

การค้าทางทะเลกับเครือข่ายของศิลปะ : ข้อมูลจากการศึกษาโบราณสถานและประติมากรรมที่ไชยา Maritime Trade and Networks of Arts: Reflections on Buddhist Monuments and Statues in Chaiya^{*}

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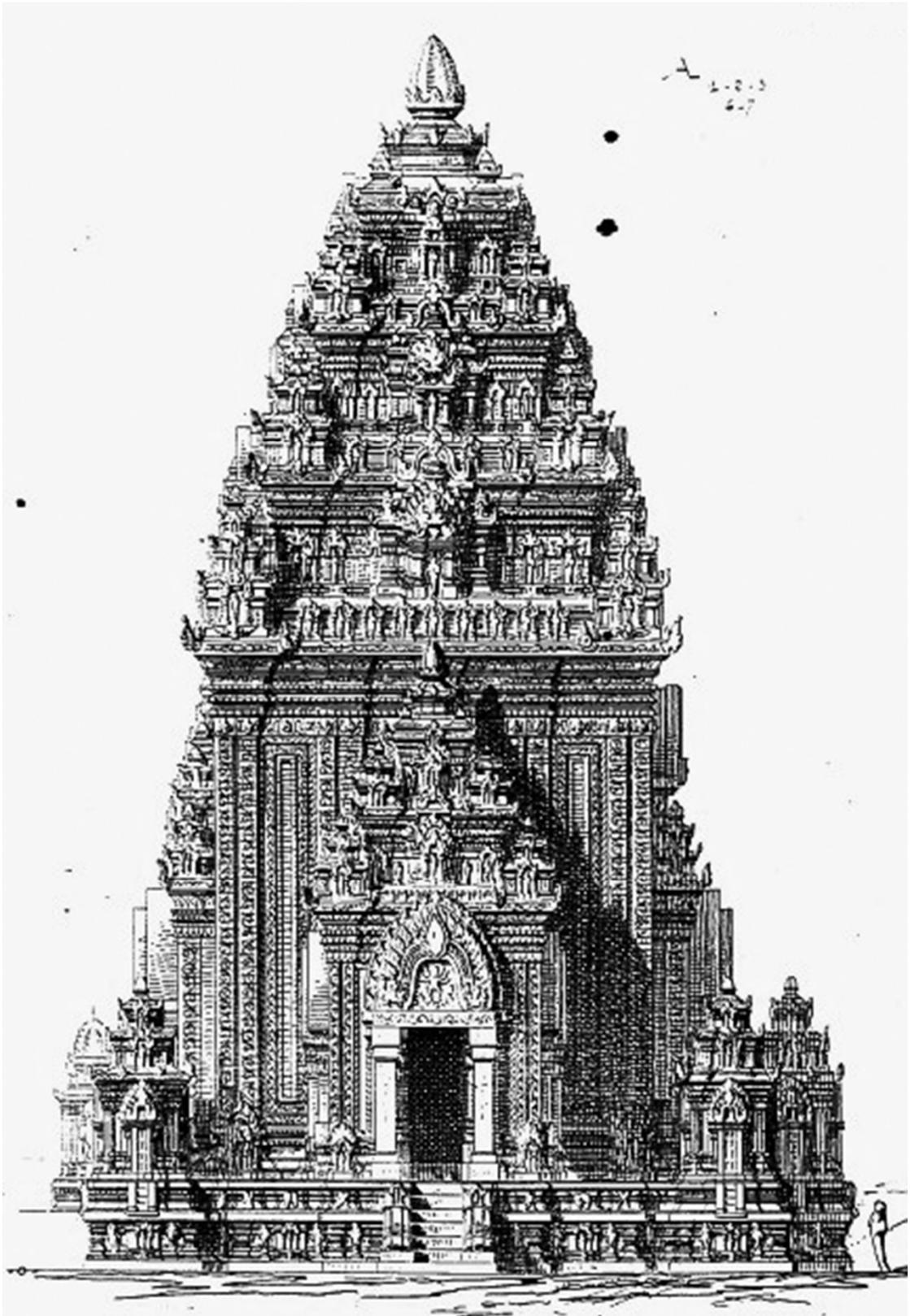
บทคัดย่อ

อายุสมัยและรูปแบบศิลปะของวัดแก้ว วัดหลง วัดพระบรมธาตุไชยา รวมถึงพระโพธิสัตว์สาริตสมัยศรีวิชัยที่อำเภอไชยา จังหวัดสุราษฎร์ธานี ถือได้ว่ามีข้อถกเถียงมาอย่างยาวนานพอควร ทั้งนี้เป็นผลมาจากความแตกต่างทางความคิดของนักวิชาการและข้อจำกัดจากหลักฐาน โดยเฉพาะไม่พบจารึกร่วมกับโบราณสถานและประติมากรรม ที่ต้องทบทวนอายุสมัยของโบราณสถานและประติมากรรมที่ไชยาอีกครั้งเพื่อให้ได้ค่าอายุที่ชัดเจน ซึ่งจะส่งผลต่อการอธิบายการเคลื่อนไหวของศาสนาพุทธมหายาน และประวัติศาสตร์เครือข่ายการค้าของชุมชนทั้งในไชยา รัฐต่าง ๆ ในเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้และอินเดีย บทความนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์ 3 ประการหลักคือ ประการแรก ทบทวนอายุสมัยของโบราณสถานและประติมากรรมในไชยา ประการที่ 2 เพื่อศึกษาเครือข่ายศาสนาและการค้าระหว่างศรีวิชัยที่ไชยากับอินเดียและรัฐต่าง ๆ ในเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ ประการที่ 3 เพื่อเข้าใจนัยยะทางสังคมจากสิ่งที่บทความนี้เรียกว่า ศิลปะผสม (heterogeneous art) ที่ปรากฏชัดในโบราณสถาน

Opposite page:

My Son A1

Source: Henri Parmentier, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments çams de l'Annam* (Paris: Leroux 1909), pl.LXI.



ผลจากการศึกษาพบว่า ทั้งโบราณสถานและประติมากรรมที่ไชยา ควรจะกำหนดอายุอยู่ในช่วงประมาณปลายคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 8 ถึงต้นคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 9 ซึ่งจะสอดคล้องกับจารึกวัดเสมาเมือง (ค.ศ. 775/ พ.ศ. 1318) ดังนั้นอายุสมัยของโบราณสถานและประติมากรรมควรอยู่ในช่วงเวลาเดียวกับจารึก ไม่ใช่หลังจากนั้นดังที่นักวิชาการบางท่านเสนอ ในแง่ของรูปแบบศิลปะ พบว่ามีความสัมพันธ์กับรัฐต่าง ๆ ได้แก่ จาม ขวา ปาละ และโจฬะ สะท้อนให้เห็นถึงเครือข่ายทางการค้าทางทะเลที่กว้างขวาง ซึ่งทำให้ศิลปะและศาสนา เคลื่อนย้ายไปตามกลุ่มคน โดยพื้นที่ไชยาเป็นเสมือนกับพื้นที่กลางระหว่าง ตะวันตกกับตะวันออก ทำให้เป็นบ้ำหลอมของศิลปะที่กลายเป็นศิลปะผสม ในขณะเดียวกันก็สะท้อนให้เห็นว่าศิลปะบนโบราณสถานได้กลายเป็นพื้นที่ของการปะทะสังสรรค์ที่สะท้อนอัตลักษณ์ของศาสนิกชนที่มีทั้งประชาชนในท้องถิ่น พ่อค้า พระ และอื่น ๆ จากต่างแดน

คำสำคัญ : การค้าทางทะเล, ไชยา, ศรีวิชัย, ศิลปะผสม, เครือข่ายของศิลปะ

Abstract

The dating and art style of Wat Kaew, Wat Long, Wat Praboromathat Chaiya and the Bodhisattva statues of Srivijaya in Chaiya, Southern Thailand, have long been debated among scholars. This problem is very important because of its influence on our understanding of the Buddhist esoteric (Tantric) movement and the early history of Srivijaya on the Malay Peninsula and in Southern Thailand. This study has three aims: firstly, to examine the dating of monuments and statues found in Chaiya; secondly, to better understand religious pilgrimage and trade networks as well as social contacts between Srivijaya in Chaiya, India, and other kingdoms of 'Southeast Asia'; thirdly, to discuss the heterogeneous art styles of the monuments of Chaiya.

The results of this research suggest that the art style of monuments and statues in Chaiya should be dated to approximately the late eighth to the early ninth century, which coincides with one inscription dated to 775 AD. The art style of the 'Chaiya school' is associated with Cham, Java, Pala and Chola art; this can be called heterogeneous art. The creation of heterogeneous art is associated with Chaiya's status as a port city and transpeninsular bridge, which meant that shared monuments were necessary for merchants waiting for the monsoon. The art

elements appearing on architecture and statues from various sources represent the unique style of each kingdom or community, relating to the exchange of arts, artisans, and priests between them. Three brick monuments in particular show the origins of artistic influences and a combination of discernibly different art styles, and considering the fact that each art style represented the identity of each kingdom, the different elements should represent the communities that donated funds for the monuments' construction.

Keywords: maritime trade, Chaiya, Srivijaya, heterogeneous Art, networks of Arts

Introduction

Srivijaya played a vital role in maritime trade between India, China and Southeast Asia from the late seventh century with the commercial boom in the South China Sea Sea.¹ In that time, Chaiya was an important city port and transpeninsular route² because the route is easy to walk from the Siam Gulf to the Andaman Sea, and the direction of monsoon orients this city. Therefore, many Buddhist monuments and statues were created in order to support the merchant communities who were waiting for the monsoon in each season. Although Srivijaya was a powerful kingdom, its art style was not homogenous, as seen in the 'heterogeneous art style' of Chaiya Buddhist monuments. The term 'heterogeneous art' is applied in this paper to define any monument or object which shows the combination of various art styles, and representing the unique style of each kingdom in contact with Chaiya.

Apart from analyzing the dating and art influences, an important question that we should attempt to answer is why the monuments and statues were created by mixing many art influences. This article will focus on three brick monuments found within Chaiya: Wat Kaew, Wat Long and Wat Praboromathat Chaiya (figure 1), all of which represent a mixture of art styles. Besides the monuments, two important bronze Bodhisattva

statues were found at Wat Praboromathat Chaiya, not in situ with the monuments, the dates of which have long been debated.³ Acri suggests that these statues are very important because they reflect Esoteric Buddhism as derived from the northern Indian tradition, demonstrating the strong connection between India and Southeast Asia.⁴ Therefore, clear relative dating will provide an accurate account of medieval Buddhist maritime history and the spread of Esoteric Buddhism in Southeast Asia and India.

This article has three main aims: firstly, to clarify and re-estimate the relative dating and sources of art influences within the Srivijaya monuments and bronze Bodhisattvas in Chaiya; secondly, to better understand religious pilgrimage and trade networks as well as social contacts between Srivijaya in Chaiya, India, and other kingdoms of 'Southeast Asia'; thirdly, to discuss the heterogeneous art styles of the monuments and statues of Chaiya.

A Brief History of Srivijaya in Chaiya

Although many scholars believe that Palembang in Sumatra was the capital of Srivijaya,⁵ others remark instead that it was at Chaiya. This is quite an old theory which was first proposed by Quaritch Wales; afterwards local Thai scholars followed his assumption. Wales argued against George Coedès that Chaiya was the first capital city of Srivijaya before it was moved to Palembang, because the transpeninsular location was safer and more favorite than the Strait of Malacca. In 2012, Suzuki also suggested, based on Chinese sources, that the origin of Srivijaya was Chaiya, not Palembang, and that it then expanded to Kedah and Malayu and then to Jambi and finally to Palembang as it desired to occupy the Strait of Malacca and Sunda.⁶

The Wat Sema Mueang inscription, dated to 775 AD, possibly from Chaiya (rather than Nakorn Sri Thammarat), provides details of the Srivijaya kingdom being ruled by Srimaharaja, chief of the Sailendra dynasty and other *rajas* (kings).⁷ The Sailendra was a thalassocratic state of Southeast Asia, which built many important monuments in central Java,

such as Borobudur and Kalasan. The king often referred himself as a chief of other *rajas* (kings) (*maharaja*) or as the king of kings. O. W. Wolters defined this political form as the *mandala* polity, which means there were multiple centres with one or more powerful kings who dominated other less powerful kings.⁸ Therefore, according to the number of inscriptions and monuments, central Java was a centre of political and religious power during the Sailendra dynasty, and Chaiya was part of its territory. Suzuki suggests that this inscription was made to confirm the power of Srivijaya after its victory over Chen-la in Chaiya.⁹ Additionally, the King of Sailendra, who is venerated within Buddhism, also constructed temples in Nalanda and the Chola Empire, as well as patronizing temples in India, such as Somapura Mahavihara, as pilgrimage sites for the Srivijaya people; all of these were centres of Tantric Buddhism.¹⁰

According to the Wat Sema Mueang inscription, Srimaharaja gave the command to “...build three brick temples in order to worship the Bodhisattava who holds the lotus flower (Padmapani), who fights Mara (the Buddha), and the Bodhisattava who holds the vajra (Vajrapani)”.¹¹ From this text, many scholars assumed that the three brick temples, namely Wat Kaew, Wat Long and Wat Praboromathat Chaiya, were located in Chaiya. Two bronze statues of the Bodhisattvas Padmapani and Vajrapani may have been discovered in Chaiya as well. This problem will be discussed in the next section.

Considering the history of Cham existing in other parts of the archipelago around the eighth century, in 767 Champa was invaded by *She-p’o* (Java) and *K’un-lun* (the Chinese term for the southern islands). It can be seen that in this period, the Sailendra or Srivijaya controlled Java, probably including *K’un-lun*. Suzuki suggested that the policy of Srivijaya was intended to control its trade monopoly with China,¹² causing a commercial boom in the South China Sea from the late eighth century, leading Srivijaya to war with Cham. Commerce also flourished, silk and Chinese ceramics, forest products and spices playing a crucial role in mercantile exchange between Srivijaya and other Southeast Asian kingdoms.¹³ According to Chinese records,

some Cham commodities were also brought from the Malay Peninsula, such as camphor, lac, and white cardamom.¹⁴ All the evidence shows the circulations of trade and politics which might relate to the spread of Cham art in the Malay Peninsula.

Dating and Art Influences of Three Brick Monuments

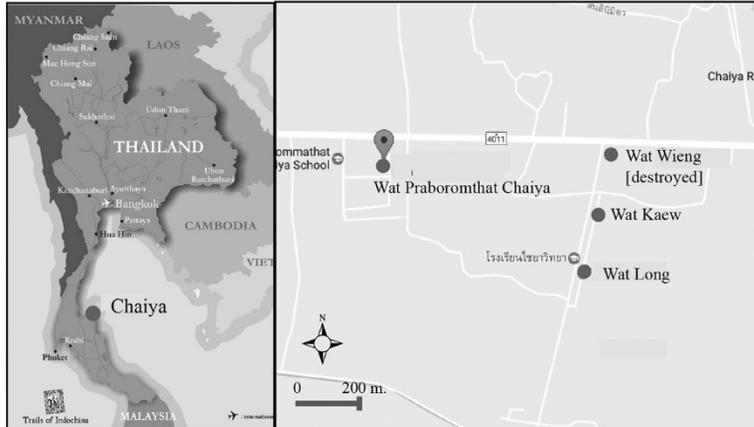
In the past, central Chaiya has four important brick monuments, including Wat Kaew, Wat Long, Wat Wieng, and Wat Praboromthat Chaiya. The first three are laid out along the same axis, from north to south; thus, many scholars believe that these monuments were built at the same time. Unfortunately, Wat Wieng was destroyed by modern activity. Meanwhile, Wat Praboromthat Chaiya was located on the west of Wat Long, and could have been built earlier or later than Wat Long. This section of the article will investigate the dating and art influences of them in order to establish a connection with Chaiya's statues.

Wat Kaew

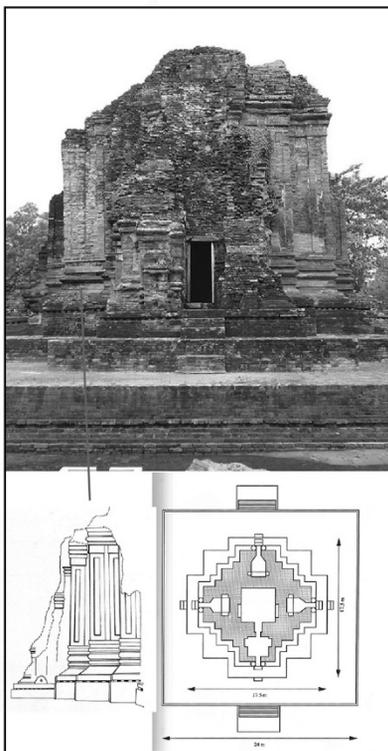
The artistic influence of Javanese and Cham art appears visibly at Wat Kaew (figure 1) but the dating has been still debated. The plan of Wat Kaew is cruciform, with four niches, and the entrance to the *garbhagriha* (central hall) on the east side. Many scholars¹⁵ agree that the plan of Wat Kaew is similar to Central Javanese architecture, in particular Kalasan (figure 2), which was constructed by a Sailendra prince in 778 AD.¹⁶ Additionally, the decorative moulding of the plinth (*adhithana*) is similar to that of Kalasan but is constructed using brick instead, which was the main material commonly used in Cham monuments.¹⁷ Therefore, this might betray Cham rather than Javanese influence.

Concerning the influence of Cham art, there are two different aspects of dating worth noting. Piriya Krairiksh, a Thai art historian, proposes that the exterior decoration of Wat Kaew displays the style of My Son A1, dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries (figure p.61). This is seen firstly from the articulation pilasters on the wall, which were chiseled with vertical furrows (figure 1),

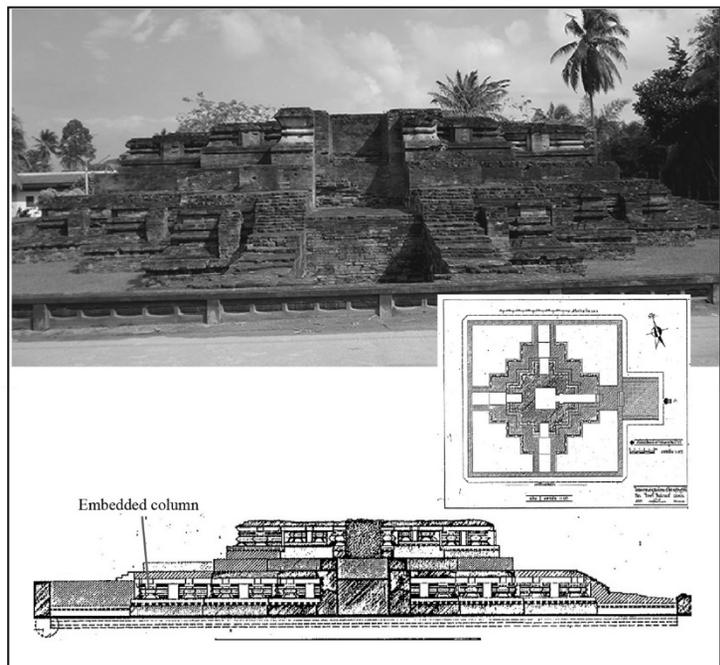
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Figure 1. Wat Kaew, Wat Long, and Wat Praboromthat Chaiya, its plans and locations
Source: Adapted from Piriya Krairiksh, *Sinlapa Thaksin Kon Phutthasattawat Thi 19 [Thaksin Art before 19th Century]* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 1980).



1.3 Wat Praboromthai Chaiya



1.1 Wat Kaew, its plan and pilaster with chiseled vertical furrows



1.2 Wat Long, its plan and section

and secondly from the usage of miniature arches (*karnakuta*) at the base of a porch (figure 1, 4). Therefore, although the plan of Wat Kaew seems to be representative of Central Javanese art in the late eighth century, Wat Kaew could have been constructed in the tenth century under Cham influence.¹⁸

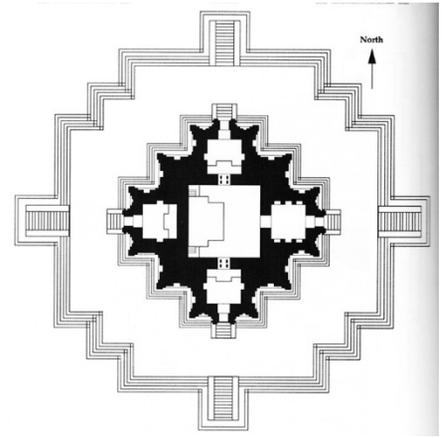


Figure 2. Candi Kalasan and plan

Source: Fredrick W. Bunce, *Monuments of India and the Indianized States* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd., 2007), 328; Karya Sendiri, *Kalasan Temple* [Online], accessed 11 November 2016. Available from <https://goo.gl/JGhHqk>

However, Jacq-Hergoualc’h, a French art historian, suggests that the exterior decoration and superstructure of Wat Kaew resembles the style of Pho Hai temple, dated to the eighth century (figure 3), rather than My Son A1. He also claims that the decoration of the redented corners seems to involve the influence of the decorations of the late Hao-lai style, dated to the eighth century when it was transitioning to the Dong Dzung style (875-898 AD).¹⁹ This opinion chimes with Boisselier’s belief that Wat Kaew should be associated with the Dong Dzung style as well. The entrances were decorated with colonnettes which have mouldings and miniature arches at the base, with these elements being similar to the decoration of the My Son F1 monument, dated to the late eighth century (figure 5).²⁰

Left: Figure 3. Pho Hai temple

Source: Cenco Viet Nam Corporation, *Pho Hai temple* [Online], accessed 11 November 2016. Available from <https://goo.gl/JsJQtZ>

Right: Figure 4. The colonnettes and miniature arch at Wat Kaew



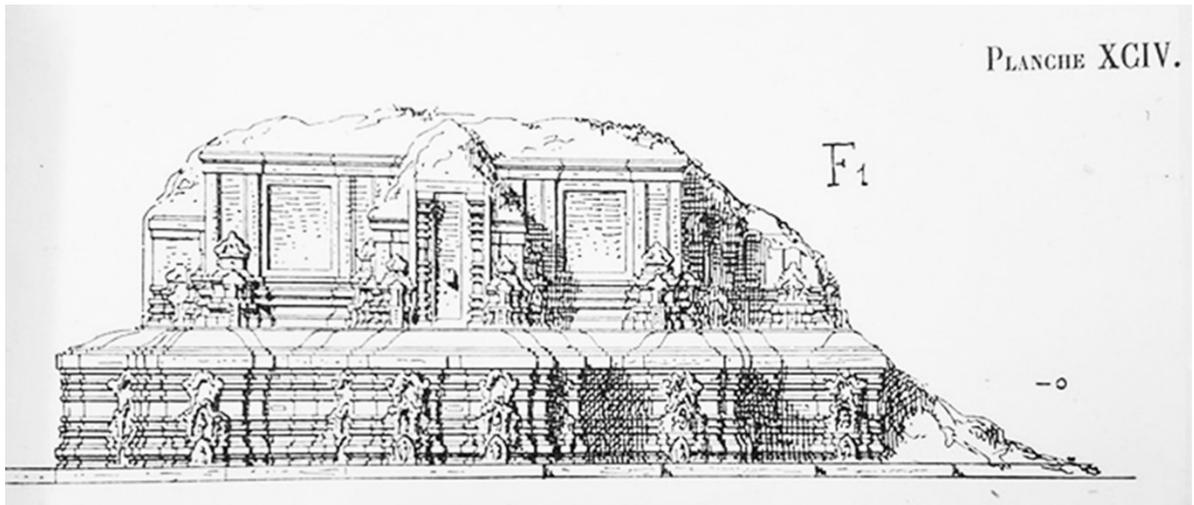
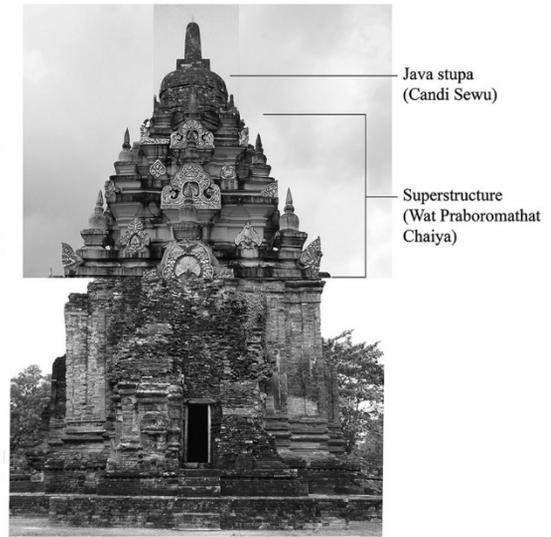
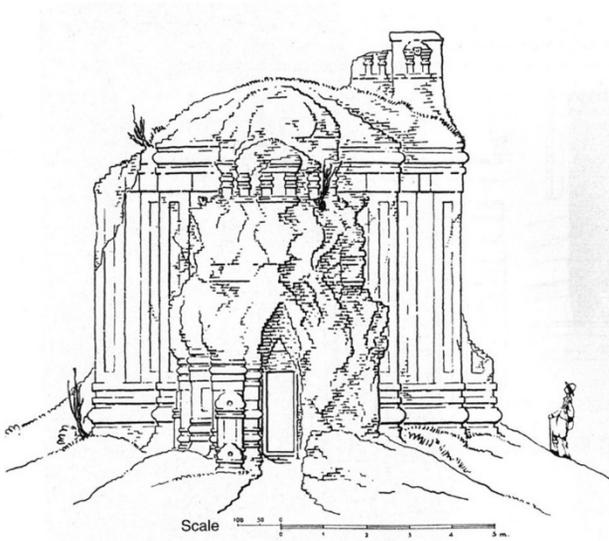


Figure 5. The miniature arch of My Son F1, drawing by Parentier
Source: Henri Parentier, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments çams de l'Annam* (Paris: Leroux 1909), pl. XCIV.

Therefore, Krairiksh's dating is incorrect due to the size of the furrow of the pilasters; with those of My Son A1 being narrow and deep and those of Wat Kaew being wider and more similar to the Hao-lai style. The dating of Wat Kaew should therefore be around the late eighth century, as Jacq-Hergoualc'h demonstrates.

Artefacts which were found by excavation can help to be clearer the dating of this monument. According to the excavation report of the Fine Art Department (FAD), most of the artefacts identified were local ceramics and tradewares, including local earthenware, one Cham sherd, Vietnamese ceramics, Sukhothai ceramics, and Ming and Qing ceramics.²¹ The Chinese ceramics were dated from the sixteenth to eighteenth century. The dating of Cham and Vietnamese ceramics is unclear, but these artefacts indicate that the community of Wat Kaew traded with the Vietnamese and Cham people. Considering the dating of the architecture, this temple was in use from the late eighth to the eighteenth century.

Being able to reconstruct ruins is a dream for archaeologists. Today, the superstructure of Wat Kaew has collapsed, but fortunately there is a drawing by Claeys from 1931 (figure 6) which shows some remaining parts of the superstructure, in particular the miniature arches which appeared on the parapet (*hara*). This drawing leads Jacq-Hergoualc'h to assume that



Left: Figure 6. The side plan of WAT KAEW, drawing in 1931

Source: Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *The Malay Peninsula: Crossroads of the Maritime Silk-Road (100 BC-1300 AD)*, trans. Victoria Hobson (Leiden: Brill, 2001), fig.96.

Right: Figure 7. The reconstruction superstructure of Wat Kaew

the super-structure of Wat Kaew had a Cham influence.²² However, according to the excavation report of FAD, Kemmachat Thepchai states that during excavation, many fragments of *stupika* (small stupa) were found around this monument,²³ though unfortunately there are no photos in his article and report. This article would therefore like to propose that the superstructure of Wat Kaew resembles the Wat Praboromathat Chiaya and Central Javanese stupa designs, such as that of Sewu temple (figure 7), in which the superstructure is decorated with many stupas in which may represent the Buddhist cosmology or *mandala*, or past Buddhas.

Wat Long

The superstructure of Wat Long has collapsed, and its plan is different from Wat Kaew. The plan of Wat Long is cruciform but each porch is distinctively longer than those of Wat Kaew, with the centre having a *garbhagriha* and the entrance being to the east. Krairiksh suggests that four porches were likely used for the Jina (Dhyani) Buddhas,²⁴ which are a common subject of Vajrayana *mandala*. It can be interpreted that the cruciform plan was a popular style at that time because it could support the idea of Jina or Dhayani Buddhas that Central Java, Chaiya, and

many kingdoms obtained from Pala art, such as the plan of Somapura Mahavihara in Pahapur, built by King Dharmapala in 800 AD.²⁵

Compared with other Srivijaya architecture, the cruciform layout of Wat Long is similar to Kalasan (figure 2), but this plan is different from Wat Kaew because the second basement follows the same layout as the first basement, both being decorated by colonnettes and mouldings. According to the excavation of this monument by the FAD, the second basement was constructed after the first stage of building this monument in the Ayutthaya period (figure 3). However, Wat Long was found in the same stratigraphic layer as Wat Kaew, suggesting both were built at the same time.

Artefacts were unearthed during excavations around the basement, including Song ceramics dated to around the tenth century, Annamese ceramics, and Khmer votive tablets (Bayon style).²⁶ Importantly, a bronze eight-armed Tara statue in the Pala style, dated to around the ninth century, was found by local people near a river which meets the sea near this monument.²⁷ This statue is of a widespread female deity of the Vajrayana Buddhism. Thus, the collection of artefacts suggests that Wat Long was a site of religious activity between the ninth and twelfth centuries, possibly relating to the esoteric Buddhism of the Pala and Khmer.

As demonstrated above, it is difficult to date this monument because of the lack of conclusive evidence. Some elements of Wat Long are comparable with Pho Hai. There is a possibility that the wall and superstructure of Wat Long resembles Wat Praboromathat Chaiya and Wat Kaew as well. Additionally, the inclusion of embedded columns, and the double basement are clearly influenced by Pala architecture. Therefore, Wat Long should be built around the late eighth to early ninth century. Except, the first basement was added later and had a roof covering used for walking for worship. That means this monument was constantly used and maintained from the Srivijaya period until the Ayutthaya period (1350-1767 AD).

Wat Praboromathat Chaiya

Many scholars believe that Wat Praboromathat Chaiya (figure 8) was influenced by Central Javanese art, but it shows a Cham art influence as well. Therefore, there are two main assumptions we can make for this monument: firstly, that it was influenced by Central Javanese art and secondly, that it combined Central Javanese and Cham art. Diskul suggests that Wat Praboromathat Chaiya is similar to the Candi Pawon temple in Central Java (figure 8) because the superstructure was decorated with many *stupika* on the roofs.²⁸ His suggestion is a mainstream opinion among art historian.

However, Krairiksh argues that Wat Praboromathat Chaiya has influences from Central Java, for example in some bas-reliefs on a stupa at Borobudur, as well as Cham art which he does not provide examples for²⁹. Additionally, Jacq-Hergoualc'h claims that the basement was decorated with embedded columns with strong mouldings surrounding them on four sides, a decoration similar to that of several of the My Son and Dong Dong monuments dated to the ninth century, such as My Son B6 (figure 8).³⁰ This article adds that the embedded columns can be seen on the plinth of Pho Hai as well, and therefore the dating should be older than Jacq-Hergoualc'h has suggested. Besides, the pilasters on the main corner remain in the chiseled vertical furrow style--even though they have since been modified--which indicates a link with Wat Kaew and Cham art influence. At the fore-part of the entrance, two high closed areas of vaulting are decorated and crowned with a *stupika* (figure 8). In Central Javanese temples, there are no closed vaults on the steps, but the style of vault with *stupika* on the steps seems to be from Borobudur. This design was possibly blended with the miniature arch style of Cham and the closed vault style of Javanese art.

On the superstructure three *kutus* (gables or miniature arches) are reproduced with the same characteristics, and above the roof with gables is a *stupika*, its decoration being similar to that of Candi Mendut temple (figure 8). The top stupa (*chatravali*) of Wat Praboromathat Chaiya was modified 120 years ago, with

Opposite page :
Figure 8. Comparing the architecture of Wat Praboromathat Chaiya, Pawon, and Mendut
Source: Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *The Malay Peninsula: Crossroads of the Maritime Silk-Road (100 BC-1300 AD)*, trans. Victoria Hobson (Leiden: Brill, 2001), fig.105; Tropenmuseum, *The Candi Pawon* [Online], accessed 10 November 2016. Available from <https://goo.gl/N8BPBk>; KSM Tour, *Candi Mendut* [Online], accessed 10 November 2016. Available from <https://goo.gl/A9Zpt4>



Wat Praboromathat Chaiya



Chatravali
or the top of
Wat Praboromathat Chaiya
in Chaiya National Museum



Pawon, 1900 (Tropenmuseum 2016)



Embedded columns at the west side foundation
of My Son B6 (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2001)



Candi Mendut

the original being exhibited today in the Chaiya National Museum. The stupa is made from sandstone and decorated with a lotus pattern (figure 8). Consequently, we can assume that the *chatravali* (parasol) of Wat Kaew and Wat Long might also have been like this.

This article proposes that the major art influence for the architectural style of Wat Praboromathat Chaiya derived from the Candi Mendut temple as seen from the adornment of *stupikas* and *kutus* and its plan, with further influence from Cham decorative styles, namely the embedded columns and the pilasters with vertical furrows. Thus, the dating of Wat Praboromathat Chaiya should be around the early ninth century, or it was built after Wat Kaew and Wat Long.

Buddhist Sculptures in Chaiya

A general problem of study art style is a finding root of art style under the diffusion concept which someone believes in linear development while someone believes in multi-center development. Many scholars remark that the two Chaiya Boddhisattva statues should have been created in 775 AD, as mentioned in the Wat Sema Mueang inscription,³¹ but some disagree for dating.³² Besides, Krairiksh believes that these statues were influenced by Pala combined with local art styles, in other words this indicates that these statues were created by external and internal artisan,³³ but Tingsabchali³⁴ believe they were influenced by Sailendra, Central Java, in other words this means he believes in external development in term of Srivijaya art which was created in Sailendra. However, this assumption has a crucial problem because it will not explain that why Chaiya Boddhisattva statues have a different art style from Java art. These assumptions are very important for understanding the root of Esoteric Buddhism in Chaiya. This section will focus on three statues: two bronze Boddhisattvas which were found at Wat Wieng and Wat Praboromathat Chaiya, and a stone Buddha found inside the *garbabhagriha* of Wat Kaew.

The Bodhisattva Padmapani Statue of Wat Wieng

This life-size statue of a Bodhisattva is assumed to have been created in the late eighth century, 775 AD, as recorded in its inscription (figure 9).³⁵ Although there is no Amitabha on the *jatamukuta* (chignon) on this statue (it has broken off), on his left shoulder he has a deer/antelope head which indicates that this statue depicts Padmapani (Avalokiteshvara). Krairiksh claims that the round face, furrowed eyebrows and thin lips of this statue show features found within both Pala and Central Javanese art. The tiara, hair dress, two bracelets, and necklace are similar to those on a Vishnu statue at the Candi Banon temple dated to the eighth century (figure 10).³⁶ Therefore, Krairiksh apparently believes that this statue is a combination of external and internal art styles.

However, Tingsanchali argues that this statue was created in Chaiya and obtained its influence from Central Javanese art directly. The main reason is that there are many elements, such as the decoration of the tiara and rolled hairstyle, which show the influence of early Central Javanese art. The style of the necklace of the Chaiya Bodhisattva is similar to that in the bas-relief Bodhisattva in the Candi Plaosan temple with a jewelled necklace with U-shaped ornaments, a popular style in the middle of



Above: Figure 10. Vishnu from Candi Banon
Source: Michelle G., *Vishnu* [Online], accessed 10 November 2016. Available from <https://goo.gl/2X371b>

Right: Figure 9. Bodhisattva Padmapani Statue at Wat Wieng



achina yajnopavita

vasatara yajnopavita

mukta yajnopavita

the ninth century.³⁷ This suggests that Tingsanchali believes in the idea of internal development.

Research for this article found that the jewelled necklace with U-shaped ornaments can be seen on some bas-reliefs of Bodhisattvas at Borobudur (figure 11). Therefore the dating of Chaiya Padmapani should be around the late eighth century, the same as the estimated dating of Borobudur (780-830).³⁸ Possibly, the ornamentation of Chaiya's Bodhisattva might have been created contemporaneously with Borobudur and inspired Javanese art, because the inscription of 775 AD already mentioned the power of king Srivijaya in Chaiya, with the Sailendra dynasty becoming the supreme political dynasty in Java around 780 AD.³⁹

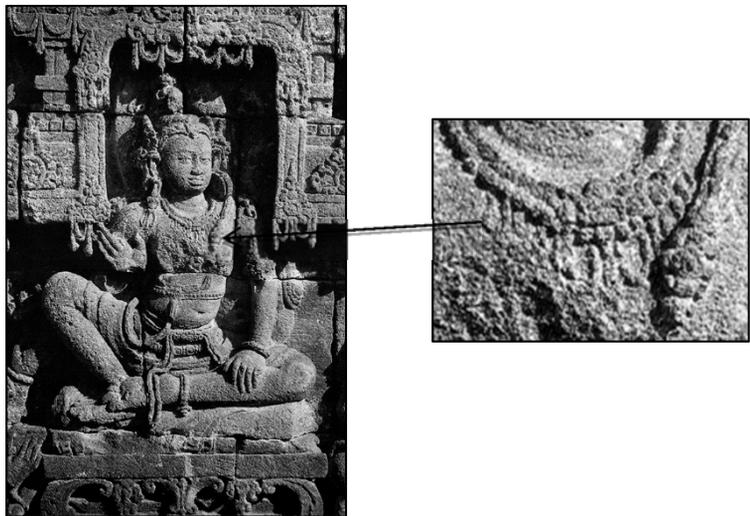


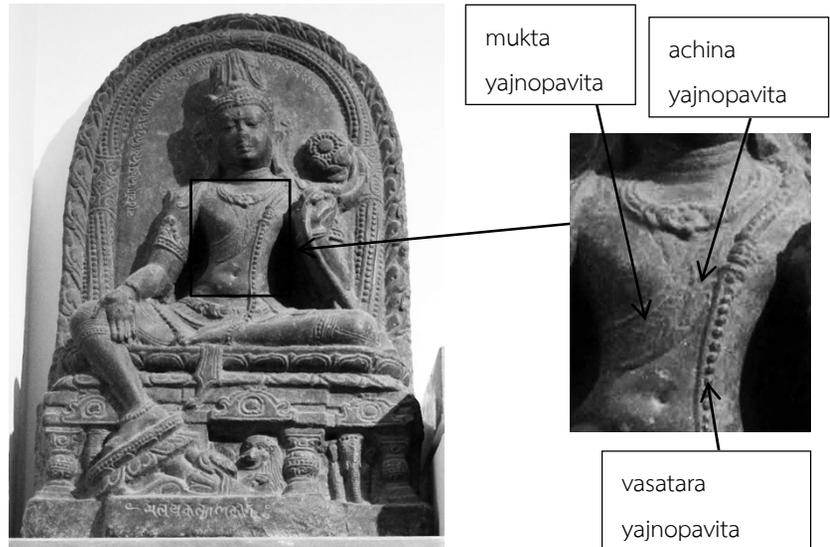
Figure 11. Bodhisattva on the bas-relief at Borobudur

Source: John N. Miksic, *Borobudur: Golden Tales of the Buddhas* (Hong Kong: Periplus, 1990).

Although Chaiyan artisans were externally influenced, they developed their own unique style as seen in the combination of a *vasatara yajnopavita* (a jewelry sacred sash) with a *mukta yajnopavita* (a unique sacred sash)– this style of ornament is different from Central Javanese art where the two *yajnopavitas* would have been worn separately, or there would have been only one – and decoration with an *achina* (deer/antelope) *yajnopavita* on a *vasatara yajnopavita*. This combined *yajnopavita* derives from Pala art (figure 12), not Central Javanese art. Therefore, this statue is associated with Pala art as seen from the three kinds of *yajnopavita*, and with Central Java as seen from his

Figure 12. Avalokitesvara-Lokanatha, Bihar, Pala art

Source: Saiko, *Bihar* [Online], accessed 10 November 2016. Available from <https://goo.gl/nLWLhy>



face shape and ornaments.⁴⁰ If the date of creation is considered correct then this statue is the earliest Srivijaya Avalokitesvara in the late eighth century to signify the connectivity of Vajrayana Tantric Buddhism between Pala, Srivijaya and Central Java, as per Acri's suggestion.

The Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara Statue of Wat Praboromathat Chaiya

This eight-armed statue in a standing position is undoubtedly Avalokitesvara because he is defined by the Amitabha Buddha on his *jatamukuta* (chignon or crown) (figure 13). The dating of this statue has been variously interpreted. Krairiksh suggests that this statue was created after the Bodhisattva Padmapani, due to its having much more decoration on the *jatamukuta* and ornaments which show the influence of both Pala and Javanese art. Additionally, the tiger leather *dhoti* (a garment worn by male) with the two lines of belt tail on the front and lateral leg sides is a particular characteristic of Srivijaya art on the Malay Peninsula. This statue is also similar to the eight-armed Avolokitesvara found in Perak, Malaysia,⁴¹ and therefore this statue can be dated to the second half of the ninth century.⁴² While, Diskul suggests that this statue also appears to have been influenced by Chola, as seen from the series of cloth belts hanging down



Figure 13.
Avolokitesvara found
at Wat Praboromathat
Source: John Guy,
*Lost Kingdoms : Hindu-
Buddhist Sculpture of
Early Southeast Asia*
(New Haven: Yale
University Press, 2014),
CAT.166.

in front of the legs on the *dhoti*.⁴³ From this it could be implied that Krairiksh and Diskul believe that this statue represents a combination of both external and internal art styles.

However, Tingsanchali proposes that this statue was directly influenced by Central Javanese art based on four crucial elements: 1) a tiara having three jewels; 2) having a circle on the middle of a *jatamukuta* that contains Amitabha (figure 13); 3) wearing a pearl necklace along with a jewelled necklace; 4) importantly, adorning two lines of belt tail on the front and lateral side which also appear on Vishnu at Banon and the Bodhisattva at Candi Mendut temple. Tingsanchali also suggests that the Chaiya Avaloketesvara was casted in Chaiya because it wears a *vasatara yajnopavita* over a *mukta yajnopavita*. The cloth belts on *dhoti* were influenced by Central Java rather than the Chola dynasty. Tingsanchali dates this statue's creation to around the late eighth to ninth century.⁴⁴ It could be said that Tingsanchali believes that Pala and Chola art were an indirect influence being transmitted through Central Java and then to Chaiya.

John Guy interestingly suggests that the eight-armed Avalokitesvara was venerated as a favoured type of statue in the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and Central Java during the eighth century, with examples such as the Avalokitesvara from Perak and the four-armed Avalokitesvara from Tekaran in Central Java.⁴⁵ Most of these statues were influenced by the Pala Avalokitesvara from the eighth century.⁴⁶ The importance of these bronze statues raises many curious questions about the mobility of the artisans. In that period, the Chaiya monastic foundry would have been responsible for casting until the ninth century, when the centre of casting moved to Palembang-Jambi and to Central Java, following trade networks.⁴⁷ Thus, the eight-armed Chaiya Avalokitesvara should be dated to around the late eighth century based on the style of ornamentation and the face shape, which is similar to that found in Central Javanese art.

Therefore, the dating provided by Krairiksh and Diskul appear to be incorrect. The dating of this statue can be the late eighth century which coincides with the inscription 775 AD. Furthermore, if we follow Guy's assumption, the Chaiya Avalokitesvara would

probably have spread its influence to Central Java, and the Suzuki's proposal is credible.

The Statue of Akshobhaya at Wat Kaew

While the bronze statues indicate the sharing of art styles with Central Java, the stone Buddha of Wat Kaew mostly relates to Cham art. The Buddha was found in the east niche inside a hall (figure 14),⁴⁸ and is making the *bhumisparsha mudra* (calling the earth to witness.) gesture. The Buddha sits on the *singha* (lion) throne which has two lions engraved on the lateral sides while on the front side there is an image of a *vajra* (thunderbolt weapon). This image is Akshobhaya, who is a member of five supreme Jina staying on the east, which Krairiksh suggests was obviously influenced by Cham, and dates to the tenth century.⁴⁹ However, Nuaon Khrouthingkheo, a Thai art historian, demonstrates that it is visibly influenced by Pala art, decorated the *vajra*, lions, and lotuses, which are not seen in earlier Cham art (figure 15).⁵⁰

Left: Figure 14. A stone Buddha image found at Wat Kaew

Right: Figure 15. Pala Buddha image, Bihar

Source: Susan L. Huntington, *The "Pala-Sena" Schools of Sculpture* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), fig.103.



The Buddha image of Wat Kaew displays a mixture of Cham and Pala art, but it has more of a Cham art influence. Therefore this Buddha image was probably created in the late ninth century in the Dong Doung style (figure 16),⁵¹ and was installed after the construction of Wat Kaew. This indicates that Wat Kaew



Figure 16. Seated statue of Buddha, Dong Dzung style
Source: Bachchan Kumar, *The Buddhist Art: Vietnamese Perspectives* (Delhi: B.R. Publishing, 2007), fig.46.

was dedicated to Vajrayana or Esoteric Buddhism in that period. Within the text of the inscription it states that that one of the three brick temples was constructed for Vajarapani. Thus, the discovery of this Akshobhaya statue could lead to the interpretation that Wat Kaew might be dedicated to Vajarapani. Acri proposes that Cham was “integrated in the web of intra-regional Southeast Asian networks connecting the mainland and the Malay Peninsula to Java, Sumatra, and China between the seventh and tenth centuries”,⁵² and strongly connected with Esoteric Buddhism. Along the east coast from Chaiya to Nakhon Srithammarat, Cham Buddhist statues have been found at many sites. That means Cham statues show the connection of the sea network between Cham and the communities on the east coast of the peninsula through the material religion, but there are little studied on these materials.

Discussion and Conclusion

This article proposes that three brick monuments and two Boddhisattva statues of Chaiya should be dated to the late eighth to early ninth century, which coincide with the inscription of 775 AD, and not the late ninth to tenth century as Krairiksh⁵³ and Tingsanchali⁵⁴ proposed. This dating is important because it suggests that Chaiya was influenced from an early period by the early first wave of Esoteric Buddhism, especially the Vajrayana, which was a movement in Southeast Asia from the eighth to eleventh century.⁵⁵ Therefore, Wat Kaew was built for the Vajarapani as seen from the Akshobhaya image, while Wat Wieng or Wat Long was dedicated to Padmapani or Buddha. Meanwhile Wat Praboromathat has no adequate evidence concerning its dedication but it should be built for the Vajrayana as well; some scholars suggest that one of two Boddhisattva statues might belong to this temple but there is no concrete evidence of this assumption. Nevertheless, at the late eighth century Chaiya was the centre of Vajrayana Buddhism of Srivijaya on the Peninsular.

These monuments, statues and artefacts of Chaiya show both inter-regional and international relations with Central Java, Cham, China, and India (especially Pala), which is significantly

associated with international maritime trade. It is possible that Cham people inhabited their community at Chaiya because the architectures show visibly the influence of Cham. Cham art influence in the Malay Peninsula should be reconsidered, and the trade network between Vietnam and Champa, for which we can see the traces from prehistoric evidence such as Dong Son drums, should be further studied.

From the late eighth to the tenth century, Chaiya was an important port and transpeninsular bridge, and it is possible that there were many merchant communities who had to wait there for the monsoon season. Thus, this area was a site of cultural interaction between many art styles, representing diverse identities and ethnicities; as result the Chaiya Buddhist community attempted to persuade different groups to venerate the temples as public spaces. Many representative elements of art styles were therefore chosen to create a sense of belonging for every ethnic group or community, especially the Javanese and Cham or the Austroonesian, as well as to unify these peoples. Simultaneously, Bodhisattvas were created in order to represent the Vajrayana, and Chaiya was the centre of this sect in that time before it moved to the south such as Palembang and Java but Chaiya still maintained as the art and religious centre.

The *mandala* concept can explain the existence of various art styles in Chaiya and other cities of Srivijaya. Around the late eighth century, there were many centres of the Srivijaya; this political form can be called in a modern term the federation, each of them developed and exchanged their art styles. This should be the main reason that why among the Srivijaya cities can be defined as the heterogeneous art. If we think further, the art classification system which considers from one centre of art influence should be reconsidered by looking at the art influence from multi-centre.

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