

**Indian Art Transformed:
The Earliest Sculptural Styles of Southeast Asia**

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The relationship between Indian and Southeast Asian culture, particularly during the first millennium A.D. when Indic cultural influence appears so decisive in Southeast Asia, has long interested scholars. This process of Indian cultural influence on Southeast Asia is usually called Indianization. My paper deals specifically with one aspect of Indianization: how Indian sculptural forms changed when introduced into Southeast Asia. I will be limiting myself to the period before 800 A.D., at which time regional styles begin to predominate. I want to propose that the way Indian sculpture transformed during this period in Southeast Asia is, in some ways, unexpected; it is not, however, without similarities to the way Indian scripts changed and developed in the same area during this time (a point I will return to at the end of the paper). I should say at the outset that the subject of early sculpture is exceedingly controversial, in large part because scholars' dating of much of the evidence varies greatly. The controversy centers on how early Southeast Asian sculpture first appears. While I will discuss the dating below, I want to stress that the real issue here is not precisely how early Southeast Asian styles began as much as the ways in which they appeared.

Scholars who have proposed dates for early Indian-related sculpture in Southeast Asia tend to fall into two camps: those who propose dates of the fourth to sixth centuries and those who place most of the material somewhat later, sixth to eighth centuries. I am speaking here more of a *tendency* toward early or later dating rather than a set position on any scholar's part. Taking, for example, three Thai art historians --Dr. Nandana Chutiwongs, Prof. M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, and Dr. Piriya Krairiksh-- one finds a clear preference for earlier dates by Dr. Krairiksh and for later dates by Dr. Chutiwongs and Prof. Diskul (cf. Krairiksh 1977 with Diskul 1978; Krairiksh 1980 with Diskul 1981; Krairiksh 1974 with Chutiwongs 1978). One may discern, perhaps, an overall movement toward later dating of early Southeast Asian sculpture by contemporary scholars. Crucial to this shift toward later dating is Prof. Jean Boisselier's redating of the Phnom Da style sculpture, long proposed as the earliest Khmer style sculpture, from the first half of the sixth century to the second half of that century or later.¹ The effect of the later dating is to move the general corpus of early Southeast Asian sculpture forward (to the

later part of the sixth and seventh centuries); but it does not mean, of course, that there is no sculpture that is earlier.

By the sixth century, Chinese histories and local inscriptions tell us that there are Hinduized kingdoms in Southeast Asia. This evidence is well-known and has been repeatedly sifted by scholars, without, nevertheless, reaching any consensus as to sources, means, and extent of Indianization. The Chinese references note Indian connections with Southeast Asia from the third century A.D.; and inscriptions in Sanskrit appear from around 400 that mention Indic cultural and religious characteristics. It is not clear, however, to what extent the presence of (usually a few) Indian traits indicates an Indianized society. In a very helpful and thorough recent review of the Indianization literature, I.W. Mabbett 1977, 155 comes to the conclusion that "perhaps right up to the seventh century, the Indian style cities that existed were fairly few, usually trading centres, autonomous, and lacking hinterlands with abundant and organized populations such as Angkor surely represents...". Mabbett's conclusion fits well with the sculptural evidence, for it is only in the sixth century, but much more clearly in the seventh and eighth, that we find Indian-influenced sculpture appearing in any quantity. This Indian-influenced art is clearly, however, already Southeast Asian in style and iconography and shows considerable homogeneity over widely scattered areas of Southeast Asia.

The crucial period for us, therefore, is roughly the sixth to eighth centuries A.D. What procedure might we expect for the adoption of Indian sculptural forms during this period? Most likely, one would suppose that when Indian sculpture was brought to Southeast Asia, it would initially be copied. We should have evidence of Indian models and local copies. As considerable research has shown that Indian influences, artistic included, came from a variety of areas in India (Coedès 1968,32), we might expect copies in a variety of local Indian styles and with varying iconographies depending on what Indian style and iconography was adopted by what area of Southeast Asia. In other words, a local workshop in Cambodia would be producing in the seventh century copies in one style, while on the Siam Peninsula another school would be producing sculpture in another Indian style, and so forth. And one might suppose that the copies would be as faithful to the Indian model as the artist in Southeast Asia could produce. If he were an expatriate Indian artist or an Indian-trained Southeast Asian, the difference from the Indian model should be negligible. The result of a local sculptor (but one untrained in Indian art) copying an Indian model would more or less look like the Indian image, depending perhaps on the talent of the artist; but whatever the result,

the sculpture's specific Indian model should be recognizable in the local production.

This does not, however, appear to have been the way in which Indian sculpture was adopted in Southeast Asia. There are very few copies and even fewer possible Indian imported sculptural models datable to any time during the first eight centuries A.D. We do have the small group of well-known bronze standing Buddha images, such as the Buddha from Don Duang in Vietnam (Snellgrove 1978, fig. 119), that were found in various locations in Southeast Asia. They are probably Sinhalese and date to the fifth to sixth centuries (or even later), but I know of almost no other equally early South Asian sculpture recovered from Southeast Asia. Perhaps we can speculate that there would be many copies but only a few models, for only one Indian model may be needed to spawn numerous locally made copies, and the few Indian models could easily have been lost. But there are, as I have already said, equally few copies.

Alexander Griswold, who studied the issue of copying in his important article *Imported Images and the Nature of Copying in the Art of Siam* (1966) has said that there were schools of sculpture producing Buddha images (modelled largely on the Sinhalese type such as the Don Duang Buddha) in Peninsular Thailand and Malaya by the end of the sixth century. He gives as one example of the local school the Buddha image in figure 9, but I want to point out that this, as with other of his attributions in this article, is in my opinion open to question; Jean Boisselier 1975,225, for example, has said of the same Buddha that "It seems doubtful that this work was cast in Thailand". Nevertheless, even if we accept all of Griswold's identifications, we are left with the impression of a tiny local production. And what of the rest of Southeast Asia?

I want to suggest now another set of characteristics that appears to represent better than the copy and model paradigm the way Indian sculptural change took place in Southeast Asia. When we begin to identify local sculpture, it is already what I would call fully Southeast Asian in style. It is clearly not Indian. Furthermore, the Southeast Asian styles are not necessarily strongly localized, as the same style is sometimes found in widely separated geographical areas. I propose that it may eventually be possible to find among all these early Southeast Asian styles a set of unifying characteristics that would define a Southeast Asian aesthetic (in contrast to an Indian aesthetic). I am suggesting, therefore, that the earliest Southeast Asian sculptures shared more stylistically and iconographically among themselves than they did with their Indian sources, and that we should look at early Southeast Asian sculpture as a whole to understand its development. Let me now illustrate

and elaborate this proposal by discussing early Southeast Asian images of Gaṇeśa, Buddha, Viṣṇu, and the *liṅga*.

Gaṇeśa

I have written at length elsewhere about the early Southeast Asian Gaṇeśa images (Brown, forthcoming), so here I will only give a brief discussion. Two of the earliest Southeast Asian Gaṇeśa images are the one from Tuol Pheak Kin in Cambodia (fig. 10) and that from Prasat Phnom Rung from Buri Ram Province in Northeastern Thailand (fig. 11). These two stone images relate stylistically and iconographically very closely. They have two arms and sit with their legs folded and their feet crossed. Their similarly shaped heads attach to their neckless bodies by a band. They share, indeed, many other characteristics.

A third early seated Gaṇeśa was found in Phu Ninh in Champa (Vietnam). Unfortunately, we only have Parmentier's drawing of the image (fig. 12), but similarities with the other two images seem clear. For dates of these three: Pierre Dupont (1955,60-61) dates the Gaṇeśa from Cambodia to the second half of the sixth, and Piriya Krairiksh (1977,70) the one from Thailand to the second half of the seventh, the same time period Jean Boisselier (1963,29) has assigned to the example from Vietnam. These are, I believe, the earliest Gaṇeśa images in Southeast Asia, and their dates give us parameters of ca. 550-700 for the early images. What I want to stress most is that they form a typological group, yet are found in the context of three distinct political or cultural areas and are separated by hundreds of kilometers.

When we look for Indian models or sources for these early Southeast Asian Gaṇeśas, we are in for a surprise, as the stylistically closest Indian Gaṇeśas are the very earliest Indian examples, those that date before 500 and come mostly from Mathura. I illustrate here the image from Udayagiri as its association to a dated inscription allows us to place it around 400 (fig. 13). I think the relationship between the Indian image and the three Southeast Asian Gaṇeśas is evident, but again, the point is that the Southeast Asian images form a stylistic and iconographic unit and are not copies of any Indian model. That the Southeast Asian examples do not relate as closely to their contemporary (late sixth to seventh century) Indian Gaṇeśa images as they do to earlier fourth to fifth century images creates a gap of some 150-200 years between the Indian source and the Southeast Asian images, a phenomenon we will see occurs again below.

Buddha

The earliest Southeast Asian Buddha images are a much more numerous and complex group than the Gaṇeśa images. I can here only discuss a few

of the possible Buddha icons and will concentrate on the seated images. They fall into roughly the same time span of second half of sixth through eighth centuries as the Gaṇeśas, and my argument is that, like the Gaṇeśas, they form stylistically and iconographically a homogeneous group. Illustrated in figures 14 and 15 are two of a fairly large group of pre-Angkorian Buddha images from Cambodia. As a group, they date perhaps from the second half of the sixth, but most images date to the seventh or eighth centuries. The seated Buddha from Phum Thmei (fig. 14) is seventh or even eighth century [Boisselier (1966,467) suggests mid seventh]; the Son-tho image (fig. 15) may date to the seventh as well [Boisselier (1966,268) suggests eighth]. That they are stylistically related is clear - note the large hair curls, the low *uṣṇīṣa*, the *saṅghāṭī* that passes low under the arm and falls over the shoulder without a return flap, the large hands held in *dhyānamudrā*, and the legs placed one over the other with the shins sharply delineated.

The image in figure 16 shares with the Cambodian images these characteristics, and is particularly close to the Son-tho Buddha. The two images, for example, have very similar facial features and expressions, with large, open, frontally-staring eyes with clearly delineated pupils, and mouths that turn up at the corners, which are marked by deep impressions. The figure 16 Buddha is, however, from Peninsular Thailand, coming from Songkhla Province.

A fourth Buddha (fig. 17) falls into a clear stylistic and iconographic group with the other three images. This Buddha, however, is from Burma. It is reported to have been found near the ancient Pyu capital of Sriksheṭra (near Old Prome), and analysis of its stone has supported the attribution (Bailey 1981). Perhaps I can be pardoned to record here a short anecdote. I published this Buddha in 1984 in the exhibition catalog *Light of Asia* (Brown 1984, fig. 99), and recently, while visiting a well-known New York art dealer, I noticed that in his copy of the catalog he had vigorously crossed out my attribution to Burma and written in "Cambodia". This argues well for placing it stylistically with the previously discussed Buddha images. But one need only look at other finds from Sriksheṭra to see that this is not a unique image in Burma. Several Buddhas from Khinba Mound at Sriksheṭra, for example, clearly relate to the stone Buddha and more generally to the group as a whole (Luce 1985, 2, figs. 30,c and d, 31,a).

Finally, in sketching the geographical spread of this style of Buddha image we can, surprisingly, move to Bali. There in a shallow cave at Goa Gajah are two Buddha images, one damaged, but the other complete and displaying the characteristics that define our early group of Buddhas (fig. 18). A. J. Bernet Kempers recognizes that the Goa Gajah Buddhas are

early, although he compares them stylistically to Central Javanese period images (Bernet Kempers 1977,131; Bernet Kempers 1950,112; see also Stutterheim 1930,80). They are, however, much closer to the images in my early group, and like the others, date to the seventh or eighth century.

In looking for the Indian sources for this group one is clearly drawn to Sinhalese or South Indian Buddha images. Any precision of identification is, however, extremely difficult, as much of the South Indian Buddhist material is lost, while the dating of Sinhalese images is very difficult and controversial because of their extreme stylistic and iconographic conservatism (Brown 1984,156). Nevertheless, the images in the Southeast Asian group share more with each other than any one does with any Sinhalese or Indian image that I have found.

It could be argued that all the images in my early group are pre-Angkorian, and that the examples from Peninsular Thailand, Burma, and Bali are exported images from Cambodia. I do not think, however, that this is true, but rather see this group of images as representing one shared Southeast Asian seed from which localized Buddha styles developed. For example, the Dvaravati image illustrated in figure 19 from Muang Fai in Buriram Province in Northeast Thailand is probably a seventh century sculpture, not therefore necessarily later than some of the other Southeast Asian images I have discussed, and it shares some of their same characteristics; but it is one step toward a more localized (Dvaravati) style.

Viṣṇu

The earliest Southeast Asian Viṣṇu images, like the Buddha images, are a complex group. They have been classified typologically and discussed by a variety of scholars (Boisselier 1959; Dupont 1941; 1955; O'Connor 1972). One of the major points of my present essay, that early Southeast Asian sculptural types are widely distributed and can be considered in trans-regional groupings, has been made by scholars for some of the Viṣṇu images (Boisselier 1959,226; Dupont 1955,129; Dupont 1941,253-254). I want to restrict my comments here to the use of Indian sculpture for analyzing early Southeast Asian sculpture as a whole. There is a tendency, in my opinion, for scholars working on early Southeast Asian art to rely on the Indian material too uncritically, particularly as the Southeast Asian art scholars often regard the Indian art as more securely dated and identified than it often is. Let me use the well-known Chaiya Viṣṇu (fig. 20) to illustrate what I mean.

Our understanding of the Chaiya Viṣṇu (found in Peninsular Siam) relies almost entirely on its relationships to Indian sculptures. This image

is of particular interest to us because it is usually dated very early (fourth century) and would be thus one of the earliest Indian-related Southeast Asian sculptures. The early dating of the Chaiya Viṣṇu was made by Stanley J. O'Connor in his *Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam* (1972,19-40). The importance of this study for the understanding of early Southeast Asian sculpture cannot be overestimated, and I choose the Chaiya Viṣṇu and O'Connor's discussion of it not because the Indian material is inadequately used in the analysis, but because, quite the contrary, the study is in most ways a model of the way Indian art should be used in discussing Southeast Asian sculpture. Yet, even so, the Indian material can be interpreted to reach alternative conclusions.

O'Connor's dating was made after carefully comparing the Chaiya image with Viṣṇu images of the same conch-on-the-hip type from India. His conclusion was that "the most immediate stylistic influence seems to be from the 4th century art of the Andhradeśa" (O'Connor 1972,39). Among the Indian Viṣṇu images O'Connor uses to compare to the Chaiya figure are Kuṣāṇa and early Gupta period conch-on-the-hip images from North India. The closest relationship for the Chaiya figure among these images is to a Viṣṇu from Bhinmal in Rajasthan which O'Connor (1972,35), relying on U.P. Shah, dates to ca. 400. The Bhinmal Viṣṇu, however, is probably an early sixth century sculpture (Williams 1982,143; Schastok 1985,37). A second Viṣṇu, not used in O'Connor's discussion, but that relates closely to both the Bhinmal and Chaiya Viṣṇus, is presently located in the Circuit House at Mandasor (fig. 21). Again, this is probably a sixth century sculpture (Williams 1982,142; Schastok 1985,37). A comparison between the Chaiya and Mandasor Viṣṇus (figs. 20 and 21) reveals their similarities, for example the way in which the rolls of hair push out the ears.² There are, of course, differences between the images. Their sashes are tied differently, and the sash forming a round loop across the front of the thighs on the Chaiya Viṣṇu was particularly important for O'Connor in attributing the closest Indian stylistic source to Andhra in South India. The comparison here was to a Viṣṇu image from Yaleswaram (O'Connor 1972, fig. 12), a probably late fourth or fifth century image. Such looped sashes, however, occur on early sixth century Viṣṇu images from the Elephanta area, material that is stylistically related to the Mandasor and Bhinmal Viṣṇus (Schastok 1985, figs. 115 and 116).

One feature that the Chaiya image has that may suggest an Andhran link is the tasseled earrings (Krairiksh 1980,20). Such earrings were very popular in Andhran sculpture from an early period, and they fall on the shoulders of the Andhran images in a manner similar to those on the Chaiya Viṣṇu (cf. Ghosh 1956-57, pl. 57,B). Nevertheless, such earrings

occur in North Indian sculpture of the fifth and sixth centuries, including on Viṣṇu images, as well (Harle 1974, figs. 34 and 53; Asher 1980, pl. 9).

While arguments can thus be made that the Chaiya Viṣṇu is fourth century with Andhran sources, suggestions can also be made that it is sixth century with North Indian relations. What occurs with the Chaiya Viṣṇu comparisons happens repeatedly when comparing early Southeast Asian sculpture with Indian sculpture: no particularly close Indian comparisons can be found. This is not, in my opinion, because the Chaiya Viṣṇu is a pastiche of Indian styles from various areas. Rather, I think it is in part because we are extremely limited in our comparative material from India (for example, the sculpture from Andhra that dates to the late fourth, fifth, and early sixth centuries --the period of the crucial and unique Yaleswaram Viṣṇu³-- is almost totally unknown); and much of what is available is often open to reassessment of date. Also, the Chaiya Viṣṇu is probably not a singular and isolated image, but is an image in a series of Southeast Asian sculpture, with what went before and what came after largely lost.⁴ The Chaiya, Mandasor, and Yaleswaram Viṣṇus are not directly related, but share lost or yet unfound mutual prototypes. As with paleontological discussions of early man, the limited evidence has tended to be strung together in a straight line of relationships, while the actual pattern is probably much more one of numerous parallel but related branches of development.

Līngas

Līngas were popular in Southeast Asia and were often associated with royalty. The earliest mention of a *līnga* in Southeast Asia is in an inscription from Champa (Vietnam) of around 400 A.D. (Boisselier 1963,18-20), but none this early has been identified among the extant Southeast Asian examples. Louis Malleret attempted a general typology of *līngas* from the Mekong Delta (Cambodia and Vietnam), proposing that the earliest extant examples were late fifth/early sixth and could be identified by their degree of realism: the more anatomically realistic the *līnga*, the earlier it is. The 'conventional' *līngas*, those divided into three sections with an upper circular head, a central octagonal shaft, and a square base, are thus later than the realistic *līngas*, although Malleret is not clear as to their precise dating; he appears to suggest they date from the Angkorian period (post 800), while the realistic *līngas* are pre-Angkorian (Malleret 1959,377-388). Even among the conventional *līngas*, the degree of realism of the head continues to be a criterion for dating. Most, if not all, scholars writing on the Southeast Asian *līngas* have accepted the degree of realism as the primary characteristic for dating, combined,

when possible, with the style and iconography of Śiva's face on a *mukhalinga*.

Lingas in India also progressed through an initial period of anatomical realism to a later more stylized geometric type. The dating of the realistic and geometric *lingas* in India and Southeast Asia, however, appears to be quite different. For Southeast Asian *lingas*, the most realistic examples may be late fifth or sixth while the more conventionalized ones are late sixth, seventh century, and later. Precision of dating the continuum from realistic to geometric is simply impossible as scholars' opinions of date vary so considerably. Nevertheless, a range of fifth to eighth century should satisfy most scholars for the period from realistic beginnings to geometric end. Indian *lingas*, on the other hand, go through the transition much earlier, and are fully geometricized by the fifth century; their anatomically realistic period begins in the first century B.C. and in most ways is over by the end of the fourth century (Mitterwallner 1984). In other words, when the earliest and most realistic Southeast Asian *lingas* appear in the fifth or sixth century, the Indian *lingas* are already fully conventionalized in form. Thus, as with the Gaṇeśa images, the earliest Southeast Asian *lingas* do not relate directly to the contemporary *lingas* in India, but appear to reflect earlier types. The Oc-Eo *lingas* published by Malleret (fig. 22) are the most realistic of the Southeast Asian examples, and they relate to early Kuṣāṇa period (ca. second century A.D.) examples (cf. Mitterwallner 1984, pl. 4). While it is not impossible that the Oc-Eo *lingas* are this early, it appears unlikely due to the dates of other finds at the site. Malleret himself compares the Oc-Eo *lingas* to one published by T. A. Gopinatha Rao (Rao 1968,2,1: pl. 5, fig. 1). Rao's example, from a temple in Kerala in South India, is stylistically very close to the Oc-Eo *lingas*. Rao (1968,2,1:69) calls the Kerala *linga* "ancient", by which he means first century A.D. or earlier. It is thus, as with the Kuṣāṇa example noted above, much earlier (by a minimum of three hundred years) than Malleret's Southeast Asian examples.

The Oc-Eo *lingas* in shape and form are thus quite close to several Indian examples. Such similarity is, however, exceptional, and Southeast Asian *lingas* quickly took forms that are distinctly Southeast Asian and that show a wide geographic distribution. Perhaps the most interesting of these is a form of *mukhalinga* on which the face of Śiva is shown at the split of the *praeputium* and with the *jaṭā* on line with the vertical filet (*frenum*) (figs. 23 and 24). Typically the Śiva faces are very small in relation to the size of the *linga*. No Indian source for this type of *mukhalinga* readily presents itself. The closest parallel I have found for the placement and relative size of the Śiva face (but not the shape of the *linga*) is a *linga* from Aghapura, Uttar Pradesh (fig. 25), although this

is a very early (first century A.D.) example (Kreisel 1986,180), and has supposedly little direct relationship to the Southeast Asian examples. The Southeast Asian geographic extension of this type in its early form -- up until the ninth century -- includes examples from Oc-Eo (Malleret 1959, pl. 81), Wat Sak Sampou, Cambodia (Parmentier 1932, pl. 14,A), Uthong (Central Thailand) (fig. 23), and the Indonesian archipelago (fig. 24). We thus see again now familiar characteristics: sculpture that is Southeast Asian in style and iconography, with a wide geographic and cross-cultural distribution, and with no clear Indian models, although relationships can exist with Indian material that is (sometimes much) earlier in date.

Conclusion

Are the patterns we have seen with the Gaṇeśa, Buddha, Viṣṇu, and *linga* images helpful in understanding the development of early sculpture in Southeast Asia? It would mean that Southeast Asian styles developed from a few shared Southeast Asian styles, rather than from a heterogeneous splattering of Indian styles. It would mean that the Southeast Asians modified the Indian models almost immediately and that the models are thus difficult to identify. It would mean that there was no lengthy period of copying or of experimentation, for which we, indeed, have little evidence. It would mean that there were few Indian artists or Indian-trained artists working in Southeast Asia.⁵ It would mean that there was close contact among the early kingdoms, even perhaps a few major centers responsible for the earliest styles.

What, finally, might be the mechanism for this development? What explains the modifications we see? Almost all scholars have explained the early styles by the wave theory of stylistic influence, according to which each wave of Indian artistic influence leaves a residue, so to speak, beginning with Amaravati influence of the second to third centuries A.D. Thus the reason Southeast Asian images rarely look like any particular Indian images is that Southeast Asian sculpture is a montage - the *paryāṅkāśana* leg posture might be Amaravati, the high *uṣṇīṣa* post-Gupta, and so forth. That there were waves of influence is true, in so far as Southeast Asia was exposed to artistic, and perhaps more importantly religious, developments and innovations in India over the centuries, and could, and did, when desired, participate in them. But I do not think that Southeast Asian sculpture can be viewed in any way as a pastiche of Indian styles. Furthermore, I doubt that there ever was an Amaravati period of influence, unless one means late Amaravati (seventh to ninth centuries), as proposed by Douglas Barrett (1954).

Unfortunately, I have no explanation of how the early Southeast Asian styles developed, in effect, out of nothing. Are we wrong in expecting a

long period of development and experimentation as being necessary to produce new art styles? We have other instances of styles appearing as if full-blown, such as Pallava sculpture that appears suddenly in the early seventh century to develop within fifty years to greatness. We assume, however, that the Pallavas were working in non-permanent materials, perhaps for centuries, before using stone, and that this may explain the level at which Pallava stone sculpture begins. Perhaps... and a period of wood and brick may help explain the ability of the Southeast Asian sculptor as well. It is lost wooden prototypes that is the most logical explanation for the instances when early Southeast Asian sculpture relates more closely to earlier rather than contemporary Indian sculpture,⁶ although it in no way supplies all the answers. Indeed, the development of early Southeast Asian sculpture is scarcely understood, and my probings here are clearly tentative.

Let me conclude by drawing attention to certain parallels between what I have proposed for sculptural change and what scholars have noted happened when Indian scripts appear in Southeast Asia. My two authorities for these observations are Professors H.L. Shorto (1979) and J.G. de Casparis (1979). The earliest Southeast Asian script, usually called 'Pallava', is from its appearance in the third century A.D. already modified, or Southeast Asian, so that no particular Indian model can be identified. This Pallava script is then used for almost all early epigraphs in whatever language in Southeast Asia, and it shows a homogeneous and ideosyncratic, Southeast Asian-wide development up until the eighth century, when local scripts begin to appear. This leads Shorto (1979,274) to speak of a "recreation and not transplantation" of Indian scripts and to suggest that the homogeneity and rapid development of epigraphy "of the middle of the first millenium argues to me a competitive contagion and a fair degree of commerce between the states concerned". I think that these comments can apply to sculptural development as well.

Notes

1. Prof. Boisselier has not published his redating. Mrs. Natasha Eilenberg has recently (March 1988) discussed the issue with Prof. Boisselier for me. Prof. Boisselier stressed the complexity of the redating, but feels the Phnom Da style sculpture should be moved forward at least to the second half of the sixth century, with dates even into the eighth century a possibility. Prof. Boisselier's redating has been mentioned by Dr. Albert Le Bonheur (1975,47).

2. The rolls of hair behind the ears occur on sculpture in both North and South India beginning in around the fourth century, but do not appear to continue after the sixth century. Only the Chaiya and Mandasor Viṣṇus, in images I have seen, share the extreme forward position of the ears. Compare, for example, (1) a head of Kārttikeya from Nagarjunakonda, late third to fourth century, Ghosh 1956-57, pl. 57, (2) a Viṣṇu head from Besnagar (now in the Cleveland Museum of Art), late fourth century, Harle 1974, pls. 18 and 19, and (3) a Viṣṇu *Anantāśāyana* from Udayagiri, Excavation 13, ca. 400, Williams, 1982, fig. 39.

3. This is the only three-dimensional Viṣṇu image from Andhra of this period that I know. No Viṣṇu images have been found at Nagarjunakonda (although see the following note). I want to thank Dr. Elizabeth Rosen for discussing this material with me.

4. The two conch-on-the-hip Viṣṇus from Nakhon Sri Thammarat (some 100 km from Chaiya in Peninsular Thailand) must be considered in conjunction with the Chaiya Viṣṇu before any final dating is made (O'Connor 1972, figs. 2 and 3). O'Connor (1972,39) places both these images after the Chaiya Viṣṇu, suggesting they date from the fifth century. Boisselier (1959,224) discussed the Chaiya and one of the Nakhon Sri Thammarat Viṣṇus, and while he did not give actual dates, it appears that at that point he was thinking of the Chaiya Viṣṇu as later. At least he says "Le Viṣṇu de C'aiya obéit à la même formule [as Nakhon Sri Thammarat Viṣṇu] mais avec une stylisation beaucoup plus avancée et une technique en pleine régression". Much sculpture in both Southeast and South Asia must have been made of wood and is now lost. We know from an inscription that wooden Viṣṇus were being produced in Nagarjunakonda, perhaps by the end of the third century A.D. (Sarkar 1985,31-32).

5. For a possible exception, see Brown 1987.

6. Any lengthy time lag brought about simply through travel time to Southeast Asia is, in my opinion, highly unlikely. That an already ancient Indian object might be brought to Southeast Asia and used as a model is, however, a possibility.

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FIG. 9 — ROBERT L. BROWN



Fig. 9. Buddha. From Songkhla area (?), Thailand.

FIGS 10-11 — ROBERT L. BROWN

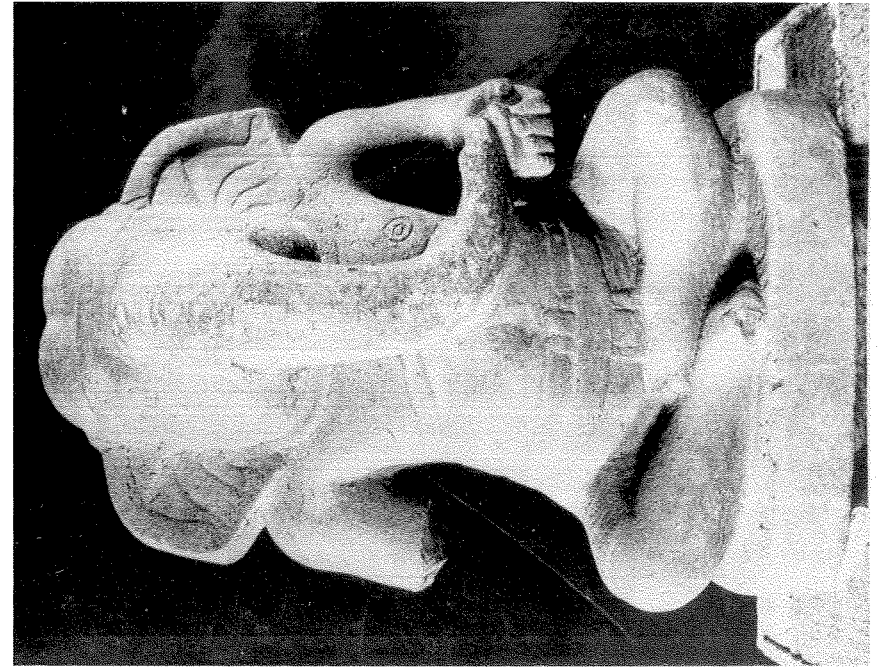


Fig. 11. Ganeśa. From Prasat Phnom Rung, Thailand.

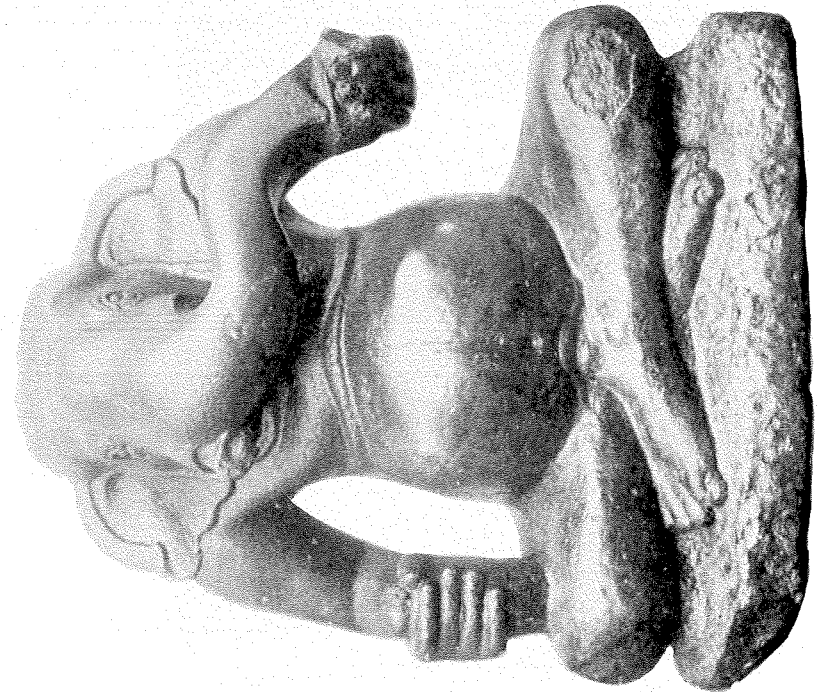


Fig. 10. Ganeśa. From Tuol Pheak Kin, Cambodia.

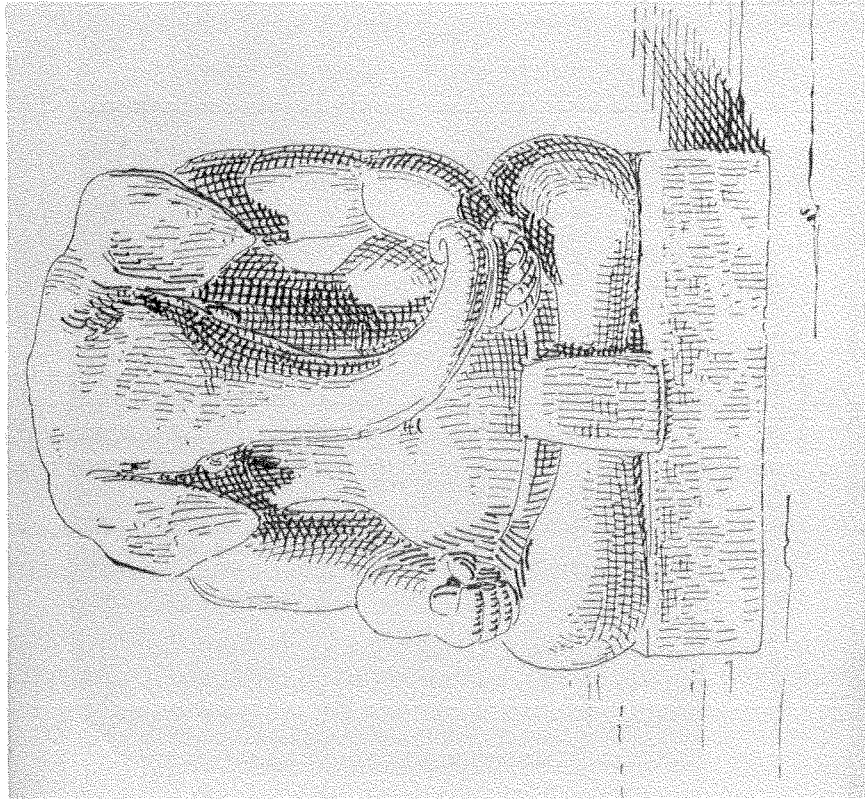


Fig. 12. Ganesa. From Phu Ninh, Vietnam.



Fig. 13. Ganesa. Udayagiri, India.

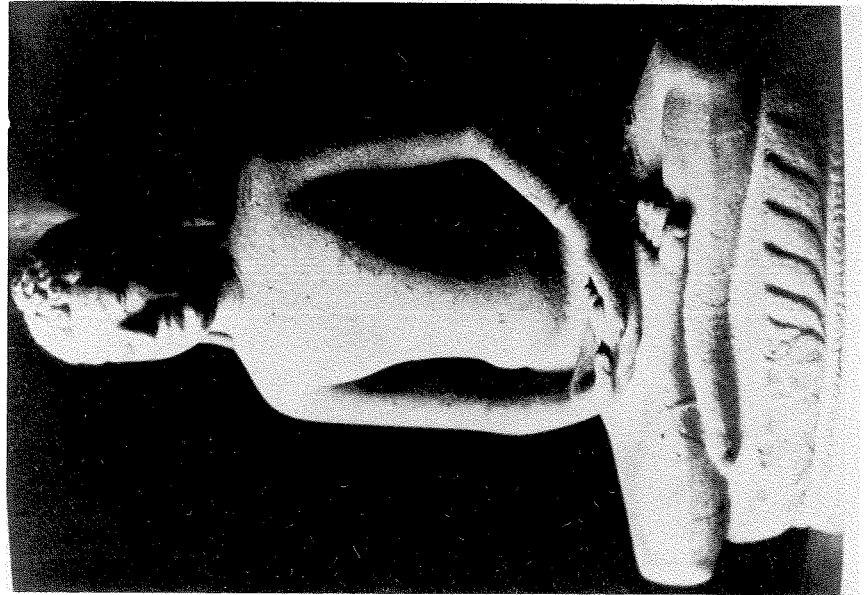


Fig. 14. Buddha. From Phum Thmei, Cambodia.

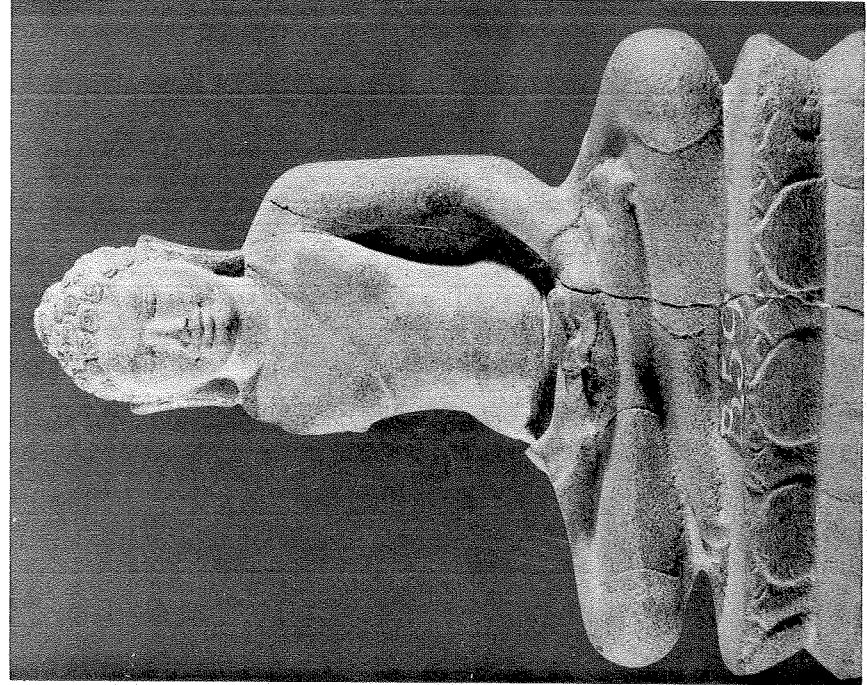


Fig. 15. Buddha. From Son-tho, Cambodia.

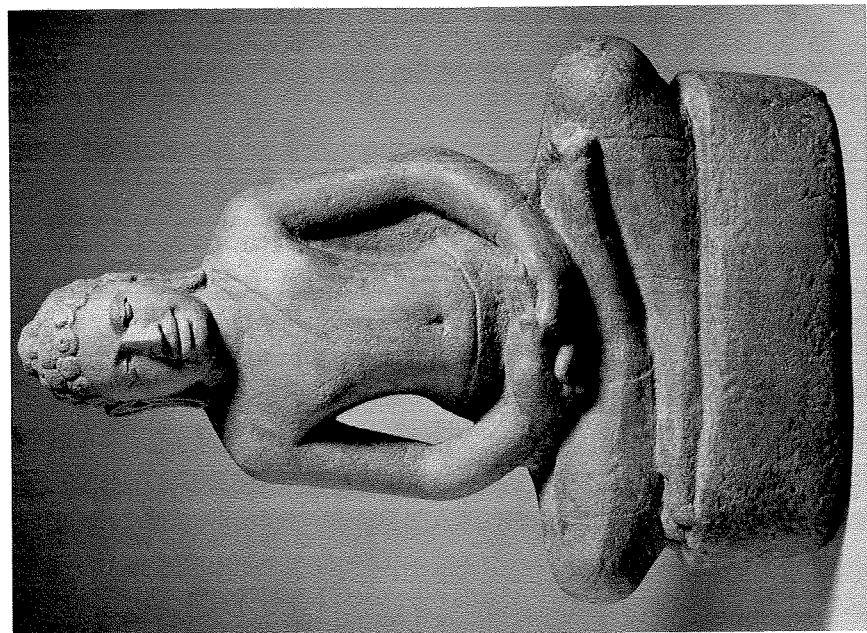


Fig. 17. Buddha. From Srikshehtra (?), Burma.



Fig. 16. Buddha. From Songkhla Province, Thailand.

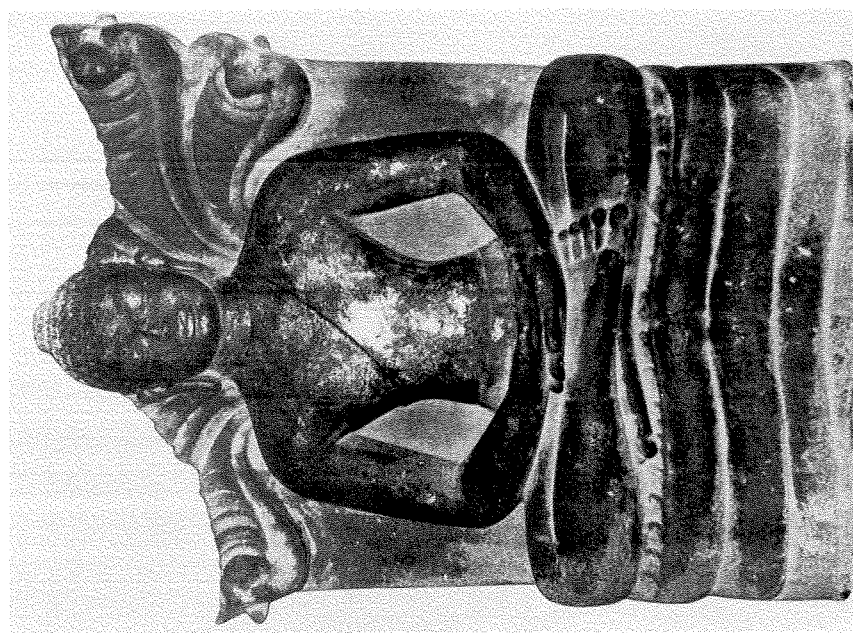


Fig. 19. Buddha. From Muang Fai, Thailand.



Fig. 18. Buddhas. Goa Gajah, Bali.

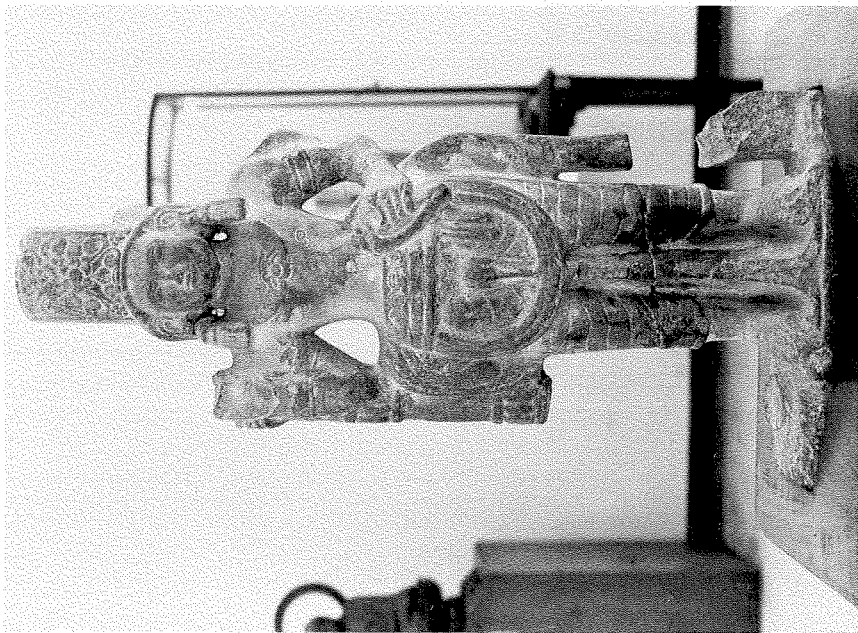


Fig. 20. *Viṣṇu*. From Chaiya, Thailand.

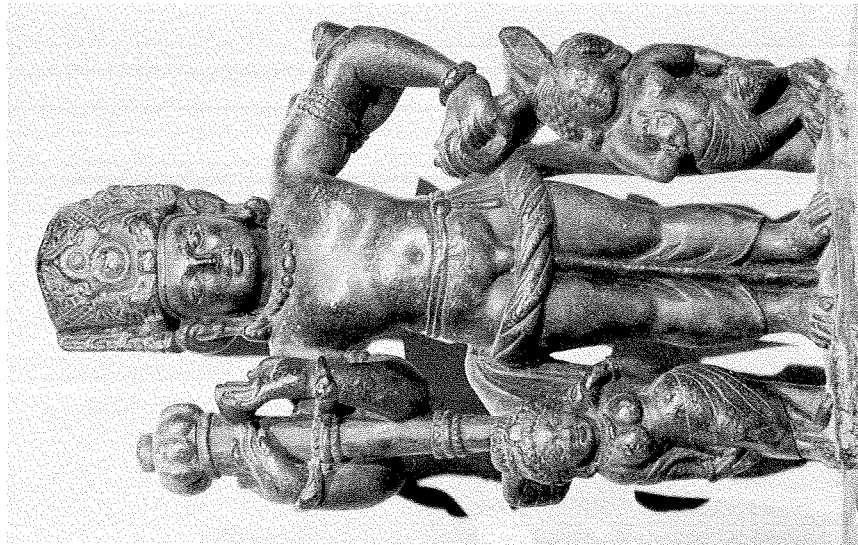


Fig. 21. *Viṣṇu*. From Mandasor area, India.

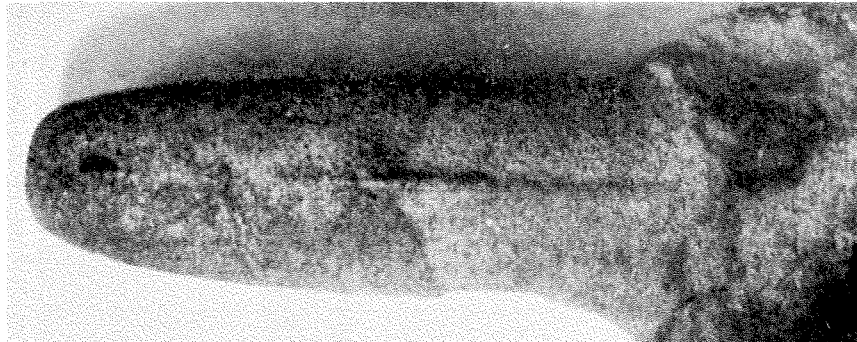


Fig. 22. *Linga*. Oc-Eo, Cambodia.

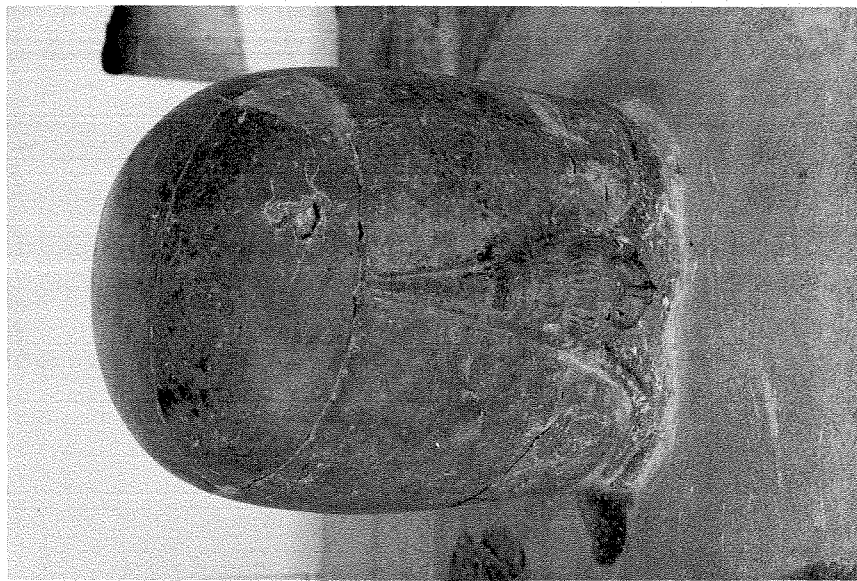


Fig. 23. *Ekamukhalinga*. From Uthong, Thailand.

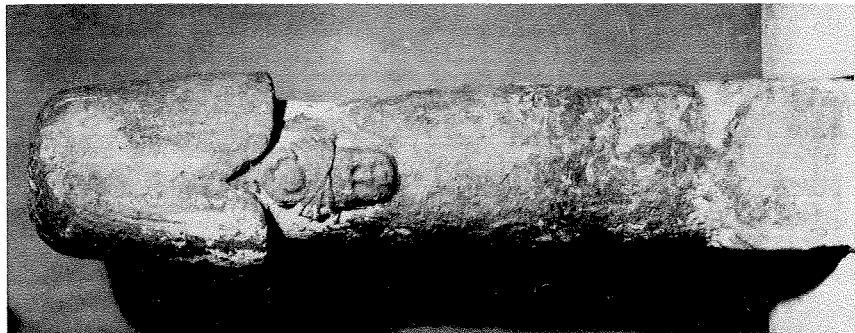


Fig. 25. *Ekamukhalinga*. From Aghapura, India.

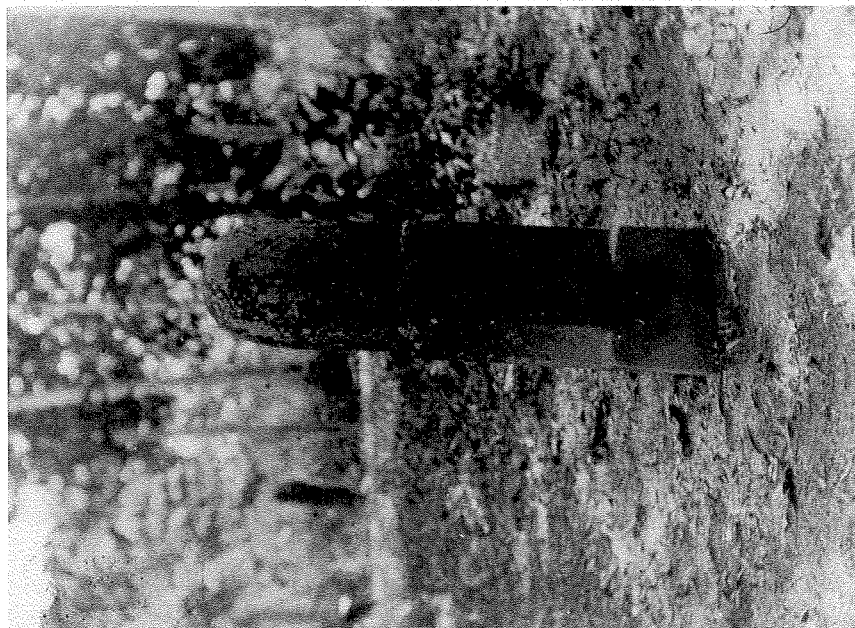


Fig. 24. *Ekamukhalinga*. Borneo, Indonesia.

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