

The Indianised Culture of North-western
Malaya (West Malaysia)

by

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INTRODUCTION

In most works on the Indianisation of South-east Asia, Malaya is briefly discussed with the mention of a few inscriptions and sculptures, cited as evidence for an early Indian cultural influence over the area.

This is perhaps due to the fact that until recently, most of the research in this field, was conducted by either French or Dutch scholars. The emphasis was, therefore, given to Indo-China or Indonesia, where the political position was such that these scholars had easy access to sites and relevant data. Besides this, the architectural and sculptural remains in Malaya are far less spectacular. As Wheatley so aptly put it, "..... the Peninsula, lacking an Angkor or a Borobodur, has until recently failed to attract the attention of historians"(1).

The present day Malay culture contains an Indian element. This is especially discernable in Malay rituals and various art forms such as dance, drama and craft works (2). The Indianised civilisation of North-western Malaya, which existed for a few centuries, must have contributed greatly towards this. Furthermore, Malaya's participation in international trade commenced during this period. Malaya's position mid-way between India and China, and her accessibility from Thailand, Indo-China and the rest of the Malay Archipelago must have made her an important centre on South-east Asian trade routes.

(1) Wheatley 1961 : v

(2) Durai Raja Singam 1954 : 67-98

A detailed study of this civilisation is, therefore, important not only for a better understanding of a significant period in the history of Malaya, but also that of South-east Asia.

Beginning from the early centuries of the Christian era, most of South-east Asia came under Hindu and Buddhist influences referred to by many scholars as its Indianisation. A number of different interpretations have been given as to how this took place. I hope that this study will help elucidate this phenomenon.

Information on the pre-Islamic Indianised phase in North-western Malaya may be obtained from both archaeological and literary sources. The latter can be classified into two groups; early Chinese, Indian and Arab texts written by traders, travellers and pilgrims dealt with by Wheatley in The Golden Khersonese, and early Malay literature. The emphasis in this thesis has been placed mainly on the archaeological source material for an examination of the literary evidence showed that the Malayan location, attributed to some of the Indianised kingdoms mentioned in these texts, is controversial and also since none of these kingdoms can be equated with the Indianised structural remains found in Kedah and Province Wellesley. Furthermore, it is difficult to ascertain which portions of the early Malay text, Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa, are speculative and mythical as opposed to historical.

Explorations conducted by Lieutenant Colonel James Low during the first half of the nineteenth century revealed, for the first time, archaeological evidence for the presence of an Indianised civilisation in the Kedah/Province Wellesley area.

Subsequent work conducted in this area has produced further archaeological evidence on this civilisation (1).

Most of the recent works published on this period have been excavation reports on Indianised sites or have dealt with certain aspects of this civilisation. Whilst some of these studies have contributed greatly towards our understanding of this period of Malaya's history, apart from Winstedt's History of Malaya (2), writted in 1935, hardly any attempts have been made to produce a general historical synthesis of the evidence available. Some of the views expressed by Winstedt are outdated and since he wrote, further archaeological data on this period has been obtained, creating a need for a new synthesis of the data. Therefore, in this thesis I have attempted to put the relevant archaeological and literary evidence together, and from this to draw certain conclusions.

In Chapter II, I have gone into some detail about the indigenous non-Indianised cultures of pre-Islamic Malaya. This chapter, which may at first appear irrelevant, has its purpose. Besides presenting background information on the area into which Indianised cultural influences were introduced, evidence relevant for the determination of the relationship between the Indianised and indigenous cultures is discussed. Moreover, this chapter also indicates the cultural and economic standard attained by the indigenous cultures thus enabling us to distinguish the new features which were introduced into Malaya during the Indianised phase.

(1) See pages 1-9

(2) Winstedt 1935 : 18-36

Subsequently, I have concerned myself mainly with the problems of an archaeological reconstruction of the Indianised culture of North-western Malaya (Chapter V), chronology (Chapter VI) and the affinities displayed by the material remains (Chapter VII).

I have limited the scope of this thesis to North-western Malaya. However, mention must be made here of Malacca, for this city, located on the west coast of Malaya in the State of Sèlangor, was initially under Hindu rulership and has contributed greatly toward certain Hindu traits seen in the Malay culture of today. The city of Malacca was founded by a nobleman from Majapahit called Parameswara (1) who left Majapahit over a succession dispute (2). A Ming chronicle relates that in 1403 an envoy of the Emperor of China, the eunuch Yin Ch'ing, found Parameswara established in Malacca (3). Due to its location, Malacca soon developed into an important trading centre (4). Its Hindu rule, however, did not last for long as, for political and economic reasons, Parameswara married the daughter of the King of Pasai in 1414 and converted to Islam (5).

(1) In Majapahit and Bali the title Parameswara meant Prince Consort (Winstedt 1935 : 39)

(2) Winstedt 1935 : 39

(3) Winstedt 1935 : 40

(4) Winstedt 1935 : 43

(5) Kennedy 1962 : 3-4

Finally, I would like to mention a couple of limitations which I was faced with. First, as pointed out below, a number of artifacts have been misinterpreted in the past. Where possible I have used the more recent and perhaps more accurate interpretations. It is, therefore, possible that some of the data, used in this thesis, has been incorrectly interpreted. Secondly, I have been restricted to the use of published data on this topic. It is possible, that recent work in this field, has produced data yet to be published and, therefore, not included here.

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CHAPTER I

The Discovery of Indianised Cultural Remains in North-Western Malaya.

The existence of an Indianised culture in Malaya was brought to light by a number of archaeological discoveries made in the Kedah/Province Wellesley area, Perlis and Perak.

Kedah/Province Wellesley

The earliest evidence for the existence of an Indianised culture in Malaya was produced by archaeological explorations and excavations carried out in the Kedah/Province Wellesley area in the 1830s and 1840s by Lieutenant Colonel Low, the Assistant Resident of Penang.

Low discovered the three inscriptions which are referred to today as the CheroK Tekun, Buddha Gupta and the Bukit Meriam inscriptions. The CheroK Tekun inscription was inscribed on a granite rock in a jungle area in Province Wellesley, of which Low wrote, "the style of the letter is of Indian origin" (1). The Buddha Gupta slate inscription was obtained when Low was engaged in digging up some "old ruins" in northern Province Wellesley. This was identified by Prinsep as a Sanskrit inscription (2). The Bukit Meriam slate inscription was found lying under the foundation of a ruined brick building excavated by Low near Bukit Meriam (probably Wales' Kedah Site 26). Low did not identify the script, but Laidlay suggested that "it is in a form of the Sanskrit alphabet" (3). These inscriptions are now considered

(1) Low 1886 : 224

(2) Low 1886 : 224-5

(3) Low 1886 : 233

to be in a South Indian type script (1).

Amidst some "ruins" in Province Wellesley Low found a brass "ornamented dish" which, he maintained, had Sanskrit verses on its base and four sides. He also recorded finding a brick with two Devanāgarī letter impressions at one of these ruins (2).

Besides this, Low discovered a coin under the foundation of a small brick building in the northern part of Province Wellesley, on which there was a figure he identified as a Hindu deity (3). He reported finding several hundreds of coins in a metal cup from the same site, although he did not mention the exact location of the cup. The emblems on the coins led Low to identify them as Buddhist coins (4).

From this evidence, Low concluded that about the 13th century there was a population practising a form of a combined Śaivite and Buddhist religion which later gave way to Hinduism (5).

(1) Lamb 1963 : 76-9

(2) Low 1886 : 225

(3) Low, however, stated that the chief priest of the Hindu temple in Penang insisted that it represented a King.

(4) Low 1886 : 226. No large coin finds have been reported from the other Indianised sites. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of these coins are not known to enable one to confirm whether "several hundreds" were actually found.

(5) Low 1886 : 225

Unfortunately, besides the inscriptions, most of Low's finds are untraceable and therefore not available for further study. He conducted excavations of a number of "ruins" of which he failed to mention the exact location, making the identification of his sites difficult. It is also highly probable, that during his researches, Low came across material remains which, due to the lack of publication, are lost to us. For instance, in his notes on the Kedah Annals he mentioned discovering "mutilated images" (1), but no further information about them is available.

In 1894, Irby and Lefroy of the Perak Trigonometrical Survey discovered remains of ancient structures on the summit of Kedah Peak. Although Lefroy appeared to be of the opinion that they were religious structures and stated the possibility of priests residing there (2), no evidence was produced to identify this site as being either Hindu or Buddhist

In 1921, the Kedah Peak site was revisited by Evans, the Curator of the Taiping Museum, who carried out further excavations.

On the basis of its similarity with the structures in the surrounding area identified as Hindu or Buddhist, he proposed that this site was built by either Hindus or Buddhists or by people practicing a combined form of these religions. Evans also felt that the reason behind the erection of these structures must be found in religion, as tops of mountains were considered sacred by Hindus and Buddhists (3).

(1) Low 1849 : 482

(2) Irby 1905 : 78

(3) Evans 1922 : 254

In the 1920s, Evans conducted further visits to and excavations in the Kedah area which produced evidence establishing beyond doubt the existence of an Indianised culture. In 1921, Evans visited the Sungei Batu Estate and was presented with an image, "undoubtedly of Hindu origin", which has been identified by Coedès as Durgā, the wife of Śiva, triumphing over Mahishasura, an evil spirit embodied in a buffalo (1).

In 1923, Evans revisited the Sungei Batu Estate where he obtained four sculptured stones, one of which, according to a Tamil coolie, originally bore a bas relief of Ganeśa (2).

In 1925, Evans collected from the Sungei Batu Estate a snāna-dronī (yonī) (3) and a Nandi (Śiva's bull) head (4).

(1) Evans 1927a : 113

(2) Evans 1927a : 114. Unfortunately, this stone had been smashed up for road metal by the time Evans obtained it. However, traces of the Ganeśa such as the tip of its trunk and part of its side were still discernable.

(3) The snāna-dronī (yonī) is a highly conventionalised form of the female sexual organ, associated with the Śaivite cult, into which fits a Śiva liṅga or the base of a deity.

(4) Evans 1927a : 115

Two circular stones with spiral markings were also discovered which according to Evans were possibly the terminal balustrades of a structure (1). Such terminals are common features in Hindu/Buddhist architecture.

Evans also excavated a laterite structure (Kedah Site 4), located in field 19 of the Sungei Batu Estate, where he found a large granite yoni with a square hole for the insertion of a liṅga(2). It was near this structure, that the statue of Durgā and the Nandi head, referred to above, were found suggesting that this site was probably a Hindu temple.

From this evidence Evans came to the conclusion that, "..... some early inhabitants of Sungei Batu were Hindus, and worshippers of Śiva or related deities, for we have obtained images of Durga (his consort), (?) Gaṇeṣa (son), the nandi (his vahan, vehicle) on which he rides, and the yoni, always associated with the worship of Śiva or with that of deities of the Śiva group." (3)

In the latter half of the 1930s, Wales aided by his wife, visited and excavated more than thirty sites most of which located in the Sungei Bujang, Upper Merbok Kechil and Muda valleys in Kedah (4). In 1941, they revisited this area and conducted further work (5). Wales identified most of

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- (1) Evans 1927a: 115
 (2) Evans 1927a: 117 See footnote 1
 (3) Evans 1927a: 115-6
 (4) Wales 1940 : 1-85
 (5) Wales and Wales 1947 : 1-11

these sites as either Hindu or Buddhist shrines on the basis of architecture and associated finds (1).

By the time Wales conducted his researches, the existence of a Hindu/Buddhist culture in this area had been established. His work, despite its limitations, provided information on the Indianised period as he discovered, excavated and published reports on a number of Indianised sites and associated finds.

Perlis

In 1903, Blagden reported the discovery of Buddhist votive tablets found a few years earlier (1895) by Stevens in a cave in "Kedah". Lamb pointed out that the site at which Stevens found these tablets was Gua Berhala located not in Kedah, as reported, but in Perlis (2). Kern identified the writing on these tablets as 10th century "Nagri" and was able to discern the well known "ye dharmā" Buddhist formula (3).

In 1903, Evans published another discovery of clay tablets from Gua Berhala. He identified these tablets as Mahāyāna tablets on the basis of Buddha and Avalokiteśvara figures impressed on them and their similarity with Mahāyāna Buddhist tablets recovered by Coedès in Thailand.

(1) See table 3

(2) Lamb 1964a : 47

(3) Blagden 1903 : 205

(4) Evans 1931a : 48-9

More fragments of similar tablets were collected from this site by Collings in 1936 (1).

Perak

Between 1900 and 1940, six Buddhist bronzes were discovered during mining and dredging operations in the Perak Valley area. They consist of two Buddha figures, a Buddha throne and three Bodhisattvas (2).

In the 1920s, Evans carried out a series of excavations at the site of Kuala Selinsing on the coast of the Matang district in Perak. From the evidence obtained, Evans stated that the inhabitants of Kuala Selinsing were "almost certainly Hindus by religion" (3). The evidence used was the "Pallava Seal" and the golden ring with the image of "Vishnu" mounted on "Garuda" but, as Wales pointed out, this evidence does not prove that the inhabitants of this site were Hindus. It, however, suggests that the Kuala Selinsing people were a non-Indianised group who were in contact with the Indianised cultures of the surrounding areas (4).

(1) Collings 1937a: 115-6

(2) Wales 1940 : 50-2

(3) See page 26

(4) See pages 27-9

In recent years, a series of archaeological projects have been carried out by the University of Malaya and the Muzium Negera which have led to the discovery of new Indianised sites and to a better understanding of the known sites from this period.

Amongst the important new discoveries was the site of Bukit Eatu Lintang, which was found during a survey conducted by the University of Malaya Archaeological Society (U.M.A.S.) in June 1956 (1). This site was excavated by Sullivan and yielded definite evidence of an Indianised culture (2).

The re-excavation of Matang Pasir (Kedah Site 31) by Sullivan also provided new evidence for the existence of an Indianised culture in this region (3).

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- (1) Foong 1959 : 209-13
 - (2) Sullivan 1958 : 206-12
 - (3) Sullivan 1958 : 192-6

In 1957 and 1958, a number of surveys were carried out by the University of Malaya in the Merbok/Muda area in Kedah (1). The surveys conducted by Lamb stimulated the re-excavation of Kedah Site 8, which he named Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat, from which material confirming the Indianised nature of the site was obtained (2).

During his work on this site Lamb came across some brick and boulder remains on the east bank of the Sungei Batu Pahat. Excavations here revealed a structure 30 ft. square with its sides facing the cardinal points. According to Lamb, the boulder foundation resembled many of the Indianised Bujang sites. He put forth the possibility of this structure serving as a priests' residence connected with the Sungei Batu Pahat temple (Kedah Site 8) (3).

I was informed in 1972 (4), that investigations by the Department of Archaeology, Muzium Negera, Kuala Lumpur, had led to the discovery of further Indianised remains in the Kedah area. However, these finds have not as yet been published.

(1) Wang 1958 : 220-3
Lamb 1959 : 214-32

(2) Lamb 1960 : 3-108

(3) Lamb 1961 : 18

(4) Pers. Comm. by Inchē Al Rashid, Director of Archaeology, Muzium Negera, Kuala Lumpur.

CHAPTER II

The Non-Indianised Indigenous Cultures of Pre-Islamic Malaya.

The human occupation of Malaya pre-dates the establishment of an Indianised culture there by a considerable period. The arrival of Indianised cultural influences, however, did not bring an end to the indigenous cultures, some of which continued to exist alongside.

Paleolithic.

The earliest known evidence for human activity in Malaya is a crude flaked pebble industry known as the Tampanian, found on the banks of the Perak river at the site of Kota Tampan (1) (see map 1) and in a gravel deposit in the Upper Perak valley between Leggong and Grik (2). On geological grounds, a possible date of the late First Interglacial or more probably the early second glaciation (Early Pleistocene) has been suggested (3).

(1) Collings 1938 : 575-6

(2) Williams-Hunt 1951 : 189

(3) Sieveking A. 1958 : 93, 98

Hoabinhian.

The Tampanian was followed on by another flaked pebble industry, the Hoabinhian. In Malaya, Hoabinhian remains are found in the North-western and Central regions, concentrated mainly in karst/riverine localities though coastal areas were also exploited (see map 1).

On the basis that the faunal remains found at these sites were of extant species, a post Pleistocene date was assigned for the Hoabinhian culture (1).

In Malaya, a radio-carbon date of 4,800 ± 800 B.P. was obtained for the final Hoabinhian occupation at Gua Kechil (2). But, from the Thai radio-carbon dates it appears that the Hoabinhian techno-complex had come into existence by the late Pleistocene. The oldest date from the Hoabinhian site of Spirit Cave implies an initial occupation of 14,000 to 13,000 B.P. for this site (3). Whether the early Thai dates could apply to Malaya or not is a matter still to be researched into.

The Hoabinhian shows a higher stage of technological development and comprises of stone, bone and shell industries. It is not as yet fully understood if the Hoabinhians in Malaya had the use of pottery.

The traditional view of the economy is that the Hoabinhians were hunters and food-gatherers (4). However, recent evidence from Thailand (Spirit Cave) indicates that though the economic subsistence pattern was basically dependent

(1) Tweedie 1953 : 15, 18
(2) Dunn 1966 : 352
(3) Gorman 1971 : 301
(4) Tweedie 1953 : 15

on hunting and food-gathering, Hoabinhian man was also experimenting with plant domestication (1).

In Malaya, no plant remains have been found. However, a considerable amount and variety of animal and shell fish remains have been recovered. Gorman pointed out that this broad spectrum collecting pattern is similar to the exploitation patterns exhibited by Near Eastern sites which are thought to represent the stage of early domestication (2).

Associated with Hoabinhian remains is the earliest evidence of human burial in Malaya. Fragmentary human remains were found at most of the excavated sites, some of which indicated that Hoabinhian man was burying his dead. The absence of grave goods led Sieveking to conclude that hardly any ritual was associated with these burials (3).
Neolithic.

The next stage in the cultural evolution of Malaya has been termed the Neolithic, characterised by polished quadrangular adzes or axes and cord-marked ceramics. The relationship between this culture and the Hoabinhian is not as yet fully understood (4).

(1) Gorman 1969 : 672-3

(2) Gorman 1971 : 311

(3) Sieveking G. de G. 1954-5 : 92, 97-8

(4) For discussion see Collings 1936 : 10
Gorman 1971 : 314
Tweedie 1953 : 45

Neolithic remains have been found mainly in North and Central Malaya though they have also been found on the West coast as far south as Negri Sembilan (see map 1). Like the Hoabinhians, the Neolithic people exploited two distinct eco-zones, karst/riverine and lowland-riverine areas.

The only radio-carbon date for the Malayan Neolithic comes from the site of Gua Kechil. Here a date of $4,800 \pm 800$ B.P. was obtained from the late Hoabinhian, early Neolithic layer (1). Recent excavations in Thailand have produced radio-carbon dates which could be used as a framework for the Neolithic in South-east Asia. A date of $7,622 \pm 300$ B.P. was obtained for the final occupation at Spirit Cave which contained Neolithic intrusions into the Hoabinhian culture (2). This evidence may possibly indicate that the Malayan Neolithic could date to an earlier period than 5,000 B.P.

Technological improvements were made in the Neolithic phase. The technique of grinding and polishing stone was developed and pottery was widely used. Most of the pottery was coarse and cord-marked, however, finer pottery was excavated from the later stages of occupation at Gua Cha (3). Plain burnished sherds were found at Gua Kechil, Stage 3 (4).

(1) See page 11

(2) Gorman 1971 : 303

(3) Sieveking G. de G. 1954-5 : 107

(4) Dunn 1964 : 120

Unfortunately, there is only indirect evidence for the practice of agriculture. In Phase 3 at Gua Kechil, the bone and shell counts peak during the early phases, but decrease steadily towards the final phases. Dunn felt that this could be taken as indirect evidence for the practice of agriculture as the increase in shell and animal remains reflects a decreasing dependence on hunting and gathering (1). At Gua Cha, Sieveking pointed out that the Neolithic occupation covered a larger area than the preceding Hoabinhian occupation, suggesting a demographic expansion. This he felt could reflect a change from hunting and gathering to agriculture. He further pointed out that the size of Gua Cha would have made it a natural centre for agriculture (2).

The presence of burials accompanied with grave goods such as pottery, shell-spoons and polished stone tools indicates the practice of burial rites (3) which show that a development in spiritual matters took place during this period.

Bronze and Iron.

Very little is understood about the origins of the metal using cultures of Malaya. Bronze and iron remains have been found in non-Indianised cultural contexts prior to and co-existent with the Indianised culture of the North-west.

(1) Dunn 1964 : 121

(2) Sieveking G. de G. 1954-5 : 105

(3) Sieveking G. de G. 1954-5 : 87-90, 93-6, 99-101, 107-11

Bronze.

Whether there was a "Bronze Age" or Dongson type culture in Malaya prior to the iron using culture is not as yet firmly established.

According to Linehan, bronze and iron were introduced together into Malaya from Funan between the 1st and the early 3rd century A.D, (1). Loewenstein, however, was of the opinion that there was an independent introduction of bronze into Malaya. His examination of the evidence showed that bronze celts, bells and drum fragments have been found in non-iron contexts and that the chemical composition of these bell and drum fragments differs from the bronzes found in iron using cultures (2).

Bronze drum remains have been recently excavated from the sites of Kampong Sungei Lang (3) and Kuala Trengganu (4). At these sites, however, the bronze drum fragments were associated with iron remains.

Most of the bronze remains obtained from non-iron contexts come from the Western coast of the Malay Peninsula, from the States of Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan, though isolated finds have been made in Central Malaya in the States of Kelantan and Pahang (see map 1).

(1) Linehan 1951 : 55

(2) Loewenstein 1956 : 48-51

(3) Peacock 1965 : 13-4

(4) Peacock 1967 : 28-30

Whilst Linehan held that bronze was introduced into Malaya between the 1st and 3rd century A.D. (1), Loewenstein maintained that the bronze drums did not reach Malaya earlier than the 1st century A.D. (2). Recently, a radio-carbon date of 2435 ± 95 B.P. was obtained for the site of Kampong Sungei Lang at which bronze drum remains were present (3). Excavations carried out in the last few years at the Thai site of Non Nok Tha have prompted Solheim to state that there was bronze working at this site around 2,300 B.C. or earlier (4). If these early Thai dates are accepted, it is possible that the Malayan bronze remains could date to an earlier period than now held.

Whether these bronze artifacts were locally manufactured or imported is not as yet fully understood. Loewenstein wrote that with the exception of a few celts, the bronze remains were clearly imports from South-west China and Indo-China. He felt that some of the socketed celts were locally manufactured as they were found in tin producing areas and because an analysis of these artifacts showed that, unlike the Indo-Chinese bronzes, they contained no lead (5).

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- (1) Linehan 1951 : 55
 - (2) Loewenstein 1956 : 65
 - (3) Peacock 1965 : 253
 - (4) Solheim 1969 : 135
 - (5) Loewenstein 1956 : 6, 12

However, the paucity of copper in Malaya, the limited number of drum and bell fragments, and the similarity of the metal content of these bronzes to those found at Dongson (i.e. with a lead content) show that most of these bronzes were imported (1).

Hardly any evidence is available on the economy of these bronze using people. However, from the remnants of what is believed to be a dug-out canoe, found at Kampong Sungei Lang (2), it appears that some of the people in possession of bronze drums were exploiters of the sea.

Whether these bronze remains can be associated with a distinct culture or whether they were adopted by existing cultures is as yet an open question. Unfortunately, most of the non-iron associated bronze finds are chance finds unrelated to a cultural context. At Kampong Sungei Lang, a new type of pottery and glass beads not known in Neolithic contexts were found. Besides this, at this site evidence for the practice of a new "burial" ritual, where bronze drums were placed in a "dug-out canoe" and buried together with pottery and glass beads was also present (3).

(1) Loewenstein 1956 : 4, 50

(2) Peacock 1965 : 251

(3) Peacock 1965 : 251

Iron.

Iron remains have been found associated with non-Indianised cultures prior to (1) and co-existent with the Indianised culture of North-western Malaya.

(a) Kuala Selinsing

An iron using culture was found at the site of Kuala Selinsing (see Map 1), on the beach at Tanjong Rawa, Matang district, Perak (2). According to Wheatley, aerial photography has revealed some six or so similar sites in the Matang district which have not as yet been excavated (3)

The dating of Kuala Selinsing has been based on beads and other small finds excavated and collected from the site. A number of varying dates have been assigned to this site.

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- (1) Wales assigned a date of between 330 to 550 A.D. for the first period of Indianised settlement. If this date is accepted the iron using Kuala Selinsing culture and the Tulang Mawas iron implements would date to a period after Indianised influences were felt. However, it now appears that a later date has to be assigned for the arrival of Indianised influences in Malaya.
- (2) Evans 1932a: 79-135
- (3) Wheatley 1961 : 197

From his early findings at Kuala Selinsing, Evans was inclined to date the occupation here to between the 9th and 10th century A.D. (1).

Beck felt that the beads at Kuala Selinsing were remnants of a wide bead trade carried on during the 6th to the 9th century A.D. (2), but he subsequently stated that these beads may date from the 1st to the 4th century A.D. (3).

Evans later supported Beck's date of the 6th to the 9th century A.D. However, the discovery of Chinese celadons in the upper layers A and B, not earlier than the Sung period, caused him to propose the possibility of an 11th century date for the terminal occupation of the site. He also pointed out that an early date of 400 A.D. for the commencement of the settlement was not impossible (4).

The carnelian seal found "not deeper than layer C", was originally given a date of 400 A.D. by Callenfels, which he subsequently re-dated to 600 A.D. Barnett claimed that the seal was older than the 9th century, though later on he suggested the possibility of an earlier date (5).

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- (1) Beck 1930 : 176
 - (2) Beck 1930 : 177
 - (3) Collings 1937b : 93
 - (4) Evans 1932a : 88-90
 - (5) Evans 1932a : 89-90

A gold ring with a relief of a human figure mounted on a bird was excavated from layer D which is the lowest true occupation layer of the site (1). Callenfels assigned the ring to the late Majapahit period around the 13th century A.D. when the Javanese peoples had lost their understanding of Hindu iconography (2). But, Bosch was inclined to believe that this gold ring belonged to an early period about the 4th to the 5th century A.D. when Indian influences were not as yet strongly felt in Java, Sumatra and Malaya. Bosch, also pointed out that a similar ornament, the only one of its kind in the Jakarta (Batavian) Museum, was recovered near Maragasari, Borneo, together with beads and could be ascribed to the time of King Mūlavarman around the 4th century A.D. (3).

Since this gold ring object was located in layer D, Bosch's interpretation of a 4th to 5th century date, during which Indian influences were not as yet strongly felt in the Malay Archipelago, has to be accepted in favour of a late Majapahit date.

(1) Evans 1932a : 84, 104

(2) Evans 1932a: 104. The God on the bird lacks the emblems of Vishnu and is attended by two mounted figures which is unknown in Hindu iconography.

(3) Evans 1932a : 104-5

From a number of objects, mainly beads, found at Kuala Selinsing, Beyer placed this site in the Late Iron Age and , on the assumption that the dates of Philippine cultures corresponded with similar cultures in Malaya, dated it to the 6th to 10th century A.D., extending perhaps into the "Porcelain Age"(1). However, certain beads collected at Kuala Selinsing are identical to those attributed by Beyer to the Early Iron Age in the Philippines which dates well back into the 1st millenium B.C. (2).

The chronological evidence at hand appears to support a timespan of the 6th to the 10th century A.D. for the occupation at Kuala Selinsing. However, the nature of the evidence favours the strong possibility of an earlier date of around 400 A.D. for the commencement of the settlement and a terminal date extending into the 11th century.

The excavations and collections made at Kuala Selinsing have produced evidence from which a reconstruction of the material culture and the economic and socio-religious patterns of the inhabitants of this site may be attempted.

The remains show that the inhabitants worked plant materials, stone, bone, shell, glass, metals and made use of pottery. Some of the remains such as beads and porcelains were obviously imported.

The technique of matting was probably known to these people as a small piece of pandanus matting was recovered (3).

Wood was employed in house construction. The settlement appears to have been built on wooden piles or stilts, which according to Evans, indicated that the village was built over

(1) The "Porcelain Age" in the Philippines began around the 10th century A.D.

(2) Evans 1929 : 191-2

(3) Evans 1932a : 99

water (1). Two wooden dug-out canoes were also found. They were probably locally manufactured as they seem to have been an integral part of the socio-religious life of the inhabitants, some of their dead, probably chieftains, being buried in them (2). The coastal location of this site and the nature of the economy (3) of these peoples also imply a local manufacture.

A number of stone and bone objects, mainly tools, were excavated (4).

Glass and stone beads, some imported others locally manufactured (5), were collected from throughout the excavated deposits increasing in number in the upper layers. Glass and shell bracelets and a shell finger ring were also found (6).

A variety of pottery was excavated. Associated with the burials, in the lower levels of the excavated deposit, was a grey ware which Sieveking classified as the Kelumpang Stone Ware (7). Beside this, earthenware pottery was present, some of which similar to South Indian types. Porcelains or semi-porcelains were obtained from the top two layers. They have been identified as being mainly of a Chinese origin of the Sung period though some possibly originate from the

(1) Evans 1932a : 84, 108

(2) Evans 1932a : 108-9

(3) See pages 18, 23

(4) Evans 1932 : 106-8

(5) The presence of partly made beads of stone and glass caused Evans to suggest that they were locally manufactured. (Evans 1928a : 122-3)

(6) Evans 1932a : 90-9

(7) Sieveking G. de G. 1956 : 91

Sawankhalok pottery in Thailand (1).

A variety of metal remains such as gold, iron (2), tin, lead, bronze and copper were excavated. Iron was most probably locally worked as two pieces of iron slag were obtained. From the distribution of the metal remains in the excavated deposits it is apparent that these metals were used from the early occupation period and onwards (3).

The subsistence economy of Kuala Selinsing appears to have been fishing. The location of the site on the coast and the presence of dug-out canoes (4) suggest this. Fishing implements, such as a bronze eyed fish-hook with an attached bronze wire snood and stone objects interpreted as possible line-sinkers were found in the excavated deposits. Tin and probably lead rings were present in layers A to D which according to Evans were identical to those used by the present day Malay fishermen in making chains for weighting their casting nets (5).

The large number of pig teeth found at this site implies that the pig was domesticated (6).

The bead and porcelain remains together with certain Indianised small finds (7) indicate that the Kuala Selinsing people were involved either directly or indirectly in an international trade.

(1) Evans 1932a : 99-103

(2) The iron remains found were mainly fragmentary. It is, therefore, not possible to make any comparisons between this industry and Tulang Mawas iron implements.

(3) Evans 1932a : 103-6

(4) See pages 18, 22

(5) Evans 1932a : 105-6

(6) Evans 1932a : 81

(7) See pages 28-9

Further evidence concerning this trade is provided by the Pontian Boat find. This find consisted of a wooden dug-out canoe found together with pottery on the right bank of the Pontian River, Pahang, about a mile from the river's mouth (1).

The main cargo of the boat appears to have been contained in large earthenware storage jars with an impressed decoration. Amidst the cargo, decorated earthenware fragments (2) and pottery discs (3) identical to those obtained at Kuala Selinsing were also found implying a trade link between this boat and Kuala Selinsing.

Gibson-Hill identified the boat as an early form of the Rua Chalom, now used as a trading vessel in the Gulf of Siam, and was of the opinion that the cargo was from somewhere on the sea-board of the Gulf of Siam (4). An earthenware sherd from the boat's cargo also supports this statement. Malleret after examining the sherd felt that it was identical to earthenware fragments found at the site of Oc-Èo, believed to be the main port of the Indianised Kingdom of Funan (5).

(1) Evans 1927b : 93-6

(2) Sieveking 1956 : 93

(3) Evans 1932a : 83

(4) Gibson-Hill 1952 : 118

(5) Funan is located in the vicinity of the Gulf of Siam and has been dated by Coedès to have existed from the 1st to the 6th century A.D. (Coedès 1968 : 36-38, 65).

An Indian-type kendi (spouted water vessel) was purchased from the local Malays who claimed to have obtained it from the boat (1). An association of this vessel with the boat is likely as Evans discovered the base of a similar vessel amongst the boat pottery (2).

The Pontian Boat remains suggest that during the period of the Kuala Selinsing settlement, there were direct or indirect trade contacts between the Siamese Gulf coast and Malaya, involving local traders who appear to have either belonged to or had been in contact with an Indianised culture.

Lamb felt that Kuala Selinsing was not on the main international trade route but was rather a Malayan trading station involved in trade with the international port of Takuapa, located in the Isthmus of Kra, and the interior of Malaya (3).

Whether there were trade connections between Kuala Selinsing and the Indianised Malayan port of Pengkalan Bujang (4) is not clear. Similar beads were found at both sites (5) but this does not necessarily imply trade connections as these beads have a wide distribution. Besides this, the settlement at Kuala Selinsing appears to have come to an end about the same time that Pengkalan Bujang became established as a trading centre (6).

(1) Sieveking G. de G. 1956 : 93 footnote 27

(2) Evans 1927b : 95

(3) Lamb 1961 : 82

(4) See page 71

(5) Lamb 1961 : 29

(6) See page 104

The excavation at Kuala Selinsing also yielded evidence of the burial practices of its inhabitants. Evans excavated four burials in layers C and D. Two of these burials (burials 2 and 3) showed that the dead were buried in dug-out canoes. In another burial (burial 4) the human remains appear to have been placed on what has been interpreted to be a wooden raft. Grave-goods such as pottery and beads accompanied the burials and in certain cases (burials 3 and 4) a wooden plank seems to have been placed over the remains. Burials 3 and 4 indicate that the remains of more than one person were sometimes buried together. The burials were located amongst the house-post remains which implies that they took place within the village, perhaps under the houses (1).

Of the inhabitants of Kuala Selinsing Evans wrote, "..... the people were almost certainly Hindus by religion, as a definitely Hindu type gold object was found in a low layer of the excavations (D). The cornelian seal with a Pallava inscription, too, shows connection with a civilisation of South Indian origin" (2).

Wales, however, pointed out the limitations of this interpretation. According to him the mis-spelling of the common word "śrī" in the Pallava inscription makes it difficult to believe that it was the work of a Hindu scribe.

(1) Evans 1932a : 84, 108-9

(2) Evans 1932a : 84

Secondly, the gold ring object bearing a relief of a human figure riding a bird, which at first glance appears to be Vishnu mounted on Garuda, shows on closer examination to be lacking in the attributes of Vishnu and to contain details unknown in Hindu iconography (1).

This evidence led Wales to state that,

"..... neither the ring nor the seal afford us any definite evidence that the people who made them, skilled craftsmen as they were, were either Hindus or at all deeply versed in Indian culture." (2)

The excavations at Kuala Selinsing yielded no evidence of Hindu deity sculpture, remnants of which would surely have been found had its inhabitants been Hindus. Besides this, the burial customs of the Kuala Selinsing inhabitants (3) showed beyond doubt that they were by no means Hindus.

However, remains have been found at Kuala Selinsing which suggest that its inhabitants were in contact with India or an Indianised culture or cultures either directly or indirectly.

Some of the Kuala Selinsing beads have been identified by Beck to be of an Indian origin. The two etched carnelian beads found by Evans were, according to Beck, very likely of Indian origin whilst the bright orange cylindrical glass beads (Evan's opaque orange beads) and opaque red beads were

(1) Wales 1940 : 55

(2) Wales 1940 : 55

(3) See page 26

apparently identical to South Indian types. The green and yellow beads found here were also considered by Beck to be identical to those found in India (1). Besides this, glass beads with a layer of gold leaf were present. According to Evans, this peculiar fashion of treating glass is an Indian practice still in use in India (2).

Pottery similar to South Indian types has been recorded by Evans (3).

The seal inscribed with the words "Gri Wiṣṇuvarrman" (4), whilst in no way proves that the inhabitants of Kuala Selinsing were Hindus, indicates contacts with either India or an Indianised culture.

The gold ring and a gold ear or nose ring from Kuala Selinsing fall into the sphere of Indianised art. Whilst the gold ring exhibits affinities with Indianised Indonesian art (5), Lamb felt that it would be tempting to find parallels for the latter object amongst the finds from Oc-Éo (6).

(1) Beck 1930 : 176-7

(2) Evans 1928a : 123-4

(3) See page 22

(4) Evans 1932a: 111

(5) See page 20

(6) Lamb 1964b: 167 plates 2-5

The presence of a mis-spelt Hindu seal (1) and a gold ring with Indonesian affinities strongly favours an interpretation of contacts with Indianised South-east Asia though a direct contact with India cannot be entirely ruled out.

The evidence indicates that these contacts took place soon after the establishment of the settlement. Indian type beads were found from the earliest occupation layer to the top whilst the gold ring was located in layer D and the seal "not lower than layer C" (2).

(b) Tulang Mawas and associated remains

Besides the Kuala Selinsing culture, iron implements known locally as Tulang Mawas (3) were found in Malaya, used by people belonging to a non-Indianised culture or cultures (4).

The term Tulang Mawas was originally used to describe implements of the socketed elbow type. The term, however, was later used by Linehan as a collective term for a complex of iron tools which are industrially linked (5). Sieveking

(1) See page 26

(2) See pages 19-20, 22, 27-8

(3) Tulang Mawas literally means the bones of the legendary ape "Mawas". Its elbows were supposed to project iron sickles.

(4) It is not as yet clear as to whether these implements were used by people belonging to a single or varied cultural tradition.

(5) Linehan 1951 : 11

classified these tools on the basis of typology into five main groups which are axes, long-shafted axes, sickles, knives and spearheads (1).

These implements have a wide distribution in Malaya, mainly along the west coast and in central Malaya (see map 2). They have been found in different contexts such as associated with stone slab structures, in hoards or as isolated finds.

Stone slab structures associated with Tulang Mawas iron implements have been found in the Southern Perak district of Batang Padang. Eleven such remains have been discovered and excavated in localities near the villages of Sunkai and Slim (2). More of these slab structures must have existed which have since been destroyed (3).

(1) Sieveking G. de G. 1956 : 97-108

(2) Evans 1928b : 111-9

Evans 1931b : 63-4

Collings 1937b : 75-85

Sieveking G. de G. 1959 : 205-6

(3) Collings records that according to the local Malays seven such structures were destroyed near the Slim river (Collings 1937b: 75).

The Tulang Mawas implements were found both inside and outside the stone slab structures. Besides these iron remains a limited amount of other material remains were also present. Although granite was used as the building material for these structures hardly any lithic objects were discovered. The only recorded stone artifact is the cross-hatched stone bark pounder from Changkat Mantri (1). Fragments of pottery were found inside and around these structures which Sieveking classified into the Slim River pottery group (2). A small bronze bowl was recovered at the Changkat Mantri site (3). Beads were obtained from a number of these sites, made mainly of glass and carnelian though one crystal bead was found (4).

The stone slab structures were made of roughly hewn undressed pieces of granite. The sides of the structures were made of inward sloping pieces of granite, which formed a narrow irregular opening at the top over which a cover stone or stones were placed at times. The head of these structures was broader than the foot both comprising of a

(1) Evans 1928b : 115

(2) Sieveking G. de G. 1956 : 79-83

(3) Evans 1928b : 119

(4) See ref. in footnote (2) page 30

slab or slabs of granite. The floor of the chamber, enclosed by the structure, was lined with granite slabs. The pieces of granite forming the sides of the structures were sometimes buttressed with river pebbles (Collings 1937 : 81) or small flakes of granite (1).

Though these stone slab structures have been identified as graves (2), no skeletal or human remains have as yet been obtained. Sieveking offered two possible explanations for the lack of human remains in that cremation took place before interment or that the graves had been disturbed (3).

Tulang Mawas hoards have been found in the States of Perak, Selangor, Pahang and Perlis (4), (see map 2). Most of these remains have not been found in association with other artifacts but, a few have been found together with pottery, bronze and stone remains (5). The pottery associated with these hoard remains appears to be of the Slim River or a related type. The stone objects, however, reflect a continuation of the Neolithic stone-working traditions into this period.

Isolated Tulang Mawas type iron remains have been recovered in the States of Selangor and Pahang (see map 2) (6). Most of these finds and the hoard remains have come from lowland or foothill riverine locations.

(1) See ref. in footnote (2) page 30

(2) Evans 1928b : 111-119

(3) Sieveking G. de G. 1959 : 200

(4) Loewenstein 1956 : 48-9

(5) Sieveking G. de G. 1956 : 109-111

(6) Sieveking G. de G. 1956 : 111-2

Chronological evidence for dating the Tulang Mawas remains and the stone slab structures at which they were found is lacking. Beck dated the carnelian beads from the Perak stone slab structures to around the 4th century A.D. He felt that the similarity of the beads from these structures with those found at Kuala Selinsing indicated that they were probably contemporary (1).

On the basis of a comparative study of the shape of the Perak stone slab structures and the Tulang Mawas implements, Beyer dated these structures to the late Iron Age or early "Porcelain Age" in the Philippines (i.e. a period between the 6th and the 11th century A.D.) (2).

Evans suggested an earlier date as round cornelian beads, which Beyer attributed to the early Iron Age period in the Philippines, were found at these structures. Besides this, he pointed out that glass and polyhedral stone beads associated with the late Iron Age in the Philippines were absent (3). However, since this statement such beads have been discovered (4).

Loewenstein, drawing a parallel with a dated Javanese dolmen-like tomb, put forth a 9th century date for these structures. He also mentioned a burial jar (Sung stoneware), dated to around the 10th century A.D., from Pengkalongan, Java, which contained four socketed axe-like tools, similar to certain Tulang Mawas implements (5).

(1) Collings 1937b: 91-3

(2) Evans 1929 : 189

(3) Evans 1929 : 191

(4) Collings 1937b: 91-3

(5) Loewenstein 1956 : 54,64, Fig. 32

The archaeological evidence appears to show that the Tulang Mawas remains and the stone-slab structures were contemporary with the Kuala Selinsing settlement (4th to the 11th century A.D.). However, when these implements and structures were first used and built, and their terminal dates cannot be determined on the present evidence.

There is no direct plant or animal evidence for the subsistence pattern of the Tulang Mawas users. However, the location of these sites in riverine lowland and foothill areas implies agricultural activities. Certain of these iron implements have been identified as agricultural tools, such as hoes or digging sticks and sickles (1). The latter suggests rice cultivation.

Whether the Tulang Mawas users were engaged in mining is not as yet clear. Evans, in his first report on the Perak stone slab structures, thought that they were very likely built by tin-miners (2). This interpretation appears to have been based on the presence of tin in the district. The accessibility to tin and gold deposits also caused Sieveking to state that the Tulang Mawas users were engaged in mineral exploitation (3).

There is no evidence of early gold or tin mining activities. However, if these minerals were exploited they were probably obtained in the alluvial form thus leaving no evidence of mining activities. Whilst it is possible that tin was mined, the total absence of gold remains indicates that gold was not worked. The possibility that

(1) Sieveking G. de G. 1956 : 101, 107

(2) Evans 1928b : 117

(3) Sieveking G. de G. 1956 : 124

tin was mined is evident from the bronze remains found in association with the Tulang Mawas implements. On analysis these bronze remains showed that they contained a high percentage of tin (1).

Suggestions have been made that the long-shafted iron axes were miners tools (2). However, other functions such as carpenters tools (3), ceremonial objects and even objects used as currency (4) have also been put forth for these implements.

In the past, the Perak stone slab structures were held to have been built by Indian settlers. Braddell associated these structures with Indian miners in search of gold (5). This is unlikely, as no gold remains have been found.

Winstedt held that there was a similarity between these Perak stone slab structures and the South Indian Iron Age cist graves. As the Indian cist graves are dated to an earlier period, Winstedt felt that this could point to an Indian origin for the Perak structures. He also mentioned that the Perak stone slab structures are located around the southern portion of the Perak valley which has yielded evidence of Buddhist remains. According to Winstedt, these Buddhist remains indicated the existence of an Indianised settlement in the Perak valley which was preceded by an earlier Indian visit, resulting in the building of the stone slab structures in Southern Perak (6).

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- (1) Loewenstein 1956 : 48-9
 - (2) Sieveking G. de G. 1956 : 101 footnote 44
 - (3) Sieveking G. de G. 1956 : 101 footnote 44
 - (4) Collings 1937b : 89
 - (5) Braddell 1939 : 147
 - (6) Winstedt 1941 : 95

Wales, however, disproved Winstedt's argument by pointing out that the Tulang Mawas iron implements, associated with the stone slab structures, are unknown in India. Secondly, no such implements have come to light in connection with the Indianised sites of North-western Malaya (1).

The only remains with an ultimate Indian origin, associated with the Perak structures, are beads. A number of these beads are, however, identical to Indian beads found at Kuala Selinsing (2) and can, therefore, be explained in terms of an internal trade with Kuala Selinsing rather than contact with India. It is possible that in return for beads the builders of the stone slab structures provided the Kuala Selinsing traders with tin which they mined locally. The presence of tin objects throughout the occupation deposit at Kuala Selinsing (3) supports the possibility of an internal tin trade between the two cultures.

As there is no evidence for a rudimentary iron industry in Malaya, it may be assumed that iron-working was introduced into the country. Both Loewenstein and Sieveking were of the opinion that these Tulang Mawas implements have affinities with the metal industries of Indo-China (4).

(1) Wales 1940 : 57

(2) Collings 1937b: 91-3

(3) Evans 1932a: 105

(4) Loewenstein 1956 : 60

Sieveking G. de G. 1956 : 115-22

CHAPTER III

Location and Distribution of the Indianised Remains.

Indianised remains have been found in the States of Perlis, Kedah/Province Wellesley and Perak.

Perlis.

The State of Perlis is a low lying region. Most of the land is below the 500 ft contour except for a small area in the North-west. The coastal areas are composed of quartzite and shales. Limestone outcrops occur, usually forming low hills not higher than 300 ft. This state is drained by the Sungei Perlis and its westward flowing tributaries.

The location of the Perlis sites, at which Indianised remains (Mahāyāna votive tablets) have been found, contrast with that of Kedah/Province Wellesley and Perak. In these latter areas, Indianised remains were present at open riverine or hill locations whilst the Perlis finds came from the sheltered cave sites of Gua Berhala and Gua Kurong Batang.

Gua Berhala is located in an extensive limestone outcrop about 2 miles to the North-west of Kangar (see map 3). The cave has a large entrance chamber, about 80 ft. deep and 40 ft. wide, which leads into a number of deep inner caves. The Indianised remains (Mahāyāna votive tablets) were only recovered in the entrance chamber of the site (1).

(1) Lamb 1964a : 50, 53.

The site of Gua Kurong Batang is a rock-shelter site, in a limestone outcrop, north of Kangar and to the east of Gua Berhala (see map 3). The length of the shelter is about 25 ft. and its depth at its widest point is 15 ft. The site is 50 ft. above ground level and the dry nature of its deposits indicates that it is well protected from the rain (1).

Apart from these sites, Mahāyāna votive tablets have not been found in any other of the Perlis caves or elsewhere in Malaya. This limited distribution appears to be of some significance (2).

Kedah/Province Wellesley.

Kedah and Province Wellesley also consist mainly of low-lying land below the 500 ft. contour. The coastal strip is built up of river alluvium which is swampy in parts, especially along the river estuaries. Directly inland from the coast the land is composed mainly of quartzite and shales. On the eastern border of Kedah the rock structure changes to granite and similar rocks (3). Limestone outcrops also occur throughout this area.

The mountain relief of Kedah consists of two ranges, the Western Range and the Bintang Range. The Western Range begins around Singgora in Thailand and runs through West Central Kedah with outliers at Gunong Jerai (Kedah Peak) and the hills around the Dindings. The Bintang Range stretches from Thailand to Bruas in Perak and runs through the eastern border of Kedah forming a mountainous landscape in contrast with the generally low-lying surrounding country (4).

(1) Lamb 1964a: 49

(2) See pages 45, 51

(3) Dobby 1950 : 89 fig. 27

(4) Dobby 1950 : 87-8

The drainage of Kedah and Province Wellesley is dominated by the Sungei Kedah and the Merbok-Muda rivers (see map 3). These rivers have their sources in the Western and Bintang Ranges and as they flow over a considerable area of low-lying land before reaching the coast, they tend to be slow-flowing and meandering.

The Indianised remains found here consist mainly of religious structures (see table 3) and associated finds. Geographical factors appear to influence the distribution of these sites. They are restricted mainly to the Merbok-Muda river system and are not more than 15 miles inland (see map 5). Some of the sites are located on hills (see table 2) and most of them are within visible distances of Gunong Jerai (Kedah Peak).

It is well known that mountains have a special significance in Hinduism and Buddhism (1). Possibly, the Merbok-Muda river system was selected as a suitable settlement area for not only did it offer easy access to the coast but also because it lies within the shadow of Gunong Jerai.

With the exception of the Kedah Peak site, which has an approximate height of 3,990 ft., no site is located above the 500 ft. contour (see map 3). A number of sites, however, occur on hills about 150 to 300 ft. high, located near rivers.

(1) Walker 1968 (vol. 2) : 82-5

The sacred and cosmic importance of mountains was originally a Hindu concept borrowed, like many other Hindu concepts, by the Buddhists.

It appears that the topography of the Kedah area has gone through certain changes between the period of Indianisation and modern times. For instance, the Sungei Kedah system, on which Alor Star, the present capital of Kedah is located, is of a recent origin. This system was formed by the confluence, in newly created lowlands, of several small streams which during the pre-Islamic Indianised phase would have run separately into the sea offering "neither safe anchorages or suitable agricultural land on their banks" (1). It is, therefore, not surprising that no sites are known to exist on this river system.

The archaeological and literary evidence suggests that an extension of the Kedah coastline has taken place over a considerable period of time. Collings, whilst examining cave deposits in Perlis, found at the Bukit Chuping caves, now located 11 miles from the sea, remains of a group of people utilising Neolithic artifacts, who exploited marine molluscs (2). As it would have been neither economical nor practical for these people to have travelled 11 miles to collect these molluscs, it seems only logical to conclude that Bukit Chuping was closer to the coast during this inhabitation than it is today. Furthermore, Collings pointed out that a distance of 11 miles was too great for the molluscs to be brought back to the caves in an edible condition (3).

(1) Wales 1940 : 2

(2) Collings 1937a: 111, 114

(3) Collings 1937a: 111

The Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa, an early Malay text which deals with the Kedah area (1), mainly during the period directly prior to the arrival of Islam (2), records that when Marong Mahawangsa (3) arrived at Kedah a large island called "Pulo Srai (or Sri)" was becoming attached to the mainland (4).

According to the text, Pulo Srai was subsequently named "Gunong Jerrei or Chirrei" (i.e. Gunong Jerai or Kedah Peak), on account of its height (5). Since Gunong Jerai is now located a few miles inland, it appears that an extension of the coastline has taken place.

This seaward extension of the coastline is further supported by statements by Marong Mahawangsa such as,

"Ever since I first formed this settlement the extent of the dry land has been prodigiously increasing" (6).

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- (1) See appendix 2 : 155-6
 - (2) The text ends with the conversion of the King of Kedah to the Islamic faith (see page 79).
 - (3) Low maintained that Marong Mahawangsa an ambassador of the King of Rum arrived in Kedah in 1284 A.D. However, there is no evidence to support this statement. (see pages 115-6)
 - (4) Low 1849 : 8
 - (5) Low 1849 : 169. See appendix 2 : 155-6
 - (6) Low 1849 : 164

And,

"Here have I had a son born to me and here has the sea become dry land" (1).

This evidence indicates that the present day locations of the Indianised sites are further inland than when these sites were occupied. Unfortunately, the lack of coastline studies in this area makes it impossible to determine the coastal extension which has taken place since the period of Indianised settlement.

The Indianised structural remains, which are exclusive to this area, may be classified into river-bank or riverine hill sites (see table 2), on the basis of location.

Most of the river-bank sites appear to be located above the flood level of the rivers. For instance, Kedah Site 18 is located on high ground on the right bank of the Sungei Bujang, Kedah Sites 21, 22 and 23 on the edge of a permantang (raised bank) on the left bank of the Bujang and Kedah Site 31 on a sandy permantang on the left bank of the Sungei Sempor (2). Certain sites, however, appear to have fallen within the flood-plain of the rivers. Kedah Site 19, for instance, was silted over by river sand whilst Kedah Site 6 was found partly eroded by an old river channel of the Sungei Bujang and Kedah Site 12 had its riverside wall eroded away (3). This is most probably due to changes taking place in the river courses subsequent to the building of these structures.

(1) Low 1849 :165

(2) Wales 1940 : 37, 40; Wales 1947 : 10

(3) Wales 1940 : 39, 17, 26

The riverine hill sites are on the whole better preserved as they are located well above the destructive activities of the rivers. It also appears that the more complex structures were built on hills, e.g. Kedah Site 8 (Sungei Batu Pahat temple) and Kedah Site 9 (Kedah Peak site) (1). Possibly, these sites had a special importance reflecting again the Hindu-Buddhist concept of the sacred nature of mountains (2).

An analysis of the river bank location of these sites shows that they occur both on the right and left banks of rivers. Some of the sites situated on the left bank have been classified as Hindu Śaivite temples e.g. Kedah Sites 7, 19 and 20 (see tables 2 and 3), thus contradicting Wales' statement that the Śaivite temples of this period were built exclusively on the right bank of rivers (3).

Perak.

Topographically, the State of Perak can be divided longitudinally from west to east beginning with a coastal strip, the Bintang Range, the Sungei Perak Valley and the Main Range respectively.

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- (1) The architectural evidence from Kedah Site 8 shows that this pillar based site is more complex than most of the other sites (Lamb 1960 : 17-60). Kedah Site 9 appears to have consisted of a number of structures probably forming a shrine complex (Evans 1927a : 105-110).
- (2) See page 39
- (3) Wales 1940 : 11

The coastal strip of Perak is made up of alluvial soils whilst the mountain ranges consist mainly of granite. In the Perak Valley, quartzite, shales and considerable limestone outcrops are found.

Perak is drained by the Sungei Perak and its tributaries. As the Sungei Perak flows in a confined area between two mountain ranges it tends to be more fast flowing than the meandering rivers of Kedah. Its tributaries being confined to narrow valleys also tend to be fast flowing.

The Indianised remains found in Perak are limited to the Sungei Perak Valley (see map 4). These remains consist of bronze sculptures, accidentally discovered during mining operations (see table 5). No structural evidence has as yet been discovered. This may be due to the destructive activities of the fast-flowing rivers of the Sungei Perak system. Besides this, these rivers are subject to flooding during the monsoon season. The effect of flooding and the changes in the course of monsoon swollen rivers would have contributed towards the destruction of ancient structures, had they existed on the banks of this river system (1).

However, if sites had been built on the banks of this river system such factors would have been taken into consideration. It is, therefore, possible that there was no Indianised settlement in the Perak Valley comparable to that at Kedah and Province Wellesley. The presence of Indianised sculptural remains would in this case have to be explained in terms of a contact between the inhabitants

(1) Wales 1940 : 48

of this area and an Indianised culture. The sporadic and dispersed distribution of the sculptural finds (see map 4) also supports the view that there were no Indianised settlements in the Perak Valley.

From the distribution and the nature of the finds it appears that the Indianised remains found in Perlis, Kedah/province Wellesley and Perak are basically unrelated.

No Indianised remains have as yet been discovered in the area between the Perlis finds and the Merbok-Muda river system. Besides this, the Mahāyāna tablets recovered at the Perlis caves are not known at the Indianised sites of Kedah and Province Wellesley. The Perlis tablets are, however, very similar to those found in Southern Thailand (1) which gives the impression that the Perlis cave sites were linked with this area rather than North-western Malaya.

Whether there was contact between the Indianised sites of the Merbok-Muda area and the Perak Valley is difficult to determine on the present evidence. There appears to have been no overland communication between the two areas as Indianised remains have not been found along the coast, which is the only feasible land communication route between the two areas. But, it is, possible that contact could have taken place via the sea.

(1) Coedès 1926 : 11-12

CHAPTER IV

A Functional Identification of the Indianised Sites.

Although Low did not attempt an individual functional identification (1) for the sites he discovered, he wrote,

"In all my numerous excursions in the jungles, I have discovered undoubted relics of a Hindu colony with ruins of temples." (2)

Subsequent identifications of the Indianised sites of North-western Malaya by Irby and Lefroy, Evans, Wales, Sullivan and Lamb indicate that the majority of these sites are either Hindu or Buddhist religious structures. (3).

A few sites, however, have been assigned non-religious functions. For instance, Wales identified three of his Kedah sites (Sites 11, 12, 18) as secular buildings and his Kedah Site 29 as a fort (4). Kedah Site 29 was subsequently excavated by Sullivan who supported its identification as a fort (5).

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- (1) Neither did Low name or give precise locations for any of his sites.
 - (2) Low 1849 : 481-2
 - (3) See table 3
 - (4) See table 3. Wales identified Kedah Site 29 as Kota Aur. However, this identification seems to be incorrect. (see table 1 footnote 2)
 - (5) Sullivan 1958 : 216
Sullivan refers to this site as Kampong Sireh

In contrast, there is almost a complete lack of evidence for Indianised settlement sites. The only published evidence for such a site comes from the hill site of Bukit Batu Lintang. Remains were found at the base of this hill which caused Sullivan to propose that an Indianised settlement existed here (1).

The area around Pengkalan Bujang was interpreted by Lamb to have served as a trading station (2). If this is so, settlements must have existed here but there is as yet no published evidence for this. Lamb's investigations in the vicinity of Kedah Site 29 (Kampong Sireh) also led him to suggest that this area perhaps also served as a trading station (3).

Most of the religious structures have been identified as either stūpas or Buddhist or Hindu shrines (4). Kedah Site 8 was, however, identified by Wales as a tomb temple. His identification was based on the two nine-chambered stone caskets found at this site, which are similar to those found in Javanese chandis or tomb temples (5). Lamb, who re-excavated this site referred to it as Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat in his excavation report (6). In the strictest usage of the term,

(1) Sullivan 1958 : 208, 212

(2) Lamb 1961 : 34

(3) Lamb 1961 : 20

(4) See table 3

(5) Wales 1940 : 20-1

(6) Lamb 1960 : 1-108

chāndi means tomb-temple (1). However, it has also been used loosely in Indonesia for any religious structure of the Hindu-Javanese period (2).

The Javanese chandi or tomb-temple has a deposit chamber in the centre of its sanctuary in which chambered caskets were deposited containing the ashes of a king or a royal person, together with gems and precious metals. On top of this deposit chamber was erected an image of the deceased in the form of a deity (3). Villages in which these chandis were built and, therefore, responsible for their maintenance were awarded charters exempting them from the payment of taxes (4). The Javanese chandis were also built of durable material as they were the means through which the ruling dynasty maintained magical contact with its ancestors, necessary for the power of the dynasty (5).

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- (1) Stutterheim wrote that the term chandi is derived from one of the names of the death-goddess Durgā. He pointed out that it could be an abbreviation of the Sanskrit word candigrha, the House of Durgā. (Stutterheim 1931 : 2)
- (2) Kempers 1959 : 21
- (3) Stutterheim 1931 : 1
- (4) Stutterheim 1956 : 67-8
- (5) Wales 1940 : 21

In Malaya, deposit containers have been found at Kedah Sites 8, 13, 14, 16 and 19 (1). A number of other sites appear to have deposit chambers which have had their contents robbed or destroyed. These chambers could have originally contained deposit containers.

However, as O'Connor pointed out,

"..... the presence of ritual boxes in a sanctuary does not itself indicate the practise of enshrining the ashes of dead kings as in Java" (2).

Such boxes or caskets are known in India and have been found in Ceylon and various parts of South-east Asia in non-funery religious contexts (3).

There is also no definite evidence that any of the Malayan caskets contained human remains. The gold disks present in the deposit caskets of the Sungei Batu Pahat temple (Kedah Site 8) were smeared with a dark brown tar-like organic substance which according to Lamb could have originated from "uncremated animal or human flesh" (4). This evidence is, however, insufficient to put forth a funery function for the site, though it must be pointed out that the central casket,

(1) Only at Kedah Sites 8 and 19 were nine-chambered stone caskets, similar to the Javanese types, found. The Sites 13 and 14 caskets comprise of earthenware jars and at Site 16 of a bronze bowl-like object (see page.121).

(2) O'Connor 1966 : 60

(3) See pages 122-5

(4) Lamb 1960 : 79

in which the human remains would normally have been placed, was not recovered.

No statues have been discovered at the Malayan sites, which could be associated with deified kings as in the Javanese chandis. At the Sungei Batu Pahat temple (Kedah Site 8) an image base and a Śiva trident were found (1), but these remains are insufficient to postulate the presence of a deified statue of a royal personage.

Besides this, unlike the Javanese chandis no charters have been obtained in association with any of these Malayan sites.

Collectively, the evidence from the Sungei Batu Pahat temple (Kedah Site 8), such as the presence of chambered deposit caskets, the possible deposition of human flesh in these caskets, the fragmentary image remains and the durable construction material (granite) employed (2) indicates the possibility of this site being a tomb-temple. However, there is as yet no definite evidence to identify the Sungei Batu Pahat temple or any other of these Malayan sites as chandis.

On the present evidence available, no definite functional identification may be made for the Perlis cave sites of Gua Kurong Batang and Gua Berhala at which Mahāyāna votive tablets were present.

(1) Wales 1940 : 20

(2) Lamb 1960 : 19

Gua Kurong Batang has yielded evidence of human occupation, however, Lamb and Medway are of the opinion that the human occupation remains here, represented by faunal and pottery remains, were deposited earlier and are unrelated to the votive tablets (1). No domestic occupation remains have been reported from Gua Berhala though it is possible that any evidence for this may have been destroyed by guano diggers.

The present evidence suggests that these caves were not settlement sites but were rather sacred places, which were visited by the people of the vicinity for religious purposes, resulting in the deposition of these tablets. The limited distribution of these tablets (2) also supports this interpretation.

(1) Lamb 1964a : 49

(2) See pages 37-8

CHAPTER V

The Indianised Culture of North-Western Malaya: an Archaeological Reconstruction.

In this chapter I will attempt to reconstruct the material culture, economy and the socio-religious practices of the Indianised community of North-western Malaya from archaeological evidence. Besides the usual archaeological limitations, such as the differential preservation of artifacts, this reconstruction is limited in that most of the sites excavated are religious sites. There would, therefore, be an absence of a number of artifacts which would have been used in the everyday economic and domestic life of these people. It is with this limitation in mind that the following reconstruction has to be considered.

Plant Materials.(a) Wood

From the archaeological evidence it appears that wood was an important building material used for the superstructure of a number of the Indianised sites. Stone pillar bases were found at some of these sites which would originally have supported timber pillars (1). Wood must have also been the primary material used in domestic architecture (2). The apparent absence of such structural remains may be attributed to this.

Agricultural tools and domestic utensils which have not survived in the archaeological record, may have been made or partly made out of wood.

(1) Lamb 1961 : 39-47

(2) The present day domestic architecture of this area is primarily based on wood.

The coal and charcoal pieces, found amongst the foundation deposits at Kedah Site 8 (1), indicate that these materials were employed for ritualistic purposes.

(b) Plant Fibres.

There is no evidence for basket-making or matting industries, but it is possible that these craft techniques were known (2). The discovery of two stone objects, interpreted as a "spindle weight" and a "bobbin" (3), implies the possibility of a weaving industry, which would have also employed perishable plant fibres.

Shell.

Evidence for the use of shell is scarce. An imported Chinese mother of pearl spoon with a porcelain handle was found at Kedah Site 18 (4). The deposit jars at Kedah Site 13 contained mollusc shells (5). It is, therefore, possible that these shells had a ritualistic significance.

(1) Lamb 1960 : 81-3

(2) At Kuala Selinsing a piece of pandanus matting was recovered. (see page 21)

(3) See page 54

(4) Wales 1940 : 38

(5) Wales 1940 : 29. Wales suggested that these shells could have been used as a substitute for the chank shell (*Turbinella rapa*), often used in Hindu rituals.

Stone.

Amongst the few stone tool remains were sharpening stones (Kedah Sites 4,5) (1), a chalcedony axe head (Sungei Batu Estate) (2), three "Hoabinhian" type axes (P.W. Site 1) (3) and a "Neolithic" type axe (Matang Pasir) (4). There is no evidence to associate the chalcedony axe head with the Indianised sites, besides its proximity to these sites. Evans, however, appeared to be of the opinion that this axe belonged to the pre-Indianised period (5), but again there is no evidence to support this. Stone handles into which blades were probably hafted and fragments of grinding stones (pipisan) were excavated at Pengkalan Bujang, together with a soft stone object with a central drilled perforation and a cylindrical stone object, identified by Lamb as a "spindle weight" and a "bobbin" respectively (6).

Stone was an important building material and techniques of cutting and dressing blocks of stone were known. Granite and laterite blocks, and river pebbles and boulders were utilised (7).

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- (1) Evans 1927a : 115
Wales 1940 : 15, 17
 - (2) Evans 1927a : 119
 - (3) Wales and Wales 1947 : 4-5
 - (4) Sullivan 1958 : 195
 - (5) Evans 1927a : 119
 - (6) Lamb 1961 : 28, 37
 - (7) See table 6

Most of the religious sculptures found in Kedah and Province Wellesley were fashioned out of stone (1). At Kedah Sites 8 and 19 stone compartmented ritual caskets were present which were deposited in these shrines as part of a complex cosmic ritual.

Stone beads were discovered at some of the Kedah sites (Sites 14, 16, 18 and Pengkalan Bujang) (3). At Kedah Site 14 these beads were part of the foundation deposits and probably had a ritualistic function. From the large number of beads obtained at the Pengkalan Bujang deposits it appears that beads were employed in a barter trade and were also probably used for decorative purposes.

A number of semi-precious and precious stones was obtained from the foundation deposits at Kedah Sites 8, 13, 14 and 16 (4). They probably had a symbolic ritualistic function such as the sacred nine gems (nava-ratnas) of the Hindus. Rough gem-stones were also excavated from the Pengkalan Bujang deposits (5).

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- (1) See table 4
 (2) See page 121
 (3) Wales 1940 : 32, 36, 38
 Lamb 1961 : 27
 (4) Wales 1940 : 19, 31, 32, 36
 Lamb 1960 : 79-85
 (5) Lamb 1961 : 28

A few stone inscriptions have been recovered, most of which are in Sanskrit and have a religious association (1). Besides this, a small carnelian seal with a sort of abstract calligraphic design and a small rectangular stone amulet inscribed with what could be Tamil letters were obtained at Penkalan Bujang (2).

Pottery.

Unfortunately, not enough information is available in the archaeological reports on the pottery recovered from these sites to facilitate a significant analysis (3). The present evidence indicates that some of the wares were locally manufactured whilst others were imported.

(1) Lamb 1963 : 75-82

(2) Lamb 1961 : 28, 36

(3) In their excavation reports Wales (1940) and Sullivan (1958) often refer to the local sherds as "wares". No information is given as to whether they fall into the earthenware or stoneware category and about the technique of manufacture.

The local wares tend to be coarse and range mainly from red, brown, grey to black in colour. A good proportion of these wares are plain, but a number of them are decorated (1). Though the decoration was simple, a variety of techniques such as impressing, stamping and paddling, ribbing, cord and comb marking were used.

An examination of a collection of earthenware sherds recovered from Pengkalan Bujang, held in the Muzium Negera, Kuala Lumpur, showed, that some of these sherds are very similar to those found at the Malayan Neolithic sites (see plates 1 and 2). Both these Pengkalan Bujang and Neolithic sherds are coarse in texture, badly fired and have simple paddled, incised or perhaps cord-marked decorations (2).

The local pottery appears to have had a two-fold function. First, it was employed for domestic purposes. At Pengkalan Bujang, Lamb discovered a large number of earthenware rims of shallow cooking bowls, still widely used in present day Malaya

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- (1) Evans 1927a : 118
 Wales 1940 : 7, 15-9, 25, 31-2, 37-9, 44-5
 Wales and Wales 1947 : 5, 7
 Sullivan 1958 : 195, 204, 210, 216
 Lamb 1961 : 25-6
- (2) See plates 1 and 2
 Lamb 1961 : plates 52-4

and India(1). Fragments of large jars were found which would most probably have had a domestic function (2). Remains of a kendi-type vessel or water-jug were found, possibly associated with Kedah Site 4 (3). Secondly, the local pottery was employed for ritualistic purposes. Earthenware jars and bowls were deposited under the floors of the platforms of some of the shrines (4).

Besides the local pottery, imported wares were obtained at these sites. Lamb was of the opinion that the crude earthenware remains could have originated from India (5), but this is unlikely for, perhaps apart from a few remains, most of the crude earthenware pottery would have been locally produced.

(1) Lamb 1961 : 25

(2) These fragments were found at Kedah Site 4 (Evans 1927 : 118 plate 27), Kedah Site 15 (Wales 1940 : 33 plate 56) and Kedah Site 16A (Wales and Wales 1947 : 7).

(3) Evans 1927a: 117-8. Fragments of this kendi were found on the ground surface about 100 yards away from the site. Evans was of the opinion that the kendi could have been associated with the Kedah Site 4 shrine. A kendi-type spout was found at Tikam Batu (Sullivan 1958 : 204). Similar spouts were also found at Pengkalan Bujang (Lamb 1961 : 26).

(4) Such deposits were found at Kedah Sites 13, 14 (Wales 1940 : 29, 31), P.W. Site I (Wales and Wales 1947 : 5).

(5) Lamb 1961 : 34

A variety of imported Chinese stone and porcellanous wares was present. Wales interpreted some of these sherds as belonging to the T'ang period (1), but, according to Lamb, a re-study of these sherds showed that few, if any, could be dated to before the 11th century. Most of the Chinese ceramics recovered belong to the Sung and Yüan dynasties, and consist mainly of celadons. Whether or not blue and white Chinese ceramics were associated with the Indianised sites is not as yet clear. At Kedah Site 29 (Kampong Sireh), Wales recorded finding Ming blue and white fragments dating from the 15th to the 16th century (2). However, Sullivan's subsequent excavation of this site only yielded 17th to 18th century blue and white fragments (3), by which time Islam had established itself in this area. Blue and white fragments were also present at Sullivan's Kota Aur, but from the evidence here it appears that this site falls into the early Islamic rather than the late Indianised period (4). No blue and white ceramic remains were uncovered at Pengkalan Bujang. It is, therefore, unlikely that these ceramics were traded before the 15th century as they would then certainly be represented in the Pengkalan Bujang deposits.

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- (1) Wales 1940 : 32-3
Wales and Wales 1947 : 5
- (2) Wales 1940 : 44
- (3) Sullivan 1958 : 216
- (4) See table 1 footnote 1

Celadon sherds, probably manufactured in Indo-China, were excavated at Pengkalan Bujang (1). A few fragments of Middle-Eastern ceramics were also obtained at this site. According to Lamb, these wares were not an export item of the Middle East, but rather brought to Malaya by Muslim merchants for their own use (2).

Other Clay Artifacts.

Bricks were employed at a number of sites as a building material and clay tiles used as roofing at Kedah Sites 18, 21, 22 and 23 (3).

Clay was also employed in the making of religious objects such as votive tablets which were either lightly fired or sun-dried (4). A Mahāyāna Buddhist inscription on a clay tablet and a weathered terracotta Ganeśa were recovered at Kedah Site 2 and 19 respectively (5).

Besides this, the Pengkalan Bujang deposits yielded a small terracotta human face identified by Lamb as part of a doll or a small finger puppet, earthenware beads and an "earthenware button" (6).

(1) Lamb 1961 : 26, 36

(2) Lamb 1961 : 24

(3) Wales 1940 : 37, 40 ; see table 6

(4) Lamb 1964a: 49, 53

(5) Wales 1940 : 8, 39

(6) Lamb 1961 : 36, 27-8

Metal.

The material evidence shows that the builders of these sites were well acquainted with the use of metal as copper, bronze, iron, gold and silver remains were present.

(a) Copper

Only a few copper objects have been found. These objects appear to have had a ritualistic function as they were part of the foundation deposits at Kedah Sites 8 and 16 (1).

(b) Bronze

A greater variety of bronze objects was obtained. A dagger blade (2) and a dagger hilt (3) were recovered from Pengkalan Bujang and Kedah Site 12 respectively. It is possible that, besides a practical function, these objects could also have had a ritualistic significance.

Bronze nails were employed in the construction of the Tikam Batu Site (Kedah Site 24) (4).

Most of the bronze objects recovered have a religious association. These remains consist of a few religious images and fragments thereof (5), a bowl used as a ritual deposit casket (Kedah Site 16) (6), remnants of bells presumably used in the shrines (Kedah Sites 4, 16 and possibly 18) (7), two

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- (1) Wales 1940 : 35
Lamb 1960 : 77-85
Low recorded finding a copper coin, most probably in the Kedah area. He also recorded finding more coins at an unnamed site, but failed to mention what they were made of (Low 1886 : 225-6).
- (2) Lamb 1961 : 37. According to Lamb, the shape of the guard recalls that of the Malay Keris.
- (3) Wales 1940 : 26
- (4) Sullivan 1958 : 204
- (5) See table 5
- (6) Wales 1940 : 35. Fragments of bronze bowls were also found at Kedah Sites 6, 12, 13 (Wales 1940 : 17, 26, 30) and Pengkalan Bujang (Lamb 1961 : 28).
- (7) Wales 1940 : 15, 36, 38

four-cornered lamps and a possible lamp suspensor (Kedah Site 16) (1) presumably for use in the shrine. Besides this, close to Kedah Site 4, a bronze object was discovered, which was initially identified by Wales to be the roof a miniature bronze shrine. However, Nilakanta Sastri felt that this object was the upper part of an incense burner (2).

Apart from these religious objects, a few other bronze remains such as rings (Kedah Sites 4, 13 and 14), coins (Kedah Site 18) and a couple of imported Chinese mirrors (Kedah Site 12) were found (3).

(c) Brass

Low claimed to have discovered a brass "ornamented dish" in the middle of the ruins in Province Wellesley (4). There is, however, no further record of this dish.

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- (1) Wales 1940 : 36. A "circular bronze cupola" was also obtained from this site, which, according to Wales, could either have been a lamp or an umbrella of an image.
- (2) Nilakanta Sastri 1949a: 18
- (3) Wales 1940 : 15, 30, 32; 38; 27-8
- (4) Low 1886 : 225

(d) Iron

Amongst the iron finds were remains of a few implements such as fragments of small knives, an arrow-head (Kedah Site 4), a sword fragment (Kedah Site 11), dagger blade (Kedah Site 12) and a hafted unidentified iron implement (Kedah Site 19) (1).

Iron nails were used in the construction of Kedah Sites 1, 4, 5, 8, 11, 18, 19 and 24 and Bukit Batu Lintang (2). Besides this, iron pins and other fittings (Kedah Site 24) (3), a rusted iron ring, with part of a wall staple attached to it, and a piece of rusted iron tubing (Kedah Site 16) (4) were used in the construction of Kedah Sites 24 (Tikam Batu) and 16.

A few of the iron objects appear to have had a ritualistic function. The ladles from Kedah Site 19 and Matang Pasir were probably used for pouring holy water in a ritual (5). At Bukit Batu Lintang, fragments of a very large bowl were excavated (6), but whether this bowl had a domestic or a ritualistic function is not known. Stuck to the bottom of the Kedah Site 16 deposit casket was a large shapeless mass of corroded iron, which, according to Wales, possibly had represented an animal, most likely an elephant (7). At Kedah Site 2, a corroded iron cone was found, which, Wales felt, may have been a finial either of a stūpa or of an inner reliquary (casket) (8).

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- (1) Wales 1940 : 15, 26, 39, 40
 (2) Wales 1940 : 7, 15, 17, 19, 26, 38-9
 Sullivan 1958 : 204, 211
 (3) Sullivan 1958 : 204
 (4) Wales 1940 : 36
 (5) Wales 1940 : 39
 Sullivan 1958 : 195
 (6) Sullivan 1958 : 211
 (7) Wales 1940 : 35
 (8) Wales 1940 : 10

Precious metals such as silver and gold were used mainly for ritual objects which formed part of the foundation deposits present at some of these sites.

(e) Silver

The foundation deposits at Kedah Sites 8, 13, 14 and 16 contained silver objects (1). At Pengkalan Bujang Lamb obtained a fragment of corroded silver which, for reasons he did not make clear, he identified as a lid of a snuff-box (2).

(f) Gold

Gold remains were present in the foundation deposits at Kedah Sites 2, 8, 10, 13 and 16 (3). Besides this, a thick gold-leaf square (4) and fragments of crumpled gold foil (5) were found at Province Wellesley Site 1 and at Pengkalan Bujang respectively. These gold remains were probably also originally part of foundation deposits.

A gold-copper alloy fish-hook (6) and a glass stone set in gold were excavated at Pengkalan Bujang and Kedah Site 24 (Tikam Batu) respectively.

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- (1) Wales 1940 : 19, 23, 31, 32, 36
Lamb 1960 : 83-5
- (2) Lamb 1961 : 28
- (3) Wales 1940 : 10, 23, 31, 35-6
Lamb 1960 : 80-5
- (4) Wales and Wales 1947 : 5
- (5) Lamb 1961 : 28
- (6) Lamb 1961 : 35
- (7) Sullivan 1958 : 205

Glass

These sites have produced a variety of glass remains. Glass fragments, including bases of vessels, were present at Kedah Sites 4, 6, 11, 15, 18 and at Pengkalan Bujang (1), whilst fragments of Arabian glass lamps were obtained from Kedah Sites 11 and 18 (2). Besides this, glass beads were recovered from the foundation deposits of Kedah Sites 13 and 16, and Province Wellesley Site 1. Glass beads have also been found at Kedah Site 15 and at Pengkalan Bujang (3). Apart from being used for ritualistic purposes these beads were probably worn as ornaments.

Also found were other decorative glass ornaments such as a pink glass jewel set in gold (Tikam Batu) (4), bangles and finger-rings (Pengkalan Bujang) (5).

Enamel

A semi-cylindrical enamel object, interpreted by Sullivan to be part of a pendant or a handle of a dagger, or ritual object, was excavated at Tikam Batu (6).

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- (1) Wales 1940 : 15, 17, 25, 35, 38
Lamb 1961 : 26-7
- (2) Wales 1940 : 25, 38-9
- (3) Wales 1940 : 30, 34, 36
Wales and Wales 1947 : 5
Lamb 1961 : 27
- (4) Sullivan 1958 : 205
- (5) Lamb 1961 : 28
- (6) Sullivan 1958 : 205

From the material evidence discussed above it appears that wood-working was a developed craft as the presence of stone pillar bases indicates that timber pillars were used for the superstructure of some of these sites. There is no evidence for basket-making or matting and whether weaving was practised is not clear. However, this lack of evidence may be due to the perishable nature of the materials used in these crafts.

There is no evidence for a local shell industry.

Stone-working was a developed industry. Besides flaking, chipping and grinding, techniques of cutting and dressing stone into blocks, and of sculpturing stone were known. The material out of which most of the stone beads were made suggests that they were imported. Most of the gem-stones found were also not locally known and, therefore, would have been imported.

A coarse type of pottery present at these sites, some of which similar to the Malayan Neolithic wares (1), indicates that there was a local pottery industry. Besides this imported wares from China, Indo-China, the Middle East and perhaps India were present. There is a lack of information as to whether the clay bricks, tiles and terracotta sculptures found were of a local manufacture or if they were imported. No kilns have been discovered associated with these sites, but it is highly possible that an open fire was used for firing.

Metals were worked locally though certain artifacts were definitely imported. A lump of copper slag and a lump of almost pure copper (probably connected with bronze-working)

(1) See page 57

obtained at Kedah Site 8 (Sungei Batu Pahat temple) proves that copper was locally worked (1). At Bukit Batu Lintang, bronze droplets were scattered over the site, which Lamb held, were the result of the melting of one or more bronze objects in a fire (2). According to Treloar, fragments of copper slag, lumps of cast copper and fragments of copper and gold foil, recovered at Pengkalan Bujang, indicate the presence of "an extensive metal working industry" here (3).

Whilst this evidence supports a local manufacture for some of the metal artifacts, it is not as yet clear as to whether the local metal-working industry was sufficiently developed to have produced the bronze sculptural remains associated with some of these sites (4).

Architecture.

With the exception of Kedah Site 8 (Sungei Batu Pahat temple) (5), the information on the architecture of these sites is insufficient to allow a meaningful description or classification of these sites into architectural styles. However, from the evidence at hand, certain architectural features may be noted

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- (1) Lamb 1960 : 82-3
 - (2) Sullivan 1958 : 208, 211
 - (3) Treloar in press
 - (4) See table 5
 - (5) Lamb 1960 : 17-60

First, a variety of building materials such as stone (granite, laterite and river-boulders), bricks and wood were used at most of the sites (1).

Secondly, the plan of the majority of these shrine sites consists of a rectangular or square platform which represents the sanctuary. At certain sites additional structures were associated or attached to these platforms. Such structures were present at Kedah Sites 4, 5, 8 and 31 (Matang Pasir) and have been identified as mandapams or halls (2). Some of these sites (Kedah Sites 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11 and 12) were enclosed by a wall (3).

Thirdly, stone pillar bases, which would have originally supported wooden posts, were found at a number of sites (4). This evidence shows that these sites would have had a wooden superstructure.

Fourthly, the architecture at these sites tends to be simple and lacking in wall ornamentation.

(1) See table 6

(2) Wales 1940 : 11-2, 16, 18-9, see figs. 4, 5, 7
 Lamb 1960 : 17, see fig. 4
 Lamb 1961 : 12-5, see fig. 3

(3) Wales 1940 : 11, 16-8, 22, 25-6, see figs. 4-6, 8-9

(4) Lamb 1961 : 39

Fifthly, an interesting architectural feature present at some of these sites is the way in which river boulders were employed. River boulders were often used as foundation material. However, at a few sites, inspite of the availability of granite, laterite and bricks as building material, river boulders were made use of for wall construction. The enclosure wall at Kedah Site 8 (Sungei Batu Pahat temple) consisted of river boulders on a foundation of dressed granite (1). Besides this, river boulder enclosure walls were present at Kedah Sites 4, 5, 6, 10, 11 and 12). According to Lamb, this use of river boulders could imply a possible relationship with certain Megalithic structures in Sumatra and Java (3). River pebbles were also utilized in the construction of the stone slab structures of Perak (4). It is, therefore, possible that the use of river boulders at some of these sites reflects an architectural hang-over from the earlier Megalithic cultures of the area.

(1) Lamb 1960 : 98

(2) See page 68 footnote 2

(3) Lamb 1960 : 99

(4) See page 32

Economy.

(a) Subsistence

Little is known about the subsistence economy of these people as hardly any plant or animal remains have been found at these sites.

Aniseed remains were recovered at Kedah Site 8 (1). Apart from this, no plant remains are known.

From the material evidence, it appears, that these people were agriculturalists as, at Kedah Site 16, a miniature plough-share and a yoke were present in the foundation deposit (2). Although there is no direct archaeological evidence, it is highly probably that these people cultivated rice, since the plough was not unknown to them and, furthermore, rice was grown in Thailand and Indonesia by this period.

The modern agricultural pattern of the village of Pengkalan Bujang is wet rice cultivation (3), supplemented by secondary subsistence crops such as the coconut palm, pineapple and bananas (4). These crops could have been cultivated by the builders of these sites, but there is as yet no evidence for that.

There is also an absence of information concerning the exploitation of domestic animals. The only bone remains, mentioned in the published material, are the few unidentified fragments from Pengkalan Bujang (5).

(1) Lamb 1960 : 80

(2) Wales 1940 : 36

(3) Kedah and Province Wellesley are great rice-producing areas today. But, these extensive rice-fields are of recent creation.

(4) According to a local informant, hardly any vegetables and fruit trees (excluding the coconut palm and the banana plant) are grown, as the soil is not suitable for such cultivation.

(5) Lamb 1961 : 28 footnote 4

The fish-hook discovered at Pengkalan Bujang (1) and the riverine location of these sites imply that fishing was carried out.

Whether the diet of these people was supplemented by hunting and food-gathering is not known, but it is very likely that it was.

(b) Commerce

According to Lamb, Pengkalan Bujang was an entreport which acted "either as a terminus of a trans-isthmian trade route or as a meeting place for ships from countries lying on both sides of the Peninsula" (2). He pointed out that the mixture of Chinese, Indo-Chinese, Middle-Eastern and, perhaps, Indian remains indicate this (3).

Local products too, appear to have been exported through Pengkalan Bujang. These would have mainly consisted of jungle products. Some fragments of unprocessed dammar gum, of a type common to Malaya and Borneo, were found at Pengkalan Bujang (4). As there is evidence that dammar gum was imported into Sung China (5), this further shows that this region was directly, or indirectly, involved in trade with China.

The economic significance of the Pengkalan Bujang trade is reflected by the increase in the number of sites in the Merbok area, between the end of the 11th and the 14th century A.D. (6).

(1) See page 64

(2) Lamb 1961 : 34

(3) Lamb 1961 : 33-4

(4) Lamb 1961 : 36

(5) Wheatley 1959 : 92

(6) See page 113

Religion

The sculptural remains, inscriptions, foundation deposits (1) and architecture of these sites show beyond doubt that at least a certain proportion of the inhabitants practised Hinduism or Buddhism, or a combined form of the two religions.

Sculptural remains of Śiva liṅgas, tridents, Durgā (consort of Śiva), Ganeśa (son of Śiva), Nandi (Śiva's vahan or vehicle) and snāna-dronīs (yonī) (2), all point out the existence of a Siva cult (3). Besides this, present amidst the Kedah Site 8 and Site 16 foundation deposits were silver images of bulls (nandis), whilst at Kedah Site 8 gold foil liṅgas were deposited (4).

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- (1) The burial of objects underneath a shrine is a Hindu ritual associated with complex cosmological ideas (See page 122). The enshrinement of relics, either of Buddha or a close disciple, was originally the main purpose of a stūpa. These relics could be placed either within the harmikā (pedestal) of the stūpa or deposited just under it (Walker 1968 vol. 2 : 437).
- (2) See page 4 footnote 3
- (3) See tables 4, 5 and pages 4-5
- (4) Wales 1940 : 35
Lamb 1960 : 83-6

Lamb was of the opinion that certain associations with Vishṇu were also prevalent at Kedah Site 8. Here, in all the caskets recovered with foundation deposits, except the West and South-west caskets, a copper turtle was placed in-between a sliver square with "cosmic" symbols and a copper lotus flower. This, according to Lamb, could have represented the story of Vishṇu churning the Milk - Ocean (1), the turtle representing Kūrma and the lotus flower, a symbol indicative of Vishṇu (2).

The practice of, or contact with, Mahāyāna Buddhism is indicated by the bronze Avalokiteśvaras found in Perak (3) and by the Perlis votive tablets. These tablets, from Gua Kurong Batang and Gua Berhala, have stamped impressions of Bodhisattvas, sometimes identified as Avalokiteśvara, and are often inscribed with the "ye dharmma" Buddhist formula (4). Besides this, the Kedah Site 2 inscription is

(1) The churning of the Milk - Ocean is one of the great events recorded in Hindu mythology, of the struggle between the gods and the demons, during which Vishṇu assumed the avatār or incarnation, of the tortoise (turtle) Kūrma.

(2) Lamb 1960 : 86-7, 89

(3) See table 5

(4) Lamb 1964 : 50, 53-4

believed to be definitely Mahāyānist, whilst the Kedah Site 10 discs appear to pertain to this school (1). The evidence implies that Tantric Mahāyānist cults were also practised. According to Callenfels, certain aspects of the Bidor Bodhisattva, such as its eight arms, the strangling noose in the second left hand and complicated mudrās, were Tantric in form (2). Lamb wrote that the presence of golden seated female figures amongst the Kedah Site 8 deposits "very strongly suggests some Tantric concept of the eight Great Mothers or the like" (3).

There is no definite evidence for the practice of Hīnayāna Buddhism. Wales assigned his Kedah Sites 1, 2 and 3 to a period, when both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism were practised. The evidence cited for this was the Kedah Site 2 inscription and the two "Gupta" style Buddha images from the Kinta Valley (4). Wales classified these "Gupta" style Buddha bronzes, from Pengkalan and Tanjong Rambutan, as belonging to the Hīnayāna school. In this classification he

(1) Lamb 1963 : 80-2

(2) Callenfels 1939 : 177-8

(3) Lamb 1960 : 88

(4) Wales 1940 : 68-9

also included a bronze Buddha throne discovered at Pengkalan (1). He did not, however, state what iconographical features of these bronzes led him to classify them as Hīnayāna bronzes (2). Secondly, the Pengkalan Buddha was studied by Callenfels and its photograph examined by Coedès and Bosch. None of these scholars made any comment as to whether this Buddha belongs to the Hīnayāna school (3).

Thirdly, if this bronze is of a Śrīvijayan type, as held by Callenfels and Bosch (4), it is likely to have been the product of a Mahāyānist inspiration.

The relationship between Hindu and Buddhist practices is not as yet clear. Low felt that there was a period in Malaya, when Hinduism and Buddhism were practised together until Buddhism was discarded (5).

According to Wales, there was an early Buddhist occupation of the area, when Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished (300-550 A.D.). This was followed by a Hindu period (550-750 A.D.), which in turn was

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- (1) Wales 1940 : 50
 - (2) During consultations with members of the Buddhist Department, A.N.U., I was informed that there is no iconographical basis on which these bronzes can be classified into either the Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna school.
 - (3) Evans 1932b : 135-6
 - (4) Evans 1932b : 135
 - (5) Low 1886 : 225

succeeded by a Mahāyānist Buddhist revival (750-900 A.D.) (1). This periodisation of Buddhism and Hinduism no longer holds good as it seems that most of Wales' dates for the Indianised sites, especially his earlier sites, cannot be accepted (2).

Lamb's excavation of Kedah Site 8 showed that a fused form of Hinduism and Buddhism existed, as both Hindu (Śaivite and Vaishnavite) and Buddhist elements were present here (3). Whether this is unique to this site or a fused form of Hinduism and Buddhism was generally practised by these people is a matter to be researched into.

(1) Wales 1940 : 68-73

(2) See pages 85-110

(3) See pages 72-3

CHAPTER VI

The Chronology of the Indianised Culture.Part I: Views on the Date of Origin and Decline.

The earliest chronological statement on the origin of the Indianised culture of North-western Malaya was made by Low who wrote,

"..... I have satisfied myself that Sivaic worship prevailed on this coast somewhere about the thirteenth century, " (1).

In his translation of the Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa, Low attributed the formation of a Hindu settlement in Kedah, to the arrival of Marong Mahawangsa, for which he assigned a date of around 1284 A.D., though no date is mentioned in the text (2).

Low, however, was of the opinion that a Buddhist colony preceded the Hindu settlement here (3), thus suggesting an earlier date than the 13th century for the first Indianised occupation of the area.

Winstedt wrote that by the 4th century A.D. North-western Malaya had come under either Indianised influences or settlement (4). This view was based on the three inscriptions found by Low, dated to the 4th or 5th century A.D. by Kern and Chhabra (5).

Wales, who excavated and dated most of the Malayan Indianised sites, held that, by the 4th to 6th century A.D., Indianised settlements were established in Kedah and the Kinta Valley. As evidence, he cited the Kedah Site 1 and 2 inscriptions and the two "Gupta" style Buddhist images found in the Kinta Valley,

(1) Low 1886 : 225

(2) Low 1849 : 11, 486

(3) Low 1886 : 221

(4) Winstedt 1935 : 19

(5) See pages 110-1

Perak (1). In a recent article (2), Wales further attempted to prove the existence of a Buddhist settlement in this area, between the 5th and 6th century A.D., on the basis of inscriptions and sculptural remains. Using the same evidence other writers on this period, such as Majumdar and Sullivan, have put forth a 4th or a 5th century date (3).

Lamb writing in 1961, dated his second phase of the Indianisation of Kedah to the early 7th century (4). His first phase, which he referred to as the "Early Buddhist Phase" but did not date, would, therefore, have taken place before the 7th century. However, in 1972, Lamb, taking into account the new dates proposed for the Malayan inscriptions (5), expressed doubts as to the possibility of Indianised settlement here prior to the 7th century A.D. (6).

It is generally held that the arrival of Islam in North-west Malaya brought about the end of the Hindu/Buddhist phase (7). This is most likely as there is no literary, ethnological or archaeological evidence for any other cultural occupation of this area intervening between the Hindu/Buddhist phase and the Muslim conversion.

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- (1) Wales 1940 : 68-9
 - (2) Wales 1970 : 1-33
 - (3) Majumdar 1944 : 16
Sullivan 1958 ; 189
 - (4) Lamb 1961 : 78-9
 - (5) See pages 86-7
 - (6) Lamb 1962 : 67-8
 - (7) Sullivan 1958 : 190
Lamb 1961 : 86

There appears to be a discrepancy as to when Islam was first introduced to Kedah. According to Low, the conversion of Kedah took place around 1501 A.D. The Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa describes the conversion of Pra-Ong Mahawangsa, the ruler, and the people of Kedah by Sheikh Abdullah (1). No date is mentioned in the Hikayat for these conversions, but according to Low, Achinese Annals mention that Sheikh Abdullah arrived in Kedah around 1501 A.D. (2). Winstedt, however, also using Achinese sources, dated this conversion to 1474 A.D. (3). This date was also adopted by Wales (4). Although no definite date can be established, the above evidence supports a late 15th or an early 16th century date for the arrival of Islam in Kedah.

The archaeological remains also indicate that the Hindu/Buddhist occupation of this area declined with the Islamic conversion which took place around the late 15th or early 16th century A.D. For instance, no Hindu or Buddhist shrine site, dated to beyond the 15th century, has been found (5).

Besides this, there is evidence for the destruction of Hindu/Buddhist shrines and associated remains, which may be attributed to the Muslim converts. According to Wales and Lamb, the removal of the foundation deposits at Kedah Sites

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- (1) Low 1849 : 475
 - (2) Low 1849 : 480
 - (3) Winstedt 1936 : 156
 - (4) Wales 1940 : 81
 - (5) See page 133

3, 9 and 15 could be attributed to "treasure-seekers" (1). However, there is other evidence of deliberate destruction which could only be attributed to the Muslim converts such as the deliberate mutilation of Hindu/Buddhist images (2). Religious objects were found scattered around sites (3), which were probably removed from the shrines and hurled into the surrounding jungle. There is also evidence for the general destruction of some of these sites which cannot be associated with treasure-seeking (4).

Besides this, the Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa records that the Muslim converts burnt images (most probably Hindu or Buddhist) soon after their conversion (5).

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- (1) Wales 1940 : 18, 22, 33
Lamb 1960 : 29
- (2) Low mentioned coming across "mutilated images" in his explorations in Kedah (Low 1849 : 482). A mutilated granite Nandi was found near Kedah Site 4. Evans observed that it was probably destroyed deliberately by the Malay converts to Islam, as granite is not easily broken unless considerable force is used and since the breakages appeared old (Evans 1927a : 113). Fragments of destroyed images were also found at Kedah Sites 8, 16 and 19 (Wales 1940 : 20, 36, 39,) and at Bukit Batu Lintang (Sullivan 1958 : 211-2).
- (3) A mutilated Nandi head, a Durgā and Ganeśa sculpture, and a snāna-dronī were found lying loose in the Sungei Batu Estate near Kedah Site 4 (Evans 1927a : 113-8). Stone caskets were found hurled out of the sanctuary at Kedah Sites 8 and 19 (Wales 1940 : 20, 40).
- (4) Kedah Sites 9 (Irby 1905 : 77) and 24 (Wales 1940 : 41).
- (5) Low 1849 : 476

From the above discussion, it, therefore, appears that the decline of the Hindu/Buddhist culture took place with the arrival of Islam in the late 15th, early 16th century A.D.

A contrary view was, however, expressed by Wheatley, who was, of the, opinion that by the end of the 11th century A.D. the zenith of Kedah's prosperity had passed. He wrote,

"Precisely when this decline set in it [Kedah] is difficult to say but it may well date from the great raid of Rājendra I" (1).

This view was also expressed by Sullivan who stated that, "In 1025-1030 Kedah suffered severely when the Chola King Rajendra I attacked the Empire of Srivijaya. Kataha [Kedah] never recovered" (2).

This view is based on the identification of the Kingdom of Kadāram, mentioned in a Chola inscription on the walls of the Rajarajesvara temple, Tanjore, with the area known today as Kedah.

This inscription records a campaign carried out by Rājendra Chola against Kadāram and a number of other kingdoms. A translation of the relevant portions of this inscription, alluding to Kadāram, is as follows,

(1) Wheatley 1961 : 281

(2) Sullivan 1958 : 190. Katāha and Kadāram have both been equated with Kedah by Sullivan.

"..... [Rājendra] having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Sangrāma-vijayōt-tunga-varman, the king of Kadāram, together with the elephants in his glorious army, (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; (captured) with noise the (arch called) Vidyādharatōraṇa at the "war-gate" of his extensive city;"

and defeated

"..... Kadaram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep sea" (1).

Coedès, in his article, Le Royaume de Śrīvijaya, established that the Choḷa raid, recorded in this inscription, was directed against the Śrīvijayan Empire (2). He also located Kadāram in the vicinity of modern Kedah (3). This location was supported by Braddell who went to great lengths to show that the archaeological remains at the foot of Kedah Peak represented the Kingdom of Kadāram (4).

Whilst it is now generally accepted that this raid by Rājendra was directed against the Śrīvijayan Empire (5), there is disagreement about the location of Kadāram.

(1) Nilakanta Sastri 1955 : 211-2

(2) Coedès 1918 : 1-36

(3) Coedès 1918 : 22

(4) Braddell 1950 : 33

(5) In 1891, Hultzsch suggested that this raid took place in the southern districts of the Madras Presidency. In 1903, he wrote that Kadāram was located in Farther India and was of the opinion that Rājendra's expedition was directed against the Kingdom of Pegu in Burma (Nilakanta Sastri 1955 : 213).

Moens located Kadāram at the southern eastern tip of the Malay Peninsula, on the Johore River (1). According to Nilakanta Sastri, there is no basis for placing Kadāram either in South Malaya or in Kedah (2).

The present archaeological evidence also does not support the location of Kadāram in modern Kedah. First, the description of Kadāram, as recorded in the Chola inscription, does not tally with the remains found in Kedah. There are no remains indicating a gateway leading into the city or the existence of an extensive city (3).

Secondly, there are no signs of destruction taking place in the 12th century A.D. by the Cholas. Mutilated images and plundered temples were found, but this destruction was most probably carried out by the Muslim converts and perhaps looters (4). For, it is highly unlikely that the Chola King, being a Hindu, would have attacked Hindu images and temples in such a manner.

Thirdly, the Chola inscription at Tanjore records the use of elephants for military purposes by the King of Kadāram (5). Elephants are not native to North-western Malaya and there is no evidence for their use in a military capacity in the past here.

(1) Moens 1940 : 97

(2) Nilakanta Sastri 1938 : 145-6

(3) See page 82

(4) See page 80

(5) See page 82

Besides there being no evidence to show that the 12th century Chola raid against Kadāram took place in Kedah, the archaeological remains indicate that,

"..... the Pengkalan Bujang phase marks the greatest commercial activity on the part of ancient Kedah up to that time. This period was after the age of the great Cola raid into South East Asia"(1).

A chronological analysis of the Kedah sites shows that the majority of these sites fall between the 11th and 14th century period (2). The 11th and the 12th centuries were, therefore, a period of development and not decline as put forth by Wheatley and Sullivan.

(1) Lamb 1961 : 83

(2) See page 113

Part II: An Examination of the Chronological Evidence.

Though textual evidence such as the Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa and the Achinese Annals have contributed towards the understanding of the date of decline of the Indianised culture, the chronological information regarding the origin and development of this culture remains solely archaeological.

An Examination of the Chronological Evidence from the Indianised Sites.

In this section I will attempt a site by site critical analysis of the archaeological evidence used to date the Indianised sites and, where necessary and possible, to suggest alternative dates for these sites.

The majority of the Indianised sites have been excavated and dated by Wales, however, the evidence used is limited by a number of points.

First, Wales has made use of inscriptions and sculptures, which are portable, to date the structures with which they are associated. However, these objects could have antedated the structure by several centuries and then deposited there or they could have been votive objects placed in the "shrine" sometime after it was constructed (1).

Secondly, the inscriptions used by Wales to date certain sites (see below: Kedah Sites 1, 2 and 10) face another limitation. De Casparis has pointed that it is possible that these inscriptions could have been copied from existing manuscripts of some antiquity thus introducing archaic epigraphic forms into the inscriptions (2).

(1) Lamb 1961 : 85

(2) de Casparis 1956 : 104

Thirdly, inspite of insufficient architectural evidence Wales has dated some of his sites by their structural similarity with "dated sites". Very often the "dated" structure, to which the parallel is drawn, is in itself dated on evidence which is not convincing.

Fourthly, it appears that artifacts such as the "bronze shrine roof" and some of the Chinese ceramics (T'ang sherds), used as chronological evidence, have been misinterpreted (1).

And fifthly, Wales' dating of sites according to the size of the bricks used does not seem to hold good (2).

Kedah Site 1.

Wales dated Kedah Site 1 to the 4th century A.D. on the basis of epigraphical evidence and the architectural simplicity of the structure (3).

By studying the form of the c, g, and m letters in the inscription found at Kedah Site 1, Allan dated this site to not later than the second half of the 4th century A.D. (4). This date was accepted by Wales. However, this inscription was recently re-examined by de Casparis who was of the opinion that the form of the va and na letters indicated that it could be dated to around the 9th century A.D. (5). Bosch also felt that the "slovenly scratched" script of this inscription was similar to that used in 8th or 9th century Java (6).

(1) See pages 89-90, 96-7

(2) See appendix 1 : 152-4

(3) Wales 1940 : 7. This is the earliest date assigned by Wales for a Kedah structure.

(4) Wales 1940 : 7

(5) Bosch 1961 : 490 footnote 6

(6) Bosch 1961 : 489 footnote 6

According to Wales, Kedah Site 1 is similar architecturally to the P'ong Tūk platform, dated to the 6th or 7th century A.D. He was, however, of the opinion that the greater simplicity of the Kedah platform suggested an earlier date for this site (1).

But, a greater simplicity in architectural style does not necessarily imply an earlier date, especially since the sites in question occur in two distinct geographical areas. For instance, the simplicity of Kedah Site 1 could be explained in terms of construction by less skilled builders. It must also be pointed out that this site does not appear to be simpler in architectural style than a number of other Kedah sites for which later dates have been assigned.

The evidence, therefore, is not sufficient to date Kedah Site 1 to the 4th century A.D.

Kedah Site 2.

From epigraphical evidence Wales dated Kedah Site 2 to not later than the 6th century A.D. (2).

An inscription (Kedah Site 2 inscription) found at this site was dated by Chakravarti to the early 6th century A.D. This date was accepted by Wales (3). De Casparis was, however, of the opinion that this date might be too early and by comparing this inscription with certain Indonesian inscriptions felt that the "first half of the 7th century [is] the most probable conjecture" (4).

(1) Wales 1940 : 6

(2) Wales 1940 : 10

(3) Wales 1940 : 9

(4) de Casparis 1956 : 104 footnote 190

There is, therefore, no evidence to support a date of not later than the 6th century A.D. for this site.

Kedah Site 3.

Wales dated Kedah Site 3 to the 5th or 6th century A.D. using the stratigraphy of the site as evidence (1).

According to Wales, who carried out the excavation, the base of the laterite structure of Site 3 was "of a considerably greater depth" than Site 11. Wales dated Site 11 to between the 8th and 9th century (2) and by extrapolation from this date arrived at the 5th or 6th century date for Site 3.

However, the manner in which Wales used this stratigraphical data throws doubts on his conclusion. No observations on the gradient of the land was noted which could have explained the difference in the occupation depth between Sites 3 and 11 in terms of differential erosion and deposition.

According to Wales, the difference in depth between the occupation deposits of Sites 3 and 11 was about 1ft. to 1ft. 6ins. Even if this difference is chronologically significant, which is unlikely, Wales did not explain why this difference represents a period of between 200 to 400 years.

Besides this, Kedah Site 11 is by no means convincingly dated (3). It must also be pointed out that the proximity of Kedah Site 3 to Site 11, the former being only 15ft. to the south of the latter, implies that perhaps they should be treated as related structures belonging to the same period.

There is, therefore, no evidence to support a 5th or 6th century date for this site.

(1) Wales 1940 : 10

(2) See page 96

(3) See pages 96-7

Kedah Site 4.

Wales assigned Kedah Site 4 to the 6th or 7th century A.D. He cited as evidence the miniature "bronze shrine roof" and the sculptural remains found here (1).

Wales maintained that the object which he identified as a miniature "bronze shrine roof" reflected the architecture of the site (2). He was of the opinion that this object closely resembled the waggon-roof of the Pallava period Bhima and Ganeśa rathas found at Mahābālipuram (3). Presumably, it was this resemblance and the simplicity of style of the "shrine roof" which made him put forth a 6th or 7th century date for the site (4).

However, the manner in which Wales has used the "bronze shrine roof" find to arrive at a 6th or 7th century date for this site faces a number of limitations.

First, as I have pointed out, movable objects such as the "bronze shrine roof" are not the most reliable dating material (5).

Secondly, Wales' 6th or 7th century date pivots on his assumption that the "shrine roof" reflects the architecture of this site. This assumption does not appear to have any basis to it.

Thirdly, the "shrine roof" was not found directly associated with Site 4, but was obtained from the bed of the Sungei Bujang, a short distance away (6).

(1) Wales 1940 : 13-4, 16

(2) Wales 1940 : 16

(3) Wales 1940 : 14

(4) Wales 1940 : 16. A date of the 6th or 7th century would coincide with the period of the early Pallava architecture in South India.

(5) See page 85

(6) Wales 1940 : 13

Fourthly, it seems that there is hardly any stylistic evidence to link the "shrine roof" to the Bhima and Ganeśa rathas (1). Both Nilakanta Sastri (2) and Lamb (3) felt that the "shrine roof" is best compared to the Sambas incense burner discovered at the site of Sambas, West Borneo. Differing dates have been suggested for the Sambas incense burner. Wales dated it to around the 7th or early 8th century (4).

Gray, of the British Museum, was inclined to believe, that the Sambas treasure dated to the 8th or 10th century A.D., but held that the Sambas incense burner was of a later date (5). Lamb maintained that when the incense burner was on display in the British Museum in 1960, it was described as being of a Javanese origin and dated to the 9th century or earlier (6).

Wales also stated that the style of the sculptural remains pointed to a 6th or 7th century date for this site. Though Wales did not discuss the stylistic qualities of the sculptural finds, he presumably meant by this statement that they reflected a Pallava style. However, the Ganeśa recovered here had its soles touching (7), an attitude common in Indonesian forms, but not known in India (8).

From the above discussion it is evident that Wales' 6th or 7th century date for Kedah Site 4 is unacceptable.

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- (1) Lamb 1960 : 9
 (2) Nilakanta Sastri 1949a : 18
 (3) Lamb 1960 : 9
 (4) Wales 1949 : 26
 (5) Tan 1949 : 19
 (6) Lamb 1960 : 10
 (7) Wales 1940 : 14
 (8) See page 132

Kedah Site 5.

Kedah Site 5 was dated by Wales to between the 6th and 7th century A.D. on the basis of its architectural similarity to Kedah Site 4.

However, the architectural information seems insufficient to make such a comparison between the sites (1). Besides this, the 6th or 7th century date given by Wales for Kedah Site 4, with which this site is cross-dated, is not supported by convincing evidence as shown above (2).

There is, therefore, no reliable evidence which indicates a 6th or 7th century date for this site.

Kedah Sites 6 and 7 (Bukit Gajah Mati).

Wales dated Kedah 6 and 7 to between the 6th and 7th century A.D. (3).

Since Wales offered no evidence for these dates, they are difficult to accept. Lamb, however, put forth the possibility that the use of granite blocks at Site 7, instead of bricks and laterite, implied that it was built during the Pengkalan Bujang phase of increased commercial prosperity (4).

Kedah Site 8 (Sungei Batu Pahat Temple).

Wales dated Kedah Site 8 to the 7th or 8th century using as evidence the "relative plainness" of the stone caskets (relinquaries), the "type of architectural details of the temple" and the "early style of the bronze trident" found here (5).

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- (1) Architectural information is provided by Wales in his description of the sites (Wales 1940 : 11-3, 16) and by 2 plans, (Wales 1940 : figs 4, 5).
 - (2) See pages 89-90
 - (3) Wales 1940 : 17-8
 - (4) Lamb 1961 : 84
 - (5) Wales did not clarify what he meant by the "type of architectural details", but presumably he was referring to the simplicity of the structure with its lack of mouldings and ornamentations.

Wales identified this site as a chandi and concluded from the evidence mentioned above that it ante-dated the Javanese chandis (1). Since the early Javanese charters pertaining to chandis date to around the 9th or 10th century, he advocated a 7th or early 8th century date for this site (2).

Wales' argument is based on the a prior grounds that simplicity and plainness of style is indicative of earlier dates. This is not always necessarily so (3).

Wales identified the trident as Pallava in style. Besides the limitation of this being a movable object, a stylistic identification of a fragment of a small bronze trident (2 ⁹/₁₆ins.) with one prong missing, is difficult to accept.

In 1960, Lamb dated this site to the 8th or 9th century A.D. using Damais' date of the 8th to 9th century for the inscriptions found on the gold discs excavated at this site. He reasoned that since the caskets containing the gold discs were placed in the shrine at the time of construction, its contents would provide more accurate dating material than Wales' small finds (4). Though it is likely that the discs were made at the time of construction, it is, however, possible that an archaic script was used so as not to break with tradition (5).

In 1961, Lamb put forth a later chronology for this site based on architectural evidence. He considered that the increased commercial activity of the Pengkalan Bujang phase (late 11th-14th century) (6) would have brought about an increased

(1) Wales 1940 : 21

(2) Wales 1940 :21

(3) See page 87

(4) Lamb 1960 : 79, 106

(5) See page 85

(6) See page 104

prosperity which was probably responsible for the more complex pillar based sites such as Kedah Site 8 (1). Lamb also pointed out architectural similarities between this site and Biaro Si Topajan, one of the sixteen Padang Lawas sites in Sumatra, which is dated to around the 13th century A.D. (2).

Recent work conducted by Treloar on the mineral remains found at Kedah Site 8 and Pengkalan Bujang also pointed to a later date for the former, on the basis that the two sites were probably contemporaneous. For instance, a neutron activation analysis carried out on copper foil from Pengkalan Bujang and a copper lotus (South-west casket) from Kedah Site 8 produced the following results:

<u>Pengkalan Bujang</u>		<u>Kedah Site 8</u>	
Copper 100%	Gold 10 p.p.m.	Copper 100%	Gold 12 p.p.m.

According to Treloar, the similarity of the metal composition was so close that it implied a link between the two sites (3).

Treloar further pointed out that the gold foil at Pengkalan Bujang was similar in thickness and in appearance to the Kedah Site 8 gold foil. Besides this, he felt that the metallic remains found at Pengkalan Bujang suggested the presence of a metal working industry here, which could have manufactured the copper and gold foil remains found at Kedah Site 8 (4).

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- (1) Lamb 1961 : 84
 - (2) Lamb 1961 : 1-2
 - (3) Treloar in press
 - (4) Treloar in press

A variety of minerals were present at Kedah Site 8 of which only tin and gold could have been mined locally. Treloar showed that the other minerals present are found in the Bau region, Sarawak, which he felt was the most probable source area (1). From the ceramic evidence it appears that both Pengkalan Bujang (2) and the Sarawak site of Santubong (3) were engaged in foreign trade between the 12th and the 14th century. Treloar put forth the possibility that these sites were involved either in a direct or indirect trade with each other (4). If this is accepted, a date of the 12th to 14th century for Kedah Site 8 would account for the foreign minerals found here, which would have been exported from the Bau region via Santubong and imported into Malaya through Pengkalan Bujang.

Besides this, according to Treloar, the image base recovered at this site is identical to the base of a hanging temple lamp from Central Sumatra, now in the Jakarta Museum (No. 7950), which is dated to the 13th century A.D. (5).

It is possible to conclude from the above evidence that Kedah Site 8 should be assigned a date of between the 12th and 14th century A.D.

(1) Treloar 1968 : 194-6

(2) See page 104

(3) Harrison and O'Connor 1969 : 19

(4) Treloar in press. In this article Treloar quotes Lamb as stating, after examining the Santubong material in 1968, that "Santubong more or less matched Pengkalan Bujang in Chinese celadons and yin ch'ing types".

(5) Treloar in press

Kedah Site 9 (Kedah Peak).

On the basis of architecture and brick size Wales dated Kedah Site 9 to not earlier than the 8th century A.D. (1).

One of Wales' arguments for a post 8th century date was that this site was structurally different from Kedah Sites 1, 2 and 3, which he identified as early Buddhist sites dating to between the 4th and 6th century A.D. However, as shown above, Wales' dates for Kedah Sites 1 to 3 are not acceptable (2).

Another argument was that the shape and size of the laterite blocks used at this site were similar to those used at Kedah Sites 7 and 8, implying that they were constructed around the same time. However, Wales' dates for Kedah Sites 7 and 8 are not convincing and it seems likely that the latter dates to between the 12th and 14th century (3).

Wales also made use of the presence of "Class 2" bricks to support this date, but I have attempted to show that brick size is not a valid means of dating (4).

According to Lamb, the use of granite blocks at this site, instead of bricks and laterite as the main building material, suggested that it was built in the Pengkalan Bujang phase (11th to 14th century), when commercial activity brought about an increased prosperity. This also appears to be reflected by its location on Kedah Peak as a development in commercial activity would have stimulated an inland penetration. (5)

A definite date for this site cannot be put forth on the present evidence. However, it is likely that it existed sometime between the late 11th to the 14th century (Pengkalan Bujang phase).

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- (1) Wales 1940 : 22
 (2) See pages 86-8
 (3) See pages 91-4
 (4) See appendix 1 : 152-4
 (5) Lamb 1961 : 84

Kedah Site 10.

Wales dated Kedah Site 10 to between the 8th and 9th century A.D. on the basis of epigraphy and the absence of Chinese ceramics.

Chakravarti attributed the script inscribed on the six silver discs found here to the 8th or 9th century, which was accepted by Wales (1). Bosch, however, was of the opinion that it belonged to the second half of the 9th century A.D. (2). A 9th century date was held by de Casparis who felt that the -sta and -ndha letters were identical in shape to certain Central Javanese inscriptions of the 9th century (3).

The absence of Chinese porcelain does not necessarily indicate a pre 11th century date. Kedah Site 8, which was most probably built during the 12th century or later (4), did not yield porcelain remains either.

The only chronological statement that can be made about this site is that it appears to be not earlier than the 9th century A.D.

Kedah Site 11.

Wales dated Kedah Site 11 to the latter half of the 8th century or to the 9th century. As evidence he used the structural similarity of this site to Kedah Sites 12 and 13 and also the presence of "T'ang" sherds in the occupation level.

Besides the architectural evidence being insufficient to facilitate a structural comparison between this site and Kedah Sites 12 and 13, Wales' dating of these latter sites is far from satisfactory as shown below.

(1) Wales 1940 : 23

(2) Wales 1940 : 24

(3) Bosch 1961 : 490 footnote 6

(4) See page 94

As for the "T'ang" sherds, Lamb wrote that a study of sherds from these sites kept in the Raffles and Taiping Museums, showed that few, if any, could be dated prior to the 11th century (1).

Unfortunately, no alternative date can be put forth for this site.

Kedah Site 12.

Wales dated Kedah Site 12 to the 8th or 9th century. Though he did not give any reason for this, he presumably used as his criterion the T'ang date (618-907A.D.) ascribed to the two Chinese mirrors found at this site (2).

The use of these mirrors as chronological evidence is limited in that they could have ante-dated the site by many years.

Apart from stating that it is not earlier than the T'ang period, nothing can be said regarding the chronology of this site.

Kedah Site 13.

From what he considered to be a structural similarity with Kedah Site 10 and the change in the function of a bronze bowl, Wales assigned this site to the 8th or 9th century. (3).

Besides the lack of architectural evidence to facilitate a structural comparison between this site and Kedah Site 10, there is no convincing evidence to support Wales' date for the latter (4).

(1) Lamb 1960 : 11

(2) Wales 1940 : 27-8

(3) Wales 1940 : 31

(4) See page 96

Wales excavated a portion of a bronze bowl from under the floor level of this site. Fragments of a bronze bowl with a similar metallic composition were also found at Kedah Site 6; however, unlike the former remain, were not "buried ceremoniously", but rather in a position of discard. From this, Wales concluded that a change in the function of the bowls took place which indicated "a considerable passage of time" between the two sites (1). Since Kedah Site 6 was dated to the 6th or the 7th century (2), a date of the late 8th or the 9th century for this site seemed reasonable to Wales.

However, a plausible explanation for the different locations of the bowl fragments could be that whilst at Site 13 the bowl remained intact as a foundation deposit, at Site 6 it was extricated from its original position and then discarded.

The similarity of the metallic composition of these bronzes, observed by Wales, indicates that these sites were contemporary rather than separated by "a considerable passage of time".

On the present evidence it is not possible to suggest an alternative date for this site.

Kedah Site 14.

Wales dated Kedah Site 14 to the latter half of the 9th century A.D. As evidence he cited two silver coins, an inscription on silver, triangular mortised socles (pillar bases) and blue beads recovered here (3).

The two silver coins which were part of the foundation deposit were identified as belonging to the rule of the Abbasid Calif al-Mutawakil (847-861 A.D.). One of the coins bore a legible date of 234 A.H. which is equivalent to 848 A.D. (4). But, these

(1) Wales 1940 : 30-1

(2) See page 91

(3) Wales 1940 : 33

(4) Wales 1940 : 32

coins tell us no more than that the site was not built before the first half of the 9th century.

The inscribed silver fragment, about 1½ ins. long, also obtained from the foundation deposit, was attributed to around the 6th or 7th century A.D. It is, therefore, considerably earlier than the coins. Wales, however, explained the presence of the inscription by suggesting that it originated from an earlier shrine (1).

Wales pointed out a similarity between the triangular mortised socles and blue beads found at this site with those found at Kedah Sites 11 and 13 respectively (2). Wales placed both these sites to between the 8th and 9th century A.D. However, since Wales' dates for Sites 11 and 13 are not satisfactory (3), cross-dating with these sites is unsound.

On the present evidence all that can be said about the chronology of this site is that it is not earlier than the 9th century A.D.

Kedah Site 15.

Wales felt that Kedah Site 15 most probably belonged to the 9th or 10th century A.D. Though he did not mention why he arrived at this date, it is likely that he was influenced by the pieces of Chinese porcelain found inside the sanctuary (4).

But, the porcelain evidence is so scarce that it is difficult to make any chronological conclusions from it. Besides this, as mentioned earlier it is doubtful if any of the Chinese ceramics could be assigned to a period before the 11th century A.D. (5).

(1) Wales 1940 : 32

(2) Wales 1940 : 33

(3) See pages 96-8

(4) Wales 1940 : 33-4

(5) Lamb 1960 : 11

Due to the lack of evidence it is not possible to date this site.

Kedah Site 16.

Wales dated this site to the 9th or 10th century A.D. Though, here again, he did not state why he put forth this date, it appears to have been based on the structural similarity of this site with Kedah 15 (1).

To date this site to the 9th or 10th century by its structural similarity to Kedah Site 15 is unsound because Wales' date for the latter is not supported by valid evidence as pointed out above.

According to Harrison and O'Connor, the foundation deposits found at the "shrine" site of Bongkissam have their closest immediate parallel in the foundation deposits recovered at this site. The Bongkissam shrine has been given a date of around the 12th to 13th century A.D. (2).

Though the Bongkissam evidence cannot be used for chronological purposes regarding Kedah Site 16, it implies that this site probably dates to a later period than the 10th century A.D.

Kedah Site 16A.

Apart from stating that it belonged to a post 5th century period, Wales did not date Kedah Site 16A. He, however, pointed out that the ribbed pottery obtained here was similar to that found at Site 15 (3).

(1) Wales 1940 ; 34, 36

(2) Harrison and O'Connor 1967 : 117-8, 220

(3) Wales and Wales 1947 : 7

A bronze Buddha statue ascribed to the 5th century A.D. (Gupta Age) was also discovered. But, the use of bricks at this site (1) and the recovery of Site 15 type ribbed pottery caused Wales to place this site in a period later than the 5th century A.D. He explained the presence of the 5th century Buddha by suggesting that it originated from an earlier shrine (2).

Unfortunately, on the existing evidence, it is not possible to date this site.

Kedah Site 17.

Wales did not date this site, but concluded from the "Class 1" bricks used in the structure that it was of "considerable antiquity" (3).

However, as pointed out earlier the use of Wales' brick classification for dating purposes does not appear to provide valid chronological estimations (4).

Kedah Site 18.

By studying the ceramic remains and the architectural style of Kedah Site 18, Wales placed it in the 11th or 12th century A.D.

Sung (960-1279 A.D.) porcelain was found which, according to Wales, included a high proportion of Lungchuan celadons (5). From these remains all that can be said is that the site is not earlier than the 11th century A.D.

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- (1) Wales maintained that bricks were not employed at what he considered to be the early Buddhist sites dated to between the 4th and 6th century A.D. (Kedah Sites 1-3).
 - (2) Wales and Wales 1947 : 8
 - (3) Wales 1940 : 37
 - (4) See appendix 1 : 152-4
 - (5) Wales 1940 ; 38

The presence of door lintels and frames, and the use of unglazed roof tiles prompted Wales to propose a later date for this site. But, he, pointed out that the site, unlike most of the other "shrine" sites, may have been a royal audience hall (1). The difference in architecture could, therefore, be explained in terms of function rather than time.

However, the present evidence from Pengkalan Bujang implies that this site dates to somewhere between the late 11th and the 14th century A.D. (2).

Kedah Site 19.

Wales dated this site to the 11th or 12th century on the basis of Chinese ceramics found here and the architectural style of the site (3).

But, it must be pointed out that the fragments of Lungchuan celadons found prove no more than the site is not earlier than the 11th century.

Presumably, it was because the structural remains here were identified as a "vaulted shrine having a porch" with thick walls which had "somewhat elaborate mouldings" and were built out of "Class 2" bricks that Wales put forth what he considered to be a late date for this site (4). Unfortunately not enough is known about the stylistic development of these Kedah sites to use it as a chronological criterion. Besides this, it appears that the size of brick used, is no indication of the age of the site.

(1) Wales 1940 : 37-8

(2) See page 104

(3) Wales 1940 : 39-40

(4) Wales 1940 : 39

But, here again, from the Pengkalan Bujang evidence discussed below, it seems that this site falls within a period between the late 11th to the 14th century A.D. (1).

Kedah Site 20.

Wales dated this site to the 11th or 12th century A.D. using as evidence the Sung celadons found at the floor level and its architectural similarity to Kedah Site 19 (2).

But, here again, the Sung celadon fragments show only that this site is not earlier than the 11th century A.D. Besides this, the date assigned by Wales for Kedah Site 19, which has been discussed above, was not supported by convincing evidence.

However, like Kedah Sites 18 and 19, the Pengkalan Bujang evidence (see below) implies that this site should be assigned to a period between the late 11th and the 14th century A.D.

Kedah Sites 21, 22, 23.

From the "Class 2" bricks used and the presence of Sung celadon fragments Wales dated Kedah Sites 21, 22 and 23 to the 11th or 12th century A.D. (3).

These dates are not supported by the evidence cited, for, as mentioned above, it appears that the brick size cannot be used to date a site (4) and the presence of Sung celadons only signifies that the site is not earlier than the 11th century A.D.

Besides this, the Pengkalan Bujang evidence also seems to show that these sites should be placed between the late 11th and 14th century (see below).

(1) See page 104

(2) Wales 1940 : 40

(3) Wales 1940 : 40

(4) See appendix 1 : 152-4

Pengkalan Bujang Sites.

At the village of Pengkalan Bujang, located at the mouth of the Sungei Bujang, a considerable amount of ceramic, glass and bead deposits was obtained which caused Lamb to conclude that this area was once a trading station (1).

A good proportion of the Chinese ceramics found belonged to the late Sung and the Yüan period (late 11th to 14th century A.D.) (2). From this evidence Lamb postulated that during the late 11th and the 14th century A.D. Pengkalan Bujang was the centre of a flourishing entrepot trade (3).

Since Kedah Sites 18, 19, 21, 22 and 23 are located within the Pengkalan Bujang area (4), their construction was probably stimulated by the commercial activity here between the late 11th and the 14th century A.D.

Kedah Site 24 (Tikam Batu).

Apart from stating that a "fairly early date" should be assigned to this site, Wales did not date this site (5).

Sullivan, however, dated this site to between the 10th and 14th century A.D. on the basis of Chinese ceramics and a piece of mosaic glass excavated here (6).

Apparently, the Chinese ceramics were found at a location which, Sullivan felt, showed that they were deposited not long after the wall was constructed. The sherds were of the Sung or Yüan dynasties indicating that the wall was built not earlier than the 12th or 13th century.

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- (1) Lamb 1961 : 34
 (2) Lamb 1961 : 29, 32
 (3) Lamb 1961 : 82-3
 (4) Lamb 1961 : 22 fig. 4
 (5) Wales 1940 : 41
 (6) Sullivan 1958 : 206

The piece of mosaic glass resembled, according to Matthews, glass bangles from South-west Arabia dated to between the 9th and the 14th century A.D. (1).

The above evidence supports the broad date of the 10th to 14th century A.D. for this site, proposed by Sullivan.

Kedah Site 25 (Bukit Penjara).

From the size of the bricks found and the general appearance of the Kedah Site 25 structure, Wales suggested that this site was contemporary with Sites 19-23 (2), which he dated to between the 11th and 12th century A.D. (3).

Besides Wales' use of brick size as a dating criterion not being considered valid as mentioned above, the extent to which this site is structurally similar with Sites 19-23 is difficult to ascertain on the limited architectural information available. However, if this site is considered to be contemporary with Sites 19-23 on the basis of architectural similarity, the Pengkalan Bujang evidence would date it to between the late 11th and the 14th century A.D. (4).

Kedah Site 26 (Bukit Meriam).

The presence of "Class 2" size bricks here caused Wales to write that "one may suspect that here had stood a small shrine comparable to Site 25 in style and period, but one could not be certain on that point"(5).

However, as mentioned before, it seems that the age of the site cannot be ascertained by the size of brick employed.

On the present evidence, no alternative date can be put forth for this site.

(1) Sullivan 1958 : 205

(2) Wales 1940 : 41

(3) See pages 102-3

(4) See page 104

(5) Wales 1940 : 42

Kedah Site 28 (Srokam).

Wales did not date this site.

A trial excavation, however, produced sherds which Wales identified as late Sung and Yüan type celadons. (1).

If these ceramics have been identified correctly, it is possible to state that this site is not earlier than the 11th century A.D.

Kedah Site 29 (Kampong Sireh).

No date was proposed by Wales for this site.

Wales' investigations here yielded a high percentage of provincial Yüan (1280-1368 A.D.) celadon fragments and, in the upper layers only, Ming blue and white dating from the 15th to 16th century A.D. (2).

This evidence indicates an occupation period from between the 13th to 16th century A.D.

However, Sullivan's subsequent excavation of the northern limit of this site produced conflicting chronological evidence of Chinese ceramics dated to between the 17th and 19th century (3). No earlier Chinese wares were found.

This apparent conflict in evidence could be explained in terms of there being two separate occupations of the site, the first mainly in the pre-Islamic period and the second after the arrival of Islam. Or, it is possible that there was a continuous occupation of this site from the late 13th to the 19th century A.D.

Therefore, from the above evidence it appears that this site dates to a period of not earlier than the late 13th century.

(1) Wales 1940 : 44

(2) Wales 1940 : 44

(3) Sullivan 1958 : 216-7

Kedah Site 31 (Matang Pasir).

Wales dated this site to about the 13th century A.D. using ceramic and architectural evidence (1).

Fragments of what Wales identified as "olive green glazed Sung type porcelain" and a "white-glazed ware" fragment of the same period were found. However, subsequent excavations of the site by Sullivan and Lamb did not produce similar wares.

Wales' 13th century date was based on his identification of the structural remains here as a "porched shrine" which, according to him, is a late architectural feature. But, Lamb's excavation of this site showed that no structure, which could be identified as a porch, was present (2).

Sullivan identified this site as a Buddhist shrine and dated it to the 9th or 10th century A.D. so as to fit in with the revival of Mahāyāna Buddhism in "Kataha" (3) under the influence of the Śailendra Empire of Java (4). However, according to Lamb, it is impossible on the present evidence to say whether the remains here represent a Buddhist or Hindu shrine (5).

Lamb's plan of Matang Pasir exhibited an architectural similarity with Biaro Si Topajan which prompted him to suggest a date between the 12th and 15th century for this site (6).

From the following discussion it appears that this date, put forth by Lamb, is the most acceptable.

(1) Wales and Wales 1947 : 10

(2) Lamb 1961 : 16 fig. 3

(3) Kaṭāha has been equated with Kedah.

(4) Sullivan 1958 : 196

(5) Lamb 1961 : 16

(6) Lamb 1961 : 16

Bukit Batu Lintang.

This site appears to have consisted of a stone "shrine" located on top of Bukit (hill) Batu Lintang and a settlement area at the base of this hill (1).

The fragments of Sung and Yüan porcelain excavated in the settlement area and the way in which they were stratified led Sullivan to date this settlement to the 13th or 14th century (2).

Whether the "shrine structure" was contemporary with the settlement is a problem. The location of the shrine in relation to the settlement implies that they were contemporary; the shrine on the hill serving the people who lived at the base of the hill. Sculptural evidence found in the settlement area, but which Sullivan felt could have originated from the shrine, points to an earlier date than that suggested by the ceramic evidence. The Dvārapāla (3) image found here has, according to Sullivan, characteristics of Pallava style sculpture (4). It is, however, possible that this sculpture could have antedated the shrine of which it was a part.

On the present evidence it is possible to state that the settlement area was occupied during the 13th and 14th century A.D. and that the shrine was probably contemporary with the settlement.

Sungei Batu Pahat Eastern Complex (5).

No chronological information was obtained from these remains. However, their proximity to the Sungei Batu Pahat site (Kedah Site 8) may indicate a similar date with this site.

(1) Sullivan 1958 : 207-8

(2) Sullivan 1958 : 210

(3) A Hindu temple guardian

(4) Sullivan 1958 : 211-2

(5) Lamb 1960 : 59-60
Lamb 1961 : 18

Province Wellesley Site 1 (Gua Kepah).

Wales dated Province Wellesley Site 1 to the 5th century A.D. by cross-dating it with Kedah Site 2 on the basis of a square gold object and the architectural similarity of this site with Kedah Site 2 (1).

However, it now appears, as discussed above, that Wales' date of not later than the 6th century A.D. for Kedah Site 2 is difficult to accept (2).

Contradicting Wales' 5th century date was the presence of what he identified as "T'ang (618-906 A.D.) stoneware sherds (3). Wales, however, explained their presence in terms of the site having been visited by devotees as late as the 7th to 8th century A.D. (4). But, this could be taken as evidence that a later date should be given to this site.

On the known evidence no other date can be put forth for this site.

Province Wellesley Site 2.

Wales used a stone lintel found near Province Wellesley Site 2 to date this site to a period little earlier than Kedah Site 29 (5).

At the moment, insufficient evidence concerning the stylistic development of the Indianised structures is available to consider stone lintels as a dating criteria. Moreover, though the stone lintel was discovered near the site, there is no conclusive evidence that it originated from it.

(1) Wales and Wales 1947 : 5

(2) See pages 87-8

(3) According to Lamb, the sherds Wales attributed to the "T'ang" period may actually belong to a later period (Lamb 1960 : 11).

(4) Wales and Wales 1947 : 5

(5) Wales and Wales 1947 : 6

Besides this, it must be pointed out that Wales did not assign a definite date to Kedah Site 29 (1).

On the present evidence it is, therefore, not possible to date this site.

Other Inscriptions and Sculptures.

A few other inscriptions and sculptures have been used for chronological purposes. The sculptures were isolated finds, but the inscriptions, with the exception of the Cherok Tekun Rock Inscription, were excavated by Low from sites. Unfortunately, these sites cannot be definitely identified with any of the known structural remains. The Buddha Gupta inscription was recorded by Low as being found whilst "excavating some old ruins on a sandy side in the northern district" of Province Wellesley (2). Wales felt that these "ruins" very likely referred to Province Wellesley Site 1 (3). The Bukit Meriam inscription was, however, discovered "lying under the centre of the foundation of a ruin of an ancient brick building in Keddah, near Bukit Murriam" (4).

Inscriptions

(a) Buddha Gupta Inscription.

This inscription was first dated by Kern to around 400 A.D. (5). Later, Chhabra felt that its similarity to the Purnavarman inscription of West Java warranted a 5th century date. However,

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- (1) See page 106
 - (2) Low 1886 : 224
 - (3) Wales and Wales 1947 : 6
 - (4) Low 1886 : 232
 - (5) Kern 1907 : 99

Chhabra pointed out that the term *siddhayātra* (1), present in this inscription, is also found in the Old Malay Kedukan Bukit inscription of Sumatra (2). According to de Casparis, the Kedukan Bukit inscription dates to the end of the 7th century or the early 8th century A.D. (3). Whether this inscription falls into the same category as the Kedukan Bukit inscription is a matter for further research.

(b) Bukit Meriam Inscription (Kedah Inscription).

Both Kern and Chhabra suggested that this inscription was related to the Buddha Gupta inscription with which it has two stanzas in common. From this, Chhabra dated this inscription to the 5th century A.D. or earlier (4). However, as pointed out above, it now appears that the Buddha Gupta inscription may date to a later period.

(c) Cherok Tekun Rock Inscription.

Seven separate inscriptions were found on the Cherok Tekun Rock. Kern dated the characters on one of these inscriptions to not later than the 6th century A.D. (5). Since certain inscriptions, found on this Rock, are similar to part of the contents of the Buddha Gupta and Bukit Meriam inscriptions, Lamb suggested that these inscriptions could be treated as a group (6).

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- (1) In the Buddha Gupta inscription this term appears to denote "one of successful voyage". However, this term used in the Kedukan Bukit inscription was interpreted by Coedès as meaning a "certain magical power" (Chhabra 1965 : 24).
- (2) Chhabra 1965 : 24, 26
- (3) de Casparis 1956 : 2
- (4) Chhabra 1965 : 20, 26
- (5) Kern 1907 : 99-100
- (6) Lamb 1963 : 79

Sculptures (found in the Kinta Valley, Perak)

(a) Pengkalan and Tanjong Rambutan Buddhas.

Wales dated the Pengkalan and Tanjong Rambutan Buddhas to the 5th or 6th century A.D. as he felt they belonged to the "Gupta" school (1).

There appears to be some disagreement about the date of the Pengkalan Buddha (2). Whilst Coedès and Griswold (3) agreed with Wales' 5th to 6th century date, Callenfels and Bosch were of the opinion that this statue was of a Śrīvijayan type dating to about 750 A.D. (4).

(b) Bidor and Sungei Siput Avalokiteśvaras and the Sungei Siput (seated) Bodhisattva.

Wales dated these Buddhist bronzes to between the 8th and 10th century A.D. (5). He did not, however, explain how he arrived at this date.

The early date of the 4th to 6th century A.D. for the presence of Indianised settlement in North-western Malaya suggested by Wales, Majumdar and Sullivan was based mainly on inscriptions (Buddha Gupta, Bukit Meriam, Cherok Tekun, Kedah Sites 1 and 2) and the Perak Buddhist sculptural finds (6).

However, a review of these inscriptions shows that they are by no means satisfactorily dated and, as Lamb pointed out, none of them appear to date prior to the 7th century A.D. (7).

(1) Wales 1940 : 50

(2) Evans 1932b: 135-6

(3) Griswold 1966 : 61-2

(4) Evans 1932b: 135

(5) Wales 1940 : 51-2

(6) See pages 77-8

(7) Lamb 1962 : 67

Besides this, the use of these inscriptions for chronological purposes is limited by other factors as discussed above (1).

The Perak Buddhist sculptures are also far too inadequately studied and dated to be of chronological significance. Lamb wrote that he saw "no good reason for agreeing with Wales that some of them date back to the 5th century A.D." (2).

The limited number of images recovered in Kedah, Province Wellesley and Perak and the high percentage of copper present in these bronzes (3), give the impression that these sculptures were imported and, therefore, could quite easily have antedated their cultural contexts. This is evident at Kedah Site 16A, where the Buddha statue appears to ante-date the site (4).

This review of the archaeological evidence used for chronological purpose shows that:

- (a) Most of the Indianised sites have been dated on inadequate (sometimes non-existent) archaeological evidence.
- (b) There is no convincing archaeological evidence to support a date prior to the 7th century A.D. for the establishment of an Indianised settlement.
- (c) A large number of the sites, for which rough dates may be assigned, date to between the 11th and 14th century A.D. suggesting that this was a period of development (see Kedah Sites 8, 9, 15, 18-23, 24, 29, 31 and Bukit Batu Lintang).
- (d) No Indianised site has been found with a post 15th century date.

(1) See page 85

(2) Lamb 1961 : 81-2

(3) Wales reported that most of the Perak bronzes were made almost entirely of copper (Wales 1940 : 47). Lamb was of the opinion that since tin is easily available in Malaya and copper rare, these bronzes were certainly imported (Lamb 1961 : 82 footnote 5a)

(4) Wales and Wales 1947 : 8

CHAPTER VII

The Builders of the Indianised Settlements.Part I: Past Views - A Criticism.

Until recently, it was generally held that the Indianisation of North-western Malaya was the result of a direct Indian cultural influence and colonisation.

This concept was first put forth by Low who, from the archaeological evidence, concluded that Buddhists and Hindus migrated from India and formed a "colony" in North-western Malaya. He was of the opinion that these colonists came from either Orissa or Kalinga (1). Low felt that not only the archaeological evidence but also the Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa showed that Kedah was colonised by Indians (2).

Since then, Evans, Winstedt, Wales, Majumdar, Nilakanta Sastri, Briggs and Sullivan have all written in terms of a direct Indian cultural influence and colonisation of North-western Malaya (3).

The credibility of this interpretation was first questioned by Lamb. Lamb, who re-excavated Kedah Site 8 (Sungei Batu Pahat temple), which Wales maintained was built by Pallava colonists, pointed out that there is no evidence here for links with India. He, however, felt that it shows affinities with Indonesia (4).

(1) Low 1886 : 221-2

(2) Low 1849 : 486

(3) Evans 1927a: 118
 Winstedt 1935 : 18, 21
 Wales 1940 : 67-74
 Majumdar 1944 : 15-7
 Nilakanta Sastri 1949b: 81-5
 Briggs 1950 : 257
 Sullivan 1958 : 187

(4) Lamb 1960 : 8-10

From a study of the material remains Lamb concluded that there is no convincing evidence for a Pallava colonisation of Malaya, but the Kedah sites reflect South-east Asian, especially Indonesian, traits instead (1).

Both textual and archaeological evidence have been used to propose a direct Indian colonisation of North-western Malaya.

(a) Textual Evidence.

From his translation of the Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa, Low came to the conclusion that Kedah was colonised by Indians (2).

According to the text, Marong Mahawangsa, an ambassador of the King of Rum, founded the Kingdom of Langkasuka in the Kedah area after being shipwrecked (3).

The term Rum or Rumi, as Low pointed out, is usually associated with either Constantinople, the Turkish Empire or Asia Minor. Low, however, felt that the author had made a mistake through confusion and ignorance and that Marong Mahawangsa was actually of an Indian origin (4). He wrote,

"The lineage assigned to the Ambassador sufficiently proves that his country could not have been Rumi but that it indicates some part of India" (5).

(1) Lamb 1960 : 96-9

(2) Low 1849 : 3, 486

(3) Low 1849 : 3-10

(4) Low 1849 : 10-1. According to Low, Baghdad (Iraq) was considered in native Malay and Indo-Chinese literature to be part of the Rumi Empire.

(5) Low 1849 : 11

The romanised version of the text pertaining to Marong Mahawangsa's lineage (after Sturrock).

"Ada-pun raja itu ayah-nya dari-pada indĕra dan bonda-nya itu asal-nya dari pada dewa-dewa" (1).

Low's translation of the above text.

"The Ambassador traced his lineage from the inferior gods. His father was descended from the genii, and his mother from the Dĕvā dĕvā or demigods" (2).

Although Dĕvā dĕvā is a Hindu term it does not in any way prove that Marong Mahawangsa was of an Indian origin. Moreover, this lineage appears to be mythological rather than hisotrical,

Besides this, the historical validity of the Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa is questionable. According to this text, Marong Mahawangsa founded the Kingdom of Langkasuka in the vicinity of modern Kedah (3). This caused Low and Wales to associate the Indianised remains found in the Kedah area with Langkasuka (4). However, references to Langkasuka are also found in Indian, Chinese, Arab and Javanese texts and inscriptions from which a number of other locations have been cited for this kingdom (5). Wheatley, who undertook a comprehensive study of this material, located Langkasuka in the vicinity of modern Patani (6).

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- (1) Sturrock 1916 : 40
 (2) Low 1849 : 3
 (3) See appendix 2 : 115-6
 (4) Low 1849 : 22
 Wales 1940 : 67
 (5) Wheatley 1961 : 252
 (6) Wheatley 1961 : 265

Besides this, certain portions of the text have a mythological fairy-tale like quality and, therefore, seem to be imaginary rather than historical. This is especially evident in the earlier portions of the text which deals with the founding of Langkasuka.

Arab, Chinese and Indian textual sources refer to the existence of Indianised kingdoms located somewhere on the Malay Peninsula (1). However, this material tells us little about the builders of these kingdoms and contains no convincing evidence to relate any of the kingdoms mentioned with the Indianised sites of North-western Malaya.

(b) Archaeological Evidence.

Due to the ambiguous nature of the textual evidence, information about the builders of this culture has to be sought for in the archaeological evidence. From the archaeological evidence, Wales concluded that the Indianisation of Malaya was the result of direct Indian cultural influence and colonisation which took place in Four Waves.

Wales' 1st Wave (100-300 A.D.).

According to Wales, there was a trade contact between Malaya and South India during this period (2).

This statement was based on Gardener's discovery of Roman beads in association with Indian beads at Kota Tinggi, Johore. From this, Gardener concluded that these beads were brought to Malaya by Indian traders engaged in the Roman trade (3).

(1) For a discussion of these sources see Wheatley 1961.

(2) Wales 1940 : 67-8

Braddell was of the opinion that there was a bead trade between India and Johore from before the Christian era to about 200 A.D. (Braddell 1947 : 147).

(3) Gardener 1937 : 467-70

Gibson-Hill, however, pointed out that the Roman beads obtained at Kota Tinggi were found in the same deposits as crude glass beads of an Arabic or "later European origin" and pieces of Ming porcelain. Since no stratification was discernable in these deposits, there is no way of suggesting that the Roman beads preceded the other finds (1). This evidence also caused Lamb to state that these Roman beads were traded in Johore at a date not prior to the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.) (2).

There is, therefore, no evidence for the existence of a trade contact with India between the 1st and 3rd century A.D. Wales' 2nd Wave (300-550 A.D.).

Wales was of the opinion that this was the earliest phase of Indianised settlement during which Buddhist settlements were established in Kedah (Kedah Sites 1-3) and the Kinta Valley (3).

Wales used the archaeological evidence from Kedah Sites 1, 2 and 3 and the two "Gupta" style Buddha statues found in the Kinta Valley to substantiate this statement.

However, this evidence does not prove in any way the presence of Indian migrants or colonists, or that a direct culture contact existed with India.

The two Sanskrit inscriptions in a South Indian script found at Kedah Sites 1 and 2 are now dated to not earlier than the 7th century A.D., by which time similar inscriptions were known in South-east Asia. Moreover, they appear to have affinities with certain Indoensian inscriptions (4).

(1) Gibson-Hill 1955 : 184-5

(2) Lamb 1961 : 72

(3) Wales 1940 : 68-9

(4) See pages 86-7, 137

No structural evidence for the presence of an Indianised settlement has been found in the Kinta Valley (1). Besides this, it seems likely that the "Gupta" style Buddha statue found at Pengkalan was of a South-east Asian manufacture (2). Wales' 3rd Wave (500-750 A.D.).

Wales was of the opinion that during this period there was a Pallava colonisation of Kedah. He wrote,

"The effect produced by the arrival of Hindu Pallava colonists about the middle of the VIth century is very marked indeed in Kedah. In fact it is largely from a study of the material brought to light at Sites 4 to 9 that we are able to form a tolerably clear impression of the culture of these Pallava colonists. Indeed it is perhaps only on the west coast of the Peninsula that we can expect to find this culture almost or quite unmodified by local evolution and contact with indigenous culture. Here the Indians were constantly being reinforced by new arrivals from their homeland and were kept in touch with the latest developments there by the arrival of trading vessels" (3).

However, the evidence from Kedah Sites 4 to 9 does not in any way indicate a Pallava colonisation.

On the basis of the miniature "bronze shrine roof" find Wales proposed that Kedah Site 4 was built by Pallava colonists. This interpretation does not seem to hold good for a number of reasons (4). Wales also maintained that the bronze trident from Kedah Site 8 was of a Pallava style, but, as shown above, this identification is difficult to accept. Besides this, Kedah Site 8 appears to have Indonesian rather than South Indian Pallava affinities (5). No Pallava type artifacts were found at Kedah Sites 5, 6, 7 and 9.

(1) See page 44

(2) See page 130

(3) Wales 1940 : 69-70

(4) See page 129

(5) See page 135

The above discussion shows that no material remains were found at Kedah Sites 4 to 9, which can be used as reliable evidence to support Wales' concept of a Pallava colonisation during this period.

Wales' 4th Wave (750-900 A.D.).

According to Wales, during this period Kedah was subject mainly to influences from South India which itself was influenced by the Pāla Mahāyānist culture (1).

Wales gave a list of finds from the Kedah sites which he held were "predominantly Indian" in nature (2). But, it is possible to suggest Indonesian affinities for most of these finds (3). Wales rejected the possibility of an Indonesian influence because he was of the opinion that Indianisation reached Indonesia via Malaya. Therefore, any similarity between the two areas was attributed to this. But, it now appears likely that the Kedah area was not a "stepping stone" in the spread of Indianisation to Indonesia (4).

The archaeological evidence, therefore, does not support the concept that Indian colonists were responsible for the Indianised remains in North-west Malaya or that there was a direct culture contact between India and this area. Some of the archaeological remains, however, exhibit affinities with objects obtained from Indianised South-east Asian sites (See below).

(1) Wales 1940 : 73

(2) Wales 1940 : 73

(3) See pages 121, 127-9, 131-3, 138

(4) See page 151

Part II: South-east Asian Affinities of the Archaeological Remains.

(a) Foundation Deposit Containers and Contents.

Stone caskets, divided into nine compartments, were found at Kedah Sites 8 and 19 (1). These caskets appear to have had a cosmological significance for the intact caskets recovered at Kedah Site 8 were located at the cardinal and half points in the sanctuary walls and contained gold discs, inscribed with what is believed to be the words for the cardinal points in Old Javanese. Besides this, silver squares with cosmological symbols were found in the Kedah Site 8 caskets (2). Another type of container, a non-compartmented bronze casket, was discovered at Kedah Site 16 (3). This casket and its contents are apparently similar to that found at the "Tantric shrine" of Bongkissam (4). According to Harrison and O'Connor, the Bongkissam casket was designed to symbolise a cosmic concept of the universe (5). Earthenware deposit jars were also excavated at Kedah Sites 13 and 14 (6).

Whether any of these caskets were involved in a funerary ritual is not as yet clear. Organic substances were present in the Kedah Site 8 caskets, but from their state of preservation it was difficult to assess whether they were of human derivation (7).

(1) Wales 1940 : 20, 40
Lamb 1960 : 74-7

(2) Lamb 1960 : 77-9, 86-7, figs. 32-3

(3) Wales 1940 : 35

(4) Harrison and O'Connor 1967 : 217-8

(5) See page 124

(6) Wales 1940 : 29-32

(7) Lamb 1960 : 79

Besides Malaya, foundation deposit caskets were used in India (where they were initially used) and other parts of South-east Asia.

India

There is as yet no archaeological evidence for the deposition of chambered deposit caskets in Indian shrines. A casket with twenty-five compartments was accidentally dug up near Pondicherry, but its function is not clear (1).

However, early texts such as the Purānas and Hindu building manuals record that compartmented deposit caskets were an early feature of temple architecture in India (2).

From this evidence Kramrisch wrote,

"Before the temple in the likeness of the Purusa is constructed, the rite of Garbhādhāna is performed and a casket (3) which holds the Seed and Germ of the temple is immured in its walls ..." (4).

In the central compartment of these caskets were placed symbols of the God to whom the shrine was dedicated whilst the outer compartments apparently represented the divinities of the cosmic points (5). This indicates that these caskets symbolised certain cosmic concepts associated with a Hindu temple. No funerary function was attributed to these caskets.

(1) Lamb 1964c : 19-20

(2) Kramrisch 1946 : 127 footnote 91

(3) This casket (Garbhā - vessel) was generally made out of copper. It was square in shape and usually divided into either nine, sixteen or twenty-five compartments. (Kramrisch 1946 : 127 footnote 91)

(4) Kramrisch 1946 : 126

(5) Kramrisch 1946 : 127-8 see footnote 94

Sri Lanka (Ceylon)

Stone caskets (1) with five or twenty-five chambers were excavated from the vihāras and stūpas at the Buddhist sites of Polonnaruva and Anuradhapura. The earliest known casket comes from the Vijayarama monastery which was built around the 9th century A.D. Here again, the ritual of these caskets appear to be associated with cosmological ideas (2).

Khmer Republic (Cambodia)

Compartmented deposit caskets of stone were also discovered in the Indianised temple sites of Cambodia (3). These caskets have either eight, sixteen or thirty-two compartments, grouped around a larger cavity.

Coedès suggested that Angkor Wat may have been a funerary temple. A stone casket with only one central circular cavity which contained two pieces of crystal and two gold leaves was excavated here from a pit under the central sanctuary of this temple (4). However, Coedès pointed out that no human remains have been found at Angkor Wat or any of the other Khmer temples (5).

(1) These caskets are referred to as yantragalas.

(2) O'Connor 1966 : 57-8

(3) O'Connor 1966 : 59 see footnotes 33-4

(4) Coedès 1935 : 44-6 fig. 3. In this article Coedès also mentioned that verticle pits containing foundation deposits were found under pedestals located in the central sanctuary of Prāsāt Ak Yom and the Bayon. He felt that these temples were possibly also funerary temples.

(5) Coedès 1940 : 331-2

Vietnam

Foundation deposit containers were found at the Cham Buddhist shrine site of Dai-Hu'u at Quảng Bình, dated to the 9th or the early 10th century A.D. These containers consisted of non-compartmented pots of gold or terracotta. A limestone pot, containing deposits was also obtained at Pô Nagar in the province of Nha-trang (1).

Thailand

Stone caskets with five compartments were used in Thailand as early as the Dvāravatī period. One such object was situated in the centre of Stūpa No. 1 at Ku Bua, Ratburi (2). A similar casket was found at Satiṅpra, but, the structure in which this object was originally placed is not known as it is a chance find. However, this casket would date to anywhere between the 8th and 13th century A.D. (Śrīvijayan period) as this is the estimated timespan for the Indianised settlement of Satiṅpra (3).

Borneo

A silver non-compartmented casket was excavated at Bongkissam from a structure identified as a Tantric shrine. A study of this casket led Harrison and O'Connor to state that "the whole object in shape, design and execution all reinforces the impression that the top is made to represent a spiritual diagram, an objective correlative for a spiritual universe" (4).

(1) O'Connor 1966 : 58-9

(2) Wales 1964 : 221, see plan of Stūpa No. 1 at Ku Bua

(3) Wales 1964 : 217-8

(4) Harrison and O'Connor 1967 : 207

Whether this casket was involved in a funerary ritual is not clear. A "thick, dark, rich earthy deposit" was found inside this casket. According to Harrison and O'Connor, the deposit did not resemble any of the local soils and nor was it a geological deposit. An analysis, however, showed that it was of an organic (animal) origin (1).

Indonesia

Stone caskets with nine compartments have been recovered in Java associated with the Hindu-Javanese period (2). Unfortunately, hardly any information is available concerning the structural locations of most of these containers. It is, therefore, difficult to date most of them. Stone caskets have, however, been excavated from the 9th century site of Prambanan (3), and the late 10th century monument of Jalatunda (4). The contents of the Jalatunda casket suggest that it had a cosmic ritualistic significance as inscriptions on gold foil inscribed to the Dikpālakas, Īsāna and Agni, the guardians of the North-east and the South-east, were present (5). Some of these caskets appear to have had a funerary function. For instance, the Jalatunda and the Prambanan caskets contained human remains (6).

Apparently, during the Hindu-Javanese period the ashes of a dead king were buried in a pit inside the temple sanctuary and a statue in his image erected (7).

(1) Harrison and O'Connor 1967 : 214-5

(2) Lamb 1961 : plates 9-21

(3) Krom 1932 : 476-7

(4) van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1955 : 376

(5) van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1955 : 376

(6) van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1955 : 376

(7) See page 48

The evidence discussed above shows that the deposition of caskets in shrines was a Hindu/Buddhist practice originating from India and associated with complex cosmological concepts.

Although this practice in Malaya owed its ultimate origin to India, it in no way implies a direct link with India. The Malayan sites, at which deposit containers were found (1), appear to be not earlier than the 9th century A.D. (2). As shown above the use of deposit containers was known in Ceylon and South-east Asia (Vietnam and Indonesia) by the 9th century. Therefore, their presence in Malaya could be attributed to contacts with these areas and not necessarily with India.

In Java and perhaps Cambodia the function of these caskets seems to have been modified as they were also used in a funerary capacity. The contents of the Kedah Site 8 caskets indicate the possibility of a funerary association, however, the evidence is insufficient to make such a statement (3).

Although the contents of the caskets show that different religious formulae were used at the Javanese and Malayan sites, the Malayan caskets and their contents manifest certain affinities with their Javanese counterparts.

The Malayan nine-compartmented caskets found at Kedah Sites 8 and 19 have their closest known parallels in the Javanese caskets (4). A nine-chambered stone casket was obtained at the Pablu Stūpa in Polonnaruva, Śrī Lanka (5), but it is not as similar to the Malayan caskets as some of the Javanese specimens.

(1) See page 121

(2) See pages 94, 97-9, 100, 102-3

(3) See page 49

(4) Wales 1940 : 20, 40, plates 32, 73
Lamb 1961 : plates 4-9

(5) O'Connor 1966 : 56 fig. 2

The gold discs recovered from the Kedah Site 8 casket had inscriptions on them, which Damais interpreted as probably being the Old Javanese letters for the cardinal points and felt that they were similar to objects found in Central Java (1). According to Bosch, these letters were scratched on by someone who had a "hazy notion" of the Old Javanese script (2).

Lamb was of the opinion that the gold seated female figures, found in the Kedah Site 8 caskets, have "features which can be matched in the Borobodur reliefs" (3).

At Kedah Site 8, caskets were placed at the four corners and mid-points of the sanctuary walls (4). No casket was discovered deposited in the centre of the sanctuary, but it is possible that it was removed when the destruction of the sanctuary floor took place (5). There appears to be no parallel for such an arrangement of deposit caskets in India. Lamb, however, observed that the arrangement of these caskets is reminiscent of the present day practice in Balinese temples (6). This implies that such an arrangement was most probably used in Java during the Hindu-Javanese period.

The deposit casket excavated at Kedah Site 16 contained miniature animals, weapons and other remains (7). Wales pointed out that the miniature weapons resembled those carved on the Borobodur bas reliefs. However, he maintained an "Indian origin"

(1) Lamb 1960 : 79

(2) Bosch 1961 : 487

(3) Lamb 1960 : 89

(4) Lamb 1960 : 27 fig. 8

(5) Wales 1940 : 18

(6) Lamb 1960 : 93

(7) Wales 1940 : 35-6

for these objects on the basis that "some (1) of them may be traced to the Ajanta cave paintings" (2). Besides this, a miniature waisted drum, identified by Wales as a damaru drum (3), was found in this casket which, he felt, was unlike any of the Javanese drums and "essentially South Indian in style" (4).

An Indian origin for these objects is not as convincing as Wales makes it out to be. Even Wales states that only some of these miniature weapons are known in the Ajanta cave paintings. Secondly, the Kedah Site 16 miniature drum appears to have Javanese affinities. A miniature waisted kettledrum, no larger than a few centimeters, was excavated near Chibadak (5). This drum resembles the Kedah Site 16 waisted drum (see plates 3, 4). According to Kunst, the Chibadak drum probably belonged to the pre-Hindu period and was very likely buried with a dead person (6). The burial of waisted drums, therefore, appears to be a pre-Hindu Javanese custom. Besides this, waisted drums similar in shape to the Kedah Site 16 specimen are carved on the bas reliefs at Borobodur (see plate 5) (7). The contents of this casket, therefore, exhibit a closer relationship with Java than India. Besides this, the similarity of the contents of this casket with that excavated at Bongkissam (8) also suggests that Kedah Site 16 came under influences from the region of the Malay Archipelago rather than India.

(1) My emphasis

(2) Wales 1940 : 73

(3) Damaru drums are shaped like an hour-glass, flaring out above and below a narrow central waist. They were invented in India to be used as portable drums. (Krishnaswamy 1965 : 9)

(4) Wales 1940 : 73

(5) Kunst 1949 : 106

(6) Kunst 1949 : 106

(7) Kunst 1949 : 107

(8) Harrison and O'Connor 1967 : 217-8

(b) Kedah Site 12 Dagger Hilt.

Wales ascribed the Kedah Site 12 dagger hilt an Indian origin on its similarity to that worn by the Mahishasura in the Mahishasura Mandapam bas relief at Mahābālipuram, South India. He, however, admitted that similar dagger hilts were present on the Borobodur bas reliefs (1).

Since it is unlikely that Kedah Site 12 is of an earlier date than Borobodur (9th century A.D.), the possibility of a Hindu-Javanese influence is as probable as an Indian influence.

(c) Kedah Site 4 Miniature "Bronze Shrine Roof".

A bronze object, obtained near Kedah Site 4 and identified by Wales to be a miniature "shrine roof", was used by him as evidence for a Pallava colonisation of Kedah. Wales maintained that the waggon-roof style of this object closely resembled the waggon-roofs of the Bhima and Ganeśa rathas at Mahābālipuram, South India (2).

The use of this object as proof of a Pallava colonisation can be opposed on the grounds of its moveable nature, the location at which it was recovered and that it tells us little about the architecture of this site. Besides this, apart from Wales, other scholars are of the opinion that this object hardly resembles the Pallava rathas at Mahābālipuram. Instead, they have proposed that this object is best compared with the Sambas incense burner from the site of Sambas, West Borneo (3).

In a recent article, Wales again asserted the similarity between this bronze object and the Bhima and Ganeśa rathas. But, he did not discuss the implications of the similarity of the Sambas incense burner with this Kedah find (4).

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- (1) Wales 1940 : 73
 (2) See page 89
 (3) See pages 89-90
 (4) Wales 1970 : 23

(d) Sculptures"Gupta style" Buddha images

Three "Gupta style" Buddha images were found at Pengkalan, Tanjong Rambutan and Kedah Site 16A. The former two images were used by Wales to suggest a direct Indian contact and colonisation.

However, it appears that these bronzes were probably manufactured in South-east Asia. From a stylistic study, Griswold attributed the Pengkalan and the Kedah Site 16A Buddhas to the "Peninsular school", which was "flourishing before the end of the 6th century, with workshops on both sides of the present border of Siam and Malaya" (1). With regards to the Pengkalan Buddha, Griswold observed that though the "robe strongly resembled the school of Sārnāth [i.e. the Gupta school], the "large curls, the low ushnisha, the lug at the back of the head provide a different clue" (2).

The paucity of bronze image finds accredited to the Indianised period and the high copper content of these Buddhas indicate that they were not locally manufactured (3). It is, however, possible that they were imported from Southern Thailand.

Bosch and Callenfels were of the opinion that the Pengkalan Buddha was of a Śrīvijayan type. Bosch held that similar Buddha images had been found in Palembang (Sumatra) and Central Java attributed to the Śrīvijayan phase (4).

(1) Griswold 1966 : 57

(2) Griswold 1966 : 62

(3) See page 113

(4) Evans 1932b: 135

Unfortunately, there is insufficient evidence to say exactly where these bronzes were manufactured. However, the observations of Griswold, Bosch and Callenfels are interesting in that they show that these bronzes have certain traits which imply a South-east Asian manufacture.

Bodhisattva images.

Three Bodhisattva images, two of which have been identified as Avalokiteśvaras, were found in the Kinta Valley, Perak. Of them Wales wrote,

"The facial characteristics of all the Malayan Mahāyānist images, if not purely Indian are certainly much nearer to Indian proto-types than are the Javanese and Sumatran bronzes" (1).

However, even Wales, who did not accept the concept of cultural intercourse between Indonesia and Malaya, observed that the Bidor Bodhisattva (Avalokiteśvara), although plainer in ornamentation, resembled a bronze Bodhisattva (Avalokiteśvara) found at Palembang, Sumatra (2). Lamb was of the opinion that these bronzes are "rather Indonesian in feeling" (3).

Unfortunately, no detailed stylistic studies of these bronzes have been published. Therefore, the extent to which these bronzes are related to Indian or South-east Asian types is a matter yet to be researched into.

(1) Wales 1940 : 73 plates 79, 80, 81

(2) Wales 1940 : 73. Wales' reference for the Palembang Bodhisattva, Schnitger 1937 : Plate 6 (centre), appears to be incorrect. The correct reference is, Schnitger 1937 : Plate 8 (centre).

(3) Lamb 1961 : 81

Ganeśa

A few yards south of the Kedah Site 4 vimāna, an image of Ganeśa carved on a granite boulder, was found. An interesting feature about this Ganeśa is that the soles of its feet touch (1).

This representation of Ganeśa with its soles touching appears to be mainly an Indonesian (2) and Bornean (3) rendition of the Hindu deity. It is possible that such a form may have also been used in Champa for, according to Wales, "the feet of Cham Ganeśas, though obscured by a fold of garment, are evidently touching" (4).

No such Indian form is known. Wales wrote that "a Ganeśa found at Paharpur is as much seated in this position [i.e. with its soles touching] as in that of royal ease (right knee raised)"(5). An examination of the photograph of this Ganesa (6) showed that, unlike the Indonesian and Bornean representations mentioned above, its soles do not touch and one of its knees is raised off the ground.

Another Ganeśa was found at Kedah Site 19 which, unlike the Site 4 Ganeśa, had its right knee raised in a common Indian Ganeśa posture known as mahārājāḷilā (royal ease) (7). Wales interpreted this as evidence of a direct Indian influence because of the "un-Javanese" attitude in which it is

(1) Wales 1940 : 14, plate 20

(2) Getty 1936 : 56, plates 29a; 30a, c, d; 31d; 32b; d; 33a; 34a

(3) Getty 1936 : 62-3, plates 32b, d
Moulton 1922 : 210-1

(4) Wales 1970 : 22

(5) Wales 1970 : 22

(6) Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 55
plate 32d.

(7) Wales 1940 : 39

seated" (1). However, this form of Ganeśa, which undoubtedly originated in India, was also known in Indianised Indonesia (2) and other parts of South-east Asia.

Dvārapāla (temple guardian)

At Bukit Batu Lintang, Sullivan found a sculptured relief figure which he identified as a Dvārapāla. He felt that it was modelled in a characteristic Pallava style and compared its pose and style to guardian figures carved in relief at the 8th century cave temple of Vizhinjam in Travancore, South India (3).

Sullivan proposed a comparison of this image with that obtained by Evans near Kedah Site 4 and identified by Coedès as Durgā triumphing over Mahishasura (4). But, he did not go as far as to suggest Pallava affinities for this latter image.

Lamb, however, pointed out that the form of the headress and the manner in which the feet of the Bukit Batu Lintang Dvārapāla are represented may indicate a Cham or a Khmer influence (5).

(e) Architecture

The architectural evidence from the Indianised Malayan sites, limited as it is, indicates certain affinities with South-east Asia.

(1) Wales 1940 : 73-4

(2) Getty 1936 : 57, 61, plates 31a, 32a

(3) Sullivan 1958 : 208, 211 footnote 14, plate 18b

(4) Sullivan 1958 : 211

(5) Lamb 1960 : 96-7. For illustrations of similar foot representation in Khmer art see Groslier 1957 : plates 3, 22

Kedah Site 24 (Tikam Batu) pedestal.

At Kedah Site 24, Wales encountered a large sandstone object which he identified as an image pedestal or a Hindu fire-alter (1).

Sullivan showed that this object was a lînga pedestal, which had its closest known parallels in the Cham lînga pedestals found at My-thanh (near Mi-s'on), Mi-s'on and Tra-kiêu. He felt that the Cham pedestals, though more complex in ornamentation than the Tikam Batu specimen, were basically almost identical to it (2).

Besides this, Sullivan pointed out that mouldings, somewhat similar to those present on the Kedah pedestal, appear on the lînga pedestal found at the Khmer site, Phnom Bakheng, dated to 893 A.D. (3).

As yet, no Indian parallels are known for this Kedah pedestal. A possible affinity with Chola art was put forward, but Sullivan wrote that he had not seen anything comparable to it from Chola monuments (4).

Apart from the absence of an Indian parallel, the comparative dates of these Cham and Kedah pedestals suggest the possibility of the latter being the product of a Cham influence. For, whilst the sites of Mi-s'on and Tra-kiêu date to between the 7th and 9th century A.D. (5), Kedah Site 24 dates to a later period, probably from the 10th to 14th century (6).

(1) Wales 1940 : 41

(2) Sullivan 1957 : 293-4 figs. 3, 4, 6

(3) Sullivan 1957 : 294 footnote 8

(4) Sullivan 1957 : 295

(5) Sullivan 1958 : 203

(6) See page 105

Kedah Site 8 (Sungei Batu Pahat temple).

Lamb has shown that Wales was mistaken in attributing Kedah Site 8 to Pallava builders as it can "hardly be described as the model of a typical Pallava structure". He pointed out that the terraces associated with this shrine, the paucity of sculptural decoration and the arrangement of the somasūtra are quite unlike the situation at South Indian Śiva shrines (1).

Lamb, further produced architectural evidence to associate this site with Indianised South-east Asia (2). First, the stepped decoration of the plinth of the sanctuary wall is reminiscent of the Majapahit shrines of East Java. Secondly, the finial (3) found at this site, whilst unlike any from the Pallava temples, is comparable to forms present at Cham sites, the Khmer site of Banteay Srei and the Hindu-Javanese site of Prambanan (4). Fourthly, as discussed below, the use of pillar bases and the technique of wall construction at this site appear to be distinctly South-east Asian (5). And fifthly, Lamb noted that this site was almost identical in plan with Biaro Si Topajan, one of the Padang Lawas sites in Sumatra (6).

(1) Lamb 1960 : 97, 99

(2) I have only included the points made by Lamb which I think are valid.

(3) Lamb suggested that it could have represented the stūpika of the site.

(4) Lamb 1960 : 97

(5) See page 136-7

(6) Lamb 1961 : 2. In a recent article, Wales attempted to establish a South Indian inspiration for this shrine on the basis of an architectural feature which he claimed that both Lamb and he had previously overlooked (Wales 1970 : 26-7). Unfortunately, I have not been able to check the validity of this statement, but the caskets found at this site, as shown above, and certain architectural elements of this site indicate strong Indonesian affinities.

Kedah Site 1 (Bukit Choras).

From the limited architectural information available, there appears to be a similarity between the San Chao platform at the site of P'ong Tūk (Dvāravatī) and Kedah Site 1. Apart from the use of laterite blocks at both sites, a similarity in the lay out, where at the centre of the south side a staircase led to the top of the basement, is evident (1). The geographical proximity of these sites also supports a possible link.

Since the present chronological evidence indicates that Kedah Site 1 is of a later date than the 6th century P'ong Tūk platform (2), this implies the possibility of influences from the area which is now Southern Thailand.

Stone pillar bases (socles).

Stone pillar bases have been obtained from a number of the Indianised sites of Kedah (3).

Besides Kedah, they have been discovered at the Indianised sites of Takuapa and Nakorn Śrī Thammarat in Thailand. However, these pillar bases are not similar in shape to the Kedah specimens (4). In a recent article, Wales reported that pillar bases were used in Dvāravatī architecture as "quite decisive evidence" had been found at Dong Śrī Maha P'ot (5). Pillar bases were also recovered at Biaro Si Topajan, Sumatra, which are the closest known parallels to the Kedah finds (6).

(1) Wales 1940 : 6
Coedès 1928 : 200 plates 9-13

(2) See pages 86-7

(3) Lamb 1961 : 39, 43-6. Lamb pointed out that a number of sites, now without pillar bases, may have been robbed of these objects.

(4) Lamb 1961 : 41-2

(5) Wales 1970 : 21

(6) Lamb 1961 : 43

Lamb wrote that he had not come across stone pillar bases in India, except in the later architecture of Travancore (1). In reply to this, Wales stated that stone pillar bases would have been used at the Pallava temple structures if the ground had not provided a solid stone surface (2). But, this does not disprove that the use of pillar bases in temple architecture must have been a South-east Asian innovation.

Technique of wall construction.

The use of river boulders in the construction of enclosure walls and the technique of wall construction employed at Kedah Site 8 led Lamb to draw an association between these Malayan sites and the Megalithic hill sites of Sumatra and Java (3).

(f) Inscriptions

Some of the Malayan inscriptions appear to have affinities with Indianised South-east Asia, especially Java.

Bosch, interpreted the "slovenly scratched" script of the Kedah Site 1 inscription as similar to that used in 8th to 9th century Central Java (4).

De Casparis related the script of the Kedah Site 2 inscription with that found on some Central Javanese gold plates, the Tuk Mas inscription, inscribed on a huge boulder in Central Java and certain Indo-Chinese inscriptions (5).

(1) Lamb 1961 : 42

(2) Wales 1970 : 21

(3) See page 69

(4) See page 86

(5) de Casparis 1956 : 104 footnote 190

The script on the gold discs recovered from the Kedah Site 8 caskets is believed to be Old Javanese (1).

Seven inscribed discs were excavated at Kedah Site 10. Before 1940 Bosch wrote of these finds,

"I never came across similar inscribed discs in Java or elsewhere in the Archipelago. All the small metal plates found beneath sanctuaries are of rectangular form or represent some animal or object, So it seems to me that the Kedah discs cannot be connected with anything known in Hindu-Javanese archaeology" (2).

However, in 1961, Bosch quoted de Casparis as stating that the -sta and -ndha letters on the six silver discs were identical in form to those inscribed on certain 9th century Central Javanese inscriptions (3).

A number of Indonesian affinities have been assigned to the Buddha Gupta inscription. According to Chhabra, this inscription is similar in script to the Pūrṇavarman inscriptions of West Java. He, however, pointed out that the use of the term siddhayātra associates this inscription with the Śrīvijayan Kedukan Bukit inscription (4). This expression was also present in the Cham Nhan-Biêu inscription (5). The closest known parallel for the use of this expression in India is siddhayātrikā which appears in the Pañcatantra (6).

(1) See page 127

(2) Wales 1940 : 24

(3) See page 96

(4) See page 111

(5) Chhabra 1965 : 24

(6) Chhabra 1965 : 24-5. In the Pañcatantra the phrase "vayam siddhāyātrikāh" is used, which has been interpreted to mean "we are fortune hunters".

Chhabra also discussed similarities between the Buddha Gupta inscription and the Batoe Pahat inscription of West Borneo. Not only did these inscriptions have a stanza in common, but both have stūpa representations on them (1).

(g) Votive Tablets

Coedès identified the Perlis votive tablets as similar to the tablets found in Thailand, south of Chaiya (2). He felt that the impressions of Bodhisatvas and Buddhas, found on some of these tablets, were executed in an Indo-Javanese style, which he attributed to Śrīvijayan influences felt in this area between the 7th and 12th century A.D. (3).

(1) Chhabra 1965 : 53-4

(2) See page 45

(3) Coedès 1926 : 11-2

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusions

From the discussions in the previous chapters certain conclusions on the Indianised culture of North-western Malaya and the phenomenon of the Indianisation in South-east Asia may be drawn.

Indianised Culture of North-western Malaya.(a) The Relationship with the Indigenous Cultures.

The archaeological record shows that in Malaya the Indianised culture was limited to a small area in the North-west and that the indigenous cultures not only considerably pre-dated its establishment, but also continued to exist alongside (1).

There does not appear to be any developmental connection between the Indianised and the indigenous cultures. No evidence has been obtained for an indigenous culture absorbing Indianised traits to such an extent that it transformed and became Indianised in nature.

However, this does not mean that the Indianised culture developed in total isolation, devoid of interactions with the co-existing indigenous cultures. A few artifacts of an indigenous form, such as three stone axes of a Hoabinhian type and a Neolithic type axe were found at the Indianised sites of Province Wellesley Site 1 and Matang Pasir respectively (2). Besides this, some of the locally manufactured earthenware sherds from Pengkalan Bujang appear to be similar to those obtained from the Neolithic sites, thus reflecting a continuity in the pottery industry (3).

(1) See pages 10-35.

(2) See page 54.

(3) See page 57.

Whether the Kuala Selingsing settlement was in any way connected with the Indianised sites is not clear (1). Neither can any association be made with the Tulang Mawas users as none of these implements have been found at the Indianised sites.

New Features

Certain new features are associated with the Indianised culture which serve to distinguish it from the indigenous cultures.

The most apparent is in the religious sphere. The non-Indianised peoples had their indigenous religious beliefs which are reflected in their burials (2). But, during the Indianised period, new religions - Hinduism and Buddhism were introduced. The structural remains (3) and associated finds indicate that during this period at least a certain section of the inhabitants of the Kedah / Province Wellesley area adhered to either one or a combined form of these religions (4). Although it is possible that during an earlier period Malaya had been in contact with a Hindu / Buddhist culture or cultures at the non-Indianised site of Kuala Selinsing (5), this appears to be the earliest known evidence for the local practice of these religions. The adherence to Hinduism and Buddhism must have not only produced a new social and cultural pattern, but it also seems to have stimulated developments in the field of architecture and art which is discussed below.

(1) See page 25

(2) See pages 14, 26

(3) Most of the structural remains have been identified as either Hindu or Buddhist shrines or Buddhist stūpas (see table 2).

(4) See pages 72-4

(5) See pages 27-9

A number of the technological skills utilised by the builders of the Indianised sites were already employed by the non-Indianised inhabitants. Stone and wood working, pottery making and the use of a variety of metals such as copper, bronze, iron and gold were known to the latter (1). To what extent these metal remains were locally manufactured by the non-Indianised peoples or imported is not clear, but the presence of iron slag at Kuala Selinsing implies that this metal was locally worked (2).

A technological development, however, in the field of structural construction took place during the Indianised phase.

Prior to the period of Indianised settlement, with the exception of the Perak stone slab structures, it appears that only house construction employing wood was undertaken. Evidence for this is limited owing to the lack of durability of wood, but at Kuala Selinsing a number of wooden piles, on which wooden houses must have rested, were found (3).

The only other evidence of structures built during the pre-Indianised phase is the Perak stone slab structures. These structures, which have not as yet been convincingly identified as graves, comprise of a number of roughly hewn pieces of stone placed against each other so as to form a chamber (4).

(1) See pages 10-35. There is no evidence for the use of silver in the pre-Indianised phase.

(2) See page 23

(3) See pages 21-2

(4) See pages 31-2

The Indianised sites, most of which have been identified as shrines, however, unlike the Perak slab structures, exhibit architectural planning and a skill in construction techniques previously unknown in Malaya. A number of these sites consist of a vimana (sanctuary), sometimes with a deposit chamber, and a mandapam (hall). At certain sites enclosure walls were built around the structures (1).

Besides this, for the first time, bricks and laterite were used as building material. Granite blocks were also found at a number of sites (2). The technical skill required for shaping these granite blocks exceeds by far that needed for producing the roughly hewn slabs of the Perak stone slab structures.

Unfortunately, hardly any information is available concerning the subsistence economy of the inhabitants of the Indianised sites. No major developments could have taken place here as agriculture and the exploitation of river and sea resources were already known to the non-Indianised people (3).

A foreign trade, direct or indirect, which introduced foreign goods into Malaya appears to have been carried out by the non-Indianised inhabitants of the site of Kuala Selinsing (4). But, the Pengkalan Bujang evidence indicates that during the Indianised period a development in Malaya's participation in international trade took place which made Pengkalan Bujang an important commercial centre in South-east Asia (5).

(1) See page 68

(2) See table 6

(3) See pages 14, 17, 23

(4) See pages 25, 27-9

(5) See page 71

The Indianised period also stimulated artistic development. No sculptural remains have been obtained in Malaya dated prior to this period. Whilst the Buddhist bronzes of Perak and Kedah were probably imported (1), the majority of the stone sculptures, found both in bas relief and in the round, and the terracotta sculptures were most likely of a local manufacture (2).

(c) Chronology.

Wales proposed that between the 4th and the 6th century A.D. Indianised settlements were established in Kedah and the Kinta Valley, Perak (3). However, a review of the chronological evidence from Kedah Sites 1, 2 and 3, which he assigned to this period, shows that this date was too early for these sites (4). The absence of structural remains and the distribution of the Perak Buddhist sculptures imply that there was no Indianised settlement in the Kinta Valley (5). Besides this, the "Gupta" style statues recovered here, cited by Wales as chronological evidence, are not satisfactorily dated and being movable objects could have ante-dated their cultural contexts (6).

From this it appears that Wales' 4th to 6th century date is not supported by convincing archaeological evidence and therefore, not acceptable. This also applies to Lamb's pre 7th century date for an "Early Buddhist phase" (7).

(1) See page 113

(2) See page 60, table 4

(3) See page 77

(4) See pages 86-8

(5) See page 44

(6) See page 113

(7) See page 78

The question that inevitable follows is whether there is evidence for the presence of Indianised sites by the 7th century. The Kedah Site 2 inscription has been recently ascribed to the early 7th century by de Casparis (1). However, for reasons discussed earlier, this date, which is based on a study of the form of the script used, need not necessarily coincide with the date of the site at which it was found (2). All that can be concluded from de Casparis' date is that Kedah Site 2 is not earlier than the 7th century A.D.

Lamb dated his second phase of Indianised settlement, the "Śrīvijayan phase", to between the 7th and 9th century A.D. He wrote that he would be "inclined to include the bulk of Wales' Bujang sites down to his sites Nos. 16 and 16a" in this phase (Kedah Sites 2-6, 10-16A), but pointed out that the "chronology of this phase is not without problems" (3).

As one of these problems Lamb mentioned that the T'ang date (618-906 A.D.), given by Wales to ceramic wares from his Upper Bujang sites, is now doubted and held to be too early. He further stated that the "celadons", which Evans reported finding near Kedah Sites 4 and 5, could have belonged to the Sung, Yuan or Ming periods and would have, therefore, implied later dates for these sites (4).

Moreover, my analysis of the chronological data found at these Bujang sites shows that there is hardly any archaeological grounds for dating them to between the 7th to the 9th century A.D. (5).

(1) See page 87

(2) See page 85

(3) Lamb 1961 : 79

(4) Lamb 1961 : 79

(5) See pages 87-91, 96-101

Unfortunately, not sufficient evidence is available to enable one to put forth an approximate date for the origin of the Indianised settlement and to back it up with convincing archaeological evidence. But, it is possible to state with a certain degree of confidence that between the 11th to the 14th century the Indianised culture was flourishing (1). It also appears that this culture came to an end with the spread of Islam to this area around the late 15th or early 16th century (2).

Using these somewhat reliable dates, it is possible to tentatively propose a 9th century date for the establishment of an Indianised settlement in the Kedah/Province Wellesley area.

First, a 9th century date would give this settlement an ample timespan of 200 years to establish itself before Pengkalan Bujang emerged as an important commercial centre in the 11th century.

Secondly, the distribution of these sites shows that, with the exception of Bukit Choras, they fall within an 8 mile radius (see map 3). This limited occupation area suggests that a later chronology than that proposed by Wales (4th-6th century A.D.) and Lamb (7th century A.D.) (3) should be assigned to these sites.

Thirdly, as Lamb pointed out, the architectural similarity of the Kedah pillar based sites indicates that they were built over a shorter timespan than that proposed by Wales (4).

(1) See page 113

(2) See page 79

(3) See page 77-8

(4) Lamb 1961 : 80

And fourthly, apart from the Kedah Site 2 inscription, there is no archaeological data to support a pre 9th century date for any of the Indianised sites. But, as shown above, although the Kedah Site 2 inscription was assigned to the early 7th century, the site from which it was obtained could quite easily belong to a later period.

(d) The Establishment and Development.

It seems that the earliest known artifacts attributed to a Hindu/Buddhist culture were found at the non-Indianised site of Kuala Selinsing. Although the evidence strongly implies that these artifacts were the result of a direct or indirect contact with certain parts of Indianised South-east Asia, the possibility of an Indian contact cannot be totally disregarded (1). The stratigraphical distribution of Indianised gold objects and Indian beads discovered here indicates that these contacts took place from the initial occupation of this site which is held to be around the 6th or perhaps even as early as the 4th century A.D. (2).

From the Kuala Selinsing evidence it, therefore, appears that contacts with a Hindu/Buddhist culture or cultures were known in Malaya prior to the establishment of the Indianised settlement.

Until recently, it was generally held, that the Indianised culture of North-western Malaya was the result of an Indian colonisation or direct Indian cultural influences (3). But, there is, no archaeological evidence to support this concept (4). Certain artifacts from these sites, however, suggest affinities with Indianised South-east Asia, especially Indonesia (5).

(1) See page 27-9

(2) See pages 21, 29

(3) See page 114

(4) See pages 115-20

(5) See pages 121-39

At the moment, it is not possible to determine whether the builders of these sites were local people who absorbed Indianised culture traits or whether the impetus behind this culture lay in a group of Indianised migrants from South-east Asia.

Although the archaeological evidence can in no way tell us the initial cause for the establishment of an Indianised settlement here, its location appears to have been influenced by the trade potential offered by the area. The development of this culture was also closely bound up with commercial activity for the 11th to the 14th century, during which most of the shrine sites were built, coincided with the period of flourishing international trade at Pengkalan Bujang.

The Malayan Evidence and the Indianisation of South-east Asia.

Two significant conclusions concerning the Indianisation of South-east Asia may be made from this study of the Malayan evidence: first, about the spread of Indianised cultural traits in South-east Asia and secondly, on the rôle played by Malaya in this spread.

Until recently, the Indianisation of South-east Asia has been attributed to an Indian initiative. Coedès wrote,

"If the Indianisation of Father India around the beginning of the Christian Era seems to be a new development, it is because the Indians - who were not on their first voyage, but were arriving in great numbers - were accompanied for the first time by educated elements capable of spreading the religions and arts of India and the Sanskrit language" (1).

(1) Coedès 1968 : 15

Majumdar also felt that the Indianisation of South-east Asia was the result of an Indian migration and direct cultural influence. According to him,

"The missionary zeal of the Brahmans and Buddhists, pressure caused by increasing population and invasion of foreign hordes, and the spirit of adventure of the Kshatriya princes and nobles were added to the commercial enterprise of the merchants, and caused a steady flow of Indian emigrants to various parts of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the East Indies. Many of these emigrants permanently settled in these foreign lands Thus grew up the Indian colonial kingdoms which were constantly strengthened by fresh streams of immigration from the motherland" (1).

A different view was put forth by van Leur. From a study of the Indonesian material he concluded that an Indian colonisation of Indonesia did not take place. He attributed the Indianisation of Indonesia rather to the actions of Indonesian rulers and aristocratic groups who came into contact with India either by trade carried out by Indonesian shipping or through the intermediacy of Indian shipping. These rulers and aristocrats in an "attempt at legitimizing their interests involved in international trade and organising and domesticating their states and subjects, called Indian civilisation to the east - that is to say they summoned the Brahman priesthood to their courts" (2).

(1) Majumdar 1944 : 7

(2) van Leur 1955 : 98

These views on the spread of Indianisation to South-east Asia imply a direct contact with India. The Malayan evidence, however, shows that the presence of an Indianised culture does not necessarily indicate direct contacts with India, but could be the result of a secondary spread of Indianised traits within South-east Asia (1).

From the above evidence it is possible to conclude that a single interpretative model cannot be used for the Indianisation of South-east Asia. The stimulus behind the creation of each Indianised settlement or kingdom has, therefore, to be studied in its own terms.

Secondly, it appears that the concept of Kedah as an early centre of Indianisation, which served as a relay station of Indianised culture in South-east Asia, does not hold good any more.

According to Wales, Kedah belonged to the "western zone" of Greater India which "..... served to some extent to maintain and to pass on the Indian influences to the regions further east where local genius was active" (2).

Although, as Lamb pointed out, this view may have some "a priori geographical sense", as Malaya lies on the sea route between India and the greater part of South-east Asia, it is not, however, supported by the archaeological evidence (3).

For instance, Wales' early date of the 4th to 6th century for an Indianised settlement in Kedah is not acceptable (4). It is possible that the Kedah/Province Wellesley Indianised

(1) See page 147

(2) Wales 1961 : 29

(3) Lamb 1961 : 72

(4) See page 144

settlement was established as late as the 9th century A.D. (1). By this time Indianised culture was known to various parts of South-east Asia.

Besides this, the absence of Indian influences and the presence of objects displaying affinities to various parts of South-east Asia (2) caused Lamb to conclude,

"If it is acceptable that the Kedah sites need not be an essential stepping stone in the eastward spread of Indianisation, then we can better appreciate the odd mixture of cultural influences which are to be seen there" (3).

Therefore, instead of acting as a relay station in the spread of Indianisation to South-east Asia, Kedah appears to have been a recipient area for influences from various parts of Indianised South-east Asia.

(1) See page 146-7

(2) See page 147

(3) Lamb 1961 : 72

Appendix 1

A Criticism of Wales' Brick Chronology.

Wales wrote,

"From a comparative study of the dimensions of typical bricks from Kedah sites for the dating of which other evidence exists, it seems that breadth is the dimension which is of most value as giving an indication of age, and a rough division into two classes may thus be established on this basis:-

Class 1. Bricks having a breadth of 7" or over suggests that they were made prior to about 900 A.D.

Class 2. Bricks having a breadth of less than 7" suggests that they were made later than about 900 A.D." (1).

This classification faces a number of limitations.

First, as I have shown in my site by site chronological analysis, a large proportion of the dates assigned by Wales to his Kedah sites, on which these brick dates are based, are not supported by reliable or convincing chronological data (2).

Secondly, there appears to be a discrepancy in Wales' brick classification. He classified the brick found at Kedah Site 12 to the "Class 1" group inspite of its breadth being 6½". According to Wales' classification this brick should belong to the "Class 2" group, which "were made later than about 900 A.D.". He, however, dated this site to between the 8th and 9th century A.D. (3).

(1) Wales 1940 : 45

(2) See pages 86-106

(3) Wales 1940 : 28

At a number of sites (Kedah Sites 13, 20, 24 and 30) both "Class 1" and "Class 2" bricks were present (1). I refer to these sites as Mixed brick sites. Wales explained the mixture of bricks here in terms of the "Class 1" bricks being re-employed at the later sites (2). This explanation is, however, contradicted by the brick remains.

For instance, a comparison of the "Class 1" brick sizes from the Mixed brick sites and the brick sizes from exclusively "Class 1" brick sites shows that none of the "Class 1" bricks found at the Mixed brick sites are similar in size to those found at the exclusively "Class 1" sites (3).

Besides this, a study of the distribution pattern of the "Class 1" brick sites in relation to the Mixed brick sites shows that it is unlikely that "Class 1" bricks recovered at the Mixed brick sites originated from the "earlier Class 1" sites.

All the known "Class 1" brick sites are located on the Upper Bujang. The Kedah Site 24, Mixed brick site, is quite a distance from these sites and is located on a different river system (4). It is unlikely that "Class 1" bricks would have been transported such a distance, especially since it appears that bricks were quite commonly used in this area during this period (see Kedah Sites 29 and 31) (5).

(1) Wales 1940 : 46

(2) Wales 1940 : 45

(3) See table 7

(4) See map 6

(5) Wales 1940 : 44

Lamb 1961 : 20

Wales and Wales 1947 : 10

An examination of Wales' table of brick sizes shows that even within the "Class 1" and "Class 2" categories there is considerable variation in the breadth, height and depth of the bricks. Also, at a particular "Class 1" or "Class 2" site different sized bricks have been recorded (1). This implies that there was no standardisation of the bricks produced and that the size was dependant not on the time factor, but rather on human idiosyncrasy.

(1) Wales 1940 : 46

Appendix 2

The following quotations from the Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa show that the settlement referred to in the text was situated in Kedah, near Kedah Peak (Gunong Jerai).

Quotation 1. Sturrock's Romanised Version.

"Bahwa pulau yang bĕsar itu
baharu hĕndak bĕrsatu dĕngan
daratan itu bĕrnama Pulau Seri," (1).

Translation (after Low).

"The large island we have reached is now becoming attached to the mainland and its name is Pulo Srai (or Sri) my lord" (2).

Quotation 2. Sturrock's Romanised Version.

"..... raja Marong Mahawangsa
mĕmbuat nĕgeri ka-timur pulau Sĕri itu
hĕndak mĕnĕntukan khabar anak raja Rum itu
kalau-kalau ada hidup-nya atau tidak" (3).

Translation (2).

"..... Raja Marong Mahawangsa founded a settlement east of Sĕri island in the hope of receiving news as to whether the son of the King of Rum was alive or dead" (4).

In a later passage, Pulau Sĕri was identified with Gunong Jerai (Kedah Peak).

Quotation 3. Sturrock's Romanised Version.

"..... pulau Sĕri itu sangat-lah sudah hĕndak mĕnjadi bĕrtemu dĕngan daratan akhir-nya bĕrnama gunong Jĕrai karna sĕbab tinggi-nya" (5).

(1) Sturrock 1916 : 45

(2) Low 1849 : 8

(3) Sturrock 1916 : 55

(4) My translation

(5) Sturrock 1916 : 59

Translation (after de Josselin de Jong) .

"Pulau Séri was almost joined to the mainland and was eventually called Gunong (= mount) Jerai on account of its height" (1).

Wales pointed out that during the Indianised period, Gunong Jerai could have been a Peninsula protruding into the sea which was mistaken for an island (2). Gunong Jerai is today a few miles inland from the coast, but there is evidence for a seaward extension of the coastline in this area (3).

(1) Wheatley 1961 : 261

(2) Wales 1940 : 2

(3) See pages 40-2

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TABLE 1
List of Indianised Sites in
North-Western Malaya (1)

A. KEDAH

(The system of site numbering is that used by Wales)

Kedah Site 1 (Bukit Choras)
 Kedah Site 2
 Kedah Site 3
 Kedah Site 4
 Kedah Site 5
 Kedah Site 6
 Kedah Site 7 (Bukit Gajah Mati)
 Kedah Site 8 (Sungai Batu Pahat)
 Kedah Site 9 (Kedah Peak)
 Kedah Site 10
 Kedah Site 11
 Kedah Site 12
 Kedah Site 13
 Kedah Site 14
 Kedah Site 15
 Kedah Site 16
 Kedah Site 16A
 Kedah Site 17 (Bukit Pendiyat)
 Kedah Site 18)
 Kedah Site 19)
 Kedah Site 20) (Pengkalan Bujang Sites)
 Kedah Site 21)
 Kedah Site 22)
 Kedah Site 23)
 Kedah Site 24 (Tikam Batu)
 Kedah Site 25 (Bukit Penjara)
 Kedah Site 26 (Bukit Meriam)
 Kedah Site 28 (Srokam)
 Kedah Site 29 (Kampong Sireh) (2)
 Kedah Site 31 (Matang Pasir)
 Bukit Batu Lintang
 Sungai Batu Pahat Eastern Complex

B. PROVINCE WELLESLEY (P.W.)

P.W. Site 1 (Guak Kepah)
 P.W. Site 2 (Kampong Setol) (3)

C. PERLIS

(These Perlis Sites contained non-structural Indianised remains i.e. Mahayana votive tablets)

Gua Berhala
 Gua Kurong Batang

- (1) This list is based on published reports of Indianised Sites and is in no way a complete list. I have excluded a number of sites on the basis that there is little evidence that they fall into the pre- Islamic Indianised period. These sites are :-

Kedah Site 30 (Wales 1940 : 45)

Kota Aur - The ceramic evidence from this site appears to suggest an Islamic date (Sullivan 1958 : 212-6).

Kampong Pasir (Wang 1958 : 222)

Kampong Matang Kedundong (Wang 1958 : 223)

Lahat Tiang (Sullivan 1958 : 217)

- (2) This site was incorrectly identified by Wales as Kota Aur. According to the local villagers, Kota Aur is located on the south bank of the Sungei Muda (Sullivan 1961 : 19).
- (3) A quarter mile downstream from Kampong Setol, opposite Kedah Site 29, both Low and Wales recorded the presence of Indianised shrines. Wales, however, did not assign site numbers to these remains.
(Wales 1940 : 45)
(Wales and Wales 1947 : 6)

TABLE 2

Site	Location of the structural remains		
	River Bank	Riverine Hill	Left (L) or Right (R) Bank
Kedah 1		X	L
Kedah 2	X		R
Kedah 3	X		R
Kedah 4	X		R
Kedah 5	X		R
Kedah 6	X		R
Kedah 7		X	L
Kedah 8		X	R
Kedah 9		X	
Kedah 10	X		L
Kedah 11	X		R
Kedah 12	X		R
Kedah 13	X		R
Kedah 14	X		L
Kedah 15	X		R
Kedah 16	X		L
Kedah 16A	X		L
Kedah 17		X	R
Kedah 18	X		R
Kedah 19	X		L
Kedah 20		X	L
Kedah 21	X		L
Kedah 22	X		L
Kedah 23	X		L
Kedah 24		X	R
Kedah 25		X	L
Kedah 26		X	
Kedah 28	X		R
Kedah 29	X		R
Kedah 30	X		R
Kedah 31	X		L
Bukit Batu Lintang		X	R
Sungei Batu Pahat - Eastern Complex	X		L
P.W. 1	X		L
P.W. 2	X		L

Functional identification of the Indianised sites in Kedah and Province Wellesley.

Site	Scholar	Identification	Basis of Identification
Kedah 1			
(a) northern structure	Wales (1940)	Buddhist stūpa	architecture
(b) southern structure	Wales (1940)	Buddhist vihāra or monk's residence	small-finds
Kedah 2	Wales (1940)	Buddhist stūpa	architecture, Buddhist inscription
Kedah 3	Wales (1940)	Buddhist structure, probably stūpa	architecture
Kedah 4	Evans (1927a)	Hindu shrine	yoni, Hindu sculptural remains
Kedah 4	Wales (1940)	Hindu shrine (Śaivite)	architecture, orientation (facing east), sculpture
Kedah 5	Wales (1940)	Hindu shrine	architecture, orientation
Kedah 6	Wales (1940)	Hindu shrine	architecture
Kedah 7	Wales (1940)	Hindu shrine (Śaivite)	architecture
Kedah 8	Wales (1940)	Hindu (Śaivite) tomb-temple or chandi	architecture, reliquaries, sculptural remains
Kedah 8 (Sungei Batu Pahat)	Lamb (1960)	tomb-temple, mixture of Hindu and Buddhist cultures	architecture, foundation deposits
Kedah 9	Lefroy (Irby 1905)	(a) beacon to guide shipping (b) fortified retreat	location, architecture
Kedah 9	Irby (1905)	religious structure	location, architecture
Kedah 9	Evans (1927a)	Hindu or Buddhist religious struct.	location, architecture
Kedah 9	Wales (1940)	complex of Hindu shrines	location, architecture
Kedah 10	Wales (1940)	Buddhist shrine (Mahāyāna)	orientation, architecture, inscriptions
Kedah 11	Wales (1940)	secular building	architectural similarity with Site K12
Kedah 12	Wales (1940)	secular building	small-finds
Kedah 13	Wales (1940)	Buddhist shrine (Mahāyāna)	architecture, similarities with Site K14
Kedah 14	Wales (1940)	Buddhist shrine	foundation deposit, inscription
Kedah 15	Wales (1940)	shrine (author does not mention whether Hindu or Buddhist)	architecture
Kedah 16	Wales (1940)	Buddhist shrine (tantric)	foundation deposits
Kedah 16A	Waleses (1947)	Buddhist shrine	Buddha image
Kedah 17	Wales (1940)	no identification	
Kedah 18	Wales (1940)	secular structure (palace)	architectural similarity to sites K11 and K12, absence of ritual objects, Chinese ceramics (good quality)
Kedah 19	Wales (1940)	Hindu shrine (Śaivite)	small-finds
Kedah 20	Wales (1940)	Hindu shrine (Śaivite)	architectural similarity to site K19
Kedah 21, 22, 23	Wales (1940)	shrines (author does not state whether Hindu or Buddhist)	presumably architecture
Kedah 24 (Tikam Batu)	Wales (1940)	Hindu shrine	pedestal, liṅga
Kedah 24	Waleses (1947)		
Kedah 24	Sullivan (1958)	complex of shrines	architectural remains
Kedah 25	Wales (1940)	shrine	architecture
Kedah 26	Wales (1940)	probably a shrine	architecture
Kedah 28	Wales (1940)	probably a shrine	
Kedah 29	Wales (1940)	fort	lay out of the site
Kedah 29 (Kampong Sireh)	Sullivan (1958)	fort	lay out of the site
Kedah 29 (surrounding area)	Lamb (1961)	trading station	amount and distribution of pottery
Kedah 30	Wales (1940)	no identification	
Kedah 31 (Matang Pasir)	Waleses (1947)	shrine	pedestal
Kedah 31	Sullivan (1958)	Buddhist shrine	architecture, sculptural remains
Kedah 31	Lamb (1961)	Hindu or Buddhist shrine	architecture, small-finds
Bukit Batu Lintang	Sullivan (1958)		
(a) base of the hill		settlement	evidence of domestic occupation
(b) top of the hill		Hindu shrine	architecture, sculptural evidence
Sungei Batu Pahat Eastern Complex	Lamb (1961)	a possible priest's residence	architecture, location (near K8)
Pengkalan Bujang (surrounding area)	Lamb (1961)	trading station	large deposits of pottery, glass and beads
P.W. 1	Waleses (1947)	Buddhist stūpa	architecture, piece of gold leaf similar to that found at the site K2
P.W. 2	Waleses (1947)	no identification	

K - Kedah

P.W. - Province Wellesley

TABLE 4

Stone Religious Sculptures

(Pedestal remains, which would have originally supported religious sculptures, are also included in the table)

<u>Sculpture</u>	<u>Material</u>	<u>Location</u>
Durgā (triumphing over Mahishasura)	Granite	Kedah Site 4
Ganeśa	Granite	Sungei Batu Estate
Ganeśa	Granite	Kedah Site 4
Possible Ganeśa	Granite	Bukit Batu Lintang
Nandi	Granite	Kedah Site 4
Liṅga	Granite	Kedah Site 4
Liṅga	Quartzite	Kedah Site 24
Dvārapāla*	Granite	Bukit Batu Lintang
Female divinity head (possible Yakshini)	Granite	Bukit Batu Lintang
Pedestal	Sandstone	Kedah Site 24
Pedestal	?	Near Province Wellesley Site 2
Pedestal fragment	Granite	Pengkalan Bujang

* A temple guardian

TABLE 5

Bronze Image Sculptures and Associated Remains

<u>Sculpture</u>	<u>Location</u>
Buddha	Pengkalan (Perak)
Buddha	Tanjong Rambutan (Perak)
Buddha	Site 16A (Kedah)
Buddha head	Matang Pasir (Kedah)
Avalokiteśvara	Bidor (Perak)
Avalokiteśvara	Sungei Siput (Perak)
Avalokiteśvara	Sungei Siput (Perak)
<u>Associated Remains</u>	<u>Location</u>
Buddha throne	Pengkalan (Perak)
Lotus	Matang Pasir (Kedah)
Pedestal and trident	Site 8 (Kedah)
Trident	Site 19 (Kedah)
Possible pedestal	Site 11 (Kedah)
Fragmentary aureole, base and finger of an image or images	Site 16 (Kedah)

TABLE 6

The Main Building Materials Used at the Indianised Sites.

Site	Building Material				
	G	L	RB	B	
Kedah 1		X			
Kedah 2		X			red slate
Kedah 3		X			
Kedah 4	X	X	X	X	
Kedah 5		X	X	X	
Kedah 6		X	X	X	
Kedah 7	X	X			
Kedah 8	X		X		
Kedah 9	X	X		X	sandstone
Kedah 10			X	X	
Kedah 11		X	X	X	
Kedah 12			X	X	
Kedah 13			X	X	
Kedah 14		X		X	earth
Kedah 15		X		X	
Kedah 16		X		X	
Kedah 16A				X	
Kedah 17				X	
Kedah 18		X		X	ceramic tiles
Kedah 19			X	X	
Kedah 20				X	
Kedah 21				X	ceramic tiles
Kedah 22				X	
Kedah 23				X	
Kedah 24		X		X	
Kedah 25				X	
Kedah 26				X	
Kedah 29				X	sandstone
Kedah 31		X		X	
Bukit Batu Lintang		X		X	
Sungei Batu Pahat	X	X	X	X	
Eastern Complex					
P.W. 1	X	X	X		red slate
P.W. 2		X			

G - granite (blocks)

RB - river boulders P.W. - Province

L - laterite (blocks)

B - bricks

Wellesley

Besides the stone blocks used for the construction of the walls and floors, stone

(a) snāna-dronīs (yoni) (Kedah Sites 4, 5 and 8)

(b) soma-sūtras (Kedah Sites 5 and 8)

(c) lintels and doorframe (Kedah Site 18, P.W. Site 2)

(d) pillar bases (Kedah Sites 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 21 and 31)

were found at these sites.

The excavation by Lamb showed that stone was also employed in the construction of the roof of the sanctuary tower at Kedah Site 8. The presence of stone pillar bases indicates that wooden pillars were used.

Sources - Wales 1940 : 5-44
Irby 1905 : 77-8
Evans 1927a : 108-9, 117
Wales and Wales 1947 : 3-10
Sullivan 1958 : 193-5, 207
Lamb 1960 : 19-60
Lamb 1961 : 18

TABLE 7

The difference in "Class 1" brick sizes from

(a) "Class 1" brick sites

(b) Mixed brick sites

The table is arranged in a decending order of brick breadth.

Brick sizes from "Class 1" brick sites					"Class 1" brick sizes from Mixed brick sites				
L	X	B	X	H	L	X	B	X	H
16"	X	9 $\frac{2}{4}$ "	X	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (S. 13)					
13"	X	9"	X	3" (S. 10)					
14"	X	9"	X	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (S. 11)					
14"	X	9"	X	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " (S. 13)					
14 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	X	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	X	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (S. 13)	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	X	8 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	X	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (S. 20)
12 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	X	8 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	X	2" (S. 15)					
14 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	X	8 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	X	2" (S. 17)					
11 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	X	8"	X	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (S. 4)		X	8"	X	2" (S. 24) #
11"	X	8"	X	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " (S. 5)					
13 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	X	8"	X	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (S. 14)					
15"	X	8"	X	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (S. 17)					
12 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	X	7 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	X	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " (S. 13, str. a)	11"	X	7 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	X	2" (S. 30) #
11 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	X	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	X	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (S. 4)					
11 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	X	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	X	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (S. 10)					
10 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	X	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	X	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (S. 13, str.a)	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	X	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	X	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (S. 18) #
					12"	X	7"	X	1 $\frac{3}{4}$ " (S. 18)
					12 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	X	7"	X	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (S. 24)

L - Length

B - Breadth

H - Height

S - Site

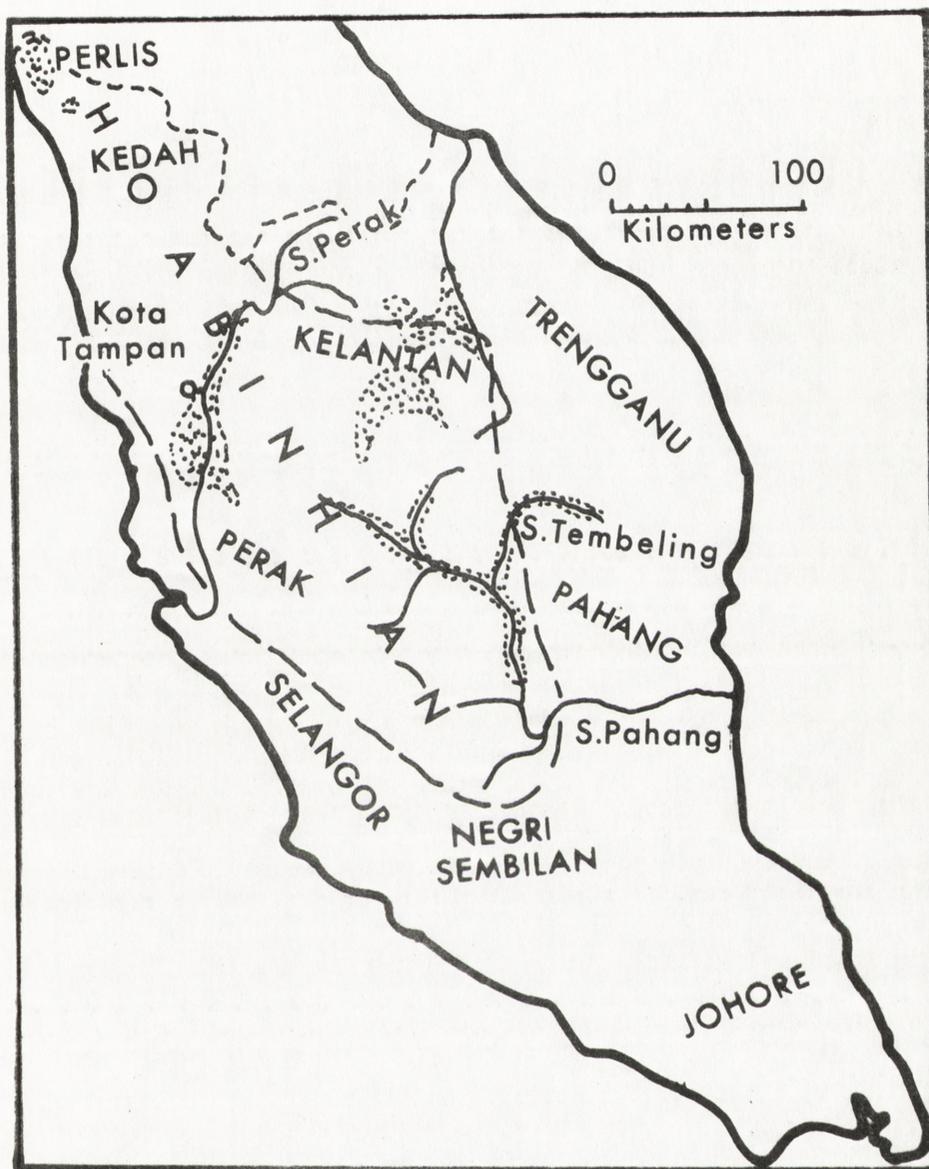
Str.- Structure

- Although similar in breadth, the bricks differ considerably in length

Source - Wales 1940 : 46

M A P 1

Distribution of Paleolithic, Hoabinhian
and Neolithic Remains in Malaya.

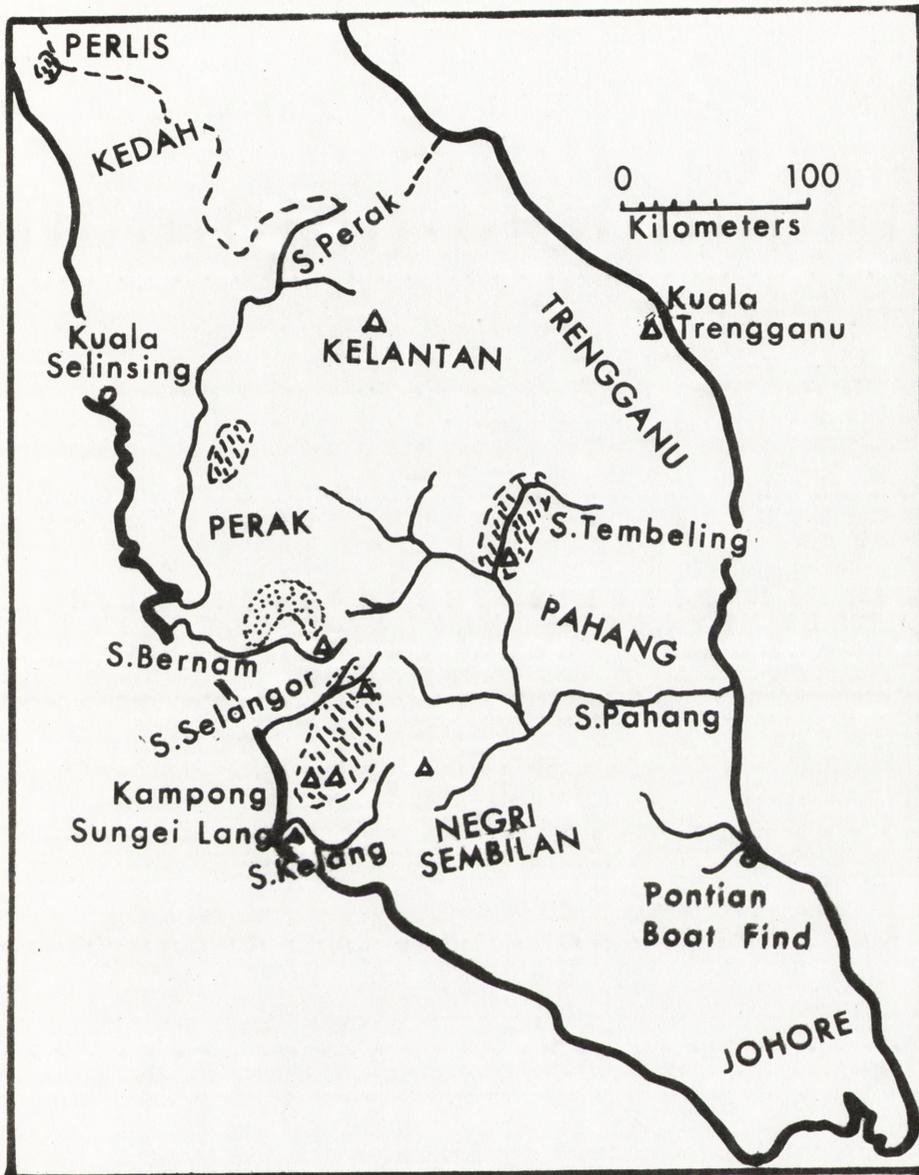


 Neolithic polished stone axes (or adzes)

 Paleolithic site

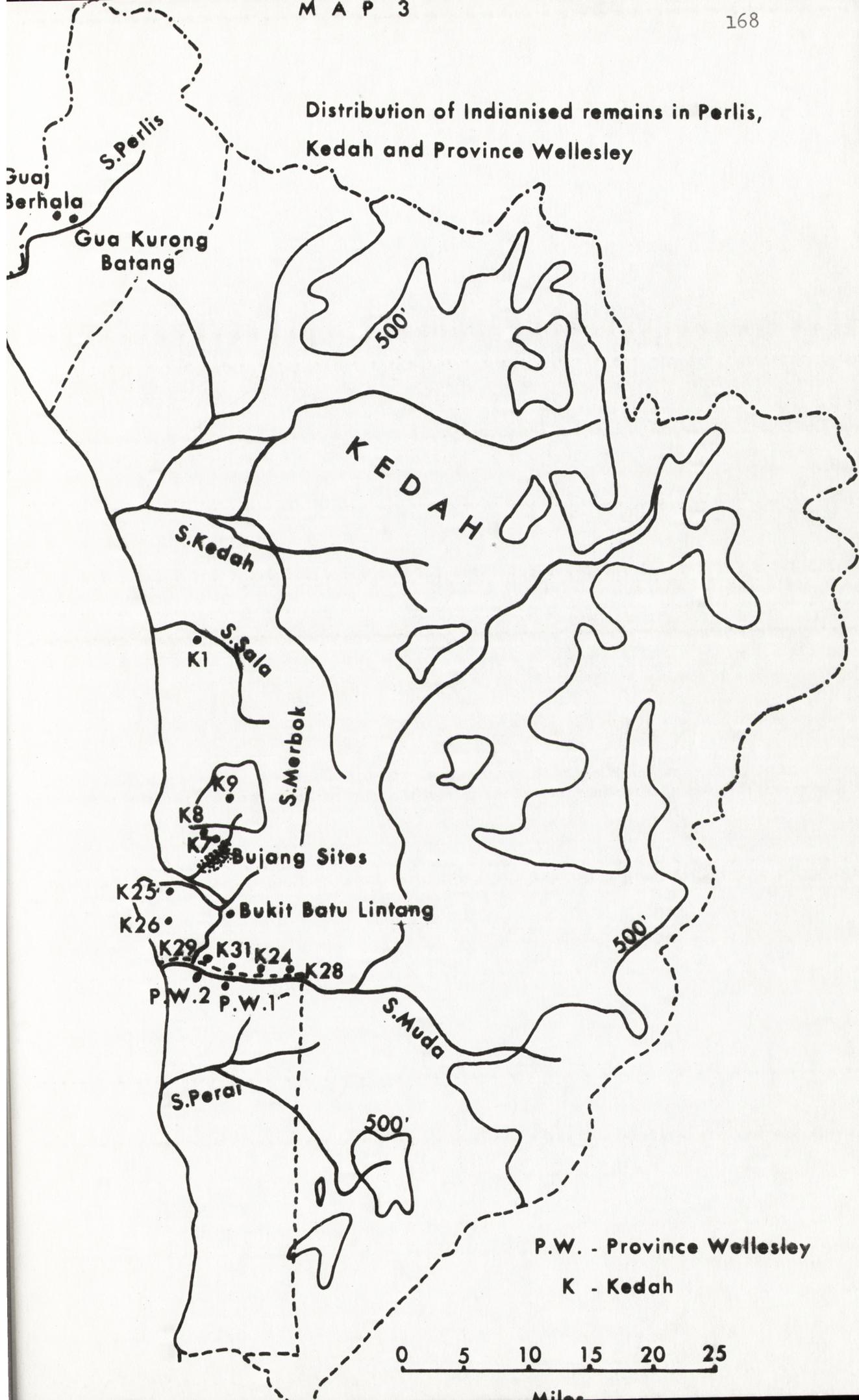
M A P 2

Distribution of Pre-Islamic Bronze and Iron Finds in Malaya.

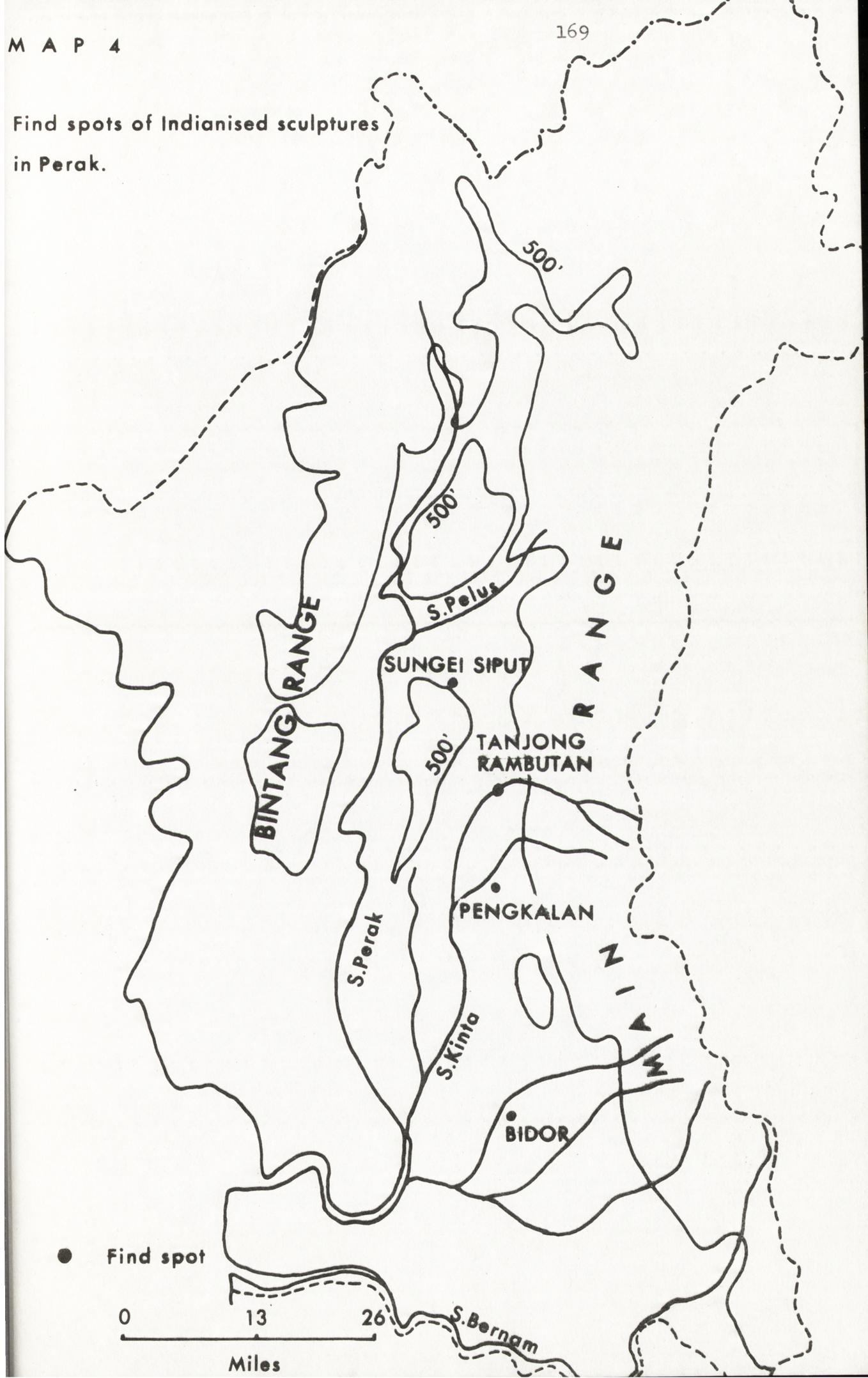


-  Stone slab structures with 'Tulang Mawas' iron finds
-  Other 'Tulang Mawas' iron finds
-  Bronze remains (celts, drums and bells)

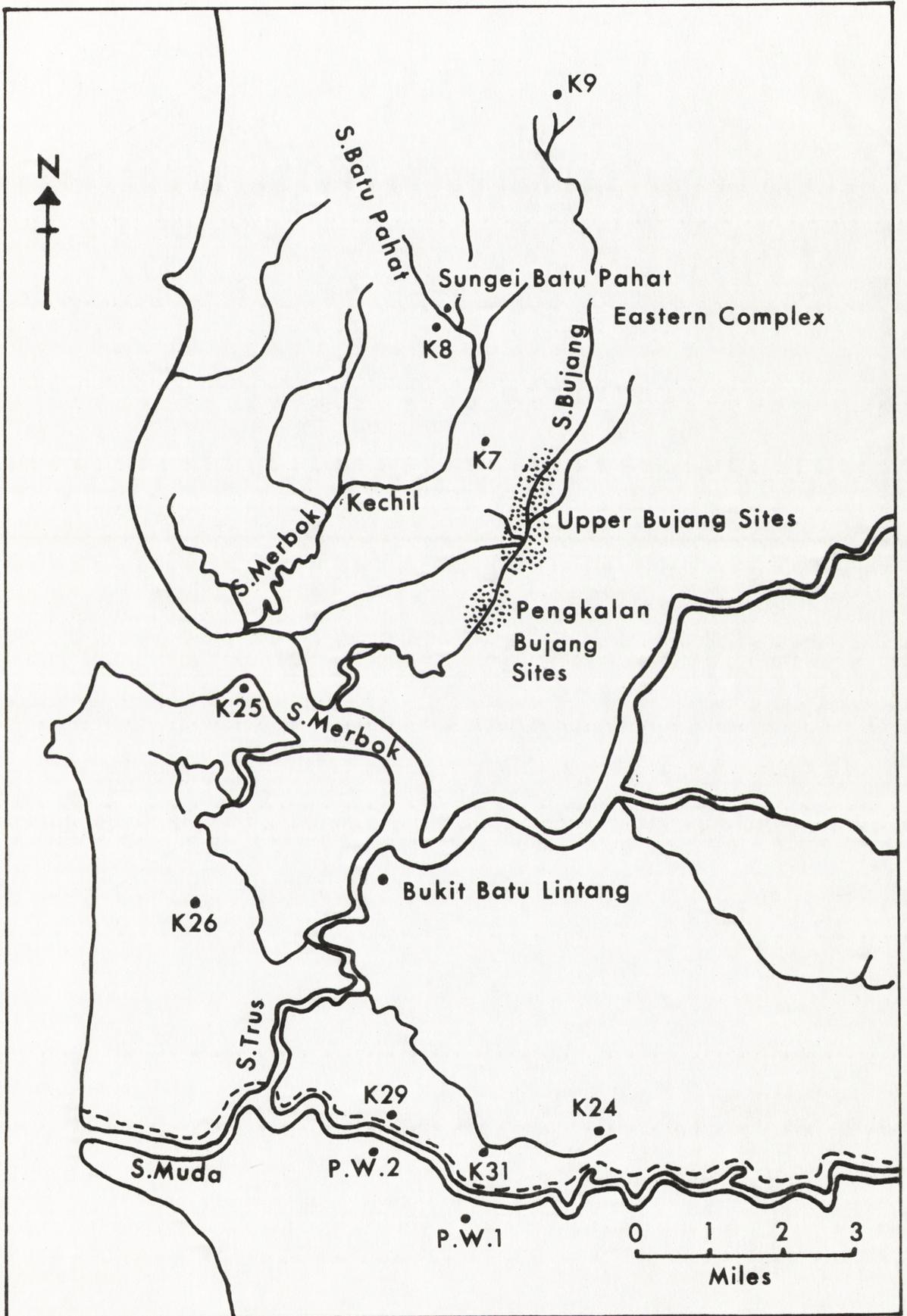
Distribution of Indianised remains in Perlis, Kedah and Province Wellesley



Find spots of Indianised sculptures
in Perak.



Distribution of Indianised sites in the Merbok-Muda area, Central Kedah.
(based on map by A.Lamb)

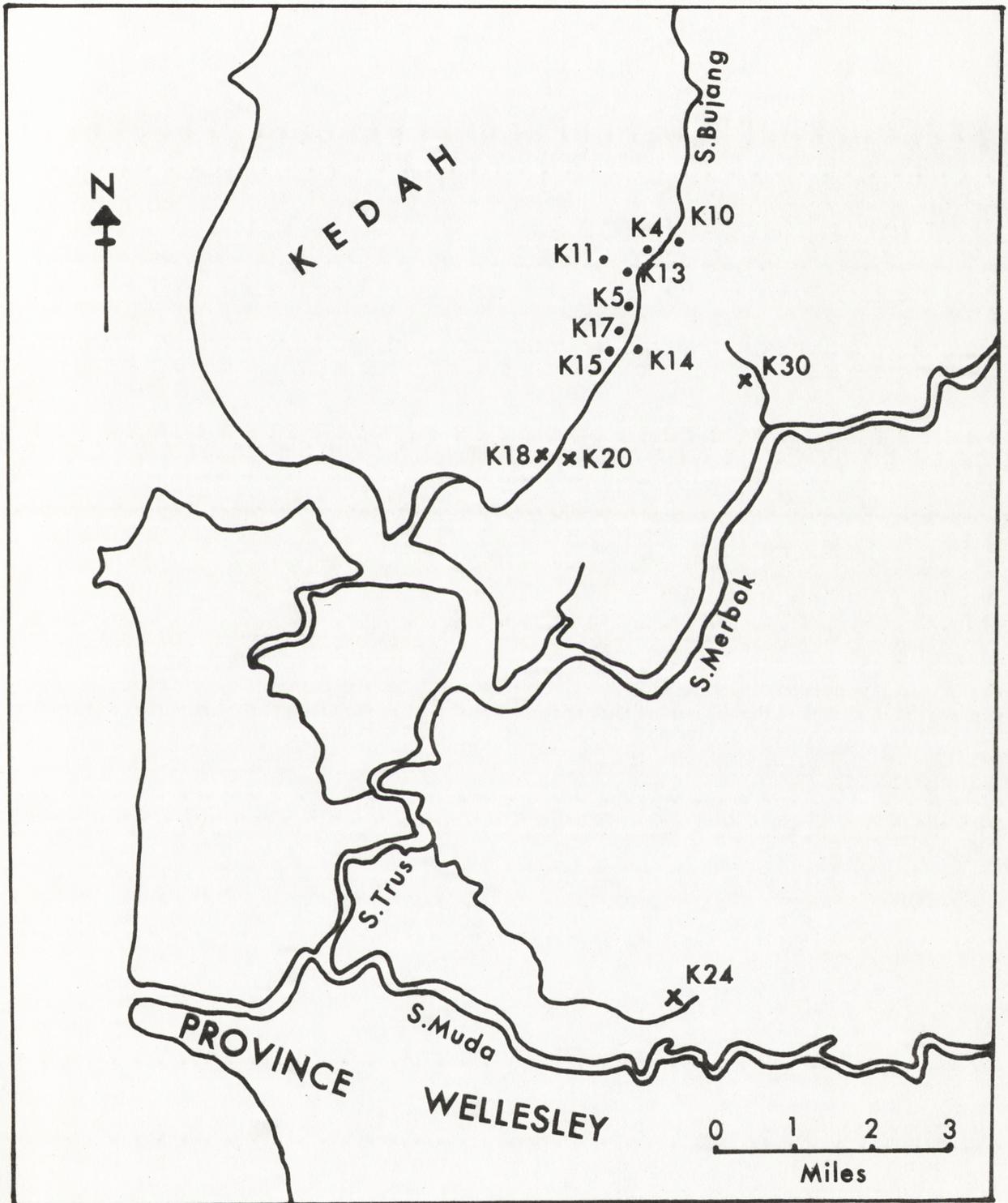


P.W. - Province Wellesley

K - Kedah

M A P 6

Distribution of Class 1 brick sites in relation to Mixed brick sites.



x Class 1 brick sites

● Mixed brick sites

PLATE 1

Earthenware sherds from Pengkalan Bujang.

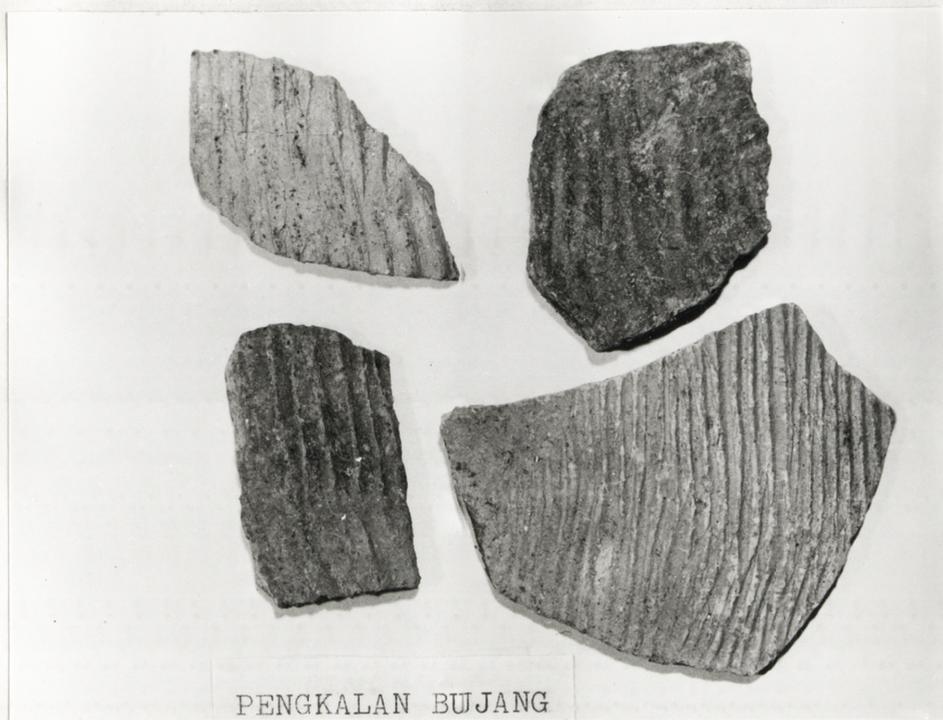


Plate 1 (a)



Plate 1 (b)

PLATE 2

Earthenware sherds from Malayan Neolithic Sites.

Plate 2 (a)



Plate 2 (b)



GUA CHA

Plate 2 (c)



GUA KECHIL

Plate 2 (d)

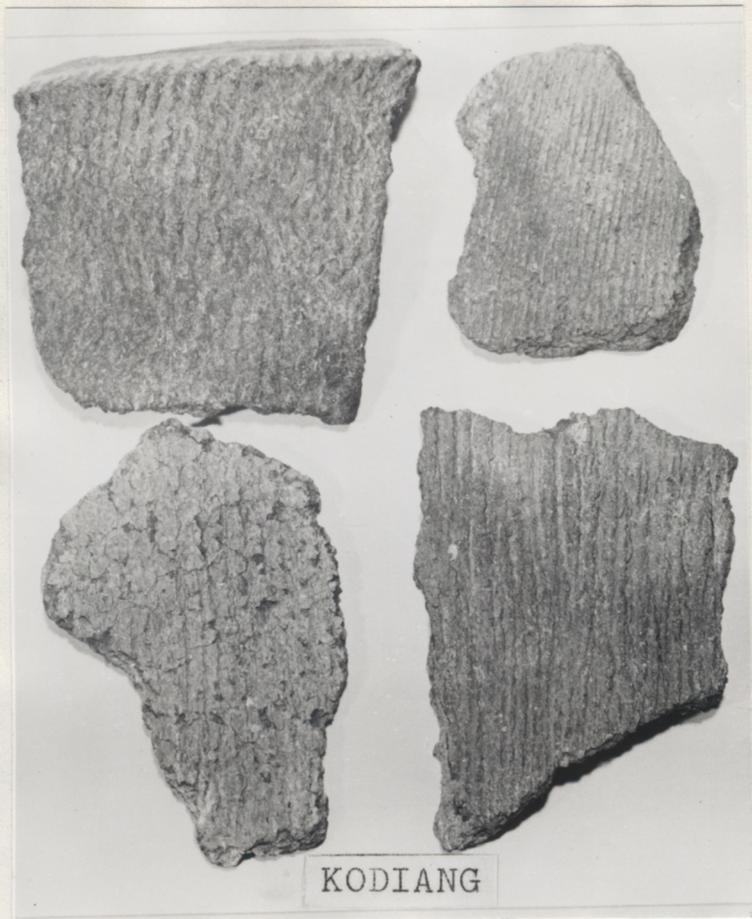


Plate 2 (e)

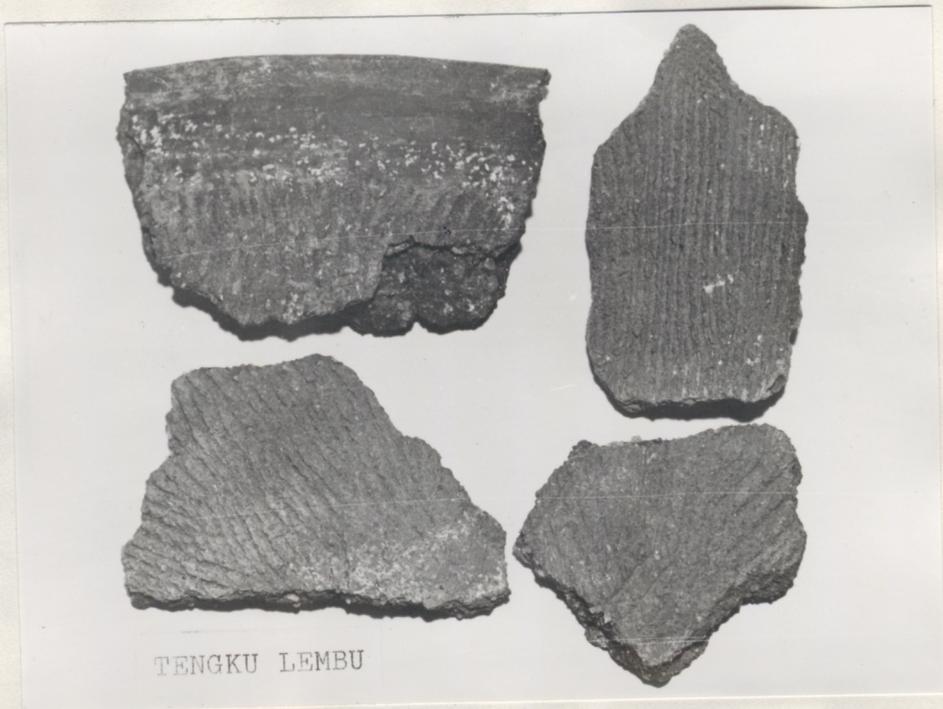


Plate 2 (f)

PLATE 3

Kedah Site 16 Miniature waisted drum.
 (from Wales 1940 plate 59)

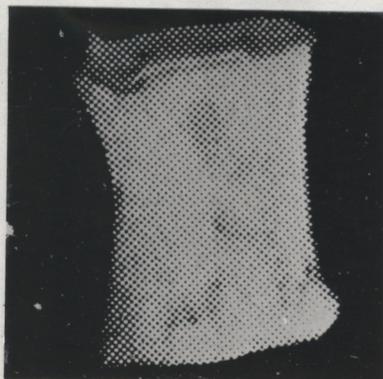


PLATE 4

Chibadak miniature waisted kettledrum.
 (from Kunst 1949 : 414 illustrated 4)



PLATE 5

Waisted drums carved on the bas reliefs at Borobudur.



Plate 5 (a) (from Kunst 1949 : 415
illustration 9)



Plate 5 (b) (from Kunst 1949 : 417
illustration 23)

PLATE 6

The Sungei Batu Pahat temple - Kedah Site 8
(Photo by N.R.)



PLATE 7

A view of the village of Pengkalan Bujang
(the river is the Sungei Bujang) (Photo by N.R.)



ABBREVIATIONS

- AA Aribus Asiae (Ascona).
- ABIA Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology (Leiden).
- AP Asian Perspectives (Honolulu).
- BEFEO Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême - Orient (Hanoi).
- BKI Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, uitgegeven door het koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie ('s Gravenhage).
- BRM Bulletin of the Raffles Museum (Singapore).
- FEQ Far Eastern Quarterly; Review of Eastern Asia and the Adjacent Pacific Islands (Wisconsin, New York).
- FMJ Federation Museums Journal (Kuala Lumpur).
- JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society (Washington).
- JASB Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).
- JATC Journal of the Academy of Tamil Culture (Madras).
- JFMSM Journal of the Federated Malay States' Museums (Taiping and Kuala Lumpur).
- JGIS Journal of the Greater India Society (Calcutta).
- JIAEA Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia (Singapore).
- JMBRAS Journal of the Malayan (Malaysian) Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Singapore). Malaysian Branch from 1964 onwards.

JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
of Great Britain and Ireland (London).

JRASB Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
of Bengal, Letters (Calcutta).

JSBRAS Journal of the Straits Branch of
the Royal Asiatic Society (Singapore).

JSS Journal of the Siam Society (Bangkok).

MH Malaya in History (Kuala Lumpur).
Before July 1957 known as The Malayan
Historical Journal.

PPS Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society
(Cambridge).

SMJ Sarawak Museum Journal (Kuching).

WA World Archaeology (London).

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