



In Search of Greater India

HG Quaritch Wales:
pioneer archaeologist,
art historian and
war correspondent

David Russell Lawrence | 2019

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Crawford School of Public Policy
College of Asia and the Pacific
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 2601
Australia
David.lawrence@anu.edu.au

Cover image:

Outside U Thong. 1936. Quaritch Wales on left of image
(Quaritch Wales 1937f: 140; Royal Asiatic Society. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

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Image 01.001:
Horace Geoffrey Quaritch Wales ca1950-1960
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection 8/10)

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In Bangkok, Dr Wannasarn Noonsuk and the staff of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization Regional Centre for Archaeology and Fine Arts (SEAMEO SPAFA) were encouraging. It was awe-inspiring to stand in front of the famous Takua Pa Viṣṇu in the National Museum of Bangkok and realise it was over 1,000 years old.

The trip to London was specifically designed to work on the Quaritch Wales' archive housed in the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in Stephenson Way. My thanks to Ed Weech, Librarian, to Nancy Charley, Archivist and to Camilla Larsen, Executive Officer, for making the material in this archive accessible. Permission to use the images from this collection is gratefully acknowledged. There is still much work to be done with the photographs and negatives in the collection and I hope this research report will encourage others to follow the leads. Alice Ford-Smith, Archivist at Bernard Quaritch Ltd, gave us a memorable day in Mayfair talking about the family firm and the Quaritch connections. Another fine day was spent at Cambridge in the company of Prof Janice Stargardt whose personal recollections of Quaritch Wales and Dorothy are vital links in this story.

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Horace Geoffrey Quaritch Wales was a product of a particular time and social order. It is perhaps natural that his theories and philosophies should fade and be replaced by more considered opinions. His early archaeological work in Siam and Malaya has also been subject to review and debate. It is important that his work in Kedah be documented now for conservative religious politics; economic development and population growth over the last fifty years have destroyed much of this intrinsic cultural heritage of all Southeast Asians.

Dorothy Wales was an intelligent, hardworking and dedicated researcher who accompanied her husband on all his projects. She was a loyal companion and it was due to her diligence that we have the archival bequest at the Royal Asiatic Society. My aim has been to bring her out of the shadows and show her in a clearer light as much as this has been possible with the little information about her.

Quaritch Wales was an extraordinary, controversial and often argumentative man. Despite negative opinions, and these still exist, he was no fool. He was just an impatient man who did not handle criticism well and this failing impacted severely on his life and his career. The purpose of this research report has been to examine critically his writings and fieldwork. I trust the reader will find that I have presented his positive and his negative characteristics fairly and evenly.

David Lawrence
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Introduction

In 1924 Horace Geoffrey Quaritch Wales, a young science graduate from Cambridge University, arrived in Bangkok to begin a short career teaching at the King's College. This school was founded by King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) in 1897 to provide elite education for young men mostly from the Siamese aristocracy. It was originally located in a large wooden building in Nonthaburi that is now the Nonthaburi Museum. Chulalongkorn had also established the Royal Pages' College to train sons of the elite for government service. In 1926, during a time of economic crisis in Siam, King Vajiravudh (Rama VI) merged the two colleges to form Vajiravudh College. It was relocated to the northern Bangkok suburb of Dusit. The College still exists and remains a private all-boy boarding school for sons of the Thai elite.

King's College and the other private schools established by Chulalongkorn and Vajiravudh were avowedly elitist and entry was carefully managed. Young women of high status did not attend these colleges in the early period. Family connections and status kept out commoners and fees fended off entry to the poor. HG Quaritch Wales was a product of Charterhouse School in Surrey and Cambridge University. His qualifications would have fitted well with the aims of the absolute monarchy to keep quality education for the top ranks in a very stratified society.

The experience in Siam in the late 1920s must have been stimulating for the young Englishman. HG Quaritch Wales was to become one of the most prolific writers on Southeast Asian archaeology and art history. The question we must ask is why did a young man from a relatively affluent London middle-class family seek his fortune in Siam, then largely an unknown but exotic Asian country, rather than in the conventional confines of the British colonial service? Quaritch Wales returned to London in 1928 to write a doctoral thesis at the University of London's School of Oriental Studies on the role of state ceremonies in the ritual life of the Siamese royal families. This was published as *Siamese state ceremonies: their history and function* (Quaritch Wales 1931). Later, he added a series of supplementary notes to the original study (Quaritch Wales 1971). Following his death in 1981 the two volumes were republished by his widow Dorothy as a memorial set (Quaritch Wales 1992).

Quaritch Wales also elaborated on his early research in a study of ancient Siamese state administration (Quaritch Wales 1934a & 1965a). This was translated into Thai in 1984. These books are still referred to by researchers for little material has been written, at least in English, on the nature and significance of ritual and religion in Thai royal life. The book, *Siamese state ceremonies*, presents an image of a stable nation, of a people united by a strong belief in the Theravada Buddhist faith, in awe before the paternalistic reign of an absolute monarch surrounded by ritual and performance. But Siam was to decline into rebellion in 1932 and the absolute monarchy would be overthrown in a military-led coup. A constitutional monarchy would later be reinstated but the military remains a powerful force in Thai politics to this day.

This political upheaval would cause a meaningful change in direction for Quaritch Wales in his research programmes in Southeast Asia. In the late 1930s, Quaritch Wales and his wife Dorothy, would be instrumental in excavating more than thirty Hindu and Buddhist temples and assembly halls in the Bujang valley in Kedah, Malaysia. The sites around Gunung Jerai (Kedah Peak 4,000 feet; 1,217 metres) and along the Sungai Merbok and Sungai Muda are among the most significant archaeological sites in peninsular Southeast Asia. Even now new sites are being discovered by Malaysian archaeologists that change our perspective of the proto-historic occupation of the Thai/Malay peninsula. In many ways Quaritch Wales was a pioneer archaeologist in Southeast Asia. We should acknowledge the role that he played in being the first to recognise the need for subsurface

investigations of historic sites in Siam and peninsula Malaya (Glover 2016: 507). Much of our knowledge of early Malaysian archaeology has been informed by his pre-war work in the field but his legacy has been tarnished by his association with the now rejected theories of Indianization that he first promoted in his early writings notably in his major work *The Making of Greater India* (Quaritch Wales 1951 and 1961a).

Quaritch Wales would spend his life in the pursuit of archaeological evidence to support his now rejected theory that Indian merchants, priests and high-born warriors were instrumental in bringing Indian cultural values and political beliefs to Southeast Asia. Current anthropological and archaeological theory emphasises the role of indigenous, Southeast Asian agency in attracting Indian culture to the region. Certainly, the role of Indian traders and priests was vital during the transitional period from late prehistory to early history in Southeast Asia as is evidenced by numerous inscriptions, religious artefacts as well as a growing corpus of archaeological remains of monuments and cities (Revire 2016: 394). Interpretation of this data remains contested. The historical narratives available to us are the recorded histories of Chinese travellers and monks but they are full of inconsistencies. The facts obtained from geophysical, scientifically dated objects, symbolic elements in architecture and art history, linguistic interpretations and complex epigraphic inscriptions can only be read by a few experts. Even when we know the source and discovery, the distinction between what is objective fact and what is subjective inference is unclear. When Quaritch Wales, always accompanied by his wife Dorothy, began working in Southeast Asia little work had been done to investigate the proto-historic period in rural Thailand or in the northern part of the Malay peninsula.

During the Second World War Quaritch Wales served in the 11th Indian Division of the Indian Army stationed at Sungai Petani in Kedah between 1940 to 1942. Following evacuation in the face of the Japanese invasion of the peninsula he travelled to the United States and began lecturing and writing on the impact of the Japanese occupation on Southeast Asian politics. While in the United States he wrote an account of the failures of British, French and Dutch colonialism in Asia, *Years of Blindness* (Quaritch Wales 1943n), that deserves more attention. He was a frequent columnist for the *New York Times* and for regional newspapers.

Following the war, Quaritch Wales and his wife returned to London and resumed his archaeological interests. In his final years his work explored his passion for comparative religion in Southeast Asia and he became fascinated with cosmological symbolism. In his long career he produced sixteen monographs, some of which, like *Siamese state ceremonies* (1931 and 1992), *Dvāravatī* (1969) and *Ancient South-east Asian Warfare* (1952a) continue to be used as reference sources. For a long time his book on Dvāravatī remained the only English language publication that provided an overview and analysis of the art historical and archaeological evidence of this culture (Murphy 2018: 365). Undoubtedly, with new research being undertaken in these fields, the early writing of Quaritch Wales would soon be obsolete.

While establishing his career he wrote twelve magazine articles for periodicals like *Country Life* and *The Illustrated London News* in order to advertise his work and attract public attention. These articles give us a good indication of how he was using popular periodicals to advertise his archaeological discoveries in Southeast Asia. In his career he wrote fifty-two academic papers, many long and detailed but some short angry replies to perceived criticisms. During the Second World War, when he and his wife moved to the United States he contributed thirty-two general interest and sixteen newspaper articles on the war and the way in which he saw the situation in Southeast Asia.

Quaritch Wales excavated, wrote, travelled, documented and argued his ideas for fifty years. His bibliography of published articles and monographs is extensive and varied. Although many of his ideas about Southeast Asian cultures are disputed, and he was often challenged during his lifetime, he continued to write until his early 80s. He was a member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society and an Honorary member of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Fortunately, his wife Dorothy gifted his archive of books and papers to the Royal Asiatic Society in London in 1992.

As Revire (2016: 394) wisely stated, '[t]o move forward in the disciplines of art history and archaeology, we need not only to assess or reassess the evidence from raw material, but also to understand and dismantle underlying paradigms, which may bias our views of this material'. The results of this exercise may be rewarding but the ways in which insights may be found will require us to discard some old assumptions. The long and dedicated career of Quaritch Wales has never been subjected to detailed examination. This research report is a study, both critical and sympathetic, of a pioneering archaeologist, art historian and war correspondent whose work floundered in the mire of obscure theories of cultural history but whose life deserves our critical reappraisal.

Wales or Quaritch Wales

Quaritch Wales was proud of his family heritage and connections. He was the grandson of Bernard Quaritch, the founder of the famous London antiquarian bookstore, Bernard Quaritch Ltd. The firm still exists in central London and Quaritch Wales became the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the firm that published many of his books. Both his mother and his aunt retained Quaritch as part of their name after they married. However, official birth, death and marriage records from the United Kingdom give his surname as Wales, not Quaritch Wales. As he did not hyphenate his last two names, he was technically HGQ Wales in his school records, his registration papers at Cambridge and at the University of London. His divorce affidavit of 1930 cites him as Wales and both his wives, Lena and Dorothy, only used Wales as their surnames. But from the late 1930s all his professional records and publications use the name HG Quaritch Wales and for convenience that is the name that will be used in this research report. He always signed his name as HG Quaritch Wales. The only anomaly to this established rule is that the only co-authored article on wartime archaeological excavations in Kedah is by Dorothy C Quaritch Wales and HG Quaritch Wales (1947). The fact that Dorothy is the first listed author, or even listed at all, is even more curious.

Chapter One

Family, education and teaching in Bangkok

Bernard Alexander Christian Quaritch

While acknowledging that this is not a genealogy study, the family background of Horace Geoffrey Quaritch Wales is important to note for it informs us of much of his character, values and attitudes. His grandfather, Bernard Alexander Christian Quaritch (1819-1899), the founder of the antiquarian bookselling company, Bernard Quaritch Ltd, was born in the central Prussian town of Worbis in Thuringia southeast of Göttingen. The son of a veteran of Waterloo, Bernard Quaritch was educated in classics at the Nordhausen Gymnasium.

After a brief time working in the book selling trade, first in Nordhausen and then in Berlin, Quaritch left Germany in 1842 at the age of 23 and headed for London (Freeman 2004). He began in the Covent Garden shop of Henry Bohn who was then the leading bookseller and publisher of the day. In 1847, with limited capital of £70 [£5,871],¹ and it is reported, some earnings writing piece work on political topics for Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels the publishers of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, he started to sell under his own name. This first venture did not last long, although in 1847 he made the decision to become a British subject (Barker 1997: 4-5).

From a shop at 16 Castle Street, Leicester Square, Quaritch issued his first catalogue. His sales in 1847 were only £168.10s [£14,130] but through the tenacity that would define his career this rose to £766.10s [£70,630] in 1848 (Freeman 2004; Barker 1997: 5). By 1855 he was specialising in literature, theology, law, mathematics, natural history, geography and the arts. At a time when public interest was focussed on the Crimean War (1853-1856) he began to emphasise the exotic with special reference to books and manuscripts in Oriental and European languages.

Bernard Quaritch Ltd published several Turkish, Arabic and Persian language dictionaries and grammars around this time. From the 1850s he began to be patronised by wealthy private collectors like Alexander, Lord Lindsay for whom he purchased a Gutenberg Bible for £595 [£58,390]. In 1860, after issuing a catalogue of over 5,000 items for sale, the firm moved to 15 Piccadilly in the heart of London. Then began a strategy of dominating salesrooms in London and in Europe armed with generous commissions and auction-house credit. Counting on a rapid turnover of his stock to his personal clients he bought successfully at famous library dispersals between 1870 and his death in 1899.

Between 1880 and 1914 the British economy declined. Most notably the economy contracted around 1899: a period now known as the Climacteric (Greasley 1986). The cotton market collapsed with the American Civil War (1861-1865) and this led to an economic crisis in the large British manufacturing cities. This was aggravated by agricultural failures and major depressions were felt between 1875 and 1884 and from 1891 to 1899. The great country estates, burdened by entail, poor financial returns, rising wage costs and the expenses of taxes, sold off their furniture and libraries

¹ Conversions were calculated at www.measuringworth.com. Values expressed in GBP as of 2016. Accessed 14 March 2018/

(Barker 1997: 14). Prices of rare and expensive books and manuscripts rose. The *Pall Mall Gazette* (9 December 1884: 6) reported that ‘all books are fish that come to the net of Mr Quaritch; the minnow and the whale alike, pence or pounds, scores or thousands, it matters not which.’ Notable collections sold in 1882 to solve the indebtedness of the great estates were the Hamilton Palace sale and famous Sunderland library at Blenheim Palace (*The Observer* 9 July 1882: 2). In an interview with the *Pall Mall Gazette* (19 December 1884: 6) Quaritch boasted of spending £40,000 [£3,827,000] at the Hamilton sale and then £33,000 [£3,157,000] at the Sunderland sale: a massive £73,000 [£6,984,000] at just two auctions in the one year. Quaritch also marketed his collections at auctions directly, in trade sales of rare and general stock in England and abroad and issued his own publications.

His most celebrated publication, in four editions, was Edward FitzGerald’s *Rubáiyat of Omar Khayyam* (1859-1879). The complex negotiations over copyright and personality are well documented by Freeman (1997). Following a dispute between Quaritch and the FitzGerald estate that cast Quaritch in a bad light the letters between the two men would be published by his daughter Charlotte Quaritch Wrentmore (Wrentmore 1926). Quaritch was an active member of the dining club he co-founded in 1878 known as ‘The Sette of Odd Volumes’ and other bookseller associations (Quaritch 1887; The Sette of Odd Volumes 1886; Straus and Ye Sette of Odd Volumes 1925; Franklin 1997).

Bernard Quaritch married Charlotte Helen Rimes in either 1863 or 1864 and had three children: Bernard Alfred, Charlotte Nannie, Gertrude Annie.² When Bernard Quaritch died in his London home at 34 Belsize Grove, Hampstead in December 1899 he left a sizeable estate valued at £38,782 [£4,006,000] with a personal wealth of £19,712 [£2,036,000] much of which was divided between his wife and his two daughters (*The Morning Post* 28 February 1900: 3; *The London Gazette*, 8 March 1900: 1472; Freeman 2004). Each daughter received a personal wealth of £5,000 [£516,500].

Bernard Quaritch must surely have been an extraordinary character. A correspondent for the *Chicago News* reporting on the old man’s behaviour at a sale in London was reprinted in the *Collector* (15 November 1891: 27) under the by-line ‘Notes and Novelities.’ This magazine, published in New York by Alfred Trumble, called itself a record of antiquarianism and in it the newspaper journalist wrote that Bernard Quaritch’s appearance at an auction:

strikes terror to the hearts of all other buyers, for he is known as the craftiest and boldest of competitors. The old man will sit for hours waiting for some coveted treasure. His eyes will be closed and his head dropped forward upon his knees: undoubtedly he is asleep. But how does it happen that he always contrives to be awake just at the right time? He is never caught napping: he starts, opens his eyes, is wide awake and ready for action the moment the sale of a valued volume or manuscript is reached.

The *Collector* article then went on to say: that ‘[t]he fact is that Mr Quaritch is not only the greatest bookseller in the world, but a bookseller with a genius for his vocation. If he were not he would not stand where he does to-day.’ He was best described by Freeman (2004: [4]): ‘[p]hysically and mentally he was a powerful man, short but wiry and barrel-chested, irrepressibly forthright, and given to bluff sardonic humour, but convivial and loyal, with a streak of unabashed sentimentally

² www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk

towards friends, and a patriotic devotion to his adopted country.’ Although a man with wide acquaintance with books he cared little for learning and literature in themselves. His obituary notices reported that he was popularly known as both the Napoleon³ (*The Dundee Advertiser* 25 Dec 1899: 3) and the Prince of Booksellers (*The Yorkshire Post* 20 December 1899: 10).

Bernard Alfred Quaritch

After two and a half years at Charterhouse School, a college his nephew HG Quaritch Wales would also attend, Bernard Alfred Quaritch spent a year in Leipzig learning German and then went to France to gain experience in the European bookselling business. He returned to London and joined the firm. He was 17. Following his father’s death in 1899 he actively managed the firm until his own death from the protracted effects of influenza in 1913.

Bernard Alfred was a member of the British Numismatic Society between 1909 and 1911 and probably continued his membership until his death. Numismatics was a popular pastime in the 19th and early 20th centuries and the original Numismatic Society of London was a learned society for upwardly mobile middle-class men. The Society separated in 1903 into the Royal Numismatic Society and the British Numismatic Society when some members sought to form a group that focussed specifically on the collection of British coins and those from the former British colonies.⁴ The Royal Numismatic Society received its Letters Patent in 1904 and continues to focus on the study of coins, medals and money from all around the world emphasising collections from ancient Greece and Rome.⁵ Although a member of the newly formed British Numismatic Society, Bernard Alfred continued to publish the *Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society* for some years. The British Museum now has a valuable collection of early British coins acquired through Bernard Quaritch Ltd who also sold copies of the museum coins and medals catalogue to collectors.⁶

Bernard Alfred was instrumental in expanding the fortunes of the firm in the United States where his business activities were regularly reported and widely advertised in the *Collector*. His exposure to the book market in the United States was, after some initial difficulties, highly successful (Franklin 1997; Morris 1997). So much so that his obituary in the *American Art News* (20 September 1913: 4) spoke glowingly of the man. Noting that he did not show much inclination to follow his father into the book business, apparently preferring an Army career, he only did so at direct pressure from his father. His father may have been surprised at the memorial notice from the *Daily Telegraph* (London) reprinted in the Melbourne *Argus* (4 October 1913: 6) that suggested Bernard Alfred may have been the ‘first bookseller in the world.’ The obituary indicates that perhaps the son was better known in Australia than the father.

The Charterhouse School (1913a: 171 and 1913b: 178) magazine, *The Carthusian*, ran two separate obituary notes for Bernard Alfred Quaritch. One said that Quaritch ‘gave special attention to Oriental literature, American literature, especially that dealing with the early history of the country, and the magazines of the learned societies.’ Bernard Quaritch Ltd was highly regarded for the diversity of its contacts for it acted as an agent for the publications of many notable organisations such as the British Museum, the Society of Antiquaries, the Hakluyt Society, the Numismatic Society of London and

³ www.quaritch.com/about/our-history. Accessed 15 March 2018

⁴ www.britnumsoc.org/society/. Accessed 15 March 2018

⁵ <http://numismatic.org.uk/about-the-society/history-of-the-society/> Accessed 15 March 2018

⁶ [www.britishmuseum.org/about us/departments/coins and medals](http://www.britishmuseum.org/about-us/departments/coins-and-medals). Accessed 15 March 2018

the Australian Museum in Sydney. HG Quaritch Wales would later play an active role in the management of the family company, first as a director and then as the chairman of the board.

Gertrude Annie Quaritch

Gertrude Quaritch, the youngest daughter, married Edward Horace Wales in 1894 (*London Middlesex Gazette* 22 September 1894: 2). At first there seems little to connect the Quaritch and the Wales families to each other. But middle-class families in London at that time were closely associated by class, education, religion and professional association. HG Quaritch Wales would be descended from two respectable and well-to-do families. In this study the emphasis will be on the Quaritch family and its significant role in the life of Quaritch Wales.

When Gertrude met Edward Wales in September 1894 he was well established in his uncle's drapery warehousing business and she was a young woman whose father was a respected and prosperous antiquarian bookseller in the West End. When Bernard Quaritch's will was probated in February 1900 Edward Wales was noted as an executor (*The Illustrated London News* 10 March 1900: 311). Edward was from Cheshunt in Hertfordshire and the 1901 Census described him as a General Manager and Manchester Warehouseman employed by the firm of J and WC Boyd at 7 Friday Street in East London. The family lived at Gilwell Hill in Essex. Their son, the subject of this research report, was born there in 1900. Gertrude would die in 1923 at the relatively early age of 56. Her husband, Edward, lived to the considerably old age of 86. He died in 1953.

Charlotte Nannie Quaritch

Charlotte continued to live at the family home in Belsize Grove, Hampstead, until her marriage in 1910 to John Harris Wrentmore, a solicitor and partner in the family law firm, Wrentmore and Son of 29 Bedford Row, London. The Quaritch family was now prosperous and successful in the commercial and legal life of London. On the death of Bernard Alfred, Bernard Quaritch Ltd became a limited liability company with Charlotte Quaritch, his sister, and Edward Horace Wales, her brother-in-law, as directors. The business was managed by a long-term employee, Edward H Dring (Dring 1997). This arrangement was an unhappy one. When Dring died in 1928 Charlotte's husband, John Harris Wrentmore, became another member of the board of directors. Barker (1997: 20), in his direct critique of the family dynamics of that time, wrote they

knew nothing of the business for which they were responsible, regarding it as a source of revenue; rarely if ever could they be persuaded to invest in the future, even to the extent of foregoing part of their dividends. They were, be it said, immensely proud of the firm, prouder of their connection with the founder, but they did not honour it with his generosity of spirit.

The survival of Bernard Quaritch Ltd as a leading antiquarian bookselling company was largely left in the hands of loyal employees.

Horace Geoffrey Quaritch Wales: Charterhouse and Cambridge

Horace Geoffrey Quaritch Wales was born on 17 October 1900. The only son of Edward and Gertrude he appears to have been educated locally in his early years but entered the prestigious Charterhouse School at Godalming in Surrey at the Oration Quarter in 1914 (Governing Body of

Charterhouse School 1978: 173). His uncle, Bernard Alfred, had been a student a Charterhouse for two and a half years between the Long Quarter 1885 and the Cricket or Summer Quarter 1887 (Charterhouse School 1913a). This no doubt influenced his parents' decision to educate their son

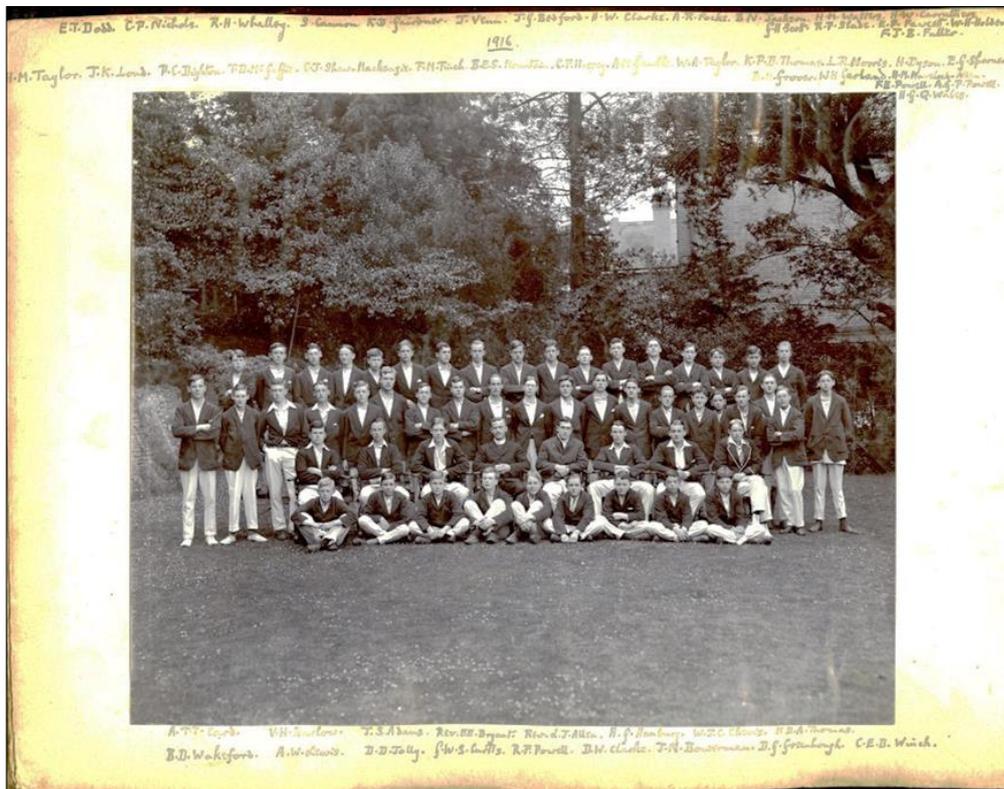


Image 01.002:
Hodgsonites House cricket team 1916. Quaritch Wales standing far right.
Photography courtesy of Catherine Smith, Archivist, Charterhouse School

there. Charterhouse was founded in 1611 on the site of the old Carthusian monastery in Charterhouse Square, Smithfield, London and moved to the present site near Godalming in 1872.

Horace Geoffrey was a boarder in the Hodgsonites House and remained at the school until the Cricket or Summer Quarter in 1917. It appears he was not particularly academic although he was a member of the natural history club and shared the Poole Prize for natural history in 1917 (Email from Mrs Catherine Smith, Archivist, Charterhouse School. 8 and 10 April 2017; Charterhouse School 1917a & b). He left school after completing Upper IV form when he was 17.

Quaritch Wales matriculated to Cambridge on 21 October 1919 and was admitted to Queens' College, one of the oldest and largest constituent colleges of Cambridge University. The three terms at Cambridge are Michaelmas, from October to December; Lent, from January to March, and Easter, from April to June. All students must complete at least nine terms, or three years, resident in a college (Email from The Revd Dr Jonathan Holmes, Life Fellow and Keeper of the Records, Queens' College. 4 March 2017).

At Cambridge, Quaritch Wales continued with his interest in science. He sat for Part 1 of the Natural Science Tripos in 1921 specialising in geology, botany, zoology and comparative anatomy. The

Natural Science Tripos has been the framework by which most science is taught in Cambridge. Part I, taken over two years, is broadly based and this is reflected in Quaritch Wales' choice of four subjects. Part II, undertaken in the third year, allows the student to specialize. After completing Part I of the Tripos Quaritch Wales sat for the Special in Geology in the Easter term of 1922 and gained a second-class pass. He graduated without taking Part III which currently allows a student to graduate with both Bachelor's and Master's degrees.

Quaritch Wales was awarded a Bachelor of Arts degree on 17 June 1922. All Cambridge undergraduates in any field of study obtain a Bachelor of Arts degree as their first degree. On 27 April 1928, Quaritch Wales was awarded a Master of Arts degree. This is granted to any graduate with a Bachelor of Arts honours degree and is awarded nineteen terms after matriculation. Many years later the university would also grant Quaritch Wales a Doctor of Letters. This was approved on 12 November 1947 and awarded on 1 May 1948. It remains one of the highest degrees awarded and candidates are required to show proof of distinction by some original contribution to the advancement of science or learning. This is normally shown by a substantial body of published work accumulated over several years in a distinguished career. But the fact that Quaritch Wales had only a second-class Bachelor of Arts degree—his Master's degree was awarded on application after seven years as an academic rank—and it took sixteen years for the University of Cambridge to grant the Doctor of Letters degree is evidence that Quaritch Wales was by then an enigmatic character whose opinions and reputation made him hard to categorise.

Marriage and divorce

The question we must ask is why would a young man with good education, some family financial security and reasonable prospects for employment in England leave for four years in Siam? The reason was personal. Following his graduation from Cambridge in June 1922, Quaritch Wales quickly married a woman from a respectable family whose father was supported by independent means.

Lena Jones and Quaritch Wales were married on 13 July 1922 at the registrar's office in Rochford, a small town north of the larger coastal city of Southend-on-Sea in Essex (National Archives, Kew 1929). These records have recently been released. Quaritch Wales gave his address as residential accommodation in 'New Court', Alexandra Road, Southend-on-Sea. Lena Jones was living in Queen Anne's Boarding Establishment, also in Southend-on-Sea. Witnesses listed on the marriage certificate were the groom's father, Edward Horace Wales, and the bride's father, Thomas Edwin Jones.

On 29 September 1922 Lena Wales gave birth to a girl whose records and a note in the divorce file identified as Kathleen Mary Wales. In the divorce affidavit tabled later in 1929, Quaritch Wales was recorded as having been a schoolteacher at Canvey Island to the southwest of Southend-on-Sea. The change in social status and economic circumstances from a private school education and studentship at Cambridge would have been considerable. The salary of a rural schoolteacher was low. Data from the 1911 UK Census indicates that the annual salary of a schoolteacher was about £176 [£16,450] and that of a solicitor £1,343 [£125,500] before the First World War.

Based on comparative data from wages for working class men, by 1921 the annual salary of a teacher would have been around £200-£300 [£8,143 to £12,210] and tax about £9 [£366] a year (Samuel 1919: 154; Williamson 1982: 48). But the national economy was in a difficult state

following the war. The purchasing power of wages had fallen dramatically, industrial cities had large slum areas and wide-spread poverty was apparent. It is unlikely that a 22 year old recent graduate with limited teaching experience, working in a provincial school, would have received anything like £300 a year. Finances would have been constrained by the need to maintain a new wife and child.

The marriage between Lena Wales and Horace Quaritch Wales was not successful. The couple separated in late 1923 when Quaritch Wales left for six weeks touring in Argentina. In early 1924 he left for Bangkok on the SS 'Suddhadib', a small trading and passenger ship belonging to Siam Steam Navigation Company (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/1/1). Five years later, when Quaritch Wales returned from teaching in Siam, Lena Wales was able to file for divorce in London.

In her affidavit of March 1929 Lena wrote that the paternity of the child was an issue of some contention between husband and wife. There was no birth certificate of the child in the divorce papers. To prove that the marriage should be dissolved, Lena Wales cited that the respondent, Quaritch Wales, had committed adultery in February 1929 at a hotel in Bloomsbury with a woman, also named in the affidavit (National Archives, Kew 1929).

The *Matrimonial Causes Act* 1923 (13 & 14 Geo 5) had only just removed the Victorian era discrimination against women seeking divorce under which a woman had to prove that her husband had committed adultery, plus either physical or mental cruelty and desertion, to be granted a divorce. On the other hand, a man only had to prove his wife had committed adultery. The *Matrimonial Causes Act* was a small step towards legal recognition of women for it made proof of adultery by either party the sole grounds for divorce (Probert 1999). It was common in those days for couples who wished to divorce to make some arrangement whereby evidence could be collected, often by a private investigator, that either the husband or the wife had been unfaithful.

Divorce was not only expensive, it was socially stigmatizing and embarrassing in a class-conscious society. The fact that neither Quaritch Wales nor the woman identified as the co-respondent made personal representation to the court suggests that both parties wanted the marriage dissolved. Lena Wales was granted a decree nisi on 30 July 1929 and six months later, on 31 March 1930, was granted a decree absolute. Lena Wales and her daughter moved to Edinburgh. There are no records of any personal communication between Lena Wales and Quaritch Wales after that time.

Teaching in Bangkok

Following his failed marriage, Quaritch Wales sought employment as a teacher not in England nor even in an English colony, but in the largely unknown exotic Asian land, Siam. From 1924 to 1928 he joined the Siamese government service that was keen to remodel the nation and to incorporate aspects of Western education. Another logical reason Quaritch Wales may have sought to teach in Siam was the possibility of a higher salary. The Siamese government, aware of its precarious position between French colonies to the east and British colonies to the south and west, recruited numerous European advisers to help develop services and restructure organisations.

Legal advisers for instance were paid high salaries. Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns, adviser to King Chulalongkorn between 1892 and 1902, received an impressive £3,000 [£299,400] a year and following him, Jens Westengard, an adviser to both King Chulalongkorn and King Vajiravudh between 1903 and 1915, was paid £4,000 [£394,200] in 1912 (Loos 2006: 55 fn75). No doubt Quaritch Wales was not at this salary level but even if he were to receive one quarter, say £1,000

[£52,340] a year together with expenses and travel costs, he would be earning a very respectable wage. Quaritch Wales was recruited to teach science to students of the King's College, first located at Nonthaburi on the Menam Chao Phraya north of Bangkok. When it merged with the Royal Pages' College to become Vajiravudh College it was relocated to the northern Bangkok suburb of Dusit.

Siam: ritual, religion and revolution

When Quaritch Wales arrived in Siam he would have been impressed with the colour and exotic sights of elegant palaces, golden Buddha statues, magnificent temples and picturesque wooden houses situated along the narrow *klongs*. He would have been largely unaware that the country was in a difficult social, economic and political position. Efforts to modernise Siam began when Rama IV (King Mongkut: reign 1851-1868) opened the country to European trade and investment. Under a treaty with Great Britain, the English residents in Siam were granted extraterritoriality and were answerable only to the British consul resident in Bangkok (Hall 1970: 669). British trade reaped the greatest benefits from this arrangement. Mongkut had spent many years as a Buddhist monk and he was a renowned scholar of the sacred Buddhist Pāli scriptures. His reign began the process of modernisation that, according to conventional views, 'caused a double conflict—one between the king and the ruling classes, and the other in the king's own mind, where Western progressive ideas clashed with oriental conservatism, leaving a mass of contradictions' (Hall 1970: 667; Thongchi Winichkul 1994: 42). Contradictions between Buddhism and Western science were compartmentalised by relegating matters of a spiritual and moral nature to the faith and those of a worldly nature to science (Thongchai Winichakul 1994: 40).

When his son, Rama V (King Chulalongkorn: reign 1868-1910) came to the throne there was 'no fixed code of laws; no system of general education; no proper control of revenue and finance; no postal or telegraph service' (Sternstein 1964: 7-20 and 1966: 59). In addition, there was no army built on modern lines, no navy at all, there were no railways, few roads and poor medical services. The monarchical system consolidated state control and centralised administration in Bangkok but provincial services were left in the hands of regional governors who had virtual autonomy. Corruption and nepotism gave Siam the unenviable reputation of being one of the worst governed countries in the world.

While the government recruited a large corps of European advisers, and this was a step of considerable importance in the modernisation process, the institutions failed to make much use of their abilities and experience. Few senior officers cooperated willingly with them. Indeed, Quaritch Wales' (1934a and 1965a: 106-107) assessment of traditional provincial administration was that beyond the confines of the central kingdom around Bangkok were a series of first and second-class provinces ruled by sons and relatives of the Siamese king. Beyond that again were tributary states governed by their own lords, according to their own laws and customs. Nominal vassals of the Siamese court, they retained a certain measure of independence and were always inclined to rebel.



Image 01.003:
Wat Phra Kaew, The Temple of the Emerald Buddha, Bangkok ca 1924-1928
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection
Glass slide 39)

Chulalongkorn welcomed European ideas especially on matters of law, politics, education, medicine, government administration and the military. The received opinion is that Siam was a traditional state that ‘transformed itself into a modern nation, thanks to the intelligence of the monarchs who responded wisely and timely to threats of the European powers by modernizing the country in the right direction at the right time’ (Thongchai Winichakul 1994: 13). As Subrahmanyam (2013:78) writes in an excellent examination of philosophical ideas and social structures in a changing Thai society between 1920 and 1944 ‘[t]he maintenance of social hierarchy and the preservation of moral and political leadership in a small class [of elite] were meant to guard against the dilution of royalist ideology in a changing economy.’ The ruling classes blended dissimilar sources of legitimacy—rational with the paternal, magical with Buddhist spiritual, Western science and esoteric

cosmology—to construct their own trajectories of power and control (Subrahmanyam 2013: 15; Kirsch 1984: 253-265).



Image 01.004:

Wat Benchamabopit, the Marble Temple, Dusit, Bangkok ca 1924-1928
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection
Glass slide 40)

Chulalongkorn favoured European education for his many sons and supported students from the lesser-nobility and for some chosen students from the lower classes to have education abroad. Chulalongkorn's son, Rama VI (King Vajiravudh: 1910-1925), was educated at both the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst and Cambridge University in England. The king forced the aristocracy to send their children to elite schools first established in the royal palace. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab (Damrongrāchānphāp), appointed Minister of Public Instruction in 1887, then Minister of Education in 1889 and later the Minister of the Interior in 1892, was one of these young men (The Prince Damrong Foundation 1978). He would reform the system of local administration and introduce better standards of education (Tej Bunnag 1977; Riggs 1966: 117-119; Hall 1970: 672). Prince Damrong would also be an important contact for Quaritch Wales who later wrote a eulogistic article of praise about his mentor (Quaritch Wales 1932d).

Previously, education in Siam was largely in the hands of the Buddhist monasteries. The temple was the centre of all learning and monks taught students, who were mostly boys, Buddhist art, history and philosophy. The temple emphasised moral education, a commitment to Buddhist principles and devotion to the monarchical structure. In a religious setting, the sciences such as astrology, medicine and mathematics were taught by Brahmins. Christian missionaries introduced secular education on a limited scale. Primary level education was improved with the provision of more modern equipment, but secondary and higher education lagged because of the lack of instructional materials in Thai languages. English was considered the most appropriate language for higher education. Education for the poor, and most certainly for the rural poor, was inadequate and substandard. Young men of any standing who gained an education sought a bureaucratic career with almost an obsessive zeal.

Prince Damrong implemented a new local government structure called the *Thesaphibal* [provincial] system. He replaced the old autonomous provinces with new administrative divisions, the *monthons* [circle], each administered by a resident governor responsible to the Minister of the Interior (The Prince Damrong Foundation 1978: 7). These *monthons* were then divided into provinces, villages and then hamlets (Sternstein 1966: 60-61). The hamlet was under the control of an elder and the elders of the hamlets in turn elected a headman of the village. These reforms met with considerable resistance from the old elite. Life in the countryside was basic. Even into the 1920s bands of roving cattle thieves were common in the central plains. Urban life and rural life remained worlds apart. Reporting on a rural economic survey from the 1930s, Subrahmanyam (2013: 20) noted that bullock-carts in the northeast were of an ancient type with an osier roof and with an ungreased wooden axle that made a singing noise heard from a long distance away. In his provincial tours, even Prince Damrong had to make use of these basic carts as motor vehicle access to rural areas was impossible. Quaritch Wales also used these bullock carts, with police guards, on his first archaeological expedition to Siam in 1935.

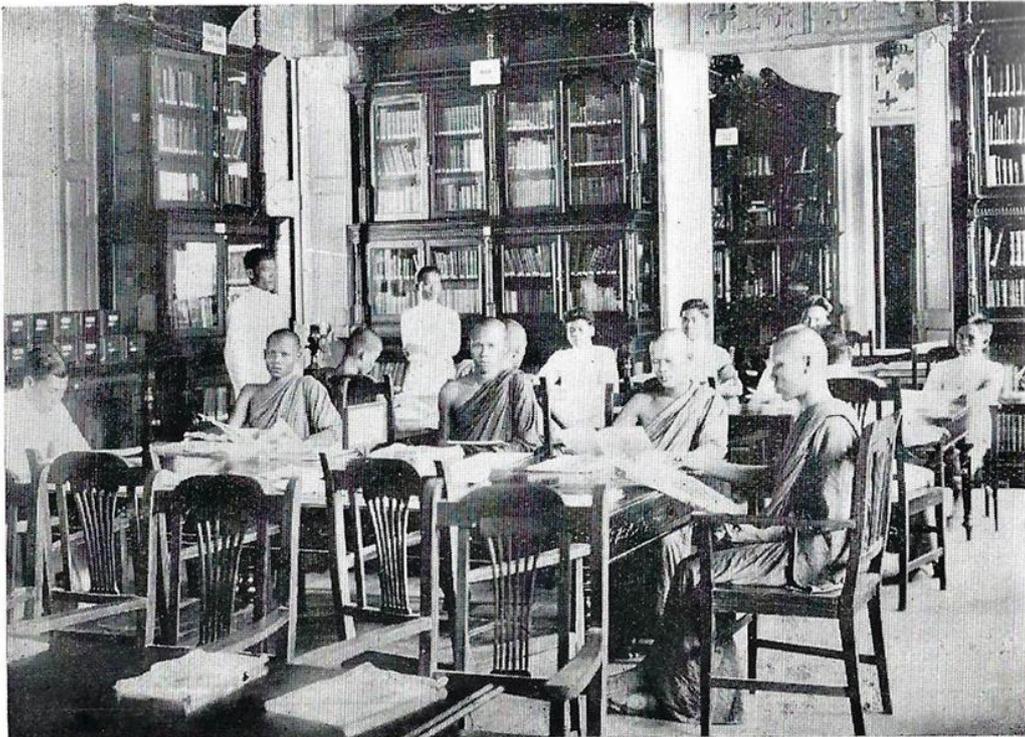
The absolutist state's economic development was governed by ad hoc plans created by socially and economically detached elites residing in the urban areas. The peasantry was exploited by Thai landlords and at the mercy of Chinese money-lenders and middlemen. The old elite had little business aptitude and viewed both state financed development and private economic capitalism with suspicion. In addition, health programs, hospitals and local medical services were inadequate. Cholera claimed 13,000 lives in Bangkok alone between 1919 and 1921 and a further 8,000 died between 1925 and 1926. Malaria was endemic.

Some account of the poor communication, difficulties faced by officials in regional travel and general poverty of the countryside can be seen in the account by LJ Robbins (1929). Robbins was an employee of the Ministry of Education and accompanied a British magistrate on his tour of central Siam from Pitsanulok on the Nan river east towards Lom Sak on the Pa Sak river. This was the western edge of the Khorat plateau. In the late 1920s the journey had to be made on horse, with parties of *corvée* labourers working as guides and carriers. The dense jungle hindered travel and wild elephants and tigers were a constant threat. There were few roads and no bridges. Accommodation in towns was only available in the open-sided *sala* attached to Buddhist temples. This was the world in which Quaritch Wales lived during his short teaching career in Bangkok.

In this period of social and economic crisis Rama VI, who had no children, was succeeded by his younger brother, King Prajadhipok (Rama VII: reign 1925-1935). Prajadhipok was also educated in England; first at Eton College and then at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. When he came to the throne in 1925, Siam was in fiscal crisis due to the legacy of the extravagant lifestyle of Vajiravudh and many of the nobility. This had depleted the state finances to such an extent that Prajadhipok was forced to dismiss many of his brother's courtier favourites, reduce the Civil List and cut the royal household expenditures drastically. He reduced the number of royal pages from a colossal 3,000 to a mere 300. These measures were coupled with new commercial treaties and increased customs duties. Prajadhipok instituted several reforms. He laid the foundations for the Dom Muang airport to service Bangkok and on 19 April 1926 his decree created the Royal Institute of Literature, Archaeology and Fine Arts Society of Siam.



Image 01.005:
Market boats on a *klong* in central Bangkok ca 1924-1928
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection
Glass slide 34)



A reading room in the Vajiravudh Library

Image 01.006:
Inside the National Library (Seidenfaden 1932: 190)

In 1904 the Siam Society was established by a group of Thai and foreign scholars to promote Siam, its arts and its culture. Crown Prince Vajiravudh was to become the first Royal Patron and Prince Damrong, Vice Patron. The Society continues its strong association with the royal family (Warren 2004). A national library was founded in 1905 by amalgamating several smaller royal libraries into one. The amalgamated library was then divided into two sections: printed books and manuscripts. The department of printed books was called the Vajiravudh Library. The department of manuscripts was called the Vajirañāna Library (Seidenfaden 1932: 189).

The important Siamese Archaeological Service was also made part of the Royal Institute in 1926 (Quaritch Wales 1932d: 650-656). Prince Damrong, who had resigned his ministerial duties in 1915 due to conflict with the government of King Vajiravudh, subsequently became President of the Royal Institute. While the structure of the Royal Institute was a positive move at a time when the archaeological heritage of the country was still largely undocumented, and many significant pieces were being traded overseas, the country was in a parlous economic state. In 1933 the Royal Institute was dissolved and restructured into the Royal Society of Siam and the Fine Arts Department.

Despite Prajadhipok's attempts to form a Supreme Council of State and make himself more accessible to the urban middle and upper classes, the country continued to decline economically. The government failed in its attempts to manage the situation and was forced to introduce drastic cuts to the salaries of government employees. This hit the junior clerical class heavily. Students returning from Europe and America faced a lack of opportunity, the comparative backwardness of the country, dominance of the old aristocracy who monopolised many senior posts and a widening gap between the lifestyle and advantages of urban Bangkok and the rural areas that supported nearly ninety percent of the people. These Western-educated students were exposed to scientific and technical change in Europe and the Americas. This new breed of Thai middle class had been educated in democratic ideas and became increasingly impatient with the old-fashioned royal absolutism.

The main product that Siam produced for export market was rice. The impact of large-scale cash cropping for rubber, tea, tobacco and sugar in the British, French and Dutch colonies of Southeast Asia distorted rice production there. The main rice producing areas were in Burma, Siam and Cochin China (South Vietnam) and although it was listed as the fifth most important producer in the world, before the Second World War Siam's export production constituted only three percent of the world production (American Council 1934). The skilled business class were mostly Chinese. They had a majority control over the most important export commodity, rice. Small-scale Chinese buyers would travel throughout the rural areas, often by boat, securing the rice crop and paying farmers directly. The sale of this crop, its export and any financial return to the central government was almost beyond the reach of the administrative functionaries in Bangkok.

The country was particularly hard hit by the Great Depression of 1930 when the rice market collapsed. Chinese rice buyers and millers could manipulate the markets and so the price rose both in the towns and cities and in the rural districts. Food stocks fell to a dangerously low level (Kratoska 1990: 131-132). Much of the profitable teak industry was also in the hands of either Chinese or British interests. By the 1930s seventy percent of Siam's trade and ninety-five percent of its modern economic sector was foreign owned (Sato 2014: 762). Although there was no serious unrest in the country this was largely because there was no mass of urban unemployed.

Conflicting world views

It was into this social, economic and political milieu that HG Quaritch Wales made his entry into Siam to teach science at King's College to the students of the elite. When Quaritch Wales arrived in Bangkok he would have had little if any understanding of the social, political or even cultural life of the Siamese people. He was 24 years old, recently separated from his wife of only two years and, we can presume, seeking to escape social ostracism and probably some family anger. His studies in Cambridge would have not prepared him for life in Bangkok. The climate would have been unceasingly hot and often uncomfortable. The change from a country of four seasons to one with only two: a wet, humid hot season followed by a dry, often dusty hot season would have been tiring. European circles were small and introspective. He was a single man. His social position would have been constrained by a lack of a wife to entertain for him.

But he would have been surprised to learn that science—a system for understanding and explaining the material universe—existed in Siam within a framework of Hindu and Buddhist belief (Hodges 1998: 84). Technical and scientific skills for construction of major canals, temples, palaces and irrigation works were well known. Western science was not unknown to the Siamese elite. King Narai, who reigned from 1656 to 1688, took an interest in Western science and collected telescopes, time-pieces, globes and astronomical tables. They were displayed with some pride in the palaces but there is no evidence to suggest that the collecting and interest in these curiosities made any changes to the way the elite thought about the world (Hodges 1998: 90).

It was King Mongkut (Rama IV) who, fearing the Siam would become a European colony, sought scientific books and astronomical instruments from the West. His understanding of horology and astrology was important in directing the penetration of European scientific technology and beliefs. He was also a keen astronomer and used Western instruments to observe planetary motion (Day and Reynolds 2000: 9). Mongkut's brother, the Second King or the Prince of the Front Palace, studied mathematics, fortification and gunnery. Behind this curiosity about chemical, optical and electrical instruments 'lay a love of gadgetry' (Reynolds 1976: 214).

The Thai view of the universe was expressed in Buddhist doctrines, in astrology and ritual practiced by Brahmin priests and the Thai calendrical system revealed a sophisticated knowledge of the natural environment. Buddhism and Hinduism were introduced into Siam around the 5th century CE. Brahmin astrologers at the royal court held important positions. The court astrologers possessed specialist knowledge in a society that believed the heavenly bodies influenced human affairs. These astrologers kept detailed records of events and their timing and these records were used to predict the future (Hodges 1998: 85). As custodians of the kingdom's horological system, astrologers were responsible for producing annual calendars. The current calendar in Thailand is based on the timing of the death of Buddha—or more accurately the time the Buddha attained Nirvana—set at 543 BCE.

The most important doctrinal tradition in Thai Theravada Buddhism was the *Traibhūmikathā*, or the Sermon on the Three Worlds. Also known as the Three Worlds' cosmography, it dates to 1345 CE and has been attributed to Phra Mahā Thammarāchā Lithai, King of Sukhothai. Versions of the cosmology were produced until the reign of Rama 1 (1782-1809) but by the mid-19th century CE its relevance had come under attack (Reynolds 1976: 204; Day and Reynolds 2000: 8). Despite this, the *Traibhūmi* is still referred to in Buddhist sermons and in everyday life. The 'cosmography ranks all

beings from demons to deities in a hierarchy of merit which accrues according to *karma*—the physical, cognitive, and verbal actions of past lives’ (Reynolds 1976: 204). It served as an all-embracing statement of the world seen through Thai Buddhist eyes, and as a means for educating subjects in Buddhist values (Reynolds 1976: 203). Although largely considered an historical relic the cosmography has not been dismantled but refined. The *Traibhūmikathā* is a composition of numerous sources and Quaritch Wales (1977: 46), in a much later study of cosmology and cosmic renewal, wrote that ‘this work is based on a number of well-known Pāli texts which must have been known, in whole or in part, to the earlier Buddhists of Dvāravatī and Fu-nan.’ It remains an important, but archaic, element of Thai Theravada Buddhism.

Soon the fundamental bases of Buddhist cosmography began to be questioned by the educated urban elite especially those in contact with some European education. The concept of *karma*, so intrinsic to Buddhist teaching, was not rejected but made into a rational and logical social ethic that explained human differences. *Karma* accounted for the ‘myriad graduations and variations of status, health, wealth, intelligence, physical type and longevity found in human societies’ (Reynolds 1976: 216). Although largely rejected by the early 20th century, Thais retained an enduring respect for the values the *Traibhūmi* encapsulated, for they inspired generations of artists, painters and writers of the classical culture. Prince Damrong arranged for the *Traibhūmi* to be published as a cremation volume in 1912 but at the same time, he emphasised the need for the old Buddhist cosmography to give way to innovative ways of thinking that contradicted it. However, the diffusion of this knowledge proceeded at a glacial pace (Reynolds 1976: 218; Thongchai Winichakul 1994: 39).

Teaching science in 1924

There is little in his later writing to indicate what Quaritch Wales taught or what he thought during this period. He travelled widely during his four years in Siam. In the two volumes of a personal journal kept during this period, marked ‘not for publication at any time’, he listed the places he visited and the dates. He went to central and northern Siam in late 1925 and early 1926, to the east coast of the Gulf of Siam in mid-1926, to the Khorat plateau in the northeast in late 1927 and again to central Siam in early 1928. He would return to all these areas during his archaeological research (Royal Asiatic Society Archive QW/1/1/1-QW/1/1/2).

The government made it a requirement that foreign experts learn Thai language, but we do not know the level of Quaritch Wales’ expertise. Certainly, in the early years in Bangkok it would have helped that the language of instruction at the King’s College and at Vajiravudh College was English. Although he had graduated with a degree in natural sciences, we can assume that he was expected to teach the physical sciences as well, for his travel journals contain many geographical notes and observations.

Quaritch Wales obviously kept in contact with Vajiravudh College and his former students for many years later, on 12 January 1968, he attended an Old Boy’s Dinner held in his honour at the college. In February 1978 he again revisited the college, the house where he had lived in Dusit, and then to the former King’s College site at Nothaburi. This he found converted into offices for the *changwat* [provincial administration] and all around in the northern suburbs of Bangkok was ‘tremendous (and regrettable) development’ (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/7/32).

For a young teacher of science, the four volumes by Sir John Arthur Thomson (1922) would also have been extremely valuable. Thomson sought to reconcile the differences between science and

religion. Volume one of his four volume set contains information on evolution, the ascent of man and foundations of the universe. Volume two has sections on Darwinism and natural history. Volume three contains articles by Sir Olive Lodge on physical science, by Julian Huxley on botany and biology, as well as papers on chemistry, applied science and meteorology. The final volume, four, contains papers on bacteria by Sir Ray Lankester, substantial comments on geology, Einstein's theory of relativity and the science of health. Sir William Dampier Whetham, a noted science historian, and his daughter Margaret (Dampier Whetham and Dampier Whetham 1924) published extracts from the writings of scientists that documented the development of scientific thought that would have been a useful text for a Cambridge trained graduate.

George F Bosworth (1922), author of a series of well-regarded English county geographies, produced his *Cambridge Geographical Text Books* for senior school students. It contains vignettes on nearly every country in the world. Predictably the British Isles is documented in over 50 pages, but Siam is described in only one and a half. Perhaps Bosworth can be cited as an example of the general ignorance and prejudice of the time. He wrote that the 'labour market is supplied by Chinese coolies; the commerce is in the hands of Chinese; and the best artisans are also Chinese' for 'the Siamese are peaceful, indolent, vain, and fond of gay dresses and jewellery' (Bosworth 1922: 236-237). This racial profiling would be supported by Quaritch Wales (1934a and 1965a: 6) in his book on ancient Siamese government for he reported that the 'hot, damp climate of the central lowlands naturally had a deleterious effect upon the vigour of the Thai as they came down from the uplands of the north.' As a result, the great river growing plains of the Menam valley responded to 'the slightest efforts of the cultivator' where rice failures were 'practically unknown.' His opinion was that this 'naturally affected the character of society and its administration, and eventually led to the more arduous undertaking of commerce getting largely into the hands of immigrant Chinese and other foreigners.'

But geography textbooks existed in the Thai language at that time. Under instruction from Prince Damrong all schoolchildren were to be taught geography in the new curriculum that commenced in 1892. One notable text was that by Phraya Thepphasatsathit published in two volumes (Phraya Thepphasatsathit 1902 and 1904). This was used widely and republished thirty-six times between 1902 and 1958 and more than three million copies were sold of volume one alone (Thongchai Winichakul 1994: 48, 51, 184 fn65 and fn66, 220). Western geographical knowledge was used as a means of improving the accuracy of traditional astrology, not eliminating it (Thongchai Winichakul 1994: 59). In the first volume of Phraya Thepphasatsathit's successful book the classification of physical geography was similar to the taxonomy contained in the *Traibhūmi* cosmology. Further, Thongchai noted that 'Thai terminology for modern geography, particularly about the cosmos and macrospace, is taken from the Traiphum [sic, *Traibhūmi*] taxonomy.'

Contact with Georges Cœdès and René Nicolas

It was in Bangkok that Quaritch Wales meet two eminent French scholars resident there at that time: Georges Cœdès and René Nicolas. In 1918 the Vajirañāṇa National Library appointed the brilliant French epigraphist and scholar, Georges Cœdès, as its curator. A colleague of Prince Damrong, he was Secretary-General of the Royal Institute from 1926 to 1929 before moving to Hanoi. Using his knowledge of inscriptions, Cœdès would rediscover the history of Śrīvijaya—and the subordinate regional centres of Jambi and Kedah—that would form a thalassocratic network of polities in Sumatra and the Malay peninsula. These existed from about 500 CE to 1300 CE (Cœdès 1918: 1-36; Cœdès, Sheppard, Damais and Manguin 1992: 1-27).

Cœdès was to become the director of the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* in Hanoi from 1929 to 1946 where he published his magisterial work *Historie ancienne des états hindouisés d'Extrême-Orient* in 1944. This was revised as *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie* in 1948, and again in 1964 before being republished in English as *The Indianized states of Southeast Asia* (Cœdès 1968a). This book made Cœdès one of the foremost figures in Asian studies. Cœdès would be a major influence on the intellectual career of Quaritch Wales.

So too would René Nicolas, then a professor at the Royal Pages' School, who was a leading authority on the *Lakhon chatri* genre of dance-drama that comes from southern Thailand. This form of traditional opera-ballet performed at the royal court is one of three types of classical Thai theatre, the others being the *Khon*, a masked pantomime, and the *Rabam*, a character dance (Nicolas 1927: 87). Both Cœdès and Nicolas were active members of the Siam Society. They were the leading French intellectuals in Bangkok in the late 1920s. In an obituary written after Quaritch Wales had died in 1981, Tan Sri Mubin Sheppard (1982: 145) noted the importance of the two men and stated that Quaritch Wales 'studied Thai art and history with them and decided to make these and related subjects his interest in life.'

University of London. School of Oriental Studies

Quaritch Wales returned to London in 1928, no doubt to an uncertain personal and professional future. After his divorce in July 1929 he never taught school again. Perhaps weighing up in his mind the direction he wished to take, he began writing some descriptive articles on Siam and Siamese art. The first was published in the *Country Life* magazine. This has been a popular weekly magazine since it was founded in 1897 and continues its standard coverage of manorial estates and rural communities, mostly in the south-eastern counties of England. Much of the content remains devoted to high class residential properties for sale, farming, gardening, hunting and history. Eminently respectable, it is a magazine read by the upper middle classes of England or those 'who live the real country house lifestyle' as the advertisements state.⁷

The first lengthy article Quaritch Wales wrote for the 14 July 1928 issue of *Country Life* was called the *Glory of Siam*. He then published a letter to the editor with more notes on Siamese art in the 13 October issue (Quaritch Wales 1928a & b). He started by remarking that Siam was the only country in Southeast Asia not to be colonised and then told readers that it 'retains the splendour of an Oriental court and a Buddhist Church.' In Bangkok, he said, the drama of the city was enhanced by the 'flashing of the sun on golden spires and glittering roofs' that, he thought, were more dazzling than those of Angkor. Quaritch Wales went to some detail to explain the nature, structure and decoration of the three most splendid temples in the city: Wat Phra Keo [The Temple of the Emerald Buddha], Wat Po [The Temple of the Sacred Bodhi Tree] and Wat Arun [The Temple of Dawn]. To illustrate the glory of these temples the article was accompanied by some excellent photographs taken by Ralph Burton, an officer of the Coldstream Guards (Quaritch Wales 1928a: 39-43).

Despite reflecting on the glory of the temples, their painted walls and doors and their place in the city landscape, in the letter to the editor that follows this article Quaritch Wales (1928b: 522) stated that the

⁷ www.countrylife.co.uk. Accessed 23 March 2018

best of these paintings were executed early in the nineteenth century, but have, in many cases, been spoilt by percolation of water through the roofs, and there are now few, if any, Siamese artists capable of repairing the damage. Siamese paintings possess no artistic merit, being without any attention to the relative size of the figures, and there is very little regard for perspective, while colour is used indiscriminately... There is great attention to detail, but the jumble of gods, heroes, elephants, ships, palaces and strange trees is often so great as to make it difficult, at least for a European, to follow the meaning of the scenes portrayed.

For a person with three years experience in Bangkok working with two of the most notable art historians of the time, he showed considerable ignorance at the symbolism and meaning of Siamese religious art, its didactic use and its physical place and purpose within the temple setting.

He enrolled for a PhD course at the School of Oriental Studies (now the School of Oriental and African Studies) at the University of London in October 1929. On his registration papers he gave his address as 2 Ryder Street, St James. This is part of Mayfair, the most expensive residential section of the West End. The PhD was supervised for the first term in 1929 by Dr Lionel David Barnett, a famed Sanskrit scholar and professor of Indian history and epigraphy. Barnett was a brilliant scholar at Cambridge and one of the leading elders of the Bevis Marks Synagogue in East London. Among the many books published during his academic career were studies of the Hindu religion (Barnett 1922) and the antiquities of ancient India (Barnett 1913). He also catalogued the Tamil, Hindi and Pushtu books in the British Museum library (Barnett 1893). In fact, the first catalogue of these books was published by Bernard Quaritch Ltd.

After the first term in London the university academic record notes that Quaritch Wales returned to Siam from August 1930 to April 1931 on a leave of absence to undertake field research on his PhD topic: *The Origin and History of the Hindu and Buddhist Royal Ceremonial in Siam* (University of London. School of Oriental Studies 1932. Email from David Ogden, Records Manager and Archivist, SOAS, University of London).

On the return of Quaritch Wales from Bangkok in 1931 his supervisor was Dr Charles Otto Blagden who would be his most important intellectual mentor at the School of Oriental Studies. Many of Quaritch Wales' opinions, and his choice of further research in Kedah, reflect Blagden's influence. Blagden had been in the civil service in the Straits Settlements, a crown colony consisting of Penang and the Province Wellesley [now Seberang Perai], Dindings [now Manjung], Malacca and Singapore. Forced to leave Malaya due to ill health, he became a lawyer in London before being appointed as a lecturer in Malay at the School of Oriental Studies in 1917 (Basham 1960). His most famous work, *Pagan races of the Malay Peninsula* was co-authored with Walter William Skeat (Skeat and Blagden 1906).

Skeat had been in the civil service of the Federated Malay States of Selangor, Perak, Pahang and Negeri Sembilan. This had enabled him to be part of the Cambridge Exploring Expedition to the Siamese-Malay States in 1899 and 1900 and during his time in the colonial service he undertook several trips into the interior studying the ethnology and language of the various Orang Asli peoples in the highlands (American Association for the Advancement of Science 1900). This led to further expeditions into the interior of the Malay peninsula by other ethnologists and physical anthropologists (Annandale and Robinson 1902). Due to ill health, most likely malaria, Skeat too

was forced to return to London where he worked for the British Museum. The three men, Barnett, Blagden and Skeat, would all influence Quaritch Wales' research.

The Asian art market

In addition to undertaking research on his thesis Quaritch Wales brought back a collection of rare Siamese and Khmer artefacts that were offered for sale to wealthy collectors in London and New York. How Quaritch Wales came into possession of the Khmer and Siamese pieces is unknown but it was not unusual for Europeans in Bangkok to have collections of rare art. Reginald Le May, who served in the British Consular Service in Siam from 1906 to 1922, and later became the economic adviser to the Siamese government from 1922 to 1932, also made an excellent collection of Buddhist art pieces and ancient coinage. Le May's collection of Southeast Asian art pieces was exhibited at the Gordon Fraser Gallery in Cambridge and documented in *The Illustrated London News* (27 February 1937: 361).⁸ Many pieces were later acquired by the British Museum. At that time buying and selling rare Asian art was not regulated in any way.

In London the Quaritch Wales' collection was also promoted through *The Illustrated London News*. The choice of the illustrated news in both cases would have been done with some thought. This was the world's first illustrated news weekly, founded in 1842. For its day, it had an enormous, popular readership (De Vries and Robertshaw 1967). *The Illustrated London News* presented a non-partisan focus on pomp and spectacle, English history, the British monarchy, current events and French fashions. Archaeology was to be a major topic. Although the original editions cost 6d [£2.00] they were deliberately pitched to the marginally monied and educated classes or those disparagingly called the 'middle-class' and the 'middle-brow' (Sinnema 1995: 138).

With the improvement in photographic and printing techniques in the early 20th century, the quality of the illustrated news changed. It became a pictorial magnet for readers keen to see visual representations of current affairs and it was this subordination of text to images that enhanced its appeal to the mass market (McKendry 1994: 6). By the 1920s photographs began to dominate the descriptive text. It was both an illustrative newspaper, politically conservative with appeal to the growing middle-classes, and an effective means of promoting archaeological discoveries and art collections for sale.

At this time British archaeology became topical news with portraits of famous names featured in the March 1923 issue. Detailed life-like drawings of artefacts uncovered and imagined historical scenes were regularly featured (*The Illustrated London News* 10 March 1923: 390-391). Following discoveries by Sir John Marshall the Indus civilisations and discoveries at Mohenjo-Daro became known to the public through text, photographs and reports published in the newspaper (*The Illustrated London News* 27 February 1926: cover, 347-9; 6 March 1926: 398; 7 January 1928: 12).

These famous archaeologists returned home to London and Berlin with valuable art collections. The online archive of this newspaper is of immense historical importance in documenting life, tastes and values in the Victorian and Edwardian eras.⁹ The timeline of coverage can be seen in Edward Bacon's (1976) compendium of articles on archaeological discoveries made in the Middle East and the Mediterranean worlds that the paper reported on between 1842 and 1970. Examination of these articles presented in *The Illustrated London News* highlights the explicit paradigm of Orientalism then current in all levels of society. There is a rigid ontological distinction between the perceiving

⁸ www.blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/2017/06/exploring-thai-art-reginald-le-may

⁹ www.gale.com/c/illustrated-london-news-historical-archive

Self [the British reading public] and the objectified Other [the subject of the archaeological research] who are frozen in a permanent state of denigrated representation. Occidental superiority, efficiency and know-how contrasts with Oriental savagery, ineptitude, lassitude and inefficiency (Sinnema 1995: 140; Ziter 2001).

Quaritch Wales had chosen his medium for advertising his collection well. The illustrated newspaper was a sound vehicle for the delivery of artistic and archaeological discoveries to a growing audience of people with education, leisure and money. Archaeology was developing its own intellectual space removed from ties with antiquarianism and museology. Discussion of the role and place of *The Illustrated London News* is not irrelevant to the story of Quaritch Wales and his work in Southeast Asia. As we shall see, he used the newspaper effectively to advance his status and to promote the research he was undertaking in Siam and Malaya. Quaritch Wales was promoting his plans for the future and advancing his own prestige as a pioneering archaeologist to a deliberate choice of intellectual readership.

In the September issue of *The Illustrated London News* Frank Davis (1929a: 558), a regular correspondent who contributed articles under the headline *A Page for Collectors*, wrote 'English collectors in the past have taken little or no interest in the art that once flourished in what is now the kingdom of Siam' but that there was an exhibition of 'carefully chosen pieces got together by Mr HG Quaritch Wales who has just returned from Siam, where he has been engaged in archaeological research. The exhibition can be seen by appointment only' at the Hotel Great Central. This hotel, now the Landmark London, is located on Marylebone Road in the City of Westminster. Built as a railway hotel near Marylebone station it was considered opulent and rather eclectic in its heyday but by the late 1920s it was no longer fashionable. Renting exhibition space there would have been less expensive than obtaining rooms closer to central London.

The three pieces from the exhibition illustrated on the first page of the September article were followed by photographs of another nine pieces on a second page. All were described as pre-Khmer and Khmer Buddhas in sandstone and limestone although one was a Buddha in bronze. Davis, in his description of the Khmer pieces, and no doubt following Quaritch Wales' interpretation, wrote that the 'essentially Indian character of Khmer and Siamese sculpture is at once apparent.' The article reports that the 'collection covers the whole known history of Siamese art, from the from the 6th century AD to the 18th —the period of its decline' (Davis 1929b: 559). The examination was made on purely artistic lines and there was no mention of the religious significance or the origin of the Buddhist or Hindu stone heads. Davis then used the photograph of another stone head to illustrate an article on Asian art in October issue of the newspaper (Davis 1929c: 740).

Part of this collection was later exhibited at the Galleries of Ralph M Chait then at 600 Madison Avenue in New York (Galleries of Ralph M Chait 1930; Bloch 1930; Ferguson 1930). The catalogue is extensive; many pieces are indeed rare and beautiful. There were twenty-six pieces in all that were dated to a Dvāravatī period (2nd-6th century), a pre-Khmer or Śriwijaya period (6th-9th century), a classical Khmer period (9th-13th century), a Lopburi Khmer period (11th-14th century), and a period labelled the Khmer-Thai or end of Lopburi period (13th-14th century). There were also six ceramic pieces provenanced to Sawankalok from the Sukhothai period (13th-16th century CE). The foreword was written by Ralph M Chait, the owner of the galleries. The detailed identifications were written by Alvan C Eastman, formerly the Associate Curator of Asiatic Art at the Detroit Institute of Arts but the dating of the collection, mostly sandstone heads, was prepared by LJ Robbins (Robbins 1929). This was the same Robbins who had been attached to the Ministry of Education in Siam, who

had accompanied the British magistrate on his road trip in Siam and who described the appalling conditions of travel in rural areas.

A footnote in the catalogue explains how Quaritch Wales was able to export the collection from Siam. First the collection was inspected by officials from the 'National Institute of Bangkok' [Royal Institute of Literature, Archaeology and Fine Arts Society of Siam]. The footnote reported that '[o]wing to the rarity of such ceramics, now even in Siam, he was at first forbidden to take the collection away, but finally, after interviewing Prince Damrong, head of the [Royal] Institute, permission was obtained—but only by giving one piece, a head of a giant [probably an Asura], to the Museum which had no such example' (Galleries of Ralph M Chait 1930: 5fn). Although we may now question the morality of exporting pieces of cultural heritage these notes indicate that Quaritch Wales submitted his collection to the officials of the Royal Institute and that he gained an export clearance.

Both the page from the illustrated newspaper in London and the catalogue cover from New York show one item, an exceptionally fine carving of an Apsara, a female spirit of the clouds and waters. The objects were obviously carefully selected and formed a beautiful collection. Some pieces can be cross-referenced with those published in *The Illustrated London News* in September 1929 (Davis 1929a-c). The article by Stella Bloch (1930) is particularly useful in this context. Item number seven in the New York catalogue was called the 'Head of a female deity' (Galleries of Ralph M Chait 1930: 11; Bloch 1930: 29). This was the photograph of the Apsara, previously mentioned, that was used as the frontispiece to the catalogue. The detailed descriptions give some idea of the way in which the pieces were presented to discerning buyers. The catalogue reports that this grey sandstone head, fifteen inches [38 centimetres] in height, was crowned by a high diadem, surrounded by 'feathered' cresting. The hair was dressed high and hidden by beaded fillets and fell in braided strands at the back of the neck. It was dated to the 11th-12th century CE: the Khmer classical period. It was provenanced to Angkor.

Item number twelve was called a 'Head of a Buddhist deity' (Galleries of Ralph M Chait 1930: 13; Bloch 1930: 30). This piece was also grey sandstone and stood ten inches [25 centimetres] in height. The head was crowned with a diadem with the hair shaped with plaited locks and bound with circular fillets. The pendant ears were not decorated with earrings. The almond shaped eyes, the sharp modelling of the eyebrows, the small conical projection surmounting the crown were said to show influence from the Lopburi period. The piece, provenanced to Phimai in northeast Siam, was dated to the 12th-13th century CE. A third notable example was listed in the New York catalogue as item number eighteen (Galleries of Ralph M Chait 1930: 14; Bloch 1930: 29). This was called a 'Head of a deity, probably Buddha.' Provenanced to eastern Siam from the late Khmer-Thai period, circa 14th century CE, it was made of dark grey sandstone and stood almost thirteen inches [33 centimetres] in height. The hair was arranged in plaited folds. The description states that this 'head is already a transitional example and shows the Siamese characteristics in the features.' As the foreword noted, this collection was probably the most important of its kind to come to America where Khmer and pre-Khmer art was rare. Items such as this would have found a ready audience in the expanding Asian art market in New York.

At this time Quaritch Wales was at the School of Oriental Studies and preparing to return to Siam to undertake his field research, so it is possible that he sailed back to Siam via New York. On the other hand, he may have used his connections with Bernard Quaritch Ltd to facilitate the shipment and negotiations for the New York sale. These exhibitions of rare and valuable artefacts would have been bought and transported at great expense. Their quality cannot be denied. By using an established art

gallery in New York to display the objects and having them promoted in *The Illustrated London News* and in art journals in the United States, Quaritch Wales was finding opportunities to showcase his research and establish his name as an authority on Asian art.



Image 01.007:
The Quaritch Wales collection
(*The Illustrated London News*, 28 September 1929: 559)

In 1933 Quaritch Wales donated three gelatin silver prints to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. They are images of exceptionally fine sculptures mounted on wooden base blocks. These blocks are like one illustrated in the article by Stella Bloch (1930) that was part of the New York art sale. The descriptions in the online V&A catalogue do not match any items in the Chait Galleries

record so presumably the sculptures photographed were sold in London. The photographs are of a Bodhisattva (c 12th century CE), a Buddha framed by a Naga hood (c12th-13th centuries CE). Both items were from eastern Siam. The third sculpture was a head of an Asura from Angkor (12th-13th centuries CE). This may indeed be a photograph of the statue Quaritch Wales was prohibited from taking out of Bangkok in 1928.

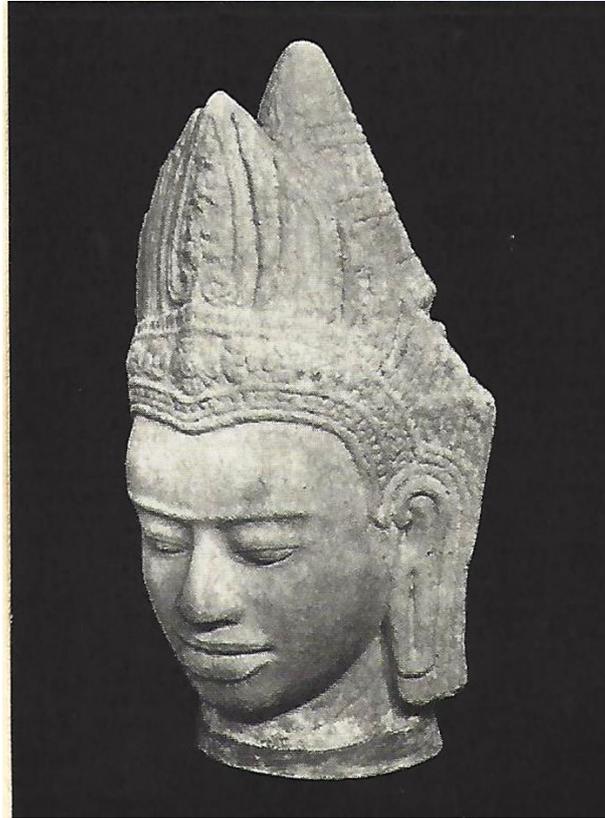


Image 01.008:
Head of an Apsara, a female spirit of clouds and waters.
(Photograph from the cover of the exhibition catalogue
from the Galleries of Ralph M Chait, New York)

Siamese state ceremonies

The following years were eventful ones. Quaritch Wales graduated in 1931 from the School of Oriental Studies with a PhD in anthropology. University of London (1932) student records show that the thesis was now called: *Siamese State Ceremonies, their History and Functions*. Later that year the Charterhouse School (1931: 892) magazine, *The Carthusian*, announced that Quaritch Wales had married Dorothy Clementina Johnson on 19 December at the Kensington Registrar's Office in the West End of London. Dorothy Wales would be instrumental in his archaeological success in Malaya and they would remain married for 50 years. She was an outstanding woman. She had a law degree—unusual for a woman in those days—and travelled to every archaeological field site with her husband.

Subsequently the school magazine (Charterhouse School 1932: 1000) reported in *Old Carthusian Notes* on the success of Quaritch Wales, late of the Lord Chamberlain's Department of the Court of Siam, who had published an illustrated volume on Siamese state ceremonies. It was published by the

family firm, Bernard Quaritch Ltd, with a dedication to his aunt, Charlotte Quaritch Wrentmore. who, after the death of his mother in 1923, would play a significant role in financing much of Quaritch Wales' archaeological work in Southeast Asia. For its time *Siamese State Ceremonies* was an innovative study that combined participant observation with historical analysis but despite Quaritch Wales' statement that he applied the functional method of social anthropology espoused by Bronislaw Malinowski (1926), the long-term value of the book has been in its detailed descriptions of the various ceremonies and the role they played in the royal coronation, cremation and festivals.



Image 01.009:
East Siam sculpture of head of Bodhisattva, c 12th century CE
Silver gelatin print, ca 1930s. HG Quaritch Wales Collection.
(V&A 855-1933)

In fact, references to Malinowski are minor, the main theoretic guide being *The Golden Bough* by Sir James Frazer (1911-1915). This rather abstruse text, first published in 1890 but then republished as a third edition of twelve volumes, was very popular in the early 20th century. It consists of a wide-ranging examination of history and concepts related to superstition, magic, taboos, fire festivals and the future of the soul. It is largely a compendium of notes taken from many primary sources. As a study in religion and superstition *The Golden Bough* was not without its critics even by the time Quaritch Wales came to rely on it for theoretical foundations. *The Illustrated London News* (28 November 1938: 956), that bastion of middle-class conservatism, under the headline *New leaves from "The Golden Bough"* remarked

[n]one of the new evidence [in the 3rd edition] is uninteresting in itself, though the form in which it is here collected inevitably leads to monotony of presentation; the only question is whether a case so firmly established needs unlimited collaboration.

And more pointedly:

...since “The Golden Bough” was begun forty-five years ago, he [Sir George Frazer] has not felt it necessary to revise any of his principal theories, which have had such a powerful influence on the development of modern anthropology.

One would have thought that even in the early 1930s *The Golden Bough* was losing its intellectual audience and no longer a collection of books on which to anchor a thesis dealing with Buddhist and Brahmanical court rituals in far away Siam. It is true that Quaritch Wales based some of his research into Siamese state rituals on several rather ancient French sources, including the English translation of the account of the mission to Siam for Louis XIV by Simon de la Loubère (La Loubère 1693) made between 1687 and 1688. He quoted from the memoirs of the Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Siam, Jean Baptiste Pallegoix (1854), who was appointed in 1841 and held in some regard by King Mongkut. These were descriptions of ceremonies that were both elitist and deferential.

Quaritch Wales’ prime reference on Hindu ceremonies was the study by Jean Dubois and Henry Beauchamp (1906) and he relied significantly on the monumental three volume study by Étienne Aymonier (1900-1904) of Cambodian royalty and royal structures. But surprisingly he made no use of Henri Mouhot’s highly considered studies of Indo-China and his descriptions of Angkor and Bangkok made between 1858 and 1860 (Mouhot 1864). Nor did he refer to the journals kept by Sir John Crawfurd (1820 and 1828) in Southeast Asia, Siam and Cochin China or to the important narrative written by Sir John Bowring of his trip to Bangkok in 1855 and audience with King Mongkut (Bowring 1857). These books were readily available and would have given him much information on the nature, significance and performance of ceremonies and rituals in Siam, Indo-China and Cambodia.

For a first book Quaritch Wales was fortunate to receive numerous reviews. Arthur M Hocart (1932: 350-352), the notable ethnologist who had worked in both Asia and the Pacific, wrote that the ‘State ceremonies, which twenty or thirty years ago [ca 1900] would have been considered too sophisticated to be worth the study of any but antiquarians, are now more and more attracting the attention of students of human institutions.’ His opinion was that Quaritch Wales had produced a readable and sympathetic account of the ‘religion and political organization of the Indian world.’ However, Hocart was also highly critical. In the end, his judgement was that the book was flawed. He commented that the ‘author’s training and outlook is that of a historian, not of a sociologist, and his excursions into sociology are not successful.’ This was rather severe but accurate.

Major Owen Rutter (1932: 111) noted that Quaritch Wales’ position in the Lord Chamberlain’s department of the Court of Siam gave him unique access to observation and examination of royal ceremonies in Bangkok. Rutter had served in Borneo and developed a reputation for well written illustrated travel books in the genre typical of that age. A more scholarly review in the *Geographical Journal* (W. A. G. 1932: 335-336) was published just before the Siamese revolution of 1932. In it the author, possibly WA Graham, a former British official in Kelantan, reported, in somewhat anachronistic, pompous language even for the period, that

[r]ecent developments have turned the [Siamese] public attention to more worldly objects, while the court satellites have given place to an earnest and industrious official class, and while the influence of the [Buddhist] religion and the monarchy are still great, there appears a tendency to ensue [sic] fortune, both private and public, more in the profane paths of modern politics than in the propitiations and poms of tradition.

Considering that Lionel Barnett supervised Quaritch Wales for his first term as a doctoral student it is somewhat strange that he should then publish a review of his former student's book (Barnett 1932: 424-426). It appears from the review that Quaritch Wales did learn Thai language while working as a teacher in Bangkok. Barnett brief report was that the book had been an arduous undertaking accomplished with 'skill, thoroughness, and success.'

Perhaps the longest, most comprehensive, review was written by George Cœdès (1932: 530-538). This review was written after the June 1932 revolution and in it Cœdès clarified the statement concerning Quaritch Wales' earlier attachment to the Court of Siam and how he came to observe palace rituals. It appears that he was employed through the Lord Chamberlain's office and Quaritch Wales certainly used the introduction 'late of the Lord Chamberlains's Department, Court of Siam' to promote himself as an expert on Siamese religion and culture. But it was John Guy (1995: 91) who attributed to Quaritch Wales the position as 'adviser to the courts of King Rama VI [King Vajiravudh] and King Rama VII [King Prajadhipok]' for there are no records or statements in the Royal Asiatic Society Archives to support the statement. In his detailed review Cœdès wrote

'M Wales s'est trouvé privilégié: ayant appartenu, de par ses fonctions de professeur à l'École des pages, au corps des Chambellans don't il portait l'habit bleu et la culotte blanche, il lui a été donné d'assister, à l'intérieur du Palais Royal, à maintes cérémonies que les Européens n'ont par l'occasion de pourvoir observer (Cœdès 1932: 531).

[Mr Wales was privileged: having belonged, by virtue of his functions as teacher at the school of the pages, to the corps of the [Lord] Chamberlain whose blue coat and white trousers [the official uniform] he wore, he was given to assist, inside the royal palace, at many ceremonies that the Europeans do not have the opportunity to observe.]

Many years later, Quaritch Wales (1943n: 6) too described the importance of wearing this exotic uniform with its sky-blue coat adorned with silver braid, court sword and the black cocked hat with osprey feathers to ceremonial functions at the Royal Palace. In fact he reported that he was the 'last European ever to be appointed to the Lord Chamberlain's Department which, with the Royal Household, was one of only two departments privileged to be in such close proximity to the king on a state occasion' (Quaritch Wales 1943n: 7). But in his review of *Siamese state ceremonies* Cœdès (1932: 538) finished with a rather ambivalent remark that

Je pourrais relever beaucoup d'autres bévues de ce genre, mais je craindrais de donner mauvaise opinion d'un livre dont je pense le grand bien et que je n'aurais pas épluché avec tant de soin s'il m'avait pas autant intéressé.

[I could point out many other errors [blunders] of this kind, but I would be afraid to give a bad opinion to a book of which I think the greatest good, and which I would not have studied so carefully had it not been of so much interest for me.]

Perhaps the most critical review came many years later. It was written by Prince Dhani Nivat, a member of the Chakri dynasty and a respected historian who would become President of the Siam

Society for 20 years. In a lecture given before the Society in March 1946 the prince recalled that King Prajadhipok had requested that he make a study of the role of the monarchy in Siamese state administration for publication as an official Court pamphlet to accompany the coronation of the king in 1925.

Dhani Nivat (1947: 91) first quoted the passage by Malinowski used by Quaritch Wales in his book on state ceremonies about a society that makes tradition sacred gains the inestimable advantage of power and permanence. But Dhani Nivat did not include the significant paragraph above this quote where Quaritch Wales really presented his opinion about the role of the monarchy in Siamese life when he wrote that '[f]or her spiritual salvation Siam must look to her own cultural inheritance; and it is fortunate that amongst the masses of the people her religion was perhaps never more influential, and the respect for the monarchy remains undiminished' (Quaritch Wales 1931 & 1992: 5). Quaritch Wales failed to see that courtesy and respect masked deep social divisions, economic grievances and widespread political dissent.

Quaritch Wales finished his study of Siamese state ceremonies a little less than one year before the absolute monarchy, and much of the power of the royal courtiers like Dhani Nivat, was overthrown. Dhani Nivat, despite the false humility of the language used in the public lecture, severely critiqued the results of Quaritch Wales' study. Although he credited Quaritch Wales with being the first to document, in English, the nature and position of the Siamese monarch in a complex hierarchical society he then stated categorically that

there are certain points which seem to be misunderstood [by Quaritch Wales], such for instance as the assumption that the Siamese king performed the function of High-Priest [n]or can I accept the imposing list of taboos, practically all of which have been misunderstood altogether (Dhani Nivat 1947: 105).

This was intensely critical as well as strongly judgemental.

The Prince then told his audience that the taboo against touching the head and hair of the king that Quaritch Wales had associated with the king's divine status was wrong. It was simply a matter of long-standing courtesy that a person of lower social status, or younger age, did not touch the head of a person of a higher status, or older in age. Further he wrote that the ten taboos listed by Quaritch Wales were 'merely the dictates of good manners and breeding or else necessitated by the caution to protect the life of one [the king] whose word and action was law and whose death might throw the whole country into confusion' (Dhani Nivat 1947: 105). Dismissing Quaritch Wales with polite denigration Dhani Nivat concluded his speech with the comment that

[w]ith all due respect to his wide-reading and high erudition which I can never claim to equal, there are, I feel, certain points the significance of which requires no effort for a native [sic] to understand and appreciate even though they seem so problematic to the foreigner. I feel, therefore, that a new treatment of the subject would not be superfluous (Dhani Nivat 1947: 106).

The reference Quaritch Wales (1931 & 1992: 32-42) made to the ten taboos owes much to his reading of *The Golden Bough* and Anna Leonowens popular memoir *The English governess at the Siamese court* that was first published in 1870. As Quaritch Wales wrote for and presented papers to

the Siam Society we can assume he read the article by Dhani Nivat. Quaritch Wales could not forgive a perceived slight and relations between the two men would never be cordial from that time.

In 1932 he published a long and detailed article, once again published in *The Illustrated London News*, on the temples and history of Pagán in Burma (Quaritch Wales 1932c). From the article, we can assume that he was considering archaeological research in the region, especially in the ancient city. Although he was in awe at the past glory of the temple city, he appears to be unimpressed by the people, climate and lack of amenities. He contributed a paper to the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* on the rarely observed river-bathing ceremony that royal princes and princesses formerly underwent in Siam (Quaritch Wales 1932b).

Continuing with his interest in Siamese art he gave a lecture to the India Society in 1932. The meeting was presided over by Sir Francis Younghusband who would support his next stage of research in Southeast Asia. The India Society in London was an important vehicle for Quaritch Wales to promote his studies and theories. Founded in 1910 for the study of Indian art in England the society became, after numerous name changes, the Royal Society for India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Its principal journal from 1925 was *Indian Arts and Letters*. When it ceased publication in 1964 it was known as *Arts and Letters: India, Pakistan and Ceylon*.

Illustrated with photographs of frescos and manuscripts presumably taken by Quaritch Wales in Bangkok, the paper on Siamese art gives some indications of the underlying thoughts and intellectual directions that he would follow through much of his life. In the first paragraph he stated that 'I shall venture to put forward a theory that traditional Siamese painting is in the main to be regarded as an offshoot, decadent but nevertheless interesting, of the classical Ajanta school of India' (Quaritch Wales 1932a: 102). Furthermore, when describing the drawings of the *Jātaka* tales of the various births and rebirths of Gautama Buddha engraved into slate slabs dating from the 13th and 14th century CE at Wat Si Chum in Sukhothai, he commented that the images have a 'grace and suppleness which is unknown in later Siamese art.' From this he concluded that some intellectuals had decided that the drawings were the work of Sinhalese artists who accompanied missionaries from Ceylon. In Quaritch Wales' opinion the drawings were

produced by Siamese artists who had been very strongly influenced by the Sinhalese, but had also incorporated some features which they had evolved themselves from a much earlier period when they first came in contact with Mahāyāna Buddhism via China or Burma; and there are also features which are the result of classical Khmer influence (Quaritch Wales 1932a: 103).

Although he had recently exhibited and sold art pieces of high quality and artistic merit he remained highly critical of Siamese art describing it as decadent and lacking originality. During his archaeological excavations in Malaya and Siam he was often dismissive of anything that did not appear Indian or did not exhibit the characteristics of early schools of Indian art.

Siamese revolution of 1932

When the *Illustrated London News* printed its book review of *Siamese state ceremonies* it also published a commentary on the 150th anniversary of the foundation of the Chakri Dynasty. The celebration witnessed the opening on 6 April of the Memorial Bridge in central Bangkok by King Prajadhipok whose coronation ritual had been documented by Quaritch Wales in his thesis and first

published book (Quaritch Wales 1931 & 1992). In a review of *Siamese state ceremonies*, the newspaper reported

Siamese kings surrounded themselves with the paraphernalia of Hinduism, which lends itself to that pomp and circumstance inseparable from absolute monarchy, the only form of government hitherto known in Siam. There are, however, signs of change. In his conclusion Mr Wales points out that, while many old ceremonies have been abolished or curtailed, new observances have been introduced to cater for the Siamese love of pageantry (*The Illustrated London News* 1932: 728).

It noted that with the growth of education, democracy is certain to make improvements while the influence of Buddhism is sure to 'modify the dangers of the period of transition.'

The pomp and circumstance referred to in the book review was well illustrated in the May issue when the newspaper ran a three-page spread of photographs showing the long processions of soldiers and retainers, the royal barge display on the Menam Chao Phraya and the religious ceremonies attached to the coronation process issue (*The Illustrated London News* 1932: 753-755). Calling the royal barge procession 'magnificent piece of Oriental pageantry' the newspaper was completely ignorant of the unfolding political situation. The coverage was all very esoteric and, certainly, the barge procession remains a magnificent piece of pageantry (Phillips 2017). But while the India Society was debating the Indian influences on Siamese art a major political crisis was developing in Siam. These events would also lead to a change in direction for Quaritch Wales.

The 1932 revolution has been called bloodless and peaceful but it was nonetheless dramatic. It signalled the downfall of absolute monarchy and its replacement by a constitutional structure dominated by the military. The 1932 economic depression in Siam, the introduction of cuts in government spending, reduced civil service salaries and military budgets caused deep discontent with the power of the Supreme Council made up of members of the royal family.

On 24 June, the self-proclaimed People's Party staged a coup d'état. While the king was at the resort palace of Klaikangwon at Hua Hin on the Gulf of Siam young military officers and civil servants, known as the 'Promoters', arrested many key government officials. King Prajadhipok returned to Bangkok on 26 June to receive the coup leaders at the royal palace. When he accepted the ultimatum to become a constitutional monarch in December 1932 absolute monarchy in Siam ended. Then followed a period of political insecurity and further crisis.

Early constitutional governments sought to secularise education by replacing monks with lay teachers, change the calendar so that the Buddhist sabbath was not an official holiday and attempted to circumscribe the independence of the Sangha and its right to establish new temples and to use monastic revenues (Keyes 1989: 130). Subrahmanyam (2013: 3-4) wrote that most studies of the event focus on a bitter contest between the military, the civilians in the People's Party and the old royal-aristocratic elite but he regarded the revolution as fundamentally intellectual.

Two processes signalled the transition from absolutism to constitutionalism. The first was an attempt to overturn state policy that favoured the city at the expense of the rural areas. The second was a contest between the privileged 'insiders' in the palace with aristocratic positions and the 'outsiders' who occupied lower positions in the bureaucracy and in the military. These 'outsiders' promoted

ideas of modernity that tested the ritual submission to the social hierarchy, the king, and the structure of autocracy.

Then in 1933 Prince Boworadet, a former Minister of Defence, led an armed rebellion against the initial coup leaders. The counter-coup spread from the Korat plateau and the north-eastern provinces towards the central areas around Bangkok. These insurrectist leaders sought to bring back the rule of an absolutist monarch. Heavy fighting developed around the airport at Don Mueang to the north of the city. After much destruction of life and property the counter-coup forces were defeated and Boworadet fled to French Indochina.

There are numerous interpretations of the role of the king in the rebellion, but his indecisiveness and lack of leadership allowed the ‘Promoters’, the 1932 coup leaders, to strengthen their hold on power. King Prajadhipok left for Europe in 1934, ostensibly for health reasons, and in 1935 he abdicated. He remained in England for the rest of his life. Prajadhipok abdicated in favour of his nephew, the young Ananda Mahidol (Rama VIII) then a student in Switzerland with a Council of Regency acting on his behalf. Ananda Mahidol remained in Switzerland until after the Second World War but he was killed, amid a great deal of controversy, by an accidental bullet wound in June 1946. Rama VIII was then replaced by Bhumibol Adulyadei (Rama IX).



Image 01.010:

Armed troops and tank in central Bangkok, 1932

(Google images. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Troops-on-the-street-after-the-coup.jpg>)

The 1932 revolution was the subject of many newspaper articles. One of the first commentaries on the coup was written for *The Observer* (London), one of the oldest weekend newspapers in the world, by Quaritch Wales (1932e: 18). In the article, he reported that Siam had known no other form

of government than absolute monarchy and that from the time of the Ayutthaya kingdom (1350-1767) the monarchical system had become more despotic. He then commented that:

[t]his despotism was largely the over-development of Hindu religious ideas and the imitation of the court institutions of the ancient Khmers. Thus in place of the primitive Buddhist humility of their forefathers, the Siamese monarchs, though still remaining staunch Buddhists, came to be regarded either as Bodhissattvas or as incarnations of Hindu deities, according to the prevailing mood of the time.

Yet this contradicted the interpretation given in his study of the state ceremonies and rituals where he had emphasised the love, respect and awe that the people had in their king. According to Quaritch Wales the kings following Mongkut had been a succession of good rulers and the lot of the people had increased in almost every way but the political crisis was caused solely by the fear of heavy taxation, not to any other specific cause. Poverty, rural neglect, poor education, inadequate health services, greedy money-lenders and middlemen combined with bureaucratic ineptitude did not enter Quaritch Wales' interpretation of the unfolding political and social crisis. He concluded that the future could only be regarded with anxiety 'since the people are as yet quite unfitted for a representative form of government.'

The Argus (28 June 1932: 7) newspaper in Melbourne reported more convincingly on the coup by stating that the rebellion was due to the onerous burden of taxes combined with the anger that the numerous royal princes had not accepted corresponding cuts to their civil list. A source of grievance was that six of the ten members of the cabinet were princes and the whole Supreme Council consisted of royal appointees.

For Australian readers, *The Age* (10 September 1932: 5) followed the coup, and its aftermath, with a lengthy article of much more accuracy and detail. The main cause of the coup was here described as the intransigence of the royal princes appointed to head the Supreme Council of State. Even while the crisis was unfolding it was common for insipid articles to be written full of comments that Siam was like a 'Utopian backwater' full of 'brilliantly-clad little inhabitants' where under Buddhism '[m]erit is won in various ways, some of the rituals and gifts of temples resulting in much pleasure to the foreign eye.' The article was written for the visitor for whom the sight of 'the King upon a gilded throne entwined with flowers and sparkling with jewels, is like to sigh [sic] for the old pageantry of the absolute monarch' (Wallace 1932: 25).

A commentator on Siamese customs and culture

Meanwhile, Quaritch Wales continued to advance his status as an authority of Siamese social customs to an academic audience curious to hear details of life in exotic Siam. He gave a lecture on 12 December 1933 to the Royal Anthropological Institute in London about courtship and marriage of the Siamese and the Lao peoples (Quaritch Wales 1933a & 1934b). Only a brief synopsis of the lecture was printed but the general summary indicated that his opinion was that the institution of marriage, and its accompanying rituals, could be traced from a simple form in the northern areas of Siam to a more complex, more highly elaborated form in the south. The northern form originated in the early Tai marriage customs in which women had higher social status, matriarchy prevailed, monogamy was practiced, and courtship was direct. These concluded with a simple marriage ceremony. In the south, as a direct result of Indian influences, women's social status was lower, patriarchy was the prevailing social structure, men practiced polygamy, complicated Indian rituals of marriage and courtship dominated and Buddhist monks, and Brahmins, performed priestly duties.

The Royal Anthropological Institute had just published a considerably more elaborated paper that examined the rites and ceremonies associated with pregnancy, birth and infancy in Siamese society (Quaritch Wales 1933b: 441-451). This was a study taken from information gained from the Code of Palace Law, court poetry, a pamphlet produced for the Royal Institute and discussions with a 'Siamese nobleman and his wife', most likely Prince Damrong. Quaritch Wales wrote that

the rites and beliefs connected with this period [pregnancy and birth] are of particular interest, not merely because they illustrate the spread of early Indian religious influences but, in addition to this, because they, perhaps more than any other aspect of Siamese culture, preserve ideas to be of purely Tai nature and thus a legacy from the early Mongolian ancestors of the Siamese.

However, his paper is really a broad discussion of the role of traditional spirits (*Phi*) that, he said, must be placated during not only a woman's pregnancy, but also during the birth of the child and its early growing years. Placating such spirits is important since they occupy their place on the moral hierarchy because they lack merit (Keyes 1989: 129). In fact, there are many supernatural beings that the Thai refer to as *Phi*. Some are good and some are evil but it is *Phi Krasü* that are a danger to women who have given birth and to newly born children. In many ways placating *Phi Krasü* is also a moral tale about cleanliness in a tropical environment. Quaritch Wales' description of the disposal of the body of a child born dead is largely correct. It was first placed in an earthenware pot and that was then sealed. The pot was then buried or submerged in a river (Phya Anuman Rajathon and Coughlin 1954: 158-160 and 168).

Ancient Siamese government and administration

No doubt in response to the general ignorance of the structure and functioning of the Siamese state at that time, certainly following the 1932 revolution, and the complex nature of the book on state ceremonies and ritual, Quaritch Wales commenced writing a new book on ancient administration and government in Siam (Quaritch Wales 1934a and 1965a). This would be published by Bernard Quaritch Ltd in 1934 but reprinted in New York in 1965. Despite producing this book in an environment where the Western public were reading about the decline of the last absolute monarch in the world, Quaritch Wales stopped his examination of government structures with the death of Chulalongkorn in 1910. Essentially a companion to the first book, *Siamese state ceremonies*, the preface states that '[t]he object of the present work is to trace the development and as far as possible make plain the working of the ancient Siamese system of government and administration, while incidentally throwing a good deal of light of the whole structure of the society' (Quaritch Wales (1934a and 1965a: v).

The chapter on the army (Quaritch Wales 1934a and 1965a: 135-164) would later form the basis of a book on ancient Southeast Asian warfare (Quaritch Wales 1952a). In his study of ancient administration and government he referred to the Siamese, and other Southeast Asians, as being the 'peoples of Further India' and

one must bear in mind particularly that one is dealing with a people [the Siamese] which, while accepting and applying elaborate methods, largely borrowed or adapted from more advanced civilizations, had little understanding of underlying principles, and no definitely

expressed conception of the theory of government or the social order (Quaritch Wales 1934a and 1965a: 1).

The term 'Further India' was in common use at that time. Hugh Clifford (later Sir Hugh Clifford) who had spent many years in the colonial service of both the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States between 1883 and 1901 called one of his many books on Malayan life *Further India being the story of exploration from the earliest times in Burma, Malaya, Siam and Indochina* (Clifford 1904). Clifford's (1926 and 1927) other books would have been useful in introducing the young Quaritch Wales to colonial life and attitudes of the day.

Quaritch Wales wrote that the kingdom of Ayutthaya was 'judging by standards applicable to Further India, a prosperous and powerful kingdom' and he wrote that it was in the later part of the Sukhothai period (1238-1438 CE) that 'contact with superior civilizations and particularly the penetration of Indian cultural influences began to make themselves felt, especially on the character of the kingship' (Quaritch Wales 1934a and 1965a: 3 and 4). His belief was that the sacking of Angkor Thom by forces from the Ayutthaya state in 1430 and 1431 led to the capture of educated Khmer statesmen and many Brahmin priests and it was through their influence that the Ayutthayan kings adopted Khmer court customs and the Sanskrit language. In his opinion these kings gained more absolute authority during this period by assuming the title of *devarāja* (god; king), a concept taken from Hinduism, as opposed to the *dhammarāja* (*dharma* or law; king), a concept adopted from Buddhism. But in this he oversimplified the concept, *dhamma*, that is both the order found in nature, and at a higher level, the ultimate nature of reality as discovered by the Buddha (Keyes 1989: 126).

Quaritch Wales wrote that the body of texts relating to the theory of management of the state and social order that were introduced from India were the *Arthāshāstra* of Kautilya [Chanakya] dating to between the 2nd century BCE and the 3rd century CE and the *Rigveda* dating to 1,500 to 2,000 BCE. These treatises contained principles on economic management, politics and government and military strategy. The *Rigveda* was a set of religious texts that formed the foundations of Hinduism. Composed and codified in northern India it contains the *Vedic* hymns, the *Brahmanas*, the *Rigveda Aranyakas* and the *Upanishads*.

In his review of the book Major Owen Rutter, reflecting on the recent 1932 revolution, captured what may have been Quaritch Wales' real motive in producing this new text and that was 'the political education of the officials is by no means perfected yet, and that of the masses is hardly yet begun: so that those to whom it is given to guide the future destinies of Siam may learn much from the lessons which the records of the past have to teach' (Rutter 1934: 767). Despite its somewhat anachronistic content and the fact it was based on secondary sources, it is the only one of Quaritch Wales' numerous books on history and culture that has been translated into Thai language

Chapter Two

In search of Greater India

Quaritch Wales' philosophical direction was changing. Both for him, as well as for an influential generation of Indian intellectuals, the idea was that India was the source of Siam's 'highest cultural aspirations' and it was in India that 'thought was given to the theory of the governmental act, in combination with ethical influences' (Quaritch Wales 1934a & 1965a: 1). When Quaritch Wales was writing his extended study of Siamese governmental structures, the concept of Further or Greater India was a term being advocated by a group of Bengali scholars, all members of the Calcutta-based Greater India Society (Craighill Handy 1930; Bayly 2004). Prominent intellectuals were the historians Ramesh Majumdar, Kalidas Nag, Gauranga Nath Banerjee, Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Bijan Raj Chatterji, and S Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

Formed in Calcutta on 10 October 1926 and active until the post-Independence period, the Greater India Society was a platform for academics from the humanities and social sciences to present a 'polemical and often provocative account of Indian culture as a supra-civilising force' (Bayly 2004: 706). These intellectuals saw 'India as the source of a great pan-Asian mission of overseas cultural diffusion in ancient times' and they coined the phrase 'benevolent Imperialism' that 'had the effect of imposing essentialising and one-dimensional Orientalist stereotypes on other Asian cultures and civilisations' (Bayly 2004: 708 and 710). Pre-Independence Indian writings characterised this as a form of 'soft' Imperialism for Southeast Asian cultures were seen as the passive and cultureless recipients of an 'ancient Indian colonising mission.' Bayly (2004: 712) quoted from a review of 'The Hindu colony of Cambodia' written in 1927 by Phanindranath Bose that was printed in the *Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*. The reviewer waxed lyrical about the nature of Indian 'colonisation' and stated that

the real charm of Indian history does not consist in these aspirants [adventurers or civilising missionaries seeking] after universal power...The colonisers of India did not go with sword and fire in their hands; they used...the weapons of their superior culture and religion [to bring] the world under their sway. Whereever they went, they conquered the world through their culture.

This role of India as a dynamic and expansive noble civiliser of all Asian lands to the east extended beyond Burma, Siam, Champa, Funan, Sumatra and Java but as far as China and Japan. These views were widely held (Thomas 1942; Craighill Handy 1930).

The fields that contributed most to the development of ideas supporting Indic expansionism were archaeology and epigraphy. The written record was poor and its findings contested. In the interwar period (1918-1939) the academic debate turned from evolutionism to diffusionism and the process of large-scale transmission of culture change (Koppers 1955; Smith 1975). This change in academic debate occurred during the period in which Quaritch Wales was establishing his academic credentials. George Cœdès was now at the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* in Hanoi where his ideas of the Indianization of Southeast Asia were being developed. Cœdès (1968a: 7-8; Manguin 2004: 282) wrote that 'the peoples of Farther India were still in the midst of late Neolithic civilization when the Brahmano-Buddhist culture of India came into contact with them.' Despite the

fundamental truth that Indians had ventured into Southeast Asia before recorded history, members of the Greater India Society exaggerated the timeline and the effects of this movement. Susan Bayly (2004: 718) summed the themes of benign dominance well when she wrote

Nag's writings present a vision of southeast Asia's history as a ceaseless 'onward march' by Indian explorers and adventurers, 'rearing up' the great monumental masterpiece of Borobodur, then subduing and civilising Sumatra, where they supposedly founded the 'great...empire of Srivijaya which for nearly a thousand years, maintained its proud title as the sentinel of the Southern Seas, sweeping those waters of pirates and enforcing peace and fair play.

Publications by Indian scholars were widely available in the late 1920s and early 1930s and Quaritch Wales was greatly influenced by the polemic Further India theory promoted by these intellectuals (Quaritch Wales 1934a & 1965a: 3). Greater India Society members promoted the idea that culturally advanced Indians took Indic values, religions and belief systems to the uncivilised natives of foreign shores. They took this theme of Indians travelling to Southeast Asia for profit or religious commitment to the extreme by suggesting that not only did large numbers of South Asians migrate to the Malay peninsula, and then to mainland Southeast Asia, but that they also went to colonize these regions.

Indianization became the term used to describe this vital civilising mission that took both Buddhism and Hinduism to Southeast Asia and beyond. The idea that Indian culture and religion was transplanted through the initiative of high-class Indians was supported by Quaritch Wales and, as we shall see, he spent much of his intellectual career trying to find evidence of this colonization and migration theory. It was not only Quaritch Wales who held this idea. Cœdès remained convinced of the belief that Brahmins and those of the Indian higher classes initiated the interaction (Cœdès 1968a: 14-35).

Indianization of Southeast Asia

Despite its contentious use, the term Indianization of Southeast Asia is clearer in its focus than the terms Southernization or Hinduization (Lockard (2007; Shaffer 1994; Manguin 2004: 282). It will be used to refer to two distinct phases in the early history of the Southeast Asian region. The first period refers to the appearance of named political entities—Funan, P'an P'an and Tun sun—recorded in the Chinese sources (Wheatley 2010). It is unlikely that these were the names used by indigenous rulers and chiefs. These polities have been dated from the 2nd to the 3rd centuries CE (Mabbett 1977a: 13). Most probably they were not centralised in any definite way. They would have consisted of a group of indigenous communities and some cosmopolitan trading centres, often located on the coast, where foreign merchants resided, perhaps only seasonally, and lived with some local peoples, who, as Mabbett (1977a: 14) so colourfully described it

had in large measure cut themselves off from their own society. They were there as coolies perhaps slaves, adventurers, parvenus, outcastes, relatives of nearby headmen installed to represent some sort of political authority, unwanted daughters sold or attracted into an atomised society of women-less and rootless fortune-seekers.

The second period saw the growth of

peasant societies supporting civil, priestly and military elites in the latter half, largely perhaps in the last quarter, of the first millennium, and then only in relatively few places (Mabbett 1977a: 13).

At the early stage in the Indianization process the two communities, local and foreign, existed side by side. Outside the trading centre contact was minimal and influence marginal. The position of the foreigner was always tentative and dependent on the good will of the local headman or overlord. As contacts became more regular, or the wealth of the local centre grew, trade became more structured. Often the key to the regularity of trade was the timing of the monsoon, the state of relations between polities and the stability or instability of relationships between traders, overlords and the Malay seamen who were the transport providers between settlements.

Three theories were advanced to explain how Indian cultural, political and religious influences spread throughout mainland and insular Southeast Asia. The first, the *kṣatriya* hypothesis, was promoted by Indianists notably Ramesh Majumdar (1944, 1971, 1986a & b) and later by members of the Greater India Society. This said that the essential influences were due to activity by Indian explorers, colonists and settlers led by members of the *kṣatriya*, the warrior class. The second hypothesis was that members of the *vaiśya*, the merchant class were the principal motivators of the Indian settlements in the Southeast Asian region. Certainly, there is evidence that traders formed settlements on the Malay peninsula, mainland Southeast Asia and in Indonesia.

The terms *Suvarṇabhūmi* (Land of gold) and *Suvarṇadvīpa* (Island of gold) used in descriptions of the regions reinforce the idea that Indians were primarily seekers of gold, although the term may also refer to wealth in general. The third thesis, promoted by historians such as Van Leur (1967) and Wheatley (2010), attributes primacy of contact to indigenous leaders. Van Leur (1967: 98; see also Mabbett 1977a: 1) stated somewhat categorically that there was 'no 'Hindu colonization' in which the 'colonial states' arose from intermittent trading voyages followed by permanent trading settlements; no 'Hindu colonies' from which the primitive indigenous population and first of all its headmen took over the superior civilization from the west; and no learned Hindus in the midst of Indian colonists as 'advisers' to their countrymen.' Wheatley (2010: 185) was a little more conciliatory for he wrote that

[u]ntil a decade or so ago [ca 1950-1960] it was believed that this important development [Indianization] was brought about by Indian traders themselves, who were conceived as proselytizing colonists, but we now know that this is not so. For one thing, the traders led too confined an existence to enable them to transmit more than a few superficial aspects of Indian civilization.

He also considered that the mix of traders was considerable: there were some wealthy merchant groups but that most Indians were peddlers, poor and untutored men from the lower strata of society.

In their concise examination of the Indianization process in the introduction to the English translation of the study of Indian and indigenous cults in Champa by Paul Mus, Ian Mabbett and David Chandler (1975: vii) reported that the debate about Indianization ran its course during the two decades following the Second World War. This coincides with the decade when Quaritch Wales (1951 & 1961a) wrote *The making of greater India*, George Cœdès (1968a) published a seminal study, *The Indianized states of Southeast Asia*, in French in 1944 and a second publication, *The*

making of Southeast Asia (Cœdès 1966) was published in French in 1962. Harry Benda (1962) also wrote his historiographical discussion of the topic. Most significantly for English readers, it was the publication of Jacob van Leur's pre-war doctoral dissertation—*Eenige beschouwingen betreffende den ouden Aziatischen handel* (Some observations concerning early Asian trade)—that pioneered the thinking of a new interpretation into the structure of Southeast Asian history. Van Leur (1967) set out to critique the prevailing concepts of historiography and correct the embedded Eurocentrism, and the counter-prevailing Indocentrism, that 'relegated Southeast Asians to the role of intrinsically uncivilized, passive recipients of the advanced cultures of others, whether Asian or European' (Benda 1962: 118).

Although often judgemental, Van Leur did not seek to turn all theory on its head, although his comment that Indianization, and other cultural imports, were but 'a thin, easily flaking glaze on the massive body of indigenous civilizations' (Van Leur 1967: 169) has been interpreted that way. Southeast Asian civilizations, in varying ways and varying degrees of success, were able to absorb, withstand, integrate or discard alien influences over the course of centuries while retaining their internal structures and cohesion (Benda 1962: 118).

Throughout Southeast Asia the process of Indian influence began in the first millennium CE, more specifically the 2nd to the 6th centuries CE. Questions can be asked about the polities that formed at this time. Were they created by Indian military conquest and colonisation? Were they formed by peaceful trading arrangements with merchants who settled on the coasts? Did the local people, presumably the elites, deliberately choose and adapt to Indian customs and beliefs? (Kulke 1990 & 1993a; Mus, Mabbett and Chandler 1975: vii). The debate continued for many decades. Cœdès (1964: 3) wrote the argument was between the Indianists, who correctly perceived that Indian influences were strong in the royal capitals, and the sociologists, who were equally correct in perceiving that local influences were strongest in the villages and rural areas. The Indianists were, he remarked, philologists and epigraphists who based their facts on written accounts and ancient texts.

The sociologists on the other hand were ethnologists who attached more importance to facts observed among present populations. Evidence can be found to support both cases. Even today there exists profound Indian influences in art, religion, language and script, architecture and custom in Southeast Asia but beneath this surface indigenous practices persist in many aspects of social and cultural life. The Thai/Malay peninsula was an area of some importance in the development of Indianization hypotheses. Quaritch Wales (1935, 1937f, 1940) would undertake much pioneering work on the peninsula, first at Takua Pa on the Andaman Sea coast, and then in the Bujang valley of Kedah in Malaya, looking for evidence of the routes taken by Indian traders, settlers and colonists (Mabbett 1977b: 150 see also fn64).

Sylvain Lévi (1938), the respected doyen of the members of the Greater India Society, had in fact noted that the various indigenous peoples of Southeast Asia had made their own critical judgements about aspects of Indian culture that suited them and rejected concepts that did not suit. He did not believe that Indian culture was imposed upon indigenous societies. The peoples of Southeast Asia may have recognised in Hinduism many notions that they already held in their indigenous beliefs for Hindu ascetic practices acknowledged the uneven distribution of prowess and religious support (Wolters 1979b: 436). In contrast to the polemic writings of the Indian scholars, Lévi promulgated the idea of indigenous agency (Bayly 2004: 721). In this he anticipated the work of Van Leur who, writing specifically about Indonesian cultural history, stated that the

initiative for the coming of Indian civilization emanated from the Indonesian ruling groups, or was at least an affair of both the Indonesian dynasties and the Indian hierocracy. That cultural influence had nothing directly to do with trade. The course of events amounted essentially to a summoning to Indonesia of Brahman priests, and perhaps alongside them of Indian *condittieri* [mercenaries] and Indian court artificers...This process took place in southern India, Ceylon, and Further India as well as in Indonesia and southern Indo-China (Van Leur 1967: 103).

It was Lévi's view that there was no transmission of a 'fixed Indian essence or genius'—and the term 'local genius' would resurface later in Quaritch Wales' writings—but that the local peoples in the various lands visited by Indian adventurers were the choosers who selectively took from the wealth of Indic cultural offerings and these they appropriated and adapted into indigenised teachings and traditions (Bayly 2004: 721). But the Grater India Society approach was a simpler, more nationalistic, India-centric account of overseas cultural expansion.

Quaritch Wales (1931 and 1992: 58) documented the role of the Brahmin priests in state ceremonies in Siam in his thesis and first book although he did not use the term 'Further India.' However, he did use the term in his second book. But his attempts to clarify the role of the Brahmin and the king in ritual and ceremony were confused. He wrote the

Brahman [sic] and the King are, in fact, both offshoots of the same primitive idea, the divinity of the chief. Sometimes the one and sometimes the other obtained the ascendancy, and hence we have to coin the terms priest-king and king-priest. Of the former we shall see many examples in the priestly functions of the King of Siam, for the latter we have to turn to Ancient India, or at least to Ancient Cambodia, where the Brahmins were strong enough to interfere with the temporal government.

His thoughts were moving towards an examination of the role of Hindu priests in ritual and ceremony in Southeast Asia when he continued to state that the 'ascendant position attained by the Brahmins in India was for some time maintained by those who ventured overseas and settled in the States colonized by Indians in Indo-China.' He also wrote that the Brahmins were 'the only one of the four castes that was really organized [and had] been constantly augmented by immigrants from India' (Quaritch Wales 1931 and 1992: 59). In his second book, he reiterated this idea and wrote that from 'the period of Sukhodaya [Sukhothai era: 1238-1438 CE] onwards, and especially after the capture of Ankor Thom in AD 1431, they [Brahmins] settled in small numbers at the Siamese capitals, being recruited from time to time by fresh arrivals from both Cambodia and from small communities of Brahmins that had been located in the [Malay] Peninsula since early times.' He further stated that Brahmins '[o]riginating in Southern India, their ancestors had never been accompanied by any female Brahmins on their journey to Indo-China and hence they had intermarried with the people of the country...In the ancient Khmer Empire they established a powerful caste having a strong influence on the secular government' and that when they were taken into Siam following the destruction of Angkor they 'were welcomed by the Siamese because they were versed in Indian and Khmer ideas on the art of government and were especially valuable on account of their ability to interpret the *dharma*' (Quaritch Wales 1934a & 1965a: 57-58).

Devarāja

It was evident in his writings that Quaritch Wales (1934a & 1965a: 16 and 1931 & 1992: 59) was not accurate in his definition of the *devarāja* cult that, from the very beginnings of his research, he had

called the cult of the Royal God. Quaritch Wales (1937f) called his popular book on his first expedition to Southeast Asia, *Towards Angkor: in the footsteps of the Indian invaders*, and he looked to ancient Angkor as the embodiment of Indian cultural and spiritual greatness.

The *devarāja* cult was founded by King Jayavarman II who ruled the Khmer empire from 802 to 834 CE. At the end of the 8th century CE Jayavarman was a member of a leading aristocratic family in the region of Śambhupura [Isanapura] when the small polities of the Chenla [Zhenla] area were splintering. Although it was said that Jayavarman returned to Chenla from *bhumi* Java (Cœdès 1968a: 97-102) this may not have been the island of Java. It may have referred to lower Sumatra when the polity of Śriwijaya [Malay/Indonesian] or Śrīvijaya [Sanskrit] was part of the Śailendra empire (Kulke 1993b: 344 fn53). It is believed Jayavarman spent some time living among the ruling elite there and absorbed ideas of political strategy. He is thought to have returned to Chenla around 770 CE and commenced military and political campaigns to unite the Khmer peoples. The idea that Jayavarman II had been in the Indonesian island of Java has been challenged by good argument from Michel Ferlus (2010: 4). Using detailed examinations of the names on inscription, and linguistic interpretation of the terms *javā*, in ancient Khmer and *ja'ba* in ancient Mon there is reason to believe that *Javā* is the correct terminology to use. This, Ferlus (2010: 5) stated, has the same meaning as the term *Bhnam* (mound or hill) from which the Chinese took the name Funan with the implication that Jayavarman returned from an area that may have been near the current capital of Laos, Luang Prabang, and reunited the two disparate polities of Land Chenla [Wendan] and Water Chenla and created a new Angkorian polity.

On his return to his homeland Jayavarman II formed political alliances by marrying hereditary Khmer princesses and thereby establishing kinship bonds with regional leaders and set about establishing a united polity that was wealthy and powerful (Hall 1982; Stuart-Fox and Reeve 2011: 111). After pacification of the region was complete by 802 CE, Jayavarman II established a city at Mahendraparvata on the Kulen plateau where he built a temple-pyramid to house the royal *linga* dedicated to Śiva (Higham 1989: 324-325). It was here that he had consecrated the Brahmanic ritual of the cult of *devarāja* (Sanskrit) or *kamrateñ jagat ta raja* (Khmer) [the lord of the world, who is king].

It is important here to clarify the current view of *devarāja* or *kamrateñ jagat ta raja* (Kulke 1993b: 336). A misinterpretation of its significance formed a large part of Quaritch Wales' Indian colonialization hypothesis. As Mabbett (1969: 203) explained in his comprehensive examination of the phenomena, the course of surveys over extended periods has encouraged a 'currency of misconceptions from the want of precision. The idea that the Angkorians had a cult of god-kingship can only mislead if it is unaccompanied by any enquiry into the meaning of this god-kingship.' The questions he raised were: Was the king a god in the literal or in the metaphorical sense? Was the person of an individual king divine or was it the office of kingship that was divinely ordained? Was the king a god in this life or in the afterlife? And, did the *devarāja* cult serve as a means for worship and abjection by the masses or was it a matter contained within the aristocratic elite that served a ritual and esoteric purpose? (Mabbett 1969: 203). As Mabbett explained the evidence for the cult of *devarāja* was fragmentary and the cult was not synonymous with the practice of 'king-worship.'

In many ways, there was only a personal cult of the man who had seized the kingship. Political allegiance was expressed in personal loyalty, but this was no more than the sum of the religious concerns of the various chiefs who believed that overlordship provided them with prosperity, with the means of earning merit and with satisfying their death wishes (Wolters 1979a: 441). Much of

this misconception arose from conflicting interpretations made over many decades of research by French Indologists (Kulke 1993b: 332-343).

Devarāja, Quaritch Wales said, was associated with the worship of Viṣṇu although he later extended the cult to be identified with both Viṣṇu and Śiva (Quaritch Wales 1934a & 1965a: 16 and 1931 & 1992: 59). He considered this to be the cult of the divine kingship and, subsequent with the acceptance of Buddhism in Siam, the king became regarded as a Bodhisattva, one who reaches Nirvana but delays entry out of compassion for the suffering of others. The earliest source of knowledge of the cult of *devarāja* was the epigraphic research of the French scholars based in Indo-China at the turn of the 20th century. Étienne Aymonier, an officer in the French colonial service, who is regarded as the first person to survey Khmer ruins in Cambodia, wrote that *devarāja* was

une sorte de déification aux divinités brahmaniques, des rois et même des personnages de distinction, hommes ou femmes, qui érigent des temples ou contribuent d'une façon quelconque à rehausser le culte de ces divinités (Aymonier 1904, III: 582 quoted in Mabbett 1969: 202).

[A kind of deification of the Brahmanical divinities, kings and even persons of distinction, men or women, who make temples or contribute in any way to enhance the worship of these divinities.]

The establishment of religious rituals that combined the spiritual power of the gods with the temporal power of the kings was an important social and political weapon in the unification of a country and the subjugation of the many enemies that surrounded the country. Early states in the Southeast Asian region in the proto-historic period were regional centres, with very little capacity, apart from military occupation or personal charisma of the lord, to absorb the populations that existed beyond the core areas (Hall 2011: 15). The key to central authority was the ability of the overlord to form and retain personal alliances with locally based elites. In return for their pledges of allegiance the regional elites were protected by the armies of the central state. They shared in the symbolic rituals of the king and in the prosperity that the larger state had to offer (Hall 2011: 14). The traditional view of this structure, notably that presented by Heine-Geldern (1942), was that these regional minor polities at the periphery were 'subjugated, continually exploited, and generally remained in awe of the elite who resided in the state's court.'

Sdōk Kāk Thom stele

The Sdōk Kāk Thom stele is the most important 'document' recording the cult. This has been dated to 1052 CE (Cœdès and Dupont 1943).. The stele was the record of the family history of the Brahmin Sadāśva who had the sandstone inscription engraved to recount his family's uncontested monopoly over the performance of the priestly office relating to the cult. The cult changed its abode with the movements of the king and from this the cult, as an institution, 'was in part an attempt by Jayavarman II to attach to his own party and to the cause of his descendants the support of a priestly family of wealth and influence in the land.' The members of this family were the only ones qualified to perform the established ritual, the *devarāja*, that was the centre of the royal cult (Mabbett 1969: 206).

Philippe Stern (1934: 613-614) was one of the first to document the relationship between the *devarāja* cult, as a ritual performed by priests, and the position of Śiva as the lord of the world, who is king. Kulke (1993b: 349) supported the idea that there were three elements to the *devarāja* cult: it

was really the god Śiva who was the *devarāja*, or the *kamrateñ jagat ta raja* [lord of the world, who is king] while the kings of Angkor were only *kamrateñ phdai karom* [lords of the lower plane or lords of the earth]. Second, *devarāja* was worshipped as a movable cult image like the established process in India where the stone *linga* that is worshipped as Śiva remains in the temple while a festival image or movable god-images are paraded through the streets. Third, *devarāja* is not identical with the *linga* of the large temple mountains of Angkor. The idea that the *devarāja* was a ritual celebrated in the royal name before a specific *linga* consecrated in a temple under royal patronage was supported by Stern (1934: 615; Kulke 1993b: 341 fn46).

In his quickly reprinted book on Siamese government and administration (apparently the first edition was limited to only 350 copies) Quaritch Wales (1934a & 1965a) examined the nature of traditional monarchical authority, the social classes in society, central and provincial administration in the ancient states, the religious establishments and the structures of government concerned with laws, justice and the treasury in Siam. But his treatment of the complexities of the *devarāja* cult and its associated religious implications, was superficial. By associating *devarāja* with a state of divine kingship, Quaritch Wales was following the accepted reasonings of the well-known French Indologists and epigraphers, like Cœdès. A reviewer of the second printing, Walter Vella, a noted authority on Thai politics who edited the English-language version of George Cœdès book *The Indianized states of Southeast Asia* praised the publisher for reissuing the book in 1965. But a second edition without changes had seriously dated the material.

Vella stated in his review that the book was an authoritative description of an Indianized polity transplanted to Southeast Asia but then he also criticized the book for its age, use of terms such as ‘feudal’ in a setting that was clearly removed from the European context, and for the fact that Quaritch Wales missed ‘a keen appreciation of the main function of government in traditional Thailand: its religious, ceremonial, magical reason for being’ (Vella 1965: 555). But to fully understand the rationale behind ritual and ceremony, Vella confusingly referred the reader back to Quaritch Wales’ book on Siamese state ceremonies.

Then Prince Dhani Nivat (1947:101-102), in a paper to the Siam Society, was particularly critical of those he called ‘foreign writers’ who wrote about, what was by now, Thai politics. He clearly had the early editions of Quaritch Wales (1931 & 1934a) in mind when he stated that ‘even the more learned ones, misunderstand the relationship of the king [of Siam] vis-à-vis the [Buddhist] Church, and often attribute to him sacerdotal powers.

The ideal monarch [*Cakravartin*] of Buddhist India, however, was expressly a warrior [*kṣatriya*] by birth though not encouraged to be warlike in his ideals. The Siamese king has never in theory or practice been a High Priest at any time whatever. What duty he was required to perform in this connection was either that of a worshipper or an ‘Upholder of the Faith.’ Under the heading ‘Divine Kingship’ Dhani Nivat remarked that

[l]ater contact with the Khmer coated this patriarchal and-in a way-limited kingship with a veneer of divinity. It gave outward dignity to such ceremonies as the coronation and royal obsequies. In the former, Hindu deities were invoked to persuade the anointed monarch, who was given such regalia as the trident of Shiva and the discus of Vishnu and bore in his full style such an epithet as the *Incarnation of the celestial gods* (*Dibyadebāvatār*). In the latter, the body of the dead monarch was encased in a *kośa*, [the funereal urn and] the traditional Khmer cover for the emblem of Shiva, thereby attributing divinity to the royal corpse. Since the cult of this divinity was Hindu and rather involved, all this had no significance in Siam

beyond outward dignity. The average Siamese, then as now, has never taken up seriously the idea of his king being connected with Hindu divinities, who after all had no place in his Buddhist faith.

Greater-India Research Committee

The Greater India concept was not only confined to a small group of Bengali scholars in India. In London, the India Society was founded in March 1910 in response to heated debates that India had no fine arts traditions. Many members of the India Society were either students studying in England, such as Jawaharlal Nehru and the art historian, Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy as well as the philosopher, Rabindranath Tagore, or they were influential high-ranking Englishmen who had lived and worked in India. One of these was Sir Francis Younghusband, the renowned explorer of Tibet and Central Asia, Army officer and later spiritualist whose books were then highly regarded (Younghusband 1910 and 1930, Younghusband and Molyneux 1917).

Younghusband would serve as President of the India Society and then Chairman of the Greater-India Research Committee founded in 1934. It would be reported in the magazine *Nature* (No. 138, 7 November 1936: 795) under the banner line 'Archaeology in Indo-China', that the Committee had the specific objective of 'throwing light by field exploration on Indian cultural and colonial expansion throughout south-eastern Asia.' The other important directors were Sir Edward Maclagan, an historian and a retired administrator of the Punjab, Charles Otto Blagden, linguist at the School of Oriental Studies who had supervised Quaritch Wales' doctoral research and Sir Edward Denison Ross, also a linguist and director of the School of Oriental Studies. The field director of this committee would be none other than HG Quaritch Wales.

Crossing the Malay peninsula

Not long after Skeat and Blagden had published their monumental study of the hill tribes of the Malay peninsula, Charles Blagden (1906a: 283-285) briefly reviewed *Die Inlandstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel* [The inland tribes of the Malay peninsula], a German work published in 1905. This consisted of an account of material available to date together with some observations from the author, Rudolf Martin, on the various Malay aboriginal peoples of the peninsula. Both the Skeat and Blagden (1906) study of the 1899-1900 Cambridge expedition to the Siamese-Malay states and the German text contained much physical anthropological data on the Orang Asli peoples from the inland and mountain ranges. Skeat and Blagden's opinion was that the inland peoples are of three distinct types: in the north were 'the woolly-haired Negritos'; today the Semang; in the south-central area was a straight-haired people of a 'primitive Malayan race'; now the Jakun, and in the mountainous centre there lived a 'wavy-haired race'; the Senoi (Dodge 1981: 2). Arguing for information on this link between the peoples of the Malay peninsula, southern Siam and South Asia informed much of Blagden's work as a reviewer. His examination of the important *Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de l'Indochine: Inventaire descriptive des monuments du Cambodge* by Étienne Lunet de Lajonquière (LUNET de Lajonquière 1909a; Blagden 1913) noted that the inscriptions found in southern Siam

include several in the Tamil character (and, presumably, language), one of which, here illustrated by a plate, has since been handed to Dr Hultzsch [Eugen Hultzsch the Indologist and epigraphist] for decipherment and translation. The estampages of some of the others are temporarily in my possession: unfortunately they are not very clear, and it is to be hoped that better ones will be obtained one day.

In fact, Lunet de Lajonquière's 'discovery' in late November 1908 of a now priceless Viṣṇu statue at Takua Pa on the southern Siamese peninsula would influence Quaritch Wales in his search for the routes taken by Indian traders, merchants and priests travelling east.

Blagden gave a lecture to the School of Oriental Studies on the Malay languages and their many dialects present in the peninsula and islands in which he remarked that

[i]n the north of the Peninsula, beyond latitude 4° N, or thereabouts, the local Malay dialects differ considerably from the Standard: this is particularly the case in Kēdah, Patani, and Kēlantan...But even the Malay of the Malays themselves contains a considerable percentage of loanwords, for the race has been in contact with strangers for centuries. These words are mainly from Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic, and point to two successive eras of foreign influence; the first Indian, introducing Hinduism and Buddhism, the second Muhammadan, mainly from Southern Arabia (Blagden 1917: 99).

Clearly there had been many issues in Blagden's mind regarding the origin and nature of Malay contacts with India across the Bay of Bengal and even with the Arab world further west. Barnett had never been to India despite his fame as an Indologist. Both Skeat and Blagden had retired to England for medical reasons. They were both unlikely to ever go to Asia again. Quaritch Wales on the other hand was a returned scholar who had completed, and published, a successful study on Siamese royal ceremonies. He had survived more than three years in Southeast Asia without, it seems, any reported medical problems, and he was apparently financially secure. He was also looking for further research opportunities in Southeast Asia.

But the political climate in Siam had changed and with it Quaritch Wales' contacts in Bangkok. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, despite resigning from active political life in 1915, was still a supporter of the traditional monarchical structure and for this reason the 1932 coup leaders sent him into exile in Penang (The Prince Damrong Foundation 1978). Indeed, it was at this time of internal crisis that Quaritch Wales (1932d) would publish an article full of praise for Damrong and his statesmanship. Georges Cœdès was now with the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi. Despite their departure both men had laid the foundations of Quaritch Wales' next ventures in Siam: the archaeological excavations at the old city of Si Thep in Phetchabun province and at Pong Tuek in Kanchanburi province.

Si Thep, now an historical park, was first visited by Damrong in 1904 on one of the many arduous provincial tours he made as Minister of the Interior. Following that few people visited the ancient city in its remote location. Pong Tuek, on the other hand, was an archaeological site partly excavated in 1927 by a team from the Royal Institute under instruction from Cœdès (1927/28 and 1928b). Both sites would have been topical news when Quaritch Wales was undertaking his doctoral research in Bangkok in 1930 and 1931.

Under the banner line, 'Hope to find key to Indian culture', the *New York Times* (6 May 1934: N1) informed readers that Quaritch Wales was planning '[t]o make a close study of one of the last remaining archaeologically unexplored regions in Asia [and that this] is the object of the Greater India Research expedition, which will begin work next Fall, according to Dr HG Quaritch Wales of London, field director.' He explained that the region to be examined by the team consisted of the 'jungle-clad mountain ranges of lower Burma and southern Siam' where he believed he would find the key to a 'full understanding of the early eastward expansion of Indian cultural influences.' The

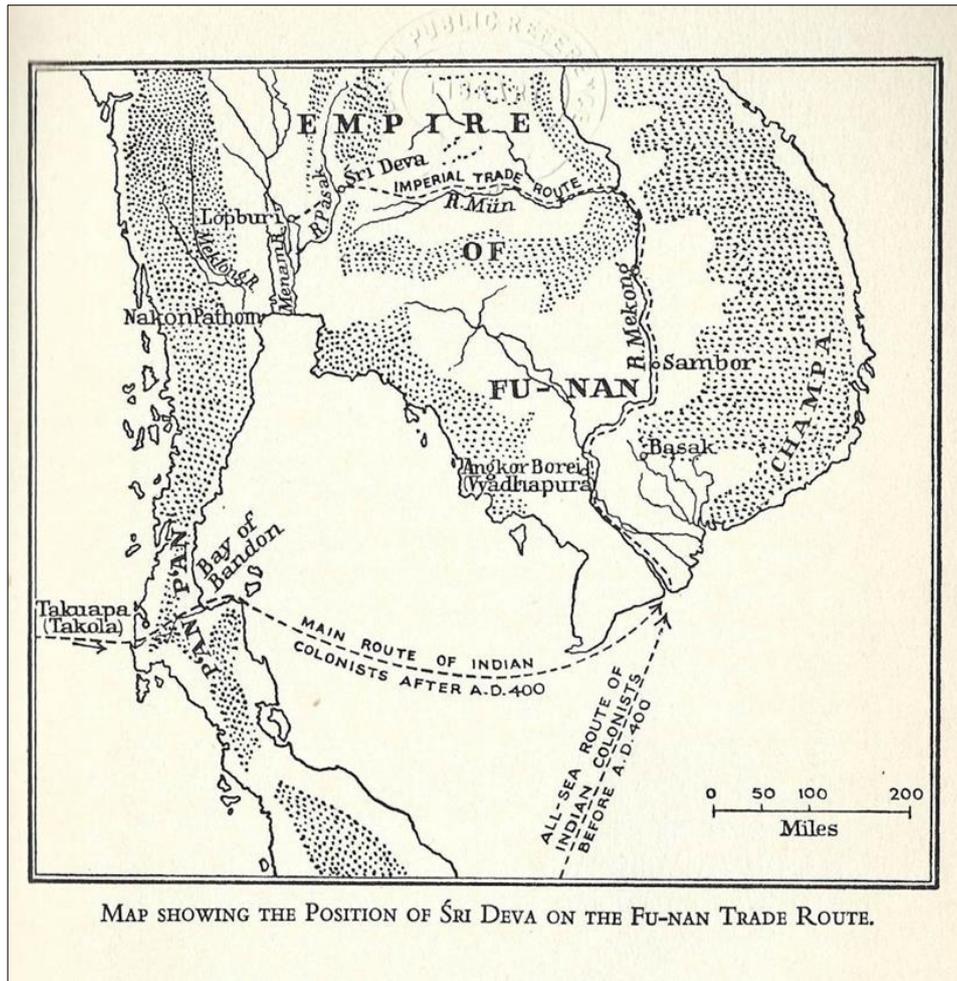


Image 02.001:
 Map showing position of Si Thep on a proposed trade route through Funan
 (Quaritch Wales 1937f: facing 110)

expedition expected to find evidence of a civilization pre-dating that of Angkor. Because he believed that the Malay peninsula would hold signs of a different type of civilization to that described in Angkor, Quaritch Wales would call his next book *Towards Angkor*. Quaritch Wales had apparently been in Malaya, Burma and Siam in early 1934 for he was reported to be travelling to London via San Francisco and New York to prepare for the expedition. Quaritch Wales expected the research to take some years and was quoted as say, prophetically, that ‘we hope to find ruins of temples and perhaps golden ornaments.’ Even before the physical evidence was found the newspaper reported

Dr Wales showed that conclusive proof exists that successive waves of Indian influence penetrated to the East, not by the Straits of Malacca, but by way of these mountain passes. Having founded settlements there, these early pioneers voyaged further afield across the Gulf of Siam to a land where they were the means of founding the great kingdoms of the Khmers and Chames [Chams].

For Quaritch Wales the aim of the expedition was to find ‘the way thither from the Indian motherland [that] is not known.’ It was later reported in *The Times of India* (6 August 1934: 9 and 11 August 1934:12) that Sir Sayajirao III Gaekwad, the Mahārāja of Baroda [Vadodara, now in Gujarat state west India] had donated £500 [approx. £32,000] to the costs of the first expedition season of

1934 and 1935. The Mahārāja was a keen promoter of traditional Indian arts and supporter of the Greater India concept. When Quaritch Wales was planning the first expedition to the Malay peninsula *The Times of India* (11 August 1934: 12) eulogized about ‘ancient inscriptions, [that] give a ground for conviction that a closer exploration of ancient settlements known to exist in the neighbourhood of the mountain passes will bring to light monuments and remains of a purely Indian character and great archaeological importance.’

Verulamium: a Roman town in Britain

To prepare for the expedition to Southeast Asia Quaritch Wales spent the summer of 1934 at Verulamium, an ancient Roman British town located southwest of St Albans in Hertfordshire. Verulamium had been discovered in 1847. What was unusual about the site was that there had been not only a Belgae town, inhabited by native Britons from the Catuvellauni tribe, but also two Roman cities dating from 50 CE to around 450 CE. The outer walls of a Roman theatre had been identified on this site. This is the only Roman theatre found in Britain with the earliest part of the building dating to the second quarter of the 2nd century CE. Sir Mortimer Wheeler commenced archaeological work at Verulamium in the summer seasons between 1930 and 1933 when he was director of the London Museum and on the council of the Society of Antiquaries (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936). The 1934 season was under the control of the one of his staff, Kathleen Kenyon (later Dame Kathleen Kenyon). When Quaritch Wales worked at Verulamium he would have come under the direction of Kenyon not Wheeler. She was a notable archaeologist, teacher and mentor and her report on the Roman theatre at Verulamium was an outstanding piece of research (Kenyon 1934).

At Verulamium, Wheeler and Kenyon pioneered his method of controlled stratigraphic excavation. The aim of stratigraphy is the study of archaeological strata, or layers, with a view to arranging them in chronological sequence (Barker 1993: 21). Stratification is particularly well suited to excavations of Roman sites in Britain. In these sites stone was used for construction, pottery and glass sherds may be common, metal objects such as coins may be located, and these may be accurately dated and identified. An essential factor in the success of the excavation was that the climate had not destroyed subsurface features. Wheeler is credited with bringing the use of the grid system, usually five metre squares, three-dimensional recording and detailed vertical drawings as well as large-scale horizontal site plans.

At Verulamium Quaritch Wales was reported to have spent the summer investigating ‘scientific stratigraphic methods of the modern school of British archaeology’ that could be applied to the examination of the principal sites of early Indian settlements where no obvious monuments remained above ground (*The Times of India* 6 August 1934: 9). It was his aim ‘to elucidate the whole cultural history, rather than merely the artistic history, of the early Indian colonists.’ The excavation at Verulamium would be the turning point in Quaritch Wales’ research methodology. No longer would he be an anthropologist with a focus on Siamese ritual and ceremony, now he would rebadge himself an archaeologist. The experience at Verulamium would have taught Quaritch Wales much about field techniques although, as we shall see, he was selective in their application. The published papers of his archaeological excavations in Malaya and Siam contain no stratigraphic diagrams; there are no large-scale plans of excavated sites only sketches and he made use only of photography but often the wide-angle obscures detail. Rarely did he display a visible line level in his published photographs although they do exist in some of his archived negatives (Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection).

Takua Pa and the way across the Malay peninsula

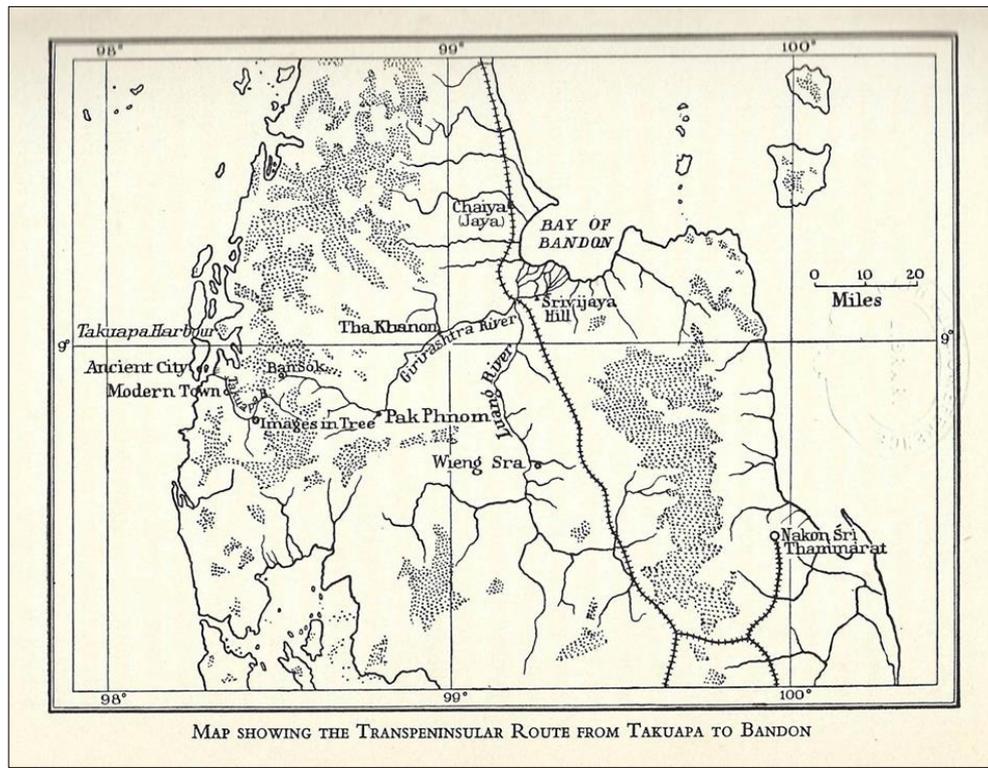


Image 02.002:

Map showing the trans-peninsular route from Takua Pa to the Bay of Bandon taken by HG Quaritch Wales and Dorothy Wales in 1935 (Quaritch Wales 1937f: 53)

In March 1935 Quaritch Wales, accompanied by his wife Dorothy, sent their first report from Takua Pa in southern Siam. Located just inland from the Pak Ko estuary, Takua Pa town was the first starting point on a 'route [that] crossed peninsular Siam at the only latitude which provided sheltered anchorages on both coasts, which were at the same time connected by what were formerly deep rivers running from the narrow watershed.' This *Times of India* (26 March 1935: 7) article reported a statement by Quaritch Wales that Takua Pa was the former Taikala that he believed to be the ancient harbour town of Takola mentioned in the *Geographia* [also known in Greek as the *Geōgraphikē Hyphēgēsis*] by Ptolemy of Alexandria.

It was generally accepted at that time that the *Geographia* was written by Claudius Ptolemy in the 2nd century CE but research undertaken in 1945 by Leo Bagrow showed that sections of the work were compiled by an unknown Byzantine author of the 10th or the 11th century CE. While the book contains sections of the original work of Ptolemy, some maps were not drawn until much later, perhaps not until the 13th century CE (Wheatley 2010: 138-139). The famed Takola emporium described in Book VII is certainly named and located on the west coast of the peninsula at the head of an estuary. Much of the discussion of the etymology of the name Takola and its possible association with old names for Takua Pa was documented by Wheatley (2010: 268-271) to whom we must owe a debt of thanks for his detailed research into the Indian, Chinese and Arabic sources. He reported that

archaeology affords confirmation of the fact that there was a number of Indianized, or partly Indianized, settlements scattered along the northern section of the west coast of the Malay

Peninsula during the period covered by the above texts [2nd and 3rd centuries CE to the 10th century CE], but the nature of this evidence prohibits the identification of any particular site as that of *Takola*.

The most Wheatley (2010: 272) would say was that Takola was a port located on the northwest coast of the Malay peninsula near the town of Trang. Quaritch Wales (1950a: 152-153) much later came to reverse his opinion, finally accepting the Roland Braddell (1949: 5, 7, 14-15) conclusion that Trang, and not Takua Pa, was the ancient Takola as he had once proposed (Quaritch Wales 1935: 5-8). He also accepted the long-held view that Langasuka was an east coast polity, and that Katāha was situated in Kedah.

On the island of Ko Kho Khao facing the Pak Ko estuary, opposite Takua Pa, Quaritch Wales excavated three mounds and reported that ‘the foundations of an extensive early Indian temple were brought to light. Besides smaller brick structures, the remains consisted of a spacious brick platform and a paved approach with massive brick balustrades’ it was reported in *The Times of India* (26 March 1935: 7; Quaritch Wales 1935: 8). The area of Thung Tuek measured 375 yards [342 metres] by 225 yards [205 metres] and was separated from the sheltered river entrance by fifteen yards [14 metres] of mangroves (Quaritch Wales 1935: 9). While excavating a network of trial trenches, the team also found the foundations of what was called the temple site. Several photographs were taken of the area and during excavations the survey party found three types of glazed pottery and some rough unglazed material (Quaritch Wales 1935: Plate III and plate IV. 1). These excavations appear to have been done rather quickly for he commenced work on 15 January 1935 and began exploring hinterland sites on 18 January (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/1/2). Quaritch Wales dated the settlement to between the 5th or 6th centuries CE and the 8th or 9th centuries CE.

This area had been first described, in English, in a paper for the Siam Society by Walter Bourke, who spent three years between 1902 and 1905 on Phuket as Superintendent of Mines for the Royal Siamese Department of Mines (Gerini 1904: 242). He communicated regularly with his friend Gerolamo Gerini, the General Director of Military Education, a keen archaeologist and co-founder of the Siam Society. Bourke (1905: 5/53) wrote that the Takua Pa region ‘abounds in tin, both in the districts near the coast and right in the interior; which in itself, would have been sufficient inducement for the Indians to have made more or less extensive settlements in the country.’ On Ko Kho Khao, Bourke (1905: 7/55) identified Thung Tuek as ‘the plain of brick (or stone) houses’ where he was told, for he did not visit the site personally, that numerous remains of ‘ancient brick houses or temples and of [religious] tanks’ were located. Thung Tuek was also visited by Francis Giles, president of the Siam Society from 1930 to 1936, a long-term resident in Bangkok and an advisor to the Ministry of Finance (Warren 2004: 11). He had been in Takua Pa as early as 1902 and 1903. Giles wrote that the trade route used when the area was ‘colonized by Indians’ led along the Takua Pa River and over the mountain ranges and that these traders then used the Phum Duang River to reach the Gulf of Siam at the Bay of Bandon (Giles and Scott 1935: 79-80).

Jacq-Hergoualc’h (2002: 308-309) also refers to this site location and reports that a Thai-American archaeological mission in 1988-89 undertook six test pits there. They found numerous roof tiles, round at one end and hooked at the other. When the test pits were dug to a significant depth, 2.6 metres, Persian blue glazed ceramics were found at the level of the original monument or temple foundation. This is now marked as the Ban Thung Tuek old village site. Due to looting of the archaeological site in the early 1980s, further excavations were carried out in 2003 to document and describe the Thung Tuek area (Boonyarit Chaisuwan 2011: 83-111). Eight ancient monuments have

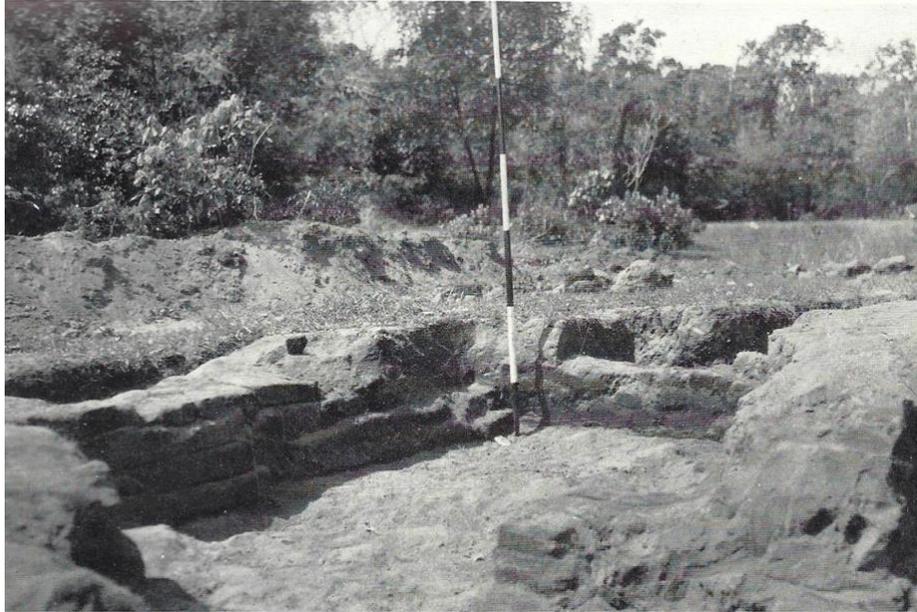


Image 02.003

Excavations at Thung Tuek, ‘the Plain of the Brick Building’, on the island of Ko Kho Khao (Quaritch Wales 1937f: 46)

now been uncovered, and much material unearthed, that illustrates the importance of Thung Tuek, and other localities along the Andaman seacoast between the 3rd century BCE and the 8th century CE.

Khao Phra Narai

A review article in the Melbourne *Argus* (1938: 17) would later report that ‘[t]welve miles up the Takuapa River he [Quaritch Wales] found in the jungle three large and heavy Hindu images around which a tree had grown.’ This is a reference to the three statues formerly located at Khao Phra Narai [Kheā Pra Narai: Hill of the Viṣṇu god/priest] that are now in the museum at Nakhon Si Thammarat (Quaritch Wales 1974a: 34). These statues had been identified by Bourke (1905) on one of his numerous survey trips in the Takua Pa area (Gerini 1904: 215). Quaritch Wales (1976: 126 fn5) later correctly identified Bourke as the first person to locate, photograph and publish the images of the statues (Bourke 1906).

Lunet de Lajonquière (1909a: 234-235) visited the site between 13 and 26 November 1908, sketched the figures, and later published a second description of the Khao Phra Narai statues, together with a map of the find site (Lunet de Lajonquière 1912: 166-169). Much of the information later presented by Quaritch Wales (1935), such as the tale of the Burmese attempts to steal the images and the idea that they represented Śiva, Pārvatī and a ‘dancer’ was taken from this report. Legend states that the three figures were originally placed at the top of the nearby hill but during the Burmese invasion of the tin rich southern coast in 1809, the invading forces brought the images down intending to take them to Burma. The army was stopped by a heavy wet season and so the statues were left against a group of trees that subsequently grew up and around the figures. When Bourke (1905: 7-8/55-56) first visited the site, the journey from the coast took more than four or five hours. He wrote that the three figures represented Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva and considered that the statues were made of a dense grey stone from a material not found locally, most probably brought from India. They were subsequently seen by Quaritch Wales and his survey party when they visited the site on 18 January 1935 (Quaritch Wales 1935 Plate IV 2-4; Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/1/2). He dated them to between the 7th and the 8th centuries CE (Quaritch Wales 1935: 14-15, Plate IV 2-4).



Highly finished stone Images of Brahma, Siva, and Vishnu at Kou Phra Narai,

Image 02.004:

The first photograph of the statues at Khao Phra Narai (Bourke 1906)



Image 02.005:

Photograph of Khao Phra Narai taken by Quaritch Wales (1937f: 48 and 1976: Plate 14)
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection Glass slide 11D)

Jacq-Hergoualc'h (2002: 327-331) gives considerable detailed description of the figures. He wrote the '[m]uch ink has flowed in the effort to identify these images, and until the present time there has been a general acceptance of the identification proposed by [Quaritch] Wales (1935) who compared them to the Pallava bas-relief from the upper cave of Tiruchirāpalli representing Śiva in Gaṅgādhara

receiving the [waters of the] Gaṅgā on his head.’ His opinion was that the statues represented Śiva framed by smaller female figures but this had been much criticised by Nilakanta Sastri (1949b: 26) who commented that Śiva was never represented that way. As the sculptures came from Khao Phra Narai, the mountain of Viṣṇu, then the figures should be interpreted as Viṣṇu between his two consorts, Laksmī (Śrīdevī) and Bhūdevī. Quaritch Wales (1935: 15-16) used emotive and rather pompous tones to describe the reason for the statues being found at the at the bottom of the hill near and inland waterway when he wrote

we might be right in supposing that these sculptures were carried off from deserted T’ūng T’ū’k [Thung Tuek], not by Burmese marauders, but by those who still revered them and were following the stream of culture across the route to the flourishing Indianized cities of the east coast? And what more natural than, when their heavily-laden boats went aground in the shallowing water above the river junction, they should have reverently laid the precious relics on the bank facing the shrine of the spirit guardian of the place?

All very romantic, but no concrete evidence is presented to support these claims. Quaritch Wales (1935: 15) also thought that the statues could not have come from the top of the hill as the shrine base there was too small, measured at six feet [2 metres] square. Stanley O’Connor (1972: 53-54) later referred to these figures as Pallava art from between 750 and 850 CE and he published some fine, clear photographs of the figures in-situ (O’Connor 1972: Figs 28-31). There are still differing opinions on the nature and purpose of the figures. Boonyarit Chaisuwan (2011: 105) wrote that the three figures were Viṣṇu, Risī Mārkaṇḍeya and Bhūdevī. It was the opinion of Jacq-Hergoualc’h (2002: 330) that no local artist created these images although it was possible that Indian artists working from the Takua Pa region could have fashioned them.

Khao Phra Noe

Close to the Pak Ko estuary lies the former site of the now famous Takua Pa Viṣṇu. This statue, more than two metres tall, is one of the iconic pieces of the main hall of the National Museum in Bangkok. It has a long history and ranks among some of the earliest Viṣṇu sculptures in Southeast Asia (Dalsheimer and Manguin 1998; de Havenon 2007). During his inspection visit to Takua Pa in November 1908, Lunet de Lajonquière (1909a: 233-234; 1909b: 355) described the statue known as the Viṣṇu of Khao Phra Noe or Neur [Kheā Pra Henüx: Hill of the north facing god/priest] (Boonyarit Chaisuwan 2011: 105).

Lunet de Lajonquière found it lying on a small hill near the river but broken into several pieces which had been collected and grouped around the base. The legs, covered with a *dhoti*, were still standing on the pedestal. Not only did he sketch the image as he found it with only the feet and body standing, he made an artistic impression of the complete statue with the four arms, head and body attached. Even in its broken state he considered the statue, that he called ‘une statue de Çiva’ not Viṣṇu, possessed an aesthetic quality that surpassed other objects he had seen in his survey of sites in Siam and Cambodia. Despite its deplorable state, ‘[m]algré son état déplorable actuel’, Lunet de Lajonquière was struck by the elegance of form and the purity of the silhouette. He was so impressed by this broken statue that he said it was superior to all 900 other statues that he had seen (Lunet de Lajonquière 1912: 172). This statue, called ‘Pra Nur’ [Pra Henüx] was photographed by Bourke (1905: 5-6/53-54) and the print sent to the Siam Society in Bangkok. That photograph would be extremely valuable if it were found in the archives. He too measured the broken remains and wrote that it was ‘a little larger than life size, and is broken off just above the waist, the height from the top of the pedestal to the waist where broken off is 3ft 9in. [3 feet 9 inches: 1.143 metres]. The Pedestal is 8in. [8 inches: 20 centimetres] thick and 30in. [30 inches: 76 centimetres] wide’ (Bourke 1905: 6/54).

Some indication of the difficulties Bourke encountered when exploring inland parts of the Malay peninsula are contained in his brief report to the Siam Society. He noted that the statue was located on the

summit of a hill overlooking the sea at the southernmost entrance to the Takuapa river situated on a piece of land called ‘Kaw Larn.’ This place is reached by means of a small creek called ‘Klong Nur’ which flows into the river near the Pak Koh entrance, this small creek is only 12 feet [3.6 metres] wide at its mouth and much obstructed by fallen trees; after going up the creek through a mangrove swamp for about 10 minutes, the landing is reached, close to the foot of the hill, which is roughly about 200 feet [60 metres] high and densely wooded. The summit of the hill is levelled off and forms a platform about 55 feet [17 metres] wide by 75 or 80 feet [23 to 24 metres] long, with a raised brick platform in the middle about 25 feet [8 metres] square on which stands the ancient stone figure, or rather the remains of it for it is much broken and injured (Bourke 1905: 5-6/53-54).

He considered that the statue was made of compact bluish stone similar to the Khao Pra Narai statues. His description of its religious nature is of course far from correct. Not understanding that it was a statue of Viṣṇu with a mitred headdress [*kirītamukuṭa*], Bourke (1905: 6/54) wrote ‘[t]he statue which is four armed, represents a man standing, clad apparently in a single garment resembling a Burmese Lungyee [*longyi*], with the torso bare, and wearing a high round cap resembling a Turkish fez but without a tassel.’ He gave the name, used by local people, of Khao Phra Noe because the statue originally faced to the north-east and the side of the brick platform on which it stood was oriented not due north-south but 22 degrees east of magnetic north.



Image 02.006:

The Takua Pa Viṣṇu in the Siwamok Phiman Hall,
National Museum of Bangkok (Photograph by author 2017)

Apparently, some Chinese tin miners had been working at the base of the site in 1899 and had a vision that treasure was located under the statue. Consequently, they moved the statue and dug underneath but found nothing and so replaced the broken statue in its original place. Considering the statue had been found by both Walter Bourke and the Chinese miners the statement by Jacq-Hergoualc'h (2002: 125) that the statue was 'discovered by Lajonquière in the beginning of the last century' [20th century] is therefore questionable. The pieces were relocated to the National Museum in Bangkok in 1927 and reassembled into the form that we can see today. Quaritch Wales (1935: 8-9) and his team climbed the hill on 4 January 1935 and measured the remaining bricks. In his notes (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/1/2 and QW/1/4) he reported the platform measured 25 feet square [6.25 metres square] on a hill of 200 feet [60 metres] in height and confirmed Bourke's calculation that the platform faced 26 degrees due east of north. He stated that the statue, that he saw in the National Museum, was made of sandstone that was probably brought from India by sea. Based on Dupont's criteria he dated the image to the 6th or the 7th centuries CE. Jacq-Hergoualc'h (2002:

124-127) provides a comprehensive description of this statue and the contentious dating although he agrees with O'Connor's report on the Viṣṇu that it belongs to period between the latter half of the 7th century to the 8th century CE (O'Connor 1966b: 140 and 1972). Dupont (1941: 248) had actually been very circumspect in presenting an early date for the construction of the Takua Pa Viṣṇu. He urged caution before a complete analysis of similar art in India had been completed.

Stanley O'Connor (1972: 49) presents a case for viewing the Takua Pa Viṣṇu, as the 'qualitative achievement of the isthmian sculptor.' He had previously presented this case in an earlier paper and criticised Quaritch Wales for regarding the Viṣṇu as the work of the 6th century CE period and for assuming that

would thus seem to have arrived full-blown, a great work of art with no tradition of antecedents on the Peninsula. This, of course, would fit well with Dr Wales relegation of the Malay Peninsula to a zone of cultural sterility, artistic passivity and extreme acculturation since it be argued that the later productions are less assured than the Takuapā image (O'Connor 1966b: 139).

Quaritch Wales (1956b: 258-259), in a review of Pierre Dupont's (1955) monumental *La statuaire préangkorienne*, remained convinced that the statue dated from the 6th century CE although he would later qualify his assessment of the provenance of the Takua Pa Viṣṇu in a very small footnote at the bottom of the page in his report on explorations made at Si Thep (Quaritch Wales 1936a: 93 fn1). The note simply states that he realised that the image 'on account of its being so stylized, must have been made in the Peninsula, and not transported from India.' That was an important statement that reflected a complete change in intellectual position. It was, however, relegated to an insignificant margin in a report on a site far removed from Takua Pa. The image, he stated, was one of the stylized relics of his Second Wave of Indianization theory.

Sometime later, and in response to a criticism by Quaritch Wales (1967b) about the rejection of the early dating, O'Connor wrote that the Viṣṇu was 'the culmination of a local school rather than, as originally thought, the achievement of a Pallava sculptor of southern India' and he saw no reason why this should not be true. It was found in a region that was a cosmopolitan commercially-oriented area that was endowed with abundant tin, good harbours, a possibly trans-peninsula trade route and presumably some local political stability. Another of Quaritch Wales' comments, that this Viṣṇu statue was unique because the upper arms were free and had been carved in the round was also disputed. O'Connor (1968: 205) said that with only two exceptions, he found that all long-robed, four-armed Viṣṇu statues in Thailand were carved with upper arms free of stone supporting reserves.

The Takua Pa Viṣṇu statue is now accepted as the product of skilled local craftsmen. Dalsheimer and Manguin (1998: 87-90) examined merchant trading networks and mitred Viṣṇu figures found in Southeast Asia associate these figures with trading communities of Vaishnavism Brahmanical devotees who settled the western maritime coasts in the 1st millennium CE and wrote

les pièces esthétiquement élaborées, comme le Viṣṇu de Takuapa, sont désormais considérées comme des productions locales, aboutissement d'une technique mieux maîtrisée. [aesthetically elaborated pieces, such as the Viṣṇu of Takuapa, are now regarded as local productions, the result of a better mastered technique.]

Although the archaeologists of the Thai-American team of 1988-89 failed to find the site of the structural vestiges, they were located by Dr Ian Reide of the University of Western Australia, a

visiting Australian pack-packer, in 2011 (ian-iansjourney.blogspot/2011/03/khao-phra-noe-hill-by-river.html Accessed 15 March 2018). This site contained some excellent images of the hill from the Pak Ko river, photographs of the remaining brick base and of the bricks themselves.



Image 02.007:
Khao Phra Noe: the hill where the statue once stood



Image 02.008:
The location of Khao Phra Noe and Ko Kho Khao near Takua Pa
(Photograph and map reproduced with the permission of Dr Ian Reide,
Classics Department, University of Western Australia)

From Takua Pa to the Bay of Bandon

From Takua Pa Quaritch Wales, his wife and the escort party made their way along the river over the mountain range and down towards the Bay of Bandon on the Gulf of Siam 'following the route of the old Indian colonists' (Quaritch Wales 1935: 16). This route across the mountain range was long and tedious.



Image 02.009:

Dorothy Wales with bullock carts on the trans-peninsular route from Takua Pa to the Bay of Bandon (Quaritch Wales 1937f: 16; Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)



Image 02.010:

Baggage elephant used on the crossing from Takua Pa to the Bay of Bandon (Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection Glass slide 11A)

Having crossed the ranges they made their way down the main Tapi River [Menan Tapi] that then led into the Phum Duang River [Menam Phum Duang] also known as the Khiri Rat River. Using district and local names Quaritch Wales labelled them the Luang and the Girirāshtra Rivers. The Tapi is the largest river in the south and originates in the Khao Luang mountains. It enters the Bay of Bandon south of Chaiya. Girirāshtra [Girirāstra] was said to mean 'Kingdom in the Mountains' (Quaritch Wales 1935: 17). The trip over the ranges took about eleven days according to diary notes that record investigations being undertaken around Takua Pa on 18 January 1935 and the commencement of excavations at Chaiya after 1 February 1935 (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/1/2).



Image 02.011:
Dorothy Wales crossing the upper Takua Pa river
(Quaritch Wales 1937f: 58; Royal Asiatic Society.
HG Quaritch Wales Collection. Glass slide 16B)

At Wieng Sra, formerly a minor city-state under the control of neighbouring Nakhon Si Thammarat, the survey party dug some trial trenches. Apart from some bricks and very little pottery the party found nothing significant to note. A sandstone Buddhist figure that had been found in this region was later photographed in the National Museum in Bangkok (Quaritch Wales 1935: Plate V, 1). Moving on to Chaiya Quaritch Wales (1935: 20-21) wrote that the importance of the two ancient stūpas in the city: Wat Kaew, now in ruins, and Wat Phra Borom That, that has been partly restored. Both Wieng Sra and Chaiya are now in the Surat Thani Province. The third place visited was Nakhon Si Thammarat, one of the most important historical cities in the region. Nakhon Si Thammarat was previously known as Ligor.

In the old city Quaritch Wales and his team turned their attention to the Śiva temples at Ho Phra Isuan (Quaritch Wales 1974a: 35). This is now an historic site. The survey party dig trial trenches near the ruined temple and at the only stratified site they excavated they uncovered two distinct brick floors where they found a reliquary containing a silver coin (Quaritch Wales 1935: 24 site plan of Ho Phra Isuan). The excavation site has now been protected by a metal roof and across Ratchadamnern road is another small Hindu temple, Ho Phra Narai. Both these sites are identified on a map of Nakhon Si Thammarat dated 1825 in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society in London (Munro-Hay 2000: 65-67).



Image 02.012:

Quaritch Wales with village children. Village named as Toongmisung [Thammarin village]
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection Glass slide 21A)

The results of this expedition were presented to a meeting on 6 June 1935 at the Royal Geographical Society in South Kensington that included the Mahārāja of Baroda and the executive members of the supporting committee. Between the first report printed in *The Times of India* of 26 March 1935 and the final presentation of the results to a public lecture to the Greater-India Research Committee in London in June that year, it had been a little over four months. In his lecture to the Royal Geographical Society, Quaritch Wales (1935: 1; *The Times of India* 18 June 1935: 8) stated that he had concentrated his expedition of 1935 in the zone stretching from Takua Pa across the Malay

peninsula, in the neighbourhood of the old tin mines, in order to find remains of early Indian settlements. He was firmly convinced that he found ‘the foundations of buildings and sculptures almost purely Indian in style, and where potsherds seemed to support the identification of Tukuapa [Takua Pa] with that early centre of sea-borne trade—the Takola mart of the second century [CE] geographer Ptolemy.’ By following the ancient trans-peninsula routes across the mountains, the party ‘were in a wide fertile country containing evidence of being a great centre of the growth and spread of Indian culture.’



Image 02.013:

Typical river scene approaching the Bay of Bandon, southern Thailand
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection. Glass slide 4B)

Quaritch Wales was sure that there was an ‘early non-specialised type of Indian colonial architecture having much in common with the earliest Cambodian, Cham and Javanese buildings.’ At the public lecture in London he reported to his audience that there was strong evidence that ancient P’an-P’an on the east coast of the peninsula was the seat of the Śailendras

that dynasty of heroic rulers who, being in the eighth century [CE] but recent arrivals from India, quickly spread their power throughout the Further East...From their capital at Jaya [Chaiya on the east coast], in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula (later displaced by Nagara Sri Dharmaraja [Nakhon Si Thammarat] this dynasty and its successors ruled for six centuries a vast island empire, giving rise in the ninth century [CE] to the astonishing efflorescence of culture in Java, controlling the sea traffic through the Straits of Malacca, and at times even dominating Champa, Cambodia and Ceylon.

Summing up his two hypotheses, Quaritch Wales stated that there was evidence that ‘the region around the Bay of Bandon was a cradle of Further Eastern culture, inspired by waves of Indian influence spreading across the route from Takuapa.’ To support this, he noted that ‘persons of an Indian cast of features are common on the west coast near Takuapa, while colonies of Brahmans of Indian descent survive at Nak’on Sri Th’ammarat [Nakhon Si Thammarat] and P’at’alung [Pattalung]’ (Quaritch Wales 1935: 25).

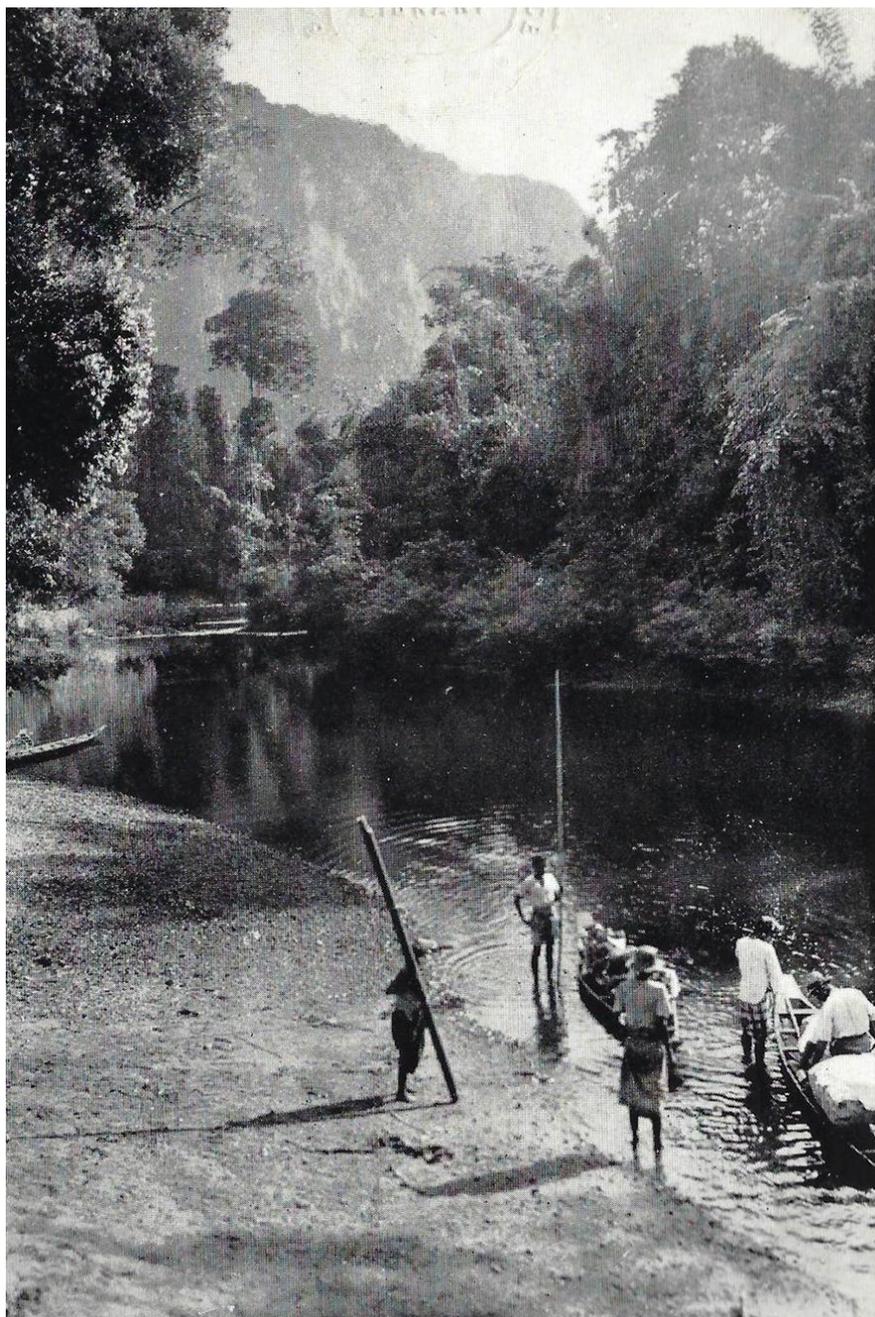


Image 02.014:
Loading canoes on the Menam Tapi, Thai peninsula
(Quaritch Wales 1937f: frontispiece; Royal Asiatic Society Archives.
HG Quaritch Wales Collection. Glass slide 12)

Trans-peninsula routes from India to China

To Quaritch Wales the route from Takua Pa over the mountain ranges was the line of cultural expansion of Indian ideas not a transshipment or portage route. But this was only one of numerous trans-peninsular crossings that may have been used. Wheatley (2010: Fig 4 facing xxvii) mapped eleven portage routes beginning in the north with overland travel following the Mae Klong River and the Khwae Noi River through the Three Pagodas Pass [Dam Chedi Sam Ong] or via the Three Cedis Pass [Ban Phunamron] further south. Other possible routes across the peninsula were via the

Tenasserim River, the Kra Isthmus, the Takua Pa River used by Quaritch Wales, or the Trang River. In Malaya, the routes Wheatley identified were Kedah to Patani, Perak to Pahang, Kelantan to Malacca via Jalan Panarikan, Pahang to Malacca also via Jalan Panarikan, the Sembrong route, and Berman to Pahang. Wheatley (1957: 119 and 2010: 10) estimated that the average crossing would have taken ten days and a 'reasonable march might well have been some 150-200 miles [240-320 kilometres], which implies that the trans-peninsular route lay some distance either north or south of the Kra Isthmus.' The ten days proposed by Wheatley fits well into the timeline of eleven days that it had taken Quaritch Wales and his wife, and their elephant convoy, to make the crossing.

There was a long record of overland crossings and interest in the economic development of the Thai-Malay peninsula in published literature (Keith 1891; Lloyd 1838; Brown 1907). Captains Fraser and Forlong (1863) from the Bengal Engineers crossed from the Pak Chan [Kra] River estuary to the Gulf of Siam. Their report to the Governor-General of India was later tabled in the House of Parliament in London as part of a case proposing a possible railway across the Kra Isthmus (Kaye 1863). This was to stimulate several such proposals that have all been seen as potential failures.

During the Perak war of 1876, WE Maxwell (1882), a Stipendiary Magistrate in Province Wellesley, attempted to capture Mahārāja Lela of Perak by chasing him across the Patani border. The efforts to catch Lela, his final capture and his execution by the British were followed in detail by the illustrated newspapers of the day complete with engravings of local scenes and maps of the crossings of the peninsula (Tate 1989: 68-74). Commander Alfred J Loftus (1883), a British hydrographer attached to the Siamese government, who also reported to the British colonial government, accompanied a French government survey expedition across the Kra Isthmus. The aim was to survey the route of a possible maritime canal linking the Bay of Bengal to the Gulf of Siam.

The long history of these attempts has been documented by Ronan (1936), Kiernan (1956), Smith (1975), Kit (2012), Thapa and others (2007). The conclusion reached in every case was that the proposal was an impractical waste of money. Extensive reports on the availability of tin and the economic potential of its extraction were compiled by Major-General George Tremenheere (1841, 1843 and 1886) in his reports to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Herbert Warington-Smyth (1895) reported to the Royal Geographical Society in London that while making surveys of the pearling and tin industries on the west coast of Siam he had travelled by elephant over the ranges via the Pak Chan River [also known as the Kra and Kraburi River] to the east coast. By the mid-1920s it was even possible for AW Hamilton (1922) to travel from Alor Setar in Kedah across the peninsula to Patani by car and Kerr (1933) made an east-west botanical survey from Prachuap Khiri Khan to Mergui via Tenasserim.

Despite this evidence Jacq-Hergoualc'h (2002: 32, see Doc. 3 and Doc. 8) was not convinced that these numerous trans-peninsula routes were able to be used due to the nature of the inland rivers and the dense tropical jungle in early times. In support of this he quotes Peacock (1979: 200-201), the curator of the Perak Museum, who considered that experience with the inland Malay peninsula convinced him that crossing via the numerous shallow but fast flowing rivers would be dangerous and exhausting. No doubt very true. But to judge the movements of local people, especially Orang Asli familiar with inland routes and conditions, by European standards gives the wrong impression. Jacq-Hergoualc'h (2002: 36-37) also quoted from the Quaritch Wales (1935) report on the journey across the peninsula from Takua Pa to the Bay of Bandon. Although the journey was troublesome and exhausting, it did not discourage Quaritch Wales from thinking he had found the ancient trade route to the east.

The conclusion reached by Jacq-Hergoualc'h (2002: 42, 30-50) was that 'it seems to us that a number of tracks that are recognized today as traces of transpeninsular routes and appear to be the heirs of an ancient tradition, actually had a relatively recent, and therefore essentially overland, origin, even if river transport could have existed at certain points.' Part of his conclusion was that until archaeological remains were found then there was little evidence of extensive land crossings. However, he qualified his comments. Finds made at entrepôt ports at the supposed starting points and ending points of the routes across the peninsula 'might appear to justify our believing in, and at first glance even seem to confirm, the use of such routes' but then he contradicted that statement by saying 'we are not convinced that the very similar archaeological objects found at the beginning- and end- points of the routes could necessarily have been transported along them' (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002: 42-43). Certainly, one can agree with him when he states that routes across the peninsula would have been used only for the transportation of small goods that were not fragile, or items such as forest products, maybe even gold, resins and spices, that required no special handling. Many questions relating to the archaeological evidence of prehistoric and early historic settlements in the lower Thai/Malay peninsula remain unresolved (Manguin 2017: 47-54; Bellina-Pryce and Silapanth 2006).

Śriwijaya and the Śailendra dynasty

Quaritch Wales' second hypothesis concerned the location and expansion of the Śailendra dynasty. He made the study of Śriwijaya and the Śailendra dynasty an important part of his intellectual investigations in the northern Malay and southern Thai peninsula returning to it again and again as new discoveries were found. However, he retained his belief that Chaiya and not Palembang was the centre of Śriwijaya and that the Śailendra dynasty was of Indian origin. Quaritch Wales supported the theories made by Ramesh Majumdar (1934, 1935) but not those of George Cœdès (1918: 1-36; see also Cœdès, Sheppard, Damais and Manguin 1992: 1-27). His conclusion was that in

the eighth century [CE], the Śailendras were ruling in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. They were Mahāyānists [Mahāyāna Buddhists] and probably only recent arrivals from India, possessed of unbounded energy. They had already turned their backs on the cramped quarters of the west coast settlements and were looking out boldly for fresh conquests beyond the seas.

These ideas would also be spelt out in later published materials the first of which appeared in *Indian Art and Letters*, the journal of the India Society of London. Quaritch Wales (1935) called his paper 'A newly-explored route of ancient Indian cultural expansion' but the subtitle, 'Introducing some new views on the history of the Śailendra empire of Indonesia', gives some indication of other theoretical ideas that he had in mind. His final published statement points in the direction of Quaritch Wales' next archaeological programme when he said 'the complex and absorbingly interesting history of Indian cultural expansion, the key to the full understanding of which lies in the further archaeological exploration of Siam and the Malay Peninsula, the geographical position of which makes them of the first importance in the study of Greater Indian archaeology.' He would return to the contentious issue of the location of the Śriwijaya empire, its expansion into the Malay peninsula and its decline, in one of his last monographs (Quaritch Wales 1976).

Evidence from five inscriptions

Like the question of Indianization and the cult of *devarāja*, academic discourse on the nature and historical position of *kadātuan* Śriwijaya, and its relationship with the Śailendra dynasty of Java,

remains a contentious issue (Jordaan and Colless 2009; Hägerdal 2010: 517; Zakharov 2007, 2009 and 2012). Historical records of Śriwijaya have been reconstructed from stone inscriptions. The most important are the Kedukan Bukit, Talang Tua [Tuwo], Telaga Batu and the Kota Kapur inscriptions, all from Sumatra, and the important Ligor inscription from south Thailand. The majority are written in Old Malay not Sanskrit but contain an extensive Sanskrit vocabulary (Daud Ali 2011: 286).

The Kedukan Bukit inscription was found by a Dutch official M[onsieur] Batenburg in 1920 at Bukit Kedukan, on the banks of the Sungai Talang, a tributary of Sungai Musi, south Sumatra (Cœdès 1930: 33). It was originally dated 605 Śaka (683 CE) but this was corrected by Damais to 604 Śaka (Cœdès 1930: 34-35, Plate ii; Damais 1952: 98-99). Krom (1931) believed that the inscription commemorated victory by Śriwijaya over Malayu—then generally assumed to be in the Jambi region—in 682 CE. The Talang Tua [Tuwo] inscription was discovered in 1920 by Louis Westenenk, the Dutch Resident at Palembang, at a site about five kilometres from Bukit Seguntang, now a park in the city of Palembang. It documents the gifting of this park, the Śrīkṣetra, by Śrī Jayanāśa, ruler of Śriwijaya, for the benefit of the people (Cœdès 1930: 38-40, Plate iii). The inscription is dated 606 Śaka (684 CE) (Wolters 1979b: 5).

The Telaga Batu inscription, also known as the Sabokingking inscription, was found in Palembang before the Second World War but not decoded until 1956 by Johannes de Casparis. In contrast to other short inscriptions, this contains detailed lists of officers and servants of the court of Śriwijaya. At the head is the ruler, followed by the crown prince, a second crown prince and the other royal princes. Then followed a list of the occupations: local rulers, army commanders, officers, secretaries, court officers down to regular and irregular soldiers, clerks, architects, naval captains, traders, and even to royal washermen and royal slaves (Wolters 1967: 17; Kulke 1993e: 162; Daud Ali 2011: 287-288). However, the listing of names and occupations was not just a hierarchical record of internal social structure for the deeper meaning lies in the last lines that state

You all: the son of kings, ministers, regents, commanders, lords, nobles, viceroys, judges ... chairman of the workers, supervisors, commoners, weapons experts, ministers, soldiers, construction workers ... clerk, architect, skippers, merchants, captains, ye king's servants, king's slaves, all people, will be killed by the spells of your oath if you are not loyal to me (De Casparis 1956, ii: 15-46; Zakharov 2009: 1-2).

This oath was accompanied by the drinking of 'imprecation water' (Wolters 1967: 17; Manguin 2002: 76). It was a deliberate, and elaborate, act of self-assertion that called attention to the overlord's control over the words used to define treason, punishment and reward (Wolters 1999: 119).

The Kota Kapur inscription, found by JK van der Meulen in 1892, was named after the village on the west coast of Banka island where the inscription was located. This was written in Old Malay using Pallava script and dated to the early part of the 608 Śaka (686 CE) (Cœdès 1930: 46-48, Plate vi). The inscription describes a curse against any person who committed treason against *kadātuan Śriwijaya*—translated as 'province' by Cœdès (1930: 48) and 'kingdom' by Cœdès, Sheppard, Damais and Manguin (1992: 3) although in the historical sense 'city-state' or even 'polity' would also be appropriate. In French the more encompassing term 'domaine' could also be used to describe a *kadātuan*. Cœdès (1918: 1) questioned Kern's assumption that Śriwijaya was a king's name. He interpreted the name to be that of a country and that the person who commissioned the inscription was a 'chief of a Hinduized Malay state named Śriwijaya' (Cœdès, Sheppard, Damais and Manguin 1992: 3).

The Ligor inscription from Wat Sema Muang is an 8th-century CE stone stele discovered in Ligor, Nakhon Si Thammarat, in south Thailand. It begins with a eulogy to the Mahārāja of Śriwijaya, Śri-Vaijayendrārāja, who ordered the construction of three stūpas in south Thailand dedicated to Bodhisattvas Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi and to Śākyamuni, the Buddha (Majumdar 1934: 11; Cœdès, Sheppard, Damais and Manguin 1992: 4; Zakharov 2012: 7; Wannasarn Noonsuk 2017a: 10-11). The inscription further stated that the king was the head of the Śailendras of Java. On the reverse, the inscription states that the king of Śriwijaya kingdom was the “Śrī Mahā Rājā” of Śailendra of Java who surpassed all kings and was revered as a second Lord Viṣṇu. The inscription was written and carved on two sides, the first part, Ligor A, is also known as Wieng Sa inscription from the region south of the Bay of Bandon, while on the other side, Ligor B, is written in Kawi script. It is dated 697 Śaka (775 CE) (Cœdès 1918: 3). The king mentioned on Ligor A was named as Dharmasetu, the king of Śriwijaya, but the Ligor B inscription was most likely written for Mahārāja Paṇamkaraṇa, described as the king of the Śailendra dynasty, Śailendravamśa, that reigned in central Java (Cœdès 1959: 47; Jordaan and Colless 2009: 82). This was a record of a possible relationship between Śriwijaya and the Śailendra (Wolters 1979b: 6; Jordaan and Colless 2009: 82). Dharmasetu, mentioned on Ligor A, was believed to be the successor to Paṇamkaraṇa (Cœdès 1959; Cœdès 1918: Appendix 1: 29-33).

In 1933 Majumdar proposed that the two faces of the Ligor inscription comprised a single text but that side B was written later than 775 CE. Cœdès (1959: 47) disagreed with this and proposed that the inscriptions were independent of each other. He did note that while side A emanated from a king of Śriwijaya, side B was from a later date that mentions the Śailendra dynasty. Wolters (1979b: 6) agreed. Zakharov (2012: 7) reported that both sides have identical scripts and that the inscription should be read first from side B. However, Majumdar (1933: 121-122 and 1934: 14-15) greatly influenced earlier theory by stating that the Śailendra ruler had wrested power from Sumatran Śriwijaya control and had established himself on the Malay peninsula by 775 CE. He thought that the Śailendra rulers may also have come from northeastern India and wrote that by the

last quarter of the 8th century AD the petty Hindu kingdoms of Sumatra, Java and Malay Peninsula had all to succumb to or feel the weight of this new power. The Śailendras ushered in a new epoch in more senses than one.

He proposed that with Śailendra control over the Malay peninsula complete, the kingdom of Cambodia came under Javanese control at the end of the 8th century. Then, according to Majumdar (1934: 21) the Śailendras lost authority over Java in 879 CE. The mistake made by both Majumdar and Quaritch Wales was that they were looking for one permanent centre of an empire that controlled all regions under its suzerainty. Certainly, by the end of the 1930s the Śailendra debate grew more complex. In 1937 Moens proposed that Muara Takus at the junction of the Kampar Kanan and Batang Mahat rivers in the hinterland Sumatra was the capital of Śriwijaya. Evidence of a large archaeological site there seemed to support this opinion (Moens and de Touche 1940: 1-108). The Śailendra debate revolved around two aspects: the presence of Śailendra records in Java, Sumatra and the Malay peninsula; and, evidence of Śriwijaya authority on both sides of the Malacca straits as recorded in the Chola inscriptions concerning Katāha or Kaḍāram (Wolters 1979b: 10).

Reappraising the Śriwijaya and Śailendra debate

It was the publication of Wolters' doctoral thesis of 1962 submitted to the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London that led to a reassessment of the nature and extent of Śriwijayan studies (Wolters 1967). The major sources available for the study of this history of

Śriwijaya had been familiar through the work of such scholars as Groeneveldt (1877), Pelliot (1904), Cœdès (1918, 1927 and 1930), Ferrand (1922), and Wheatley (2010). Wolters approached the problems of identification from that of the economic history of the polities that thrived in the early first millennium CE in insular Southeast Asia. In his work the early Chinese texts featured conspicuously (Wolters 1967: 87-95). He gave priority place to the study of the history of Śriwijaya that began with Cœdès's identification of the identity of Chinese references to 'Shih-li-fo-shih' in the Ligor inscription (Cœdès 1959: 42-48, see also Cœdès, Sheppard, Damais and Manguin 1992). Before Wolters the subject had barely moved for more than fifty years. As Wyatt (1968: 646) reported, Cœdès's framework was not, and surely not intended to be, either comprehensive or exclusive. It lacked economic depth. It also neglected to explain adequately the circumstances surrounding the rise of Śriwijaya and the manner in which it functioned as a maritime empire astride the main trans-Asian maritime route between India and China (Manguin 1993a: 23; Qin and Xiang 2011; Wade 2014).

Undoubtedly Wolters's major contribution to Śriwijayan study was the way he set the origins of Śriwijaya within the framework of international trade and the economic changes between the 3rd and the 7th centuries CE. This was especially important in the examination of the trade in oleoresins from pinetrees, camphor, sandalwood and aromatics such as Indonesian benzoin (*Styrax* spp), used as a substitute for Middle Eastern myrrh. In Sanskrit this was known as *guggulu* (Wolters 1967: 111). This trade included producers, consumers, and carriers. Wolters was successful in relating the Chinese demand for West Asian aromatics and perfumes such as frankincense and myrrh to the successful introduction into the Chinese market of Sumatran substitutes for them by the 6th century CE. This was the time the Śriwijayan empire first came to attention. Wolters noted that the shippers of these 'Persian' cargoes were most likely to be Malay not Persian or even Indians (Wolters 1967: 139-158). The most favoured coastal kingdom recorded in the Chinese annals was called 'Kan-t'o-li', the hub of the trading coast (Wolters 1967: 162-163, 210-212). This was regarded as the forerunner of Śriwijaya (Wolters 1967: 197).

Archaeological discoveries at Palembang

The commercial and political system which brought Śriwijaya to prominence and sustained it through six centuries was most assuredly due to its commanding position on the Straits of Malacca. Wyatt (1968: 647) argued that the case for the commercial substitution of Indonesian resins for 'Persian' or Middle Eastern wares rests partly on an argument substantiated by three fragments of lost 3rd-6th-century Chinese 'materia medica' texts and his argument in favour of Kan t'o-li as the predecessor of Śriwijaya was proposed only as a hypothesis (Manguin 2004: 293). It was a hypothesis that was much debated but in the last few decades, with more comprehensive and detailed archaeological excavations in the Palembang area, has been proved correct.

A Śriwijayan partnership between polities in Sumatra and on the Thai-Malay peninsula, initially under the leadership of a ruler based in Palembang after the 7th century and then at Jambi after the 11th century, established an alliance of principalities that were able to control trade by sea and by land (Wannasarn Noonsuk 2017a: 1-20). The ability to incorporate different ethnic groups, the Orang Laut on the sea and the Orang Asli in the hills, as well as coastal Malays and traders from other lands, made the region a rich target. This may have been the reason for the attack on Śriwijaya by Rajendra Chola I in 1025 (Sakhuja and Sakhuja 2010: 76-90). The Cholas were known to have engaged in both piracy and trade and Śriwijayan control over the eastern waterways would have been an economic threat. Another possibility is that a Khmer-Chola alliance of two Shaivist kingdoms was a challenge to the Buddhist Sumatran Śriwijayans and their allies in Tambralinga on the east coast of

the Malay peninsula (Sen 2010: 61-75). Giving primacy to trade and piracy in the narrow waters of Southeast Asia as the reasons for conflict would be more understandable although both situations could have led to violence (Majumdar 2013: 119-133; Meenakshisundararajan 2010).

Interest in locating the centre of Śrīwijaya was subsequently stimulated by the development of organised archaeological research in the 1960s and 1970s. In some ways it was a response to negative information: large urban settlements were unknown in peninsula Southeast Asia despite evidence of individual site complexes like Pengkalan Bujang in Kedah, Yarang and Wieng Sa (Lamb 1961e; Quaritch Wales 1935 and 1969). Śrīwijaya was the most documented historical polity and the most authenticated city-state between India and China in the first millennium CE (Wolters 1967). The location of the capital was believed to be Palembang or somewhere near the junction of the Musi, Komering and Ogan rivers (Cœdès 1918). Four inscriptions had already been described and interpreted. What was lacking was concrete archaeological evidence.

A joint team of members from the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the Indonesian National Archaeological Institute began to survey the Palembang region in 1974. This was directed by Bennet Bronson and Jan Wisseman (1976). They began by making a series of trial excavations at four locations mostly to the northeast of Palembang city or to the southwest. At all sites, ceramics dating to the 14th and 15th centuries CE were found. Bukit Seguntang was the best known classical era site located to the southwest of the modern city. Certainly the 1974 team found that two towns had existed near modern Palembang: one at Air Bersih and one at Geding Suro, but that they were most-likely satellite towns, economically and even politically subordinate to a transportation centre located near Palembang. Bronson and Wisseman (1976: 233) found that ‘we are forced to conclude that Śrīvijaya in all except perhaps the very last stages of its existence was not in or near Palembang and probably not anywhere in the area drained by the Musi River.’ Indeed, they found to their dismay that the ‘entire vicinity of Palembang does not contain enough pre-14th century domestic artifacts to make one small village’ (Bronson and Wisseman 1976: 233; Manguin 1987: 341; Bronson 1979a). As for the 7th century CE inscriptions found in the region, they concluded that they were present there only because they had been brought in from elsewhere.

It was at this time that Quaritch Wales (1978a) published his study of the extent of Śrīwijayan influence in Sumatra and the Malay peninsula taking an art historical approach. His thrust would be that the ‘famed trading empire of the eighth to twelfth centuries AD’ was a great centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Buddhist art related to this religious doctrine. This influence came from the unification of Śrīwijaya with the Śailendras of Java, whom he wrote, were Mahāyānists. Quaritch Wales (1978a: 5) considered that no distinctions could be made between the art of the two centres and so proposed to call the combined form ‘Indo-Malaysian’ (Quaritch Wales 1951 and 1961a: 27). He stated that he came to this conclusion based on the work of Jean Boisselier (1955: 264) that differences in the profoundly Indianist art styles of the two states were impossible to separate. Then he remarked that the two parallel centres of ‘diffusion of the common sculptural style’ were different for ‘central Java showed greater originality and freedom from Indian control than was possible to the Śrīvijayans’ (Quaritch Wales 1978a: 6). This was in keeping with his theories of eastern and western zones of Indianization and the possible emergence of ‘local genius.’ Unfortunately, this paper is really just a critical review of the French edition of the book on Thai sculpture by Boisselier (1974) that had been released as an English edition. Quaritch Wales (1978a: 9) once more argued against Boisselier who had carefully analysed Indian influences on Thai art and who saw these sculptures as ‘the fruits of a local evolution pursued independently of all new influences.’ Quaritch Wales had conveniently forgotten his small footnote in his Si Thep report where he had written in support of local evolution (Quaritch Wales 1936a: 93 fn1). It was Quaritch Wales’ opinion, based on

supposition, that monks from Nakhon Si Thammarat introduced Śriwijayan art influences into central Siam in the 14th century after Śriwijaya ceased to exist.

The most informative paper on the nature and extent of Śriwijaya was once again provided by Wolters (1979b). Following a workshop held in Jakarta in 1979 to consider future studies into Śriwijaya, he gave a detailed analysis of the history of research to date. Summarising the findings, he stated that Śriwijaya was a classic example of a Malay coastal polity that based its might and wealth on control of international trade passing through the Malacca straits. It used suppression, or perhaps manipulation, of local piracy to achieve this end. The capital in the 7th century CE seems to have been near a river mouth on the east coast of central or southeastern Sumatra. Some writers believed that Śriwijaya was under the control of a peninsula state or was itself located on the Malay peninsula. There was evidence, beyond doubt, that Palembang was part of historical geography of 7th century Śriwijaya but Wolters emphasised that it was important to think of Śriwijaya, not as one centre, but as a federation of port-polities (Wolters 1979b & 1999).

Archaeological confirmation

In his article presenting the situation as it existed in 1979, Pierre-Yves Manguin found significant archaeological evidence that Palembang had been a major entrepôt in the proto-historic period and that Bukit Seguntang may have occupied a central place in the religious life of the city of Śriwijaya (Manguin 1987: 342, 388, 400; Kulke 1993e: 171). In the mid-1980s further examination of early textual material revived the hypothesis that Palembang had been the model for a riverine-based, trade-oriented harbour city that was a centre for the diffusion of Buddhism (Manguin 1993a: 24). This led to the development of long-term French-financed archaeological projects that focussed specifically on Bukit Seguntang (Manguin 2004: 306). The hill contains a complex of tombs where the remains of the founding heroes of Palembang are buried. Archaeological evidence of its significance was noted during the Dutch period when ancient bricks, commonly used for the construction of Hindu and Buddhist temple foundations, were found there. These were used for road construction. Aerial photographs showed water tanks and canals in the area between Bukit Seguntang and the Musi river. Subsequent excavations were carried out at a number of sites, notably at the ancient trading and manufacturing site of Talang Kikim Seberang, at the bead manufacturing site Kambang Unglen, and near the Museum Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin that had been the former Dutch residency on the Musi river.

The results of the 1990 and 1991 excavations were a total of 55,000 artefacts comprising more than 10,000 imported ceramic sherds and 38,000 locally made ceramic sherds. As Manguin (1993a: 27) reported this ‘proved beyond any doubt that the area had been densely occupied in Sriwijayan times. Chinese ceramics on the site range from the 8-9th to the 19th centuries, with a good third belonging to Sriwijayan times.’ What has surprised archaeologists analysing the Śriwijayan ceramic assemblage found at Palembang dated to the 8th to the 10th centuries has been its homogenous nature, consisting mostly of proto-celadon stoneware from the ancient kilns found in Guangdong province. This contrasts with the balanced assemblages found in Kedah, Takua Pa and Chaiya. This, according to Manguin (1993a: 36; 2001: 331-339; 2004: 306-307) would substantiate claims that early Palembang was the foremost Śriwijayan harbour polity. Manguin wrote that it was now possible to confirm that Cœdès (1918) was correct in his early assumption that Palembang was the capital of Śriwijaya in the early period, that is pre-14th century CE, and that it was a large and prosperous trading, manufacturing, commercial, religious and political centre of an early Malay polity. Although the formative period was the 7th century CE, it does appear that power transferred to Jambi in the 11th century CE while Palembang continued as an economic centre despite political changes.

Examination of architectural sites at Muara Jambi on Sumatra show evidence of the development of a regional centre there (Tjoa-Bonatz, Neidel and Widiatmoko 2009).

The origin of the Śailendra dynasty

Like Quaritch Wales (1935) and Majumdar (1933), Jordaan and Colless (2009: 128-129; Jordaan 2006 and 2007) are inclined to view the Śailendras as foreigners, perhaps Indian, who operated in alliance and cooperation with the Śriwijayan rulers. Rather than use the term *maṇḍala* to describe the relationship between the coastal polities of Palembang, Jambi/Malayu and Kedah, the three polities that constituted Śriwijaya, they prefer to regard them as centres that came to owe allegiance to an overlord in the 8th century but retained their own rulers in charge of the territories and hinterlands. It was therefore possible that 7th century Śriwijaya was a suzerain state of the Javanese Śailendras. When the Śailendra dynasty fell in Java it was natural that the ruler of Śriwijaya relinquished his authority to his overlord. If the Śailendra family had originated in India they may have been, or claimed to be, related to royalty and as such ‘they had several things to offer: not territory, but prestige, overseas contacts in India and Sri Lanka, and knowledge. This knowledge would have covered Indian religion, military science, administration, and statecraft’ (Jordaan and Colless 2009: 134). Jordaan (1999: 212) had earlier examined the socio-cultural changes that had occurred in Java between the arrival and the departure of the Śailendras. Upon their arrival the Nāgarī script, developed in India between the 1st and the 4th centuries, was introduced.

The introduction of Sandalwood-Flower coins bearing legends in Nāgarī script and the dominance of Buddhism was reflected in the construction of Mahāyāna temples and monuments. The departure of the Śailendras was followed by the fall of Buddhism as a royal religion, the change from Sanskrit back to Old Javanese as a literary medium and there was the shift to an indigenous gold currency. According to this thesis the Śailendras were foreign in origin, a position supported by the statement of Majumdar (1934: 15) that the ‘Śailendra ushered in a new epoch in more senses than one.’

A second theory that has gained prominence is that the Śailendra were of Javanese origin. Ambiguity between an Indian and a Javanese ancestry has continued but the discovery of the Wanua Tengah III inscription appears to clarify the list of kings of Mataram, central Java. The double-sided copper-plate inscription is dated 908 CE (Jordaan 2003b). It was found in 1983 in Gandulan village in Kaloran district northeast of Temanggung city in central Java and mentions the twelve Javanese kings who reigned over Mataram before 858 CE (Jordaan and Colless 2009: 37). The inscription, issued by the last king, Balitung, in 908 CE, lists only those rulers of Javanese origin. Jordaan and Colless (2009: 38) contend that there were at least three dynasties ruling various parts of central Java. Two of these, one the Śaivite line of Rakai Patapān and the other, the Buddhist Śailendras, were non-Javanese in origin and so were not included on the Wanua Tengah III inscription.

A proponent of the Javanese origin thesis is Anton Zakharov (2007, 2009 and 2012). He argued that reference to the Buddhist Śailendras in Java began with the Canggal inscription of the king, Sanjaya, dated 732 CE. Sanjaya was followed by the first Śailendra ruler, Paṇaṃkaraṇa, according to the Wanua Tengah III inscription (Zakharov 2012: 25). It was Paṇaṃkaraṇa, described in the Kalasan inscription of 778 CE (Zakharov 2012: 2-3) who left the Ligor inscription of 775 CE and took control of Śriwijaya and areas on the Malay peninsula. The fact that Paṇaṃkaraṇa did not use the same family name as his ancestor Sanjaya, and chose Śailendra, may simply have been to legitimise his rule or to claim the religious reference to ‘Lord of the Mountains.’ Zakharov (2012: 1) believed that there was no difference between the Sanjaya dynasty in Java and the Śailendras: in fact, they were related. But how the Śailendras became the rulers over Śriwijaya remains unknown (Zakharov

2012: 23). His conclusion was that the change of name after Sanjaya may have been evidence that the lineage had been broken. The name Śailendra was only used in Sanskrit texts and later kings returned to the use of Old Javanese thereby rejecting the use of titles such as Mahārāja. The relationship between the Javanese, Kedah and Sumatran ruling families was cognate.

Quaritch Wales remained convinced that Chaiya on the southern Thai peninsula was the centre of Śailendra rule. He based this on the paucity of archaeological remains that had been recovered from the Palembang region to date and on his belief that influences from India surpassed anything that came from Java or Sumatra. Apart from brief contact with George Cœdès in Bangkok in the early 1920s his contact with European archaeology was marginal. Indeed, his antagonism towards Dutch archaeology and archaeologists, like Frederik Bosch and Patrick de Josselin de Jong, would be a characteristic pattern of his intellectual career.

Pong Tuek

During the northern winter of 1935 and 1936, Quaritch Wales and his wife returned to Siam for the second archaeological expedition sponsored by the Greater-India Research Committee. Another regular supporter of HG Quaritch Wales and his archaeological ambitions was his aunt, Charlotte Nannie Quaritch Wrentmore and it was she who funded this second season.

In his first report on this 1935-36 programme Quaritch Wales (1936b: 42) wrote: '[t]he main object of this expedition was the exploration of the ancient Indian city of Śri Deva (Śri T'èp) [now known as Si Thep], situated in the Nām Sāk valley [near Pa Sak River in Phetchabun Province], western Siam, and never previously visited by a European archaeologist.' Late rains at the end of wet season that usually finished by October made the trip to Si Thep impossible and as travel was still only possible by bullock-cart, Quaritch Wales and his wife changed their plans. They decided to excavate at a small village site called P'ong Tük [Pong Tuek], on the Mae Klong River in Kanchanaburi Province, in central Siam. This site was made famous in Siam in July 1927 when local farmers uncovered what was thought to be a bronze Roman lamp and some bronze Buddhist images. What excited local people was the supposed discovery of 'the skeleton of a body alleged to be nearly twice the size of an ordinary man. The skull measured nearly a foot in diameter' (Cœdès 1927/28: 195). This skeleton was broken into pieces and distributed among the farmers and the find could not be confirmed. George Cœdès, then General Secretary of the Royal Institute, was the first to go to the site to investigate. Later he directed a team from the Archaeological Service of the Royal Institute that began work in August 1927.

At Pong Tuek Cœdès managed to purchase the 'Roman' lamp for the National Museum collection. Recent examinations highlight the importance of this find in the history of commercial contacts between the Mediterranean world and Asia. Picard (1955: 137) in an early and much respected study wrote that the find

Il a aussi marqué le premier l'importance de ce document pour l'ancienne histoire du Siam et les relations de commerce de ce territoire d'Extrême-Orient avec le monde occidental.
[It also marks the significance of this object for the ancient history of Siam and trade relations of the Far East with the western world.]

In the opinion of Picard (1955: 142) the lamp was a product of Alexandrine Egypt from the Ptolemaic period, the last three centuries BCE, and it was probably transported to Siam in the time before the birth of Christ. Recent writings have reconsidered this dating and now the consensus is

that the lamp is Byzantine from not later than the 6th century CE (Borell 2008: 2, 8). Roman trade with the east declined after the 3rd century CE but the Sassanian Empire continued to conduct commerce with India via Red Sea ports (Borell 2008: 9; Borell and others 2014: 98-117).



Image 02.015:
The Byzantine lamp found at Pong Tuek
(Photograph courtesy of Brigitte Borell)

Borell (2008: 3) was able to examine the lamp in the national museum and provide a full physical description of the object that she described as decorated in relief with the face of Silenus, one of the followers of Dionysos, the Greek god of wine. Brown and Macdonnell (1989: 12, 15) also examined the stylistic elements of the lamp that they considered to be the most significant object found in mainland Southeast Asia supporting early contact with the western world. But they too considered that redating of the manufacture of the artefact to between the 5th and the 6th century CE would be more accurate. The reason for the redating was that while contact between India and the western world was extensive in the early centuries after the birth of Christ there was little evidence to show that this contact continued as far as Southeast Asia. Prior to the 4th and 5th centuries Southeast Asia's contact with the 'west' were with India. The lamp is a small piece in the complex history of long distance trade connected in the first six centuries CE that connected both ends of the known world.

Pong Tuek would have been situated on an old trade route. During the Dvāravatī period [6th to the 13th centuries] the shoreline of the Gulf of Siam would have been further inland (Trongjai Hutangkura 2014). From the coast the maritime trade led up the Mae Klong river that connected centres at Nakhon Pathom to the east and Ku Bua to the south. An old trading route also connected central Siam with Burma over the Three Pagodas Pass [Dan Chedi Sam Ong].

Cœdès (1927/28) wrote the extensive report of the site excavations for the *Journal of the Siam Society* but the actual site surveys were left in the hands of Ercole Manfredi, the architect for the Archaeological Service. Manfredi was one of several Italian architects and engineers employed by

the Siamese government at that time. Among his many public works was his collaboration on the construction of the Ananta Samakhom Throne Hall in the grounds of the Dusit Palace. He was appointed as the Chief Architect of the Archaeological Service in the Royal Institute in 1926. He was a widely respected and talented man. Excavations lasted only three months and there is no indication why the work ceased although the weather in Pong Tuek in October and November may have been a factor. Three main sites were uncovered. At Ban Nai Ma, near the home of the farmer Nai Ma, foundations of two small buildings were unearthed and the plans drawn in some detail by Manfredi (Cœdès 1927/28: 198 and Plates 2 and 3).

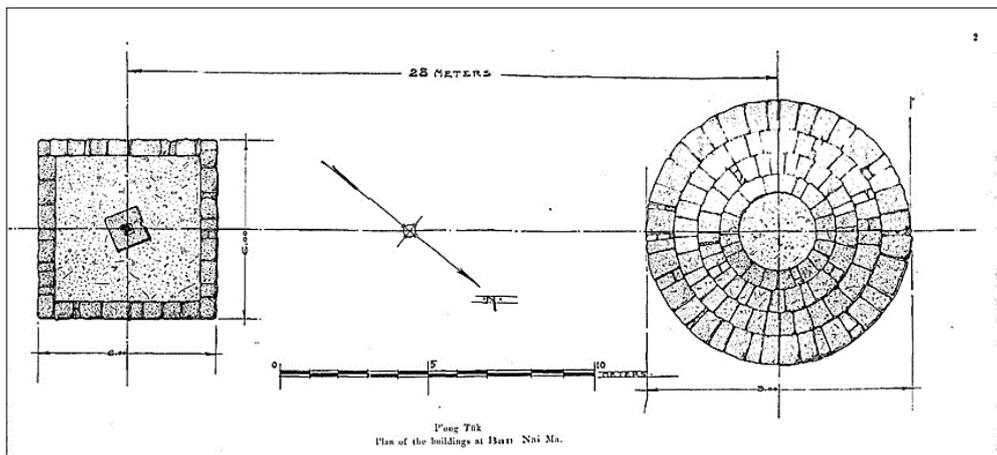


Image 02.016:
Structures excavated at Ban Nai Ma, Pong Tuek (Cœdès (1927/28: Plate 2)

One of the foundations was a square pedestal of six metres with a central area for the placement of a statue. Cœdès (1927/28: 199) referred to this as a small temple base. The other base was located 28 metres away. It was round with a diameter of nine metres. This was called the base of a small *stiipa*. All the foundation bricks were made from local laterite.

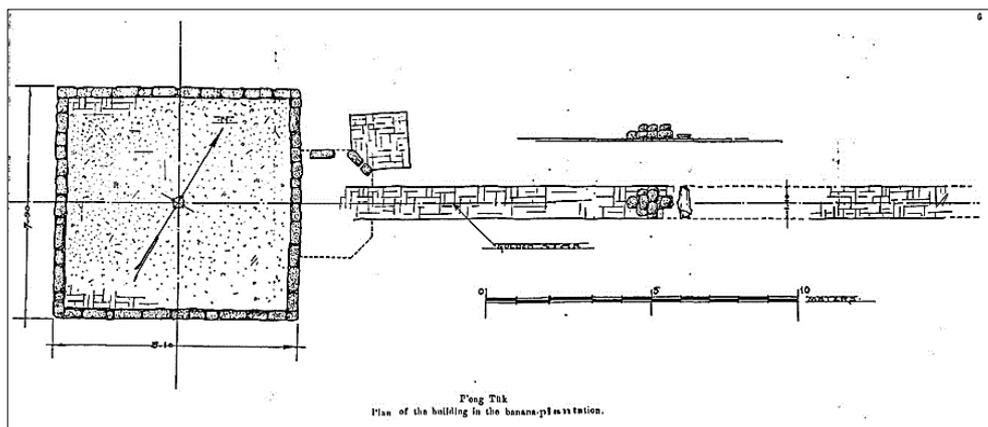


Image 02.017:
Plan of structure and pathway excavated at the Banana Plantation site
(Cœdès 1927/28: Plate 6)

A second area investigated was in a field called the 'Banana plantation' located near the local Wat Dong Sak that borders the Mae Klong River. The bronze lamp was found in this banana plantation and the Royal Institute team uncovered the remain of a building measuring eight metres square. A pathway, called a road by Cœdès, measuring about one metre wide ran from this building. The

fragments of a thin gold leaf flower were found on this path. This structure was also photographed and drawn. Nearby this site a more significant platform base was then uncovered. Called ‘San Chao’ the foundation was measured at twenty-one metres by fourteen metres with a front step of three metres extending from the core. Cœdès (1927/28: 200, Plates 9-13) called this a Buddhist *vihāra* or monastery. In summary, he told his audience at the lecture at the National Museum that Pong Tuek was an old city dating from the 6th century CE. This paper was read in the presence of the King and Queen of Siam in 1927. It was also published in part in *Arts and Letters: India, Pakistan and Ceylon* although the full-page plans drawn by Ercole Manfredi were much reduced (Cœdès 1928b). Emphasis was concentrated on photographs of the excavations and art pieces recovered from the sites.

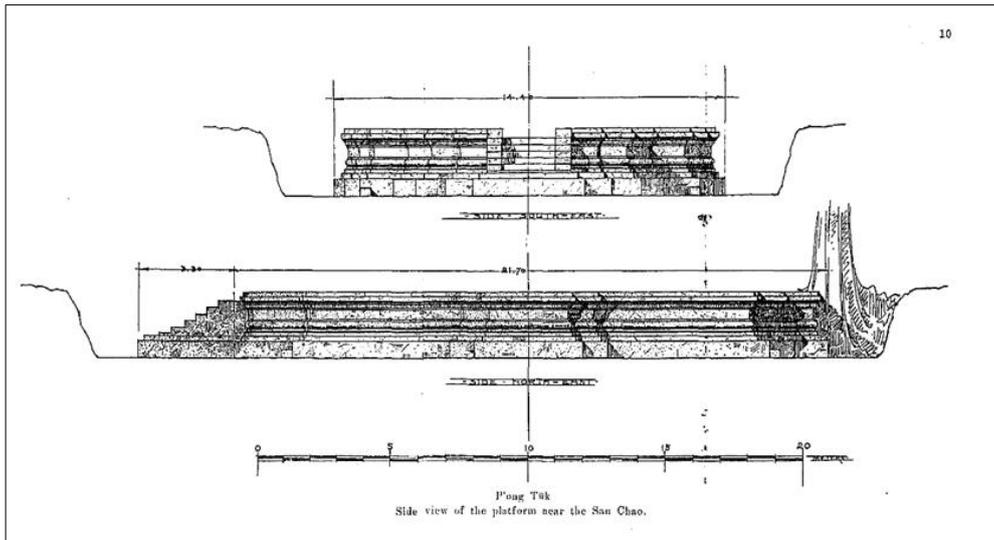


Image 02.018:
The *stūpa* base at San Chao, Pong Tuek (Cœdès 1927/28: Plate 10)



Image 02.019:
HG Quaritch Wales at camp site, Pong Tuek, 1935
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

Quaritch Wales heard that there were several mounds that the 1927 excavation team had not touched so he decided to concentrate on them. He and his wife spent only two weeks at the village and in that time uncovered two sites, one located 500 yards [450 metres] southeast of San Chao and the other seventy yards [64 metres] from the road leading into Nai Ma's property. These sites were about sixty-five yards [59 metres] from each other. Both Cœdès and Quaritch Wales focused their investigations on low mounds that appeared to mark sub-surface architectural features. According to Wesley Clarke (2012: 28) in his comprehensive reexamination of the Pong Tuek evidence, both teams only dug to levels of between twenty-four to forty-two inches [0.6 to 1.1 metres] even though Quaritch Wales considered the lowest range of the Dvāravatī era, between the 6th to the 13th century CE, to be around fifty-one inches [1.3 metres]. In these digs, a culture-bearing level of approximately 20 to 30 centimetres was identified.

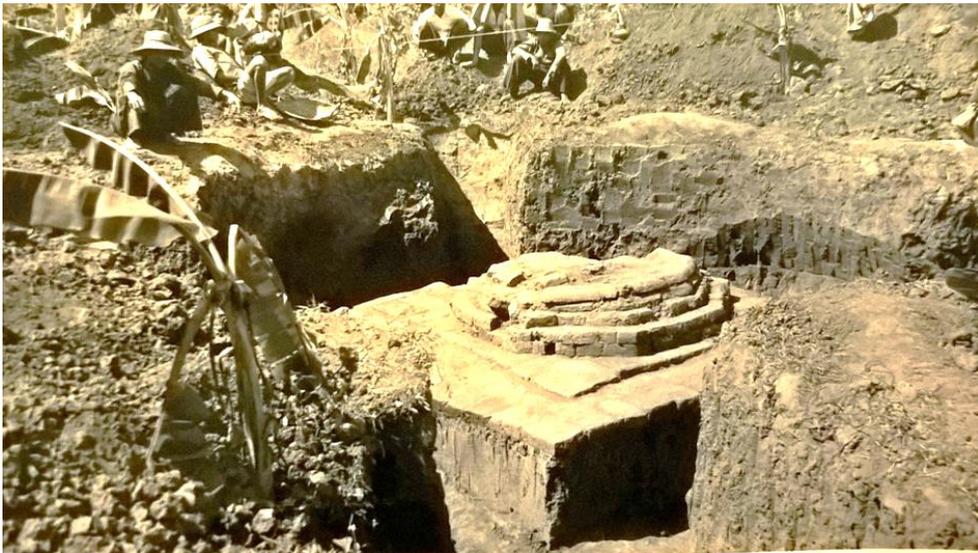


Image 02.020:

Stūpa base excavated by Quaritch Wales at Ban Nai Ma, Pong Tuek
(Quaritch Wales 1937f: 130; Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

While it is true that modern archaeological methods were being refined at this time, neither the Cœdès team nor Quaritch Wales used site stratigraphy and below-surface depths were not recorded in any systematic way (Clarke 2012: 28 fn11). At the two sites dug by Quaritch Wales human remains were found along with other small items including numerous pieces of decorative stucco. However, no maps or plans were published of this work and the quality of the two site photographs published in the paper is poor (Quaritch Wales 1936b: Figures 1 and 2). Fortunately, he republished a better-quality copy of Figure 1 in his book *Towards Angkor* (Quaritch Wales 1937f: 130) along with a copy of the camping site by the river (Quaritch Wales 1937f: 128). Other unpublished photographs from the Pong Tuek excavation can be found in the Royal Asiatic Society Archives.

Clarke (2012: 138-141) provides a well-considered assessment of Quaritch Wales' field techniques and notebooks entries. Overall, he found the maps and drawings in the notebooks to be 'sketchy and not done entirely to scale' and the 'overall organization of the notes seems unsystematic and minimal.' It also appears that Quaritch Wales provided site information in his published papers that was not in his notes and 'appears to have downplayed some spatial data recorded in the field notes that contradicted these interpretations.' Although his notes and sketches are basic, and hard to read, it is not possible to report that he deliberately ignored important details. All we can say is that he chose

to be selective. Some of the field notes appeared to be reinterpreted by Dorothy Wales who has written her comments on the page. Her writing is neat and her drawings more structured, but the sketches are unsigned. Quaritch Wales located two kiln sites: Pottery kiln ‘A’ was along an excavation trench northeast of the *stūpa* platform and Pottery kiln ‘B’ was located 400 yards [366 metres] along the roadway southeast of San Chao *vihāra*.

Within these excavations eleven skeletons were uncovered (Quaritch Wales 1936b: 44 and 45 see also figs 4 and 5). Of the six structures found in Pong Tuek four—a square foundation and a round foundation at Ban Nai Ma, a largely rectangular foundation at San Chao and a square foundation with brick pathway at the old Banana plantation—were excavated by the team from the Royal Institute. Two—a largely intact rectangular foundation approx. twenty feet [6 metres] by thirty-six feet [11 metres] and 1,475 feet [approx. 450 metres] southwest of San Chao, and a base of another small slightly rectangular *stūpa* with four receding octagonal levels—were found by Quaritch Wales (Clarke 2012: 150).



Image 02.021:
Local worker at *stūpa* base excavation, Pong Tuek
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

One human skeleton was found in the front corner, near the doorway, of the rectangular *vihāra*. Quaritch Wales reported that this individual was approximately five feet seven inches [1.7 metres] in height. Ten human skeletons were found in various positions around the outside of the base of the smaller *stūpa* with the octagonal insert (Clarke 2012: 144). Quaritch Wales’ field excavation technique appears to have consisted of digging multiple trenches of between fifteen, seventeen and twenty-two yards in length and he wrote that ‘had I been able to dig many more trenches I might

have found more skeletons' (Quaritch Wales 1936b: 46). It was his belief that he had uncovered a burial of warriors killed in battle. In all thirteen human skeletons have been reported from the various excavations at Pong Tuek, and five skulls were reported to have been found in 2008, but as Clarke (2012: 181, 2014 and 2015) noted, there is no indication of their ultimate fate.

Quaritch Wales (1937e: 89-90) wrote later that he had sent three skulls from Pong Tuek to be examined by Alexander Cave of the Royal College of Surgeons. In this short paper on skeletal remains, Quaritch Wales stated categorically that Dr Cave had reported that the 'skulls are certainly not Indian and they appear to be those of Thai [sic] people since they exactly resemble the Siamese skulls in the museum of the RCS [Royal College of Surgeons], and show the same filing of the teeth.' A large detailed drawing of one skull was also published and Quaritch Wales concluded that Tai 'colonies' had already been established in the Mae Klong River valley 'in the early centuries of the Christian era' and that the dating of the Tai migrations down from the north would have to be revised.' The evidence then was that the Tai did not come down from the north until the 12th century CE (Quaritch Wales 1964a: 121). In fact, the Tai migrations did not occur in one large diaspora and debate continues over the exact timing of the numerous movements of peoples down from northern Thailand and southern China.

Clarke (2012: 175-179) puts the case well when he stated that 'the investigative narrative for the human remains at P'ong Tuk [Pong Tuek] is a curious story of consistently incomplete information, miscommunication and dramatically shifting interpretation.' He wrote that 'an objective reading of the Cœdès and Quaritch Wales reports makes clear that neither their field work nor data analysis were exhaustive; indeed, their combined information leaves even general site boundaries and internal organization unresolved' (Clarke 2015: 289). An unpublished photograph of human remains found at Pong Tuek in the Royal Asiatic Society Archives is not annotated but it may be assumed that the skull from this skeleton was one of those sent to the Royal College of Surgeons.



Image 02.022:

Photograph of skeleton uncovered during excavations at Pong Tuek
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

In his letter to *Man* more than 27 years later, Quaritch Wales (1964a: 121) wrote that he subsequently read that the Thai chewed betel nut but did not file their teeth. He therefore went to the British Museum (Natural History) that housed the Royal College of Surgeons' museum collection to examine the Siamese skulls. There had been one in the collection before Quaritch Wales deposited three from his 1936 excavation. The one that had been illustrated in his paper of 1937 had been destroyed in a German bombing raid in 1941. As the drawing cannot now be found in the archives of the Royal College of Surgeons it must be assumed to have been destroyed also. The other three skulls in the museum collection exhibited no evidence of tooth filing and in a letter to Quaritch Wales, Dr Cave wrote: 'I claim no infallibility from error. It is obvious that I must have employed skulls in the R.C.S. [Royal College of Surgeons] museum of a similar provenance even though this was not accurately indicative of their racial affinity.' It is possible that surface ablation of teeth may have occurred naturally due to early people using their teeth when stripping hard material like bamboo, wood and cords. Quaritch Wales' (1964a: 121) belated assessment was that his early dating of Tai occupation of the central plain would have to be abandoned.

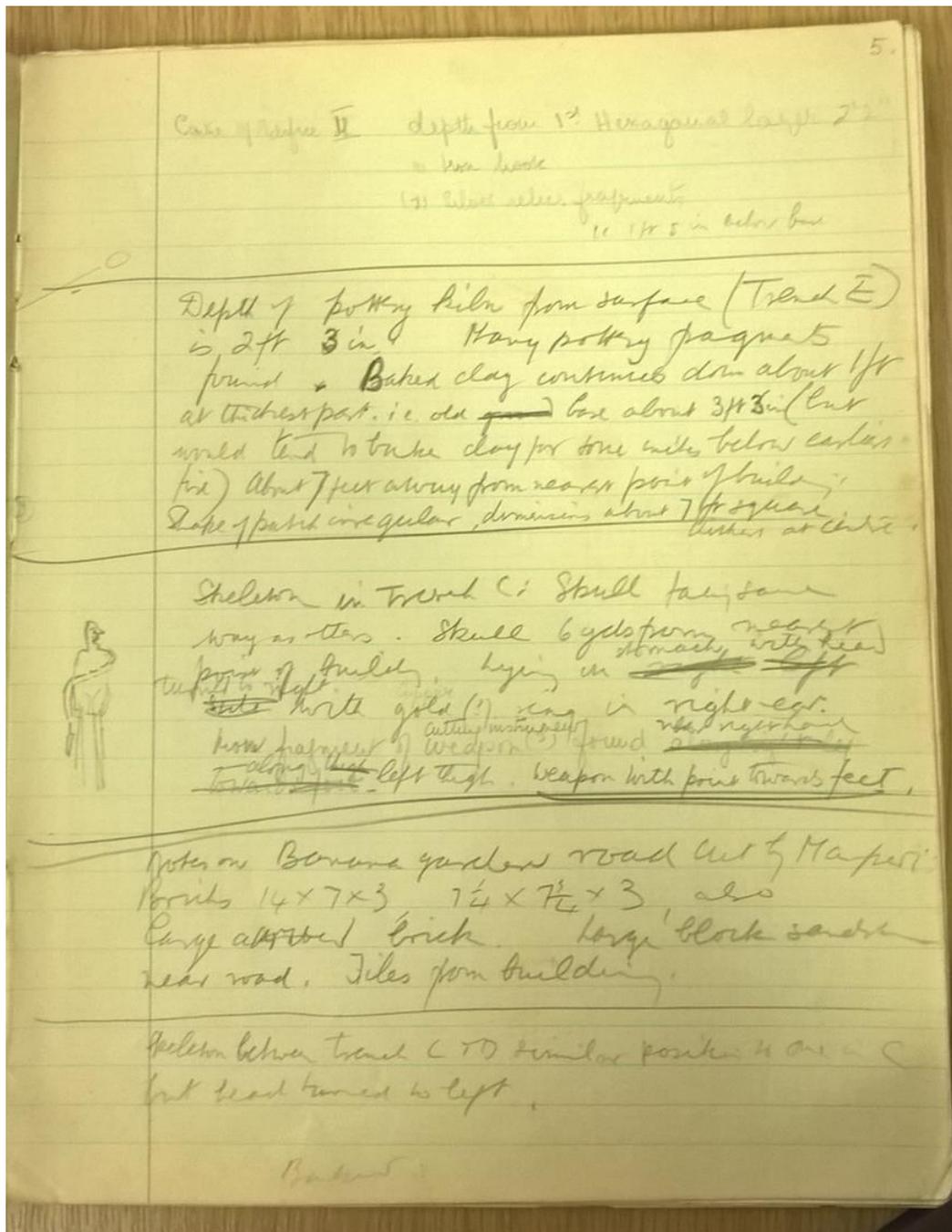


Image 02.023:

Page 5 from field notebook documenting discovery of skeleton at Pong Tuek by Quaritch Wales (Royal Asiatic Society Archives. QW/1/3/1-QW/1/3/2)

Si Thep

The Illustrated London News of 30 January 1937 (Quaritch Wales 1937 a, b and c) ran three full-length, detailed pages, with maps and illustrations, of the survey party's successful discoveries at Muang Si Thep in the Pa Sak valley of Phetchabun Province. Si Thep, also known as Muang Aphai Sali, is a major historical site in central Thailand. The inner and outer sections of the ancient city measure about 1.5 kilometres in diameter. The 1937 article was written by Quaritch Wales and in it he wrote that the main objective of the second expedition to Siam had been to excavate Si Thep: he

made no mention of his recent work in Pong Tuek. Once again, he was using the public appeal of *The Illustrated London News*, and the attraction of archaeological work in remote parts of the world, to advance his reputation. These articles written by Quaritch Wales contained photographs of his discoveries. *The Illustrated London News* was an excellent, but no doubt expensive, vehicle for self-promotion. While noting that Prince Damrong had made a tour of the province around 1905 and had visited Si Thep, Quaritch Wales reported that no European archaeologist had visited the site before.

Actually Prince Damrong had visited the site of the old city on 4 February 1904 and stayed three days there during his tour of Petchabun (Damrongrāchānuphāp (1923) [BE 2366]; The Prince Damrong Foundation 1978: 59) Although some stone images had been taken back to the National Museum in Bangkok and while ‘these sculptures were recognised as being amongst the finest productions of Indian art in Indo-China, standing at the beginning of the artistic evolution of Indo-China and even of Indonesia; because they give us an idea of the art of Funan’ no further steps were taken to explore the area. Even Prince Damrong had great difficulty in persuading the local people to guide him to the site. According to Quaritch Wales (1936a: 63, 71-72, 88) Si Thep had an ‘evil reputation’ that may have had much to do with the possible presence of malaria or cholera in the region. Accompanying the illustrated newspaper article were two full pages of photographs illustrating various temple structures, carved stones, broken images and a stone *linga*. The published plan—that he would use in numerous publications—showed the inner city with five gates and earthen causeways across the circular moat. In the centre were the marked temple sites and the site of the religious water tank. Gate one led to the outer city. In this larger area, another five gates and causeways were marked. In the centre of the outer city a larger lake was also illustrated.

The main report on the Si Thep expedition was delivered to a lecture under the auspices of the India Society at the home of the learned Royal Society in St James, London on 23 June 1936. Not only did this presentation describe the archaeological records of the ancient city but it was a vehicle for Quaritch Wales to propose his much-considered theories of Indian waves of colonialization. The aim of the expedition was, he said, to solve questions held by ‘the unrevealing heart of Indo-China’ that still held the solution to ‘the ’mystery’ [that] was no less than that of the origin of Angkor and the Khmer civilization’ (Quaritch Wales 1937f: 16). The late wet season had once again impacted on the short three weeks survey period. To reach Si Thep, Quaritch Wales and his ‘caravan’ of eight bullock-carts and several armed men on ponies travelled east from Lopburi to the Pa Sak valley. Its remote locality meant that no road vehicles could be used and Quaritch Wales, his wife and their party had to travel by bullock cart for five days. They camped near a small village to the northeast of the outer city.

EARLY INDIAN ART FROM THE SIAMESE JUNGLE.

THE FIRST EXPLORATION OF SRI DEVA BY A EUROPEAN ARCHÆOLOGIST: BASIC ART REVELATIONS FROM AN ANCIENT INDIAN COLONIAL CITY IN INDO-CHINA ABANDONED ABOUT 550 A.D.

By H. G. QUARITCH WALES, M.A., Ph.D., Field Director of the Greater-Indian Research Committee. (See Illustrations on the two succeeding pages.)

THE Greater-Indian Research Committee, representing the Royal Asiatic Society, India Society, and School of Oriental Studies, and under the chairmanship of Sir Francis Younghusband, was instituted in 1934, with the object of carrying out archaeological explorations in Greater India. The second expedition, which took place last winter, was made possible by the generous support of Mrs. C. N. Wrenmore, a member of the India Society.

The main objective of this expedition was the exploration of the ancient city of Sri Deva. This city is situated

in Central Siam in the valley of the Pasak River, an unnavigable stream, full of boulders and fallen trees, which runs in a gorge in the narrow valley between the edge of the plateau of Eastern Siam and the Petchabun Hills, finally flowing out into the Menam Valley. The preservation of ancient ruins in the Pasak Valley is largely due to its secluded and inaccessible position, while this and its particularly evil reputation for fever account for the fact that no European archaeologist had previously visited Sri Deva. The city was actually discovered as long ago as 1905 by Prince Damrong when he was making an official tour of the province, but he had no time to make more than a superficial examination. About twenty years later, when the Bangkok Museum was founded, several fine stone images of Vishnu and a yakshini, as well as a Sanskrit inscription, were sent to Bangkok by local officials. These images, and the inscription which accompanied them, were ascribed by M. Coedès to the fifth-sixth centuries A.D. ("Mélanges Indosin", pp. 159-164, Paris, 1932). The sculptures were recognised as being amongst the finest productions of Indian art in Indo-China, standing at the beginning of the artistic evolution of Indo-China and even of Indonesia; and they were considered to be of the highest importance because they give us an idea of the art of Funan, the earliest Indian colony in Southern Indo-China, before that country was submerged beneath the flood of Khmer statuary, and because they provide the link that was missing between primitive Khmer statuary and the Indian sculpture of the Gupta period. But despite the interest aroused by these few objects brought from Sri Deva, no steps were taken to explore the locality, and nothing was definitely known as to what buildings and other remains might be there. Indeed, the difficult nature of the country demanded a special expedition, and such an undertaking appealed very strongly to me, because here was an opportunity to explore what was perhaps the last unknown city hidden in the Indo-Chinese jungle, and moreover, one which would obviously not be merely another Khmer city of an already well-known type, but was likely to bring to light new facts of great importance for the history of the spread of early Indian culture.

Accordingly we started from Lopburi, the Siamese Government kindly providing every facility and assistance. A first attempt with lorries was doomed to failure, and we were obliged to travel for five days with bullock-carts. The people in the jungle villages along the route were charmingly simple and had never before seen Europeans. Our way lay through a thin and monotonous jungle, swampy in parts, thence over the Petchabun Hills by a low but rocky pass, and finally across the Pasak River, five miles beyond which we reached the ancient city. There we camped for three weeks, during which time my wife and I, with the assistance of the local people, worked unceasingly at the investigation of the ancient sites.

The plan of the city is typically Indian (Fig. 1), consisting of a main city a mile square, on to the eastern side of which has been added a subsidiary city of larger area, in

the manner technically known as Dāmada. This extension was intended either to accommodate the lower castes or else as an emporium, as was the case in the Indian city of Puri, and it contained no monuments, but only a large lake and a few laterite bases.

Both cities are surrounded by a tall earth and laterite rampart, and a wide moat still containing water. The broad tops of the rampart are littered with coarse potshards, probably indicating the sites of the dwellings of the soldiers who guarded the city. As was usual in Indian cities, the main buildings were grouped together in the centre, the possible site of the palace, which, of course, was built of wood and so has left no traces, being on the western side of the lake. Temple II was the chief shrine of the Indian period, but unfortunately only its base remains, the site having

The only remaining Indian temple in the city (Temple I, Figs. 3 and 4) is a fine brick tower of restrained and simple architecture. In my opinion it is beyond all doubt the oldest remaining Hindu temple in the whole of Indo-China, the prophecy of all that was to come in later centuries. It is almost the simplest possible brick tower, on a square plan and standing on a laterite base, with an entrance porch facing the west and three false porches on the other sides. The upper part of the building consists of receding stages with false niches, reminiscent of a storied wooden building, and inside the shrine there is a primitive feature in the form of niches (*amastre*), a direct survival of wood architecture. The generally simple and undifferentiated structure of this tower is such that we must place it at least a hundred years earlier than any other structural building in Indo-China—that is to say, at latest the first quarter of the sixth century. The building in India of which it is most strongly reminiscent is the brick temple at Bhitargaon, in the Cawnpore district, dating from the fifth or sixth century; and there is a strong relationship between the Sri Deva temple and the early

type of Indian colonial architecture, which, as I pointed out last year ("Indian Art and Letters," Vol. IX, No. 1), still survives in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. I now propose to see in the prototype of Wat Keu, Caiya (Malay Peninsula), and Temple II, at Sri Deva the ancestral form from which pre-Khmer, Cham, and Khmer architecture were evolved, though it is impossible here to enter into details on this complicated subject.

Four Indian sculptures, dating from at latest the first quarter of the sixth century, were found by us in the environs of Sri Deva. The first is a life-sized, four-armed stone figure of Vishnu, which, despite its mutilated condition, may be ranked as one of the most beautiful sculptures hitherto found in Indo-China (Fig. 5). The second is a weathered relief depicting a man and a horse; the third is a smaller four-armed figure of Vishnu, and the last is a large and very noble head (Fig. 6). There appears to be a similarity in style between the sculptures from Sri Deva and those from the Shiva Temple

of Bhumara, India, dating from about the same century.

The most informative document we found at Sri Deva was a stone bearing an inscription of two lines of Sanskrit, legible in part only (Fig. 2). According to Dr. L. D. Barnett, the first line can be read words meaning "The Vaishnava hero . . . true to compact," while in the second line the names Rama and Lakshmana occur, but it is not certain whether they refer to members of the royal family or to deities worshipped. Dr. Barnett considers that the inscription dates from the first quarter of the sixth century, and from the style of the characters he considers that the colonists came from the northern part of the Deccan, probably from Telingana. This is interesting, because in the past there has been too great a tendency to ascribe Indian colonisation mainly to Southern India under the Pallavas. Later waves of colonists in the seventh century, who were chiefly Shaivas, certainly did come from the south, but it seems as though we must look further north for the original home of the earlier colonists, who were mainly Vaishnavas and Buddhists.

The city of Sri Deva appears to have been founded by Indian colonists some time in the fifth century, and it evidently became a place of importance on a great overland trade and military route of the Funan Empire. It must have been abandoned about 550 A.D., when the empire fell to pieces as a result of the rise of the pre-Cambodian State of Chenla in the south and of the Buddhist kingdom of Dvāravāṭi in the west. Unlike the rest of Funan, where a thriving evolution took place, destroying in the process all the relics of the old empire, the ruins of Sri Deva lay undisturbed in their secluded valley, and they are almost the sole surviving witnesses of the works of the early Indian colonists of Funan. About the twelfth century, as stated above, the city was for a time recaptured by the Khmers, but the remains they have left—artificial mountains, prangs (Fig. 10), lingas (Fig. 11), linga-bases, carved stones and pillars (Figs. 7, 8, and 9), a stone Ganesha, and several stone giants (Fig. 13)—are naturally of less historical and artistic interest than the Indian remains.

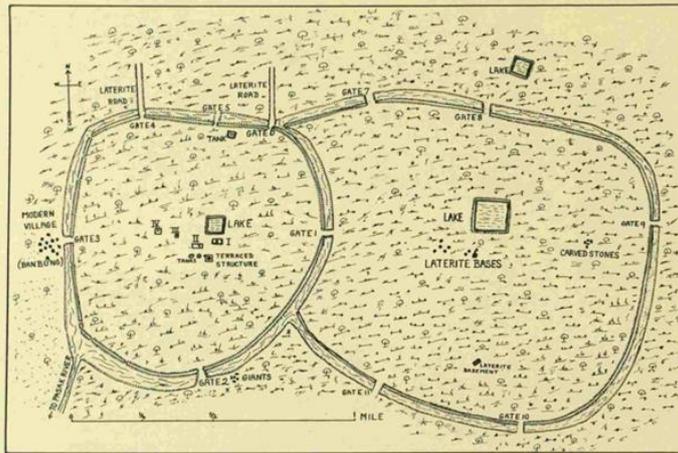


FIG. 1. "PERHAPS THE LAST UNKNOWN CITY HIDDEN IN THE INDO-CHINESE JUNGLE" NOW FULLY MAPPED AND EXPLORED: A PLAN OF SRI DEVA, SHOWING THE MAIN CITY ON THE LEFT, AND THE SUBSIDIARY EXTENSION (LARGER, BUT LACKING MONUMENTS) ON THE RIGHT.

The plan of Sri Deva is typically Indian, and unlike that of any other in Indo-China. Both the main city and the larger subsidiary extension on the east are enclosed by a rampart. Gaps in it, usually about 60 ft. wide, represent what were formerly gates (numbered 1 to 11 on the plan). Temples I and II, mentioned in the accompanying article are shown, with other structures, in the centre of the main city. The word "Grants" near Gate 2 refers to gigantic statues erected as gate guardians. (See Fig. 13 on page 176.)



FIG. 2. EVIDENCE SUGGESTING THAT THE INDIAN COLONISTS OF SRI DEVA CAME FROM THE NORTH OF THE DECCAN: A STONE PILLAR WITH A SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF THE EARLY SIXTH CENTURY A.D.—"THE MOST INFORMATIVE DOCUMENT FOUND AT SRI DEVA."

been built over by a prang constructed by the Khmers, who recaptured the city in the twelfth century. To us, therefore, Temple I, is the most important building, for it is purely Indian and remains in a good state of preservation. Other Khmer buildings include several prangs and two large terraced structures, or artificial mountains, one inside the city and one at some distance outside it. There are also the remains of laterite roads and giant gate guardians, dating from the Khmer period. Most of the Indian sculptures were found lying at various points in the jungle outside the city. This fact indicates that the Khmers, who were Shiva worshippers, had thrown the Vaishnava Indian images out of the city, and often mutilated them as well.

Image 02.024:

The first page of the article written by Quaritch Wales published in *The Illustrated London News* (30 January 1937: 174)

INDO-CHINA'S OLDEST HINDU SHRINE; AND SCULPTURES FROM SRI DEVA.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY H. G. QUARITCH WALES, M.A., Ph.D., (SEE HIS ARTICLE ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE.)

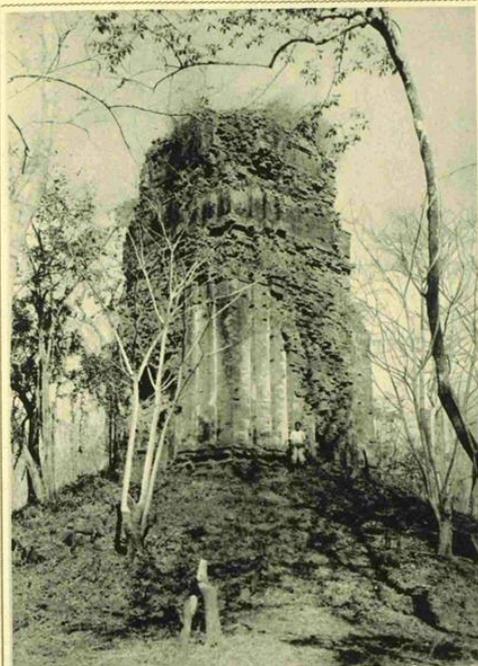


FIG. 3. "BEYOND ALL DOUBT THE OLDEST REMAINING HINDU TEMPLE IN THE WHOLE OF INDO-CHINA": THE ONLY SURVIVING INDIAN SHRINE AT SRI DEVA (EARLY SIXTH CENTURY A.D.).

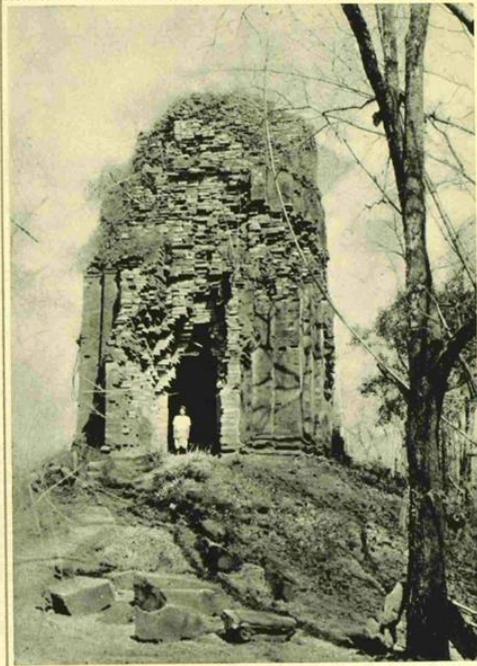


FIG. 4. "AT LEAST 100 YEARS EARLIER THAN ANY OTHER STRUCTURAL BUILDING IN INDO-CHINA": THE SRI DEVA TEMPLE—ANOTHER VIEW, SHOWING THE ENTRANCE, FACING WEST.

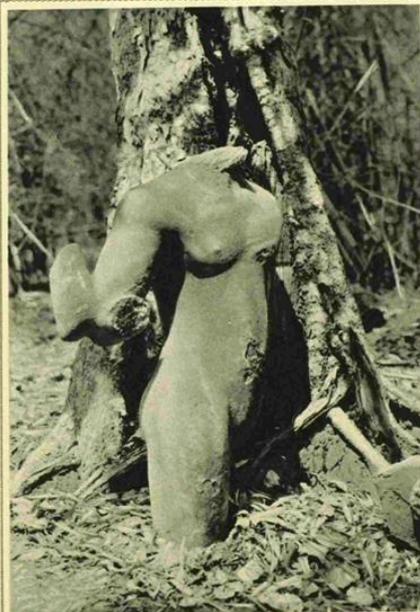


FIG. 5. A LIFE-SIZED, FOUR-ARMED STONE FIGURE OF VISHNU, AT SRI DEVA: "ONE OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL SCULPTURES HITHERTO FOUND IN INDO-CHINA." (FIFTH OR EARLY SIXTH CENTURY.)

IN a letter referring to the expedition described in his article on the opposite page, Dr. Quaritch Wales says: "Very important results have been obtained, especially in connection with the exploration of Sri Deva, an ancient Indian city buried in the Siamese jungle and never previously visited by a European archaeologist. The city is dated by inscriptions found there as having flourished in the fifth century A.D., and the finds include purely Indian sculptures of that period and a tower-like building (Figs. 3 and 4 above) believed to be the oldest structural building in Indo-China. The city is about 2½ miles square, and there are vast ramparts, roads and lakes. (See the plan reproduced in Fig. 1.) The great importance of the place is that it reveals to us the art of the earliest Indian colonists, and the finds are at the base of the whole later development of Khmer and Cham art." As the author explains in his article, Sri Deva must have been abandoned about 550 A.D., when the empire of Funan, to which the city belonged, was disrupted by invaders, but its ruins lay undisturbed in their secluded valley, and are almost the sole surviving witnesses to the works of the early Indian colonists in that region. The site was re-occupied for a time, about the twelfth century, by the Khmers, and relics of their art and architecture from Sri Deva are illustrated on the next page.

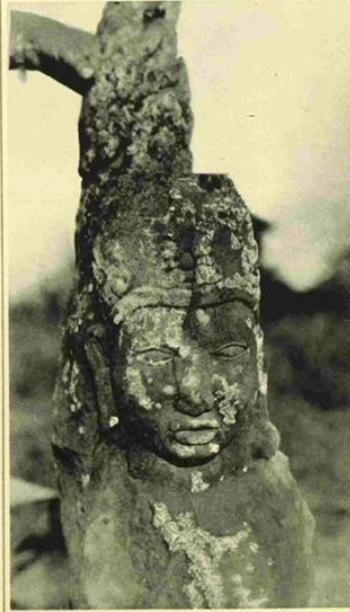


FIG. 6. "A LARGE AND VERY NOBLE HEAD," PROBABLY REPRESENTING VISHNU: ONE OF FOUR INDIAN SCULPTURES FOUND NEAR SRI DEVA (FIFTH OR EARLY SIXTH CENTURY.)

Images © Illustrated London News Group

Image 02.025:

Second page of article published in *The Illustrated London News* (30 January 1937: 175)

KHMER ART AT SRI DEVA—BY ANTI-INDIAN 12TH-CENTURY SETTLERS.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY H. G. QUARITCH WALES, M.A., Ph.D., FIELD DIRECTOR OF THE GREAT-INDIAN RESEARCH COMMITTEE. (SEE HIS ARTICLE ON PAGE 174.)

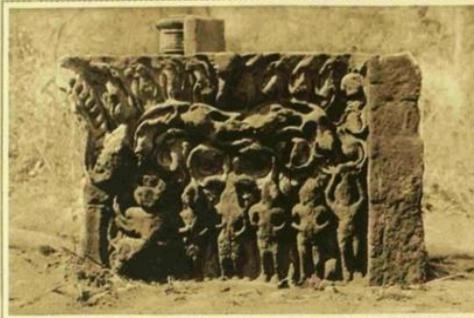


FIG. 7. A CARVED STONE, PROBABLY A LINTEL, DATING FROM THE KHMER PERIOD AT SRI DEVA, ABOUT THE TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.; SCULPTURE SOME 600 YEARS LATER THAN THE INDIAN EXAMPLES SHOWN ON THE PRECEDING PAGE.



FIG. 8. THE ART OF A RACE THAT OCCUPIED THE FORSAKEN SITE OF SRI DEVA IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY, CASTING OUT AND MUTILATING RELICS OF EARLY INDIAN SCULPTURE THERE: ANOTHER KHMER RELIEF IN STONE, PROBABLY A LINTEL.



FIG. 9. A STONE CARVING OF THE KHMER PERIOD AT SRI DEVA, SIAM: PARTS OF PILLARS FROM A TEMPLE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

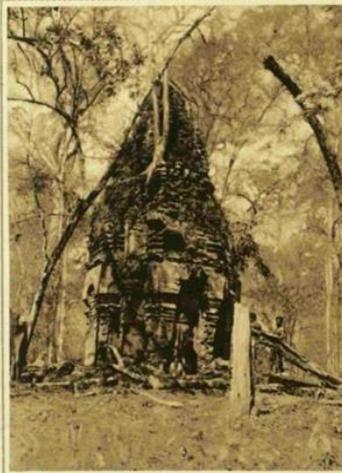


FIG. 10. A TWELFTH-CENTURY KHMER PRANG (TEMPLE) OUTSIDE THE CITY AT SRI DEVA: A CONTRAST TO THE EARLY INDIAN STYLE (FIGS. 3 AND 4).



FIG. 11. A LINGA OF THE KHMER PERIOD FOUND AT SRI DEVA: AN EXAMPLE OF STONE WORK DATING FROM ABOUT THE TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.



FIG. 12. A RELIC OF TWELFTH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURE IN CENTRAL SIAM: A STONE DOOR FRAME FOUND AT SRI DEVA, DATING FROM THE PERIOD OF THE KHMER OCCUPATION OF THE SITE.



FIG. 13. ONE OF THE "GIANTS" WHOSE POSITION IS MARKED ON THE PLAN IN FIG. 1 ON PAGE 174: A GIANTIC KHMER STATUE SET UP AS A GATE GUARDIAN AT SRI DEVA IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

The discoveries at Sri Deva illustrated above belong to a period some six or perhaps seven hundred years later than those shown on the two preceding pages, which date from the time of the Indian colonists in Siam in the fifth or early sixth centuries. In his article on page 174, Dr. Quaritch Wales states that the city of Sri Deva was abandoned, owing to an invasion of the Funan empire, to which it belonged, probably about 550 A.D., and the site was long forsaken and undisturbed, but in the twelfth century or thereabouts it was reoccupied by the Khmers. It is their culture that is represented by the examples of art and architecture seen in the above photographs.

and it is interesting to compare these works with those of the much earlier Indian civilisation. The relics of the Khmer period at Sri Deva include terraced structures or artificial hills, prangs (temples), lingas and linga-bases, carved stones and pillars, and several stone giants erected as guardians of the city gates. The Indian art in Funan was "submerged beneath the flood of Khmer statuary," and the chief Indian temple at Sri Deva, was replaced by a Khmer prang. Most of the Indian sculptures found were in the jungle outside the city, indicating that the Khmers, who worshipped Shiva, had cast out the Vaishnava Indian images, which they often mutilated.

Image © Illustrated London News Group

Image 02.026:

Third page of article published in *The Illustrated London News* (30 January 1937: 176)

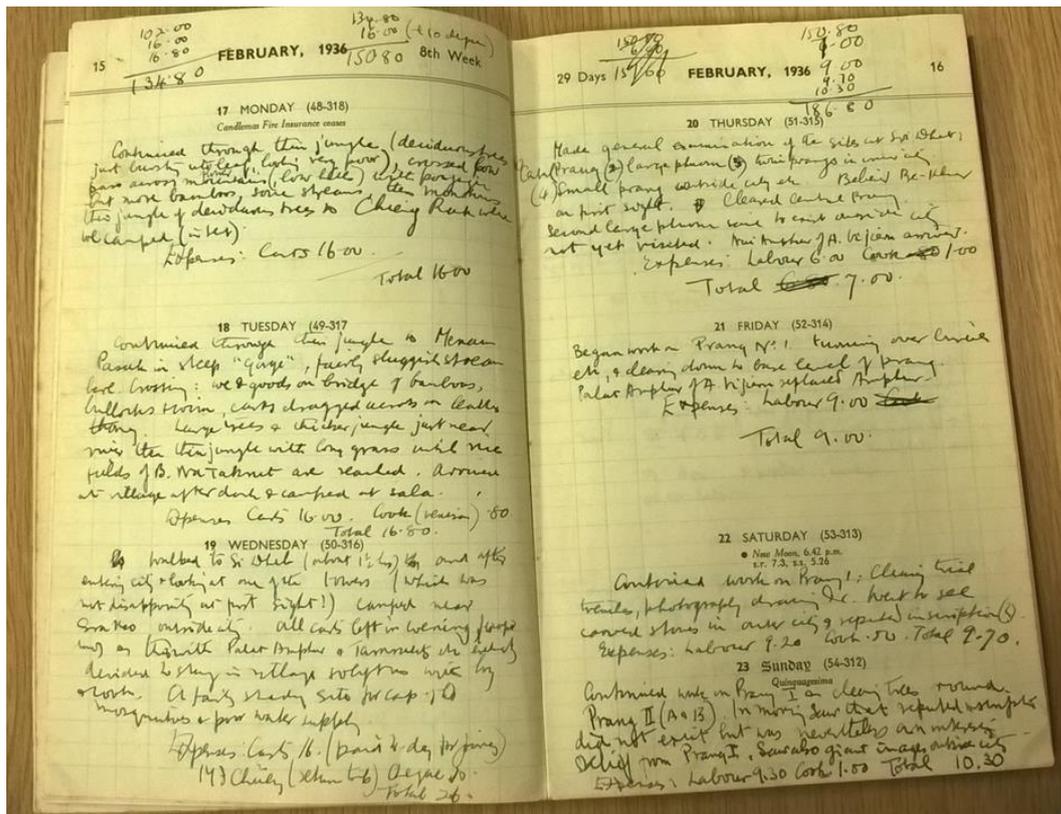


Image 02.027:

Diary kept by Quaritch Wales describing establishment of his camp site at Si Thep, the annoying mosquitoes and the first few days work at Prang 1 [Prang Si Thep). In the 1930s a local labourer's wage was 60 ticals/baht a month or 2 to 3 baht a day.
 (Royal Asiatic Society Archives. QW/1/3/2.
 See also Compass surveys of Si Thep QW/1/3/3 and QW/1/3/4)

Taking his information from Dutt (1925: 184) as interpreted in light of his own presumptions, Quaritch Wales stated that the construction of the city into two sections was a statement of social class reflecting Indian *varna* divisions and wrote that these wards or subsidiary towns were known in ancient India as *dāmaḍa*, with one area as a place for lower classes or used as an emporium (Quaritch Wales 1936a: 68; 1937f: 174). The inner city [Klangnai or Muang Nai], he wrote, was the location of the major temples, palaces and residences of the priests. In the inner town are the main temples: Prang Si Thep and Prang Song Phi Dong and what is believed to be a weapon or treasure cellar, the Khao Khlang Nai. The inner city is 208 hectares in area while the outer city is 254 hectares in area (Phanamkorn Yothasorn and Thanayu Sangfa 2015). It is more likely that the outer city [Klangnok or Muang Nok] was merely an extension of the whole city, a response to population growth, not structured on complex residential patterns determined by caste and class.

Quaritch Wales dated Si Thep to the first quarter of the 6th century CE. He considered that '[t]he city of Sri Deva [Si Thep] appears to have been founded by Indian colonists some time in the 5th century [CE], and it evidently became a place of importance on the great overland trade and military route of the Funan Empire' (Quaritch Wales 1937f: 174). Surrounding the two areas, and separating them, was a wide moat and from the southwest corner water that fills the moat during the wet season can flow into the Pa Sak River. He separated archaeological finds into Indian and Khmer and dismissed the outer city 'because it contains no monuments other than a few laterite bases scattered along the site of what would appear to have been the main street running from west to east through the city' (Quaritch Wales 1936a: 69). Once again, one problem with evaluating Quaritch Wales'

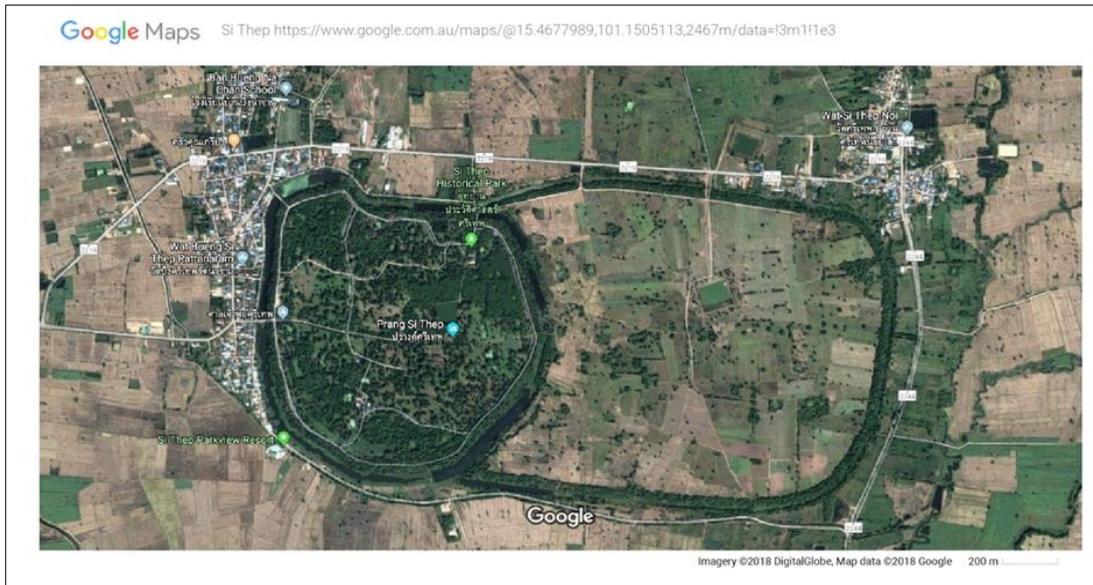


Image 02.028:

Google Maps view of Si Thep showing inner city (left) and outer city (right).

archaeological research is this casual disregard of objects and finds that he thought irrelevant to the proof of his general theories.

The inner city was covered with large trees and dense bamboo groves. Along what was the northern side of the central road, he described a series of stone and brick temple structures. He considered Temple I to be ‘purely Indian’ and the remains of the building in good preservation. This is now known as Prang Si Thep (Phanomkorn Yothasorn and Thanayu Sangfa 2015). Temple II, Prang Song Phi Nong, he described as ‘the chief sanctuary of the Indian period, situated in the centre of the city’ but only the lower original walls remained. They had been built over by what he called a ‘Khmer *prang*.’ Khmer *prang* were built as receding tower structures and in the central *cella* statues of Viṣṇu or *linga* representing Śiva were worshipped. Temple structures III and IV were reported to be ‘ruined Khmer *prang*s of minor importance.’ South of Temple II, and south of the central roadway, were two water tanks and a terraced laterite structure that he called a ‘kind of artificial mountain or Kailāsa, such as the Khmers liked to build at the centres of their cities’ (Quaritch Wales 1936a: 70).

In a contemporary publication on Si Thep this is named as Khao Klang Nai (Phanomkorn Yothasorn and Thanya Sangfa 2015). This volume contains an excellent map of Si Thep Historical Park and the surrounding areas. While it makes mention of Prince Damrong’s discovery of the ancient town, it makes no mention of anyone else. Northeast of Gate 8, called the Water Gate, in the outer city Quaritch Wales noted the location of a ‘well preserved Khmer *prang*, known locally as the *prang riṣi*, the hermit’s tower.’ This he noted, but did not mark on his map, as Temple V. This is now known as Prang Rue Si. He regarded Temple I, Prang Si Thep, as ‘the simplest possible sanctuary-tower, [while] it is nevertheless as impressive structure of restrained and dignified architecture’ (Quaritch Wales 1936a: 73). The tower summit was estimated to have been about sixty-three feet [19 metres]. He was firmly convinced that ‘it is very important for me to insist here that the early and purely Indian character of Temple I can be definitely established on architectural considerations *alone*’ (Quaritch Wales 1936a: 75). Only briefly did he make any examination of Temple II or any of the other features in the inner city, the rest of the paper was devoted to stylistic analysis of art objects and his theories of Indian expansion into Southeast Asia.



Image 02.029:
Prang Si Thep
(Photograph courtesy of Patrick Lepetit, 2018)



Image 02.030:
Prang Song Phi Nong, Si Thep
(Photograph courtesy of Patrick Lepetit, 2018)



Image 02.031:
Khao Klang Nok, Si Thep
(Photograph courtesy of Patrick Lepetit, 2018)

It had been Quaritch Wales' opinion that the first Indian 'colonists' had come to Southeast Asian mainland through the Straits of Malacca or across the Malay peninsula from Takua Pa to the Bay of Bandon. From there they formed their first settlements in the lower part of the Mekong valley. The route of expansion, he stated, was then north along the Mekong and west along the Mun River through the Khorat plateau of northeast Siam. The descent into Si Thep was made through the Pa Sak valley. His conclusion was that the 'city was therefore on a great military and trade route, and

traders from the fertile lands of the Menam valley must have brought their goods by the route we followed [northeast from Lopburi] to exchange them at the emporium which, as we have seen, adjoined the main city' (Quaritch Wales 1936a: 89).

But the question Quaritch Wales did not answer is, if he and his party had come to Si Thep from the Gulf of Thailand and through Lopburi, then why would Indian merchants and priests travel the long distance via the Mekong and across the Khorat plateau to reach the ancient city? Surely, they too would have followed the traders from the central plainlands. He had dated the establishment of Si Thep to the first half of the 5th century CE. Quaritch Wales supported the ideas of Indian cultural expansion that were promoted through the pages of the *Journal of the Greater India Society* but he also considered that it would be best 'to understand the manner in which the process of expansion really worked if, when sifting the archaeological evidence that has now been accumulated, we try to determine the various successive waves of Indian colonization' (Quaritch Wales 1936a: 90). At this point, his robust archaeological evidence was weak and lacking any depth.

The early dates set for the establishment of Si Thep by Quaritch Wales were challenged in the report of the French archaeological mission to Thailand of 1964 (Boisselier 1965: 141 and 154). Boisselier did not visit the site of Si Thep but, basing his information on sculptures at the National Museum in Bangkok and photographs provided by the Thai Fine Arts Department, he wrote that despite indication that there was a Khmer presence at Si Thep in the 6th century CE no Khmer monuments appeared until the end of the 10th century or the beginning of the 11th century CE 'contre une ancienne opinion du Dr Quaritch Wales.' In much the same words, he also contested Quaritch Wales' dates in his examination of the spread of Dvāravatī architectural elements in an earlier section of this detailed report (Boisselier 1965: 141).

In a most important paper Woodward (2010: 87-97) discussed the inherent difficulties in establishing an agreed chronology for the Dvāravatī polity considering the lack of historical data to confirm locations, rulers or even architecture and architectural decoration. Glover (2010: 79 and 80) stated the problem clearly when he said that what is meant by Dvāravatī is really 'an art style rather than a coherent culture, tradition or civilization known from abundant material remains and historical records.' Despite being regarded as the first historic period of modern-day Thailand it has not been possible to construct a diachronic cultural history for this period. Woodward suggested that evidence supports contact in the first quarter of the 8th century between the Angkorian region and Si Thep. Further research may find that Si Thep was a 'significant city in the polity' and that it may have been a principal city of Wendan [Land Chenla] (Woodward 2010: 92 and 94). Groslier also wrote that the important moated sites were built preceding the Khmer expansion and that the oldest Khmer temples, having been built in the centre of the moated sites, were placed there to mark a significant conquest of the territory (Moore 1986: 98).

Then, in 1979 Anuvit Charoernsupkul, an Assistant Professor at Silpakorn University Faculty of Architecture, made an excellent detailed study of the dating and architectural structure of the main temple complex at Si Thep. He used Quaritch Wales' (1936a) report on Si Thep and his book on Dvāravatī (1969) for reference. The English summary published with the report aroused much anger from Quaritch Wales over the beginning statement that efforts to date Si Thep had been based on uncertain historical and archaeological arguments and had not been approached through a study of stylistic elements and objective evidence. Quaritch Wales interpreted the statement in the report that said architectural evidence, if carefully applied, can 'eliminate the errors not uncommon in this field due to guesswork, personal prejudice and "intuition"' as being directed at him personally (Anuvit Charoernsupkul 1979: 102; Quaritch Wales and Anuvit Charoernsupkul 1980: 124). Perhaps it was,

for it certainly reads that way. But the report by Anuvit was the most comprehensive condition report on Muang Si Thep available at that time. In it he noted that Si Thep had functioned as an important town on the route between central Thailand and the northeastern Khorat plateau, and then on to Angkor, in the Khmer period. Following Khmer expansion between 600 CE and 1220 CE the towns of Lopburi and Si Thep had come under Khmer control (Moore 1986: 96 quoting Groslier 1980: 33-57 map 2). These dates were much more recent than those proposed by Quaritch Wales.

Quaritch Wales' suggestion that Si Thep was an integral part of the so-called Funan empire was a theory that had been rejected even by the late 1970s. In essence, Quaritch Wales' dates of 1st to 7th centuries CE for the construction of the Khmer prangs at Si Thep were now being reconsidered in light of more evidence. This new evidence put the temple constructions in the mid-11th century CE (Anuvit Charoernsupkul 1979: 103, 104). This date was very close to those proposed by Jean Boisselier (1965: 154) and later supported by Dofflemyer (1982). To prove this, Anuvit presented stylistic evidence that both Temple I and Temple II were part of a single temple group. Contrary to Quaritch Wales, he stated that both towers were built by skilled local craftsmen and were direct descendants of Khmer artistic developments from the northeast region. Quaritch Wales accused Anuvit of only having used photographs to date Si Thep material and of not having read his earlier works although both are cited in references (Quaritch Wales and Anuvit Charoernsupkul 1980: 124).

Anuvit (Quaritch Wales and Anuvit Charoernsupkul 1980: 126-127) in turn returned the blows with cutting remarks that told Quaritch Wales his evidence was no longer current, that the workmanship of the masons was of the highest standard and equal to any temple structure in northeast Thailand, that he did not mention his visit because the journey was no longer arduous and did not need explanation, and that placing the date of the temples to a pre-Angkorian period based on the sole evidence of *niches à luminaires* [alcoves cut in the high walls as places for lamps] was by now superfluous. Anuvit's (Quaritch Wales and Anuvit Charoernsupkul 1980: 127) rejoinder listed point by point the elements—plan, layout, architectural form, construction, decoration and ornamentation—that more fully identified Khmer temple architecture. He finished by stating that his 'investigation was properly done and is true to the principles of scholarship' and that his interpretation of Muang St Thep was in accordance with his published material in Thai. Quaritch Wales died in 1981. This argument in the letters to the editor of *M̄u'ang bōrān* [*Muang boran*] was one of his last written works but it is a good example of the speed with which he took umbrage at perceived slights and the way how he responded without considering the argument presented.

The Four Main Waves of Indian Cultural Expansion

Following fieldwork in Pong Tuek and Si Thep the theory of 'Four Main Waves of Indian Cultural Expansion' would become Quaritch Wales' principal intellectual philosophy. For his public lecture in London he summarised his theory commencing with a 'First Wave', that could be dated to the 2nd or the 3rd centuries CE, in which all evidence pointed to an exclusively Hīnayāna Buddhist cultural stream. He reported that evidence from Sumatra, Java, Champa [Campā], Pong Tuek and the Khorat plateau in Siam confirmed this spread of influence. His statement was that 'Indian cultural influences penetrated to the eastern confines of what was to become Greater India. This wave of influence, which brought Indochina and Indonesia its first contact with Indian culture, undoubtedly came by the sea route through the Straits of Malacca.' It was his belief that the trade and 'colonization' routes through the Straits of Malacca were halted by the rise of sea piracy. This, he wrote, made the opening of the Takua Pa to the Bay of Bandon overland passage the only viable alternative. In the 'Second Wave', occurring between the 4th to the middle of the 6th centuries CE, he stated that Hīnayāna Buddhism was practiced in association with the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva. Here he

referred to Buddhist inscriptions found in Kedah and Province Wellesley [now Seberang Perai]. These had been discovered by Colonel James Low in 1848 and 1849. Quaritch Wales (1936a: 91, 95) considered the foundation of Si Thep dated from this period. He also reported that the Takua Pa Viṣṇu was a stylized relic of this period.

Quaritch Wales estimated the 'Third Wave' lasted from the middle of the 6th century to the middle of the 8th century CE. This wave of Indian 'colonists' comprised adherents of Śaivism and the cultural route followed the 'transpeninsular route from Tākuapa to the Bay of Bandon' and left remains such as the Viṣṇu and Śiva of Wiang Sa in Surat Thani, the Viṣṇu at Chaiya and important temples such as Wat Phra Borommathat in Chaiya. His thesis was that from the Bay of Bandon this third wave of Indian influence spread to Cambodia, Java and the Champā (Quaritch Wales 1936a: 95). The 'Fourth Wave' commenced in the second half of the 8th century CE and radiated out from the Bay of Bandon. It was, he wrote, responsible for the 9th century CE monumental art of the Śailendra empire both at Chaiya and in Java. Some time later, responding to criticism from Nilakanta Sastri (1949b), Quaritch Wales (1950b: 154) would again revise this concept and add a 'Fifth Wave' of 'Mahāyanist missionary endeavour of the 13th century, consequent upon the scattering of the monks of Nālandā', when this famous Bihar monastery was destroyed by Muslim raiders.

Towards Angkor: in the footsteps of the Indian invaders

Quaritch Wales's third book, *Towards Angkor*, was the first to attract the attention of academics and the reading public. As a vintage travel book of the 1930s it has its charm but as a report on archaeological investigations in Siam it is seriously limiting. Even without long-term research into the history of Si Thep, Quaritch Wales (1937f: 21) was prepared to write of it that 'we knew [it] to be the oldest city in Indo-China, a Hindu stronghold that flourished seven hundred years before the Khmers built Angkor Wat.' The book *Towards Angkor* fills in some of the travel details that were not spelt out in his public lectures on crossing from Takua Pa to the Bay of Bandon, and his presentations on his brief excavations at Pong Tuek and Si Thep. It appears he excavated at Ko Kho Khao, that he called the Plain of the Brick Building, for less than two weeks and his description of Khao Phra Noe, the location of the Viṣṇu, was less than cursory, it was almost dismissive. As was his report on the figures at Khao Phra Narai.

Logistic difficulties were partly solved with help from the Australian manager of the Siamese Tin Syndicate, an English tin mining company, based at Takua Pa, who no doubt assisted with the complex task of recruiting elephant handlers and porters (Quaritch Wales 1935: 8). It is not known how many elephants were used during the crossing but photographs in the Royal Asiatic Society collection show a caravan of more than ten animals. The elephants are small and Manguin (2017: 51) provides a useful guide to the amount of baggage one animal could carry: 150 lbs or 113 kg being a maximum. Repeating the experiences of the mountainous crossing Quaritch Wales wrote that the trip from the west coast to the watershed at the top of the mountains took five days and it took another four days to reach Wieng Sra. The party then travelled down the valley of the Tapi River and explored the main towns on the east coast. The whole trip took eleven days. His account of the expeditions to Pong Tuek and Si Thep was brief. It lacks even the most basic archaeological information. The chapter on Si Thep was a mere summary of his public lecture given in London in 1936. What is truly disappointing in the report on Pong Tuek is that it contains no maps, plans or drawings and the discovery of the human remains found in the two sites is completely removed.



Image 02.032:

Outside U Thong. Armed police guard on right and Quaritch Wales on left of image
(Quaritch Wales 1937f: 140: Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

Only briefly, almost as an aside, does he make mention of his survey of the old town of U Thong, now located in Suphan Buri Province, north of Bangkok. U Thong is a moated site: one of many in central and eastern Thailand that he would return to more than 30 years later. The rest of the book is devoted to Quaritch Wales' expansive theory about the origin of the Śailendra dynasty and his supposed evidence that the capital was at Chaiya. The style and content of the book is, to use a somewhat demeaning term, picturesque.

Jim Thompson and the Tha Morat caves

There is an interesting, direct link between the book, *Towards Angkor*, and the absorbing tale of Jim Thompson, the 'Silk King of Thailand', who became the most famous American in Bangkok in the 1950s and the 1960s. This saga also brings in Quaritch Wales and the ancient city of Si Thep. Thompson was a former officer in the United States Office of Strategic Services—the Second World War precursor of the Central Intelligence Agency. Originally an architect, Thompson settled in Thailand in 1948 and established the modern Thai silk industry by using traditional designs and employing wearers from the Muslim Bangkrua district in northern Bangkok. He also built a beautiful house out of three Thai teak-wood houses from Ayutthaya and Bangkrua that he relocated to a garden beside Saen Saep canal. It is now one of the most popular tourist sites in Bangkok. He was an avid art collector. In early 1958 he was driving with a friend in the Lopburi area and with the help of local guides they found themselves at Si Thep. At that stage, the road was still rough and local people told Thompson that 'a "farang" [foreigner] had come 'ten years before...in an ox cart'. This was evidently Quaritch Wales (Toulmin 2017: 8). Thompson was later inspired to read *Towards Angkor* and he realised that there may be caves containing religious artefacts in the legendary 'mountain of the two hermits', possibly the steep mountain Khao Amon [Sam] Rat located to the west-northwest of Si Thep (Warren 1998: 116).

According to Quaritch Wales (1936a: 88; 1937f: 108-109) the legend of the two hermits was recounted to him by the local people. It tells of two hermits, Fire-Eye and Ox-Eye, who lived in hermitages near Si Thep. Fire-Eye had the king's son as a pupil. One day he told the boy that there were two wells nearby: one was the Well of Death and the other the Well of Life. If you bathed in

one you would die, but water from the other would restore you to life. To show the boy, and to test him, Fire-Eye bathed in the Well of Death but the boy fled back to the city, presumably Si Thep. Ox-Eye came by unexpectedly and noticing the water of the water boiling, realised what had happened. Immediately he restored Fire-Eye with water from the Well of Life. Fire-Eye, to extract revenge, made an image of a bull and filled it with poison. This bull roared around the city for seven days until the king had the gates opened and the bull rushed in. When it was inside the city its body burst and the people of the city were destroyed by the poison. Quaritch Wales conclusion was that ‘not only has the story a thoroughly Indian complexion’ but was a metaphor for a cholera epidemic and the reason for the abandonment of Si Thep.

On that first trip to Si Thep Thompson did not visit the Khao Amon Rat mountain himself. However, in 1960 he acquired, through a dealer from Ayutthaya, three exceptionally beautiful white limestone heads and then in 1961, two more. All were nearly full relief and looked as if they had been previously attached to a cave wall or statue base. Of the five figures, two were Buddhas and at least two were Bodhisattvas. In February 1962 Thompson and some friends attempted to find the caves. These lie about 15 kilometres from Si Thep. They found only one, the Tha Morat cave, on Khao Amon Rat and in it were several headless statues. They were also told that there was a second cave nearby but were guided back down the mountain by superstitious local villagers. This second cave has not been located. Jan J Boeles from the research centre of the Siam Society and friend of Thompson, then visited the first cave and had it photographed and measured (Warren 2004: 92-93). Later Thompson, through the instigation of Boeles, notified the Thai Fine Arts Department of his possession of the heads.



Image 02.033:
 Copy of the original sketch made of the statues of the Tha Morat cave
 (Quaritch Wales 1969: Plate 50 and Toulmin 2017: 14)

Thompson and the department did not have a good working relationship. There are many theories why the department organised to have him officially notified that he had to give the images to the National Museum and while he did so the assertive action of the department created much animosity between the Siam Society, the Fine Arts Department and Thompson (Warren 1998: 119-124 and 2004: 933-94). He later revoked his will in favour of the Siam Society and left his estate to a nephew in the United States. Thompson disappeared mysteriously on a vacation in the Cameron Highlands in Malaysia and the Jim Thompson house and its collections are now managed by the foundation.



Image 02.034:
Photograph of the largest headless Buddha statue inside Tha Morat cave.
(Photograph courtesy of Lew Toulmin)

Recently an American speleologist, Lew Toulmin, made a detailed study of this incident in the life of Thompson and the history of the Si Thep region. He reported that there is evidence from an examination of Thompson's letters that the statues in the Tha Morat cave were dynamited by the army and police and the heads removed for sale through dealers (Toulmin 2017: 10). Although the heads are now in the National Museum, and are considered priceless, no scientific analysis has been done to firmly prove that the ex-Thompson heads came from Tha Morat. Quaritch Wales continued to be interested in the location and the fate of these five figures.

In his later study of the cultural history of Dvāravatī, that he called the first kingdom in Siam, Quaritch Wales referred to the important sketch made by the Fine Arts Department members. Presumably they had accompanied Jan Boeles in 1962. This he published in his book (Quaritch Wales 1969: 83-84; Plate 50). The caption reads: 'Sketch of images of the Buddha and Bodhisattva in the cave of Si Thamorat [Tha Morat] Hill, Petchabun [Phetchabun Province], Dvaravati style, 7th-11th century AD.' The drawing shows seven figures in relief on a stone pillar in the centre of the cave with a space allowing for circumambulation by devotees or hermits. He also published two photographs of carvings said to be from the Tha Morat cave (Quaritch Wales 1969: Plate 51 A & B). Much later Quaritch Wales (1978a: 7, Plate ii) even promoted the idea that one of the Bodhisattva from the Thompson collection had been carved by hermit monks inspired by Śrīvijayan art. Access to the Tha Morat carvings in the National Museum is restricted although one was recently loaned to an exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Toulmin (2017: 11) qualifies his information on the Tha Morat images when he states that Quaritch Wales 'does not present any scientific proofs, exact measurements, casts, or analysis other than the sketch, does not address the issue of two- versus three-dimensionality of some of the figures, and does not discuss the possibility of a second cave.' Controversy surrounds the continuing sale of rare cultural heritage in Southeast Asia. It was not until 1970 that UNESCO adopted the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. There is little doubt that the export of fine art pieces taken to London and New York by Quaritch Wales in 1929 would no longer be possible.

Reviews of *Towards Angkor*

The most comprehensive review of the *Towards Angkor* book was by George Cœdès (1938: 309-314). It covered all aspects of the book and included three highly detailed pages of comments and corrections and in the review he referred to both the paper in *Indian Art and Letters* (Quaritch Wales 1935) and to the article published in *The Illustrated London News* (30 January 1937; Quaritch Wales 1937a, b and c) that showed images of Si Thep. In his review he highlighted Quaritch Wales' research aim by repeating from the book: '[m]y main object in the book has been to trace the spread of Indian inspiration, and eventually to bring the reader to the gates of Angkor with a better understanding of the long centuries of endeavour that led up to that crowning triumph' (Quaritch Wales 1937f: 220; Cœdès 1938: 309). Quaritch Wales (1935: 27) had stated that he could not accept Cœdès (1918) thesis that Palembang on southern Sumatra had been the major polity and centre of the Śrīvijaya in the 7th century CE. To support his rejection of Palembang he repeated the opinion that because so few archaeological remains had been found there, the settlement was of less importance than Chaiya in southern Siam. In return Cœdès criticised Quaritch Wales' theory. Towards the end of his review the man who was both Quaritch Wales' early mentor in Siam and who was one of the world's leading Asianists ended with some polite condemnation by saying

C'est peut-être, au demeurant, faire tort au livre de Monsieur Wales que de le soumettre à une critique scientifique trop rigoureuse, alors que son titre même souligne son caractère tant soit peu romancé (Cœdès 1938: 310).

[It is perhaps, moreover, wrong to submit the book of Mr. Wales to too much rigorous scientific criticism, [for] even though the title underlines its character it [the book] may be a little romantic.]

One can only agree with Cœdès.

In a review published by the Royal Geographical Society, Reginald Le May (R le M 1938: 173), who had been in the British Consular Service in Siam for twenty years and then an economic adviser to the Siamese government for ten years before he retired in 1933, noted that *Towards Angkor* was 'not a scientific treatise but is written in a style likely to appeal to the general public.' Le May made note of Quaritch Wales' theory that Chaiya was the centre from which Indian princes and settlers colonised Cambodia although he does not appear to agree with that thesis at all. He then reviews the survey of Si Thep, Pong Tuek and U Thong towns in Siam before concluding the chapter on the Śailendra dynasty is merely a 'romantic chapter.' This critical tone was also made by Erik Seidenfaden (1938) in his review of the three papers that had been published in *Indian Art and Letters* Seidenfaden was a Dane and a long-term resident of Siam who had been a Major in the Siamese Royal Gendarmerie. He was later a businessman as well as an amateur ethnologist and wrote one of the earliest English-language guidebooks on Bangkok and Siam (Seidenfaden 1932). Seidenfaden provided one of the best, and most perceptive, reviews of Quaritch Wales' early work. He reported that the aim of Quaritch Wales' research was to prove that Cœdès was wrong to place the capital of Śriwijaya at Palembang when the richness of the archaeological finds at Chaiya on the peninsula proved that it was the centre. But he undoubtedly agreed with George Cœdès for he wrote disparagingly of Quaritch Wales' hypothesis that

Chaiya in a cul-de-sac could never have enabled it to play the role as the capital of [a] thalassocracy [thalassocracy] from where the Maharaja could dominate the States [Straits] of Malacca. As Prof. Cœdès says:-It is a geographical impossibility! To which all unbiased students of Indonesian history must agree (Seidenfaden 1938: 242).

He most certainly gave Quaritch Wales, and Dorothy who was called 'his plucky wife', credit for having achieved 'real and meritorious pioneer work' for his examination of Si Thep and for being the first to do thorough research at the ancient city (Seidenfaden 1938: 242-243). He also noted the possibility of ancient cultural links between the Angkorian empire and Si Thep but despite Quaritch Wales' excavation of human skeletons at Pong Tuek he sounded cautious about the theory, later disproven, that the Tai had moved south into Mon territory 'during the first centuries of the Christian era.' He gave a number of reasons for questioning Quaritch Wales' theory, the most reasonable being that if there had been early Tai settlements in the Menam Chao Phraya and Meklong river basins they would have been few, small, and scattered.

But it was the romance in the story and the descriptions of the trek across the isthmus that attracted many readers like Jim Thompson. In the *Country Life* (J. C. F. 1937: cxviii) magazine the anonymous reviewer was lyrical in praise of the 'exciting tales [Quaritch Wales] has to tell of a great city [Si Thep] abandoned in a cholera epidemic, of buried gold, and bronze statues gleaming in ditches. But he is primarily a serious archaeologist and his straight-forward and scholarly narrative is a great relief after the volumes of ignorant rapture which have been written about Angkor.' *The*

Aberdeen Press and Journal review (20 October 1937: 3) likewise commented that too many books had been written extolling the romance of Angkor but Quaritch Wales had written a simple account of ‘how the earliest adventurers from India made their way to the Malay peninsula in search of gold and tin, forming mining settlements in the little river valleys’ and from there, after populations had expanded, these incomers, requiring room to expand, crossed the mountains and on to Indo-China and Indonesia. ‘These were the forerunners of the peoples who built Angkor and its many neighbours and founded a great civilisation’ that ceased to exist. According to the article the reason for the decline in these civilizations was disease. While an unidentified reviewer in *The Times of India* (S. T. S. 1937: 6) called the book ‘An Indian epic’ and praised its attractive style and content, he noted that ‘[w]e still need an elementary history of farther India and as the mysteries of that part of the world are gradually unveiled—as they have been only within the present century—it is perhaps not too much to expect that the ignorance of the ordinary man will be remembered and that the path of knowledge to Angkor will be made straight and easy.’

An examination of these reviews is relevant to the Quaritch Wales story. His early archaeological research in Malaya and Siam received wide coverage. Understanding the content of the comments made in newspapers gives us some indication of the topics that interested the reading public at that time but also gives us some idea of the level of knowledge of Southeast Asia in the English-speaking world. *The Times of India* (26 March 1935:7 and 18 June 1935: 8) was particularly attracted to the expeditions of Quaritch Wales and his wife, and to what it called evidence of the eastward expansion of Indian culture. Take for example a reviewer known as ‘Scribe’ (1937) in *The Mercury* (Hobart) who thought Quaritch Wales had ‘worked out in practical application theories brilliantly vindicated by progressive discovery’ and Vernon Knowles (1938) writing in *The Argus* (Melbourne) remarked that Quaritch Wales had established for a fact that the Takua Pa to the Bay of Bandon route was the one used to cross the peninsula.

Reviews in *The West Australian* (5 February 1938: 6) and *The Sydney Morning Herald* (19 February 1938: 6) both called *Towards Angkor* a skilful blend of scholarship and the art of narration. Substantial reviews of the book were also printed in Australian regional newspapers like the *Telegraph* (Brisbane) (12 February 1938: 15) that spoke of Quaritch Wales’ discoveries as highlighting an immortal epic of Indian Argonauts and the *Advertiser* (Adelaide) (19 February 1938: 10) that described ancient cities and temples in Indo-China. It was all excellent advertisement for Quaritch Wales and his next expedition in Southeast Asia.

In the *West Australian* newspaper of 28 May, 4 June and 11 June 1938 a columnist using the *non-de-plume* ‘Polygon’ presented the reading public with his personal interpretation of the meaning of Angkor and classical Southeast Asian cultures (‘Polygon’ 1938 a, b and c). The writer was Paul Hasluck, later Sir Paul Hasluck, who became a long serving member of the federal parliament and Governor-General of Australia. He was the paper’s regular drama critic and become a highly regarded historian and essayist. In 1938, having made the long and often uncomfortable journey to Angkor from Bangkok via the Mekong, ‘Polygon’ felt that Angkor ‘was lost for centuries and is suddenly revealed to the world, and if we can guard against a few romantic and archaeological associations, we can see it calmly and disinterestedly.’ The value of Angkor it seems was only in its ‘perfect proportion’ and when looking at a carved panel he reflected on the ‘simplicity of its technical skill.’

Archaeology it seems only introduced romantic notions that clouded the artistic appreciation of this, one of the greatest religious and socio-political constructions in the world. These articles were being written only one year before the Second World War that would change completely the structure of

colonial government in the region. That war would also halt Quaritch Wales' archaeological research in Malaya and Siam and force yet another change in direction. But first Quaritch Wales and his wife would undertake probably the most significant discoveries of his career. In the long narrow valleys of the Sungai Merbok, the Sungai Bujang, and the Sungai Muda in the Malayan state of Kedah publication of his archaeological discoveries would, in effect, bookend his wartime career.

Chapter Three

Archaeological investigations in Lembah Bujang, Kedah

Following the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909, Kedah, on the northwest coast of the Malay peninsula, joined with Johor, Kelantan, Perlis and Terengganu, to form the Unfederated Malay States. Although closely associated with the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements, all regions were collectively known as British Malaya. Quaritch Wales wrote that after returning to England in 1936 following the Si Thep and Pong Tuek surveys, he suggested to the Greater-India Research Committee¹⁹ that they turn their attention to Malaya. The reason given was that ‘the almost complete absence of exact information from this geographically important region was doing much to handicap progress in the elucidation of the history of South Eastern Asia and of the processes which brought about ancient Indian cultural expansion’ (Quaritch Wales 1940: vii). This comment reflected those presented by Charles Otto Blagden (1906b: 108) who, in his paper on the relations between Siam and the states of the Malay peninsula, had written that ‘Malay history is an obscure subject and hardly, perhaps, of very general interest’. The suggestion was that more detailed archaeological and historical research was needed to clarify many contentious points concerning settlement patterns on the peninsula.

Quaritch Wales made use of the connections he had now established. The Mahārāja of Baroda had funded the first season of work; his aunt, Charlotte Wrentmore, had funded the second program and for the third field expedition he sought, and received, funds from the states of Kedah, Perak and Johore. The research programme in the three states was undertaken between 1937 to 1939 with the publication of the findings available at an inauspicious time, the commencement of the Blitz in London in 1940. In the meantime, Quaritch Wales had effectively used *The Illustrated London News* to promote the success of his work for British audiences would not have read *The Times of India* (4 June 1938: 5, 7 June 1938: 22 & 2 July 1938: 19) articles reporting that the ‘geographical position of the Johore River and pottery and beads already found at various places on its banks give reason for believing that discoveries of great importance might be made’. Again, Quaritch Wales emphasised that an aim of the archaeological programme was to find the capital of the Śailendra empire said to have existed between the 8th and the 13th centuries CE. The first article written by Quaritch Wales (1938a: 173) highlighting Malayan finds was also published in *The Illustrated London News*. Arguing that there would be a considerable time lapse between analysing the finds and completing the final report on the excavation programme, he described items found in the Perak museum that supported his Indian colonization theory. Four objects were pictured in the paper: one bronze Buddha, and three bronze figures of *Avolokiteśvara*, the Bodhisattva embodying all the compassions of the Buddha and displayed in various forms, male or female, and in numerous poses and positions. As some ritual objects had been found during tin mining Quaritch Wales hoped that careful employees and managers would heed his request that they find the objects and deposit them in local museum collections.

¹⁹ It should be noted here that occasional newspaper reports and editorials incorrectly referred to this body as the Greater-Indian Research Committee.

A more substantial three-page article focussing on the Kedah excavations was subsequently published in *The Illustrated London News* (24 June 1939: 1169-1171; Quaritch Wales 1939a, b and c). On the first page were six photographs of important artefacts under the headline 'The art of ancient Malaya: metal-work from Kedah sites'. These were the first published images of artefacts found as reliquary items deposited beneath the floors of Hindu temples in Kedah. A further five illustrations showed a series of excavation sites and a miniature shrine roof in bronze found in the

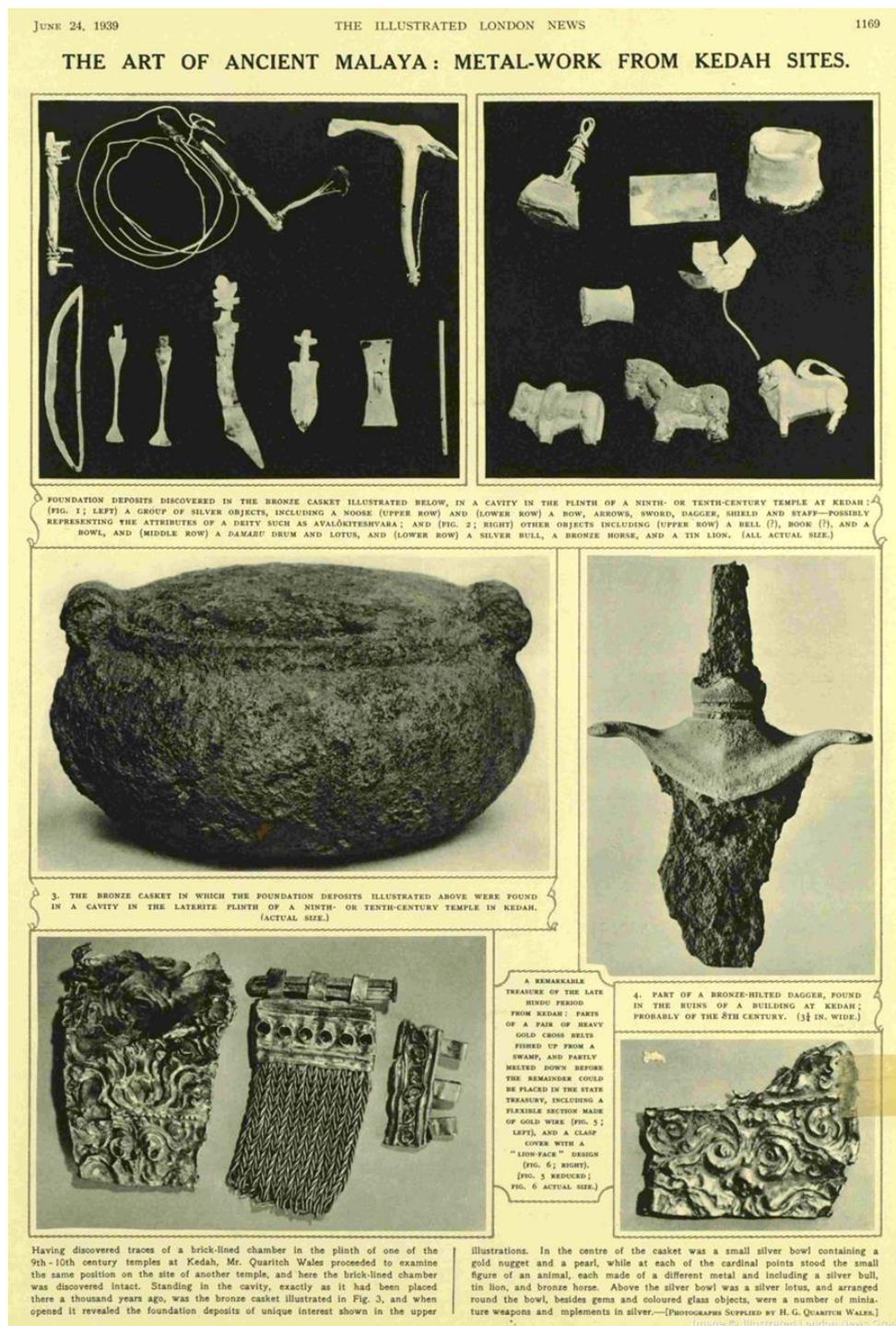


Image 03.001:

First page of article by Quaritch Wales in *The Illustrated London News* (24 June 1939: 1169) documenting the discoveries in Lembah Bujang

bed of the Sungai Bujang river. The second page, titled 'Pioneering in the unexplored field of Malayan archaeology', included a detailed map of the Sungai Merbok and Sungai Muda research area. The headline of the third page was 'Malayan archaeology yields valuable results at the start: 7th to 10th century temples: a 7th century architectural link with S[outh] India'. All the photographs were by Quaritch Wales who would later reuse many of these images in his other books and articles. The objects uncovered are now in the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore.

1170 THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS JUNE 24, 1939

PIONEERING IN THE UNEXPLORED FIELD OF MALAYAN ARCHÆOLOGY:

NEW LIGHT ON THE EXPANSION OF ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE AND MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM FROM SITES IN KEDAH.

By H. G. QUARITCH WALES, M.A., Ph.D., Field Director, Greater-India Research Committee. (See also illustrations on pages 1169 and 1171.)

The efforts of the Greater-India Research Committee, which have provided subjects for illustration in our pages in previous years, have now been directed to the task of investigating the past of Malaya, an area in which no systematic examination of historic sites has ever been undertaken. Excavations in the State of Kedah, carried out under the direction of Mr. Quaritch Wales, have proved most fruitful, and promise to do much towards filling in the gaps in our knowledge of the course of the ancient Indian civilisation movements. A Sanskrit tablet brought to light near the Merbok estuary has put the date of the earliest known occurrence of Mahāyāna Buddhism in this region back to the sixth century; and the subsequent history of Hinduism is continued by sixth, ninth, and tenth-century sites.

DURING the years 1937 and 1938 some fourteen months were devoted to archaeological explorations in the Malay States of Kedah, Perak and Johore, with funds provided by the Governments concerned. The object of the work was primarily to gain by practical means a fuller understanding of the processes of ancient Indian cultural expansion which led ultimately to the flowering of the Indo-Javanese and Khmer civilisations in the further East. It was apparent that the solution of certain important problems concerning the history of Indian colonisation and of South Eastern Asia in general was being delayed by an almost complete absence of accurately recorded data from British Malaya, where no systematic investigation of historic sites had ever been undertaken. Indeed, it was commonly supposed that Malaya was a country of little archaeological interest; but a study of the Arab, Chinese

discovery thus suggests that the introduction of Mahāyāna Buddhism into South-Eastern Asia antedates by more than a hundred years the dated Mahāyāna inscriptions from Sumatra, previously believed to be the earliest evidence of the "Great Vehicle" in this region.

The political status of Kedah at this early period is uncertain, but it may well have been dependent on the ancient state known to the Chinese as Lang-ya-hsin, the capital of which was on the east coast, in the neighbourhood of Lipor. Then, about the end of the sixth century, with the coming of the Hindu Pallava colonists to Kedah, this important port and its surrounding territory probably became powerful enough to proclaim its independence, adopting for itself the name of its one-time overlord in the form Lankasukka by which it was known in later centuries. In the eighth centuries the Hindu city of Lankasukka flourished on the banks of the River Bujang. The excavation of a number of mounds revealed the remains of ruined Shiva temples of the period. Fig. 14 is a typical example of the main sanctuary or *vimana* of one of these temples. Only the lower courses of massive laterite remain standing on a basement of boulders. From the river landing a terraced laterite approach led up to the *vimana*. On either side of the main sanctuary were the stone bases of subsidiary shrines, the whole assemblage standing within an extensive walled enclosure. There was sufficient evidence to establish beyond doubt the Pallava affinities of the art of the colonists.

The temple buildings themselves were undoubtedly built largely of perishable materials, and this applies even to the apparently massive *vimana*, so far as their superstructure is concerned. Thus even in South India we should have little idea as to the appearance of a Pallava temple had it not been that at Mahabalipuram (near Madras, and commonly known as Seven Pagodas), King Mamalla (630-668 A.D.) had caused to be hewn out of the living rock stone replicas, known as *rathas*, of the temples of his time. Fig. 11 illustrates one of them, *Sahadeva's Ratha*, and I have chosen it because, though perhaps the more frequent type of temple (like the miniatures represented at the corners of the upper stages) was built on a square base with a vaulted roof, this particular *ratha*, with its wagon roof, is of special interest in connection with an object that was found among the boulders in the bed of the River Bujang near one of the Shiva temples. It is the roof of a miniature bronze shrine (Fig. 12) such as was used in India more particularly in connection with domestic worship. The simple and distinctive form of this roof clearly indicates Pallava affinity, the *chakraya* window, of course, deriving its ultimate origin from far earlier Buddhist cave-temple prototypes. The "flower-pot" still preserved on many of the Mahabalipuram *rathas* is here seen in its simplest form, while the cross-legged personages seated at the four corners suggest Shaivite ascetics.

Set apart from the main city on a low spur of the Kedah Peak massifs were the remains of a small, exquisite Shiva temple, unlike the others, constructed with carefully shaped granite blocks quarried near by. Silver capsules, each containing a ruby and a sapphire, brought to light in the foundations also suggested that the temple had been one of special sanctity; and the reason for that special sanctity was perhaps indicated by the finding of stone caskets, each containing nine compartments (Fig. 10). Though undoubtedly of Indian origin, such caskets appear to be unknown in India, and we have to look to Java for an explanation. There the central compartment of the casket has been found to contain part of the ashes of a dead king, the other compartments being filled with gems and gold objects. The casket was then buried in the temple beneath the image of the deity with which the king had been posthumously identified.

The ruined state of most of the Kedah temples rendered it possible to excavate the foundations more thoroughly than is safe where large buildings remain standing, and this sometimes resulted in the recovery of the foundation deposits, which usually yield important historical information. In one case inscribed gold and silver discs were found simply scattered at random beneath the foundations; but more usually such deposits were contained in earthenware jars, placed beneath floor-level. Fig. 15 shows two such jars *in situ* below the floor-level of a ruined brick *vimana*. Sometimes the deposits yielded more definite dating material. On excavating the foundations of a pillared hall—an evidently later and very different type of structure from the Pallava Shiva shrines—we found earthenware jars which produced an inscription on silver in South Indian characters of approximately the ninth century A.D., and two Arab coins (Fig. 7). These were a half and quarter dirhem respectively, both of about the same period, the former bearing quite legibly the date 234 A.H., i.e., 848 A.D. It was thus issued in the reign of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (847-861 A.D.).

Fig. 13 exemplifies one of these later pillared halls, dating from the ninth or tenth century, though they differ among themselves considerably in detail, no doubt according to their exact date and the purpose for which they were used. Probably most of them were Buddhist (Mahāyāna) temples, for this was the religion favoured by the Shailendra Empire, of which, by this period, the state of Lankasukka had become a dependency. Immediately to the right of the inner doorway of the structure illustrated in Fig. 13 were discovered traces of a brick-lined chamber in the laterite plinth, which had evidently been despoiled by treasure-seekers, for it was found broken and empty. By great good fortune, however, on examining the corresponding position in the plinth of a similarly constructed, though generally less well-preserved, temple, we found the brick-lined chamber intact. Standing in the cavity, exactly as it had been placed there a thousand years ago, was a bronze casket (Fig. 3) which, when opened, was found to contain foundation deposits of unique interest (Figs. 1 and 2). A noteworthy point is that the shape of the miniature weapons in this group strongly recalls those depicted on

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7. VALUABLE EVIDENCE ON THE ANCIENT CHRONOLOGY OF KEDAH: ARABIC COINS FOUND IN THE FOUNDATIONS OF A PILLARED HALL, ONE BEARING A DATE EQUIVALENT TO 848 A.D. These coins are a half and a quarter Abbasid dirhams; the former being dated quite legibly 234 A.H. (i.e., 848 A.D.), having thus been issued in the reign of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (847-861 A.D.).

DURING the years 1937 and 1938 some fourteen months were devoted to archaeological explorations in the Malay States of Kedah, Perak and Johore, with funds provided by the Governments concerned. The object of the work was primarily to gain by practical means a fuller understanding of the processes of ancient Indian cultural expansion which led ultimately to the flowering of the Indo-Javanese and Khmer civilisations in the further East. It was apparent that the solution of certain important problems concerning the history of Indian colonisation and of South Eastern Asia in general was being delayed by an almost complete absence of accurately recorded data from British Malaya, where no systematic investigation of historic sites had ever been undertaken. Indeed, it was commonly supposed that Malaya was a country of little archaeological interest; but a study of the Arab, Chinese

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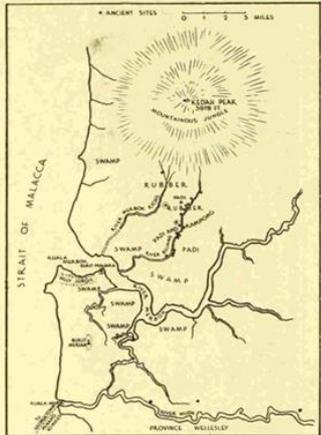
9. THE EARLIEST EVIDENCE OF THE SPREAD OF MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM IN THE MALAYAN REGION YET DISCOVERED: A CLAY TABLET INSCRIBED IN SANSKRIT WITH THREE STANZAS OF A MAHĀYĀNA TEXT, AND NOT LATER THAN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE SIXTH CENTURY; BROUGHT TO LIGHT NEAR THE MERBOK ESTUARY IN KEDAH. (Length, 5 IN.)

and Indian literary evidence, as well as of certain finds that had from time to time been made, prevented us from sharing this view. We felt that it was impossible that a country lying along the Straits of Malacca—the main sea route of all times between China and the West—should not preserve traces which the probe of modern archaeology might cause to reveal their story.

Of the total period of field work in Malaya about half was allocated to Kedah, during which time some thirty ancient sites were excavated, ranging in date from the fourth to about the thirteenth century A.D. Ancient Kedah, in addition to possessing fertile lowlands suitable for grain cultivation, was attractive to Indian colonists and traders alike by reason of the excellent harbour which the Merbok estuary offered them, once they had successfully braved the dangers attendant on the crossing of the Bay of Bengal. Wave after wave of Indians thus left their impress on the city which grew up at this gateway to Greater India and remained remarkably Indian long after local evolution had produced changes in India's more remote colonies.

The earliest remains are scattered and do not suggest the existence of any very large settlement in Kedah before the sixth century A.D. The oldest site found was situated on an isolated hill on the Sala River, some twenty miles north of Kedah Peak. The excavation of a mound on the summit of this little hill brought to light the massive laterite basement of a *stupa* and a small stone inscribed with the Buddhist formula, *Yā dharmā, etc.*, in South Indian characters of a period not later than the second half of the fourth century A.D. South of Kedah Peak a small stream named the Bujang (probably derived from the Sanskrit *bhujanga*, a serpent) flows into the Merbok estuary. The excavation of another laterite *stupa*-base situated on the left bank of this small stream produced a rectangular tablet of sun-dried clay inscribed in Sanskrit with three stanzas of a Mahāyāna text which was previously only known in Chinese translation (Fig. 9). On palaeographical grounds this text has been ascribed to a time not later than the first quarter of the sixth century A.D., and its

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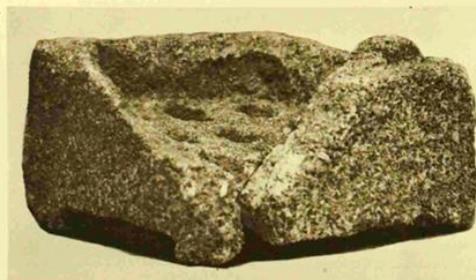


8. A PART OF MALAYA WHICH HAS YIELDED MOST VALUABLE DATA ON THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT HINDU COLONISATION OF THE PENINSULA: PART OF THE STATE OF KEDAH, ROUND THE MERBOK ESTUARY.

containing nine compartments (Fig. 10). Though undoubtedly of Indian origin, such caskets appear to be unknown in India, and we have to look to Java for an explanation. There the central compartment of the casket has been found to contain part of the ashes of a dead king, the other compartments being filled with gems and gold objects. The casket was then buried in the temple beneath the image of the deity with which the king had been posthumously identified.

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10. A NINE-CHAMBERED STONE CASKET, PROBABLY INTENDED TO CONTAIN THE RELICS OF AN EIGHTH-CENTURY KEDAH KING: AN OBJECT WHICH, THOUGH UNDOUBTEDLY OF INDIAN ORIGIN, FINDS ITS PROTOTYPE IN JAVA.

prototypes. The "flower-pot" still preserved on many of the Mahabalipuram *rathas* is here seen in its simplest form, while the cross-legged personages seated at the four corners suggest Shaivite ascetics.

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Image 03.002:

Second page of the article in *The Illustrated London News* (24 June 1939: 1170)

The Kedah expedition was again under the auspices of the Greater-India Research Committee and as before the primary aim of this trip was the 'promise to do much towards filling in the gaps in our knowledge of the route of the ancient Indian colonisation movements'. This article was noted by *Nature* (No. 144, 8 July 1939: 65-66) where it was announced that more than thirty sites had been uncovered. With a reference to communication with Quaritch Wales, the *Nature* editorial commented that the excavations are 'noteworthy as evidence of a revival of Hinduism in the eleventh to fourteenth centuries'. No explanation was forthcoming on how this conclusion was reached. The article reported that conflict had arisen over a projected international exhibition of the art of Greater India that was to be held at the Royal Academy in London. Whether the criticism was due to the deteriorating war situation or just differing opinions of the content of the exhibition is impossible to say. The exhibition never eventuated.

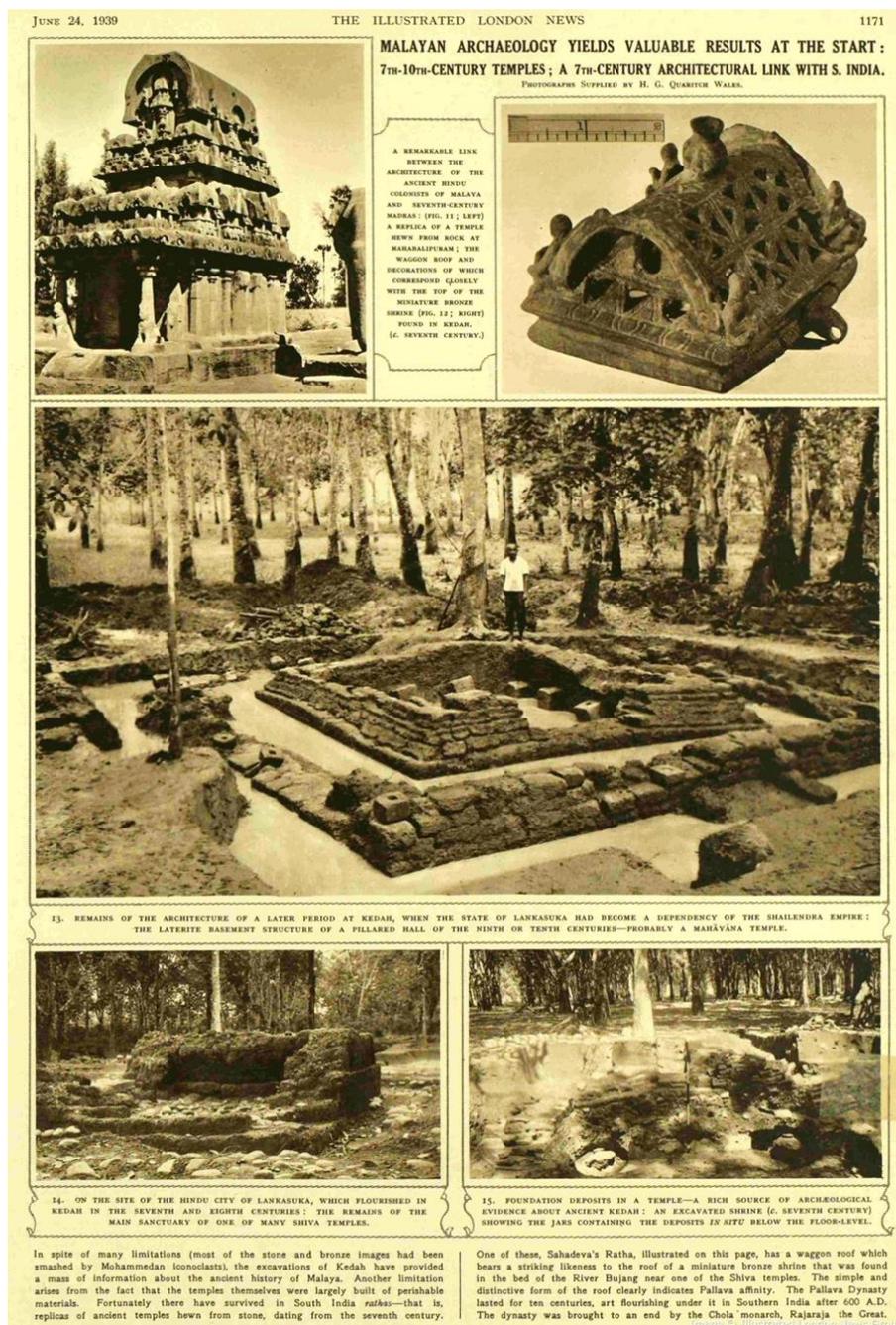


Image 03.003:

Third page of the article in *The Illustrated London News* (24 June 1939: 1171)

Ivor Evans and the Perak Museum

Quaritch Wales and his wife were not the first to undertake archaeological work around Sungai Muda although their work would attract more attention. Ivor Evans (1927d), when he was ethnologist at the Perak museum in Taiping, had published an important collection of papers on various anthropological and archaeological topics relating to the region. Evans, also an ex-Charterhouse School student, was trained by Alfred Haddon at Cambridge and worked as an ethnologist and archaeologist, mostly in British Borneo. The volume contained twenty-six papers on physical anthropology, ethnology, material culture and archaeology that had either remained unpublished or had been previously printed in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums* or the local branches of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. This volume was published by Cambridge University Press and would have certainly been available to Quaritch Wales, both as a student in England and as an archaeologist in Malaya and Siam. Two papers would have been particularly useful. One article on the Sungai Batu estate contained a plan of a partly excavated 'shrine', with photographs of objects found (Evans 1927a: 113-122) and another described a possible Hindu site uncovered during a trigonometrical survey on top of Gunung Jerai in 1894 (Evans 1927c: 105-112). Although Evans retired to England in 1932 he was unsettled there and returned to live in Borneo [Sarawak] in 1938. As Quaritch Wales (1938a) had published his paper on statues from the Perak Museum presumably he had been introduced to the objects through Evans who had worked there.

The collection of essays published by Evans was reviewed by Walter William Skeat, then with the British Museum. Skeat (1928: 923) also provided some direction for researchers like Quaritch Wales when he reported that

Mr. Evans has in addition some most suggestive and stimulating remarks with regard to the former site of the long-lost Hindu capital of the ancient Malay State of Kedah, the Langkasuka of the famed Malayan Romance *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* [known as the *Kedah Annals* or the *Malay Chronicles*; Low 1849b; Sturrock 1916]. The site of this buried city of an old-world epic civilization has been discovered by Mr. Evans in some Hindu remains near Sungai Batu, in the Kuala Merbok district of Kedah, close to the fort of Kedah Peak (called Gunong Jerai by the Malays).

The *Kedah Annals* had been translated by James Low, an officer of the East Indies Company based in Penang who was fluent in Malay and Thai. Low found several pieces of inscribed stone and made tracings of the tablets that he sent to interpreters. Copies of these inscription were then published (Low 1848 & 1849a; Laidlay 1848). In notes to his translation of the *Kedah Annals* Low commented on finds in the Kedah and Province Wellesley regions. These included the ruins of 'Raja Bersiyong's fort' on the north bank of Sungai Muda and the remains of a temple on Bukit Choras, north of Gunung Jerai (Low 1849b: 258, 336). Near the mouth of Sungai Merbok, Low (1849b: 470) identified a site known as Bukit Meriam named in the *Kedah Annals*. But despite locating and naming these sites, James Low gave no contextual information or geographical locations for his important finds (Allen 1988: 236). They would be important sites in Quaritch Wales' research in the Bujang valley.

When the results of the Perak Trigonometrical Survey of February 1894 were finally published in 1905 (Irby 1905, Lefroy 1905) more tantalising information was made available concerning 'ancient remains' located on the summit of Gunung Jerai. Fortunately, Ivor Evans republished much of the information provided by Fred Irby and GA Lefroy (Evans 1927c). Lefroy was the chief surveyor for

Perak. Accompanied by Irby, Lefroy and a party of workmen from Kuala Yan climbed Gunung Jerai and at 3,100 feet [945 metres] they camped at a place called Padang Taseh, one hour's climb from the summit. While clearing the site at the summit, the workmen set fire to a peaty area near the ridge. When the fire had burnt down, Irby found a structure he called a well and a 'hearth' that was about sixteen feet square [about 4.8 metres square] made of granite. Further investigations revealed nine smaller 'hearths' that were about four feet square [1.2 metres square] and a rubble wall nearly 160 or 170 feet [between 48 and 52 metres] in length. In his report Irby (1905) presented several hypotheses concerning the origin of the structures on the summit but in both reports he highlighted the fact that Gunung Jerai could be seen by boats sailing from Aceh on the tip of Sumatra. His proposition was that the structures could have been an ancient 'lighthouse'.

Ivor Evans began excavation work on the summit in June 1921. What he found confirmed his suspicions that the stone and bricks of the 'ancient' remains had been used to build a survey beacon. The square platform found by Irby had been almost destroyed and all traces of the rubble wall had 'disappeared' although Evans reported 'it is more probable that they [the remains] were destroyed when the present path to the top of the mountain was constructed' (Evans 1927c: 107). The remnant brick platform was sealed with concrete to preserve against weathering and to discourage future plunderers (Evans 1927c: 108). Evans seriously considered Irby's suggestion that the structures formed part of an early watchtower, but he thought that the top of the mountain would more likely have been a sacred area to both Buddhists and Hindus. Apart from ascribing the remains on the summit to people who 'must have reached a stage in civilization considerably higher than that of the present-day Malays' he offered the solution that the conical structure was a 'dogoba'. He gave no reasons for making that statement for a 'dagoba' or 'dagaba' is a circular *stupa*, commonly found in Sri Lanka, built to contain religious relics.

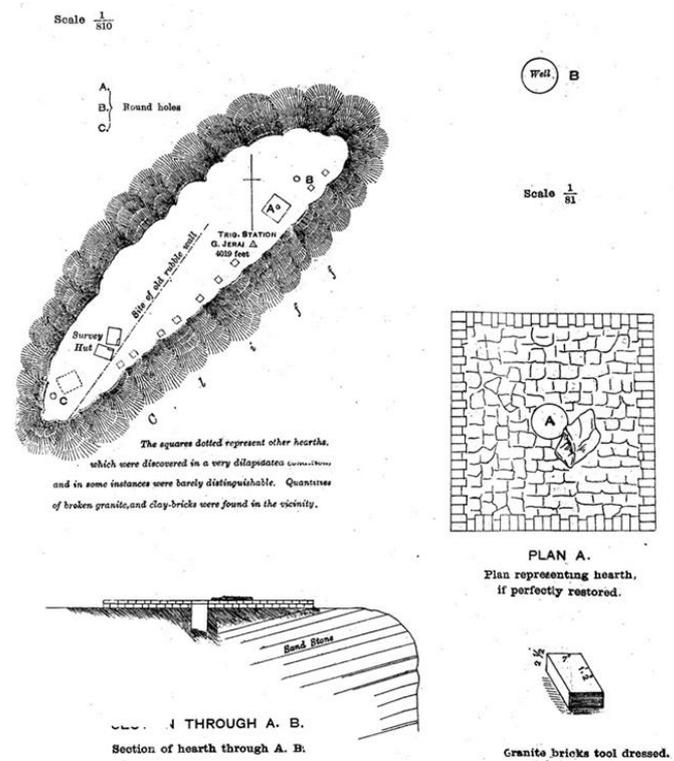


Image 03.004:
Plan of summit of Gunung Jerai showing possible ancient structures (Irby 1905)

Evans undertook the first excavation of a possible temple site at Sungai Batu Estate commencing in the middle of 1921 just after his survey of Gunung Jerai. He decided to investigate the surrounding areas following the presentation to the Perak museum of a badly weathered stone statue found on the banks of the Sungai Bujang. A photograph of the object was sent to George Cœdès who reported it to be a model of 'Devi (Durga), the consort of Çiva' [Pārvaṭī incarnated as either Kālī or Durga, the consort of Śiva] (Evans 1927a: 113-114). Between 1923 and 1925 Evans collected further carved stones from the estate but did not attempt a scientific excavation there. The location of the Sungai Batu estate would be most significant. The estate bordered the Sungai Merbok and the small tributary the Sungai Batu flowed through the plantation. Quaritch Wales (1940: 11-12, Fig 4) would excavate this structure, his Site 4, in 1938. It is currently part of an archaeological museum, Tapak [site] Sungai Batu in Kampung Permatang Samak.

Recent research using magnetic surveying of the Sungai Batu area has shown the existence of an ancient river that once flowed through this region (Rosli Saad and others 2015). Research initiated by the Center for Global Archaeological Research of the Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, has located evidence of ninety-seven mounds in the three-square kilometre area of the Sungai Batu estate. Of particular importance has been the location of iron smelting areas that were dated to the 1st century CE and an ancient jetty dated to the 2nd century CE (Moktar Saidin and others 2011: 16-26). This indicates that the major economic base of the Hindu and Buddhist civilization in the Bujang valley was mining and trade rather than agriculture. Recent finds of Persian ceramics indicate extensive trade links with the Islamic world that highlight two phases of acculturation: a Buddhist period between the 3rd and the 10th centuries CE, followed by a Hindu/Shāivite phase that took place from the 11th to the 14th centuries (Kamelia Najafi Enferadi and Nik Hassan Shuhaimi [bin] Nik Abdul Rahman 2011; Nik Hassan Shuhaimi bin Nik Abdul Rahman 2007; Chia and Watson Andaya 2011).

Having collected several objects that were thought to indicate Indian settlement, Evans in 1921 began excavating a laterite mound that had been identified by estate workers. He concluded that '[i]t would seem not unlikely that the Hindu inhabitants of Sungai Batu, who built the shrine, were foreign traders or miners in early times, not Malays' although he qualified this statement with '[i]f they were Malays, they certainly learnt the art of stone-carving from Indian sources' (Evans 1927a: 118). His reasons for regarding this location as a settlement area were that the Sungai Merbok would make for easy access to the inland areas while the Sungai Bujang would provide a constant supply of clear drinking water. Other finds on the Sungai Batu estate were four Muslim gravestones known locally as the grave markers of Raja Bersiong [or Bersiyong], his wife, son and daughter (Evans 1927a: 119-120). In the Sungai Bujang area Evans (1927a: 121) located the site known as Bukit Pendiak [called the 'elephant trap'] thought to be the site of one of the Raja's homes. This was a hill some fifty feet [15 metres] in height. This 'elephant trap' proved to be a wide, deep oval ditch. Quaritch Wales (1940: 37) labelled this Site 17 in his archaeological excavations. The other site investigated by Ivor Evans in 1921 was the supposed site of a well said to be between Palau Sayak and the entrance to Sungai Merbok. Ancient brickwork on the top of Bukit Meriam the high hill at the mouth of the estuary was also found.

Guar Kepah

In 1934 staff from the Raffles Museum in Singapore accompanied by Pieter van Stein Callenfels, a prehistorian attached to the Archaeological Service of the Netherlands East Indies [*Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*] excavated shell middens at the Guar Kepah site on the southern banks of Sungai Muda (Foo 2015). These middens had been identified by George Windsor Earl, the

Resident Councillor of Penang, when the Guar Kepah area was part of Province Wellesley [now Seberang Perai] in the Straits Settlements. The very name Guar [mound] Kepah [mollusc shells] could have informed Earl of the significance of the site. Originally the middens were around twenty feet [7.6 metres] high and 400 feet [121 metres] to 800 feet [242 metres] in circumference but Chinese lime burners had been using the site for some time. According to Van Stein Callenfels (1935) the middens consisted of shells of molluscs, mainly *Meretrix meretrix* or the Asian hard clam, an edible saltwater cockle (Foo 2015: 115). Chinese lime burners reported to Earl that occasionally human remains had been found in the middens. While digging near the river Earl found bones that were sent to London for examination but interest in the region declined after his visit. Van Stein Callenfels (1935) later wrote ‘nobody took an interest in the prehistory of the Malay Peninsula, or in the spreading of Austro-Melanesoid races, and so both Earl’s discovery of the shell-heaps and [Thomas] Huxley’s suppositions [the bones belonged to a member of a Papuan or Australian Aboriginal race] that the old dwellers on that kitchen-midden were allied to those races, dropped into oblivion’. Fortunately, the reports by Earl and Huxley were read by Robert von Heine-Geldern, the Austrian ethnographer and anthropologist (Ahmad Hakimi bin Khairuddin 1992).

Subsequently, Ivor Evans visited Guar Kepah, a preliminary survey was undertaken, and excavation work commenced in July 1934. The collaboration of Van Stein Callenfels and Evans introduced scientific archaeology to the colony. The method of using a theodolite to measure and record locations of sites and finds was at least systematic compared with random trial excavations conducted previously. In the prehistoric period the shell middens would have been the rubbish sites for peoples living closer to the shoreline. Hoabinhian stone tools were also uncovered in the area.

The early archaeological history of this small site is important to the region. In 1941 just before the Japanese invasion of Malaya, Dorothy Wales would again survey Guar Kepah, then called Province Wellesley: Site 1 (Guak Kepah) (Quaritch Wales and Quaritch Wales 1947: 3-6). But these results were not published until after the Second World War. What Dorothy Wales found was that the site on the edge of Sungai Muda had been disturbed by the Irrigation Department constructing a new flood retention embankment and this work cut the Guar Kepah *permatang* [beach ridge] and Van Stein Callenfels’ mound B. On excavation, a solid basement of laterite measuring thirteen feet six inches [4 metres] square was uncovered at a depth of five feet six inches [1.6 metres]. It was built on a small foundation of river pebbles. The foundation was three feet [approx. one metre] deep and this had fallen to the north, the direction of the early river course, at some early time. A small piece of thick gold leaf, cut from a sheet, measuring only two centimetres square was found in the debris. Three axe heads were found in the diggings and several small earthenware bowls were buried beneath the foundation. Quaritch Wales and Quaritch Wales (1947: 5) dated this site to the 5th century CE on the evidence of associated finds. They considered this site to be the location of the Mahānāvika [sailing master] Buddhagupta inscribed stele found by James Low in 1834 that is now in the Indian Museum at Kolkata.

The site was subsequently surveyed in 1956 by teams from the University of Malaya who found that sites identified by Van Stein Callendefels had been largely removed by quarrying. Only one large mound about twenty feet square [6 metres] remained (Foong 1959). Recently more human remains have been discovered during the construction of an archaeological gallery to interpret the site at Guar Kepah. This provides further evidence that the region was inhabited between 5,000 and 6,000 years ago (Foo 2015: 120). According to recent newspaper reports more than forty human remains have been unearthed in the Guar Kepah area with many of them deposited in the National Museum of Natural History in Leiden (*Malay Mail Online* 24 April 2017; *New Straits Times* 19 April 2017).

Quaritch Wales in Kedah

When Quaritch Wales and his wife Dorothy came to the Bujang valley in 1937 the area had been subject to sporadic exploration and excavation. It was not completely unknown. In the fourteen months of fieldwork between 1937 and 1939 they identified thirty-one sites (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW /1/4, QW/1/5/1-QW/1/5/3). Of these thirty-one sites noted in the report they termed *Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonisation in Malaya*, Quaritch Wales and Dorothy excavated twenty-two (Quaritch Wales 1940). Kedah was chosen for a number of historical reasons formulated in an earlier paper: the area bordered the Straits of Malacca and the ancient trading routes from the west to China; the northwest coast provided first sight of land and the ‘possibility of rest and refreshment to would-be Indian colonists’ after crossing the Bay of Bengal; the estuary of the Sungai Merbok would have been an excellent anchorage and Gunung Jerai would have offered spiritual attraction to ‘superstitious Indian sailors’ for the high mountain must have appeared ‘a veritable home of the gods’.

From Kedah, a short journey could have been found north to Takua Pa and then across to the Bay of Bandon (Quaritch Wales 1935). These settlement patterns suggested by Quaritch Wales followed the courses of the rivers. The first river to be reached upon entering the Merbok estuary would have been Sungai Merbok Kechil and then the Sungai Bujang, both on the north side flowing south from Gunung Jerai. The name Bujang was said to be principally derived from the Sanskrit *Bhujaga* or *Bhujamga* meaning snake for the Sungai Bujang contains numerous bends and side tributaries. Quaritch Wales considered the Sungai Bujang to be the centre of Indian settlement from the 6th to the 9th or 10th centuries CE but since then other settlement areas on rivers feeding into Sungai Merbok and Sungai Muda have been identified (Allen 1988). When reviewing the work of Quaritch Wales Peacock (1970: 20) wrote that ‘[h]is reports are still authoritative and the major source of detailed information on the Indianised settlement of North Malaya’. While that statement was written over forty years ago it still holds true. Archaeological research in Lembah Bujang is progressing with more sites being uncovered, but the foundation material is Quaritch Wales’ pioneering work in the late 1930s.

‘Seat of all felicities’

When Quaritch Wales and his wife began their explorations on the northwest coast of Malaya very little was known about the archaeological heritage of the region. Much of our present day understanding of that heritage comes from their early, often inaccurate and selective, research. It was originally believed that the early polity that controlled the region between Sungai Muda and Gunung Jerai was called Langkasuka. This was the name used in the *Kedah Annals*. It is now believed that Langkasuka was based on the east not the west coast of the Malay peninsula. Between 400 or 500 CE and 1300 CE centres in Kedah were known under the names Chieh-ch’a, Jiecha, Kadāram, Katāha and Kalāh. Tamil poets and Sanskrit dramatists wrote in fulsome phrase that life there was so elegant and comfortable that it could be called the ‘seat of all felicities’ (Wheatley 2010: 280). The regions functioned as important entrepôts in the trade links between the Middle East, India, the Malay peninsula and China. It is possible that the names used to refer to the region vary because they do not describe any one place but document a series of settlements that moved along the west coast according to circumstance. The entrepôt settlement would be a place where small communities of Indians, Malays and other travellers could live waiting for favourable winds to enable sailors, merchants and priests to make the onward journeys east or west.

Initially settlement areas were probably located at Kampung Sungai Mas on Sungai Muda. Then the main area moved north to Kampung Pengkalan Bujang on Sungai Bujang that flows into Sungai



Image 03.005:

The upper reaches of the Sungai Bujang

(Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 3; Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

Merbok. Settlement may then have moved back to Kampung Sireh, on Sungai Muda (Allen 1997: 83, 1999: 131-150 and 2011: 138-156). Settlement, largely determined by river access and supported by exchange and dry-land agriculture in the hinterland, was in three areas: the shore front and the beach ridges along the Sungai Merbok; the natural levees along the Sungai Muda that drains much of the Kedah plains, and the foot hills and slopes of the Gunung Jerai and other hills such as Bukit Penjara, Bukit Batu Pahat, Bukit Pendiati and Bukit Meriam (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd. Rahman and Othman Mohd. Yatim 1990: [2]). Allen (1997: 84) conjectures that the population of the region may have been 50,000 but Jacq-Hergoualc'h (2002: 202) wrote that his estimate would be around 20,000. Between 900 and 1500 CE dry-land farming practices intensified. This led to reduced vegetation cover and soil instability on inland slopes and substantial geomorphological changes to the estuarine waters of the Merbok (Khoo 1996: 347-371). Erosion led to the creation of the broad coastal plain as silts and clay filled estuaries and swales. This process of sedimentation is continuing along the west coast of the Malay peninsula and the east coast of Sumatra: the coasts facing the Straits of Melaka. Because the settlement of local people was dendritic, forest collectors who traded with communities on the coast, if so desired, could cross the interfluvium to another watershed and trade with a competing settlement (Bronson 1977). Exchange in Kedah was, of necessity, cooperative and horizontal (Allen 1997: 84).

Jacq-Hergoualc'h (1992a & b) prepared a comprehensive inventory and summary of the thirty-one sites identified by Quaritch Wales. These are included in the fifty-two sites on the inventory of the Muzium Arkeologi at Merbok. Jane Allen (1988) added to this significantly by documenting eighty-seven sites during her five months fieldwork in 1979 and 1980. Her research into trade, transportation and settlement patterns in the proto-historic period is a major source of identification of archaeological sites in the Kedah valleys. It is a major conclusion of her research that hillside erosion caused by dry-land horticulture, the resulting coastal progradation and the need for population shifts as rivers and estuaries silted, that provides the basis for much of the current research into further site identification in the Sungai Batu area although the primary source for all current work remains that undertaken by Quaritch Wales and his wife (see Chia and Naizatul Akma Mohd Mokhtar 2011: 350-364; Iklil Izzati Zakaria, Mokhtar Saidin and Abdullah 2011, Zolkurnian Hassan, Chia and Hamid Mohd Isa 2011: 28-49; Mokhtar Saidin and others 2011: 16-26, and Rosli Saad and others 2015: 11143-11148).



Image 03.006:

Dorothy Wales recording data beside an excavation
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

Survey of the Quaritch Wales' sites

Jacq-Hergoualc'h (1992a: 23-30) first grouped the Quaritch Wales' sites according to their geographical location: the Kampung Pengkalan Bujang (PB) zone; the Sungai Bujang (SB) zone; the Sungai Kecil Merbok (SMK) zone; the zone north of the Bujang (NB) area, the zone called South Merbok-Muda (SMM) and the zone referred to as Upriver Muda (UM). Then within these areas he categorised the sites according to their religious affiliation: seven sites were listed as Buddhist and thirteen identified as Hindu. Sites 11 and 3 are considered one site. A further nine sites identified by Quaritch Wales are now either unidentified or cannot be located (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992a: 35).

Buddhist religious structures

There were seven sites identified by Quaritch Wales that Jacq-Hergoualc'h (1992a: 35) listed as Buddhist shrines. They are: Sites 1—located north of Gunung Jerai at Bukit Choras—2, 10, 16A, 17, 21, and 22. Sites 2, 10, 16A and 17 were located on the basal and lower slopes of Gunung Jerai along Sungai Bujang. Sites 21 and 22 were further south along the river within the Kampung Pengkalan Bujang area.

Site 1

Site 1 examined by Quaritch Wales was not within the Merbok-Muda area. Bukit Choras is a small hill on the banks of Sungai Sala, north of Gunung Jerai but still within Kedah. Quaritch Wales chose this small crescent shaped hill because it had been named in the *Kedah Annals* as the place where a Siamese military expedition had built a mud wall and ditch. The *Kedah Annals* do not contain accurate historical dates and much of the content is mythological, but a Siamese invasion of Kedah

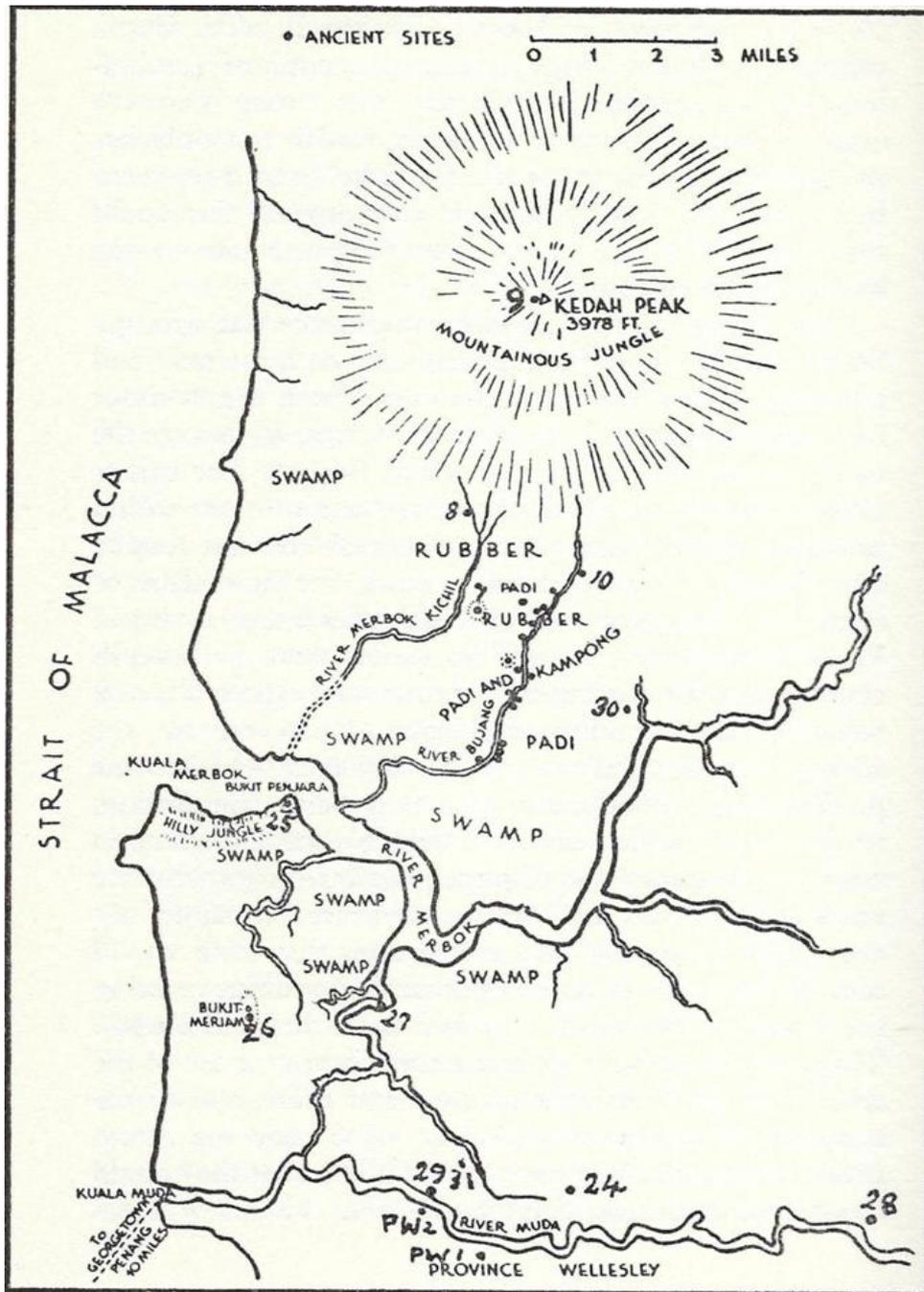


Image 03.007:

Quaritch Wales' hand-drawn map of archaeological sites in the Lembah Bujang.
 Note: map includes addition of two sites in Province Wellesley labelled PW1 and PW2.
 (Quaritch Wales 1940: Figure 2 and 1976: 72)

occurred in 1821. The site had been visited by James Low who found remains that appeared to show Buddhist religious structures built on the hill (Low 1849b: 258, 336). Quaritch Wales' excavation revealed a laterite basement that he measured at twenty-two feet six inches by twenty-three feet six inches [approx. 6.8 metres by 7 metres] and standing about one metre above the bedrock on which it had been built. The structure was 'massively built of courses of laterite blocks' and his assessment was that a *stūpa* would have been placed on the basement rocks (Quaritch Wales 1940: 6-7, Plates 4, 5 and 6). It was here that an inscribed stone measuring 6.6 centimetres in length, and between 1.45 to



Image 03.008:
Photograph of Bukit Choras
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

0.95 centimetres in width was found that had incised on it the Buddhist credo, *Ye dharma hetuprabravā* [Of those things that arise from a cause] (Skilling 2003-2004: 274). A photograph of this inscription was sent to John Allan, the keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum.

The translation of the inscriptions and their meaning occupied a considerable amount of time. Between 1938 and 1939 Quaritch Wales communicated often with John Allan in London, with Dutch Sanskrit scholar and epigraphist, Jean Philippe Vogel in Leiden, and with the Government epigraphist for India, Niranjana Chakravarti (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/6/1/7-12, 16-18, 21-23, 29, 30-33, 3640-42 and 44). The inscribed tablet is now in the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. Quaritch Wales (1940: 7) dated this site to the 4th century and Quaritch Wales called it the 'earliest structure now known in Malaya'. This estimation of dating has been questioned by Lamb (1962a) because the inscribed stone, as an artefact, had no meaningful relationship with the laterite foundations. Other experts supported a revised date to between the 8th and the 9th centuries CE (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002: 308). The hill is within the Kota Sarang Semut area and the religious structure on the hill, known as Candi Bukit Choras, has been declared under threat of destruction from quarrying operations and property development. On the western slopes is a large Chinese cemetery (Sanday 1987: 12).

Site 2

Site 2 was in a Malay *kampung* on the right bank of the Sungai Bujang. This area is now known as Kampung Bendang Dalam in the Bujang *mukim* [Subdistrict] (Allen 1988: 735, Site map 1). On excavation, the site revealed a square basement about twelve feet six inches [3.8 metres] square and about two feet six inches [0.76 metres] deep. Quaritch Wales (1940: Plates 7-9) wrote that he was certain it was the base of a small *stūpa*. An iron cone of ten inches [25 centimetres] in height but much corroded was also found near the edge of the basement. He wrote that the object was contemporary with the structure and considered that it would have been the finial of the *stūpa* or of the inner sanctuary. A second inscribed tablet measuring approx. five inches [13.6 centimetres] long by one inch [2.85 centimetres] square was found in the excavation. The engravings were



Image 03.009:

Photograph by Quaritch Wales of inscription found at Site 1
 (Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 6; Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection).
 Collection of the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. A-1356a

confirmed to be three Mahāyāna Buddhist stanzas from the *Sagaramatipariprccha*, a Buddhist sutra (Quaritch Wales 1940: 9, Plate 8; Lamb 1961g: 38; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002: 209). Quaritch Wales assumed that this tablet could be dated to between the 4th and the 6th centuries CE but again this early dating has been questioned (Lamb 1961g). It is now considered to be from the 7th or the 8th century CE.

It was an important part of Quaritch Wales' theory of Indianization that an early Buddhist period, dating to the first half of the first millennium, was replaced by a Hindu period that commenced in the second half of that millennium. However, his arbitrary early dating of associated finds has often been contested. Certainly, the tablet could have been a foundation deposit, but it may have antedated the site by centuries or the tablet, alternatively, may have been deliberately inscribed with an archaic epigraphic stanza. The tablet is now in the Asian Civilisations Museum in Singapore. Allen (1988: 305) reported that the surface area of Site 2 had largely been destroyed by quarrying for laterite and shale for construction purposes. The quarried and excavated site measures twenty by sixteen metres and Jane Allen found it covered with secondary forest growth, bamboos, palms and vines.



Image 03.010:

Photograph by Quaritch Wales of inscription found at Site 2
 (Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 8a; Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection).
 Collection of the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. A-1356

Site 10

Another Buddhist site, Site 10, was located on the left bank of Sungai Bujang close to the Bukit Tupah estate in the Semiling *mukim*. Within the centre of a small enclosure of boulder walls fifty-two feet square [16 metres square] was a low mound identified by some bricks that showed evidence that the material had been used to make foundation material for a nearby road. A sanctuary, opening to the west, was measured at eleven feet six inches square [3.5 metres square]. Quaritch Wales reported that the site was difficult to access because of a fence dividing the Sungai Batu estate from the Bukit Tupah estate but in the diggings seven metal discs— one gold and six silver—were located. The metal discs, six inscribed with Sanskrit lettering, each had a diameter of approx. 3.8 centimetres. Quaritch Wales sent photographs of the inscriptions to Niranjana Chakravarti, the chief epigraphist in India, who informed him that the letters were most likely names of Bodhisattvas.

Chakravarti stated that ‘where this script is found in Greater India it might date from the VIIIth or even IXth century AD’ (Quaritch Wales 1940: 23). This dating of the second half of the 9th century was confirmed by Frederik Bosch. Consequently, Quaritch Wales accepted the dating and proposed that the ruins were of a Mahāyānist temple. Recent examination by Jacq-Hergoualc’h (1992a: 55) has now suggested that the discs could be from a much later date: between the 12th and the 13th centuries CE. These discs are now housed at the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore.

Site 16A

Site 16A was not excavated by Quaritch Wales but by his wife Dorothy in 1941, just before the Japanese occupation of Malaya, when Quaritch Wales was based with the British Indian Army at Sungai Petani. Dorothy is reported to have ridden her bicycle into the Sungai Bujang area to continue archaeological work. In their report published after the war they noted that during the earlier survey period excavations at Site 16A could not be undertaken as there was a house across the site (Quaritch Wales and Quaritch Wales 1947: 7). However, in 1941 when Dorothy Wales returned to the area this had been removed. Site 16A was in *padi* land about fifteen yards [5 metres] from Site 16. Using her husband’s normal trial trenching technique Dorothy Wales excavated a brick wall and the exterior structure of a plinth twelve feet six inches square [3.8 metres square]. The plinth was three feet six inches [one metre] high and ‘around the building were scattered large numbers of bricks many of them curved on one side and shaped in such a way that they appeared to have been segments of a circular structure’. These they considered to be either part of a *stūpa* or a sanctuary tower.

Fragments of coarse reddish pottery were found but the most important find, and probably the most significant find in the Bujang valley, was a small bronze Buddha (Quaritch Wales 1946: 142 and plate XV; Quaritch Wales and Quaritch Wales 1947: Plate I & II). The Buddha is now in the Asian Civilisations Museum in Singapore with a copy in the Muzium Arkeologi in Merbok. It measures 21.6 centimetres in height. Quaritch Wales dated it to the 4th or the 5th century CE but more recent examinations have dated it to the 6th or 7th century CE (Jacq-Hergoualc’h 1992a: 52-54).

Quaritch Wales and his wife wrote that this was ‘the earliest Buddhist image as yet known from Malaya. It also enjoys the distinction of being the only image in the round at present known to have survived the iconoclasm of the Kedah converts to Islam’. While this may be true, it is still largely unsubstantiated. Lamb revisited the site in 1959 with students from the University of Malaya but when Jane Allen undertook her research on Kedah sites she reported it had disappeared completely (Lamb 1959c: 103; Allen 1988: 309).



Image 03.011:

Bronze Buddha found by Dorothy Wales at Site 16A in 1941
(Photograph by author 2017). Collection of the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. A-1354

Site 17: Candi Bukit Pendiat

Bukit Pendiat [Elephant trap hill], Site 17, is a small hill with a summit of about thirty metres located 150 metres from the west bank of Sungai Bujang in the Merbok *mukim*. The surrounding area is mostly *padi* fields and secondary forest grows on the slopes of the hill (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd. Rahman and Othman Mohd. Yatim 1990). It was first explored by Evans (1927a: 121) and then by Quaritch Wales (1940: 37). Both attempts at excavation were cursory. Quaritch Wales considered the site contained only bricks and coarse red pottery. Further survey work in 1976 indicated that detailed archaeological work was important. The site was relocated in 1980 by Jane

Allen and excavation commenced in 1991. The main structure is unusual in that it was surrounded by a low octagonal-shaped laterite wall with the main structure three meters from the wall. The structure inside was octagonal and made up of five parts. The first was a laterite path about seventy-five centimetres wide, the second part was a brick wall that has been interpreted as a section of the main structure and the third part was empty space 142 centimetres in width. In the corner of this space were found eight buried earthenware pots. These were Buddhist reliquary items (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992a: 50). The fourth part consisted of another empty space thirty-seven centimetres in width and the fifth part was a brick lined empty space that formed the centre of the structure (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd. Rahman and Othman Mohd. Yatim 1990: 32; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992a: 47-49; Adi bin Haji Taha 1983: 51, see also cross section elevation and plate 1). Site 17 was excavated by a team from Muzium Negara led by Adi bin Haji Taha in 1976 and 1977 and has been reconstructed in situ (see Allen 1988: 738, Site map 6). A detailed site plan including cross elevations was subsequently published by Adi bin Haji Taha (1983: site 17). Bukit Pendiak lies slightly northwest of Kampung Bendang Dalam near the confluence of the three rivers: the Sungai Baru, Sungai Pendang and the larger Sungai Bujang (Allen 1988: 306, Fig 9).

Sites 20, 21, 22 and 23

Four sites were located north of Site 19 by Quaritch Wales. They are within the Kampung Pengkalan Bujang area in the Bujang *mukim*. These Quaritch Wales numbered Sites 20, 21, 22 and 23. A survey in 1974 found that Site 20, near the left bank of Sungai Bujang, had been badly damaged by farming activities. Quaritch Wales (1940: 40) stated that 'nothing of interest was found except a few fragments of Sung [Song dynasty 960 to 1279 CE] celadon at floor level' and dated these to between the 11th and 12th centuries CE. As the other three sites were not located in *padi* fields they had not been subject to much encroachment. They were also located on the left bank of Sungai Bujang a short distance from Site 20 and on an 'island of higher ground' Quaritch Wales found remains of three temples made from bricks. Site 21 he called a 'rather plain rectangular building measuring about 21' [feet] x 10' [feet] [6.4 metres by 3 metres] of which there remained the lower courses of brick walls and a few stone *socles* of the timber pillars' (Quaritch Wales 1940: 40; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992a: 35-36). As with Site 20, he dated these three structures to between the 11th to the 12th centuries CE.

Teams from the Muzium Negara excavated only two of the remaining sites in 1976 and 1977 (Allen 1988: 345, 346, Fig 14, 347-348 and 748, Site plan 18). But as Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd. Rahman and Othman Mohd. Yatim (1990: 28-30) reported 'the excavated sites were Sites 21 and 22. It is uncertain whether the site which we labelled 21 was the same as the Site 21 of Quaritch Wales, because the excavation revealed a different plan from what was reported by him. Site 22 also had a different plan'. This issue was highlighted by Jane Allen (1988: 347-348). She considered that the site numbered 21 by the Muzium Arkeologi was actually Quaritch Wales' Site 23 while the museum's Site 22 was the original Site 21. The confusion was again noted by Jacq-Hergoualc'h (1992a: 35-36 fn2). The problem was compounded by Quaritch Wales who, in his main report gave inadequate physical descriptions of the sites and did not include plans or photographs. He described Site 22 as rectangular but when the two sites were excavated together confusion set in. What is now called Site 21 is cruciform in structure (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992a: 36-37). A construction plan with accurate measurements was published by Adi bin Haji Taha (1983: site 21) who named it Candi Pengkalan Bujang. It has been rebuilt at the archaeology museum at Merbok to a height of 2.3 metres and is protected from the weather by a timber-trussed pitched-roof with asbestos sheeting.

The current Site 22 consists of two small brick structures five metres apart. The first is a brick structure 1.8 metres square with eight brick courses. The second structure is two metres square with a hole in the centre (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992a: 40-41; Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd. Rahman and Othman Mohd. Yatim 1990). Site 22 has been reconstructed in situ. However, it has been assumed that there would have not been a hole in the original structure. Finds at the original sites included bricks, sculpture, ceramic sherds, glass, iron nails, tiles and beads. Site 23 located north of the other sites was also planned for reconstruction. It has been estimated that this Buddhist complex of temples dates to the 9th or 10th centuries. In the report for UNESCO Sanday (1987: 10) makes no mention of this confusion except to note that Site 22 was covered by a corrugated asbestos pitched roof and that Site 23 was to be used for practical archaeological training by students from Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

In summary, Jacq-Hergoualc'h (2002: 204-207) found that these Buddhist structures were all made from quadrangular blocks, except for Site 21 that was cruciform in shape and Site 17 that was octagonal. Constructed in descending stories, they were the acceptable conical shape of *stūpas*. The block structures were relatively small. The largest was seven metres by seven metres. Only the octagonal structure on Bukit Pendiak was ten metres in diameter. Building materials were brick and laterite. Some only had a wall or foundation of one block of earth and rough stone. No cement was used and often the blocks were superimposed on each other without concern for altering their length or width. Foundations were basic with some structures built directly on compact earth, pebbles or rocks. As such, these monuments were unstable and subject to subsidence, collapse, earth movements and river changes. The buildings had little ornamentation and few mouldings have been found. The few remaining objects from the building make dating this Buddhist material subject to numerous controversies. Dates earlier than the 8th or 9th centuries CE would now be considered improbable.

Hindu religious structures

Jacq-Hergoualc'h (1992a: 65) lists twelve Hindu sites uncovered by Quaritch Wales (1940). They are Sites 4, 5, 6, 8, 11/3, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 24 and 31. Sites 11 and 3 are regarded as one site group.

Site 4

Site 4 had been built on the right bank of Sungai Bujang with the main sanctuary, the *vimāna*, facing to the east. The mound excavated by Quaritch Wales (1940: 11-15) had long been known to the estate management as the laterite there had been a source for road metal. During his survey of the Sungai Batu estate in 1921, and following his finds on the summit of Gunung Jerai, Ivor Evans undertook tentative explorations in the area and it was here in 1923 that he recovered stone statues including the relief of Durga triumphing over Mahiṣasura and the head of a granite Nandi. Some excavation work commenced in 1925 but Evans did not number or locate the remains. Later he published only a sketch plan and two photographs in his report (Evans 1927a: 116-118, Plates XXIV and XXV).



Image 03.012:

Site 4 during excavations (Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 17;
Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

When Quaritch Wales began excavation at Site 4 he originally focussed on the *vimāna* that stood to the south of a middle line of the rubble enclosure whose wall was composed of river boulders bound with earth. This wall enclosure was measured at three feet to four feet [1 metre to 1.2 metres] wide and two feet to three feet [0.6 metre to 1 metre] high and there was evidence it had subsided. This enclosure wall was measured at forty metres north-south and twelve metres east-west (Allen 1988: 319). The sanctuary stood on a foundation made of river boulders but only the plinth and lower courses of the walls remained. It was apparent there was an entrance to the eastern side. Evans (1927a: 117, plate XXVI fig 2) found a large granite *yoni* [*snānadroṇī*] resting upside-down with its spout directed towards the southern wall in this area. Quaritch Wales (1940: 12, see Fig 4 and Fig 14) assumed that, with the *snānadroṇī* upside-down and facing south, instead of through the northern wall, the temple would have been pillaged long ago. He conjectured that the temple, despite its massive base construction would have been built of perishable timber materials in its upper elements. He called the structure a Śaivite shrine oriented east-west and dated it to either the 6th or the 7th century CE (Quaritch Wales 1940: 16).

Near this site a local resident found the miniature shrine roof of bronze that is now housed in the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. Analysis showed that this object comprised eighty percent copper (Quaritch Wales 1940: 47). A copy is on display at the Muzium Arkeologi, Merbok. Quaritch Wales (1940: 14) stated that the miniature shrine was part of a casket that probably belonged, not to the temple, but to a home nearby. Numerous other objects were uncovered here including a bas-relief Ganeśa, a granite *linga*, elements of a *somasūtra*, ceramics, glass, a few fragments of iron implements and pieces of a small bronze bell. The fragments of this bell were analysed and found to be seventy-five percent copper and nearly nineteen percent tin (Quaritch Wales 1940: 47). The bas-relief and a small stone arrowhead are reported to be in the collection of the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. Images of these objects were published by Quaritch Wales (1940: Figures 18 and 20).

When Jacq-Hergoualc'h (1992a: 112-123) provided his comprehensive assessment of this site and republished many of Quaritch Wales (1940: Figures 10-16) photographs, he reported that the site could no longer be found. Allen (1988: 318-320) reported the findings of Wang (1958b: 221) who commented that Site 4 was about 100 yards [90 metres] behind workers' dwellings at the boundary of the Sungai Batu and Bukit Tupah estates. It was, he stated, 'one of the largest ever excavated in

the area' but that it could now no longer be traced. It appears that during the Second World War the Japanese army levelled the mound for road and construction rubble and it was then planted with coconuts, rubber, grass, shrubs and taro. Allen (1988: 320) could not map the area in detail.

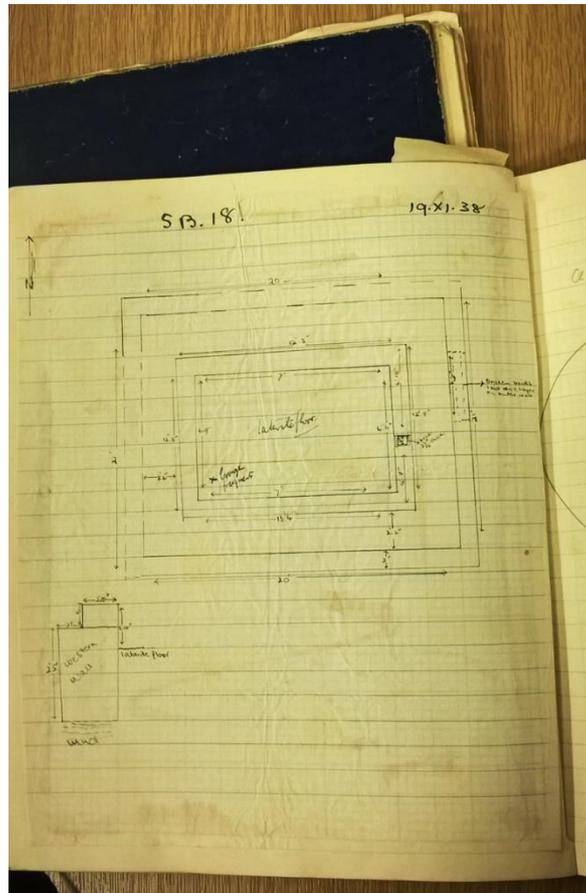


Image 03.013:

Detailed plan of the central part of a site (probably Site 4) possibly drawn by Dorothy Wales. (Royal Asiatic Society Archives. QW/1/51-QW/1/5/3)



Image 03.014:

Miniature shrine roof found near Site 4. (Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 18; Choo 1987: 75, Plate 70)
Collection of the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. A-0135

Site 5

Following on from the early work of Quaritch Wales, teams from the Muzium Negara later excavated and reconstructed Site 5 in situ in 1974. This work was based on a site survey by Wang Gungwu (1958b: 221). The structure is located 300 metres south of Kampung Sungai Batu estate and on the west bank of Sungai Bujang in Kampung Bendang Dalam, Merbok *mukim* (Allen 1988: 306, Fig 9 and 736, Site map 3). The site was originally surrounded by an enclosure wall built from river boulders and, like other Hindu temples, it faced east with its long axis east-west. From photographs in the report by Quaritch Wales (1940: 16-17, Fig 5 and Plates 21-23) when it was first located all that remained of the *vimāna* was a laterite plinth with the lower courses of the walls. The plinth rested on a foundation of boulders. It was, he wrote, a 'very plain laterite *maṇḍapam* platform, without stone foundations' projecting from the eastern face, down which a narrow brick path was visible. The temple was of the *vimāna-maṇḍapa* type: the *vimāna* measures 4.62 metres square and the *maṇḍapa* 3.20 metres by 6.15 metres (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd. Rahman and Othman Mohd. Yatim 1990). A plan of the reconstructed temple and photograph of the temple in situ is given by Jacq-Hergoualc'h (1992a: 100-101). A square *snāndroṇī* (Quaritch Wales 1940 Plate 24) was found resting against the east wall but it was assumed that the *somasūtra* had been laid or hidden under the platform floor on the north side and covered with stones. Four small stone *socles* with square mortises were also found outside. The conclusion was that the temple superstructure would have been made of wood most likely with a thatch roofing. Only small items, some ceramics, a single nail and a sharpening stone, were found in the site. Once more, Quaritch Wales dated the temple to between the 6th and the 7th centuries CE but recent excavations and reconstruction have revised this early date. It is now believed that the temple dates from the 11th to the 13th centuries CE.



Image 03.015:

Site 5 during excavations showing original basement and working conditions
(Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 21; Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

Site 6

At this site near the edge of an old river channel laterite and bricks were found with the ends of a boulder wall foundation appearing in the river bank close to the site. Excavation of Site 6 revealed two enclosures connected by a common wall (Quaritch Wales 1940: 17 and Fig 6). Again, Quaritch Wales noted that the sanctuaries would have opened to the east but the southern *vimāna* had completely disappeared due to erosion of the river bank. In the northern shrine, the stone basement of the *vimāna* remained with a small floor annexed to the northern side of the basement. Finds

included some fragment of coarse red earthenware and some amber-tinted glass fragments. The rim of a small bronze bowl was also found. This structure was also dated to 6th or 7th centuries CE. When this area was visited in 1958 by students from the University of Malaya, they found the site replanted by mature rubber trees that were much overgrown. Little could be seen. Allen (1988: 321) reported that the site contained only a few laterite block fragments, waterworn cobbles and granitic boulders.

Site 8: Candi Bukit Batu Pahat



Image 03.016:
Waterfall on Sungai Batu Pahat near site 8
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

Candi Bukit Batu Pahat, the ‘temple on the hill of cut stone’, is now located beside the Muzium Arkeologi Lembah Bujang at Merbok (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd. Rahman and Othman Mohd. Yatim 1990). It is the best documented and most complete excavation and reconstruction undertaken in the Bujang valley. Quaritch Wales labelled this his Site 8. He wrote that the temple was made from sandstone cut from river boulders obtained from the Sungai Merbok Kechil that runs beside the temple site. The stone is in fact granite, not sandstone. He wrote that the original temple was located on a low spur of Gunung Jerai overlooking the river on a nearby plantation. The name of the hill, Bukit Batu Pahat, interested Quaritch Wales, and when he went to the site he found it located near a ‘pretty waterfall with a pool beneath it’ (Quaritch Wales 1940: 18, Plate 25 and 26). Fortunately, he photographed both the stones in the creek marked to indicate where workers had drilled holes to separate the rocks as well as the small waterfall. The unexcavated mound indicated the presence of disturbed earth and rocks and so he excavated in some detail. He wrote that this Śivaite temple resembled others in the valley, that is the *vimāna-maṇḍapa* plan, but differed from them by ‘greater elaboration and more profound knowledge of construction in stone’. On site he found many stone pillar bases that had supported the timber columns and beams that braced the roof structure. He also believed that the building had fallen towards the north and found much stone rubble in that area. Quaritch Wales (1940: 19) stated that the sanctuary tower would have been built of stone with the stone *stupika* placed on top. This proposal has been challenged after much good work, and reconstruction, by Lamb (1959a & b, 1960, 1961b, f and j) and Peacock (1974). Outside was found the well-dressed segment of a stone *somasūtra*.



Image 03.017:
The original photograph of the 'cut stone' by the Sungai Batu Pahat
(Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 26; Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)



Image 03.018:
East corner of basement plinth with *socles* in situ
(Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 29)

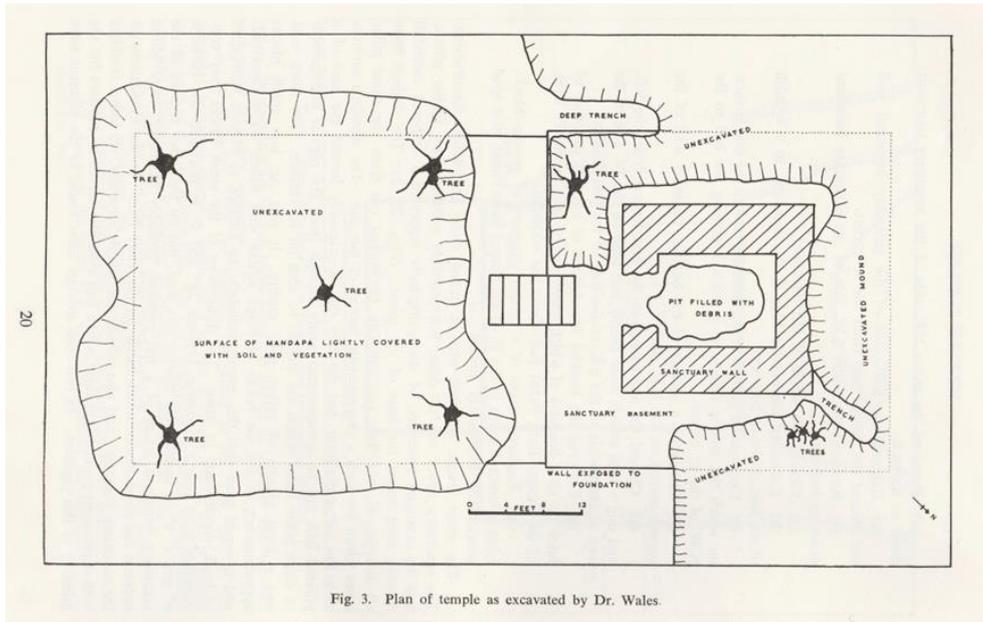


Fig. 3. Plan of temple as excavated by Dr. Wales.

Image 03.019:

Plan of temple as excavated by Quaritch Wales in 1938
(Lamb 1960: Figure 3. Reproduced with permission of author)

Two nine-chambered reliquaries [*garbhabhājana* (Sanskrit); Ślāzcka 2006: 190, 210 & 212] were recovered from beneath the rubble in the south and southeast corners of the central sanctuary. They measured 6.75 inches square [17 centimetres] and had a low foot at each corner base. At one time, they had a stone cover, but this was not located. In the base of the reliquaries nine small cylindrical chambers had been cut. Quaritch Wales' assumption (1940: 20), based on comments by Willem Stutterheim, the epigraphist in the Dutch East Indies, was that these caskets with their nine chambers were used as depositories for the ashes of deceased kings. The assumption was that they were placed beneath the floor of the *candi* to ensure the survival of the king's soul. Subsequently, after treasure seekers had looted the sanctuary, the 'removal of the magical depository with the ashes usually must have caused the ruin of the whole structure' (Quaritch Wales 1940: 21). This proposition is no longer considered valid for foundation deposits placed in stone caskets and buried under temple floors are now seen as a form of ceremonial dedication made when the temple was first consecrated (Ślāzcka 2006).

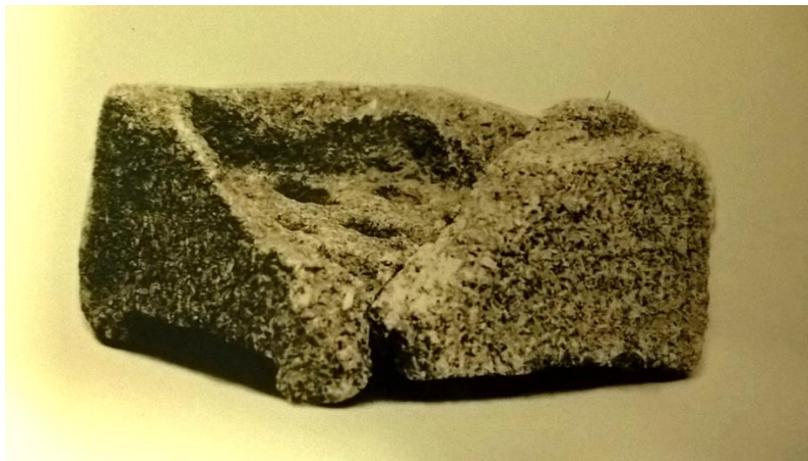


Image 03.020:

Photograph by Quaritch Wales (1940: Plate 32) of the nine-chambered reliquary found at Site 8
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

Quaritch Wales dated the site to between the 7th and the 8th centuries CE. Also, a 'bronze trident of S'iva, having one outer prong missing, was also recovered'. The height of the extant portion was approximately 2.5 inches [6.35 centimetres]. Quaritch Wales (1940: 20) remarked that this 'trident was a find of considerable importance not only because it confirmed my belief that this temple, like those on the Bujang, was dedicated to the S'iva cult, but because its style was clearly Pallava'. In his analysis of this object, Treloar (1979: 49, Plates 1 and 2) found that by comparing the size and style of a bell in the Jakarta museum that the 'trident' was the top of a Śiva priest's handbell used in Hindu temple rituals. It may have been part of an object common to many Hindu temples of that period. While teaching at the University of Malaya in 1961, Francis Treloar became interested in the chemical analysis of archaeological artefacts. Items from different reliquaries were sent to the Australian Atomic Energy Commission at Lucas Heights south of Sydney for analysis. The investigation found that a pot containing various ritual objects was nearly pure copper. Treloar (1968: 194) determined that the gold and tin used to make the objects would have been sourced in the Malay peninsula but the other materials, notably copper, silver, metallic mercury and a trace of arsenic in the copper, may all have come from the Bau district in Sarawak.

Mercury was mined as cinnabar (red mercuric sulphide) that was also used in the extraction of gold and the Bau mining area was in the headwaters of Sungai Sarawak near the confluence of the main river and the tributary streams, Sungai Sarawak Kiri and Sungai Sarawak Kanan. Because of the proximity to Sarawak Treloar (1968: 197) considered that the metals would have been traded to Pengkalan Bujang close to Candi Bukit Batu Pahat. Treloar and Lamb tentatively dated the trade in ores that were worked to make the ritual objects found in temple, Site 8, to within the late Song (960-1279 CE) and the Yuan dynasties (1271-1368 CE) (Treloar 1968: 198). But Treloar and Lamb were apparently unaware of the work of the Swiss-born geologist August Tobler who reported the presence of ancient mine shafts on Sumatra in 1911. Tobler was working for the Netherlands East Indies administration and his comprehensive collection of papers were written and published in German and Dutch. As cited in Miksic (1985: 451-452 fn117 and 119), men from Minangkabau and Jambi extracted and worked cinnabar and gold as early as the proto-historic period. These areas on Sumatra close to the Straits of Malacca are closer to Kedah and may have been sources of the mercury used. The importance of this scientific analysis is that much of the religious material made and used in the Kedah temples was local, or at least local to Southeast Asia, rather than imported from India.

Reconstruction of Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat 1958-1959

In 1956 the Merbok estuary area was visited by Jan de Josselin de Jong and Kennedy Tregonning who reported that several sites located between the Merbok and Muda rivers identified by Quaritch Wales warranted further investigation. Subsequently, Alastair Lamb and Michael Sullivan, with a team from the University of Malaya Archaeological Society, surveyed the area for six weeks. Then, in 1957 and 1958, Wang Gungwu, Lamb and Peacock relocated many Quaritch Wales sites, and decided that Site 8 would be suitable for full excavation and reconstruction. Site 8 was also chosen because many sites had been damaged by use, plantation development and the Japanese invasion. In addition structures on the site had been built from granitic and not from friable lateritic brick and, with an eye to some future tourism prospects, the area offering some local scenic qualities.

This reconstruction has been the most comprehensive and best documented site redevelopment in the Bujang valley (Lamb 1960; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992a: 123-141; Allen 1988: 335-336). Alastair Lamb (Email to author 23 November 2018) reports that the then Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman



Image 03.021:

Initial clearing of sanctuary basement in 1958
(Lamb 1960: Plate 6. Reproduced with permission of author)

Putra, whose ancestral state was Kedah, was a friend of Tan Sri Dato' Dr Mubin Sheppard. Realising the precarious nature of Site 8 in its undeveloped state and fearing that it may be on top of a deposit of exploitable iron ore, the men decided to take active measures to save the site and allocated resources for the reconstruction. As this was also a time of political instability in the area, high-level support was crucial to the success of the project.

The work around Site 8 began in 1958 with the clearing of undergrowth. During the first two weeks on site, the archaeological team led by Wang and Lamb produced a general plan of the temple sanctuary and the sanctuary basement. Surrounding terraces were also located. At this time an intact reliquary was also recovered (Lamb 1959b). This focussed considerable public attention on the reconstruction and facilitated additional funds for the work. The reliquary was sent to the British Museum in August 1958 to be opened there. Prior to complete reconstruction of Site 8 Lamb (1959b) provided full, and useful, details of this early survey work. In April 1959 Bernard-Philippe Groslier from the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* in Cambodia visited the site, supported its restoration and offered the services of conservation staff from Angkor (Lamb 1960: 61). The subsequent restoration was supervised by Alastair Lamb with site assistance from Louis Contant, a member of Conservation d'Angkor based in Cambodia, and financed by the government of the Federation of Malaya, the university, the Asia Foundation and the Kedah state government. This reconstruction is an important part of the archaeological story of the Bujang valley settlements but that is also interesting is that Quaritch Wales, still active in Southeast Asian research at that time, did not play a role in the project. He later commented on the work, and reviewed publications about the reconstruction, but did not assist or direct the project himself.



Image 05.022:

The team of workers employed on the reconstruction of Site 8
(Lamb 1960: Plate 68. Reproduced with permission of author)

The actual reconstruction process was undertaken between July and October 1959 with the project finalised in December 1959. During excavation of the site five more reliquaries were discovered and these were opened in Kuala Lumpur in September 1959. These reliquaries were constructed from granite and not quartzite as described by Quaritch Wales. This brought the number of reliquaries found at Site 8, including two found by Quaritch Wales, to eight: only the one located under the floor of the *cella*—the *garbhagha*—was missing, presumably looted. In her detailed analysis of temple consecration rituals in ancient India, Anna Ślaczka (2006: 260-262) described the nature and function of the eight foundation deposits found at Site 8 and wrote

The number of the boxes discovered in Candi Bukit Batu Pahat and their distribution within the temple suggests, perhaps, that the construction ritual performed there was a local variant of the *garbhanyāsa* [consecration ritual] of the Indian texts.

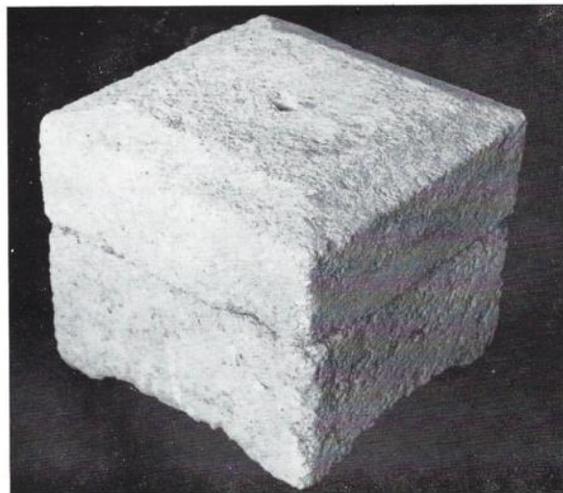
Subsequent analysis of the contents of the reliquaries revealed that the gold contained a high percentage of mercury and the copper contained stibnite (Allen 1988: 271-275). Again, chemical analysis of reliquary deposits was undertaken by Treloar (1972 and 1979) and Treloar and Fabris (1975). Following his death, Treloar's significant contribution to the analysis of the objects from Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat was acknowledged by Edward McKinnon (1980)

In assessing the assumptions made by Quaritch Wales, Lamb (1960: 91) stated that he believed there were no parallels in Indian religious practices that linked the nine chambered reliquaries found in Site 8 with local practices in Kedah. His opinion was that as 'a close parallel to the reliquaries could, it seemed, be found in Java, it was not necessary to persist, as had [Quaritch] Wales, in a search for Indian models for this sort of object' (Lamb 1960: 91). The margin of Quaritch Wales' personal copy of Lamb's book is marked with a large question mark here. When the lids of the deposit caskets were replaced the reliquaries measured seven inches [approx. 18 centimetres] square. Other reliquaries would also be found at Sites 19 and 16. Stanley O'Connor (1966a: 54 and 57) certainly

associated the caskets with Indian religious practice. He stated that the reliquaries were placed beneath the *garbhagrha* and were well known to archaeologists from Sri Lanka, and at the time he stated the practice continued. The reliquaries were believed to have symbolic reference to cosmological principles that, although they differ in detail, were fundamentally the same in Buddhist and Hindu systems. He suggested the transmission of ideas was from India, or Sri Lanka, then to Java and Bali where it underwent a 'local inflection with the addition of the ashes of dead kings'. He concluded with the statement that:

the existence of ritual deposit boxes in the foundations of the ancient sanctuaries of Southeast Asia can be easily integrated into the religious traditions of India. It is also evident that the mere existence of such boxes in a sanctuary does not in itself indicate the practice of enshrining the ashes of dead kings as in Java, nor is the existence of stone nine-chambered boxes of itself any evidence of Javanese cultural influence (O'Connor 1966a: 60).

At the time these statements by a senior scholar further complicated the reasons why reliquaries were deposited in Kedah temples. Recent detailed research by Anna Ślaczka (2006) highlights the Indian religious origins for the placement of foundation deposits in Hindu and Buddhist temples but also emphasises the fact that consecration rituals were adapted and changed in communities in Southeast Asia.



88 & 89. The East reliquary.

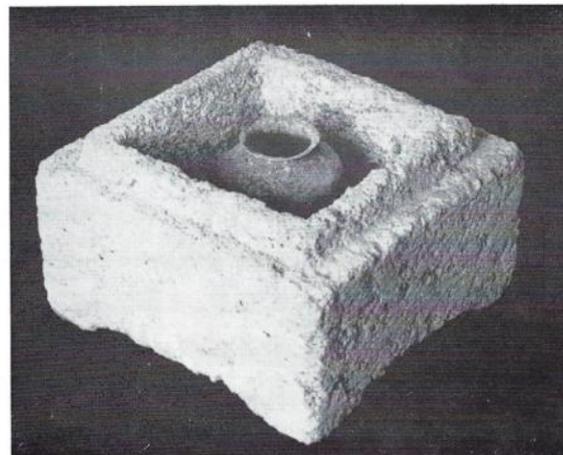


Image 03.023:

The east reliquary recovered during excavation showing copper pot found inside
(Lamb 1960: Plates 88 and 89. Reproduced with permission of author)

On the basis of early research and during reconstruction it was apparent that the temple was constructed of stone cut from the banks and bed of the river nearby, the superstructure was timber, and the roof would have been shingled or thatched. The foundation was a combination of river boulders, rubble and dressed granite. No mortar was used. Timber columns surrounding the *vimāna* supported the roof and these columns also supported the roof of the *mandapa* that extended out from the sanctuary. All the timber columns rested in stone *socles* or pillar bases. The sanctuary measured nineteen feet six inches square [5.9 metres] with an inner sanctum of nine feet six inches [2.90 metres] by thirteen feet [4 metres]. It was apparent that Quaritch Wales had dug only to a depth of four feet [1.2 metres] in the central *cella*. Despite finding part of the stone *somasūira* system used for ritual purposes in the *cella*, in a clearly unprofessional manner he had thrown the pieces into the pit when back-filling his dig although he did send two pieces of the *soma* channel to the Alor Setar Museum [now the Kedah State Museum].

The sanctuary tower, the *vimāna*, stood on a stone platform base that measured thirty-five feet [10.6 metres] square and was four feet seven inches [1.4 metres] high. Around the *cella* was an ambulatory passage, the *pradakshina patha*, seven feet nine inches [2.4 metres] wide. It was here that Lamb and his team discovered that the roof of the sanctuary was supported by an outer row of pillar bases, and two types of pillar bases on the inner row that sat close to the *cella* walls. The external pillar bases were of different dimensions as well. The *mandapa* was a low platform extending from the southeast edge of the sanctuary basement for forty-four feet [13.4 metres]. It was thirty-three feet ten inches [10.3 metres] wide. Quaritch Wales uncovered a small portion of the *mandapa* but the entire platform was excavated in 1959. Around the *mandapa* was a row of timber pillars and pillars supported the central roof as well. Two types of stone pillar bases were used in the construction.



Image 03.024:

The stonemason building the reconstructed *somasutra*
(Lamb 1960: Plate 28. Reproduced with permission of author)

By the end of 1959 the sanctuary basement had been rebuilt, the sanctuary walls with decorated plinths had been reconstructed but only to the tenth course of stone blocks, steps had been rebuilt to link the *mandapa* to the sanctuary basement and the *mandapa* platform walls had been rebuilt. The

mandapa platform was subsequently repaved. Steps were also included in the southeast side of the *mandapa* to give an indication of their general location. Pillar bases were replaced and the mouth of the *somasūtra* was placed in the *cella* in a position considered to be the most likely original position. A square stone platform that contained nine ritual chambers was relocated from Site 19 to sit in front of the *somasūtra*. It was chosen to represent a possible statue or *linga* base because it was structurally compatible but obviously different from material from Site 8 (Lamb 1960: 70). It was estimated that the original temple would have been constructed of over 100,000 blocks but in the reconstruction, Lamb's workmen had to cut and reshape over 8,000 new blocks to fit the plans and to support the new stone platforms (Lamb 1960: 72). The project cost an estimated \$5,000 Malayan dollars (MYD) per month, or MYD \$20,000 in total, with an additional MYD \$2,000 in support for photography and book publication. The total was USD \$7,200 [Current value approximately GBP £56,200]. Lamb (1961f) built a model of the temple, as he imagined it in 1961, and published the first photograph of that 'vision' in the journal of the Malaysian Historical Society. The original temple and its associated buildings would have required extensive terracing of the hillside as the surrounding areas would have been large enough to house a typical Malay kampung.

Lamb (1960: 97) concluded his comprehensive report on Candi Bukit Batu Pahat with the comment that even in partial reconstruction the temple could hardly be called a typical Pallava Indian structure. Its simplicity of design and dearth of decorative features made it atypical of South Indian temple architecture and more in line with Indonesian traditions. It would be the use of the word 'Indonesian' that would start a war of words between Quaritch Wales and Lamb. Perhaps if Lamb had chosen to say 'Malay', 'local' or even 'East Indies' Quaritch Wales' disagreement might have been ameliorated. Bernard-Philippe Groslier only added to the altercation with the comment:

De quelques tessons et d'autres éléments douteux, M. Q[uaritch] Wales avant daté l'ensemble des environs du VIIe-VIIIe siècle, et l'avant rapproché des monuments Pallava. Rien, en fait, ne permet de supporter cette hypothèse. La date reste actuellement obscure. Les rapprochements à faire serait plutôt avec l'Insulinde, comme l'a remarqué justement M. H [sic] A Lamb.

[From some sherds and other doubtful elements, Mr. Quaritch Wales dated the whole ensemble in the region of the 7th to 8th century, close to the time of the Pallava monuments. Nothing, in fact, supports this hypothesis. The date is still obscure. Associations should be rather with the East Indies, as rightly remarked by Mr H A[lastair] Lamb.]

The publications by Lamb were reviewed by Frederik Bosch (1961c: 489 and 1962) who noted the fine work undertaken to rebuild the foundation and platforms of Candi Bukit Batu Pahat and supported the idea that the temple was Śivaite Hindu and not Buddhist. He tentatively suggested that the originators may have been Minangkabau peoples who moved out from Sumatra in the 8th or the 9th centuries CE. They then blended their matrilineal traditions with Hindu beliefs manifested in Pārvati, the consort of Śiva, and perhaps they were the builders of Candi Bukit Batu Pahat. Generally dismissive of Quaritch Wales and most everything he wrote, Bosch remarked that Lamb had written that Conservation d'Angkor, an organisation pre-eminently expert in reconstruction work, had 'pioneered the science of rebuilding ancient monuments'. Bosch rebuked Lamb for this statement and commented that this was incorrect for, he stated proudly, the honour to claim that title belonged to the Archaeological Service of the Netherlands East Indies (Bosch 1961c: 487). George Cœdès (1961: 95) also reviewed Lamb's publication for the American *Journal of Asian Studies*. His opinion was that the structure should also be dated to the 9th century CE when the peninsula was incorporated

into the Śriwijayan commercial empire. Perhaps he did not think the ruins were of much significance for he wrote somewhat condescendingly

Si les ruines de Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat s'étaient trouvées au Cambodge ou à Java, pays possédant un riche patrimoine archéologique, elles n'auraient guère attiré l'attention. Réduit à ses fondations et à quelques pans de mur, dépourvu d'inscriptions, de statues, et même de motifs décoratifs autres que la mouluration très sobre de sa base, le monument qui s'élevait à cet emplacement ne semblait pas, de prime abord, justifier plusieurs campagnes de fouilles et mériter une monographie aussie détaillée que celle de M[onsieur]. Alastair Lamb.

[If the ruins of Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat were located in Cambodia or Java, countries with a rich archaeological heritage, they would hardly have attracted attention. Reduced to its foundations and some sections of wall, devoid of inscriptions, statues, and even of decorative motifs other than the very sober moulding of its base, the monument which stood at this location did not seem, at first glance, to justify several excavation campaigns and to merit the more detailed monograph of Mr. Alastair Lamb.]

He wrote that one result of Lamb's work was that Quaritch Wales's speculations on the immediate Indian origin and relative antiquity of the remains of Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat and other pre-Islamic archaeological sites in Malaysia were brought into question. Certainly, the fact that the vestiges and ruins had an Indian inspiration could not be contested, but they did not appear to be the work of Indian immigrants from the Pallava period and could not be traced back to the first centuries of Indianization in South-East Asia (Cœdès 1961: 96). Neither the comments by Bosch nor those by Cœdès would have appealed to Quaritch Wales.



Image 03.025:

The reconstructed temple, Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat, at Site 8
(Lamb 1960: Plate 77. Reproduced with permission of author)

When assessing Quaritch Wales' work Lamb (1961d: 70) wrote that he 'was a true pioneer in this particular field. His energy and industry were indeed remarkable, and one cannot but marvel at the way in which he covered the ground. In Kedah, where I [Lamb] have been working for over four years [1956-1960] now, the number of ancient sites which I have found which were not known to, though not always published by, [Quaritch] Wales can be counted on the fingers of two hands'. After

complimenting Quaritch Wales for this industry and perseverance, Lamb then criticised his predecessor's work, quite rightly, by stating

[Quaritch] Wales came to South Thailand and Northern Malaya with strong preconceptions about the nature of the process of Indianisation in South East Asia; and his interpretation of his finds was all too often made in the light of these preconceptions. Moreover, he often failed to publish his material in anything like an adequate way, so that much of what he discovered we must still see through his eyes only, not having been supplied with plans, sections, sketches or photographs.

Most certainly Quaritch Wales read this commentary and the publication of the reconstruction of Candi Bukit Batu Pahat (Lamb 1960). Both books are justifiably critical of Quaritch Wales' inadequate field techniques. Lamb was conciliatory and wrote that 'even here one cannot but acknowledge a debt to this enterprising explorer; for his papers, however lacking in detail and misleading in interpretation, do provide an admirable guide to the whereabouts of sites of early Indianised settlements in these regions' (Lamb 1961d: 70).

Quaritch Wales (1961b and 1963) reviewed both publications by Lamb—the publication on the reconstruction of Candi Bukit Batu Pahat (Lamb 1960) and the miscellaneous papers on early Hindu and Buddhist settlement in Northern Malaya and Southern Thailand (Lamb 1961e). His personal copy of Lamb's publication contains numerous comments in the margins that highlight his contrary opinions, still strongly held. Noting that the original excavation was undertaken over twenty years ago, that is between 1937 and 1939, Quaritch Wales complimented Lamb for his reconstruction and for making comprehensible the complicated *somasūtra* system that Quaritch Wales had not made any attempt to interpret. Quaritch Wales wrote that he did not continue his excavation of Site 8, after finding two reliquaries, because he was not prepared to dismantle a stone structure he could not reassemble. Certainly, the structure needed considerable rebuilding and Quaritch Wales and his wife had neither the skills nor the workmen to help in that complicated and expensive undertaking, but had they spent more time at Site 8 the rewards would have been greater.

Quaritch Wales (1961b: 108) could not accept the idea that the Hindu cultural values found in Kedah could have 'Indonesian' associations and he strongly criticised Lamb for making those assertions. However, it is evident that Quaritch Wales often made statements that he subsequently retracted or simply refashioned. While noting a change in intellectual thought, critical of Indianisation, that emphasised indigenous agency he wrote 'the whole understanding of the cultural history of South-east Asia depends on keeping in proper perspective the relative importance of the Indian and local factors'. But then he returned to his older theories by stating that 'Indianists [and surely here this would have included him] have perhaps been most remiss in over-stressing the Indian factor throughout South-east Asia'. To prove his support for such a contentious issue he concluded: 'but surely one has only to look at the map to realize that where, if not in the Malay Peninsula, on land and sea routes to the East as it is, must the full impact of Indian cultural expansion have been felt during many centuries?' (Quaritch Wales 1961b: 109).

But then Quaritch Wales (1961b: 107) complicated the issue entirely by remarking that Lamb was convinced that Site 8 was a 'tomb-temple cognate to the Javanese *chandis* in which Stutterheim [1935] showed that the relics of dead kings were buried in similar caskets with a portrait of the dead king erected above'. He then criticised Lamb for calling Site 8 a *candi* as there was nothing to show it was a tomb-temple. In fact, use of the term *chandi* or *candi* has confused the meaning of Site 8 and Alastair Lamb (Email to author 21 November 2018) reports that the name Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat

was in fact suggested by Mubin Sheppard and not Lamb. Although in Java the word can be used to mean a commemorative monument made of stone, Soekmono (1976: 38; 1995) stated that it was a structure that was not built for the deposition of the ashes of a deceased, cremated king in a casket or reliquary. The *candi* was a temple related to the dead only in a sense that it may be a structure dedicated to a defied king famed for his virtue and goodness. In fact, the presence of ashes would have compromised the purity of a sacred space for the tower of the *candi* is a physical representation of *Mahāmeru*, the sacred cosmological mountain and the symbol of the universe (Soekmono 1974: 122).

Lamb (1962b: 166-168) was not ready to take these critical reviews lightly. He wrote to the editor of the *Journal of Southeast Asian History* complimenting Quaritch Wales for his pioneering efforts in the archaeology of early Indianised settlement in Kedah, but he said he was not surprised that Quaritch Wales would not accept his conclusions. He found the review incorrect for Quaritch Wales attributed ideas that Lamb had not mentioned in his study of Candi Bukit Batu Pahat and he used the word, *Candi*, in its Indonesian context meaning generally any 'pre-Muslim monument erected in stone' and not a place of royal burial. Lamb commented that he simply could not make any definite statement about the nature of Hindu and Buddhist ancient sites in Kedah. Even Quaritch Wales, who surveyed over thirty sites, admitted that he did not learn very much from the architectural remains. His interpretation of them was based on associated finds and his dating was pure conjecture. At that time the only factual statement that archaeology could impart was that Kedah had been the region of a sizeable number of small trading communities built along the rivers. Whatever its cultural origins, Indian, indigenous Malay, Arab or a mixture all such peoples, Kedah possessed an economy based primarily on international trade. Lamb (1962b: 168) politely but firmly concluded with a statement that summarises much of Quaritch Wales' research: '[s]ome of Dr [Quaritch] Wales' guesses were good ones...but they were still guesses and as such were no basis for the early history of a nation'. When Quaritch Wales and his wife made a long tour of Southeast Asia between January and March 1964 at the beginning of his work in southern Thailand they revisited the site of Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat in Merbok. He wrote brusquely that he was 'not unimpressed' with the results (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/7/7).

The imagined reconstructed temple that Lamb (1961b and 1961f) created as a model was not questioned for over a decade. Peacock (1974), curator of museums of the Federation of Malaya, subsequently wrote that archaeological findings had emphasised the obvious lack of architectural information. Reconstructions, like Lamb's work at Site 8, highlighted ground plans and a few courses of the foundational structures like walls and platforms but understanding the nature of the superstructure of these buildings was important. The main feature of Lamb's reconstruction was the assumption, promoted then but now rejected, that a stone sanctuary tower existed. This was largely based on the finding of a stone finial (*stupika*) and stone fragments thought to be cornices and decorative features. Following on from Quaritch Wales it had been assumed that the original temple was a substantial stone structure and not a lightweight timber building. Peacock considered Lamb's proposal to be plausible and uncontroversial at first sight then he noted a few problems with this plan. Some of the curved stones that had been thought to be roof cornices had been recovered from the Sumatran plantation owner's garden in the local village. They may, or may not, have been part of the structure and the stone assumed to be a roof finial could also have been used elsewhere. The large mound of fallen stone blocks that Quaritch Wales found to the northern corner was likewise assumed to be part of a collapsed tower. No such mound of blocks remained in 1957 although Peacock was assuming that bricks and stones had not been removed from the site in the 20 years between Quaritch Wales' excavations and the final reconstruction (Peacock 1974: 71). Lamb, in his

reconstruction, had to get his workmen to recut 8,000 stone blocks and it was Peacock's conclusion that the original building and the walls would have been much less substantial than first considered.

It was obvious that the proportions of a central stone tower and stone walls would have exerted a considerably downward weight on the foundations. These foundations, as illustrated by Lamb (1960) and noted by Quaritch Wales (1940), were insubstantial, being nothing more than earth, river boulders and rubble. The evidence suggests that the walls did not rise much beyond the levels preserved and reconstructed. The conclusion was that the

low walled sanctuaries of this type—and it is here suggested that Kedah Site No. 8 belonged to this category—were covered by a timber framework supporting a roof frequently composed of several tiers or stories. The rarity of ceramic tiles on the Kedah sites points to the widespread use of thatch, *atap*, wooden shingles or similar perishable materials for roofing (Peacock 1974: 73).

Here Peacock supported the idea of Indonesian origins for the architectural style of the Kedah religious buildings. Based on the sizes of the stone pillar bases it was evident that the inner pillars were of impressive dimensions with angled cross-bracing pillars used to counter wind stress on a towering multi-stories roof. The number of tiered roofs could only be assumed but Peacock (1974: 81) wrote that he thought there could have been as many as eleven. He also provided the best set of diagrams of his proposed structural interpretation, a fine frontal elevation plan and an isometric reconstruction showing the hypothetical arrangement of the stone pillar bases, the roof cross-bracing and the timbering raised to only the fourth level. This structure was based on the eleven-tiered Balinese *pelinggih* [place of worship] *meru*. The structure of the stone pillar bases on the *maṇḍapa* platform suggested the former existence of a double roof (Peacock 1974: 85). Research continues into aspects of archaeological work at Candi Bukit Batu Pahat. A recent report on stone disease highlights the impact of *Hyophila javanica*, a moss species commonly found on granitic and lateritic rocks near creeks and streams in the Southeast Asian area. This is being monitored (Zuliskandar Ramli, Zamrul Amri Zakaria and Kamaruddin [bin] Zakaria 2009).

Site 11/3

Sites 11 and 3 were located on a low rise in an area of plantation rubber outside Kampung Sungai Batu about fifty yards [45.7 metres] from the northern border with low *padi* land. Quaritch Wales (1940: 25 and Fig 8) wrote that a small tributary of the Sungai Bujang passed close to the site. In a photograph published in his report, Dorothy Wales can be seen sitting on the low wall of the *maṇḍapa* (Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 37). Kampung Sungai Batu was located some distance to the southeast of the site. The structure consisted of two parts. Site 11 was a main hall with a porch or ante-chamber opening to the east. Site 3, not documented but briefly noted by Quaritch Wales (1940: 26), was a small rectangular structure slightly to the south joined by a narrow pathway (Allen 1988: 318, Fig 10 and 740, Site map 9). Site 11 consisted of two sections: a larger square structure nine metres square and a stepped rectangular structure 7.7 metres long and seven metres wide. Both sections were joined by a common platform. Site 3 was a rectangular structure 4.4 metres by three metres built of lateritic blocks.



Image 03.026:
Dorothy Wales sitting on a foundation wall at Site 11
(Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 37)

These measurements differ significantly from those given by Jacq-Hergoualc'h (1992a: 106) although he does note that the figures were adapted from the plan produced by Quaritch Wales (1940: Fig 8). Allen (1988: 317, 318 Fig 10) reported that the platform base was made from waterworn cobbles and pebbles all available in the Gunung Jerai and Sungai Bujang. An estate ditch dug through the site had exposed river boulders and some laterite blocks. The structure had a double wall for much of its length and Quaritch Wales found stone pillar bases in situ. He wrote that '[s]ince no tiles were found it is evident that the roof was of wood or thatched'. He considered that there was nothing to suggest a purpose for the building although he suggested it may have had a secular, rather than religious, use. It may have been a royal audience hall or council chamber, he wrote. He gave no reason for suggesting this. Peacock (1970) reinterpreted this site as a purely religious structure. Quaritch Wales gave these structures a dating of the 8th or the 9th century CE. Finds at these sites included Tang dynasty glazed wares, Arab glass, iron nails and a bronze image base. No information of the associated finds has been published. The two sites were reconstructed in situ in 1973 and 1974 (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd. Rahman and Othman Mohd. Yatim 1990).

The fate of these two sites is a good case study in why a management master plan to enforce legal status, create core and buffer zones and educate local communities about pre-Islamic heritage is a major challenge for the state. Sanday (1987: 11) in his proposed conservation plan to UNESCO for the management of this area had reported that the rebuilt structures were hidden in cultivated fields on private property belonging to the Sungai Batu Rubber Estate. At that time, the site was 'totally unprotected with neither roof nor boundary fencing'. As they were not gazetted historical sites the state government was able to issue development permits for this private land and because of this inadequate physical and legal protection both sites were destroyed by a property developer in December 2013 (Mok 2013). This caused significant public outcry at the time.

Sites 13 and 13a-d

Allen (1988: 322-325) writes of her frustration in attempting to map Site 12, and the group of sites Quaritch Wales called 13 and 13a-d, despite having access to Quaritch Wales' old trenches, visible surface remains and old plans. Wang (1958b: 221) reported that both site areas were in the middle of

replanted rubber and, while they had been left alone, were overgrown. These sites were all located on the northern side of a bend in Sungai Bujang above Kampung Sungai Batu. Like the problems faced by teams attempting to find Sites 21, 22 and 23, the site locations could not be confirmed. In his report on these sites Quaritch Wales (1940: 28), referring to the paper of Ivor Evans (1927a: 113-121) on the antiquities from the Sungai Batu estate, wrote that Evans had documented the discovery of a small mound close to Sungai Bujang and near the plantation factory. Quaritch Wales' site map of the area is marked, 'Relative position of sites near Factory', but it is apparent that he changed the numbering of sites before publication. As in other areas of the valley, brick and stone material from this mound had been used for road metal and all that remained was a circular pit in which a few lateritic bricks could be seen. He had not attempted to dig into this mound. Quaritch Wales found 'light traces of a brick sanctuary which had stood...as the centre of a group of four subsidiary buildings, mainly of perishable material, all oriented to face the river'.

Under the four corners of Site 13a four earthenware jars were found. Inside the jars the foundation deposits consisted of *Turbo* mollusc shells (*Senectus argyrostoma*), a variety of glass beads, gold and silver items including three small unenclosed gold ear-rings, and gems (Quaritch Wales 1940: 28-31). Allen (1988: 323) concluded that Quaritch Wales had misoriented his published map. She rotated the plan 90 degrees to the west but even so had difficulty matching the site layout. Consequently her site plan (Allen 1988: 743, Site map 11) differs significantly from that published by Quaritch Wales (1940: Fig 9). He dated the arrangement of sites to the 8th and 9th century CE. Sites 13a-d were composed of waterworn boulders and cobbles. Site 13 and its components covered an area of less than half a hectare that is now covered with mature rubber trees (Allen 1988: 324). Fortunately, Quaritch Wales (1940: Plate 44 and 45) published photographs of Site 13 showing the pit left by 'local depredators' and then the site after excavation. Also illustrated were some beads, gems and gold found at Site 13 and 14 (Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 46 and 47).

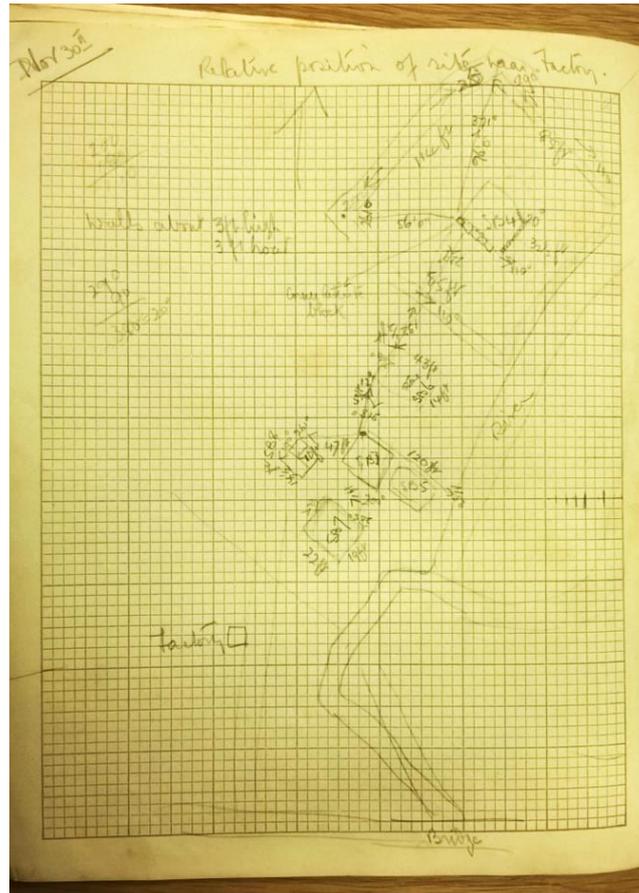


Image 03.027:

Hand-drawn map by Quaritch Wales of Site 12 and the collection of sites later labelled 13 and 13a-d (Royal Asiatic Society Archives. QW/1/5/1-QW/1/5/3)

Sites 14 and 15

These sites were extensively excavated by Quaritch Wales in the 1937 to 1939 expedition. Site 14 was identified by a low mound in land owned by Kampung Bendang Dalam on the left bank of Sungai Bujang but Quaritch Wales found that an irrigation ditch dug by villagers had destroyed much of the site. When excavated it proved to be a platform regularly oriented, constructed of earth lined with bricks. However, the floor was only one layer of laterite blocks. He provided a sketch plan of the site, without measurements, and with very little supporting information. Based on the Imperial measurement scale he provided the Site 14 platform and front porch was 25.7 feet [7.83 metres] long and eleven feet [3.35 metres] wide (Quaritch Wales 1940: Fig 10). When both plans were published by Quaritch Wales (1940: Fig 10 and 11) they were reversed for the structures faced east and not west. Quaritch Wales (1940: Plates 48-50) illustrated his paper with photographs of Site 14 as it existed during his excavations and site 15 after excavation.

Several stone pillar bases were found in situ. Two earthenware jars were found under floor level at the eastern end. Finds included two silver coins, one in each jar. These coins were examined in London by John Allan, the numismatist at the British Museum, who identified them as half and quarter Dirhem of the Abbasid Caliphate when the ruler was Al-Mutawakkil 'Alā'illāh (reigned 847-861 CE) (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/6/1/11). Allan stated that the half Dirhem clearly bore the date 234 AH [Anno Hegirae]. 234 AH was the Gregorian calendar year 848-849 CE (Quaritch Wales 1940 Plate 51). The current location of the coins is unknown.



Image 03.028:

Photograph by Quaritch Wales of the Arab half and quarter Dirhem coins dated 234 AH (Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 51; Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

Other finds were an inscription on silver, a bronze finger ring, gems, beads and ceramics. Quaritch Wales (1940: 33) dated the founding of the temple, based largely on these associated finds, to the last half of the 9th century CE. Jane Allen (1988: 308) reported that Site 14 was an excavated and flooded 144 square metre depression located beside irrigated rice-fields. Two canals fed into this depression and one stream led from the small dam through areas of bamboo and banana. Site 15 is now an excavated dry pit measuring twelve by eleven metres on the right side of a former course of Sungai Bujang. The site was surrounded by estate rubber trees during Allen's research in 1980. Some cultural remains were visible, but Allen did not find evidence of stone pillar bases or remnants of a stone staircase.

Quaritch Wales (1940: 33) reported that excavations at Site 15 revealed well-preserved laterite lower courses of a square sanctuary surrounded by a similar structure that he called 'concentric'. Measurements taken from his plans give the outer dimensions at seven metres wide by 7.6 metres long. Finds included ceramics, beads, the upper portion of an earthenware jar and a glass fragment. Again, stone pillar bases were found in situ that indicated the superstructure would have been supported by timber pillars. Once again Quaritch Wales noted that the building opened to the east but his plan was drawn opening to the west. He documented the excavation and photographed the site pre-excavation and post-excavation. Fortunately, these were published (Quaritch Wales 1940: Plates 53-55) for when Wang (1958b: 220) and student teams visited the area it was apparent that villagers had taken most of the bricks to use for building foundation walls. Allen (1988: 737 Site map 4) shows the present site as a previously excavated depression.

Site 16: Candi Pendiati

Quaritch Wales (1940: 34) wrote that Site 16 was beneath a low mound close to the left bank of Sungai Bujang in land belonging to Kampung Bendang Dalam. Excavation revealed the remains of the lower courses of laterite walls of two square buildings with the external dimensions of the outer structure twelve feet square [3.6 metres square]. The sanctuary measured seven feet [2 metres] square. The reconstructed shrine is a stepped rectangle that measures eleven metres from east to west including the steps on the eastern end. In fact, the reconstructed *vimāna* is not square but a trapezoid with one side measuring 6.2 metres and the other 6.55 metres. The *maṇḍapa* is small measuring only 3.5 metres by 4.4 metres (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992a: 76). His revised plan shows a definite square *vimāna* with an attached *maṇḍapa* that accords with Tantric requirements in Hindu religious architecture (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992a: 81-82).



Image 03.029:

Photograph of the bronze casket before it was opened in London
(Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 57; Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

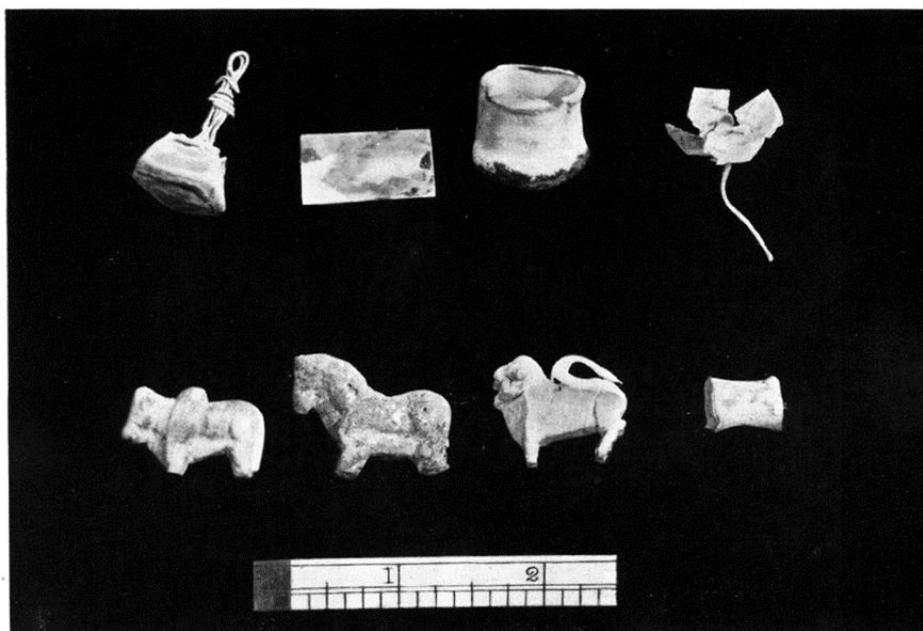


Image 03.030:

Gold objects found inside bronze foundation casket from Site 16
(Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 59)

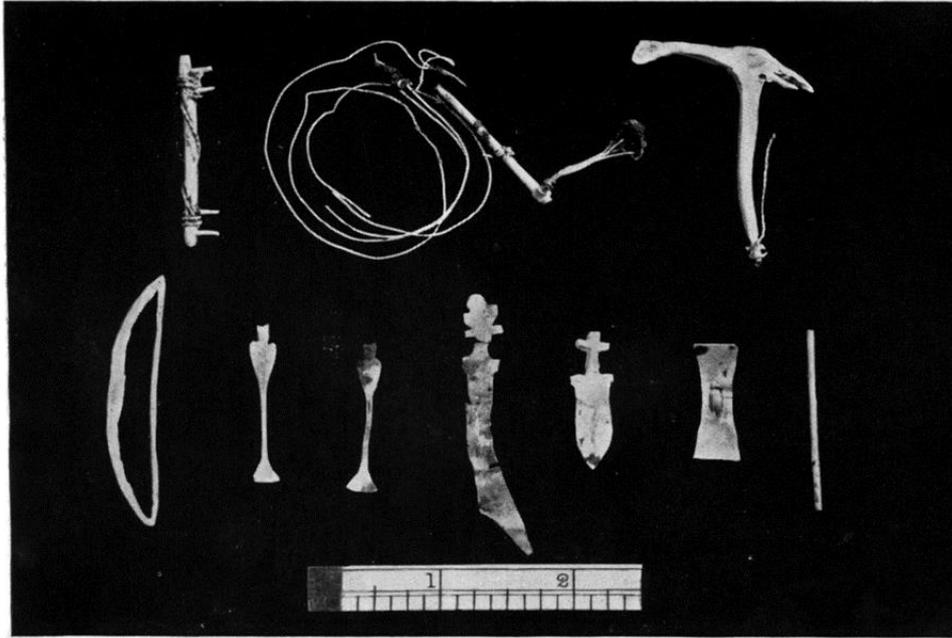


Image 03.031:

Second collection of gold objects found inside bronze foundation casket from Site 16
(Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 60)

Quaritch Wales commented that the 'extreme importance of this temple rests not in its architecture, for it was very ruined...but on the great good fortune that the brick lined relic chamber beside the door had evidently been overlooked by treasure seekers for it was found with its deposits in situ'. This is certainly true. The added value lies in the fact that most of these items are in the Asian Civilisations Museum in Singapore. A bronze casket [*garbhabhājana* (Sanskrit)] had been placed in a cavity near the sanctuary entrance. This casket, that measured 4.75 inches in diameter [12 centimetres], had a lid and handles on opposite sides (Quaritch Wales 1940 Plate 57). The casket was tightly closed when found and Quaritch Wales (1940 Plate 58) had it opened in London. The number of items and the range of objects was outstanding: in the centre was a golden bowl containing a small pearl, a golden lotus, three animals including a gold lion, a silver bull and a copper horse. A fourth animal was thought to be an elephant. Other objects included a silver yoke, a gold noose, a silver ploughshare, a gold bow with two arrows, a sword, dagger, shield and a staff or spear (Quaritch Wales 1940: Plates 59 and 60).

In his paper Quaritch Wales (1940: 36) also referred to a *damaru* drum [two-headed drum used in Hindu temples] and a rectangular piece of gold representing a book. These were not photographed. Some gems were also scattered at random in the casket (Quaritch Wales 1940 Plate 61). In the southwest corner of the sanctuary he found a bronze aureole in fragments and a bronze finger, presumably from a religious statue (Quaritch Wales 1940; Plate 62). Both objects were subsequently analysed. They contained more than eighty percent copper with minor amounts of tin, lead and zinc (Quaritch Wales 1940: 47). Treloar (1979: 49) in an examination of objects from the Kedah collection in the then Raffles Museum wrote that the 'bronze aureole' found at Site 16 is like a suspending aureole surrounding a dancing figure in a temple lamp housed in the Jakarta museum. He stated that the objects found in the Śiva temples in the Bujang valley 'demonstrate that cultural and trading links between Kedah and the rest of island Southeast Asia were close'. Also found there was a lamp holder and two four-cornered hanging lamps now in the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. The pieces of the broken bronze bell that was restored by Quaritch Wales (1940: 36, Plate 64; Choo 1987: Plate 78) were also found at Site 16.



Image 03.032:

Bronze bell found at Site 16 and partially reconstructed by Quaritch Wales (1940: Plate 65; Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection; Choo 1987: 76, Plate 78).
Collection of the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. A-0106

He dated this temple based on these associated finds to the 9th and 10th century CE. Jacq-Hergoualc'h (1992a: 74-82), who gave considerable attention to this temple and its finds, illustrated his report with a photograph of an iron ring that was not photographed in the Quaritch Wales paper (Choo 1987: Plate 77). Site 16 was revisited in 1968 and the structure reconstructed in the grounds of the Muzium Arkeologi in Merbok in 1973. The structure is known as Candi Pendiati (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd. Rahman and Othman Mohd. Yatim (1990). The temple plinth is now protected by a timber-trussed asbestos sheeted roof. In his report to UNESCO on proposals for a national historical park, John Sanday (1987: 7) noted that, in his opinion, the temple was very regular in appearance. He was uncertain what records were used to reconstruct the monument as no relocation documentation was available. At Kampung Bendang Dalam, Allen (1988: 306 Fig 10, 309, 735 Site map 2) reported that the fifteen by ten metre excavation pit was still exposed during her fieldwork in 1980.

Site 19: Candi Pengkalan Bujang

These remains were found close to the left bank of Sungai Bujang near Kampung Pengkalan Bujang. Sites 21, 22 and 23 are to the north of Site 19. Owing to the silting of the river the lower courses of bricks had been covered with mud and preserved. Quaritch Wales (1940: 39) thought this would have occurred soon after the temple had been abandoned. He provided a clearly drawn plan for the temple he described as 'a vaulted shrine having a porch opening to the east'. The walls were thick with 'elaborate mouldings'. The temple measured 10.5 metres, east-west, 7.2 metres on the western



Image 03.033:
Dorothy Wales recording site condition. Site 19.
(Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 69)

end and 6.8 metres on the eastern end. The walls reach to 1.5 metres (Allen 1988: 345, 346, Fig 14, 347). Finds included ceramics, several iron nails, and iron ladle lacking a handle that was ‘probably used for holy water in connection with ritual’, a bronze prong, and a terracotta statue of the Hindu Gaṇeśa.

It was here that Quaritch Wales (1940: 39-40) found a large granite nine-chambered reliquary at floor level outside the porch that ‘had evidently been broken and thrown there by pillagers of the temple’. He dated this temple to between the 11th and the 12th centuries CE. During the University of Malaya Archaeological Society survey in 1958 it was noted that the site had been badly damaged by villagers searching for laterite bricks (Wang 1958b: 220). Subsequently, the temple remains were relocated to the grounds of the Muzium Arkeologi at Merbok and protected by an asbestos sheeted roof with timber trusses (Nik Shuhaimi Nik Abd. Rahman and Othman Mohd. Yatim 1990). It should be noted here that Alastair Lamb (1960: 63, 70, Figs 165 and 166) relocated the granite nine-chambered reliquary, that most likely served as the base for a statue or a *linga*, from Site 19 to the sanctuary of Candi Bukit Batu Pahat, in 1959.

Site 24: Tikam Batu

This site was located near the right bank of Singai Muda on the edge of the Tikam Batu Estate. It was a low sloping hill facing northeast. Quaritch Wales (1940: 41) stated that the top of the hill was about ninety yards [82 metres] long and forty yards [36.5 metres] wide. On this very exposed summit lay many lateritic bricks and blocks. He wrote that ‘[u]nauthorized digging years ago had brought to light a large carved object of fine-grained sandstone...which had probably previously lain buried in the ground and was apparently known by local inhabitants as “Raja Bersiong’s flagstaff” and venerated accordingly’ (Quaritch Wales 1940: 41 and Plate 74).



Image 03.034:

Photograph of the stone pedestal found at Site 24
(Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 74: Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

It measured four feet two inches square [1.27 metres] and was one foot eight inches high [49.50 centimetres]. Between the plinth and the cornices of the stone were elaborately carved pilasters. On the flat top was a central depression that measured 5.25 inches [13 centimetres] deep with smaller and deeper excavations in the centre of the side. This gave it a cruciform shape. In Quaritch Wales (1940: 41) opinion was that the stone was either a 'Hindu vedika (fire-altar) or the pedestal of an image'. He gave it no date, only stating that the variable size of the bricks 'suggests a fairly later date'.

According to the survey by Allen (1988: 357-358, 358 Fig 15, 753 Site map 24) the hilltop site at Tikam Batu, that she measured more accurately at nineteen metres east-west by nine metres north-south was destroyed by quarrying, presumably around 1956. The hill had once been terraced to hold a clay brick and laterite block enclosure wall and at least one small brick structure. It appears that the hill, originally covered with rubber had earlier been dynamited and cleared by the Public Works Department in search for road metal and rock to build the approaches to a new bridge across Sungai Muda. It was then that workmen uncovered the 'flagstaff' base. Although the location was visited by Dorothy Wales in 1941 while Quaritch Wales was engaged in wartime intelligence duties in Sungai Petani she only recorded the presence of four stone objects, possibly *linga*, found there by workmen (Quaritch Wales and Quaritch Wales 1947: 8-10). Writing later Sullivan (1958: 210) said it was 'most unfortunate that Quaritch Wales did not excavate there and then but was content with this brief description of the site'.

This stone base, known as Raja Bersiong's flagstaff, was named after Raja Ong Mahā Perita Deria who, according to the *Kedah Annals*, ruled the region from the end of the 14th century CE to the beginning of the 15th century CE (Low 1849b: 260-262). Sullivan (1957: 289). The site was revisited by Michael Sullivan, first in January 1955, and then in June 1957 (Sullivan 1958: 201-206, Plates 15a & b). He later published the first two plans and photograph of the pedestal at Tikam Batu. Fortunately, by the time Sullivan visited the area in 1957, quarrying had ceased but the hilltop was

very exposed to the sun and the weather. Sullivan's opinion was that the pedestal was clearly the supporting base of a *linga* and not a fire altar or the base of a religious statue (Sullivan 1958: 203; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002: 370). He proposed a date for the entire site to between the 10th and the 14th centuries CE. Raja Bersiong's flagstaff was first moved to Alor Setar where it stood outside the Balai Besar, the state ceremonial building (Lamb 1959c: 109). It is now located in the grounds of the Muzium Arkeologi Lembah Bujang at Merbok (Allen 1988: 359).

Site 31: Matang Pasir

Site 31 at Permatang [Matang] Pasir [sand ridge] is on the highway from the city of Sungai Petani to Kota Kuala Muda and close to Sungai Muda. When Allen visited the area the excavated but unreconstructed site was protected under a tin roof visible from the road (Allen 1988: 358, Fig 15, 359, 754, Site map 26). Quaritch Wales and his wife stated that the area was identified when, during an inspection of a mound being quarried by Chinese digging for laterite, there was evidence of brick remains (Quaritch Wales and Quaritch Wales 1947: 10). The excavation of this site was supervised by Dorothy Wales who reported a 'massive laterite plinth' that measured 19 feet [5.79 metres] square. Beside the plinth were two red stone pillar bases suggesting that the superstructure was again one made from light materials. Quaritch Wales and his wife (1947: 10) made romantic, unsubstantiated suppositions about activities in the temple when they stated that '[h]aving evidently been dragged out of the sanctuary and overturned at some time was a massive plainly cut laterite pedestal'. This was two feet five inches [73.6 centimetres] square. They dated the site to the 13th century CE. But without understanding the vital economic and trading importance of Sungai Muda, they wrote only of cultural transfer. The location of the structure on the bank of Sungai Sempor, an important communication channel between the Merbok and the Muda, illustrated the economic importance of the site but it seemed clear to them that the

Sungai Sempor thus provided the route by which the Indianized Malay culture of the Sungai Bujang district was transferred early in the XIVth century to the Muda, and particularly to Sroham [Sokram] [Site 28 at Kampung Pinang Tunggal] (Quaritch Wales and Quaritch Wales 1947: 11).

In 1955 and 1956, Michael Sullivan (1958: 191) prepared preliminary surveys of the Matang Pasir site using ground truthing and aerial mapping. This was followed by more detailed archaeological examinations in June 1957. The team found that the plinth was not square, as reported by Quaritch Wales, but rectangular measuring eighteen feet six inches [5.6 metres] east-west by eleven feet nine inches [3.58 metres] north-south. Much of the foundation material had either collapsed due to surface movements or been used by local villagers. Sullivan (1958: 193) was highly critical of the Quaritch Wales' survey techniques when he stated that

as [the] previous excavation drove a wide, deep trench the full length of the west side and across the southwest corner all connection between these remains [a possible laterite and brick porch] and the main structure has been severed and no conclusion can be reached as to their former relationship.

The location of the porch was questioned as, by tradition in a Hindu religious structure, it should have faced east and not west. The survey team found three stone pillar bases with only one in situ. They also found the large laterite pedestal that Quaritch Wales reported had being deliberately dragged out and overturned may have actually fallen due to subsidence. Sullivan (1958: 196) concluded that the shrine was probably Buddhist and not Hindu. If the porch direction were correct

the shrine may have been surrounded by a *pradaksina*, or circumambulation path. In this case Sullivan revised the dating of the structure to an earlier period. It was tentatively ascribed a date between the 9th or the 10th centuries CE when there was a revival of Mahāyana Buddhism under the influence of the Javanese Śailendras.

Later Lamb revised these findings. Apparently in late 1957 an attempt was made to preserve some of the features of Site 31 by the construction of a chain-link fence, drainage and a concrete pathway. This caused considerable structural damage. Local use of the laterite at the site, and in the area outside the chain fence, resulted in substantial ground disturbance, so Lamb began to excavate the site and determine its substantive features (Lamb 1961c:11). The vegetation around the area was cleared, excavation areas were extended, and a series of trial trenches were dug. What emerged was a Hindu shrine with a *maṇḍapa* and *vimāna*. The outer wall of the *maṇḍapa* was measured at twenty-nine feet [8.8 metres] by twenty-two feet [6.7 metres]. The *vimāna* measured twenty-two feet square [6.7 metres]. Three feet [one metre] of laterite block pavement encircled the structure. Several stone pillar bases were also found on site (Lamb 1961c: Fig 3). In conclusion Lamb decided that Matang Pasir was not a porched shrine as described by Dorothy Wales and while he stated that ‘whether Hindu or Buddhist it would be impossible on the present evidence to say’ his finding clearly pointed to the structure being Hindu rather than Buddhist. In her recent survey Jane Allen (1988: 359) measured the structural remains at 6.7 metres east-west by 4.3 metres north-south. This, she reported, shows that there is evidence of substantial shifting in the site since it was measured by Sullivan and his team in 1957 and by Lamb in 1961.

Unidentified, unreconstructed or lost sites in Kedah

Several sites located by Quaritch Wales are now classed as unidentifiable, are not yet reconstructed or have been lost. They are Site 7: Bukit Gajah Mati; Site 9: the summit of Gunung Jerai; Sites 12, 18, 20 and 23 [unnamed]; Sites 25 Bukit Penjara; Site 26 Bukit Meriam; Site 27 Kampung Batu Lintang; Site 28 Kampung Pinang Tunggal/Srokam and Site 30 [unnamed].

Site 7 Bukit Gajah Mati

This small hill located in the former Sungai Batu estate was where a plantation bungalow had once been built. Some granite and laterite blocks were found there along with a stone with circular spirals (Jacq-Hergoualc’h 1992a: 177 Doc 219). Quaritch Wales (1940: 18) did not visit the site but he wrote confidently that ‘[t]hrough the evidence at our disposal is exceedingly scanty, I think it likely that a Śiva shrine similar to those already described once stood on the summit of Bukit Gajah Mati’. Allen (1988: 330, 331 Fig 11) reported that this was a lost site on a hill that was forty-four metres above sea level. No site plan has been published. The location was unknown to local residents.

Site 9: Summit of Gunung Jerai: possible Hindu religious structure

The other significant site located outside the Merbok-Muda region is Site 9: the summit of Gunung Jerai. There is nothing in Quaritch Wales’ (1940: 21-22) report on Lembah Bujang to indicate if he saw the remains on the summit. Diary notes made during his time in Kedah report two dates, ‘28 February 1938: Kedah peak?’ and ‘1 March 1938: Kedah peak?’, as if to indicate a proposed climb that was not fulfilled (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW /3/3). He noted the report by Irby and Lefroy (1905) and the survey by Ivor Evans (1927c) but wrote disparagingly of the attempts to consolidate the surface remains using cement that had the ‘laudable [sic] object of “discouraging future plunderers”—and incidentally, one may add, future archaeologists!’. Quaritch Wales concluded that the structures on the summit belonged to a Hindu shrine from the 8th century CE. In

his published report, he notes the measurement of bricks found on the summit. This information may have been that taken from Evans (1927c) fieldnotes or from bricks that Evans had taken back to the Perak museum. Allen (1988: 342-344) noted the unclear boundaries of the narrow summit but that scattered clay brick fragments were still to be seen. Jacq-Hergoualc'h (1992a: 178-182) reported his opinion that Quaritch Wales did not go to the site that has, to a considerable extent, now disappeared (Allen 1988: 342-343, Fig 13).

Site 12

At Site 12, located north of a bend in Sungai Bujang above Kampung Sungai Batu, only the boulder and cobble enclosure wall remained. The dimensions of the enclosure in 1940 were 34.7 metres by 25.7 meters and the wall was one metre thick. Allen (1988: 323, 743 Site map 11) measured the inner building area of brick and laterite block walls at 7.4 metres by 5.1 metres. Accurate measurements for the entire site complex cannot be confirmed today. Finds included an iron dagger with a bronze hilt and pieces of two Chinese mirrors from the Tang dynasty (Choo 1987: Plate 71 and Plate 72). Maritime trade between the Islamic world and Tang China involved more than just valuable objects. Ideas and philosophies were also transmitted between cultures and faiths (George 2015). The iron dagger with the bronze hilt measured 5.25 inches [approx. 13 centimetres] high. The dagger hilt was analysed at the Imperial Institute in London to be seventy-two percent copper, with a small amount of zine and lead added (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/6/1/43; Quaritch Wales 1940: 47).



Image 03.035:

Iron dagger with bronze hilt found at Site 12.

(Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 39; Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection; Choo 1987: 75, Plate 71). Collection of the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. A-0107

He also thought that an ‘exactly similar type of dagger is worn by the Buffalo-headed Demon on the Mahiṣasura Maṇḍapa relief, Mahābālīputram, South India, which indicates [that the] origin of the style [is] from South India’ (Quaritch Wales 1940: 26). The dagger hilt is now housed at the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. The mirrors were dated to the Tang dynasty by Walter Perceval Yetts, then the Professor of Chinese art and archaeology at the School of Oriental Studies, University of London. Yetts wrote to Quaritch Wales that the decoration consisted of the heraldic rose design commonly called *pao hsiang hua*: the stock rose. Apparently engraved on the reflecting surface of the mirror were dates relating to a Japanese regnal year equivalent to 1031 CE. He also noted that one did not know how long the mirror had been cast before the date was inscribed. The large Chinese mirror is now on display at the Asian Civilisations Museum in Singapore. Other small items, such as a gold lion, a silver bull and a bronze horse, were subsequently returned to Quaritch Wales then living in Hampshire (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/6/1/43).



Image 03.036:
 Parts of the Tang dynasty mirror found at Site 12.
 (Quaritch Wales 1940: Plates 40-42; Choo 1987: 75, Plate 72)
 Collection of the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. A-1363

Based on these associated finds, Quaritch Wales (1940: 28) dated this site to the 8th and 9th centuries CE. He published photographs of the mirror pieces and a proposed reconstruction of the mirror (Quaritch Wales (1940: Fig 39-43; see also Jacq-Hergoualc’h 1992a: 174-175). The mirror pieces were analysed and found to be sixty-nine percent copper and twenty-four percent tin (Quaritch Wales 1940: 47). In 1958 an attempt was made by the University of Malaya Archaeological Society to relocate this site but it was clearly overgrown with replanted rubber (Wang 1958b: 221; Jacq-Hergoualc’h 1992a: 173). Recent excavation work undertaken for the Sungai Batu archaeological project has discovered more than ninety mounds that are possible sites for exploration. Two sites are located in the Sungai Batu complex close to the highway between Merbok and Semeling in Kedah. These sites provide evidence of a river jetty with roof, walls, floor and steps constructed with bricks and tiles. Artefacts found at the site include pottery, beads, stone tools, iron slag, a spindle whorl and an anchor pole (Iklil Izzati Zakaria, Moktar Saidin and Abdullah 2011).

Recent archaeological excavation and chemical analysis of finds indicates that the area identified by Allen (1988: 384 and 762 Site maps 37, 38, 39) as Site 71a was an iron smelting area. Allen (1988: 384) stated that it is possible Site 71, that contains three parts, was Quaritch Wales original Site 30.

If these sites were iron smelting works then the raw materials were locally sourced from the easily obtained surface collections of laterite or hematite. The site has been tentatively dated to between the 3rd and the 5th centuries CE (Naizatul Akma Moktar, Moktar Saidin and Abdullah (2011). The discoveries highlight the need to continue with archaeological research in the Lembah Bujang region and the importance of this area not only to the proto-history of Malaysia but to all Southeast Asia.

Site 18

Site 18 was located on the west bank of Sungai Bujang and Jane Allen noted that the site was now a 'large, pitted area containing scattered brick and petroplinthite [lateritic] block fragments' (Allen 1988: 346, Fig 14). Quaritch Wales (1940: 37) had found the site to be marked by a low mound from which villagers had been accessing granite blocks. Excavations brought to light a rectangular structure 'regularly oriented' and divided into two parts. The smaller part was to the north. The walls consisted of three courses of laterite blocks. Three stone pillar bases were identified on his plan that contained little information (Quaritch Wales 1940: Fig 12). Jane Allen (1988: 351) provides a measurement that would have been taken from this plan. The structure would have been 9.24 metres by 6.89 metres (Quaritch Wales 1940: Fig 12, Plate 68 and 69). Unglazed tiles of 7.25 inches [18.4 centimetres] by 2.16 inches [5.5 centimetres] were used as shingles. A substantial quantity of Chinese ceramics was found at this site. One of these celadon dishes was photographed with a similar dish found in Chaiya, Siam (Quaritch Wales 1940: 38, Plate 67). Trade porcelain from China and northern Vietnam were major export items moving east to west along important shipping routes. Quaritch Wales (1940: 38) identified Site 18 as a 'royal audience hall or some other palace building'. This site has been revisited several times by archaeologists from the University of Malaya.



Image 03.037:

Site 18 during excavations (Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 65;
Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

The site was originally called Kampong Permatang Perlis by Wang (1958b: 220) but this name was corrected by Lamb (1959c: 104) and the current name, Kampung Pengkalan Bujang, used instead. Lamb (1961h: 13) subsequently reported that ceramic potsherds were found along several hundred metres of the bed of the stream and on an exposed area of riverbank. More than 10,000 fragments were removed in an area of 100 square feet [approx. 9 square metres] in 1961. Fragment of glass and over 2,000 beads were also uncovered. Lamb (1961i: 21-22, Plates 27-42) undertook further research

at Site 18 and found deposits of sherds across a wide area of the village on both the sandy *permatang* and in the bed of Sungai Bujang. The evidence suggests that the Pengkalan Bujang site would have been a sizeable commercial entrepôt in early times and, as the name *pengkalan* suggests, been a landing place or the site of a jetty on Sungai Bujang. Large amounts of trade wares would have been unloaded there with the discards and broken ceramics damaged in shipment or handling conveniently dumped into the river (Lamb 1961i: 33). The site, dated to between the 11th and the 12th centuries CE by Quaritch Wales, is located behind the mosque and cemetery at the present village (Allen 1988: 750, Site map 20).



Image 03.038:

Glass lamp reassembled by Carl Gibson-Hill (Choo 1987: 78, plate 76)
Collection of the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. A-0116

A range of beads, iron nails and corroded bronze discs were also found. The most important, and rather controversial, object found at Site 18 was the famous ‘Arab’ glass lamp that is now on display in the galleries of the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. Originally only fragments of amber, brown and green glassware were found but Quaritch Wales (1940: 38) believed he could identify two separate glass lamps. He wrote that in the case of one lamp there were enough pieces to ‘restore it partially’ (Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 68). In a reference to a glass lamp housed in the British Museum he stated that this lamp would have come from Syria and dated from the 14th century CE. Apparently, the lamps were suspended by chains passing through six handles with a wick placed in

the base of the vessel. Using the pieces found at the site Quaritch Wales reconstructed the lamp with the final composite object measuring about four inches [11.4 centimetres] high (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002: 481).

Lamb (1966: 75) later wrote a most detailed paper on old Middle Eastern glass and in this he referred to Quaritch Wales' Site 18 finds. He found fragments of several glass lamps, not just two, and illustrated his paper with numerous photographs of different pieces. The original reconstruction by Quaritch Wales was much criticised by Carl Gibson-Hill when it was found in the Raffles Museum [National Museum of Singapore] after the Second World War. In the paper by Alastair Lamb (1966: Plate 1) the caption to the photograph states that the 'lamp, which is preserved in the *National Museum, Singapore*, has recently been reassembled slightly differently by CA Gibson-Hill'. Gibson-Hill was a medical officer and natural history graduate who arrived in Singapore in 1941 only days before the surrender to the Japanese. He spent the war years in Changi prison (Corner 1981: 51-52). In 1947 he returned to the Raffles Museum as assistant curator of zoology and acting professor of biology at the Singapore College of Medicine. Presumably Gibson-Hill undertook the second reconstruction of the glass lamp sometime between 1956, when appointed as director of the museum, and his death in 1963.

Site 20

Site 20 was located on the left bank of Sungai Bujang, close to Site 19. It was a small hillock on the summit of which was a mound. Excavation uncovered 'the very ruined courses of a porched brick shrine, resembling Site 19 in style and presumably dedicated also to the S'aiva cult' (Quaritch Wales 1940: 40). No orientation was recorded. He noted that 'nothing of interest was found except a few fragments of Sung [Song dynasty: 960-1279 CE] celadon at floor level'. A survey in 1974 revealed that the site was in grave danger of rural encroachment (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992a: 166). Jane Allen (1988: 349) reports that a broken statue, possibly of sandstone, from this site is displayed at the archaeology museum at Merbok. No hillock exists now and the area may have been levelled during construction of a levee bank (Allen 1988: 749, Site map 19).

Site 23

Some confusion exists about the exact numbering of Site 23. This site, as marked by Allen (1988: 748 Site map 18) was located due north of Site 22. In 1985 students from the Univesiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, supervised by Nik Hassan Shuhaimi, spent their archaeological fieldwork periods of the years 1986-1988 excavating the area that was numbered Site 23. This was also part of a collaborative project between France and Malaysia (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992a: 167-173). The structure uncovered was rectangular, measuring eleven metres by nine metres, and oriented south-west and north-east. A second but smaller structure was located southwest of the larger structure. This measured 2.5 metres square. Finds included a stone pillar base belonging to the main structure, fragments of tiles and pieces of iron, pottery and Chinese celadon ceramic sherds and fragments of glass. It was apparent that Site 23 was larger than others in the Bujang valley. The existence of double walls and roof tiles was evidence of more solid construction. Following on from research in the Bujang valley by Jacq-Hergoualc'h (1992a, 1992b, 1997 and 2002), Zuliskandar Ramli, Nik Hassan Shuhaimi [bin] Nik Abdul Rahman and Mazlan Ahmad (2012) published a paper documenting the continuing research efforts undertaken at this site. This paper, a detailed chemical analysis of rock materials used in Candi Pengkalan Bujang (Site 23), follows on from a study of stone disease at Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat (Site 8) (Zuliskandar Ramli, Zamrul Amri Zakaria and Kamaruddin [bin] Zakaria 2009).

Site 25: Bukit Penjara

Bukit Penjara, Quaritch Wales wrote (1940: 41), was a small hill about 150 feet [45.7 metres] high with a rounded outline. It was covered in jungle during the 1937-39 survey period. In her survey Allen (1988: 360, 753 Site map 25) reported that it was ninety-eight metres high and the easternmost shale and sandstone outcrop lining the southern shores of the Merbok estuary. On the summit 'which had previously received the attention of either Colonel [James] Low or treasure seekers, or perhaps both' Quaritch Wales (1940: 41) found the remains of a small brick porched sanctuary. He reported that it opened to the west. Nothing of interest was found but he wrote that he considered the site to be contemporaneous with Sites 19 to 23. Currently brick fragments lie scattered and occasionally aligned over an area of about 20 metres north-south and fifteen metres east-west and form the face of a well. There is evidence of some human habitation at the site prior to the 15th century CE (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd. Rahman and Othman Mohd. Yatim 1990: 22-23). The hill was surveyed in 1978 by students from the University of Malaya. They found the well that measured three metres in diameter at ground level but was about 12.5 metres in diameter at a depth of three meters. In 1979 workers from the nearby coastal Pantai Merdeka area to the west found the entrance to a cave in which a few pieces of Chinese celadon were found. Further examination of the interior of the cave was difficult but revealed passages that contained other artefacts. The opinion was that the site may have been a lookout for ships coming into the Sungai Merbok or Sungai Muda passages. According to the *Kedah Annals*, the hill was also the location of a prison (*penjara*) that Raja Bersiong had built on the summit.

Site: 26: Bukit Meriam

This is an elongated hill of shale, mudstone and sandstone about 100 metres high that forms a north-south ridge halfway between the estuaries of Sungai Merbok and Sungai Muda. Allen (1988: 362, 755 Site map 28) reports that the hill is the northern anchor point for the beach ridge on which Kampung Sungai Mas is located. Quaritch Wales (1940: 41) commented that the hill was most likely a former island among swamps with a little flat land at the base. This is where the village was first located. He reported that in the kampung Colonel James Low found two inscriptions (Allen 1986/87, 39). The Māhānāvika [sailing master] Buddhagupta stele found by Low in 1834 was given to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta (Low 1848, 1849a). Dated to the 5th century CE it is now in the Indian Museum, Kolkata. The second stele, the Bukit Meriam inscription, is lost. A third stele, the Sungai Mas inscribed stele, recorded by Jane Allen during her research in 1979 and 1980 is now in the Muzium Arkeologi Lembah Bujang at Merbok (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd. Rahman and Othman Mohd. Yatim 1990). This was found in 1979 by villager Encik bin Ibrahim from Kampung Sungai Mas who was digging an irrigation ditch. It dates to the 6th century CE.

According to the *Kedah Annals*, Sultan Mudzafar Shah, Phra Ong Mahāwangsa, who was originally Hindu, changed his religion and his title when he converted to Islam. His palace was reputed to have been built on Bukit Meriam. Quaritch Wales (1940: 42) found a level space ten metres wide with some brick remains. He concluded that some small shrine may have been built there. The University of Malaya team that visited the site in 1958 found two stone pillar bases in the kampung outside Kota Kuala Muda but not on the hill. These were claimed to be stones from the 'old palace of the Raja of Kedah' (Wang 1958b: 223). Further north at Kampung Bukit Meriam the team found the remains of an old fort near the road between Kota Kuala Muda and Pantai Merdeka. Allen (1988: 362) reported that brick remains were visible over an area of eighteen metres by fifteen metres near the northern end of the hill. The site is among dense secondary growth presenting a 'nearly impenetrable vegetation cover'. Without the thicket, the hill would have a 'spectacular view of the Muda and Merbok estuaries'.

Site 27: Kampung Batu Lintang

Quaritch Wales was carrying out inquiries along Sungai Trus near Kampung Batu Lintang when his assistant Mohd. Noor bin Haji Aroff was told the tale that in 1914 a young boy had hooked a gold belt from the river while fishing. The boy, named as Awang, then a 10-year-old from Kampung Batu Lintang, was examined at the district office in Kota Kuala Muda and it was reported that pieces of the gold belt had been sold to a goldsmith in Penang for \$200 Malayan dollars. Only the remaining parts of the belt were in the village with a second man, named as Jasin bin Akil. As the gold belt had no official owner, the State Council claimed it as treasure and the pieces were ordered to be surrendered to the state Treasury. Further enquiries were made, and these gold pieces were confiscated by the district office. Arrest warrants were issued for all persons involved in the sale of the gold belt but the parts had already been melted down by Tan Hock, a Chinese shopkeeper from Penang. According to a copy of the official letter from the Sheriff dated 16 June 1914 and addressed to the State Council, these gold pieces had then been sold for \$369 Malayan dollars (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/6/1/1). Awang and his friends in the village, and presumably the Chinese shopkeeper in Penang, were all pardoned because they were unaware of the laws relating to treasure finds (Quaritch Wales 1940: 42-43).



Image 03.039:

Three fragments of the gold belt found at Site 27
(Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 75; Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

Subsequently Quaritch Wales went to the treasury and was shown the fragments and allowed to photograph the three remaining pieces (Quaritch Wales 1940: plates 75-77). Tests showed the gold was pure at 24 Karat. The remaining pieces were examined and declared to be decorated with *simha-mukha* (lion faces) dating to 13th century CE and made in India. Lamb (1959c: 105) reported that these belt fragments in the Treasury disappeared during the Japanese occupation between 1942 and 1945. Fortunately, Quaritch Wales documented this story, kept a copy of the State Council report and took photographs of the remaining pieces.

Site 28: Kampung Pinang Tunggal/Srokam,

According to Quaritch Wales (1940: 44), Low (1849b: 256-258) and Allen (1988: 234) immediately near the right bank of Sungai Muda was the area known as Srokam. Low remarked that ‘traces of the wall of the fort of Srokam still exist, showing that it was partly erected with the laterite found close at hand, and lining the north bank of the river’. Allen (1988: 377, 759 Site map 33) said that local people called this Raja Bersiong’s fort but Quaritch Wales (1940: 44) called the mound Raja Bersiong’s grave. At the time the University of Malaya teams visited the area in 1956 they were told that villagers used the name Kampung Pinang Tunggal and not Srokam. Jacq-Hergoualc’h (1992a: 195-196) visited the site in 1991 and photographed a cut or fashioned stone lintel that had been noted by Quaritch Wales. The site has been modified and the embankments are now under rubber.

Site 29: Kampung Sireh

Kampung Sireh, located about six kilometres inland from the mouth of Sungai Muda, has been previously mapped but the exact locations vary. Quaritch Wales (1940: 44) stated that the outlines of the ‘fort’ were at Kota Aur on the northern bank of Sungai Muda. This site was called Province Wellesley: Site 2 as well as numbered Site 29 (Kota Aur). This was not strictly correct and the descriptions given by Quaritch Wales are confusing. The modern-day Kampung Kota Aur is located 1.6 kilometres on the southern side of Sungai Muda in Seberang Perai state. When surveyed in 1941 Site 29, on the north bank, was a rectangular enclosure formed by moats not earthen walls. The interior of the *kota* was higher than the swampy land around. In the centre of the enclosure was a large block of sandstone that Quaritch Wales wrote possibly had been used in an unspecified Hindu ritual. Along the bank he found pieces of Chinese porcelain. Opposite, in what was then Province Wellesley, he noted the presence of brickwork but did not survey or excavate the sites (Quaritch Wales and Quaritch Wales 1947: 6). The report on investigations undertaken further up the river noted that little of interest was found in excavations. Allen (1988: 366) assigned a new site number to this area and the ‘fort’ described by Quaritch Wales was found to be the area between two wide canals. Allen (1988: 367) assigned new dates to the structure stating that it was probably a defensive area used in the 18th or 19th centuries CE when Siam attacked the northern Kedah region.

Site 30

Allen (1988: 383 Fig 17) did not survey this site but did mark its location. Quaritch Wales (1940: 45) reported it to be west of Sungai Batu, upriver of Sungai Merbok and northwest of Sungai Petani town. In the course of excavations at the site some laid brickwork was uncovered. Nothing suggestive of ‘temple architecture’ was discovered and finds consisted only of tiles and pieces of coarse pottery. He thought the bricks may be of comparative modern origin.

Summary of findings: Entrepôt sites

Population increase and environmental change resulted in major shifts in the location of early trading centres in the Bujang valley. Upland erosion, the result of intensification of dryland farming practices, led to the subsequent lowland accretions, estuarine infillings and stream migrations. As a result, the Sungai Merbok was beheaded many centuries ago and the lower reaches became shallow and laden with silt (Allen 1988: 516). The current Sungai Merbok is ‘markedly underfit; it is both slow and small, carrying primarily very fine particles—silts and clays—to the shore, where they are deposited over marine-deposited beach sands’. Allen (1988: 518) has stated that by 1500 CE the process of infilling in the Merbok estuary was well underway. When the Sungai Merbok was captured by the southward flowing Sungai Muda its estuary became isolated from the former

headwaters. These major physical changes in landform and river alignment meant that settlement patterns, based on coastal trade, had to change.

Feeder points in the hills, from where people brought forest products, tin and gold, could easily adapt to the relocation of collecting centres on the rivers but collecting centres needed access to port and harbor facilities. Between the 13th and the 15th centuries population concentrations moved southward from the Pengkalan Bujang and Sungai Batu areas nearer Gunung Jerai. The findings made by Allen support this idea, but what she found in her research was that most likely there was more than one movement took place during the early historic period, and that several centres were involved. The Sungai Muda was also an important trading route from the inland mountains for it was connected to the Sungai Merbok via Sungai Simpor and Sungai Terus. When the Sungai Muda breached the *permatang* and cut its own access to the sea at Kuala Muda, the Sungai Muda became a second point of direct access. Kampung Sungai Mas was coastal, not riverine, until the beach prograded due to silt and sand washed downstream because of intensive hillslope cultivation. At that time Kampung Sungai Mas was most likely the collecting point for goods supplied in part from Kampung Sireh and further upriver.

Four trading centres operated at different but overlapping times. Kampung Pengkalan Bujang, and other sites north of Sungai Merbok like Kampung Sungai Batu, flourished during the 12th and 13th centuries CE but declined after the 14th century CE. Kampung Sireh on Sungai Muda produced pottery sherds dating to 10th and 11th centuries CE, and some from the 17th century CE. Kampung Sungai Mas and its neighbouring centre, Kampung Seberang Terus, produced assemblages from the 7th to the 9th centuries CE, and the 17th century CE. Kampung Tambang Simpor on Sungai Simpor, north of Sungai Muda ‘produced a wide range of ceramics that emphasize the southern Chinese types found at Pengkalan Bujang’ (Allen 1988: 520, see also 390, Fig 18).

Allen (1988: 521-522) summarised her finding by stating that it is the Sungai Terus that now connects the Sungai Muda with the Merbok estuary. Sungai Simpor that formerly connected the Muda with the Merbok is now reduced to a tributary of the Terus. The changes in river flow illustrate why sites like Matang Pasir and Tikam Batu were probably on once navigable rivers. These findings support the remark made by Quaritch Wales and his wife (Quaritch Wales and Quaritch Wales 1947: 11) that Sungai Muda drained into the Merbok via Sungai Simpor. Kampung Sungai Mas did not overtake the Pengkalan Bujang sites. It was more likely that the centres on Sungai Muda operated during the time when the Sungai Merbok centres were dominant and even later when Kampung Sireh gained in importance. Kampung Sireh functioned, most likely, as an ‘upriver bulking and redistribution center within the sphere controlled by Kg. [Kampung] S[ungai] Mas’ (Allen 1988: 527).

Later, after Sungai Muda cut through the *permatang* and reached the sea Kampung Sireh functioned as a coastal centre, briefly oriented towards external exchange. These port communities were combined religious, commercial and domestic nodes in internal and external exchange. Because collecting centres moved the resident merchants and priests, and their associates, who resided in small often isolation settlements, also moved. They did not travel long distances inland for the riverine exchange was no doubt operated by Malays, buying and selling with Orang Asli groups resident in the mountains. This trade, and its supervision, was governed by local Malay leaders in towns and villages well removed from coastal trade centres. This trading network required access to navigable rivers and streams to be viable. A theoretical and functional model of this ‘exchange at the upstream and downstream ends’ has been presented in one of the most important research papers of traditional economics by Bennet Bronson (1977). When the rivers silted up the exchange system fell

into disuse or moved on to new areas. These important and far reaching findings from recent research highlight the social and economic sophistication and cultural complexity of the early historical period on the Malay peninsula.

Four Main Waves: the hypothesis to fit the findings

Earlier, when writing of the expedition to Si Thep undertaken in the 1935 and 1936 archaeological expedition to Siam, Quaritch Wales (1936a: 90) began expounding on his theories of Indian cultural expansion to Southeast Asia. He wrote that ‘it seems to me that it is necessary to guard against the use of the term “period” in the usually accepted sense, because it suggests those watertight compartments that seldom exist in nature’. His thought was that when sifting the archaeological evidence, it would be better to determine the various successive ‘waves’ of Indian colonization rather than eras or periods. In fact, this was just compartmentalisation using another word.

Quaritch Wales based his culture historical reconstruction of Indian colonisation of the Malay peninsula on influences from South India, and to a lesser extent from North India. Into this theory of the ‘Four Main Waves of Indian Cultural Expansion’, later expanded to five waves, was also inserted another concept that Quaritch Wales would later re-articulate. This was his idea of ‘local genius’: in determining the Four Main Waves he felt it was necessary to take into consideration the fact that Indian expansion was ‘one of great complexity’ and a cumulative process. Using an ‘ocean meets the shore’ analogy he wrote that ‘the main waves tend to continue in a stylized form long after the next wave has reached the shore, especially, of course, in backwaters not reached by the next wave; and lastly the fact that reflux influences, local evolution, and the awakening of a local genius are all factors which tend to obscure the recognition of the part played in the development of Indochinese and Indonesian art are by various cultural developments of India’ (Quaritch Wales 1936a: 90). The ‘First Wave’ extended from the 1st and the 3rd centuries CE. Evidence pointed to this being exclusively a Hīnayāna, or Theravada, Buddhist period. The Bronze Buddha recovered from Site 16A by Dorothy Wales was, he thought, representative of this period. From the onset he wrote, ‘Indian cultural influences penetrated to the eastern confines of what was to become Greater India’. The ‘Second Wave’ followed on from the first. Vaiṣṇavism, Hīnayāna Buddhism and even Śaivism existed together in Indian colonies in Greater India. This wave lasted from ‘circa 300 to circa 550’ CE (Quaritch Wales 1940: 68). In Kedah, Quaritch Wales attributed the construction of Sites 1, 2 and 16A to this period.

The ‘Third Wave’ from ‘circa 550—circa 750’ CE, corresponding with the power of the Pallava dynasty that ruled in India from 275 CE to 897 CE. He considered this to be when Śivaism was dominant. The cultural expansion spread across the Malay peninsula following the route from Takua Pa to the Bay of Bandon. Quaritch Wales had crossed the peninsula this way. To this period, he attributed Sites 8 and 19 and possibly Site 4 (Allen 1988: 251-252). The ‘Fourth Wave’ from the middle of the 8th century CE to the 10th century CE was dominated by Mahāyana Buddhism and influenced by Pāla artistic styles. He later called this the Pāla wave (Quaritch Wales 1950a: 154). This cultural influence may have been brought to Southeast Asia by Buddhist monks returning from pilgrimage to the Nālandā monastery in Bihar. Sites 10, 12, 14, 16 and possibly 15 were attributed to this era. Structures at Pengkalan Bujang, Sites 18-23, were assigned to the 11th and 12th centuries CE thus post-dating the Fourth Wave (Allen 1988: 252). Later he added a ‘Fifth Wave’ (Quaritch Wales 1950b). This was also Mahāyanaist, emerging after the destruction of the Nālandā mahāvihāra around 1200 CE, and the dispersal of Buddhist influences in India.

Perak

The excavations in Kedah undoubtedly dominated the 1937 to 1939 season. The number of sites found in the Bujang valley would have overwhelmed Quaritch Wales and his wife and exhausted their time and resources. However, the third expedition to Southeast Asia had been financed by the state governments of Perak and Johore, as well as Kedah, and it is obvious that the reports on archaeological work in Perak and Johore are incidental attachments to the much more descriptive study of the Bujang valley (Quaritch Wales 1940: 47-62). The additional research areas of Perak and Johore were only cursory excavations and the extended programme appears as an after-thought, made up in London, to attract interest and financial support. Perhaps each area was allocated equal time, say six months, and this was considered enough to survey all three regions.

The reality was that in contrast to the geographical conditions in Kedah where the ancient sites were located along river valleys where flooding was a minor problem, the situation in Perak was different. Smaller rivers there are short and torrential. The main river, Sungai Perak, is more than 400 kilometres in length but near the coast it deposited much silt thereby blocking its passage to the mouth of the Sungai Manjung. The river turned south and cut a broad path down the centre of Perak state. The location of planned excavations was to be the Matang area to the east of Taiping where the well-established Perak Museum was located, and Kuala Selinsing, the river mouth also east of Taiping. In the Perak report Quaritch Wales republished details of the six Buddhist bronzes ‘known to have been brought to light by mining operations’ that were part of the Perak Museum collection. Three of these bronzes had been previously described and photographed for an article he wrote for *The Illustrated London News* (23 July 1938: 173; Quaritch Wales 1938a). These photographs were again to be republished in the major article on archaeological discoveries in peninsula Malaya (Quaritch Wales 1940: Plates 79-81). A brief expedition was made to the Beruas district of Perak situated between Sungai Perak and the Straits of Malacca. Quaritch Wales (1940: 53) went there to look for an ‘old city’ called Gaṅga Nagara [Gangga Negara] mentioned in the *Malay Annals* that was supposed to be adjoining a Muslim graveyard. Although he dug a few trial trenches ‘in various places’ he found no sign of ancient fortifications.

Kuala Selinsing

Kuala Selinsing is part of the Matang mangrove reserve area near Kuala Gula, Taiping, Perak. Within the coastal reserve is Pulau Kelumpang where middens were discovered in 1928 and extensively excavated by Ivor Evans (1932). More middens and archaeological sites have now been found in an area 600 to 700 metres from the mouth of the Selinsing river (Zuliskandar Ramli and others 2016: 3264). The Kuala Selinsing archaeological site is now considered to be one of the earliest trading sites along the coast of peninsula Malaya. Archaeological evidence indicates that the inhabitants lived in wooden pole houses built over the soft mudflats on the fringe of mangrove forest.



Image 03.040:

Men engaged in excavating the site at Kuala Selinsing, Perak
(Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 83; Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

Evans (1932: 85) believed that archaeological finds from this area belonged to a single Indianized Malay settlement dating from the 6th century CE who were in touch with South India and used Pallava script. Further research in 1955 led to the discovery of more than 3,000 glass and polished stone beads. Suggestions then focussed on the idea that the area was occupied in three phases: the first was by proto-Malay or proto-Indonesian people who used stoneware vessels, had boat burials and traded in beads. The second phase was associated with coarse stoneware and associated Indian trade goods. In the third phase, Chinese ceramics and celadons appeared. Trade links are believed to have been with China, India and the Middle East. Cowrie shells have been found that were used for body decoration or perhaps as currency. A Pallava seal, gold ring and many amber, gold glass and striped beads, along with shell and glass bracelets and pottery pieces were found in the midden sites (Evans 1932: 117). Evans mapped the various layers in which the finds were located and published photographs of many of these objects. He (1932: 108-109) reported that of the possibly six or more inhumations, the bones at three locations were very much fragmented. From Tanjung Rawa, two were in or near dug-out canoes and one was near a wooden raft. At that time, it was generally thought that two types of communities existed on the Malay peninsula: the downstream, more sophisticated, Indianized trading ports and upstream, the non-Indianized indigenous villages that supplied the ports with forest products. It is more likely the mix of inscriptions and finds 'reflect different facets of the same coastal trading culture, coexisting in polities that were in the process of 'gentrifying' themselves through selective adoption of imported religious and political ideas' (Wisseman Christie 1995: 254).

Quaritch Wales (1940: 54-56) referred to Ivor Evans' 1932 paper in his archaeological report and having gained access to Kuala Selinsing on the government customs cruiser 'Elias bin Ahmed', he dug some trial trenches on what he called the 'island'. This was presumably Pulau Kelumpang. Little was found. Photographs published in his report on Johor do not cite their origin. Presumably they came from the Perak Museum. He also wrote that 'neither the ring nor the seal [found by Evans] 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'. He came to a strange and unqualified conclusion concerning the trade in beads that was well established in the early historic period when he wrote that

[a]ll available evidence therefore suggests that the bead traffic was from east to west along the main sea route through the Straits of Malacca to South India (the fact that they were not found in North India is significant) and ultimately to Rhodesia (Quaritch Wales 1940: 56).

No mention is made of the possibility of extensive bead trade from west to east, or to the probability that beads were commonly made in local Malay areas. The insertion of Rhodesia here seems completely unqualified and unexplained. However, it is a repeat of comments made earlier by Evans who first made the somewhat extraordinary assumptions about the extent of the bead trade in the early historic period when he wrote

[t]he people of the Kuala Selinsing settlement were engaged in a widely-spread bead trade which reached, at one time or another, as far west as Zimbabwe, Pemba and Zanzibar and as far east as Borneo, the Philippines and even to Korea...It is fairly probable that India was a main distributing centre (Evans 1932: 86).

Certainly, the bead trade could have crossed to Borneo and the Philippines but there was no explanation why Korea would have been included and not China and Japan, and to the west why Zimbabwe was listed and not many other coastal African and Arabic areas. New research on this extensive bead trade has now reassessed many of these early investigations (Francis 1991; Zuliskandar Ramli and Nik Hassan Shuhaimi bin Nik Abdul Rahman 2009; Bellina and others 2014; Bellina 2003). Beads were widely seen as status markers by local elites. Agate and carnelian beads, as well as glass beads, of varying quality and design were made in central Thailand, the Malay peninsula at Kuala Selinsing, in Java, Vietnam and most likely Burma (Bellina 2003: 289-290). The trade went from both west to east as well as east to west for India was both a supplier of gems and stones as well as a market for them.

Trade links between Kedah and Pulau Kelumpang appear to have been extensive from the evidence of finds of beads, bamboos and other domestic items like clay pots. There are even rice husks preserved in thick brown peat (Zuliskandar Ramli and other 2016: 3267). Fragments of what appears to be a dugout canoe and the stumps of house posts, along with a wooden rice mortar made from a hollowed-out tree trunk, have been hailed as exciting finds. Eleven human skeletons have been uncovered but none of these burials have been found in canoes. There is insufficient evidence to support any association with Hindu beliefs and it is now assumed that the peoples of Pulau Kelumpang were Malays from a pre-Indianized stage who still practised animism (Manguin 2004: 286). They were seafarers who worked as fishermen but were also potters and bead makers who participated in long-distance trade. Possible settlement dates are from 200 BCE to 1000 CE (Zuliskandar Ramli and others 2016: 3267 and 3269).

Johore [Johor]

Work in Johor at Kota Tinggi and Johor Lama took four months (Quaritch Wales 1940: 59). Although Quaritch Wales stated that excavation work in Johor was not part of their schedule, the Johor state government had contributed financially to the expedition and presumably there must have been some contractual commitment to survey the region. There had been some interest by the eccentric English rubber planter, and later mystical preacher, Gerald Gardner, in archaeological site investigations in Johor in the 1930s. Gardner (1933 and 1939) published two papers on ancient coins found in the Johor River and perhaps these short and rather inconclusive papers would have been enough to stimulate interest in archaeological expeditions in the southern peninsula. Gardner stated that the trade in beads was evidence of maritime linkages between the Roman empire and Malaya

(Gardner 1937: 469). In the paper he mentioned that a place called Kota Batu Itam [Hitam] [Black Stone Fort] was in the upper waters of the Johor River and it was this hidden *kota* that interested Quaritch Wales (1940: 60). This had been a place that Gardner was also trying to locate. The supposed discovery of this lost city, now called Kota Gelanggi, has been a popular media topic in Malaysia in recent years (*The Star Online* 4 February 2005).



Image 03.041:

Excavations at Kota Tinggi from the north

(Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 89; Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

Two areas were chosen to undertake the searches. Kota Tinggi is situated in low hills on Sungai Johor. Johor Lama, on the other hand, is in low-lying country near the mangrove dominated Johor river estuary (Gibson-Hill 1955: 152 Map 1 and 155 Map 2). The history of the occupation of the lower Sungai Johor was comprehensively covered by Gibson-Hill (1955) in a later paper on ancient sites along the river. Quaritch Wales once again based his choice of sites on a belief that the '*sine qua non* for development [by Indian colonists] was the existence of sufficient flat land on which to grow grain'. By grain one assumes he meant *padi* rice for his comment on Johor Lama was that it afforded scarcely enough room for a town, let alone farming land. He did not consider that fact that Indian merchants and priests would have been more likely to trade with local Malay groups for food rather than attempt to cultivate the land. Trial trenches at Kota Tinggi proved to be unsatisfying. However, he illustrated his paper on archaeological research in the Malay peninsula with two photographs labelled Kota Tinggi but there is no report on where these sites were located, or even if they were sites uncovered by Quaritch Wales himself (1940: plates 88 and 89). The only beads obtained were those sold to him by local villagers. What is confusing is that Quaritch Wales (1940: 62) sought to emphasise that the pottery made in Johor was manufactured by local Indonesian craftsmen.

Prior to this he discounted any influences from insular Southeast Asia and emphasised only Indian cultural influences. The only excavation undertaken at Johor Lama was dismissed in a few sentences. Kampung Lama was visited again in the 1950s by Gale Sieveking, Paul Wheatley and Carl Gibson-Hill (1954) who concentrated their research, not in the kampung at the mouth of Sungai Johor Lama, but further south at the point called Tanjung Batu [Stone Cape]. Here they found direct evidence the remains of three old boats and walls of a fortified area that was most likely built to guard the entrance to Sungai Johor (Gibson-Hill 1955 Plates 2 and 3). Further historical research was undertaken on Johor Lama by Macgregor (1955) and in 1960 detailed archaeological surveys were

carried out by Solheim and Green (1965). It is clear from the quality and diversity of the recent finds at both Kuala Selinsing in Perak and at Kampung Lama in Johor that Quaritch Wales paid little if any attention to the archaeological survey of the two important sites.

Results of work in Malaya

Assessing the value of Quaritch Wales' archaeological expeditions in the Malay peninsula before the Second World War is a complex task. Certainly, the work was pioneering and forms the foundation reference material on which rests all current archaeological research in the Bujang valley. Living and working conditions would have been hard and uncomfortable and both Quaritch Wales and Dorothy must be credited with stamina and perseverance. Every researcher who has undertaken work in the Bujang valley has referred to Quaritch Wales' work. Yet despite this it is evident that his surveys were hasty, lacking in manpower and resources, probably underfunded, for archaeology, even in those colonial days, was an expensive, time-consuming undertaking. The archaeological techniques used were cursory. Trial trenching was used in all cases and little stratigraphic analysis was considered. For a man trained in the natural sciences basing his work on stratigraphy, which follows the idea that human habitation layers are laid down like sedimentation, should have been a fundamental methodology.

The principle that the upper units of stratification are younger and the lower are older, for each must have been deposited on a pre-existing mass of archaeological stratification, was even then beginning to be understood and used. Quaritch Wales was, in some cases, completely dismissive of sites that he thought would not fit into his preconceived notions of ancient Indian colonisation of the region. Had he spent a little more time in the field, and concentrated on a few major sites, more would have been achieved. Quaritch Wales, and his wife, had a propensity to advocate arcane theories of Indian cultural dominance when the evidence in front of him showed a complex religious, social, cultural and economic structure. It is fortunate that Quaritch Wales arranged to have some of his finds from Kedah sent to the Raffles Museum in Singapore before the Pacific war escalated. Following the collapse of the Singapore fortress in 1942, and with the approval of the Governor, Sir Shenton Thomas, Edred Corner, then assistant director of the Singapore Botanic Gardens, asked the Japanese occupiers to preserve scientific collections, libraries, matters of historic interest including the museum and the botanic gardens. A handbook prepared for the museum from that period states

[u]pstairs the right wing contains the show-cases of Malayan weapons, silver and sarongs, together with a small collection of old coins. Adjoining the silver-room is a new extension for the subject of prehistory in which are displayed the local flint implements.

There is no specific mention of the artefacts from Kedah. Although some items may have been displayed it is more likely they were kept in storage. The Japanese kept the museum and public library, renamed the Syōnan Museum, open during the occupation (National Museum of Singapore display: *Museum matters in Syōnan*, 7 June 2017). In 1944, before liberation by the Allies, William Birtwistle, formerly with the Fisheries Department, and Corner obtained steel trunks and arranged for the museum contents to be transferred to the vault under the Municipal Building. A bomb in March 1945 damaged the Raffles Museum but the collection was largely protected (Corner 1981). In reflection it is curious that Quaritch Wales did not take the opportunity to write up his remarkable archaeological work in Kedah into a more substantial book while he had the time. His two papers on his finds are general notes and descriptions, not interpretations. He had extensive field-notes, photographs and his wife's practical and intellectual support. In the light of his other publications,

this set the archaeology of Lembah Bujang back. Future researchers had to re-investigate many sites from little or no substantial information. Jane Allen (1988: 253) said it well when she wrote

Quaritch Wales' work was brilliant in many ways' but that '[h]is shortcoming is one shared by many researchers—an implicit bias that skews the results of research. The results demonstrate the critical need...to state explicitly—before fieldwork begins—what it is that one is setting out to explain.

Chapter Four

Years of blindness: comments on the war in Southeast Asia

Quaritch Wales finished his third expedition to Southeast Asia at a time of considerable change. Colonial rule permitted unhindered travel, adventure and research work for those who could afford it. This was the time when the travels and writings of people like W Somerset Maugham (1922, 1930; Burgess 1969), and Osbert Sitwell (1939) reflected colonial life in its heyday (Christie 1994: 680). Sitwell (1939: 2), who quoted Quaritch Wales (1937a), found the ruins of Angkor one of the great wonders of the world. He compared it with Rome but found it ‘infinitely more impressive, lovely and romantic than anything that can be seen in China; than even, the Great Wall or the Ming Tombs.’ Even so, underneath the romance and glory was the feeling that ‘the terrible phantom of some indescribable massacre seems to hang over the ruins.’ Quaritch Wales’ (1931 & 1992 and 1934a & 1965a) studies of Siamese state ceremonies and ancient governmental structures fitted well into the Orientalist mindset that viewed all things Asian as exotic.

But even at a time of unfolding international crisis, the public presentation was all about art history, sculptural beauty and aesthetic ambiance. Political realities were not discussed. The European traveller of the pre-war period could move from cultural monument to monument in leisure, luxury and privilege even while the region was fragmenting into separate nationalisms, ethnic conflicts and ideological divisions. Few travellers or writers expected the imminent decline of the British Empire. It seemed so vast, so wealthy, so powerful. Although travellers educated in the ancient Greek and Roman classics had been taught the impermanence of empires, and may have acknowledged this as a possibility, it was not welcome news among the colonial elite and the planter set (Christie 1994: 682).

Imperial prestige in Southeast Asia

The key to imperial authority was prestige. In British India, and the other colonial states like the Netherlands East Indies and French Indochina, a complex social hierarchy and code of behaviour created a social structure where racial, religious and class divisions separated peoples. Travelling to Malaya and Hong Kong in 1936 and 1937, coinciding with Quaritch Wales’ archaeological research period, the American academic Lennox Mills (1942: 1) wrote that the ‘British attitude towards the tropical Empire has usually been one of lack of interest varied by spasmodic attention when one of the colonies forced itself upon public notice.’ The older and more established dependency of British Malaya, he stated, was overlooked by the average man in Britain. All the man in the street knew of the place was that it produced rubber, tin and had a strong naval base in Singapore. Colonial society was surrounded with standards of luxury and ease unavailable to the British masses at home, even though administrative power had been eroded by Whitehall decision-making. This standard of living was commented upon by Quaritch Wales (1943n: 24) who stated that ‘[t]o the average European resident in southeastern Asia in the third decade of this century [1930], nothing could have seemed to be more permanently crystallized than was this rich mosaic of colonial territories.’ But the separate systems of government in colonial Malaya complicated the political situation.

Mills (1942: 3) wrote that all the average governor of the Straits settlements wanted was a quiet life. Local criticism by planters, traders, or the ruling Malay elite was expected but what the colonial government 'prays to escape is that the tumult and the shouting should attract attention in Great Britain.' Colonial policy in Malaya, Indochina and the Netherlands East Indies rested on support of Indian and Chinese merchants and the Indigenous aristocrats. These groups were unpopular with the rural masses. Inadequate education, poor standards of health and colonial economic programmes advocating cash crops, like rubber, coffee, tea and sugar alienated native peasant populations. In 1936 and 1937 the future of the Malay people, the *bhumiputera* [sons of the soil], was seen only as an enigma. Mills (1942: 8) wrote that the Malay peninsula was governed by the British, developed with British and Chinese capital. Only as an aside did he reference the indigenous Malay inhabitants. Of the Malays, he stated patronisingly, '[t]hey are very conservative and lacking in self-assertiveness, and there has never been a race which was less politically minded and less interested in economic development' (Mills 1942: 8). He made no mention of the social or the economic role of the Indians.

The one area that undermined any loyalty to colonial authority was the reluctance of imperial powers to take the political aspirations of the local peoples seriously. Aspirations for any limited self-government, such as those proposed by Gandhi for India, led to drastic suppression orders especially after Gandhi commenced his *satyagraha* (civil disobedience) campaign in 1921 in response to British intransigence. Threats of communism from China and internal nationalism were sinister, shadowy terms on the edge of political awareness. The war crisis influenced political decision-making in London and shaped the relationship between the moderate, anti-Japanese leaders of the Indian National Congress and its more radical plebeian membership.

Japanese invasion of the Malay peninsula and Singapore

Between December 1941 and April 1942, the Japanese military executed a series of well-coordinated attacks that brought the entire southern resource area of Southeast Asia, and eastern China, under their control. The pre-emptive attack on Pearl Harbor was designed to buy time necessary to dismember the European colonial empires and establish a defensive wall across the western Pacific. In four months British, American and Chinese forces were driven into retreat. Weak and unprepared colonial forces in Southeast Asia, and their poorly trained and badly equipped local forces, faced Japanese army units that had superior training, better morale, a committed leadership and ruthless combat experience in northern China and Manchuria.

Taking advantage of the fall of France in 1940 the Japanese military forced the French colonial government to allow them to set up bases in Indochina. French forces in Indochina consisted of French nationals, some French Foreign Legion units, local Indochinese, and a battalion of Montagnards [Degar] peoples of the central highlands. The Thais then conducted a series of bombing campaigns over military targets in Cambodia in order to recover areas considered former vassal states of Siam. The Thai military government occupied parts of Laos while French units retained some control in southern Cambodia. The Japanese government mediated a ceasefire conference held in Saigon with an agreement signed in January 1941. But as France had fallen to the Germans, Indochina became part of Vichy France. It was effectively cut-off from contact with mainland French administration. The Japanese then forced the local Vichy government to cede to Thailand regions in the northwest Cambodia and two Lao enclaves on the Thai side of the Mekong.

Race and arrogance played its part in the defeat of imperial forces for 'British weakness was compounded by a chronic and bigoted underestimation of Japanese military capabilities' (Buchanan 2011: 9). In 1942 the Colonial Office in London and the British rulers in Delhi faced the very real

prospect that they could lose India to the Japanese who had captured Rangoon in March that year. At the heart of the collapse of British rule in the east lay a staggering degree of imperial complacency. Before the Second World War commenced in Asia in December 1941, coinciding with the attack on the naval base at Pearl Harbor in the Hawai'ian Islands, the British Empire had reached a position of stasis. Imperial geopolitical thinking saw Japan as the chief enemy in east Asia with the principal targets of attack Australia, New Zealand and British Malaya. Singapore, heavily defenced between 1923 and 1939, was touted as impregnable. To defend possible approaches from the south the British Navy deployed the 'Prince of Wales' battleship and the battle-cruiser, 'Repulse', to the island. They arrived on 2 December 1941. Deployed to the Gulf of Thailand to attack Japanese supply lines in Indochina both were sunk off Pahang on 10 December 1941. Air defences in Malaya were woefully underequipped. The Brewster Buffalo fighter squadrons in Singapore were supplied with aircraft from the United States that were beset with problems of inadequate supplies, undertrained technical service personnel and inexperienced pilots.

Military intelligence at that early time assessed the Japanese soldier as barbaric and inhumane. This was certainly evident from Japanese atrocities at Nanjing in China. But the capabilities of the Japanese soldier were seriously underestimated. The Imperial Japanese Army cultivated devotion to the Emperor, unquestioned acceptance of orders given by senior officers, a code of honour, *Bushido*: the Way of the Warrior, and a fear that personal surrender to an enemy would result in physical humiliation and spiritual dishonour (Ford 2005: 442). Even British and American intelligence information of the Japanese rearmament programme before the Second World War was seriously lacking. This was in part due to secrecy laws in Japan but also because language and cultural obstacles hindered any real understanding of the internal dynamics of the Japanese military elite and its culture.

Land forces in Malaya comprised British, Indian and Australian troops. The progress of the war was closely followed by newspapers and magazines. The British troops sent from the United Kingdom comprised about twenty percent of troop numbers, but the British Indian Army was by far the largest army in the world. The component sent to Malaya was about sixty percent of troop numbers with Australians comprised the remaining twenty percent. To provide the British public with information and propaganda, *The Illustrated London News* (16 August 1941: 210-211) published numerous articles on the defence of the Malay peninsula showing British, Australian and Indian troops preparing for a land battle. The commentary was all positive. On 4 November 1940 Quaritch Wales was appointed to an emergency commission of 2nd Lieutenant in the 11th Infantry Division of the Indian Army under command of Major-General David Murray-Lyons (*The London Gazette* 7 February 1941: 760-761). School records state that he was subsequently made a Captain (Governing Body of Charterhouse School 1978: 173).

In an article he would later write for *Free World* magazine (Quaritch Wales 1943e: 396-400) he complained that the 11th Indian Infantry Division was both 'poorly supplied and ill-starred.' Initially based in the Rajpath Marg in Delhi, this division was posted to Malaya and consisted of four newly raised and half-trained Indian army battalions. The headquarters was based on the Glugor Rubber Estate, northeast of Butterworth and south of Sungai Muda with two brigades, the 6th Indian Infantry Brigade and the 15th Indian Infantry Brigade, posted to Jitra north of Alor Setar. After six months in Delhi Quaritch Wales was sent to Sungai Petani, an area he knew well, to serve as an intelligence officer on general staff. In fact, he and his wife were quartered at the plantation on the Sungai Batu Rubber Estate where he had undertaken archaeological field-work (Quaritch Wales 1943n: 42. It was from here that Dorothy was able to continue with archaeological work.

The Malayan campaign

The Japanese attacking forces that arrived at Kota Bahru and Kuantan on 8 December 1941 were commanded by General Tomoyuki Yamashita. To bring troops closer to the peninsula the Japanese moved their bases to Hainan Island off south China and positioned airfields along the Indochinese coast. Aircraft from these field bases destroyed the British and Australian air cover within a few hours. Instead of striking by sea from the south as the defenders of Singapore had planned, the Japanese stationed themselves along the border with Thailand and attacked from the north. The oft-told story that they commandeered and used bicycles to move through the kampungs and the heavy jungle is true. It was very effective. It was believed by the Allies that the dense jungle would hinder their progress but the plantation and market gardens were full of narrow tracks, dykes and side lanes well covered from the air (*The Illustrated London News* 13 December 1941: 749). Being mobile and unhindered by heavy equipment the Japanese troops could out-flank the defenders and strike from behind. The east coast was poorly defended, local military intelligence was inadequate and the local Malay populations were psychologically disengaged from a conflict between two alien colonising powers.

Among the first troops to feel the force of the Japanese were the newly equipped, largely undertrained Indian troops of the 11th Indian Infantry Division. Newspapers continued to report positive news announcing that the Japanese were being opposed even while Allied forces were being pinned down and defeated (*The Illustrated London News* 13 December 1941: 750-751; *The New York Times* 14 December 1941: 38). In the meantime, Alor Setar, Sungai Petani and Butterworth were bombed by the Japanese air force on 8 December 1941. Penang was bombed on 11 December 1941 and its local population was abandoned by the British who evacuated European civilians out of Kedah on 16 December 1941 in an 'episode [that] sparked a wave of public recrimination' (Shennan 2000: 236).

All remaining European women and children, and what the military referred to as '*bouches inutiles*' [useless mouths], were then loaded aboard the Bagan Luar ferries or on the SS '*Pangkor*' and made their way to Singapore. As Dorothy Wales had been working in Sungai Muda and Kedah at that time it is most probable that she left for India from Penang with this evacuation force. Before she left Malaya she contributed a general interest piece for the New York *Sun* on the life of a white woman on a Malayan rubber plantation (Johnson 1942). It is a curious piece that she published under her maiden name. This at a time when the whole structure and tenure of European life in the region was collapsing reads as if nothing were about to change the stability and order of the world of the white *memsahib* in her colonial bungalow (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/9/7).

Jitra, defended by the 15th Indian Infantry Brigade, was attacked by the Japanese on 11 December 1941. After heavy fighting, the Japanese broke through and the Indian Army retreated south to Gurun, northeast of Sungai Petani and east of Gunung Jerai. This was another area of Kedah well-known to Quaritch Wales. The 11th Indian Division was then in a state of great disorder and could not be reinforced. The troops retreated south towards Penang and Singapore. Quaritch Wales withdrew from Penang with retreating British forces attached to the general staff. It was British policy to have nurses, trained general staff officers and technicians withdrawn from fighting areas so that the Japanese would not interrogate or mistreat them (*The Age* 27 February 1948: 2). One of the more successful evacuations was when the Canadian Pacific Steamship Company's SS '*Duchess of Bedford*', that arrived with 4,000 Indian troops to reinforce the Singapore garrison and left for Colombo, Cape Town and England with over 1,200 civilian evacuees. This left Singapore on 30 January 1942 just over two weeks before the Japanese arrived.

Heavy fighting proceeded all down the peninsula culminating in the Battle for Singapore. British military policy in Malaya then came under intense criticism. The Australian press (*Argus* 23 December 1941: 1) complained in a hard statement that

[a]fter a fortnight's fighting we have lost Perlis, the most north-westerly portion of the Malay Peninsula, Kedah province, Wellesley province, the island of Penang, and the north-eastern corner of Malaya, and the people in Malaya are beginning to ask why.

Australia been let down, the article stated, by senior British defence authorities who had made the same mistake repeatedly: they had underestimated the enemy. Constantly the public had been told that the Japanese were not good pilots because their eye-sight was bad, that they were text book pilots only, they lacked originality and could not handle mechanical equipment in the Malayan rice fields, in the jungle and in the rubber plantations (*Argus* 23 December 1941: 1). They were proved wrong once again (Wilson 2002: 26).

Fighting continued all through January (*The Illustrated London News* 3 January 1942: 12). Perak, then the world's chief tin mining centre, was seized by Japan in early January when units landed from confiscated fishing boats and small craft (*The Illustrated London News* 17 January 1942: 76; *The New York Times* 3 January 1942: 3; *The Age* (Melbourne) 8 January 1942: 1). All remaining Allied military forces were withdrawn to Singapore island by 31 January 1942 after which the Johor causeway at Woodlands was meant to be destroyed. This was only partly successful and, in any case, it delayed the invasion into Singapore by just one week (*The Illustrated London News* 7 February 1942: 174-175). The battle continued from 7 February to 15 February 1942 when the surrender of all Allied forces on the island was signed at the old Ford Motor Factory in Upper Bukit Timah Road. This factory is now a museum to the Japanese occupation. With the fall of Singapore 130,000 servicemen, along with 10,000 civilians, were taken into captivity (Shennan 2000).



Image 04.001:
(Quaritch Wales 1942f; *The New York Times* 4 January 1942: E4)

The New York Times: corresponding journalism

Following evacuation from Sungai Petani, Quaritch Wales and his wife moved to the United States. While there are no personal diaries or letters that document the reason for their move to New York, Quaritch Wales had been appointed a director of Bernard Quaritch Ltd in 1939 and presumably he was supported by his own personal wealth. Dorothy Wales also had family in the United States. In New York he became a contributing writer for a wide range of popular magazines, general interest periodicals, some rather esoteric journals and some prominent newspapers, in particular *The New York Times*. The newspaper referred to him as a 'recent adviser on Southeastern Asia to the general staffs in India and Malaya.' Like his use of the title 'late of the Lord Chamberlain's department of the Court of Siam' this statement of self-promotion hides the facts. Quaritch Wales was appointed only to an emergency commission, at the time of the Japanese invasion he was 42, a relative late age for service personnel and while he may have had practical experience in Malaya, he was not a trained defence strategist. This lack of experience is telling in the range, quality and diversity of articles he prepared while in the United States.

His first published piece was for the weekly magazine of the Jesuits in America. This article on the position of the non-Communist armies in China was short and not very accurate (Quaritch Wales 1941). He began submitting articles to *The New York Times* in early 1942. The first titles, 'Malayan terrain governs battles', printed on 4 January 1942 would have been written while still in Malaya and before the fall of Singapore (Quaritch Wales 1942f: E4). In it he wrote that a direct attack on the island fortress seemed unlikely due to the rugged terrain of the Malay peninsula that was sure to hinder the Japanese advance south. This was the general misunderstanding at the time. In fact, the Japanese deliberately landed at Kota Bharu on 8 December 1941 and made rapid progress down the east coast. Japanese success was attributed to their landing during the rainy season, the element of surprise and the availability of good roads along the coast. Quaritch Wales' article was a purely geographic description of the Malay peninsula that would have helped his American audience ignorant of the countries and their locations in Southeast Asia. It made no mention of the element of surprise, or the poor planning and inadequate defence preparedness of the Allied authorities.

A second article, again published in January 1942, stated that Japanese strategy was not aimed at the capture of the Malay peninsula, but occupation of resource rich Java (Quaritch Wales 1942e: E4). This was no doubt true, but occupation of Singapore was crucial to the control of the entire Southeast Asian region. He wrote that Japanese plans were to drive a wedge between Java and Australia and then listed all the resources of the Netherlands East Indies. He assumed, wrongly, that the large population of Javanese would remain loyal to the Dutch and oppose Japanese aggression. He made no mention, again, of internal political factors like the rise of the Indonesian nationalists who initially welcomed the Japanese. He appeared to place no value on a resource rich, largely underpopulated Australia to the south.

At that time the strategic policy of the Japanese government was the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' [*Dai Tōa Kyōeiken*] (Everest-Phillips 2007: 250). Initially promoted as an Asian bloc of countries, led by Japan, free of Western colonial control, it became corrupted by militarists who saw it as a means by which the Japanese could dominate Asia. The sphere was first designed to incorporate a Great East Asia that encompassed Japan, Manchukuo, the new name for the Japanese occupied Manchuria, the eastern provinces of China and the occupied areas of Southeast Asia. The official policy focussed on Southeast Asia was called the 'Southern expansion doctrine' (*Nanshinron*). The Japanese military then proceeded to set up puppet governments in these countries. Initially some people welcomed the Japanese troops as liberators from colonial oppression but they soon

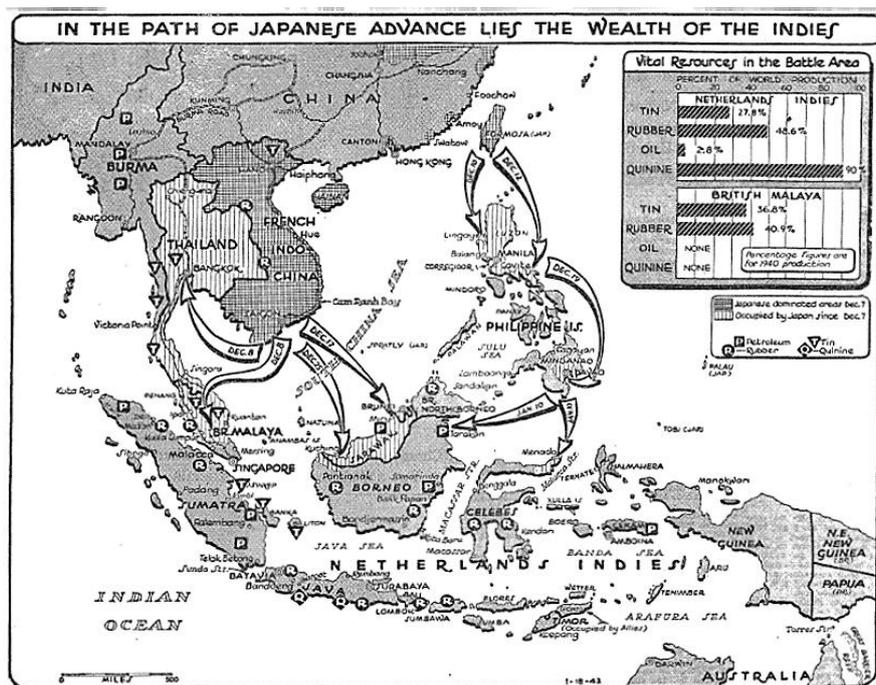


Image 04.002:
 (Quaritch Wales 1942e; *The New York Times* 18 January 1942: E4)

turned out to be regarded as even more restrictive and dominating. Local economic planning and productivity was directed entirely towards the Japanese war effort and soon serious food shortages were felt across all occupied areas.

The principal objective in the Netherlands East Indies was oil from the rich fields of Tarakan and Balikpapan in Borneo as well as from Palembang in Sumatra (Quaritch Wales 1942e). As Japan advanced into Southeast Asia, Britain, the Netherlands and the United States imposed an oil embargo that effectively cut off ninety percent of supplies. When the Japanese occupied Burma in 1942 they cut the Burma road that linked India to China and so the Americans began supplying the Nationalist forces, under Chiang Kai-shek, by air. A second road, the Ledo road, was completed. While the British wanted to hold Burma to relieve pressure on India, the Americans saw Chinese anti-Communist troops as a force to be used to recapture eastern China from the Japanese. The Americans wanted to secure China as a base to launch attacks on the Japanese islands. American military strategy saw the outcome of the Nationalist and Communist civil war in China as vital to American not Asian interests (Buchanan 2011: 16). But the Chinese Nationalists saw victory in the civil war as a long-term strategic goal to liberate China from Maoist control, not specifically Japanese aggression.

Allied intelligence about Japan and its military tactics was extraordinarily ill-informed, uncritical, full of generalisations and exaggerations (Everest-Phillips 2007: 246). The pre-war weakness in Japanese intelligence gathering and analysis were potentially embarrassing to the Allies. The rapid collapse of colonial structures in Hong Kong, Malaya and Singapore, the Netherlands East Indies and in the Philippines seemed to justify the belief that it was the result of years of clandestine Japanese spying and collaboration. The post-war complaint made by British civilians who had been incarcerated during the Pacific War that Japanese subversive activity had penetrated many domestic fields makes sober reading (Shennan 2000: 212-215). Before the war the 'British community harboured racial stereotypes of the cunning yellow peril and distain for a race which produced cheap, imitative products' (Shennan 2000: 212). The wish of the British government not to antagonise the

Japanese or check their aggression in northern Asia was an uneasy union between appeasement and pacifism that became the justification for indecision and inaction. During the war it became the convenient excuse for official failure.

Japanese collaboration and spying was a key complaint of the Australian newspapers. Although giving the Japanese credit for planning and surprise, the papers referred to pre-war Japanese traders and photographers as clandestine intelligence gatherers (*Argus* 2 January 1943: 4). The impression derived from memoirs by British expatriates is one of an energetic Japanese community, overtly engaged in trades and industries, working as fishermen, photographers and shop-keepers, all the while covertly operating as intelligence gatherers (Bridges 1986: 23). The well-publicised trial of Shinozaki Mamoru, a press attaché at the Japanese Consulate-General in Singapore, only added to public opinion. Shinozaki was arrested and tried in November 1940 for attempting to obtain military intelligence from junior British army and air force personnel. He was sentenced to three and a half years jail in Changi prison before being released by occupying Japanese forces in 1942. He then served as an official in the Japanese administration in Singapore until 1945 (Bridges 1986: 28). When the British were preoccupied with the war in Europe, the Americans endeavoured to use diplomatic, and limited economic, pressure on Japan to stop further aggression in China but Allied diplomatic policy towards Japan lacked coordination. In the event of Japanese action against British colonial territories, the Americans were still reluctant to give any firm commitment of military support. Diplomacy was one thing but as Everest-Phillips (2007: 249) wrote, the ‘truth—that defence arrangements on Hawaii, as in Malaya and elsewhere, were needlessly woeful—was conveniently forgotten.’

Quaritch Wales and his wife had lived through the build-up to war, the collapse of the British forces, and the subsequent retreat from Southeast Asia. All this undercurrent of anxiety, espionage, diplomatic manoeuvrings and political ineptitude became ready material for the many articles he would write during the war years. He began his third article for *The New York Times* of 5 April 1942 (Quaritch Wales 1942d) with a statement that India was to be the next target of Japanese aggression. Under the banner line, ‘India offers a vast war theatre for a two-power Axis offensive’, he spelt out his belief was that the Germans were planning to move south to the Suez and that the two Axis powers, German and Japan, would then link up in northern India. He believed India and China would provide the required manpower to defeat the enemy although the internal political situation in India complicated the issue. He surmised that Japan was probably counting on the Bengalis to hinder the British war effort and participate in ‘fifth column activity.’

In a fourth article for *The New York Times* of 19 April 1942 (Quaritch Wales 1942c; Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/9/9) he reiterated his idea that only by joining together in India can Japan and Germany achieve their goal of access to vital raw materials from the East Indies for the continuing war. His position on the role of Australia was thankfully discounted by military planners. He wrote that:

[d]espite the key position which Australia occupies in Japan’s maritime lines of communication and from which a devastating air offensive against Japan’s southern bases may be carried out, it is very unlikely that the island continent alone can be a springboard for a military offensive.

In fact, General Douglas MacArthur used Australia as his forward base for the counterattack against Japan. The Pacific War would only be won after intense, devastating island-hopping towards Japan following the Battle of Midway, 4-7 June 1942, the campaign on the Kokoda Track, July to

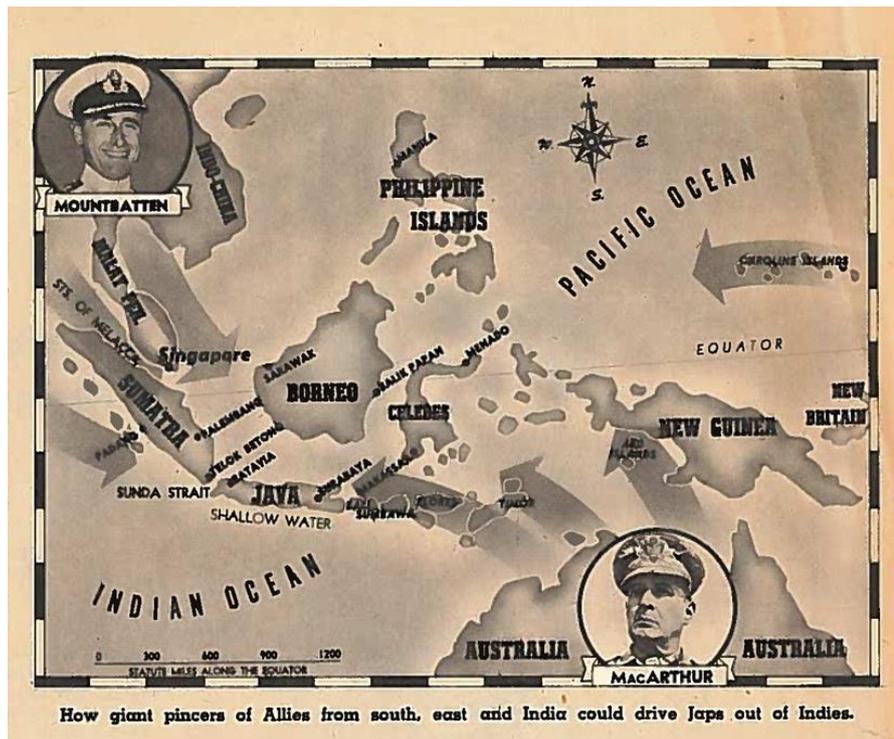


Image 04.003:
 'Key to reconquest'
 (Quaritch Wales 1943i; *Everybody's Weekly*, 21 November 1943: 6)

November 1942, and the Battle of Guadalcanal, 7 August 1942 to 9 February 1943. These were the turning points in the war that would culminate with the twin atomic bomb attacks on Hiroshima, 6 August 1945, and Nagasaki, 9 August 1945.

From April 1942, *The New York Times* no longer published his rather opinionated pieces and so he turned to rather obscure American magazines, tabloids and regional newspapers to express his opinions of war strategy. An article on the defence of India, something he advocated all through the war, was published in the *Free World* magazine (Quaritch Wales 1942a; Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/9/10). This was a short-lived left-leaning liberal magazine established in New York in 1941. Edited by the rather shadowy émigré writer Louis Dolivet, it ceased publication in 1946. His statement on how the United Nations could defend India against invasion was published in *Everybody's Weekly*, a tabloid founded in London that was widely syndicated in the United States (Quaritch Wales 1942b; Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/9/11).

In 1942 Quaritch Wales published two articles dealing with the war in Burma (Quaritch Wales 1942g; Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/9/8) and the role of Thailand in the forward movements against Japan (Quaritch Wales 1942h; Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/9/12). From his bibliography it is possible to see that he wrote continuously from 1942 to 1945 but his diary notes show that many articles submitted to editors were not published and others were printed with no author fee.

Years of blindness

During the years spent in the United States Quaritch Wales lectured on Asian and Pacific affairs (Governing Body of Charterhouse School 1978: 173). There is much of Quaritch Wales' personal

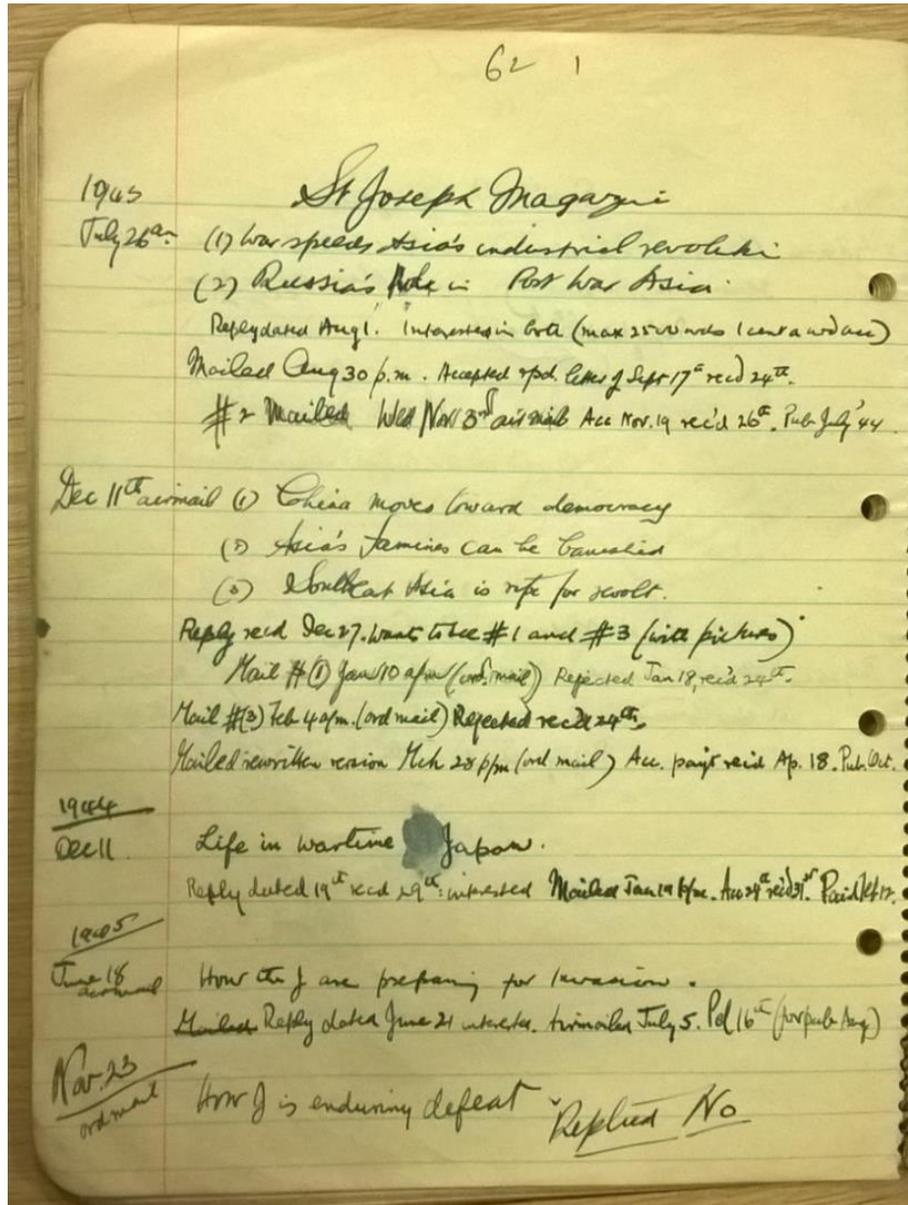


Image 04.004:

Diary of newspaper and magazine articles kept by Quaritch Wales noting publication dates and rejections (Royal Asiatic Society Archives. QW//2/3). The *St Joseph Messenger* was the magazine of the Sisters of St Joseph of Peace based in New Jersey.

bias presented in his main book, *Years of blindness*, published during this period (Quaritch Wales 1943n). The book's well-chosen title shows just where his opinion was directed. It was a criticism of the British, Dutch and French colonial systems in place in the 1930s but the book was clearly geared towards American audiences. He was highly critical of planters in Malaya who, he said, showed that by:

[n]ot having been picked from the more highly educated strata to begin with, it was too much to expect them to cope altogether with that deterioration in mental and physical vigor that all too readily sets in if life in the tropics be accompanied by ease (Quaritch Wales 1943n: 42).

This view that planters and colonial settlers in the tropical were decadent, idle and irresponsible is not a view shared by Margaret Shennan (2000). She records an interview with a former planter who said candidly: 'There are of course exceptions to every rule...but on the whole the Planters were a very decent, honest, clean living and hard-working lot' (Shennan 2000: 187 and 404 quoting from Guy Hutchinson 'A junior assistant on a Rubber Estate, Malaya 1928-1932', BAM III/1. [British Association of Malaya Papers], Royal Commonwealth Society Records, Cambridge University Library). Quaritch Wales did not record the planter's view of the archaeologist who spent months with his wife in the jungle and scrub, living in a canvas tent and digging up ancient Buddhist and Hindu ruins. He was also dismissive of the Malayan Civil Service whom he called

a hard-working, conscientious, and unimaginative set of men. They were scarcely comparable with the Indian Civil Service whose members were chosen for their ability to collaborate with, and if need be to pit themselves against, the best Indian brains (Quaritch Wales 1943n: 85).

Likewise, he was dismissive of the Dutch and French especially noting that they had no problems accepting interracial marriage between colonial planters or officials with Indonesian and Vietnamese women. In good British tradition, miscegenation was to be frowned upon. The Dutch, he wrote, made Indonesia a bourgeois copy of Holland while the French were simply unsuitable as colonists being too much attached to France and French culture. While the tone of the book would now be considered pompous, even racist, it deserves more critical attention.

These main points were taken up in a review in the *Advocate* (1 March 1944: 10), the weekly newspaper published for the Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne. Headed, 'The awakening of Asia', the article reported that Quaritch Wales had barely escaped capture by the Japanese and in his book presented two parallel but conflicting trends (Quaritch Wales 1943n: 308-320). These are well-described in the conclusion of *Years of Blindness*. First was the decline of the white man's influence in Asia and along with it the disintegration of the old-fashioned imperialism, second was the surge of the Asian peoples struggling for their freedom. The decline of prestige was due to increasing lassitude and complacency of European officials and settlers in the east. This was a result of growing ease of life after the hard, pioneer days had passed. Also, in the home countries, Britain, Holland and France, as well as in the colonies, there was contentment with the status quo. Colonial governments were therefore lulled into a false sense of security. British colonies placed too much trust in the strength of the Royal Navy and in the fortifications of Singapore and no steps were taken to guard against aggression along overland routes. This was completely the opposite opinion presented in his early articles for *The New York Times*. Added to this Quaritch Wales considered that the status of the European world had been impaired by two world wars and the failure of what he called 'liberal policy' in the colonies. This liberalism entailed ever-increasing compromise and concessions towards self-government that stimulated active, militant nationalism. This seems contradictory for although he admired Gandhi and Indian moves towards independence, he looked down on the ordinary Malays, the Chinese and the Thais.

He appeared to be ambivalent about mass education for Asian peoples, having only ever taught the sons of the elite in Bangkok, and he certainly interpreted nationalism as a nascent form of communism. His thought that as conditions of colonial life improved, there was an increasing aloofness of white men from Asian people, may have been more a reflection of his own personal views of life in the periods he lived in the East. Europeans, resident in Asia for a long time, would not have remained aloof from local people for long. His views about the surge of Asian peoples 'struggling for freedom' only referred to a perceived desire to master Western technology. He

believed that ‘Asiatics wanted nothing from the white man except his techniques’ (Quaritch Wales 1943n: 312). And, having passed through the ‘subservient imitative phase in the material sphere’ Asian peoples were entering a stage of spiritual revulsion with western thought. This, he wrote, could be seen in the value placed on their own cultural heritage. His case studies were nearly all based on his personal observations in India where he felt that ‘Gandhi has been the great apostle of the revival of spiritual power’ (Quaritch Wales 1943n: 313). His dramatic conclusion was that unless European powers offer Asia the hand of equality and freedom it ‘may well be the prelude to a catastrophe of well-nigh cosmic proportions—the clash of East and West like unto the clash of two hostile worlds in the midnight sky, with unpredictable results for man’s civilization’ (Quaritch Wales 1943n: 320).

The five causes for the failure of the colonial powers in Southeast Asia were again taken up in a detailed review of the book for the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Knight 1943). This book was only reviewed by American writers and ignored in Britain and Australia. A review by Carlos Romulo appeared in *The New York Times* (23 May 1943: BR16) that was appropriately called ‘A rueful look backward’. Romulo was a Filipino newspaper publisher and editor who served as Resident Commissioner of the Philippines attached to the United States House of Representatives from 1944 to 1946. In this position he had non-voting delegation rights until the declaration of independence for the Philippines on 4 July 1946. He was a man of some stature in his own country. Before reading Quaritch Wales’ book, Romulo thought he would be examining the typical product of a man who was from the ‘core of imperialistic culture.’ His review highlights the passage in *Years of blindness* where Quaritch Wales wrote that the typical white man in Asia was not from the more highly educated class of British society and that this had been one of the most prominent causes for the decline in colonial status before the war. In fact, both author and reviewer missed the main point.

Colonialism and imperialism were effectively undermined by the world-wide economic and political collapse following the Great Depression and the rise of Totalitarianism in the 1930s. All colonial powers found the economic crisis of the early 1930s a major drain on their imperialist ambitions. The supposed arrogance and the moribund decay of the social life of planters, traders and officials in the Asia and Pacific regions was largely irrelevant to ordinary Asian peoples. Quaritch Wales was praised for his ability to see the situation impartially for he neither belonged to the commercial nor to the governmental classes but while the book was seen as valuable because it lacked nostalgia for the not too distant colonial past, Masselman (1943) thought that the cataclysmic events of Pearl Harbour that taught the white man, or at least Americans, that Asian peoples had reached a right to seek emancipation from imperialism. But linking the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour with the right to seek emancipation from imperialism was a bit tenuous for the Japanese had not been colonised. They were now a colonial power.

Analysis of the reviews highlights the lack of understanding of Southeast Asian affairs common at that time and also shows that Quaritch Wales was seeking to gain intellectual authority in the United States rather than in Britain. Reviews, all American, were generally positive with Fred Eggan (1944) repeating the line that the Japanese had been able to twist local feelings against colonial powers. He concluded by saying the findings showed that Asian problems were ‘cultural rather than political.’ Quaritch Wales would have been pleased that his book was well reviewed in the pages of *Pacific Affairs* (Thompson 1943) at a time when few books by Englishmen received attention in the United States. It was, the author of the review wrote, the ‘mature and thought-provoking reflections written in a style which belies the all too prevalent conviction that genuine scholarship must of necessity be dull’ (Thompson 1943: 512).

Diversity of interests

Before and after the publication of *Years of blindness* Quaritch Wales was a prolific contributor to a series of general-interest, often Catholic, or Asia-specific journals popular in the United States. He did not publish his opinion pieces in the United Kingdom. The first articles appeared in the *Free World* magazine, the *Saturday Review of Literature* and the *Asia and the Americas* magazine. The *Free World* magazine was militantly anti-Fascist and anti-Communist but folded in 1946 when incorporated into *Asia and the Americas* magazine. In an article on the defence of India, Quaritch Wales (1942a: 27-29) wrote that following the fall of Singapore and the invasion of Burma, the main threat to the security of India was a Japanese attack on Bengal. This was the eastern gateway to the Ganges plains and the main industrial centre of north India. If an invasion were to come, Quaritch Wales surmised, that it would be in the dry season between November and June. Why this would happen was only his guess for the Japanese successfully attacked Malaya during the wet season.

In another article, also published in *Free World* (Quaritch Wales 1944d: 211-214), he argued that only after the masses of peoples in Asia were educated and made politically aware would true democracy flourish. This is in direct contrast with his opinions in *Years of blindness* where he was dismissive of mass education as it would only encourage communism. But the idea that the masses needed to be educated before independence could be given to India and Pakistan was certainly not a consideration when it was declared on 15 August 1947. He was correct in his judgement of the situation in India post-Independence when he wrote that 'Nehru has hinted at the likelihood of internal bloodshed; and once that begins, no one could say when or where it would stop.' The communal politics in India was, and would be, the chief cause of post-independence discord. Quaritch Wales (1944d: 213) stated that 'these deep-rooted inhibitions could be overcome by mass education, preferably accompanied by the development of eclecticism in the religious sphere' but neither education nor religious moderation would be the answer to India's internal concerns in the short term.

His war-time paper on 'Buddhism as a Japanese propaganda instrument' introduced American readers to the New Asia Bureau of the Greater Japan Buddhist Association (*Dai Nippon Bukkyō kyōkai*) that was an active agent for transmission of cultural propaganda into China and Southeast Asia (Quaritch Wales 1943a: 428-431). Buddhism, he wrote, had been corrupted by the Japanese military as an instrument of cultural propaganda. To accommodate the Buddhist leaders, especially in China, the Japanese had installed a statue of the monk and respected teacher, Kūkai [Kōbō-Daishi] who had spent many years in China. Kūkai had been presented to the Tang Emperor and later became head of the Tōdai-ji temple at Nara. He was not unknown to Chinese Buddhists. Quaritch Wales (1943a: 429) attempted to argue that Kūkai was responsible for harmonizing Buddhism with Shintō beliefs that he called the 'Way of the Gods.' While this is a correct literal translation, Shintō strictly refers to a philosophical path of spiritual essence. His rather naïve study of Buddhism and its struggles under Japanese domination did not sit well with the Chinese philosopher Lin Yutang who wrote that '[t]here is a sharp distinction between Shintoism and Buddhism... People can believe in both at the same time, and many of them do.' His thoughts were that Buddhists and Buddhist monks would just wait patiently for the crisis to pass and return to their ancient beliefs. Many did just that.

In an article written for the *World's News*, a Sydney weekly published by Watkin Wynne, the successful editor of the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, Quaritch Wales (1943h: 3) spelt out his opinion on the future of Communism in a post-war Asia. While acknowledging the success of Communism in Russia he thought it unlikely that Communism would appeal to the great mass of India's rural poor.

His belief was that for followers of Gandhi the return to 'idyllic village life of old, with primitive cottage industries, [was] a very different ideal from the Socialist aim of State-controlled industry.' The Indian Communist Party was, he wrote, a party of city-based intellectuals, students and factory workers and he firmly believed, incorrectly it would soon appear, that the mass of Asian peoples with their love of religion, family and private property would never accept communism. In articles written for the *Catholic World* (Quaritch Wales 1943j and 1944f) and *The Nation* (Quaritch Wales 1943b and 1943d) he would repeat this line.

His choice of publisher was often unusual. While the *Free World* and *The Nation* were seen in the United States as liberal left, or at least progressive in an American context, in their political opinions and analysis, *Catholic World* and *St Anthony Messenger* belonged firmly to the traditional middle-class Catholic community. In Australia, *World's News* and the *Advocate* reached only small conservative markets in Sydney or in Melbourne.

His piece for the *Saturday Review of Literature* was titled 'What we don't know about Asia.' It was directed only at an American audience (Quaritch Wales 1944r: 4-5, 20). The *Saturday Review* was a general-interest magazine that was a popular compendium of reports, essays and criticisms of general events and for this journal Quaritch Wales confidently remarked that post-war Asia would return to the previous status quo with India and Burma allied with Britain, Indonesia in an 'integral partnership' with the Netherlands and Indo-China retained by France. Perhaps this was for conservative, middle-class American audiences for in his *Years of blindness* he had written that Indonesian nationalists would not accept a 'dominion status' when peace returned (Quaritch Wales 1943n: 170; M... *Advocate* 14 November 1945: 14). In the new Asian world 'future peace and welfare both of India and of Southeast Asia [would] depend on the creation of a new relationship between them and their respective mother countries.'

His article in *Asia and the Americas* (Quaritch Wales 1945k: 181-184) took a hard line against the Shintō religion by condemning it for its nationalism, its crudity and its primitivism. He wrote that Shintōism had served the militarists well and must be destroyed. He compared it with the archaic religions of the Pacific, Mayan deities, and Khmer temple mountain cults. In this highly polemic piece it was his clear wish to have the whole Shintō religion destroyed. It is unusual that Quaritch Wales should write for this paper. When his article was published *Asia and the Americas* was owned by Richard Walsh and his wife, Pearl S Buck, America's most highly regarded Asian writer. Buck was extraordinarily well-connected within Asia and the United States. *Asia and the Americas* merged with *Free World* magazine to become *United Nations World* in 1947. Contributors to these magazine included such luminaries as Hu Shih (1936), head of China's New Culture Movement, Owen Lattimore, an authority on Central Asia whose book Quaritch Wales would review, Lin Yutang, who criticised Quaritch Wales' article on Buddhism and Shintoism, Edgar Snow and others. Pearl S Buck became editor in 1942 and followed a line that criticised British imperialism and colonialism, supported Indian independence and was strongly anti-racist. Coming at the end of a vicious war Quaritch Wales' attacks on Shintōism would have resonated with American readers.

He was certainly out to make a name for himself in the United States. On 6 October 1944, he was invited to address the East Indies Institute of America at Columbia University in New York. The topic of the speech was 'A cultural approach to the postwar problems of Southeast Asia.' This paper was subsequently published in the *Far Eastern Quarterly* (Quaritch Wales 1945f: 217-223). The East Indies Institute of America, initially based at 15 West 77th Street, New York, was established in 1941 as an association of scholars and specialists whose work related to Southeast Asia. The primary area covered was the Malay peninsula, the Indonesian Archipelago, the Philippines, Burma, Siam

and French Indo-China (Association for Asian Studies 1946: 219-224). The important and influential directors were the historian and contributor to *The Nation* magazine, Adriaan Barnouw, along with the anthropologists Ralph Linton and Margaret Mead. Robert von Heine-Geldern served as Research Associate for many years. At a time of crisis for the Netherlands East Indies, following the Japanese occupation of Indonesia from March 1942 to the end of the war in 1945, the former colonial government established offices in London, New York and Melbourne. The Board for the Netherlands Indies, Surinam, and Curaçao was formed to provide information, relief and rehabilitation plans for the colonies. One of the most comprehensive collections of publications detailing the past work and research of scientists in the Indies was published by the Board based in New York. In this, Robert von Heine-Geldern (1945) reviewed all known prehistoric research to date. He dedicated his paper to that rather extraordinary personality, the ethnologist Pieter van Stein Callenfels. The members of these small but influential associations were all well-known to each other at this important time in history.

The East Indies Institute became the Southeast Asia Institute in 1946 although it was subsequently absorbed into the Association for Asian Studies. Advocating for more cultural contacts with Asia 'at a time when many Americans are about to develop their wartime interest in Southeast Asia', Quaritch Wales (1945f: 217) highlighted the transitional period that lay ahead following the defeat of Japan. Noting his archaeological fieldwork between 1937 and 1939 he stressed the need to understand the success of acculturation and fusion of cultures, Hindu, Buddhist and even Islam, that were unconscious peaceful processes. His complaint of the Europeans resident in Southeast Asia was that, because they retained an attachment to their homelands in Europe, they failed to 'effect a cultural fusion.' He told his audience that the reason why he made a study of Siamese state ceremonies in the early 1930s was because he 'wanted to rescue a knowledge of them from oblivion for I saw that they were doomed.' Whether this was just another case of European arrogance or was a genuine attempt to understand cultural difference is difficult to say. Knowledge of the rites and ceremonies had been handed down for generations in courtly circles and many continue to be practiced regardless of whether or not they are understood in the West. Quaritch Wales considered, rather simplistically, that the blind imitation of Western democracy in Asia would be bound to fail.

Meanwhile, Japan was still fighting the last stages of the Second World War. Intense fighting moved north from the Solomon Islands and New Guinea in late 1942 after the Allied campaigns at Kokoda between July and November 1942, and at Milne Bay, in August and September 1942, halted Japanese expansion south. The largest naval battle of the Pacific war was fought off Formosa [Taiwan] between 12 and 16 October 1944. Fighting in Manila, Corregidor and the South China Sea intensified between January 1945 and March 1945. Heavy casualties were inflicted on both sides during the battle for Iwo Jima between February and March 1945. Japan had still not surrendered when Quaritch Wales (1945g: 3-4, 26-27) wrote the first of two papers for *St Anthony Messenger*, a national Catholic magazine that has long served as the Franciscan Friars of St John the Baptist evangelical voice in the United States. The first article asked the question 'How long can the Japanese hold out?' Quaritch Wales estimated that it would take more than two years for Japan to be defeated, following the defeat of Germany and the official signing of the surrender documents on 8 May 1945. He based his prediction largely on reports of material shortages in Japan obtained from translated radio speeches. This took little account of the psychological condition of the Japanese people or their widespread fear of an American invasion. A second article, also in *St Anthony Messenger* (Quaritch Wales 1945l: 9-11, 41), asked Americans if 'We're ready to invade Japan.'

It was, Quaritch Wales assumed, logical that after sustained bombardment of major Japanese cities, like Tokyo, that forces would invade the islands after the typhoon season ended in October. He



Image 04.005:
 'Stepping stones to Tokyo'
 (Quaritch Wales 1944h; *The Star Weekly*, 18 March 1944: 4)

predicted that an invasion force would need to target both the Kantō plain, the Tokyo and Yokohama area, as well as the Kansai plain, the ancient area surrounding Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe. He was wrong. The irony that these articles were published almost simultaneously with the plan to destroy two entire Japanese cities was not been lost on Barbara Beckwith (2005: 34-35), a retired managing editor of *St Anthony Messenger*, who wrote a short review of the content of wartime articles published in the magazine. On 6 August 1945 the United States Air Force dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, and on 9 August 1945, a second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. Both towns were located well away from the northern cities and plains noted by Quaritch Wales. The United States military command was not planning conventional large-scale invasion but something

new and much more destructive. Japan surrendered on 15 August with the formal documents signed on 2 September 1945. The Second World War was officially over.

During the Second World War Quaritch Wales had written over fifty published newspaper and journals on the war situation in Southeast Asia, his opinion of how the Allied forces should progress in the Pacific War and his general assessment of the post-war situation when the former colonial governments should return to claim their old colonies in the region. He had written many articles that had been rejected by publishers. Together with the book, *Years of Blindness*, they form a curious mixture of pro-liberal, anti-Communist, strongly Catholic and rather idiosyncratic writings that make it hard to understand the mind of Quaritch Wales at that time. He was most successful publishing articles with *The Star Weekly*, a conservative Canadian weekly periodical published in Toronto that was widely read in rural Canada (Quaritch Wales 1944c, 1944e, 1944h, 1945b, 1945d, 1945e, 1945h, 1945i, 1945m). These articles range from comments about the war in Burma and the recapture of Hong Kong and Singapore to re-equipping the anti-Communist forces in China.

In later articles he expressed his opinion concerning the value of the head-hunting Kachins in the fight against the Japanese. As usual he sensationalised the role of the Naga men from the Chin ethnic group in the fight against the Japanese. Only several hundred actually joined the Allied forces and those that did had converted to Christianity. They did not practice head-hunting at that stage. But Quaritch Wales was beginning a new quest in search of cosmological interpretations and the study of ancient religions. His contributions to the journal *Tomorrow*, a magazine that specialised in parapsychology, mysticism and Shamanism (Quaritch Wales 1943c, 1944b) hint at his search for early religious structures, cosmology and esoteric religious philosophies. These would form the subject of articles and books in his later life (Quaritch Wales 1957b, 1959, 1977 1983, c1981). He also contributed to *The Christian Science Monitor* (Quaritch Wales 1943k, 1944i, 1945a) that despite its title was not especially religious as well as to *The Sign*, the national Catholic monthly of the Province of St Paul of the Cross in the eastern United States (Quaritch Wales 1944m, 1944o). From the writing it is obvious that he was a devout Catholic as well as a political conservative.

Following the war, most likely in 1948, Quaritch Wales and his wife returned to England. He continued to be a director of Bernard Quaritch Ltd and in 1949 he applied for the newly established Chair of the History of Southeast Asia at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. No doubt expecting his record of books and articles would put him at the top of the list he was dismayed when the position was given to the outstanding historian of Southeast Asia, D G E Hall who would write the first full-scale history of Southeast Asia in English. However, the appointment and the perceived slight began a long and bitter period of confrontation between Quaritch Wales, Hall and the University of London. After Quaritch Wales became Chairman of the board of directors of Bernard Quaritch Ltd in 1951 he returned to writing, but the publications became still more obtuse and idiosyncratic.

Chapter Five

The making of Greater India

Postwar Southeast Asia was an entirely different world from its pre-war colonial predecessor. Economic imperialism along with strategic considerations had provided the principal reason for colonial domination of Southeast Asian countries. European industry and prosperity depended on the materials sourced from colonial areas. Advances in medicine, agriculture, the natural sciences, in history and in commerce, so well illustrated in the magnum opus, *Science and Scientists in the Netherlands Indies* (Honig and Verdoorn 1945), broke down the barriers that prevented European exploitation of interior areas. Now the post-war colonial powers, Britain, France and the Netherlands, were struggling to cope with the demands of domestic rehabilitation and reconstruction. Only the United States was economically and politically powerful in the Asia-Pacific theatre. In Siam the military dictatorship of Field Marshall Pleak [Phibun] Phibunsongkhram ended in 1944.

The name Thailand that had been used by the Japanese and the Thai military during the war was officially accepted on 11 May 1949. Phibun returned to power in 1948 but, following a military coup in 1957, was exiled to Japan. Military rule, either overt or covert, continues to inform much of Thailand's politics today. In Malaya and Singapore the wartime retreat of the colonial governments had revealed the British to be weak and in the post-war period the political and economic situation in Malaya deteriorated. Labour shortages and disruptions became common. The British Military Administration that took control of the region was widely disliked and considered both corrupt and ineffectual (Shennan 2000: 303-305). A Malayan Union was designed to assume control of nine states, with Penang and Malacca to join after 1 April 1946 but Singapore was to remain a British colony. Then in June 1948 three planters were murdered by Communist rebels at Sungai Siput in Perak. This is generally accepted as the commencement of the Malayan Emergency of 1948-1989. Independence for Malaya was set for 31 August 1957 with the Emergency declared over on 31 July 1960 but in truth it continued as a festering sore for years. On 16 September 1963 Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore joined with the Malay states to create the Federation of Malaysia. However, almost from the start relations between Singapore and Malaysia stalled over citizenship rights. In August 1965 Singapore declared independence.

For Quaritch Wales the new Southeast Asia created obstacles to his pursuit of archaeology. The Malayan Emergency closed access to many field sites in the Kedah river valleys and on isolated rubber plantations far from towns and the economic and political situation in the new Thailand discouraged the independent archaeologist. Quaritch Wales was in his middle 50s, not a suitable age for someone to dig up ancient remains in the tropical jungles. Instead he began to search for some meaning in his previous discoveries. Over the next fifteen years, from 1946 to 1961, he became the prolific author of fifteen journal articles, including some reviews, and four monographs that expanded his theme of Indian colonialization of Southeast Asia.

In 1946 Quaritch Wales and his wife were still living in the United States. He delivered a public lecture at the Museum of Art in Cleveland, Ohio on the topic of the origins of Khmer and Indo-Javanese art based on recent excavations in Siam and Malaya and their wider implications (Quaritch Wales 1946). He took some pains to refer to his comprehensive report on the archaeological work that he and his wife had finished before the war (Quaritch Wales 1940). In the new paper, he presented the case for dividing Southeast Asia into an eastern and a western zone based on an

imaginary line passing through eastern Siam/Thailand and west Java. To the west lay Burma, central Siam, the Malay peninsula and Sumatra. This was the area, in his theory, that had been intensively colonized by Indians and where Indian civilization had been imposed. To the east of this imaginary line Indian influence encountered peoples who 'possessed a fairly advanced civilization of their own' such as in Central Java (Quaritch Wales 1946: 146). Here Indian influence had been modified and interpreted by local craftsmen who borrowed some elements and rejected others. Meanwhile, 'evolution began to enhance local divergences' (Quaritch Wales 1946: 149). The Cleveland lecture was also used to introduce the results of fieldwork undertaken in 1941 and interrupted by the Japanese advance into Kedah. This had now been newly published (Quaritch Wales and Quaritch Wales 1947).

Eastern and western zones

The concept of an eastern and a western zone, the Four Main Waves thesis, and the principle of 'local genius' became the foundations on which he built most of his Indian cultural expansion theory from this time forward. Basing his research on art history, he continued examinations of contemporary Southeast Asian culture through religious change. To these earlier theories he added cosmological aspects of religion and cultural diffusion. In a rather esoteric article harking back to earlier work on Burmese religious traditions Quaritch Wales (1946) stated that in order to comprehend Indian cultural expansion, it was necessary to understand that this had proceeded in waves corresponding to peak periods in Indian civilization. The influence of Gupta, Pallava and Pāla dynasties should, he thought, show themselves in the art styles of the Mon kingdoms of Dvāravatī and 'Haripuñjaya (Lāmphun)' or Hariphunchai, located in central and in northern Siam respectively.

Culture change in Greater India

These ideas would lead to the publication of *The Making of Greater India*, his major book of the post-war era (Quaritch Wales 1951 & 1961a). But before then he spelt out his basic concepts, but not with any easy clarity, in an article published by the Royal Asiatic Society (Quaritch Wales 1948a). Once more referring to his papers on Malayan excavations he expanded on the eastern and western zones proposals. To the western zone of Burma, central Siam, the Malay peninsula and Sumatra, he added Ceylon [Sri Lanka]. To the eastern zone he included Cambodia, Java and Champa, and presumably any area to the east of those places. To the three peak periods in Indian civilization he added Amarāvati. This had been the capital of the early Satavahana dynasty that ruled Andhra Pradesh from the mid-1st century BCE to the 3rd century CE. Later, and confusingly, he removed Amarāvati from the list for, in his opinion, contact with Southeast Asia could not have occurred before the Gupta period, ca 3rd century CE to 590 CE (Quaritch Wales 1948a: 3). He gave no reason why maritime trade could not have existed before the 3rd century CE. This would be a pattern set in much of his work. First, he would propose a theory often based on supposition and guesswork, and then retract his ideas when faced with criticism and rebuke. It was becoming evident that he lacked confidence in his own research findings and idiosyncratic theories.

In the west, he concluded that archaeological remains showed that cultural waves from India occurred across the whole region. He stated that this evidence was clearly reflected in the art of the zone but, he emphasized, there was 'no sign of evolution.' This was because Indian settlers comprised most of the urban populations—he gave the unreliable Chinese records that reported a population of 1,000 Brahmins in Tun Sun as proof. Secondly, these Indian settlers keep in close contact with mainland India and 'adhered closely to [religious] canon.' This commitment to tradition meant that 'static correctness gradually gave place to decadence' (Quaritch Wales 1948a: 11). By

decadence he meant that once innovative, visually powerful and religious, the art forms decayed or declined due to repeated copying. In the eastern zone, notably Java, his belief was that the local people were not completely converted to Indian religious culture and because the Khmer, Cham, and Indo-Javanese were not constrained by a commitment to the Indian *śāstras* their art became Indian in origin but Indo-Javanese, or Khmer or Cham, in execution (Quaritch Wales 1948a: 12-13).

Local genius

Now he more clearly developed his nascent ‘local genius’ theory. By this concept he meant ‘spirit or feeling’ or even national character. It stood for the sum of the characteristics that most of the people had in common with each other because of their early life as a society. He sought to determine how this ‘local genius’ produced cultural change. In his western zone, Indian ‘colonization’ of the lowlands and extreme acculturation destroyed ‘local genius’. His approach was that in the eastern zone, Indian influence gradually waned and with that decline, ‘local genius’ enveloped what cultural influences had been accepted. From this process arose the different regional cultures. Quaritch Wales (1948a: 15-16) then side-tracked by examining Heine-Geldern’s comprehensive paper on pre-historic research in the Netherlands East Indies. He reported that three concepts had been introduced in this report. These were an Older Megalithic Culture, a Younger Megalithic Culture and a Han Culture but Heine-Geldern (1945: 134, 137) had actually found in excavations from the 1920s to 1945 the presence of mixed Mesolithic and early Neolithic cultures with evidence pointing to a rich material culture and way of life of ancient cave dwellers. Heine-Geldern (1945: 147) concluded that the Dong Son culture, that he dated from the 8th to the 7th centuries BCE, spread south to Indonesia reaching the islands around 600 BCE. His findings were that the Dong Son culture was introduced into Indonesia by the Yue people who at that time lived in northern Annam, Tonkin, and the adjacent areas of southern China. It was this reference to the Yue that Quaritch Wales interpreted as Chinese or Han. The ‘introduction of the culture in the Archipelago [Indonesia] was not due to large scale ethnic migrations, but rather to small groups of merchants and colonists who gradually became absorbed into the local population, much the same as the Hindu colonists of the subsequent period.’

Much of this material was only selectively interpreted by Quaritch Wales (1948a: 21-22). His theoretical construct was that in Java, Indian cultural influences were moulded by local influences from the Older Megalithic, the Dong Son as well as the Han genius. He represented this by a pseudo-scientific formula:

Indian influences X [multiplied by] Older Megalithic/Dong Son/Han genius < [created]
Indo-Javanese culture.

In Champa, Indian influences were affected by the Dong Son and the Han genius only. This was represented by the formula:

Indian influences X Dong Son/Han genius < Cham culture.

In Cambodia, the formula was again different. Indian influences were shaped only by the Older Megalithic genius. This formula was:

Indian influences X Older Megalithic genius < Khmer culture.

Criticism of the ‘Local Genius’ thesis

He wrote that ‘local genius’ was not responsible for every change in cultural evolution for it was sufficient even if it only gave direction to evolution (Quaritch Wales 1948a: 29). He firmly believed that his simplistic formulae gave full account of the differentiation of the separate cultures. Indian art he concluded, ran its evolutionary course in India but not in his ‘Greater India’, Southeast Asia. The complex, ambiguous theory was not well regarded, and criticism became both public and vitriolic. The strongest criticism of the ‘local genius’ theory came following the 21st International Congress of Orientalists meeting in Paris in 1948.

Philippe Stern, the French art historian from the Guimet Museum, presented a paper on Ajanta, Ellora and the evolution of Gupta and post-Gupta art styles and their influence in the east Indies. Stern applied the seriation method of art history whereby, through analysis of various minute changes in art, a reliable description of the course of art history and its development could be discerned. He applied this to monumental and decorative arts. At the conference Quaritch Wales asked Stern to explain why the seriation method failed to answer the fundamental question of why these changes took place at all. The implication was that art historians, like Stern, could tell what had happened but not why these changes had happened in the first place. Quaritch Wales was asking the question: how could the arts of the Khmer, the Chams and the Javanese be different when they had originated from the same Indian source? The Dutch art historian Frederik Bosch (1952b), who attended the congress, first described the heated meeting in Paris and then changed discussion to a critical examination of Quaritch Wales’ ‘local genius’ theory.

Noting Quaritch Wales’ definition of local genius presented in his papers of 1948 and 1949, and detailed in this paper, Bosch made no mention of his own use of a similar terminology made thirty years earlier at the First Congress of Language and Folklore Studies of Java held in Solo in December 1919 [*Eerst Congres voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Java*, Solo 1919] (Jordaan 1999: 239, 213-217). It was first published in Dutch before being translated into English (Bosch 1924). Presumably it was accessible to Quaritch Wales. This was a grand hypothesis on the origins of Indo-Javanese art in which Bosch sought to question the idea that it was Hindus who brought to Java the ‘blessings of their civilisation—their religion and architecture.’ While not discounting the importance of the Hindu influences, Bosch said that there was never a large colony of Hindu immigrants who undertook the construction of the fabled monuments of central Java for it was a relatively small number of Hindu artisans who took the lead in the work. The main builders of the monuments were the Javanese people themselves who, using the basic parameters of the *Śilpa Śāstras*, added their own design and decoration elements (Bosch 1924: 18, 32). They did not copy Indian methods, they moulded them. In his opinion, the *Śāstras* were the important architectural treatises used in ancient India and that ‘the converts in other countries [Java in this case] applied themselves to the execution of the instructions given in the *Śāstras* with the orthodoxy and zeal which is characteristic of neophytes’ (Bosch 1924: 32).

While dismissing the idea that direct Hindu craftsmanship was responsible for the construction of the Hindu and Buddhist temples this did not exclude indirect Hindu influence. He stated that the ‘faultiness of structure and the beauty of ornamentation, the qualities which we shall take as being typically Javanese, remain in the later architecture right down to the period of its most luxuriant blossoming’ (Bosch 1924: 37). While not using the term ‘local genius’, Bosch was describing a similar process: local people were making effective use of foreign influences and adapting them to their own uses. Later Bosch (1952b: 2) in his critical appraisal wrote that Quaritch Wales’ concept of ‘local genius’:

ongeveer overeenkomt met wat in de Indonesische ethnologie en oudheidkunde als “oud-inheems” pleegt te worden aangeduid.

[roughly corresponds to what is called in Indonesian ethnology and antiquity as “ancient indigenous elements”.]

It was Bosch’s claim that Indian cultural elements were transmitted into the Southeast Asian world, especially Indonesia, by indigenous monks and priests of both Hindu and Buddhist faiths. Although he had no direct evidence he believed that Chinese and Indonesian pilgrims would have made pilgrimages to the Indian holy land and, on their return to their homelands, these pilgrims put into practice what they had learned there. Bosch (1952b: 25) concluded his paper on local genius in old Javanese art with the statement that

zo is er ongetwijfeld ook herschepping in het spel geweest toen dezelfde “genius” de losse en verspreide elementen van de Indische kunst heeft weten om te vormen tot, heeft weten te doen opgaan in, een nieuwe eenheid: de kunst die een Barabudur en een tjandi Prambanan zou voortbrengen.

[undoubtedly re-creation occurred when the same “genius” succeeded in transforming and merging the detached and scattered elements of Indian art into a new unity: the art that would produce Borobudur and Candi Prambanan.]

Jordaan (1999: 215) has expressed Bosch’s important statement as the ‘re-creative activity of the Javanese succeeded in transforming the individual and scattered elements of Indian art and combining them into a new unity: this art was to produce Borobudur and Candi Prambanan.’

The last, somewhat inconclusive, sentence in this important paper reads

De rol die deze "genius" te vervullen heeft gekregen is uiteraard een andere dan die welke Quaritch Wales hem toedacht. Aan belangrijkheid heeft hij echter zonder twijfel niet weinig gewonnen (Bosch 1952b: 25).

[The role that this "genius" was to fulfil is obviously different from that asserted by Quaritch Wales. Undoubtedly, however, it has gained more than a little significance.]

Both Quaritch Wales and Bosch were professing different versions of the ‘absolute primacy of indigenous initiative’ (Jordaan 1999: 213 quoting Mabbett 1977b: 144). In truth, the full understanding of the implantation of Hindu-Buddhist culture in Southeast Asia is still being debated. Bellina (2003: 285) stated the case succinctly when she wrote that ‘Indianisation is a passionately debated subject, and the explanations proposed have varied greatly according to the period and the background of the scholars concerned.’ The process may have been at the initiative of Indian warriors, settlers, traders or indigenous rulers or more accurately, some combination of all these groups, and certainly occurred over a long period of time (Mabbett 1977b: 145; Jordaan 1999: 217).

Bosch’s criticism of Quaritch Wales was also directed at the work of Heine-Geldern and the division of eras into the Older Megalithic culture, the Younger Megalithic culture and the Han, or Chinese culture. Bosch (1952b: 4 fn1 and 5 fn1) found fault with the theoretical position of both men and remarked that too little was known about Megalithic cultures and Han expansion to attribute cultural influence to them. He dismissed the theories out-of-hand calling them pure fantasy and speculation and found the division of Southeast Asia into the western and eastern zones to be too simplistic. His summary, impolitely stated, was

dat wat er goed in is niet nieuw en wat er nieuw in is niet goed is (Bosch 1952b: 8).
[that what is good in it is not new and what is new in it is not good.]

Bosch (1952b: 10) also declared that where other scholars were reluctant to take a stand, Quaritch Wales showed no restraint in crossing the boundaries between the known and the unknown and therefore moving on to the slippery grounds of unprovable assertions, perilous inferences and fruitless speculations [‘der onbewijsbare beweringen, der hachelijke gevolgtrekkingen en onvruchtbare speculaties’]. Rather than dismissing Quaritch Wales’ theories as insignificant, he found them based on speculation rather than on objective fact. Bosch had no answer to the mysteries of the so-called Indianization process and wrote at his conclusion

Hoe zij hierbij te werk zijn gegaan, ik heb het reeds herhaaldelijk opgemerkt, is grotendeels een mysterie en een mysterie zal het ook wel steeds blijven, indien er geen nieuwe opzienbarende vondsten licht over zullen doen schijnen (Bosch 1952b: 25).
[How the process worked, I have repeatedly noted, it is largely a mystery and a mystery it will always be, unless new sensational finds shine light on it.]

Dong-son culture and evolution of Cham art

The paper on culture change in Greater India was followed by one examining Dong Son culture—whose heartland was around the Red River delta of present day north Vietnam—and the evolution of Cham art—from Champa, a collection of polities in what is now central and southern Vietnam (Quaritch Wales 1949a). It was an attempt to crystalize his eastern zone of Indianization theory through an examination of the French publication on the arts of Champa by Philippe Stern (1942). Following on from the confrontation in Paris in 1948, Quaritch Wales (1949b: 96-97) reviewed Stern’s book noting that the task for the art historian was complicated by the effect of foreign influences, Javanese and Khmer, that had obscured Cham genius. Basing his comments on Stern’s list of Cham dates, Quaritch Wales (1949a: 34) proposed that there was good reason to believe that ‘local genius’, in this case the Dong Son culture, had guided the evolution of Cham art.

By using Champa as a case study to illustrate Indianization in the eastern zone Quaritch Wales was seeking to expand his horizons in search of the ancient Tai kingdom, Dvāravatī. The Chams had occupied the narrow coastal lands along the eastern coast of southern Vietnam between the 5th and the early 19th centuries CE (Tingley 2009b: 179). Champa occupied a favourable geographical position in the coastal trading connections between India, the Malay peninsula and islands, and China. Contemporary research suggests there were shifting periods of florescence (Tingley 2009b: 180). By the 5th century CE records show that plunder and piracy had increased along the coast for the prosperous Cham ports were vulnerable to coastal raiding from Orang Laut and pirates from the South China Sea (Antony 2013: 23-38; Barnard 2007: 33-49; Sopher 1965). At the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century CE, the rising Khmer polity centred on Angkor used Vijaya, on the south-central coast of Champa, as a port and access point to the South China Sea (Hall 2011: 77). The Khmer eventually intervened in Champa, partitioned the country, and ruled from 1192 to 1220 (Maspero 2002: 79-80; Tingley 2009b: 188). This peak of influence occurred during the reign of Jayavarman VII (reigned 1181-1218).

In the paper on Cham art Quaritch Wales (1949a: 42) conveniently marked the year 1000 CE as the date on which a transition occurred that signaled a long period of artistic decay and deterioration that

was steady until the end of Cham culture. Speaking of the evolution of art, and not political developments, he wrote that

internal disruption and the misfortunes of war strike at the vitality of local genius rather than at intensity of foreign influence... Thus while in its decline Cham art is marked primarily by those symptoms of exhaustion—simplification and reduplication—there seems to have been a great increase of Khmer influence in the twelfth century.

The Sambas hoard

In the meantime, the recovery of a valuable collection of gold and silver objects from west Borneo stimulated him to write an article for the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Quaritch Wales 1949c). In 1948 Tan Yeok Seong, a member of the South Seas Society in Singapore and owner of the Nanyang Publishing Company, obtained a collection of nine valuable gold and silver Buddha and bodhisattva figurines, and a bronze incense burner, from near Sambas in what was then west Borneo. The term Sambas was used to cover the gold-bearing areas of west Kalimantan including the surface mining district of Montrado or Singkawang (Harrisson 1949: 43). The history of this remote region was poorly known although in his history of the Indonesian archipelago, John Crawfurd (1820: 473-474; Harrisson 1949: 42) had reported that in the 10th century a highly organized Hakka Chinese *kongsi* managed over 36,000 people of whom 4,000 were women working thirteen large and fifty-seven smaller mines in the gold-bearing region. The Sambas hoard had been in an earthenware jar that contained fine black sand and Braddell (1949: 1) considered this was material from the inland region where magnetic iron ore, gold and platinum could be found.

Tan subsequently published a descriptive booklet on the Sambas treasure as an archaeological supplement to the *Journal of the South Seas Society* (Tan 1948) and followed with an article on the incense burner in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Tan 1949). The Sambas finds, and comments on the nature and significance of them, was the subject of a full volume in the journal that included six plates of illustrations (Braddell 1949; Harrisson 1949; J.M.B.R.A.S. 1949; Quaritch Wales 1949c; Sastri 1949a; Tan 1949). Basil Gray, the Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, told Harrisson (1949: 34) that the museum had few artefacts from north Borneo and ‘nothing of interest in connection with Hindu influence’ and so the Sambas hoard was acquired by the museum.²⁰ Museum records date the objects to the 8th and 9th century CE and they were likely to have been made in Java or Sumatra. The Sambas hoard is of considerable historical importance and said to be illustrative of ‘multiple influences on the Indonesian culture’ (Tan 1949: 22).

Although he had no direct connection with the find, nor with the publicity, Quaritch Wales wrote a brief paper on his impressions of one particular object, the bronze incense burner (J.M.B.R.A.S 1949: Plate 6). This object reminded him of the miniature shrine roof that had been recovered at Site 4 in the Bujang valley. Unlike the shrine roof, the wagon-shaped roof of the Sambas incense burner is in two stories, like a pagoda, perforated with small triangular shaped holes. At the edges of the main roof are four birds, called cocks by Tan. The base sits on four feet shaped like turtles. Tan reported that in the centre of one of the walls of the incense burner is a hole meant to be a socket for a handle and that the object measured five inches [12.7 centimetres] long, four inches [10.2 centimetres] wide and eight inches [20.3 centimetres] high (Tan 1949: 19). The miniature shrine roof

²⁰ www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection. Incense burner BM1956.0725.10 and other objects see BM1956.0725.8a

found at Site 4 in the Bujang valley measured 10.5 centimetres long, 8.5 centimetres wide and seven centimetres high but this was only the cover of the object (Quaritch Wales 1940: Plate 18).

To Quaritch Wales (1949a: 23-32) the finds were more proof that Hindu and Buddhist influences were brought to Borneo by ‘Indian adventurers (probably settlers)’ and that the objects were either brought from India or made in the ‘Indian coastal foothills.’ Concentrating on the incense burner, and rather dismissing the quality and beauty of the gold and silver figurines, he wrote that the ‘general rule seems to be that where a people, as is normally the case in the “eastern zone” of Greater India, did not undergo extreme acculturation, they stressed and developed those *Indian* traits that were in some way reminiscent of their former culture.’ It was, he wrote, the way that ‘local genius’ began to guide the evolution of local art forms (Quaritch Wales 1949c: 24). He was firm in his decision that there was no sign of any Indo-Javanese influence on the Sambas incense burner. This is contrary to current opinion in the British Museum and in the report by Tan (1949).

In reviewing the Sambas finds, Nilakanta Sastri (1949a), who supported the idea of Hindu colonisation of Southeast Asia, remarked that there were ancient Indian or Indianized kingdoms in Borneo in the east and the southwest of the island. He considered that one of the earliest areas settled by Indians was between present day Kuching and Pontianak, near the Sambas and Kapuas rivers (Sastri 1949a: 16). In fact, he suggested that Borneo was known and colonized by Indians before they settled in Java, and before the rise of Śrīwijaya, and that the Sambas hoard ‘furnishes proof that West Borneo was included in the empire of Śrīwijaya just like the Malay peninsula both before and after the advent of the Śailendras’ (Sastri 1949a: 19). Sastri then presented an interpretation of the significance of the Sambas objects. The incense burner was, he wrote, ‘certainly a well preserved specimen of the class to which belonged a similar object of which only the upper part was placed in the hands of Dr [Quaritch] Wales by the Tamil coolies working on the bed of the Sungai Bujang in Kedah’ and he dated the Sambas collection to the 4th and the 5th centuries CE, much earlier than the current dating given by the British Museum.

Then Sastri (1949a: 18) presented some ideas that earned him rebuke from Quaritch Wales when he wrote that he could not accept the Four Main Waves theory of the flow of cultural influences from India for Quaritch Wales’ thesis only served to complicate the issue as

I look upon the whole history of the [Indian] colonies as a continuous unity; the colonies came up in the early centuries of the Christian era and maintained for many centuries a live contact with all the countries of the mother land, and shared in all the cultural movements that developed in India from time to time.

This, of course, led to a published rebuttal from Quaritch Wales (1950b) who countered the argument with a statement that when he first proposed his Four Main Waves theory he tried to avoid the use of the term ‘period’ because it suggested ‘watertight compartments that seldom exist in nature’ (Quaritch Wales 1950b: 153). His waves of influence model was designed to explain a cumulative process where influences overlapped. The difference between the two was that Sastri proposed a ‘continuous unity’ that was without waves of influence while Quaritch Wales proposed a ‘cumulative unity’ where four main waves of Indian cultural influence overlapped. Quaritch Wales was convinced that his theory, advanced as a means of analyzing a complex process, corresponded to actuality. But it was here that he further complicated the issue by proposing the addition of a Fifth Wave that occurred during the ‘late Mahāyanist missionary endeavor of the 13th century, consequent upon the scattering of the monks of Nālandā.’ He asked: ‘Does this not give precisely the impression of a “cultural movement”, a well-defined stimulus, producing a distinct wave of influence overseas?’

(Quaritch Wales 1950b: 154). The disparate, tangential ideas expressed in these articles were leading Quaritch Wales to the formulation of even more complex theories that he would express in his book *The Making of Greater India* (Quaritch Wales 1951 & 1961a).

Sabaeans and possible Egyptian influences in Indonesia

During this period Quaritch Wales (1950c) published another strange and rather inconclusive paper on possible links between Sabaeans, and wider Egyptian influences, on Indonesian culture. The paper was in reply to one written by Roland Braddell (1947) that referred to Quaritch Wales' tentative excavations at Johor Lama and Kota Tinggi in Johor, and his work at Kuala Selinsing in Perak. Braddell (1947: 1-2) took Quaritch Wales to task over the source of some ancient beads found there. Gerald Gardner, the planter and amateur archaeologist, had found over 600 that included some Roman ones together with a single Hittite and two Phoenician beads (Braddell 1947: 1). When he had worked briefly at Kota Tinggi, Quaritch Wales (1940: 60) had been given some Roman beads by villagers but he dismissed the older Hittite and Phoenician finds for 'these latter are more likely to have been in existence long before they reached Johore. For the history of the region they are valueless.' But surely, if they had been traded across the region before Roman times they were potentially more significant.

Braddell (1947: 7-10) proposed the idea that the Sabaeans from present day Yemen would have been the pioneers in the Arab bead trade to Southeast Asia. He made much of the ancient name Saba' by linking the indigenous name of northern Borneo, and the name of the current state of Sabah, with the Biblical Sheba (Braddell (1947: 7). The Old Testament books of 1 King 10: 1-13 and II Chronicles 9: 1-9 recall the meeting of Solomon and the queen of Sheba whose people were said to live on the southwestern tip of the Arabic peninsula. Historically, the kingdom is believed to have existed between 1200 and 800 BCE before being absorbed by neighbouring Yemenite dynasties. Like other peoples of the region, the Sabaeans were skilled seamen and traders of frankincense and myrrh. Part of Braddell's evidence for Middle Eastern contacts with China and Southeast Asia was the Chinese documented evidence that a counting house, a finance centre, had been established at Canton in 300 CE by Arab merchants.

However, Quaritch Wales (1950c: 37) took the possible Sabaean or south Arabian trade links one step further by suggesting that the Sabaeans introduced into Indonesia aspects of Egyptian culture, such as the Horus emblem, and sun worship, and other cultural elements. He did not describe in detail what the Horus emblem was nor did he state that in Egyptian mythology Horus was the god of the sky whose emblem was the eye of the falcon. The falcon emblem was used to decorate funerary amulets and sailors painted the Horus eye on the bow of ships to guard them at sea. Quaritch Wales wrote that the Horus symbol was 'Edfu' but this is really the name of the temple on the upper Nile dedicated to the god. He was most certainly critical of those who proposed any independent or local 'invention' of culture and stated, in an oblique way

just as we cannot find a satisfactory origin in Indian religion for it [winged sun-disc] and the sun-worship with which it is associated in Java as in Egypt, might we not suppose that it found its way into Java via the now well-authenticated continental routes of diffusion?

While this sounds as if he were approaching the extreme hyper-diffusionist arguments promoted by Perry (1925 and 1929) and Elliot Smith (1929) that he had once criticized, he now made a categorical statement that 'there is no evidence of sun-worship ever having been practiced by any of the non-Indianized peoples of continental South-east Asia' (Quaritch Wales 1950c: 39-40). He would return to an examination of the proposed diffusion of religious cults from the Middle East to

Southeast Asia in a later book, *The Mountain of God* (Quaritch Wales 1953a). Philosophically, Quaritch Wales was becoming idiosyncratic. After comparing megalithic stones with the cult of the royal *linga*, and then associating them with the *devarāja* cult, he asked the reader to believe that Assyrio-Babylonian planetary cosmology was brought to India and became the ritual of the *chakravartin* and circumambulation of the *cella*. He was not against the idea that Egyptian cultural elements were introduced to Indonesia by the Sabaeans but rebuked intellectuals of the time for not discussing the possibility that Southeast Asia was influenced by ‘large-scale maritime diffusion’ from India, and now one assumes, from even further west.

Shipwrecks: further evidence for links between West and East

Evidence for sustained east-west trading connections is being gathered slowly with the discovery of ancient shipwrecks in the seas off the coast of Malaysia and Indonesia. These finds are changing the nature of our understanding of economic interactions between India, the Middle East, China and Southeast Asia (George 2015). Two vessels have been recovered that date to the early centuries: the ‘Pontian’ shipwreck (3rd to 5th centuries CE) found by Ivor Evans (1927b) 1.6 kilometers inland in Pahang, Malaya, and the ‘Belitung’ vessel (9th century CE) found off the island of Belitung in Indonesia. The ‘Pontian’ vessel was probably about thirty to thirty-five feet [10 metres] in length, made from local timber, probably *Hopea* sp, that is a common sub-canopy timber from the lowland rainforests of the Indo-Malay region (Gibson-Hill 1952: 111, 121). By comparing the proposed design of the ‘Pontian’ wreck with bas-reliefs at the Bayon, Gibson-Hill (1952: 124-127) concluded that the boat may have been from Oc-èò, the Funanese maritime port. As many Malay sailors worked for the Funanese, the ‘Pontian’ vessel may have originated from the Malay peninsula. Manguin (1993b) has examined the construction and function of early Southeast Asian trading ships and wrote that the ‘Southeast Asian maritime powers built, owned, and operated ocean-going ships of respectable size as early as the first few centuries of the first millennium AD’ (Manguin 1980: 266 and 2017: 51).

Arab contacts with China have certainly been confirmed with the discovery and excavation of the priceless Tang, or ‘Belitung’, shipwreck now on display at the Asian Civilisations Museum in Singapore (Chong and Murphy 2017; Flecker 2017). This was found in the Gelasa strait between Pulau Bangka and Pulau Belitung in 1998. More than 60,000 Chinese ceramics dating from the Tang period (618-907 CE) were recovered from the wreck (Hsieh 2004). The discovery provides evidence that Chinese ceramics, gold and silver objects and other items were traded along the maritime silk route joining China in the east with the Abbasid caliphate in the west. Items traded from the Middle East would have included incense, glass, both as complete vessels and as ingots, metal vessels, ivory, cotton textiles, food stuffs like olive oil, dates, almonds and aromatic woods. The wreck has been dated to between 670 and 890 CE with one ceramic bowl inscribed with the date 826 CE (Asian Civilisations Museum 2017: 42; Murphy 2017a & b). This compares favourably with the half Dirhem coin found by Quaritch Wales (1940: Plate 51) at Site 14 in Kedah that was dated at 234 AH or 848-849 CE.

The remains of other vessels have been found in southern waters that date between the 10th and the 14th centuries CE. They include the ‘Intan’ wreck (10th century CE) and the ‘Java Sea’ wreck (13th century CE) (Brown 2004; Mathers and Flecker 1997). The ‘Intan’ shipwreck was carrying an eclectic mixture of items—Chinese, Middle Eastern and Southeast Asian—and appears to have been *en route* from Sumatra to Java. The ‘Java Sea’ wreck was an Indonesian lashed-lug craft that appears to have been sailing from southern China. It contained a cargo of iron ingots, for iron-poor Java, and 12,000 Song dynasty ceramics. Two more vessels recovered from Indonesian waters are the ‘Five

Dynasties/Cirebon' wreck (10th to 11th century CE) and the 'Palau Buaya' (11th century CE) wreck found off the Riau archipelago. Both are of lashed-lug construction and both were carrying extensive, valuable cargoes. The 'Palau Buaya' wreck also contained silver ingots from China that were normally used in the payment of salt tax. This vessel was sailing from South China to either Java or Sumatra (Wade 2013: 93-95). Another well-documented shipwreck is the 14th century 'Turiang' wreck found off the east coast of Malaysian coast in the South China Sea. It contained a significant collection of export Sukhothai ceramics from Siam and monochrome ware from southern China. The direction of sailing appears to have been to the south to Borneo and/or to the Celebes, both of which had established trade links with China (Sjostrand and Barnes 2001:75).

Considering the growing evidence of trade and interaction Braddell's early impression may not sound far-fetched when he wrote that

if the Johore beads were imported direct, the choice would seem to fall upon those ancient Arabian ships which are described generically as "Sabaean". If the beads were not imported direct, then they would have been brought by Indian ships after transshipment in India and probably on its western coast (Braddell 1947: 18).

The third option, and a very likely one, was that coastal trade between the port polities in Southeast Asian could have been facilitated by indigenous Malay traders in their own ships.

The Making of Greater India

Quaritch Wales was appointed as a director of Bernard Quaritch Ltd in 1939 and then assumed the position of chairman of the company in 1951. Following the Second World War, after returning from the United States, Quaritch Wales and his wife gave their address as 26 Buckingham Road, Brighton. His aunt and financial supporter, Charlotte Quaritch Wrentmore, died in 1948 and Edward H Wales, Quaritch Wales' father, died in 1953. Both had been appointed to the board following the death of Bernard Alfred in 1913 and they had served for some time. John Wrentmore, Charlotte Quaritch's husband, had also been a member of the board. He died in 1955. With the retirement and deaths of senior family members there were major changes to the structure and management of the family company but association with Bernard Quaritch Ltd would continue until 1971 when it was made a limited liability company. In the meantime, the firm continued to publish Quaritch Wales' books.

In 1951 he published the first of his post-war monographs on Southeast Asian cultural history. This would become one of his best-known monographs and contained many of his philosophical thoughts. *The Making of Greater India* (Quaritch Wales 1951 & 1961a) was republished as a second edition in 1961. The second edition included much material taken from another two books he would publish in the 1950s: *The Mountain of God* (1953a) and *Prehistory and Religion in South-east Asia* (1957b). The sustained purpose of these new works was to answer the question of why Indo-Javanese, Khmer and Cham art each retained their own distinctive character despite their apparent common Indian origins. In *The Making of Greater India* he sought to present a discussion of what cultural patterns had existed in Southeast Asia prior to the Indianization period and to bring together topics he had discussed in earlier papers (Quaritch Wales 1946 and 1948a). This time Quaritch Wales (1951 & 1961a: 12-13) wrote that he used the term 'acculturation', that was becoming a more acceptable term in anthropology, synonymously with his preferred term Indianization.

His examination of 'local genius' in west Borneo was premised on an examination of the incense burner from the Sambas hoard. Disregarding the other finds at Sambas, Quaritch Wales related the incense burner design and construction to Han and Indian cultural elements and decided that it was

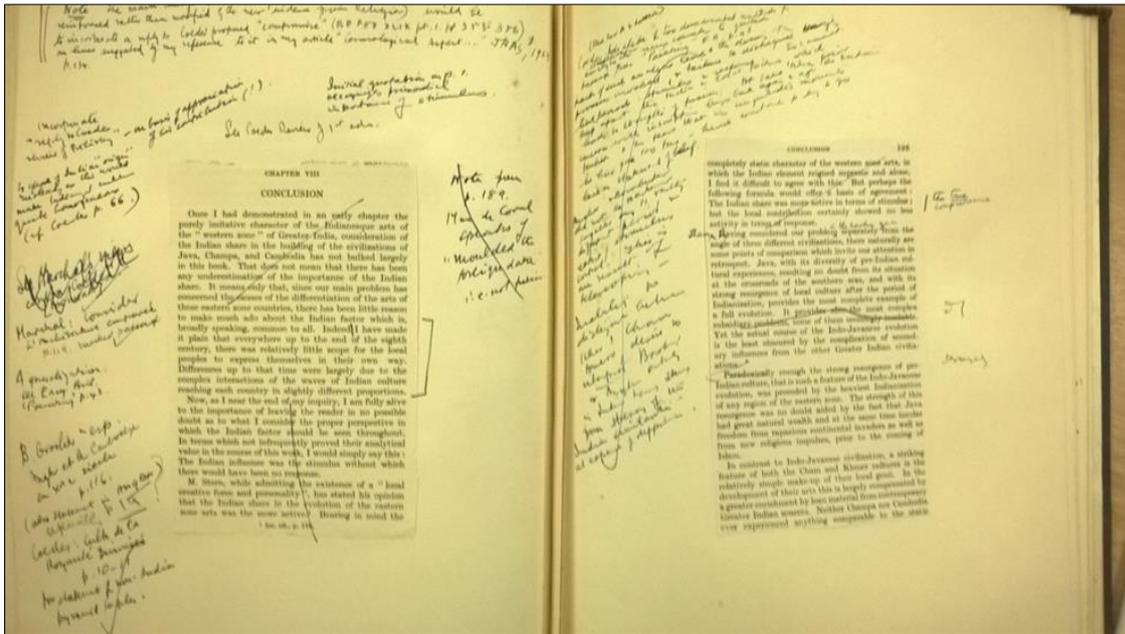


Image 05.001:

The manuscript copy of the revised edition of *The making of Greater India* with original annotations and corrections (Royal Asiatic Society Archives. QW/4/1/1 and QW/4/1/2)

an example of ‘hybridization’ but that Indo-Javanese elements were absent. The ‘local genius’, he claimed for the incense burner, that he dated to the 7th and 8th centuries CE, was ‘Dong-sonian with Han elements.’ In other words, Chinese influences not Indo-Javanese. Both Quaritch Wales (1951 & 1961a: 61) and Heine-Geldern (1945: 148-152) supported the idea that the Older Megalithic cultures came from the north, in various waves, via the main river valleys into Assam, parts of the Malay peninsula, then to the island of Nias between 2500 and 1500 BCE. The Younger Megalithic culture arrived between the 4th and the 3rd centuries BCE. The Dong Son culture was said, at least by Quaritch Wales and Heine-Geldern, to have entered Southeast Asia from the north overland. This spread along the coasts of Annam, the Malay peninsula and into the islands of the archipelago (Braddell 1951: 170). Quaritch Wales (1951 & 1961a: 93) expanded his thesis even further to include the proposition that there may have been a Greater China as well as a Greater India. This was a new idea and one he would follow later. He wrote that ‘Chinese culture bearers, long before their deeds were placed on record in dynastic histories, were actively if unconsciously laying the foundations of a ‘Greater China’ in South-east Asia until superseded by the more attractive pattern introduced by the Indians’ (Quaritch Wales 1951 & 1961a: 93). His conclusion gives some indication of where his research would now take him. That was a study of religion and magic. He wrote

[t]here is little doubt that van Leur [1967: 107] was right when he stressed, perhaps not too forcibly, that “what expressions of Indian civilization there were in early Indonesia were without exception sacral” [either as ritual or as literature]...From them we find indications that in the early spread of Indian influences it was magic and religion, with the art that expresses them, that from the outset were the features of Indian civilization that appealed.

Heine-Geldern (1951b) was one of the first to publish a review of this new book. After praising the author for his ‘excellent and sagacious observations’ on the process of acculturation on a grand historical scale and declaring that the book was ‘a masterpiece and should be read by all students of anthropology’, Heine-Geldern (1951b: 216) then smothered his fulsome praise with the remark that Quaritch Wales’ theory of extreme Indianization was not convincing. He was critical of the formulae that described how local genius guided and moulded Indian influences and formed the various

separate Cham, Khmer and Indo-Javanese arts. Quaritch Wales argued that stone monuments on the plains of Cambodia had been destroyed and used for building blocks during the two millennia of the historical period. Heine-Geldern challenged this thesis. He disagreed with the idea that terraces and stepped pyramids, such as those monuments and temples constructed by Hindu and Buddhist kings, were derived from megalithic structures (Christie 1979). In response to Heine-Geldern's review, Quaritch Wales (1952b: 117-123) submitted a condensed report on the way in which he considered Khmer culture and art had been revitalized by the resurgence of 'local genius' after the premature withdrawal of Indian influences. This he assumed to have taken place about the 6th century CE. He focused on the area around Quảng Trị province near Huế and the pass in the Annamite range [Dãy Trường Sơn] that provided access from Savannakhet in Laos to the Vietnamese coast. Quaritch Wales (1952b: 121) reported that it would have been a

practicable route of escape, other than fleeing to the mountains, for the primitive Khmer people, about the sixth century AD, when pressure on them from the south-west by their Indianized brethren (who were about to turn the great megalithic terrace shrine of Wat Phu into a Hindu temple) became intolerable.

These romantic suppositions and the guesswork presented to prove the 'local genius' theory were often built on insubstantial foundations. There is no current evidence to suggest that conversion was violent or repressive.

Certainly, Wat Phu [Vat Phou] temple complex was initially a Hindu temple and part of the ancient city of Shrestapura during the Angkorian period. Indeed, according to World Heritage nomination, Shrestapura may have been the capital of Chenla [Zhenla] (Cœdès 1968a: 66; UNESCO 2001: 13). Initial construction period has been dated to the 5th and 6th centuries CE but like many temples from the early Hindu period, it was converted to Theravada Buddhist use around the 12th and the 13th centuries CE. Wat Phu and the Champasak plain are considered to preserve evidence of many elements of Khmer culture and the way in which the landscape was engineered and utilized according to symbolic beliefs. These include the interchange between classic Hindu cosmology and earlier animist beliefs about the duality of water and the mountains (UNESCO 2001: 20).

Roland Braddell (1951) provided the longest and most detailed review of the book. But first, Braddell (1951: 168) documented where Quaritch Wales had, after three decades, finally accepted that Trang not Takua Pa was Takola and had acknowledged Cœdès' position that the Śailendras were a Javanese dynasty who ruled Śrīvijaya in the 8th century CE, that Chaiya was not the capital of the Śailendra regime, and that Langkasuka was an east coast polity. Lennox Mills (1952) who had written a critical study of colonial rule in Malaya and Hong Kong just as the Japanese invasion was approaching the south, reviewed the book in rather somber, half-hearted tones. George Cœdès (1952b and 1953b) subsequently published two reviews of the book.

The second review in *Diogenes*, a French philosophy journal, was just an edited version of the first article. Cœdès had known Quaritch Wales for nearly thirty years but predictably he wrote: 'I have not always been in agreement with the theories formulated by the author, and I have not hesitated, in the past, to criticize those which seemed to me difficult to reconcile with the facts.' He was correct in his statement that the book was not an analytical study of the problems posed by imaging a Greater India but was a mere sociological synthesis of secondary sources and many of those sources regarded Southeast Asian cultures as the result of a mixture of foreign and local elements. Cœdès (1952b: 55) presented a far better definition of 'local genius' when he wrote that it

provides the active agency which moulds the borrowed material, giving it an original twist and at the same time preserving and emphasizing the distinctive character of the evolution.

After describing the contents of the publication in some detail, Cœdès (1952b: 56) then presented his real opinion: 'Dr Quaritch Wales has undoubtedly considered that the importance of his working hypothesis for the study of the artistic evolution of Java, Champa and Cambodia was worth running the risk of being criticized and contradicted.' It was Quaritch Wales' (1951 & 1961a: 194-195) contention that the *devarāja* cult was not introduced after Jayavarman II returned to his Khmer homeland in 802 CE. He considered it to be a return to the ancient Khmer religion and a revival of indigenous traditions. This argument carried little weight with Cœdès (1952b: 57-58) who declared that the special royal religious cult was certainly not earlier than the 9th century and that its installation by Jayavarman II on Phnom Kulen was a known historical fact that could not be refuted. Offering a mild rebuke, Cœdès (1952b: 58) finished his comments with

[p]ersonally, I believe that the very unequal development of archaeological research in the countries under consideration calls for great caution, and that it is perhaps a little premature to wish to explain all by one principle.

Much of Quaritch Wales' work interpreted findings in strongly evolutionistic terms. The structure of the book followed the author's thoughts without any systematic and analytic statement of data. Most of Quaritch Wales' post-war writings are polemical and judgmental rather than well-considered and thoughtful. Even Cœdès (1968a: 35, 188), asked how Indian aesthetical principles, when transplanted into Southeast Asian cultures, gave rise to individual Khmer, Cham and Indo-Javanese arts, and remarked that the answer was one of the greatest problems facing Asian archaeology.

Ancient South-East Asian Warfare

Considering his previously concern with art, religion and cultural change, it is perhaps surprising that Quaritch Wales (1952a) next book was a study of ancient warfare in Southeast Asia. In the preface the author stated his surprise that in view of the mass of evidence available on architecture, bas-reliefs and inscriptions nothing had been written on the nature of traditional warfare in the proto-historic period. Despite its structural failings, it remained the only book in English on ancient warfare in Southeast Asia for more than 50 years.

Quaritch Wales had set himself an enormous task. The book covers seven areas including warfare in Southeast Asia generally, Chinese and Indian influences, and the different strategies used by the Javanese, the Khmers, the Chams, the Siamese and the Burmese. He began his argument with the premise that we 'must begin by examining warfare as practiced by non-Indianized descendants whose culture has been little changed by the passage of time' (Quaritch Wales 1952a: 1). He used as case study material in the three-volume publication by eminent Dutch linguist Nicolaus Adriani and missionary Albertus Christiaan Kruyt (1914) who studied the Bare'e-speaking [now known as the To Pomona dialect] Toraja peoples of central Celebes [Sulawesi]. Kruyt was well-known for his more than thirty monographs and 300 published articles on the ethnography of the To Pomona people from the Lake Poso area (Coté 2011; Kotilainen 1992).

By effectively creating a closed world around the Poso mission, Kruyt took advantage of the colonial government's ignorance of archipelagic societies to impose strict Dutch Calvinist values while suppressing traditional clan rivalries in order to eliminate 'unacceptable' practices, such as warfare, slavery and folk religion. His *volkskerk* [people's church] both isolated and protected the To Pomona

from their Muslim neighbours and those other adherents of Christian denominations in Sulawesi (Coté 2011). As the original three volume work on the Bare'e had also been used by George Frazer in *The Golden Bough*, Quaritch Wales (1952a: 3-19) no doubt approached the study of the Toraja through Frazer's comments.

Quaritch Wales' views on ancient Indian warfare were based on the old study of the ruling elite, the *kṣatriya* class, by well-known American Sanskrit scholar, Edward Washburn Hopkins (1889). He in turn based much of the Indian material about the role of the *kṣatriya* class as it was depicted in the *Mahābhārata*. The earliest section that deals specifically with warfare dates from 400 BCE (Hopkins 1889: 59). The *Mahābhārata* describes long complex battles between opposing forces, documents the deaths of various heroes of both sides, the nature of military formations, war diplomacy, meetings and discussions among the major characters, and the weapons used in war. The epic deals with the ancestors of the great emperor Bhārata and tells the story of the conflict leading to the Kuru-Pāṇḍu [Kurukṣetra] battle between the Kuru family [Kauravas] and the Pāṇḍus [Pandavas] in their struggle over the kingdom of Kuru (Hopkins 1889: 59). The conflict itself was believed to have occurred around 3000 BCE although Finnish Indologist Asko Parpola (2015: 299) dated the war to between 350 and 75 BCE.

Quaritch Wales (1952a: 200-206) described several battle arrays that were in accordance with the ancient formations (*vyūha*) noted in the *Mahābhārata* and traced from an ancient copy of the Siamese war treatise *Tāmra Pic'an Sōngk'ram* (Quaritch Wales 1952a: 200-206 including figures 2-7). These troop positions were the *Garuda* or eagle *vyūha*, the *Makara* or the sea dragon/water monster *vyūha*, the *Padma* or lotus *vyūha*, the *Chakrvyūha* or circle *vyūha*, the *Asura* or demon *vyūha*, and the *Singha* or the lion *vyūha*. They could be either offensive or defensive. Indian models of warfare provided a vast array of fixed battle formations named after mythical animals found in the ancient Buddhist canons (Charney 2004a: 387 and b). Use of these formations was a means of bringing spiritual guidance on the army but no evidence was presented to show if these 'spiritual' arrays were actually used in warfare (Quaritch Wales 1952a: 198-206). In addition to spiritual guidance, warriors used protective medicines, tattoos, amulets and charms to grant invulnerability to themselves and to their weapons (Charney 2004a: 14).

As he was attempting to instil in his readers a respect for Indian philosophies, it is surprising that Quaritch Wales did not include much commentary from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya [Chanakya], the most comprehensive and systematic compilation of the principles guiding inter-state relations, diplomacy, military organization, weaponry, strategy and tactics from ancient India. Its composition, edition and redaction has been dated to between the 2nd century BCE and the 3rd century CE (Malick 1990: 15). Quaritch Wales (1952a: 30) summarized his findings by stating

it is no less certain that the Indian gurus introduced to South-East Asian rulers, as part of the Indian cultural pattern, a taste for the expansionist policies that characterized Indian imperialism, a desire to emulate the heroic ideals of the Indian warrior caste, and a knowledge of Indian methods of waging war that would facilitate the adoption of aggressive methods.

The question we must ask is why would Indian gurus, presumably Brahmins or even some *kṣatriya* warriors, introduce methods of waging war into regions of Southeast Asia where warfare was a long-standing tradition? Also, why would Southeast Asian rulers need guidance in raiding and conquering their neighbours when warfare had been part of recorded history for millennia?

His discussion on Chinese military influence was brief yet China had produced the *Art of War*, the most famous study of Chinese military strategy of the late 6th century BCE attributed to Sun Tzu [Sunzi] (Sun Tzu and Giles 1910). In fact, Quaritch Wales (1952a: 23-29) made only passing mention of this famous work. In the end the referencing of works used was casual, the main subject lacked any form of effective order and structure and it certainly did not support the level of generalizations attempted (Crane 1953: 199). For all its flaws, and there are many, it remains a seminal history of premodern Southeast Asian warfare, not only because it was the first in-depth study of a marginalised topic, but also because Quaritch Wales approached his investigation with some imagination. His attempts to move outside the conventional narrative and construct a view of warfare that was coherent and removed from the common European documented sources that were disparaging of ancient Asian military strategies was insightful. For its time it was a landmark achievement.

Anthony Sokol (1953: 235) writing in the *Far Eastern Quarterly* found the book ‘interesting’—meaning esoteric or even idiosyncratic for— ‘it may reveal several aspects of national character and of civilization which investigations of peacetime conditions easily overlook or misrepresent.’ He did find the book rather more instructive for the anthropologist than the military man and spoke disparagingly of Quaritch Wales’ attempt as ‘good a piece of work as can be expected with the available material.’ But George Cœdès (1953a: 76-77) actually praised the pioneering nature of the work although he reported that Quaritch Wales’ aim in producing this text was not to show indigenous warfare but to emphasise that it was an aspect of civilization introduced into Southeast Asian mainland and insular regions by expansionist Indian culture. The purpose, he wrote, was to highlight ‘the idealistic attitude of the Indian with his proneness to religious ritual and [the author] contrasts it with the unscrupulous and realistic methods of the Chinese.’ In a post-Second World War environment such a comparison contained shadows of the recent past, the ignominious defeat by the Japanese and the Communist victory in China. Cœdès (1953a: 77) took some care to list the various strategists, military leaders and campaigns of ancient Southeast Asia that Quaritch Wales did not include while noting the value of the book as the foundation study.

Recent attention has turned to the study of ancient warfare in the Southeast Asian region. While all the works are intellectually superior to Quaritch Wales’ study, they all reference him. The most creative study of ancient Southeast Asian warfare is the translation of Michel Jacq-Hergoualc’h’s publication *L’Armement et ‘organisation de l’armée Khmère aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles, d’après les bas-reliefs d’Angkor Vat, du Bàyon et de Banteay Chhmar* (Jacq-Hergoualc’h 1979). Not only is *Armies of Angkor* (Jacq-Hergoualc’h 2007) a scholarly study of military forces from the Angkorian periods, their divisions and strategic uses, military accessories and camp equipment, but as the title suggests it is also an artistic examination of soldiery as represented in the bas-reliefs on the Angkor Wat, the Bayon and the Banteay Chhmar. He copied sections of each panel and reproduced them as fine line drawings emphasising weaponry, clothing and war dress, tactics and equipment. It was an imaginative work that flows on from Quaritch Wales’ attempt to extract from these stone murals images of proto-historic warfare. It shows warfare was a part of political, ritual and social life. The study highlights the sophistication of the weaponry and equipment used by the Angkor armies.

Jacq-Hergoualc’h (2007: 51-52) confirmed Quaritch Wales’ (1952a: 84) statement that chariots, traditionally one of the four divisions of the Indian armies until the 7th century CE, had been replaced as battle equipment in Siam and in Cambodia by elephants. Although important in processions and ceremonial marches, chariots were impractical in the marshes and jungles of Southeast Asia. The essential divisions of the Southeast Asian armies were the cavalry, the war elephants and the infantry. The mounted cavalry was essentially a supplementary division, secondary to the infantry

and the war elephants. Cavalry appeared in the great mythical battle scenes but on all monumental reliefs it is the war elephants who were most often illustrated. Their chief role was to be the mounts of high-ranked warriors and kings and their elaborate decorative equipment served to illustrate the prominent place of the war elephant. The infantry, mostly peasant conscripts, formed the bulk of the army. For this reason clothing, headdresses, headgear and armaments varied enormously (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2007: 82-97).

Naval battles were also common. Fortunately, the bas-reliefs at the Bayon and Banteay Chhmar contain many carvings of Khmer and Cham naval forces in battle on the Tonlé Sap. From descriptions it has been estimated that the boats were monoxylous—carved from one piece of timber—then softened by fire with the central section expanded by the insertion of pieces of hardwood to stretch the gunwales. There are indications that the boats were then ‘japanned’, lacquered black, using a mixture of resins and propelled by oars rather than sails (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2007: 128, 135)). Along with the fighting men came military bands and musicians, flag bearers, the commissariat and the camp followers—both male and female. Referring to Quaritch Wales (1952a: 85), Jacq-Hergoualc'h (2007: 141) wrote that in one processional march on the wall of Angkor Wat, one band of musicians precedes the bearers of the sacred fire. And that ‘other musicians accompany the litter of a non-military person who is given the title of High Priest, or Royal Sacrificer, his presence should cause no surprise since, as Quaritch Wales has indicated, the Khmers, following the Indian example, considered war a sacrifice made to a god, under the auspices of the god.’

Quaritch Wales (1952a) made one of the first attempts to think comparatively but the success of his venture into ancient warfare can be debated. Although he described strategy and military formation in Siam, India, Sulawesi and some Chinese material, he did not address the social or cultural implications of warfare in Southeast Asia. He did not identify how war validated leaders, how it emphasised social rank and how the nature of war promoted community solidarity and enhanced tribal identity. Little attention has been paid to the topic until recently because the sources are complex and difficult to interpret. In recent years two international seminars have been convened that broaden the discussion of Southeast Asian warfare, both in the proto-historic period and in the colonial era. The first was titled *Aspects of Warfare in Premodern Southeast Asia* organized by Barbara Watson Andaya (2003: 139) who reported that ‘[i]t would be extremely difficult to construct the premodern history of the region delineated as “Southeast Asia” without reference to warfare.’ Oral history recalls the successes and failures of warrior chiefs. Inscriptions on monuments and stele record the achievement of kings in battles and documented history in chronicles recounts the past glories of kingdoms and the defeat of their enemies.

A second seminar on Southeast Asian warfare, titled the *International Workshop on Precolonial Warfare in Monsoon Asia*, was held in January 2003 at the University of London (Charney 2004b). One of the papers on Balinese and Sasak views of warfare examined the cultural, ethical and moral aspects of indigenous warfare between the peoples of Bali and Lombok as represented in traditional historiography (Hägerdal (2004: 87, 115). It certainly expands our knowledge of Balinese culture that was so briefly investigated by Quaritch Wales. From the viewpoint to the social elites, the *Brahmana* [*Brahman*], the *Ksatria* [*kṣatriya*] and the *Wesia* [*Vaiśya*] classes, warfare was an expression of cultural life. War had both a political aspect, the occupation of territory or rivalry between lords, as well as a spiritual aspect for the victor was seen as a man in possession of *sakti*, efficacy, and success in war illustrated his connection with invisible powers. Early foreign observers saw only the outward face of war, two armies opposing each other encamped on an open field with elite troops challenging each other until blood was spilt. They rarely reported or understood the internal dynamics of indigenous conflict.

Not until the recent publication of a study on Southeast Asian warfare has any major attempt been made to investigate indigenous military strategies, weaponry and the interaction between humans and animals in pre-modern conflict (Charney 2004a). Called a monograph on the tools, practices and organization of warfare, Charney's treatise has been noted as 'only the second book-length treatment of pre-twentieth century warfare in the region.' The first was Quaritch Wales' monograph. It is certainly more comprehensive than Quaritch Wales' 'seminal' study (Rettig 2006: 1). Charney has disputed the old misconception that Southeast Asian polities were simply importers of warfare technologies and not innovators. Also challenged is the commonly held assumption that pre-modern warfare sustained low levels of bloodshed in order to maximize the number of war captives. Even the term 'warfare' may be an overgeneralization that does not describe the objectives of pre-modern violence that varied across region and between cultural groups. Both Reid (1988: I: 122-124) and Quaritch Wales (1952a: 16) believed that pre-modern warfare was a means to loot and steal and to accumulate slaves captured in battle and not the extermination of villages or towns. Charney (2004a: 20) refuted this. He does not support the idea that because the region was relatively low in population, casualty numbers were also low. Indigenous sources, especially the chronicles, report bloody battles where casualties were high. But the indigenous chronicles are unreliable sources of statistical information. The origin of the belief that early warfare was less bloody has been attributed to a statement from a Persian observer who noted that 'if the army suffers the country itself falls into ruin' and that

they [the Siamese] are extremely careful and the struggle is wholly confined to trickery and deception. They have no intention of killing one another or inflicting any great slaughter because if a general gained a victory by real conquest, he would be shedding his own blood, so to speak (Charney 2004a: 220 quoting Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad 1972: 90-91).

It is unfortunate that Quaritch Wales moved from this subject without fully investigating it for he could have made a significant difference to our understanding of ancient Southeast Asian warfare at a time when colonialism was in retreat and both nationalism and communism were on the rise. Recent studies of early Southeast Asian warfare highlight the complex character of war, its spiritual and political dimensions and the character of land based and maritime forces. Quaritch Wales left that possibility behind and moved on to the study of esoteric religious practices and their place in the prehistory of ancient Southeast Asia. This was to occupy his attention for more than a decade.

The Mountain of God

The Mountain of God was a study of the diffusion of what Quaritch Wales (1953a: 1) called the 'old Asiatic religion' from its supposed origins in Mesopotamia into Southeast Asia. The old Asiatic religion was defined as the worship of the divinity of the earth and its energies, concentrated in a mountain or symbolic structure, closely connected with sacral kingship. The theory was that this religion first emerged from animism and spread from its roots around the 4th millennium BCE (Hamilton 1954: 370). Quaritch Wales (1953a: 1) considered this religion had wide acceptance in ancient times being 'an improvement on the hitherto universal simple animism' and this formed a step in 'man's progress towards the knowledge of moral and spiritual sources of power.' His interpretation followed that of Henri Frankfort (1948) whose central thesis was that the Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations differed fundamentally despite their apparent superficial resemblances. Frankfort believed that these ancient civilizations considered kingship to be the foundation of all civilized life, but each region conceived of it quite differently.

In ancient Egypt the pharaoh was a god who had descended among men. His coronation was a divine manifestation. In ancient Mesopotamian the king was mortal, a great man whose coronation was an apotheosis, an elevation to divine status. Despite this he was not a god (Frankfort 1948: vi). The Egyptian religion held that kingship entailed a mystical communion between Horus, the sky god, who served as the tutelary deity who guarded the kingdom, manifested in the person of the pharaoh and Osiris, the guardian of the afterworld. In ancient Mesopotamia the concept of kingship was not as coherent. Interactions between Sumerians, Babylonians and Assyrians had produced a religious concept of kingship that lacked the impressive Egyptian constructs. The king had three duties: to administer the kingdom, to present the prayers of the people to the gods in order that their prosperity and well-being should be maintained, and to service the gods by building temples and officiating at rituals (Frankfort 1948: viii).

Quaritch Wales postulated that a resurgence of primitive ancestor worship in Southeast Asia was due to the introduction of a Mesopotamian religious belief system by people from the Older Megalithic culture. It was into this structure that Quaritch Wales reintroduced the Older and Younger Megalithic periods adopted from Heine-Geldern (1945). As he had documented in an earlier paper and in *The Making of Greater India*, (Quaritch Wales 1949a, 1951 & 1961a) he dated the Older Megalithic from 2000 to 1500 BCE while the Younger Megalithic was associated with Dong Son culture of the 7th century BCE. Convinced that influences, primarily of Mesopotamian origin, were brought to India by Aryan migration, he believed that the Indus valley culture was the link in diffusion between Babylon, Assyria and Persia. Basing his statements on the work of Frankfort and those of Sir John Marshall (1931), Stuart Piggott (1950 & 1953), and articles in *Ancient India* (Director General of Archaeology 1946-1949) but harking back to Sir James Frazer, Quaritch Wales was following a general understanding prevalent at that time concerning the collapse of the Indus civilizations. It was believed that the Harappā and Mohenjo-daro cultures reached their mature level between 2500 and 1500 BCE and had been dependent on ideas received from Mesopotamia. It was due to migrations of peoples from the Persian highlands, the peoples who created the civilizations around the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, that the civilizations in the Indus valley developed. Quaritch Wales (1953a: 58) wrote that ‘there can be no question of a migration to the Indus of people of the same stock as those who founded the world’s first great civilization in Sumer.’ For a map of the Indus civilizations, he reproduced the basic map from the Archaeological Survey of India that can be found in many of Mortimer Wheeler’s books (Wheeler 1966: 12 and 1968: 4).

The rise and decline of the Indus civilizations was a topic of controversy in archaeological circles. Harappā and Mohenjo-daro were first excavated when sensational discoveries were being made in Egypt and central Asia and theories of culture contact between Egypt, Sumer, Mesopotamia and the Indus valley were proposed to explain the wealth, grandeur and perceived similarities between these civilizations. Following from Piggott (1950), who excavated at Harappā, Quaritch Wales wrote that ‘it is admitted that for its city organization, its knowledge of bronze casting, its script and literate culture, the Harappā civilization is ultimately dependent on ideas received from Mesopotamia.’ It was assumed that Harappā culture was essentially conservative by which Quaritch Wales 1953a: 59) meant that its

output suffered from standardization and an almost puritanical utilitarianism. Working within such narrow limits of traditional forms, fossilized over centuries into a rigid, inescapable mental prison, the artist or craftsman could have found little outlet save in developing technical virtuosity.

Piggott (1953: 44), a highly regarded archaeologist and academic, repeated his ideas of the inherent conservatism of the Indus civilizations in his much-regarded book on prehistoric India. The Indus valley civilizations that developed between 2200 and 1900 BCE began to collapse from 1900 to 1700 BCE. Following this, trade with Mesopotamia ceased. After Mortimer Wheeler discovered human skeletons at Mohenjo-Daro he proposed the theory that they were people killed by invaders (Wheeler 1966: 80 and 1968: 131). Piggott too was an early proponent of the Aryan invasion thesis and wrote that these were documented in the *Rigveda*, the great Vedic Sanskrit hymns (Piggott 1950: 255, 260-261). As the decline occurred close to the proposed time of Indo-Aryan migrations it was assumed that the great Indus cities had been destroyed by ‘Aryans’ invaders from the northwest (Wheeler 1968: 131; Guha 2005: 411-412). Wheeler’s invasion theory, that was largely discredited within twenty years, remained in vogue until the 1980s.

The invasion thesis fitted in well with Quaritch Wales’ theory of the overland expansion of Mesopotamian cultural influences into Southeast Asia. To support his argument, he provided one map from Heine-Geldern showing the supposed ‘wanderings of the Quadrangular Adze Culture into Further India and North-East India’ (Quaritch Wales 1953a: 68 fig 5). The connection to Heine-Geldern is an important one and the timing more than coincidence. At that time, Heine-Geldern (1951a) had developed his ‘ingenious’ theory to account for the transmission of material culture from eastern Europe to Southeast Asia via the Central Asia cultural heartlands. This ‘Pontic Migration’ thesis was named after the Pontic-Caspian steppe near the Black Sea [*Pontos Euxeinus*: Favourable Sea] where different Indo-European population groups mixed before migrating north, and south (Heine-Geldern 1951a; Loofs-Wissowa 1983: 3). These Pontic migrants split into two groups, one of which moved into the northern Indochinese peninsula to ‘spark off the Dong So’n Culture there.’ This was far from accepted fact and Loofs-Wissowa (1991:41) later referred to this as an ‘almost infamous theory’ of migration.

Quaritch Wales (1957b: 50) followed this theory and referred to these migrants as ‘nomads from the north and west.’ To further prove the theory of Mesopotamian influences into China Quaritch Wales (1953a: 37 Fig 3) produced another map showing the supposed ‘steppe routes’ from west to east that was simply a line drawing of the known overland silk trade caravan routes that linked China with Eurasia between the 2nd century BCE and the 14th century CE. It is now believed that the Indo-Aryan migrations that began around 1800 BCE were not part of a large migration pattern but were the movements of small diverse groups of peoples whose cultures and traditions blended with local groups. This elite recruitment process strengthened the position of local leaders and gave them wealth and political status (Parpola 2015: 67).

Quaritch Wales was certainly a diffusionist. He believed that elements of Indian civilization were brought to Southeast Asia by Brahmins and other learned men and that this Hindu culture was imposed on native atavistic cultures and religions. Along with many scholars of that time he thought that historical truth could be unearthed, objectively, by archaeological means (Guha 2005: 399-400). His achievements in Kedah seemed to him to reveal this primordial truth but as Guha (2005: 408) so accurately stated ‘[d]iffusion of cultures and culture-traits, migration of people and invasion of foreign lands were heuristic tools for understanding the ‘rise and fall’ of civilizations during much of the twentieth century.’ Quaritch Wales was highly critical of Sylvain Lévi’s view that India was a great maritime country, open to the vast Southern Ocean that formed its own Mediterranean. Lévi had written that the Indian Ocean was a ‘Mediterranean of proportionate dimensions—which for a long time was believed to be closed in the south’ (Quaritch Wales 1953a: 63-64 quoting Lévi 1923: 57. English trans in Bagchi 1929: 125-126). Lévi acknowledged the importance of maritime expansion of pre-Aryan cultures when he wrote that

[a]dventurers, traffickers, and missionaries, profited by the technical progress of navigation and followed, under the best conditions of comfort and efficiency, the way traced from time immemorial, by the mariners of another race, whom the Aryan or Aryanized Indian despised as savages (Levi 1923: 57 quoted in Bagchi 1929: 125-126).

But Quaritch Wales declined to acknowledge the role of Malay and other coastal Asian sailors' emphasizing only the superior knowledge of the Indian merchants and adventurers. In addition to this he criticized the work of Paul Mus, one of the great French Indologist of the 20th century. Mus had written a paper for the *Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* in 1933 titled 'Cultures indiennes et indigènes au Champa', later reprinted as 'L'Inde vu de l'Est' (1934 & Mus, Mabbett and Chandler 2011), and in this he stated

Il est des terres qui séparent, et qui n'unissent que sur nos cartes deux habitats situés à leurs extrémités. Pas contre, pour prendre un exemple illustre, certaines mers unissent, et ce ne sont pas de vains mots que ceux de *civilisation méditerranéenne* (Mus 1933: 373).

This passage was translated by Quaritch Wales (1953a: 64) as 'It is the lands that separate, and which only on our maps unite the two localities situated at their extremities. On the other hand, to take a famous example, certain seas unite, and it is not without meaning that one speaks of the Mediterranean civilisation.' This was a powerful statement but Quaritch Wales declared that Mus, contrary to the evidence of prehistory, and under the spell of Sylvain Lévi, had proposed a false analogy. By dismissing ethnology and archaeological investigations, he said, Mus had created a structure called the 'civilisation of the monsoons' (Quaritch Wales 1953b: 237). Actually Mus, a brilliant scholar of Asian religions, had not used the words 'civilisation des Moussons', he had used the phrases 'une religion de l'aire des Moussons' [a religion of the area of the Monsoons] and 'une religion des Moussons' as in the following passage:

Partout où des conditions de navigabilité établissent l'unité des échanges, il n'est point paradoxal d'attendre une unité de culture, et évoquer une religion de l'aire des Moussons sera plus raisonnable que de parler de religion indienne, ou chinoise, antérieurement aux civilisations qui devaient donner un sens à ces mots. Si l'étude des rituels saisonniers, à laquelle resteront attachés les noms de M [Jean] Przyluski [Scholar of religion notably Buddhism] et de M [Marcel] Granet [Sinologist] tient ce qu'elle promet, c'est même proprement d'une religion des Moussons qu'il nous faudra parler un jour... pour l'instant, de ne faire appel qu'au terme d'animisme. On a abusé du mot:

La vraie religion des Annamites est le culte des esprits.

[Wherever navigable conditions established the unity of exchanges [interactions], it is not paradoxical to expect a unity of culture, and to evoke a religion of the area of the Monsoons [that] will be more reasonable than to speak about an Indian religion, or a Chinese [religion], prior to the civilizations that would give meaning to these words [came into being]. If the study of seasonal rituals, to whom the names Monsieur Przyluski and Monsieur Granet remain associated, fulfils all that it promises to do, we may even have to speak of a religion of the Monsoons...for now, we can only call upon the term animism. We have abused the word:

The true religion of the Annamites is the cult of the spirits.] (See also Mus, Mabbett and Chandler 2011: 22-23).

Mus was referring to the cult of the spirits of the water, forests and even ‘les âmes humaines désincarnées’ [disembodied human souls]. Long before the Aryans came to India a network of indigenous cults existed across monsoon Asia, India and mainland Southeast Asia. The cult of the earth god was prominent (Reynolds 1995: 423). It was not an anthropomorphic spirit that inhabited the earth, rather it was the earth itself that was sacred. It could be as amorphous as the earth or embodied in objects such as rocks and stones or in a sacred site. The priest or headman as a ritual performer could embody the spiritual being. Quaritch Wales’ idea that with the decline of the high Indianized religious culture, pre-Indian cults could resurface was not incorrect. His inflexibility was that this resurgence could only be attributed to ‘local genius’ when in fact that substratum of belief had never disappeared; in some form it had always been there. Mus used the term animism, although he disliked having to use that abused word (Mus, Mabbett and Chandler 2011: 23). Contrary to Quaritch Wales Mus saw the basis of the culture of monsoonal Asia as global, with Indianized layers added to this. It was these layers of interaction that were exchanged. The difference was that Mus was not a diffusionist. But Quaritch Wales (1953a: 110-111) and Mus (1933: 377) did agree that among pre-historic peoples of Southeast Asia the definition of the local deity as the ‘expression of the energies of the earth’ was applicable to both god and to the local chief [La definition du divin local comme “l’expression des énergies de la terre” est donc commune au dieu et au chief].

Perhaps the most useful section in this book is not in the many comparative arguments citing other authors but in the almost page-length footnote under his discussion of Khmer temple-mountains (Quaritch Wales 1953a: 132 and 133 fn1). Referring to the statement by Cœdès (1951, Abridged English 1952a) on the cult of deified royalty Quaritch Wales argued that this view was simply the recognition of pre-Indian atavism that ‘seems perfectly to accord with my own’ view and that this opinion sets Cœdès apart from ‘the rigid Indianist who closes his eyes to much of the evidence.’ This was as far as the level of agreement extended. Quaritch Wales (1953a: 132) then complimented Cœdès on the generally favourable review of *The Making of Greater India* but felt that his statement defining ‘local genius’ had been distorted. The difference in opinion was based around the use of an enigmatic horticultural analogy. Cœdès had implied that the pre-Indianized civilisations of Southeast Asia were like old trees grown from various crossings, on which the graft of Indian culture brought out the flowering of Javanese, Khmer and Cham cultures. Quaritch Wales would not accept this ‘horticultural simile.’ It was his belief that as Indian cultural influence declined, notably in his eastern zone, ‘local genius’ actively moulded Indic culture creating distinctive but subtly different Indianized cultures. This was cultural resurgence he said, not cultural grafting. *The Mountain of God* is part poorly chosen descriptive case studies and part argument against the respected and well-considered opinions of others such as Paul Mus and George Cœdès. In the end it is a complex, rather clumsy attempt to explain influence of Mesopotamian religion on Southeast Asia but by the 1950s that profession of faith was arcane.

The Sacred Mountain in the Old Asiatic religion

As a member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, Quaritch Wales attended the Fourth International Congress [now Union] of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in September 1952 in Vienna. His paper was on the subject of the sacred mountain in the Old Asiatic religion (Quaritch Wales 1953b). He was searching for broad approaches to understand Asian religion and ritual and had moved on from practical archaeological research at this point. His search was to understand the nature of what he called the ‘Old Asiatic religion’ using simple animism as its basic foundation. Quaritch Wales (1953b: 23-30) now sought to link his belief in an ‘old Asiatic religion’ with the belief in sacred mountains. Once again, he returned to the writings of Henri Frankfort to give him direction. In the paper presented at Vienna, Quaritch Wales reaffirmed his

ideas linking ziggurats in ancient Mesopotamia with sacred mountains as the places containing the mysterious potency of the earth. In places where mountains did not exist, artificial mountains could be created as temples. In Southeast Asia 'not only sacred mountains, but also their reduced representations as stepped pyramids were known to the Older Megalithic civilization.' Strongly influenced by ideas about Mesopotamian religions, he believed this Older Megalithic culture reached Southeast Asia between 2500 and 1500 BCE (Quaritch Wales 1953b: 27).

The deduction was confusing once again but it was now clear where this was taking Quaritch Wales: this was his belief that the cult of the sacred mountain, or the stepped pyramid in its derivative form, concentrated the earth's energies in one space. The influence, he repeated, had come overland from Mesopotamia. The Khmers of the 9th century, who began the structure of the Angkorian temples

were no more likely to have completely forgotten the meaning of their ancestor's pyramidal structures, than they had forgotten the cult of sacred mountains. If Brahmans arriving from India at that time were familiar with the abstract concept of Meru as a stepped pyramid, it was nevertheless Khmer choice that preferred it, realizing it in massive architecture, and continually developing it as the outstanding feature of Cambodian temple building (Quaritch Wales 1953b: 29).

Prehistory and religion in South-east Asia

As a preliminary paper continuing his rather obsessive attention to prehistory and religion, Quaritch Wales (1954: 270-271) presented a paper at the 23rd Congress of Orientalists held in Cambridge in August 1954. Using 'The religious significance of the early Dongson drums' as his theme, he sought to continue his work on religion in his eastern zone of Indianization. The Dong Son culture, centered on the Red river valley, is named after a village on the Ma river in Thanh Hoa province, south of Hanoi, where graves containing Bronze Age objects were discovered in 1924 (Higham 1989: 192; Solheim 1988-1989: 23). These excavations provided evidence that the [Lac Việt](#) people were skilled at bronze casting. Images on the surface of the distinctive, beautifully composed bronze drums include musicians, warriors, war canoes, drummers, harvesting, as well as animals like deer and birds. Quaritch Wales stated that the religion of these 'Dongsonians' was shamanism and this contrasted with the fertility cults of the agricultural Older Megalithic peoples. From this came the Dong Son drum, a microcosm, and presumably he meant a microcosm of the universe, with the Pole Star carved at the centre (Quaritch Wales 1954). Because 'spirit boats' were seen on the Dong Son drum, Quaritch Wales believed these represented vehicles that magically transported the shaman to heaven. He also considered that shamanism gave rise to the Javanese *wayang* puppet theatre. In his brief paper, he did not say how he arrived at this abstruse interpretation.

The paper delivered at Cambridge was a very brief introduction to Quaritch Wales' (1957b) next book, *Prehistory and Religion in South-east Asia*. Describing the aim of this new book he wrote: '[p]rimarily the present work is intended to offer a first attempt at reconstruction of the earlier religious phases in South-east Asia, resulting mainly from my own comparative researches' (Quaritch Wales 1957b: 3). He considered the Paleolithic, the Neolithic and the Bronze Ages to be natural strata in the prehistoric religion and he constructed his book to reflect this approach. The fourth chapter was the core of the book. Once again it was a vehicle for the rebuttal of objections made by Frederik Bosch (1932) against Quaritch Wales' theory of 'local genius'. The fifth chapter focused on the religion of the Khmer that, according to Quaritch Wales, continued with its 'chthonic' [earth god] character despite influences from India. In the sixth chapter Quaritch Wales argued that 'careful scrutiny of certain aspects of modern Cham religion...leads to the recognition of Bronze Age elements which would have been far more active at the time Indian culture was first

introduced.’ In both Champa and Java, he wrote, the trend was towards sky religion, over and above that ‘inculcated by the Indian sky influences.’ Originally the people of Champa, and here Quaritch Wales used Dong Son culture as his example, were part of the Older Megalithic culture. But foreign cultural influences from the nomads of central Asia brought elements of the Bronze Age to Southeast Asia. The religion of the nomads was shamanism. This shamanism, combined with the worship of ‘celestial deities’, became the religion of the upper class; the lower class continued to worship ‘an impoverished form of the religion belonging to the Older Megalithic’ (Quaritch Wales 1957b: 108). He then gave numerous examples from various secondary sources to justify his abstract thinking.

Prehistory and Religion in South-East Asia was the third in a series of books that sought to convince readers that the concept of national character, or basic personality, what Quaritch Wales (1957b: 17) called ‘local genius’, would reveal itself ‘as a preference for what are evidently the more congenial traits of a new cultural pattern, and a specific way of handling the newly acquired concepts.’ These newly acquired concepts were Indian. Once again, he described his theory of a western zone, Ceylon, Burma, central Thailand, the Malay peninsula and Sumatra, where art forms were ‘colonial Indian.’ Here, there was no evolution, only ‘static correctness’ because these lands ‘received the full force of Indian colonizing zeal and...there was extreme acculturation’ (Quaritch Wales 1957b: 25-26). In the eastern zone pre-Indian civilizations remained operative. Through the force of ‘local genius’ Khmer, Cham and Javanese cultures were able to resurge as Indian influences retreat (Quaritch Wales 1957b: 47). But Quaritch Wales’ theory associating shamanism with the Dong Son culture would be effectively dismantled by Loofs-Wissowa (1991: 41). Quaritch Wales (1957b: 73-74) went as far as stating that shamanism was akin to an official Dong Son religion and that this religious influence spread as far as Sumatra, Java and the Malay peninsula, all places where Dong Son drums had been found. Subsequently, his proposal was that Dong Son influences were subsumed by Buddhism, Hinduism and eventually Islam. He wrote that in the Philippines and Borneo pure Dong Son culture would have been preserved but as no Dong Son drums have been found in either place his thesis was largely indemonstrable.

To support his argument Quaritch Wales (1957b: 48-60) attempted to construct a seminal hypothesis on the main decorative motifs: the central ‘star’, the ‘birds’; and the ‘spirit boats.’ His principal idea was that the central motif on most of the drums appears to represent the Pole Star marking the centre of the sky (Quaritch Wales 1957b: 70, 86-87). Here he repeated his principle that the motif represented the axis of the universe and, through the Pole Star, the shaman gained access to the heavens. There were three aspects of Quaritch Wales’ conclusions that Loofs-Wissowa (1991: 41) found unacceptable. First, ‘concordance of the extension of shamanism with that of Dongson influence’, second, ‘use of drums by shamans’ and third, ‘interpretation of the central motif of the bronze drums as a star or even the Pole Star, let alone the sun.’

The nature of the central motif is open to debate. As Loofs-Wissowa (1991: 44) explained, earliest pictorial representations of the sun or stars in ancient Mesopotamia, India and China consisted of a disk or a circle not a many-pointed star. He noted that the star-shaped motif on the tympana of Dong Son drums is not a motif at all: it is a left-over. To explain this, one has to look at the mechanics of decorating a circular surface. The star pattern is an unintentional passive motif and the triangles are the active decorative element that produced the rays. Nothing in the form or decoration of Dong Son drums supported the theory that they were related to shamanism or the religion of the Dong Son peoples. Other figures on the drums, the long-beaked, long-tailed birds with outstretched wings, and the spirit-boats, were elements of political regalia. The evidence points to the existence of a network of social and political connections throughout mainland and insular Southeast Asia centred on coastal Indochina. The drums were items of chiefly regalia bestowed on other chiefs or ritual

authorities when polities joined the circle of rulers. Shamanism was a feature of certain religious manifestations in the cultures of the peoples of Siberia and central Asia and the basis of shamanism was the cosmology of pastoral animals in which the horse played a vital role. Further, he wrote that relating bronze drums to shamanism was tenuous for shamans used tambourines or gongs made of skins and wood, especially birch, the sacred tree in Siberian folklore.

Quaritch Wales (1957b: 65, 126) saw his reconstruction of elements of ancient Southeast Asian religions as a 'working hypothesis' but as Rahmann (1963: 268) stated in his review of the book

this working hypothesis is based on the definite views of Q.W. and these make it partly difficult to agree with him.

Father Rudolf Rahmann was a missionary-anthropologist and a senior member of the Society of the Divine Word in the Philippines whose knowledge of religious structures in Southeast Asia was deeper than Quaritch Wales' superficial research. Rahmann's argument was that it is debatable whether shamanism could be called a religion at all for it was a ritual practice that could attach itself to many belief systems. A short succinct report by Gale Sieveking (1958: 395) was not kind. Sieveking had extensive archaeological experience in Malaya excavating at Johor Lama, Taiping and Johor city area: all areas where Quaritch Wales had worked (Sieveking, Wheatley and Gibson-Hill 1954). He called the book a 'compilation from linguistic, epigraphic, ethnographic, historical and archaeological sources.' Despite Quaritch Wales' statement that all strata of prehistory must be examined with care, he did not refer to any modern field anthropology then current in Southeast Asia and as a result Sieveking (1958: 395) reported that the conclusions reached in the book 'stem from scanty and sometimes ambiguous evidence. Dr Quaritch-Wales has not always proved his case.'

In another review Guy Pauker (1959: 298-299) noted well that research into historical reconstruction was no longer fashionable. Pauker found the book difficult to understand but still wrote that Quaritch Wales' diffusionist leanings were 'immensely stimulating, as intellectual detective work limited only by the author's ingenuity in using all conceivable forms of evidence.' Then he changed tack and stated the reason why these studies were no longer in vogue was due to 'the vagueness of the criteria and the inadequacy of the specific evidence used in diffusionist studies to demonstrate origins and connections of cultural events' (Pauker 1959: 298).

George Coëdès (1958: 349-357) was quick to find the kernel of this new book and he went to considerable trouble to dissect the book chapter by chapter and break it down into its constituent parts. The trouble with the book, like those earlier studies of religion and prehistory, was that it was so wide ranging and used so many comparative examples that it could not be broken into discrete sections. And when Patrick De Josselin de Jong came to review the book he, in turn, concentrated on an examination of the contents of the early chapters. One of the most senior cultural anthropologists in the Netherlands, a leading academic and theoretician and an expert on the Minangkabau peoples of west Sumatra, De Josselin de Jong was more precise in describing the contents of the first three chapters but then pointedly and correctly asked: 'What is one to make of this reconstruction?' (De Josselin de Jong 1961: 291). He too found the book complex and in a long, detailed critique wrote

the author has made it almost impossible for the reader to come to grips with his theories, because he constantly fails to give hard facts to support them. After all, the *onus probandi* is on the author, but all too often the reader has to make do with statements like tribes "who may be supposed to have preserved" most of the ancient religion; "it was natural" that

Australian aborigines should do such-and-such in paleolithic times; the sky “could hardly fail” to become a divinity...

De Josselin de Jong continued in this frame at some length. His criticism of the lack of focus and direction in Quaritch Wales’ book is accurate and well-stated. He wrote

one can make almost anything fit in with anything else at will; but throughout the book the reader is aware of the lack of disciplined method. He [the reader] never understands why one particular feature of one particular culture is quoted while other features or other cultures are not mentioned...

Rather pointedly De Josselin de Jong (1961: 291) commented that ‘he [the reader] never gets rid of the uneasy feeling that by applying the same sleight-of-hand to differently selected materials one would reach quite contrasting conclusions.’ Georges Cœdès (1958: 351) had said rather much the same in his earlier review when he wrote

Non pas que les faits utilisés soient contestables ou mal choisis, mais l’interprétation m’en paraît souvent tendancieuse.

[Not that the facts used are questionable or badly chosen, but the interpretation often seems to me tendentious.]

The arts of Sukhothai

Following his tangential foray into esoteric religions, Quaritch Wales (1956a) returned to examinations of art history. His study of the art of the Sukhothai period was not a major investigation into early Thai art history, but once again an attempt to refine his thesis that Southeast Asia could be divided into two zones of Indianization. This theory had been described in all his material since the publication of his paper ‘Culture change in Greater India’ (Quaritch Wales 1948a) and his main book on the subject *The Making of Greater India* (Quaritch Wales 1951 & 1961a). Now, in a paper for the Siam Society, he presented his ideas about Sukhothai art (Quaritch Wales 1956a). The Sukhothai period, from 1238 to 1438 CE, has been called the ‘Golden age of Buddhism’ in Thailand (Phramaha Natakorn Piybhani 2016). The foundation of the kingdom occurred when two Tai chieftains from the north overthrew the Khmer in 1238 at Sukhothai, the capital of Angkor’s northwest province. There was not so much a migration of ethnic Tai peoples out of the northern areas but rather a seizure of power by the local governing class (Hall 1970: 171).

Situated on the banks of the Menam Yom, Sukhothai became the cradle of Siamese civilization, the place where its institutions and culture developed. Communities along the Yom and the Nan River basins prospered from the expansion of trade and this ensured Sukhothai supremacy on the central plain. The first ruler, Śri Indraditya, extended his rule by combining regional areas. His second son, Rāma Khamhaeng, was the most renowned of all the monarchs. Not only a famous warrior who claimed to be ‘sovereign lord of all the Tai’, he financed his rule with war booty and tribute from vassal states in Burma, Laos, and the Malay peninsula. His rise to power and his achievements are famously recorded on the stele of Rāma Khamhaeng (Cœdès 1968a: 196, 204 and 207). Debate continues over the authenticity of this cultural icon on display in the National Museum of Bangkok (Chamberlain 1991; Vickery 1991 a & b). During his reign, diplomatic relations with China were established that acknowledged the Chinese emperor as nominal overlord and Rāma Khamhaeng brought Chinese artisans to Sukhothai to develop the Sawankhalok ceramics industry. Trade links

were re-established with India through Assam. In the 13th century, Theravada Buddhist monks of the Lankavamsa [Singhalese lineage] sect were brought to Sukhothai to build their *Sangha* and preach their Singhalese version of Buddhist orthodoxy.

Using the Sukhothai period as a case study, Quaritch Wales (1956a: 113) concluded that ‘a people might undergo extreme Indianization, in which case their art was never more than a copy of the Indian, as for example at Dvāravatī or the Pagán kingdom of Burma: or they might undergo thorough but not extreme Indianization, in which case they retained certain preferences or a way of doing things of their own.’ In this case, he wrote, the artisans moulded Indian culture in a distinct way. Now he added a third possibility to his previously two zones—eastern and western. In his third area, that he called ‘a peripheral locality’ marginal to Indian cultural influence, artisans were able to express their own individuality. According to Quaritch Wales (1956a: 114) marginality to Indian culture was most readily understood in Sukhothai sculpture for ‘[h]ad the Indianization been more thorough during the earlier part of the period, iconography not plastic conception would have been the overruling characteristic.’ In other words, had Sukhothai art followed strict, classical Indian representations of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, local artisans would not have been influenced ‘consciously, or unconsciously, by the living models provided by the monks of the day.’ He argued that important principles of stimulus and response were the most active factors in culture change. This stimulus came from Ceylon. In art facial features differed from Khmer images because ‘the Thai physiognomy happens to be different from the Khmer’ (Quaritch Wales 1956a: 117). Certainly, facial features on religious statues of the Sukhothai period differ from the Khmer but other reasons may also account for this. The oval face, slim nose, arched eyebrows, semi-closed eyes and the restrained smiling mouth on statues of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas are Thai aesthetics representing strong inner spirituality not an ethnic characteristic.

Cosmological aspect of Indonesian religion

In 1959 Quaritch Wales published a long and often confusing article that he called a study of the cosmological aspects in Indonesian religion. One thing is for certain, he confused the meaning of cosmology with cosmogony. In theology, which is the point of Quaritch Wales’ paper, the cosmogonic argument is a general discussion of the existence and nature of God. Cosmology is the scientific study of the origin and nature of the universe at large. This long and often rambling paper was quite simply a tangential critique of Durkheim’s theory of religion using the study of Dayak religion by Hans Schärer (1963, German edition 1946) as his case study. In the thirty-nine-page article Quaritch Wales devoted over twenty pages to descriptions and summaries of Dayak religion taken from the work of Schärer (1946). Schärer was a member of the Swiss-based Basler Missionsgesellschaft [The Basle Mission], a Protestant, non-denominational evangelical mission that commenced conversion among the Ngaju Dayak in 1921. In 1939 he enrolled for doctoral studies with Jan de Josselin de Jong at Leiden University and in 1946 he defended his thesis ‘Die Gottesidee der Ngadju Dajak in Süd-Borneo’ [The conception of God among the Ngaju Dayak of south Borneo]. The Ndaju Dayak religion is now called the Kaharingan and is classified as a folk-religion.

Much of the convoluted arguments proposed by Quaritch Wales stemmed from the complexity and contradictions inherent in Schärer’s work. These contradictions were highlighted by Patrick de Josselin de Jong (1963: v-viii) in the preface to the English text. Schärer first gathered his material during the seven years he spent in Borneo as a missionary. Only then did he turn towards the study of cultural anthropology. As a result, De Josselin de Jong considered that ‘the experimental nature of this book is apparent here and there, in some passages which undeniably suffer from obscurity or exaggeration.’ The work remained vast, complex and difficult. Rodney Needham, the translator,

faced enormous problems in turning a German text, with passages in Dutch, Malay and Bornean languages, into English (Schärer 1963: ix-x). Needham noted that the author had employed

large abstractions, qualified by highly inclusive and rather idiosyncratically linked adjectives such as 'cosmic/ritual' or 'genealogical/religious', and although these and such words as 'divine/human and cosmic reality' ring strangely in English they are what he [the author] actually says.

In essence the Dayak religion concerned the primal sacrificial creation of the universe in all its levels that was re-experienced and brought together in the seasons of the year, the interdependence of the upstream and the downstream of the rivers, in the tilling of the earth and in the falling of the rain. The union of male and female, the distinctions between and the co-operation of the social classes, wars and trade with foreigners were all part of the cycles of life. Indeed, all aspects of life, even body tattoos, the architecture of dwellings and the annual cycle of renewal ceremonies and funeral rites were interconnected. In the life of a people like the Dayak, there was a primordial history that had a beginning, a cosmogonic foundational myth, that described the germinal stage of the world or a sequence of myths that recounted, after creation of the universe, the origin of plants, animals, humankind society and death (Eliade 1967: 174). Taken all together, this was a coherent sacred history. Through the cosmogonic myth, the Dayak progressively revealed the structures of reality and of his own proper mode of being (Eliade 1967: 176).

One wonders why Quaritch Wales (1959) made the attempt to understand such a complex mythology from an area that he had not visited. In fact, his aim was not to understand Schärer's work so much as to use it as a vehicle to criticize the Leiden school of cultural anthropology, to which he then added a criticism of Émile Durkheim's (1926) masterful study of the elementary forms of religion in primitive societies. Although Schärer did not examine Dayak cosmogonic myths to reveal meanings that would transcend the ethnographic boundary, he did apply social anthropological principles to its examination. Quaritch Wales (1959: 117-118) believed that oneness or totality in the concept of God was manifested in the greater importance given to the male supreme being. He believed that by showing the association of the male being with the rich group of society, his residence in the Upperworld and his unity with the hornbill, he was more significant than the female supreme being. She was associated with the poor in society, resided in the Underworld and was united with the watersnake. Quaritch Wales' interpretation was that the realm of the male being in the Upperworld 'accords with the supremacy accorded to the sky deity among peoples strongly influenced by Dongsonian beliefs.' His second criticism was not over the content of Schärer's study but over the methodology used.

Durkheim and the elementary forms of religious life

Quaritch Wales' study was, in effect, a long criticism of the theory of religion proposed by Émile Durkheim (1926) and the French sociological school. He called Durkheim's theory of religion in primitive societies 'an outgrowth of Marxism' for Durkheim had said that 'God is in origin nothing but society deified' (Quaritch Wales 1959: 118). Quaritch Wales' criticism was that social anthropology had so concerned itself with studies of kinship and social structure that it had been tempted to ignore religion altogether. Rejecting Durkheimian sociology, Quaritch Wales (1959: 118) described it as

aprioristic; it is arbitrary in its choice of information; it is not always critical in what it does select; and it eliminates the individual. According to Durkheim the cosmic bodies were

merely employed by the primitives as a means of classifying the all-important social phenomena.

Certainly, the structural anthropology taught at the Leiden university after 1920 was heavily influenced by the work of Émile Durkheim, his nephew Marcel Mauss, and even by the German-born American anthropologist, Franz Boas and the Austrian-born Robert Lowie. Jan de Josselin de Jong had a long and distinguished career at Leiden and was an active exponent of the kinship and social relations theories promoted by Claude Lévi-Strauss. Neither structuralism nor kinship and marriage customs were popular with Quaritch Wales. Durkheim was certainly against the clericalism of powerful monarchical right-wing French politicians, but he was also against the utopianism of the radical left-wing (Allen and O'Boyle 2017b: 2). Contrary to the statement that Durkheim's work was an outgrowth of Marxism, Durkheim saw revolutionary socialism as a dangerous cause that preached class hatred, endless social disorder and economic struggle. The solution was to examine the state of moral order and then diffuse it with civic education. To that cause, he devoted his life to the study of the elementary forms of religious life in 'primitive' societies (Allen and O'Boyle 2017c).

Sociology, as Durkheim (1926) examined it, would use rationalism, reason and experimental science as a counterpoint to the ignorance and superstition of religion. According to his theory, once stripped of the superstitious shell religion was nothing more than a social force that had been ritualised by the social groups that had created it. Far from being a Marxist, Durkheim considered religion to be the primary social institution that could dispel the growing influence of historical materialism and if religion could be shown to be the foundation of human society, then the scientific pretensions of Marxism would be reduced (Allen and Boyle 2017b: 108). In simpler societies it was believed intellectual and moral uniformity was regular and unchanging. If a society were simple enough then scientific investigations could be used as universal examples. All religious beliefs presuppose two opposite classificatory structures: the sacred and the profane. The social, ideal and the religious stood for the sacred; the individual, the material and the economic stood for the profane. Durkheim was not looking for the underlying principles of the major religions, he was looking for universal traits that could help bind together those in his own society who were lacking moral direction. He was not above using selected evidence to satisfy his own intellectual purposes. Quaritch Wales did the same thing. However, the very idea that sacral power rested with society not God would have been anathema to Quaritch Wales.

Quaritch Wales (1959: 134) used his critical examination of the work of Schärer, that he quite simply did not understand well, and his polemic against Durkheim and the French sociological method, to express his opinion that in any study of what he called a 'marginal culture' in Southeast Asia like that of the Ngaju Dayak, it would have been better for Schärer to understand

the processes involved in the early spread and acceptance of Indian influences in South-East Asia. The indications seem to be that from the outset, magic and religion, with the art that expresses them, were the aspects of Indian culture that made greatest appeal.

This paper says more about Quaritch Wales than it does about cosmological aspects in Dayak religion. If we examine the nature and the range of the articles written for American evangelical magazines in the United States during the Second World War, we can see that Quaritch Wales was a committed Catholic. Although there are no personal papers that document Quaritch Wales' personal religious beliefs it is apparent from his many articles written in the United States that Durkheim's anti-clericalism, republicanism and promotion of academic social anthropology would not have been supported by this conservative product of fading British colonialism. Durkheim expressed his

disdain for religion and studied it with scientific rationalism and empiricism. His often confusing though brilliant book was neatly described by Alun Jones (1981: 197) as an

unlikely combination of a speculative reconstruction of early Hebrew society, an ambiguous body of Australian ethnographic data, and a reformulation of Kantian ethics—a sort of intellectual *bricolage*.

This period in Quaritch Wales' work when he sought to delve into mysticism, religion and the occult came after the retreat from Malaya in 1942, the move to the United States during the war and the return to the United Kingdom in 1948. It was a period of dislocation and, it seems, psychological crisis. Unfortunately, there are no personal notes, letters or correspondence with publishers in the archival sources that can give substance to this impression. It is evident that the archive housed in the Royal Asiatic Society in London was carefully cleaned and selected, presumably by Dorothy Wales, in order to support her husband's reputation.

Chapter Six

Finding Dvāravatī

Stimulated by the discovery of a collection of aerial photographs of unusual sites in rural Thailand taken by Peter-Williams-Hunt during and just after the Second World War, Quaritch Wales and his wife Dorothy returned to archaeological fieldwork. An editorial in *Asian Perspectives* noted that Quaritch Wales had excavated several Buddhist sites ‘of about the 6th century AD’ and that this work was undertaken in cooperation with the Bangkok museum and ‘in their name’ (Editor, *Asian Perspectives* 1957: 61). Presumably this meant Quaritch Wales was now financing the work himself for there would be no further mention of the pre-war Greater-India Research Committee. He decided to investigate the nature of what he called ‘distinctive earthworks’ in rural Thailand that he considered to be either prehistoric or the work of the ancient Khmer.

The Williams-Hunt photographs that interested Quaritch Wales in 1950 were some of the 1671 images of Thailand that would later be transferred to the School of Oriental and African Studies in London (Moore 2009: 280). What was new in the Williams-Hunt archive of Thailand images was that many aerial photographs included unusual moated sites that had not been identified, or even considered archaeologically significant, from the ground. The first description of an uninhabited moated site in the upper Mun valley on the Khorat plateau had actually been made by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab in 1906 after a visit to Non Muang Khao (O’Reilly and Scott 2015: 9). A valuable listing of archaeological sites of eastern Siam had been made by Seidenfaden (1922) and he then published a study of the Phimai temple complex but the information on the sites was descriptive without geographical coordinates (Seidenfaden 1923).

Williams-Hunt was particularly interested in the Korat plateau with Nakhon Ratchasima (Khorat), Ubon Ratchathani, Khon Kaen and Nong Khai as the principal towns. This Isan or Northeast region is divided into twenty provinces with the main rivers, the Mun and the Chi, flowing east to meet the Mekong that marks the border. When Williams-Hunt surveyed the plateau and when Quaritch Wales visited the area in 1956, it was regarded as undeveloped, economically poor, and regarded as socially backward. The region was marginal to irrigated rice growing and communications were limited to only two railway lines, the principal one being the southern line from Nakhon Ratchasima to Ubon Ratchathani. A second northern line went from Nakhon Ratchasima to Udorn Thani via Khon Kaen.

Fortunately, Quaritch Wales and his wife were able to use the railway to access their field sites. Fortunately bullock carts had become obsolete by this time.

Williams-Hunt (1950: 32-33) and the air surveyors identified over 200 ‘small defended towns characterized by multiple, concentric earthworks and very regular almost circular constructions, obviously forming a single complex’, four sites that he called ‘metropoli’ with a wider gap between an inner and an outer rampart, several sites located on rocky outcrops and a number of sites with varying layout not related to the more regular structures. His main reference to this formation was Quaritch Wales’ (1936a) report at Si Thep. He even mentioned the supposed evil reputation of Si Thep for it appeared to affect the air survey as well. The images were unclear and did not reproduce.

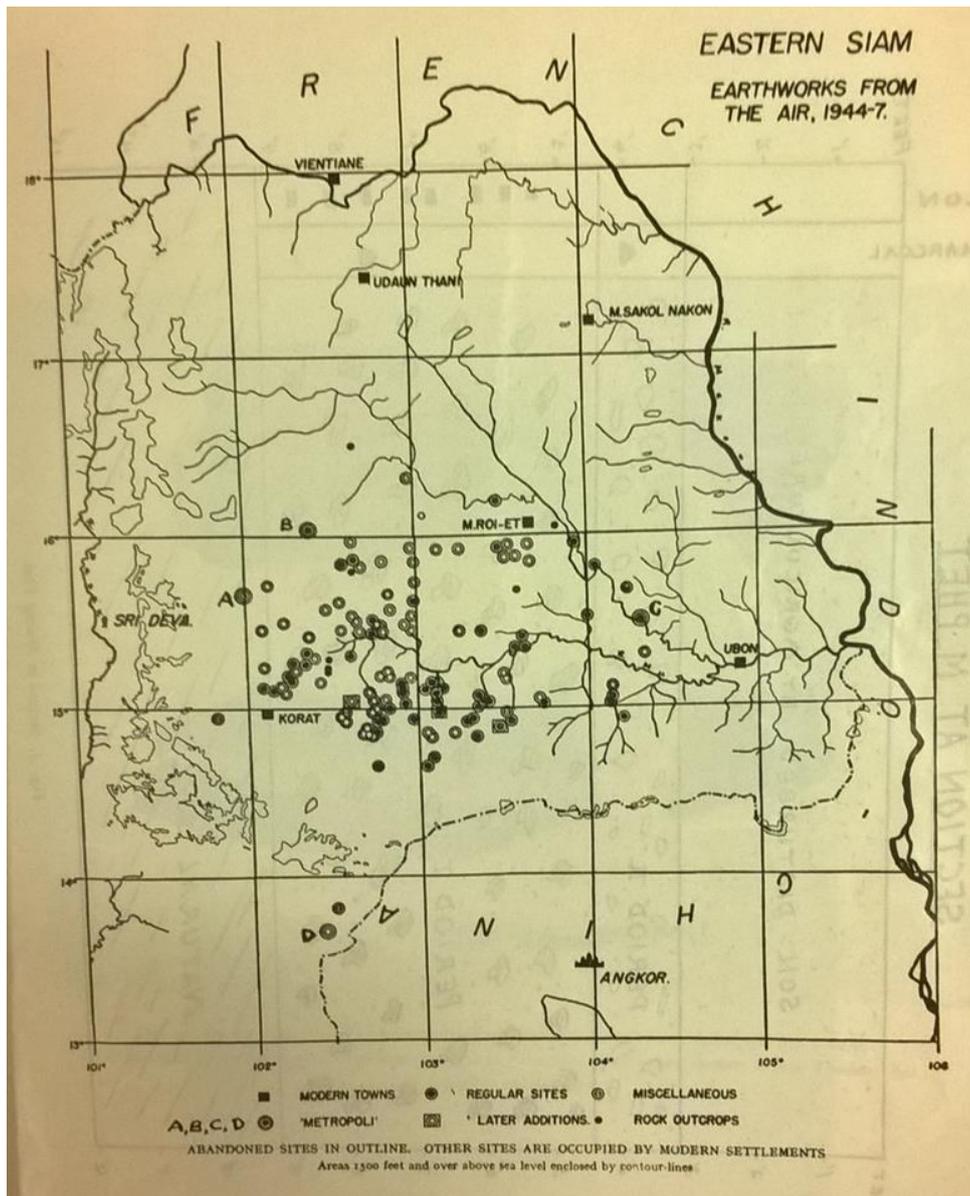


Image 06.001:

Map of irregular earthworks from the air
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection; Williams-Hunt 1950: 31)

Si Thep was the only moated site that had been dated but if Quaritch Wales' 6th century CE date were correct it still did not explain why Si Thep was located so far west of the other sites surveyed. Among the sites photographed were Ban Thamen Chai, Ban Khu Song Chan, Ban Talung Kao, Ban Rae, Muang Surin, Prasat Muang Phai and Muang Sema. Two other sites identified with geo-coordinates cannot be accurately located. Williams-Hunt concluded that these moated sites were all defended towns and, following on from Quaritch Wales and his theory about the abandonment of Si Thep, he thought that trade routes across the Khorat plateau meant that Muang Sema had become the successor trading town after the 6th century CE (Williams-Hunt 1950: 35). Noting the many unsolved problems, and the inadequate state of archaeological investigation at that time, he remarked

[o]ne thing is perfectly clear, and that is that the distribution of sites here shown [his map of earthworks from the air 1944-47] corresponds exactly to the present concentrations of population and lines of communication. Then again, the distribution ties up with Quaritch Wales' 'Imperial Trade Route', although it is not clear from his writings how he arrived at

his conclusions, which seem to be pure topographical speculation. Further comment would be futile. The excavator's spade alone will provide the final answer ((Williams-Hunt 1950: 35).

The question of meaning was compounded when Erik Seidenfaden added in an endnote to this paper that in his opinion square earthworks were Khmer habitations while oval sites were Khmer that predated the time they were 'hinduized' (Williams-Hunt 1950: 36). Such was the nature of speculation about 'moated sites' in the 1950s.

Muang Phet

In 1956 when Quaritch Wales set out to find the approximate date for the establishment of these moated sites and uncover the nature of the civilization responsible he had limited resources and spent little time in the field. From Korat—Nakhon Ratchasima—he inspected two sites briefly before settling on an investigation of Muang Phet located only about one mile [1.6 kilometres] from the railway station and town of Hin Dat. The fact that Muang Phet was walking distance from the Hin Dat station meant that Quaritch Wales and his wife could stay overnight in Khorat town and return each day by train (Quaritch Wales 1957a: 44). This was one advantage. The size of the town was compact and 'roughly circular, with concentric double moats and three ramparts.' The interior of the circular area was about 200 yards [183 metres] in diameter. The ramparts varied from six to ten feet [2 to 3 metres] in height with the main village entrance at the site of the ancient gateway. In 1956 the population consisted of forty people living in nine houses. Using his standard technique of trial trenching with limited, even poor stratigraphy, he found two distinct habitation layers. He was looking for bone, stone, iron or pottery artefacts and found three small iron objects in the layer he called Period I, the lowest level of habitation. Some pottery sherds were also recovered. His conclusion was that

[t]his evidence alone was enough to convince me that here was no prehistoric site. Since it is generally supposed that the Indians first introduced iron to South-east Asia, I at once realized that it was on the earlier Indianized peoples that the circular sites of the Korat plateau might be expected to throw light.

In other words, he supposed the presence of iron implements indicated contact with Indian culture and the moated sites of the Khorat plateau were evidence of an early civilization that had already been Indianized.

In her examination of four moated sites originally documented by Quaritch Wales, McNeill (1997: 174, 171) concluded that Quaritch Wales was

generally accurate in his gross descriptions of what he found at the site [Muang Phet] but the speed of his excavations probably precluded more detailed descriptions of the results.

Two sites were investigated but not excavated by Quaritch Wales. They were called Ban Sai Aw [Muang Sai O] and Muang Bawn Thong [Muang Rong Thong] (Quaritch Wales 1957a: 44). While his excavations undertaken at Muang Phet and at Ban Thamen Chai have been called 'the first archaeological excavations ever conducted in northeast Thailand', and McNeill's re-excavation and analysis of finds at Muang Phet expands our knowledge of the site, her report illustrates the superficiality of Quaritch Wales' initial investigations (McNeill 1997: 167). It appears that local villagers informed McNeill (1997: 170) that he only spent three days excavating a trial trench in the village. At Muang Phet and at Ban Thamen Chai Quaritch Wales (1957a: Fig 3) wrote that he found

two habitation layers, Period I and Period II. He concluded that the lowest level, Period I, was from a Dvāravatī occupation that he dated from the 7th to the 9th centuries CE. Again, he based this conclusion on the presence of iron that he assumed had been introduced to Southeast Asia from India (McNeill 1997: 167-168; Quaritch Wales 1957a: 46). Finds in Period II were believed to be evidence of Khmer occupation between the 10th and the 13th centuries CE. He concluded this without full analysis: the results of radiocarbon dating of a charcoal sample from Period II sent to the British Museum were unavailable at the time the article was written (Quaritch Wales 1957a: 47).

The Thai Fine Arts Department-University of Hawaii Korat Basin Archaeological Project (KBAP) commenced in 1989 and began to reassess these results. McNeill (1997: 168) reported that the date of settlement would suggest a predominantly prehistoric settlement contrary to Quaritch Wales' (1957a: 46) assertion that it was not. Quaritch Wales reported that Buddhist *sema* stones found at Ban Thamen Chai were embedded on top of the Period I layer. *Sema* stones or *Bai sema* are boundary stones placed at the corners of principal Buddhist buildings to indicate their religious importance. This is particularly important around the *phra ubosot*, the Ordination hall. The belief is that the *Buddhasima*, the area of the temple and its buildings should be marked by *nimitta*, natural border markers, such as hills, rock formations, natural forests, trees and water including rivers, lakes and streams. From this declaration came the use of *Bai sema*, carved stones that represent the natural features of the landscape. The name '*bai*' refers to the leaves of the sacred Bodhi tree under which the Buddha achieved nirvana. The location of the stones indicated to McNeill that they dated to early Period II not late Period I as argued by Quaritch Wales.

More than 39,000 sherds were recovered from the first test pit at Muang Phet and 30,000 from the second trench (McNeill 1997: 171). In a more sophisticated excavation lasting five weeks, the site was shown to have four distinct layers, marked I to IV, in the old Period II level, and five layers, marked V to XI, in the former Period I level. Apart from pottery sherds, fragments of brick and iron as well as fresh water snails and animal bones were recovered. A carbon sample from the bottom layer, level V, had a calibrated midpoint age of 80 CE. This is 150 years earlier than the midpoint date of 230 CE recorded for the Quaritch Wales sample sent to London (McNeill 1997: 172).

Regrettably, little is known of the context of the Quaritch Wales' data and only further studies can confirm or deny their authenticity. Although Quaritch Wales stated that all material from his excavations had been turned over to the National Museum that had supported his work, McNeill (1997: 169) could find no registration records for these artefacts and so further testing could not be undertaken. The new results show that Muang Phet was settled well into the prehistoric period, but probably no earlier than 400 to 200 BCE. The evidence suggests that the inner earth wall and moat at Muang Phet were constructed in the first half of the first millennium CE. In terms of social, economic and political organisation, an upland settlement like Muang Phet would have been occupied later than the more fertile lowland alluvial plain areas. With limited access to fresh water, poor soils in a region subject to long dry seasons, and the absence of land suitable for wet rice cultivation, population levels would have been low. But while upland settlements like Muang Phet may have been physically isolated, the people would have had access to valuable sources of wild game, resins and timbers from the densely wooded hills. The hard, lateritic soils would have also been a source of ore used in iron smelting. These goods would have been traded throughout the Mun and Chi river systems. McNeill (1997: 173) equates the construction of walls and moats with water management not defence for

[p]roblems with adequate water supplies and the isolation of these upland communities were probably important factors in the elaborate wall and moat constructions that are found at

numerous upland sites. These constructions are found at the vast majority of upland moated sites but at only about one quarter of alluvial plain moated sites.

Not only would Muang Phet been settled much earlier than Quaritch Wales suggested but the town may have been abandoned earlier than he predicted. This was because the main trading route between Phimai and Angkor, built in the 11th century CE, bypassed the region (McNeill 1997: 174).

Ban Thamen Chai

The second site chosen for excavation by Quaritch Wales was Ban Thamen Chai located about twenty miles [32 kilometres] to the east of Muang Phet. Again, this site was close to a station on the Khorat-Udon railway line. It too had been photographed from the air by Williams-Hunt (1949: Plate 6, 1950: Plate V). Ban Thamen Chai originally had three moats but according to Williams-Hunt these had been destroyed during construction of new rice paddy fields. The three moats meant that the town was circled by a quadruple series of ramparts about 100 feet [30 metres] apart but clarification was difficult as bushes and trees had grown on the raised ramparts and this largely hid the circular walls from the air. The village site was half a mile [approx. 800 metres] across and the Lao population lived in 200 houses with their gardens and house quarters filling the entire site. At the time of the ground survey Quaritch Wales (1957a: 47) reported three old gateways existed in the northeast, southern and southwestern ramparts. Trial trenches were dug at Ban Thamen Chai but apart from some pottery sherds the main objects found were *sema* stones.



Image 06.002:

Google Maps view of the moated site of Ban Thamen Chai (see Quaritch Wales 1957a)

Basing his concepts on those developed at Si Thep, Quaritch Wales then wrote extensively of the reasons why local people would have built so many moated towns and villages in this isolated and rather impoverished area. He, once again, used as his reference the study of ancient Indian town planning by Binode Dutt (1925). He had used this in his earlier study of Si Thep. He repeated his opinion that the method of enclosing a larger space within the ramparts and moats was well-known in India and the construction of these elements was in accordance with ancient Indian concepts of town planning (Quaritch Wales 1957a: 48 & 55). He was sure that moated sites in eastern Thailand were a form of defence constructed by Indianized people (Moore 1986: 80). Quoting from Dutt (1925: 91) he stated that

[o]utside the walls and not very close to them...there were ditches surrounding the city. The number of ditches is optional, depending on the necessity and security of the place...But Kauṭilya fixes the number at three; and the three ditches are to have an immediate space of one *daṇḍa* (6 ft) [2 metres] from one another.

Dutt (1925: 201) had written that towns and villages in India were divided into wards for different classes and these communities were surrounded by a 'girdle of walls and moats' that formed an important part in drainage works, provided mud for the repairs to broken ramparts and were filled with water lilies for flowers used in temples or fish for food. To regulate levels of water the moats could be connected with rivers by hidden sluices and in large cities these moats could be filled with crocodiles and sharks (Dutt 1925: 94). Certainly, by basing his first reference on the respectable study by Dutt, his judgement that moats were built for defence against invaders may not at first appear unreasonable. But only Muang Phet and Ban Thamen Chai were investigated in any detail. Muang Fa Daet Song Yang was an important site that was only briefly described and Muang Sema, an oval town site that had been extended in a manner like that of Si Thep, was noted only. It was not visited. Recent investigation into the archaeology of Muang Sema shows that it covers an area of over 150 hectares and has been divided into three phases of occupation (Murphy 2016a: 389).

On his published map, Williams-Hunt (1950: 31) had marked four sites as 'metropoli.' The first, Metropolis A, was located near the town of Chaiyaphum but Quaritch Wales could find no photographs relating this area in the Oxford collection. Metropolis B was marked as north of Khorat town by Williams-Hunt but in fact it is located northeast of the city and is now known as Puttthai Song. Quaritch Wales measured this town from the map as half a mile by three-quarters of a mile [approx. 800 metres by 1,200 metres]. The third site, Metropolis C, was located by Williams-Hunt east of Udon town on the Mun river but this too was found to be incorrect. The site of the ancient town of Khao Ban Bon (Muang Bon) was found to be on the banks of Menam Chao Phraya and twenty miles south of the town of Pak Nam Pho [Nakhon Sawan]. The heritage site is now called Nong Mai Den and is separated by the ancient city site of Khok Nai Den by the main north-south highway. Metropolis D was located south near the Cambodian border at the town of Aranya Prathet. This site, west of the main town, is now known as Prasat Muang Phai. Detailed discussion of the nature and extent of the moated sites in Thailand would have to wait until Quaritch Wales published his study of *Dvāravatī* in 1969.

Finding *Dvāravatī*

Lawrence Palmer Briggs (1945: 98), one of the most notable authorities on Southeast Asian history, commenced his early paper on *Dvāravatī* by calling it 'an ancient country—perhaps the most ancient of Indo-China.' Admittedly, the paper is now much outdated, but it reflected the state of knowledge available at the time Quaritch Wales was working in Thailand. Briggs referred to Quaritch Wales' excavations at Pong Tuek, his book *Towards Angkor* and his short paper on *Dvāravatī* published in the *Journal of the Greater India Society* (Quaritch Wales 1936b, 1937f, 1938c & 2013). It was Briggs' theory that *Dvāravatī* played the role of a relay area between products from India to the west reaching into Champa and Funan to the east. He stated that *Dvāravatī* was a Mon Buddhist kingdom. Certainly, it may have been predominantly Mon ethnically but in the sphere of religion both Buddhism and Brahmanism functioned at various levels of society. The problem Briggs (1945: 99) faced in describing *Dvāravatī* continues to beset researchers

we have not one fixed date and we do not know the name of a single king nor one certain fact about any of them.

He located Dvāravatī around the northeast corner of the head of the Gulf of Siam near the mouth of the Mae Klong and Tha Chin rivers that head north past the city of Nakhon Pathom. also promoted the Indian colonisation thesis at that stage and wrote

[t]his region was very favourable for settlement by Indian immigrants in those early days [from the 7th to the 11th century CE]. The land was above the highest flood-level and the soil was fertile.

Ian Glover (2010: 79) in his paper on the Dvāravatī ‘gap’ wrote that there is nothing more intractable than understanding the Dvāravatī Culture of Thailand, with assumed dates of 600-1000 CE. His opinion was that the term should be used only as an art-historical style, not as the name of a coherent culture, civilisation or tradition, until more material culture evidence and historical records are forthcoming.

The search for Dvāravatī

The search for the origins of the Dvāravatī polity occupied Quaritch Wales for more than thirty years. His first paper on the subject was written for the *Journal of the Greater India Society* just after his excavation at Pong Tuek (Quaritch Wales 1938c & 2013). This article located Dvāravatī at the lower parts of the Chao Phraya and Meklong rivers in central Siam. Although he was confident enough to say that this was an ‘ancient Indianized kingdom’ he had to admit that ‘no record of events’ nor the ‘names and dates of kings on which to base an outline of the history of the kingdom’ had yet been found. The Dvāravatī period remained ‘veiled in obscurity’ (Quaritch Wales 1938c: 24 & 2013: 197).

Both Cœdès and later Lawrence Briggs (1945) thought Dvāravatī was the intermediary between Gupta India and the Mekong delta. Quaritch Wales (1938c: 25 & 2013: 197-198) disagreed. He said that there was evidence of Indian influences reaching the Mekong via two routes, one the all-sea route around the Malay peninsula, the other the transpeninsular route from Takua Pa to Chaiya [Surat Thani]. These he called direct colonial routes. This resulted in sculptures at Angkor Borei being ‘almost Indian’ in appearance. By way of contrast another route passed through the Mon country of lower Burma and then penetrated into Siam via the Three Pagodas Pass. This cultural influence then met with the influences that had come from the Mekong, Funan and Champa areas. Of the cultural influences that had travelled through Burma, he wrote that it was difficult to comprehend that these values could have travelled

so far from their original Indian home-land, could have retained vigour and purity of conception enough to produce the superb statuary of Añkor Bórëi’ (Quaritch Wales 1938c: 25 and 2013: 198).

This fitted well into the western and eastern zone theory and the concept of ‘local genius’.

In 1966 Quaritch Wales published a paper with the Royal Asiatic Society describing his opinions about Dvāravatī but it was largely a comment on Pierre Dupont (1959) and his influential study of Mon archaeology in the Dvāravatī region. From this research Quaritch Wales maintained that the kingdom was formed after the break-up of Funan in the middle of the 6th century CE and continued its sovereignty, presumably as a single entity, until it was overrun by the Khmers in the first half of the 11th century CE. Most likely this paper was written while he was preparing his major book on the subject and after two visits to Thailand in 1964 and 1968. He associated the name, Dvāravatī, with another many-gated city, Dvārakā, the capital of the Yadavas clan who ruled the Anarta kingdom in

western India. This was a fabled city located near Gujarat that was mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. The port-city was connected to many ancient trading kingdoms but now only the ancient Krishna temple, the Shree Dwarkadish, dominates the coastal landscape.

The most comprehensive paper written to that date was by Jan Boeles of the Siam Society. Quoting Cœdès, Boeles (1964: 100) wrote that the name Dvāravatī was given provisionally to the

kingdom of Indian civilization and Buddhist religion which has left in the south-west of Siam archaeological traces characterized by pronounced archaism and a manifest resemblance with Gupta art.

By archaism, Cœdès meant art that he considered showed traces of deliberate antiquarianism that sought to emulate the past to suit current social and cultural tastes. The name Dvāravatī was inscribed on two silver medals found near Chedi Chula Prathon in Nakhon Pathom in 1943 but these were only documented by Boeles in 1964 (Boeles 1964: Plates 1 and 2; Saritpong Khunsong and others 2011: 156). At the time the article was written the silver medals were still in the possession of the numismatist, Nai Chalerm Yongboonkerd, who published an article in Thai on his discoveries (Boeles 1964: 101 and 114, fn26). Early theories that place Dvāravatī in Suphan Buri province were reconsidered and Nakhon Pathom established with certainty as a Buddhist kingdom where Śrī Dvāravatī reigned in the area in the late 7th century CE. The medals are inscribed in Sanskrit with the title *śrīdvāravatīśvarapuṇya* that Cœdès translated as

oeuvre méritoire (c'est à dire: foundation) du roi de Śrī Dvāravatī (Boeles 1964: 102 and 113, fn18).

[meritorious work or deed (that is to say: foundation) of the king of Śrī Dvāravatī]

Puṇya, merit, was an integral part of religious devotion in both Buddhist and Brahmanical belief systems both for royal and lay devotees (Revire 2016: 400). An alternative translation would then be 'merit of the glorious lord of Dvāravatī.' Quaritch Wales gave no indication why he cryptically translated the inscription as 'foundation of the king of Śrī Dvāravatī' when both *puṇya* and meritorious work would have been clearly understood at that time. In another private collection of a local resident of Nakhon Pathom, Phaiboon Phoungsamlee, is another silver coin again inscribed with the words, '*śrīdvāravatīśvarapuṇya*' (Saritpong Khunsong and others 2011: 156, Fig 7). This artefact resembles those coins found near the Chedi Chula Prathon.

The lack of narrative history available to Quaritch Wales at that time meant that he returned to his eastern and western zone theory, and his theory of 'local genius', to explain the development of Dvāravatī art. His belief was that the Dvāravatī Mons were so thoroughly Indianized that they had no wish other than to follow to the utmost the Indian models that they considered superior. His opinion was that being part of the western zone of Greater India, Dvāravatī art, and especially Buddhist sculpture, was influenced by a wave of influence from Amarāvātī of south India. He dated this influence to the 2nd and the 3rd century CE. His theory was that the three distinguishing marks of the Dvāravatī Buddha were the joined eyebrows, the close moulding of the body of the robe to the form, and the forward projection of both forearms executing the same *mudra*. Quaritch Wales was convinced that for a better understanding of the Buddhist art of his western zone of Greater India, it was better to compare the art of Burma with that found in the Dvāravatī area of Thailand. His conclusion was that Dvāravatī art was evidence of the interaction of Indian art styles that occurred

during waves of influence resulting from an ‘eclectic combination of impressions received by pilgrims to India.’

Current opinion is that indigenous agency enabled societies to selectively adapt Indic beliefs and practices (Murphy and Stark 2016: 333). Epigraphic, art historical and archaeological evidence shows that societies in the first millennium CE interacted and influenced each other and the ‘kingdom’ called Dvāravatī grew out of Iron Age societies before the 7th century CE. There is evidence of an extended period of social complexity in central Thailand in the 800 years between the end of the 5th century BCE and the end of the 2nd century CE (Murphy and Stark 2016: 335). The 3rd to the 6th centuries CE was a time when contact with India intensified. Buddhist monks and Brahmin priests possessed powerful rituals and languages that contained concepts and terminology that local leaders could use to claim higher moral and ethical status (Murphy and Stark 2016: 336). In the transition from late prehistory to early history, along with increasing social and political complexity came intensified internal and external trading activities, social conflict and wars, a demand for access to scarce resources and technological transfer.

Quaritch Wales remained committed to his belief that Indic influences reached into the Khorat communities of the northeast only via central Thailand. But influences came from the east as well. By the 10th century CE Khmer rulers in Angkor began to extend their influence north of the Dangrek mountains that divide Cambodia from the Khorat plateau. Much of the Mun river valley, including the main town of Phimai, came under Khmer control in around 1000 CE. Phimai would serve as an administrative and ritual centre for the next 300 years (Solheim and Ayres 1979; Welch and McNeill 1991; Welch 1998:208). Prior to this integration, the region contained large settlements surrounded by circular or irregular earth walls and moats. They were likely to have been centers of small localized political units but after 1000 CE, with the establishment of Khmer hegemony, a change occurred. Regional centres of power like Phimai were surrounded by walled, moated areas, rectangular reservoirs, *barays*, and large temple structures (Welch 1998: 208). Evidence of this domination can be found in sites where Khmer temples were built at political centres and became focal points for Angkorian religious and political control. Religious centres were built on land granted to the Buddhist *Sangha* by political overlords and these donations of land, animals and slaves were a deliberate move to have the temples occupy and develop marginal land in the upper tributaries and older alluvial terraces (Welch 1998: 213). This was an essential element in political control not only of the central river valleys but the regional areas as well.

Trade was extensive. Merchants took ‘metal bowls made in [central Thailand], silk and cotton cloth from Khon Kaen, and salt from Khorat salt domes to trade for Tonle Sap fish’ (McNeill and Welch 1991: 329). From Cambodia came Chinese silks and porcelains, iron artefacts or ingots and from the Khorat plateau, forest products and Phimai pottery entered this exchange system. Not only goods but ideas and people from India and China came through this route as well as via the ports on the Gulf of Thailand. Chinese accounts report on this Khorat trade route. Undoubtedly the Khmer took control of the Khorat region to turn these ties to Angkor’s advantage. Two ‘moated’ sites investigated by Quaritch Wales have been found to be significant religious and trade centres: they are Ban [Muang] Thamen Chai and Muang Phet. Another site, Muang Sema, would have been a large regional centre during the late Iron Age (Evans, Chang and Shimizu 2016: 451). These regional centres were part of an interaction sphere where local, discrete societies maintained a set of social, ideological and trade connections that enabled the development of social complexity. Along with Khmer domination came the adoption of Indian concepts. Sanskrit was used for formal administrative writing, a Pallava alphabetical system was adopted, Buddhist and Brahmanical religious ideas and practices were

incorporated into daily life, and Indian honorific titles were taken and used to support the political order (Welch 1998: 220). But Mon-Khmer languages may still have been the vernacular.

What is most evident about the work of Quaritch Wales is that his understanding of northeastern Thailand was based on the study of ancient sites almost exclusively from the vantage of art history. This work was cursory, poorly documented and inconclusive. Many of the cautions that Keyes (1974: 504) raised against Quaritch Wales and his unqualified interpretations of the history of northeast Thailand can also be applied to other findings published in his book and papers on Dvāravatī (Quaritch Wales 1966, 1969 and 1980). The caveats included Quaritch Wales' statements that the Dvāravatī civilization was Buddhist in character, politically part of a kingdom centred on the Chao Phraya valley and that the people were ethnically Mon.

Dvāravatī: the earliest kingdom of Siam (6th to 11th century AD)

Quaritch Wales began his book on Dvāravatī with a declaration of thanks to the Director-General of the Thai Fine Arts Department, Dhanit Yupho, who facilitated his research in Thailand in early 1964 and who provided Quaritch Wales with Departmental records and photographs (Quaritch Wales 1969: v & 1965c: 1). Dhanit Yupho became Director-General of the Thai Fine Arts Department in 1956. His wide circle of contacts within the department and the National Library, and his approval for field work in Thailand, would have opened many doors. Quaritch Wales divided his new book into six sections with much of the introduction a repeat of his earlier ideas about Indianization and the significance of the break-up of the Funan empire for the creation of the Dvāravatī culture. He was certainly convinced that Dvāravatī embraced the whole area of modern Siam/Thailand. Even in 1969, Quaritch Wales insisted on using the term Siam and not Thailand. But the value of this book for contemporary readers is not the enigmatic theories but the case studies of towns and villages in early Thai history.

He grouped Dvāravatī culture into four geographic zones. In western Dvāravatī he listed the significant towns of U Thong, Nakhon Pathom, Kampeng Sen, Ku Bua and Pong Tuek for detailed investigation. In the centre and the north he listed Lopburi, Muang Bon, a circular, moated-site three miles [4.8 kilometres] north of Nakhon Sawan that he called Thap Chumphon, Si Thep and Lampun. Then, in the east, his list included Dong Si Maha Pot, Panat [Muang Phra Rot] and [Ban] Dong Lakon. In the northeast area of the Khorat plateau he investigated Muang Sema and Muang Fa Daet [Song Yang]. The new book aimed to determine 'the causes of the differentiation of the cultures of Indianized South-east Asia' (Quaritch Wales 1969: v). He wrote that the pre-Dvāravatī state was said to be called *Chin-lin*—the land full of gold—in the Chinese records and this was assumed to be culturally and politically independent of Funan (Quaritch Wales 1969: 7 and 10). *Chin-lin* was mentioned by Wheatley (2010: 116-117) as a land some 2,000 li [one li equals about 0.3 statute miles or 0.48 kms] or more overland from a Buddhist country, *Lin-yang*, that in turn was 7,000 li from Funan. The country was said to be full of silver, well-populated and where the people hunt elephants.

In the 7th century the monk Yijing reported that *Chin-lin* paid homage to the Imperial court in China and that it was located at the mouth of the Gulf of Siam. Quaritch Wales assumed that influences from north India reached Oc-èo in Funan via the overland Meklong river route but that influences from south India came by sea. First travelers went around the Malay peninsula and then across to Oc-èo and from there returned west to Chin-lin. However, Loofs-[Wissowa] (1979) questions the location and identification of *Chin-lin*. While acknowledging that Quaritch Wales (1969) had published the most recent and most detailed study of Dvāravatī to date (that is 1979), Loofs-

[Wissowa] questioned the some of the findings. Quaritch Wales located *Chin-lin* at the head of the Gulf of Siam but Loofs-[Wissowa] (1979: 342-345) proposed a long argument in favour of locating the polity not at the eastern side of the Malay peninsula but on the western side, 7,000 li from Funan, and that would most likely place it in the Martaban [Mottama] or Salween river region of lower Burma.

Western Dvāravatī

In 1968 Quaritch Wales measured the site of U Thong at 1,850 yards [1,691 metres], north-south, by 920 yards [840 metres], east-west. The area enclosed is ninety-six hectares (Gallon 2014: 332). He wrote that U Thong had probably been a small settlement in *Chin-lin* times before ‘more rigorous planning was adopted in Dvāravatī’ and that the town had been a Hinduized kingdom of secondary status before losing prestige to Nakhon Pathom in the 7th century CE (Quaritch Wales 1969: 5-6, 20). Then he assumed it continued as a Buddhist settlement before being conquered by the Khmer in the 11th century CE. Again, as with Si Thep and other places he thought had been abandoned in history, he believed that the town was deserted by the population due to an historically undocumented cholera epidemic sometime in the 14th century. Quaritch Wales and Dorothy first visited U Thong on the recommendation of Prince Damrong and George Cœdès while travelled to or from Pong Tuek on their 1935-1936 expedition to Siam.

The only evidence of this visit is one photograph published in *Towards Angkor* showing a bullock cart, two attendants, a police guard and Quaritch Wales standing to one side (Quaritch Wales 1937f: 140). He wrote, at that time, that the site within the single moat was about one mile [1.6 kms] in length from north to south, and half a mile [0.8 kms] from east to west. At the time of this first visit the central mound bounded by moat was covered in jungle and a few bare patches. Much of that central part is now built upon and a main road cuts across the moat and the ramparts from the north down to the southwest. According to evidence presented by Mudar (1999: 4, Fig 2), U Thong, and the larger town of Suphan Buri on the Tha Chin river to the northeast, would have had close access to the historic bay of Bangkok in the first millennium CE.

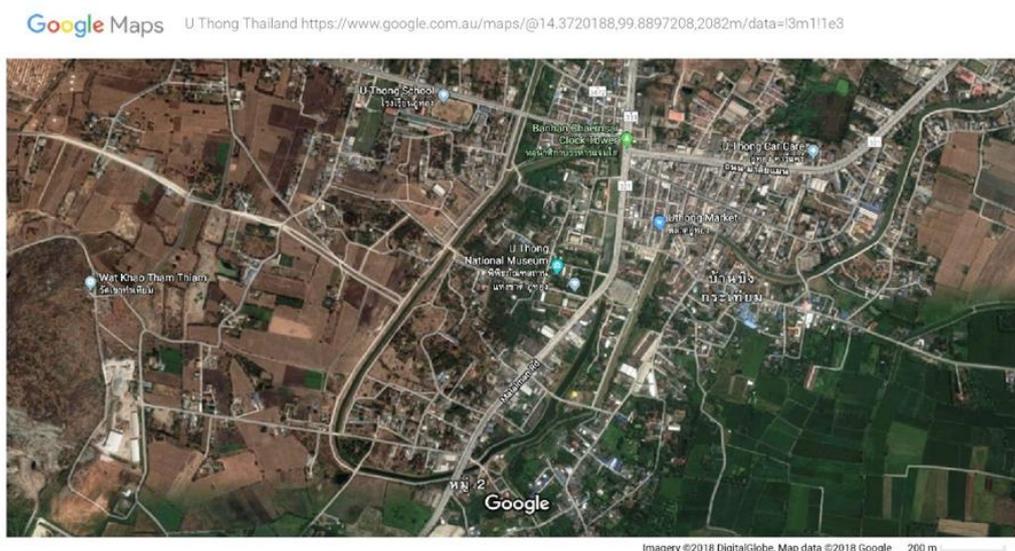


Image 06.003:
Google maps view of U Thong

A copper plate found there carried an inscription in Sanskrit which read in part

Śri Harṣavarman, grandson of the king, Śri Iśānavarman, who has expanded the sphere of his glory, has obtained the lion throne by regular succession (Quaritch Wales 1969: 21, Plate 9).

The importance of this copper plate to Quaritch Wales was a statement by Cœdès that such inscriptions were only found in India. They were, he felt, further evidence of direct Indian influence. The plate identifies the polity with Hinduism for it mentioned the name of the *linga*, *Āmratakeśvara*, in the second stanza. However, the main archaeological argument put forward by Quaritch Wales to support the theory that *Chin-lin* was the predecessor to Dvāravatī in central Thailand was based on the supposed absence of Funanese objects in a trial trench dug in 1968. Yet he did in fact report the presence of Funanese sherds at the top of the excavation and at the bottom of the trench (Quaritch Wales 1969: 4-7; Loofs-[Wissowa] 1979: 345). Loofs-Wissowa, as part of the Thai-British Archaeological Expedition of 1969 and 1970, followed these superficial digs with further excavations and found a significant amount of Funanese material ‘down to considerable depths as well as on the surface’ (Loofs-[Wissowa] 1979: 346).

The Thai-British Archaeological Expedition came to three conclusions about the position of U Thong that were offered as direct alternatives to Quaritch Wales’ theory that the lower Menam basin was originally an integral part of an Indianized Funan. Quaritch Wales had contended that, with the breakup of the Funan empire in the 6th century, an independent Dvāravatī emerged that was culturally Funanese and strongly Indianized (Quaritch Wales 1969: 1-19; Loofs-[Wissowa] 1979: 342). The conclusions reached by the Thai-British expedition were that during the 3rd century CE conquests of the ‘Great King of Funan’, known as Fan Shiman in the Chinese chronicles, the lower area of the Menam Chao Phraya basin may have been ‘underdeveloped’, meaning late Neolithic or early Iron Age cultures, but with strong cultural and political identities of their own. While Indian influences were introduced, gradually, from Funan into the Menam basin *Chin-lin* was located elsewhere (Loofs-[Wissowa] 1979: 349). A second point was that the cradle of Funanese civilization was located nearby in the adjacent part of the lower Menam basin rather than far away on the southern tip of the Indochinese peninsula. This was considered tempting on archaeological grounds but not when based on literary evidence (Loofs-[Wissowa] 1979: 350). The third point was that prior to conquest by Funan, the culture of the lower Menam basin was sufficiently developed to be called a civilization in its own right and Funan’s overlordship did not alter this civilization in any appreciable way. Loofs-[Wissowa] (1979: 351) was tempted to call this culture ‘Proto-Mon.’ Recent research is inclined to call it Proto-Dvāravatī (Murphy 2016).

Nakhon Pathom is the largest Dvāravatī period moated site in central Thailand. The ancient centre bounded by the moat is 7.2 kilometres square enclosing an area of 659 hectares (Saritpong Khunsong and others 2011: 152). The single moat is between fifty and sixty metres wide. This would have been large enough to allow trading vessels to enter the city via the Bang Kaeo and Bang Kaem canals that geologists believe led to an ancient shoreline not far from the ancient city. Quaritch Wales (1969: 32) wrote that U Thong was the first capital of the Dvāravatī culture but with the continuous silting up of the delta region there came a time when political considerations forced a move closer to the coast. He dated the construction of the ancient moated city at Nakhon Pathom at 675 CE (Quaritch Wales 1969: 33).

The establishment of Nakhon Pathom has now been dated to between the 7th and the 11th century CE. It may even have been the capital of a united Dvāravatī polity in the south. Recent excavations at the site of Hor-Ek, about 800 metres northwest of the Phra Prathon Chedi were initiated in 2005 by

archaeologists from the National Museum of Phra Pathom Chedi (Saritpong Khunsong and others 2011: 156). The rim of a potsherd found in the excavation that may be part of a spouted pot or *kendi* has been dated to the 3rd to the 7th centuries CE. *Kendi* were narrow necked jars of medium size, sometimes with spouts, that functioned as pourers. A wide range of ceramic, terracotta vessels belonging to the *kundika* (Sanskrit) tradition can be described as *kendi* (Malay/Javanese) vessels used in ritual royal or religious ablutions (Twitchett and Stargardt 2004: 34). On the top cultural layer, where many artefacts were found, the evidence of occupation of the Hor-Ek site has been dated to the late 11th century CE. Nakhom Pathom was most likely an entry point for Buddhism that spread to eastern, western, northern and northeastern areas.

Construction of religious shrines, monuments, the creation of stone inscriptions and the building of palaces required elite planning and sponsorship, and the use of non-elite labour. It put into practice the social order and stratification that Buddhist and Hindu cosmologies legitimized. Monastic orders also used their power and wealth to demonstrate their relative autonomy. Locating Buddhist Sangha outside towns and cities demonstrated the independence of the orders while large *stūpa* built within the enclosure of the Dvāravatī period cities demonstrated to the elite, and to the lay community, the religious and magical importance of the ideologies. Physical independence but enhanced political significance were key elements of religious hegemony. As Gallon (2014: 346) has stated ‘[m]onumental construction enabled Dvāravatī period political and religious leaders to materialize their labour and resources they had amassed in a relatively permanent and publicly visible medium.’

Kampeng Sen [Kamphaeng Saen] is a small moated site measuring 857 yards {783 metres} by 804 yards [735 metres] located twelve miles [20 kilometres] north of Nakhon Pathom. The small enclosure was circular and enclosed by one moat between sixteen and twenty metres wide with two low ramparts. Like other Dvāravatī moated sites, Kampaeng Saen is located near a permanent waterway; in this case the Huai Yang creek that flows into the Tha Chin river. The moat and rampart enclose a fifty-three hectares site that Gallon (2014: 331) called a ‘fourth-tier centre and the smallest enclosed settlement in the west-central [Nakhon Pathom] region from this period.’ Kampaeng Saen was undoubtedly a small rural community with access to the main centre of Nakhon Pathom. When first visited by Quaritch Wales in 1964 the site was deserted but when he returned in January 1968 the area had been occupied by the Muang Kampaeng Sen Boy Scouts’ Camp. Subsequently a primary school and an arboretum have been built at the site (Quaritch Wales 1969: 49-50; Gallon 2014: 331-351).

Google Maps Muang Kamphaeng Saen Boy Scouts Camp <https://www.google.com.au/maps/@13.9910858,99.9616025,1042m/data=!3m1!1e3>



Image 06.004:
Google maps view of Muang Kamphaeng Saen

During his excavation work Gallon (2014: 341) found limited evidence of a Buddhist community within the mounds for the brick monuments appear to have been reliquary *stūpa*. He suggested that the constructions outside the enclosure and moats may have been small monastic buildings, but the evidence was inconclusive. Quaritch Wales was shown some saddle quern and rollers that he reported to be typical of the Dvāravatī period. His opinion was that the site may have been founded in an early period but believed the size of the site and the lack of archaeological finds indicated that the population had been small. Perhaps it ‘was an early outpost towards the sea which stagnated rather than developed with the establishment of a more definite seaside capital at Nak’ on Pathom [Nakhon Pathom].’

Ku Bua [Khu Bua] was a small site measuring 1.25 miles [2 kms] north to south and half a mile [0.8 kms] east to west. Quaritch Wales (1969: 51) reported the presence of a single, rather wide moat fifty-five yards [50 metres] in width with internal and external low ramparts but much of this had been destroyed in the north. He thought that the shape of the town resembled that of Nakhon Pathom but with pronounced rounded corners. Although significantly altered with many homes and a large Buddhist temple built around the old site, the structure and appearance remain.

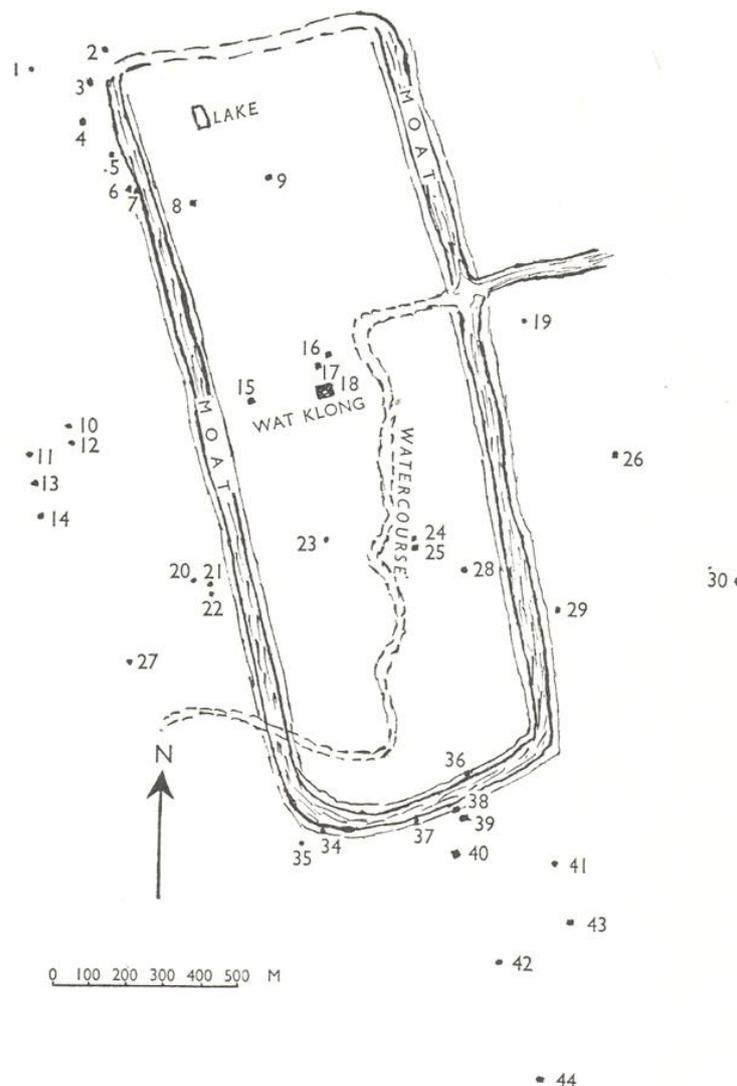


Fig. 5 Plan of Ku Bua

Image 06.005:
Plan of Ku Bua published by Quaritch Wales (1969: 52, Fig 5)

Quaritch Wales dated the town to the 8th century CE. He remarked that after the site was found by a monk from nearby Ratchaburi in 1961 what followed was intense exploitation of the site by locals looking for rare objects. Then farmers set up hamlets and fields among the mounds. As a result, Quaritch Wales (1969: 54-55) recommended urgent salvage archaeology at the site. He published one photograph of the east moat planted with wet rice and two photographs of the temple ruins that he called Wat Klong (Quaritch Wales 1969: Plates 27, 28A & 28B). The site, now called the Muang Khu Bua ancient remains 2, is located behind the Ban Khu Bua museum. Quaritch Wales (1969: Plates 29 to 40) published numerous photographs of stucco figures, decorative fragments and terracotta pieces that include the famous, and often reproduced, image of a group of bound prisoners being kicked along by a victorious warrior (Quaritch Wales 1969: Plate 34A). The present location of these figures appears to be the National Museum in Bangkok.

Pong Tuek was identified by Lawrence Briggs (1945: 99-100) as the earliest Dvāravatī settlement of which he had knowledge. Briggs noted that the village was located north of the head of the Gulf of Siam, at the crossroads between Kanchanaburi to the west, Nakhon Pathom to the southeast, Ratchaburi to the southeast and Suphanburi to the north. Repeating information from Cœdès (1927/28 and 1928b) and Quaritch Wales (1936b), he was of the opinion that Pong Tuek was an ancient Mon city that was abandoned before the Khmer conquest of Dvāravatī in the 11th century CE. The skeletons found by Quaritch Wales at a level supposedly dating back to the 1st century CE were mentioned but because of the inaccurate description of the skulls sent to the Royal College of Surgeons in London, Briggs dismissed the idea that the skeletons could have been Tai. Because the Mons inhabited the area in the early period, he was convinced the skeletons were of ancient Mon people. Recent research and archaeological excavations at Pong Tuek by Wesley Clarke (2012, 2014 and 2015) and by Paul Lavy and Clarke (2015) have greatly extended our understanding of the extent and significance of this important site on the Menam Mae Klong.

Central and Northern Dvāravatī

Lopburi was called the ‘seat of a Khmer viceroyalty, and later developed as a summer capital by the 17th century Siamese king Narai’ that had previously been a Dvāravatī city of some importance. Lopburi, like Nakhon Pathom and Suphanburi, would have been located close to the historic bay of Bangkok, near where the Lopburi river would most likely have entered the sea (see Mudar 1999). Excavated objects dating to the Khmer period, possibly post-13th century CE, were apparently found when the site of a military camp was being constructed there just before the Second World War. There are no reports to prove that Quaritch Wales actually visited the site.

Muang Bon (Nong Mai Den) and Ban Thap Chumphon. As Muang Bon was a site that Quaritch Wales and his wife had explored themselves, his description was more comprehensive (Quaritch Wales 1969: 70-80). A map giving incorrect coordinates for the third ‘metropolis’ [C], originally published by Williams-Hunt (1950: 31), was republished by Quaritch Wales (1957a: Fig 1, 56) who stated the problem was that Williams-Hunt had simply read ‘east’ meaning ‘west’. The poor-quality published maps do not enable a definitive response to be made to that statement. Although the longitude of metropolis ‘C’ and Muang Bon are close, the latitudes vary considerably. Quaritch Wales established that Muang Bon, the moated site photographed by Williams-Hunt, was situated some twenty miles [32 kilometres] south of Nakhon Sawan or Pak Nam Pho but only a few kilometres from the small town of Phayuha Khiri. A main north-south highway passed the outer ramparts of the moated site. The moated site is now marked as Nong Mai Den and is separated from the ancient city site of Khok Mai Den and the temple of Wat Khao Mai Den by Phahonyothin road.

Muang Bon was visited by Quaritch Wales and his wife in January and February 1964. The inner enclosure of 300 yards [270 metres] diameter encircled a moat of thirty-five yards [32 metres] in width. A wider outer enclosure of 1,000 yards [900 metres] diameter then encircled the small inner area. This also had a moat of thirty-five yards [32 metres] in width. The village of Ban Bon to the south of the site was located across a small tributary that flowed to the Menam Chao Phraya to the west. Quaritch Wales (1965c: 1) remained convinced that moats were built for defensive purposes but that

multiple moats and ramparts were not needed even in the smaller settlements of central Siam, as they were on the Khorat plateau where the people must have been more exposed to the danger of attack.

This inner enclosure had four ‘gateways at the cardinal points’ with a rampart of twenty yards [18 metres] in width and six feet [2 metres] in height. He commenced trial trenching in the centre of the small circular enclosure having employed ten Muang Ban Bon villagers to undertake the excavation work. The trial excavations uncovered a votive tablet, pottery sherds and what was called

the front half of an earthenware Roman style lamp, the extant portion measuring 6.5 inches [16.5 cm] long, 2.5 inches [6.35 cm] high, the mouth still showing traces of blackening from a wick. Apart from the well-known bronze Roman lamp found at P’ong T’ük [Pong Tuek], there is a complete earthenware one resembling the present one which came from Nakhon Pathom, and is exhibited in the National Museum (Quaritch Wales 1965c: 4).

He wrote that it was a terracotta copy of the Pong Tuek ‘Roman’ lamp that he dated to the 1st or the 2nd century CE.

In fact, terracotta oil lamps are not indicative of direct Roman trade. According to Murphy (2016: 372) earthenware or terracotta lamps are among a series of commonly found Dvāravatī ceramics that incorporate forms and techniques blending South Asian and local traditions. They were the product of local, open-fired potteries. Earthenware oil lamps of the Dvāravatī period are often small circular pots with an open top. The sides have been pressed in with the thumb to form a fluted decorative pattern (Murphy and Pimchanok Pongkasetkan 2010: 52, Figure 3 item 2). While Quaritch Wales did report that the mouth of the lamp had a blackened end it is possible that the object was a pouring vessel that had been used to hold a liquid that had darkened the spout. In his later book on Dvāravatī, Quaritch Wales (1969: Plate 1B) published a photograph of a terracotta lamp from Nakhon Pathom, part of the National Museum of Bangkok collection, that appears like that found at Muang Bon. Unfortunately from the only photograph in his paper and book (Quaritch Wales 1965c: Fig 9 and 1969: Plate 44) it is not possible to see if it really is a lamp.

Brown and Macdonnell (1989:15-17, 42) provide a detailed examination of several, mostly fragmentary clay lamps, ‘that echo the technology of the Pong Tuk [Tuek] lamp’ and the lamp found by Quaritch Wales at Muang Bon that they date to the 5th and the 6th century CE. These lamps are all simple bowls that were filled with fat and lit by a floating wick or one that was partially stabilised by the pinch in the rim of the bowl. They did refer to these as ‘Roman-style’ lamps and reported that terracotta lamps with nozzles were modelled ‘closer in appearance to Roman clay lamps than other lamps found in Thailand’ (Brown and Macdonnell 1989: 16 quoting from a Thai report of Phuthorn Bhumadhon). But on the limited evidence they do caution against calling all these clay objects ‘lamps’ for the tapering configuration shows that they may have been used as lamp fillers or even as infant feeders. What is certain is that these objects dating from the Dvāravatī period are not copies of Indian lamps but products of an indigenous development (Brown and Macdonnell 1989: 17).

The progress made by Quaritch Wales and his wife at Muang Ban Bon was largely unsatisfactory. Diary notes attached to the itinerary of the Southeast Asian tour (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/7/7) indicate that having found traces of a *chedi* outside the town, Quaritch Wales closed work there on 4 February after Prince Dhani Nivat ordered him to excavate the site completely. As he was not willing to spend time, and presumably his own money, on a complete site survey, work was halted after only six days. Dhani Nivat had been highly critical of Quaritch Wales in a speech to the prestigious Siam Society long ago in 1947. The relationship between the two men appears to have been fragile at best.

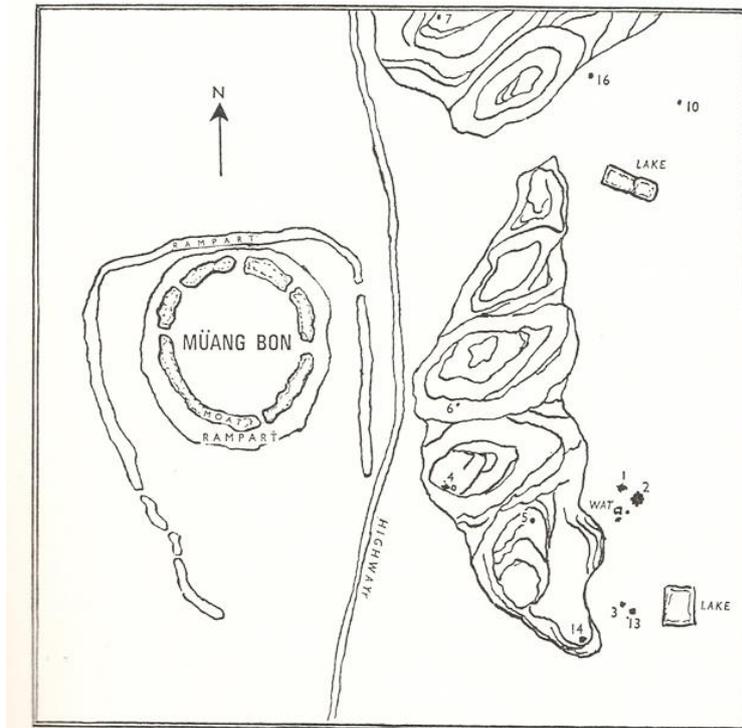


Image 06.006:
Final plan of Muang Ban Bon (Quaritch Wales 1969: 73, Fig 6)

Eastern Dvāravatī

There are two parts to the eastern province of Prachinburi: the low river valley of the Prachinburi river and the mountains and plateaus of Sankamphaeng that separate central Thailand from the northeast Khorat plateau. Dong Si Maha Pot was the first of three moated sites in the province that Quaritch Wales (1969: 87-97) examined. The site that he called Dong Si Maha P'ot had been identified as Müang P'ra Rot by Lunet de Lajonquière on his inspection tour of Siam in 1909 (Quaritch Wales 1969: 88, fn2; Lunet de Lajonquière 1909a: 212-215). The site is now known as Sa Morakot and the archaeological site there is identified as Boran Sathan Sa Morakot.

Quaritch Wales visited the site twice in early 1968 and published a plan of the moated area that he said was a rectangular shape but when he inspected the region the ramparts had been damaged by agricultural expansion. He called it a typical Dvāravatī town, presumably meaning it was a moated site containing both Buddhist and Hindu objects. Later he mentioned that despite chance finds at Dong Si Maha Pot, very few objects were in situ. He attributed this to farming that had exposed sub-surface layers (Quaritch Wales 1980: 48). The Thai Fine Arts Department was, at that stage, engaged in archaeological excavations at the site. Although the moated boundaries are no longer evident, the

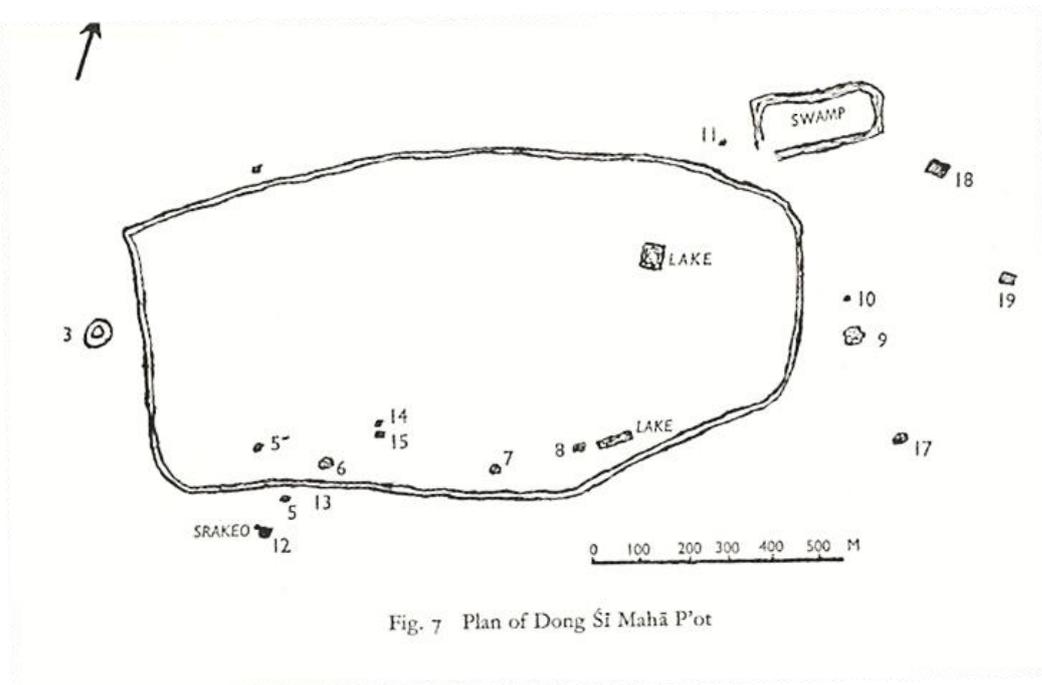


Fig. 7 Plan of Dong Śi Mahā P'ot

Image 06.007:
Dong Si Maha Phot (Quaritch Wales 1969: 89, Fig 7)

archaeological site contains important structural and ritual evidence and a large ancient pond has also been excavated there.

The site Quaritch Wales called Panat [Phanat or Muang Phra Rot] is situated about thirty-eight miles [61 kilometres] south of Sa Morakot. The moated area is now largely obscured by development and the ramparts have been much reduced, but the shape and size of the old site can still be recognized. It is one kilometre along Thanon Sukprayun road heading north from Phanat township. Quaritch Wales (1969: 93) measured the moated area at 760 yards [694 metres] wide by 1,520 yards [1,390 metres] long with rounded corners. When he investigated the site the moats and ramparts were visible but not the gateways and he called it a near perfect rectangle resembling Ku Bua in shape. Of the two small moated additions on the east and west only one remains. Lunet de Lajonquière (1909a: 211, Fig 6) described some of the temple remains at Phanat he did not name them. Presumably the illustration in his report is the Phra That Noen That monument located off the northwest corner.

[Ban] Dong Lakon is in Mueang Nakhon Nayok District, Nakhon Nayok province. Quaritch Wales (1969: 98) stated the site was 'the furthest of the three [in Prachinburi] from the coast, but not necessarily so when it was founded.' Lunet de Lajonquière (1909a: 217, Fig 12) provided a sketch-plan of the site that is a complete square, with two moats and four gateways, one in each side. A small stream crosses the central mound. When Quaritch Wales visited the site he could not see the shape due to the jungle surrounding the moats but a local told him the area was not square but round. His opinion was that 'we must leave this matter for future enquiry' (Quaritch Wales 1969: 96). The local informant was right. The site is a circle with historical evidence of two moats but only one is currently visible. Two roads, one in the north and one in the east enter the moated area. An ancient lateritic monument is situated directly north about 200 metres from the moated site.

Northeastern Dvāravatī

Muang Sema is a large moated site of 150 hectares located on the Lam Ta Khong river, part of the Mun river system (Murphy 2013: 311). It is apparent that the site grew during three phases of occupation. The earliest phase dates from the 4th to the 5th century CE and the material culture evidence shows similarities with that of the late Prehistoric period. The second phase, from the 6th to the 9th century CE, was the period when Buddhism became the dominant religion. The third phase from the 9th to the 12th century CE shows evidence of a growing Khmer influence (Murphy 2013: 312). Located in a favourable position for trade between the central plain of Thailand and the Angkorian region of Cambodia, artefacts found there have been dated to the 7th to 11th centuries CE. A stele commemorates, in both Sanskrit and Khmer, donations of buffalo, cattle, tracts of land and slaves to a Buddhist *Sangha* by a ruler of Śri Canāśa [or Śri Cānāśapura]. The inscription has been dated to the 7th century CE (Higham 1989: 280; Welch 1998: 219)

The site was originally surrounded by only one moat but a second was added during the third, Khmer, phase when a *prasat* [temple] was built in the centre. As the interior of Muang Sema is composed of not just one habitation mound but several smaller ones, this may indicate that Muang Sema was a large, sacred, ceremonial centre (Welch 1998: 224). Excavations were undertaken in 1980 by the Thai Fine Arts Department and the National Museum in an area in front of an eleven metre sandstone statue of the Buddha lying in the *mahāparinirvāna* posture. This refers to the moment when the Buddha achieved the ultimate state of Nirvana at the moment of his physical death. The excavations there uncovered the foundations of a large building, possibly a two-room *vihara*, that housed the Buddha statue. Further excavations have identified nine monuments: seven located within the moated site.

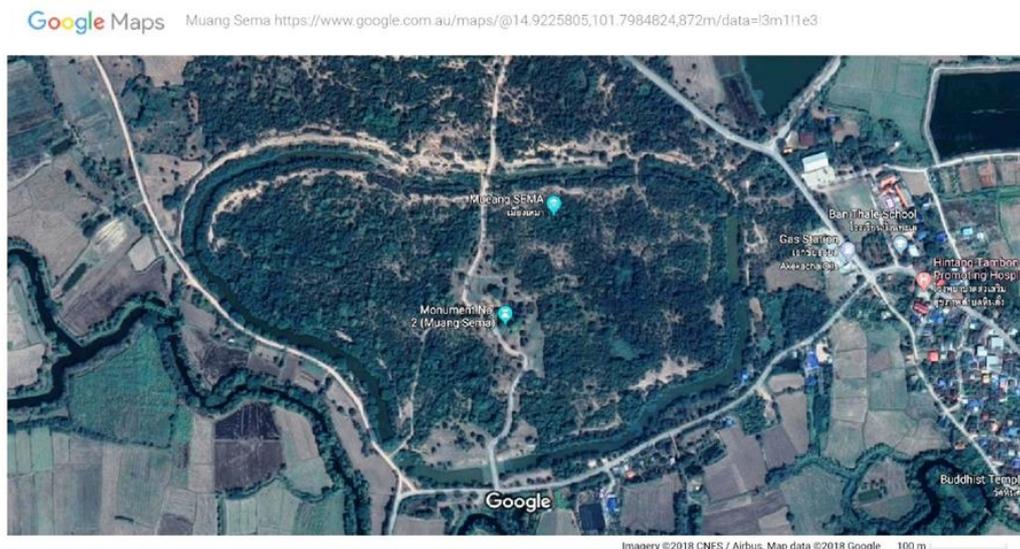


Image 06.008:

Google maps view of Muang Sema

Muang Fa Daet Song Yang is located on the Pao river, a tributary of the Chi river. It was near trade and transportation routes giving access to the Sakhon Nakhon river basin to the north and the Chi river basin to the south (Subhadradis Diskul 1956; Murphy 2013: 311). The foundation myth of Muang Fa Daet Song Yang was earlier published by Seidenfaden (1951: 645). It appears that the town was founded in 621 CE by Chao Fā Ra-ngūm who governed the town as his fief. This ruler had a beautiful daughter, Nang Fā Yāt who was wooed by the ruler of another town not far away to the northwest. The romance was objected to by the father and as a result war broke out between the two

polities. The two rulers were killed in battle. Subsequently the town was deserted and lay abandoned for more than 1,300 years. A second interpretation of this legend was later published by Keyes (1974: 501). Apart from some variants of names Muang Fā Dāet was not deserted. It became a dependency of the second polity. The legend highlights some aspects of the political nature of the town. It was a medium-sized polity that could be semi-independent, or the vassal of major entities and it was incorrect to speak of one dominant polity on the Khorat plateau at any one time. The large number of towns and villages surrounded by ramparts and moats suggests that they were tribal, chiefly centres during a period of transition from isolated communities towards more cohesive regional entities. The social, economic and political nature of these moated sites was largely ignored by Quaritch Wales.

Muang Fa Daet Song Yang had a flourishing Buddhist culture. This is evidenced by the ruins of fourteen stupas, an *ubosot* [ordination hall] and 172 *sema* stones found in the locality (Murphy 2010: 157. Murphy (2013: 311) believed that the *Sangha* must have been actively supported by both the lay community and the elite for such a significant monastery to have been able to operate in this region. With the expansion of Muang Fa Daet during the Dvāravatī period, religious structures were being built outside the moated centre. The question of the defensive nature of the moats, promoted by Quaritch Wales, is open for debate. If temples and shrines were located outside the perimeter then they would have been vulnerable to attack. The inhabitants could, of course, seek shelter inside the ramparts if necessary, but the wealth of the *Sangha* would still be left unguarded. Temples and monasteries outside the town ramparts indicate a period of relative peace and prosperity. At a time when shared beliefs and rituals of superethnic religions were an integral part of political unification, these large ceremonial centres became the focal points of a more integrated society (Welch 1998: 224).

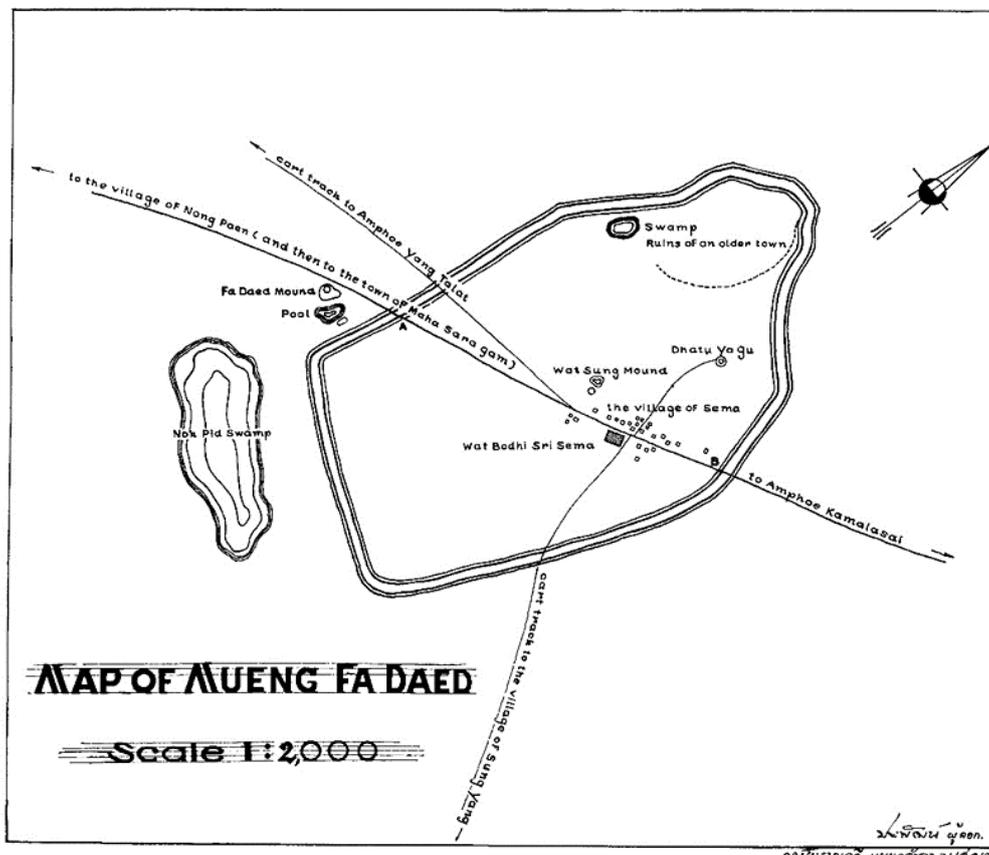


Image 06.009:
 Muang Fa Daet Song Yang (Subhadradis Diskul 1956
 Reproduced with permission of the publisher)

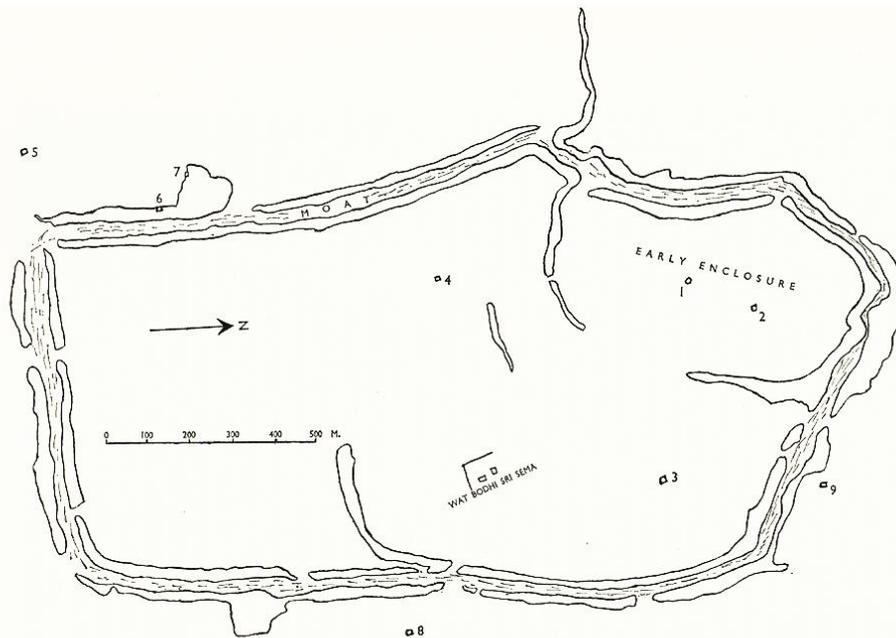


Fig. 10 Plan of Muang Fa Daed

Image 06.010:

Muang Fa Daet Song Yang (Quaritch Wales 1969: 106, Fig 10)

Quaritch Wales visited the site in 1968 when a team from the Thai Fine Arts Department was undertaking archaeological surveys there. He saw the Buddhist religious art objects dated to the Dvāravatī period as an indication of the spread of Mon influence towards the northeast from the Menam Chao Phraya basin and even of political control of the entire southern basin by the one Dvāravatī kingdom. He continued to hold this view throughout his life. In a later paper he wrote that the ‘local population are likely to have been primitive Khmer, megalith builders, at the time of the Mōn Buddhist civilization spread to that region’ (Quaritch Wales 1980: 50). He expanded this thesis by stating that these ‘primitive Khmer megalith builders had probably been driven up the [Khorat] Plateau by their Indianized kinsmen of the Mekong valley, and they took possession of the lands vacated by the vanished Ban Chang civilization’ (Quaritch Wales 1980: 51). Then, further stretching the point, he repeated his theory that these primitive Khmer escaped through one of the many the mountain passes that crossed the Annamite ranges when Mon culture spread into the northeast. He used this unqualified, unreferenced fallacious argument in many books and articles published during this period. He also believed that as the Mon-Buddhist influences began to decline, the cult of the *sema* developed (Quaritch Wales 1980: 51). In this he misunderstood the role of the *sema* stones as boundary markers around Buddhist temples and halls. The conclusion reached by Quaritch Wales (1957a: 57) was that

I should not hesitate to reject any suggestion that the Indianized culture of the Korat plateau reached that area from the opposite direction, ie from the Mekong delta or Fu-nan proper. There are three good reasons for saying this: (1) The distribution of the circular sites is most dense in the western half of the Mun valley: (2) The pottery types show close connection with that of Dvāravatī...(3) The Buddhist images or relief sculptures of [Ban] Thamen Chai, Kanôk Nakhon, as well as many previously known from the Korat plateau, show a style which is typically Dvāravatī.

Erik Seidenfaden (1951) had earlier drawn a plan of Muang Fa Daet Song Yang with straight-line measurements of 200 metres along the northern ramparts, 1,200 metres along the southern ramparts and 2,400 metres along the ramparts down each side. These ramparts were not measured by Seidenfaden himself, they were sent to him by a revenue officer of the Nakhon Ratchasima finance department. The final drawing looked rather like a ‘curious trapezoid.’ A more explanatory paper was written by MC Subhadradis Diskul (1956) who reported, correctly, that the plan of the town is ‘not exactly like the one given by Major Seidenfaden’ and his paper included a clear and comprehensive map to prove it. Fortunately, Diskul, who had the Chief of the Archaeological Division of the Thai Fine Arts Department and his assistant supply more accurate details, reported that the circumference of the outer ramparts was five kilometres and the diameter 1,350 metres.

Muang Fa Daet Song Yang is the largest moated site in the Khorat plateau. It measures about 170 hectares in area and contains the most substantial evidence of Buddhist material culture in the region. Excavations have been undertaken there by staff from the Silpakorn University and these studies have revealed a continuous occupation since late prehistoric period around 300 BCE (Murphy 2016: 390). Despite parts of the Khorat plateau being agriculturally marginal to rice cultivation, there is evidence that farming communities have existed there since the Neolithic period, dated at around the 18th century BCE (O’Reilly 2014: 298). Radiocarbon dating of pottery indicates that occupation of Muang Fa Daet Song Yang continued into the 2nd to the 6th centuries CE. The period from the 4th to the 6th centuries CE is what Murphy (2016) terms the proto-Dvāravatī period. This was followed by an historic period from the 7th to the 11th centuries CE associated with Dvāravatī culture.

Following publication in 1969, Quaritch Wales’ book on Dvāravatī was reviewed by Stanley O’Connor in early 1970. At that stage knowledge of the archaeological history of the central Dvāravatī area and the northeast was poor. Although Bennet Bronson had completed his historically important archaeological work at Chansen, north of Lopburi, southeast of Muang Bon and southwest of Si Thep, his preliminary report on the 1968 and 1969 seasons was not published until 1972 (Bronson and Dales 1972; Bronson 1979b). Information on Dvāravatī was still based largely on art historical evidence and few preliminary excavations had been undertaken. In fact these digs had largely been done by Quaritch Wales. O’Connor (1970: 493) conceded this when he wrote that Quaritch Wales’ book was a useful summary of the present state of knowledge when considering new discoveries ‘many of them made by Dr Wales himself.’ While generally accepting the factual material presented in the book, he was less pleased with the theoretical constructs proposed by Quaritch Wales and was blunt when he wrote ‘the general reader should be alerted to the fact that long ago Dr Wales was committed to a conceptual model of culture change that changes his interpretation of the evidence.’ This is a precise statement describing the nature of Quaritch Wales’ work and the way in which he presented his findings.

Quaritch Wales wrote that no one had looked at town plans in the sixty years since the publication of his book and the surveys by Lunet de Lajonquière (1909 a & b, 1912). This, he said, was the reason for writing the book but he ignored the work by Seidenfaden (1951) and Subhadradis Diskul (1956) that he had undoubtedly read. He remained convinced that the shape of the towns was inspired by Indian influences and wrote that ‘[a]ncient Indian cities could in theory be circular, square or rectangular, but in practice the first is uncommon’ (Quaritch Wales 1969: 116). What he found in Dvāravatī areas was an ‘improvement from irregular, more or less circular or oval’ structures to which he added ‘nuclei’ meaning the secondary moated sites attached to the older or central part such as found at Si Thep, Muang Fa Daet Song Yang, U Thong and Muang Sema. He attributed this change from irregular shapes to regular, mostly rectangular lines, as ‘due to the high degree of Indianization attained by the 7th century’ (Quaritch Wales 1969: 117). Dvāravatī town planning did

not insist on the uniformity and regularity of Khmer towns, he thought. But again, he felt that multiple moats were not needed in central Thailand where the population was not subject to surprise attacks from outside and so his conclusion was that in regular, structured enclosed towns with their moats

[i]t would seem as though the inhabitants were indeed conscious of the danger of their position, but at an early date were able to enlist the aid of advanced defence experts from an unknown quarter (Quaritch Wales 1969: 117).

Presumably these experts were Indian. But who these ‘advanced defence experts from an unknown quarter’ worked for or why they would be needed in an area where military structures existed for millennia was a strange, inconclusive remark.

Quaritch Wales returned to Thailand in 1978, presumably to undertake research for a new book, *Divination in Thailand: the hopes and fears of a Southeast Asian people*, that would be published posthumously in 1983. He was invited to present a lecture to the Siam Society in Bangkok in January 1979 on Dvāravatī art history, his continuing passion (Quaritch Wales 1980). During the 1978 visit he had the opportunity to visit archaeological sites that he had not seen before. They were In Buri Kao or Ban Khu Muang near the Chao Phraya river in Sing Buri province and Sab Champa in Amphoe Tha Luang, Lop Buri province. The third site he visited he called Kantharavisai but it is actually Khan That Rat in Kantharawichi district in Maha Sarakham province, fifty kilometres east of Khon Kaen.

The site of Ban Khu Muang [In Buri Kao] had been visited by Jean Boisselier in 1966 who later published a good sketch plan of the site (Boisselier 1972: Fig 58). This plan was used by Quaritch Wales who reported that the Thai Fine Arts Department had undertaken preliminary excavations there. This was a time when the Thai government was concerned about the need to document the many archaeological sites on the Khorat plateau when many were being subjected to reuse as agricultural lands (Thiva Supajanya and Srisakra Vallibhotama 1972). The site at In Buri Kao was largely square and was measured at about 700 metres from east to west and 800 metres from north to south. In the centre of the ancient town is a temple site marked Muang Boran Ban Khu Muang. A number of canals radiated from the outer moat. These feature clearly in Boisselier’s plan. Originally there were three large tanks, one of seventy-five metres diameter, when Quaritch Wales visited. Apparently, this site, like that at Ku Bua, had been:

‘known to the public too long to provide the sort of rewards for controlled excavation that were obtained at Müang Bon (Nakhon Sawan Province’ (Quaritch Wales 1980: 43).

The small museum at Ban Khu Muang had only a collection of stucco fragments, finials or pinnacles, decorative elements and other objects. Quaritch Wales’ opinion was that these artefacts probably covered a considerable timespan but lacked archaeological context. As with Kampaeng Saen many *stūpa* mounds were said to have existed outside the enclosure but one on the north side had been destroyed during the construction of a new canal (Quaritch Wales 1980: 44-45).

The second site visited in this trip was Sab Champa located fifteen kilometres from Chai Badal in Tha Luang district, Lop Buri province. Sab Champa is located almost due south of Si Thep in the Nam Sak valley. The ancient town remained covered in undergrowth until it was cleared by an agricultural officer when he went to exterminate Patanga grasshoppers (Veerapan Maleipan 1979: 337). The town was measured at 834 metres north to south and 704 metres east to west. The

enclosing wall made a compact mound ten metres in height with entrances at the cardinal points (Veerpan Maleipan 1979: 337).

A Silpakorn University team excavated Sab Champa between April and May 1971 in a hurried dig before the planting season. In the middle of the enclosure the mound was excavated and the remains of sixteen individuals were found but the condition of the fragments was confusing. Some were burnt, some were unburnt, but all were buried with grave goods that indicated early settlement may have taken place in late Neolithic times (Veerapan Maleipan 1979: 340). The excavation team found further evidence that the Neolithic culture was followed by a people who expanded into their territory when metal use and Buddhist rituals were both introduced. The town was a Theravada Buddhist centre from the 6th to the 8th centuries CE but that ritual life ceased by the 10th century CE.

When Quaritch Wales (1980: 45) visited the site in 1978 he could not find the ancient mounds although in one uncaptioned photograph he can be seen standing beside a dried moat and embankment. This appears to be taken outside the moated site, not inside it (Quaritch Wales 1980: Fig 6). Certainly between the time Veerapan Maleipan and his students investigated the site in 1971 and the visit by Quaritch Wales in 1978 a great deal of land change had taken place but Quaritch Wales (1980: 45-46) made no mention of the important cultural significance of the discovery of the sixteen human remains all buried with grave goods.



Image 06.011:
Quaritch Wales at Sab Champa
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)



Image 06.012:
Google maps view of Sab Champa

The third centre visited by Quaritch Wales in January 1978 was in the far northeast Korat plateau. He had been there before. It was the ancient town he called Kantharavisai. In fact, the ancient town is known as Khan Than Rat located in the Kantharawichi district of Maha Sarakham province about fifty kilometres east of Khon Kaen city (Quaritch Wales 1980: 46-47). The town is egg-shaped with a north-south road cutting through the centre (Quaritch Wales 1980: 46). There are two sections: the main moated enclosure to the south with an outer town to the north, with its own moat on the northern side. The town, presumably the inner moated enclosure, was measured at 300 metres diameter with a moat of eighteen metres in width and ramparts of two to three metres in height. Quaritch Wales reported that the Thai Fine Arts Department had excavated the mound in the enclosure in 1972 and found *sema* stones and the remains of an *Ubosot*, that he referred to as a ‘chapel’. There are two large Buddhist temples in the present town and one in the outer moated area.

In this last substantial article written before he died, Quaritch Wales once again returned to a discussion of Si Thep and Muang Fa Daet Song Yang. In 1964, the time of his last visit, Si Thep was covered in jungle and scrub. But now, in 1978, he reported that only the last five miles [8 kilometres] after the turn-off from the Petchabun highway was rough, dusty track. He found the Khmer ruins in a good state of preservation with plans for future excavations being discussed and wrote that ‘there was a Dvāravatī occupation of Śi Thep is already beyond question.’ This, he was convinced, was established by the archaeological finds that had been made in the ancient city, and by the presence of the Buddha and bodhisattva statues that had been retrieved from Tha Morat cave not far away.

Moated sites of the Khorat plateau: definitive typologies

Current understanding of the purpose and dating of the moats and ramparts of the many sites found in Thailand rejects Quaritch Wales’ defence theory. Although the structures may have had many purposes, the most important would have been water management (Moore 1986, 1988, 2009; Scott and O’Reilly 2015). This is something Quaritch Wales failed to investigate. Elizabeth Moore (1986) returned to the original Williams-Hunt aerial photographs of northeast Thailand to determine the range of uses of the moated *muangs* basing her information on previous studies, locational analysis, topography, site relationships and distance. Her specific aim was to reorganise and reproduce this archive and then to classify ninety-one moated sites in the Mun river valley. The study examined

moated sites in all regions of the Khorat plateau and in a series of environmental zones extending from alluvial floodplains to middle and high terraces. Moore found moated sites on low alluvial terraces were more complex in structure than those on lowland alluvial floodplains. Two principal types of moated sites in the Mun river basin were water-harvesting or topographically controlled sites with concentric irregular earthworks and territorial or non-topographically controlled sites with regular earthworks. Moore (1988: 275) argued that water-harvesting sites were built according to the local terrain with each new moat and earthen rampart constructed to take account of the contours of the land and the central mound. By way of contrast, moats surrounding territorial sites tended to be fewer in number with the encompassed land often extended in one direction only.

Both water-harvesting sites and territorial sites used naturally occurring water sources such as rivers and streams on one side with intermittent sources of marshes on the other. 'Water has shaped the landscape' and determined the survival of the moated communities (Moore 1988: 276). Underlying salt formations may also have been a key factor in the development of sites as the trade in salt was important in the early occupation of the Khorat region. As inner moats became saline, further moats may have been constructed around the perimeter. In this way both fresh water and salt could have been exploited (Moore 1988: 279).

The conclusion reached was that water harvesting was the primary purpose of the moats in a region with irregular wet and dry seasons. In her chronology of development of moated *muang*, Moore allocated construction of sites to four phases. In phase one, the prehistoric/Late Bronze Age, local inhabitants encircled their habitation mounds with moats or ditches following natural rivers and streams. In phase two, c 500 BCE to 500 CE or the late prehistoric Iron Age period, in search for more land and resources such as laterite, forest fuel, aromatic woods and building material, inhabitants expanded their habitation areas with moats and ditches encompassing the older channels. In the third phase, 500 to 1000 CE or the early historic period, the towns of the central plains expanded. By the fourth phase, 600 to 1300 CE or the middle historic and Khmer period, numerous rectangular water management methods reservoirs, *barays* and moats were built around central parts of the cities and the important temples (Moore 1986: 211-213). This was a time of the sacralization of water (O'Reilly 2014: 305). These are conclusions that contradict Quaritch Wales' assumption that moated sites were primarily defended areas. However, the use of aerial photographs by untrained users, notably archaeologists, has been questioned. Using two sets of photographs of the area west of Phimai, one dated from 1954/55 and the other from 1974, Boyd, Higham and McGrath (1999: 676) reject use of the terms 'ramparts' and 'moats' and prefer the phrase 'settlement sites or mounds surrounded by irregular ditches and banks' to describe what others have been calling moated sites.

Almost all archaeological sites are located close to former multiple channel rivers. This shows that sites were located close to former rivers and that these channels and streams, as well as local swampy lands, formed natural encircling ditches that filled with water. Few 'moats' were artificial (Boyd, Higham and McGrath 1999: 711). A concluding statement was that 'most if not all of the earthworks being constructed features receives little support' contrary to 'received wisdom'. The conclusion reached was that 'moated sites' were water-filled ditches and embankments that would have had multiple purposes especially in the late Iron Age when populations grew, trade expanded, and the sites became centres for the production of cloth, iron tools and the high-quality Phimai black pottery (McGrath and Boyd 2001).

Chapter Seven

The universe around them

Sathing Phra, southern Thailand

Following his work in central and eastern Thailand, Quaritch Wales turned his attention to the Thai/Malay peninsula. It was not unknown to him as he and his wife had made the ambitious trek over the Kra isthmus in 1935. But they were now in their 60s and the region was unsettled. Other scholars had also travelled to the Songkhla region. Alastair Lamb was teaching in the Department of History of the University of Malaya in 1960 and 1961 when he paid two visits to south Thailand and in 1964 he returned to Songkhla and the Sathing Phra [Satingpra] peninsula, then visited Krabi, Pukhet and Tukua Pa (Lamb 1964). At that time the information available on the archaeology and history of the southern Thai part of the Malay peninsula was limited but Lamb was fortunate to be in contact with the Abbot of Wat Matchimawat [Matchimavithi], a Buddhist temple on Sai Buri Road, Songkhla. This temple is more than 400 years old and houses the Phattharasin Museum named after the Venerable Phra Phattharasinsangwon who made a conscious effort to collect ancient art objects found in the Songkhla and Sathing Phra areas. Although there was no formal classification at the museum, Lamb found a good collection of Buddhist images in bronze, a collection of ceramics that invited comparison with those found at Kampung Pengkalan Bujang in Kedah and a small number of Neolithic stone implements.

When Lamb first visited the area, he noticed that the ancient site of Sathing Phra, north of Songkhla, had been a major centre of occupation. His comment was that Sathing Phra ancient site in the centre of the peninsula, between the Gulf of Thailand and Thale Sap lake, would have been a cosmopolitan eastern terminus of the trans-peninsula trade route (Lamb 1964: 75). The name Sathing is closely connected to the Mon-Khmer root word '*sretting/sating/seting*' meaning 'cutting, trench or canal' (Stargardt 1973: 10). '*Phra*' refers to a *stūpa*, or religious title.¹² The 840 square kilometres of rice growing area on the peninsula was fed by 150 kilometres of man-made canals, many of them navigable, with forest products from the western side of the inland lakes traded as far as China, Champa and Java (Carey 1986: 193). Quaritch Wales stated that such a major economic centre as Sathing Phra would not be unknown to Zhao Rushi [Chao Ju-kua, 1170-1231 CE], a trade official of the Southern Song Commission of Foreign Trade who documented the history of Chinese contacts with states and entrepôts during the 12th and 13th centuries (Quaritch Wales 1976: 141; Wade 2013 76-111 and 2014: 274-276). Quaritch Wales at first considered Ling-ya-ssu-chia [Langkasuka] could be another name for Sathing Phra. However, other toponyms can also be considered as possible identifying names and we now know that Langkasuka was located more than 100 kilometres southeast on the Patani river.

Lamb dated the occupation of the site from 1200 CE although he did not find glass, or any Middle Eastern ceramic ware as he was only able to make surface searches and could not conduct excavations. Glass beads that were common in Pengkalan Bujang were almost non-existent in the Wat Matchimawat collection. He reported that while evidence suggested that the occupation phase at

¹² Janice Stargardt who has undertaken considerable archaeological and environmental research on the peninsula prefers the term Sathingpra (canal, *pura*: town) (Email to author 27 November 2018).

Pengkalan Bujang ended in the 13th or the 14th centuries CE, at Sathing Phra occupation that began in the 13th century CE may have continued until the end of the 15th century CE (Lamb 1964: 78). Further research at Sathing Phra should, he thought, bring to light material from Indochina, China and Thailand. His view was that trade from the west terminated at emporia on the Andaman Sea coast and supplied markets there, and then local trade operated between the Gulf of Thailand coast and the interior. At Sathing Phra a similar pattern occurred. Trade from the east terminated at emporia on the coast, and the local trade of goods, fish and forest products brought items down to the east coast from the interior (Lamb 1964: 79).

One remarkable find at the Wat Matchimawat museum was a five-chambered reliquary or foundation deposit container. This was made of soft sandstone. The five chambers cut into the base of the container were empty but Lamb reported that this was the only reliquary container found on the east coast between the Malayan border and the Isthmus of Kra. This contrasted with the considerable number of reliquary containers found in the Hindu temple sites in Kedah. But the Sathing Phra container was an unusual shape: the base was eight inches [20 centimetres] square with a height of five inches [12.7 centimetres]. Two grooves were carved into side. The top or lid of the container was carved into a curvilinear pyramid shape 4.5 inches [11.4 centimetres] in height. Inside were five chambers arranged in a cruciform pattern (Lamb 1964: 85-86). This configuration conforms with the descriptions of similar foundation caskets found in India and Kedah (Ślązka 2006: 192-193, 199-211).

The survey of Songkhla and Sathing Phra by Lamb was then followed by an article for the *Journal of the Siam Society* by Stanley O'Connor (1964: 163-169). He too noted that the collection at the Phattharasin Museum varied in time and diversity of doctrine but that all could be said to have come from the area around the village of Sathing Phra located fifty kilometres north of Songkhla. At that time, no archaeological studies had been done in the Sathing Phra ancient community site. O'Connor was interested in the Brahmanical sculptures housed in the museum of the temple museum. One sculpture was headless, armless, without feet and without any other attributes and was said to have been found at the ancient site in Sathing Phra in two pieces that were rejoined. The remains stood twenty-four inches [61 centimetres] high. Because the upper torso was nude with the lower limbs covered in a tight-fitting robe O'Connor declared it belonged to a group of long-robed mitred Viṣṇu figures from the Malay peninsula. One of these was the famous Takua Pa Viṣṇu. He proposed that the close affinities of the Takua Pa Viṣṇu and the Songkhla torso indicated that this was 'new evidence that very sophisticated sculpture was being created on the Peninsula at an early date' (O'Connor 1964: 168).

Quaritch Wales (1964b, 1974a and 1976) and Dorothy made their first visit to the Sathing Phra peninsula in 1964 when they too saw the collection of art objects held at Wat Matchimawat. In his published papers he gave a good general description of the ancient settlement site at Sathing Phra: it was small, measuring about 350 yards [320 metres] square and surrounded by a low brick wall and moat. The old enclosure was occupied by a school and a football ground. Located 200 yards [183 metres] from the coastal beach, it was just north of the modern District offices. Within the site of the Sathing Phra ancient town he had workmen dig a trial trench, but only along the northern edge of the enclosing wall at the back of the school ground (Quaritch Wales 1976: 143). There he found glazed sherds and some celadon material. He also saw some objects previously collected by local people. Among the many finds deposited at the temple museum in Songkhla Quaritch Wales was particularly interested in the stone reliquary container. His measurements differed slightly from those of Alastair Lamb. Quaritch Wales (1964b) measured the casket base at 6.5 inches [16.5 centimetres] square rising to a height of 4.5 inches [11.4 centimetres]. The pyramidal stone lid was 4.5 inches high. The

casket was plain and, as noted by Lamb, contained five square depressions for foundation deposits cut into the surface of the base (Quaritch Wales 1964b: Fig between 218 and 219). It was in this article that Quaritch Wales made an important statement correcting his earlier comment that these receptacles were used to hold the ashes of dead kings. Now he was in agreement that the contents were likely to have been gems, gold or other valuables whose purpose was as foundation deposits used when a temple site was being consecrated but he again used the paper as an opportunity to criticize Lamb who had sought to emphasize local influences over Indian. While research by Ślązcka (2006) confirms the Indian origin of the foundation or reliquary chamber, Quaritch Wales (1964b: 219) extended this idea into esoteric mysticism by stating that the ‘original purpose of multi-chambered caskets with their foundation deposits: it was to ensure by magical means that the shrine, image, or *stūpa* erected above them had the power and attributes of a microcosm’ (Quaritch Wales 1964b: 220). Certainly the foundation deposit had ritual significance but local beliefs fused with foreign influences into a variety of syncretic forms.

This note triggered a sharp reply by Alastair Lamb (1965). Between 1964 and 1966 Lamb had moved to the Australian National University in Canberra and was now researching the Sino-Indian border dispute. Lamb noted the history of the recovery of two damaged stone caskets by Quaritch Wales in Kedah before the Second World War and the six intact specimens he found in 1958 and 1959 from the same area during the reconstruction of Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat. Lamb correctly stated that just because the objects from Sathing Phra may be said to be products of an Indianized civilization, one that was influenced by the religions, philosophies and cosmologies of India, it did not mean that they were specifically the products of Indians although undoubtedly multi-chambered reliquaries were the product of ‘Indian thought’ (Lamb 1965: 191-192).

Langkasuka and Tāmbralinga

Quaritch Wales and his wife made three trips to the southern regions of Thailand. He had planned for some years to undertake an expedition to the southern Thai peninsula to solve problems of chronology and identification of the ancient states of Langkasuka and Tāmbralinga ‘by means of small-scale trial excavations’ (Quaritch Wales 1974a: 15). The first trip to the south in January 1964 had been an excursion to Songkhla and Sathing Phra that lasted for only a few days. The second in 1972 is noted in records but undocumented and may have been only a planning study. On the third trip in January 1974 they visited Songkhla and Sathing Phra between 11 and 17 January then moved on to Yala and Yarang, south of Songkhla, on 22 and 23 January 1974 (Quaritch Wales 1976: 142, 153; Royal Asiatic Society Archives. QW/7/7 and QW/7/23). They worked only cursorily at Yarang, south of Songkhla, before returning to Sathing Phra. This work fell between separate field expeditions to the Sathing Phra directed by researchers from Cambridge University. The first, the Cambridge University Explorers’ and Travellers’ Club expedition to Thailand and Malaya in 1962, led by Stewart Wavell, was looking for evidence of the ‘lost kingdoms’ of Langkasuka and Tāmbralinga (Wavell 1964). The second was a long-term project by the Cambridge Archaeological Expedition to Southeast Asia directed by Janice Stargardt (1976, 1977 and 1983) between 1971 and 1988.

Quaritch Wales began his report on his work in south Thailand by first highlighting one of his most obvious mistakes. Despite his field experience, and to give him credit, his purpose, determination and drive, he completely missed the value of obtaining local people’s opinions and guidance and he spent little time at any one site. The Thais and the Malays were only useful as permit granting officials, guides, servants or field workers. Even the 1962 Cambridge anthropology team was dismissed assertively in his statement that they

were of course primarily concerned with the present day people and their legends. The latter do occasionally, as regard to the relation between Sathingphra and Phthalung [located on the mainland coast of Thale Luang] to be considered later in this article, contain crumbs of historical worth. Archaeological enquiry for which the anthropologists were not prepared, was only a substitute interest, so references to objects said to have been found at Yarang are too uncertain to be of value. Place names too might better have been left alone (Quaritch Wales 1974a: 15).

Having disregarded the work of the anthropologists, Quaritch Wales began by visiting Yarang accompanied with an official from the Thai Fine Arts Department, Banterng Poonsilpa, based at Pattani. He was given a rough plan of the ancient town drawn for the members of the 1962 Cambridge expedition and reproduced this plan in a second paper on Sathing Phra (Quaritch Wales 1974a: 17). Yarang ancient city site is shaped like a large oval about nine square kilometres in area although the present site is the third of three towns that have been built over, or at least connected to, each other. More than thirty mounds have been located by archaeologists working in the region (Thepchai Khemchati and others 1985).

When the site was visited in 1974, Quaritch Wales found three concentric ramparts with rounded corners and a large water tank located on the southeast side. The local official recommended excavating outside the ramparts but Quaritch Wales wanted 'a trench or two inside the city.' A small trial trench was dug inside the ramparts but only one or two rough sherds were located and, having declared them to be modern, the trench was written off as 'sterile'. Even trial trenching was now seen as superfluous, so Quaritch Wales moved to the examination of objects in the Pattani museum and in the collection of the 'principal wat' that he did not name (Quaritch Wales 1974a: 16-18 and 1974c: 148). It is unfortunate that he did not make better use of his time in Yarang for the ancient city site located fifteen kilometres south of Pattani on the road to Yala has been found to be one of the largest historical city sites in south Thailand and is believed, from Chinese records, to be the location of the 'capital' of Langkasuka. Recent remote sensing shows the construction of a dense network of canals that linked moated sites and led to the estuary of the Pattani river. Records indicate that Yarang was a major trading centre on the southern Thai coast (Manguin 2004: 296).

Having dismissed the potentially valuable excavations at Yarang, Quaritch Wales moved on to the Songkhla and Sathing Phra areas to the north. Convinced that old Songkhla area at the southern tip of the Sathing Phra sub-peninsula was the successor city to Langkasuka, he began excavations at the base of Khao Daeng. Although the old town was not large there was space on the ocean side of the hill for a settlement of 'some two or three hundred yards [183 to 275 metres] deep' (Quaritch Wales 1974a: 28). It appears he was looking for the ruins of a former palace located in the old city. A map showing locations of the old city, the modern city and a third settlement located at the base of Khao Daeng facing the entrance to Thale Sap Songkhla shows the relationship of the town and the eighteen stone forts that guarded the seaboard. In addition to the stone forts, the old Songkhla town was protected by a rampart and moat, in part using the natural lakes at the base of the hills. In the centre of the old town are the remains of the Khao Noi chedi and on top of Khao Daeng a larger fort was constructed. It now forms the base to the twin monuments, Chedi Phi Nong Yot Khao Daeng, built in commemoration of the Siamese victory over the revolts in the border provinces of Sai Buri, Pattani and Penang in the 1830s (Pojar 2005: 11-13; King 2006: 87-89).



Image 07.001:
 Plan of Old Songkhla with the line of forts numbered. Khao Noi chedi is number 16
 Photograph courtesy of Patrick Lepetit



Image 07.002:
 The Khao Noi chedi, Old Songkhla.
 Photograph courtesy of Petrick Lepetit



Image 07.003:
Fortress four.

The photograph by Patrick Lepetit shows that many of the fortremain in good condition.

Quaritch Wales first dug a trench about five yards [4.5 metres] by two yards [1.8 metres] and about 100 yards [90 metres] from the main road in an area owned by a local farmer. This excavation he photographed (Quaritch Wales 1974a: Plate 9). Although not dated it may have been taken in 1972 or 1974 and clearly shows the undeveloped state of the area at that time. Some small samples of blue and white pottery were collected but no Buddhist or Hindu images had been found by the local farmers from the region and so his conclusion was that old Songkhla would not have existed before the 15th century CE. He made no mention of the stone forts and their local significance. He subsequently began excavation work at the old citadel site just north of Wat Sathing Phra [Wat Cha Thing Phra] at the area now occupied by the Nai Muang School. Highway 408 cuts through the ancient city site. He wrote that

old town site of Satingphra is situated on the narrow peninsula some twenty miles [30 kilometres] north of Old Songkhla. It is regularly oriented, about 350 yards [320 metres] square, and is enclosed by a ten yard [9 metre] wide moat with right-angle corners. There was formerly a brick wall which now leaves little sign above ground, owing to the utilization of the bricks for the foundations of modern style houses. [This would have been where he dug his first trial trench in 1964]. The enclosure (across which the new road cuts just inside its east or seaward border) is almost entirely occupied by school buildings for 500 pupils, [built] around a central football ground (Quaritch Wales 1974a: 30).

When he first visited the site in 1964 he estimated that the eastern moat was about 300 yards [275 metres] from the old coastline beyond which a beach progradation of 500 yards [450 metres] now stretched out to the current shore.

He decided to excavate along the northern edge of the moated enclosure within the school grounds that were marked by a line of coconut palms. The first trial trench flooded due to the high water table and so a second trench was dug about fifty yards [45 metres] west of the main road. It was apparent

from his description and photograph that it was sited north-south towards the northern moat and about eighteen yards [16 metres] from the moat itself (Quaritch Wales 1974a: Plate 10). At a depth of less than one metre the remains of the old citadel wall were encountered. This wall ran parallel to the north moat. A third trench dug a further twenty-five yards [23 metres] west of the second trench also encountered the ruins of the wall. The dig found ceramic sherds that Quaritch Wales identified as Song dynasty pieces, some fine celadon sherds, stoneware and some fragments of white porcelain. On this scanty evidence he dated the foundation of Sathing Phra to the 11th century CE and concluded that it had flourished between the 12th and the 13th centuries CE (Quaritch Wales 1974a: 31).

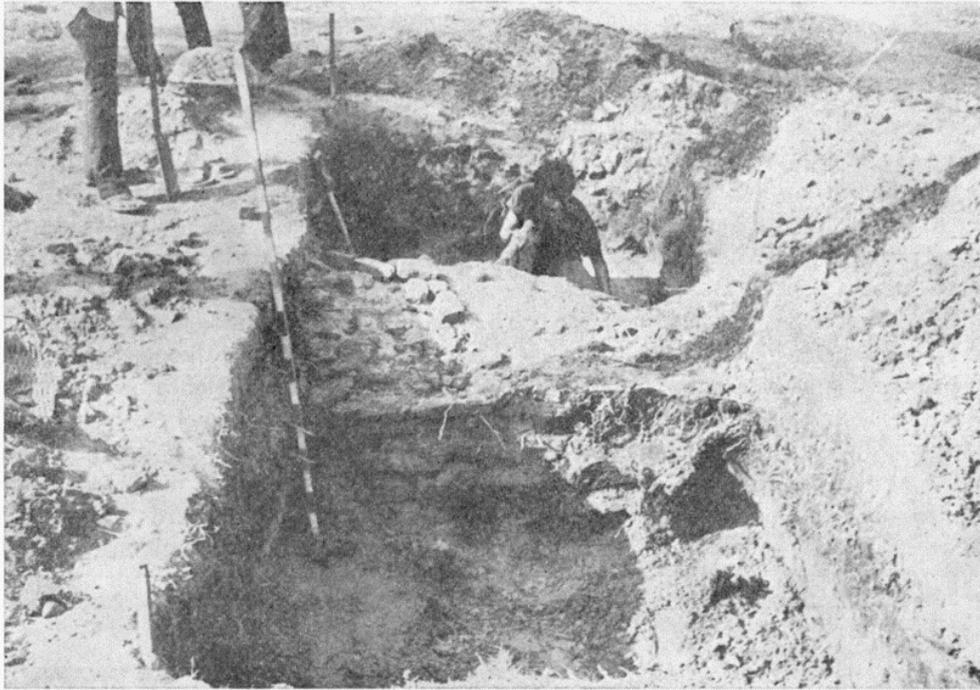


Image 07.004:

Trial trenching begun by Quaritch Wales near Sathing Phra citadel site
(adapted from Quaritch Wales 1974a: [27], Plate 10)

He subsequently offered his own version of the history of Sathing Phra. When Śrīwijaya occupied much of the Thai and Malay peninsula after the 8th century CE, Sathing Phra was seen as a major strategic goal to secure control over the trans-peninsula trade routes that crossed from the west coast and ended at Chaiya in Surat Thani province. Śrīwijayan power in the region lasted from the 5th to the 13th centuries CE. According to Quaritch Wales (1974a: 33-34) when Śrīwijayan power declined following the Chola attacks of 1025, the ‘population of Sathingphra fell back behind the Inland Sea and strong earth ramparts, the better to defend themselves against overseas marauders. The latter, in their turn, established themselves, first at Old Songkhla, later at the present town of Songkhla.’ Again Sathing Phra, the southern provinces and Nakhon Si Thammarat served to imprint in his mind his long-held opinion that his archaeological finds illustrated the ‘extensive penetration of Indian influences in the region by the early centuries of the Christian era’ (Quaritch Wales 1974a: 40)

Janice Stargardt (1973, 1976, 1977 and 1983) directed the work of the Cambridge archaeological expedition to Sathing Phra between 1971-1988. This expedition undertook long-term excavations at the early historic sites of the Sathing Phra complex using aerial photographs, surface surveys and coring to interpret the structure and function of the ancient irrigation and transportation canals. The physical nature of the Sathing Phra peninsula has determined much of its cultural, economic and

religious history. This was missed by earlier writers including Quaritch Wales. The peninsula is sixty-seven kilometres in length and varies between five and twelve kilometres in width. What early writers did not document was the significance of the four lakes that lie behind the peninsula and separate it from the mainland. Access to the sea in early times was affected through the narrow entrance leading from the Gulf of Thailand into the Thale Sap Songkhla and the ancient city of Songkhla was strategically located where it could gain naval supremacy over the southern lake system and the gulf coast (Wheatley 2010: 26-36). This was a reason for the construction of the stone forts and ramparts.

In order to make the peninsula suitable for agriculture and long-term occupancy, many canals were dug across and along the length of the peninsula. The aim of these canals was not irrigation per se but the effective and efficient means of trade, transportation and communication. The major canals ran parallel to the beach dune and were about two kilometres inland from the ocean. The principal ancient canal, Klong Ō, also known as the Sathing [trench or canal] Mo [port], remains but has now been much supplemented with new canals and irrigation systems. In ancient times canals were also cut across the peninsula and these were mainly used for transportation and to gain access to the lake system from the gulf waters (Stargardt 1973: 10-11). There is also evidence of over 200 water-tanks dug into the ground with an average size of twenty metres by thirty metres. Many were associated with monastic buildings and the relationship between the endowment of land for monasteries, water tank construction, the development of canals and the permanent settlement of marginal lands is an important one. Major archaeological sites in the Sathing Phra peninsula were uncovered by the Cambridge expedition at Kok Moh on Klong Ō in the south and at Kok Tong near the Ranot river in the north (Stargardt 2012; Twitchett and Stargardt 2004: 34). The finely made fragments of *kendis* excavated between 1972 and 1973 from a massive rice-field bund were further evidence of an ancient kiln at Kok Moh worked by skilled potters. Thermoluminescence dating found this had operated in the 11th and 12th centuries CE (Stargardt 2012: 2). Ceramics from local potteries were traded to Java, Sumatra and the Philippines.

This evidence supported the finding that a large urban centre was located in the middle of the peninsula with another at the southern tip between 650 CE to 1350 CE. In addition, a number of smaller, monumental, commercial, industrial and agricultural centres existed across the peninsula (Stargardt 1976b: 35). Recent studies of the development and decline of the network of irrigation and transportation canals on the Sathing Phra peninsula provides evidence of environmental stress between the 6th and the 14th centuries CE (Stargardt 1983 and 2014). The canal system was built by local communities using specialised knowledge of the terrain and climate. Cooperative decision-making skills and organisation of labour was essential in building and maintaining these important canals, ponding tanks and bunds.

Stargardt noted that Quaritch Wales and his wife had made a return visit to the old Songkhla area to inspect the 'Islamic palace site at the foot of Khao Daeng in 1972' (Stargardt 1983: 240 fn44). His archived itinerary documents a long trip to Thailand in 1972 but he was primarily interested in research into the moated sites in central and northeast Thailand having recently published his book on *Dvāravatī* (Quaritch Wales 1969; Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/7/18). Following this trip to Thailand in 1972, and their return in 1974, Quaritch Wales and Dorothy Wales visited Janice Stargardt at her laboratory in Cambridge and were able to inspect some preliminary findings. Despite this privileged access he was highly critical of her findings (Stargardt 1973; Quaritch Wales 1974a: 29 fn8). Stargardt in turn visited Quaritch Wales and his wife at their home in Haslemere in Surrey but professional contact did not develop further (Stargardt 1983: 240 fn44).

Sathing Phra citadel

There were three important urban areas on the Sathing Phra peninsula that developed between the 2nd and the 5th centuries CE. They were Sathing Phra, the fortified citadel in the middle of the peninsula, a second settlement at Wat Sri Yang and, a third at Wat Chedi Ngam, both in the northern section. The major trading link between the gulf waters and the inland sea was the Sathing Phra canal. It was the most important lateral canal and described as '[s]hort, broad and heavily fortified, it alone passed through the ancient capital which clearly dominated the economic, administrative and religious life of the Satingpra Peninsula' (Stargardt 1983: 164). It bisected, in east-west direction, the Sathing Phra urban area that Quaritch Wales excavated in 1974. An original core area that formed the citadel was 300 metres square and Quaritch Wales (1974a: 30) was close in his measurements when he reported the site to be 350 yards [320 metres] square. This was surrounded by moats, the largest being about ten metres wide (Stargardt 1983: Fig 21). On the inner edge the ramparts were massive walls estimated by Stargardt (1983: 21) as having been three metres thick and six metres high built of brick. The outer urban area measured 1,600 metres by 900 metres and in the northwest, northeast, southwest and southeast corners were located large water storage tanks. Evidence exists of one archaic ruined stupa and two ruined mounds in the grounds of Wat Cha Thing Phra in the southeast sector of the ancient city site (Stargardt 1983: 21).

Stargardt and her team concluded that irrigation-transportation canal structures had been built over four phases: the 4th to 6th century period was initial small-scale activity. Indeed, Wavell (1964: 196) reported that a monk from Wat Phra Koh said the abbot there had a seal of authority dated 999 BE [456 CE]. This establishment period was followed by three historic periods: the 6th to 9th century; the 9th to 13th century and the 13th to 14th century. However, Jane Allen (1990: 163) in her review of early studies by Stargardt, challenged the assumptions that agriculture led the way for local urbanization. Her review stated that it would have been trade and exchange, and the wealth from that activity, that brought about the development of Sathing Phra citadel, and this in turn led to the expansion of floodplain agriculture, the construction of the canals and the need for water tanks (Allen 1990: 166).

Recent environmental studies show that the expansion of irrigation works, canal developments and the digging of water tanks occurred between the 6th and the 8th centuries CE. This was a time of population growth, an increase in trade and the emergence of urban centres. Agricultural growth and environmental management between the 9th and the 13th centuries took place at a time of prevailing weak monsoons, drought and volcanic activity in the Indonesian islands. Archaeological evidence supports the findings that the Sathing Phra citadel was finally destroyed in a third major assault sometime between 1320 and 1340 CE. It had been attacked around 835±50 CE and rebuilt around 885±50 CE but the walls of the citadel were hastily repaired with pebbles, mud and potsherds (Stargardt 1983: 33, 183). The collapse of the buoyant economic system made Sathing Phra vulnerable. Declining prosperity made it difficult to keep anything except the major canals operational. With a decline in population, or with unprotected communities moving away from the peninsula, the infrastructure began to collapse. Economic decline saw the abandonment of the citadel and many agricultural fields.

Quaritch Wales (1974a: 34) recorded that the Phthalung education officer had told Stewart Wavell (1964: 196) that the people of Sathing Phra citadel fled to old Songkhla. This oral history that he tended to ignore may have been accurate after all. Local legend states that Sathing Phra was where

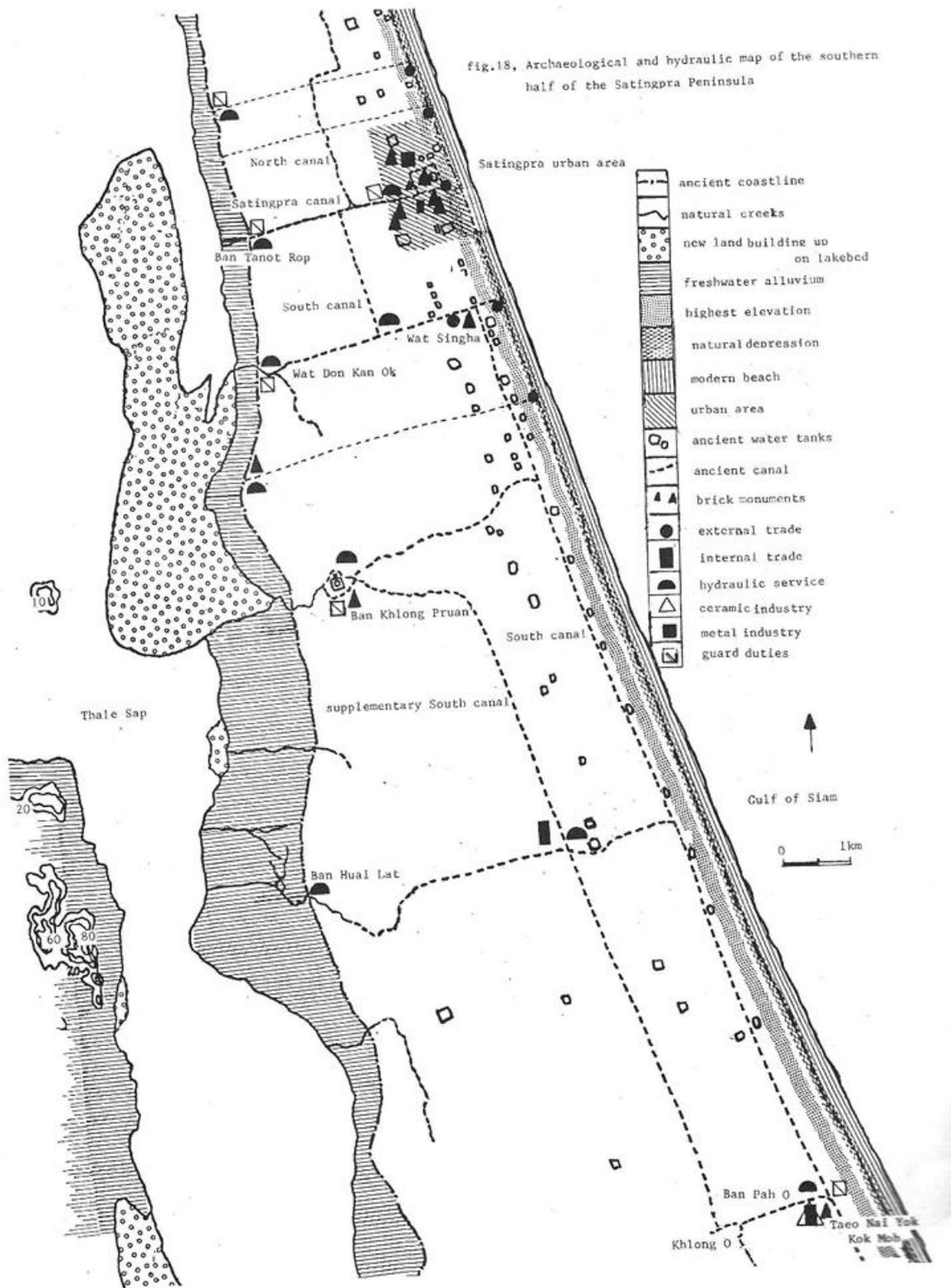


Image 07.005:
The location of the Sathing Phra citadel with canals and water tanks marked.
(Stargardt 1983, Fig 18. Reproduced with permission of author)

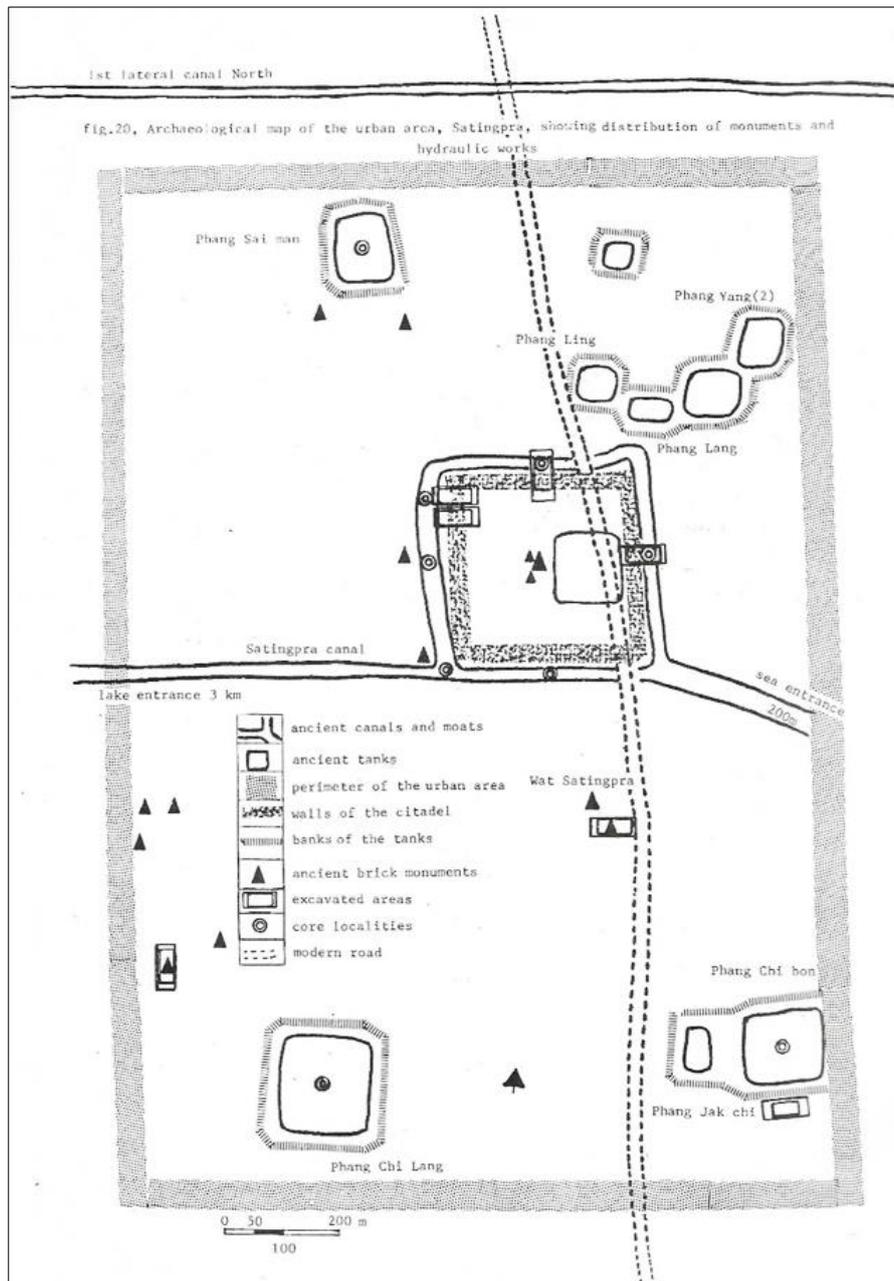


Image 07.006:
 The Sathing citadel site (Stargardt 1983, Fig 20).
 Reproduced with permission of author)

the inhabitants of old Patthalung, located on the shore of the inland sea, originated and that the citadel had been conquered twice and deserted twice. The people first fled south to safety at Khao Daeng, then crossed to the shores of the mainland. It is only the date, 'about three hundred years ago' [that is ca 1600], that may have been inaccurate. With more investigation Sathing Phra could have been an important case study for Quaritch Wales. As reported by Allen (1990: 171)

trade seems best to explain the described urban and industrial site locations, the construction of monuments, and the coordination of regional waterways. With a focus on trade, we may eventually understand the particular type of urbanism that characterized Satingpra, as well as how it came about.

When they went to Sathing Phra, Quaritch Wales and his wife were in their early 70s. The political situation in southern Thailand was unstable and working in the humid, coastal climate would have been difficult even for younger people. But this does not excuse the evident failures in Quaritch Wales' approach to his fieldwork. As we have seen, he ignored local versions of history to his detriment, his field techniques were haphazard with trial trenching used in the hope that significant evidence would be found quickly and cheaply. As the illustrations of his field and diary notes show, he was untidy and easily distracted. His wife, Dorothy, was a more careful documenter and it is possible that many of the photographs and negatives in the Royal Asiatic Society Archive, unfortunately not labelled, were actually taken by her, not her husband.

Malay peninsula in Hindu times

In 1969 the University of Malaya asked Quaritch Wales to reprint his two studies on the archaeology of sites in Kedah (Quaritch Wales 1940, Quaritch Wales and Quaritch Wales 1947) as a single monograph. After all, they were the first detailed investigations into the ancient Hindu sites from the Bujang valley and deserved to be republished. It is to be regretted that the project did not eventuate. It appears that the cost of publishing the many photographs, and presumably reproducing the poorly drawn original plans, was prohibitive. The project stalled. In response, Quaritch Wales first wrote a paper on some reconsiderations of the original findings (Quaritch Wales 1970). He then rewrote his own edition that he could publish through the family company (Quaritch Wales 1976). The paper was largely a reiteration of the theories and opinions that he had developed over his many years of work. He first called attention to his anomalous position 'being at first a guiding light rapidly turned into "pioneer" work which must be criticized and improved upon' (Quaritch Wales 1970: 3). This certainly encapsulates the general opinion of his work at the time. Then he questioned the 'University explorers' who followed him as being handicapped by having been appointed without qualifications as Orientalists or as archaeologists, except for Alastair Lamb who showed Quaritch Wales that he had a flair for archaeology. This compliment would surely have surprised Lamb whose findings had been criticised by Quaritch Wales for nearly two decades.

Quaritch Wales seemed to be a fractious personality able to find fault with others and be quickly insulted if they found fault with him. Despite having two private grants and one grant from the Malay states, Quaritch Wales wrote that he had little funds at his disposal and little time, with the Second World War approaching, to fully examine Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat and other sites in Kedah. This statement is disingenuous. Not only did he have professional contact with people in high social positions, he had his own personal income to help support his research. Alastair Lamb was, he wrote, able to concentrate on this site as he had 'unlimited time and funds.' This is something that Lamb questions for he was attempting to work in an isolated part of the Bujang valley at a time of sustained guerrilla insurgency, with very limited financial support. Despite access to Quaritch Wales' original report reconstruction of Site 8 was a complex task that required skilled labour with more than 8,000 new foundation blocks to be cut and reset.

Quaritch Wales (1970: 7) continued to promote his twin theories of the western and eastern zones of Indianization and his Four Main Waves of Indian colonization. He rejected the thesis promoted by Wheatley (2010: 185-186) in his book, *The Golden Khersonese*, that while there may have been some merchant aristocrats among the Indian traders the major would have been peddlers from lower strata of society who, being '[p]oor and untutored, they could never have been a medium for the transmission of the subtler forms of Indian ritual and aesthetic sensibility.' Quaritch Wales accepted the poor and untutored description but considered that, if they had been Buddhist, then being laymen would not have handicapped their access to ritual and religious practice. His opinion was that with

ritual pollution on overseas travel removed, these Buddhist ‘peddlers’ would have ‘spearheaded the Indian cultural invasion’ (Quaritch Wales 1970: 7). Perhaps this explained the movements of Buddhist peddlers but did not answer how or why Hindu traders moved east. In this paper Quaritch Wales spent much time in reappraisal of his earlier findings and his previous theories, making it convoluted and not very informative. It was most certainly a draft of the ideas he was gathering for his final publication on the Malay peninsula.

The final monograph, *The Malay peninsula in Hindu times* (Quaritch Wales 1976), is a study of his theories about the three peninsula polities: Tāmbraṅga, Langkasuka and Katāha. This book was written for the general reader not the academic. The author considered it to be a complete cultural interpretation of the Indianization period in the Malay peninsula. Unfortunately, it is a reiteration of many old theories and opinions, and criticisms of other colleagues. Instead of returning to his past as a pioneer archaeologist of the Kedah valley area he presented his readers with a book full of romantic suppositions concerning possible happenings that may have occurred in the proto-historic period. It was a jumble of facts and fictions. First, he was forced to retreat from his long-held viewpoint that Chaiya on the Thai peninsula was the capital of Śrīwijaya. This had been his principal line of reasoning since the 1930s following from the theory proposed by Majumdar (1933, 1934 & 1935; Quaritch Wales 1935: 27, 1937f & 1948a: 32; Wolters 1979b: 8, fn10). While he accepted the fact that Chaiya was not the commanding polity in the region he retracted somewhat by stating that it had been ‘the *earlier* capital of Śrīwijaya’s peninsular possessions’ (Quaritch Wales 1976: 83; *my emphasis*). He based this on the wealth of Buddhist remains located at Chaiya and the paucity found, by that time, at Palembang. While he had undertaken trial excavation at Wat Keu in Chaiya in 1935 on his overland expedition across the peninsula the dig had uncovered little more than a buried staircase (Quaritch Wales 1976: Plate 10A). Yet he still believed Chaiya was the capital of the Śāilendra empire despite the statement by Coedès (1936:1-9; Coedès, Sheppard, Damais and Manguin 1992: 95-101) who agreed that the city may have been an important centre of Indian culture but who also wrote that ‘[Quaritch] Wales’ first hypothesis on the role of Chaiya in the Hinduization of outer India can be accepted only with serious restrictions.’ Quaritch Wales (1935) based his geographical location of Śrīwijaya on the archaeological richness of the Chaiya site, and on the toponymic similarities between names: ‘Chaiya=Jaya; Sivichai=Śrīwijaya, the name of a hill situated south of the village’ (Coedès, Sheppard, Damais and Manguin 1992: 97).

While he could argue some points made about the nature of the Śrīwijayan polity by Coedès(1918: 1-36; see Coedès, Sheppard, Damais and Manguin 1992: 1-27) he could not debate the textual analysis achieved by Wolters (1967) in his detailed study of Śrīwijayan commerce. Quaritch Wales continued to believe that the whole east coast of the Malay peninsula was ruled by Śrīwijaya from the 7th century and that gaining ‘control of the main trans-peninsular [trade] route was the main aim of Śrīwijayan expansion’ (Quaritch Wales 1976: 82). He also believed that piracy in the Straits of Malacca between the 6th and the 8th centuries CE had seriously damaged Śrīwijayan trade connections and this was one reason for seizing control of the overland routes and subsequently expanding to Jambi and Kedah in order to seek to control the Straits. After reexamining some of the finds made in Kedah, but in no particular order or substance, his conclusion was that the Malay peninsula had no true artistic evolution of its own because, following his western and eastern zone theory, Indo-Malayan art was subordinate to influences from the Indian *sastras* (Quaritch Wales 1976: 114).

Despite its limitations, the monograph was favourably reviewed by Stanley O’Connor (1977) for *Artibus Asiae* and this review was then republished in the *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (O’Connor 1978). In the review, O’Connor (1977: 336) complimented

Quaritch Wales for his vision and he wrote that ‘Dr Quaritch Wales is deservedly renowned for his archaeological excavations and studies in the Peninsula.’ That was true: he was a pioneering archaeologist for even in the mid-1970s there were few books published on the central Malayan peninsula. Unfortunately, he was by now deeply entrenched in far-fetched theories and implausible arguments. O’Connor noted that the central thesis of the book was the role of Indian thought and Indian settlers in the cultural development of the region but also stated that he found the book ‘both fascinating and useful.’ It was, like many of the reviews of Quaritch Wales’ writings, a somewhat ambiguous qualification. Quaritch Wales based much of his art theory on the sculptural and architectural heritage of Southeast Asia and discounted the artistic products that were perishable in a tropical environment. His view that elite culture of harbour principalities dominated large areas of hinterland was also incorrect. These communities were enfolded in, and were conditioned by, the complex modes of human interaction that existed outside their boundaries. O’Connor (1977: 338) considered the four main waves of Indianization theory to be overly simplistic but nevertheless offered admiration for the publication.

Comparative histories

Quaritch Wales continued to write well into his late 70s. His work followed three trajectories: he retained his belief in his theory of western and eastern zones of Indianization and the role of ‘local genius’ in cultural resurgence; he began to focus on the place of religion and cosmology in the proto-historical period, and he republished an earlier study: *The Making of Greater India* (1951 & 1961a). However, by the 1970s the world had changed rapidly. The term Southeast Asia was then in current use and old concepts such as Further India and the Far East had long lost their meaning. Accelerating modernization, a world energy crisis and a Cold War between the United State and the USSR altered the social, economic and political landscape. Japan had risen from the ashes of war. China was engulfed by a Cultural Revolution that began in 1966 and only ended with the death of Mao in 1976. This was followed by a period of pronounced political and economic change. Even at that stage the Chinese had begun an expansionist push to claim the Paracels and the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea. The population of the region grew from 200 million in 1950 to 350 million in 1974.

Disparities in economic position, social status and opportunities for education and advancement had seen a rise in corruption, a widening gap between the rich and the poor, and between the elite and the masses. It was a period when it was evident that more attention had to be paid to economic development. The traditional raw-material based economies had to diversify and, despite the influence of the international banks and world financial agencies, more equitable distribution of incomes and wealth was vital for political stability. The volatile radicalism generated by the much-hated Vietnam War ended in 1975 with the defeat of American forces and its allies. The solution to the future of thousands of Vietnamese refugees was a major humanitarian question. Separatist movements in the Shan states and among the Karen in Burma were destabilizing the Thai/Burma border while in Thailand internal crises led to coups d’état in 1976 and 1977 with the various military factions fighting for control of the national government. Elite-level factionalism in Thailand remains a hallmark of Thai politics. Skirmishes between Thai forces, the Khmer Rouge militia and Laotian military were common. It was in this external and internal climate in Southeast Asia that Quaritch Wales continued to publish his reflective, somewhat archaic studies of ancient culture.

Angkor and Rome

Quaritch Wales (1965b) sought to revive his theory of culture change and the evolution of ‘local genius’ by comparing the disparate historiographies of ancient Rome under Augustus with the

Khmer empire under Jayavarman II. This was the first of three books—all broad comparative studies—that sought to prove his ‘local genius’ thesis and its application in eastern and western zones of Indianization. All three are disappointing. They consist of mere ‘grab-bags’ of historical facts linked to abstract, random methodology. In *Angkor and Rome* he commenced his Roman history at 475 BCE and he started his Khmer history at 475 CE. This he noted was a difference of nearly 1,000 years but the actual difference of 950 years, that he called fortuitous, now appears contrived (Quaritch Wales 1965b: 1). In these studies, he saw himself as a broad theoretician, a ‘big-picture’ man, and visionary. Essentially, he sought to develop a large-scale comparative theory using evidence of the rise of the empires, their maturation, the ‘quickening of local genius’ in each case, the high level of development reached in history followed by their decline and fall. Both empires started with the trade and contacts of a river settlement, then it absorbed rather than enslaved the nearby inland peoples.

He set about comparing the Chams with the Etruscans, the Chinese with the Celts, the Javanese sea power threat to Funan with the Carthaginian challenge to Rome, and the southward invasions of the Thai with those of the German tribes (Quaritch Wales 1965b: 50-71). The Mediterranean was compared with the South China Sea and the glory of Angkor Wat was even mirrored in the majesty of Rome’s Pantheon. He wrote that Angkor declined due to an effete form of ‘Hīnayāna Buddhism’ just as Rome was weakened by Christianity. Once again, and quoting from his intellectual hero Sir James Frazer, he stated that the inevitable result of the influence of an ‘Oriental religion’, Christianity, on the people of Rome was that they sought to communicate with God and to withdraw from public service. The result was that the ‘saint and the recluse, disdainful of earth and rapt in ecstatic contemplation of heaven, became in popular opinion the highest ideals of humanity, displacing the old ideal of the patriot and hero who, forgetful of self, lives and is ready to die for the good of his country’ (Quaritch Wales 1965b: 153-154). Rather strange ideas from a devout Catholic who had just lived through one of the worst wars and genocides to engulf humankind. According to Quaritch Wales, Rome and Angkor both owed their culture and heritage to their neighbours: Rome to Greece, and Angkor to India. After wars and decline, both empires revived briefly, before their eventual collapse.

First, Quaritch Wales (1965b: ix-x) criticized most severely the work of Arthur Toynbee who was then the best-known English historian and specialist in international affairs. He found Toynbee’s major work, *A study of history*, confusing and full of artificial classifications of civilizations, and the theory Toynbee developed to interpret history to be rigid with a sense of ‘doom and decay’. He called the well-known ‘challenge—and—response relationship’ simply another term for the anthropologists’ and psychologists’ less dramatic term ‘stimulus—and—response’ (Quaritch Wales 1965b: x). In his study of history, Toynbee (1935-1939; Toynbee and Somervell 1946) argued that civilizations such as the Roman, Greek, Chinese and Egyptian cultures, were born out of primitive societies. They grew, not so much as the result of their inherent racial composition or favourable geographical conditions, but as responses to challenges such as environmental conditions and pressure from neighbouring peoples. It was this he called the law of ‘challenge—and—response’. Civilizations rose in response to challenges of extreme difficulty when creative sections, usually an elite minority, within the society devised solutions to overcome external and internal difficulties. Challenges and responses were both physical and social. When a civilization responded positively to challenges it grew but when leaders stopped responding creatively, the structure disintegrated. A culture could also decline due to nationalism, militarism and the tyranny of a despotic minority. For Toynbee the growth and decline of civilizations was a spiritual process. He wrote that: ‘[m]an achieves civilization, not as a result of superior biological endowment or geographical environment,

but as a response to a challenge in a situation of special difficulty which rouses him to make a hitherto unprecedented effort' (Toynbee and Somervell 1946: 507).

But Quaritch Wales (1965b) was a follower of the philosophical writing of the cultural anthropologist Philip Bagby (1958) who wrote a now-obscure book in which he planned to find a set of laws showing the development of civilizations and to discover in recurrent sequences of history something of great intellectual importance. His aim was to find a philosophy of history or more precisely a pattern of universal history (Quaritch Wales 1965b: x-xi). But sequences in history, like wars or famines, are incidents that require explanation: they do not constitute philosophical laws. Both Bagby and Quaritch Wales rejected the study of history presented by Toynbee. To allow for the comparison between two such dissimilar polities as Rome and Angkor, Quaritch Wales (1965b: xii) refined his definition of 'local genius'. He wrote that

in that work [*The Making of Greater India* 1961] I used the term *local genius* as an approximation to what Herodotus called "national character". When a society undergoes influence from some other culture, local genius, if it is not destroyed by that foreign influence being too overwhelming, will undergo a certain amount of change.

Subsequent evolution, he wrote, will be determined by the reaction to these new cultural influences. But Herodotus had used the term 'national character' to define Greek cultural identity, *ethikos*, and what it meant to be morally, socially and politically Greek within the Mediterranean world.

Quaritch Wales considered that the principal similarities between the Roman and the Khmer cultures were their concerns with concrete realities rather than with abstract speculations. While he described both peoples as simple but practical, he suggested they had placed their own stamps of 'local genius' on cultural influences borrowed from others. In this way they created civilisations that were regarded as original and independent. Reviews of Quaritch Wales' polemic theories were by now largely unfavourable. John Cady (1965: 171), an historian of post-war Southeast Asia, stated that most of the analogies cited by Quaritch Wales had little to do with Bagby's original thesis. His opinion was that by stressing 'local genius' in two such disparate cultural areas Quaritch Wales only emphasized their cultural diversity not commonality. Cady (1965: 172) wrote that '[t]here is no historical evidence, for example, to substantiate his [Quaritch Wales] asserted migration of successive waves of Indian immigrants to Cambodia' nor could it be shown that Funan was in any sense an integral projection of Indian culture. The somewhat devastating conclusion was that '[Quaritch] Wales here contributes little to the science of comparative history.' This would have been a rather disconcerting review for a man of inordinate pride and belief in his own intellect.

The American political geographer Gerald Crone (1966) agreed with Cady. While Richard Winstedt (1965), a highly regarded colonial administrator and academic made a bland remark that '[o]ne wonders what similar comparative studies of later empires would reveal' and the book was called both a 'labored effort to put his beloved Cambodia in a class with Rome' as well as a study marred by historical inaccuracies. Although Quaritch Wales had called the comparison of civilizations a young science in the hands of cultural anthropologists Crone (1966: 144-145) considered that 'the present trend in historiography is against the writing of history on so wide a canvas as the author adopts, but, though he [Quaritch Wales] disagrees with Toynbee's conception of world history, he becomes absorbed in tracing [broad] patterns common to the Roman and Khmer empires.' Crone found the book unconvincing and biased.

The Indianization of China and Southeast Asia

Not only did Quaritch Wales seek to compare Angkor with Rome but he also attempted a comparison of China with Southeast Asia. That book was called *The Indianization of China and of South-East Asia* (Quaritch Wales 1967a) and its purpose was to strengthen his case for his theory of 'local genius' that had come under considerable criticism over many years. The book, an eclectic history of Buddhism that Quaritch Wales considered to be the principal foreign element in Chinese culture, was based largely on the examination of secondary sources and information gathered during extensive tours of the major American, British and European museums that held significant Buddhist collections. Quaritch Wales set out to show that many features of cultural evolution in China would prove to be evidence of his 'local genius' theory in action (Quaritch Wales 1967a: xvii). He sought to demonstrate that Buddhism was introduced into China along the caravan routes of Central Asia between the 6th and the 8th centuries CE supported by the emperor Kanishka when the Bactria empire, ruled by the Kushan dynasty, extended from Turfan in Central Asia to the Gangetic plain of India. Quaritch Wales (1967a: 2, 13 and 15) wrote that this was the way Buddhism was transmitted from Gandhara in the Peshawar valley of Pakistan (Quaritch Wales 1967a: 2, 13 and 15). Certainly, the role of Kanishka is significant. Historically he was said to have ascended to the throne on 78 CE and this became the start of the Śaka era. But Buddhism also reached China via the sea route. It began to wane in India around the time of the Song dynasty (10th to 13th centuries CE) and when the ancient monastery, the *mahāvihāra* at Nālandā, was largely destroyed by the Muslim armies led Bakhtiyar Khilij in 1193 (Quaritch Wales 1967a: 9).

By using his 'local genius' thesis, Quaritch Wales sought to show that when Indian culture was introduced into China it was at first accepted and set culture changes in motion. Then the strength of Chinese tradition and history, in this his eastern zone of Indianization, reshaped these influences. In China the Buddhist *Sangha* was transformed by Chinese discipline and became a state religion responsible to the civil government. His belief was that Buddhist monasticism, with its economic and social power, conflicted with Confucianist values so by 'espousing such Confucian virtues as filial piety, congenial and harmonious family life, loyalty, moderation and self-discipline, Buddhism made itself much more acceptable to the Chinese of the age' (Quaritch Wales 1967a: 5 quoting Ch'en 1964: 209). Centralised control was exercised by demanding that charters be issued for the construction of new Buddhist temples, that candidates for ordination be required to pass examinations and purchase official ordination certificates, and that the monks at Imperial temples be expected to offer prayers for the protection of the empire (Myer 1968: 685). Thus, the intensity of Indianization slackened and became a growing trend towards Sinicization through 'local genius' (Quaritch Wales 1967a: 79). Certainly, when Indian Buddhism first entered China it brought with it rich and elaborate imagery, concepts and modes of thinking, but China had its own rich cultural history and after a few centuries the Chinese interpreted Buddhism in ways that could be understood and practiced. Despite this they retained the three 'gems' of Buddhism: the belief in the Buddha, the rule of *dharma* or the law and the order and discipline of the *Sangha*, the monastic community. An element of Buddhism that became noticeably Chinese, and Japanese, was the *dhyāna* exercise of reflective mediation. Derived from the Sanskrit words '*dhi*' the 'receptacle' or 'mind' and '*yāna*' meaning 'moving', the term means deep reflective meditation requiring intense concentration. It forms a fundamental discipline in Chan and Zen Buddhism (Quaritch Wales 1967a: 91). Kenneth Ch'en (1968), who had been cited by Quaritch Wales as an expert on Chinese Buddhism, was not convinced of the argument. His report was that Buddhism was accepted in China because philosophical, religious and intellectual concepts were already part of the Chinese psyche. Indian Buddhists did not have to 'missionize' the Chinese who were already part of a sophisticated, culture and civilization.

Early Burma—Old Siam

After having compared ancient Angkor with Rome (Quaritch Wales 1965b) and then China with Southeast Asia (Quaritch Wales 1967a), Quaritch Wales turned to a comparison of ancient Burma with Siam or more correctly, the kingdom of Pagán (Bagán) with the kingdom of Sukhodaya (Sukhothai). This was his the third of his broad historical studies. Bagán was the capital of the kingdom that would unify the small principalities along the Irrawaddy river basin and between the 9th and the 13th centuries CE more than 10,000 Buddhist monasteries, temples and shrines would be constructed in the Mandalay region. The kingdom of Sukhothai in north-central Thailand existed from 1238 to 1438 before being incorporated into the kingdom of Ayutthaya. The religious, administrative and cultural traditions of Sukhothai and Ayutthaya were gradually merged during the 15th and the 16th centuries CE (Woraporn Pooongpan 2007). The aim of Quaritch Wales' (1973a) book was to describe the history of the two kingdoms during their successive periods of grandeur. It was also another exercise in the application of his Indianization theory. As China and the eastern part of Southeast Asia were in his 'eastern zone' he sought to demonstrate that cultural change, reflected in the rise of 'local genius', suppressed the tendency of Indian influences to dominate. This time, using Burma and early Siam as examples of areas located in his 'western zone', he sought to show that cultural influences from India dominated and restrained cultural evolution. He also felt that Theravāda Buddhism, as practiced in both early Burma and old Siam, would have made the two regions a comparable study. To do this he concentrated on the 11th to 15th centuries. He relied on factual and descriptive material from the three-volume work *Old Burma—Early Pagán* by Gordon Hannington Luce (1969-1970) and the commemorative catalogue of Sukhothai art published for the National Museum in Bangkok written by Alexander Griswold (1967). Both the works of Luce and that of Griswold were then at the forefront of Burmese and Thai art history. Essentially the structure of the book is the same in both parts. Quaritch Wales started with descriptions of the local people, the 'participants', then moved on to Eurocentric descriptions of cultural periods that he called pre-classical, classical, post classical and then a description of the period in history that followed the Bagán era and the Sukhothai epoch.

In his examination of Burmese and Thai art history, Quaritch Wales considered that there were only two orders of creativity. In a discussion of the creation of the Thatbyinnyu temple in Bagán that was built in the 12th century during the reign of King Alungsithu, Quaritch Wales (1973a: 55-56) wrote that the architect 'acted in an essentially primitive manner, as a child with blocks, placing one individual unit, originally intended as a separate entity, on top of the other.' This meant that the formal structure the temple is shaped like an asymmetrical cross with two primary storeys built on a low platform. The statue of the Buddha is seated on the second storey. This brick structure was plastered with stucco. At each of the four corners are small stupas. In order to conform with his theory of Indianization in the western zone, Quaritch Wales (1973a: 55) considered this major temple structure in Bagán to be a typical product of that region being a composite hybridized structure that demonstrates the limited originality of the ancient Burmese architect (Quaritch Wales 1973a: 58). In the 'western zone' Quaritch Wales (1973a: 178) found that limited originality was derived from 'holdovers' and 'hybrid structures'. Burmese 'local genius' was restricted in scope and found expression only in woodcarving (Quaritch Wales 1973a: 182; Subhaddradis Diskul 1975: 291). It was, he said condescendingly, only a harmony of design and a sense of good taste that helped to mask this composite nature of construction (Quaritch Wales 1973a: 176). His final analysis was that the arts of the Bagán period showed little real originality because of the intensity of Indian and Singhalese influences (Quaritch Wales 1973a: 85 and 176). Quaritch Wales (1973a: 65) found little to criticize in Luce's magnum opus for he stated that 'I need hardly say that on this subject Luce is

the pre-eminent authority; and his judgement of literary standards reached and maintained can easily be ascertained in the course of perusing his book.’

In a perceptive but highly critical review of Quaritch Wales’ book, Hiram Woodward (1974) wrote that this book was more easily obtainable than Griswold’s catalogue and much less expensive than Luce’s study of Burma and Bagán. But Woodward (1974: 735) also wrote that ‘despite these advantages, *Early Burma—Old Siam*, like most of the author’s previous works, is ultimately discomforting.’ The reasons for this were that the author made suppositions that he passed off as facts. This made Woodward wince. Quaritch Wales did not convince the reviewer that he had control over his source material and so he did not inspire confidence in the reader. Quite simply, he thought Quaritch Wales made unsound analyses of the evidence produced by other writers. Woodward (1974: 736) concluded that Quaritch Wales ‘jumps into the general without ever conveying any keen sense of the particular.’ Woodward’s final comments were that ‘Quaritch Wales’s failure appears to lie in his inability to grasp the concrete and surrender himself to it’ (Woodward 1974: 736).

The Thai scholar MC Subhadradis Diskul, professor of archaeology at Silpakron University in Bangkok, published his review in the *Journal of the Siam Society* (Subhadradis Diskul 1975). Noting that most of the material on Burma was sourced from Luce, Subhadradis Diskul dismissed it rather lightly to concentrate on the second part of the book. He regarded Quaritch Wales’ report on early Thai art and architecture as a mere reflection of the Griswold material. Quaritch Wales (1973a: 139-141) had stressed that Thai architectural decoration was strongly Singhalese inspired while decorative motifs used in Bagán were Indian in origin. This supported his eastern zone of Indianization theory. But when it came to describing Thai sculpture, Quaritch Wales (1973a: 145) could not follow this construct further. Although attributing craftsmanship to imported Singhalese technicians, he wrote that ‘when we turn to the Buddhist sculpture of classic Sukhodaya that we find ourselves in an entirely different world and a different mood of appreciation: there is no longer any question of analogy to Pagán.’ The reason he could discount the eastern zone theory was that the Thai had a long tradition of sculpture before the arrival of Indian influence. He called this the birth of a new form of art not a Renaissance. Subhadradis Diskul (1975: 292) had strongly held opinions of his own and wrote that *Early Burma—Old Siam* may have appeal to those wishing to find information on ancient Burma, but those seeking knowledge of ancient Siam would do better to read the original study by Alexander Griswold.

A new classification of Thai art: the work of Piriya Krairiksh

Interestingly both Quaritch Wales (1978b) and Subhadradis Diskul (1978) were invited to review the 1977 publication *Art styles in Thailand: a selection from National Provincial Museums, and an essay on conceptualization* that Piriya Krairiksh wrote for the Thai Fine Arts Department. Piriya Krairiksh had been curator of Asian art at the National Gallery of Australia in Canberra in 1976 and 1977 before becoming professor of art history at Thammasat University. From an aristocratic family, Piriya proved adept at negotiating the cultural sensitivities of an art form inextricably linked to the monarchy, nationhood and faith. His most significant, and controversial, achievement was the redating of sculpture from the Sukhothai period. Much of this was been brought forward by 300 years. However, this has proved contentious because it suggests the previous dating methodology used by royal chroniclers was incorrect. The book reviewed by Quaritch Wales and Subhadradis Diskul was an illustrated catalogue of sculptures displayed at a Bangkok exhibition in 1977. For this exhibition Piriya Krairiksh advocated a new system of classification that challenged the conventional typology and chronology of early Thai art developed by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Reginald Le May and George Cœdès in the 1920s (Cœdès 1928a). This early system classified Thai art into

periods such as Dvāravatī, Śriwijaya, U Thong, Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, Lopburi and Lan Na' (Revire 2013: 233; Piriya Krairiksh 2014: 117). To construct this classification, they relied on Western art historiography to study Thai Buddha images and classified them on the basis of stylistic similarities. They then correlated this evidence with known historical periods. Throughout all his writings on Thai art Quaritch Wales applied this technique: first classifying objects according to facial gestures, hand movements, folds in the dress or robe, and the presence or the absence of jewellery, and then assigning a known historical period to the object.

Piriya Krairiksh changed the focus of early Thai art by arguing that the terms 'period of history' and 'school of art' were not interchangeable. He suggested that the term Dvāravatī art could be misunderstood as it was a political structure not an artistic style. To reclassify Thai art Piriya recommended the use of the term Mon art, then subdivided it into several styles according to provenance. Thus, Dvāravatī art became Mon art, central Thailand style. Both Quaritch Wales (1978b) and Subhadradis Diskul (1978) disagreed with the whole reconsideration. They thought that although the focus of art history was the study of the evolution of art, it must be synchronized with historical periods. The two could not be separated (Subhadradis Diskul 1978: 255). Piriya's comprehensive new theory challenged Thai historiography. Recent work by Piriya has continued to dispute the typology established by eminent figures such as Damrong and Cœdès and has concentrated on examining art styles within the context of doctrinal and ethical changes within the various sects and schools of Buddhism. His thesis is that the evolution of doctrinal and philosophical thought is reflected in the stylistic and iconographic evolution of images of the Buddha (Revire 2013: 233). This new classification system also shows some inherent problems. Revire (2013: 235) reported that

Piriya's reasoning holds that most ancient artwork from the region of present day Thailand served the Buddhist religion, and Brahmanism as well to a lesser extent, so they ought to be classified into "schools" according to the so-called "school" or "sect" that inspired their creation. In this perspective, stylistic or iconographic differences reflect doctrinal or philosophical differences.

Revire (2013: 235-236) raised fundamental objections to the whole methodological model and its terminology. He felt that creating separate doctrinal structures did not account for the diversity and complexity of Thai Buddhist practice over the centuries. The use of terms such as Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna and Theravāda reflected 19th century Eurocentric misunderstanding of the nature and application of Buddhism in Southeast Asia. This criticism applied most especially to Anglo-European art historians like Quaritch Wales who did not acknowledge that Buddhist art was neither prescriptive nor doctrinaire. While Piriya's theories have raised much intellectual discussion in Thailand their practical impact has been only moderate. As Revire (2013: 240) stated

[h]is efforts to re-evaluate Cœdès and Damrong's pioneer classification of Thai art, still present in many Thai museums, is commendable; however, I fear that his attempt to replace it with "sectarian affiliations" will, in the long run, go over the heads of most people—students and curators alike—and be rejected by scholars.

Cultural nationalism continues to inform much of Thailand's presentation of its religious art (Peleggi 2013). Piriya Krairiksh's controversial, iconoclastic style was evident, not only in his major book on Thai art (Piriya Krairiksh 2012), but also in his review of an exhibition held at the Asian Civilisations Museum in Singapore in 2012 and 2013 (Piriya Krairiksh 2014: 118). He wrote unapologetically that the

pluralistic view of Thai Buddhist art presented by the exhibition and catalogue reviewed above seems jarringly at odds with the myopic dominant approach to Thai art history. This blinkered vision continues to support the nationalistic view that...sought to promote unity...by propagating monolithic constructions of Thai art and culture.

Quaritch Wales' review of Piriya's earlier book represented a conservative mainstream view that has not changed greatly.

The universe around them

Quaritch Wales' examination of Piriya's early exhibition is important to his story. He would have been keen to review a new study of Buddhist art styles at a time when he was becoming deeply committed to the examination of religious structures, cosmology and iconography in Southeast Asia. Whether this was informed by his own conservative Catholic values is impossible to say. There are no personal notes or papers relating to his religious beliefs apart from the numerous articles published in Catholic magazines in the United States during the Second World War. On his return to England in 1948 he ceased contributing to such journals. But in order to answer questions about relationships with the cosmos that Quaritch Wales (1977: v) considered to be vital in understanding a people's cultural development, he wrote a sequel to *The Making of Greater India* and called it *The universe around them: cosmology and cosmic renewal in Indianized South-East Asia*. It was published when he was 77. The title was taken from a work by a popular astronomer Sir James Jean who called his book *The universe around us* (Quaritch Wales 1977: 31 fn8). Unlike the three books he had just published this study of cosmology and cosmic renewal was quite well-reviewed. It was a survey of the various creation myths of non-Hinduized people in Southeast Asia compared with the Hindu and Buddhist world view. Examples were taken from Java, Bali, ancient Cambodia, Burma and Thailand. Merle Ricklefs (1979: 179), an authority on Indonesia and the spread of Islam, reported that it was not a book about a real world or about real events but an investigation of past perceptions of the world using evidence taken from archaeology, art history and philology. Harking back to previous studies, it was an examination of the work of Stanley O'Connor (1966b and 1972), Robert Heine-Geldern (1942), Paul Mus (Mus, Mabbett and Chandler 1975), Hans Schärer (1946 and 1963), George Coëdès (1968a) and even his old intellectual sparing-partner Frederik Bosch (1960) in a long discussion of the philosophy of the Golden Germ (*Hiranyagarbha*) (Quaritch Wales 1977: 25). Much of the book is an elaboration, a refutation or an extension of the ideas taken from these authors. Quaritch Wales devoted roughly half the book to explaining the Hindu world view and half to the Buddhist perspective.

For its time, the book was imaginative. Instead of making a bland statement that the Siamese temple was a micro-cosmos, a magical counterpoint of the divine order, Quaritch Wales (1977: 135) attempted to define the elements of the structure, the importance of direction, colour and the appropriate positioning of the Buddha within the main *stūpa* or in the ordination hall. It was a complex examination of the roots of Southeast Asian belief systems that concluded that the essential cosmogony can be traced to pre-Indian Dong Son or Bronze Age culture. On this the process of Indianization added layers of Hindu and Buddhist cosmology. In review the book is largely a presentation of Quaritch Wales' own analysis of the *mélange* of religions, belief systems and practices found in premodern Southeast Asia. Michael Aung-Thwin (1980: 663), a research specialist on the myths and historiography of Myanmar and on the classical states of mainland Southeast Asia, correctly stated the dilemma when he wrote '[Quaritch] Wales's attempt to isolate various beliefs analytically, and to state a precise theme clearly is valuable; but in the process, distinctions made largely for analytical purposes may have become confused with distinctions that

were real to ancient Khmer society itself.’ It was, Ricklefs (1979: 180) concluded perceptively, ‘a book for specialists, full of technical terms and details which will defeat the uninitiated’ but intimately he found the work problematic. While it stimulated the intellect, he said, ‘in the end one is left wondering whether, for instance, ninth-century Javanese actually saw things quite that way.’

Divination in Thailand

Quaritch Wales died in 1981, but his wife Dorothy published his final book, *Divination in Thailand*, posthumously in 1983. This was a study of Thai astrology based on an examination of a traditional divination text, the *Brāhmajāti*, a title that he translated as ‘Destiny’ (Quaritch Wales 1983, 1981: x). It appears Quaritch Wales (1983, 1981: x-xii) bought his first copy of the *Brāhmajāti* in 1931 while in Thailand doing archaeological research for his doctoral studies. In 1980 he was again in Bangkok and working at the National Library where he found an expanded version of the treatise and later located yet another copy at the British Library in London. Images from the London copy are included in his publication. The use and knowledge of the *Brāhmajāti* is more common among the people of central Thailand and is not used for divination among the Lao of the northeast nor the Yuan of the north (Keyes 1985: 685). To non-Thai the book is seen as an astrology manual or guide to divination but it has a much deeper meaning to Thai themselves. Quaritch Wales’ analysis is divided into chapters dealing with specific aspects of divination. Chapters one and two describe the use of numerical and calendrical methods of ascertaining conception and sex of an unborn child, their future character, prospects for advancement or failure, plus information for parents on birthdate predictions. Chapter three details divinatory practices to be undertaken for immediate undertakings. Chapter four examines the nature of palmistry that is essentially Chinese in origin. Chapters five and six examine possible marriage partners and the location of the family home noting that traditionally the newly-married made their home in the bride’s family compound. This section also described the nature of home building, and omens dealing with house construction. Chapter seven described aspects of agriculture and trade. Chapter eight deals with the recovery of lost, stolen or misplaced property. Quaritch Wales (1983, 1981: 116-122) devoted a short chapter on interpretation of dreams and a final chapter on portents that signified success or failure in battle.

Quaritch Wales felt that the Thai showed little interest in Western versions of astrology due to its apparent ‘scientific accuracy’ and because of its fatalism. More popular local methods of divination are respected for an unfavourable omen may not be regarded as problematic if it can be avoided by prayer, gifts to temples or offerings made at shrines. Much of what Quaritch Wales described was the popular form of divination that could be obtained from the use of a skilled soothsayer. This person could be a local monk or abbot. Despite fortune-telling being dismissed by the Buddha, one of the chief disciples, Moggellana, was an expert and many monks follow his example (Quaritch Wales 1983, 1981: ix).

Despite Quaritch Wales’ early comments that the treatise, in its many forms, is still relevant to modern Thai, Keyes (1985) felt that he did not make anything more than patronizing remarks about the role of divination in contemporary society. For example, Quaritch Wales took a great deal of time to explain the placement of pimples as portentous signs (Quaritch Wales 1983, 1981: 47-50). He spent much of the book discussing the practices that had an Indian or Chinese origin but little on how they had been synthesized by the Thai. The underlying principles of divination are difficult to fathom from the book. Keyes (1985: 686) was not impressed with the work. He wrote that if divination means the way in which signs are drawn from one domain of spiritual experience to portend future events in another domain, that of human action, then the application of the zodiac elements of day, month and year of a twelve-year cycle makes the book little more than a study in planetary positions.

Nicholas Tapp (1988) was more forgiving. As a professor of anthropology at the Australian National University he concentrated on studies of the Hmong diaspora in Southeast Asia and Australia. He called Quaritch Wales' book 'a remarkable work of scholarship on popular methods of Thai divination' that was enlivened by the author's appreciation of Thai culture and its values (Tapp 1988: 333). However, his final comment was that *karma* can explain both fortune and misfortune adequately but cannot explain when or where the fruits of past *karma* will fall. Surely then, divination should satisfy the need for greater fatalism not less. If that were true, then one would expect Thai to appreciate the inherent fatalism in scientific astrology over traditional forms of divination, yet they do not.

A recent study of the *BrahmajāTi* by Boubouleix (1993) delves more deeply into the nature and structure of the divination treatise. This basic work of Thai contemporary Brahmanism is made up of two ancient texts, the *Gāmbhir*, and the *Tāmrā*. They deal not only with magic, astronomy, astrology and divination but also reveal the daily life of the Court guru and Brahmins. The *ācārya* or guru is the preceptor or teacher in religious matters and the meaning in Thailand could apply to either Brahmins or Buddhists. For many centuries these practices were carefully guarded and passed on to a few sons of priests. The texts describe the appropriate functional elements to be undertaken during a court ritual as well as the grounds for the performance of exorcisms, purification, invocation of deities and spiritual mediums. With his long history of interest in Thai Court rituals it is understandable that Quaritch Wales found the *BrahmajāTi* interesting. Court divination is based on the reading of signs and omens and many of the astrological signs have been taken from archaic Indian or Chinese elements that Boubouleix (1993: 351) reports have been synthesized into Thai religious and philosophical structures. In recent years there appears to have been a resurgence of interest in the *BrahmajāTi* in central Thailand especially as evidenced in the sale in Bangkok markets of amulets, talismans and *yantra*, magic diagrams used to conjure the local spirits, *phi*.

Contrary to Quaritch Wales' rather superficial examination, the treatise covers more than just astrology. It contains sections on exorcism and purification of living beings and habitat, on the invocation of Brahmanic divinities and the *phi*, rules for the rituals of offering, the means for the application of healing of physical ailments and psychic disorders, the sacralization of objects, the fulfilment of favours, the acquisition of merit and the correct means for the composition of talismans (Boubouleix 1993: 354-355). It has absorbed influences from both the religious cultures of China and India. From China it has retained the various notions related to the segmentation of time as well as the zodiacal cycle of twelve-year Chinese astrology. From India comes the one-year zodiacal cycle that is elaborated from the periodic cycles of the moon and sun. As Boubouleix (1993: 361) noted

Pour les Thaïlandais, à l'aspiration au savoir total est mise en exergue la connaissance de l'événement isolé relative à chaque carrière individuelle. Ils se préoccupent davantage de ce qui pourra advenir dans un futur immédiat que de l'obtention de révélations générales ou abstraites sur la nature et la fonction de l'univers et de l'humanité.

[For Thais, the desire to know all is highlighted by the knowledge that the isolated event will have relative to each individual situation/life. They are more concerned with what may happen in the immediate future than with obtaining general or abstract revelations about the nature and function of the universe and of humanity.]

But this statement by Boubouleix, in her detailed and involved study of the BrahmajāTi, perhaps adds some credence to Quaritch Wales' tentative understanding of why the popular aspects of fortune-telling remain an important ingredient in the daily life of the Thai people.

Endnote: The Quaritch Wales legacy

Horace Geoffrey Quaritch Wales died in 1981. He left an estate valued at £86,368 [£315,000 in current values] to his wife Dorothy (High Court of Justice. District Probate Registry at Winchester 1981; Sheppard 1982). He had been a Director of Bernard Quaritch Ltd from 1939 to 1971 and Chairman of the Board for twenty years from 1951 to 1971. He was also a member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1947 to 1958 and Vice-president of the Society for four years from 1964 to 1968. In his will he left the papers relating to his work at Bernard Quaritch Ltd and some personal papers of his grandfather, Bernard Quaritch, to the company archives.

Quaritch Wales was a product of the British colonial world. He worked in Southeast Asia at a time when few scholars were required to be competent in Asian languages. Notes state that he could speak basic Thai and this would have been a requirement of his employment in Bangkok as a teacher in the 1920s. It is not known if he could speak Malay. Most certainly he relied on secondary sources with little input from local people. Even his intellectual role model, Sir George Frazer, was an armchair theorist who compiled his many volumes of *The Golden Bough* from notes compiled by research assistants. Quaritch Wales had the advantages of some personal wealth and position that enabled him to commit to fifty years of research and writing. Much of that material is now regarded as arcane but despite some academic opinion it is not valueless.

His methodological approach to Southeast Asian history is now outdated. Now it is important for historians of early Southeast Asia to reclaim a past that has been overridden and devalued by Western Imperialism (Reynolds 1995: 430). The current search for an authentic Southeast Asia beneath the layers of Indic and Sinic heritage continues to be a direction of research. It was Jacob van Leur (1967: 95) who made the memorable statement that foreign cultural and religious forms were but a 'thin and flaking glaze' and that underneath the old indigenous forms continued to exist. Quaritch Wales used the term 'local genius' to describe indigenous agency but he applied it only to Java, Champa and Cambodia. These were the countries of his eastern zone of Indianization. Reynolds (1995: 432) was correct to call his methodologies 'the tangled theories from Freudian and behavioral psychology [that] were too mechanically applied for Western historians, and his work is not taken very seriously today.' Now the appeals to define local agency

if much altered from [Quaritch] Wales's confused formulations nearly forty [now nearly sixty] years ago, and the call for "autonomous history", which has left its traces in the historiography but is also expressed differently nowadays, have been very productive (Reynolds 1995: 435).

This field of indigenous agency is essential to the restructuring of contemporary Southeast Asian history.

The Quaritch Wales archive contains a large volume of material that can be reworked and used as a foundation for current research. His collection of articles, books and especially photographs in the Royal Asiatic Society Archives is of considerable value. The archaeological work undertaken by Quaritch Wales and Dorothy Wales in the Bujang valley continues to be the foundation for current research there by archaeologists from Malaysia. What we have learnt from current research is that the

region was a very different one to the place excavated in the late 1930s. It was an extensive entrepôt complex where three main areas grew and declined over many centuries (Murphy 2018: 362). Current research now focusses on the Sungai Batu area where ninety-seven mounds have been mapped with only ten of those excavated. Two structures, a possible *stiipa* and a jetty, have been dated as early as the 1st and the 2nd centuries CE although some caution has been expressed over this extremely early dating (Murphy 2018: 379 and fn109). Certainly, evidence of movements in populations and flexibility in social structure as a result of environmental changes have been long recognized (Allen 1988). The cosmopolitan population would have been merchants and traders, both Buddhist and Hindu, and local Malay visitors to the settlements. Most religious structures surveyed and excavated are small. They developed more organically than the monumental religious architecture at Angkor or Java (Murphy 2018: 382).

Despite his errors and biases, and these are evident in nearly all his writings, Quaritch Wales has left a lasting legacy in a collection of architectural sites and archaeological objects that reflect cosmopolitan identities. These should further inform us of the nature and the extent of his work in the Bujang valley and in Thailand. A number of sites uncovered by Quaritch Wales in Kedah have been dismantled and relocated to the museum grounds at Merbok where they create a false impression of the archaeological landscape, but these steps may be seen as practical and protective in the future (Murphy 2018: 376 fn92; Adi [bin] Haji Taha 1987). Representing a pre-Islamic past in Malaysian society that defines its ethnicity and Islamic faith as corner-stones of its social identity raises tensions within contemporary society (Murphy 2018: 359). Archeologists working in Malaysia need to be mindful of public opinion. Presentation of a pre-Islamic history in museums has been examined in some detail by Abu Talib Ahmad (2008 and 2015) who noted that rising Islamic conservatism poses a threat to Hindu and Buddhist heritage.

Quaritch Wales and his wife Dorothy retired to their large country home 'Oversted' in Scotland Lane, Haslemere in Surrey. A visitor to the house who met Quaritch Wales and Dorothy in Cambridge recalls it as typically 'Surrey Tudor': large, half-timbered and full of dark, heavy but comfortable furniture surrounded by extensive lawns and gardens. Both Quaritch Wales and his wife projected a solid middle-class, middle-aged, affluent image (Email from Janice Stargardt 12 October 2018). After he died his obituary was written by Tan Sri Dato' Dr Haji Abdul Mubin Sheppard (Sheppard 1982) with a short bibliography compiled by Professor MC Subhadradis Diskul. Sheppard was a highly respected man who, after many years in Malaysia, converted to Islam. He and Quaritch Wales would have known each other over a long period, both in social circles in Malaya and through the pages of the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Luyt 2012: 46). Sheppard was editor of the journal from 1972 to 1995: a period in which Quaritch Wales published many articles.

Before she died, Dorothy Wales republished her husband's first book *Siamese state ceremonies: their history and function* (Quaritch Wales 1992). She had his supplementary notes published at the end of the book (Quaritch Wales 1971). These brief sketchy notes he had written because he felt no one was seriously looking at the changing nature of royal ceremonies in Thailand. The new publication, like that of his posthumous study, *Divination in Thailand*, was printed by Curzon Press in Richmond, Surrey. The negotiations between the press and Dorothy Wales were extensive. Original plans to print 700 copies of *Siamese state ceremonies with supplementary notes* at a cost of £3,948 [£7,700] were revised and only 500 copies at a cost of £3,350 [£6,500] eventuated. In an agreement with Dorothy the press was paid £3,000 [£5,000] (Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/6/3/1-QW/6/3/30). All family connection with the old firm Bernard Quaritch Ltd had ceased by then but both Dorothy and her husband had been surrounded by Thai culture and custom for fifty years. It is tempting to



Image 07.007:

'Oversted', Scotland Lane, Haslemere, Surrey
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection 8/10)

think that she was producing a traditional Thai cremation volume in her husband's memory. This is a genre of literature unique to Thailand (Olson 1992). The custom of presenting cremation volumes containing a biography of the deceased along with his or her favourite literature, and writings on religion, history or archaeology, follows the allegorical nature of Buddhist karmic redistribution, or what Olson (1992: 286) calls 'do good, receive good, do evil, receive evil'. It grew out of the traditional emphasis on gift giving associated with earning merit. Many cremation volumes in Thailand contain early writings of well-to-do people and are a valuable source of out-of-print literature. The reproduction of Quaritch Wales' old book on Siamese ceremonies was one such volume. By the time of his death it had been out-of-print for decades. Even the second edition of 1961 is hard to obtain outside a library. It is fortunate for current scholars that Dorothy Wales had the old material combined and reprinted.

Dorothy Clementina Wales died in Surrey in June 1994. She had been a constant source of encouragement to her husband and a loyal, hard-working, resolute companion. It was his good fortune to have his wife's practical and intellectual support over fifty years. She was a well-educated woman, who gave up her own career as a solicitor to follow her husband's dreams, and this shows her strength of character and resolve. She accompanied him on all his archaeological expeditions at a time when the average middle-class white woman did not tramp across mountains or dig for Indian ruins in the jungles of Malaya. But like many women of her class and time, she kept herself in the background. Her contribution needs to be acknowledged in this story. Fortunately, she made a substantial bequest to the Royal Asiatic Society at the time of her death (High Court of Justice. District Probate Registry at Winchester 1994; Guy 1995; Library, Royal Asiatic Society 1995). Three large bookcases, a desk, a round table and a corner chair were among the items gifted to the Society. Non-printed material included a small Thai manuscript chest, three metal figurines and two wooden ones and a metal vase, five Chinese or Japanese scroll paintings and two Tibetan *Thangka* paintings on cloth. A small box of pottery was also part of the collection. Her will was valued at £404,989 [£765,000 in current values] when probate was granted in August 1994. In addition to the gifts of

library furniture, she gave copyright to all Quaritch Wales' published works to the Royal Asiatic Society. She also left the society a financial bequest of £80,000 to be used for the advancement of Southeast Asian cultural studies. Personal bequests were made to numerous members of her family some of whom lived in the United States. There was no mention of Kathleen, the daughter of Lena, noted in Quaritch Wales' divorce affidavit of 1930.



Image 07.008:

Dorothy Wales and HG Quaritch Wales in Southeast Asia, possibly the Cameron Highlands
(Royal Asiatic Society Archives. HG Quaritch Wales Collection)

Among the papers bequeathed to the society are manuscripts of considerable value. The collection includes note-books, diaries, newspaper scrapbooks of events in Thailand in the 1930s, and a large number of photographs, many of which are glass plate negatives and photographic negatives. These need special attention to develop into positive images, but the resulting collection is an outstanding body of photographic material relating to Southeast Asia in the 1930s to 1950s. In the printed material were multiple copies of the books written by Quaritch Wales, multiple copies of off-prints of his numerous articles and back issues of journals, a small collection of maps and a small collection of other books on Southeast Asia written by various authors (Library, Royal Asiatic Society 1995; Royal Asiatic Society Archives QW/1-QW/11). The archive is a rich resource that is now being reclassified for easier access. His archive is substantial but it is apparent that Dorothy Wales had an active role in selecting much of the material for there are few personal papers and little correspondence apart from that in field diaries. There are well-drawn plans and composed photographs that are not identified but speak of her involvement. His fieldnotes and plans are untidy, and his writing is at times impossible to comprehend. But he was especially fortunate to have financial resources to support his research in Southeast Asia and family connections with a proud, historically important bookselling and publishing company that could print his many monographs. He lived at a time when antiquarianism was giving way to professional university-trained archaeology. Despite his pride in his academic credentials he remained a dilettante. If that sounds judgmental one has only to look through his writings and his archive to see how he moved from subject to subject without finding solid ground for professionalism.

John Guy (1995: 92) eloquently stated ‘[i]t is perhaps time for a fuller assessment of Quaritch Wales’s contribution to the study of Southeast Asian history. This is both as a pioneering archaeologist and as an historian who did not shy away from attempting to present the key issues of Southeast Asian history in the broader and more difficult framework of comparative cultural studies.’ Regrettably, he was impatient and did not concentrate on one important topic for any length of time. He was easily distracted and keen only to display finds that suited his theories of Indianization and later his interest in cosmology and primitive religions. He could have made many more discoveries in the Kedah valley had he concentrated on documenting, mapping and recording more precisely. His work on Dvāravatī and moated sites is a foundation for other work but he only touched on an understanding of its art, history and culture. Si Thep and its temples were only examined for three weeks, Pong Tuek for only a few days. This illustrates the nature of his work: piecemeal, rapid and poorly presented.

Physically Quaritch Wales was a tall, large man with a loud voice but in later life he was gripped with moods of suspicion and jealousy. He applied for the chair in the history of Southeast Asia at the University of London in 1949. It was given to the outstanding scholar of Burma and Southeast Asia, Daniel George Edward Hall. From that time he felt deliberately excluded and isolated from the academic world. Much of that was due to Quaritch Wales’ querulous temperament and his readiness to take umbrage at perceived, and real, slights. Despite his failings he was a man of drive and ambition. He deserves to have his place in Southeast Asian historiography recognized. This research report has been prepared as a study, both critical and sympathetic, of the work of this pioneering archaeologist, art historian and often uncompromising man.

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