TAMBRALINGA AND THE KHMER EMPIRE

by

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Tāmbralinga was one of the early city-states of Southeast Asia. Its name drifts like an elusive memory across ancient Chinese records. In its several transliterations it appears in a variety of Sung Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.) records, and besides these sharpest and most specific sources, references to Tāmbralinga are believed to be tangled in a whole constellation of other testimony including Cōla epigraphy, Thai and Laotian Pali chronicles, inscriptions found on the Peninsula, and the supplement to the Mahāvamsa of Ceylon. Although the sum of all these notices gives only a dim and shadowed existence to this once thronged and fractious state, there is at least some measure of scholarly consensus on its location. It would probably have included the coastal lands of Peninsular Thailand from at least the turning below the Bay of Bandon on the east coast, south to include the present town of Nakhon Sri Thammarat.

This very area is mantled with the debris of ancient civilization. In the new National Museum in Nakhon Sri Thammarat there is such an imposing collection of antiquities assembled from both the immediate neighbourhood and such adjacent population centers as Ta Sala and Si Chon, that it is confirmation of the broad view of the historical

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¹⁾ Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese (Kuala Lumpur, 1966), p. 67.

geographers that important settlement thrived in this region anciently.² The impression becomes overwhelming when one visits important private collections. Whatever the varying names by which it was formerly known, this region was the home of communities remarkable for their material sophistication. While this much is readily apparent, there remains the task of bringing to mutual presence the written record and the testimony of things.

It should be possible to confront the Chinese records with these objects in order to test the evidential value of those records for reconstructing the cultural history of the Peninsula. At the same time such investigations will allow us to refine the categories by which we organize and classify the material evidence. For example, much of the art of this region is now described as "Srivijayan". It is safe to say, I think, that this category is understood by archaeologists and art historians as being in inverted commas, a broad guide to region, chronology—sometime between and including the eighth and the thirteenth centuries, and also to style, best described as late "international" Buddhist art reflecting currents that can be traced to Bihar and Bengal during the reign of the Pāla and Sena dynasties. The use of the term in such a

²⁾ Among the sources useful for studying these objects are: Lunct de Lajonquière, "Essai d'inventaire archéologique du Siam," Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indo-Chine, 1912-1913; J.Y. Claeys, "L'Archéologie du Siam", Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (BEFEO), XXXI (1931); H.G.Q. Wales, "A Newly Explored Route to Indian Cultural Expansion", Indian Art and Letters, XI (No. 1), 1935 and "Malayan Archaeology of the Hindu Period: Some Reconsiderations", Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JMBRAS), 43 (No. 1, July 1970); Brah Guru Indaannachariya, A Brief Account of the Antiquities Surrounding the Bay of Bandon (Chaiya, 1950, in Thai); A. Lamb, "Miscellaneous Papers," Federation Museums Journal, VI (N.S.), 1961; Nikom Suthiragsa, "The Archaeological Story of Phra Wieng City" Silpakon (Bangkok), 15 (No. 4, 1971); S.J. O'Connor, "Si Chon: An Early Settlement in Peninsular Thailand," Journal of the Siam Society, LVI (No. 1, January, 1968) and Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam (Artibus Asiae Supplementum XXVIII, Ascona, 1972); J. Boisselier, "Recherches archéologiques en Thailande II," Arts Asiatiques XX (1969); Dhammadasa Banij A History of Buddhism in Chaiya and the Bay of Bandon Region (Chaiya, 1969), Thai and English. Suchit Wongthet, "Wandering Archaeology", Chao Kruug XVI (Nov. 1969), in Thai.

way does not necessarily imply the direct intervention of the Sumatranbased maritime empire in the cultural affairs of the Peninsula. But this is surely rather confusing. Specifically, it needs refinement in the light of recent reexamination and interpretation of the written record, which as it relates to the northern reaches of the isthmus, indicates that Khmer not Srīvijayan influence was dominant after the beginning of the eleventh century.

In an important article, Professor O.W. Wolters argued strongly that a copying error by the compiler of the Sung-shih introduced a spurious and misleading Srīvijayan bias to the discussion of Tāmbra-linga's political history. His argument is subtle and lengthy and should be followed in detail rather than summarized here. His conclusions however, are first, that Chinese records during the Sung dynasty give a fairly coherent picture of Tāmbralinga from the end of the tenth to the beginning of the thirteenth century because the state was an active trading partner during that time; second, it is clear that from the beginning of the eleventh century Tāmbralinga was viewed by China as being within the sphere of Cambodian influence.

It is important to note that this interpretation of the Chinese testimony brings that body of evidence into conformity with epigraphy and other non-Chinese sources. The French archaeologist Pierre Dupont had long ago raised questions about the degree of Khmer cultural influence in the Ligor region (present Nakhon Sri Thammarat Area). When writing about inscriptions found at Wat Hua Vian in Jaiyā (XXIV and XXV) and associated with $T\bar{a}mbralinga$, Professor Coèdes drew attention to the fact that they were written in the Khmer language. In a recent reexamination of inscription XXV, Professor de

³⁾ O.W. Wolters, "Tämbralinga" Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies XXI (1958), pp. 587-607.

⁴⁾ P. Dupont, "le Buddha de Grahi et l'ecole de C'aiya" BEFEO XLII (1942), pp. 103-108. See also: L.P. Briggs, "The Khmer Empire and the Malay Peninsula", Far Eastern Quarterly, IX (May, 1950) p. 286. In his consideration of the problem, Briggs also decided that Tambralinga was free of Śrīvijayan control from the eleventh century.

⁵⁾ G. Coedès, Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam, VOL. II (Bangkok 2nd ed., N.D.,).

Casparis concluded that it should be dated to the last three decades of the thirteenth century and that its use of the Khmer lunguage points to the past to the time of Jayavarman VII or even that of Sūryavarman II when, he states, this area was part of the Cambodian Empire. Another piece of linkage between the Ligor region and Angkor is the Prāsāt Běn Inscription of Cambodia which Professor Coedès understood to refer to a Jayavīravarman who was a pretender to the throne at Angkor during the period 1002-1006, and who appears to have been a member of the ruling dynasty in Tāmbralinga. This rather astonishing challenge was finally put down by Sūryavarman I but it would seem to argue that Jayavīravarman felt thoroughly at home in the cultural world of the Cambodian elite.

It is not the purpose of this article to resumé and comment on this elaborate web of written record which has been analyzed in great detail by the scholars mentioned above. Instead, it seems useful to present some unpublished material against which these records can be tested. First, I would like to draw attention to the Sung ceramics in the area of Nakhon Sri Thammarat. By their very considerable number they would seem to provide confirmation that this area was in sustained economic relationship with China. While not conclusive, it does suggest that this coastal plain was indeed known to the Chinese. Secondly, it seems useful to present some photographs of material examined at Nakhon Sri Thammarat and also at Songkhla and Phattalung that is either Khmer or "Khmerizing" in style. Some of these pieces are easily identified as Khmer, others seem to me to be puzzling and need to be studied by those whose detailed knowledge of Khmer style and iconography will supply the precise identifications that I am unable to make. I would emphasize that precise dating does not at this point seem the critical issue, but what does seem to emerge from a prelimi-

⁶⁾ J.G. de Casparis, "The Grahi Buddha," Journal of the Siam Society (JSS), LV (pt. 1, January 1967), pp. 31-40. For some supplementary remarks on the inscription see: M. Vickery, "The Khmer Inscriptions of Tenasserim: A Reinterpretation," JSS, 61 (pt. 1, January 1973), p. 54 and footnote 8.

⁷⁾ G. Coedès, "Stele de Prasat Ben (K. 989)" Inscriptions du Cambodge, VII (Paris, 1964), pp. 169-172.

nary treatment of this material is a persuasive case for seeing a heavy Khmer presence in the northern reaches of the isthmian tract during the latter period of the Khmer empire.

Chinese Export Ceramics

There are two private collections in Nakhon Sri Thammarat in which there is a broad range of Chinese ceramics beginning with the Sung and Yuan periods and continuing right through to wares of the Ch'ing dynasty. In our present context, it is the Sung wares that are of immediate interest and illustrated (figs. 1 and 2) are two large, shallow celadon bowls from the Lung-ch'uan kilns of Chekiang Province. They could readily be matched against sherd specimens gathered by Nils Palmgren from those same kilns. The double-fish bowl (fig. 1) is a common specimen spread widely in Sung-Yuan period sites in Southeast Asia. The other shallow bowl is a crackled-glaze celadon with a dragon, three clouds and flaming pearls in high relief under glaze, and it seems to be of exceptionally good quality. While in Nakhon Sri Thammarat I saw at least ten other whole pieces that appeared to be pre-Ming celadon from the Lung-ch'uan kilns and a number of sherds at the actual sites from which many of these pieces were recovered.

There are a variety of other wares in private collections in Nakhon Sri Thammarat that are broadly Sung-Yuan in date and that would appear to match with such sites as Buah and Bongkissam in the Sarawak River Delta, Sarawak, and Pengkalan Bujang in Kedah, Malaya. There are many whole pieces of the ubiquitous "Marco-Polo Ware" sonamed after the small jar that Marco Polo brought back from his travels

⁸⁾ Nils Palmgren, Sung Sherds (Stockholm, 1963).

⁹⁾ For the Borneo sites see T. Harrisson, Oriental Art, V (No. 2, Summer 1959), pp. 42-52; T. Harrisson and S.J. O'Connor, Excavations of the Prehistoric Iron Industry in West Borneo, VOL. II (Ithaca, N.Y. Cornell Southeast Asia Program Data No. 72, 1969) and C. Zainie (with T. Harrisson), "Early Chinese stonewares excavated in Sarawak, 1947-1967," Sarawak Museum Journal, XV (Nos. 30-31, July-December 1967), pp. 30-90. The Pengkalan Bujang Material is in A. Lamb, "Miscellaneous Papers", Federation Museums Journal, VI (N.S.) 1961.

in the late thirteenth century and that is in the Treasury of St. Mark's in Venice. Many of the Nakhon Sri Thammarat specimens are thin bodied vases with a creamy white glaze, moulded relief decoration, and a base that is a high circular ring stand, ovoid body, tall neck and flaring mouth. Almost identical specimens are found at Satingprah on the isthmus just south of Nakhon Sri Thammarat, and they are well represented in Philippine and Borneo sites where they are commonly considered to be Sung-Yuan. There are other vases, covered boxes decorated with foliage, dots, etc. that are associated with either this range of white ware (early Te-hua) or the closely related bluish ving-ch'ing (ch'ing pai). In addition to these wares and the Lung-ch'uan celadons there were a number of whole bowls of gray stoneware with a thin gray-green glaze that would seem to belong to the Yueh tradition of southern China.

Some of these pieces were recovered from Ta Reua in Ampur Muang on the road to Chian Yai which apparently was a sea port for the Sung period settlement of Nakhon Sri Thammarat that lies to the south of the modern town in the area of the new museum. linga and several pieces of worked stone have also been found at Ta Reua. But most of the Sung-Yuan ceramics have been found in the vicinity of Wat Tai Sum Pao, Ampur Muang about 10 kilometers south-west of modern Nakhon Sri Thammarat. In a brief visit to that site, I was shown a large trench in which several years previously two villagers had found ten large and undamaged celadon plates. This find has stimulated great interest among the people of Ban Tai Sum Pao and I was taken to several houses where a considerable quantity of sherds could be seen. Many of them could readily be identified as "Marco-Polo" ware, bluish Ying-ch'ing and, heavily represented, Lung-ch'uan celadons. It would seem likely that the site was a port during the Sung

¹⁰⁾ See, A. Lamb, "Notes on Satingphra" JMBRAS XXXVI (pt. 1, July 1964); B. Harrisson, "A Classification of Archaeological Trade Ceramics from Kota Batu, Brunei," The Brunei Museum Journal II (No. 1 1970), (type BB. 2); C. and L. Locsin, Oriental Ceramics Discovered in the Philippines (Tokyo, 1967), Pl. 69-70 and Zainie, op. cit., fig. V (Type A. 2. a. (V).

¹¹⁾ J. Boisselier, Le Cambodge (Paris, 1966), p. 339.

and Yuan dynasties and the broken ceramics are silent testimony to the prosperity of this region during that time. It suggests also that the region was well-known to the Chinese Administrators and port officials of that period and this makes it possible to place confidence in the picture that can be constructed from Chinese records as they refer to this stretch of the Peninsula. The remainder of this article will be a presentation of material which, I think, tends to validate the Chinese view that this portion of the Peninsula was in the orbit of the Khmer Empire during the period of the Sung Dynasty.

Cult and Sumptuary Objects of Bronze

Fig. 3. Chariot Terminal. Private collection, Nakhon Sri Thammarat. This bronze object represents a heavily stylized $n\bar{a}ga$ in a broken flame-like silhouette. There appears to be five $n\bar{a}ga$ heads on the terminal and the scales of the body are rendered by repeated decorative shapes. Many of these bronze terminals combine Garuda and $n\bar{a}ga$, and Professor Boisselier states that these small objects seem to follow the same evolution as that seen in architectural decoration where the extremities of balustrades at first represent $n\bar{a}ga$, then Garuda on $n\bar{a}ga$, and finally at the end of the style of tha Bayon, $n\bar{a}ga$ is eliminated entirely in favour of Garuda. Despite its flame-like configuration and feathered texturing, I do not find Garuda clearly represented here and suggest that this is probably pre-Bayon in style possibly a work of the twelfth century or late eleventh century.

Its function has been clearly worked out in drawings by George Groslier on the basis of chariots and palanquins displayed on bas-relief sculptures in the Angkor region.¹² The hollow bronze finial or terminal would have been fitted to a wooden transversal bar of a chariot to which it would have given a glittering and sumptuous appearance.

A bronze chariot finial of roughly parallel style was recently found at Ban Kok Pip in the area of Dong Si Maha Pot, Prachinburi Province in eastern Thailand. It was in a deposit of bronze objects including, beside the terminal, bowls, a lustral vessel in the form of a conch and

¹²⁾ G. Groslier, Recherches sur les Cambodgiens (Paris, 1921), fig 62, p. 99 and fig. 64, p. 102,

a variery of pieces of bronze that functioned as support perhaps for ritual objects. Khmer occupation at that site would date from the second quarter of the eleventh century through the reign of Jayavarman VII in the thirteenth century.¹³

The finial is not an isolated find at Nakhon Sri Thammarat. There is also a heavy bronze ring in the collection of the new National Museum. It was found near the Museum in the old section of Nakhon Sri Thammarat which is called Phra Wieng City. It would have functioned as a suspension ring on a Khmer palanquin or a chariot, hanging from a highly decorated bronze hook that was itself fitted to a wooden transversal bar. There are excellent illustrations of the rings and hooks as they would actually have been fitted together. ¹⁴ Because of the lack of decoration on the rings, it would be difficult to hazard any guess about chronology.

Figs. 4a, b. Bronze fitting. Private Collection, Nakhon Sri Thammarat. This object is clearly in Khmer or Khmerizing style with its typical trilobed arch and dancing female figure. Its function is unclear but its small scale seems to argue against it being the fitting for a chariot or palanquin. Perhaps it served to embellish some smaller but important status marker such as an honorific umbrella. I have been unable to find any other published illustration of this type of object.

Fig. 5. Bronze support. Private Collection, Nakhon Sri Thammarat. It seemed worthwhile to publish this object because I suspect that it belongs to the Khmer or Khmerizing material illustrated above. It has been impossible to identify an immediate parallel to this although it would appear to fit into a tradition of supports in the form of circular tripods that are well-known in Khmer tradition. Most of those objects are decorated at the foot while our example is not. Even the

¹³⁾ J. Boisselier, "Travaux de la Mission Archéologique Française en Thailande," Arts Asiatiques, XXV (1972), p. 46 and fig. 69. For other chariot finials see: S.E. Lee, Ancient Cambodian Sculpture (N.Y., 1969), pl. 57, and G. Coedès, Les Collections Archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok (Paris, 1928) pl. XXV.

¹⁴⁾ G. Groslier, op. cit., figs. 62 and 64; J. Boisselier, Le Cambodge, pl. LX, 1 and pp. 341-342,

Khmer tripods that are decorated have afforded so few characteristic details that a precise chronology has proven impossible, although Professor Boisselier states that nearly all the known examples seem to date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁵

Fig. 6. Vajra. Collection of Patrsee Museum, Wat Majimawat, Songkhla (No. 1688 in Museum Register). Provenance unknown. This object is one-half of a Khmer double vajra. Our example matches very closely the vajras excavated in Battambang province Cambodia in 1921. They were found together in a deposit of ritual objects that included two small statuettes, a bronze ball $(ghant\bar{a})$, a fragment of a bronze vessel for lustral water shaped in the form of a conch and some tripods that probably supported the holy water vessel. According to Professor Boisselier, none of the vajras now known are anterior to the twelfth century, although the inscription of Vat Sithor, which is dated approximately 968 A.D., refers to a $puroh\bar{u}ta$ who knew the mystery of the bell and the vajra.

There is another object in Khmerizing style that could be mentioned in this category of cult objects. At Vieng Sra in the isthmian section of the Peninsula a small stone model of a prāsāt was discovered by Lunet de Lajonquière early in this century. Its function is unclear but it appears to be a reduced model of a Khmer tower sanctuary with niches, false doors and fronton with $n\bar{a}ga$ in relief. 18

Clay Votive Tablets

Fig. 7. Clay Votive tablet. Private Collection, Nakhon Sri Thammarat. From Wat Na Khom, Ban Sichon, Nakhon Sri Thammarat Province. This tablet fits immediately into Type-III, the Khmer type, established by Professor Coedès in his important article which forms the basic scheme for the classification of Buddhist votive tablets in Thailand. Our example with its multiple Buddha images arranged in symmetrical and hierarchical relationship below a large figure seated under a prāsāt, is matched exactly by a tablet illustrated by Coedès

¹⁵⁾ J. Boisselier, ibid., pp. 336-337; G. Groslier, "Objets Cultuels en Bronze dans l'ancien Cambodge", Arts et Archéologie Khmèrs VOL. I, pp. 221-229, pl. 11.

¹⁶⁾ G. Groslier, ibid., pp. 221-229 and pl. 11.

¹⁷⁾ J. Boisselier, op. cit., p. 334 and footnote 5.

¹⁸⁾ L. de Lajonquière "Essai d'inventaire archéologique du Siam", Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de l'Indo-Chine, 1912-1913, p. 142.

worn by image of Viśvakarman found at Udon and considered to be in Lopburi style of the thirteenth-fourteenth century.²⁶

Fig. 9a, b. Prajñāpāramitā Bronze. Approximately $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. Provenance unknown. This small and rather maladroit bronze image is feminine, has 4 faces and ten arms. There can be little doubt that it is Khmer or Khmerizing in style. The long, or heavy pleated skirt with its fish-tailed panels and especially the spindly arms presented in echelon are typical indicators. The workmanship appears to be quite provincial.

Prajñāpāramitā was very popular in Cambodian sculpture, and Type-III or Khmer style votive tablets also often show a trinity that includes Buddha on $n\bar{a}ga$, Avalokiteśvara and Prajñāpāramitā. Representations of Prajñāpāramitā with many arms and heads are quite common in Cambodian iconography. In his article on the iconography of Prajñāpāramitā, E. Conze illustrates a ten-armed representation of the goddess in the Musée Guimet in Paris.²⁷ There is also a form of the goddess in Cambodia with 11 heads and 22 arms.²⁸ There seems to be a considerable variety in the iconography of Prajñāpāramitā in Cambodia and I have not been able to match our fig. 9a, b with any published image.²⁹ The heavily pleated sarong with its center panel falling in a double-fish tail is strongly reminiscent of the style of Angkor Wat, (c.1100-c.1175 A.D.), although rendered with a certain measure of incomprehension.³⁰ It would seem likely then that our image would date from the twelfth century or the early part of the thirteenth century.

Figs. 10a, b. Standing male divinity. Bronze. Approximately 5½ inches high. Patrsee Museum, Songkhla (No. 1314 in Museum register). Found in Satingprah district. This figure suggests strongly a Khmer influence. In the Bangkok Museum there is a similar figure on display and it is described as Skanda (?) and attributed to the Lopburi style.

It should be added that a Khmer style Visnu can be seen in the former collection of the Brahmin community of Nakhon Sri Thammarat

²⁶⁾ T. Bowie (ed.), The Arts of Thailand, Catalogue No. 69, fig. 55.

²⁷⁾ E. Conze, "The Iconography of the Prajfiāpāramitā," Part 1, Oriental Art, II (No. 2, Autumn 1949), pp. 47-52, fig. 5.

²⁸⁾ Ibid. p. 50,

²⁹⁾ See, G. Groslier, Les Collections Khmères du Musee Albert Sarraut a Phnom-Penh (Paris, 1931), pl. 15, fig. 1; G. Coedès, Bronze Khmèrs (Paris and Brussels, 1923), pl. XXXV; S.E. Lee, Ancient Cambodian Sculpture (N.Y., 1969), catalogue No.38.

³⁰⁾ See for example the drapery of the style of Angkor Wat as illustrated in fig. 61d, and e in Boisselier, Le Cambodge, p. 255.

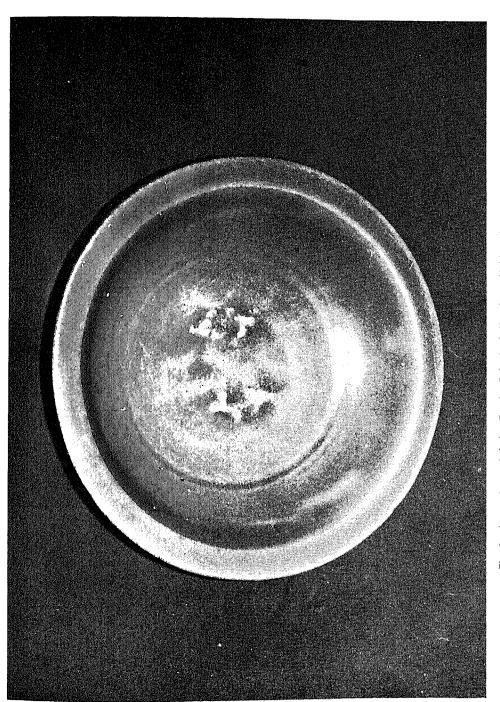


Fig. 1. Lung-ch'uan Celadon Bowl. Private Collection. Nakhon Sri Thammarat.



Fig. 2. Lung-ch'uan Celadon Bowl. Crackled-Glass. Private Collection. Nakhon Sri Thammarat.

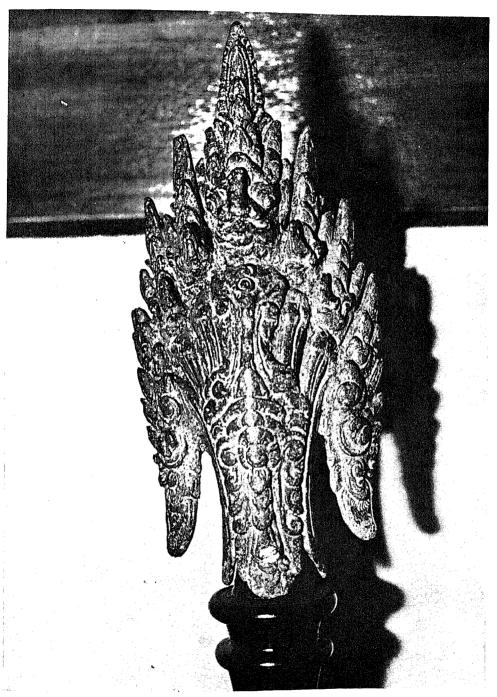


Fig 3. Khmer Chariot Terminal. Bronze. Private Collection. Nakhon Sri Thammarat.



Fig. 4a. Bronze Ornamental Fitting. Khmer. Private Collection. Nakhon Sri Thammarat.

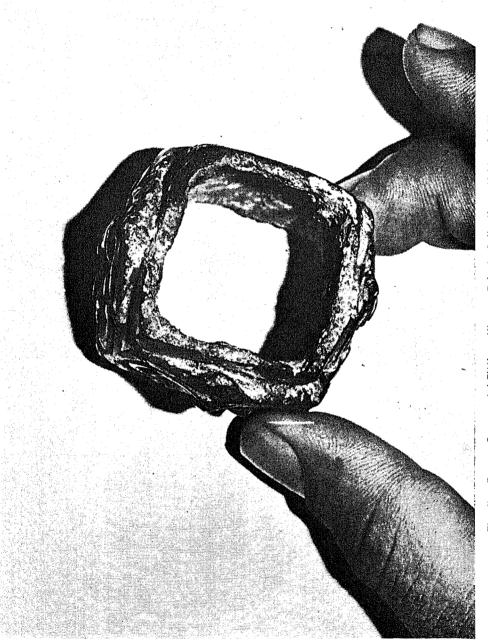


Fig. 4b. Bronze Ornamental Fitting. Khmer. Private Collection. Nakhon Sri Thammarat.



Fig. 5. Bronze Support. Khmer (?). Private Collection. Nakhon Sri Thammarat.



Fig. 6. Bronze Vajra. Khmer twelfth or thirteenth century. Collection of Patrsee Museum, Wat Majimawat Songkhla, Provenance Unknown.

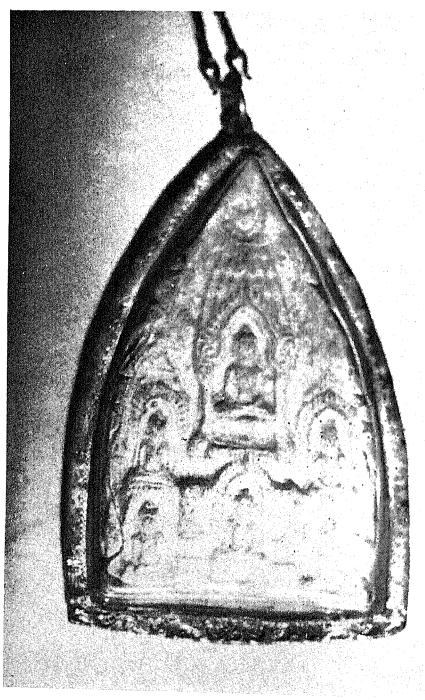


Fig. 7. Mahayana Buddhist Votive Tablet. Baked Clay. Khmer Type. Found at Ban Sichon. Private Collection. Nakhon Sri-Thammarat.



Fig. 8. Ganeśa. Bronze. Khmer. Bayon Style. Patrsee Museum, Sońgkhla.

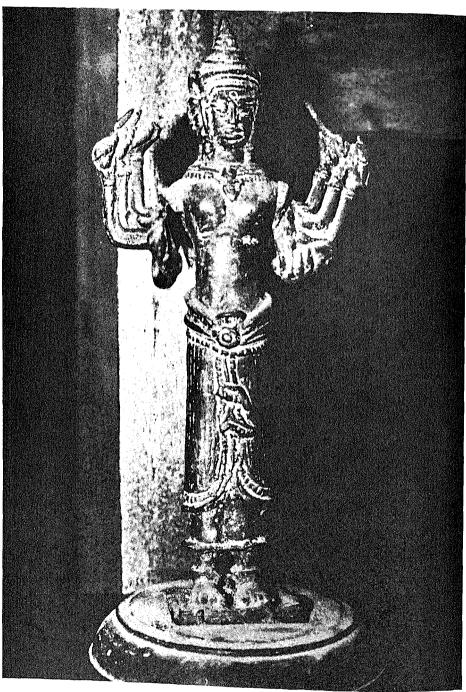


Fig. 9a. Prajñāpāramitā. Bronze. Khmer Style, twelfth or thirteenth century. Collection of Wat Poo Pha Phimuk, Phattalung.



Fig. 9b. Praysacara Becage. Recent Style, twelfth or thirteenth century. Collection of Wat hop Pau Dec Prottibling.



Fig. 10a. Male Divinity. Bronze. Khmer Style. Patrsee Museum, Songkhla.

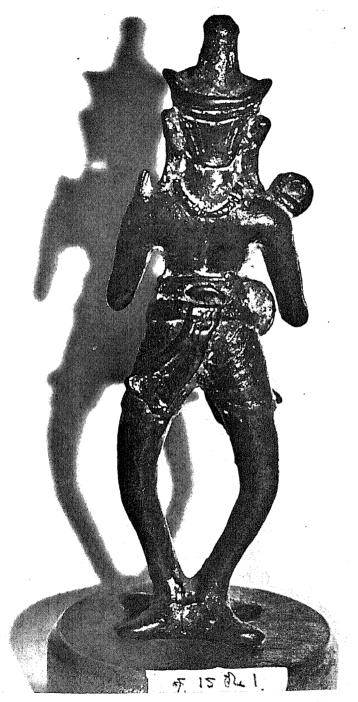


Fig. 10b. Male Divinity. Bronze. Khmer Style. Patrsee Museum, Songkhla.

which is now in the National Museum in that town. It is a very beautiful representation of a four-armed Visnu and, on the basis of the costume, it would appear to be a work in Bayon style. There are also two small images of Ganesa, but, while in Khmerizing style, they appear to be works of the Ayudhya period.

Conclusions

In a form of circular argument, the existence of these Khmer objects give a credibility to the view of the Chinese historians and administrators that $T\bar{a}mbralinga$ was in the Khmer orbit during the period after the beginning of the eleventh century. The very character of some of the objects, the ceramics and especially the ornamental bronzes such as the chariot terminal and ring, argue for a Khmer cultural impact that extends to the realm of the daily and to secular fashion. They bespeak an intimacy of relationship and make plausible Jayavīravarman's confidence that he shared enough of a common elite culture to be a successful contender for the throne at Angkor.

In a longer perspective, this flow of reciprocal influence around the Gulf of Siam is merely a revival of a special relationship that may have been temporarily broken by the imposition of Śrīvijayan hegemony as evidenced by the Ligor inscription of 775 A.D. Funan, the great maritime empire that rose to power in the Mekong Delta, extended its control over the isthmus in the third century A.D. In the first half of the fifth century, Funan appears to have undergone a cultural revolution which is described as a "second period of Indianization." According to the Chinese accounts, this cultural ferment occurred when the people of Funan accepted as king a brahman from India named Kaundinya who changed all the laws to conform to the system of India. He is said to have come from the small city-state of P'an-p'an which scholars have placed on the isthmus, on the Bay of Bandon. Perhaps Jayaviravarman's adventure in the eleventh century is not as quixotic as it might at first He was merely less successful than his isthmian predecessor. seem

After the fall of Funan, the isthmian states enjoyed a period of considerable prosperity and independence. While Chen-la the successor states to Funan were too disunited to re-impose an imperial order on the distant isthmus, there is evidence of a continuing exchange of artistic conventions around the Gulf of Siam through the eighth century. This

is to be seen most directly in the representations of Visnu wearing a long robe.³¹

Towards the end of the eighth century two important and perhaps related developments affected the northern reaches of the isthmus. One was the imposition of Śrīvijavan hegemony, and the other was the full impact of Mahayana Buddhism. These events have become merged in the concept of a "Śrivijayan style" of sculpture that presumably dates from the eighth-thirteenth centuries. It will be apparent here from the presence of the Khmer style objects in the monasteries and museums of the isthmus, that such a loose category tends to obscure the lively complexity of the actual political, commercial and cultural relationships of a city state such as Tambralinga. It is as if the undoubted bright and clear light of the Ligor inscription of 775 A.D. has become a false beacon. Whatever the degree of Śrivijaya's impact on the cultural life of the isthmus in the late eighth century, the duration of its political control does not appear have extended into the eleventh century. The later Mahāyāna Buddhist art of the isthmus shows Khmer influence but it would be inappropriate to conclude that only Khmer-style works would have been in fashion in the Tambraling a region. Another and probably contemporary style would appear to have coexisted with it, and the latter is marked by influences from both the very late Bubdhist art of eastern India and also from such southern Indian centers as Negapatam. Ceylon would have been another and vital influence in the culture of the region.

It would not be unexpected that assiduous search in private collections and monasteries will disclose other objects in Khmer style and perhaps the foundations of architectural monuments may come to light in such little-studied sites as Si Chon. This scatter of things may allow us to extend the perimeters of Khmer political influence in the south to match the expansion of that zone in the north recently charted by Professor Jean Rispaud. He has been able to demonstrate on the basis of evidence drawn from Chinese records, Khmer epigraphy, Thai chronicles and archaeology, a Khmer presence in the upper Mekong Valley beyond Chieng Sen and the Shan States of Burma during the period from the ninth century and the first quarter of the thirteenth century.³²

31) S.J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods Of Peninsular Siam, p. 49.

³²⁾ J. Rispaud, "Contribution à la géographie historique de la Haute Birmanie," in A.B. Griswold et. al (eds.) Essays Offered to G.H. Luce by His Colleagues and Friends in Honour of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday (Ascona, 1966), VOL. I.

The presence of these Khmer objects in the south gives an enriched context in which to view such obscure events as the probable invasion of lower Burma by Cambodia during the reign of King Aniruddha (1044-1077 A.D.). They were apparently heavily defeated near Pegu by a young cavalry commander who later became King Kyanzittha. Professor Luce believes it likely that the invasion occurred about 1050 A.D. around the time of the death of Sūryavarman I,33 It would now appear probable that the Khmer empire had vital strategic interests in the isthmian tract from at least the early eleventh century through the thirteenth century and possibly the invasion was aimed at establishing Tāmbralinga's control over rich ports on the east coast of the Peninsula. It is also probable that both Aniruddha and Kyanzittha kept a watchful eye on that region since both left their "seals", Buddhist votive tablets with their signatures, in the upper reaches of the isthmus.³⁴ Possibly the presence of Khmer inscriptions in Tenasserim during the Ayudhyan period may be related to the flux of all these previous events and finally, it may be that the strong memory of the Khmer presence in the south lingered into the seventeenth century when a royal document 1698 A.D. granting land and servants to certain temples in the provinces of Phattalung and Nakhon Sri Thammarat was written in both Thai an Khmer.35

³³⁾ G.H. Luce, "A Cambodian (?) Invasion of Lower Burma" 'Journal of Burma Research Society, XII (No. 1, 1922), pp. 39-45, and "Some Old References to the South of Burma and Ceylon", in Felicitation Volumes of Southeast Asian Studies Presented to Prince Dhannivat, VOL. II. (Bangkok, 1965), p. 270.

³⁴⁾ G.H. Luce, Old Burma-Early Pagan (N.Y. 1970), VOL. III, pp. 271-273.

³⁵⁾ G. Coedès, The Vajiranana Library of Siam (Bangkok, 1924), pp. 30-31 but see also M. Vickery, "The Khmer Inscriptions of Tenasserim; A Reinterpretation, Journal of the Siam Society, VOL. 61 (pt. 1, January 1973), p. 53.