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LOST KINGDOMS

HINDU-BUDDHIST SCULPTURE OF EARLY SOUTHEAST ASIA

John Guy

With essays by

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Early Indic Inscriptions of Southeast Asia

Arlo Griffiths

To understand the historical context in which Hindu and Buddhist sculpture of ancient Southeast Asia was produced, one can look to contemporary written documents. Among foreign records about Southeast Asia, Chinese sources are by far the richest.¹ Many different types of local documents must have once existed, but the majority of texts were written on organic (impermanent) materials, such as palm leaf, parchment, wood, and paper, and have not survived to the present day. The only extant documents are on more durable, inorganic materials, such as stone, terracotta, brick, bronze, silver, and gold. These rare survivals of ancient writing must have been exceptional even in their own day, and they were intended to last and be remembered. Compared to surrounding cultural spheres, such as India and China, there are relatively few inscriptions in Southeast Asia, which heightens the importance of the fewer than one thousand inscriptions—a very rough estimate—for the period that concerns us here.

Languages and Scripts

The idea of writing seems to have come to Southeast Asia from India. At least, all the written documents from the region's earliest history use forms of writing borrowed from the Indian subcontinent. In discussing written documents from ancient Southeast Asia, it is important to realize that script and language are two different things, which can but need not be correlated. During the early history of Southeast Asia, many languages were used for writing, but all were expressed in what may be considered a single system of writing. In this Indic system, with its specific manner of arranging characters to express sounds, all basic signs express syllables (as opposed to alphabetic writing in the West). The origin of this basic system is the Brāhmī script, which was probably designed at the behest of Emperor Aśoka in northern India during the third century B.C.² As it was adopted over an ever-growing area, Brāhmī evolved into numerous varieties, which eventually became the modern scripts of Bali, Cambodia, Myanmar, and Thailand, among others. Although the shapes of their respective characters may look different, these Indic scripts all share fundamental structural similarities.

By the time Indic writing began to appear in Southeast Asia in the early centuries A.D., Brāhmī had already split into two basic varieties: Northern and Southern. The vast majority of inscriptions of early Southeast Asia used writing that evolved from Southern Brāhmī. This volume illustrates one specimen of the so-called box-headed form that is found in a small number of the oldest inscriptions of Southeast Asia, possibly datable to the fifth century (cat. 87); for a clearer example, see the inscription on one of seven pillars (*yūpa*) erected by King Mūlavarman in eastern Kalimantan (Borneo; fig. 38). Its text, composed in Sanskrit, can be translated as “The ‘Mountain of Sesame,’ together with the ‘Garland of Lamps,’ which was given by his majesty the king, Mūlavarman: this pillar has been inscribed [in commemoration] of those two [gifts].”³

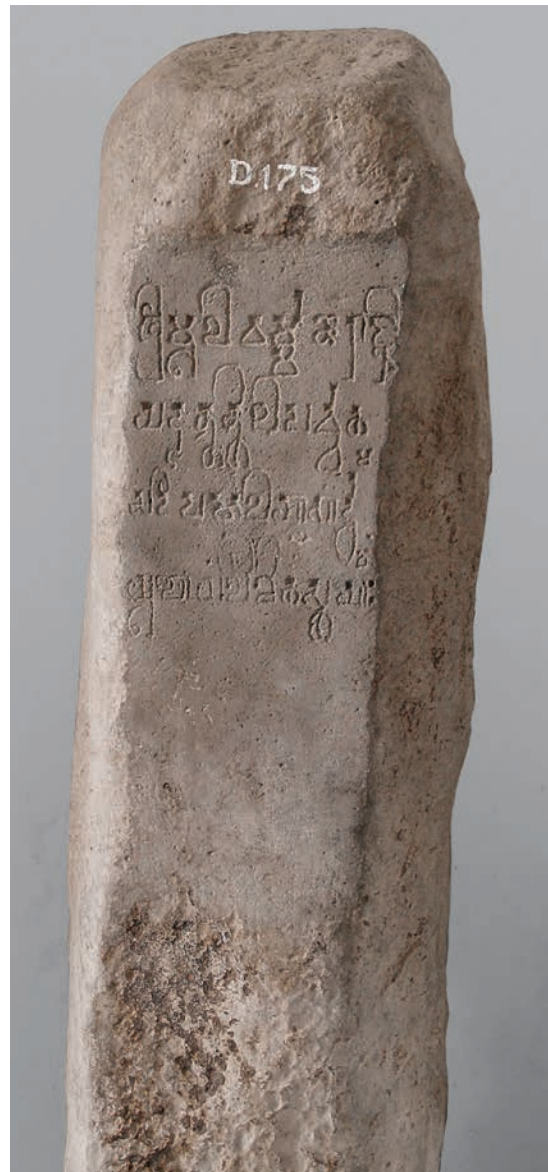


Fig. 38. Mūlavarman inscription pillar (detail). Indonesia, ca. 5th century. Found in East Kalimantan province. Stone, approx. 51 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 13 in. (130 x 32 x 33 cm). Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta (D.175)

Over time, the notable box shapes atop the signs went out of fashion, and the next stage of paleographic development is seen in several Buddhist inscriptions, an inscribed Brahmanical trident (*triśūla*) from Cambodia (cat. 84), and the inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman found in western Java. This group of documents is datable to the sixth century,⁴ while the approximately ten inscriptions from



Fig. 39. Muñduan inscription, plate 1, recto. Indonesia, 807. Found in Central Java province. Copper; h. 3¾ in. (9.5 cm), w. 12½ in. (32 cm). Private collection

Śrīvijaya, found on the islands of Bangka and Sumatra, are solidly dated to the end of the seventh century (fig. 24). The inscription on the Cambodian *śivapāda*, or “footprint of Śiva,” may very tentatively be assigned to about 700 as well (cat. 83). Bearing inventory number K.474, it explains in Sanskrit that the spectator is looking at *śivapādadvayāmbhojam*—that is, “the pair of lotus feet of Śiva.”⁵ With its depiction of footprints, the piece is unique in Cambodian epigraphy. Inscriptions that likewise concern the footprints of Śiva were also produced in early Champa, although none is accompanied by a depiction.⁶ The aforementioned inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman, who ruled in western Java, also offer comparable material, but there, it is the footprints of the king and, in one case, those of a royal elephant that are shown.

Many publications on Southeast Asian inscriptions make no clear distinction between the box-headed script and subsequent forms of writing, designating them all uniformly as Pallava script.⁷ This name refers to the Pallava dynasty, which came to power on the southeast coast of India around A.D. 300. Early twentieth-century scholars attributed to this dynasty the spread of cultural features—such as the use of Sanskrit and production of Hindu statuary—from India to Southeast Asia.⁸ But there is virtually no direct evidence of any Pallava involvement, certainly not for the earliest centuries, and the Pallavas were by no means the only southern Indian kings to use this script during the early first millennium. Moreover, the inscriptions of other dynasties show a form of writing that looks just as much like the script used in Southeast Asia as does the script seen in Pallava inscriptions. Several inscriptions from Myanmar, Thailand, and Malaysia employ this script in Buddhist contexts, often citing passages from Buddhist scriptures in Pali, whereas the Pallava dynasty was never an important patron of Buddhism, let alone Theravāda Buddhism, which uses Pali in its scriptures.⁹ For these reasons, among others, it is preferable to use more neutral terms—for instance, “Late Southern Brāhmī”—to describe the form

of writing found in most Southeast Asian inscriptions after the box-headed phase, corresponding to the fourth to fifth centuries, and before about 800. After this period, Late Southern Brāhmī developed in separate directions in various regions of Southeast Asia, creating, for example, the Kawi script of Java (see fig. 39), whose earliest dated specimens go back to the middle of the eighth century.¹⁰

It is, anyhow, clear that writing was received in Southeast Asia in more than one wave, and certain areas during certain periods were strongly influenced by northeastern Indian culture. In those areas, we find scripts derived from Northern Brāhmī, namely, “Late Northern Brāhmī” (roughly 6th–7th century, found in Rakhine—that is, Arakan—and at Śrī Kṣetra, both Myanmar)¹¹ and the Siddhamātrkā script (in the 8th and 9th centuries, particularly in Java; see fig. 40), from the dominion of the Pālas, who ruled a large area of northeastern India from about the mid-eighth century onward.¹²

One particular script seems to show features of both northern and southern Indic writing: this so-called Pyu script, known only from a small number of inscriptions found at Pyu sites within the Irrawaddy (Ayeyarwady) River valley of Myanmar (cat. 24), still requires detailed study in order for it to be classified. The same script is involved in the rare phenomenon of digraphy—that is, the use of more than one script in a single inscription. One can find combinations of Pyu script, used to write the Pyu language—which is not yet well understood but is apparently a member of the Tibeto-Burman language family¹³—with Late Southern Brāhmī to write Pali (cat. 27) or Late Northern Brāhmī to write Sanskrit (see cat. 41).¹⁴ This last example simultaneously illustrates the fact that, in general, the northern scripts, when used in Southeast Asia, show a strong association with Buddhism and Sanskrit.

Indeed, in this phase, not only was the writing system Indian but so were some of the languages used for written expression. By far the most important is the prestige language Sanskrit, but in



Fig. 40. Gold foil with inscription. Indonesia, ca. 800. Found at Candi Plaosan Lor, Central Java province. H. 2¼ in. (5.8 cm), w. 10 in. (25.5 cm). Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya, Prambanan, Indonesia

specific areas—particularly central Myanmar and central Thailand—Pali played a more prominent role. In most Southeast Asian regions, literacy seems to have come through Sanskrit, and the earliest inscriptions were written in this language—for example, the Vo Canh inscription of central Vietnam (fig. 58), possibly datable to between the second and fourth centuries (there is no consensus on its date) and probably the earliest locally produced Southeast Asian inscription¹⁵—while local languages started to be used in inscriptions only in a second phase.¹⁶ Javanese and Cambodian epigraphy most clearly illustrates this pattern. There are quite a few exceptions, but the quantities of early vernacular material are not sufficient to consider these exceptions as evidence of the irrelevance of Sanskrit or, possibly, in some areas, Pali, as vectors of literacy.¹⁷ The Pyu inscriptions of Myanmar, which seem to be among the oldest Southeast Asian inscriptions (some perhaps as old as the 4th century) are written in their own variety of Indic writing, and in a local language, but the sites where these inscriptions were found have also yielded inscriptions in Pali and Sanskrit (in their respective distinct scripts, Late Southern and Late Northern Brāhmī). The earliest documents of the Dvāravatī culture of Thailand may well be those in the local Mon language, a vernacular belonging (with Khmer) to the Austroasiatic language family, although in these, the script is identical to that used throughout a large area of early Southeast Asia: Late Southern Brāhmī. There are also inscriptions in Pali and in Sanskrit from the same cultural area, but no clear chronological precedence has been established for any language here.¹⁸ Cham, an Austronesian language, makes a very early appearance in the corpus of the inscriptions of Champa, as does Malay in Indonesia. Both languages borrow heavily from Sanskrit, and in the case of Cham, numerous contemporary Sanskrit inscriptions from Champa prove that Sanskrit was the primary language of epigraphical expression for several centuries, beginning around the fourth century.

Besides local languages, Sanskrit, and Pali, a small number of inscriptions in the southern Indian Tamil language and script presumably indicate the presence of Tamil merchants. The earliest locally written example is from Ta Kua Pa in peninsular Thailand and dates from about the mid-ninth century.¹⁹ In addition, there are very rare specimens of inscriptions in languages that so far have not been identified—for instance, the inscription in the Kawgun cave near the mouth of the Salween (Thanlwin) River in Myanmar, which makes a rather early (possibly 7th–8th century) paleographic impression.²⁰

Materials and Object Types

Among the earliest types of writing surfaces were natural rock faces or boulders situated at prominent positions in the landscape—for example, on a riverbank. In addition to natural rocks or boulders, stone steles were manufactured to record more detailed texts. Their shapes and manner of installation vary from country to country. However, they are usually flat, with two main sides, or faces, and could be raised on a stone base or inserted directly into the ground or pavement in front of a temple dedicated to Buddhist or Hindu divinities. A recently discovered Champa inscription (fig. 41), displaying unusually fine calligraphy, illustrates this type.²¹ Architectural elements on the temple itself, such as the doorway or entrance, could also be inscribed with text, as could panels of narrative bas-relief. Objects may include a combination of sculpture and inscription, with one aspect elucidating the other. Such combinations come in a variety of types, with different degrees of prominence of the sculptural versus the epigraphic. Although many ancient Southeast Asian monuments were built in brick, the material was much less often used as a surface for inscriptions than was stone.

Nonarchitectural objects produced in clay or terracotta—pottery, molded “votive” tablets,²² and sealings—often bear short



Fig. 41. Stele with foundation inscription (C.217) of Satyadeśvara. Central Vietnam, 783. Found in Phuoc Thien, Ninh Thuan province. Sandstone, 30 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (78.5 x 44.5 x 12 cm). Ninh Thuan Museum, Phan Rang, Vietnam (BTNT 1440/D.13)

texts. Of particular interest is the illustrated sealing recovered near the ancient city of U Thong, central Thailand (cat. 87). It reads *śivambrihaspatel[h]*, meaning “(property) of Śivambrihaspati.” I apply in my translation a slight normalization to the spelling of the name, which clearly points to a Śaiva religious context. An Indian example of the kind of illustrated signet ring that might have been used to produce this sealing is in the collection of the British Museum, London.²³ Figures 43 and 44 represent two examples, lacking illustration, found in Southeast Asia. Since neither the name nor the scene depicted in the U Thong sealing seems to have precise Indian precedents, it is likely that the seal with which it was stamped was locally produced.

Objects made of bronze, silver, and gold were also inscribed. Sculptures produced in metal sometimes feature short inscriptions along the base. Rolled-up foils of silver or gold have been found inserted into the earthen core of many metal statues. Such foils



Fig. 42. Miniature sword hilt and details of inscriptions. Indonesia (Central Java), ca. 9th century. Gold, $2\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in. (6.7 x 6 x 2.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Samuel Eilenberg-Jonathan P. Rosen Collection of Indonesian Gold, Bequest of Samuel Eilenberg and Gift of Jonathan P. Rosen, 1998 (1998.544.43)

have also often been recovered from stone deposit boxes found in monuments during excavation and restoration.²⁴ Metal utensils and jewelry were likewise inscribed: in most cases, such objects—for example, the hilt of an ornamental sword in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art—were intended for the worship of or to be worn by statues of the gods (fig. 42).²⁵ In writing created with an awl, the sword reads, on one side, *su 2 mā 12*, which indicates a weight in gold of two units *suvarṇa* and twelve units *māṣa*,²⁶ and on the other, *saṃ vodha*, which seems to be a name, presumably of the object’s donor, suggesting that this object must have been among the paraphernalia of the statue of a deity.²⁷ In rare cases—such as signet rings engraved in the negative—the artifacts were worn or used by the owner. Two previously unpublished examples are both inscribed in Sanskrit (figs. 43, 44), and their texts, *sujitiso-masya* (“of Sujitiso”) and *jeṣṭhamitrasya* (“of Jyeṣṭhamitra”), were meant to identify the owner or sender of the object sealed, presumably in clay.²⁸

A special kind of metal object, and one subject to tremendous variation across cultures, is the coin.²⁹ Until recently, Cambodia was thought to have hardly any ancient minting tradition, but over the last few years, some hoards have surfaced, among which was the unique gold coin or medallion of Īśānavarman, who reigned in the early seventh century (fig. 45).³⁰ It can be read (and partly restored) as *īśānavarṃma[ṇaḥ]*, on the obverse, and *īśānapu(ra)*, on the reverse, meaning, respectively, “of Īśānavarman” and “Īśānapura.”³¹ On the whole, fewer ancient coins have been found in Southeast Asia, and with lesser typological diversity, than in India, but some Southeast Asian coins bear legends that lend them specific historical significance.³²

From a comparative perspective, it is remarkable that there is not more overlap among the different ancient Southeast Asian cultures in the shapes and types of objects engraved with inscriptions. A striking example is the copper (or bronze) plate. Given the fact that this medium is extremely common in India, one might have expected to find it used throughout ancient Southeast Asia. However, only maritime Southeast Asia, particularly Java and Bali, has a significant tradition of inscribing texts on such plates (fig. 39).³³

Contents of Inscriptions

A relationship can often be observed between the type of object bearing an inscription and its textual contents. Inscriptions on utensils in precious metals, for instance, normally concern the donor and often state the value or weight of the gift, as in figure 42. Inscriptions on the walls of a religious monument often relate the circumstances of its foundation or restoration and contain passages, at times extensive, about the land and personnel endowed to the service of the temple’s deity by its founder. Short inscriptions on bas-reliefs often indicate the name of the protagonist or the essence of a given scene; short inscriptions are also found on building blocks of monuments to give instructions for their placement. The stele was used in both peninsular and insular Southeast Asia to record a variety of transactions, including grants of land to individuals or institutions. In Java and Bali, this last type of text was often engraved on copper plates. A special category is that of inscriptions that comprise citations of scriptural or ritual texts. This

category appears to be a particular feature of the Buddhist tradition; no close counterpart seems to exist on the side of Śaiva Hinduism, the other major Indian religion that took deep root in ancient Southeast Asia.³⁴

Inscriptions as Art-Historical Sources

Besides their value for reconstructing political, economic, and religious history, inscriptions are of particular importance for art history. For the entire period covered in this volume, they are very helpful in assigning absolute dates to monuments and associated sculptures. Inscriptions may include clear dates that can be converted unequivocally to an equivalent in the Christian (Julian) calendar.³⁵ And the association of a dated inscription with a monument often yields the date of its construction. Stylistic analysis then allows scholars to establish synchronism between monuments and detached sculptures showing the same ornamental features.³⁶ An eloquent example of how the discovery of a dated inscription can confirm or refine the understanding of art-historical developments is the foundation stele of the temple of Hoa Lai in Ninh Thuan province, central Vietnam. It fixed not only the dating of this monument (778) but also the art style named after it, which shows connections to both Cambodia and the Malay Peninsula.³⁷ Although for many periods and areas the chronology is still imprecise and subject to debate, such inscriptional evidence has allowed scholars to determine the general chronological framework of ancient Southeast Asian art and architecture.



Fig. 43. Gold ring. Southern Vietnam, 5th–6th century. National Museum of Vietnamese History, Hanoi (Lsb 38295 ST 9067). The image is transposed horizontally to render the inscription positive.

Fig. 44. Gold ring inlaid with inscribed stone. Southern Vietnam, ca. 6th century. Found in Oc Eo, An Giang province. Collection Mandeville, Hong Kong. The image is transposed horizontally to render the inscription positive.



Fig. 45. Gold coin or medallion of Īśānavarman (obverse/reverse). Southern Cambodia, 7th century. Reportedly found in Angkor Borei, Takeo province. National Bank of Cambodia, Phnom Penh

camphor, was called Lang Polusi 郎婆露斯. We have seen above how this name refers to Lam Baru, the northern part of Sumatra, and can only assume that the southern capital controlled the southern part of Sumatra.

125. See Coedès 1992b, p. 99.

126. Both are now preserved in the Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta (D155, D90). Published in de Casparis 1975; Trigangga 2009, p. 86, fig. 6.2; Miksic 2007, pp. 68–69.

127. *Jiu Tang shu*, *juan* 197; *Xin Tang shu*, *juan* 222C.

128. For details of other Muslim envoys to China “surnamed” Li, see Wade 2010. The envoys are listed on pp. 403–5.

129. While Louis-Charles Damais prefers to identify the name Heling 訶陵 with the Javanese *kaḍatuan* (royal residence) of Walain (see Damais 1964), the identification I offer sees other origins for the name Heling. The traditional explanation, associating the term with *keling*, a widespread and sometimes pejorative Southeast Asian reference to people from South Asia (and possibly derived from the name Kalinga), remains useful.

130. Laffan 2005, p. 32. See also Mahdi 2008 and Griffiths 2013b.

131. Zhou Qufei 周去非, *Lingwai daida* 嶺外代答, *juan* 2.

132. *Tong Dian* (Comprehensive Statutes), *juan* 188, and *Xin tang shu*, *juan* 222C.

II. EMERGING IDENTITIES

EARLY INDIC INSCRIPTIONS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

1. See Wade, “Beyond the Southern Borders,” in this volume.

2. See Salomon 1995.

3. The gifts mentioned here and on Mūlavarman’s other *yūpas* are all well known from Sanskrit *purāṇa* literature, which recommends various forms of liberality to Brahmins. See Chhabra 1949 and Chhabra 1965 for this group of inscriptions. I cite here the translation to be included in a forthcoming comprehensive study of the inscriptions of Mūlavarman and Pūrṇavarman, on which I am working with Emmanuel Francis. For examples of box-headed script in Champa, see Finot 1902 and Coedès 1939.

4. Several documents from the mainland—in particular, the well-published gold-foil manuscript from Śrī Kṣetra—tend to be assigned earlier dates (5th or 6th century) in the scholarly literature (see Falk 1997; Stargardt 2001, p. 505), following the tendency to estimate paleographic dates by comparing script specimens from India while ignoring the

striking similarities within the group of Southeast Asian inscriptions mentioned here. For discussion of this problem, see my forthcoming monograph, coauthored with Emmanuel Francis, on the inscriptions of Mūlavarman and Pūrṇavarman.

5. K.474. For the EFEO inventories of Khmer (K.) and Champa (C.)

inscriptions, see Griffiths et al. 2008–9.

6. See Goodall and Griffiths 2013, p. 433, n. 22.

7. For the problem of naming ancient Indic scripts, see Sander 2007.

8. The classic study making the case for the Pallava connection is Vogel 1918. Despite the fact that some of its premises are untenable, this study is still valuable reading.

9. See Finot 1912b; Finot 1913; Falk 1997; Stargardt 2000; Stargardt 2001; Skilling 1997c; Skilling 2002; Skilling 2005b.

10. See Griffiths 2012, p. 477.

11. See, for examples of such Late Northern Brāhmī from Arakan, Johnston 1944; Sircar 1957–58; Sircar 1967. The unpublished inscription on the socle of the Buddha (cat. 41) from Śrī Kṣetra is partly engraved in a variety of the same script. The same site has reportedly yielded fragments of a Sanskrit inscription in the same script (Sircar 1976).

12. For the use of this script in ancient Java, see Griffiths, Revire, and Sanyal 2013. The example shown here in fig. 40 is a relatively recent discovery from Candi Plaosan Lor, Central Java province, containing the *Bodhigarbbhālaṃkāra-lakṣadbāraṇi*. I publish this inscription in Griffiths forthcoming.

13. Compare Shafer 1943; Luce 1985, pp. 45–76; Krech 2012.

14. From the period that concerns us here, the only other case is from Bali, where the pillar of Sanur is inscribed with three texts: the first two, in Sanskrit and Old Balinese, are in Siddhamāṭṭkā script; the third, again in Sanskrit, is in the local Indonesian Kawi script. See Stutterheim 1934 and Damais 1951.

15. C.40. Compare K. Bhattacharya 1961a; Fillionat 1969; Jacques 1969; Majumdar 1970; Zakharov 2010.

16. For the use of Sanskrit versus local (“vernacular”) languages in the history of Southeast Asian literature, including inscriptions, see Pollock 2006.

17. One exception is inscription C.174, said to originate in Dong Yen Chau, Vietnam; it is the oldest document in the Cham language (Coedès 1939), perhaps as old as the fourth century.

18. For the oldest Mon inscriptions, see Coedès 1952; Diffloth 1984; Bauer 1991a; Bauer 1991b.

19. Compare Francis 2008–9, p. 412. There are some much earlier inscriptions in Tamil Brāhmī script, but they seem to be imports from India and are hence

not directly relevant to Southeast Asian epigraphy (see Boonyarit Chaisuwan 2011).

20. Luce and Pe Maung Tin 1934–56, vol. 4, pl. 355b; Luce 1985, pl. 98a.

21. For relevant publications, see Griffiths and W. A. Southworth 2007; Griffiths and W. A. Southworth 2011.

22. See Skilling 2008.

23. 1892.1103.91. Raven 2004–5, fig. 6.21.

24. See Griffiths forthcoming for several examples.

25. Its inscription is published here for the first time.

26. According to Wisseman-Christie 2004, pp. 92–93, one *suvarṇa* weighed 38 grams, and there were 16 *māṣas* to the *suvarṇa*, so that we have $2.75 \times 38 = 104.5$ grams of gold.

27. Both the paleographic aspect of the characters and the type of inscription clearly point to the ninth century. For similar, although uninscribed, artifacts in the Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta, see Fontein 1990, pp. 284–85, and Bianchini 1995, pp. 64–65 (1555/A85); Brinkgreve, Lunsingh Scheurleer, and Stuart-Fox 2010, p. 88 (6535/A161) and pp. 92–93 (1556, 8968).

28. These are both otherwise unknown figures in Southeast Asian history, and it cannot be excluded that we are dealing with imports from India, where very similar rings (and impressions of such in clay) have been found. The first ring weighs 1.33 ounces (37.525 g), and reportedly originates from Phu Yen, Vietnam. But the piece was acquired from goldsmith Vu Kim Loc of Ho Chi Minh City, and the provenance information is suspect. A provenance in Phu Yen would plead for assigning the ring to the culture of Champa, but as no such rings have been found in that region so far, it might actually be an artifact of the Mekong delta (see Malleret 1959–63, vol. 3 [1962], pp. 310–11, pls. xxxvii–xxxix; Bourdonneau 2007, p. 128). For a similar early signet ring, unprovenanced but presumed to be Indian, see Boardman and Scarisbrick 1977, p. 87 with pl. 211 (the published reading, Sri Mitrabhavasya, is imprecise in several ways and should be corrected: *(ṣ)ṛ(i)mitrarbhavasya*). But the similarity of script and content with cat. 87, which is, in my opinion, most likely an impression from a locally manufactured seal (the seal is catalogued in this volume as being from India), suggests that such rings were also produced locally in Southeast Asia. The second ring was photographed in 1997 by Pierre-Yves Manguin at Oc Eo, where it was held by a villager.

29. See, for instance, Wisseman-Christie 1998 (on Javanese coins) and Mahlo 2012 (on Burmese coins).

30. In numismatics, the term “coin” is used for artifacts that were used as currency, whereas “medallion” designates those that were minted in small quantities and not destined to serve as currency.

31. The brackets indicate elements that are entirely lost, while the parentheses show elements preserved but not legible out of context. The gold coin is currently held by the National Bank of Cambodia and is destined to become a key object in the planned Money and Economy Museum near Wat Phnom in Phnom Penh.

32. See, for instance, Coedès 1963 on what he interpreted as medallions of Dvāravāṭi. Since 1963, a considerably greater number of specimens have become known.

33. The copper plate of Muṇḍuan, from central Java, now in a private collection, dates to 807 and is the oldest copper-plate inscription from Indonesia. It has so far been published only in Japanese (Nakada Kozō 1986).

34. See Falk 1997, Skilling 2002, and Griffiths forthcoming, to mention just three relevant publications.

35. Paleographic analysis allows us to situate in time even those inscriptions that do not contain dates, but great precision is not possible with this approach. Compare de Casparis 1979.

36. For later periods, scholars are frequently lucky enough to find dated inscriptions engraved on freestanding sculptures, directly indicating their dates, but no such directly dated sculptures are known from early Southeast Asia.

37. See Griffiths and W. A. Southworth 2011.

PRECIOUS DEPOSITS: BUDDHISM SEEN THROUGH INSCRIPTIONS IN EARLY SOUTHEAST ASIA

1. The discovery was reported in detail in Duroiselle 1930a. Duroiselle’s list of the diverse contents is on pp. 176–81.

2. Stargardt 2000, pp. 21–22. Other gold texts from Myanmar—for example, the Maunggun plates—were not found with such rich deposits. For the Maunggun plates, see Finot 1912b; Ray 1946, pp. 33–35.

3. Taking recent research into account, I choose to write *bodhisattva* rather than the artificially standardized, and now anglicized, *bodhisattva*. See G. Bhattacharya 2010.

4. For the Pali texts, see Ray 1946, pp. 37–42, and, more recently, Falk 1997 (with references to earlier literature); Stargardt 2000; Skilling 2005b.

5. One variant of these votive stupas is illustrated in Jacq-Hergoualch 2002, fig. 61.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
BIPPA	<i>Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association</i>
BKI	<i>Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië</i>
FAD	Fine Arts Department of Thailand
FMJ	<i>Federation Museums Journal</i>
JBRs	<i>Journal of the Burma Research Society</i>
JMBRAS	<i>Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of the Siam Society</i>
MBJ	<i>Muang Boran Journal</i>
NPHMVKCH	<i>Những phát hiện mới về khảo cổ học</i>
TBG	<i>Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land-, en volkenkunde</i>

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