sri-Thammarat, the other from Wat Hua-Wieng at Chaiya. But, according to a theory proposed by Mr. Dhammadasa Baniḥ, of the Dhammadana Society at Chaiya, the attributions became mixed, and the inscription that actually came from Chaiya is now attributed to Nakhon Sri-Thammarat and vice-versa. The inscription which, according to this theory, really came from Chaiya, bears a date equivalent to 775 A.D.; it celebrates the fame of a certain king of Sri Vijaya, and commemorates the foundation of three sanctuaries. The pertinent parts of this inscription may be paraphrased as follows: "This King, who is the receptacle of all virtue, is also the worldly support of those men whose merits shine like the summits of the Himalayas and whose renown is high — just as the Ocean, the destroyer of evil, is the receptacle of many jewels and the abode of the Nagas with gem-haloed hoods. Men whose hearts were gnawed by the fire of poverty came to him and put themselves in his power, just as elephants take refuge from the heat of the sun in a stream of pure water gilded by the pollen of the lotus. Approaching this virtuous King from all parts of the world, meritorious men come to him and are covered with fortune, just as in the season of fruits and flowers, such trees as the mango and the bīḥ are covered with great beauty. Victorious is the King of Sri Vijaya, whose throne is warmed by rays emanating from neighboring Kings, and who was created by Brahma as if with the express purpose of perpetuating the famous Dharma. The King of Sri Vijaya, the unrivalled suzerain of all the neighboring Kings of the earth, founded these three excellent buildings of brick, to be the abodes of Padmapāṇi, of the Buddha, and of Vajrapāṇi." According to Mr. Dhammadasa's theory, these "three excellent buildings of brick" are none other than the three ruins in the ancient city of Chaiya: the abode of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi is Wat Hua-Wieng, that of the Buddha is Wat Long, and that of

in modern times and found their way into private collections.¹⁸ They have their parallels in the collection of "Sri Vijaya" bronzes at the National Museum, Bangkok, some of which were found at Chaiya, but most of which have now no traceable history other than that they were found in Peninsular Siam.

We have already seen that the "School of Chaiya" which produced the five objects studied in Dupont's article does not correctly fall into the category of Sri Vijaya art as strictly defined. The earliest possible dating for any of these five objects is already later than the disappearance of Sri Vijaya rule from that region.

However, it is entirely logical to believe that a school of art rising at Chaiya in the late 12th century or later would draw its inspiration in part from earlier pieces then located at Chaiya. And a comparison of the products of Dupont's "School of Chaiya" with the bronze Buddhas belonging to the category of "Sri Vijaya", as loosely defined, tends to confirm this view.¹⁹

the Bodhisattva Vajrapani is Wat Kaeo. Although objections to this identification may readily be raised, a re-examination of the two inscriptions in the light of Mr. Dhammadasa's theory of the transfer of the labels might produce useful results. That there was already some doubt as to the labelling of these two inscriptions at the time of the publication of Coedès' Recueil appears from the fact that the provenance given for one of the inscriptions was altered in the corrigenda. According to Mr. Dhammadasa's theory, of course, this alteration was an erroneous amendment of a previous error. Cf. Brah Guru Indapaññacharya, Naeo sangkhep khong Borankhdi rop Ao Bandon, ("A Brief Account of the Antiquities Surrounding the Bay of Bandon"), Chaiya, 1950.

18. *E.g., a small bronze Buddha of "Sri Vijaya style", dug up in 1901 at Wat Phra-Maha-That, Chaiya, and now in the collection of Khun Vichitra Kochasiribongsa, Bandon.*

19. *Coedès (Le Musée National de Bangkok, p. 31) remarks that ancient images of the Buddha from Peninsular Siam are rare in comparison with Bodhisattvas. However, if we consider Buddha*

We feel that the "School of Chaiya" was a good deal influenced not only by late Dvaravati art, but also by the "Sri Vijaya" bronze Buddhas which were well known to the sculptors of Chaiya. But whether or not an *atelier* existed at Chaiya in Sri Vijaya times, and if so whether the school of Chaiya discussed by Dupont was its successor or continuation, we have no means of knowing.

What became of the school of Chaiya after the 15th century? The number of pieces that can as yet be plausibly attributed to this school are too few in number to allow us to trace its development. A possible clue, though not a very clear one, may be found in a bronze statuette of the Buddha in a private collection in Bangkok, that of Lady Harisachandra. (Fig. 17.) The facial features and hair arrangement are closely akin to those of the Buddha of Grahi and the stone head. The *ketumala* is ornamented with a very distinct *bodhi*-leaf, like that of the Buddha of Grahi. The scarf is represented as consisting of a cloth folded into four parallel pleats. The portion of the monastic robe falling from the outstretched left forearm is represented in a wavy outline. This statuette has been a good deal restored; but, so far as we can determine, the peculiarities of the *ketumala* with its *bodhi*-leaf and of the scarf are original. Although the hands are new, the original gesture seems not to have been altered; the left forearm was extended in the gesture of "Rejecting the Sandalwood Image?". This statuette comes from

images found in Peninsular Siam subsequent to the publication of his work, and also those in private collections, they are fairly numerous. Such Buddha images, belonging to the category of "Sri Vijaya art" as loosely defined, must have been fairly plentiful at Chaiya. Whatever inspiration the School of Chaiya drew from "Sri Vijaya art" appears to have come more directly from this type of Buddha image than from the larger statues cited above as illustrated in Coedès' Le Musée National. We have cited the latter merely to demonstrate that examples of "Sri Vijaya art", as well as of other early schools, existed in some quantity at Chaiya.

Peninsular Siam, and was acquired a number of years ago by the late husband of the present owner, when he was residing at Nakhon Sri-Thammarat. Because of the restorations, this statuette is exceedingly difficult to date. It seems to belong either to the "School of Chaiya" itself, or to some outgrowth of that school.

Whatever may have happened to the School of Chaiya after the 15th century, we have seen that an *atelier* certainly existed at Wat Phra-Maha-That in the 17th century, and produced a quantity of stone Buddhas. Was this *atelier* a continuation or a revival of the earlier school? If it was a revival, what was the reviving force that impelled it to produce over 160 stone images within the space of two reigns, and what were the influences that went into these productions?

3. *The School of Chaiya and the 17th Century Atelier of Chaiya*

Probably the School of Chaiya declined after the 15th century. Certainly the three known examples of its 15th century production (the bronze statuettes illustrated by Dupont) show little enough skill or creative ability.

When production revived at Chaiya, in the 17th century, it was under a new and powerful stimulus. This was simply the enormous demand for *stone* statues of the Buddha made fashionable by King Prasat Thong. Chaiya became one of many *ateliers* throughout Siam which turned out more or less faithful reproductions of the prevailing style.

For the origin of the technique and predominating elements of the 17th century stone Buddhas of Chaiya, we need look no further than the Ayuthya stone sculpture that sprang into being to glorify King Prasat Thong. The 150-odd seated Buddhas in the gallery of Wat Phra-Maha-That show little or no variation from the National school in general. But the seven standing Buddhas are in a different category. Despite their general conformity with the National School, the variations from it displayed by them are very

considerable. We have already noted these variations in a general way; and it will now be useful to review them in detail and to see how they may have originated from the earlier "School of Chaiya" itself or from other sources.

1. Their position is standing. This position, though common enough in Ayuthya bronzes, is rare in Ayuthya stone sculpture, and not at all encountered in the other 17th century stone images at Chaiya. But the standing position is in itself not very conclusive, as it could have been derived from any of a great variety of sources.

2. The gestures represented are unusual. No less than five of the seven (Figs. 1, 4, 5, 12, 13) perform the gesture of "Rejecting the Sandalwood Image", the *left* forearm extended with the hand upright. (Some of the hands are broken off, but there can be no doubt of their original position.) This gesture, though occasionally encountered in Dvaravati art and in Ayuthya bronzes, is rare in Siamese art in general. Its predominance in this group of standing Buddhas (i. e., in five out of seven of them) is a remarkable individual peculiarity of the 17th-century *atelier* of Chaiya, shared by Lady Harisachandra's statuette. One of these stone Buddhas (Fig. 12) in addition to performing this gesture with the left hand, at the same time performs the gesture of "Bestowing Favors" with the right, which is quite extraordinary. The same unusual double gesture is to be seen in a stone Buddha, of Dvaravati style, in the National Museum, Bangkok.²⁰ It may have been more common in Dvaravati art than examples known at present would lead us to believe. At the same time, this double gesture recalls—inversely—the double gesture of the three bronze statuettes illustrated by Dupont, which have the right hand "Forbidding the Relatives to Dispute" and the left "Bestowing Favors". Only two of the seven stone Buddhas (Fig. 6 and 9) perform the gesture

20. See Coedès, *Le Musée National, Pl. II. The left hand, broken off, was probably performing the gesture of "Rejecting the Sandalwood Image."*

of "Forbidding the Relatives to Dispute", and none performs the gesture of "Calming the Ocean", which are the two most usual gestures of standing Buddhas of the National Style.

3. The monastic robe of the seven stone Buddhas is generally reminiscent of ordinary Ayuthya art.²¹ But there are some variations. In three of these statues (Figs. 1, 12, 13), the portion of the monastic robe that falls from the extended forearm is represented in an unusual manner—namely in wavy outline. This feature is reminiscent of certain Dvaravati Buddhas.²² In three of the seven stone Buddhas (Figs. 1, 4, 5), there is an even more conspicuous variation—namely, the scarf represented as a piece of cloth folded into four or five pleats, falling over the left shoulder nearly to the waist. This pleated scarf is never encountered in ordinary Ayuthya art. It is so unusual a feature, and so strongly reminiscent of the Buddha of Grahi, as to suggest a direct imitation. Two of the bronze statuettes illustrated by Dupont have the same feature, but less clearly shown. So has Lady Harisachandra's statuette, but it does not reach down quite so far. The latter fact may be of some significance, since the only other type of Siamese image possessing the pleated scarf as a regular feature is the so-called "Si-hing" category of bronzes of the neighboring region of Nakhon Sri-Thammarat, which are discussed in the next section. In the Nakhon Sri-Thammarat bronzes, the pleated scarf is much shorter, stopping above the left nipple, and often frilled or represented with some caprice.

21. *Some details of the costume recall the wooden Buddhas of the 16th-17th century at Angkor Wat. The belt, ornamented with square or round rosettes, is similar to some "pseudo-Khmer" standing stone Buddhas of the Ayuthya period now in the go-down of the Lopburi Museum.*

22. *E.g., headless stone Buddha of Dvaravati style now in the Lopburi Museum (see Coedès, Recueil des inscriptions du Siam, II, Pl. XI); also Dvaravati bronze statuettes in the collections of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala and H.R.H. Prince Chulermol Yugala, Bangkok. Cf. Lady Harisachandra's statuette.*

4. The position of the head shows some peculiarities. In three of the seven statues, it leans a little forward. The origin of this variation is obscure. Rare in Siamese art, it is seen in some Khmer stone sculpture.²³ It is common enough in Sinhalese, Burmese, and Chinese art. No positive conclusions can be drawn from this variation.

5. The faces of all seven statues are rather similar to one another, and very different from the faces of ordinary Ayuthya statues. The features are regular, relatively naturalistic, and the cast of countenance seems more akin to Indian or Indonesian than to Thai. In contrast to the ordinary conventionalized faces of the Ayuthya period—so often squinting, supercilious, over-refined, or merely expressionless—these are *serious* faces. The calm and kindly downward gaze of the half-closed eyes, and the gentle smile of the lips, convey an impression of sincerity which is rarely encountered in Ayuthya art. It is true that this expression is not rendered with equal success in all of the seven faces; but some of them are among the most expressive ever encountered in the art of this period. (Figs. 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14.) Comparisons of facial feature and facial expression in sculpture are of necessity usually too subjective to establish positive analogies; contrasts are more readily remarked. We may say with some certainty, therefore, that the faces of these seven Buddhas are different from ordinary Ayuthya art; and at the same time observe, with somewhat less assurance, that they recall the two principal examples of the earlier school of Chaiya—the Buddha of Grahi and the gilded stone head—and more distantly some bronze Buddhas of “Sri Vijaya” art.

6. The style of the headdress is unique. While there is nothing exceptional in the representation of the hair curls as small round knobs arranged in a diaper pattern, nor in the fillet separating hair from forehead, the arrangement of *ketumala* and *rasmi* is remarkable. Among these several images, the shape of the *ketumala* varies considerably—from flattish to nearly hemispherical.

23. *E.g., the Buddha illustrated in LeMay, op. cit., fig. 64.*

In five of them, the *ketumala* is set upon the skull slightly to the rear of center. This is reminiscent of the earlier "School of Chaiya" and of some bronze Buddhas of "Sri Vijaya" style. In most of the seven stone Buddhas, the plane of division between skull and *ketumala*, and the plane of division between *ketumala* and *rasmi*, are tilted forward, although the *rasmi* itself is upright. This seems to be an individual fancy. One of the stone Buddhas (Fig. 14) has no *ketumala*; the *rasmi*, though shaped rather like that of the others, is superimposed directly upon the skull, like that of the Buddha of Grahi and Lady Harisachandra's bronze.²⁴ The six others have a *ketumala* nearly like that of the gilded stone head in the National Museum but surmounted by a *rasmi*. But the most striking and exceptional feature of the headdress is the erect conventionalized *bodhi*-leaf which fronts the *rasmi* in all seven of the stone statues. In the one which has no *ketumala*, the leaf is incised; in the others, it is brought out in bold relief in front of the *rasmi*. Except for these seven stone Buddhas, the only instances we know of the authentic use of the *bodhi*-leaf as an ornament for the headdress are the Buddha of Grahi, Lady Harisachandra's statuette, and possibly one of the three statuettes illustrated in Dupont's article. Its use in this manner is a unique feature of the School of Chaiya and its successor the 17th century *atelier* of Chaiya.²⁵

24. *It is not in fact clear whether the artist intended this feature to be a rasmi, or a hairless ketumala. There may have been some contamination between the two notions.*

25. *Since the bodhi-leaf has subsequently disappeared from the statuette illustrated by Dupont, it will never be known whether it was authentic or not. As we have seen in the case of the gilded stone head, 20th century embellishments of antique pieces with such an ornament are not unknown. Other examples could be cited. As far as we can determine, the bodhi-leaf on Lady Harisachandra's statuette is authentic. In addition to the seven standing Buddhas, two of the 150-odd seated stone Buddhas in the gallery of Wat Phra-Maha-That, Chaiya, which we dismissed with a brief notice*

How did the 17th century *atelier* of Chaiya receive its inspiration from the earlier School of Chaiya and other more remote sources?

We have already seen that the 17th century *atelier* probably does not represent the direct outgrowth of an unbroken tradition from the earlier school. Of the 160-odd known examples of this *atelier*, only seven present clear variations from the National Style; and even upon these seven the stamp of the National Style is very strong. It is only in special details, such as those enumerated above, that there are any substantial variations.

The earlier School of Chaiya, as we have seen, arose under mixed influences, not the least of which was the presence at Chaiya of a number of admired examples of more ancient styles. Perhaps the most influential of these were Dvaravati.

Some of these ancient examples were certainly still available at Chaiya in the 17th century. To them should be added the productions of the earlier School of Chaiya itself.²⁶ The 17th

above — have certain peculiarities. They have the rasmi in the form of a smooth knob or lotus-bud, reminiscent of that of the seven standing Buddhas, but without the bodhi-leaf, and surrounded at the base by a ring of small lotus-petals. Of these two statues, one has facial features reminiscent of the seven standing Buddhas.

26. *We have seen above that the introduction and popularizing of the National Style did not put an abrupt end to earlier styles in various parts of Siam. In the Sukhothai area, bronze statues made long after the disappearance of Sukhothai as an independent kingdom yet preserve with more or less persistence the spirit of classic Sukhothai art against the domination of the National School. It may be asked whether a parallel did not occur in Peninsular Siam: i.e., whether the 17th century atelier of Chaiga was not the direct inheritor of an ancient tradition, gradually yielding to the encroachment of Ayuthya art. The parallel would be deceptive. In the first place, the style of Sukhothai entered as a prime*

century artists of Chaiya, working mainly in the orthodox tradition of the National Style, nevertheless permitted themselves certain departures that might be pleasing to local taste. The most drastic of these departures seen in such details as gesture, facial feature, garments, and headdress were inevitably guided by the presence of older models that had long been objects of respect and admiration in the neighborhood. The original statue of which the gilded stone head illustrated by Dupont was a part was undoubtedly one of them. So was the Buddha of Grahi. There may have been other examples of the same school, important objects of veneration, which have since disappeared. Perhaps the type of sculpture represented by the gilded stone head inspired the facial features, that represented by the Buddha of Grahi inspired the pleated scarf and the *bodhi*-leaf ornament, that represented by the statuettes influenced certain peculiarities of gesture. Other peculiarities of gesture, as well as the wavy outline of the monastic robe falling from the outstretched forearm, seem to derive from Dvaravati art, but whether directly or through the earlier School of Chaiya, we have no means of knowing. Considering the importance of Chaiya as a Buddhist center over a long period of time, it seems likely that a greater number of earlier models existed there in the 17th century than in the 20th. It was probably in the disorders which followed the fall of Ayuthya to the Burmese in 1767, and which shook the kingdom to its foundation, that such ancient models temporarily or permanently disappeared. It was then perhaps that the original body belonging to the gilded stone head was broken; the head itself may have been lost, and not rediscovered until much later. The

component into the National Style in a way that the Peninsular styles could not possibly have done; so the National Style is much less alien to Sukhothai than to the Peninsular. In the second place, a very great number of bronzes of the Sukhothai classic period remained in the Sukhothai area after its conquest by Ayuthya; so later local artists had a great corpus of classic models to preserve the tradition. At Chaiya, the available models must have been less numerous and of a less homogeneous character.

Buddha of Grahi may have been intentionally buried to preserve it from theft, or more likely disappeared into the ground with the crumbling of the shrine where it was housed.

The unusual features of the seven stone Buddhas, therefore, are most probably inspired by ancient models locally known and respected. In addition to the two important specimens of the School of Chaiya now known to us and others that have been lost, other locally known images Dvaravati stone or bronze statues, and bronzes of "Sri Vijaya" style served as models for one detail or another.

We do not know whether the 17th century *atelier* of Chaiya produced any bronzes. It seems certain that its work in stone came to an end in the late 17th century, when the National School turned away from the use of stone to easier techniques.

III

NAKHON SRI-THAMMARAT

1. *The "Phra Phutta Sihing".*

At Nakhon Sri-Thammarat, in a chapel in the precinct of the former palace of the Chao, there is a famous bronze statue of the Buddha, known as "Phra Phutta Sihing" — the "Sinhalese Buddha" (Fig. 18). It is locally believed to be the authentic claimant of that title as against two other statues bearing the same name, one now in the National Museum at Bangkok, and one in Wat Phra Sing at Chiangmai. The legendary history of the Phra Phutta Sihing is as follows :

"In the Year of the Buddha 700 (156 A.D.) the Sinhalese King, wishing to see a likeness of the Buddha, went to a monastery and said to the monks : 'When He was upon earth, the Buddha came three times to this island of Ceylon. Is there anyone now alive who saw Him ?' The King of the Nagas suddenly appeared, in the likeness of a young man, and created an image of the Buddha. The Sinhalese King summoned the finest artists, and commanded them to make an image in beeswax, identical to that created by the King of the Nagas. From it they cast a statue, in an alloy of gold, silver and tin. When it had been rubbed and polished, the image was gleaming and brilliant like that of the living Buddha... In the Year of the Buddha 1800 (1256 A.D.) Rocaraja, King of Sukhothai, sailed down the Menam and came to Nakhon Sri-Thammarat. The King of that city told him of the miracles reported concerning the Sinhalese statue. Rocaraja asked : 'Could I go there ?' 'No,' replied the King of Nakhon, 'it is quite impossible, since four powerful divinities guard the island of Ceylon.' The two kings therefore sent a messenger to Ceylon, and the Sinhalese King gave him the statue, after worshipping it for seven days and nights. The messenger put the statue on board a junk. The junk, tossed about by the winds, struck a reef and was destroyed ; but

the statue floated away on a ship's plank. Through the power of the King of the Nagas, the plank floated for three days and came to shore near Nakhon Sri-Thammarat. The King of Nakhon found it, brought it home, and worshipped it. Then he sent a message to Rocaraja, announcing that the statue had been received. Rocaraja went to Nakhon Sri-Thammarat, and took the statue back with him to Sukhothai, where he worshipped it."¹

The "Phra Phutta Sihing" which is now in the chapel of the former Chao of Nakhon obviously cannot be the image referred to in the legend. Leaving aside the supernatural details, and the supposed date of its casting (which is fantastically untenable), this statue has nothing of Sinhalese character about it. Of the three claimants to the title, the one at present in Bangkok is probably closest to the type referred to in the legend.² Although the identification of the "Sihing" of Nakhon with the image of the legend is impossible, nevertheless the fact that the legend has clung to it suggests that certain details of the story may be correctly applicable to it.

These details are as follows :

First, the image of the legend (made by the *cire perdue* process, as were the "Sihing" of Nakhon and most of the bronzes of the Hinduized Orient) was composed of an "alloy of gold,

1. *Abridged from Coedès, Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental, BEFEO, vol. XXV, 1925, pp. 97-99.*

2. *Coedès, Musée National de Bangkok, p. 32. LeMay, op. cit., pp. 115 et seq. Contains references. See also Luang Boribal Buribhand, Rūang Phra Phutta Sihing (in Siamese), reviewed in JSS, vol. XXIV, 1937, p. 168. In the present article, the so-called "Phra Phutta Sihing" of Nakhon Sri-Thammarat will continue to be referred to for convenience as the "Sihing", since, although it is plainly a misnomer, the name has become firmly established in local usage.*



Fig. 18 "*Phra Phutta Sihing*", *Nakhon Sri-Thammarat*.
Height : 41 cm.

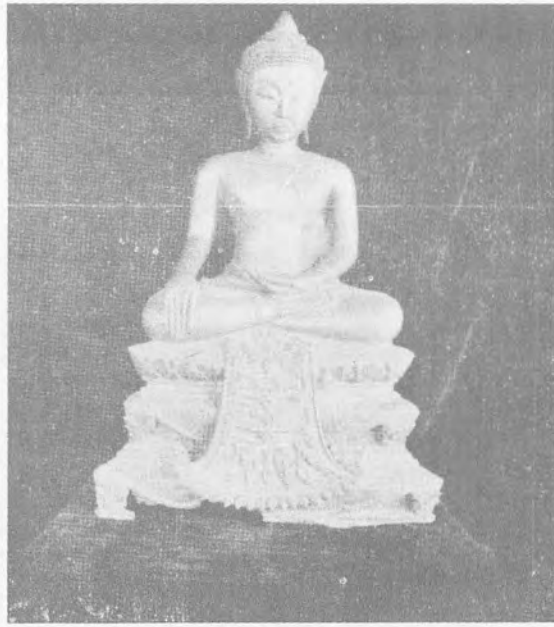


Fig. 19. *Bronze Buddha, Collection of Mr. Charoen Limpichati, Nakhon Sri-Thammarat.*
Height : 56 cm.



Fig. 20. *Rear View of Same, showing inscription.*

silver and tin". The "Sihing" of Nakhon, like many Chiengsaen images is brassy in appearance. The alloy might well be thought to contain gold and silver.³

Second, the identification of the image with Ceylon may refer to the influence of Sinhalese Buddhism.⁴

Third, the supposed date of the arrival of the image at Nakhon suggests that the "Sihing" was either made or imported at that time. The historically-known relations and rivalries between King Rocaraja and this mid-13th century King of Nakhon lend some color to the probability. Nakhon at this time was entering the orbit of the hegemony of Sukhothai; and less than a half-century later King Ram Khambaeng of Sukhothai claimed Nakhon as a part of his territories.⁵ This hegemony of Sukhothai over Nakhon was inherited by the Kings of Ayuthya.

While we are compelled to reject the idea that the "Sihing" of Nakhon was made in Ceylon, we admit the possibility that the

3. *The question of the alloys used is a complicated one, and cannot be satisfactorily resolved without chemical analysis. For a discussion of this point, see Bernet Kempers, The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese Art, Leyden, 1933, p. 13. The point to which we refer at present is not the real composition of the metal but merely the brassy appearance which characterizes it, in common with many other bronzes from Nakhon as well as many Chiengsaen bronze.*

4. *The King of Nakhon Sri-Thammarat referred to was King Chandrabhanu who twice invaded Ceylon, supposedly for the purpose of obtaining Buddhist relics. See LeMay, loc. cit.; Coedès, Les États hindouisés, pp. 310-311; Mendis, The Early History of Ceylon, Calcutta, 1946, p. 99. King Rocaraja is another name for King Sri Indraditya of Sukhothai, father of King Ram Khamhaeng.*

5. *Coedès, Les États, p. 311, p. 343.*

legend may provide a clue as to the date of the "Sihing's" manufacture or arrival at Nakhon—namely, about the middle of the 13th century.

Having passed this summary judgment on the applicability of the legend to the "Sihing", let us see what is to be learned from an examination of the image itself. In its general style, it is closely analogous to the Chiengsaen bronzes of the extreme north of Siam. It has many details in common with them. The legs are crossed, with both soles of the feet turned up and visible (*vajrasana*); the body is plump, with an almost feminine breast, and a rather slim waist; the face is a roundish oval (not the elongated oval of the Sukhothai Buddhas); the eyebrows are arched, and the nose curved; the hands are plump, with graceful sinuous fingers; the curls are large, and there is no fillet separating hair from forehead; the *ketumala* is surmounted by a smooth *rasmī* in the form of a lotus-bud; and the scarf, falling over the left shoulder, stops above the nipple.

Since the "Sihing" of Nakhon, both in general aspect and in the specific details enumerated, is so strongly reminiscent of the Chiengsaen type, we must briefly examine the origin of the latter.

It arose in the extreme north of Siam, at an uncertain date—but presumably a little before the middle of 13th century, when the Thai had established their hegemony in the north and were already penetrating into Peninsular Siam. The probable date of the rise of the Chiengsaen School, therefore, is slightly earlier than the legendary date of the arrival of the "Sihing" at Nakhon.⁶

6. *The beginning date of the Chiengsaen School is uncertain. It may possibly have been prior to the 13th century, as suggested by LeMay (op. cit., pp. 15, 97 et seq.) Bronzes of this Chiengsaen type were still being made as late as the end of the 15th century (e.g., bronze Buddha, seated cross-legged, now in the Sala of Wat Benchamabophit, Bangkok, bearing an inscription with a date equivalent to A.D. 1491.) This was well after another style of*

In discussing the origins of the Chiengsaen style, Coedès says: "The Indian prototype of the Chiengsaen images is to be found in the art of Magadha of the Pala period (8-12th centuries). The prestige of the University of Nalanda at this time popularized the formulas of this art in the Buddhist countries of Greater India. In view of the facts of history, geography, and chronology, it must be assumed that the influence of the Pala School on northern Siam, rather than being a direct one, was exercised *via* Burma.

*Buddha image had been introduced and become popular in the north. The new style, centering at Chiengmai, is known by various names. The appellation used by the Bangkok National Museum is "Later Chiengsaen"; perhaps the most correct and easiest name for it is "The Chiengmai School". Chiengmai was founded in 1296, and from the 14th century onward it was the most important city in Northern Siam. The Chiengmai style of sculpture probably arose in the late 14th century. A good many examples dated in the 15th and 16th centuries exist. It is quite different from the Chiengsaen style, and is much influenced by Sukhothai. Lacking both the plump luxuriousness of the Chiengsaen School and the grace of the Sukhothai School, it is usually marked by a certain rigidity of attitude and dryness of modelling. The pedestal is often ajouré and decorated with lotus petals; the legs are superimposed one upon the other, rather than crossed; the scarf is represented as a long single fold of cloth, with a square end bearing a characteristic inscribed ornament; the rasmi is usually in the form of a conventionalized flame ornament square in cross-section. (See LeMay, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-134.) Because of the inscriptions cited above, it cannot be doubted that the Chiengsaen and the Chiengmai type, so different from each other, co-existed in some degree and for some time in the same region. On the whole, however, it seems reasonable to accept for the chief flourishing of the (early) Chiengsaen School the dates proposed by Coedès (Le Musée National de Bangkok, pp. 28 et seq.), namely the 13th and 14th centuries, and for that of the Chiengmai School the 15th and succeeding centuries. However, this dating may be later upset by the discovery of other dated images.*

Burma had served as a natural link with India for the Thai while they were established in the kingdom of Nan-chao in Yunnan. And the sculpture of Burma during the period of Pagan derived from the Pala School of India."⁷

What other underlying influences contributed to the Chiengsaen style — echoes of Dvaravati and Khmer, or of the little-known art of Nan-chao itself — cannot easily be determined. But the Pala influence is the dominant one.⁸

The passage just quoted from Coedès continues: "A curious fact, which may be noted in passing, is that of all the images found on Siamese soil it is precisely those from the neighborhood of Nakhon Sri-Thammarat, i.e. from the region farthest from Chiengsaen, that show the strongest resemblance to those from the extreme north of Siam. These resemblances are easily explained by a common origin. An examination of the votive tablets found in the caves of the Peninsula shows clearly that the type of Buddha depicted is closely allied to the Magadhan type of the Pala period. It is not therefore surprising to find at Nakhon Sri-Thammarat, at the beginning of the Thai occupation, images recalling those of Chiengsaen in many details."⁹

Nalanda was the famous monastery and university in Bihar, India, which was the center of the Mahayanist world in the centuries preceding the downfall of Buddhism in India proper. As

7. Coedès, *Le Musée National de Bangkok*, p. 31.

8. LeMay, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-108. Contains references. For an illuminating discussion of the art of Nan-chao, see Chapin, Yunnanese images of Avalokitesvara, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, August, 1944, p. 131.

9. Part of this passage is quoted by LeMay, *op. cit.*, p. 47, but without specific reference to the "Sihing" type of Nakhon Sri-Thammarat. Cf. Coedès, *Tablettes votives, Etudes Asiatiques EFEO, I* (translated into English, Siamese Votive Tablets, *JSS*, Vol. XX, 1926, Part I.).

early as the 7th century it was attracting pilgrims, especially scholars, from the entire Buddhist world, and continued to do so through the 12th century. During its golden age, Nalanda formed part of the realm of the Pala kings of Bengal, and they were its patrons. The founder of the Pala dynasty reigned in the 8th century; the later art of Nalanda belongs to the art of the Pala Empire. The Pala art of Nalanda profoundly influenced lands as widespread as Sri Vijaya and Java to the southeast, Burma to the east, Nepal and Tibet to the north.¹⁰

This influence was stylistic as well as iconographic. Stylistically, the art of the Pala School is of high technical accomplishment, elegant and even modish in design. Although it produced stone sculpture, the bronzes are more characteristic as even the stone carving approximates to metal work. Everything is conceived in clear outlines, and there is no true modelling comparable to the earlier Indian Schools.¹¹

One of the means by which Pala art in general, and the University of Nalanda in particular, influenced Siam was votive tablets, in Siamese called "Phra Phim." Votive tablets have been exceedingly popular in Siam since the earliest times. Made most commonly of clay, often gilded, the votive tablets of Siam vary from the size of a threepenny bit to that of a five-pound note and larger. They have been produced in prodigious quantities. Some Buddhist monks spent the greater part of their lives in the mass production of such images from metal or clay moulds. They were purchased by the faithful and presented to a Wat as an act of merit, or kept in the home as objects of veneration, or worn as amulets.

On the subject of Phra Phim, Coedès remarks: "The custom of making small holy images by means of a mould or die appears to

10. *Bernet Kempers, op. cit., pp. 1-25 passim.*

11. *Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, New York, Leipzig, and London, 1927, pp. 113-114. We use the term "Pala style" in a broad sense, to include the Sena school. See Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 106.*

be exclusively Buddhist. I cannot recollect that Brahmanic images made by such processes have ever been recorded, whilst, on the contrary, such imprints have been found on practically every Buddhist site from the Northwest provinces of India and the Chinese province of Ho-nan, to the caves of the Malay Peninsula and the shores of Annam." These images probably originated as souvenirs of pilgrimages to holy places. "Many of these images convey the impression that they represent, not the Buddha generally, but a particular Buddha, a certain definite statue in a particular temple or place. Such is clearly the case in respect of certain imprints representing the Buddha as seated under a pyramidal tower, one of which, an excellent specimen and practically identical with those found in the neighborhood of Buddhagaya, has been discovered in Siam near Chaiya. This storied tower under which the Master is shown seated in the attitude of teaching, is evidently the tower of Buddhagaya, and it is practically certain that this Phra Phim of Chaiya, which, moreover, is distinctly of Indian manufacture, came from that celebrated shrine.

"But Phra Phim must have ceased at an early date to be regarded merely as souvenirs. With the development of a profound veneration for images, the act of making a statue of the Buddha or other figure symbolic of the religion had long been established as a source of merit. But to cast a bronze image or carve a statue of wood or stone was not within the reach of most people, and poor persons desirous of acquiring merit to assure their rebirth under more prosperous conditions, found in the impression of an effigy upon a lump of potter's clay, the means of accumulating such merit without the assistance of superior intelligence or wealth. Those who had the desire and the leisure to do so might make a very large number of such impressions, and it seems possible that the great deposits of tablets bearing the effigy of the Buddha that have been found in the caves of the Malay Peninsula may represent the labor of hermits who passed many years of their lives in thus acquiring merit."

"These humble images gradually assume in our eyes the aspect of serious implements of religious propaganda... Their subject or their inscribed formula imparted to them a proselytizing virtue, which in time became indistinguishable from magic, this last the sole attribute that has survived in the amulets familiar to us today."¹²

Not only such tablets, but also the moulds from which they were made, were imported from India in quantity. Many of them of Pala type, identifiable with Nalanda, or Buddhagaya, or other sacred places in Magadha have been found in Siam, particularly Peninsular Siam. Huge numbers of imitations were locally made, and in time imitation gave way to adaptation.

At the end of the 12th century, Bihar was conquered by the Muslims, the city of Bihar itself being captured by a Turki free-lance Mohammedan with a party of 200 horsemen. "It was discovered," says a contemporary Arab historian, "that the whole of that fortress and city was a college, and in the Hindi tongue they call a college Bihar." Many of the monks were massacred in the first heat of the assault; those who survived fled to Tibet, Nepal, and the mainland and islands of Southeast Asia.¹³

The influence of Nalanda art overseas, strong during the lifetime of the university, was perhaps even more intense immediately after the university perished. The flight of the monks, scholars, and artists to the north, east, and southeast from Nalanda when the university was destroyed brought with it a wave of influence which recalls, in a lesser degree, the effect of the flight of the learned men to Italy from Byzantium when the latter fell to the Turks in 1453.¹⁴

12. *Coedès*, Siamese Votive Tablets, *loc. cit.*, pp. 3-6.

13. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. 3, p. 655 (s.v. "Behar").

14. In discussing the rise of the Chiengsaen style, *LeMay* (*op. cit.*, p. 99) gives due credit to the influence of refugee Buddhists

The flight of the refugees from Nalanda at the very end of the 12th century preceded by only a short time the probable date of the first appearance of the Chiengsaen bronzes of Northern Siam, in fact, not much more than the time-lag that would be necessary for the refugees to have established themselves in their new homes and begun to exercise their artistic influence. And the supposed date of the arrival of the "Sihing" at Nakhon Sri-Thammarat was only a little later. Although, as we have seen, Pala art had long exercised a general influence in Burma and Indonesia, the emergence of a new and specific type of bronze image of the Buddha more or less simultaneously in northern Siam and the Peninsula, under strong Pala influence, took place just *after* Buddhist Pala art in India proper was brought to an end by the Muslim conquest of Bihar and Bengal.

Here a puzzling question arises. The Buddhism of Nalanda was chiefly Mahayana, as was that of Sri Vijaya and presumably that of the Thai of Nan-chao. But the 13th century sculpture of Chiengsaen and of Nakhon Sri-Thammarat is apparently Hinayana. Although the Hinayana Buddhism of the kingdom of Dvaravati and its offshoots remained a deep underlying influence, the adoption of Hinayana Buddhism by the Thai in the 13th century is generally attributed to the influence of Ceylon *via* Nakhon Sri-Thammarat. This influence is firmly established in the case of Sukhothai, and is reflected in Sukhothai art. In the case of Chiengsaen, the religious influence of Ceylon may have existed, but it is not visible in the early Chiengsaen bronzes. Similarly, the influence of Ceylon on the religion of Nakhon Sri-Thammarat is echoed in the legend quoted above and in other sources, but, as we have seen, there is nothing Sinhalese about the "Sihing" of Nakhon. Both the Chiengsaen bronzes and the "Sihing" seem to derive most directly from a

from Northern India, but places this influence about a century earlier, when the persecution of the Buddhists in Northern India had already started.

certain type of Pala bronze image of the Buddha, seated in *vajrasana* and with right hand performing the gesture of *bhumisparsa* (*Maravijaya*).¹⁵ Whether this type of Buddha-image, which was being made in Bengal in the 12th century or somewhat before, and was more or less associated with Nalanda, can be specifically denominated either Mahayana or Hinayana, we are unable to say: however, it seems not to have any iconographical details that exclude the possibility of its being Hinayana.

This Bengal type became known in Siam through the medium of votive tablets, and possibly bronze images as well. A type of votive tablet, imported from Nalanda or based on Nalanda models, representing the Buddha seated with crossed legs (*vajrasana*), and with right hand performing the gesture of *Maravijaya*, has been found in considerable quantity in Siam, particularly in the Peninsula. In addition to votive tablets, it seems logical to suppose that larger images of Pala type in bronze or stone were also imported.¹⁶ The fact that few or none are now to be seen in

15. Examples of this type are 5 bronze Buddhas in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 8142, 8143, 8144, 8145, 8153, bearing the label: "Metal Images from Bengal, 7-12 century." They are said by Dr. Siva Narayana Sen to have come from Paharpur, and to date from the 11th or 12th century. All five are seated in vajrasana and perform the gesture of *bhumisparsa* with the right hand, and all are strikingly reminiscent of Chiengsaen bronzes and of the "Sihing" of Nakhon. But unlike the Chiengsaen bronzes, they have the pleated scarf similar to the "Sihing", and plain pedestal.

16. At least one image of Pala manufacture (though not the seated type which we have been discussing) exists in Northern Siam and has been there for a long time, although the date and manner of its arrival are unknown. This is the "Phra Sila" from Buddhagaya, now at Wat Chiengman, Chiengmai. See LeMay, *op. cit.*, p. 104 and fig. 119. Cf. Hutchinson, *Sacred Images in Chiengmai*, JSS, vol. XXVIII, 1935, part II.

the Malay Peninsula may perhaps be attributed to more recent re-exports to India.¹⁷

We may conclude, therefore, that the Chiengsaen bronzes and the "Sihing" of Nakhon both derive from the late Pala art of Bengal, either by direct imitation or from memory aided by "Phra Phim". The "Sihing" and some of the Chiengsaen bronzes display certain faults of execution which make them look slightly "out of drawing", and suggest that they are based on the imitation of very small statuettes or "Phra Phim"

Let us now try to deduce the relationship between the "Sihing" and the Chiengsaen bronzes. Did one derive from the other, or did each derive independently from the Pala? We have already noted the preponderant similarities between the "Sihing" and the Chiengsaen bronzes; but the "Sihing" has some details that serve to distinguish it.

The first is the face with its extreme roundness; while the Chiengsaen images have round faces in comparison to the Khmer or Sukhothai types, the roundness is found in a really exaggerated form in the "Sihing"; the "Sihing" also has a certain peculiarity of facial feature that is a little different from Chiengsaen.

A second difference is in the scarf over the left shoulder. In Chiengsaen images, the scarf is represented as a single fold of cloth. Usually it is short, falling only to a point a little above the left nipple, and ending in a single notched pattern, which sometimes gives the bizarre effect of a pair of pinchers about to seize the nipple. There are some variations in the form of scarf, but in any case it is never pleated. In the "Sihing" of Nakhon, the scarf is short, but is represented as a piece of cloth in several pleats or folds, some of which can be seen in profile and some as projecting ends.

17. *In Malaya, when ancient images are found in the course of tin dredging, they are often smuggled out of the country to India, where they command a much higher cash value.*

This is the most obvious peculiarity of the "Sihing" of Nakhon. As we have noted in an earlier section, the pleated scarf is a most exceptional feature for Buddha statues in Siam. We have already seen it, in a somewhat different form, in several images of the School of Chaiya and of the later 17th-century *atelier* of Chaiya, but these are practically the only examples of sculpture in Siam — other than the "Sihing" type of Nakhon — in which this feature appears. In other words, in Siamese sculpture, its prevalence is confined to Peninsular Siam. Whether this is mere coincidence, and whether the different form of the pleated scarf of the Chaiya images can properly be related to that of the Nakhon "Sihing" type, is not clear. In Pala sculpture, the pleated scarf was a common feature, and it was frequently adopted by the Pala derivatives in Nepal, Tibet, and Burma, and sometimes in "Sri Vijaya" art.¹⁸

18. *E.g., bronze statuette of the Buddha, seated in vajrasana on lotus throne, from Sumatra (10-12th century?) now in the Indisch Instituut, Amsterdam. Several examples of the pleated scarf on Hindu-Javanese bronzes are to be seen at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leyden. A Tibetan example of the 18th century in gilt-copper is to be seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. An example of the pleated scarf of the Indian Pala style itself may be seen in a large seated Buddha in shale, from Bengat (Bihar School), c. 11th century, in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Among the very rare sculptures of Siam having a pleated scarf other than those described in the text and in note 10 of Section II we may cite two. (a) A small statue of the Buddha in a chapel at Doi Suthep, near Chiangmai. The statue is seated with crossed legs on a lotus throne of early Chiengsaen style. It has undergone considerable alteration (including the position of the right hand), and we cannot say whether the pleated scarf is original or not. (b) Head and bust of bronze Buddha in the Lamphun Museum. This statue is of the style of the Ayuthya period and so far as we know its provenance is unknown. In Siamese sculpture, the pleated scarf is almost entirely confined to the few statues we have enumerated;*

There is another difference — though a rather negative one — between the “Sihing” of Nakhon and the Chiengsaen type. The latter in most cases sits on a seat decorated with lotus petals; the “Sihing” of Nakhon sits on a plain and inconspicuous seat. This factor, however, is inconclusive, as the “Sihing” may have undergone later modifications.

Despite these differences (of which the pleated scarf is the most striking), the “Sihing” of Nakhon is closer in style to Chiengsaen art than to anything else, including its Pala prototypes. Since Chiengsaen art is represented by a numerous series of bronzes, and since, as we shall see in the next sub-section, the “Sihing” of Nakhon is apparently a unique example of its type in the Nakhon region in the 13th century, it is tempting to suppose that the “Sihing” is actually a specimen of the Chiengsaen school — though rather an exceptional one — made in the Chiengsaen region in the 13th century, and brought to Nakhon Sri-Thammarat under circumstances which in subsequent history became confused with the story of the “real Sihing”. The political and cultural relations between Nakhon Sri-Thammarat and the Thai of Sukhothai in the mid-13th century are well-known, and are illustrated in the legend quoted above. These facts, however, other than indicating the existence of relations between the north and the south, are not very helpful in establishing the origin of the “Sihing” of Nakhon, which has no stylistic connection with the school of Sukhothai.

On the other hand, there is the possibility that the Chiengsaen School was influenced by the “Sihing” of Nakhon. In some respects — chiefly the pleated scarf — the “Sihing” of Nakhon is closer to the Bengali prototypes than are the Chiengsaen bronzes. Sinhalese Hinayana Buddhism perhaps came to Chiengsaen by the

but it is also traceable in a number of votive tablets, of Pala origin or influence, found in Siam. As these tablets are usually small, and the execution of such details as the scarf rather vague, this feature in the tablets cannot be positively related to either the Chai-ya type or the Nakhon type to the exclusion of the other.

same route as it came to Sukhothai, that is, *via* Nakhon Sri-Thammarat; and it is possible that the conveyors of this religious doctrine, making a relay at Nakhon in their travel to Chiengsaen, picked up a taste for the "Sihing" as an appropriate type, but that when this ideal was transported to Chiengsaen it was modified in certain respects, including the form of the scarf. Another passage in the legend quoted above outlines the later travels of the "Sihing", which included a sojourn at Chiengsaen. But the date of this sojourn is considerably later. On the whole, chronological difficulties seem to eliminate the possibility that the Chiengsaen bronzes could have derived from the "Sihing" of Nakhon.

On stylistic grounds, it seems necessary to date the "Sihing" of Nakhon in the 13th century.¹⁹ Its confusion with the "authentic" Sihing image of the legend suggests that it was made, or arrived, in Nakhon Sri-Thammarat about the middle of that century. But whether it was an importation from Chiengsaen, whether it was made locally under the direct influence of Chiengsaen art, or whether it was made locally under the same major influences that formed the Chiengsaen style, are questions that cannot be answered.

Whatever its origin, this image exercised a very remarkable influence on the subsequent art of Nakhon Sri-Thammarat.

2. *Other Nakhon Sri-Thammarat Statues of the "Sihing" Type*

There exist several score, possibly several hundred, bronze images of the Buddha which reproduce more or less faithfully the chief peculiarities of the "Sihing" of Nakhon: legs crossed, with both soles turned up and visible; right hand performing the gesture of *Maravijaya*; more or less round face; *rasmi* in general form

19. *Since this dating is based largely on a comparison with Chiengsaen images, it is subject to the same reserve which we have noted above in regard to the dating of that school. (See above, Note 6 of this section.)*

of a lotus-bud; scarf in multiple pleats falling over the left shoulder and stopping above the left nipple. (Figs. 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.) A fair proportion of them is still to be found at Nakhon Sri-Thammarat, in the Museum of Wat Maha-That, in other Wats, and in private collections. The remainder, in the National Museum at Bangkok, and in other museums and private collections, have nearly all a traceable history of *provenance* from Nakhon Sri-Thammarat. These bronzes, therefore, are correctly enough described as belonging to "The School of Nakhon Sri-Thammarat".

How did this school arise and when did it flourish?

If the "Sihing" was really made at Nakhon Sri-Thammarat, it might be supposed that it was not an isolated example, but was simply one — the most famous — of a whole group of bronzes made in the same region and at the same period, constituting a school which was contemporary with, and paralleled, the Chiengsaen School, and which continued to develop for several centuries thereafter. However, even aside from the difficulty of being certain that the "Sihing" was made at Nakhon, such a theory would be hard to support on the basis of other available examples. While the "Sihing" can probably be dated in the 13th century, the other available images of the same type appear to have been made considerably later — namely, in the Ayuthya period.

Aside from their main peculiarities, which are listed above and are sufficient to distinguish them clearly from all other schools, these statues vary a good deal among themselves. The shape of the face, the facial expression, the exact form of the *rasmi*, the type of curls, the general aspect of the body, the exact form of the pleated scarf, and the form of throne or pedestal, display considerable diversity. Some of them have the four fingers of the hand of equal length — a feature said to be derived from Ceylon and often adopted in the sculpture of Sukhothai.

On the basis of pedestal, ornament, manner of representing hair and facial features, or sculptural technique, most of these



Fig. 21. *Bronze Buddha, National
Museum, Bangkok.*
Height : 50 cm.



Fig. 22. *Bronze Buddha, National
Museum, Bangkok.*
Height : 60 cm.



Fig. 23. *Bronze Buddha, Vihara of Wat
Benchamabophit, Bangkok.*
Height : 72 cm.



Fig. 24. *Bronze Buddha, Lopburi
Museum.*
Height : 37 cm.

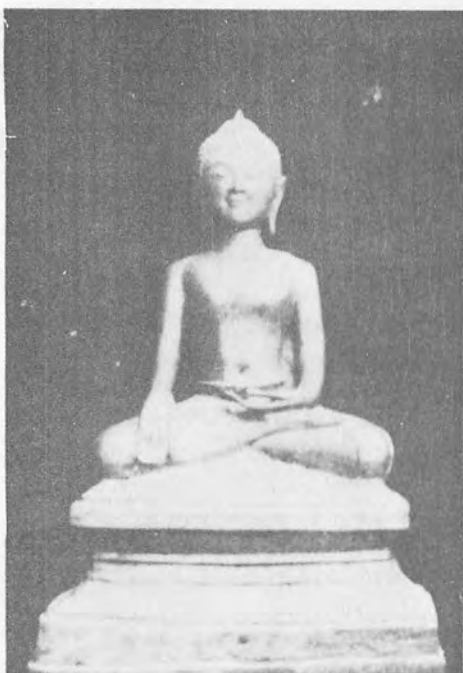


Fig. 25. *Bronze Buddha, Collection of Lady Chue Sumala Sukhapara, Nakhon Sri-Thammarat.*

Height : 38 cm.



Fig. 26. *Bronze Buddha, Wat Maha-That, Nakhon Sri-Thammarat.*

Height : 88 cm.

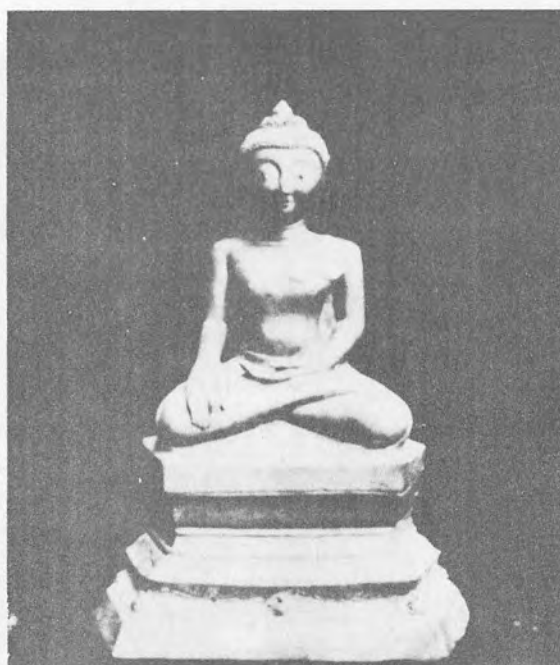


Fig. 27. *Bronze Buddha, Collection of Lady Chue Sumala Sukhapara, Nakhon Sri-Thammarat.*

Height : 44 cm.

statues can be dated in the Ayuthya period.²⁰ The only one known to us that bears an inscription (Figs. 19 & 20) is dated 1694.

It seems most likely that the "Sihing", whether cast locally or brought from elsewhere, is a unique example of its period at Nakhon Sri-Thammarat, and that the other bronzes we are considering are more or less direct imitations made between the late 14th and the late 17th century. This theory seems the more plausible when we consider the wording of the inscription on the bronze we have just mentioned :

"On Saturday, the 11th day of the Waning Moon of the Eighth Lunar Month, in the Year of the Bull, B.E. 2237 (A.D. 1694), Luang Phra Phaeng ordered this Phra Phuttā Sihing to be cast, in Wat Sarayon Nitharam." (Fig. 20)

Note that the donor "ordered *this Phra Phutta Sihing* to be cast." The implication is, that the "Sihing" type constituted a special, popular, and respected category, which it was the custom for donors to imitate.

This point, of course, cannot be finally settled until a much more complete inventory of existing bronzes of the type of the "Sihing" of Nakhon Sri-Thammarat has been made, and the various examples of the series carefully compared with one another and with datable examples of other contemporary schools. Such comparisons are outside the scope of the present article.

Even if it is later determined that some of these images are actually contemporary with the "Sihing", it is certain that the great majority of them date from the Ayuthya period. Their most noticeable characteristics, however, are quite at variance with the ordinary traditions of the National Style. Two of these characteristics - the legs crossed with soles turned up, and the type of *rasmi* - are

20. *The silhouette of some of the pedestals (e.g., Figs. 21, 25, 26) at first glance suggests U-Thong; but with one exception (Fig. 26) their rather fussy decoration betrays a later date. Most of the pedestals are clearly of the Ayuthya period.*

rate in ordinary Ayuthya art. A third characteristic – the round face – generally but not always found in the statues we are discussing, is rare in ordinary Ayuthya art, which tends toward the oval or even the exaggeratedly elongated face. The fourth and most outstanding characteristic – the pleated scarf – is practically never encountered in the art of the National School outside of the Peninsular region. Indeed, as we have seen, the pleated scarf in any form is most exceptional in the art of Siam, and in this particular form it is an exclusive peculiarity of this category of statue from Nakhon Sri-Thammarat.

3. *Other Local Variations from the National Style*

During the Ayuthya period, Nakhon Sri-Thammarat enjoyed, from time to time, great material prosperity. This prosperity is reflected in the quantity and richness – if not the artistic genius – of its statuary.

Although images were also made in stone, wood, or plaster, it is essentially a statuary of bronze, and by and large it has accepted the authority of the National Style. The great majority of the statuary of the Nakhon region of the Ayuthya period, whatever its material, is not easily distinguishable, if at all, from contemporary examples of Ayuthya.

A lesser number of images from Nakhon Sri-Thammarat of the Ayuthya period – chiefly in bronze – display perceptible variations from the National Style. For convenience, this class of bronzes may be subdivided into four categories.

The first – more or less directly inspired by the “*Sihing*” – has already been discussed.

The second category (Fig. 28) is much like the first, in that the legs are crossed with soles turned up, the right hand performs the gesture of *Maravi jaya*, the *rasmi* is generally in the form of a lotus-bud, and the form of face and feature recalls those of the first category. But the pleated scarf is lacking. The scarf is a short,



Fig. 28. *Bronze Buddha, Collection of Lady Chue Sumala Sukhapara, Nakhon Sri-Thammarat* Height : 21 cm.



Fig. 29. *Bronze Buddha, Wat Maha-That, Nakhon Sri-Thammarat.* Height : 44 cm.



Fig. 30. *Bronze Buddha, Collection of Lady Chue Sumala Sukhapara, Nakhon Sri-Thammarat.* Height : 55 cm.



←Fig. 31.

Bronze Buddha, Collection of Mr. Charoen Limpichati, Nakhon Sri-Thammarat.

Height : 85 cm.



Fig. 32. *Bronze Buddha, Collection of Mr. Charoen Limpichati, Nakhon Sri-Thammarat.*

Height : 69 cm.



Fig. 33. *Bronze Buddhas, Collection of Mr. Charoen Limpichati, Nakhon Sri-Thammarat.*

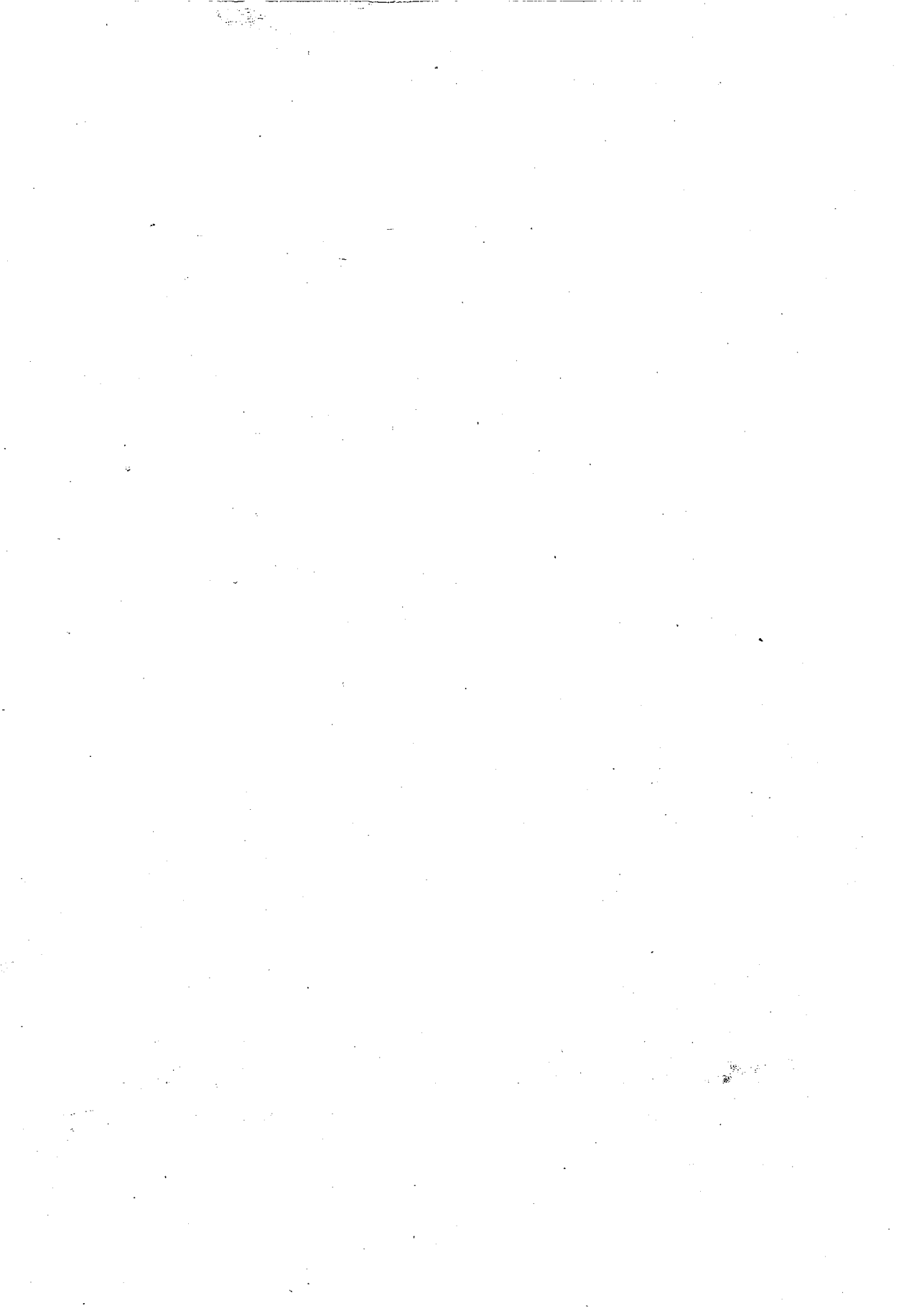
Height of Central Figure : 1 m.



Fig. 34. *Bronze Buddha, Wat Maha-That, Nakhon Sri-Thammarat.*



Fig. 35. *Bronze Buddha, Wat Na-Pra-Lan, Nakhon Sri-Thammarat.*
Height : 2.28 m. (Detail)



single fold of cloth, ending in a fish-tail notch, somewhere near the left nipple. Except for the facial features, there is nothing typological to distinguish this category from a kind of belated and degenerate version of the early Chiengsaen style.

The third category (Figs. 29 & 30) is at one further remove from the "Sihing" type. The Buddha is seated with the one leg superimposed on the other, rather than cross-legged. The right hand usually performs the gesture of *Maravijaya*, but sometimes both hands lie in the lap. The scarf is usually represented as a long single fold of cloth. This category is a large and rather diverse one. Heterogeneous as this category is, each object in it has — by definition — something to distinguish it from the ordinary Ayuthya period style. Most usually, it is a peculiarity of facial form or feature. The seated Buddha is sometimes represented as "Wearing the Paraphernalia of Royalty" (in Siamese, *Song-khrüang*) (not illustrated).²¹

The fourth and last category — standing Buddhas — is also a heterogeneous one. (Figs. 31–35). Again, it is usually the roundness of face or some peculiarity of facial feature that distinguishes these figures from their contemporaries of Ayuthya. The most common position of the arms is with both forearms extended forward and hands raised ("Calming the Ocean"); less frequently only the right forearm is extended and the hand raised ("Forbidding the Relatives to Dispute"), or only the left ("Rejecting the

21. *Song-khrüang* is common enough in the National School, but more often represented in standing than in seated figures. The Khmer and "pseudo-Khmer" schools of Lopburi produced *song-khrüang* Buddhas, both seated and standing. *Song-khrüang* seated Buddhas are encountered in Chiangmai art ("Late Chiengsaen art"), and also in the Shan styles (*Kengtung* and *Chieng-rung*) of the 16-18th centuries, which derive from, or are influenced by, Tibetan and Nepalese art. Cf. *Mus.*, *Le Buddha paré*, *BEFEO*, vol. XXVIII, 1928.

Sandalwood Image"). The last-named position appears more frequently in the art of Nakhon Sri-Thammarat than in the ordinary art of the National School. We have remarked above on its incidence in the 17th-century *atelier* of Chaiya. It seems to be a peculiarity that had some popularity in Peninsular Siam in the Ayuthya period, but little or none in other parts of Siam.²² Among the Nakhon Sri-Thammarat standing Buddhas, *song-khrüang* is frequent (Figs. 31-35, with the exception of two of the images in Fig. 33). A form of *song-khrüang* elaborated with special luxuriance is frequently encountered. Some of these *song-khrüang* standing Buddhas of Nakhon wear slippers with upturned toes.²³

Several examples of the categories listed above are illustrated here. With the few exceptions noted, all the examples illustrated are in various collections in Nakhon Sri-Thammarat itself. So far as can be determined, the *provenance* of all of them is local. Some of them are in various Wats in the town, and have probably been there ever since they were cast. Others were brought in recent times to the museum of Wat Maha-That, at Nakhon Sri-Thammarat, from various Wats in the neighboring country-side. Still others are in private collections, accumulated locally within the last 50 years.

22. Like so many observations on the art of Siam, this one is based on an impression derived from the examination of a fairly limited number of examples. The art of Siam still awaits a systematic and painstaking statistical analysis based on photographs of very large numbers of images. This method, which has been applied by Philippe Stern to the art of Cambodia with impressive results, might be expected to yield a number of surprises in the case of Siamese art. It would certainly modify many of our present conceptions and answer a great number of the questions that now puzzle us. (Cf. Coedès, in *JSS*, vol. XXXI, 1939, p. 192.)

23. The representation of such slippers is usually associated with the statuary of the reign of King Boromakot of Ayuthya (1733-1758) and later reigns.

The examples chosen do not pretend to give either a comprehensive inventory of the local variations from the National Style or a selective sampling of the best works of art of the locality. They will, however, serve to give the reader a glimpse of the different sorts of variations which persisted from earlier times, or cropped up from still undefined sources, in the art of Nakhon Sri-Thammarat in the Ayuthya period.

CONCLUSION

The authority of the National Style, radiating from the capital at Ayuthya from about the 15th century onwards, imposed on the sculpture of Siam a kind of standardization which few artists escaped at all, and none completely. Even in those local schools which preserved some measure of artistic autonomy, most of the statues produced in the Ayuthya period conform faithfully enough to the National type. It is a minority that shows any notable variation in some details, and even this minority conforms in other details to the National Style.

In Peninsular Siam, there were at least two centers — Chaiya and Nakhon Sri-Thammarat — which, in addition to large quantities of statuary of the conventional sort, produced a lesser number of images displaying local peculiarities.

Some varieties — such as the seven Standing Buddhas of Chaiya, and the Nakhon Sri-Thammarat "Sihing" series — are so distinctive as to justify the notion of separate "schools" of art; but these same schools produced many other works showing lesser variations from the National Style or none at all.

In some cases, the local peculiarities can be plausibly connected with earlier styles; in others, they were inspired by more or less direct imitation of famous statues locally admired. Whatever their precise origin, these variations, more or less in defiance of the artistic authority of the National School, can only be explained on the ground of gratification of local traditions of veneration or taste.

ADDENDA

1. Page 4, note 3. A further study of the U-Thong style which we are now making suggests that U-Thong bronzes were still being made in the 15th century and perhaps a good deal later.

2. Page 7, note 7. The U-Thong Buddha illustrated in LeMay, *op. cit.*, fig. 169, is really made of bronze, not stone. Some stone Buddhas recently discovered at Ayuthya are possibly of U-Thong style.

3. Page 12, paragraph 1. The "magic syllable" *Om*. For the significance of this, see J.J. Boeles, *The Migration of the Magic Syllable Om*, India Antiqua, Leyden, 1947.

4. Page 12, note 16. Throughout this article the word "scarf" is used for convenience to denote a feature which is practically universal in the Buddha-images of Siam which wear a monastic robe leaving the right shoulder bare. This feature portrays a fold of cloth over the left shoulder, falling a certain distance down the chest in front; sometimes it originates in the back, somewhere near the waist, whereas sometimes it is not depicted in the back at all and seems to originate at the shoulder. Often it is not very clear whether this feature is intended to represent a *samghati*, or a fold of the *civara* as worn in ancient times.

5. Page 18, note 5. The "double gesture" of these statuettes is reminiscent of a double gesture performed by several Bodhisattva-images from Peninsular Siam which are commonly classified as "Sri Vijaya". This is another link between the School of Chaiya and the earlier styles of the Peninsula. Sometimes these Bodhisattvas held a lotus in the hand which would otherwise appear to be "bestowing favors". The double gesture is also found in certain Bodhisattvas from Yunnan and elsewhere. See Chapin, *Yunnanese Images of Avalokitesvara*, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 1944; cf. de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara*, Paris, 1948.

6. Page 50, note 18. There are also some Dvaravati statues having a pleated "scarf". The outstanding example is the great stone Buddha, seated in the "European fashion", at Phra Pathom. In this case however it is not perfectly certain whether the "scarf" is original or was added when the statue was restored in the 19th century.

ERRATA

Page 35, note, line 3. For "to the Peninsular" read
"to the Peninsula".

Page 36, line 8. For "images Dvaravati" read
"images - Dvaravati".

Page 36, line 9. For "style served" read "style - served".

Page 39, note 3, last line. For "bronze" read "bronzes".