

EARLY INTERACTIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

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1. Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia
2. Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange

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Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia

Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange

Edited by

PIERRE-YVES MANGUIN, A. MANI
and GEOFF WADE



INSTITUTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES
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Contents

FOREWORD	
<i>K. Kesavapany</i>	ix
PREFACE	
<i>Pierre-Yves Manguin, A. Mani and Geoff Wade</i>	xi
INTRODUCTION	
<i>Pierre-Yves Manguin</i>	xiii
I. NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FROM SOUTH ASIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA	
1. Central Vietnam during the Period from 500 BCE to CE 500 <i>Lam Thi My Dzung</i>	3
2. Ban Don Ta Phet and Khao Sam Kaeo: The Earliest Indian Contacts Re-assessed <i>Ian C. Glover and Bérénice Bellina</i>	17
3. Preliminary Study of Indian and Indian Style Wares from Khao Sam Kaeo (Chumphon, Peninsular Thailand), Fourth-Second Centuries BCE <i>Phaedra Bouvet</i>	47
4. Early Contacts between India and the Andaman Coast in Thailand from the Second Century BCE to Eleventh Century CE <i>Boonyarit Chaisuwan</i>	83
5. The Batujaya Site: New Evidence of Early Indian Influence in West Java <i>Pierre-Yves Manguin and Agustijanto Indradjaja</i>	113

6. Continuity and Change in South Indian Involvement in Northern Sumatra: The Inferences of Archaeological Evidence from Kota Cina and Lamreh
E. Edwards McKinnon 137
7. South Asia and the Tapanuli Area (North-West Sumatra): Ninth-Fourteenth Centuries CE
Daniel Perret and Heddy Surachman 161
8. Emergence of Early Historic Trade in Peninsular India
K. Rajan 177
9. Contacts between India and Southeast Asia in Ceramic and Boat Building Traditions
V. Selvakumar 197
10. Marine Archaeological Investigations along the Tamil Nadu Coast and its Implications for Understanding the Cultural Expansion to Southeast Asian Countries
Sundaresh and A.S. Gaur 221
- II. LOCALISATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA
11. Tamil Merchants and the Hindu-Buddhist Diaspora in Early Southeast Asia
John Guy 243
12. The Spread of Sanskrit in Southeast Asia
Johannes Bronkhorst 263
13. The Early Inscriptions of Indonesia and the Problem of the Sanskrit Cosmopolis
Daud Ali 277
14. Indian Architecture in the 'Sanskrit Cosmopolis': The Temples of the Dieng Plateau
Julie Romain 299
15. The Importance of Gupta-period Sculpture in Southeast Asian Art History
Robert L. Brown 317

16. Individuals under the Glaze: Local Transformations of Indianisation in the Decorative Lintels of Angkor <i>Martin Polkinghorne</i>	333
17. Early Musical Exchange between India and Southeast Asia <i>Arsenio Nicolas</i>	347
18. Buddhism and the Circulation of Ritual in Early Peninsular Southeast Asia <i>Peter Skilling</i>	371
19. Early Buddhism in Myanmar: <i>Ye Dhammā</i> Inscriptions from Arakan <i>Kyaw Minn Htin</i>	385
20. Hindu Deities in Southern Vietnam: Images on Small Archaeological Artefacts <i>Le Thi Lien</i>	407
21. ‘The Depositing of the Embryo’ – Temple Consecration Rituals in the Hindu Tradition of South and Southeast Asia: A Study of the Textual and Archaeological Evidence <i>Anna A. Ślaczka</i>	433
22. Localisation of Indian Influences as Reflected in the Laotian Versions of the <i>Ramayana</i> <i>Sachchidanand Sahai</i>	443
23. Broken Threads: Contested Histories of Brahminism in Cambodia and Thailand and the Construction of Ritual Authority <i>Boreth Ly</i>	461
LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS	483
INDEX	491

Foreword

In late 2006, the National Library Board (NLB), in the person of Mrs Pushpa Latha Devi Naidu, approached ISEAS with a proposal for a 'Conference on Early Indian Influences in Southeast Asia'. The conference was to be held in conjunction with an exhibition that NLB was organising. Professors Mani and Ramasamy were asked to coordinate the conference with funding contributions from NLB, the Institute of South Asian Studies (ISAS) and the Asia Research Institute (ARI), and the Chola Mandalam Group in Tamil Nadu. ISEAS on its part provided the logistical support and coordination for the conference with additional funding support. It is important to note the help that Professors Hermann Kulke and Pierre-Yves Manguin, visiting scholars at ARI rendered to the conceptualisation of the conference. A total of 52 regional and international experts presented papers on various aspects of early Indian Influence in Southeast Asia at the three-day conference from 21-23 November 2007. The themes of the conference included 'naval expeditions of the Cholas', 'archaeological and inscriptional evidence of early Indian influence', 'ancient and medieval commercial activities' and 'regional cultures and localization'.

The papers are being published as two separate volumes under the auspices of the Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre at ISEAS. Hermann Kulke, K. Kesavapany and Vijay Sakhuja edited the volume on *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia*, while Pierre-Yves Manguin, A. Mani and Geoff Wade edited this volume on *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange*. The papers in both volumes present the reflections of scholars on this important historical period of Southeast Asia and its relations with South Asia.

I wish to thank all the co-sponsors of the project, namely the Directors of NLB, ISAS and ARI for their generous support. I also wish to thank Mr Subbiah of the Chola Mandalam Group in Tamil Nadu for the interest he showed by his active participation in the three-day conference. Finally I extend

my appreciation to Professors Manguin, Mani and Wade for their editorial contributions in successfully completing the editing of this large volume and to ISEAS Publications for bringing out such a handsome publication.

K. KESAVAPANY

Director

Institute of Southeast Asian Studies

Singapore

Preface

This volume brings together twenty-three papers contributed by twenty-seven authors who have carried out research on the interactions between Southeast Asia and South Asia in the period between 500 BCE and CE 1500. Though there has been much debate on the nature of these interactions, the volume begins with an introduction to the question of whether Southeast Asia was ‘Indianised’ before ‘Indianisation’. As recent archaeological findings have pushed back the period of ‘Indianisation’ prior to the Common Era, the introductory paper provides an overview to the rest of the volume.

Beyond the introductory chapter by Manguin, the remaining chapters of the volume are divided into two large sections. The twelve papers in Part I relate to the new archaeological evidence from South Asia and Southeast Asia. The papers draw on archaeological evidence that has been unearthed on both sides of the Bay of Bengal in recent years. Part II, consisting of eleven papers, addresses the issue of localisation of South Asian cultures in Southeast Asia.

While more research remains to be done in this area of interactions across the Bay of Bengal, we hope that this volume is able to bring together the ongoing research and reflections in this area of study. We extend our thanks for the cooperation of all the contributors to the volume and at the same time we wish to thank Ms. Betty Tan, who helped coordinate the correspondence with all the authors. Finally we wish to thank Mrs. Triena Ong and the ISEAS Publications Unit for their commitment to bringing out this volume.

PIERRE-YVES MANGUIN, A. MANI AND GEOFF WADE
Editors

17

Early Musical Exchange between India and Southeast Asia

Arsenio Nicolas

From the first centuries CE, the more important relations between Southeast Asia and India can be found in the shastras (religion, scripts, literature, politics, law) and architecture (Cœdès 1968: 254-56), while that with China, Korea and Japan, in music structures, musical instruments and ensembles (Picken 1981-90; Maceda 1995d). In Southeast Asia, after an extended period of adapting Hindu and Buddhist rites and ceremonies, courts and temples developed a parallel repertoire of music for court ceremonies, separate from the repertoire used for religious rites in the temples. In Java and Bali, the extensive use of musical forms, musical instruments and vocal music attested to in Old Javanese and Old Balinese inscriptions, literatures, and in temple reliefs (Kunst 1968), as can also be found in Burma, Thailand, Laos, Kampuchea, and Vietnam, are early records of music in the area. Religious transformation in the two islands of Java and Bali allowed for the reworking and recasting of old rites into new forms suitable for Hindu or Buddhist ceremonies both in the temples and in the courts. The manifold reworking of rites and ceremonies, and how the musical arts were integrated into these systems has yet to be described and analysed – what indigenous structures were perceived to be malleable for new Hindu and Buddhist liturgical forms, and how these were all incorporated into the ritual repertoire of both the courts and the temples and other sacred sanctuaries, and what musical, theatrical or dance forms were integrated into these systems.

If the courts and the temples exuded an aura of exclusivity and sacrality, the surrounding villages which constituted an even larger system nurtured their own musical traditions, rites and festivities that were of two orientations

– the persistence of indigenous repertoire, and the slow intrusion of Hindu, Buddhist, Islamic and Christian modes of ritual and ceremonial procedures. In these contexts, the musics of Southeast Asia developed into at least three distinct areas: first, the village which until today remains the repository of ancient religious and musical practices; second, the courts; and third, the temples, which together established a new form of centralised organisation and power, and consequently assumed the position as centres of musical activity, where musicians and dancers, players and puppeteers were employed in the service of the ruler, the aristocracy and the religious hierarchy. A new music culture based on ritual developed concurrent with monument building and the institution of the *devaraja* cult. However, while primary Indic rites were central to temple activities, indigenous rituals, music and dances were utilised to construct new ritual procedures. A new temple system and a new music culture then emerged after the introduction of Hinduism and Buddhism, and which can be characterised as follows (Nicolas 1993).

First, the construction of court and temple complexes formed closed relationships with the villages. Second, the introduction of sacred chanted texts in Sanskrit and Pali and later, the use of indigenous languages or Sanskritised local languages and scripts built two parallel musical repertoires, one preserving indigenous musical genres and the other, derived from Indic texts. Third, a shift from a bamboo music culture to a bronze music culture with the use of gongs and bells developed in the courts and temples, while the villages maintained a bamboo and wood tradition in music-making (Maceda 1977). Gongs assumed a sacred and prestigious position as a technology of bronze casting developed and diversified into larger musical ensembles that are extant today. In the villages, bamboo musical ensembles and other heterogeneous types evolved a separate repertoire (Nicolas 1987).

The introduction and spread of Hinduism and Buddhism into Asia branched off into two main streams – one took a northern route towards the direction of the land of the Sino-Tibetan peoples, towards Tibet, China, Korea and Japan, and the other, a southern route towards the direction of the land of the Mon-Khmer, Thai, and the Austronesian peoples. During these trans-continental journeys, the first accounts of musical change in the region were recorded in inscriptions and literary texts. The introduction of Indic, Arabic, Chinese and European musical ideas, their reception in the various regions in Asia and their amalgamation into the local musical systems represent four major phases in the history of music in Asia. Occurring in a serial fashion, each phase introduced into the indigenous base new languages and ritual literatures, the corpus of which became the basis for the performance of state rituals and ceremonies, of rites to fight the forces of nature, of disease, or to conjure the efficacy of power and ancestral blessings. Musical instruments likewise were transported from one frontier to another, evolving into various

forms and styles, both musical and iconographic. One important task, therefore, remains the identification and description of what may be called the indigenous base, which is to be found in the hundreds of societies with diverse languages, ritual practices, beliefs, artistic and musical systems.

MUSIC IN LITERARY AND EPIGRAPHICAL SOURCES

Paleographical and literary evidence describe a formalisation of the courts and the temples as the first centres of new musical activity. Musical terms that are recorded in these documents may be classified into the following: names of musical instruments, names of vocal types, names or terms referring to musicians, dancers, musical genres, forms, names of tunes or melodies, rites and ritual where music, dances and theatrical presentations are held, terms referring to the nature or aesthetic of sound or music, terms describing sounds produced by natural phenomena, or describing the onomatopoeic phenomena of language representation of sound (Nicolas 1994). In Java and Bali, musical terms start to appear in inscriptions by the ninth century during the Central Javanese Period, which can all be classified as Old Javanese, Old Balinese and Sanskrit or Sanskrit derived (Kunst 1968; Zoetmulder 1982; Nicolas 2007). By the beginning of the tenth century, that is, during the East Javanese Period, Sanskrit terms are no longer mentioned. The disappearance of Sanskrit musical terms for musical instruments in tenth century Java thus signaled a new music culture in the region (Nicolas 2007: 92 ff.).

TWO SANSKRIT MUSICAL TERMS

In this study, I focus on two Sanskrit derived musical terms that are found in the Philippines and Indonesia, with cognates in Burmese, Thai, Khmer, Cham and Malay. The first musical term, *kacchapi*, is the Sanskrit form of boat lutes found in the Philippines and Indonesia, known in various languages as *kudyapi*, *kecapi*, *husapi*, *sampeq* among others. The second term, *kamsa*, meaning bell-metal, has a more limited distribution, which today is known as *gangsa*, referring to flat gongs in northern Luzon, metallophones in Java and Bali, musical ensemble in high Javanese (*kromo*) or more commonly known as *gamelan* (*ngoko*) and as bronze in high Javanese. Flat gongs are well represented in temple reliefs in India, as well as in Java, and were found in shipwrecks dating to the tenth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries. References to lutes are mainly found in literary works and are not mentioned in Old Javanese and Old Balinese inscriptions. Boat lutes are made up of wooden material and as such, archaeological artefacts are virtually non-existent. Lutes of diverse types are etched in temple reliefs in India, China, Cambodia, Thailand, Champa and Java.

LUTES

The Sanskrit term *kacchapi* is used for a variety of lutes in the Philippines and Indonesia, with the number of strings varying from two to four. Two-stringed lutes in Indonesia and the Philippines are widely distributed. In an early study of Sanskrit words in the Philippines, Kern listed *kudyapi* or *kotsapi* as a Sanskrit derived word both for Tagalog (1880: 267) and Bisaya (1881: 283). In 1663, Colin wrote about a stringed instrument called *coryapi* in Luzon (Blair & Robertson, 1903-09, vol. 40, p. 68). An ancient Tagalog term on Luzon, *kudyapi*, is still used in songs and poetry today, but the instrument no longer exists. The term had already meant guitar by late nineteenth century, and has remained so until today. However, in the case of Bisaya, *kodyapi* or *kotsapi* meant lute.

Farther south, the wide distribution of boat-lutes starts on the island of Mindoro, then on Palawan and Mindanao, Borneo, Sulawesi, Java, Sumatra and a few eastern Indonesian islands. There are no two-string lutes on Basilan Island and the Sulu archipelago. There are as well variations in the number of strings and the shape of the body of the lute. On Borneo, three-stringed lutes are found among the Modang and Kenyah and are called *sampeq*, or *sapeq*. On Java, we find bas-reliefs of two-, three- and four-string lutes on the Borobudur temple, as well as on Candi Sari. On Java, the terms *kacapi* or *kecapi* refer to zithers. Most of the lutes are plucked either with the fingers or with a plectrum. Lutes are either played alone, or as a duet (as in Palawan and Borneo), or with one other instrument like a polychordal bamboo zither in Palawan and Mindanao. The term, however, is not known in Bali and Lombok, which is significant, considering the fact that the Balinese in these two islands practice a religion based on ancient Balinese and Hindu religious systems and had an extended contact with India since the first century CE (Ardika 1997).

JAVA

Kunst provides a very detailed discussion of lutes based on his studies of bas-reliefs in Candi Borobudur, Prambanan and Candi Sari (1968: 12-17). While the term *kacchapi* does not appear in any inscription, it is widely used in Old Javanese literature as *kacapi*, and may have referred to lutes, although it is used in West Java today to refer to board zithers with a box-like shape resonating chamber (ibid.: 11-12). These lutes are illustrated as two-, three-, or four-stringed instruments with varying shapes in these three temples. The following list is derived from the photographs published by Kunst (ibid.: 157 ff.).

lute	Borobudur O 151 left	Fig. 14
lute	Borobudur IIIB 40	Fig. 30
lute (slender type)	Borobudur Ia 1 left side	Fig. 15
lute (with plectrum)	Borobudur Ia 52	Fig. 16
lute, slender, frets	Borobudur II 128	Fig. 27
lute, two-strings	Borobudur II 122	Fig. 26
lute, two-strings w/ plectrum	Borobudur O 102	Fig. 8
lute, three strings	Borobudur II 1	Figs. 22, 23, 24
lute, three-strings	Borobudur O 125	Fig. 10
lute, three-strings	Candi Sari	Fig. 3
lute, three-strings	Prambanan, Śiva	Fig. 35
lute, four-strings	Borobudur O 151 center	Fig. 13

On walls of the Borobudur temple, all the three types of lutes are illustrated. Two- and three-string lutes are more commonly illustrated. A lone four-string lute is also illustrated in this temple. Three-stringed lutes are also illustrated in the Sari and Prambanan temples. Kunst surmised that these instruments illustrated on bas-reliefs in three central Javanese temples – Candi Sari, Candi Borobudur and Candi Prambanan – may have been brought from India during the Śailendra period (c. 725-850) and on to the early tenth century (ibid.: 13). These may have been called *vin* or *vina* in Old Javanese (Zoetmulder 1982). A fourteenth-century bas-relief in East Java portrays a Brahmin teaching a female student the instrument illustrated as a lute with two gourd resonators (Kunst 1968, fig. 50). Wrazen (1986) however, argued that Indian lutes were derived from polychordal zithers from Assam or Java. Three-string lutes are only found today in Kalimantan. Lutes in the Philippines, Borneo, Sumatra and Sulawesi are of the boat lute type, which are not illustrated in the Borobudur temple. Lutes illustrated on Borobudur tend to imitate Indian models. If this generalisation is correct, it may be gathered that boat lutes in Indonesia and the Philippines had long been present and were already known through their local names. When Sanskrit musical terms were introduced to this region, music communities which played lutes borrowed a new term from Sanskrit and adapted this locally.

PHILIPPINES

In the Philippines, two groups of names for two-string lutes are known. The first group uses indigenous terms generally called *kudlung*, while another group uses *kudyapi*, a term derived from Sanskrit (Maceda 1998: 43). Those found on Mindanao are usually shorter in length, while those found on Palawan Island has a length of about 6 to 7 feet (ibid.: 249). The terms *kudyapi*, *kutyapi*, *katyapi*, *kusyapi* or *kotapi* are known today in nine languages, on Mindoro and Palawan Islands and on the western and southern

side of Mindanao. The music of two-string lutes called *kudyapiq* or *kutyapiq* of the Maguindanao uses two scales called *dinaladay*, with titles of music pieces referring to natural sounds like the chirping of birds, and the *binalig*, which evokes sentiments of sorrow and sadness, or love (Maceda 1988). Native terms not derived from Sanskrit are used for musical pieces both for *kudyapiq* and *kudlong* repertoires.

<i>Musical Term</i>	<i>Language Group</i>	<i>Location</i>
kudyapi	Iraya	Mindoro Island
kudyapi / kusyapi / kutyapi	Palawan	Palawan Island
kudyapi / kutyapi	Magindanao	Mindanao
kudyapi / kutyapi	Maranao	Mindanao
kudyapi	Manobo	Mindanao
kutyapi	Manobo Cotabato	Mindanao
koftapi / kutapi	Subanon	Mindanao
katyapi	Bukidnon	Mindanao

A second group of boat lutes on Mindanao from thirteen language groups use the term *kudlong*, with the following variations – *faglong*, *fuglung*, *fegarong*, *haglung*, *segarong*. The distribution of indigenous terms for boat lutes among language groups on Mindanao is listed as follows:

<i>Language Group</i>	<i>Musical Terms</i>
Bilaan	kudlong faglong faglung foglong
Manobo Cotabato	kudlong kudyung fuglong
Manobo Agusan	kudlong kudyung
Ata	kudlong kuglong
Bagobo	kudlong
Manguangan	kudlong
Mamanua	kudlong
Mandaya	kudlong
Mansaka	kudlung
Mansaka	binalig, binarig
Mansaka	binudyaan
Tiboli	hagalong haglung
Tiruray	fegarong segarong

THAILAND

In Thailand, the *krajappi*, derived from the Pali-Sanskrit *kachapa*, is a two-string lute with a short tortoise-shaped sound box and a long neck the total length of which may reach up to 6 feet. Another instrument, the *chakhe* is a two-string zither-type of instrument that had been used since the early fourteenth century of the Ayutthaya Period. Like the Javanese *kecap*, it is a floor zither (Morton 1976: 92).

CELEBES (SULAWESI)

Kaudern's earlier survey on boat lutes showed that these were found mostly in the western and southern parts of Celebes island (now Sulawesi), and they were scarce on the eastern side (1927: 187-93). Quoting Sachs (1983 [1923]: 105), Kaudern validates that the terms used in Celebes for boat lutes – *katjapi*, *katjaping*, *katjapin*, *kasapi*, *ketjapi* – are all derived from the Sanskrit *kacchapa* or *kaccappi vina* (ibid.: 190). Kaudern observed that all the boat lutes in these areas were not bowed, but were generally plucked either with a plectrum or with the fingers. Furthermore, he noted that boat lutes in Borneo were similar to those found in the western and southern part of Celebes. There is still an absence of a distribution study of boat lutes in Indonesia as a whole, such that it is still not possible to draw a total picture.

In summary, there is a geographical division between groups that use Sanskrit derived terms and indigenous terms for lutes. Two-string lutes from eight Philippines language groups with names derived from Sanskrit are found on the western side of the archipelago. These names may have been acquired from maritime traders that originated either directly from India, Champa, or from Sumatra, Java or Borneo after the introduction of Sanskrit in this area. This also means that only groups found on the western shores of Sulawesi, and the Philippines were borrowing Sanskrit musical terms for lutes. The second group, largely to be found in thirteen language groups on eastern Mindanao, has more varied terms, indicating local preferences, as well as localisation of musical practices. The presence of significant indigenous terms for boat lutes in the eastern side of Mindanao indicate local origins of the instrument, and that those with Sanskrit derived terms may have changed the name when new musical ideas emerged as a result of the expansion of trade in the areas where lutes are known in maritime Asia from Champa, Cambodia, Thailand, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Sulawesi (Celebes), Borneo and the Philippines.

***Kaṅśá, Kaṅśya* (Sanskrit: bell metal, gong, percussion plate)**

The terms *kaṅśá, kaṅśya* in India

According to Monier-Williams, the Sanskrit *kaṅśá* (1899: 241) or *kaṅśya* (1993: 266) is a type of white-copper or bell-metal or brass. It is also a kind of musical instrument, a gong or plate of bell-metal struck with a stick or rod. *Kaṅśásthī* is white copper, any alloy of tin and copper (ibid.: 241). *Kaṅśá, kaṅśya* or *kaṅśa, kāṅśya* (2008: 394) are representations of a form with nasalized vowel preceding s [kāśa], which today, in some languages, is reflected with a velar nasal pronunciation [kāŋśa]. The symbol ṁ or ṁ does not represent a bilabial nasal [m]. (Ritsuko Kikusawa and Lawrence Reid (pers. com.)

In India, an early site attesting to the presence of gongs is a bas-relief in Amaravati, dated from at least the second century BCE and seventh century CE (Murthy 1985: 2, 76, Pl. 23). The relief itself or the picture in the book is not clear enough to indicate whether this is a flat gong or a bossed gong. The gong is hung from a bar borne on the shoulders of two men, one of which is portrayed with a stick beating the gong. A twelfth-century relief from the temples in Hoysala in India shows a thick, even-shaped gong of about 30 to 40 cm. diameter, held by a player with the left hand and struck with a mallet with the right hand. The gong appears to be flat, suspended from the left hand of the player by a rope that had been inserted through the rim of the gong. Two other musicians play double-membraned drums beaten with two hands and hanging from the neck and shoulders with a strap (Deloche 1988: Fig. 1a, nos. 2, 3, 4). This recalls many other illustrations of gongs in temples in Cambodia, Champa and Java, as well as numerous similar practices where bossed gongs and double-headed drums are carried in processions in Java (Kunst 1973) and Bali (McPhee 1968 [or 1966 ?]) and in Sulu (Maceda 1998: 142, Ill. 151, 153).

In northern India, bronze flat gongs and bronze dish plates are called *thali*. The disc has usually raised rims. Techniques of playing vary. The flat gong can be held in one hand and then beaten with a stick by the other. The other technique is to place the gong on the ground and beat it with one or two sticks or with the hands. In the two pictures in a book by Deva, the *semṁkalam* is provided with a handle made up of a rope and wrapped with cloth that had been inserted into two holes on the rim of the gong. It is held by the left hand, while the right hand beats the flat surface with a wooden stick (1978: 57). In Rajasthan, the *thali* is a flat gong that has a straight rim. It accompanies a group of women presumably singing, while others clap their hands. The flat gong is laid on the ground; the proximal end rests on the left knee of a female musician and the distal end on the ground. Both

hands are used in beating the gong, the right palm strikes the surface near the centre on the distal side, while the left hand strikes the edge of the surface with all the four fingers (ibid.: Fig. 5.12), a technique quite similar to that employed in the *gangsā* playing by the Kalinga, Itneg and Ifugao in northern Luzon. In southern Rajasthan, a single brass *thali* (rimmed plate) is played with two drums (*dhak*). Its face is laid down on the floor. The rim, however, is not straight as it widens a little bit outwards. The left hand of the player dampens the rim of the gong as the right hand beats the basic beat (Roche 2000: 64, Fig. 2), a technique that is also found among the Kalinga, Itneg and Tingguian in northern Luzon (Maceda 1998: Pls. 36, 37, 38, 59-64, 67).

Several terms are used to refer to flat gongs, derived from *kamsa*, and are found in Orissa and West Bengal. In Ratijana, Orissa, flat gongs are called *kansar*, while rice bowls are called *kansa* and thin plates are called *thali* (Mukherjee 1978: 349-50). In Orissa and West Bengal, *kamsar* is used for gongs and *kamsa* for rice bowls (Srinivasan 1994: 700). Srinivasan traces the etymology of these terms to the Sanskrit word *kamsya* (bell-metal). Another literary reference he cites is the Mauryan economic treatise of the *Arthashastra* (Kangle 1972: 108-9 in Srinivasan 1994: 700), indicating factories for working alloys including *kamsa-tala*, bronzes of different proportions, with *-tala* implying measure. A twelfth-century alchemical text *Rasaratnasamuccaya* mentions the term *kamsya* as an alloy (Ray 2003: 156, 185) while a Tamil classic, the *Cilappattikaram* (third to fifth centuries CE) uses *kancam* to refer to bronze (ibid.: 109). Another set of terms use *thali*, as in Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan (Roche in *Garland Encyclopedia* 2000: 291, 292); *thali* among the Nats and the Mali in Rajasthan (Natavar in ibid.: 640, 647); *tala* in south Karnataka, described as hand held-bronze gong (Kassebraum and Klaus in ibid.: 885), *tali* in Pushkar, Rajasthan, described as a brass plate, but the picture on the cover of the book clearly shows a raised rim (Garland 1999: cover photo); and *thal* in Maharashtra, central India (Ranade in ibid.: 727). In Pakistan this is called *tal* in Balochistan (Badalkhan in ibid.: 774) and among the Soti (ibid.: 782, 783). In temples in Benares, Brahmans play a small flat gong called *tala* together with an hourglass shaped drum called *damaru*. The *tala* has two holes through which a small rope had been inserted on its rim to provide a handle for the player who beats on the flat surface of the gong using a small round wooden stick (Danielou 1978: 8-9, 44-45, Ill. 45).

Flat gongs called *cennalam* are played with cymbals called *talam* or *ilat a lam* in the *kathakali* ensemble either for time-keeping or marking out divisions of a *tala*, or to play rhythmic patterns similar to those played by drums (Powers 2006). Travelling troupes in Karnataka perform the *yakshagana*, with a musical ensemble having a strong affinity with Kerala. It is accompanied by two drums of Kerala type, and a flat gong and cymbals for time-keeping,

with no melodic accompanying instrument for the singer. In Kerala, the *kathakali* dance-drama is accompanied with an ensemble consisting of two singers, *cennalam* (flat gong), *maddalam* (barrel drum), *centa* (cylindrical drum), *itekka* (hourglass drum), and *ilat a lam* (cymbals) (Qureshi 2006). The names of flat gongs or 'struck plates' vary from region to region: *chenskala* or *chennala* (Malayalam), *semmankalam* (Tamil), *jagte* or *jagante* (Kannada), *thali* (Hindi), *ghadiyal* (Rajasthani) and others.

Given the limited sources cited above, it appears that there are a variety of terms for flat gongs in India and quite a number do not show a direct derivation from the Sanskrit term. From the survey above, it appears that *thali* or *thala* are more widespread for percussion plates, as also for flat gongs. There is no data whether these are high tin bronze made of from bell-metal, but the origins of the use might be traced to the term *kamsyatata*, *kamsya* meaning bell-metal and *tata*, plates or plates that play a certain measure.

The term 'kangsa' in Cham, Khmer, Thai and Burmese

The earliest references to *kangsa* in Khmer inscriptions date to the seventh century and in Cham inscriptions to the ninth, tenth and twelfth centuries. Coedès dated two Khmer inscriptions to the seventh century which mention the term *kangsatala*, translated as 'gongs en bronze' (bronze gongs). He remarked that the term *kamsatala* does not appear in Sanskrit dictionaries but is more common in Pali texts (1954 II: 73, 74). Saveros Pou later classified *kangsatala* as Middle Khmer (cymbal) and this may have been derived either from *kamsyatata* (Skt.) or from *kamsatala* (Prakrit) (2004: 254). Finot's translation of the Sdok Kak Thom inscription dated 974 S / CE 1052 rendered *kangsa-tala* as 'cymbales de cuivre' (1915: 69, 86). A ninth-century Cham inscription dated 18 May 875 mentions the term *kangsa*, 'laiton' (Finot 1904: 84-99) or 'bell-metal' (Golzio 2004: 68, 72). In another Cham inscription dated 918/CE 191, the term *kamsa* is mentioned and is translated as 'bronze' (Huber 1911: 15-22) and as 'bell-metal' (Golzio 2004: 118, 119). Another inscription dated CE 1156 mentions *kangsa bhaja* as copper pitchers (Golzio 2004: 178, 179; Finot 1904: 976-77; Majumdar 1972) [Note: 'kamsa' and 'kangsa' are both read as 'kansa']

Across the Bay of Bengal, the Thai *gangsadan* or *kangsadan* (field notes 1986; Penth 1970) and the Khmer *kangsatala* refer to flat gongs that are used in Buddhist temples. References to *gaza* are known for Burmese flat gongs as early as the early sixteenth century (Pires 1944: 96, n. 5) and *ganza* as copper money (Pires 1944: 99-100).

The term 'gangsa' in Java and Bali

In Old Javanese, Zoetmulder translates *gangsa* as derived from the Sanskrit form *kangsa*, which means bell-metal (1982: 492). The term first appears in Old Javanese inscriptions from the ninth to the tenth centuries and cannot be found in Old Balinese inscriptions. In the inscriptions, *gangsa* is mentioned in two contexts. First, it refers to bronze smiths, *pandai gangsa*, in at least six Old Javanese inscriptions dating from the late ninth to the early tenth centuries. Second, *gangsa* is either mentioned alone, or more so, in combination with three other terms used for metals in Old Javanese: *tambaga* or *tamwaga* (copper), *wsi* or *wesi* (iron) and *mas* (gold). It is mentioned as a metal alloy in several inscriptions dated 862 and 915 (Kunst 1968: 91, 92) and in 862, 880, 904, 907, 909 and 915, occurring with the term *pandai* 'smith' (Damais 1970: 748, 749, 925). Christie recently published three excerpts from the tenth- and eleventh-century inscriptions from the Brantas River area. In two of these dated 929 and 1021, *gangsa* is used as a single term to refer to bronze, in association with three other metals – iron (*wsi*), copper (*tambaga*), tin (*timah*). The third is without a date, but may have been copied during the Majapahit Period from a tenth or eleventh century inscription (Christie 1998: 370-71).

There is continuity in the use of *gangsa* in inscriptions for both periods: from the central Javanese period to the beginning of the East Javanese period, the meaning of this term has not changed. The term does not show up in later inscriptions, but appears in literary texts in Old Javanese, exemplified by the *Ramayana* and *Smarradahana*. The term refers to a type of alloy or metal, as found in the references in inscriptions and from examples in the *kakawin* literature, and may not yet refer to a musical instrument. In a study of Middle Indian terms in Old Javanese, Casparis provides a list of words which, he suggests, are not directly traceable to a Sanskrit, Hindi or Tamil prototype. More significantly, he concludes that the majority of the words in the list are those which may have been used by traders and artisans. Four of these are directly related to metal craft: *gangsa* (Skt. *kamsa*, bell-metal, brass), *gusali* (blacksmith), *pandai* (smith), and *tamwaga* or *tambaga* (Skt. *tamra*, *tamraka*, copper) (1988: 51-52). The other terms refer to crafts, trade commodities and trader (*banyaga*) (ibid.: 68), numbering thirty-four, and are dated from CE 798 to 934, and may have been incorporated into Old Javanese well before CE 1000 (ibid.: 66). In another study, Sedyawati notes that blacksmiths and coppersmiths are frequently mentioned in inscriptions as compared to goldsmiths. The former are 'always mentioned in relation to the restriction of the number of producing smithies, which are free from taxation, within one village' (1999: 7-8). The blacksmiths and coppersmiths

are makers of common utensils in daily village use, while goldsmiths can be found in larger towns and more so, in palaces.

The term '*gangsá*' in Northern Luzon

In the Philippines, the term *gangsá* refers to flat gongs and flat gong ensembles in highland northern Luzon. The term first appears in an account by Father Aduarte and several other Spanish friars, describing initial attempts at Christianization in the area, and who arrived in Nueva Segovia, now the province of Cagayan, on the first of August 1595 (Aduarte 1640). The friars reported that they could hear from afar rituals being performed by the people, during which they made 'a great noise with their voices and their *ganzas* – which are their bells, though they are not formed like our bells' (Aduarte in Blair & Robertson, 30: 300). The passage gives the earliest description of flat gongs as bells (*campana*) in Spanish. In many subsequent Spanish accounts, including dictionaries, the term *campana* had been consistently used to refer to gongs, whether these are flat or bossed gongs. The term *ganza* was not described as a flat gong, but simply as a musical instrument.

An early reference to what might be a flat gong is in Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* in 1609. In his account, Morga described the musical life of the Tagals (Tagalog) and referred to 'metal bells' shaped like 'large pans brought from China'. The sound was described as sonorous. These were used in feasts, and were also carried in boats when going to war in lieu of drums or other instruments. These were also exchanged in barter with local products (Morga 1867: 303). That flat gongs were known to the Tagals or Tagalog in the early seventeenth century is corroborated by the term *palayi* in a Tagalog dictionary published by San Buenaventura in 1613 (1994: 139). This term is quite rare in the literature. In a 1904 dictionary of the Pangasinan, the term *pala-y* is entered as 'campana de china' (Pellicer 1904). *Palayi* today is a term for flat gongs used by the Ayta in Zambales and Bataan (Maceda 1998: 8) while *pinalaiyan* is a flat gong ensemble among the Tingguian in northern Luzon (ibid.: 14).

A dictionary of the Pangasinan language compiled in the late seventeenth century by Lorenzo Cosgaya (1661-1731), listed *gansa* as 'cobre y significa tambien laton' (copper, and may mean as brass). The term 'bronce' is likewise translated as *gansa*. This is the only reference so far obtained for *gangsá* as metal on Luzon (Cosgaya 1865: 18, 165). However, another Pangasinan dictionary published later in 1904 listed the term *pala-y* as 'campana de china' (Pellicer 1904: 14, 257). Pangasinan lies on the promontory of the western coasts of central Luzon, and was known in the Chinese Ming annals in 1406. Its position is intermediary between the highland northern Luzon where a flat gong music today is cultivated, and the central Luzon region,

including Manila and Laguna, where the term *pala-yi* was known as early as the seventeenth century. Thus, until the early twentieth century, flat gongs were known as *gangsā* in highland Luzon, Ilocos, Cagayan, and as *palayi* in Pangasinan, Tingguian and until the early seventeenth century, in Laguna and nearby areas.

In highland northern Luzon today, all language groups play a music of flat gongs (Maceda 1998: 17, Ill. 5). The following lists terms for flat gongs in northern Luzon that are derived from Sanskrit term *kamsya*.

Bontok	<i>kangsā</i>	<i>gangsā</i>		<i>cangsā</i>
Sagada	<i>kangsā</i>			
Ibaloi		<i>gangsā</i>		
Isneg		<i>gangsā</i>	<i>gansa</i>	<i>hansa</i>
Kalinga		<i>gangsā</i>		
Karaw		<i>gangsā</i>		
Tingguian		<i>gangsā</i>		
Ilongot			<i>cangsā</i>	
Ifugao				<i>gangha</i>

While *gangsā* is widely used as a common term for flat gongs and flat gong ensembles in northern Luzon, what appears more significant are the individual names assigned to each gong in an ensemble, which are not derived from Sanskrit. For example, the Kalinga play music of flat gongs in two different styles, the *gangsā palook* and *gangsā topayya*, with these six gongs named as *balbal*, *kadua*, *katlo*, *kapat*, *opop*, *anungos*. The Ifugao play three flat gongs known collectively as *gangha*, with each gong having a particular name of its own – *tobob*, *hibat*, *ahot*. Among the Bontok, the terms *changsa* and *gangsā* are known. Among the Ilongot, the term *changsa* is also used. And among the Tingguian/Itneg, the term *gansa* is utilised. In the table above, indigenous terms are significantly used to refer to individual names of gongs with specific musical functions in musical ensembles.

MUSICAL EXCHANGES IN ASIA

We have thus presented a number of evidence for the spread of two Sanskrit musical terms in Southeast Asia. The term *kacchapi*, which in Sanskrit means ‘tortoise’, became more widespread in Indonesia and the Philippines as a term for boat lutes. The term *kamsa*, meaning ‘bell-metal’ in Sanskrit, is known today in northern Luzon as flat gongs and as a term for flat gong ensembles, in Java and Bali as metallophone, as a term for musical ensemble, and as bronze.

The distribution of the term *gangsā* and its derivations or variations from Sanskrit and Indian sources provide an important link to the movement

of Indian or Sanskrit musical terms into the Philippines and Indonesia beginning from the first contacts with India and the maritime areas from Vietnam, Malaysia, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo and the Philippines. Though not found in the whole of Southeast Asia, such a wide area of distribution also brings into light the spread of metallurgy, and the manufacture of bronze drums, gongs and other bronze musical instruments. Bronze has been dated to Thailand in a new interpretation by Higham to 1500 BCE (Higham 1996, 2002, 2004) as well as in Vietnam around seventh century BCE (Xiaorong Han 2004: 10-16) with the appearance of bronze drums. Bronze kettledrums, both as musical instruments and archeological artefacts, can be found today in a wide area of distribution from South China and Vietnam in the northeast down to Indonesia reaching up to Kei Islands (Bernet-Kempers 1988) and more recently on Banggi Island off the coast of northeast Borneo and southwestern Mindanao (Majid 2003). Associations of bell-metal with production of high tin bronze, among which are flat gongs, with a proportion of 20 to 30 per cent tin and 70 to 80 per cent copper have been made for bronzes in India (Srinivasan 1994, 1998; Srinivasan and Glover 1995) and northern Luzon (Goodway and Conklin 1987). In China, however, bronze bell chimes from the Shang and Zhou periods have lesser tin contents from 12 to 16 per cent (Falkenhausen 1993: 104-06). The centres of gong manufacture for the last two hundred years or so are confined to a few areas in Santubong, Sarawak and Brunei on Borneo and in Java and Bali. In the Philippines, *kulintang* gongs are manufactured in Cotabato among the Maguindanao and the Maranao, while flat gongs are now made in Baguio City and Kalinga in northern Luzon. According to Tran Ky Phuong, in Vietnam (pers. com.) flat gongs (*chieng* or *cing*) and bossed gongs (*rong*) are manufactured in the Dien Phoung village, Dien Ban district, Quang Nam province and are also brought to Laos.

While we find early evidence for flat gongs in temple reliefs in India, there are also parallel and perhaps older developments in China (Yuan and Mao 1986; Trasher 2000, 2001; Salmon 2003). By the tenth century until the thirteenth century, flat gongs had been circulating from China to Sumatra as evidenced by shipwrecks carrying flat gongs (Nicolas 2007, 2009). A shipwreck, dated to the tenth century, recently found in the shores off Brunei yielded 61 flat gongs inscribed with Chinese characters (Sjostrand 2006). The characters on the gongs, which are also found painted on the ceramics found on the site, refer to a person's name, Guo (Mandarin, in Hokkien – Kwek or Quek). These were marks of a merchant either on the ship or at the receiving destination (Wade, pers. com.). Contemporary practices of flat gong owners for *longsay* (dragon dances) in Manila and Singapore paint their names on either side of the gong. If such flat gongs were being transported around Borneo during the tenth century, then a flat gong culture was already

TABLE: NAMES OF FLAT GONG ENSEMBLES AND FLAT GONGS IN NORTHERN LUZON, PHILIPPINES

Bontok	Ibaloi	Ifugao	Isneg	Kalinga	Kalingga / Tingguian	Karaw	Tingguian
a. pattong feshwat pattong papap	a. sulibaw pinsak kalsa palas	a. gangha tobob hebat ahot	a. hansa gangsa (2)	a. topayya (6) balbal kadua katlo kapat opop anungos	a. inlaud (3) parpat keb-ong sapul	a. itundak (7) salaksak maleok 1 maleok 2 banengbeng sitol 1 sitol 2 dulong	a. sinuklit gangsa (6)
b. takik gangsa (1-2)	b. sulimbat gangsa (1)			b. pallok gangsa (6)	b. pinalayan (4) talagurok pawwok saliksik pattong	b. tenebreb-ak (7) gangsa (3)	b. tinalokatikan gangsa (6)
					c. pinalandok gangsa (6)		c. palook gangsa (6)

Note: Top column refers to names of language groups in northern Luzon; terms after a letter are names of musical ensembles; numbers in parentheses indicate the number of flat gongs used in one ensemble; all other terms for drums and other instruments are omitted (Maceda 1977; 1998: 17, ill. 5).

developing during this period. Such gongs could have reached Kota Cina in Sumatra and Singapore during the same period or later, where Chinese settlements had been found (McKinnon and Lukman Sinar 1974; Miksic 1985). The late Roxanna Brown, in an interview during the conference, noted that based on the *kendi* found in this site, the date might be placed around the twelfth century. Subsequently, by the thirteenth century, with the appearance of bossed gongs in shipwrecks, a new musical practice using bossed gongs had started to appear in the regions around Butuan and Palawan, Borneo, eastern Java, Sumatra, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam (Nicolas 2007).

In the case of flat gongs in northern Luzon, the problem at hand is to explain how flat gongs, reportedly borne by Chinese ships and/or mainly Southeast Asian ships, had eventually taken on the Sanskrit-derived term *gangsā* (see Table on p. 361). Francisco, in his translation of the Laguna Copper Plate Inscription dated CE 900, observed that the thirty-two Sanskrit terms used in this document clearly indicated that by the tenth century, Sanskrit was already known in Luzon (Francisco 1995). The term *gangsā* is also mentioned in the literary corpus in classical Malay dating to at least the seventeenth century, derived mostly from Javanese sources, and from Old Javanese and Old Balinese paleographical and literary sources, dating to as early as the ninth century. Today *gangsā* is understood in Java as a high Javanese term (*krōmo*) for *gamelan*. In Bali, it refers to a metallophone (*gangsā jongkok*) and in Surakarta (*gangsā colopito*). Maceda recently suggested that the flat gongs of northern Luzon might have come from groups in central Vietnam associated with Chenla and Funan during the first millennium of the present era (2003: xxii). The term *gangsā* was known in ancient Champa, and today flat gongs are called *ching* or *cing* (Condominas 1974). Similarly, the use in Indonesia of the different terms for boat lutes derived from Sanskrit in a wide area of distribution from Sumatra to the Eastern Indonesia Islands (Kartomi 1985) may indicate such a shift in musical terminology although earlier protoforms may have used local names that are now lost.

FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA TO INDIA

The evidence of movement of two Sanskrit musical terms into Southeast Asia comes from an early period in the history of Southeast Asia in relation to India, taken from inscriptions, the bas-reliefs from temples, and from the ethnographic data on contemporary practices in courts, temples and villages. Little is known about the movement of musical ideas from Southeast Asia to India. Three aspects of this musical exchange can now be cited.

During the eleventh century, the Burmese ruler Kyanzittha sent musical instruments to Bodhgaya during the reconstruction of the temple, among which were bronze drums together with musicians, singers and dancers. The

Sri Bajras is the Vajrasana temple of Bodhgaya in India where the Buddha attained Buddhahood. Luce translates the passages as follows:

'for the Holy One of Sri Bajras Pitruk blaN (?), which had been irremediably destroyed by another king', Kyanzittha 'got together all sorts of precious things, and sent a ship with the intent to (re)build the Holy Sri Bajras: to buy (land?), dig a reservoir, make irrigated ricefields, make dams, cause candles and lamps to be lit which should never be quenched; and give drums, frog-drums, stringed and percussion instruments, and singing and dancing better than ever before. In that, too, no other king is like him' (Luce 1969, I: 62).

Wrzen (1986) proposed the possibility of origins of the *bin* and *vina* from bamboo idiochords in Assam and Java, following studies by Deva (1978) and Marcel Dubois (1941). Wrzen notes that examples of the early *bin* can be found on Java (as in those at Barabudur (early ninth century), in a bronze statuette in the Regency of Tegal, from the ninth century, and in a relief on Candi Sari, from the second half of the eighth century) (Kunst 1968: Figs. 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 22, 30; Fig. 43; Fig. 2), and possibly the Prambanan Temple reliefs (c. 850).

Flat gongs had been circulating in maritime Asia in China, Vietnam, Philippines, Borneo, Sumatra, and Singapore since the tenth century. Overland routes through the mainland had certainly transported these gongs. These could have reached India around this time, and would have been then etched on the walls of Hoysala temple by the twelfth century. The medium sized, suspended gongs on walls of Angkor Wat in Cambodia are bossed rather than flat, and the circular gongs-in-a-row clearly show these were already bossed gongs, earlier than the *gulintangan* (gongs-in-a-row) fragment found in a Brunei fifteenth century site (Nicolas 2007: 117).

The mapping of the music histories of Asia is readily structured around metal instruments that have survived – the bells from the Shang and Zhou dynasty, the bronze drums in Yunnan and Dong Son, the flat gongs and bossed gongs in the region and the other metal or bronze musical instruments, and lithophones. A new music has evolved upon the introduction or the discovery of the science and art of metallurgy in Asia, which led to the invention of new musical instruments (Nicolas 2007: 278 ff; 2008b; 2009). Sanskrit terms were circulating alongside the earlier spread of Austronesian, Austroasiatic, Tai-Kadai, and Chinese musical terms. The movement of musical terms is not synchronous and congruous with the movement of musical instruments. The history of the music of the unwritten and oral traditions, of bamboo and wooden musical instruments is still largely unknown. Present research directions in music lack a wider engagement with long term processes of musical exchanges in Asia. Early contacts between South and Southeast Asia were precursors to the spread of Indic ideas to Asia (Nilakanta Sastri 1949; Hall 1985; Glover 1989; Rao 2003). New and recent archaeological research

view the millennium from the later prehistoric to the early state formation as a continuum rather than an abrupt shift to accommodate Indian influence, thus reflecting mutual interplay between indigenous complexities and foreign ideas (Higham 2003: 288). The peoples of Southeast Asia were innovative farmers, metallurgists, musicians and mariners (Hall 1999: 185-86). In the Neolithic period, the Austronesians sailed thousands of miles from their home islands reaching as far as Madagascar in east Africa to the Easter Island of the Pacific (Blust 1995; Bellwood 1997). In these journeys, very little is yet known about the spread of musical ideas that may have reached India and China from the centres of Austronesian and Austroasiatic migrations before the historic period. Such musical exchanges are indeed more compelling themes for future researches on the history of music in Asia.

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