Chapter 15

THE TRADE ROUTES AND THE DIFFUSION OF ARTISTIC TRADITIONS IN SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Nandana Chutiwongs

The cultural history of most countries in South and Southeast Asia appears to have been closely linked to trade and the trade routes. More and more evidence is being found to indicate that many communities in this part of the world formed a network of commercial activities since prehistoric times.[1] However, it was apparently the increased demand by Rome as well as by China for exotic and luxury goods that generated a great expansion of international trade around the beginning of the Christian era. While caravans were slowly plodding along the desolate land routes between India and China, ships taking advantage of knowledge of the monsoons plied regularly from many ports in the Indian subcontinent to Southeast Asia and even further east. Not only spices, but also aromatic roots, resins, and the other well-known natural products of Southeast Asia were conveyed along these routes. Surveys and excavations at Mantai,[2] Oc-éo,[3] U-Thong,[4] Ban Don Thaphet,[5] and many sites in peninsular Thailand[6] have brought to light a large variety of objects which originated from the Mediterranean world, from India and from China. These, together with the finds at Arikamedu[7] and the famous Begram hoard in Afghanistan,[8] bear witness to the diversity of the luxury products transported between Rome and China during the first centuries of the Christian era.

Many relay stations for caravans and ships, and trading centers for the acquisition and exchange of goods, grew up while the regions situated along the trade routes became partners in international trade. Trade

generated material gain and wealth that laid the economic basis for the development of the communities involved, while the various centers of commerce flourished into centers of political power and culture. The caravans and trading ships from the Indian subcontinent brought with them to points further east many aspects of Indian culture—the benefits of which were realized by the élite of the new regions. The trade routes made possible the journeys of Buddhist monks and of Brahmins, motivated either by missionary zeal or by the quest for fame and power. These priestly travelers introduced Indian religions, rituals of worship, and concepts of divine kingship together with the mythologies that glorify the gods and the rulers; as well as the Indian system of state organization, of script and literature, and the use of Sanskrit as the sacred language. Under these influences of Indian culture, the internal structure of the new societies underwent a great change and Indianized settlements and states grew up along the trade routes. The traffic of monks and Brahmins from the Indian subcontinent then became counterbalanced and eventually overbalanced by that of pilgrims and envoys from overseas. Religious concepts and the artistic traditions that had been instrumental to religions found their way into Southeast Asia along the same route that had brought merchants and economic gain.[9] Buddhism and Hinduism became the strongest spiritual forces, and monuments and shrines were consequently erected in honor of the Buddha, the gods, and the divine rulers. Material wealth, largely acquired through trade, generated economic welfare which was further stabilized by agriculture. Trade and agricultural surplus supplied the necessary funding for the construction and maintenance of civil and religious edifices. Craftsmen, artists, and technicians were required by the courts, religious institutions, and other wealthy patrons. The community supplied manpower, paid or unpaid,[10] while the priests looked after the ritual procedures involved in the processes. These combined efforts created and maintained the monuments of faiths, and set forth the religious traditions which brought spiritual felicity and solace to the entire community.

Influences of artistic traditions from the Indian subcontinent flowed into Southeast Asia largely via the sea route which served as the most convenient channel of communication in those days. Although few written records from Southeast Asia provide relevant information as to the actual process of diffusion of such traditions, the existing monuments themselves bear indisputable testimony to the introduction and assimilation of those foreign elements which must have taken place at one time or another.

The process of transmission of cultural and artistic traditions evidently involved many types of agency and circumstance. Buddhism and Hinduism introduced their traditional architectural form and imagery.

Chinese accounts contain many references to Buddhist monks from the Indian subcontinent who erected temples, shrines or images in foreign countries,[11] presumably in their own native styles. The famous Gunavarman from Kashmir is also reputed to have painted figures of arhats and other Buddhist themes with his own hands in China.[12] Buddhanandi (Nan-té), a monk-sculptor and envoy from Sri Lanka, brought to the Chinese court a Buddha image of his own creation, which the Chinese described as an "incomparable" work, and must have established a stylistic model for the local craftsmen.[13] Durgasvamin, a Brahmin from South India who married a daughter of the king of Cambodia, erected a Sivalinga in a temple at Sambor Prei Kuk in the seventh century.[14] The Brahmin who assisted King Sanjaya in installing the royal Sivalinga on Gunung Wukir mountain in A.D. 732 may also have come from South India.[15] Guru Kumaraghosa from Gaudi (West Bengal), the preceptor of the Sailendra King of Java, who, according to the A.D. 782 Kelurak inscription, set up and consecrated an image of Manjusri,[16] would certainly have been involved in the foundation of the shrine which sheltered it.[17] There must have been more of such cases, recorded and unrecorded, through the centuries. It may well have been expected of learned Indian priests, both Buddhist and Hindu, that they should be capable of directing the construction of shrines and supervising the making of icons that were essential to their teaching and the ritual of worship. Besides Gunavarman and Buddhanandi, many other Buddhist monk-architects and monk-artists are mentioned in Chinese records.[18] Eminent Brahmins, too, were probably well-versed in art and architecture. According to Indian tradition, it was the *sthapaka* (architect-priest) who took the leading role in the planning and construction of religious structures.[19] Indian Brahmins and monks who are known from literary and epigraphical records to have held high functions at the many Southeast Asian courts,[20] must have contributed substantially to the diffusion of their own art traditions in the new countries.

Professional artists are also known to have traveled. Many were commissioned to work in foreign countries by kings, religious institutions, and other wealthy patrons. Some even stayed on in the new countries where their arts were highly appreciated. Dhiman and his son Bitpala, two famous artists from North India, are believed to have worked in Tibet during the eighth and ninth centuries when they established a school of sculptors trained in the North Indian style.[21] Artists and artisans from India and Central Asia were in great demand in Tibet and China.[22] Buddhanandi, the monk-sculptor from Sri Lanka, introduced the Sinhalese mode of making Buddha images to the enthusiastic Chinese court[23] and probably assisted court artisans to work in that style while he was in China during the fifth century. A-ni-ko from Nepal led

a group of artisans to work for Kublai Khan in Tibet, and later on in China where he obtained a high function as controller of the imperial workshop and trained local artists in his own tradition.[24] Sinhalese craftsmen obviously took part in the restoration of Wat Mahathat at Sukhothai during the early fourteenth century.[25] The master-smith Suryya, whose name appears on a bronze image from Tapanuli in West Sumatra,[26] may have been an Indian from the Tamil country working in Indonesia during the fourteenth century. These instances record a practice which was apparently common in the old days. The transportation of artisans as prisoners of war from one country to another is also another fact recorded in historical documents.[27]

Works of art and religious objects were also transported along the routes used by merchants, missionaries, pilgrims, artisans, and envoys. Foreign works of art, distinguished for their beauty and aesthetic attractions, were among luxury objects greatly in demand by wealthy buyers. The pieces which had been highly estimated in the countries of destination were likely to be copied by local artisans, and may even have inspired new artistic modes. Icons and architectural models accompanied missionaries and pilgrims to and from their countries of origin,[28] and often formed part of the royal gifts presented by one court to another.[29] Many of these images and architectural models are recorded as having been copies of famous icons and edifices in the Indian subcontinent,[30] or replicas or even originals of sacred objects from elsewhere.[31] They were often received with high esteem in the new countries where more copies of them were produced. Making replicas of famous images, edifices, and sites has long been commonly practiced among Buddhists and Hindus.[32] The intention is to reproduce the efficacious powers of the originals and to translocate the sacred site in order to bring it within reach. The so-called Sandal Wood First Image, reputed to have been made during the lifetime of the Buddha, has been copied time and again in India and elsewhere, and replicas of the Mahābodhi Temple at Bodh Gaya exist in many countries. Allusions to the translocation of sacred Indian rivers occur in one of the earliest inscriptions of Java.[33]

Because making the principal replicas of sacred images or holy sites reproduced the sacredness and efficacious powers of the originals, copies had to be precise. The actual appearance of buildings and iconographic details of images had to be reproduced as precisely as possible. The artisans thus learned to depict the foreign styles which probably exerted a certain degree of influence on their later works. Attempts to copy foreign styles and to make faithful transcriptions of images and architectural models are well recorded in Chinese accounts, and are reflected in many artistic products of Southeast Asia. The earliest replicas usually bore a close resemblance to the imported models, although they

inevitably betrayed certain traits of the local styles from which they had been produced.[34] A banner from Dunhuang[35] provides a good example of this kind of practice. It probably shows a series of famous Buddhist images worshipped in India, but the local artist, in copying the Indian style, expressed in each and every figure certain stylistic features characteristic of the local workshop. The products, on the other hand, heralded the emergence of a new style based on a mixture of Indian and indigenous traditions.

Besides models of sacred images and edifices, handbooks and treatises containing instructions for artisans must also have found their way into the far countries together with other types of Buddhist and Hindu literature. Sacred texts have always been much coveted by pilgrims and envoys on religious missions. An astonishing array of Buddhist texts circulated in China and references to Buddhist and Hindu treatises that could have provided guidelines for local architects and image-makers, frequently occur in Cambodian epigraphy.[36] A large bulk of such works, written in Sanskrit and in Pali, appear to have been known in Myanmar.[37] Several hundreds of Indian texts were taken by I-Tsing to China via Srivijaya.[38] The narrative reliefs at Borobudur in Java were evidently based on many important texts,[39] and a number of Buddhist and Hindu works on philosophy and ritual are still preserved in Bali.[40] Artisans, following textual instructions, were apparently able to produce iconographically-correct depictions of the religious themes even without having to study tangible models. New themes could thus be expressed in local idioms, and even new forms could have evolved as a result of the local interpretations of the imported texts.

There also exist records of images having been made after the descriptions supplied by missionaries or pilgrims who had seen the originals.[41] Besides tangible souvenirs collected at the sites, pilgrims and travelers undoubtedly carried home memories and impressions. Recollections of paintings, sculptures, buildings, and sites which had appealed to them spiritually or aesthetically could also serve as guidelines for reproductions in concrete form of what the travelers had seen on foreign soil.

Through various agencies and circumstances, many art styles based on the religious and artistic traditions of India and Sri Lanka grew up in Southeast Asia. Diverse streams of influences from abroad were received, absorbed, adapted to the environment, combined, and eventually harmonized with local elements. The imported religions and the arts they inspired became localized. Artisans, working for the new religions and depicting new themes, first imitated the imported styles but gradually modified these to suit local tastes and requirements. New styles then emerged, each showing juxtapositions and mixtures of many artistic traditions, variant in time and provenance, but harmoniously blended into

a perfect unity. Each style displayed its own characteristic traits and its own course of development in accordance with its own historical, geographical, and cultural milieu. The trade route continued to function as a communication route and brought about more cultural contacts. New centers of religion and the arts arose, new groups of priests, pilgrims, envoys, and artisans traveled to and fro, carrying with them new philosophical ideas and artistic trends.

The network of trade and cultural exchange extended over the entire region of South and Southeast Asia, and the phenomena of borrowing and assimilating cultural elements continued down the centuries. India remained the principal fountainhead of Buddhist and Hindu culture until the end of the twelfth century when Buddhism suffered severe persecution. Hindu culture, nevertheless, retained its force in South India beyond that period. Sri Lanka, which was a stronghold of Buddhism, continued to be the most important center of that religion after it lost ground in India, and was the source of inspiration for Myanmar, Cambodia, and Thailand. When Buddhism in Sri Lanka suffered a setback as a result of foreign occupation, Myanmar in the eleventh century became an asylum for the scattered Sinhalese monks and assisted them in reestablishing the religion in the island.[42] Thailand in the eighteenth century sent ecclesiastical help for the same purpose,[43] and the religion of the Buddha prospers in Sri Lanka to the present day.

Indonesia from the seventh to the eleventh century was renowned for its Buddhist Mahayana learnings. In the tenth century, preeminent Buddhists from Campa went to Yavadvipapura (Java) for pilgrimage and for the acquisition of spiritual powers.[44] Cambodia in the same century could have obtained many sacred Buddhist texts from the same place.[45] Campa in the ninth century extended a cultural and religious influence as far as peninsular Thailand,[46] and possibly also Yunnan in South China.[47] Myanmar flourished as a great center of Buddhist studies and Buddhist art from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, and Thailand assumed a similar role from about the fourteenth century onward.

A few art forms have been selected to illustrate the consequences of the diffusion of artistic traditions in South and Southeast Asia and are described below.

The Stupa

The stupa, the most representative of all Buddhist monuments, has a wide distribution throughout Asia. Functionally, it is the monument built to contain the corporeal relics of the Buddha. Symbolically, it stands for Nirvana, the Buddhist Salvation, and may be regarded as the

cosmic axis containing the nucleus of the eternal and all-redeeming powers of the Buddha. The monuments at Sanci in North Central India, dating from the second to the first centuries B.C., exemplify the earliest known shape of the Buddhist stupa. This consists of a simple and solid hemispherical body standing on a low base and crowned with a superstructure in the form of a balustrade raised around a pole that bears the parasols of honor.

Sri Lanka inclined in favor of a similarly simple form, but increased the dimension of the monument and placed it upon a spacious square platform supported by a row of elephant-caryatids. Four decorated altar-like structures were added around the body facing the four directions. The genesis of these structural and decorative elements goes back to India, but it was in Sri Lanka that they were combined into such a unity in response to the native Sinhalese sense of aesthetics and philosophical concepts. The Ruvavneli at Anurādhapura, which commenced in the second century B.C., is representative of the type which has been applied to the major stupas in Sri Lanka through the centuries. Such a combination of stupa and terrace with elephant-caryatids inspired the design of a number of monuments from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century Thailand.[48] The distinctively ponderous hemispherical shape was also reproduced in Thailand in the fourteenth century,[49] and in Myanmar in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.[50] The phenomenon of stupa sheltered within a shrine, which existed in rock-cut forms in India, attained its zenith of development in Sri Lanka, as is represented by the Vatadage at Polonnaruva, dating from the twelfth century. Simplified versions continued to be built till the present day. The Vijayotpala at Gadaladeniya presents a fourteenth-century example of an architectural type which also occurred at Sukhothai[51] and probably also in Cambodia.[52] The stupa itself has a bell-shaped body, standing on a low base equipped with a triple moulding. This form is common to modest-sized stupas of Sri Lanka.

Borobudur in Central Java may be regarded as a highly developed and complex type of stupa. It consists of terraces, stupas, and sculptures systematically arranged into a diagram of the cosmos, centralized around a stupa which stands for the nucleus of the entire world-system. Vertically the monument evokes the image of the cosmic mountain, the axis of the world, around which clings the world of Name and Form consisting of different levels of existence, mundane and divine. Above these spheres of Name and Form, and crowning the entire world-structure, stands a stupa, the symbol of Salvation.[53] Building types which could have inspired the structural form of Borobudur are known from North India,[54] and parallels to it existed in Nepal,[55] Tibet,[56] and Myanmar; but nowhere else was the design as elaborate and as well conceived as at

Borobudur. According to some scholars, the structural plan of this monument may well have inspired the construction of the first temple-mountain of Cambodia.[57] Among the numerous examples at Borobudur, two major forms of stupa can be distinguished: one is pot-shaped and is frequently adorned with a garland or decorative band around the body; the other is bell-shaped, displaying an undecorated body and a low or lotus base, above which were carved two or three concentric lines suggesting mouldings. The first type was evidently based on Northern Indian prototypes, while the other recalls the most common form of the smaller types of Sri Lankan Stupas.

Myanmar in the classical Pagan period from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, also showed a pronounced tendency to erect important stupas on a stepped pyramidal base. The type is exemplified by the *hwehsandaw* of the eleventh century, the Shwezigon of the twelfth century, and the Mingalazedi of the thirteenth century. The Shwehsandaw consists of a single stupa standing on five receding square terraces, each with a flight of steps leading the way up to the top from four directions. No elaborately carved gateways or sculptured balustrades adorn these terraces. The basic plan is similar to that of Borobudur, but is almost entirely lacking in all the subsidiary elements and wealth of sculptures that embellish the Javanese edifice. The antecedents of this type of structure can be found in India,[58] but this particular design appears to have gone through an independent course of evolution in mainland Southeast Asia since the eighth century. The form of the stupa itself also shows a local adaptation based on more than one Indian prototype. The cylindrical shape of the body appears to have its origin in the style of the Andhra country in Southeast India, the influence of which became evident in the art of Myanmar after the sixth century. The decorated band around the stupa body is probably an element which Pagan itself borrowed from the medieval style of the Northeast India. The smoothly tapering superstructure represents the typically Burmese modification of the conventional forms known in India, Sri Lanka, and elsewhere. It is characteristic of Burmese stupas down to the present day. Recent examples, such as the Shwedagon at Rangoon, are remarkable for their heavily sloping shape which is formed by a broad base, attenuated body, and pointed pinnacle. The three components appear to be merging and receding into one another, giving the entire mass a smooth and sweeping profile.

Thailand has known many types of stupa, as is especially evidenced from the archaeological remains of the Dvāravatī period,[59] but was still experimenting with various forms until the fourteenth century when a completely new formula emerged. The so-called "lotus bud" stupa, an invention of the fourteenth century Sukhothai, appears to have been an amalgam of many types of monuments known to the architects at the

time. It consists of a series of superimposed terraces and a tall body, being a solidified version of an image-shrine standing on its own plinth and crowned by a stupa-like element complete with tapering pinnacle. The main stupa of Wat Mahāthāt at Sukhothai belongs to this type. Standing on a tall, elevated base, it towers over all the subsidiary buildings which are evidence of the large variety of architectural forms constructed at Sukhothai between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. This new form went out of fashion after the Sukhothai period, and it was the simple bell-shaped type of stupa introduced from Sri Lanka that eventually became the favorite model of the Thais. The formula, however, had been gradually but steadily modified to suit Thai taste. The base became taller, showing multiple receding steps. The body assumed a slender and elongated form, while the superstructure soared up elegantly to end in a sharply pointed finial. Rich decorative patterns may cover the structure from top to base in the case of recent examples. In spite of the smoothly sloping silhouette of the entire form, each of its structural parts as a rule retains its individual identity. In comparison with Burmese stupas, the comparatively narrow base, elongated body and needle-like pinnacle of the Thai edifices invoke a higher degree of verticality, loftiness, and weightlessness.

The Temple

The chapel or hall of worship of the Buddhists and Hindus can take various forms. The type that was specially designed to be presided over by an image or images was originally conceived as a private chamber for the Buddha or the gods. The earliest image-shrine found in Sri Lanka displays a design which recalls one of the oldest types of free-standing temple known in India, datable to the earlier fifth century.[60] The plan, however, was soon modified in response to the Sinhalese mode of worship. The dimension increased probably to accommodate ritual gatherings typical of Theravāda Buddhism, and a side staircase appeared, possibly as an exit for worshippers.[61] The image-shrines of the earlier Anurādhapura period probably had a timber roof, resting on brick walls and stone columns. Image-shrines with a vaulted brick roof began to appear in the eighth century[62] and continued to be built into the Polonnaruva period. The major examples of the twelfth century, namely the Lankātilaka, Tivanka, and Thūpārāma at Polonnaruva, display in their ground plan, structural form and decorative themes a close resemblance to Hindu shrines of the Cola period of Southern India.

The earliest image-shrines of Southeast Asia show strong affinities to the Indian styles of the sixth and seventh centuries. Those found in ancient Cambodia are small structures of brick and sandstone, assigna-

ble to about the seventh century. None of them appears to have been a copy of any known building in India, though all display in general many stylistic elements common to the Indian Gupta style of the sixth century and the post-Gupta styles of the Indian peninsula of about the seventh century. The favorite form in Cambodia was that of a square cella crowned with a tower-roof, the decorative motives of which reflect the ancient Indian concept of the temple as replica of the cosmic mountain, the center of the universe. Such a form continued to develop locally, independent of Indian influence, and the profile of the roof gradually took on the shape of a pinecone or lotus-bud. Important temples were built on a terraced base, recalling all the more the image of the cosmic mountain, formed by diverse levels of existence and crowned with the residences of divinities and the supreme god. The local genius of Cambodia placed long halls and galleries upon the terraces, and eventually linked them to the towers to create a large and structurally harmonious unity. The twelfth century temple of Angkor Wat, dedicated to Visnu represents the culmination of this process and a unique achievement in the art of temple-building. Formed by an assemblage of towers, concentric galleries, porches, and staircases, positioned on different levels but systematically and ingeniously joined, the monument has acquired an impressive dimension and appearance that express in full the symbolical meaning of the Hindu temple. This masterpiece of architecture represents a local development of the fundamentally Indian form, expressing the originally Indian concept which had taken firm root in Cambodia and became part and parcel of Khmer culture. The complex of Bayon exhibits a remarkable feature in the form of gigantic faces looking down from each of the towers. These represent the all-seeing faces of the highest entity of the Mahāyāna Buddhist concept—a symbolic concept which originated in India but had never found expression in architectural form elsewhere. The Neak Pean of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is a unique architectural transcription of the ancient Buddhist concept on the cosmic lake Anavatapta, which may have been introduced into Cambodia from Sri Lanka. A legend, telling of the pilgrimage of a foreign "Leper King" to the southern coast of Sri Lanka, still circulates on the island. It may record a historical fact dating back to the end of the twelfth century.[63]

The oldest temples in Indonesia are represented by the groups on the Dieng plateau, dedicated to Śiva and datable to around the eighth to ninth centuries. The architectural forms show close similarity to types occurring in sixth to seventh century India. Candi Arjuna and Puntadewa are strongly reminiscent of the Pallava style of the southern coast, while Candi Bima recalls the building tradition of post-Gupta North India. The type that became most current in Indonesia again consists of

a square cella crowned with a multi-storied tower roof and recalls the concept of the cosmic mountain. The trend of development of this fundamentally Indian form appears to have been quite different from that of Cambodia. In the style of the eighth to tenth centuries, the temple body usually retained a box-like cubical form with both vertical and horizontal planes strongly emphasized, while the multi-storied roof showed an outline resembling that of a pyramid. More cella were sometimes added so that the ground plan assumed the form of a Greek Cross as is observed at Candi Kalasan and the central shrine of Candi Sewu. The Buddhist Candi Sari and Plaosan had a regular ground plan and two stories, thereby recalling a type of Sri Lankan image house of the Anurādhapura period.[64] These Indonesian shrines, however, were built entirely of stone, showing a roof structure that is common in South India, but digressing from the Indian prototypes through the use of miniature stupas as ornaments. Candi Lara Jonggrang, dedicated to the Hindu Trimūrti, carried on the process of local modification of important elements. The central shrine shelters a magnificent image of Śiva and depictions of his divine retinue. The building is tall and impressive, displaying a clear emphasis on the vertical planes which gives the structure an even more soaring appearance. Roof decoration consists largely of a curious motif which looks like a combination between a stupa and the so-called "āmalaka" typical of North Indian architecture.

The cella, together with its tower roof, tended to become more attenuated and taller in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Candi Singasari had two stories, the lower one of which contained five cellas sheltering the images of Śiva and his divine retinue. The upper cella is now empty and only half of its roof remains intact. The form of the superstructure must have been close to that of a temple at Panataran dating from 1369 A.D. This has a similarly attenuated and cubical body and a tall, towering pyramidal roof crowned with a squarish finial. The accent is chiefly on the vertical lines, while the cubical form, sharp profile and extraordinary slenderness of the entire building recall the general outline of an obelisk. Candi Sukuh from the fifteenth century, dedicated to the worship of Śiva as mountain god, embodies a mixture of Indian and indigenous Indonesian elements. The main feature of the temple is a pyramid, the form of which brings to mind that of prehistoric terraces of Indonesia. Linga, the symbol of Śiva, was worshipped in this shrine, but the inner court also contained a number of obelisk-shaped stones reminiscent of prehistoric menhirs.

Additional foreign elements are noted at Candi Pari in east Java.[65] The monument, bearing the date 1371 A.D. on its lintel, displays in its massive appearance and decorative themes stylistic influences from Campā.

In Myanmar, the Burmese of the Pagan period combined two architectural types, namely stupa and image-shrine, and produced magnificent edifices such as the Nanda and the Thatbyinnu. The technique of the radiating arch enabled the Burmese to build spacious buildings required for Theravāda worship. The Nanda Ananda may be described both as a temple crowned with a stupa and as a stupa standing on layers of a tunneled base which contains cellas, images, and galleries for circumambulation. Buildings showing a similar amalgam of stupa and image-shrine existed in India,[66] but the ingenious process of developing the formula into such a schematic, well-balanced, and complex design was achieved locally. The cruciform ground plan may have been inspired by five-cella-type shrines known in India and Indonesia, although the closest parallel appears to exist in Paharpur in East Bengal.[67] The Thatbyinnu of the late twelfth century consists of a hollow image-shrine standing on two layers of tunneled bases and topped by a solid stupa. The crowning element of the Nanda displays a blend between a stupa and the multi-storied roof of Northeast Indian temples. In the case of the Thatbyinnu, the crowning element looks more like a stupa, having a smooth body albeit displaying, a squarish section typical of the tower roofs of Northeast India.

Thailand in the Sukhothai period was markedly in favor of spacious rectangular buildings with bricked walls and tiled timber roofs. Interiors consisted of a long nave often flanked by a pair of side aisles and two rows of columns that supported the roof. The Buddha image stood near the rear wall of this combination of shrine and assembly hall. The plan was not unlike that of the early Buddhist Caitya halls in India which were also designed for large gatherings. The Thais applied the same design and architectural form to their chapter-houses. A similar design appears in the chapter-houses of the two principal monasteries in present-day Sri Lanka. This formula may have been brought over from Thailand by the Sri Lankan or Thai monks who established the Syāma-Nikāya in Sri Lanka in the eighteenth century.

The Thai copy of the Mahābodhi temple, built in the fifteenth century at Chiengmai, presents an architectural form based on that sacred model at Bohd Gayā; however, the themes and stylistic details of the sculptural decorations on the wall betray influences of the Sinhalese tradition of the Polonnaruva period.

This is but a superficial and limited survey of the archaeological evidence for the diffusion of the artistic tradition and cultural exchange among countries linked geographically by trade, and spiritually by faith. Trade was one of the greatest sources of the economic welfare which laid the foundation for cultural development. Trade and trade routes were like important arteries feeding the body that is the material receptacle of

the transcendental mind. In this world of Name and Form, spirit and body are closely correlated and interdependent. An episode from the life of Lord Buddha tells us that if the body does not function well, the spirit cannot find the peace or concentration that are essential if it is to progress towards a higher goal.

Notes

1. For further study, see I. C. Glover, *Early Trade between India and South-East Asia: A Link in the Development of a World Trading System* (Occasional Papers no. 16) (Hull: University of Hull, Centre for South-East Asian Studies, 1989).
2. M. Prickett, "Sri Lanka's Foreign Trade before A.D. 600: Archaeological Evidence," in *Asian Panorama, Essays in Asian History, Past and Present* (Colombo, 1988); J. Carswell, "The Excavation of Mantai." Paper submitted to the International Seminar: "Towards the Second Century of Archaeology in Sri Lanka," *Ancient Ceylone*, no. 7 (Colombo, 7-13 July, 1990), pp. 17-28; R. Silva, "Mantai-The Great Imporium of Cosmas Indicopleustes. Paper submitted at the Maritime Silk Route Seminar (Colombo, 12-14 December, 1990) (Sri Lanka: Department of Archaeology and Central Cultural Fund).
3. L. Malleret, *L'archéologie du delta du Mékong*, 4 vols. (Paris: EFEO, 1959-1963).
4. J. Boisselier, *Nouvelles connaissances archéologiques de la ville d'U-thong* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 1968); J. Boisselier, "Travaux de la mission archéologique française en Thailande," in *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 25 (July-November, 1966): pp. 28-37; H.H.E. Loofs, "Problems of Continuity between the pre-Buddhist and Buddhist Periods in Central Thailand, with Special Reference to U-thong," in *Early South Asia*, edited by R.B. Smith and W. Watson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 12-48.
5. I.C. Glover, *Early Trade*, pp. 12-48.
6. T. Srisuchart, "The Early Historic Sites and Archaeological Remains in Southern Thailand." Workshop on Archaeological and Environmental Studies on Srivijaya, *SPAFA Final Report* (Bangkok, 1985), pp. 113-30; M. Veraprasert, "Khlong Thom: an ancient bead-manufacturing location and an ancient entrepot." Seminar in Prehistory of South-East Asia, *SPAFA Final Report* (Bangkok, 1987), pp. 323-31.
7. R.E.M. Wheeler, A. Ghosh, and K. Deva, "Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman Trading-Station on the East Coast of India," in *Ancient India*, no. 2 (July, 1946): pp. 17-124.
8. J. Hankin, J.R. Hackin, J. Carl, and P. Hamelin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram (ancienne Kâpicî), 1939-1940*. Mémoires de la délégation archéologiques française en Afganistan (Paris, 1954).
9. For discussion on the 'Indianization' of Southeast Asia, see G. Coedès, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: East/West Center, 1968); J.C. Van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History* (The Hague/Bandung: Martinus Nijhoff, 1955); F.D.K. Bosch, *The Problem of the Hindu Colonisation of Indonesia: Selected Studies in Indonesian Archeology* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961); O.W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce, A Study on the Ori-*

gins of Srivijaya (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967); P. Wheatley, *Nagara and Commandery: Origins of the South-East Asian Urban Traditions*, nos. 207-208 (Department of Geography Research Papers, University of Chicago, 1983).

10. For this subject, see also R. Silva, *Religious Architecture in Early and Medieval Sri Lanka* (Meppel: KripsRepro, 1988), pp. 2-3.
11. See A.C. Soper, "Literary evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China," in *Oriental Art*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1949): pp. 28-30, 34; A.C. Soper, "Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China," in *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 19 (Ascona, 1959): pp. 5, 6, 43, 80-2, 85, 106, and 109.
12. A.C. Soper, "Literary Evidence," p. 43.
13. J.M. Senaviratna, "Some Notes on the Chinese References," in *JCBRAS*, vol. 24 (1917): p. 108; A.C. Soper, "Literary Evidence," p. 96; R. Silva, *Religious Architecture*, p. 226.
14. See G. Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge* 8 vols. (Hanoi and Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1937-1966), vol. 4, p. 27.
15. For different readings and interpretations of this inscription, see N.J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2d rev. ed. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931), pp. 123-26; G. Coedès, *The Indianized States*, pp. 87-88; H.B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, vol. 1 (Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1971), pp. 15-24.
16. See F.D.K. Bosch, "De Inscriptie van Keloerak," in *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap*, vol. 69, nos. 1-2 (1929): pp. 1-56; Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions*, pp. 41-48.
17. This might have been Candi Lumbung as suggested by Prof. de Casparis; see J.G. de Casparis, *Inscripties uit de Cailendra-Tijd* (Bandung: Masa Baru, 1950), p. 105.
18. Soper, "Literary evidence," pp. 18, 28-29, 33-4, 43, 80-82, 85.
19. D.N. Shukla, "Vastu-Sastra," in *Hindu Science of Architecture* (with special reference to Bhoja's Samarangana-Sutradhara), vol. 1 (Lucknow: Vastu-Vanmaya-Prakasama-Sala, 1961), pp. 44-49.
20. Coedès, *The Indianized States*, pp. 52, 58, 60, and notes 15 and 16.
21. G. Tucci, *The Ancient Civilization of Transhimalaya*, in the Ancient Civilizations Series (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1973), p. 139.
22. Soper, "Literary Evidence," pp. 81-82, 121, 170; Tucci, *Ancient Civilizations*, pp. 139-41; M. Bussagli, *Painting of Central Asia*, in the Treasures of Asia Series (Geneva: Skira, 1963), pp. 66-67.
23. See Note 13.
24. See U. Von Schroeder, *Indo-Tibetan Bronzes* (Hong Kong: Visual Dharma, 1981), pp. 504-5.
25. See A.B. Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art* (Bangkok, Fine Arts Department, 1967), p. 21. For this inscription see also *Inscriptions of the Sukhothai period* (1983), pp. 58-79.
26. See A.J. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art* (Amsterdam: Van der Peet, 1959), p. 69, pl. 197.
27. For examples, see B. Rowland Jr., "Indian Images in Chinese Sculptures," in *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 10, no. 1 (1947): p. 5, note 2; Soper, "Literary Evidence," pp. 88-89; G.E. Harvey, *History of Burma* (London: Frank Cass, 1967), pp. 27-29, 168; N. Chutiwongs, *The Iconography of Avalokitesvara in Mainland South-East Asia* (Ph.D. diss., University of Leiden; Bangkok, 1984), p. 101.
28. See Soper, "Literary evidence," pp. 29, 31-32, 53; Rowland Jr, "Indian Images," p. 7; P.C. Bagchi, *India and China, a Thousand Years of Cultural Relations*, 2d. ed. (Bombay: Hindu Kitab Ltd., 1950), pp. 157-58; also H.W. Woodward Jr., "South-

East Asian Traces of the Buddhist Pilgrims," in *MUSE*, Annals of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, vol. 22 (University of Missouri-Columbia, 1988): pp. 75-91.

29. See Soper, "Literary Evidence," pp. 29, 40, 54, 70, 74-76, 86, 90.
30. Ibid., pp.1, 9-12, 22-24, 28, 30-32, 40, 47.
31. Ibid., pp. 47, 53-54, 58-59, 64, 74.
32. For examples, see G. Coedès, "Documents sur l'histoire politique religieuse du Laos occidental," in *BEFEO*, vol. 25 (1925): pp. 97-100; Soper, "Literary Evidence," pp. 88.
33. B. Ch. Chhabra, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule* (as evidenced by inscriptions) (Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1965), pp. 96-97.
34. See Rowland Jr., "Indian Images;" A.B. Griswold, *Essays offered to G.H. Luce*, vol. 2 (Ascona, 1966), pp. 37-73.
35. Rowland Jr, "Indian Images," pp. 8-18.
36. For examples, see K. Bhattacharya, *Les religions brahmaniques dans l'ancien Cambodge* (Paris: EFEO, 1961), pp. 46-50.
37. For examples, see N.R. Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1936), pp. 31-39
38. J. Takakusu (trans.), *I-Tsing. A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695)*, 2d. Italian ed. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1982), p. xxxiii.
39. A.J. Bernet Kempers, *Ageless Borobudur* (Wassenaar: Servire, 1976), pp. 87-136.
40. See F.D.K. Bosch, *Buddhist Data from Balinese Texts: Selected Studies in Indonesian Archeology* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961); H. Soebadio, *Jnanasiddhanta: Secret Lore of the Balinese Saiva-Priest* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971).
41. Soper, "Literary Evidence," pp. 18, 32.
42. See R.A.L.H. Gunawardana, *Robe and Plough* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979), pp. 271-74; W.M. Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), pp. 59-64.
43. L.S. Derwaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka, 1707-1782*, 2d. ed. (Colombo: Lake House, 1988), pp. 114-18.
44. E. Huber, "Études indochinoises," in *BEFEO*, vol. 11, nos. 3-4 (1911): pp. 303, 310; N. Chutiwongs, *Iconography of Avalokitesvara*, p. 429.
45. G. Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 6, pp. 105-6; N. Chutiwongs, *Iconography of Avalokitesvara*, pp. 428-29.
46. S. Diskul, "Chedi at Wat Keo, Chaiya, Suratthani," in JMBRAS, vol. 53, pt. 2 (1980): pp. 1-4.
47. N. Chutiwongs, *Iconography of Avalokitesvara*, pp. 477-80.
48. For examples, see P. Charoenwongsa and S. Diskul, *Thailande: Archeologia Mundi* (Geneva: Nagel, 1976), pls. 168, 217.
49. See Ibid., pl. 191.
50. See Aung Thaw, *Historical Sites in Burma* (Rangoon: Ministry of Culture, 1972), pp. 131, 146.
51. See P. Charoenwongsa and S. Diskul, *Thailande*, pl. 182.
52. See J. Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (Paris: A. et J. Picard & Co., 1966), p. 94; N. Chutiwongs, *Iconography of Avalokitesvara*, p. 312.
53. For the most recent synthesis and a critical survey of theories and hypotheses on the meaning of Borobudur, see J.G. De Casparis, "Recent Interpretations of the Borobudur." A critical paper submitted to the International Seminar: "Towards the Second Century of Archaeology in Sri Lanka," in *Ancient Ceylon*, no. 7 (Colombo, 7-13 July, 1990): pp. 17-28.

54. J.E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "South-East Asian Architecture and the Stupa of Nandangarh," in *Atribus Asiae*, vol. 19 (1956): pp. 279-90; A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (New York: Dover, 1968), p. 205.
55. U. Wiesner, "Nepalese Votive Stupas of the Licchavi Period: The Empty Niche," in *The Stupa, its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance*, edited by A.L. Dallapiccola and S. Zingel-Avé Lallemant (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1980), pls. 3, 5, 7, 9.
56. G. Tucci, *Ancient Civilization*, pls. 75, 78-81, 83, 84, 89-98.
57. B. Ph. Groslier, *The Art of Indo-China*, in the Art of the World Series (New York: Crown Publishers Inc., 1972), pp. 99-101; H. Loofs-Wissova, "The True and the Corbel Arch in Mainland South-East Asian Monumental Architecture," in *South-East Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries*, edited by D.G. Marr and A.C. Milner (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies and the Research School of South-East Asian Studies, Australian National University, 1986), pp. 239-54.
58. See note 54.
59. See P. Charoenwongsa and S. Diskul, *Thailande*, pls. 15, 16, 36; A.B. Griswold, *The Arts of Thailand: Catalogue of the Exhibition in the United States, 1960-62* (Bloomington: Greenwood Press, 1960), fig. 1.
60. See R. Silva, *Religious Architecture in Early and Medieval Sri Lanka* (Meppel: KripsRepro, 1988), fig. 39 (7).
61. See S.B. Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture. Studies in South Asian Culture*, vol. 4 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), pp. 203-9, figs. 75-7; Silva, *Religious Architecture*, pp. 238-40, pls. 43 (1), 47, figs. 40 (1,4,5), 42, 43(2), 44(4).
62. See Note 61.
63. See N. Chutiwongs, *Iconography of Avalokitesvara* , pp. 81, 319-20.
65. See N.J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaanshe Kunst*, 2 vols., The Hague, Marti-Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis, 2d. rev. ed. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923), vol. 2, pp. 229-34.
66. D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments* (Calcutta: Sahitya Samsad, 1971), pls. 91, 92.
67. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, pp. 241-42.