YUNNAN

BURMA

SHAN STATES

VIET NAM

LÂN CHÂNG

Chiengrung

Chiengtung

R. MEKÔNG

Chiengsæn

Chiengkòng

Luang Prabang

Chiengrâi

R. KOK

Tæng

Chiengkam

Pagan

R. IRRAWADDY

R. SALWEEN

Chiengmai

R. FÂNG

Payao

R. ING

Lampûn

Nân

Lambâng

Præ

R. WANG

R. YOM

R. NÂN

Viengchan

R. MEKÔNG

Svargaloka

Sukhodayâ

Bishnuloka

Pegu

Thaton

Gampængpet

Lopburî

Ayudhyā

Bangkok

Angkor

CAMBODIA

Indian Ocean

Gulf of Siam

A R T I B U S A S I A E

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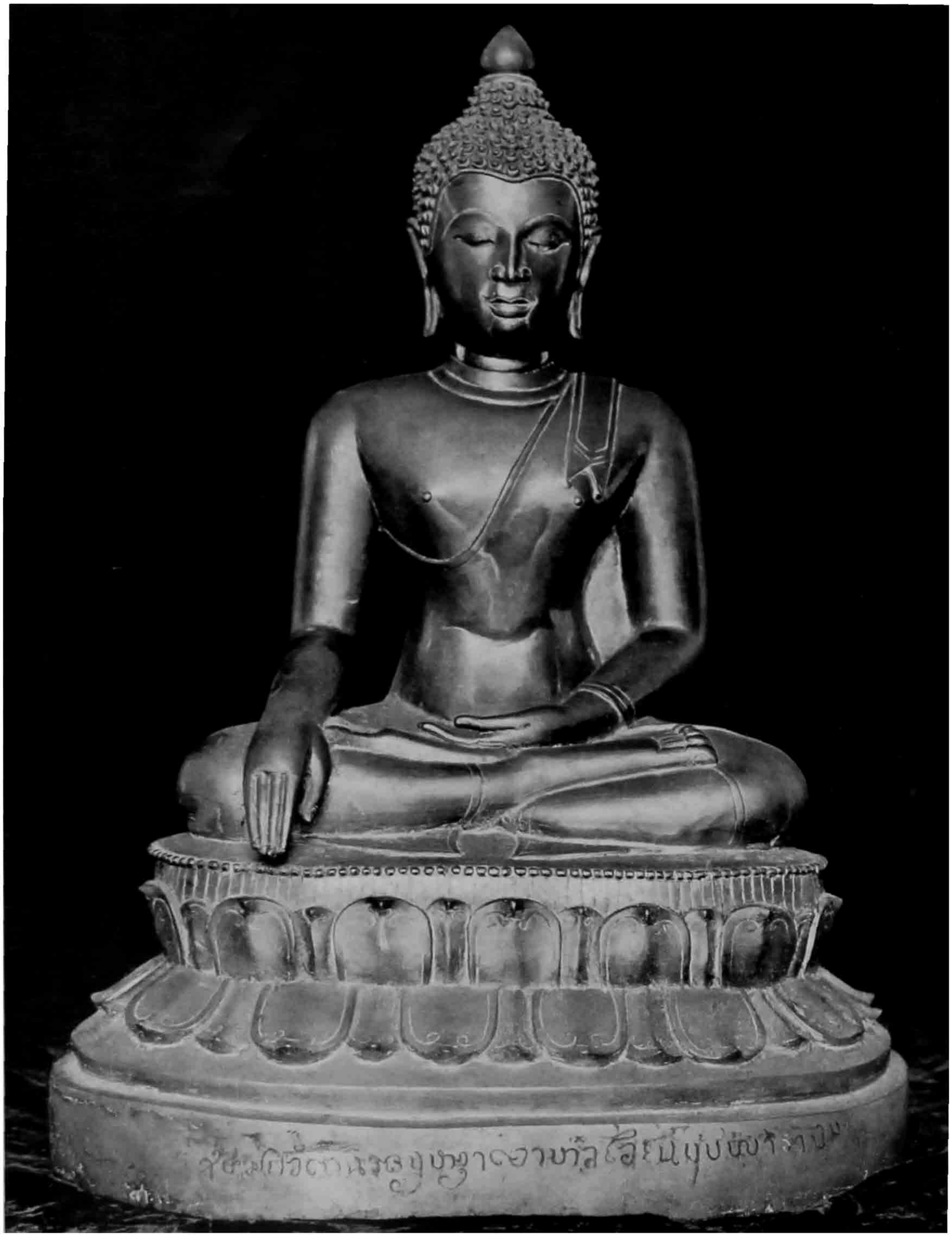

Bronze Buddha, Lion Type, Cast in 1481
(Number 6 in Catalogue)

A. B. GRISWOLD

DATED BUDDHA IMAGES OF NORTHERN SIAM

WITH FIFTY-SEVEN PLATES
AND TWELVE FIGURES IN THE TEXT

MCMLVII

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PETRI DVPONT

LVTETIÆ MDCCCCVIII

BANGKOK MDCCCCLV

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

ACASA VII	— Griswold, *The Buddhas of Sukhodaya*, in Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, vol. VII (1953).
Annales	— Notton, *Annales du Siam*, 3 vols., Paris, 1926-1930.
BEFEO	— Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
BS	— Buddhasakarāja, the Buddhist Era, beginning in 544/3 B. C.
Buddhist Art in Siam	— LeMay, *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam*, Cambridge, 1938.
CS	— Cullasakarāja, the "Little Era", beginning in 638 A. D.
Documents	— Cœdès, *Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental*, BEFEO, XXV.
Emerald Buddha	— Notton, *Chronicle of the Emerald Buddha*, 2d impression, Bangkok, 1933.
États hindouisés	— Cœdès, *Les Etats hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Paris, 1948.
JSS	— Journal of the Siam Society.
JSS XXII/1	— Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Wat Benchamabopit and its Images of the Buddha*, in Journal of the Siam Society, vol. XXII part 1 (July 1928).
JSS XXXIX/1	— Hutchinson, *The Seven Spires*, in Journal of the Siam Society, vol. XXXIX part 1 (June 1951).
JSS XLI/2	— Griswold, *The Buddha Images of Northern Siam*, in Journal of the Siam Society, vol. XLI part 2 (January 1954).
Sihiṅga	— Notton, *Pra Buddha Sihiṅga*, Bangkok, 1933.

NOTE ON NAMES

For Sanskrit and Pali names I have usually followed the standard system of Romanization, except in the case of individuals who prefer a different spelling.

For Tai names I use the phonetic system recommended by the Royal Institute (JSS XXXI/1), but with a few changes designed to help English-speaking readers. For instance I use g, j, d̲, b̲, to represent unaspirated surds, which some systems write k or gk, č or ch, t or dt, p or bp; and I use k, ch, t, p, to represent aspirated surds, which some systems write kh or k$^{\text{c}}$, x or ch$^{\text{c}}$, th or t$^{\text{c}}$, ph or p$^{\text{c}}$. Clues to pronunciation:

b	*bit*	a	*about, squatter*	ü	*purée* (French)
b̲	*scrapbook*	â	*father*	æ	*bread*
ch	*check!*	e	*get*	ai	*bite*
d	*dog*	ê	*eight*	âi	*aisle*
d̲	*pitdigger*	i	*hit*	ao	*out*
g	*background*	î	*machine*	âo	*how*
j	*bootjack*	o	*omit*	œ	*bœuf* (French)
k	*kiss me!*	ô	*rope*	ia	*malaria*
ng	*singing*	ò	*thought*	ie	*lien*
p	*pooh!*	u	*pull*	ua	*accrual*
s	*sit*	û	*group*	üa	*tuerai* (French)
t	*tiger!*				

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For readings of inscriptions: Mr. George Cœdès, Mr. Robert Lingat, and Mr. Roger Billard, Paris; Luang Boribal Buriband, Archeological Expert of the Fine Arts Department, Bangkok; Mr. Cham Pariañ, Chief Epigraphist of the National Library, Bangkok; Mr. Kraiśrī Nimmānahæminda of the Buddhist Institute, Chiengmai; and the Laotian epigraphists attached to the École Française d'Extrême-Orient at Viengchan and Luang Prabang.

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As will be evident from the specific acknowledgments in the Notes, I am indebted to the authors of many books. Of outstanding help have been the works of Mr. George Cœdès, Dr. R. S. leMay, and the late Pierre Dupont.

INTRODUCTION

La sculpture bouddhique siamoise, constituée dans sa très grande majorité par des images du Bienheureux, est d'une iconographie assez pauvre, mais considérée du point de vue du style, elle offre une grande variété. Jusqu'ici, la principale tâche des historiens de l'art siamois a été de répartir les sculptures entre plusieurs écoles et de classer celles-ci par régions et par périodes.

La répartition géographique ne fournit guère matière à discussion, mais la succession chronologique est beaucoup plus difficile à établir, et M. Alexander B. Griswold a eu récemment le grand mérite d'apporter un peu d'ordre et de clarté dans un classement qui s'était révélé peu satisfaisant. La révolution chronologique qu'il a provoquée en abaissant de deux siècles l'époque de l'école dite "de Chieng Sên" que l'on plaçait au XIII^{e} siècle et en la plaçant dans la seconde moitié du XV^{e} siècle, est basée sur la découverte d'un groupe de statues clairement datées qui ne laissent place à aucun doute sur l'origine de ces images: les plus anciennes et les plus typiques appartiennent au règne du roi Tilokarāja dont l'accession au trône de Chieng Mai en 1441 marqua dans les arts et dans les lettres le début d'un « âge d'or » qui devait durer près d'un siècle.

C'est ce groupe de statues datées que M. Alexander B. Griswold fait connaître aujourd'hui au moyen d'une série de reproductions suivant l'ordre chronologique. Cet index photographique est précédé d'une introduction de caractère général sur les origines et les débuts de la sculpture bouddhique au Siam, et d'une étude où les images datées sont replacées dans leur cadre historique.

Le principal intérêt du travail de M. Alexander B. Griswold réside à mon sens dans la large place qu'il a réservée à l'élément humain, je veux dire à la personnalité des artistes et des artisans qui ont conçu et modelé ces images.

Trop souvent l'historien de l'art semble oublier que les œuvres qu'il étudie ont été façonnées par des hommes qui avaient leur mentalité, leurs croyances, leur idéal, leurs traditions propres, et qui vivaient dans un certain milieu; trop souvent il ne s'attache qu'à l'analyse des formes plastiques, et base ses déductions sur la comparaison de motifs décoratifs et de détails iconographiques détachés de l'ensemble constitué par l'œuvre de l'artiste.

Après s'être livré à une étude minutieuse des faits iconographiques et stylistiques, M. Alexander B. Griswold s'élève au-dessus de ces considérations purement formelles et cherche à se représenter ce que l'artiste a voulu faire, pourquoi il s'est assigné ce dessein et comment il l'a réalisé. Son étude a de profondes racines dans le milieu humain où les sculptures ont pris naissance, et ses conclusions y gagnent en vraisemblance et en solidité.

J'ai d'autant plus de plaisir à présenter cet ouvrage qu'il est basé sur l'épigraphie, discipline à laquelle j'ai toujours accordé une place privilégiée dans les recherches concernant les royaumes hindouisés de l'Asie du Sud-Est.

Paris, juin 1956

G. CŒDÈS

PROLOGUE

TRADITION asserts that the Sage of the Sākyas never sat for his portrait, but that one likeness of him at least was made during his lifetime. This was the sandalwood statue carved at Kosala while he was away on a visit to heaven. In a double sense it was a memory image: the King of Kosala, deprived of his reassuring presence, needed a substitute to stimulate and gratify his own recollection; the sculptors reproduced the Buddha's appearance from memory. When the Buddha returned to Kosala after a three months' absence, his wooden image arose and came forward as if to make obeisance, but he told it to stay where it was so that later generations might take comfort from it after his death and use it as a model for other statues.[1]

* * *

In all probability no image of the Buddha was made until long after his death. The most fitting way for men to remember him with honor, he said as he lay dying, was to follow the Doctrine honorably.

How could such an austere program satisfy the yearnings of the heart? Men needed to do reverence, though they might be unable to grasp the Doctrine or follow its rules of conduct. Like the well-meaning child who had placed a handful of dust in the Buddha's almsbowl, new converts made such offerings as they could. It became the custom to honor his memory with ritual learned from the fire-worshipers, and to praise him in terms borrowed from the Sun myths.

A solar disk in the form of a chariot wheel, a pillar of fire seen as an upright slab striped with diagonal jets of flame — these and other symbols are the means by which early Indian art indicates his invisible presence, whether as the recipient in acts of worship or as the protagonist in scenes from his own life. Carved separately, such symbols are not only reminders of the Sage and a means to worship him; the disk and the pillar could also be used in place of the "flame device" for inducing trance.[2]

The trance exercise is a good method of exploring the subconscious. Indians had long found it useful for a variety of purposes — from locating lost articles to clarifying

the mind, from gaining magical power to visualizing the gods. They had worked out specific routines for it. Mostly they began by regulating the breath rhythmically, and concentrating the gaze on a "device", such as a tongue of flame, a bowl of water, a patch of color. As subject and object merged, the nature of the device affected the nature of the trance; meditation on a flame brought "fiery energy." Later on, the divinities of the Hindu and Mahāyāna pantheons each had a characteristic hue corresponding to one of the "color devices"; but the unique Lord of the Hīnayāna, the Sage who had inherited the Sun's glory, was conceived not as a color but as a flame.[8]

When sculpture at last began to portray him in human form, the old symbols were not forgotten. The different episodes of his life are labeled by means of plastic formulas which would be easier than written words for the masses to recognize. Like a stage property in a well-known play, a Bo tree signifies the scene of Enlightenment, a pair of deer the park where the First Sermon was delivered. There are "four attitudes suitable for an ascetic": the sculptured Sage stands or walks when "taming the enraged elephant" or "descending from heaven", sits when "meditating" or "calling the Earth to witness his triumph over evil", reclines when "passing into Total Extinction". And he accompanies such acts as calling the Earth to witness, dispelling fear, or preaching, with one of those vivid gestures of the hand that take on such precise meanings among a polyglot people.

The great artists of the Gupta period, using the Gandhāran iconography of action, enlarged the Mathurā mystical intention. Guided by the trance discipline they set a standard of beauty above and beyond the ordinary senses. A Yogi suffused with fiery energy, the incarnation of a flame — this is how they might best visualize the Buddha. From earlier sculpture and earlier forms of worship they remember the "supernatural anatomy", modified by Yogic concepts of physical development. The torso is "lion-like", with full chest and narrow waist, but there is no display of muscles, veins or bony articulation. The ear-lobes are elongated, an excrescence crowns the skull, the curls of hair turn in the sunwise direction. A Sun disk is the Buddha's halo, and when the same sign reappears in miniature on his forehead, like a sect-mark painted on the brow of a Sun-worshiper, it is a "tuft of hair emitting luminous rays". A wheel on palm and footsole, while it symbolizes the onward progress of the Doctrine, still recalls the Sun's power. The gilding of the images makes known the Buddha's radiance; the incandescence of his body shines through his monastic robe and reduces it to transparency.

* * *

The sculptors of Siam, serving the Hīnayāna for fourteen centuries, have multiplied the images of Buddha beyond computation. Anyone who examines a sufficient number of them will see that they fall quite naturally into several different groups on the basis of type and style.

The *type* of a Buddha image depends on its iconography, and its iconography means three things: anatomy, costume, posture. There is little latitude for choice. The anatomy may vary, within limits, as to the form of supernatural details and the canons of proportion. The dress is usually monastic, worn according to one of three basic schemes; occasionally it is a princely garment. Four postures are admissible: walking, standing, sitting, reclining; if sitting, there are three different ways the legs may be placed. There are less than a dozen usual gestures of the hand, all symbolic.

That is just about all the iconography a sculptor who serves the Hīnayāna uses. Of the rich iconography of Indian art it is only this tiny fraction that he adopted, and he has kept it essentially constant ever since. Unlike sculptors who make cult images for the Mahāyāna or the Hindu religions, he has no use for a multiplication of heads and arms, no use for postures charged with emotion, no use for significant "attributes" held in the hands, and very little use for smart dress and jewels. Unlike European artists, he has no desire to be original. On the contrary, he prides himself on being a copyist.

There are good reasons for this. The patron who commissions an image is usually not a connoisseur: he is either a prince offering a handsome gift to religion, or else merely a citizen wishing to "make merit" — perhaps in connection with his sixtieth birthday or some other occasion. So when the sculptor asks him what he wants the image to look like, the line of least resistance is for him to say: "Oh, make it look like such-and-such", naming one of the best-known statues in the community. In any case, unless the patron is a severe rationalist (and rationalists must have been in the minority in medieval times), he hopes to produce a miraculous device. In order to inherit some fraction of the infinite power the Buddha himself possessed, an image *must* trace its lineage back to one of the legendary "authentic" likenesses, such as the sandalwood figure carved at Kosala by artists who knew him personally. But how can the patron be certain that the statue he chooses as a model is really in the true succession? The safest course is to choose one that has proved itself by displaying unusual magic power. Since by that very fact it will have already become illustrious, there is every reason to copy a famous model, none at all to copy an obscure one.

In this way a few models would each inspire an endless series of imitations. Some of the imitations might be made not long after the model itself, and by sculptors of

the same school; others might be made decades or centuries later by sculptors trained in a very different tradition. But they would all duplicate the iconography of the model.

Style depends on another order of ideas. If the medieval patron was no more than vaguely aware of them, they make all the difference to the modern eye: they decide whether an image is beautiful or ugly. How does the artist relate masses and planes? Does he give his figure a solid three-dimensional quality or does he think more in terms of bas-relief? What patterns of line and silhouette does he make use of? What rhythm and movement does he impart? What convention does he adopt to represent clothing? Do the facial features recall some ethnic group or even an individual, or are they idealized and abstract?

In matters of this sort, which are easier to see than to measure, the Buddhist sculptor is governed far less by his model than by his own training and experience. If the model happens to be a product of his own school he naturally reproduces both its iconography and its style. If, however, it is a work of some alien school, he will take pains to reproduce the unfamiliar iconography, but render it in the plastic terms of his own school.

* * *

Type and style are usually the only available clues for determining the date of a Buddha image. Type is an easy guide to follow, but may prove misleading; style, though more elusive, is more reliable. In any case the archeologist will feel more confidence when there are some clear sign-posts around for him to read.

Such sign-posts are not numerous. In Siam, after a good deal of searching with the help of well-informed friends, I have found only about a hundred Buddha images bearing dated inscriptions. Practically all these are in the north or come from there, and not one of them is earlier than the 15th century A. D.[4]

* * *

Yet by that time sculpture had been going on in Siam for probably 900 years, and most of the masterpieces had already been created.

The earliest school (6th-12th century?) has been given the name *Dvāravatī*, after a kingdom that was situated in the lower valley of the Mænam near the Gulf. The Tai, who predominate in the region today, had not yet arrived; the people of Dvāravatī, or at least the upper classes, were Mon. Dvāravatī was a member, perhaps the leader, of a Mon confederation that extended westward to Thaton in Lower Burma.

Fig. 1
Buddha Calling the Earth to Witness
Stone stela; height 43 cm.; Dvāravatī style
Museum, Nagara Pathama

The Mon had been converted to the Hīnayāna at an early date, by missionaries from India or Ceylon. The Dvāravatī sculptors owed much to Indian example, but they were not slavish imitators. If they invented no new iconography, they selected from the old according to their requirements. They did not take over the conventions of any one Indian school wholesale. The best of their works, in stone, terra cotta or stucco, are expressions of simple dignity, youthful but timeless, lacking neither in grace nor in finish. The modeling, like the iconography, in general follows the Gupta tradition; but it is less ethereal and more forthright. The facial features are heavier, and an incised line accents the silhouette of the lips.[5] (Fig. 1.)

As a result of some disastrous wars, it appears, the federation broke up in the 11th century, but neither the Mon tradition of the Hīnayāna nor Mon culture perished. Lampûn, a northern colony of Dvāravatī, remained independent. Thaton in the west taught the conquering Burmans the arts of peace. Dvāravatī in central Siam was taken over by the Khmer, who stood in no such need of instruction: the builders of Angkor to some extent imposed their own artistic styles in the provinces they conquered. But Dvāravatī sculpture had fixed in the minds of the people a lasting ideal of what Buddha images should be. It had a part in forming the Khmer style of the Bayon towards the close of the 12th century, and the Tai schools later.

* * *

Far away to the north lay Nan-chao. Though now part of the Chinese province of Yünnan, it was then an independent kingdom, inhabited by a diversity of peoples, among whom the Tai were prominent. The government was highly organized, the army strong enough to win the respect of both Chinese and Tibetans. The ruling classes professed the Mahāyāna; the skill of their image-makers can be judged from beautiful bronze statuettes of Avalokiteśvara that still survive. These were magic devices designed to identify members of the Nan-chao royal family with the Bodhisattva — for in Nan-chao, as in the Khmer empire, only the aristocracy could hope for heaven or command the devices that would open access to it. No one else, it seems, had any part in the official religion.[6]

* * *

Tai emigrants, drifting southward from Nan-chao, formed settlements in Southeast Asia. Probably the movement was very gradual, so imperceptible at first that it is useless to try to date its beginning. It must have continued for centuries, without ever taking on the proportions of a true migration. By the 12th century, if not before, the Tai had carved out tiny principalities in the wildernesses of Laos and northern Siam, while inside the frontiers of the Khmer empire there were communities administered by Tai lords under the supervision of Khmer viceroys.[7]

Probably these Tai settlers were very much like the "White-Clad" and "Black-Clad" Tai of North Vietnam in modern times. If so, they had a well-ordered social system — pyramidal in structure and conservative in character; they were good farmers, with a sufficient command of hydraulic engineering to irrigate their rice fields; they had numerous domestic animals; they were skilful boatmen in treacherous rivers; they built simple but adequate houses of wood or split bamboo; they made weapons and implements of metal; they were friendly and hospitable; they had a rich folklore; they loved the music of drums and bamboo pipes, as well as songs performed alternately by a young man and a girl improvising merry or wistful stanzas; their religion was pure animism, an elaborate cult of the Spirits; and their sorcerers had an empirical knowledge of hypnotism, with a trance routine vaguely resembling the Indian.

Such a description of the Tai settlers in Siam is more or less confirmed by their own chronicles, especially in regard to the cult of Spirits. These creatures, then as now, were everywhere. Some of them were ancestors, kindly and protective when treated well, but most difficult otherwise. Some were tree-spirits presiding over a particular field, village, or province; some were dragons; some were man-eating monsters. Any big tree or rock, any hilltop or stream, might harbor one of them. Though their anger

was easy to incur and hard to escape, they could be placated with gifts of food and flowers or coerced with sorcery.[8]

Had the Tai settlers brought with them any remembrance of the Mahāyāna professed by Nan-chao royalty, or the images associated with it? The answer must be "no", if it is possible to judge by the White-Clad and Black-Clad Tai, who know nothing of Buddhism and make no images. Very likely the emigrants before leaving Nan-chao had hardly been aware of the royal religion and its devices. Nevertheless it seems probable they brought with them a good knowledge of bronze-casting for utilitarian purposes; for later, when they began to make Buddha images under the influence of their new neighbors, they quickly surpassed them in the use of bronze..

* * *

The region of Sukhodaya, in the heart of Siam, is a pleasant land of teak forest and rice field, watered by one of the three great branches of the Mænam. It was a distant outpost of the Khmer empire, its scattered communities ruled by Tai lords as vassals of a Khmer viceroy. In about 1220 two of these Tai lords revolted, overwhelmed the local Khmer garrison, and proclaimed the province an independent kingdom.

At Sukhodaya Siamese culture developed rapidly. The Tai were not only brave in war and generous in victory; they were also skilful organizers and quick learners. They were in touch with the material techniques of the Khmer, and through the Khmer they had access to the fascinating treasury of Indian literature. The Dvāravatī art tradition, though enfeebled, was kept alive by their Mon neighbors and subjects, whose gentle religion with its essentially democratic spirit appealed to their own good nature and sturdy common sense. Presently the Tai got in touch with Ceylon, fountainhead of the Hīnayāna. These influences they absorbed and combined with others, creating by their judicious selection a new and characteristic culture. Its vigor and refinement are revealed by numerous tangible remains — porcelain, jewelry, stone inscriptions, brick monuments, stucco reliefs, bronze statuary.[9]

* * *

The trance routine was a common heritage of the Indianized world, which must have struck a responsive chord in the Tai. It was capable of enriching their own knowledge of the subconscious as it had been revealed through their sorcerers by a simpler hypnotism. Together with their inherited aptitude for working in bronze, it stood them in good stead when they were ready to make images for worship.

The bronze Buddhas of the Sukhodaya "high classic" style are like visions seen in ecstasy (Fig. 2). No doubt they are "copies" at fourth or fifth remove, of models in the Dvāravatī tradition or in the Khmer style of the Bayon, or perhaps of some revered image reputed to be of Sinhalese origin; but to modern eyes the resemblance is not very striking. Probably the artists, like the legendary sculptors of Kosala, did not work in the presence of the model. Instead they "copied" by means of a memory-picture, which would be modified by their own experience, including the recollection of passages from Pali and Sanskrit literature.

The "supernatural anatomy" in the main is like the Gupta and the Dvāravatī; but its purposeful distortions and auspicious "marks", typifying the physical and mental development of a Yogi, correspond more especially to those curious descriptions of the Buddha's person given in the Pali commentaries composed in medieval Ceylon. The shoulders are broad, the chest full, and the arms very long; often the footsoles are flat and the heels projecting. Other features are based on the stereotyped similes used in Sanskrit poetry to describe gods and heroes, or (what amounts to the same thing) comparisons with familiar objects prescribed in the Indian art manuals as guides to anatomical form. The shape of the head is "like an egg"; the curls of the hair are "like the stings of scorpions" (cf. Appendix, p. 69). The nose is "like a parrot's beak" and the eyebrows "like drawn bows"; the chin, with its incised oval line, is "like a mango stone". The arms are "smooth and rounded, like the trunk of an elephant"; the hands are "like lotus flowers just beginning to open", with the finger-tips turning backward like petals. Gold leaf applied to the surface of the image is the Sage's "gold-colored skin", the radiance of fiery energy drawn from the Sun.

A tall flame springing from the excrescence of the skull replaces the disk-like halo of earlier statuary. The monastic dress is stylized as before. Thin and clinging, it allows the luminous contours of the body and limbs to "shine through".

All of the "four attitudes suitable for an ascetic" are portrayed, but seated figures are by all odds the most numerous. The Sage sits tailor-fashion with legs folded, one of them resting on top of the other. Sometimes he is in the classic attitude of trance-like "meditation", with both hands lying in his lap. Most often, however, he is portrayed at the moment of Enlightenment, as if under the Bo tree at Bodhgayā: momentarily interrupting his long meditation, he has moved his right hand from lap to knee, pointing downward with his fingers to call the Earth to witness his triumph over evil.

In all these things — anatomy, dress, and posture — though the artist chooses and rejects, though he makes fresh combinations of the ancient material, though he draws as much on literature as on sculptural example, he invents nothing really new.

But in style he is brilliantly original. Instead of conceiving his subject within the framework of high relief like so much Buddhist art in the past, he prefers to realize it in the round. Placing his chief reliance on a dynamic silhouette, he leaves much surface unadorned. He suppresses irrelevant detail, but works affectionately over a small passage of cloth with a suggestion of folds falling into a pattern. Without making any attempt at realism, he sometimes unconsciously recalls the Tai physiognomy in the curve of an eyelid or the tapering fingers of a slim hand. He remembers the incised outline of the mouth from Dvāravatī. He usually works in bronze or stucco, which invite a fluid plasticity. He uses his material knowingly, not wishing it to give the illusion of flesh or drapery — for he is not making the likeness of a man clad in stuff, he is making the likeness of a vision of fiery energy. The modeling has a trance-like quality; the gilded contours flicker, the silhouette leaps like a fire. From an aesthetic point of view the

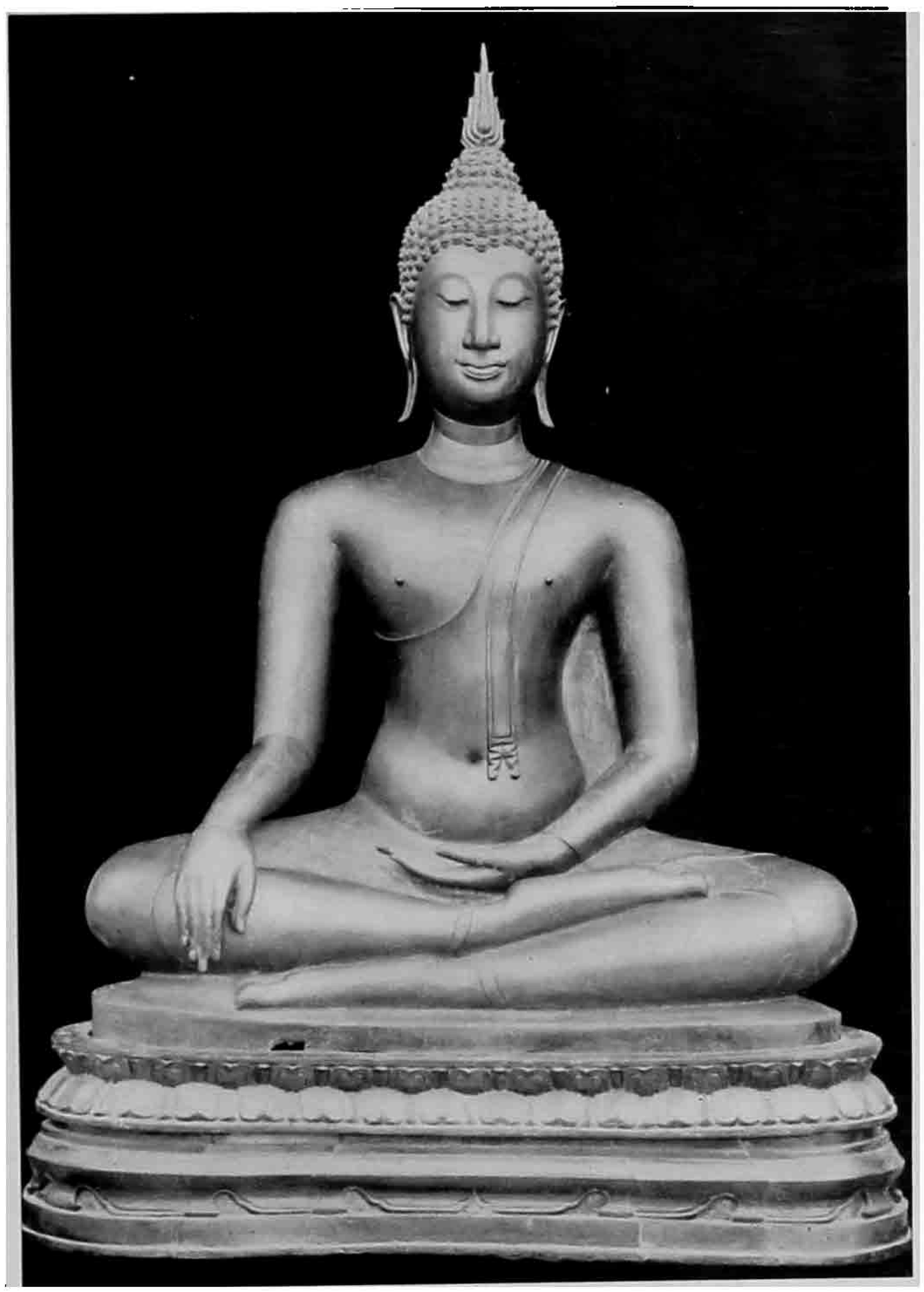


Fig. 2
Buddha Calling the Earth to Witness
Bronze; height, excluding outer pedestal, 94 cm.; Sukhodaya high classic style
Collection of H.R.H. Prince Chalermbol Yugala, Bangkok
(Previously published: ACASA, VII, fig. 23)

result is an astonishing invention; but in the eyes of orthodoxy it was no more — or rather no *less* — than a copy.[10]

Such is the "high classic" style of Sukhodaya at its best. The chronology is still uncertain. Probably there was a pre-classic style in the 13th century, and the classic should be dated in the 14th and first half of the 15th. It was gradually displaced by a post-classic style that may have begun before the end of the 14th century; the most famous example is the great bronze statue at Bishṇuloka called "Buddha the Victorious King". The four fingers of each hand are equal in length, a piece of labored orthodoxy based on the Pali Commentaries. Though lacking in fiery energy, and inert by comparison with the high classic, this is a lovely image suffused with tranquil sweetness.[11] From now on the school of Sukhodaya declined; its products became progressively stiff and dry.

In 1349 a political disaster had overtaken Sukhodaya. The King, more interested in religion than in warfare, was forced to surrender his independence to the ruler of a Tai state on his southern frontier. The Sukhodaya dynasty was not dethroned, but continued to rule as vassals of the new power, Ayudhyā.

Sukhodaya, by all the evidence, was the first school of *Tai* art to come into being in Siam. It was also the most important. I have described it at some length in order to bring out its peculiar characteristics, which were to have such a far-reaching effect on the sculpture this book is directly concerned with.

* * *

Probably the only place in northern Siam where the plastic arts were cultivated in the 13th century was the little kingdom of Lampûn, originally a colony of Dvāravatī. It had managed to remain independent after the Khmer extinguished the mother country; and it was still ruled by a Mon dynasty which cherished the Hīnayāna and preserved something of the old artistic tradition.[12]

Beyond Lampûn lay a wild hinterland of forest and mountain, peopled mostly by primitive tribes. But in the cleared lowlands between the mountain chains there were settlements of Tai, whose political power was expanding.

This branch of the Tai is known as "Yuan" (pronounced to rhyme with "fluency" minus the last syllable).[18] The Tai Yuan were not so early favored by circumstances as their kinsmen at Sukhodaya. They needed a spiritual awakening and a course of technical training before the arts could come to life among them.

In 1292 both these things became possible. King Mengrâi, the ruler of several small Tai Yuan states, captured Lampûn. Four years later he founded a new capital at

Chiengmai, seventeen miles to the north, but for nearly a century Lampûn remained the cultural capital. Known as Lân Nâ ("spreading rice-fields"), King Mengrâi's realm quickly grew to include most of northern Siam.[14]

Just as Sukhodaya had learned so much from the Mon and Khmer a generation or two earlier, so now the Tai Yuan of Lân Nâ learned all they could from the Mon of Lampûn. But the culture they found there is not to be compared with the elaborate civilization of the Khmer, and its new Tai Yuan rulers could not hope to rival the religious and artistic achievements of Sukhodaya. What did they understand of the Buddhism they were eagerly embracing? Did they regard it mainly as a stronger form of magic that would keep the Spirits in some sort of control? A truer knowledge would come in time. At least they were now in intimate contact with Buddhism as an established religion — a religion served by an organized brotherhood of monks and equipped with a solid tradition of art and letters.

The Mon no doubt taught the Tai Yuan the advantage of having Buddha images to worship. The sculptors, though they were now working for a Tai patron, were still Mon, or at least trained in the Mon tradition. The images they made were in the Lampûn style — a provincial version of Dvāravatī. The best examples are in terra cotta, and there are not a great many of them. There is no way of telling which ones were made before the Tai Yuan conquered Lampûn and which after.

I am inclined to think that images of this style, chiefly in terra cotta, were the only ones known to the founder of Chiengmai and his successors for three generations.[15]

* * *

Buddhism and Buddhist art in northern Siam received a fresh impetus from two events that occurred during the reign of King Günâ (1355-1385).

The King, a devout Buddhist, must have been dissatisfied with the condition of religion in Lân Nâ. The old Mon Buddhism, inherited from Lampûn, needed to be reinforced. He had heard glowing accounts of the Sect of Forest-Dwelling Monks, who were led by men educated and ordained in Ceylon. At Sukhodaya, which was now a dependency of Ayudhyā, their devotion and their miraculous powers had made a deep impression. King Günâ, "desiring the arrival of some Forest-Dwellers", invited one of their leaders, the Abbot Sumana, to come from Sukhodaya and settle in Lân Nâ in order to preach the Doctrine. When he accepted, the King went to Lampûn to meet him, received him with deep respect, and installed him in a monastery there which he had prepared for him. Soon after his arrival Sumana, feeling the need of a

propaganda device such as he had successfully used before, said he would like to have four standing images of Buddha, of life-size or larger, cast in bronze. The King assented eagerly; but how were they to be made? Bronze-casting on such a scale seems to have been a new idea in the north; without doubt both the idea and the model came from Sukhodaya. Under Sumana's supervision the work began.[16]

While King Günà was thus engaged, his brother the Prince of Chiengrâi was not idle. What he did was perhaps no less effective in making the art of Sukhodaya known in the north.

A monk who had recently arrived from the south showed the Prince a wax replica of a very famous image known as the "Sinhalese Buddha", which belonged to the ruler of Gampængpet. After mentioning the many wonders it had performed, the monk related its history:

Some seven centuries after the Buddha's death, three princes of Ceylon wanted to have an authentic likeness of him made. While they were consulting some holy men as to how they might get an exact description of the Sage's personal appearance, a well-disposed dragon suddenly appeared. He had known the Sage quite well, he explained, and would be glad to furnish a model. By his magic power he transformed himself into an apparition of the Buddha, resplendent with the anatomical marks of greatness and seated in the attitude of "meditation". As worshiping a dragon involves very bad demerit, he had warned the holy men not to worship the apparition. After allowing them to study it for a whole week, he resumed his own form and went away. Artists were summoned to make a wax model from the holy men's description. Gold, silver and tin, amounting to sixteen cocoanut-shell measures, were gathered for the casting. While the metal was being poured into the mould a prince angrily struck an incompetent workman with his stick, and the influence of his evil deed caused a defect in the casting of the hand. The soothsayers advised that it should be left as it was: a later owner would repair it. The image remained in Ceylon until the first King of Sukhodaya got hold of it and took it to his capital. It was venerated there until recently, the monk continued, when the King of Ayudhyā seized it. His vassal, the ruler of Gampængpet, sent his own mother to the capital to obtain the image by fraud. She became the King's favorite, bribed the watchman of the hall of images, and secretly dispatched the priceless talisman to her son.

The Prince of Chiengrâi, fascinated by the monk's story, now determined to get the image for himself. Marching south at the head of an army and making a demonstration of force, he called on the ruler of Gampængpet to surrender it.

Are we to believe that the wily man who had gone to such pains to get possession

of it would now sheepishly hand it over? There is every reason to suspect that the image he yielded up with a show of reluctance was a replica. The replica would be in the style of Sukhodaya, which had long dominated the art of Gampængpet. The Prince of Chiengrài, who was not a connoisseur but a pious man in need of supernatural protection, suspected nothing. Delighted with the miracles it performed, he took it home and ordered a copy of it to be made in bronze.[17]

Sumana's work at Lampûn and this copy commissioned by the Prince are the two earliest instances of casting bronze images in northern Siam mentioned in any of the more reliable chronicles. Apparently they mark the beginning of a school of bronze sculpture in Làn Nà, based on the Sukhodaya tradition. Unfortunately the images themselves have disappeared, and there is no record to show what craftsmen were employed to make them or how the school continued. Were the first craftsmen imported from Sukhodaya? Did they instruct Tai Yuan apprentices in the newly-introduced art of casting large bronzes? Did the apprentices, having mastered it as best they could, transmit it to a new generation?

More than likely the answers to these questions should be "yes". There is a fairly large group of northern bronze images that are obviously intended to be imitations of the Sukhodaya high classic. There is good reason to believe they were made in the period between Sumana's arrival and the introduction of other types of Buddha images about a hundred years later. In honor of the Abbot (though he was not solely responsible), I have named this whole group of Tai Yuan imitations of Sukhodaya: "the Style of Sumana".

In modeling as well as iconography they are very close to Sukhodaya. Yet little things betray them. At their worst, they are crude and heavy; at their best, they lack the marvelously moving line, the sensitive modeling, the spiritual energy of the Sukhodaya high classic. By comparison they have a slight coarseness of feature or heaviness of jowl. Small details are less refined. The Tai Yuan sculptor, earnestly reproducing the externals of Sukhodaya art, somehow missed its real spirit.[18]

* * *

Under the patronage of Günà and his successor, Buddhism made brisk progress in Làn Nà. One of the chronicles hints at the tacit compromise it reached with animism:

Stopping in Làn Nà in the course of a miraculous journey through the air, the Sage of the Sākyas met two powerful spirits, husband and wife, who were accustomed to feed on human flesh. When he reproved them, they promised to reform; but what

should they do for food? If they would support the Doctrine, they asked, would the Buddhists in turn sacrifice two buffaloes a year to them? The Sage turned away without replying to their question.[19]

In the next reign Buddhism got a setback. King Sâm Fâng Gæn, who came to the throne in 1401, repudiated the Doctrine, "favored the heretics at the expense of the faithful, sacrificed buffaloes and oxen to the spirits of gardens and trees, hilltops and forests". He confiscated the property of Buddhist monasteries and turned it over to the sorcerers. But he did not put a stop to Buddhist activities. There were many laymen willing to help the monks in their adversity. Through their aid a group of twenty-five monks from Chiengmai managed to travel to Ceylon, where they studied for several months and were re-ordained with the most orthodox rites. When they returned, rich with their knowledge of the Pali sacred writings, and accompanied by two Sinhalese monks, they were prepared to risk the King's displeasure for the sake of the Doctrine. They were living at Lampûn in 1441, when the heretic King abdicated and his son Tiloka mounted the throne of Lân Nâ..[20]

DATED BUDDHA IMAGES OF NORTHERN SIAM

CHIENGMAI today is the second largest city in Siam. Its crumbling ramparts cannot contain its expanding energies. The products of farm and forest reach its markets in heavily-laden trucks and in ox-carts with creaking wheels, while manufactured goods arrive by rail to be distributed locally or to the lesser cities of northern Siam. The people are alert, industrious, and gay. In tree-shaded gardens silver is hammered, silk is woven, lacquer bowls are shaped. Mobile amplifiers recite deafening publicity for cinemas and patent medicine; when they have moved out of range, gentler sounds can be heard — tuneful voices accompanied by the bamboo flute, the chanting of monks, the distant reverberation of gongs announcing the holy day. Monasteries gleam with white and red and gold in the tropical sunshine, or fade in the dim landscape of monsoon rains. During the cool night, ancient trees whisper with the voices of Dryads — for the Spirits, though acknowledging the supremacy of Buddhism, are still a power in men's hearts.

* * *

In the 15th century Siam consisted of numerous little principalities, grouped together in shifting patterns of vassalage around two rival sovereigns. The King of Ayudhyā in the south and the King of Lân Nâ in the north engaged in intermittent warfare. The two peoples were related, for the Siamese of Ayudhyā and the Yuan of Lân Nâ were both Tai. Except for a few differences of vocabulary and pronunciation their speech was the same. They had much the same customs and outlook. While retaining a lively belief in demons and magic, both professed the Hīnayāna. In the south the art of sculpture was solidly established; it was now in a vigorous phase, known as the "Ûtòng" style, which combined the heritage of Sukhodaya with a recrudescence of the

Khmer tradition (Fig. 3). In the north the arts were to enter their golden age under the patronage of King Tiloka, who ruled over Lân Nâ from 1441 to 1487.

The secular *Annals of Chiengmai* record a scandal concerning this monarch.

The King of Ayudhyā had learned from his spies that the welfare of the northern kingdom depended on a powerful Dryad who lived in a large banyan tree at one corner of the capital. He therefore secretly employed a Burmese sorcerer (probably an Arī) to upset the arrangement and bring Lân Nâ to disaster. The sorcerer arrived at Chiengmai in 1466 and went to stay at one of the monasteries. His wonder-working powers impressed first the monks, then the palace magicians, finally Tiloka himself. Discreetly he hinted that he knew a secret spell powerful enough to make the King of Lân Nâ a Universal Emperor, greater than any ruler since Aśoka. As the sorcerer with artful hesitation unfolded the scheme, the King's ambitions leaped upward. Though warned he would incur great demerit and ruin his chances for a favorable re-birth, he scarcely hesitated. Under the sorcerer's supervision a magically-oriented palace was built, on a plan drawn in the form of a lion. Each part of the palace corresponded to a specified part of the lion's anatomy. Workmen cut down the banyan tree, and where it had stood they installed the palace latrines, corresponding to the lion's genitals. The Dryad was furious, and caused all sorts of trouble — from bloody intrigues in the royal household to military defeats in the field. In the nick of time the palace magicians saved the situation by exposing the plot and bringing the sorcerer to justice.[21]

* * *

Did the monks share the Dryad's disapproval? If so, they kept it to themselves. Monastic history has nothing but praise for King Tiloka.

"He had the strength and brilliance of a hero," the author of the *Buddhist Garland of Time* wrote of him thirty years after his death; "he set himself to learning things that would be useful to others as well as to himself; he was full of faith and devotion; he possessed deep knowledge."[22]

Unlike his father, who had openly renounced Buddhism in favor of the cult of Spirits, Tiloka warmly upheld the Doctrine. After helping to dethrone the apostate, he did his best to make amends. He transferred to his wayward parent, whose prospects in future births would otherwise have been bleak indeed, the "merit" earned by a huge program of good works undertaken for that purpose.

Imitating the royal example, laymen and laywomen delighted to shower honors and rich gifts on the Three Sects. All three, City-Dwellers, Garden-Dwellers, and Forest-Dwellers, belonged to the Hīnayāna, but there were differences in the monastic

Fig. 3
Buddha Calling the Earth to Witness
Bronze; height about 1.50 m.; Ùtòng style. Bo Tree Monastery (Jetavana), Bangkok

rules they followed and the type of activity they specialized in. The Forest-Dwellers were particularly esteemed because of their strict discipline, their knowledge of Pali, their skill in meditative trance — and their close association with Ceylon, fountainhead of the Hīnayāna.

The stage was set for an impressive revival of Buddhist art and letters. This was the beginning of the golden age of Lân Nâ.

There was much literary activity, both in Pali and in Tai Yuan, as is clear from the books that have survived and the numerous inscriptions that have been found dating

from the golden age. Old monasteries were restored and new ones built. To supply them with enough Buddha images would require a huge production.

The King attacked the problem with his usual energy. With the help of his Minister of Works, he raised production greatly, and introduced some new types of images.

The expression "new types" cannot have the same meaning in Buddhist art as in the west. Since every Buddha image *must* be a copy of an older one in order to trace back to one of the legendary "authentic" likenesses of the Sage of the Sākyas, a newly-invented type simply would not work; it would have no supernatural power. The image-makers of Siam usually followed the safe rules of iconography they had learned from their teachers, who had learned them from *their* teachers... and so on, ultimately from India. But they showed much more originality in matters of style, so that sometimes — though they themselves would have thought the imputation unflattering — they evolved what we should be tempted to call a "new type".

It had happened at Sukhodaya, and it was about to happen again, but in a different way, at Chiengmai. Ever since Sumana's time the Tai Yuan sculptors had been content to copy Sukhodaya models, and copies of Sukhodaya models, preserving both type and style to the best of their ability. But what would they do if they were given an unfamiliar model to copy — a model that was itself a replica of some much older and more famous statue in another part of the Buddhist world?

This was the challenge they were about to meet. This was the challenge that brought the "Lion" type into existence in Lân Nâ..

* * *

The qualities of the Lion type are strongly marked and easy to recognize. (Fig. 4.)

The excrescence of the skull is topped with a smooth knob in the form of a lotus bud instead of a flame. The face is plump, its shape an oval tending toward the round. The chest is massive and corpulent, the waist slim. The features of the supernatural anatomy, in so far as they are not omitted altogether, are summarily treated — except the "lion-like torso", which is announced vehemently. The body structure is stiff rather than supple, but covered with an ample integument of soft, almost bulbous flesh. While it has a certain opulent grace, it is heavy. The monastic robe, though rendered in the same terms as at Sukhodaya, is disposed a little differently: the flap of cloth over the left shoulder, while ending in the same sort of notched design, does not descend to the waist but stops just above the nipple. The image is invariably in the attitude of "calling the Earth to witness", but the legs are not merely folded tailor-

Fig. 4
Buddha Calling the Earth to Witness
Bronze; height about 1.20 m.; Lion type, style of the Lân Nâ golden age (formerly designated "Chiengsæn style")
Gallery, Monastery of the Fifth King, Bangkok
(Previously published: JSS XXII/1, plateVII ; JSS XLI/2, fig. 5)

fashion as at Sukhodaya: instead they are crossed in the tightly-locked "lotus position" with both footsoles turned up.[28]

Unlike the expressions of fiery energy at Sukhodaya, which were conceived in silhouette and modeling as the memory-picture of a flame, the best of these images look like expressions of temporal prestige, conceived, like the plan of Tiloka's magic palace, as the memory-picture of a lion.

Springing from dreams of power quite alien to the Hīnayāna, they are strangely incongruous as "reminders" of the Sage of the Sākyas. Though they wear the monastic robe, they are charged with memories of the Universal Emperor. Their faces are majestic to the point of arrogance. They convey no sense of meditation or spirituality, self-denial or kindliness. They "call the Earth to witness" with an air of command that will not take "no" for an answer. They are alert, aggressive, self-indulgent and self-satisfied authoritarians. And as such they are superb.

This is the Lion type at its most characteristic. Only a few examples are so blatant; in most of them the sense of power is more restrained.

* * *

To anyone acquainted with Indian art, the Lion type will at once recall the Buddhas that were being produced in Bengal and Bihar at the time of the Pāla and Sena

Fig. 5
Buddha Calling the Earth to Witness
Stone; height 81 cm; Pāla style
Collection of Mr. N. Heeramaneck, New York
(Photograph by courtesy of the owner. Previously published:
Zimmer and Campbell, *The Art of Indian Asia*, fig. 381

Kings, from the 8th to the 12th century (Figs. 5, 6). All the most striking things about the type are like the Pāla — the lotus bud on top of the head, the massive torso, the tightly-locked legs, the short flap of cloth over the left shoulder. There is no possible doubt that the type is closely related, somehow or other, to Pāla sculpture.[24]

This fact led scholars astray some thirty years ago when they were working out a chronology for Siamese sculpture. Not having seen any dated examples, they made the very plausible surmise that the Lion type in Lân Nâ was contemporary with the art of the Pālas and Senas in India, or nearly so — at any rate earlier than Sukhodaya, and therefore the earliest sort of Tai art in Siam. It seemed probable that the Burmese, whose sculpture at Pagan was directly in the Pāla tradition, passed the idea on to northern Siam some time before 1287, when they themselves were overwhelmed by the Mongols. Many of the best Lion type images came from a place called Chiengsæn on the Mækông River, where King Mengrâi was supposed to have lived in his youth... So the Lion group received the name "Early Chiengsæn", together with a vague dating that hovers around the 12th or 13th century..

A few years ago some friends of mine and I began examining Lion type images with

dated inscriptions. The dates, transposed into the Christian Era, ranged from 1470 to 1565.

This surprising fact raised questions. Were some of the undated images much older? Were the dated ones simply late and decadent products of a long-lived school? Hardly, because the best of the dated images are in no way inferior to the best of the undated, and the style is the same. On the other hand, if the whole group was really made in the second half of the 15th century and later, how did it happen that a Pāla-Sena model suddenly appeared in northern Siam 250 years after it went out of production in the land of its origin?

The explanation is to be found in the *Chronicle of the Seven Spires Monastery*, a work in Tai Yuan based on passages from the Pali *Garland of Time* but giving a few additional details.[25]

Fig. 6
Buddha Calling the Earth to Witness
Stone; height 67 cm.; Pāla-Sena style
From Bodhgayā, India
National Museum, Bangkok

The Seven Spires Monastery — whose ruins, about two miles from Chiengmai, can still be seen — was founded in 1455 by King Tiloka for the Forest-Dwellers.[26] (Fig. 7.) He began by planting a young Bo tree. This was no ordinary sapling: it had been carefully grown from a cutting taken from a descendant of the most sacred tree in the world. The ancient original, at Bodhgayā in India, had sheltered the Sage of the Sākyas at the greatest moments of his career: when he sat under its branches exploring the subconscious by means of trance-like meditation, when he called the Earth to witness his triumph over evil, and when he finally attained Perfect Enlightenment.

Fig. 7

The Seven Spires Monastery (Wat Jet Yòt, Chet Yot, or Mahābodhārāma), near Chiengmai, built by King Tiloka

Having planted the young Bo tree, King Tiloka went on to reconstruct the historic scene of those great moments and the weeks that followed. As the *Chronicle* puts it, "he erected monuments of the Seven Holy Stations, exactly as they are in India at the place where the Lord overcame the forces of evil". Each of these Seven Stations, which are duly listed in the *Chronicle*, marked one of the seven spots where the Buddha spent the seven weeks following his Enlightenment: the Adamantine Seat under the Bo tree, where he sat motionless, absorbed in thought, for the first week; his Stance, a place not far to the northeast where he stood and gazed with unblinking eyes at the Bo tree throughout the second week; the Walk between the Stance and the Bo tree, where he paced back and forth for the third week; the House of Gems, created by the gods to shelter him during the fourth week, which he spent thinking out the seven books of Metaphysics he would preach; the Banyan near the goat-herd's hut where he sat for the fifth week enjoying the bliss of salvation; the Pond from which a pious Dragon King emerged in order to shelter him with his hood from a storm that raged during the sixth week; and finally the Mimusops tree he sat under during the seventh week, receiving on the forty-ninth day a myrobolan fruit offered

by the god Indra. And at each of these Seven Stations King Tiloka installed an image of Buddha performing the action connected with it.[27]

In building this monastery, King Tiloka was making a copy, on a smaller scale, of the Mahābodhi Temple at Bodhgayā, which had been built at the site of the original Bo tree. Devout princes had embellished the precints of that temple with many monuments and memorial trees. A king of Burma who reigned at Pagan built a replica of the main structure in his own capital. One of his successors sent a mission to Bihar to restore the original in 1298 — the Muslims, who had conquered the region by this time, seem to have made no objection. Later on, Bodhgayā fell into neglect. In modern times it has again been restored and again become the object of Buddhist pilgrimages. Guides show pilgrims the dead trunk of the original Bo tree which has been exhumed, and some lively younger trees descended from it; they point out a sculptured stone that was the Adamantine Seat, a brick stupa marking the Buddha's Stance, an old pond (now filled up with earth) where the dragon lived, and so on.[28]

No less renowned than the Mahābodhi Temple itself was the great cult image in it — an image called the "Lion of the Sākyas", after one of the many titles the Sage was known by. Though it disappeared long ago, there is no doubt what it looked like, for countless facsimiles of it have been found in the débris of the temple compound (cf. Figs. 5, 6).

These facsimiles, carved in typical Pāla-Sena style, portray the Buddha sitting in the attitude of "calling the Earth to witness", with his legs crossed in the lotus position, his thin monastic robe having a short flap of cloth over the left shoulder. Many of them, made for sale to wealthy pilgrims, are slabs of black stone carved in high relief. Were they still being made in Tiloka's time? Most scholars would say no; Sena sculpture in general came to an end with the Muslim conquest. But the talisman business is tenacious at places of pilgrimage, and there is no reason why local workshops at Bodhgayā might not have continued to repeat the old formula mechanically for centuries. In any case if these facsimiles were no longer in production, old ones must have been available.

Even without the help of the *Chronicle*, it could easily be guessed that in building the Seven Spires Monastery King Tiloka hoped to transplant to Chiengmai some fraction of the sanctity of the Mahābodhi Temple at Bodhgayā just as he transplanted the sanctity of the Bo tree. It is apparent from the official name he gave the new establishment — *Mahābodhārāma*, "Monastery of the Mahābodhi". It can be recognized in the architecture of the main building. With the *Chronicle* as a guide, it is even possible to identify the remains of some of the lesser monuments and trees that reproduced

the memorials of the Seven Stations just as they were in the compound at Bodhgayā: an ancient Bo tree, now stunted; a hewn stone under it, representing the Adamantine Seat; the ruins of a brick stupa that marked the Stance; a long rectangular pond such as a dragon might live in. All of these are situated in the same relation to the main building as at Bodhgayā.[29]

The King was aware that the magical value of such a duplication depended on getting it essentially accurate. Stylistic differences would not count; but the orientation of the shrine, the locations of the trees and monuments in relation to one another, and the iconography of the sculpture — these would be vital. For reasons that will appear later, the *Chronicle of the Seven Spires* does not say how Tiloka got the plans of the Mahābodhi to guide his builders, but another chronicle says he sent a mission of thirty architects and craftsmen, headed by his Minister of Works, to Bodhgayā for that specific purpose. The story, which is quite in keeping with the King's character, has the ring of truth. At about the same time, the Mon King Dhammacetiya of Pegu in Lower Burma sent an expedition to Bodhgayā for the same purpose and built a similar replica — complete with subsidiary monuments, memorial trees, and statues recording the different episodes — at his own capital. I cannot believe that Tiloka would have hesitated at difficulties the King of Pegu was able to surmount.

Unfortunately the seven images King Tiloka set up at the Holy Stations are no longer there (however cf. page 42). But as he planted an authentic descendant of the Bo tree and reproduced the temple with its seven memorials, it cannot be doubted that the principal statue was a replica of the Lion of the Sākyas. The *Chronicle* describes it with care: "On the Seat under the Bo tree there is an image of Buddha sitting in the lotus position, his right hand placed on his knee and his left hand lying in his lap. The name of this image is 'Buddha Victorious over Evil'."[30] It is a description that might equally well fit the original Lion of the Sākyas or any good copy of it.

The Minister of Works, when he went to Bodhgayā, must have obtained just such a copy to take back to the King. This, I think, was how the Lion type of image came to be introduced into Lân Nâ.[31]

* * *

The exact date the "Lion" was brought to Chiengmai and installed at the Seven Spires is not known, but it must have been between 1455, when work on the monastery began, and 1470, the date of the earliest of the inscribed bronzes that reproduce the "Lion" iconography (Plate I). The monastery itself was completed six years later.

During the long years Tiloka's apostate father reigned over Lân Nâ, the demand for

expensive images of the Buddha must have slackened, and the sculptural tradition declined. When Tiloka finally succeeded in reviving it, the plastic lessons of Sukhodaya would be reinforced, and for the most part the familiar models inherited from Sukhodaya would be perpetuated.[32]

At the same time some of the sculptors would be ordered to copy the "Lion" at the Seven Spires. If they made magnificent works of art, not one ever made a copy that really *looked* like the Pāla prototype. Yet their kingly patron and the lesser patrons who followed his example must have been satisfied, otherwise they would not have kept on ordering them in such quantity. *Their* eyes, unlike ours, were not conditioned by the camera, "copying" had not the same meaning for them as for us.

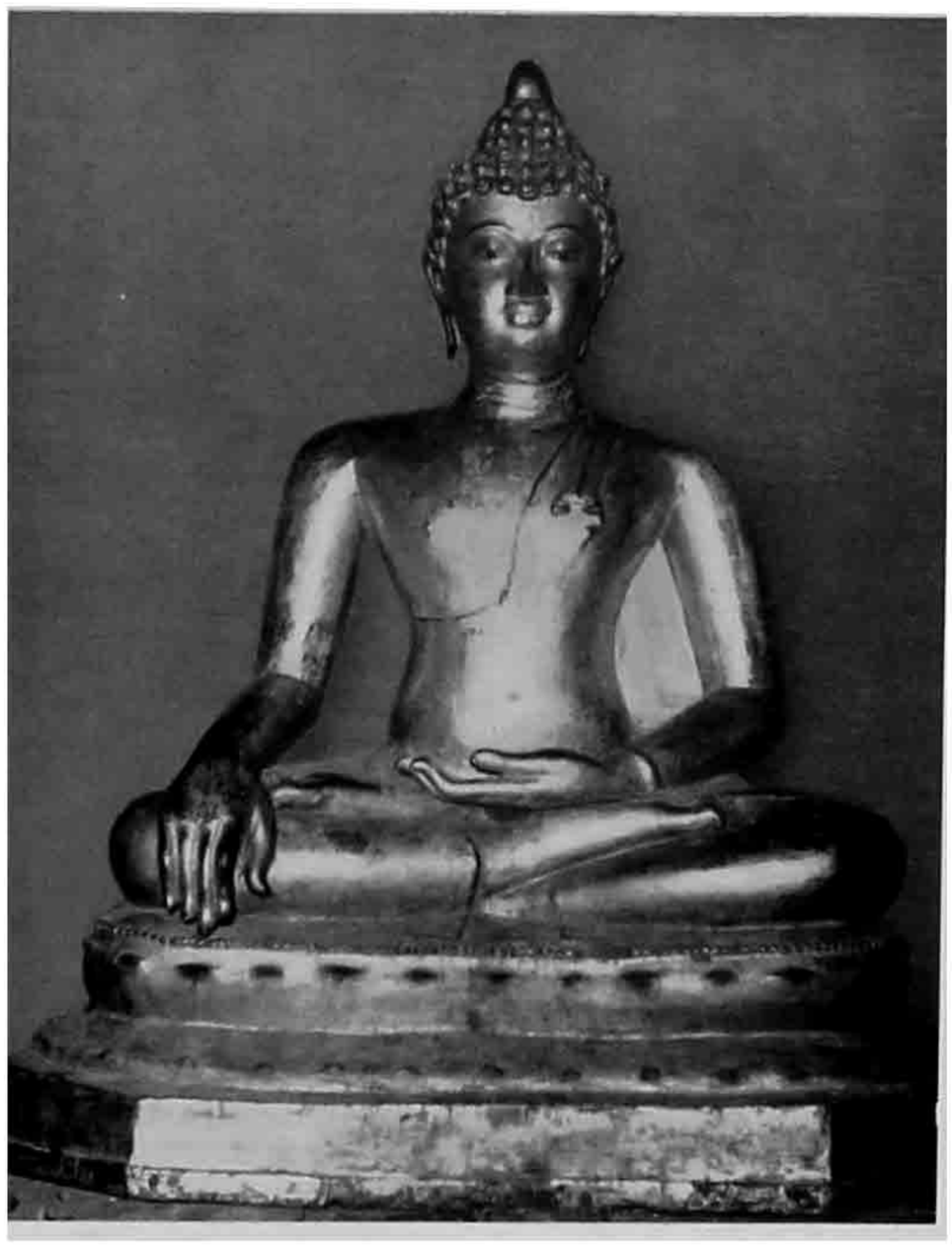


Fig. 8
The Lion Lord *(Pra Sing)*
at the Pra Sing Luang Monastery, Chiengmai
(The head is a restoration, replacing an original stolen in 1923)

The most famous statue in Chiengmai, as everyone who has lived there knows, is the "Lion Lord" *(Pra Sing)* in the Pra Sing Luang Monastery which was built in its honor. (Fig.8.) For reasons that I shall discuss later, orthodox opinion mistakenly identifies it with the "Sinhalese" Buddha the Prince of Chiengrâi brought to Lân Nà, although it is a typical example of the Lion type with nothing Sinhalese about it.[33] Rightly understood its name, like its iconography, links it to the Lion of the Sākyas — and in turn to the rest of the Lion series: in Chiengmai the name "Lion Lord", besides being applied to the most famous example, has from King Tiloka's time up to the present been used as a sort of generic term to describe any Buddha image seated in the lotus position, "calling the Earth to witness", and having the usual Pāla iconography.

That is why I chose the name "Lion type" to replace the designation "Early Chiengsæn".

* * *

Fig. 9
Lion type Buddha "wearing the attire of royalty"
Bronze; style of the Lân Nà golden age
Monastery of the Fifth King, Bangkok

The Lion type, as I have hinted, is out of key with the Hīnayāna. It has too little of the Buddha in it and too much of the Universal Emperor. The Sage of the Sākyas, indeed, was entitled to a splendid option: Buddhahood or Universal Empire. The Hīnayāna unreservedly applauded his decision in favor of the first; but the Mahāyāna wished him to have the advantages of both. On festival days at Bodhgayā the Lion of the Sākyas was decked out in a princely garment of silk, with a crown and ornaments of real gold studded with gems. Some of the Pāla replicas discovered at Bodhgayā reproduce in stone not only the statue itself but the real clothing and ornaments as well.[84]

One such replica must have inspired a series of bronze imitations at Chiengmai — Lion type Buddhas that "wear the attire of royalty" on top of their monastic dress.[85] (Fig. 9.) They flaunt their imperial purpose even more openly than the monastic Lion type. Did Tiloka hope a Lion in royal attire would succeed where a palace planned in the shape of a lion had failed so miserably?

The mechanism was surely magical, but though associated elsewhere with the Mahāyāna, it was here lifted from its context. I do not mean to suggest the Mahāyāna as such had any following in Lân Nâ.

* * *

The Lion type of image, though the most striking, did not monopolize the attention of Yuan sculptors during the golden age. There are several others sorts of Buddhas that have long been correctly ascribed to that period — though they were usually called "Later Chiengsæn". I have re-named them the Lân Nà "Mixed" types.

By far the best and most numerous are simply products of the normal tradition. Treated in the Sukhodaya manner as Chiengmai had modified it by small degrees over a period of time, the Sukhodaya type is still easy to recognize: the flame finial on top of the head, the long shoulder-flap, the legs folded tailor-fashion (e.g., Plate XVII). These are very pleasant pieces to look at. They have little of the trance-like anatomy that is at first so disturbing in the Sukhodaya high classic. They have none of the dreadful arrogance of the Lion type masterpieces. They are warm and friendly, as though the artist had in mind some agreeable and very human abbot, but threw in bits of the supernatural anatomy as concessions to orthodoxy.

Fig. 10
Mixed type Buddha "wearing the attire of royalty"
Bronze; height about 40 cm.; inscription dated CS 902 [i.e., 1540 AD]
See Catalogue, number 76. British Museum, London
(Photograph by courtesy of the British Museum)

The Mixed type includes copies of fifteen or twenty different models, Indian, Sinhalese, and Tai.[36] Now and then something of the Lion intrudes — a sterner mien or a richer dress. Images of the Mixed type, after a time, may even wear the attire of royalty. (Fig. 10.) Others, commemorating minor episodes in the Buddha's life, perform

Fig. 11

Replicas of memorial statues of the Seven Stations

Top row: Gazing at the Bo Tree (second week); Pacing Back and Forth (third week); Thinking Out the Metaphysics (fourth week). Bottom row: Receiving the Myrobalan (seventh week); Sheltered by the Dragon (sixth week). This set is pieced together from three collections: Monastery of the Holy Relic, Pan District, Chiengrâi Province (second, fourth and sixth weeks); collection of H. R. H. Prince Chalermbol Yugala, Bangkok (third week); Sudeva Mountain Monastery, Chiengmai (seventh week). The memorials of the first week (usual Lion type) and of the fifth week (seated, with right hand "dispelling fear") are missing.

unusual gestures. For instance a set of seven figures would be copied from the statues of the Seven Stations that Tiloka erected at the Seven Spires Monastery. I know of no complete sets still in existence, but I have pieced together a set of five, though not all from the golden age, whose peculiar iconography agrees with the description in the Monastery chronicle. (Fig. 11.)

* * *

Several statues that were in worship at Chiengmai during the golden age were considered to be original and authentic likenesses of the Buddha, of extreme antiquity and remarkable origin. The special chronicles devoted to their histories show the sort of reverence the golden age felt towards "authentic" statues; they suggest how authenticity was transmitted to copies; and they offer tempting but enigmatic clues to chronology. They preserve traditions, or fragments of traditions pieced together, that are much more ancient than the time of compilation and much more ancient than the statues the compilers had in mind. They evoke some carefully memorized record

of how the art of image-making came to the different communities of Southeast Asia. If no single image accomplished the prodigious itineraries described, it was the technique and iconography that traveled from India or Ceylon to Dvāravatī and Angkor, Thaton and Pagan, Sukhodaya and Ayudhyā and Lân Nà. At the same time, as if for the benefit of future archeologists, the chronicles openly hint that the statues they celebrate changed identity again and again: in a succession of crises replicas were substituted. The archeologist who accepts the hint will conclude that each section of a chronicle refers to a recently made "copy" of its immediate predecessor.[37]

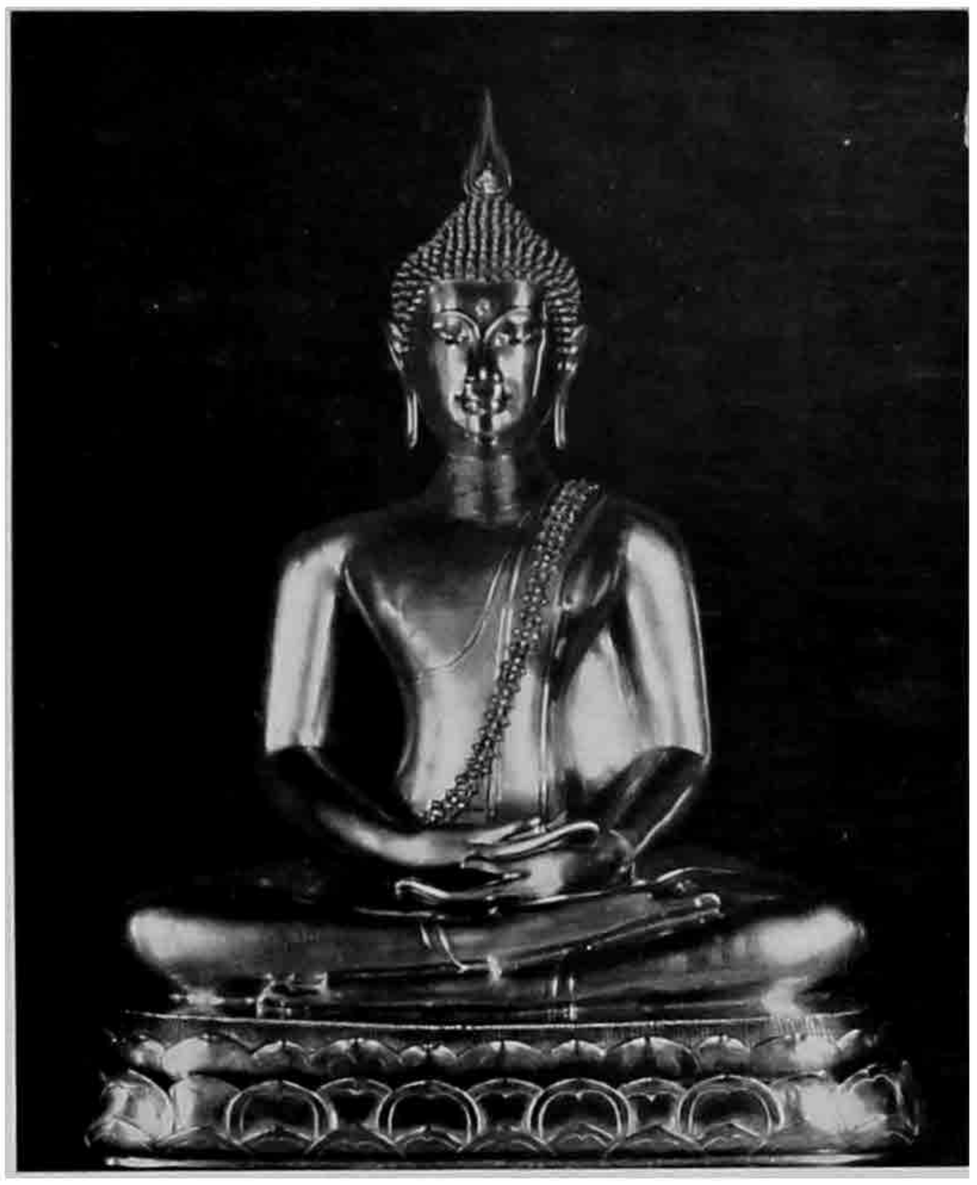


Fig. 12
"The Sinhalese Buddha"
Bronze; style of the Lân Nâ golden age
National Museum, Bangkok
(The garland over the left shoulder is an offering, not a part of the statue)

The chronicle of the "Sinhalese" Buddha was compiled before Tiloka came to the throne. The compiler had in mind a particular statue which he knew well. As I have surmised on page 27, it was probably a Sukhodaya copy of a Sinhalese original, or else the copy at one further remove made by the Prince of Chiengrài . . . The chronicle closes with the events of 1389, when the image was installed at Chiengmai, but adds a prophecy that it would be taken back to Ceylon in 1457.

Here there is an unfortunate gap in the records; but since that sort of prophecy always comes true, it must be presumed that the image disappeared from Chiengmai, in the direction of Ceylon, at the predestined time. When it "reappeared" later at Chiengmai, it would naturally be a copy at yet one more remove: a figure of the Lân Nâ Mixed type, but still with reminiscences of both Ceylon and Sukhodaya in its iconography. The image called "The Sinhalese Buddha" (*Pra Sihing*) now in the National Museum at Bangkok answers the description perfectly. Seated in the attitude of "meditation", it is a fine example of the Mixed type of the Làn Nà golden age. (Fig. 12).

Most likely this was the "Sinhalese" Buddha the people of Chiengmai were worshiping in the latter part of King Tiloka's reign..

* * *

About the middle of the 16th century, I suspect, certain facts about King Tiloka began to be quietly erased from history.

A leaf disappeared from the original manuscript of the *Garland of Time*, with the result that there is a hiatus from 1455 to 1476 in all copies known today.[88] The missing passages are crucial. They would cover the departure of the "Sinhalese" Buddha to Ceylon, and its later "return" to Lân Nâ in a new form. They would cover the period of Tiloka's greatest activity as a patron of the arts: when he built the magic palace; when he obtained the plans of the Mahābodhi by sending his Minister of Works to Bodhgayā; when he installed the "Lion" at the Seven Spires; and when the first of the surviving dated images of the Lion type were cast.

Was the leaf lost accidentally or was it torn out on purpose? Orthodoxy, reconsidering history from a later point of view, might well prefer to have the magic palace forgotten. The Hīnayāna, while for the most part living on friendly enough terms with magic, disapproved of it in principle. In texts and chronicles the reader will notice a certain pressure, discreet but persistent, to keep magic from getting out of hand. From time to time there is a sharper conflict, such as the long struggle in Burma against the Tāntrik sorcerers called Arī, or the King of Lân Châng's peremptory decree prohibiting the cult of spirits in 1527.[89]

But would orthodoxy want to suppress such a laudable enterprise as the expedition to Bodhgayā? Perhaps censorship was clumsy — for the lost leaf must also have contained an account of the great Buddhist Council that opened at the Seven Spires in 1475, which nobody would have wanted to suppress. Perhaps, however, any reference to the Bodhgayā expedition had become embarrassing in itself. The holiest spot in the world was also steeped in memories of Tāntrik extravagances. Other than the Bo tree, which would carry none of the adventitious taint, it would be just as well not to have *too* much Bodhgayā at Chiengmai. One of the Jātaka tales encourages the planting of Bo trees everywhere, but seems to hold a warning for anyone bent on Universal Empire. The Sage of the Sākyas, according to this tale, was asked what sort of things might best serve as reminders or substitutes of himself for people to make offerings to. In recommending Bo trees for this purpose, he told an anecdote of a Universal Emperor

who went to Bodhgayā but was prevented by an invisible force from entering the temple precincts, and so made offerings to the Bo tree from afar.[40]

A page of manuscript could easily be destroyed; but the Lion images, whether dressed in monastic robes or royal attire, would constitute a more delicate problem. They could not possibly be demolished, because they were sacred "reminders" of Buddha; but at the same time they were mortifying souvenirs of Tiloka's least noble moments. As objects of worship they stood in need of purification.

So far as Chiengmai was aware, Ceylon was not tarnished with Tāntrik implications; it was the source of the purest Doctrine. And the "Sinhalese" Buddha (Fig. 12) bore witness to the triumph of that Doctrine in Lâ Nâ.

In 1548, as secular history informs us, the "Sinhalese" Buddha was taken away to the neighboring kingdom of Lân Châng.[41] There was no reason to hope that it would ever be returned. This was obviously the moment for another substitution.

A single act could make good a painful loss and at the same time exorcise a burdensome presence. What would be more natural than for the Chiengmai monks to intimate that the departed image (Fig. 12) was of little consequence, whereas the "Lion Lord" (Fig. 8) was really the "Sinhalese" Buddha of the story?

The substitution was aided by a lucky ambiguity of names — for the same word can mean either *lion* or *Sinhalese*. The mere fact that the Lion Lord *looked* very different from the lost image of Mixed type was of no importance. In the traditional way of thinking, identity consists of "name and form"; and form is not "arbitrary appearance" or plastic style; it is exclusively "memorable features" or iconography. Was not the figure in the chronicle modeled in the first place from a mere verbal description given by holy men who had studied an apparition?

Yet one "memorable feature" must have hampered the substitution: the chronicle says flatly that the "Sinhalese" Buddha was in the attitude of meditation. The image that Chiengmai lost to Lân Châng answered that description, but the Lion type does not — the Lion Lord calls the Earth to witness. Monks and pious laymen alike, though they might be indifferent to plastic style, were keenly aware of iconography. How could they possibly overlook such a glaring discrepancy?

I do not know the answer. Perhaps some excuse — though a rather feeble one — could be found in the chronicle's reference to a defective hand, later to be repaired. In any case the difficulty is large enough to suggest that the confusion was not a mistake, but the result of deliberate pressure.

The substitution was more or less successful. In northern Siam today the pious are unmoved by the arguments of Bangkok archeologists in favor of the image in the

National Museum; they believe that the Lion Lord in the Pra Sing Luang Monastery (or at least some image of the Lion type) is really the "Sinhalese" Buddha of the chronicle. Popular opinion is more nearly right; without quite knowing why, it still thinks of the image as a Lion and its home as the Lion Monastery.

When the "Lion" in monastic dress was transformed into the "Sinhalese" Buddha, the "Lion" in royal attire received a different explanation: it was "Buddha frightening Jambupati" — the apocryphal monarch who aspired to Universal Empire but backed down in terror when the Sage of the Sākyas appeared in the authentic guise of a Universal Emperor. Popular tradition, accepting the tale but confounding the moral, seems to preserve a secret memory of the guilty truth: in country districts today, if you ask what such a statue represents, you will not be told that it is Buddha frightening Jambupati, but rather: "That *is* Jambupati".[42]

* * *

Closely related to the Tai Yuan were the Lao of Lân Châng ("a million elephants"), a kingdom situated to the east of Lân Nâ. This region, which is now called Laos, had been subject to the Khmer and later to Sukhodaya. It gained political independence in the 14th century, and came into the cultural orbit of Lân Nâ about the same time or a little later.

For a while the two kingdoms were ruled by the same dynasty; at other times they fought, and the intervening territory changed hands more than once. Having maintained a precarious independence when Lân Nâ succumbed to the Burmese, the kingdom of Lân Châng became extremely prosperous in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Nearly all the Buddha images of Lân Châng derive from the Lân Nâ Mixed types. The earliest dated example I know of was made in 1484. (Plate X.) Later on the art was influenced by Ayudhyā, as indeed the art of Lân Nâ was also.

* * *

With the exception of certain images made of unusual materials, the sculpture of the golden age in Lân Nâ was of bronze. The casting was done by the "lost wax" process which has changed little between ancient India and modern Siam.[48]

Important castings, which take place in monastery precincts at an auspicious moment chosen by astrologers, are accompanied by a life-giving rite. The purchasers of routine images, cast without ceremony in the craftsman's shop, arrange for them to share in such a rite in a monastery at the first opportunity.

The origins of the rite go back to ancient India, where a man who made or bought an image of his god would "bring it to life". First he "opened the eyes" by painting the eyeballs a bright color or inserting a jewel in them. Afterwards he "bestowed breath": taking up a handful of flowers, he regulated his breathing and entered the first stages of trance so as to summon up an exact mental concept of the god himself; then by exhaling sharply he made the mental concept pass through the flowers and lodge in the image. This changed its nature from mere stone, clay, or metal: it came to life, it could see and breathe, it could eat and sleep, it had supernatural powers.[44]

Comparable rites are performed in Siam. Usually life and miraculous powers are transfused into new images from an older one — the chief cult image of a monastery which in turn has received them from a still older one, and so on back to one of the original likenesses. To transmit the succession to the images that are about to be cast, a long "sacred cord" is formed into a circuit: attached at its beginning to the cult image, it passes along a line of monks, each one holding it between his fingers; continuing its way, it encircles each of the moulds prepared for the new images; finally it returns to the cult image so as to complete the circuit. One or more of the monks go into meditative trance, producing an invisible charge in the circuit which transmits the life and supernatural qualities of the cult image to the new ones as the metal is poured.[45]

* * *

The dates inscribed on Buddha images are nearly always the dates when the casting took place. Most of them are expressed in the "Little Era" (Cullasakarāja, abbreviated CS), a few in the Buddhist Era (Buddhasakarāja, BS). The Little Era begins in 638 A.D., the Buddhist Era in 543/4 B. C. Since the year did not start on January first, my transpositions into the Christian Era may in a few cases be wrong by one year.

Another source of error is more serious: figures are easy to misread. The danger is reduced when the year of the Era is further defined by reference to the decade, the twelve-year (animal) cycle, or both. The year of the decade in Lân Nâ and Lân Châng corresponds to the last digit of the Little Era plus or minus five.[46] The decade and the twelve-year cycle, as they coincide only once in sixty years, are helpful in reading numerals in the Era that might otherwise be hard to make out. Suppose, for example, the date in the Little Era consists of three rather indistinct digits but is further described as "Year of the Tiger, ninth year of the decade" — that is, a year ending in 4. Now the Years of the Tiger ending with 4 that might be considered are C S 844, 904, 964, etc. With this information the digits may become readable.

Often the exact day is specified: the day of the week, such and such a day of the waxing or waning moon of such and such a month; perhaps even the hour. A diagram may be added to show the position of the planets in the different signs of the zodiac. It is the horoscope of the image based on the moment it "comes to life".

With one single exception in Burmese, the language of the inscriptions of the Lân Nâ golden age is Pali or Tai Yuan, or a combination of the two. Some quote a passage from the Pali scriptures more or less correctly; some throw in a mere snatch at random; some do without it altogether. The writing is either the Yuan script or else the 14th century Sukhodaya script such as Sumana introduced into the north. When the language is Pali, the script is Yuan; when the language is Yuan, the script is Sukhodaya. Perhaps the Yuan script had not yet been adapted to writing the Yuan language in a formal manner. The Sukhodaya influence was still as strong in writing as in the plastic arts. In the Lân Châng inscriptions, too, Pali is written in a script resembling the Yuan, while Lao is written in a script adapted from Sukhodaya.

* * *

The dated bronzes provide a documentation of type and style ranging over a period of 430 years (Plates I-LVI).

To judge them as works of art, try to imagine them without the coats of paint that blur the details, or the splashes of color at eyes and lips that falsify the expression of the face. Then their real sculptural quality, for better or worse, will appear. Some of them are masterpieces; some have a less ambitious elegance; some are mediocre; some are sheer monstrosities.

How are the artistic triumphs and failures related to the dates? Does style in a traditional art follow some inexorable law of evolution and decline? At the beginning, one might expect, there would be a period of blind groping; then some sudden leaps of the spirit, outstripping technique; then a golden age when technique catches up and beauty grows familiar; finally a decline, when technique is too sophisticated to desire beauty or too exhausted to attain it.

Our documentation is silent on the earlier phases, for the habit of inscribing images with dates begins in the golden age; the real primitives must be looked for among the undated miscellany. But once the dated series begins, it puts preconceived ideas to a cruel test: if there is an inexorable law, it works with disconcerting irregularity. Not all the sculptors of the best period did good work. As time went on good work became rarer, but beauty might always reappear unexpectedly.

Beauty, as we understand the word, was not the sculptor's primary aim; to set a value on his work our standards, though more comprehensive than the Victorian, are in one sense hardly more applicable. Yet since some sort of standards, not altogether unlike ours, were present in his conscious or subconscious mind, his ability to meet them is a proper measure of his worth as an artist. In this sense our standards *are* pertinent, and they can help us to judge the art of northern Siam in a wider context. But before we attempt to do so, let us examine the dated series by less subjective means.

* * *

The analytical method that has solved so many problems of dating in Khmer art and elsewhere depends on another sort of evolution: the evolution of plastic formulas. The analyst seeks clues of comparison in the treatment of hair, ears and facial features, a flap of cloth, and a dozen other details. Having assembled photographs of his documents he arranges them on the basis of his chosen clues, in such a way that variations in the plastic treatment of details run in an orderly progression. The arrangement will then suggest the chronology.[47]

Could the analytical method succeed in dating the Buddha images of northern Siam if no dated examples were known? To answer the question, the dated series invites an exercise.

Cut out the photographs and shuffle them up; then try to put them back in chronological order without the help of the captions. First you will divide them by iconography. Set aside the walking, standing, and reclining figures; there are not enough for comparison. Put the seated images in two major groups: the Lion type, with legs crossed in the lotus position; and the Mixed types, with legs folded tailor-fashion. Then look for details that might betray either carelessness or invention on the sculptor's part; details that allow a certain liberty of treatment; details that undergo just enough variation from one piece to another to be conveniently measured.

Consider the pedestal: note its silhouette and its decorative motifs. Consider the anatomy: note the canons of proportion, the shape of the head, the hands, and the feet; note any peculiarities of the facial features, and the use of incised line to accent them; note the form and distribution of the curls; note the finial on top of the skull, but take care that it is not a modern restoration; note especially the ears. Consider the monastic robe: see how the hems are rendered, count the hems across each leg, note the curve of the hem across the chest, note the dimensions of the flap over the left shoulder and its pattern of pleat-ends (see Appendix). These are only suggestions; other clues of comparison may prove just as good or better.

Search out the documents in which two or more clues display a consistent plastic treatment, and divide the major groups into sub-groups accordingly. Some of the images will fall into logical sequences, some will stand stubbornly apart. Remove the examples of inferior workmanship, and the worst anomalies will vanish. It will appear later that the removals are justified; they will mostly be provincial pieces.

When you have worked out sequences for the seated figures, you may be able to fit the walking, standing, and reclining figures into their proper places. If some of the clues of comparison still run at cross purposes, forget them for the time being. The reasons will appear presently.

I leave it to the reader to judge the outcome of the exercise. To the degree that the analytical method works with the dated images, it will work with the undated; apart from a few special categories, the dated images vary in iconograghy and style in about the same proportion as the total. The great mass of northern sculpture can be fitted into the chronological scheme; even the special categories provide enough of the usual evidence to fit them in among the rest.

Does the exercise sound too theoretical? Let us leave our photographs on the library table and look into the past. Watching the image-makers at work, we shall see *why* they left eloquent or troublesome clues for future analysts; and at the same time, perhaps, we shall be able to account in more human terms for their artistic triumphs and their failures..

* * *

What are the social and economic conditions that provide the setting for the art of Lân Nâ in the golden age?

The society is feudal, and not bound to a money-economy. Much business is transacted by barter; neighbors help one another to build houses and harvest crops; dependents give personal service in return for security. Laymen of high and low degree present monks with cloth and daily food; princes build monasteries, donating land and slaves for their upkeep. Batteries of craftsmen, displaying their assorted skills, are attached to the royal household; smaller staffs of the same sort are in the service of government officials and provincial lords. Over and above the modest rewards of their position, craftsmen receive special gifts if they do specially well; and when they are not too busy with their regular tasks they may undertake outside work. There are also independent craftsmen, though like everyone else in the district where they live they owe a certain number of days service each year to their lord.

It is a simple matter for patrons of high rank to commission a Buddha image: they

furnish the required amount of metal and give their craftsmen the necessary orders. Sometimes the patron's family participates in the donation: one image is inscribed with the names of a prince and his consort "presiding over an assembly of pious laymen and laywomen"; another with the name of a government official "together with his wife and children, who live in a house opposite the Monastery of the Stone Wheel."

Lesser citizens have to contrive some other arrangement. The strain their piety costs them and the schemes they adopt can be glimpsed in the inscriptions: a patron, alone or in concert with others, furnishes the metal; a provincial lord may be induced to join in and contribute the services of his craftsmen; if independent metal-workers are recruited they donate their labor as a pious gift or receive payment in kind. When a monk is among the donors he contributes services, not metal, for he is not supposed to have possessions; he may organize the project, inviting gifts of metal and borrowing the craftsmen; he may supervise the modeling of clay and wax and the pouring of metal into the mould; or he may even do the work himself. Not all the donors can possibly be named in an inscription: there are always willing hands to fetch the clay, to hunt out the wax of wild bees, to gather wood and make charcoal, to heap up the fire and pump the bellows. At the last minute anyone who has come to watch may be moved to make merit by throwing some gold or silver trinket into the crucibles.

The image-makers are never named in an inscription unless they happen to be at the same time donors, contributing their efforts as an act of merit. The best of them, being in the King's service, are consequently anonymous. So are the worst; they might be smiths in some isolated community, called away from their usual work on weapons and utensils. Two inscriptions mention men of intermediate talent: "the craftsman In", probably in the service of a provincial lord, and "the metal-workers of Sop Lî village", presumably independent journeymen. (Numbers 20 and 63.)

In an art that consists entirely of "copying" earlier images, the product depends on the model that is copied and the quality of the copying.

The patron chooses the model more for its holiness and renown than for its aesthetic appeal. Of course the iconography has to be faithfully reproduced, for the utility of an image depends on it, just as the utility of a book depends on its contents. But a book or an image can be copied in a more elegant style without loss to the utility of either. The chronicles tell us of some patrons so blind to form that they cannot

distinguish one image from another, but they also tell us of some who give meticulous instructions and watch the progress of the work with anxious delight.

The craftsmen who shape the clay and wax cannot help being aware of form, though they may not think of it in the same terms as we would. They obey their teachers and follow the old rules with docile faith; but like the silk-weaver and the jeweler, the silversmith and the potter and the cabinet-maker — and indeed like the musician and the acrobat — each is an individual, modestly improvising on an established theme. Some work because they have to, some work for honor, some work for inward satisfaction. Some are naturally gifted, some achieve skill by diligence, some are hopelessly incompetent.

When the craftsman is producing for the general market, the model is theoretically a specific statue, but the product is really a stock item; he turns it out almost automatically, reproducing every detail with little variation. Even when an image is made to order, the process is usually much the same; if the model the patron chooses is a statue made in the same community not long before, no special problem arises. The craftsman has already made plenty of images of the same sort, and he can copy it without thinking very seriously about the business at all. To be sure, some quirk of the subconscious may make him deviate a little; haste can make him simplify. Does he remember a real person when modeling the face? Does he scratch in a system of pleat-ends instead of putting it in careful relief? In any case the innovations he makes in repeating the old formulas will be very discreet.

Though change is held within the narrowest limits, its marks will be stamped on his work. Translated into the photographs on our library table, these marks are the clues of the analytical method.

Sometimes, by imposing an unfamiliar iconography, the patron sets a totally different process in motion. Perhaps he gives the sculptor an alien model to copy; perhaps, like the holy men in the legend of the "Sinhalese" Buddha, he merely describes it. The better the artist the less it matters whether the model is tangible or verbal: in either case he will be working through the intermediary of a memory picture. In principle, since iconography consists precisely of the memorable features that can be described in ordinary words, the artist ought to copy *only* those features of a strange model; all the rest should come from inside himself.

In practice, of course, no sculptor is quite such a purist. Suppose he is given a tangible model brought from a distant country, say a small bas-relief that is already old and much worn. Naturally he will make the copy in bronze, and in the round; and the patron wants it to be large. Immediately all sorts of problems arise. Like a man trying to make a life-size portrait statue from a postage stamp, the sculptor examines the model with unwonted care. If he has been modestly improvising before, he must now improvise boldly.

How he does so will depend on his discernment and his capacity. He may resort to trance so as to enlarge the model, bring it a third dimension, and see it in his own plastic terms. Or he may work doggedly and put together a patchwork of unrelated details. Or he may make an ordinary stock image, changing a few features at the last minute just enough to pass muster.

However he goes about it, he will be forced to make a decision at every detail. Take the ear, for example: suppose he has been trained to give it a pointed top and a certain pattern of whorls, but in the model it has a rounded top and no whorls. He may decide in favor of one scheme or the other, and even exaggerate it; or he may compromise; or he may round the top and squeeze the accustomed whorls so as to fit into the silhouette. The same sort of problems will come up at hand and foot, shoulder-flap and pleat-end, robe-hem and pedestal. Everything will depend on his choices and his ability to integrate them. The limits of change have widened immensely.

The clues of the analytical method have a very different human meaning now: they are the marks of creative action or fumbling uncertainty.

* * *

It might easily be thought that so conservative an art, so lacking in any trace of the artist as an individual, would run its course like some smooth and sweeping mathematical curve, rising and falling in accordance with an inherent compulsion of its own unrelated to external events.

In reality a study of the dated images in their historical setting proves just the contrary. The art went through a succession of crises. It began its greatness in forced growth, stimulated and yet troubled by exotic influences which had to be resolved; then, after a time of tranquil consolidation, it was overtaken by catastrophe; presently there was a brief revival; finally there was a long decadence. Historical events shaped its destiny.

The best images are donations of royalty or of royalty's spiritual counterpart, the monkhood. Royalty possessed the greatest resources; the monkhood, though possessing

none, could command them. Lesser patrons were forced to be content with lesser talents. There is no real reason to suppose that the image-makers, though their independence was limited, consciously submerged their personality in a collective effort. The part played by individuals in the ups and downs of sculpture has been dimmed by intervening centuries, but it was none the less vital.

At least one individual changed the course of art drastically enough for anyone to see. King Tiloka, the initiator of the golden age, was a man of strong tastes and dominating will. When he mounted the throne, the sculptural tradition brought from Sukhodaya in Günâ's time was in danger of running out, and for some years he was too busy with warfare to pay much attention to it. Together with his mother — a resourceful strategist who did not shrink from commanding troops in the field — he succeeded in conquering Nân, one of the outlying dependencies of Ayudhyā. At Nân, as it happened, there was a school of sculpture carrying on the Sukhodaya tradition more successfully than Chiengmai.

Tiloka celebrated his victory by commandeering a quantity of metal from the inhabitants and ordering the sculptors to cast a huge Buddha image with all possible speed.[48] His behavior sounds more like arrogance than a serious act of patronage; but the skill of the Nân craftsmen, who finished the work in less than a hundred days, may have given him matter for thought.

In 1460 he captured a more important art center: at Svargaloka, the sister-city of Sukhodaya, the love of sculpture amounted to a passion. The splendor of its antique images and the good quality of its current output could not fail to impress him. He would naturally take some of the best image-makers from Svargaloka back to Chiengmai with him; they would increase production and improve quality without changing the familiar types. But after a time Tiloka began to bombard his sculptors with new ideas.

The Pāla-Sena model he installed at the Seven Spires awoke real creative powers in some of them. In majesty of aspect and in sureness of modeling, some of the inscribed Lion-type images are outstanding (Plates I, II, IX, XI, XII, XVI, XXIX).

Their dates run from 1470 to 1491 — perhaps to 1508, though the last is doubtful. Probably they are all royal donations, or else donations of monastic dignitaries who could borrow a sculptor from the royal household.[49] All these images are similarly conceived. If they were not made by a single artist, they were made by artists of a single school who studied the model at first hand. The alien features have been admirably adjusted to the Tai sculptural treatment.

Yet there are differences in the adjustment. There are two sorts of ear, two sorts of hand, two sorts of network of lines on the footsole; there are two different patterns

of pleat-ends at the shoulder-flap, two or more different arrangements of hems at the ankles (cf. Appendix). Though the two treatments are distributed more or less at random, I think it likely that one follows the model, the other the sculptor's training. But what of the pedestal? It may be a cushion decorated with lotus petals, placed on top of a hexagonal "adamantine seat"; it may be the hexagonal seat without the lotus cushion; or it may be a perfectly plain base. Very likely the model at the Seven Spires had a lotus cushion of its own (as in Fig. 6), and we know from the Monastery chronicle that it was placed on top of an Adamantine Slab. The latter was a significant piece of stage property, and it must have suggested the hexagonal base — a formula, previously unknown in Tai art, that now became very popular in conjunction with the lotus cushion.

After first-rate artists at Chiengmai had solved the problems of the Lion, lesser craftsmen would imitate their work. A certain venerable monk, for instance, is manifestly indebted to their example, though his hand appears less sure than theirs (Plate IV). As imitations multiplied at second and third remove, the new type would become a stock item. Its features, no longer formidable, would merge with features that rightly belonged to other types. When the same craftsmen made images of the Lion type and the Mixed type, the clues would cut across the main categories. (Compare, for instance, Plates XIV and XV.) So natural a development is easy to understand in principle, but the lines of descent are harder to trace.

A second group of Lion-type images are differently conceived, though they are equally good and the lesser clues run in much the same way (e.g. Frontispiece and Plate XXVI; cf. Appendix). A third group depart much further from the model (e.g., Plate XIII, number 18; Plate XIV). A fourth group are simply bad work (e.g., Plate XVIII). I am not sure which of them are primary copies made by men who studied the model but relied more on their own tradition, and which are secondary or tertiary copies made by men who never saw the model. The answer, even if right, might have nothing to do with their relative age. Some tertiaries might be made long before the last belated primary.

It is more interesting to compare the best of the undated Lions with the best of the dated. (Compare Figs. 4 and 8 with Plates I, II, IX, XI, XII, XVI, XXVI, XXIX and Frontispiece.) On the evidence of the chosen clues, no less than the evidence of plasticity, they fall together into the same groups.

* * *

I have already mentioned various models that inspired copies in King Tiloka's reign (pages 40-42). The continuous prodding and stimulation must have kept the sculptors alert to aesthetic problems, even though they did not always meet the challenge very successfully.

In 1483, as the *Garland of Time* tells us, Tiloka commissioned a huge image "resembling the Lopburî Buddha" (Number 11; not illustrated). The model must have been a portable replica of some famous Ûtòng statue at Lopburî, the old city whose Khmer traditions were inherited by Ayudhyā. Lân Nâ and the southern kingdom were for the time being at peace, and had exchanged embassies; perhaps it was through them that Tiloka obtained the replica. The Chiengmai sculptors this time failed to adjust their methods to the model; they simply tacked on two or three of its striking features, such as the squareness of face and the knife-like sharpness of the shins. A second copy was made in 1489, by "the metal-workers of Sop Lî" (Plate XV; cf. Fig. 3). Perhaps there were a few others, but the model was soon forgotten.

The walking Buddhas of Lân Nâ are mostly rather awkward imitations of Sukhodaya; but one at least is an adaptation (Plate VI). Probably that is the reason for the curious excellence of this modest statuette, the donation of a prince. Both arms swing at the sides, whereas at Sukhodaya one forearm is raised. The difference brought out certain problems that would require the sculptor to re-examine things he had been accustomed to take for granted.

* * *

After Tiloka's death, sculpture could settle back into placid conservatism. His successor, the 10th King of Lân Nâ, was rather a non-entity, and the 11th and 12th were generous patrons whose taste inclined toward the conventional.[50] They introduced no new models, and the Lion type gradually dropped out of production.

Table I

Dated Images of Lân Nâ: Proportion of Lion Type to Total

9th reign (Tiloka)	57 per cent
10th reign	33 per cent
11th reign	13 per cent
12th reign	none

Three of the finest Mixed-type images were completed soon after Tiloka's death (Plates XVII, XIX, XXIII). Their dates range from 1492 to 1501. The donor of the

first was the 10th King; the donor of the second is not recorded; the donors of the third (it appears from a somewhat indistinct inscription) were the head of the Sinhalese sect and the Abbot of the Seven Spires. All three images stem from a Sukhodaya model, perhaps the "Victorious King" at Bishṇuloka. Are they primary copies, or unusually good secondary copies made from a primary that has now vanished? All three have a narrow band separating the forehead from the curls of hair — a characteristic that had become habitual to the Chiengmai craftsmen, though not part of the main Sukhodaya tradition. The "Victorious King" was hardly an alien model, nor could it have required the copyist to solve any unexpected problems. But no patron would take the trouble to send an incompetent sculptor all the way to Bishṇuloka to study it. A man of skill would be chosen, and the importance of his mission would impel him to take special pains.

Dated images continued to appear at an average rate of one per year, but after a time quality began to decline. At first, however, the decline is more apparent than real. If the dated images are a valid index of the whole production, the metropolitan area around Chiengmai and Lampûn kept up a certain standard of elegance, if not of inspiration; but it produced less and less. The provinces had always done inferior work, but now they produced more.

Table II

Dated Images of Lân Nâ: Proportion of Provincial Works to Total[51]

9th reign (Tiloka)	14 per cent
10th reign	none
11th reign	44 per cent
12th reign	75 per cent

A discrepancy between the quality of metropolitan and provincial production is only to be expected; but here the discrepancy is an abyss. If the dated series were arranged not chronologically, but radially from the capital, it would tell its story differently. Was geography more determining than the lapse of time?

Though we know from the chronicles that craftsmen traveled from place to place, certain schools of art seem to have got isolated. Tœng, Chiengkam, Chiengkòng and Fâng each developed its own peculiar faults and stuck to them stubbornly for genera-

tions. (Note for example the Chiengkòng series, ranging from 1498 to 1847, especially Plates XVIII, XXV number 36, XXVII numbers 41 and 42, LV numbers 106 and 107.).

* * *

A single dynasty ruled over Lân Nâ for almost a quarter of a millennium. The 9th monarch, Tiloka, initiated the golden age; the follies of the 13th monarch started a chain of internal feuds and military defeats that brought it to an end.

This prince, who usurped the throne from his father in 1538, was assassinated after a five years reign of terror. His father, the 12th King, was now restored, but his mind had given away; he ruled feebly and insanely. Soon he in turn was murdered, and with him the direct line became extinct. After more years of confusion, the chief dignitaries of Chiengmai offered the throne to a Shan prince who belonged to a distant branch of the family. Threatened by enemies on every side, the new king was unable to assert a strong authority.

How could art flourish in such an atmosphere? Production fell sharply — and permanently. If the dated images are a criterion, it dropped by 80 per cent from the level prevailing before 1538.

Table III

Dated Images of Lân Nâ: Total Number per Year

9th reign (Tiloka)	0.82
10th reign	0.75
11th reign	1.23
12th reign	0.61
Average, 1470—1538	1.00
Average, 1538—1850	0.05

One day the King saw an evil omen: a huge dragon in the sky, and a bright star that moved slowly northward, leaving a long trail of smoke. Soon after, the Burmese conquered Lân Nâ; but instead of deposing the King they treated him with consideration, made him take a vassal's oath of allegiance, and maintained him as a puppet with Burmese "advisors". Later on, however, he was accused of planning a revolt. The overlord's troops burst into the city and took him prisoner.[52] Then they set up an elderly Chiengmai princess as regent, hoping she would prove more reliable.

In 1565, a few months after these events, Chiengmai produced a wistful masterpiece (Plate XLVI). In a bilingual inscription the victorious army commander names himself as the donor, in concert with the local dignitaries and the alien advisors, expressing the wish that the merit of the deed will accrue to the Princess Regent. They gathered together old broken images to melt down and make a great new statue. If the Burmese took the project as a symbol of their domination over Lân Nâ, the Tai Yuan donors more likely thought of it as a last retrospect of glory: they gave the statue the name *King Mengrâi*. To commemorate the founder of a dynasty that was now in collapse, they chose with deliberate archaism a model that had long since dropped out of production: one of Tiloka's Lions. The last dated example had been made over 42 years earlier. The sculptor would have to think out many problems anew. Preparing to copy the proud and optimistic figure, perhaps he saw it first with a sense of disillusion, and then — in the refreshing clairvoyance of trance — with serene detachment ...

* * *

The *Annals of Chiengmai* skip quickly over the next 200 years. They note the rise and fall of puppets who had to preside over the misery of a people; they give a terse account of confused battle, revolt and repression, death and famine, the destruction of cities and the depopulation of provinces.

After the defeat in 1565, twenty years passed without a single dated image appearing in all of Lân Nâ. Then a short respite came to an exhausted people; northern Siam was briefly ruled by kinsmen who were erstwhile enemies: between two evils, the Tai Yuan might be glad to accept Ayudhyā rather than Burma. Donors and craftsmen who had been functioning obscurely or not at all began to manifest themselves again in dated images.

At Lambâng, in 1602, they created their final masterpiece (Plate LII). The dignitaries of church and state, as if sensing the return of servitude, used their liberty to honor the Doctrine that dispels the fear of death. The ruling prince of the district and the head of the monastic order, together with a host of merit-makers, were the donors. The model they chose was some antique Sukhodaya image of the reclining Buddha; of the four traditional postures, the reclining is the rarest, and no school but Sukhodaya really mastered it.[58] The difficult theme awakened latent powers in the anonymous image-maker of Lambâng, and though he conceived it with little vigor he rendered it with affection and skill.

Soon afterwards the country fell again into Burmese hands; the pain of revolt and suppression recommenced. No more bronzes of consequence appeared, though me-

diocrities of conventional type continued.[54] Towards the end of the 18th century the Burmese withdrew; Chiengmai became a vassal of Bangkok, and presently a part of the kingdom of Siam. Antiquarian interest then revived the Lion type, and Bangkok later took it up (Plate LVI). But by that time "copying" had taken on a more modern meaning. The 19th and 20th century copies are in no sense creative, though a great many are good enough to deceive unwary connoisseurs.

Already by 1600 the main center of production had shifted from Lân Nâ to Lân Châng. There, for the next two centuries, commerce and Buddhism prospered together — with the most disconcerting results. Untold quantities of images were needed and could be paid for; in a vain attempt to meet the demand, production doubled and redoubled its pace regardless of quality.[55]

* * *

The utter sincerity of incompetence, if not precisely lyrical, is at least disarming. The documents of inferiority, designed for a purpose unrelated to beauty of form, are less of a shock when isolated from their august lineage; the crudest of them possess the dignity of folk art.

When ranged in sequence and submitted to a severer judgment, they ought to be as instructive as the finale of a cautionary tale. Yet their testimony is not altogether clear. Is the bad work, appearing among the good from the beginning of the golden age, the symptom of a disease that would presently become chronic? Are the belated masterpieces no more than the feverish glow of a doomed organism? Or can the whole sequence of good and bad be better explained in less theoretical terms?

The image-makers were subject to the same vicissitudes as other citizens. Prosperity and a sovereign's favor encouraged them; war and famine threatened their very lives. Yet the prosperity of the golden age did not turn *all* the craftsmen into good artists; the appalling conditions that followed did not completely destroy the tradition of greatness; and the small production that rose later on out of adversity in Lân Nâ was rather better in quality than the huge production that rose from prosperity in Lân Châng.

The craftsman of almost any period, I believe, was capable of doing far finer work than he did when left to his own devices; if the patron was indifferent, the best craftsman was liable to fall into banalities. But a patron who took a personal interest and a craftsman of talent were like two facets of a single artist's nature.

Functioning in easy harmony, they could be sure of achieving a normal kind of beauty. Functioning in mutual tension, they took greater risks: they might finish in schizophrenia, but if the tension was resolved there would be a moment of creative glory.

NOTES

[1] Beale, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1906, I, xliv; *Annales*, III, 275; *Documents*, 135 f.

[2] Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Cambridge, Mass., 1935, 9-10.

[3] Coomaraswamy, *Nature of Buddhist Art* (in Rowland, *Wall-Paintings of India, Central Asia, and Ceylon*, Boston, 1938); cf. Lounsbery, *Buddhist Meditation in the Southern School*, London, 1950; Foucher, *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, Paris, 1900-1905.

[4] For an image from south Siam with pedestal dated in 1183, see *Buddhist Art in Siam*, fig. 45.

[5] *États hindouisés*, 131; *Buddhist Art in Siam*, chapter III; Dupont, *Art de Dvāravatī et art khmer*, Revue des arts asiatiques, 1935.

[6] For references, see *États hindouisés*, s. v. *Nan-tchao* in index; for the statuettes and their significance in the personal cults of royalty, see Chapin, *Yünnanese Images of Avalokiteśvara*, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, August 1944; cf. de Mallmann, *Notes sur les bronzes du Yunnan représentant Avalokiteśvara*, ibid., December 1951; for similar personal cults in Cambodia, see Cœdès, *Pour mieux comprendre Angkor*, Paris, 1947, chapter III.

[7] Even in modern times the population shifts with surprising ease. Bombing or brigandage threatens a locality, a river changes its course, or the fertility of crop-lands is exhausted — then whole villages will move to a new location, perhaps scores of miles away, taking with them their village headmen and patterns of authority. The new villages and the new landmarks will be given the old names. Probably the movement of the Tai into Siam was the result of many successive shifts of this sort.

[8] For the Tai of North Vietnam, see Abadie, *Les races du Haut Tonkin*, Paris 1924, Chapter II. For animism in northern Siam, see *Annales*, passim; cf. leMay, *An Asian Arcady*, Cambridge, 1926.

[9] *États hindouisés*, chapters XII and XIII; cf. Cœdès, *Année du Lièvre 1219 A. D.*, in India Antiqua, Leyden, 1947.

[10] See ACASA VII for a fuller description and references.

[11] "Buudha the Victorious King" is illustrated in ACASA VII, fig. 30; *Buddhist Art in Siam*, fig. 146; leMay, *Culture of South-East Asia*, London, 1954, fig. 189. — My ideas on the chronology of Sukhodaya art, never very sure, have been modified by a discovery Mr. Kraiśrī Nimmānahæminda and I made at Nân in November, 1955. We found three magnificent examples of the Sukhodaya high classic style inscribed with a date equivalent to 1426 A. D. I hope to publish them shortly.

[12] *Documents*, 18 et passim. The neighboring kingdom of Lambâng doubtless shared the culture of Lampûn.

[13] The present official designation is "northern Tai". The Tai of Ayudhyā used to call the people of Lân Nâ "Lao". The term Yuan which I have adopted corresponds to the Pali *Yonaka* (see *Documents*, 30). It should not be confused with the Siamese appellation for the Vietnamese (spelled differently) or the Chinese name of the Mongol Dynasty.

[14] *États hindouisés*, 318, 326 f, 375 f; cf. *Documents*, passim.

[15] JSS XLI/2, 103 and fig. 1. There are also a few bronze statuettes and stone fragments of "Lampûn style" (practically Dvāravatī) in the Lampûn Museum.

[16] *Documents*, 95 f, 195 f; JSS XLI/2, 104 f.

[17] *Documents*, 97 f; JSS XLI/2, 105 f; *Sihiṅga*. Neither the image the Prince of Chiengrâi got from Gampængpet nor the one he had made can be identified today — much less the original one made in Ceylon. There are five or six different images that popular opinion in different towns identifies

as the original — all mistakenly. With the possible exception of the one at Nagara Śrīdhammarāja, which may be in a local variant of the Ayudhyā style, all of them are in the style of the Lân Nâ golden age; see pages 39, 43, 46.

[18] JSS XLI,2, fig. 3.

[19] *Annales*, I, 69 f.

[20] *Documents*, 104 f.

[21] *Annales*, III, 116 f, 129 f.

[22] *Documents*, 108.

[23] Cf. *Buddhist Art in Siam*, 103; JSS XLI,2, 112 f.

[24] *Buddhist Art in Siam*, 102 f, brings out the similarity very well.

[25] Hutchinson, *The Seven Spires*, JSS XXXIX/1.

[26] The chronicle makes it clear that the monastery was a new foundation, not an old one that Tiloka merely restored. See JSS XXXIX/1, 5.

[27] Ibid., 35 f.

[28] For description of Bodhgayā, see Cunningham, op. cit.; Rājendralāla Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, Calcutta, 1878; Valisiṅha, *Guide to Buddhagayā*, Calcutta, 1950; cf. de Beylié, *L'architecture hindoue en Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1907, page 12 fig. 3; Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1927, 81 f; Parmentier, *L'art architectural hindou dans l'Inde et en Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1948, 46 f and Pl. V; for the incidents connected with the Seven Stations, see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, London, 1880, 105 f; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 122 f; Cunningham, op. cit., 35 f.

[29] Cunningham, op. cit., plate XVIII and page 35 should be compared with JSS XXXIX/1, plan facing page 8.

[30] JSS XXXIX,1, 54.

[31] The story of the mission to Bodhgayā is related in an unpublished manuscript in the possession of the Buddhist Institute at Chiengmai. Mr. Kraiśrī Nimmānahæminda, who kindly gave me this information, tells me that another unpublished manuscript says the Minister got the plans from the replica of the Mahābodhi at Pagan. This might be thought more credible, as Pagan is nearer. But monks were constantly traveling between Chiengmai and Ceylon; it would be no harder to go to Bodhgayā. The Muslims would not object; they did not prevent the Buddhist monuments of Bengal from being repaired as late as 1450 (see Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, London, 1954, II, 113). The governors of Bengal from the mid-14th to the mid-16th century maintained a sort of precarious independence from Delhi. The Muslim power, in any case, was asserted through vassal princes who were Hindus.

The mission dispatched to Bodhgayā by King Dhammacetiya of Pegu consisted of a large number of Mon craftsmen, under the leadership of a Sinhalese trader who resided at Pegu. (See Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey of Burma, 1914 and 1939.)

I owe to the kindness of Mr. H. S. Shorto, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, the following translation of an extract from the Mon chronicle *Nidāna Ārambhakathā*, giving an account of King Dhammacetiya's expedition to the Mahābodhi at Bodhgayā and his construction of a replica at Pegu:

"In order to purify the Religion in Haṁsāvatī [Pegu], the King [Dhammacetiya] had monks steadfast in the burdens of study and contemplation go over to Ceylon and be made pure by re-ordination at the hands of the pure monks of that place. [a] In order that those who dwelt in Haṁsāvatī might have great happiness, he had monks endowed with the burdens of study and contemplation embark at Bassein, together with skilled masons, painters, and builders, much treasure, royal letters written on gold under the authority of his seal, and ambassadors of greater and lesser rank, to whom he entrusted many presents, and thence sail . . . to Bengal to visit the Bodhi Tree at the center of the

world where the Buddha overcame Māra. [b] When all the monks had reached the site of the Bodhi Tree, and the presents had been offered, the painters made models of all the sites according to their distances and dimensions and brought them back to the place where the King dwelt. [c]

"In the surrounding country to the west of the city they found a site both long and broad, [d] and making a great enclosure prepared places for the King, the ministers and captains, and the rich men and leading citizens, and hung them befittingly with awnings and hangings, and set high and noble places for the monks endowed with the burdens of study and contemplation and for the brahmins pure as the moon, as the time drew near for the work of merit to be begun.

"His Majesty Rāmādhippati Siri Pavaradhammarājā [Dhammacetiya], accompanied on his right hand and his left by his ministers and captains and wearing his jewelled crown, seemed in the midst of his train like the moon among its train of stars and constellations. Now the time to begin the work of merit had come, and great faith arose in His Majesty. The king's sons and sons-in-law, his ministers and captains great and small, queens and concubines, the rich men and leading citizens and all the notables of the land escorted his gifts, which consisted of a royal riding elephant arrayed with a jewelled crown, golden howdah, and white umbrella; a crown of rubies, *cāvarām* yak's-tail whisk, shoes stitched with jewels and a gown of dark gold velvet, all for adornment; a set of personal ornaments, comprising an ornate rope of pearls, a baldric, a zodiacal armlet, jewelled rings for every finger, and a lion girdle with housings [e]; and golden pitchers and vases filled with perfumed water for calling the earth to witness, when they pour it out to inform the earth-goddess Visundharī.

"He fashioned [replicas of sites connected with various episodes in the Buddha's career, including] the place where the Seat of Enlightenment sprang up; where He sat down cross-legged [in the lotus position] to conquer by the four vows; the image of Māra riding the elephant Girimeghara and wielding the disk weapon . . . [and the Seven Holy Stations, namely: First, the Adamantine Seat] by the Bodhi Tree where He enjoyed the fruit of arahatship, fixing his mind on Nibbāṇa; [Second,] the Stance where he contemplated the Bodhi Tree for seven days without blinking; [Third,] the place where he miraculously walked up and down without touching the ground, dispelling the doubts of the *devatas* . . . [Fourth,] the House of Gems where He meditated . . . [Fifth,] the Banyan where abiding he enjoyed attainment; [Sixth (though the text lists it before the Fifth),] the Alinda [Pond] with the Dragon that covered Him with its hood; [Seventh], the Mimusops Tree where Indra gave him the toothstick of betel vine [f] . . . All these places the King constructed . . .

"He also constructed [various other things, including] a marvelous statue of . . . the Buddha sitting cross-legged [in the lotus position], triumphing over Māra [g] . . . He built a great image-hall, and had it painted with Mount Sinnarāt with its five terraces, seven rings of battlements and four forests, and with the four oceans and the walls of the world, and he had figures made of our lords the sun and the moon in turreted sky-chariots [h] . . ."

The parallels between this passage and King Tiloka's construction at the Seven Spires deserve comment.

a. The "City-Dwelling" monks at Chiengmai were "steadfast in the burden of study", the "Forest-Dwellers" were "steadfast in the burden of contemplation." King Tiloka also sent his Minister of Works to Ceylon, apparently before sending him to Bodhgayā.

b. The phrase in the *Chronicle of the Seven Spires* that I have translated "exactly as they are in India at the place where the Lord overcame the forces of evil" (page 36) is literally: "exactly as they are in the Middle Land where the Lord overcame Māra."

c. Tiloka had the same preoccupation (page 38).

d. "[King Tiloka's] officers were dispatched to look for a suitable place and they *discovered the site* where the Mahābodhārāma now stands." (*Chronicle of the Seven Spires,* JSS XXXIX/1, 42.)

e. The "attire of royalty."

f. Except for a small difference in the order, and the substitution of the toothstick for the myrobalan, the descriptions of the Holy Stations are—as would be expected—practically identical.

g. " . . . an image of Buddha seated in the lotus position . . . The name of this image is 'Buddha Victorious over Evil' [literally, Victorious over Māra]." (See page 38, for this extract from the *Chronicle of the Seven Spires.*)

h. Compare inscription on base of image Number 1, in "Catalogue of Dated Images", page 79.

The decoration of the Chiengmai monument quite obviously derives directly from Bodhgayā; the decoration of the temple at Pagan is entirely different. (For Bodhgayā, see Mitra, op. cit., plates vii-ix, xv, xix; Cunningham, op. cit., plates xvi-xvii; Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, London, 1953, Figs. 52 and 93-b. For Pagan, see Rowland, op. cit., Fig. 172-b; de Beylié, op. cit., fig. 271; Thomann, *Pagan, ein Jahrtausend Buddhistischer Tempelkunst*, Stuttgart, 1923, figs. 24-25. For Chiengmai, see JSS XXXIX/1; Parmentier, op. cit., plate XXXI; Claeys, *Archéologie du Siam*, BEFEO XXXI, 441-447).

[82] See page 41.

[83] See page 45.

[84] Mus, *Le Buddha paré*, BEFEO XXVIII.

[85] Cf. *Buddhist Art in Siam*, fig. 122, showing an image wearing the royal attire without the monastic robe.

[86] The "Sinhalese" Buddha (Fig. 12) and the famous "Emerald" Buddha are both golden age copies, at one or more removes, of Sinhalese models. For copies of an Ûtòng model, see page 56.

[87] For the history of the "Sandalwood" Buddha, see *Annales*, III, 275-276; *Documents*, 135 f. For the history of the "Emerald" Buddha, see *Documents*, 112 f; *Emerald Buddha*; Lingat, *Culte du Bouddha d'Emeraude*, JSS XXVII. For the history of the "Sinhalese" Buddha, see *Documents*, 97 f; *Sihiṅga*. For other chronicles, see *Documents*, 123 f; Hutchinson, *Sacred Images in Chiengmai*, JSS XXVIII/2. There is a good discussion in Lingat, loc. cit.

[88] JSS XXXIX/1, 6. The abruptness of the break, as well as references in later chapters of the *Garland of Time*, prove that the author, who wrote in 1516, left no such gap. If the original manuscript had remained intact a long time it would have been copied so often that unmutilated versions would certainly survive today. It can be guessed, therefore, that the leaf disappeared around the mid-16th century. But perhaps I am unjust in imputing censorship to the monks. The root of the matter may have been politics rather than religion. In 1556 Lân Nâ was conquered by the Burmese (see page 58); maybe it was they who tore a dangerous page from history, neutralized the Lion, and explained away the Universal Emperor, suppressing Tiloka's imperial devices because they gave a spark of hope to Tai Yuan trouble-makers.

[89] Duroiselle, *The Arī of Burma and Tāntric Buddhism*, Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report; LeBoulanger, *Histoire du Laos Français.*

[40] *Kāliṅgabodhijātaka*, no. 479 in Cowell, *The Jātaka*, London (reprinted 1957).

[41] For its removal to Lân Châng, see Wood, *History of Siam*, Bangkok, 1933, 116 note 1. Was it about this time that its miraculous powers suffered a sharp decline? A few years later when the King of Lân Châng was asked to return several famous images he had taken away from Chiengmai he gave back the "Sinhalese" Buddha as though he no longer cared about it, though he refused to let the others go. When the "Sinhalese" Buddha returned to Chiengmai it must have been in a predicament like Enoch Arden's, for by that time a totally unrelated statue was in worship there under its name. At any rate when the King of Ayudhyā seized it in 1662 he was informed that its magical powers were exhausted (JSS XXIX/2, 133). In 1767 it was returned to Chiengmai, and in 1795 brought to Bangkok, where it has remained ever since. Its miraculous powers seem to be in full vigor today.

[42] See Finot, *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne*, BEFEO XVII/V, 66-69; Mus, *Le Buddha paré*, BEFEO XXVIII/1, 153-154.
[43] Griswold, *Bronze-Casting in Siam*, BEFEO, XLVI/2.
[44] Renou and Filiozat, *L'Inde classique*, Paris, 1947, page 573 f.
[45] Griswold, *Bronze-Casting in Siam*, loc. cit., 537-538; Wells, *Thai Buddhism, its Rites and Activities*, Bangkok, 1939, 77 f.
[46] *Documents*, 26; Finot, loc. cit., 30 f.
[47] Stern, *Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'évolution de l'art khmer*, 10-12 et passim; Dupont, *La statuaire préangkorienne*, Ascona, 1955, 189 f., et passim; Boisselier, *La statuaire khmère et son évolution*, Paris, 1955, 85 f., 126 f., et passim.
[48] *The Nân Chronicle*, vol. X of the *Collected Chronicles of Siam*, Bangkok, various dates (in Siamese).
[49] It is certain in three cases (Numbers 1, 14, 43).
[50] Leaving out of account three unimportant reigns (each lasting only a few months) towards the beginning of the dynasty, Tiloka was the 9th King of Lân Nâ. The enumeration is sometimes given differently, because it takes account of those reigns, and may also count a restoration as a new reign.
[51] I have had to do a little guesswork here, because images can be moved about. Still, the present location of an image is apt to be the place where it was made — except for those that have been taken to Bangkok or abroad. Sometimes the inscription will help.
[52] The puppet King was seized and sent to Burma, where he died in captivity a few years later. Then he achieved a surprising reincarnation: he became "Yun Bayin Nat", one of the thirty-seven "Spirit Lords" of the Burmese pantheon, and as such he is still worshiped today. See Temple, *The Thirty-Seven Nats* (London, 1906), 66.
[53] For an illustration of the finest, see ACASA VII, Fig. 21.
[54] A school of stone sculpture at Payao produced some very pleasant pieces, perhaps in the 17th and 18th century. See JSS XLI/2, 126 and Fig. 18.
[55] Several Laotian images are illustrated in Parmentier, *L'Art du Laos*, Paris and Hanoi, 1954.

APPENDIX

(Drawings of elements in Dated Images are marked with "Cat. No." *corresponding to their number in the Catalogue, pages 79 to 97.)*

ANATOMY

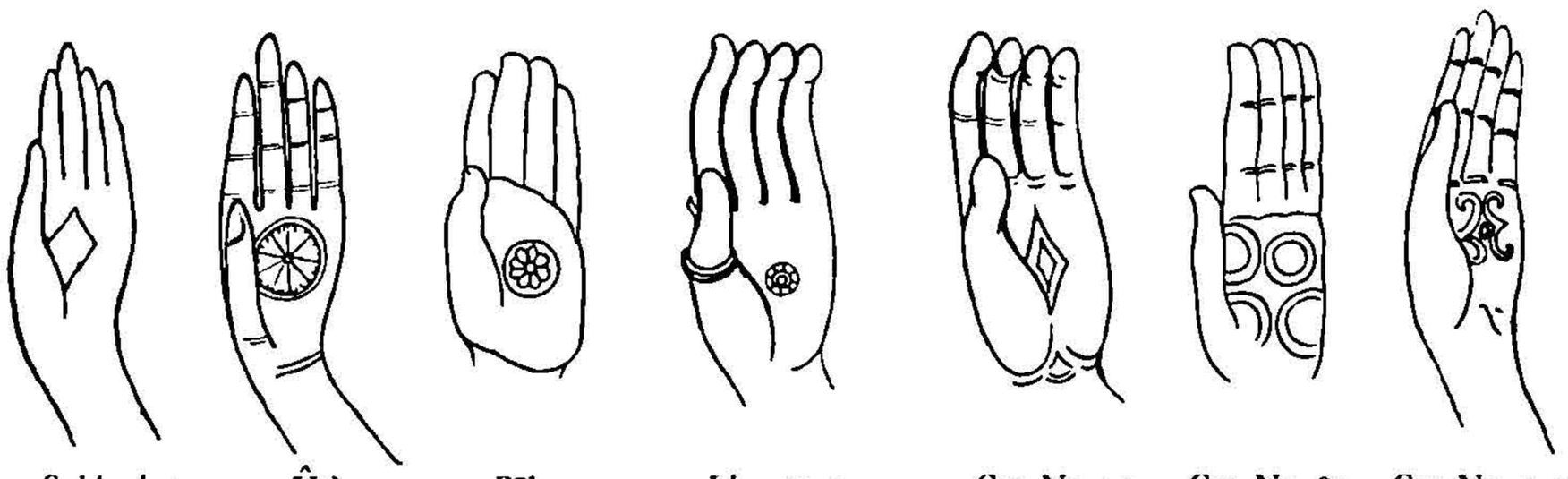
For a discussion of canons of proportion, see Coomaraswamy, *Mediæval Sinhalese Art*, 160f., Gangoly, *South Indian Bronzes*, 33; Tagore, *Some Notes on Indian Artistic Anatomy*, 5. Here is one set of rules for Buddha images, based on the "inch" (length of the second joint of the image's forefinger) and the "face" (distance from the point of the chin to the top of the forehead where the hair begins): A "face" should equal 13 ½ "inches"; distance from neck to navel, 2 faces; length of thigh, shank, foot, and hand, each one face; etc. For a seated figure the height, measured to the top of the forehead where the hair begins, should be 5 faces, and the distance from knee to knee the same. For a standing figure the height should be 9 faces. It is interesting to compare the dated images with these canons.

For metaphors sometimes used as guides to anatomical form, see page 22, and also Tagore, *Some Notes on Indian Anatomy*.

HANDS AND FEET

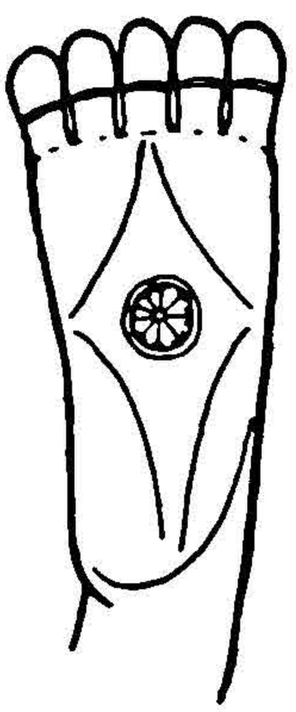
Usually the Tai Yuan sculptor made the hands slim and stylized, with fingertips bending backwards like the lotus petals of Sanskrit metaphor; sometimes he made the four finger equal in length in accord with the Pali texts; sometimes he made the hands more human. Again, he could follow the Pali texts and make the heels projecting, the footsoles flat, and the toes of uniform length; or he could make the feet more human. Different patterns of auspicious lines — now obliterated in all except a few cases — might be incised or painted on palm and footsole.

Left hand (seen from above)

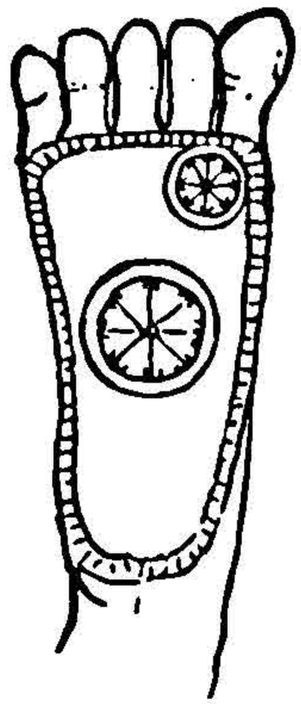


Sukhodaya | Utòng | Pāla | Lion type in royal attire (see Fig. 9) | Cat. No. 25 | Cat. No. 85 | Cat. No. 109

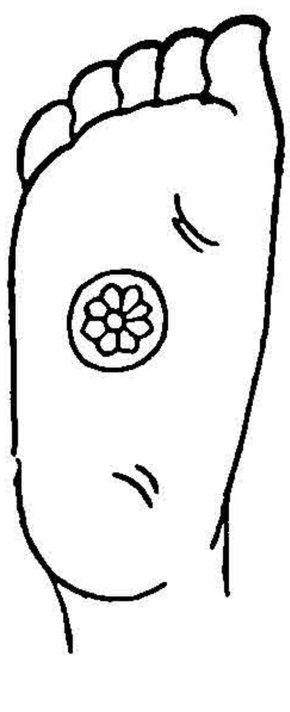
Left foot (seen from above)



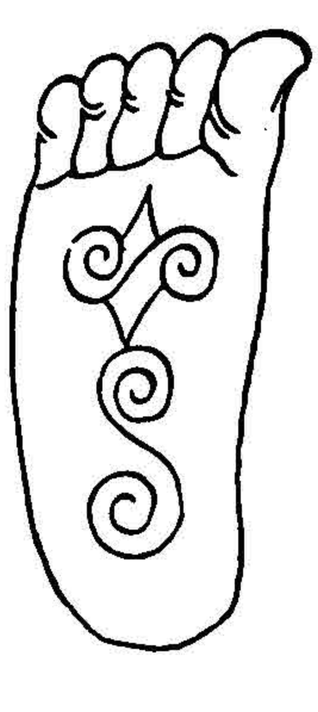
Sukhodaya



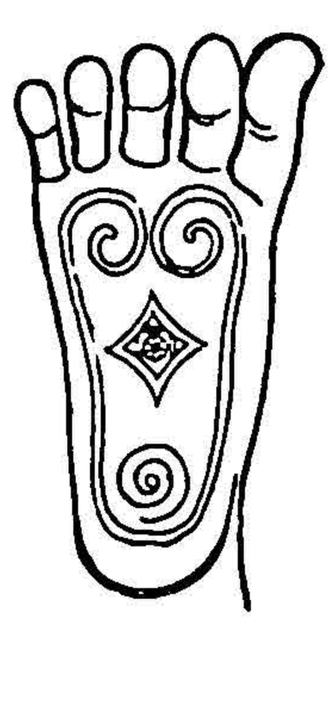
Ûtròng



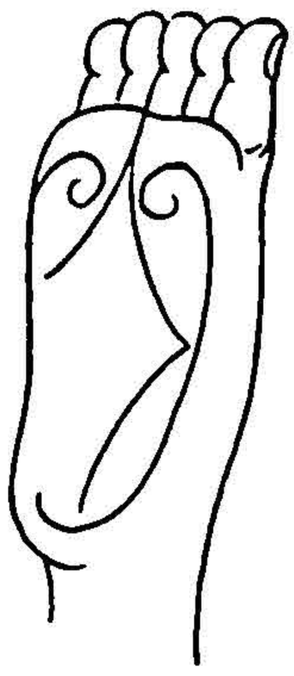
Pāla



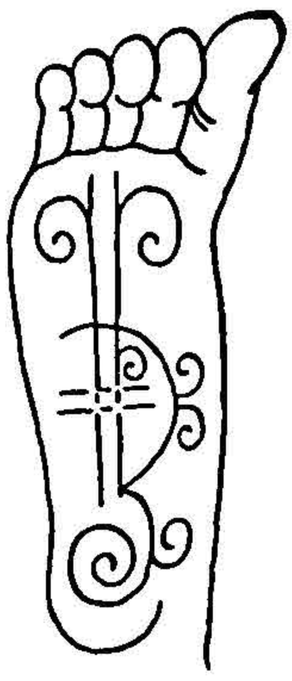
Undated Lion



Lion type in royal attire
(see Fig. 9)



Cat. No. 1



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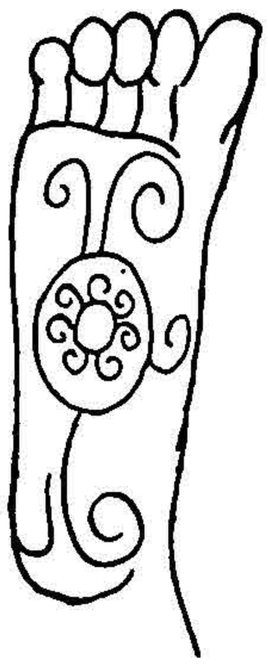

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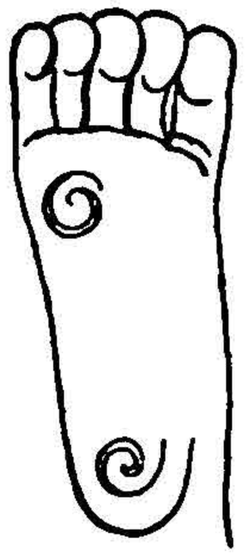

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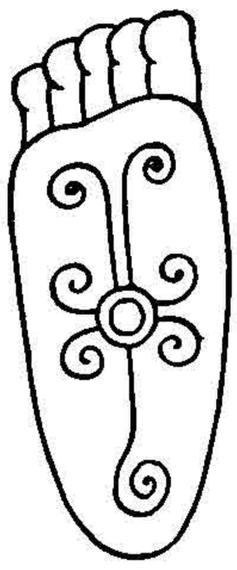

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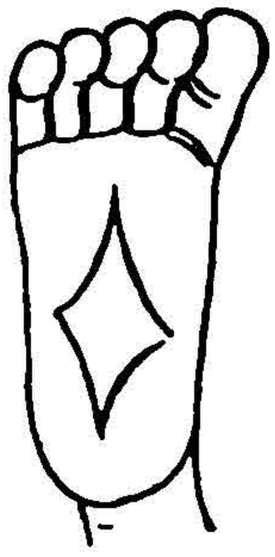

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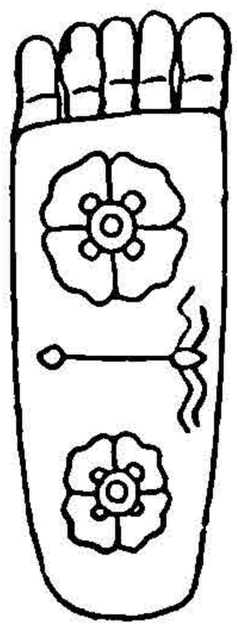

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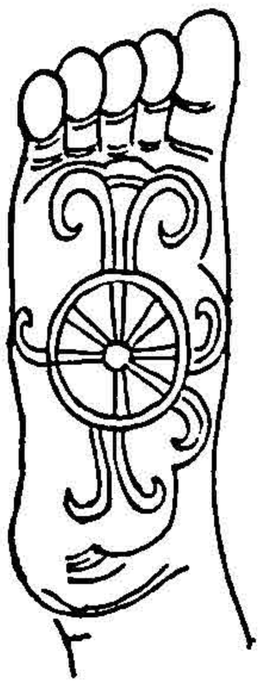


Cat. No. 109

FOREHEAD MARKS

Few Tai Buddha images have the *urna* or forehead-mark. Perhaps in most cases it was originally painted on, and has now been obliterated. When it still exists, it is usually a modification of the magic syllable OM (like an inverted question-mark).

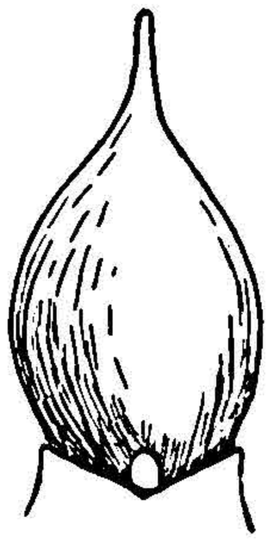
Cat. No. 6

Cat. No. 81

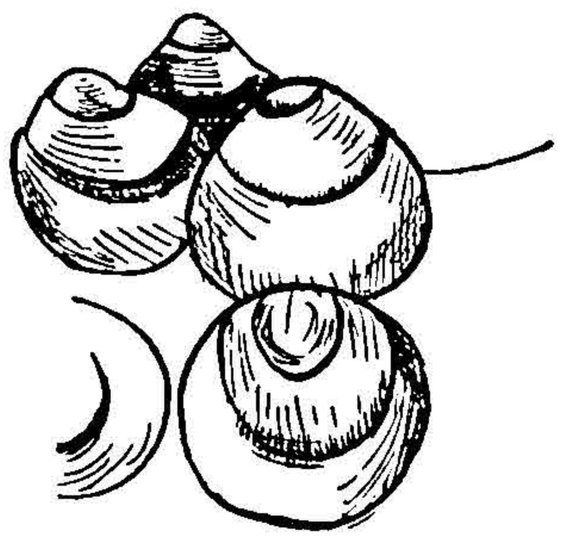
Cat. No. 91

CURLS

According to the rules, there should be 360 curls, each one turning in the sunwise direction, each coiled tuft one "inch" in height. The shape of the curl may be "like a snail-shell" or "like the sting in a scorpion's tail." In practice it is either more or less snail-shaped or else a mere knob.



Sting in a Scorpion's Tail



Usual curls, Sukhodaya and Lân Nâ

EARS

Orthodoxy requires the lobes to be distended, and so they invariably are. Indian art teachers sometimes compared the ear to a vulture, sometimes to a letter of the alphabet. The Tai Yuan artist used a variety of whorls to render the convulutions of the ear. Sometimes the top of the ear is rounded, sometimes pointed. The pointed

ear, which belongs more properly to demons, appears on Buddha images in the Pāla period, but rather rarely and in a mild form. It appears more often and more boldly in the school of Sukhodaya.

Human

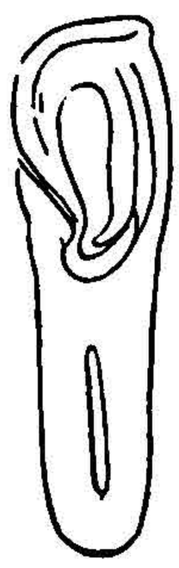
Vulture
(Indian metaphor)

Vulture Stylized

Letter of Alphabet
(Indian metaphor)

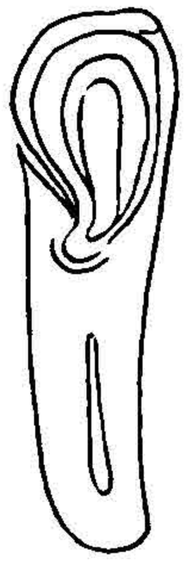
Sukhodaya High Classic

Sukhodaya High Classic



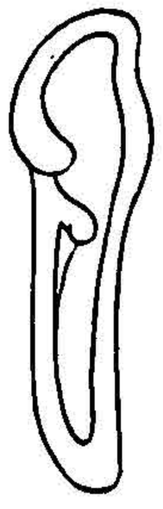
Sukhodhya Post-Classic

"Victorious King"
(Sukhodaya Post-Classic)



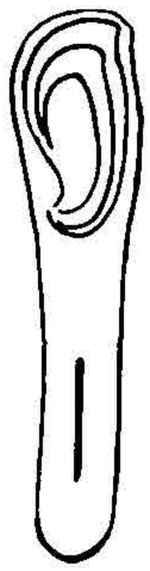
Pāla

Pāla



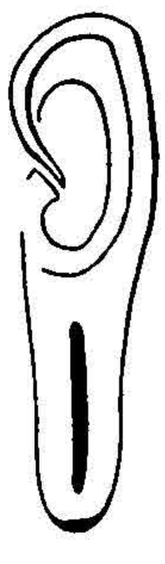
Pāla

Pāla



Lân Nâ
Golden Age
(Undated Lion)

Cat. No. 1

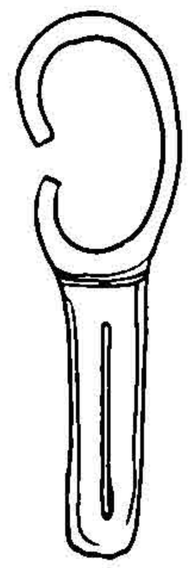


Lân Nâ
Golden Age
(Undated Lion)

Cat. No. 2

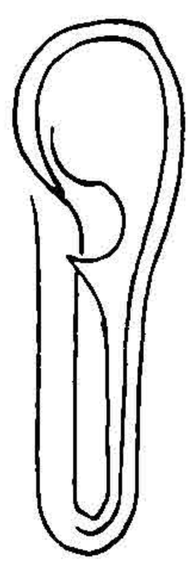
Lion-Type
Wearing Royal Attire
see Fig. 9

Cat. No. 3



Ûtòng

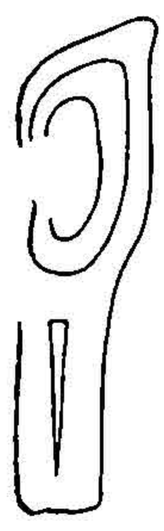
Cat. No. 4



Pagan
(Burma)

Cat. No. 6

Cat. No. 8

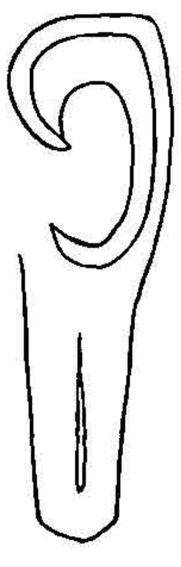


Cat. No. 10

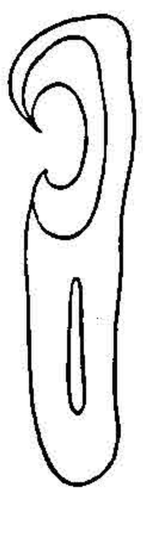
Cat. No. 12

Cat. No. 15

Cat. No. 16



Cat. No. 17



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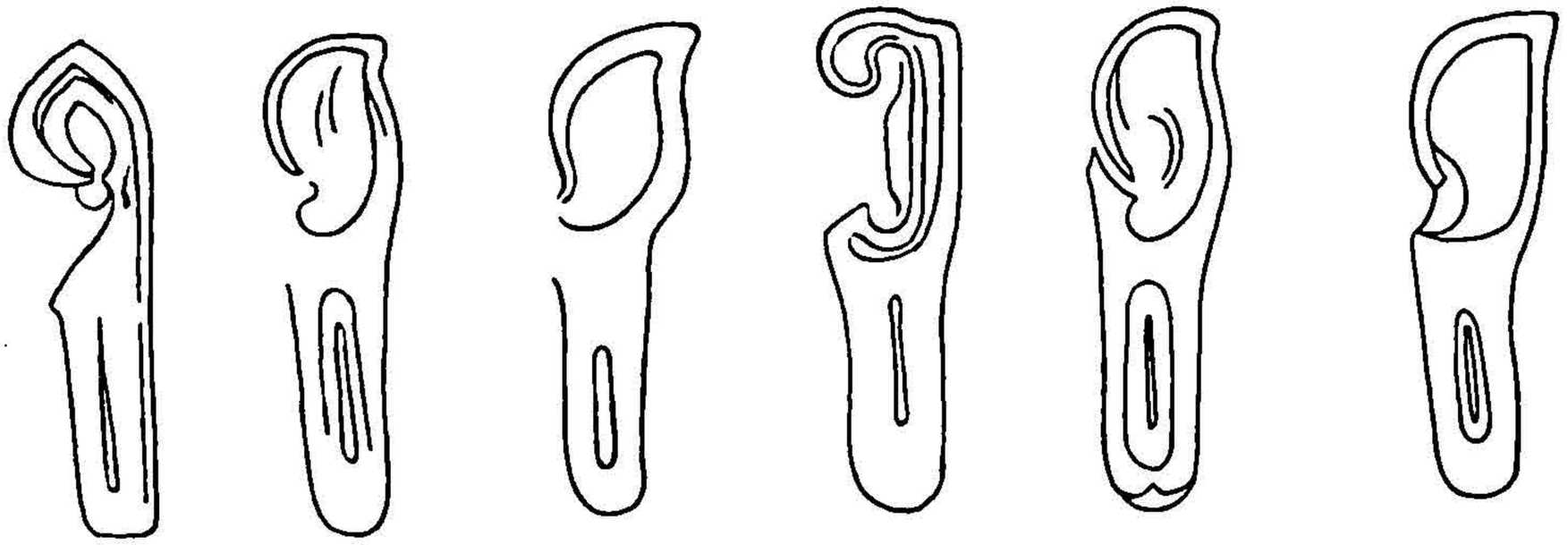

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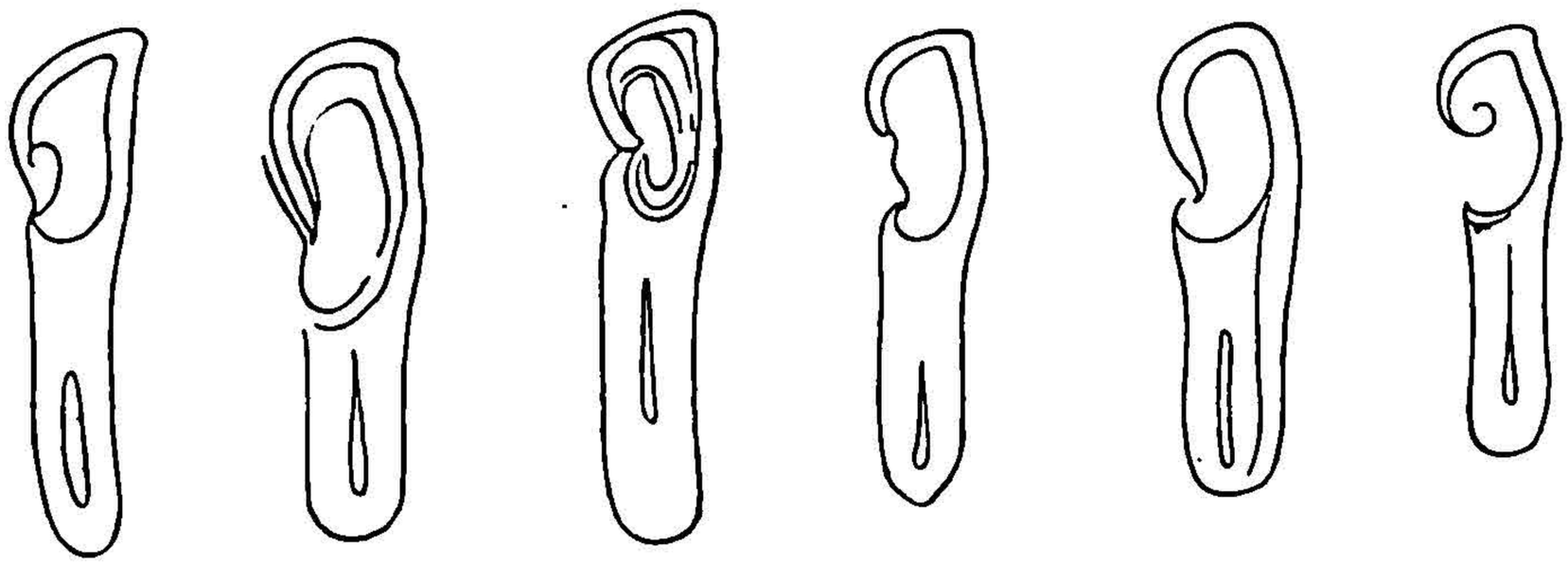
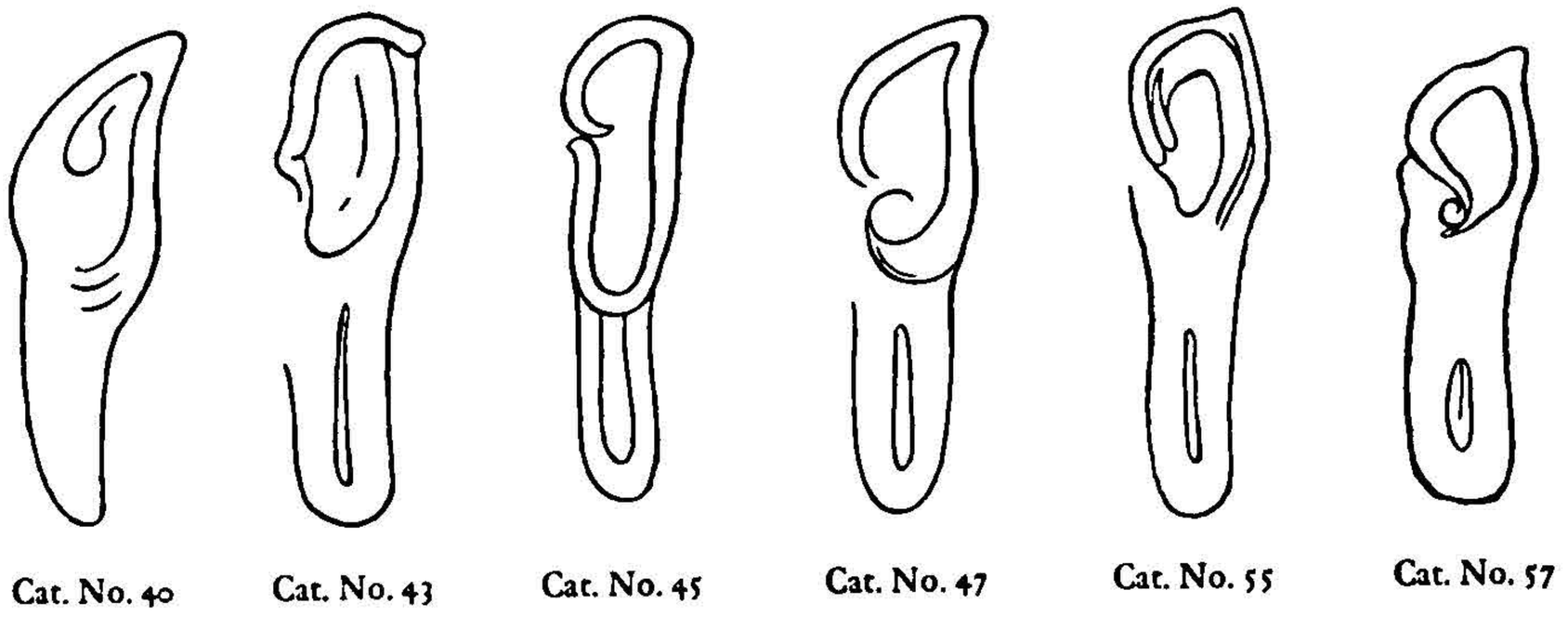
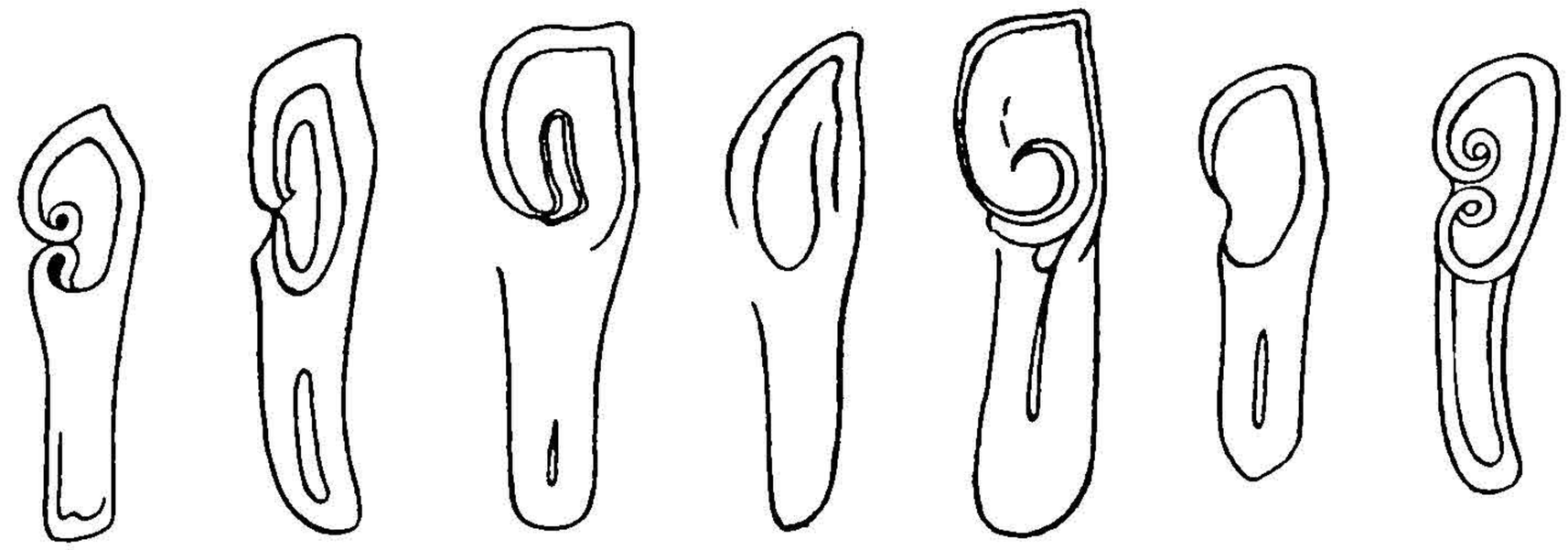


Cat. No. 28 Cat. No. 30 Cat. No. 32 Cat. No. 34 Cat. No. 35 Cat. No. 36



Cat. No. 40 Cat. No. 43 Cat. No. 45 Cat. No. 47 Cat. No. 55 Cat. No. 57



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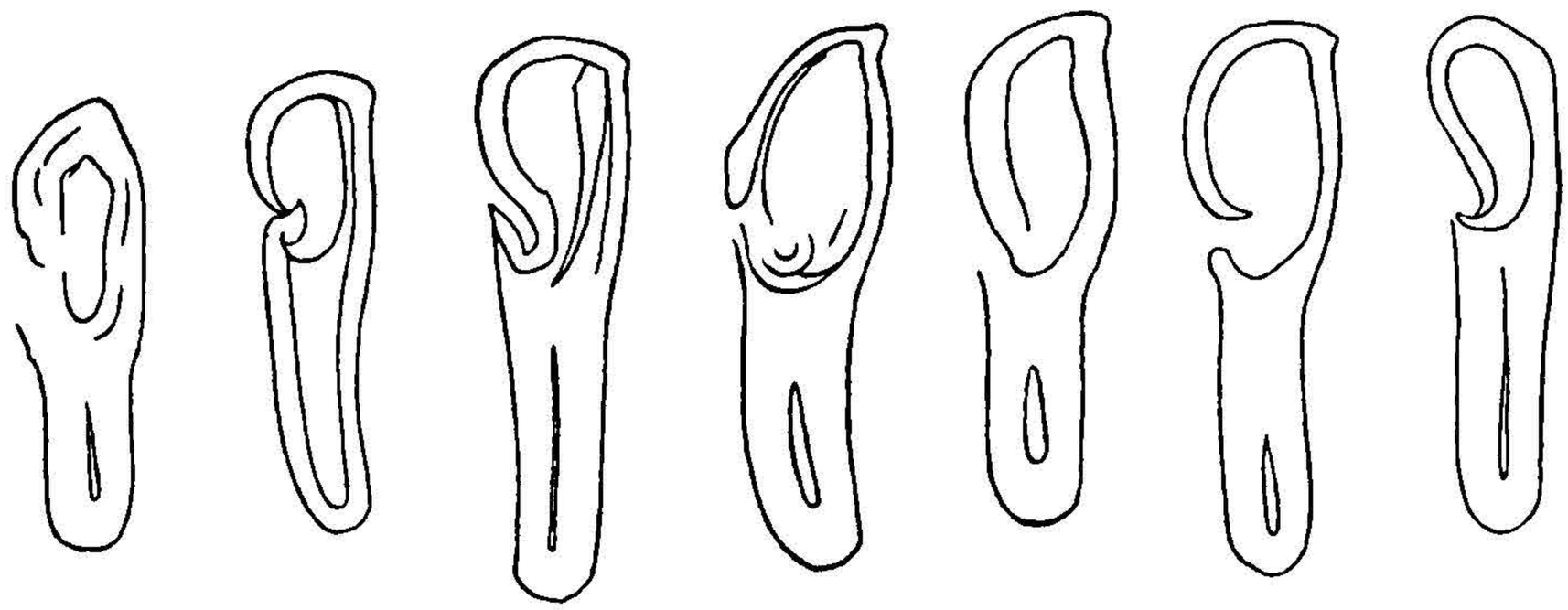

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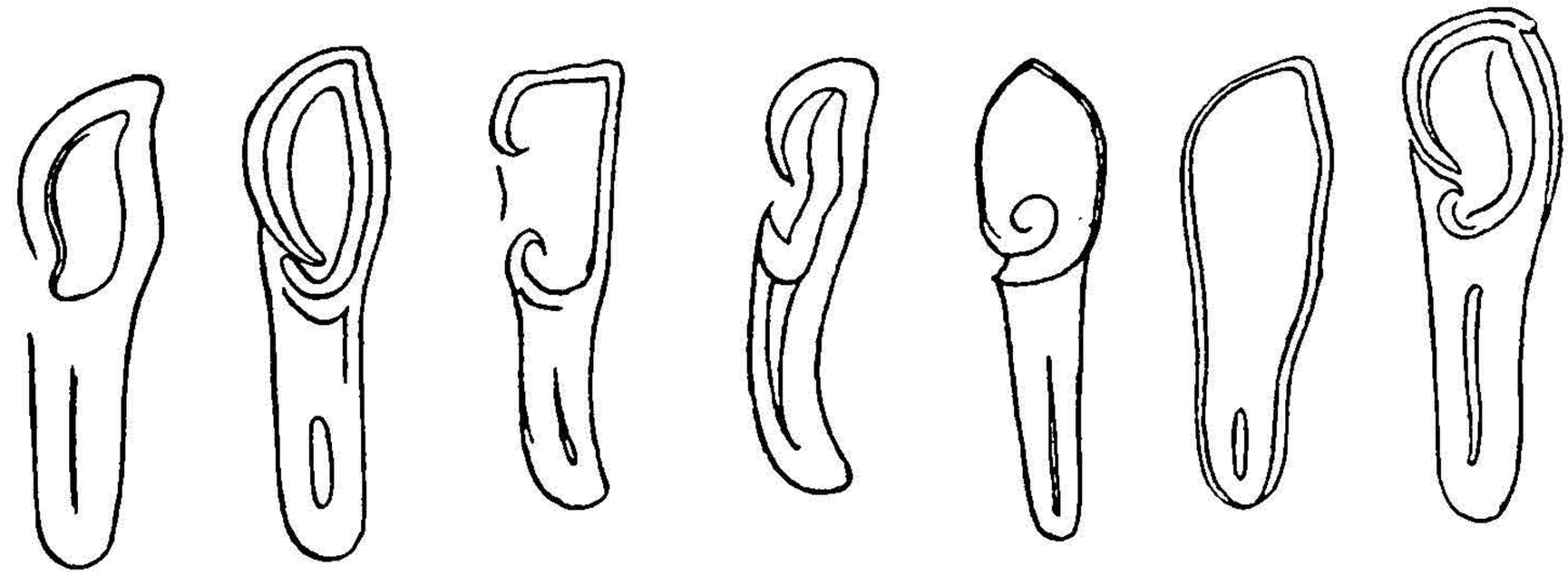
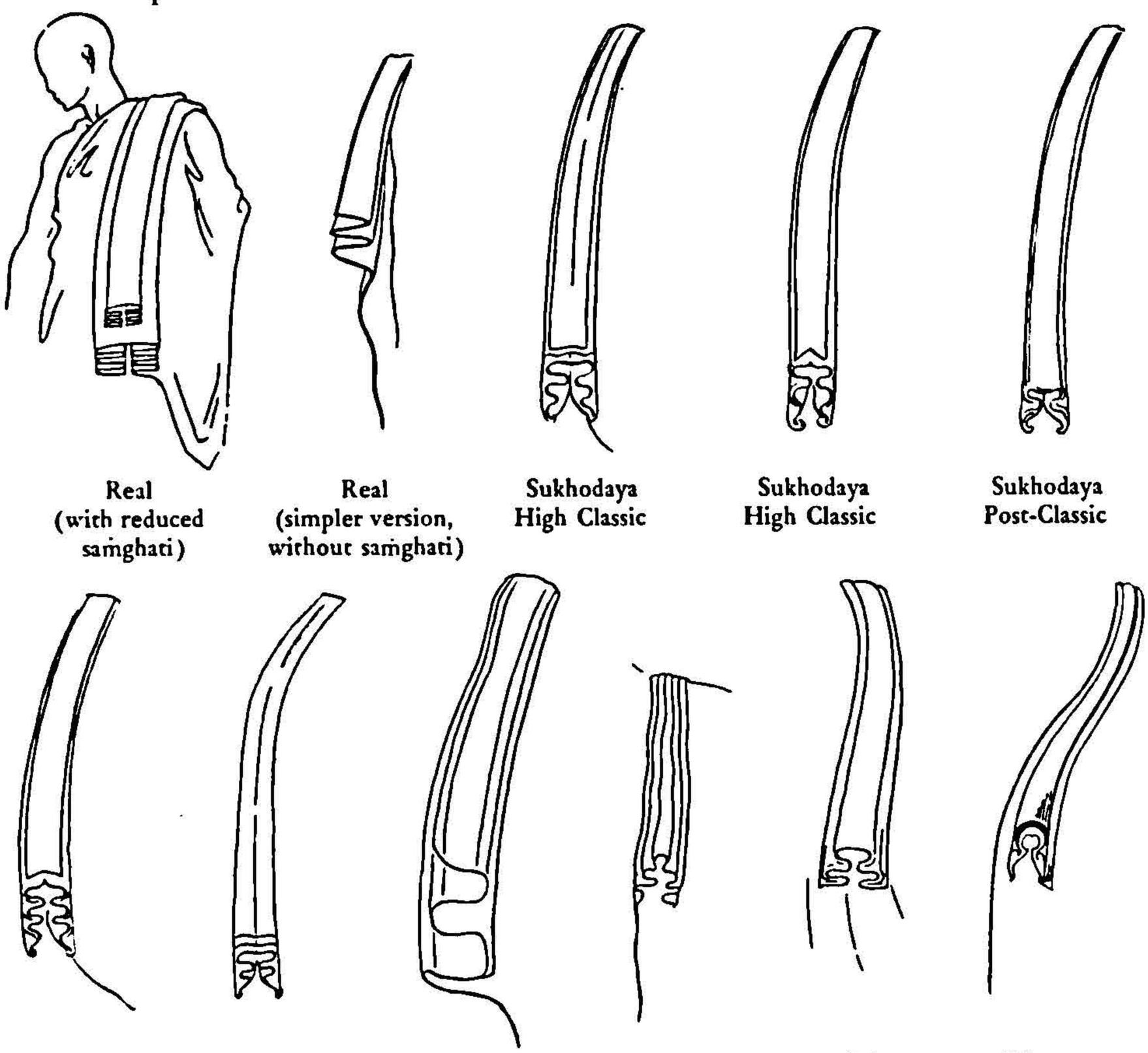


Cat. No. 88 Cat. No. 91 Cat. No. 95 Cat. No. 100 Cat. No. 103 Cat. No. 108 Cat. No. 109

MONASTIC ROBE: SHOULDER-FLAP

There are several different ways for a monk to wear the robe, and the hems may fall into an indefinite number of patterns. Though stylized, every element of the costume in sculpture has its counterpart in reality. A ledge paralleled by an incised line is a hem; and there may be either one, two, or three of them across each leg. The cloth on the pedestal at the ankles falls into a variety of patterns. The flap over the left shoulder is a pleated end of the robe, of uniform length; if it descends all the way to the waist in front, it has been pulled forward; if it descends only to the nipple, it has been pushed back. Its termination, whether forked and notched or cut off square and incised with whorls or hatching, represents pleat-ends. Sometimes there is another element superimposed over the shoulder-flap, like a narrow tape. It is the shawl (saṁghaṭi), folded and pleated, worn over the left shoulder; in reality, it would normally cover the shoulder-flap entirely, but in art its size is reduced to allow the shoulder-flap to be seen.



Real (with reduced saṁghaṭi)

Real (simpler version, without saṁghaṭi)

Sukhodaya High Classic

Sukhodaya High Classic

Sukhodaya Post-Classic

Sukhodaya Post-Classic (Bishṇuloka)

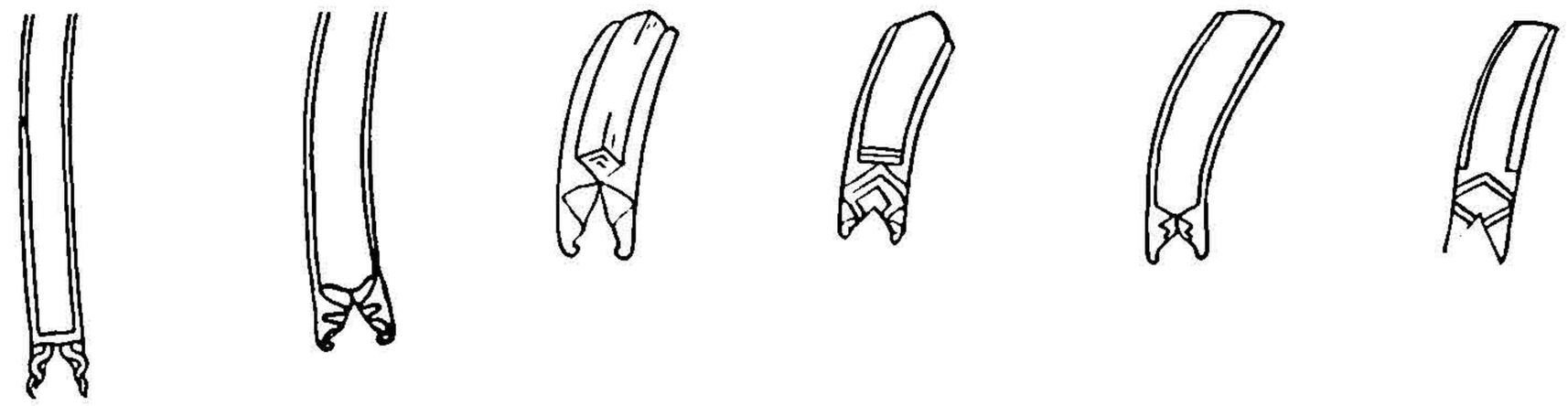
"Victorious King" (Sukhodaya Post-Classic)

Pāla

Pāla

Pāla

Pāla



Lion-Type Wearing Royal Attire (see Fig. 9)

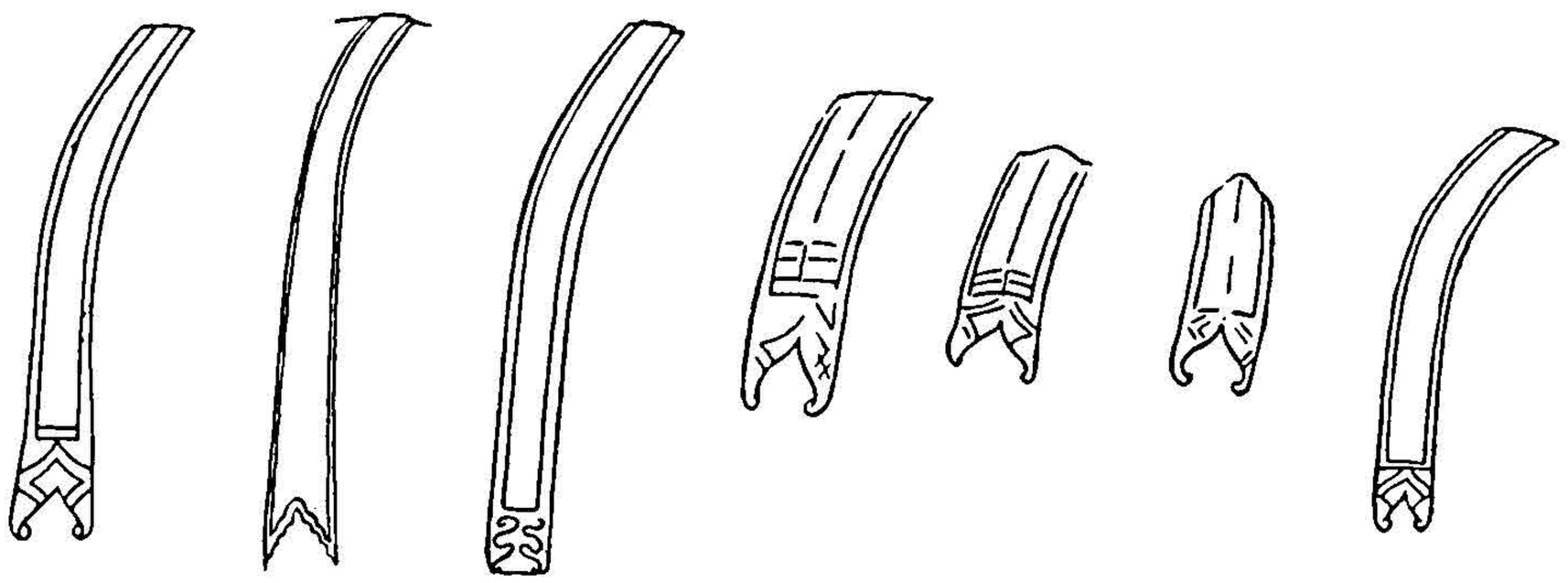
Ûtòng

Cat. No. 1

Cat. No. 2

Cat. No. 3

Cat. No. 4



Cat. No. 8

Cat. No. 9

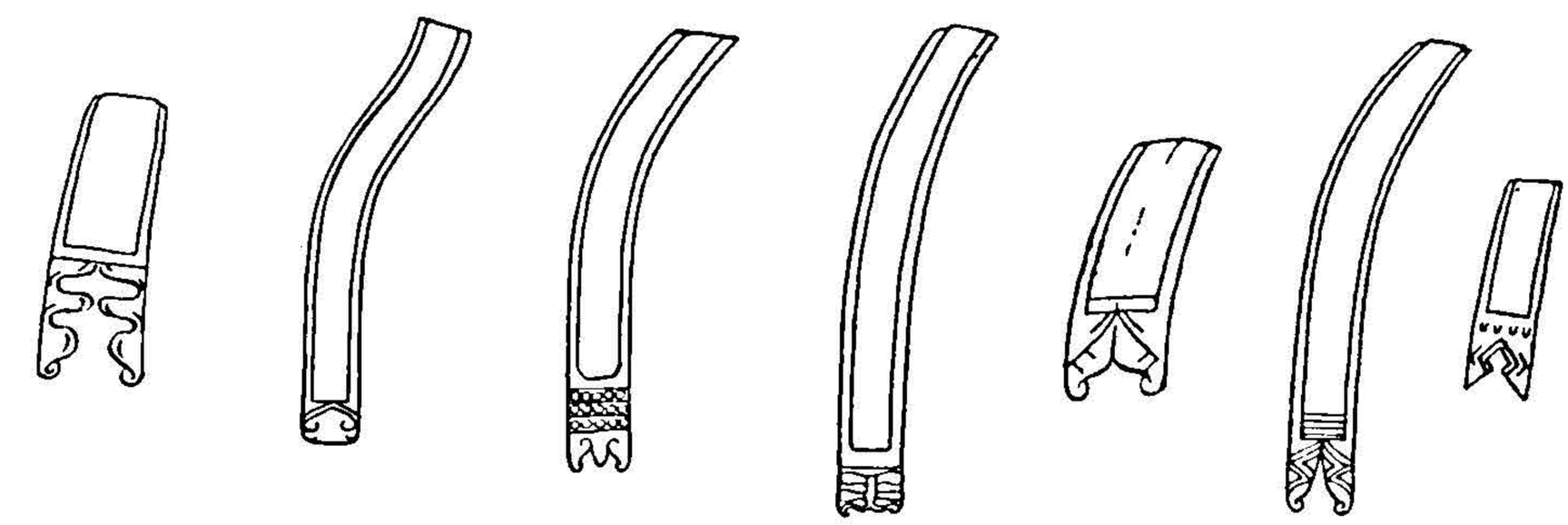
Cat. No. 10

Cat. No. 12

Cat. No.14

Cat. No.15

Cat. No. 16



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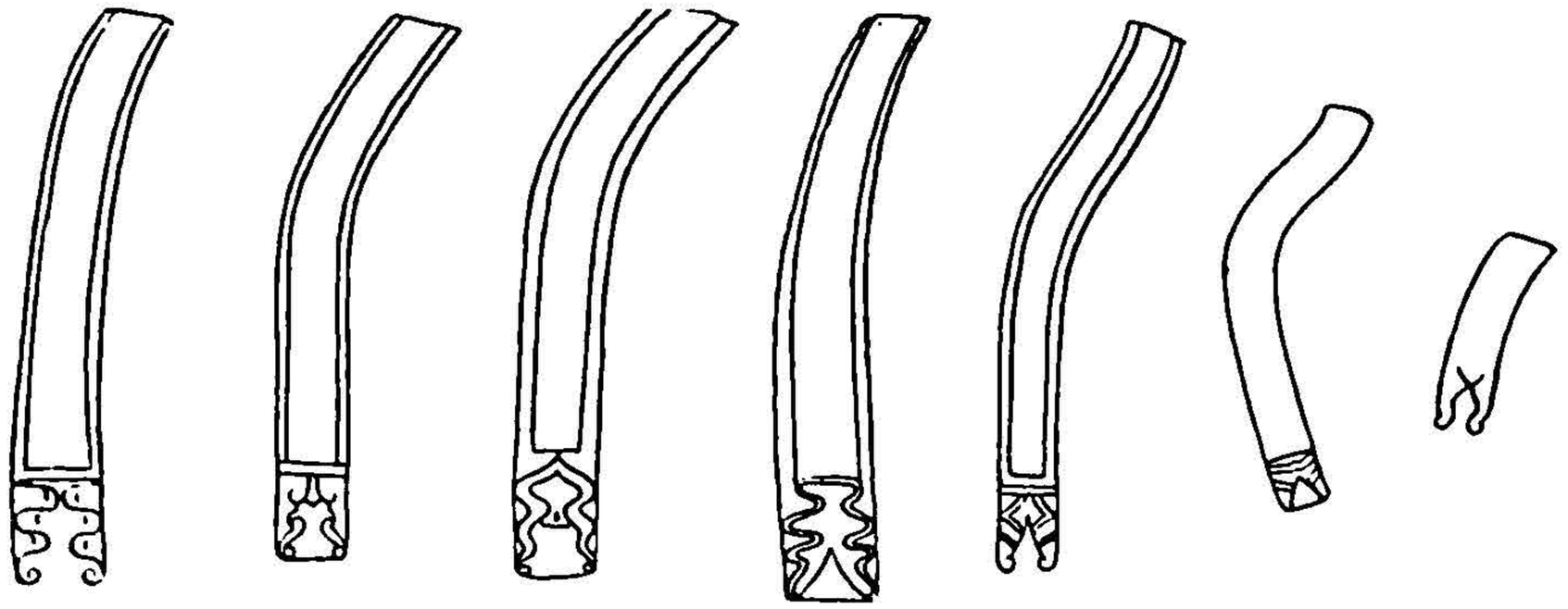
Cat. No. 19

Cat. No. 20

Cat. No. 21

Cat. No. 22

Cat. No. 23



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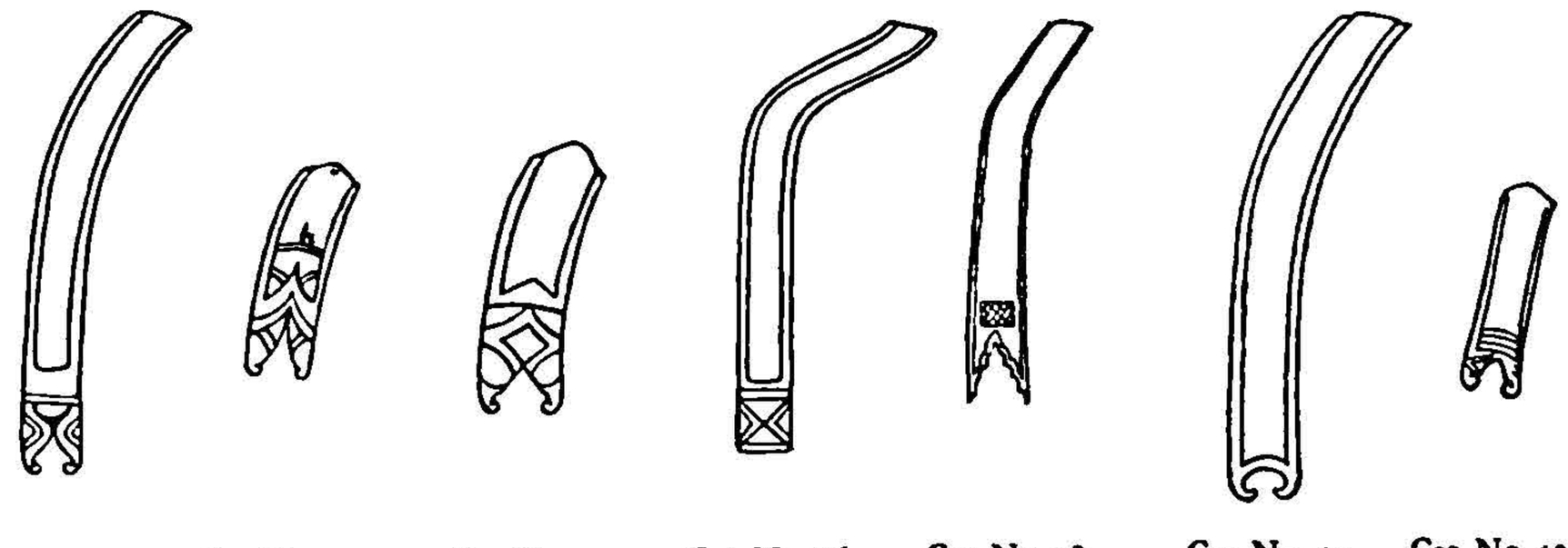

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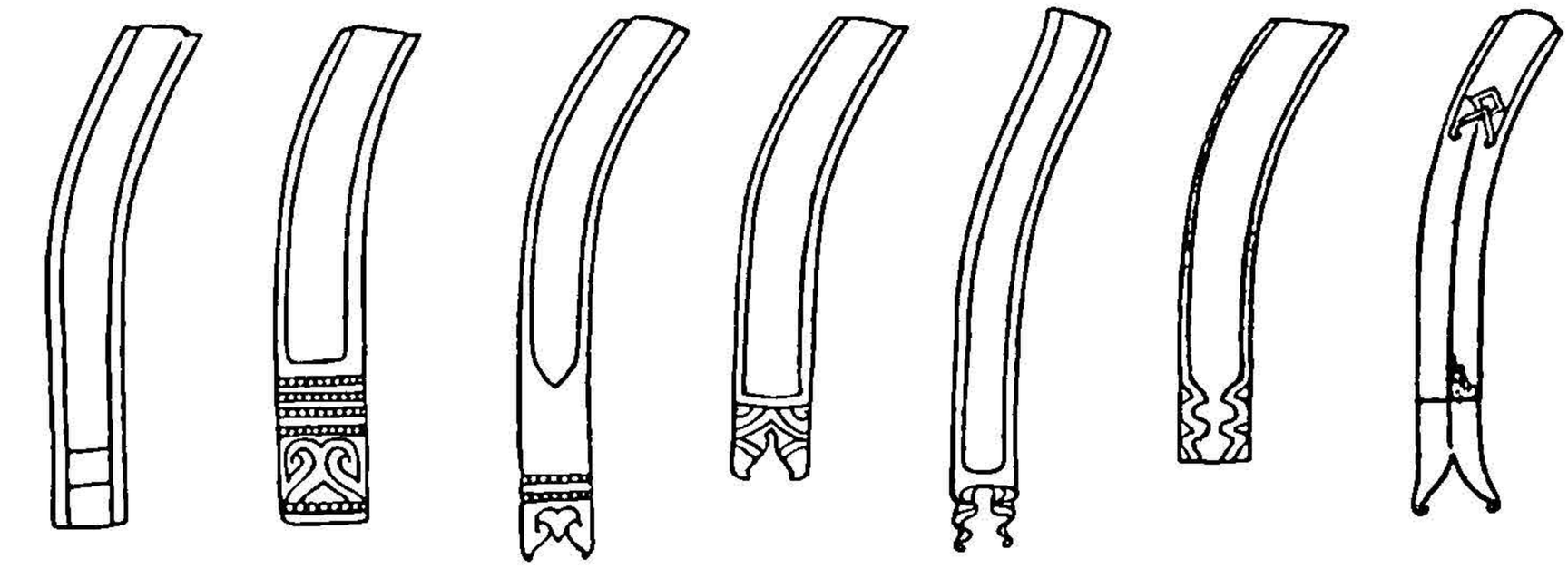
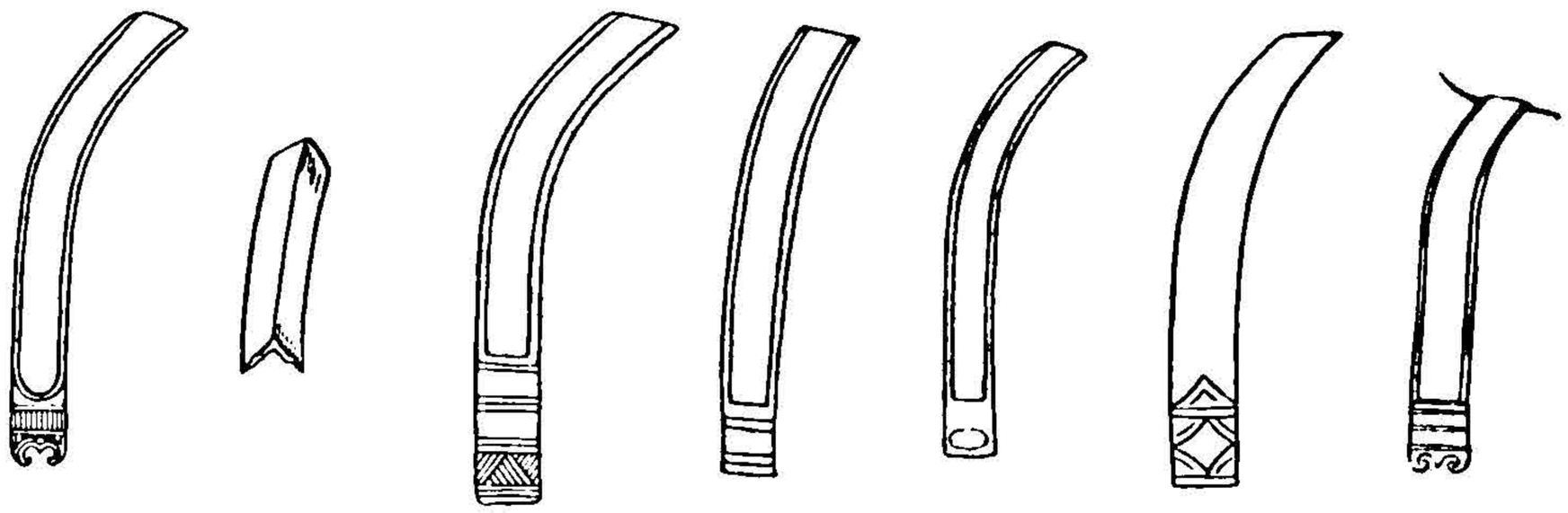


Cat. No. 45 Cat. No. 46 Cat. No. 47 Cat. No. 48 Cat. No. 54 Cat. No. 55 Cat. No. 57



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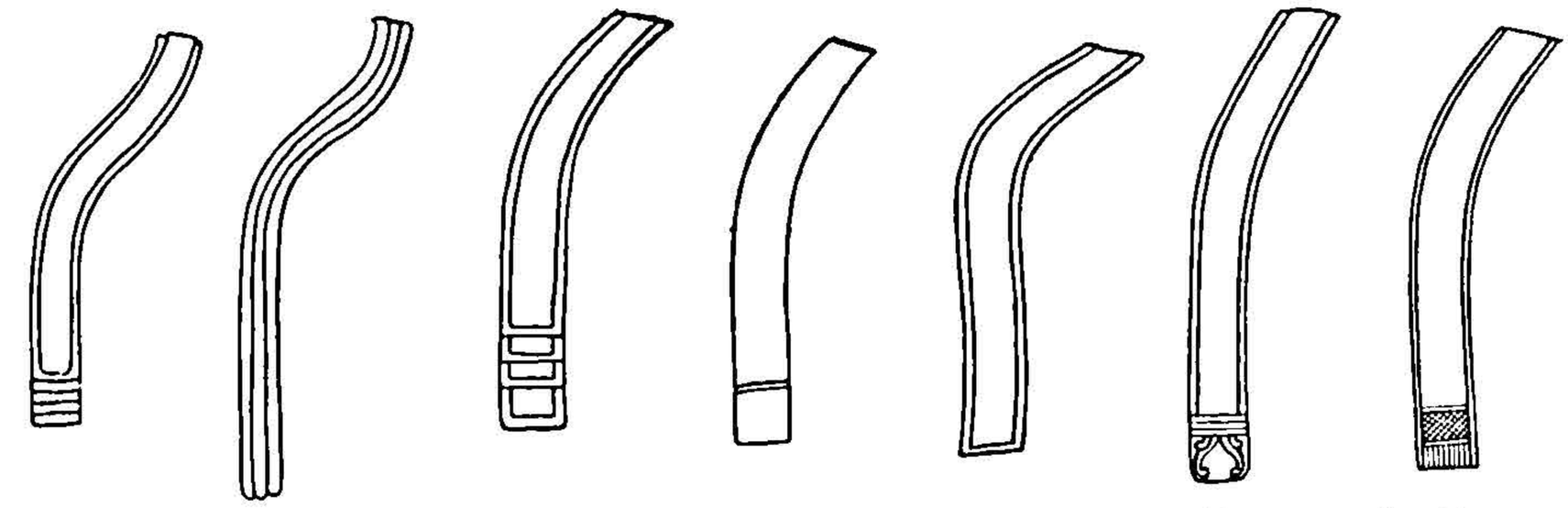

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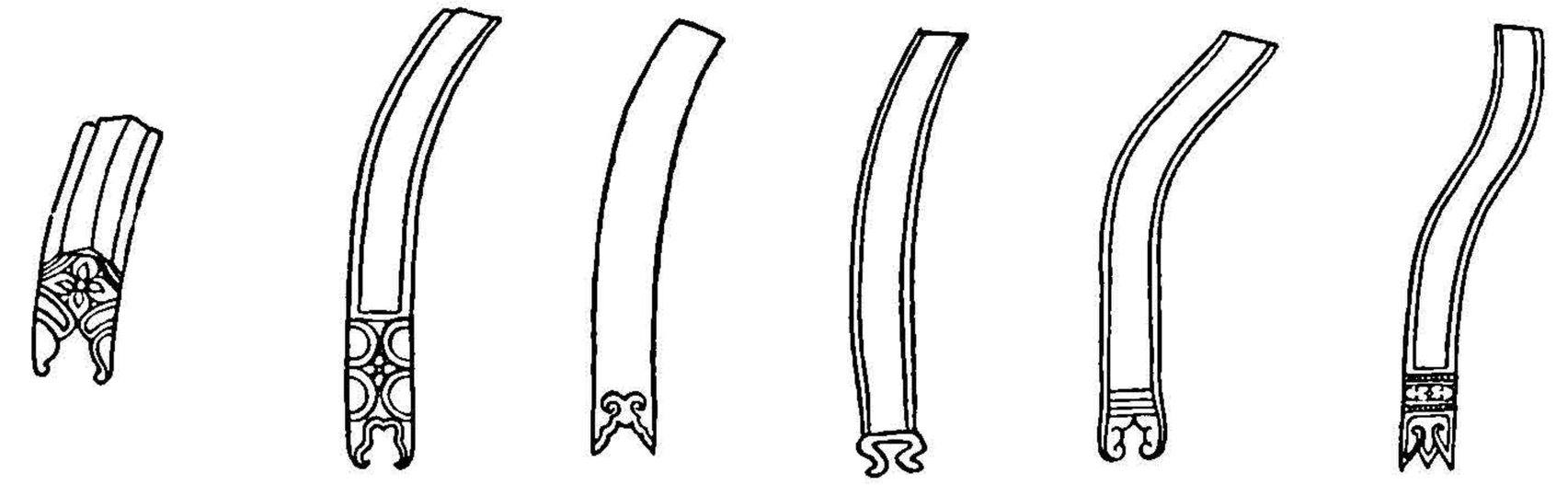

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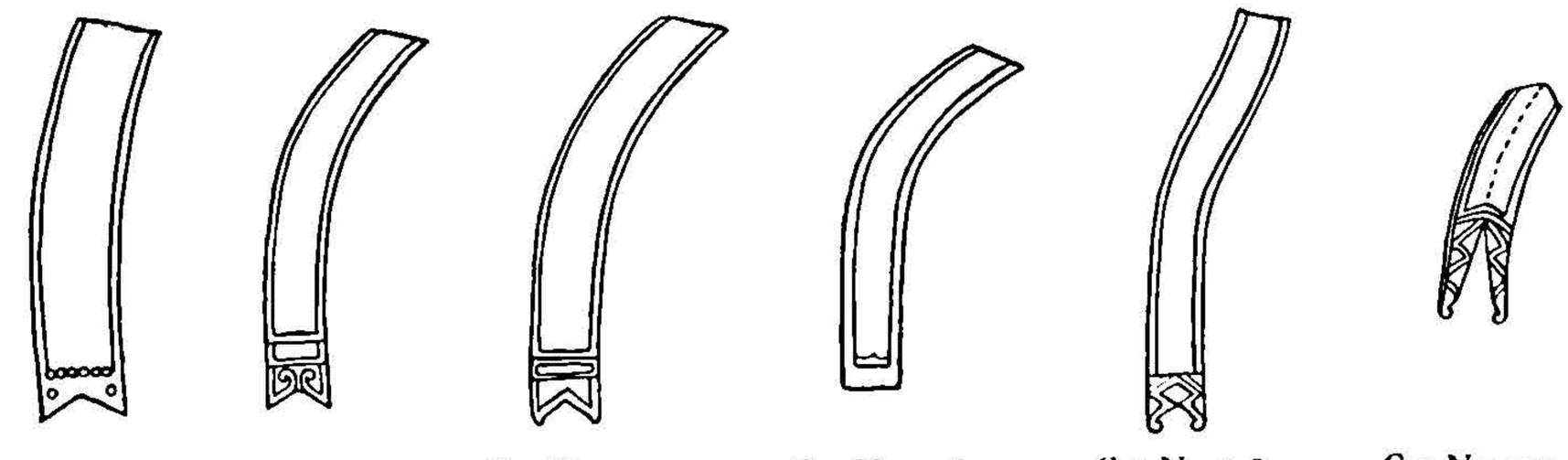
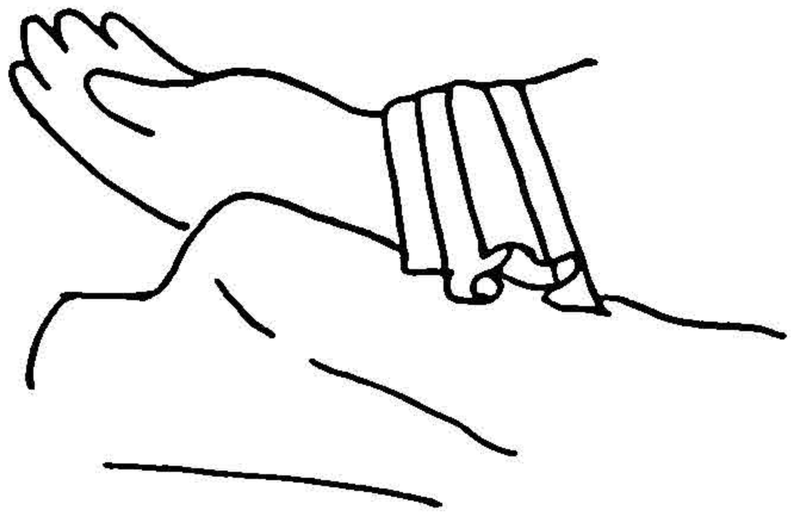
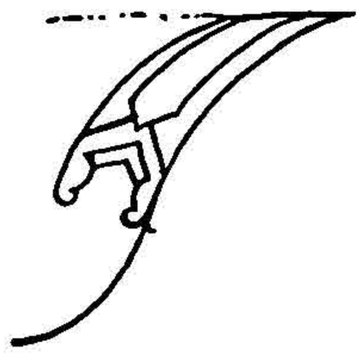


Cat. No. 95 Cat. No. 100 Cat. No. 101 Cat. No. 106 Cat. No. 108 Cat. No. 109

The Lion type has another fold falling over the left thigh, with a similar system of pleat-ends.



Pāla



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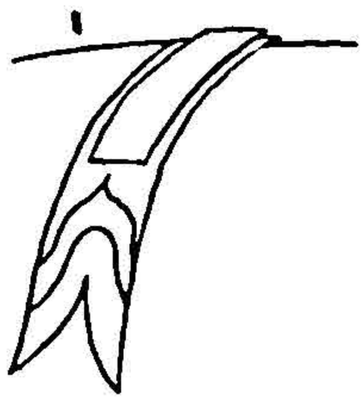

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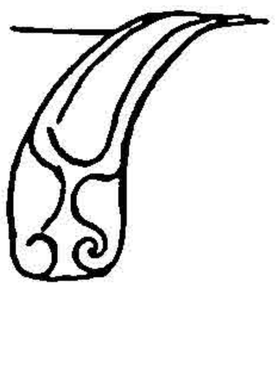

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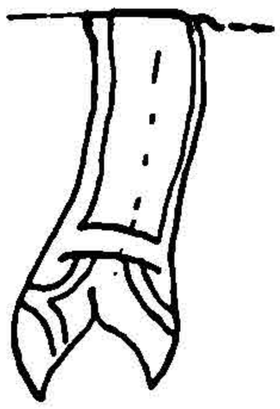

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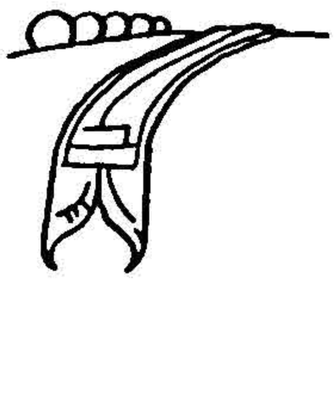

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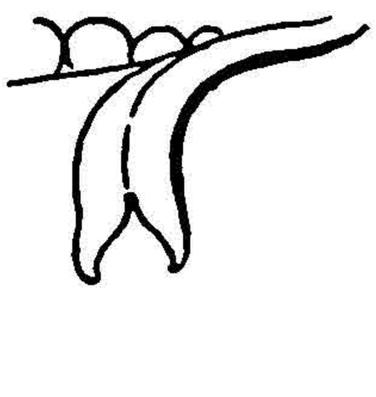

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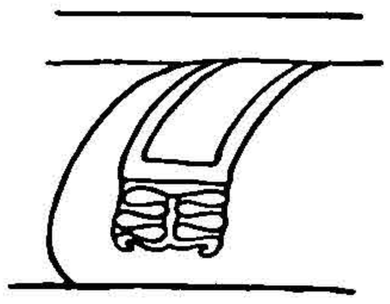

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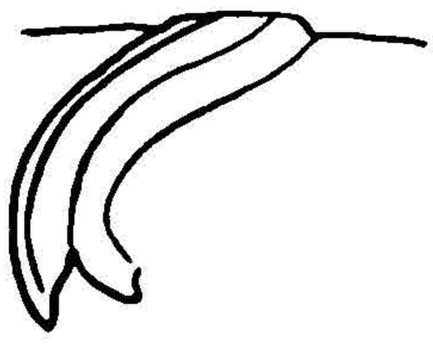

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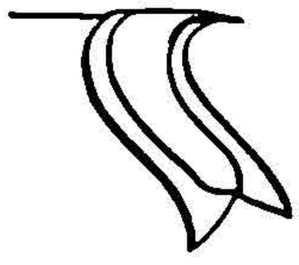

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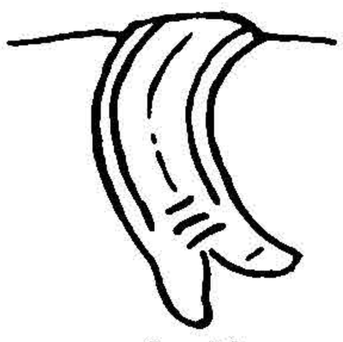

Cat. No. 43

CATALOGUE OF DATED IMAGES

All the known dated images of Lân Nâ, plus a small selection from Lân Châng

Number 1 — 1470 — Plate I

Lion type, height 1.33 m. The casting is in three sections: head and upper body, lower body, pedestal; all apparently contemporary, except for repairs to right hand and some patches restored in the late 19th century after a fire. Inscription is dated 831 [CS], 10289 [months elapsed since the beginning of the Era], 303848 [days elapsed since the beginning of the Era]. This works out to February 18, 1470. [Note: when I first published this statue, in JSS XLI/2, fig. 8, I overlooked the information on months and days, and consequently gave the date as 1469.] The first part of the inscription is in Pali verse: "The image of the Lion Buddha [or Sinhalese Buddha?], founded by Mahāsaṅgharāja Śrī Saddhamma, sits upon the sacred slab [pallaṅka], radiant as the sun rising above the Yugandhara mountain or the disk of the moon in the sky . . ." The latter part of the inscription, in Tai, gives the Mahāsaṅgharāja's title in full: Śrī Saddhammatrailokaratanacūḍāmani [or Mahā-?] saṅgharāja, and states that he "caused the image to be made for all the people to worship", etc.

King Mengrâi Monastery (Wat Kālakot), Chiengmai.

Number 2 — 1474 — Plate II

Lion type, height 1 m. Inscription dated: 836, Year of the Horse, first year of the decade.

Moat-River Monastery (Wat Mæ Kü), Dòi Sget District, Chiengmai Province.

Number 3 — 1477 — Plate III

Lion type, height 63 cm. This statue is known as the "Lord of Divine Bronze". Inscription dated CS 839.

Pra Sing Luang Monastery, Chiengmai.

Previously published: JSS XLI/2, fig. 9

Number 4 1478 Plate IV

Lion type, height 43 cm. Inscription in Tai Yuan: "Founded by the Mahāthera in the year 840, Year of the Dog, fifth year of the decade; that Mahāthera was the craftsman; fifty-three persons contributed metal amounting in all to 10,000 weight." (For meaning of the weight, see *Documents*, 118 note 2.)

Sudarśana Monastery, Bangkok.

Number 5 1480 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height 92 cm. Inscribed with date, CS 842, Year of the Rat.

Stone Pillar Monastery (Wat Sao Hin), Chiengmai.

Number 6 1481 Frontispiece

Lion type, height 67 cm. Inscription: "Founded in the year 843, in the sixth month, by the Thera Rattapaññā[?], to be placed in the Pupbārāma [sic]."

Vihāra, Monastery of the Fifth King (Wat Peñcamapabitra), Bangkok.

Number 7 1481? Plate V

Mixed type, height 75 cm. Inscription appears to be dated: Year of the Ox, eighth year of the decade, CS 843.

Sîbunrüang Monastery, Fâng.

Number 8 1482 Plate VI

Walking Buddha, Mixed type, height 46 cm. Inscription with date: "Year of the Tiger, ninth year of the decade, 843." Probable intention: 844. (Cf. *Documents*, 26 note 1.)

National Museum, Bangkok.

Number 9 1482 Plate VII

Mixed type, height 1.18 m. Lotus-bud finial on top of head is a modern replacement; original was probably a flame. Inscription dated CS 844.

Gem Hill Monastery, Fâng.

Number 10 1482 Plate VIII

Mixed type, height 1.13 m. Inscription dated 844.

Grand Cetiya Monastery, Chiengmai.

Number 11 1483 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height about 3.50 m. This statue, known as "the Buddha with Sharp Shins", is a Lân Nâ "copy" of an Ûtòng model. No inscription; for date see *Documents*, 115-116.

Sirigœt Monastery, Chiengmai.

Previously published: Documents, plate XII.

Number 12 1484 Plate IX

Lion type, height 78 cm. Inscription dated 846.

Vihāra, Monastery of the Fifth King, Bangkok.

Number 13 1484 Plate X

Mixed type, height about 80 cm. Inscription dated CS 846.

Three Gongs Monastery, Luang Prabang (Laos).

Number 14 1485 Plate XI

Lion type, height 83 cm. Inscription gives name of founder, Mahāsilamaṅgala, and date 847.

Vihāra, Monastery of the Fifth King, Bangkok.

Number 15 1486 Plate XII

Lion type, height 64 cm. Inscription in Pali, consisting mostly of scriptural quotations, together with the date: 848.

Vihāra, Monastery of the Fifth King, Bangkok.

Previously published: JSS XLI/2, fig. 10.

Number 16 1487 Plate XIII

Mixed type, height 1.17 m. Inscription with date: 849.

Monastery of the Shining Lord (Wat Pra Jao Lüam), Chiengmai Province.

Number 17 1488 Plate XIV

Lion type, height 1.10 m. Removed about 50 years ago from the ruins of the Kalyāṇamahantārāma, Sân Gampæng District, Chiengmai Province. According to its charter (now in the Buddhist Institute at Chiengmai), the Kalyāṇamahantārāma was founded in the Year of the Monkey 850 by Prince Atijavañāna Pavarasiddhi Mün Dâp Rüan, who founded five Buddha images at the same time. This is certainly one of them, as is proved by the inscription on its base: "In the Year of the Monkey, fifth year of the decade, this Lord of the Rains was founded by Mün Dâp Rüan, for the people to worship. The metal content amounts to 100,000 weight." (For meaning of this expression, see *Documents*, 118 note 2.)

Monastery of the Dipterocarpus Grove, Sân Gampæng District, Chiengmai Province.

Number 18 1488 ? Plate XIII

Modified Lion type, height 1.75 m. Finial on top of head is a modern replacement. This image, which was found at the same place as Number 17, is probably another one of the five images referred to in the charter of the Kalyāṇamahantārāma. No inscription.

Monastery of the Dipterocarpus Grove, Sân Gampæng District, Chiengmai Province.

Number 19 1489 Plate XIII

Mixed type, height about 80 cm. Inscription dated 851 CS.

Visun Monastery, Luang Prabang (Laos).

Number 20 1489 Plate XV

Mixed type, height about 1.30 m. Like Number 11, this statue is known as "the Buddha with Sharp Shins", and is a northern "copy" of an Ûtòng model. Inscription in Sukhodaya character: "In CS 851 this Buddha was cast by the metal-workers of Sop Lî village." (Sop Lî is at the intersection of the Lî and Ping Rivers.)

Vihāra, Great Relic Monastery, Lampûn.

Number 21 1491 Plate XVI

Lion type, height 72 cm. Inscription consists of Pali quotations, plus date: In the Year of the Boar, eighth year of the decade, 853.

Sālā, Monastery of the Fifth King, Bangkok.

Previously published: JSS XLI/2, fig. 11.

Number 22 1492 Plate XVII

Mixed type, height 2.35 m. This statue was the principal image in the Tapodārāma (Wat Rampœng), and was cast in 1492 when that monastery was built. (See *Documents*, 116 note 4.) No inscription.

Pra Sing Luang Monastery, Chiengmai.

Previously published: JSS XLI/2, fig. 13.

Number 23 1498 Plate XVIII

Modified Lion type, height 69 cm. Inscription dated CS 860.

Victory Hill Monastery (Wat Dòn Chai), Chiengkòng District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 24 1499 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height about 1 m. Inscription dated CS 861.

Visun Monastery, Luang Prabang (Laos).

Number 25 1500 Plate XIX

Mixed type, height 1.33 m. This image was brought to Bangkok, in the 19th century, from the Sacred Footprint Monastery, Lampûn Province. The lotus-bud finial on top of the head is modern; the original was probably a flame. Inscription dated 862.

Gallery, Monastery of the Fifth King, Bangkok.

Previously published: JSS XXII/1, plate XXII.

Number 26 1500 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height about 50 cm. Inscribed with date, 862.

Hua Chieng Monastery, Luang Prabang (Laos).

Number 27 1500 Plate XX

Mixed type, height about 1.20 m. Inscription, listing donors and amounts of metal contributed, is dated CS 862.

National Museum, Bangkok.

Number 28 1501 Plate XXI

Mixed type, height 1.50 m. Inscription dated in the Year of the Cock, eighth year of the decade, 863.

Monastery of the Merchants' Bamboo Grove (Wat B̲â Sâng Pânit), Bamboo Grove District, Lampûn Province.

Number 29 1501 Plate XXII

Mixed type, height 1.25 m. Inscription dated: CS 863, Year of the Cock, eighth year of the decade.

Grand Sb̲ung-Tree Monastery, Bamboo Grove District, Lampûn Province.

Number 30 1501 Plate XXIII

Mixed type, height 78 cm. Inscription, dated in the Year of the Cock, 863, gives founders' names: apparently Srī Saddhamma and Saṅgharāja Abhayasārada are referred to. (Abhayasārada, Abbot of the Red Forest Monastery, was head of the Sinhalese sect; Saddhamma was Abbot of the Seven Spires Monastery. Abhayasārada died in 1514 and was succeeded by Saddhamma. See *Documents*, 129 f, and JSS XXXIX/1, 46 f.)

Monastery of the Holy Relic of the Hilltop (Wat Pra Tât Chom Wæ), Pan District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 31 1501 Plate XXIV

Mixed type, height 68 cm. Inscription dated CS 863, Year of the Cock, eighth year of the decade.

Victory Hill Monastery (Wat Dòn Chai), Chiengkòng District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 32 1502 Plate XXIV

Lion type, height about 50 cm. Inscription, dated CS 864, gives a synopsis of the Four Noble Truths in Pali.

Collection of Dr. Caraṇabaddha Issaraṅkula ṇa Ayudhyā, Bangkok.

Number 33 1502 Plate XXV

Mixed type, height 59 cm. Inscription in Tai Yuan character, dated 864.

Collection of Mr. Prabandha Dūrarāshṭra, Sukhodaya.

Number 34 1503 Plate XXV

Lion type, height 1.21 m. Statue damaged by fire. Inscription dated 865, Year of the Boar.

Monastery of the Thousand Steps (Wat Pandâgœn), Chiengmai.

Number 35 1503 Plate XXVI

Lion type, height 60 cm. Inscription dated CS 865.

Collection of Mr. Gæo Brahmakāti-Gæo, Dòi Sget District, Chiengmai Province.

Number 36 1504 Plate XXV

Mixed type, height 55 cm. Finial on top of head is a modern replacement; original was probably a flame. Inscription: "This image was founded by the Thera Sariputta in CS 866, Year of the Rat, first year of the decade."

Victory Hill Monastery, Chiengkòng District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 37 1504 Plate XXVII

Mixed type, height 54 cm. Inscription dated CS 866.

Pra Sing Monastery, Chiengrâi.

Number 38 1504 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height 61 cm. Inscription dated CS 866.

Gem Hill Monastery, Fâng.

Number 39 1505 Plate XXVIII

Mixed type, height 98 cm. Inscription dated in CS 867, Year of the Ox, second year of the decade.

Beautiful Cetiya Monastery, Fâng.

Number 40 1505 Plate XXVII

Mixed type, height 48 cm. Finial on top of head is a modern replacement; original was probably a flame. Inscription dated in the Year of the Ox, 867.

Jetavana Monastery, Chiengmai.

Number 41 1506 Plate XXVII

Mixed type, height 1.63 m. Inscription, dated CS 868, gives names of founders: Sumaṅgala and Mahāthera Ñānamaṅgala. (Cf. *Documents*, 117, 120.)

Grand Monastery (Wat Luang), Chiengkòng District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 42 1508 Plate XXVII

Mixed type, height 1.82 m. Inscription dated CS 870.

Grand Monastery, Chiengkòng District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 43 1508? Plate XXIX

Lion type, height 90 cm. The inscription refers to the image as "this Lion Lord" (*Pra Sing*), and is dated in the Year of the Dragon, apparently CS 870. (See JSS XLI/2, 138).

Sālā, Monastery of the Fifth King, Bangkok.

Number 44 1510 Plate XXX

Mixed type, height about 6 m. This statue was begun in 1504 and completed in 1510; see *Documents*, 119. No inscription.

Flower Garden Monastery (Wat Suan Dòk), Chiengmai.

Previously published: Documents, Pl. XIII; *Buddhist Art in Siam*, Fig. 160.

Number 45 1510 Plate XXXI

Mixed type, height 35 cm. Inscription dated CS 872, Year of the Horse, seventh year of the decade.

Collection of Pra Kamcarasubhākāra, Chiengkam District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 46 1511 Plate XXXI

Mixed type, height 50 cm. Inscription dated CS 873.

Collection of Mr. Dàn, Sænsin Coffee Shop, Chiengsæn.

Number 47 1512 Plate XXXI

Mixed type, height 68 cm. Inscription dated CS 874.

Collection of Pra Nikara Prajākhetta, Dòi Sget District, Chiengmai Province.

Number 48 1513 Plate XXXI

Mixed type, height 1.26 m. Inscription gives date, "Year of the Cock, 875, when 2056 years of the Buddhist Era have elapsed and 2944 years still remain. (Reference to prophecy that the Doctrine would disappear in the year 5000 BE.)

Sacred Footprint Monastery, Lampûn Province.

Number 49 1514 Plate XXXII

Mixed type, height 1.57 m. Inscription, dated 876, gives extracts from the *Udāna-kathā* in Pali.

River Monastery (Gaṅgārāma), Tœng District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 50 1514 Plate XXXII

Mixed type, height 2 m. Finial on top of head is turned sidewise. Inscription: "In CS 876, Year of the Dog, first year of the decade, Prince Candra of Præ founded this image of the Lord Buddha, composed of metal amounting to 15,000 weight."

Grand Monastery, Præ.

Number 51 1515 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height 90 cm. Inscription dated CS 877.

Sao River Monastery (Wat Mæ Sao), Fàng.

Number 52 1515 Plate XXXII

Mixed type, height 64 cm. Inscription dated CS 877.

Monastery of the Crystal Buddha, Chiengkòng District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 53 1516 Plate XXXII

Mixed type, height 1.58 m. Inscription, dated in the Year of the Rat, third year of the decade, CS 878, gives name of the founder: Mahāthera Ratananāgara.

Health and Happiness Monastery (Wat Sukha Kshema), Tœng District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 54 1516 Plate XXXIII

Mixed type, height 1.17 m. Ushnīsha appears to be an incorrect restoration; finial on top of head, whether genuine or false, is turned sidewise. Inscription dated CS 878.

Monastery of the Pierced Stone, Chiengmai.

Number 55 1517? Plate XXXIV

Mixed type, height 1.25 m. Inscription hard to make out, but probably dated CS 879.

Monastery of Renowned Victory, Chiengmai.

Number 56 1519 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height 25 cm. Inscription dated CS 881.

Collection of Mr. D̲ân, Sænsin Coffee Shop, Chiengsæn.

Number 57 1519 Plate XXXV

Modified Lion type, heigt 1.26 m. Inscription dated CS 881, Year of the Hare.

Monastery of the Inner Cocoanut Grove, Chiengmai.

Number 58 1520 Plate XXXVI

Mixed type, height 1.60 m. Inscription dated: "Late afternoon, Wednesday, seventh day of the waxing moon in the seventh month, CS 882, Year of the Dragon, seventh year of the decade."

Grand Monastery, Chiengkòng District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 59 1523 Plate XXXV

Lion type, height 1.06 m. Inscription, dated in CS 885, the Year of the Goat, tenth year of the decade: "The Thera Sina and the ruling lord . . . invited numerous merit-makers to found this image."

Yuan Monastery, Chiengkam District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 60 1523 Plate XXXVII

Mixed type, height 1.42 m. Inscription dated: "Saturday, seventh day of the waxing moon in the fourth month, CS 885, Year of the Goat, tenth year of the decade".

Monastery of the White-Clad Ascetic, Chiengsæn.

Number 61 1523 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height 1.27. Inscription dated CS 885, Year of the Goat, tenth year of the decade.

Bamboo Grove Monastery, Fâng.

Number 62 1524 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height about 60 cm. Inscription dated 886.

Visun Monastery, Luang Prabang (Laos).

Number 63 1525 Plate XXXVIII

Mixed type, height 1.02 m. Inscription, dated in CS 887, lists the donors: Prince Ñānasundara; the craftsman In; Mr. and Mrs. Duang; Lady Tòngtip-Gæo Yòt-Rüan and her brothers and sisters. Lotus finial is probably an incorrect restoration.

Vihāra, Monastery of the Fifth King, Bangkok.

Number 64 1526 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height 2.80 m. Inscription dated CS 888, Year of the Dog, third year of the decade.

Monastery of the Million-Weight Lord, Prao District, Chiengmai Province. (The monastery takes its name from the statue; for meaning of the weight, see *Documents*, 118 note 2).

Number 65 1527 *Not illustrated*

Standing Buddha, mixed type, height 98 cm. Inscription dated CS 889, Year of the Boar.

Elephant Monastery, Nàn.

Number 66 1528 Plate XXXIX

Mixed type, height 60 cm. Inscription: "In the Year of the Rat, fifth year of the decade, CS 890, Pyà Khiamarāja [sic] Jao founded this image, together with Jao-Mün Lam-Kæk and Jao-Pan Muang, and presented it to the Nawâng Village Monastery." The first of the three persons mentioned may have been the Prince of Kengtung; Jao-Mün and Jao-Pan were the titles of certain grades of government officials; Lam-Kæk means "Indian interpreter" or "interpreter of foreign languages". (Cf. *Annales*, 125, 137.)

Collection of Mr. Puñdā Sugandhasila, Chiengmai.

Number 67 1528 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height 1.32 m. Inscription dated CS 890, Year of the Rat, fifth year of the decade.

Grand Monastery, Chiengkòng District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 68 1529 Plate XL

Mixed type, height 50 cm. Inscription dated CS 891, Year of the Ox, sixth year of the decade.

Collection of Mr. Utara Brahmasena, Chiengkam District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 69 1529 Plate XLI

Mixed type, height 55 cm. Inscription dated CS 891.

Monastery of the White-Clad Ascetic, Chiengsæn.

Number 70 1531 Plate XLI

Mixed type, height 25 cm. Inscription dated CS 893.

"Soaked and Dried" Monastery (Wat Chæ Hæng), Chiengkam District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 71 1532 Plate XLI

Mixed type, height 1.80 m. Inscription dated CS 894, Year of the Dragon, ninth year of the decade.

Monastery of the Kapok Plantation, Chiengkòng District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 72 1533 Plate XLII

Mixed type, height 62 cm. Finial on top of head is turned sidewise. Inscription gives date, Year of the Serpent, tenth year of the decade, CS 895.

Monastery of the Porcupine-Trappers' Village (Wat Sung Men), Præ Province.

Number 73 1534 Plate XLI

Mixed type, height 91 cm. Inscription dated CS 896.

Victory Hill Monastery, Chiengkòng District, Chiengrài Province.

Number 74 1536? *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height 73 cm. Inscription dated in the Year of the Monkey, third year of the decade, probably CS 898. (The second digit, which is illegible, must be either 3 or 9.)

Reserves, National Museum, Bangkok.

Number 75 1539? Plate XLIII

Mixed type, height 1.45 m. Inscription dated in the Year of the Boar, sixth year of the decade. Probable intention: CS 901.

Monastery of the City's Fortune, Fâng.

Number 76 1540 Text Figure 10

Mixed type, wearing the attire of royalty; height about 40 cm. Inscription in Lân Châng character: "In CS 902, Year of the Rat, seventh year of the decade, on Monday, at the full moon of the 4th month, Lady Hom [?], residing in the village of the Forest of Piu-Trees, founded the image of Buddha Sikhi covered with gold. She placed it in the Piu Forest Monastery so that it might be a source of much merit and a means of help for herself, for her son . . ., and for me as well, who am named Lady Bun and who have supervised the foundation. May all three of us, in whatever condition we are reborn, meet together again; may we preserve our merits from rebirth to rebirth (so that death will not separate us in any future existence) until we finally attain Nirvāna. As for me, I hope to be like the Lady Visākhā and obtain *sotāpatti* in the mansion of Maitreya." This is the only dated Buddha image wearing royal attire I know of from Lân Nâ or Lân Châng; it is of Mixed type, seated tailor fashion, rather than in the lotus position like Fig. 9. The original significance had already been forgotten: witness the reference to "Buddha Sikhi" (cf. *Documents*, 123 f.).

British Museum, London.

(Photograph by courtesy of the British Museum).

Number 77 1551 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height about 1.10 m. Inscription dated: 913.

Visun Monastery, Luang Prabang (Laos).

Number 78 1551 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type. Inscription dated 913.

Śrī Saket Monastery, Viengchan (Laos).

Number 79 1553 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height about 1 m. Inscription dated 6th day of the 4th month, in the year 15, during the reign of King Jetthathirat. The "year 15" must be 915.

Museum, Monastery of the Emerald Buddha, Viengchan (Laos).

Number 80 1554? Plate XLIV

Mixed type, height 65 cm. Inscription: "In the fourth month, Year of the Tiger, first year of the decade, Mr. Kamjæk founded this Lord." Years that might be considered: 856, 916, 976, etc. Most likely: 916 (1554 AD).

Author's collection, Monkton, Maryland.

Number 81 1558 Plate XLV

Mixed type, height 1.50 m. Inscription dated CS 920, Year of the Horse, fifth year of the decade.

Happy Swamp Monastery, Chiengsæn.

Number 82 1565 Plate XLVI

Lion type, height 2.20 m. Bilingual inscription, Burmese in front, Tai in rear, dated CS 927. The Tai inscription, apparently referring to the Burmese military governor, names as principal donor "the Commanding General of the Victorious Armies and Protector of the City, servant of the pious King of Kings who is Lord of the White Elephant and the Golden Palace, Sovereign over all the princes and mandarins . . ." The inscription continues: "In CS 927, Year of the Ox, second year of the decade, in the second month [October-November] . . . on the 8th day of the waxing moon, which is surely a good and auspicious day, at 3 in the afternoon, the Commanding General [etc.], having been appointed as defender of religion and protector of the people in Chiengmai, being mindful of the religion and desirous of promoting it, and

at the same time proposing to transfer the merit of his act to the Princess Regent who is the ancestress of the city, joined together with the princes and officers both military and civil and all citizens intent on merit-making, and collected a quantity of Buddha images that had been broken by rioters. For they proposed to save these images from annihilation, by melting them down and using the metal to cast a new image. The duty of supervising the collection was assigned to Mün Luang Lek, Mün Luang Jâ Bàn, Mün Nangsü, and the Burmese officials on the appointed day . . . Then in the 4th month [December-January], on the 13th day of the waxing moon, at 1.30 in the morning . . . they cast this Buddha image, containing metal of an approximate weight of 50 million; and they performed the life-giving rites, naming it *the King Mengrâi Buddha,* to be an object of veneration for men and gods to the end of 5,000 years. In consideration of the meritorious act of casting this Mengrâi memorial and covering it with lacquer and gold leaf, the Commanding General of the Victorious Army, the Protector of the City, hopes for longevity in the present existence, followed by rebirth in a realm of the Devas, namely either the Tāvatiṁsa or the Tushita, to remain there until the age when Ariya Maitreya shall descend to be the Lord; at that time he hopes to have been reborn on earth in a good family, namely the family of a prince or a high-ranking army officer, and when Maitreya shall have attained Enlightenment he hopes to be ordained in the monkhood by Maitreya himself, and finally to reach Nirvāṇa with him . . ."

Monastery of Renowned Victory, Chiengmai.

Previously published: JSS XLI/2, Fig. 12.

Number 83 1575 Plate XLVII

Mixed type, height about 1.75 m. Inscription dated in the Year of the Boar, second year of the decade, CS [illegible], in the reign of King Jayajettha. This must be 937.

Museum, Monastery of the Emerald Buddha, Viengchan (Laos).

Number 84 1586? Plate XLVII

Mixed type, height about 1.40 m. Inscription appears to be dated: "CS 978, Year of the Dog, third year of the decade"; but this will not do, as 978 was not a Year of the Dog. Probable intention: 948.

River Monastery, Tœng District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 85 1586 Plate XLVIII

Mixed type, height 1.37 m. Inscription dated in CS 948.

Great Cetiya Monastery, Chiengmai.

Number 86 1591 Plate XLIX

Mixed type, height 1 m. Inscription, dated in the Year of the Hare, eighth year of the decade, CS 953, names the founders: "Jao Hua Mün Dâp Rüan Chai, together with his wife and children, who all live in a house opposite the Monastery of the Stone Wheel". Mün Dâp Rüan was the title of a certain government official, whose personal name in this case was Chai; the same title had been held a century before by Prince Atijavañāna (see above, Number 17). The Monastery of the Stone Wheel (Wat Pâ Gien) is now known as the Monastery of Renowned Victory (Wat Chai Pra Giet).

Monastery of Renowned Victory, Chiengmai.

Number 87 1594? Plate L

Mixed type, height 48 cm. Finial on top of head appears to be an incorrect restoration. Inscribed date is mutilated, but is almost certainly 956.

King Mengrâi Monastery (Wat Kālakot), Chiengmai.

Number 88 1595 Plate LI

Mixed type, height 1.15. Inscription gives name of founder, Anandathera, and date 957 (corrected from 958).

Monastery of the Beautiful Bamboo Grove, Bamboo Grove District, Lampûn Province.

Number 89 1596 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height 1.35 m. Inscription dated CS 958.

Elephant Monastery, Nân.

Number 90 1596 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height 1.52 m. Inscription dated 958.

Paṇṇārāma, Fâng.

Number 91 1602 Plate LII

Reclining Buddha, Mixed type, length 1.90 m. Inscription dated CS 964, Year of the Tiger, ninth year of the decade; names as donors the prince of the district and the Saṅgharāja, together with various citizens.

Island Monastery (Wat Go), Lambâng.

Number 92 1615 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height about 40 cm. Inscription dated 977.

Śrī Saket Monastery, Viengchan (Laos).

Number 93 1628 Plate LIII

Mixed type, height 68 cm. Inscription dated CS 990, Year of the Dragon, fifth year of the decade.

Sîbunrüang Monastery, Fâng.

Number 94 1630 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height about 1.10 m. Inscription dated 992.

Visun Monastery, Luang Prabang (Laos).

Number 95 1632 Plate LIII

Mixed type, height 94 cm. Finial on top of head is probably an incorrect restoration. Inscription dated CS 994, Year of the Monkey, ninth year of the decade.

Beautiful Cetiya Monastery, Fâng.

Number 96 1643 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type. Inscription dated: "Year of the Goat, CS 5". This must mean CS 1005.

Śrī Saket Monastery, Viengchan (Laos).

Number 97 1660 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type. Inscription dated CS 1022, Year of the Rat, seventh year of the decade.

Śrī Saket Monastery, Viengchan (Laos).

Number 98 1670 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height about 40 cm. Inscription dated 1032.

Śrī Saket Monastery, Viengchan (Laos).

Number 99 1709 Plate LIV

Mixed type, height about 1 m. Inscription dated 1071.

Chieng Muan Monastery, Luang Prabang (Laos).

Number 100 1726 Plate LIII

Monk (not Buddha) meditating in the lotus position. Mixed type, height about 1 m. Inscription is dated CS 0088 (i. e., 1088); it gives the names of the donors: Pyâ Luang Mongkon Spæk, Prince of Chiengrâi, and his son, Pra Yòt Ngâm Müang. (For name cf. *Annales*, III, 182.)

Monastery of the Emerald Buddha, Chiengrâi.

Number 101 1726 Plate LIII

Mixed type, height 1.70 m. Inscription dated 1088.

Monastery of the Million-Weight Lord, Chiengsæn.

Number 102 1778 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type. Inscription dated in the Year of the Dog, fifth year of the decade, CS 140 (i. e., 1140).

Śrī Saket Monastery, Viengchan (Laos).

Number 103 1815 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height 54 cm. Inscription dated 2358 Mahāsakarāja (means BE).

Reserves, National Museum, Bangkok.

Number 104 1816 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type, height 20cm. Inscription dated CS1178. This image was brought from Fâng.

Pipe Village Monastery, Lampûn Province.

Number 105 1838 *Not illustrated*

Mixed type. Inscription is dated 2381; the era is not given but must be BE.

Śrī Saket Monastery, Viengchan (Laos).

Number 106 1842 Plate LV

Mixed type, height 49 cm. Inscription dated 1204, Year of the Tiger, ninth year of the decade.

Grand Monastery, Chiengkòng District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 107 1847 Plate LV

Mixed type, height 50 cm. Inscription dated CS 1209.

Monastery of the Emerald Buddha, Chiengkòng District, Chiengrâi Province.

Number 108 1849 Plate LV

Mixed type, height 1.50 m. Inscription dated CS 1211.

Grand Monastery, Præ.

Number 109 About 1901 Plate LVI

Lion type, height about 1 m. This image, known as "Buddha the Lion-Man" (*Pra Buddha Narasiṁha*) is an excellent example of the numerous modern Lion type bronzes cast in imitation of the old, which can easily deceive the unwary. In this case no fraud was intended; King Rāma V greatly admired a certain undated Lion type Buddha of the golden age which he had received as a gift, and thought to present it to the Monastery of the Fifth King which was then under construction, but deeming it too small to serve as a cult image, he ordered this enlarged replica of it to be made for the purpose.

Vihāra, Monastery of the Fifth King, Bangkok.

PLATES

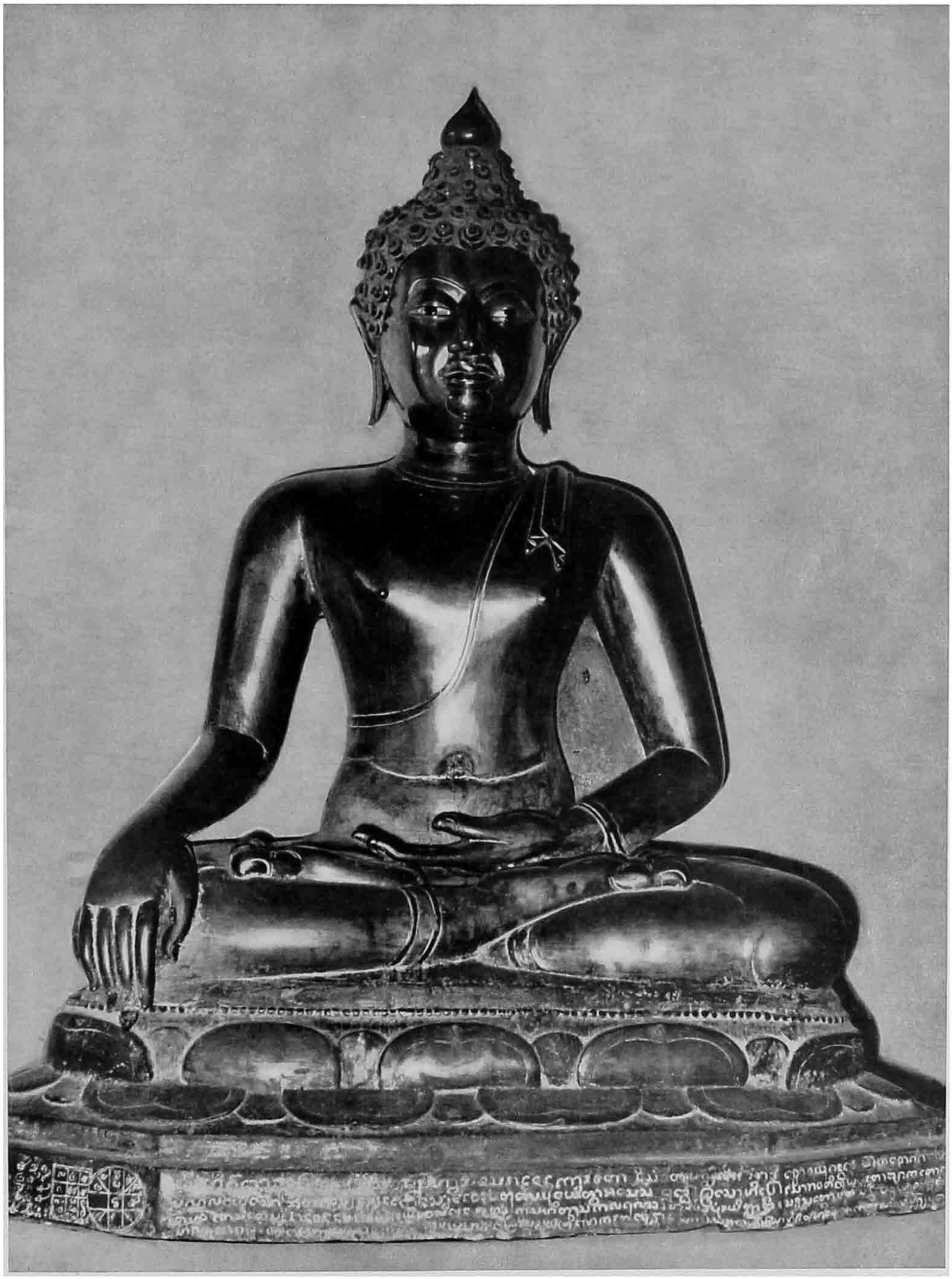

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Plate I

No. 3 1477

Plate III

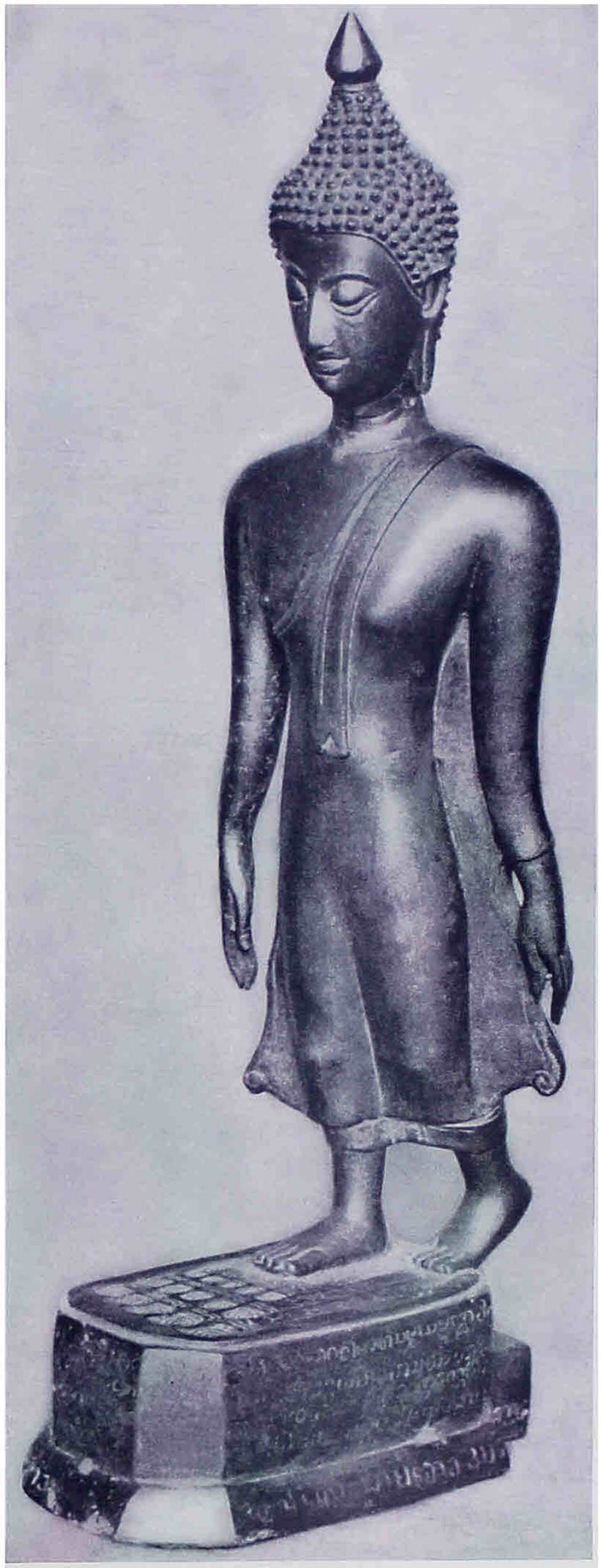
No. 4 1478

Plate IV

No. 7 1481 ?

Plate V

No. 8



1482

Plate VI

No. 9 1482

Plate VII

No. 10 1482

Plate VIII

No. 12 1484

Plate IX

No. 13 1484

Plate X

No. 14 1485 Plate XI

No. 15 1486

No. 18 1488?

No. 18 1488?

No. 16 1487

No. 19 1489

Plate XIII

No. 17 1488

Plate XIV

No. 20 1489

Plate XV

No. 21 1491

No. 22 1492

No. 23 1498

Plate XVIII

No. 25

1500

Plate XIX

No. 27 1500

Plate XX

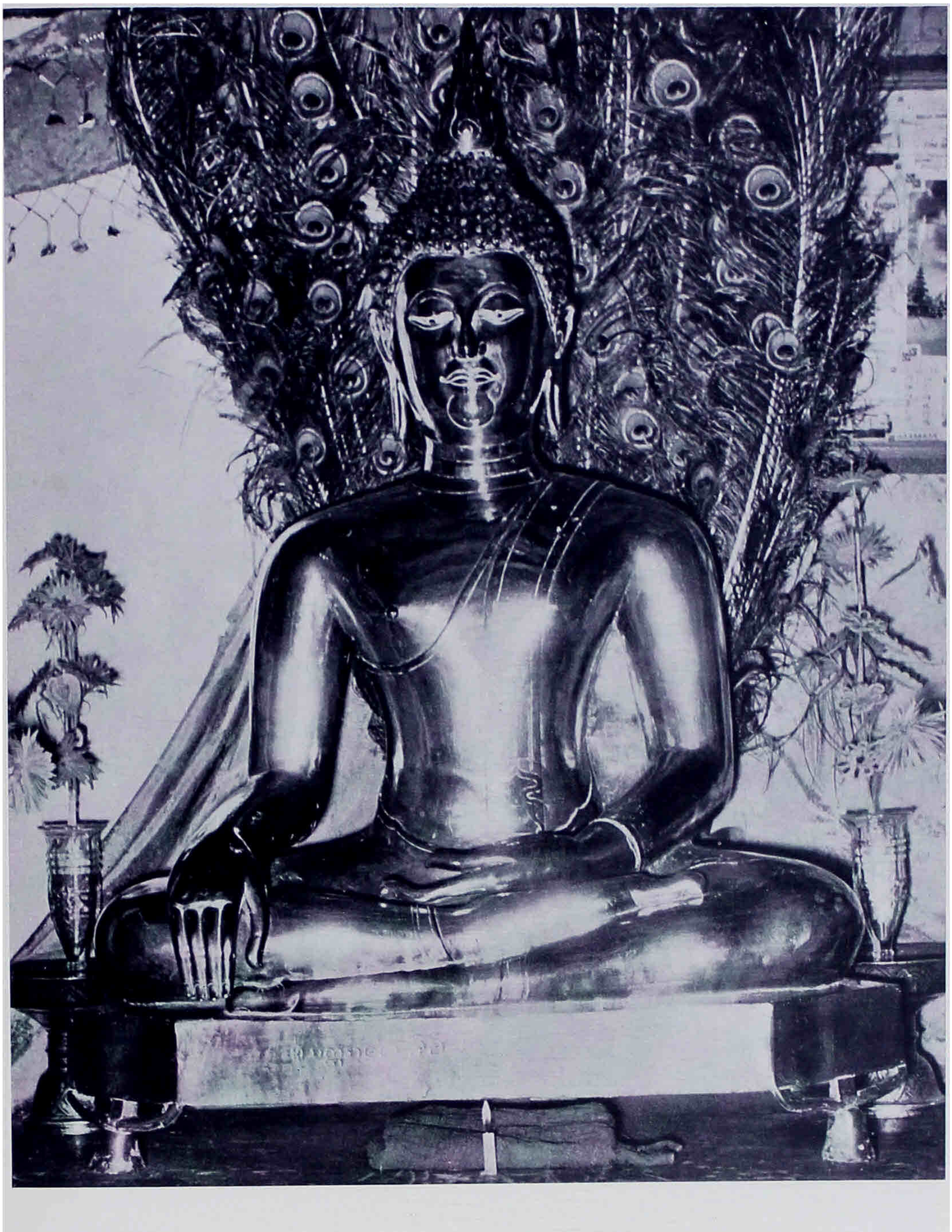


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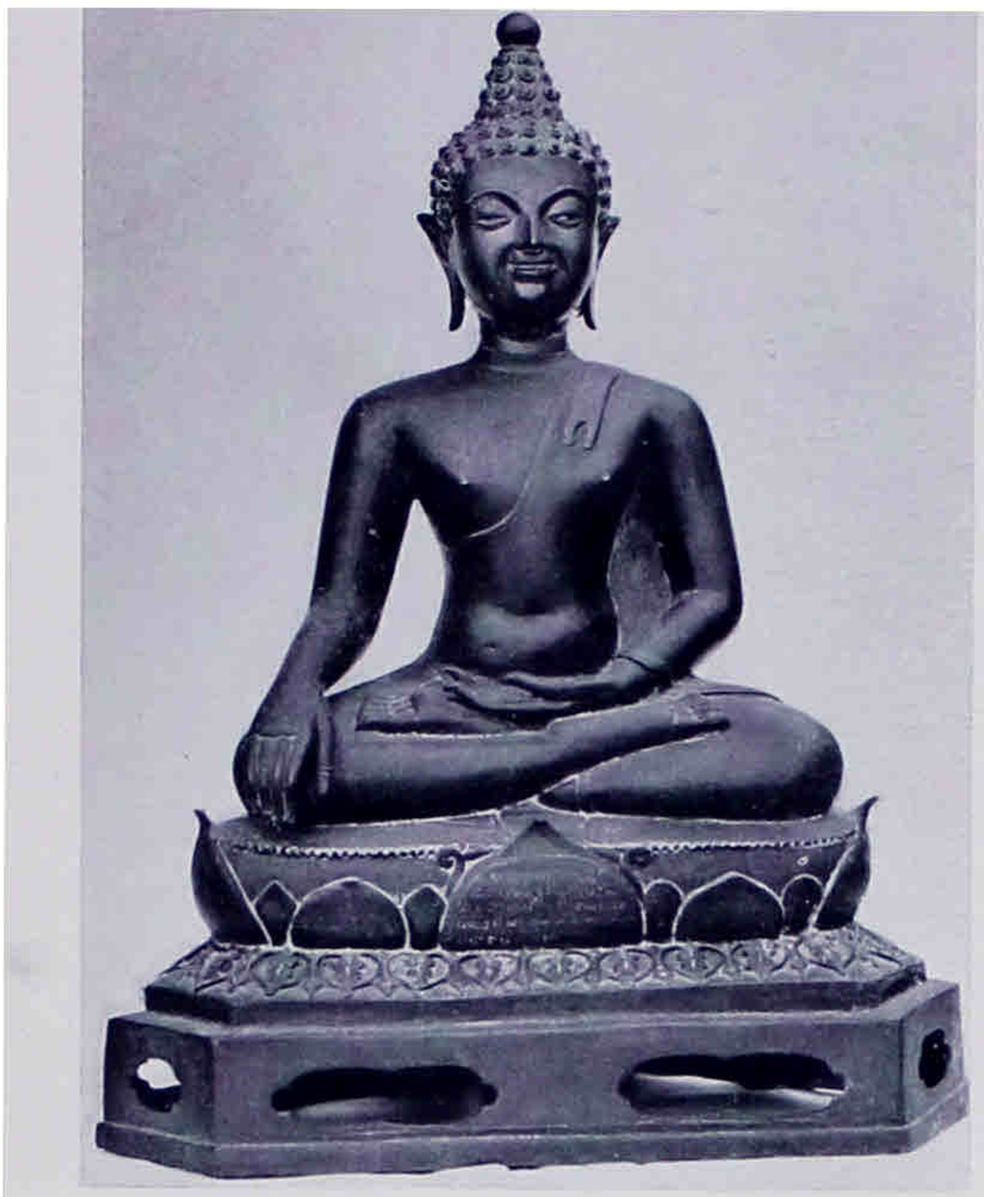
Plate XXI

No. 29 1501

Plate XXII

No. 30 1501

Plate XXII



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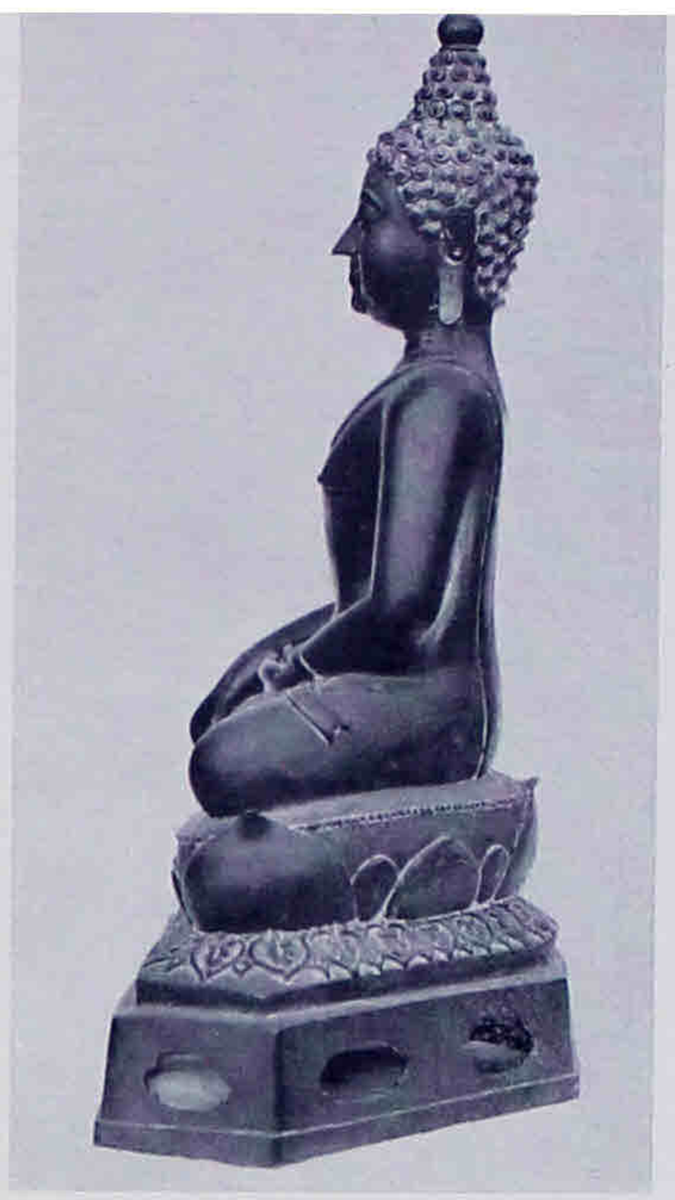

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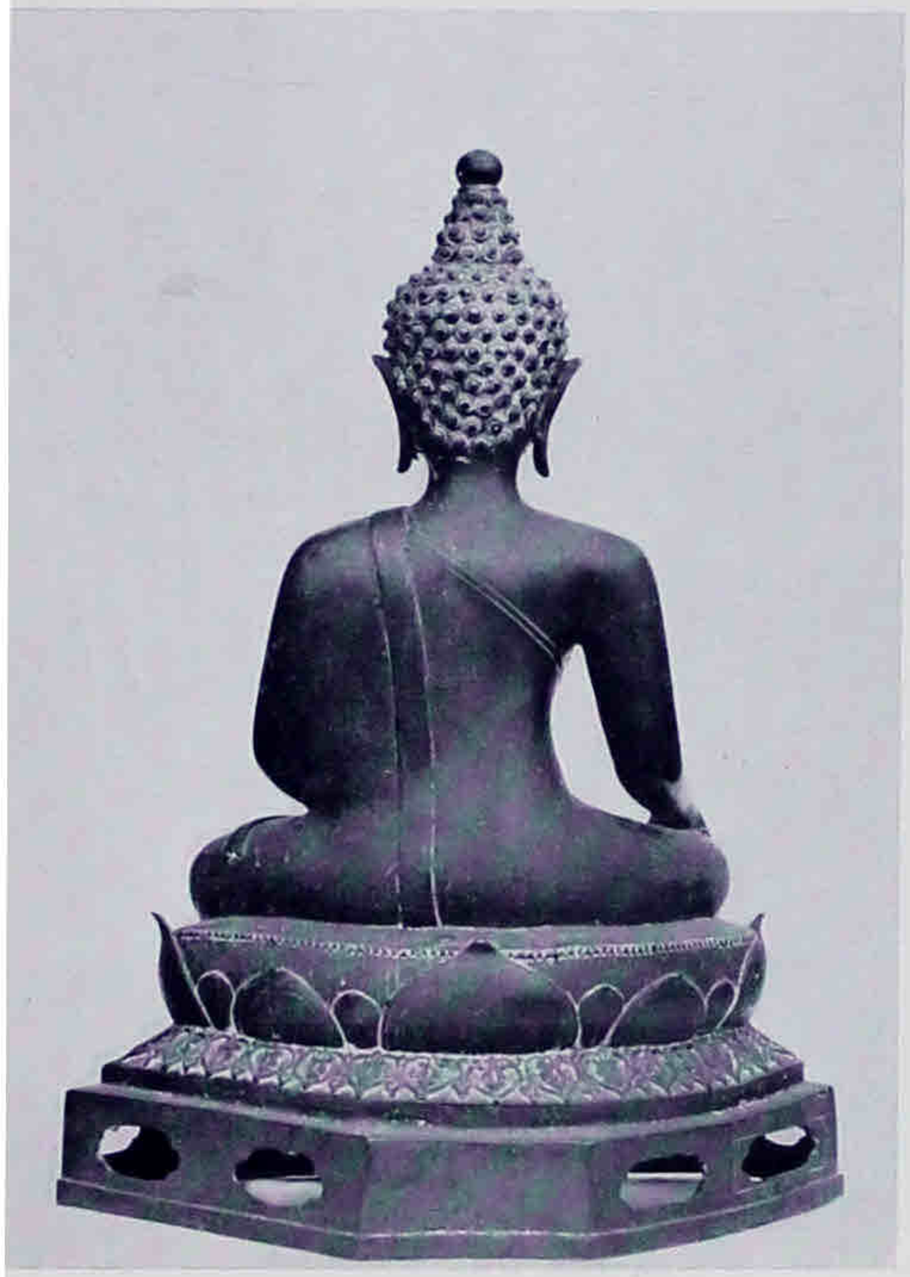

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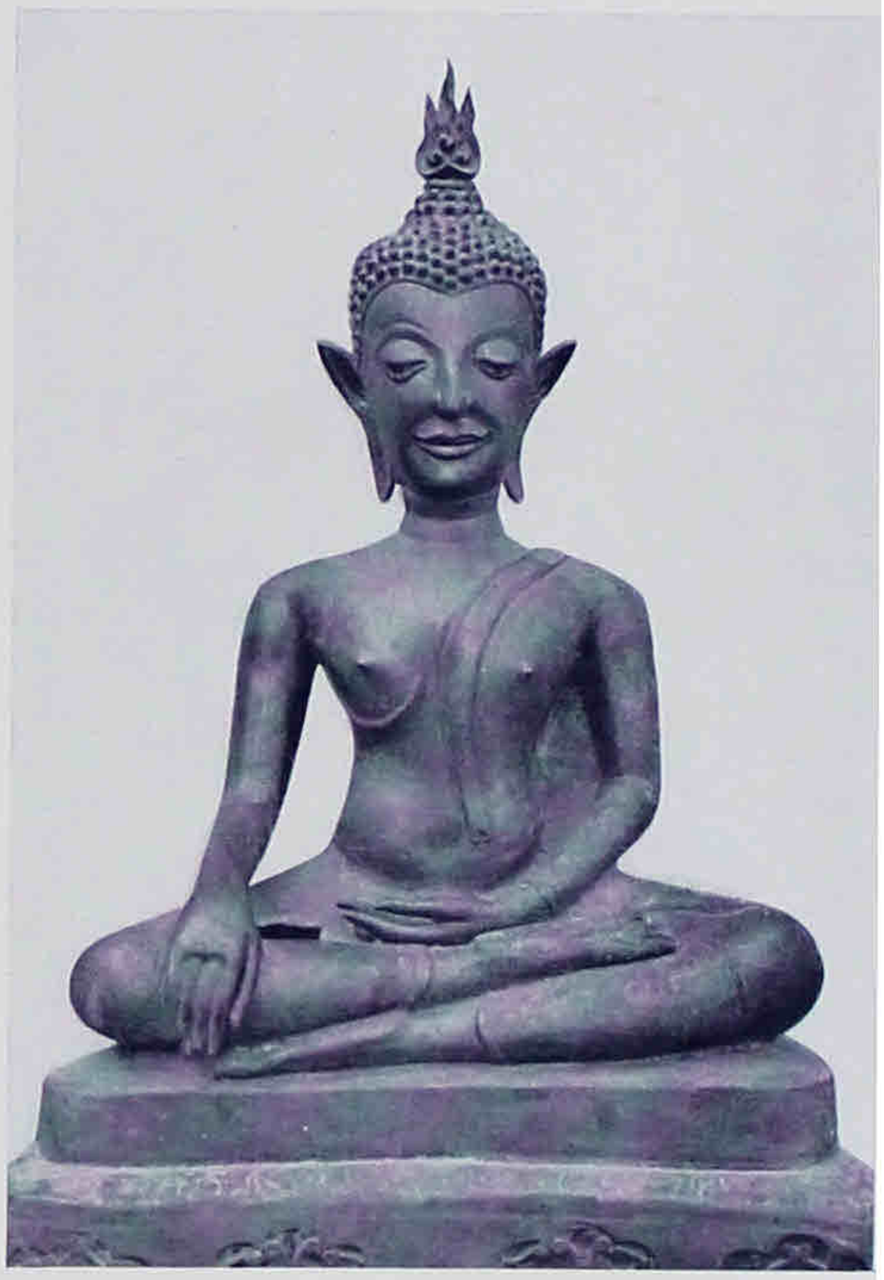

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Plate XXIV

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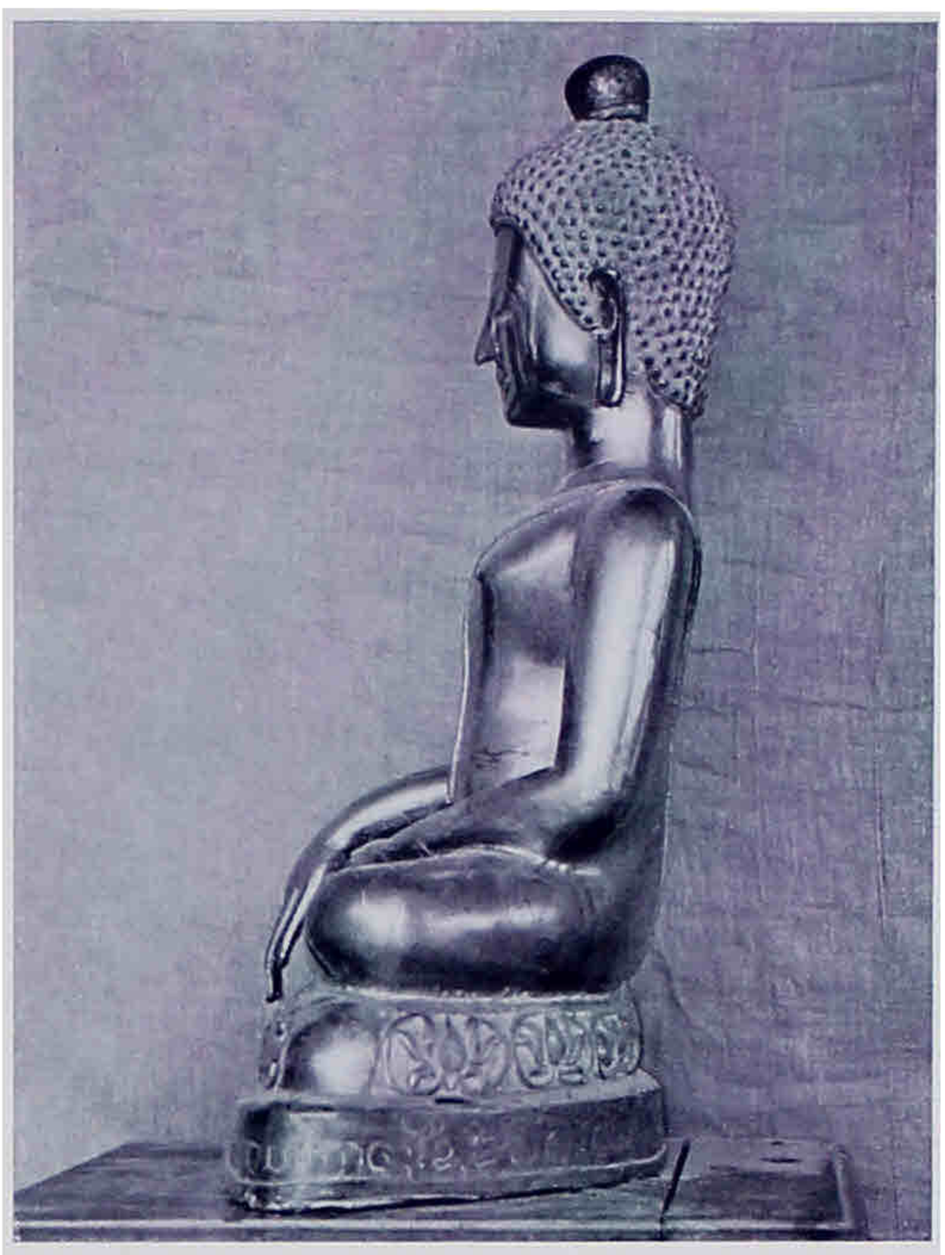

No. 36 1504

No. 33 1502

No. 34 1503

Plate XXV

No. 35 1503

Plate XXVI

No. 37 1504

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No. 41 1506

No. 42 1508

No. 39

1505

Plate XXVIII

No. 43 1508?

Plate XXIX

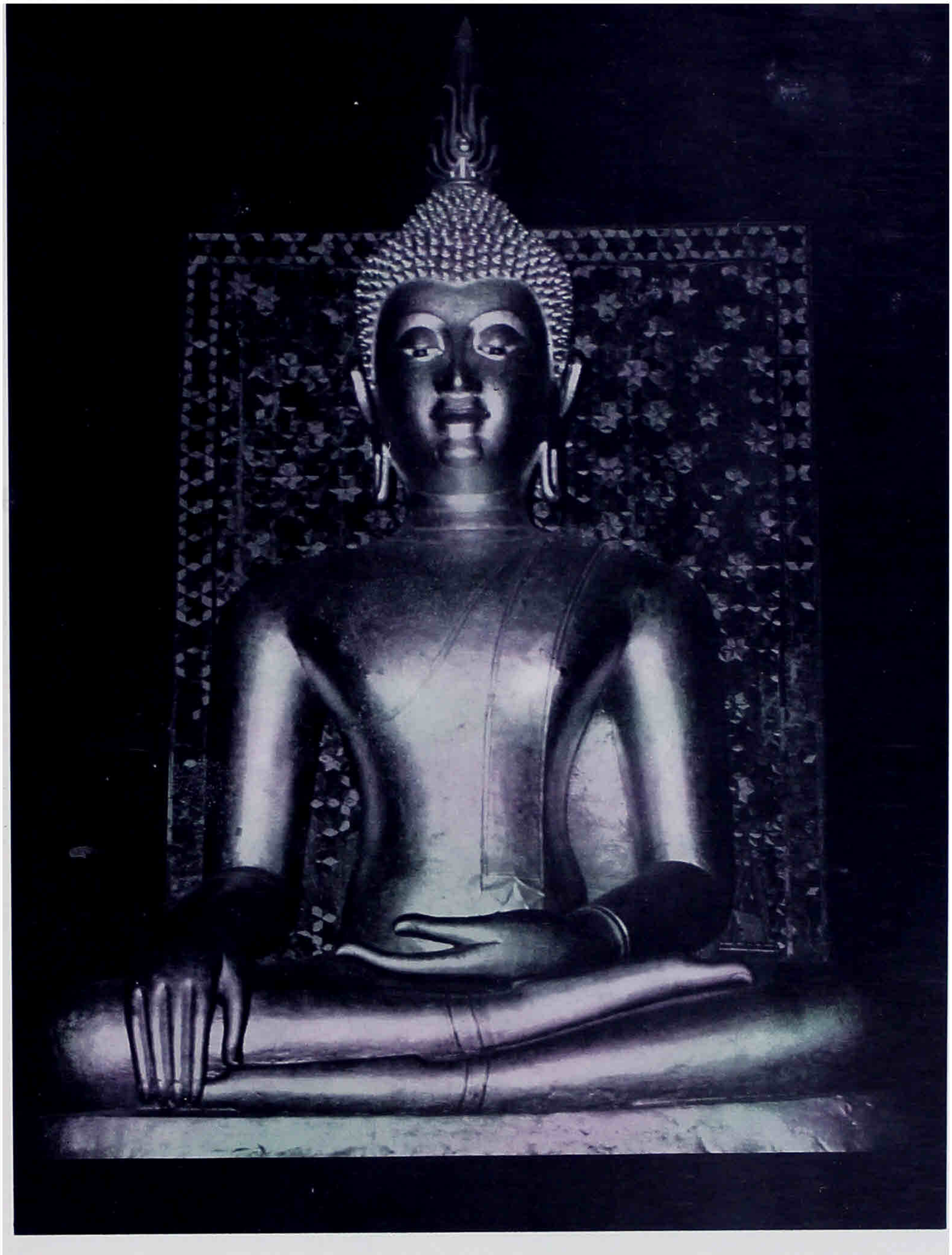

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Plate XXX

No. 45 1510

No. 46 1511

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No. 48 1513

No. 49 1514

No. 50 1514

No. 52 1515

No. 53 1516

No. 54 1516

Plate XXXIII

No. 55 1517?

Plate XXXIV

No. 57 1519

No. 57 1519

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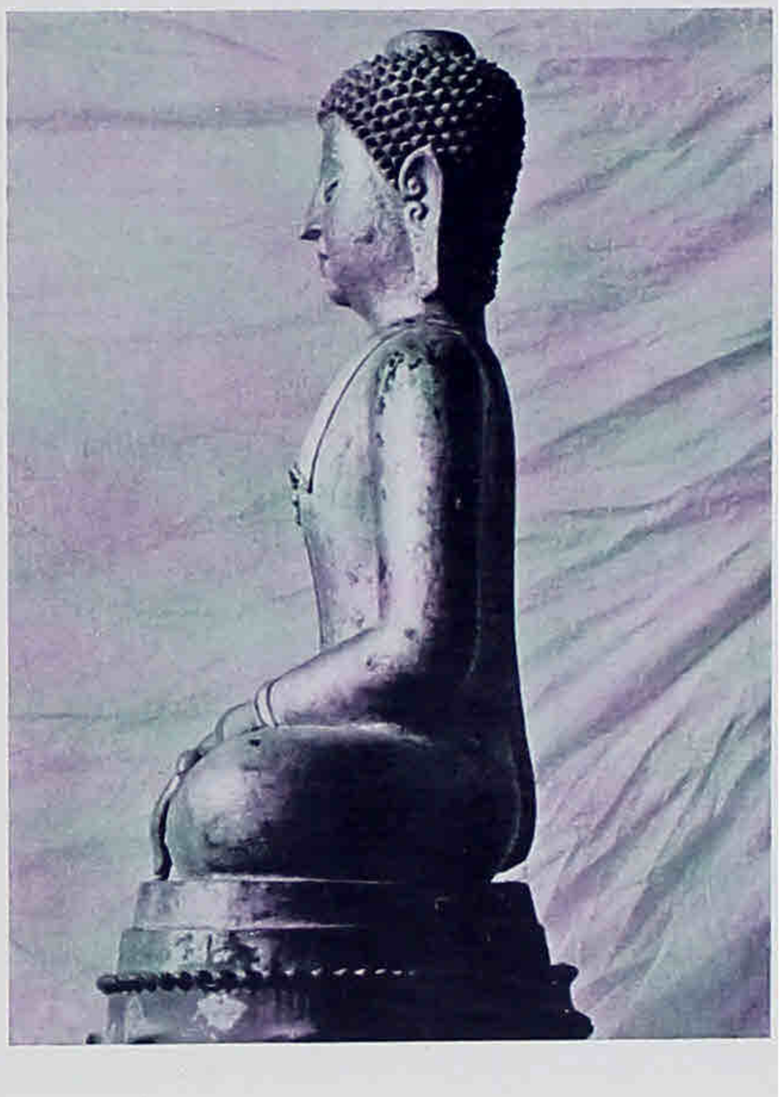

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Plate XXXVI

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1523

Plate XXXVII

No. 63 1525

Plate XXXVIII

No. 66 1528

Plate XXXIX

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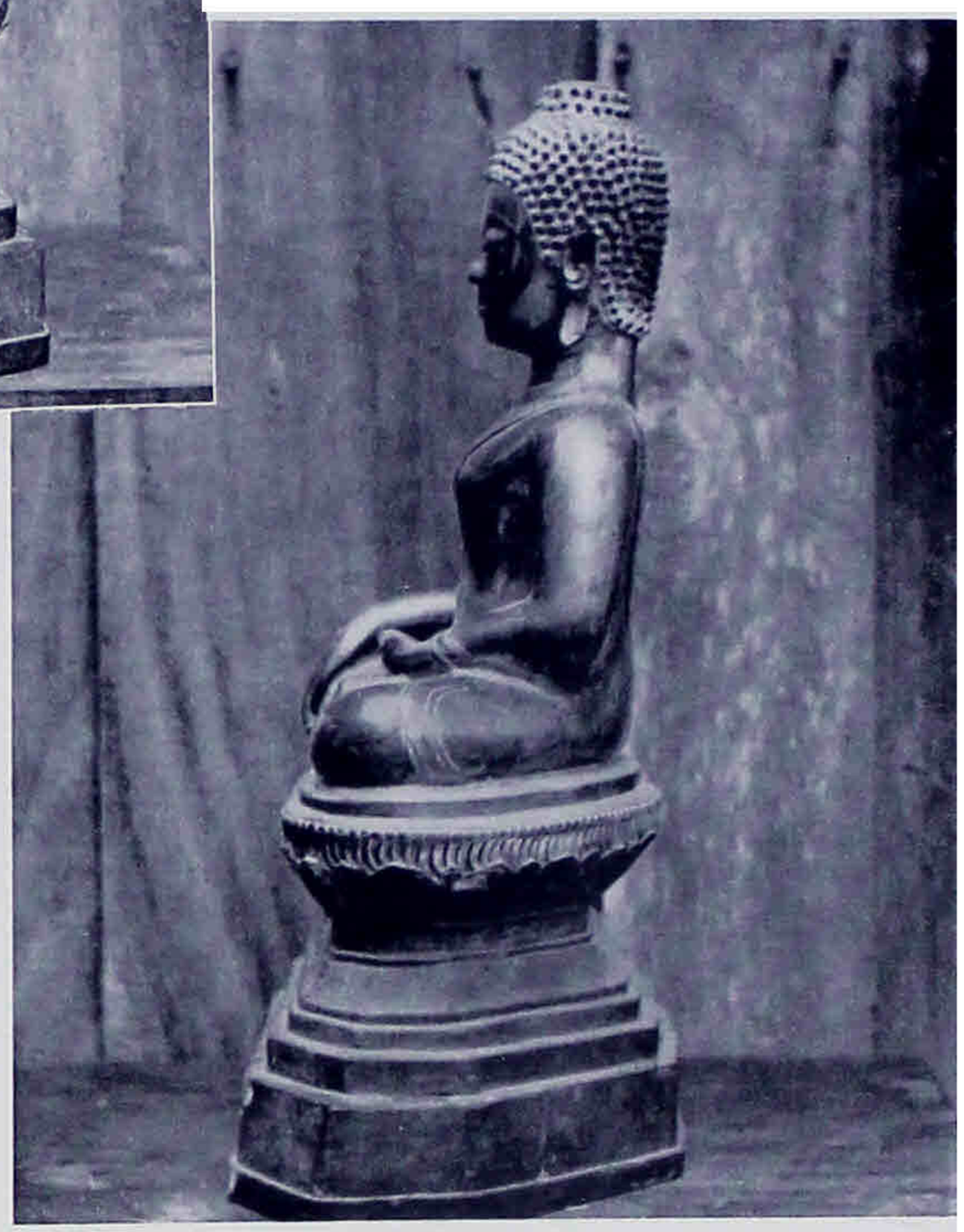

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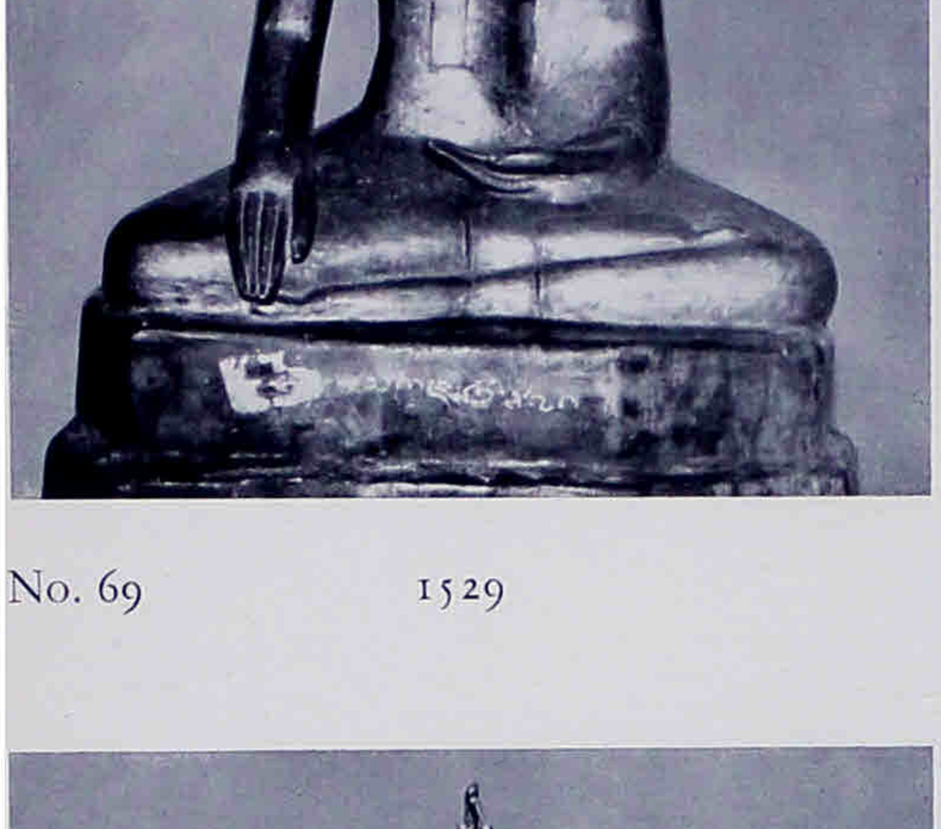

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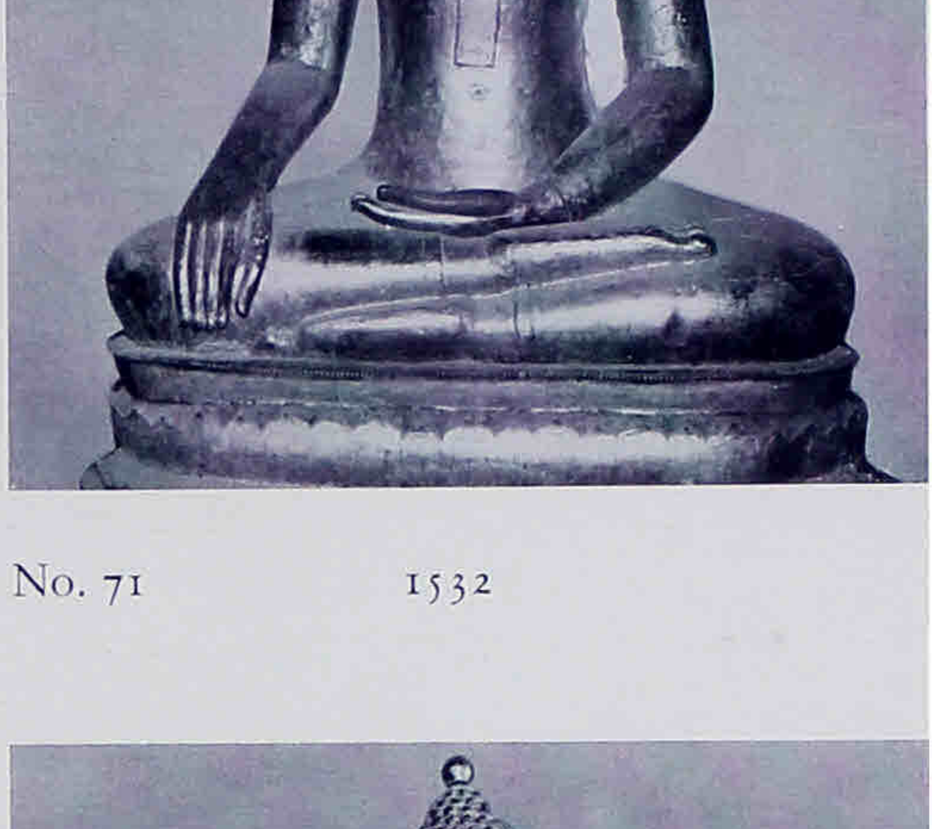

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Plate XLII

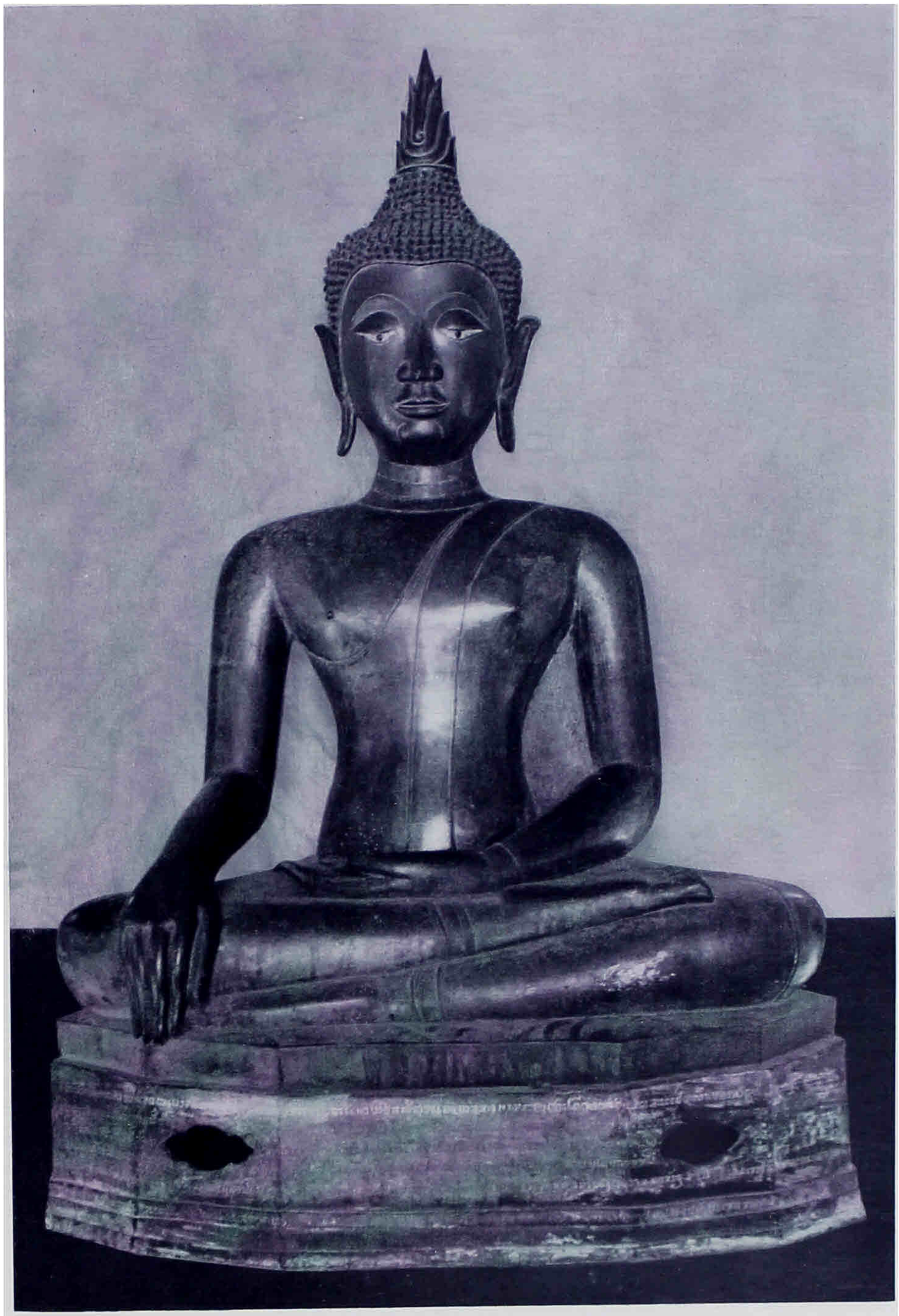

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Plate XLIII

No. 80

1554?

No. 81 1558

No. 82 1565

Plate XLVI

No. 83 1575

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No. 85 1586

Plate XLVIII

No. 86 1591

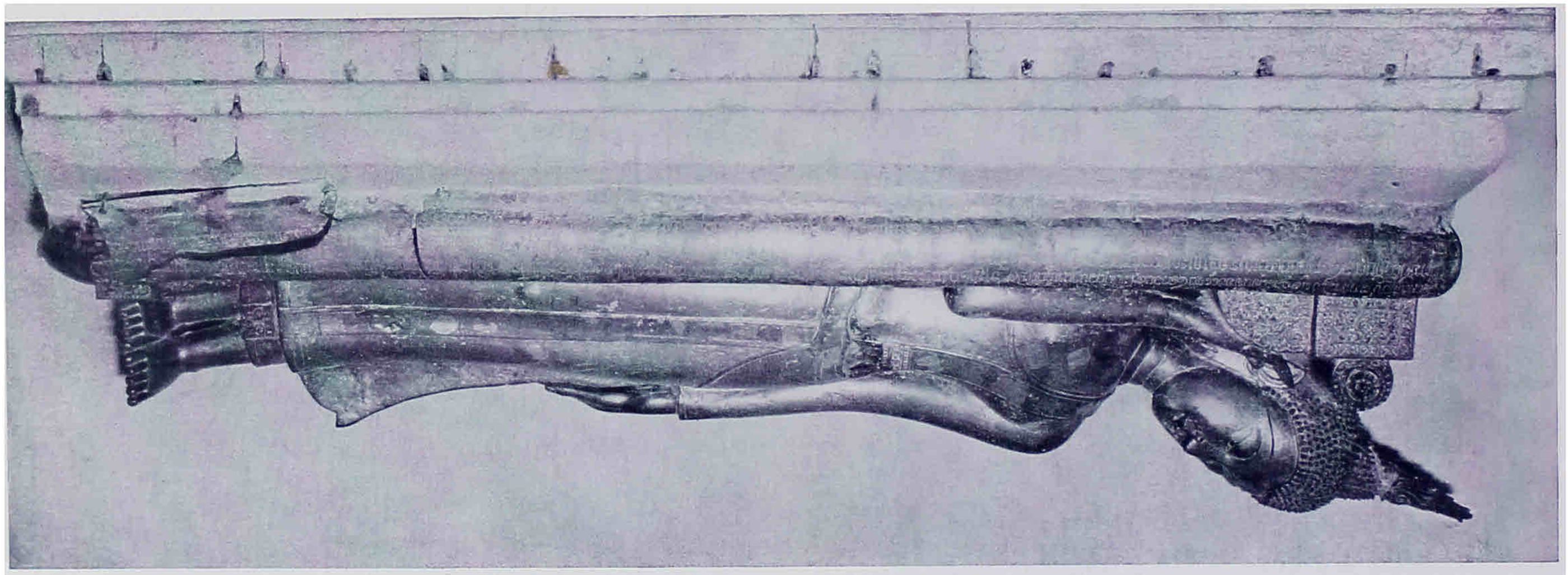
Plate XLIX

No. 87 1594?

Plate L

No. 88 1595

Plate LI



No. 91 1602 Plate LII

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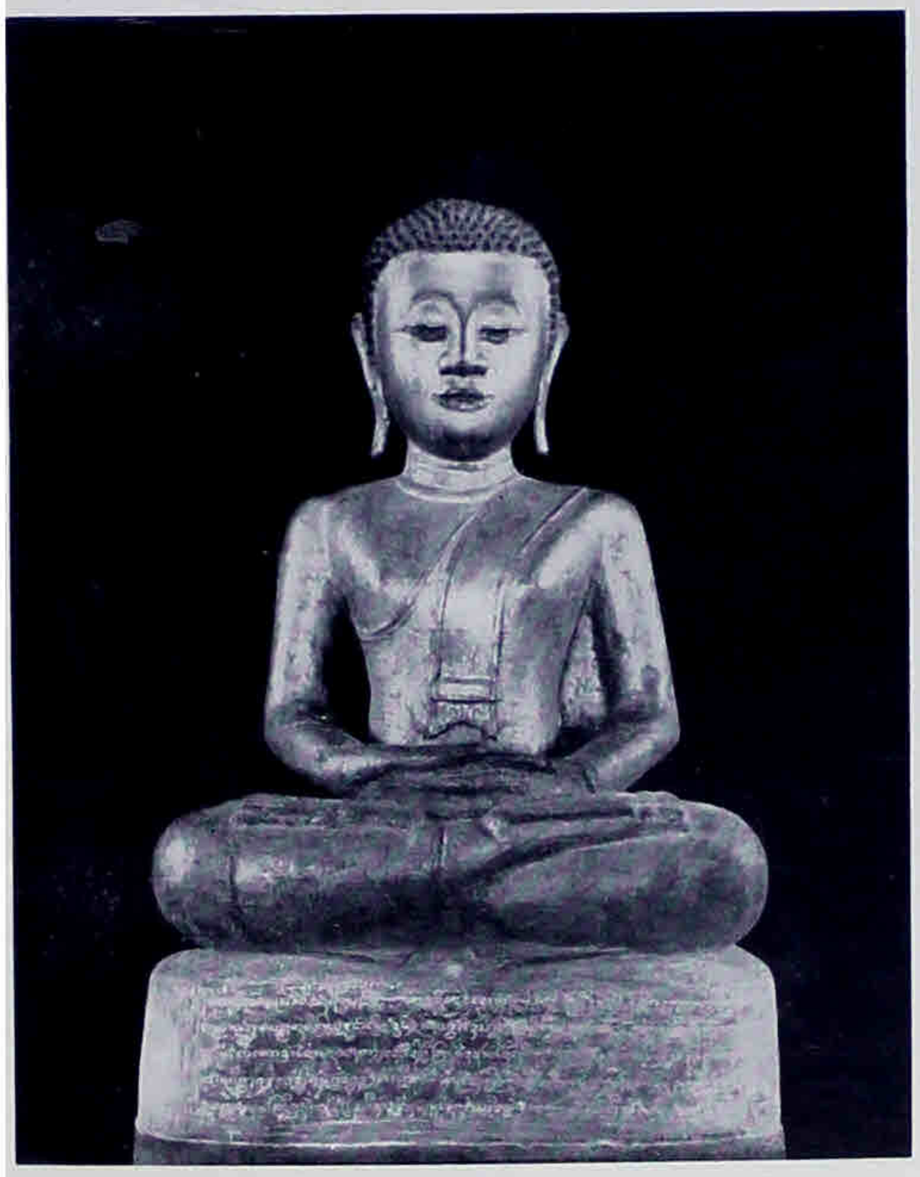

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Plate LIV

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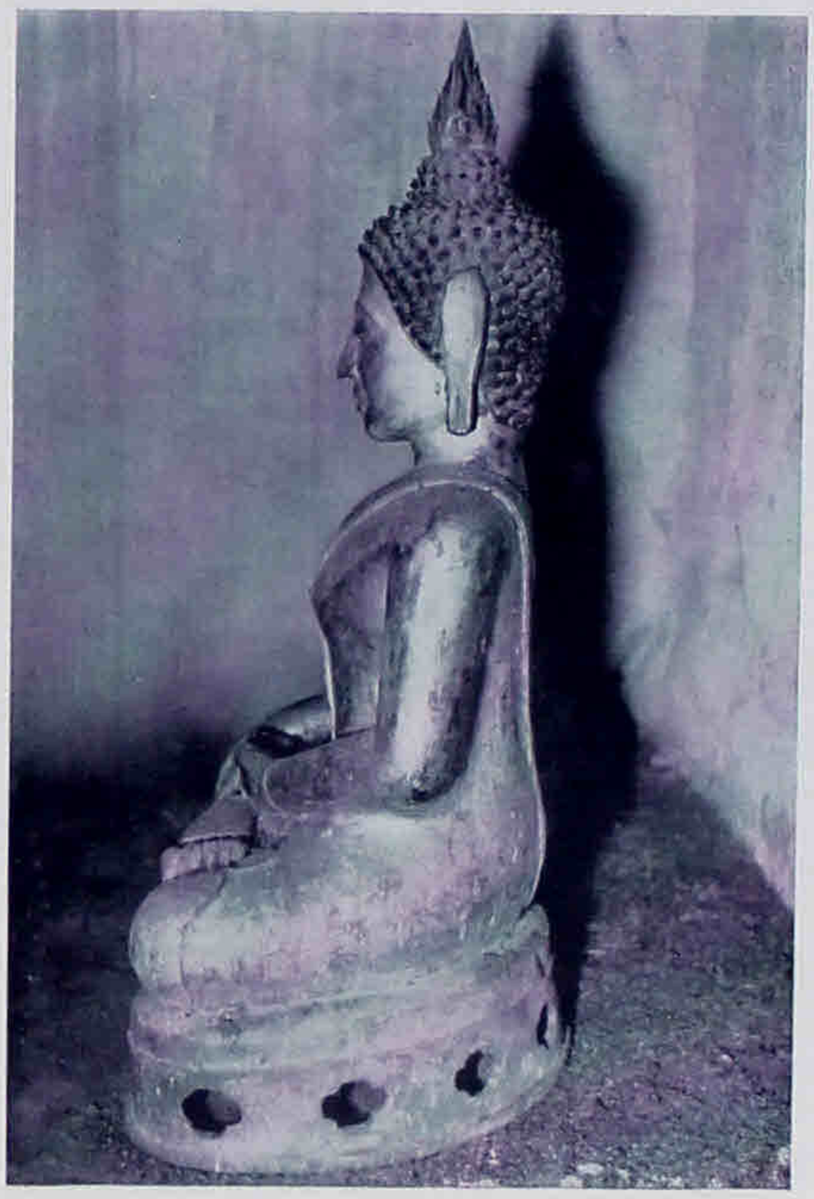

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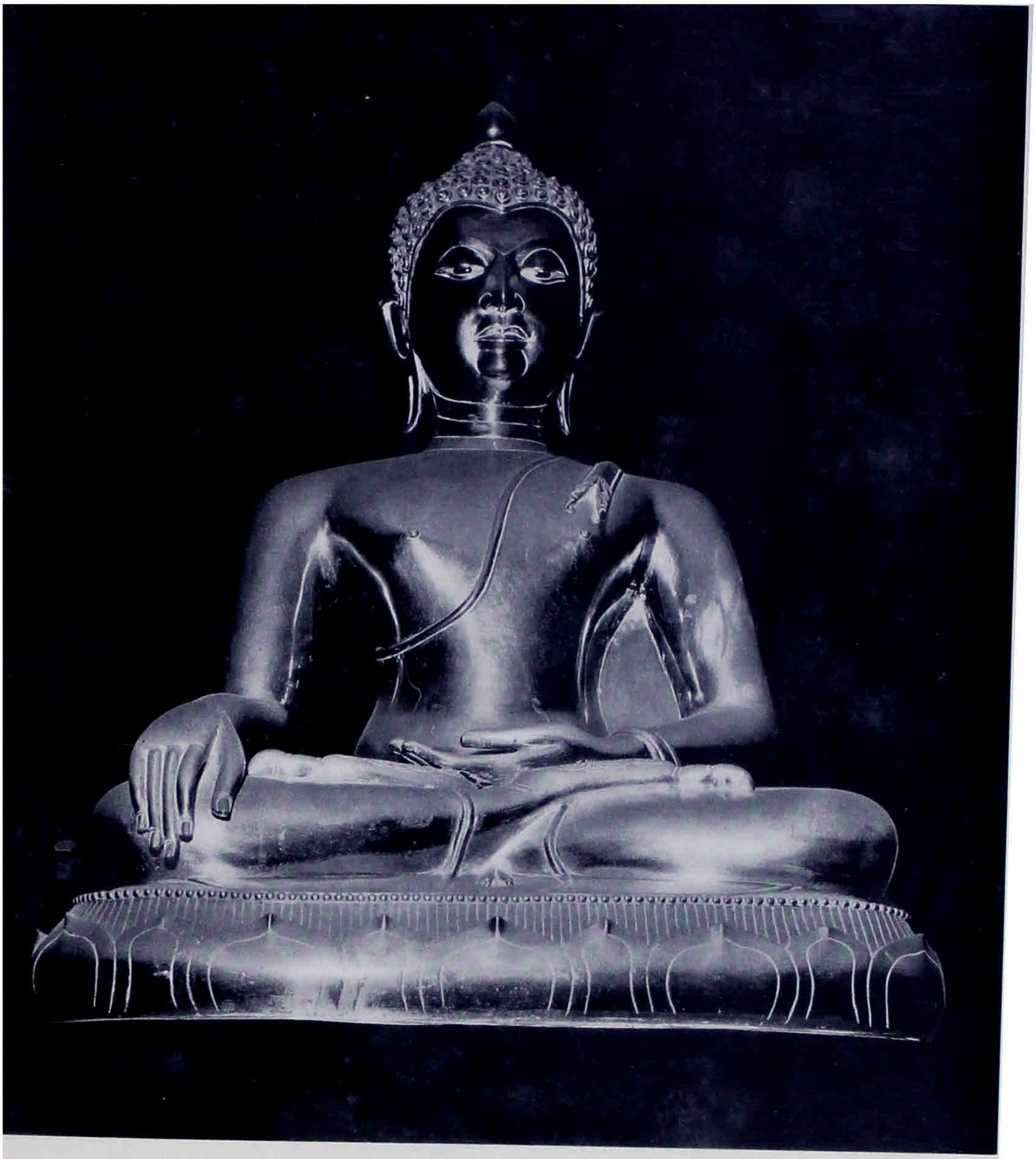

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Plate LVI