

Kata Pengantar

BAGI pihak Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia saya merasa berbesar hati untuk menyampaikan sepatah dua kata di dalam monograf yang berjudul *LEMBAH BUJANG* ini. Sesungguhnya pihak Muzium Negara harus disanjung tinggi di atas dayausaha mereka dalam merancang dan akhirnya berjaya membina sebuah Muzium Arkeologi di tapak yang bersejarah ini. Memang tidak dapat dinafikan bahawa Lembah Bujang merupakan satu-satunya tapak sejarah awal tanah air yang sangat terkenal apatah lagi dengan pembinaan semula beberapa candi-candi zaman silam untuk pengetahuan orang ramai dan para pelancong.

Maka adalah sewajarnya Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia menerbitkan monograf ini bersempena dengan perasmian Muzium Arkeologi Lembah Bujang. Sebenarnya Persatuan Sejarahlah yang mula-mula sekali mendedahkan segala hasil carigali di Lembah Bujang selepas Perang Dunia Kedua melalui majalahnya *Malaysia in History*. Oleh yang demikian kami rasa semua makalah dan rencana mengenai Lembah Bujang yang pernah diterbitkan di dalam beberapa keluaran majalah tersebut di antara 1958 hingga 1979 perlu dikumpul dan diterbitkan semula dalam bentuk yang baru, di dalam monograf ini dimuatkan juga dua rencana yang terbaharu. Diharapkan dengan penerbitan monograf ini orang ramai akan lebih mudah mengetahui latarbelakang sejarah Lembah Bujang dan menarik perhatian para sarjana untuk menjalankan penyelidikan selanjutnya.

Hamdan Tahir

TAN SRI DATUK HAJI HAMDAN SHEIKH TAHIR

Pengerusi Jawatankuasa Kerja
Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia dan
Naib Canselor,
Universiti Sains Malaysia.

23 Januari 1980

Iringan Kata

TERLEBIH dahulu izinkan saya untuk mengucapkan ribuan terima kasih di atas kesempatan ini yang diberi oleh Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia untuk menulis sepatah dua kata didalam buku ini.

Ujudnya Muzium Negara adalah kemuncak dari inspirasi rakyat Malaysia yang mahukan warisan budaya dan sejarahnya dikumpulkan, diselidiki dan seterusnya dipelihara dan pengetahuan-pengetahuan mengenainya disebarkan kepada setiap lapisan anggota masyarakat yang mana bukan sahaja ditujukan kepada jenerasi kita kini malahan untuk jenerasi kita yang akan datang.

Jadi di dalam mengisi inspirasi ini dan sesuai pula dengan peranannya sebagai sebuah institusi semi-akademik, Muzium Negara telah menjalankan beberapa aktibiti yang merangkumi dari usaha-usaha pengumpulan, penyelidikan dan penyebaran pengetahuan mengenai warisan budaya dan sejarah iaitu berdasarkan kemampuannya dari segi kewangan dan kakitangan, khususnya di tahap-tahap awal penubuhannya.

Sukacita saya nyatakan bahawa kesemua bahan-bahan warisan budaya dan sejarah negara yang telah berjaya dikumpul setakat ini di Muzium Negara adalah terbuka kepada bukan sahaja pegawai-pegawai dari Muzium Negara malahan kepada para pengkaji dan penyelidik budaya dan sejarah tanahair untuk melakukan penyelidikan selanjutnya. Apa yang dipentingkan ialah asalkan pengetahuan-pengetahuan mengenai warisan budaya dan sejarah negara itu tersebar luas. Muzium Negara akan memberi apa jua kerjasama kearah itu.

Dalam hubungan ini saya ingin mengucapkan ribuan terima kasih kepada semua pihak yang telah sedikit sebanyak turut sama membantu Muzium Negara di dalam mengisi inspirasi yang tersebut diawal-awal tadi. Persatuan-persatuan sukarela, umpamanya Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia telah banyak memberi sumbangan melalui buah fikiran yang telah dihulurkan oleh ahli-ahlinya, khususnya penulisan-penulisan mereka tentang aktibiti-aktibiti dan projek-projek yang telah dilaksanakan oleh Muzium Negara sehingga kini sebagai contohnya di Lembah Bujang yang dikumpulkan semula di dalam buku ini.

Saya rasa buku ini akan menjadi sebuah dokumentasi sejarah negara ini yang penting, khususnya bagi mereka yang ingin tahu tentang perjalanan sejarah dan

keadaan masyarakat kita di zaman silam. Tambahan pula bila menyedari bahawa bahan-bahan rujukan mengenai sejarah silam tanahair kita ini amat berkurangan. Lantaran itu kelahiran buku ini adalah amat dialu-alukan.

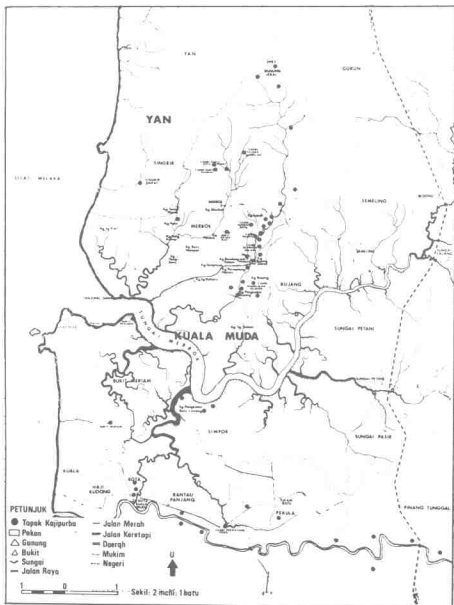
Sekian, terima kasih.

“BERKHIDMAT UNTUK NEGARA”

Shahrum bin Yub.

(SHAHRUM BIN YUB, JMN, KMN, SMS, PJK),
KETUA PENGARAH,
JABATAN MUZIUM

23hb. Januari, 1980



LEMBAH BUJANG KEDAH

Lembah Bujang

LEONG SAU HENG

SEMENANJUNG Malaysia, sejak permulaan abad Tahun Masihi lagi merupakan suatu kawasan di Asia Tenggara yang penting dalam kegiatan perdagangan purba. Kedudukannya di tengah-tengah perjalanan di antara Timur dengan Barat menyebabkan ramai ahli pelayaran singah di pelabuhannya. Melalui sumber-sumber asing, seperti tulisan tahunan wangsa negeri Cina sejak abad ketiga T.M. lagi kita dapat mengetahui bahawa sebelum abad kelima atau keenam T.M. lagi telah muncul beberapa negeri purba seperti *Tun Sun*, *Pan-pan*, *Chih-tu* dan *Lang-ya-hsiu* di bahagian utara Semenanjung Malaysia serta kawasan pinggirnya di Segenting Kra. Tetapi oleh sebab maklumat yang diberikan tentang kedudukan geografi negeri-negeri purba tidak begitu jelas maka tempat-tempat itu masih tidak dapat ditetapkan lagi. Walau bagaimanapun adalah jelas bahawa kepentingan negeri-negeri purba itu ada kaitannya dengan jalan perdagangan di antara Timur dengan Barat yang menyeberangi Semenanjung ini pada masa yang silam itu; Kebanyakan negeri awal itu merupakan tempat persinggahan serta tempat pembekalan bagi beberapa jenis hasil tempatan seperti bijih timah, emas dan juga hasil hutan seperti gaharu, kapur, damar, gading, tanduk badak, lilin lebah dan kemenyan.

Kepentingan Semenanjung Malaysia dari segi perdagangan purba boleh juga dikesan melalui tinggalan-tinggalan arkeologi yang terdapat di Perlis, Kedah, Seberang Prai dan Perak. Antara barang purba yang biasanya ditemui ialah tembikar Cina, beberapa jenis manik dari India atau Timur Dekat, serta benda-benda pemujaan agama asing terutamanya dari kepercayaan Budha dan Hindu seperti arca dan batu bertulis (berkaitan dengan agama Budha). Kadang-kadang kepingan gelas barang ciptaan Timur Dekat juga ditemui. Tetapi yang terkenal sekali ialah beberapa tugu purba di kawasan muara Sungai Merbok dan muara Sungai Muda.

Penemuan tugu-tugu purba di Kedah telah dilaporkan sejak 1830an lagi. Carigali arkeologi di kawasan itu hanya bermula pada tahun 1936–1937 dan diadakan sekali lagi pada tahun 1941. Selepas Perang Dunia Kedua, kerja carigali di Kedah diteruskan sehingga masa kini. Hasil daripada semua usaha carigali itu sebanyak 50 tapak dapat ditemui.

Kebanyakan tapak yang dijumpai terletak di Lembah Bujang dan kawasan berdekatan di sebelah selatan Gunung Jerai. Kebanyakan tugu purba yang

terdapat di sana sebenarnya merupakan tempat ibadat yang dibina untuk memuja dewa-dewi Budha dan Hindu. Oleh yang demikian bekas-bekas itu di muara Sungai Merbok dan muara Sungai Muda telah dianggap oleh pakar-pakar sebagai bahan tinggalan peneroka atau penghuni yang berasal dari benua kecil India.

Antara pakar-pakar yang berfikir begini ialah Dr. H.G. Quartich Wales. Berdasarkan sebanyak 30 tapak yang digali oleh beliau pada 1936-37, Dr. Wales berpendapat bahawa tugu-tugu yang dijumpai adalah kuil-kuil Hindu atau kuil-kuil Budha yang telah ditiru bulat-bulatnya daripada kuil-kuil di India Selatan. Mengikut beliau juga peneroka-peneroka India itu adalah bertanggungjawab untuk perkembangan kebudayaan di Lembah Bujang di Kedah.

Baru-baru ini Dr. Wales telah mengubah sedikit pendapatnya terhadap peranan peneroka India yang datang bergelombangan ke Semenanjung ini. Beliau sekarang telah mengakui bahawa peranan perdagangan harus diutamakan dalam persoalan asal-usul bekas-bekas purba di Lembah Bujang. Namun begitu Dr. Wales masih berpendapat bahawa peniaga-peniaga India yang menetap di Kedah purbalah yang mendirikan kuil-kuil itu. Di samping itu beliau masih tetap mengatakan bahawa semua kuil yang terdapat adalah ditiru dari kuil-kuil di India.

Jadi mengikut Dr. Wales pengaruh kebudayaan Hindu dan Budha dapat bertapak di pantai barat Semenanjung Malaysia bersama-sama peniaga-peniaga dari India. Dari sinilah pengaruh kebudayaan India dapat merebak ke tempat lain di rantau ini. Pada mulanya pengaruh itu adalah dalam bentuk pengaruh Budha. Menjelang abad ketujuh, iaitu pada masa kerajaan Pallava berkuasa di India Selatan, pengaruh kebudayaan India di Semenanjung ini bertambah kuat di mana pengaruh Hindu mazhab Siva dapat mempengaruhi kawasan di Lembah Bujang. Perkara ini dibuktikan dengan adanya kuil-kuil Siva yang berpusat disebelah pantai barat Sungai Bujang. Pada penghujung abad kelapan pula, pengaruh Budha dapat mempengaruhi semula kawasan muara Merbok di Kedah; pengaruh Budha ini adalah dari mazhab Mahayana.

Sebahagian besar daripada pendapat Dr. Wales telah ditentang hebat oleh seorang ahli arkeologis, Dr. H.A. Lamb. Salah satu tapak arkeologi yang terkenal yang telah digunakan oleh Dr. Lamb sebagai alasan tunggal bagi menafikan hipotesis Dr. Wales tadi ialah Candi Bukit Batu Pahat yang terletak di Sungai Merbok Kecil di sebelah kaki Gunung Jerai, tidak berapa jauh dari Lembah Bujang. Hasil usaha carigali semula Dr. Lamb, yang lebih menyeluruh daripada yang dijalankan oleh Dr. Wales di tapak Candi Bukit Batu Pahat pada tahun 1958-59, telah muncul satu gambaran yang lebih lengkap terhadap rangka-rangka kuil itu serta beberapa ciri kebudayaan yang berkaitan dengan peranan binaan itu pada masa abad kesembilan T.M.

Penemuan-penemuan baru di Candi Bukit Batu Pahat telah mendorong Dr. Lamb tertanya-tanya tentang pendapat-pendapat Wales terhadap tapak itu dan pada umumnya juga tentang hipotesisnya terhadap persoalan "ke Indiaan" di rantau ini.

Antara bahan-bahan yang penting sekali yang terdapat daripada carigali semula Dr. Lamb ialah enam buah cepu batu granit. Dalam tiap-tiap cepu

terdapat sembilan lubang untuk mengisi benda-benda kecil. Satu daripada cecu-cepu granit yang dijumpai masih mengandungi beberapa benda pemujaan purba seperti biji-biji permata, mutiara dan ketul-ketul logam serta beberapa lapis emas, perak dan tembaga dalam pelbagai rupa seperti rupa lembu jantan, kura-kura, bunga teratai dan rupa dewi dalam keadaan duduk. Terdapat juga lapis-lapis emas yang dicapakan dengan huruf atau simbol. Sebuah cembul tembaga juga dijumpai di lubang yang besar di bahagian tengah dalam cecu batu granit itu.

Mengikut pendapat Dr. Lamb pemujaan yang ditandakan oleh benda-benda dari cecu tersebut tidak merupakan pemujaan Hindu mazhab Siva. Sebenarnya benda-benda yang ditemui itu lebih merupakan suatu jenis pemujaan *tantrik*, iaitu satu jenis pemujaan di mana terdapat ciri-ciri agama Budha mazhab Mahayana dan agama Hindu yang termasuk pemujaan Siva serta pemujaan Vishnu. Jadi Candi Bukit Batu Pahat bukanlah sebuah kuil Siva seperti yang dianggap oleh Dr. Wales.

Di samping itu Dr. Lamb telah mengemukakan bahawa adanya kemungkinan besar jenis agama *tantrik* itu termasuk unsur-unsur pemujaan tempatan, iaitu pemujaan nenek moyang. Cecu-cepu batu granit tidak pernah dijumpai di India, sebaliknya cecu-cepu yang agak sama dengan jenis yang terdapat di Candi Bukit Batu Pahat telah juga dijumpai di kawasan kepulauan Asia Tenggara, terutamanya di Jawa Tengah. Jadi jelaslah bahawa cecu-cepu yang tertimbus di bawah bahagian tapak tempat suci (*sanctuary*) Candi Bukit Batu Pahat merupakan satu ciri kebudayaan tempatan. Seterusnya Lamb juga mengatakan bahawa walaupun tidak boleh ditentukan sama ada cembul tembaga yang terdapat di lubang tengah sebuah cecu dari candi itu sebenarnya mengandungi sisa-sisa manusia, kesan-kesan bahan organik telah dijumpai melekat pada permukaan bawah cembul itu. Seterusnya Lamb berpendapat bahawa ada kemungkinan besar cembul tembaga yang terdapat daripada cecu yang masih utuh ialah bekas untuk menyimpan abu-abu raja-raja tempatan yang telah mangkat. Oleh yang demikian boleh dikatakan cecu-cepu batu granit yang terdapat di Candi Bukit Batu Pahat itu ada kaitannya dengan istiadat pemakaman tempatan.

Dari segi senibina juga terdapat ciri-ciri yang tidak begitu merupai unsur-unsur dari tradisi senibina India Selatan. Paling penting ialah beberapa batu granit yang berlubang di tengah-tengahnya. Jenis batu-batu yang berlubang itu adalah tapak-tapak untuk meletakkan tiang-tiang kayu. Di Candi Bukit Batu Pahat tidak kurang daripada 66 tapak tiang kayu dijumpai, iaitu 26 di bahagian "mandapanya"¹ dan 40 di bahagian "vimananya"². Ternyata bahawa candi itu bukan hanya diperbuat daripada batu granit sahaja, bahkan sebahagian besar bahagian atasnya (*superstructure*) diperbuat daripada kayu. Mengikut Dr. Lamb besar kemungkinannya bumbung candi tersebut juga diperbuat daripada daun nipah (atap).

Walaupun semua tiang kayu serta bumbung "atap" Candi Bukit Batu Pahat tidak dapat dilihat lagi sekarang, susunan tapak-tapak tiang yang terdapat memberikan gambaran tentang bentuk bumbungnya, terutamanya bumbung di bahagian *vimana* candi itu. Sungguhpun saiz *vimana* (10.7m x 10.7m) adalah lebih kecil daripada *mandapanya* (13.4m x 10.7m) lebih banyak tapak tiang

dijumpai di bahagian *vimana*. Di sana susunan tapak-tapak juga menunjukkan bahawa bumbung *vimana* itu ada perbezaan daripada yang terdapat di *mandapa*. Di bahagian *vimana* selain daripada adanya lebih banyak tapak tiang terdapat pula empat kumpulan tapak tiang (yang mengandungi tiga buah tapak tiang yang berdekatan). Kumpulan tapak tiang itu terdapat di empat penjuru luar dinding yang dipercayai adalah bekas sebuah menara. Mengikut Dr. Lamb menara itu yang terletak di tengah bahagian *vimana* merupakan bangunan utama Candi Bukit Batu Pahat itu. Menara itu adalah tempat paling suci untuk tujuan menjalankan ibadat pemujaan. Sebahagian besar kaki dinding menara yang diperbuat daripada batu granit masih ada di situ lagi. Berdasarkan sedikit tinggalan kepingan batu pahat dari bahagian penjuru bumbung menara itu, serta seketul batu pahatan (bentuk *curvilinear*) pada puncak menara yang beliau telah kumpulkan Dr. Lamb berpendapat bahawa bumbung menara juga diperbuat daripada batu dan bentuknya adalah bertingkat-tingkat. Dalam pada itu menara itu dikelilingi oleh sebuah serambi yang dilindungi oleh bumbung "atap". Perkara ini dibuktikan oleh banyak tapak tiang yang terdapat di keliling menara. Tapak-tapak tiang yang banyak terdapat di bahagian *vimana* itu merupai tempat-tempat untuk meletakkan tiang kayu yang digunakan bagi menopang bumbung "atap" serambi itu. Terdapat juga tiang (sebagaimana yang ditunjukkan oleh empat kumpulan tapak di penjuru luar menara) yang menunjang menara batu yang berat itu.

Kesemua ciri-ciri tersebut di atas telah mendorong Dr. Lamb membuat kesimpulan bahawa Candi Bukit Batu Pahat, terutama *vimananya*, merupai sejenis binaan khas yang tidak pernah ditemui di India, malah apa yang terdapat di Candi Bukit Batu Pahat itu adalah sejenis binaan ciptaan tempatan yang menggunakan bahan binaan campuran, iaitu batu dan kayu serta daun nipah atau "atap". Beliau selanjutnya merujuk kepada contoh dari kuil-kuil purba yang terdapat di Padang Lawas di Sumatra. Di sana juga terdapat ciri senibina khas seperti tapak-tapak tiang yang membolehkan kita membuat kesimpulan bahawa kuil-kuil itu juga terdiri daripada bahan bina campuran batu (bata) dan kayu. Antara kuil-kuil purba itu, Biaro Si Topajan telah dianggap oleh Dr. Lamb sebagai contoh kuil purba yang mempunyai pelan atau rangka yang hampir sama dengan pelan Candi Bukit Batu Pahat. Walaupun bahagian *mandapa* dan bahagian *vimana* Biaro Si Topajan itu adalah terpisah dan tidak disambungkan seperti yang terdapat di Candi Bukit Batu Pahat, pada keseluruhannya boleh dikatakan kedua-dua kuil purba itu mungkin berpunca dari satu tradisi senibina yang sama, iaitu tradisi senibina Asia Tenggara.

Di sini harus ditekankan bahawa senibina Asia Tenggara pada masa kedatangan pengaruh kesenian dari India sudah mempunyai tradisi yang sangat lama. Tradisi itu boleh dikesan pada Zaman Gangsa Asia Tenggara. Bukti-bukti itu boleh dilihat dari beberapa gendang gangsa purba jenis *Dong Son* yang terdapat pada Zaman Gangsa itu. Antara perhiasan yang terdapat di permukaan *tympana* beberapa buah gendang gangsa itu, khususnya yang terdapat di Vietnam Utara dan di Pulau Sangeang Indonesia Timur, dapat digambarkan rupa rumah-rumah atau pondok-pondok jenis *pile-dwelling*. Jenis rumah itu yang berdiri atas tiang-tiang kayu masih dapat dilihat di kawasan-kawasan desa Asia Tenggara hari ini. Jadi tidak boleh dinafikan bahawa tradisi pembinaan yang

menggunakan kayu seperti penggunaan tiang kayu untuk menopang bangunan memang telah lama wujud sebelum kedatangan pengaruh senibina India terhadap pembinaan rumah ibadat di rantau Asia Tenggara.

Oleh yang demikian boleh dikatakan bahawa penggunaan tiang kayu (yang kita dapat mengesan pada tapak-tapak batu granit bagi tiang kayu itu) yang terdapat di Candi Bukit Batu Pahat dan 10 kuil purba lagi di kawasan Kedah itu sebenarnya merupakan satu sifat tempatan yang telah diserap ke dalam tradisi senibina India yang pada masa itu sedang berpengaruh kuat di beberapa ibu kota negeri-negeri awal Asia Tenggara. Tradisi senibina baru itu lebih merupakan satu tradisi yang berkaitan rapat dengan agama-agama India (Hindu ataupun Budha). Di samping itu tradisi senibina asing itu adalah satu tradisi yang menggunakan bahan binaan yang lebih tahan seperti batu dan juga bata. Batu merupakan bahan yang lebih kekal dianggap bahan yang sesuai untuk membina rumah-rumah dewa-dewi. Jadi bila pengaruh senibina India itu merebak ke Asia Tenggara ini batu (dan juga bata) dijadikan bahan utama dalam pembinaan bangunan-bangunan ibadat pada masa silam itu. Beberapa tugu agama (*religious monuments*) yang dapat berkembang pada masa purba itu masih dapat dikesan lagi sehingga ini. Walau bagaimanapun sebilangan besar tugu sebenarnya bukan bangunan yang ditiru secara langsung dari India. Bahkan terdapat banyak unsur senibina tempatan, contohnya yang termasyur di Asia Tenggara ini ialah Candi Borobudur di Jawa Tengah dan kuil Angkor Wat di Kamboja. Kuil-kuil purba yang terdapat di Kedah juga tidak dikecualikan. Di sana unsur-unsur senibina tempatan, terutamanya yang berdasarkan kerja seni kayu – pembinaan, ukiran dan turisan dapat dicampurkan dengan senibina India yang mengutamakan batu sebagai bahan binaannya. Sungguhpun kebanyakan kerja seni kayu itu tidak kelihatan lagi sebab tidak tahan masa, kadang-kadang kerja seni itu dapat dikesan juga seperti pada tapak-tapak tiang (yang diperbuat daripada batu granit) yang dijumpai di beberapa kuil purba di Kedah itu, terutamanya di Candi Bukit Batu Pahat. Selanjutnya ada kemungkinan Candi Bukit Batu Pahat mempunyai ukiran dan turisan pada tiang-tiang kayu dan pada bahagian bumbungnya. Tetapi, sayangnya kerja seni kayu itu tidak lagi boleh didapati buktinya. Apa yang terdapat di tapak Candi Bukit Batu Pahat sekarang ialah hanya bahagian candi yang terdiri daripada batu granit yang pada umumnya tidak mempunyai sebarang perhiasan pun. Kekurangan perhiasan di Candi Bukit Batu Pahat itu telah lama merunsingkan pakar-pakar. Tidak dinafikan bahawa Candi Bukit Batu Pahat merupakan sebuah kuil yang utama di kawasan Kedah pada masa silam sebab tidak banyak kuil purba yang terdapat di sana terdiri daripada batu granit (kerana batu granit itu adalah bahan yang agak lebih susah dikerjakan). Seterusnya mengapakah Candi Bukit Batu Pahat yang mustahak itu begitu sederhana rupa bentuknya? Nampaknya jawapan ini membawa kita pula kepada persoalan terhadap kerja seni kayu yang mungkin terus berkembang pada masa itu, walaupun penerusan itu adalah dalam konteks satu tradisi senibina baru (dari India) yang mengutamakan penggunaan batu dalam kerja binaannya.

Satu lagi sifat khas yang ditemui di Candi Bukit Batu Pahat ialah penggunaan batu tongkol sungai (*river boulders*) sebagaimana yang terdapat di tembok yang mengelilingi Candi itu dan juga di bahagian asas candi di bawah

lantai batu granitnya. Nampaknya penggunaan batu tongkol sungai tidak merupakan unsur kebudayaan yang berpunca daripada kebudayaan India. Bahkan pada hemat Dr. Lamb penggunaan batu tongkol sungai telah lama diamalkan di beberapa tapak *megalith* Di Asia Tenggara.

Jelaslah dari pembincangan kertas ini bahawa semakin teliti kita memerhatikan bekas-bekas yang terdapat di Candi Bukit Batu Pahat semakin banyak persoalan yang timbul. Carigali semula oleh Dr. Lamb di tapak itu telah membuka beberapa persoalan terhadap sejauhmanakah candi itu merupakan semata-matanya sebuah kuil India Selatan sebagaimana yang dianggap oleh Dr. Wales. Candi Bukit Batu Pahat itu ialah hanya satu kes yang menunjukkan betapa pentingnya ulangkaji harus dibuat pada segala tapak arkeologi di Lembah bujang dan kawasan berdekatnya yang dijumpai oleh Dr. Wales itu.

Di samping itu harus ditekankan bahawa satu kelemahan kebanyakan usaha carigali yang dilakukan di beberapa tapak arkeologi di Kedah ialah kekurangan data atau maklumat *stratigrafi* berdasarkan penelitian lapisan-lapisan tanah serta sisa-sisa kebudayaan manusia yang terdapat dalam lapisan-lapisan tanah itu. Selain daripada membina semula kuil-kuil purba yang terdapat di Kedah itu supaya dapat dipamirkan kepada orang ramai, yang lebih penting (dan itulah kerja wajib ahli arkeologi) ialah usaha membina semula sejarah purba tempat itu. Tanpa data *stratigrafi* matalamat itu tidak akan dicapai dengan sempurnanya. Contohnya walaupun sekarang telah terdapat persetujuan ramai ahli sejarah dan ahli arkeologi terhadap kepentingan peranan perdagangan purba di kawasan Kedah itu, kita hanya mempunyai sedikit maklumat sahaja terhadap perdagangan purba itu. Memang susah juga hendak mengaitkan secara langsung kegiatan perdagangan purba itu dengan tugu-tugu purba yang terdapat tanpa adanya data *stratigrafi* yang lengkap.

Namun demikian carigali Dr. Lamb pada tahun 1961 di Pengkalan Bujang di kawasan muara Sungai Merbok telah memberikan sedikit gambaran (yang pertama) tentang perdagangan purba itu. Berdasarkan penemuan beliau, terutamanya beribu-ribu serpihan tembikar Cina zaman Sung, Dr. Lamb telah berpendapat bahawa kawasan Pengkalan Bujang itu merupakan satu pelabuhan purba yang terkemuka di rantau ini dari penghujung abad kesebelas ke penghujung abad keempatbelas tahun masihi. Dalam pada itu carigali Dr. Lamb telah dilakukan pada longgok di tebing Sungai Bujang. Oleh yang demikian tapak itu juga tidak akan menghasilkan data *stratigrafi* yang sah kerana longgok itu telah lama mengalami hakisan dan lain-lain gangguan akibat dari pengaliran air sungai itu. Seterusnya tidak semestinya tinggalan-tinggalan perdagangan purba yang dijumpai di tebing sungai itu merupakan tinggalan-tinggalan dari zaman yang sama.

Pada tahun 1971 untuk tujuan menjelaskan atau mengesahkan andaian Dr. Lamb terhadap peranan ekonomi kawasan Pengkalan Bujang itu pada masa silam, terutamanya peranan tempat itu sebagai satu pusat perdagangan *entrepot*, carigali pula dijalankan di tiga tempat lain di kawasan Pengkalan Bujang itu oleh penulis kertas ini. Carigali itu yang tertumpu pada penelitian *stratigrafi* di tapak-tapak itu telah memberikan satu gambaran yang pada umumnya menyokong pendapat Dr. Lamb. Di ketiga-tiga tapak itu terdapat pelbagai serpihan tembikar

Cina zaman Sung, kepingan-kepingan perkakas gelas ciptaan Timur Dekat, manik-manik dari India serta banyak serpihan periuk tanah; semuanya dijumpai pada lapisan tanah yang sama di ketiga-tiga tempat itu. Dengan demikian tidak boleh dinafikan lagi bahawa Pengkalan Bujang itu adalah sebuah *entrepot* yang terlibat dalam perdagangan Timur-Barat dari abad kesebelas ke abad keempatbelas T.M. Dalam pada itu carigali itu telah menunjukkan bahawa kegiatan perdagangan *entrepot* itu bukanlah begitu hebat sebagaimana yang dikatakan oleh Dr. Lamb. Pada keseluruhannya lapisan yang mengandungi sisa-sisa kebudayaan itu (*cultural layer*) yang dijumpai adalah tidak begitu tebal atau padat. Pada hakikatnya apa yang ditemui oleh Dr. Lamb di tapaknya di tebing Sungai Bujang (yang mengikut beliau adalah padat dengan tinggalan-tinggalan perdagangan purba) merupakan sebuah longgok terganggu (*artificial deposit*) yang terbentuk akibat tindakan sungai.

Walaupun bagaimanapun usaha-usaha carigali di Pengkalan Bujang telah mendatangkan satu gambaran baru terhadap sejarah Semenanjung ini pada masa sebelum wujudnya Kesultanan Melaka. Penemuan-penemuan di Pengkalan Bujang telah membuktikan bahawa Semenanjung ini telah lama terlibat dalam perdagangan antarabangsa.



Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat



Kerja-kerja carigali di tapak Chandi Pengkalan Bujang



Chandi Bendang Dalam



Tapak 5: Chandi Sungai Batu



Tapak 11: Chandi Ladang Sungai Batu



Tapak 21: Bendang Dalam



Tapak 21: Bendang Dalam



Sebuah lagi tapak candi di Lembah Bujang



Kerja-kerja carigali



Tapak 16: Chandi Pendiat



Tapak 22: Di Lembah Bujang

Sejarah Penyelidikan Arkeologi Di Kedah dan Seberang Prai

NIK HASSAN SHUHAIMI

Di Kedah dan Seberang Prai terdapat banyak tinggalan sejarah yang dapat dikelaskan sebagai tinggalan candi zaman Hindu-Budha. Kebanyakan daripada tinggalan candi itu terdapat di kawasan Lembah Bujang, iaitu kawasan yang terletak ke selatan Gunung Jerai sehinggalah ke Sungai Merbok. Di Lembah Bujang itu kawasan yang paling banyak dijumpai tinggalan candi ialah di dua belah tebing Sungai Bujang, anak sungai kepada Sungai Merbok. Kawasan lain yang dijumpai tinggalan candi ialah kawasan Matang Pasir, Tikam Batu dan Kuala Muda.

Penyelidikan yang pertama ke atas tinggalan candi dibuat oleh Kol. James Low pada tahun 1930an di kawasan Seberang Prai semasa beliau bertugas sebagai Residen Pulau Pinang. Kita tidak dapat memastikan sama ada beliau juga membuat penyelidikan di Lembah Bujang. Malangnya beliau tidak membuat laporan yang lengkap tentang hasil penyelidikannya. Kita hanya dapat menatap keterangan yang berbentuk nota yang terdapat dalam buku terjemahannya, iaitu Sejarah Kedah (*Kedah Annals*) dan dalam *Essays relating to Indochina*, Jilid I, m.s. 218–234,¹ yang disuntingkan oleh Laidlay. Di antara nota-nota yang dicatatkan berhubung dengan tinggalan candi itu ialah,

"In all my numerous excursions in the jungles here I have discovered undoubted relics of a Hindoo colony, with ruins of temples. This tract extends along the talus of the Kedda mountain Jerrai . . . My researches have been unavoidably slow from the almost impenetrable state of forests"²

- 1 Colonel James Low, "An account of several inscriptions found in Province Wellesley, on the Peninsula of Malacca", *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China*, I, 1886. Reprinted from *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, XVII/II, 1848.
- 2 *Kedah Annals*. Terjemahan oleh Lt. - Col. James Low, Cetak semula Bangkok, 1908, m.s. 183.

Di tahun-tahun 1920an, I.H.N. Evans³ telah membuat penyelidikan di kawasan Lembah Bujang secara mendadak. Hasil daripada penyelidikan itu diterbitkan dalam karyanya, *Papers on Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula, Cambridge University Press, 1927*. Ini di ikuti oleh H.G. Quaritch-Wales dan isteri pada tahun 1936-37.⁴ Quaritch-Wales menjumpai 29 tinggalan candi. Lapan daripadanya terletak di Pengkalan Bujang. Daripada penyelidikan itu Quaritch-Wales telah membuat kesimpulan bahawa kawasan Kedah dan Seberang Prai merupakan kawasan penempatan orang-orang India yang berhijrah ke situ dan membentuk tamadun dan sejarah kawasan itu. Di antara keterangan yang digunakan ialah keterangan batu bersurat, plan candi dan style artefak yang dijumpai bersama dengan candi dan yang dijumpai secara tidak langsung. Pada pendapatnya keterangan itu adalah sama dengan yang terdapat di India. Dengan itu beliau mengemukakan hipotesis iaitu rangka perkembangan kronologi proses pembentukan kawasan kediaman orang-orang India di situ adalah melalui empat gelombang. Tetapi gelombang pertama tidak terdapat keterangan di kawasan itu. Jadi kawasan itu mula menerima pengaruh dari India melalui gelombang kedua. Perkembangan itu adalah seperti berikut:—

1. Tahap pertama: Peringkat Buddhis dari abad ke empat hingga abad ke lima. Tinggalannya ialah tapak 1-3.
2. Tahap kedua: Peringkat Hindu (Siva)-Pallava dari abad ke enam hingga abad ke lapan. Tinggalannya ialah tapak 4-9.
3. Tahap ketiga: Peringkat Buddhis (Mahayana) dari abad lapan ke sepuluh. Tinggalannya ialah tapak 10, 12-16 dan 31.

Pendapat Quaritch-Wales itu terutama sekali berhubung dengan pentarikan relatif peringkat perkembangan sejarah kawasan itu tidak dipersetujui oleh Lamb. Daripada tahun 1958-61, Lamb⁵ telah menggali cari tapak 8, iaitu Candi Bukit Batu Pahat, tapak 31 di Matang Pasir dan di kawasan di Pengkalan Bujang. Gali cari di Matang Pasir yang dibuat oleh Lamb itu merupakan lanjutan daripada penyelidikan dan gali cari yang dibuat oleh Quaritch-Wales pada tahun 1947,⁶ K.G. Tregonning dan M. Sullivan pada tahun 1956 dan gali cari yang dibuat oleh K.G. Tregonning pada tahun 1957.⁷

Berasaskan kepada seni bina candi, tradisi candi dengan tapak lubang tiang, cepu batu berlubang sembilan serta dengan kandungannya, Lamb

- 3 I.H.N. Evans, *Papers on ethnology and archaeology of the Malay Peninsula*, Cambridge University Press, 1927.
- 4 H.G. Quaritch-Wales, "Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XVIII/1, 1940, m.s. 1-85.
- 5 A.H. Lamb, "Miscellaneous Papers on early Hindu and Buddhist settlement in northern Malaya and Southern Thailand", *Federation Museum Journal*, VI, 1961, m.s. 1 - 90 dan "Further research at Matang Pasir", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXXII/1, 1959.
- 6 H.G. Quaritch-Wales, dalam *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XX/1, 1947, m.s. 10-11.
- 7 M. Sullivan, "Excavations in Kedah and Province Wellesley", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXXI/1, 1958, m.s. 188-219.

berpendapat bahawa fungsi dan tradisi pembinaan candi itu adalah lebih dekat kepada tradisi yang berkembang di Asia Tenggara daripada tradisi yang berkembang di India yang berkembang mengikut empat gelombang seperti yang ditegaskan oleh Quaritch-Wales. Lamb menolak pendapat Quaritch-Wales bahawa Candi Bukit Batu Pahat dibina oleh pendatang India di zaman Pallava. Penolakan Lamb itu makin jelas alasannya berikutan dengan kajian yang dibuat secara saintifik oleh F.E. Treloar keatas bahan mercury yang terdapat di Candi Batu Pahat itu. F.E. Treloar⁸ berpendapat bahawa Candi Batu Pahat dibina seawal-awalnya di antara abad 11 dan 12. Juga hasil daripada penyelidikan yang dibuat oleh Lamb di Lembah Bujang, terutamanya, menunjukkan bahawa hubungan di antara candi-candi di Lembah Bujang adalah lebih dekat dan tidak sepertimana yang dijangkakan oleh Quaritch-Wales. Dengan menganalisa keterangan yang terdapat dalam masa penyelidikannya di Lembah Bujang serta digabungkan dengan hasil galian di Pengkalan Bujang, Lamb telah mengemukakan satu rangka perkembangan kebudayaan dan tamaddun bagi kawasan Lembah Bujang dan kawasan sekitarnya:—

1. Peringkat Buddhis Awal: Keterangannya ialah 3 inskripsi Buddhis (Inskripsi Bukit Meriam Mahanavika Buddhagupta, Inskripsi Kol. James Low dan Inskripsi Bukit Choras). Kawasan kediaman pada masa ini adalah di sekitar tepi pantai. Zaman ini bermula dari abad ke 4/5.
2. Peringkat Srivijaya: Kawasan kediaman adalah di sekitar Lembah Bujang. Ini termasuklah tapak 16 dan 16a. Zaman ini ialah di antara abad ke 7 hingga abad ke 9. Di zaman ini perhubungan kawasan ini adalah lebih dekat dengan kawasan di Sumatra dan Jawa serta tanah besar Asia Tenggara. Pada zaman ini kawasan ini masih belum menjadi pusat perdagangan antarabangsa kerana tidak dijumpai tembikar zaman T'ang.
3. Peringkat Pengkalan Bujang: Zaman ini melihat Pengkalan Bujang mencapai taraf entrepot. Kawasanya meliputi Lembah Bujang dan termasuk kawasan Matang Pasir, Merbok, Batu Lintang dan Tikam Batu. Zaman ini ialah abad 10/11 sehingga abad ke 14.
4. Peringkat Kuala Muda: Perubahan kawasan ini mungkin disebabkan oleh perubahan muara Sungai Muda.

Hipotesis Lamb itu terutama sekali yang berkaitan dengan Peringkat Pengkalan Bujang di perkuatkan oleh Leong Sau Heng. Pada tahun 1971, Leong Sau Heng telah menjalankan galian di dua tapak di Pengkalan Bujang. Berpandukan kepada data tembikar yang diperolehinya dalam galian itu serta tembikar yang digalian oleh Lamb, beliau telah membina kembali kronoloji tapak arkeologi

8 F.E. Treloar and G.J. Fabris, "Evidence for the Contemporary Existence of Two Kedah Sites", *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XLVIII, m.s. 74-77.

di Pengkalan Bujang serta mengemukakan keterangan tentang perdagangan di Lembah Bujang dan hubungan luar dan dalam bagi Pengkalan Bujang.

Penyelidikan arkeologi di Lembah Bujang diteruskan dalam tahun-tahun 1970an. Hasil daripada galicari yang dibuat oleh Muzium Negara di bawah arahan Al-Rashid dan kemudian di bawah arahan Adi Haji Taha 7 buah candi dibina semula dan 2 buah candi digalicari tetapi belum selesai dibina semula. Di antara candi-candi itu ialah Candi Tapak 21 dan 22 di Pengkalan Bujang, Candi Pengkalan Bujang, Candi Tapak II, Candi Bukit Pendiak dan Candi Tapak 50.

Hasil daripada membina semula candi-candi itu kita dapat melihat dengan lebih jelas lagi plan seni-bina candi-candi itu serta teknik membina dan bahan yang digunakan untuk membina candi itu. Plan candi-candi itu lebih kompleks daripada yang dilihat oleh Quaritch-Wales. Juga bahan-bahan yang digunakan terdiri daripada batu sungai, batu bata dan batu lada (laterite).

Sejak tahun 1978, pelajar-pelajar arkeologi Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia telah menjalankan latihan praktikal arkeologi di Tapak 50. Latihan itu dijalankan dengan kerjasama pihak Muzium Negara. Mereka yang terlibat secara langsung dalam memberi latihan ini ialah Jaafar Ali, Pemangku Kurator Muzium Arkeologi Lembah Bujang, Latib Ariffin, Muzium Negara Kuala Lumpur dan penulis sendiri dari Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia disamping ahli-ahli teknik dalam bidang seni-foto, survey dan lain-lain. Usaha untuk menyelesaikan galicari di Tapak 50 akan diteruskan dan begitu juga usaha untuk melatih ahli arkeologi muda.

Galicari yang terakhir sekali yang dibuat di kawasan sekitar Lembah Bujang ialah pada 24 hingga 28 haribulan Disember, 1979 di Gua Bukit Penjara, Pantai Merdeka di muara Sungai Merbok. Sejumlah lebih daripada 130 serpihan tembikar dan porselin dijumpai selain daripada alat menangkap ikan serta berbagai jenis kulit siput dan kerang. Apa yang dapat disahkan setakat ini ialah kawasan ini telah digunakan oleh masyarakat di zaman di antara abad ke 10 dan 14 berdasarkan kepada tinggalan porselin. Projek galicari ini dijalankan bersama oleh Muzium Negara dan Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. Muzium Negara diketuai oleh Jaafar Ali dan Latib Ariffin sementara penulis mewakili Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

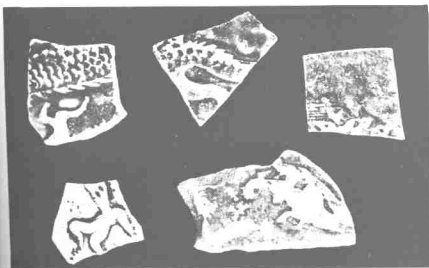
Hasil daripada galicari yang dijalankan di sekitar kawasan Lembah Bujang boleh dilihat tersimpan dalam Muzium Arkeologi di Lembah Bujang. Ianya akan menjadi sumber utama kepada pengkaji sejarah di masa ini dan juga di masa-masa akan datang.

Masaalah Pentarikan Lembah Bujang dan Keramik-keramik dari Pengkalan Bujang

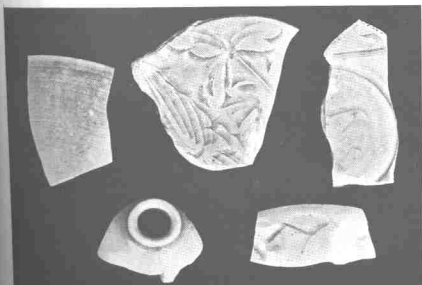
————— OTHMAN BIN MOHD. YATIM

USAHA-USAHA ahli-ahli sejarah tanah air untuk memberi pentarikan yang tepat tentang sejarah awal Malaysia adalah merupakan satu tugas yang agak sukar. Terjadinya demikian, di antaranya adalah seperti yang telah diketahui umum kerana kekurangan bahan-bahan yang dapat membantu ke arah itu. Di dalam memberi pentarikan sesuatu kerajaan atau negara, khususnya sejarah silamnya, ahli-ahli sejarah banyak bergantung kepada sumbangan ahli-ahli kajipurba yang membantu di dalam memberi tafsiran tentang sesuatu bendapurba yang mempunyai perkaitan dengan samaada sejarah atau kebudayaan sesuatu kerajaan atau negara itu. Di Indonesia umpamanya sejarah silam negara itu dapat di interpretasikan melalui batu-batu inskripsi (inscriptions stone) yang telah dijumpai di beberapa kawasan di negara itu.² Batu-batu inskripsi seperti itu tidak pula dijumpai di negara kita ini.³

- 1 Malaysia di sini bermaksud hanya Malaysia Barat dan tidak termasuk Sabah dan Sarawak.
- 2 Sebagai contoh lihat kajian yang telah dibuat oleh Prof. O.W. Wolters di dalam bukunya *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the origins of Srivijaya*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1967.
- 3 Sungguhpun sejauh ini diketahui telah dijumpai dua buah batu inskripsi di Province Wellesley dan di Trengganu tetapi jumpaan batu-batu ini cuma memberi sedikit sangat pengertian kita tentang sejarah awal tanah air kita ini. Batu inskripsi Province Wellesley umpamanya, mengingatkan kita kepada zaman Hindu di Tanah Melayu kira-kira di abad ke 5 dan abad ke 6 Masehi. Sementara Batu Bersurat Trengganu adalah berkaitan dengan kedatangan Islam ke Tanah Melayu di abad ke 14 Masehi. Jurang di antara kedua-kedua zaman yang dinyatakan oleh jumpaan itu amat jauh dan kedua-duanya tidak boleh dikaitkan.



Serpihan-serpihan keramik jenis 'stoneware' yang bersepoah atau bergelasir coklat yang menampakkan motif naga.



Serpihan-serpihan keramik jenis celadon yang menampakkan ragamhiasnya berbentuk bunga-bunga yang digoreskan (atas tengah).

Sebenarnya masih banyak yang kita belum mengetahui tentang bukan saja sejarah tetapi juga tentang masyarakat kita di zaman silam, khususnya sebelum pembukaan Melaka. Sungguhpun kebanyakan ahli-ahli sejarah bersetuju mengatakan yang negara kita ini telah memainkan peranan yang penting di dalam perdagangan antarabangsa Timur-Barat di zaman silamnya, tetapi kita masih belum mengetahui bilakah sebenarnya aktiviti perdagangan itu telah bermula dan kita juga masih belum mengetahui apakah peranan masyarakat tempatan kita di dalam perdagangan itu ataupun dengan lain-lain perkataan sejauh mana penglibatan dan sumbangan mereka di dalam kegiatan tersebut.

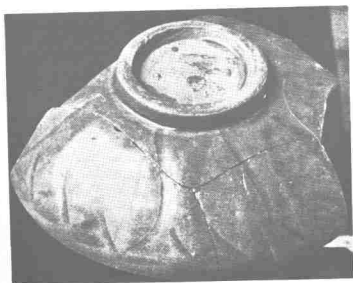
Dalam hubungan ini, Pengkalan Bujang telah dianggap sebagai sebuah pelabuhan *entrepot* yang penting mulai dari abad ke 10 masehi khususnya sebelum kemunculan Melaka di awal abad ke 15. Ini tidaklah pula boleh dijadikan asas untuk mengatakan yang Lembah Bujang hanya telah ujud di abad itu. Berdasarkan candi-candi yang terdapat di sekitar Lembah Bujang dapatlah dikatakan yang Lembah Bujang telah ujud lebih awal dari abad itu. Tetapi sejauh ini kita masih juga belum mengetahui dengan pasti bilakah abad yang sebenarnya Lembah Bujang itu telah ujud. Walau bagaimana pun serpihan-serpihan keramik China zaman Dinasti Sung (960–1279 T.M.) dan Dinasti Yuan (1280–1368 T.M.) yang dijumpai di Pengkalan Bujang sekurang-kurangnya dapat membantu kita dalam kajian kita tentang sejarah awal tanah air kita ini. Berdasarkan kepada banyaknya serpihan-serpihan keramik yang telah dijumpai itu membuktikan kepada kita bahawa di abad ke 10 masehi Pengkalan Bujang itu merupakan sebuah pelabuhan yang paling sibuk. Disamping penemuan-penemuan serpihan-serpihan keramik China tersebut telah diketemukan juga manik-manik dari India dan kaca (glass) dari Timur Tengah. Kesimpulan yang kita dapati darinya ialah bahawa Pengkalan Bujang telah menjadi tempat pertemuan para pedagang bukan sahaja dari Negeri China tetapi juga dari Timur Tengah.

Sungguhpun minat dan penerokaan para orientalist Barat terhadap Lembah Bujang telah bermula sejak tahun 1880an lagi tetapi penumpuan minat adalah terhadap candi-candi dan lain bangunan kuno yang terdapat di situ, jumpaan-jumpaan lain yang berkaitan seperti keramik tidak begitu mendapat perhatian yang serious. Cuma dalam tahun 1961 sahaja baharu Alaister Lamb memulakan kerja-kerja carigali di Pengkalan Bujang. Laporan ringkas beliau mengenai kerja carigalnya itu dimuatkan di dalam monograf terbitan Jabatan Muzium.⁴ Kemudian di dalam tahun 1971, Puan Leong Sau Heng di bawah pengawasan Mr. B.A.V. Peacock pula telah menjalankan carigali di Pengkalan Bujang. Hasil-hasil penggalian itu telah dijadikannya bahan untuk menulis thesis ijazah M. A. nya.⁵ Beliau adalah merupakan anak tempatan yang pertama yang telah menulis

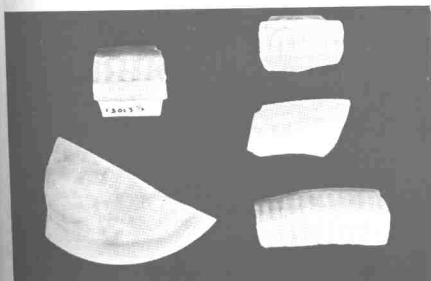
4 Lihat Alaister Lamb, "Miscellaneous Papers on Hindu Colonisation in the Malay Peninsula", *Federation Museums Journal*, Vol. 6, 1961, hal. 26.

5 *Ibid*, hal. 21 – 37.

6 Sungguhpun beliau mengakui bahawa pengkajian beliau itu adalah merupakan lanjutan kepada kajian yang telah dibuat oleh Alastair Lamb tetapi pendapat mereka agak berlainan. Kalau Alaister Lamb berpendapat iaitu berdasarkan longgokan serpihan keramik yang begitu banyak bahawa Pengkalan Bujang adalah sebuah pelabuhan *entrepot* yang hebat tetapi kepada Leong Sau Heng adalah sebaliknya iaitu tidak sebegitu hebat seperti yang disangka oleh Alaister Lamb. Lihat Leong Sau Heng, "Lembah Bujang", *Malaysia Dari Segi Sejarah*, No. 8, April, 1979, hal. 51. Lihat juga Thesis M. A. nya yang berjudul 'A Study of Ceramic Deposits From Pengkalan Bujang, Kedah'.



Mangkok yang leper mempunyai sepoah atas gelasir hijau. Gambar oleh Alister Lamb. Mula disiarkan dalam tahun 1961. Bahagian permukaan luar serpihan mangkok itu menampakkan ragamhias yang berupa kelopak-kelopak bunga teratai (lotus petals).



Serpihan-serpihan daripada mangkok kecil bertutup yang berwarna hijau.

tentang keramik-keramik dari Pengkalan Bujang dengan cara yang terperinci.

Pada peringkat ini sayugia dinyatakan bahawa hampir keseluruhan keramik-keramik yang telah dijumpai melalui kerja-kerja carigali di Pengkalan Bujang⁷ itu adalah di dalam bentuk serpihan. Alaister Lamb berpendapat bahawa serpihan-serpihan itu adalah merupakan serpihan-serpihan dari keramik yang telah pecah semasa urusanniaga dijalankan dan telah di kesampingkan di tempat itu. Tidak terdapatnya keramik-keramik yang lengkap, pada fikiran saya, adalah berkaitan rapat dengan peranan Pengkalan Bujang itu sendiri sebagai sebuah pelabuhan *entrepot* di mana segala urusan perdagangan dijalankan di kawasan pantai dan kebanyakan keramik-keramik yang sampai ke Pengkalan Bujang adalah sebenarnya mempunyai destinasi ke tempat lain.

Dari segi kronologi, keramik-keramik yang telah dijumpai di Pengkalan Bujang adalah merangkumi zaman Dinasti Sung dan Yuan tetapi dari segi penjenisannya (*typology*) tidak semua jenis-jenis keramik yang telah dikeluarkan di kedua-dua zaman itu dijumpai di dalam himpunan serpihan-serpihan keramik yang telah diperolehi melalui kerja-kerja carigali di Pengkalan Bujang sehingga kini.

Secara umumnya keramik-keramik dari Pengkalan Bujang bolehlah dibahagikan kepada dua kumpulan yang besar iaitu terdiri daripada apa yang lebih dikenali oleh pelajar-pelajar keramik sebagai "*Earthenware*" dan "*Stoneware*".⁸ Di dalam rencana ringkas ini penulis tidak akan menyentuh tentang "*earthenware*" ini secara terperinci kerana pertamanya sejauh ini tiada sebuah kajian yang betul-betul menyeluruh telah dibuat mengenainya. Lantaran itu persoalan-persoalan yang berkaitan dengan penjenisannya, kronologinya dan tempat asal usulnya masih lagi belum terpecah dan percubaan-percubaan yang telah dibuat oleh beberapa orang pengkaji sejauh ini hanyalah merupakan hasil kerja-kerja ramalan (*guesswork*) sahaja yang boleh diperdebatkan.⁹

Terjadinya demikian adalah kerana setakat ini kerja-kerja carigali di Malaysia sendiri mahupun di negara-negara jiran masih lagi belum berjaya menemukan sebarang bukti yang berupa tempat pembuat dan pembakaran (*kilns*) keramik yang boleh digunakan sebagai asas untuk memecahkan persoalan-persoalan yang tersebut tadi. Apa yang dapat disimpulkan setakat ini iaitu sementara menantikan sebuah kajian yang benar-benar lengkap dan muktamad yang disokong pula oleh bukti-bukti arkeologi ialah kebanyakan keramik-keramik jenis "*earthen-*

7 Kebanyakan dari serpihan-serpihan keramik itu kini ada di dalam simpanan Muzium Negara, sementara sebahagian kecilnya ada disimpan di Muzium Arkeologi Lembah Bujang, Merbok, Kedah.

8 Sebenarnya "*Earthenware*" dan "*Stoneware*" adalah termasuk di dalam kumpulan besar yang dipanggil keramik, yang membezakan di antara keduanya ialah darjah suhu pembakaran. Secara umumnya keramik bererti sebarang benda yang diperbuat dari tanah liat.

9 Baharu-baharu ini ada ura-ura dari Instituti Pengajian Tinggi, Jabatan Sejarah Universiti Malaya dan Muzium Negara hendak menganjurkan satu workshop khusus untuk membincangkan perkara ini. Adalah diharapkan yang hasil-hasil dari workshop itu nanti akan dapat memberikan kita sedikit sebanyak panduan yang boleh dimenafaatkan di dalam pengkajian kita ini.

crudely built. There is very little sculpture, and what there is of poor artistic quality. There is nothing in Kedah, in fact, to compare with the ancient remains of sites in South Thailand like Chaya and Nakorn Srithammarat which must have been contemporary with the Merbok settlements. But remains of the type we do find in Kedah would be easy to reconcile with an important centre based on entrepot trade. Such trade would call for no great population of the kind which



Botol kecil berwarna putih. Gambar oleh Alaister Lamb. Mula disiarkan di dalam tahun 1961.

ware" ini adalah berasal dari negara-negara di Asia Tenggara ini mungkin dari negara Indonesia dan kepulauannya ataupun dari negara Thailand dan besar kemungkinan juga dari negara kita sendiri.¹⁰

Keramik jenis yang kedua iaitu "Stoneware" adalah yang terbanyak diketemukan di Pengkalan Bujang tetapi seperti yang telah dinyatakan di awal-awal tadi ianya adalah di dalam bentuk serpihan. Ada juga serpihan-serpihan itu telah yang berjaya di cantum-cantumkan tetapi tidaklah dapat seratus peratus lengkap. Keramik jenis "Stoneware" ini pula boleh dipecahkan kepada beberapa kumpulan kecil yang lain iaitu berdasarkan kepada jenis tanah liat yang telah digunakan untuk membuat keramik itu, sepoah atau gelasir (glaze) yang digunakan di dalam proses pembuatannya rekacoraknya atau ragamhiasnya dan juga darjah kekerasannya (degree of hardness) ini adalah berkait rapat dengan suhu yang digunakan semasa pembakaran keramik itu.

Serpihan-serpihan keramik jenis ini yang diketemukan kebanyakannya diselaputi dengan sepoah atau gelasir (glaze) yang berwarna coklat muda tetapi di dalam banyak keadaan sepoah atau gelasirnya telah lekang dan pada sebahagian besar serpihan-serpihan itu tidak lagi kedapatan kesan-kesan sepoah atau gelasirnya. Terjadinya demikian adalah kerana keramik-keramik itu telah dibakar di dalam keadaan suhu yang rendah.

Keramik jenis "Stoneware" yang agak kasar cara pembuatannya ini biasanya pada permukaan serpihan-serpihan itu agak lembut, tidak banyak mengandungi pasir dan selalunya menampakkan kesan-kesan yang ianya telah dibuat dengan menggunakan roda (wheel potting). Keyakinan ini ditambah lagi dengan terdapatnya kesan-kesan jari pada bahagian permukaan yang melengkong ke dalam serpihan-serpihan itu.

Dapatlah diagak bahawa serpihan-serpihan itu adalah serpihan-serpihan dari mangkok, piring, pinggan dan pasu yang diwakili oleh bibinya (rim), dasarnya (bases), bahunya (shoulders) dan telinganya yang berfungsi sebagai tempat pemegang (handles). Ketebalan serpihan-serpihan itu adalah diantara 6mm ke 1cm. Pada setengah-setengah serpihan itu terdapat motif naga yang dicapakan pada bahu pasu itu dan terdapat juga kadang-kadang huruf tulisan Cina " " (Wang) dicapakan pada bahu pasu itu di samping motif bunga-bunga yang juga di dalam bentuk cap (stamped).

Serpihan-serpihan seperti ini juga telah dijumpai di Kota China, Sumatera Utara seperti yang telah dilaporkan oleh "Edward McKinnon".

Sejenis lagi keramik yang diketemukan ialah keramik yang mempunyai sepoah atau gelasir berwarna coklat kehitam-hitaman yang lebih terkenal dengan

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- 10 Di sini tidak dapat ditolak kemungkinan yang kerja-kerja membuat keramik di negara kita ini telah dimulai atau dipelopori oleh orang-orang Indonesia sendiri, khususnya dari Sumatera yang mana di suatu masa di zaman silam kedatangan mereka ke negara kita ini adalah tanpa sekatan dan ramai dari mereka itu telah menetap di sini. Lihat umpamanya Othman bin Mohd. Yatim, "Orang-orang Melayu di Jajahan Dindings (Perak) — satu kajian tentang asal usul dan corak hidup mereka", *Malaysia In History*, Vol. 20, No. 1, hal. 8-17.
 - 11 Lihat E. McKinnon, "Oriental Ceramics Excavated in North Sumatera", *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramics Society*, Vol. 41, 1975-1977, hal. 59 - 118.

panggilan "*temmoku wares*" seperti yang dilaporkan oleh kedua-dua penulis sebelum ini iaitu Alaister Lamb¹² dan Leong Sau Heng¹³. Tetapi hingga kini penulis masih lagi belum menjumpai serpihan-serpihan keramik yang telah diperkatakan itu.

Serpihan-serpihan keramik jenis "*Stoneware*" yang seterusnya dijumpai ialah yang mempunyai sepoah atau gelasir yang berwarna hijau (*greenwares*) yang lebih dikenali oleh pelajar-pelajar keramik China sebagai *celadon*.¹⁴ Sebenarnya serpihan-serpihan keramik jenis inilah yang terbenyak diketemukan. Ianya juga adalah terdiri dari berbagai jenis dan mutu iaitu berdasarkan kepada bahan-bahan yang digunakan untuk membuatnya dan juga sepoah atau gelasir yang terdapat padanya. Kedapatan juga serpihan-serpihan itu yang mempunyai sepoah atau gelasir yang menyerupai *celadon* tetapi sepoah atau gelasir yang telah digunakan itu adalah agak tipis dan selalunya menampakkkan keretakan di sana sini yang menutupi ragamhiasnya yang berbagai-bagai pula.

Disamping itu terdapat serpihan-serpihan keramik jenis *celadon* ini yang agak menarik di mana sepoah atau gelasirnya tidak retak dan jika diperhatikan dengan teliti tampak gelembong-gelembong kecil pada sepoah atau gelasir itu. Kebanyakan keramik jenis ini, terutamanya pada bahagian yang terdedah seperti pada kakinya (*footrim*) memperlihatkan warna coklat kemerah-merahan atau dengan lain-lain perkataan seolah-olah ianya terbakar semasa proses pembakaran dijalankan (*oxidation*). Penulis rencana ini bersependapat dengan lain-lain penulis yang terdahulu bahawa keramik jenis ini adalah lebih dikenali sebagai *celadon Lung-Ch'uan* dari Wilayah Chekiang.

Kedadaan-keadaan atau bentuk serpihan-serpihan keramik-keramik itu membolehkan kita membuat agakan bahawa ianya adalah terdiri daripada serpihan-serpihan mangkok, piring, pinggan, kotak bulat bertutup (*covered round boxes*) dan pasu-pasu kecil. Pada bahagian permukaan luar mangkok-mangkok itu selalunya dihiasinya dengan dekorasi atau ragamhias yang berbentuk kelopak bunga teratai (*lotus petals*) sementara pada bahagian permukaan dalam pinggan-pinggan pula terdapat ragamhias berbentuk bunga-bunga yang digoreskan. Selain daripada pinggan dan mangkok diketemukan juga pasu-pasu kecil yang mempunyai mulut yang kecil yang fungsinya masih belum diketahui dengan pasti.

Sejenis lagi keramik yang telah dijumpai seperti yang telah dilaporkan oleh Alaister Lamb ialah sekumpulan serpihan-serpihan keramik yang mempunyai sepoah atau gelasir berwarna putih dan kadang-kadang ada yang mempunyai sepoah atau gelasir yang berwarna putih-kebiru-biruan atau hijau muda yang lembut. Berdasarkan kepada perbezaan-perbezaan sepoah atau gelasirnya Alaister Lamb telah membahagikan keramik jenis ini kepada dua kumpulan iaitu keramik yang menyerupai *Ting Ware* sementara yang satu lagi ialah jenis *Ying*

12 Lihat Alaister Lamb, 'Miscellaneous Papers . . .', hal. 25 & 36.

13 Lihat Leong Sau Heng, *A Study of Ceramics . . .*, hal. 186.

14 Istilah ini adalah mengambil sempena dari pakaian seorang gembala kambing yang memakai pakaian warna hijau seperti yang di pertunjukkan di dalam sebuah drama berjudul *L'Astree* oleh seorang novelis Perancis bernama Honore D'Urfe (1567-1625) yang telah pertama kali dipentaskan di Paris di dalam tahun 1610.

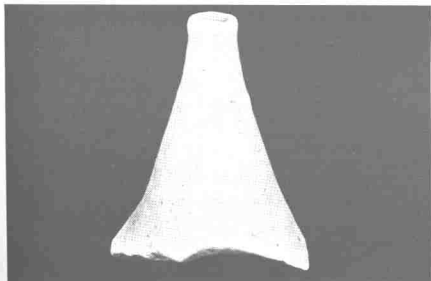
Ch'ing atau kadang-kadang disebut juga *Ch'ing - pai*. Serpihan-serpihan itu juga membolehkan kita membuat agakan bahawa ianya adalah terdiri daripada serpihan-serpihan botol kecil¹⁵ mangkok kecil, piring, pinggan dan mangkok kecil yang bertutup. Lapuran-lapuran dari Sarawak membuktikan yang keramik jenis ini ada juga diketemukan di Sarawak, Indonesia dan Filipina.

Meneliti dari taburan keramik-keramik China yang terdapat di Pengkalan Bujang, Sarawak, Kota China dan Filipina, satu kesimpulan dapat dibuat bahawa Pengkalan Bujang adalah merupakan salah sebuah pelabuhan di Asia Tenggara ini yang sering dikunjungi oleh pedagang-pedagang sehingga secara beransur-ansur kepentingannya diambilalih oleh pelabuhan Melaka di awal abad ke 15 Masihi. Keyakinan ini diperkukuhkan lagi dengan tidak terjumpanya keramik-keramik jenis biru dan putih (blue and white) di Pengkalan Bujang. Hanya penyelidikan-penyelidikan, carigali-carigali dan penganalisaan bahan-bahan arkeologi yang ditemui seterusnya akan dapat membuktikan yang keyakinan itu adalah sebaliknya.

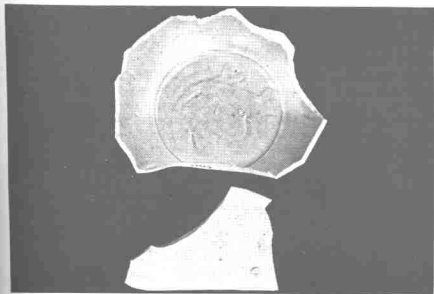
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15 Di dalam koleksi Encik Zakaria Hitam di Kuantan Pahang terdapat dua biji botol yang serupa dan berkeadaan sungguh menarik serta tidak mempunyai retak.



Salah satu contoh keramik jenis 'earthenware' yang juga dikenali di Indonesia sebagai 'keramik lokal' yang menunjukkan bahagian muncung (spout) sebuah kendi.



Serpihan-serpihan keramik jenis Ch'ing-pai.

Most Ancient Kedah

____ DATO SIR ROLLAND BRADDELL

IN this paper Kedah includes Province Wellesley unless the context distinguishes the two. The Malay name of the State, as given in Wilkinson's Dictionary, is *Kedah*: the Portuguese wrote it as *Queda*: the English for long as *Quedah*. The earliest record of the extent of 'Queda' is given by the Portuguese Tome Pires in his *Suma Oriental*, 1513–1515 A.D., as "bounded on the one side by Trang and on the other by the end of the kingdom of Malacca and Bruas". Eredia, another and more famous Portuguese writer, describes 'Queda' as "a very ancient and famous port" in his *Report on the Golden Chersonese*, 1597–1600 A.D.¹ The truth of that observation forms the theme of this paper; but where was Eredia's port?

There is no town called Kedah to-day and the present Kedah River, which flows into the Straits of Malacca in latitude 6°07' N., is not the original one. The name seems to have shifted north in 1634 A.D., because *Quedah lama* appears for the first time in a map of 1635 A.D., those of 1633 A.D., and previously, marking *Queda* only. The map of 1613 A.D., in Eredia's *Description of Malacca, Meridional India, and Cathay*² shows the present Kedah River without any name and marks 'Queda' against what is clearly the present Kuala Merbok. The Admiralty *Malacca Strait Pilot*, 1946, equates 'Old Kedah' with the present Kampong Tanjong Dawai on the northern bank of the Sungei Merbok, which is entered between Tanjong Dawai, lat. 5° 41' N., and Tanjong Perepat 1½ miles southward; but it may be that 'Old Kedah' was on the southern bank³. The exact location is immaterial for our present purposes; all that matters is that 'Old Kedah' was certainly on the Merbok. Passing up that river from its mouth, there are two small northern tributaries, each of which rises in the lower southern slopes of Kedah Peak (Gunong Jerai). The first to be reached is the Sungai Bujang, that name being derived probably from the Sanskrit word *bhujanga*, meaning 'dragon'. As will be seen, the Sungai Bujang is historically the most important river in Kedah, though such a small one.

- 1 Translated in English by J.V. Mills, 1930, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. VIII, Pt. 1, pp. 1–288, with maps and notes.
- 2 cf. op. cit., n. 1, at pp. 227–255 for full translation in English.
- 3 "Malaya in the Wu-pei-chih Charts", J.V. Mills, 1937, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XV, Pt. III, pp. 1–48 at 14–15.

Kedah has the rightful and the unchallengeable claim to be the most ancient State in the Federation of Malaya. It would require a whole book to set out and discuss in full all the evidence by which that claim is established, and no more can be attempted here than to summarize some salient points during the first eleven centuries of the Christian era. Archaeological evidence, if it exists and has been interpreted by experts, affords the only positive proof of things in Malaya's ancient past. Kedah, alone of the States, can point to such evidence in a quantity and a variety which prove continuous settlement from the IVth century A.D. until the time when the Kedah Malays became converted to Islam in the XVth. The area, in which this evidence has been discovered, ranges from Bukit Choras in the north down to Bukit Mertajam in the south, and makes it very clear that the principal district of settlement lay along the southern border of the massif of Kedah Peak with its twon on the banks of the Sungai Bujang but chiefly on the western side.

By far the greater bulk of this archaeological evidence was discovered by Dr. and Mrs. Quaritch Wales in the late 1930's, with some important additions in 1941 by Mrs. Quaritch Wales. The whole of it has been recorded and discussed by Dr. Quaritch Wales, who is one of the foremost authorities upon the archaeology, pre-history and culture of South-East Asia; and the reader is referred to his descriptions for the full details⁴. But more than a hundred years previously the antiquity of Kedah had been revealed to the world by Col. James Low, then Resident of Penang, whose memory rests upon the Sanskrit inscriptions which he discovered. Unfortunately, he left scattered notes only of what he found in his various expeditions into Kedah; but it is clear that he saw a great deal more than did Dr. and Mrs. Quaritch Wales⁵.

The abundance of the archaeological evidence is all the more astonishing, when one thinks of what once must have been there. As almost everywhere else in Malaya, there have been changes in the course of the Kedah rivers. The Merbok always had a deep entrance; but the deep navigable channel by which it is connected with the Muda River to its south, and which now runs through an extensive which now runs through an extensive swamp, was once much larger and may possibly have been the main outlet of the Muda, which itself has changed its course, as Dr. Quaritch Wales shows. The Bujang has changed its course very frequently in the upper reaches, as a result of which ancient structures have been washed away either wholly or in part. There still remain in Kedah more ancient sites, particularly in the Merbok — Bujang region, than have

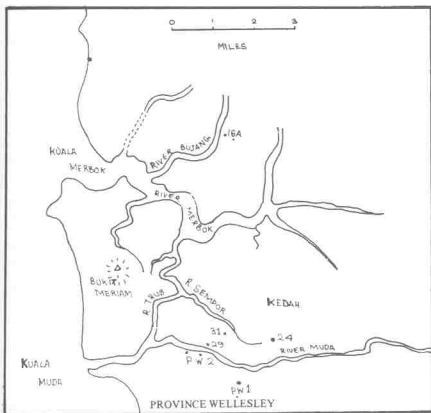
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- 4 (a) "Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya", H.G. Quaritch Wales, 1941, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, pp. 1-85, with maps and plates.
 (b) "Further work on Indian Sites in Malaya", Dorothy C. and H.G. Quaritch Wales, 1947, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XX, Pt. I, pp. 1-11, with maps and plates.
- 5 (a) "An account of several Inscriptions found in Province Wellesley", James Low, reprinted in *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China*, 1st series, 1886, Vol. 1, pp. 223-226.
 (b) "A Translation of the Kedah Annals", James Low, 1849, J.I.A. Vol. III, pp. 1-23, 162-181, 253-270, 314-336, 467-488; references to archaeological excavations in the notes.

as yet been excavated. We know also that the Islamic conversion led to the wholesale destruction of everything, Buddhist or Hindu, which was visible above the ground to proclaim the ancient worship; that this was followed by centuries of pillaging in the remains left under the ground; and that the development of the country during the present century brought to light many ancient objects, which passed into private hands and have disappeared without any record.

Ancient Malaya was a market-place and a mining camp, the vast part of it covered with forest and mangrove. Mankind has always turned to the materials most readily available for his needs, and in heavily-forested Malaya that meant that the ordinary buildings were made from wood, bamboo and attap. It was only for buildings of importance that laterite, granite, river-boulders or bricks were used. It is only natural that a region such as was ancient Malaya should have produced no splendid monuments like those in Java and Indo-China. The fact that all the structures in Kedah, of which the remains have been discovered, were small according to modern standards has no bearing upon their significance to those who built them or upon the stage of development which the country had reached when they were built. We have to look at them with the eyes of the ancient past, not our modern ones, and to judge them by their nature and not by their size. Although archaeology provides the only positive proof, it cannot give us the whole picture of the ancient past, since it can only reveal what has not perished, and, of that, only so much as chanced to be found. When the literary evidence concerning ancient Kedah is reached, it will be seen that its fame rested upon its port-city, which was considered to be a large one. In trying to imagine what that port-city looked like we must bear in mind all that has been said in this and the previous paragraph.

The curtain of positive proof rises in the IVth and Vth centuries A.D. upon a Kedah that already is Indianized fully. Although the actual pieces of evidence from these two centuries are small in number, their significance is very great and they must be noted in some detail. We can begin with the earliest of the Kedah Sanskrit inscriptions. Neither these nor any others so far discovered in Kedah are dated, so that it is only upon their writing that their chronology can be judged; but they have been studied so much and with such agreement that their dating can be taken as settled. The kind of writing used is known now to have been prevalent on the east coast of what used to be called the Madras Presidency and is, accordingly, 'South Indian', a better name for it than those previously used and at times still used.

The three inscriptions assignable to the IVth century A.D. were discovered at the following places:— (a) upon a rock which stands at Cherok Tokun near Bukit Mertajam (b) under the centre of an ancient brick building near Bukit Meriam, which is about halfway between the Sungai Merbok and the Sungai Muda (c) on the top of Bukit Choras close to the southern bank of the Sungai Sala and so considerably north of Kedah Peak. The first two were discovered by Col. Low and the third by Dr. Quaritch Wales. The first and the third are definitely not later than the IVth century A.D.; but the history of the second was unfortunate. It was sent to Calcutta, where it was lost, so that it is judged from an eye-copy only as being of the Vth century A.D., or possibly a little earlier.



Sketch Map of the present Merbok - Bujang - Muda area. (Quaritch Wales).

The circumstances under which the Bukit Choras inscription was discovered make it a striking piece of evidence. This hill stands 189 feet high and Col. Low in one of his notes mentioned that he had found upon its summit "the remains of what appeared to have been temples". This led Dr. Quaritch Wales to excavate there with the result that he found the remains of two structures and a stairway, all made from laterite. The upper one, built on the bedrock of the hill, was a regularly oriented basement measuring $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet and standing 3 feet high. The stairway led to the top of this basement in the centre of its south side. "The structure was massively built of courses of laterite blocks, unlike any other building known to me in Malaya", he says. A few feet south of the stairway he found a low platform about 15 feet square and on the edge of this platform there was a tree, in the roots of which the inscription was discovered. The finds associated with this platform suggest that it was the base of a wooden building, either a small Buddhist monastery or a monk's residence. He thinks that probably a stupa⁴ had stood upon the basement on top of the hill, though

no actual trace of it had been left. He writes "in view of the style of the basement with its simple mouldings one feels no doubt whatever that it is at least as old as the inscription i.e. IVth century A.D. It is therefore the earliest structure now known in Malaya, and it would be difficult to point to any older building elsewhere in South Eastern Asia".

Immediately following upon this IVth century evidence there is the most famous and the most elaborate of the Kedah inscriptions. It was found by Col. Low near the ruins of an old Buddhist temple "on a sandy spit in the northern district of Province Wellesley" and was sent by him to Calcutta, where it can still be seen. It is incised on a pillar-shaped slab of stone, in the centre of which there is the representation of a stupa crowned with seven umbrellas. It contains a Buddhist religious text and the statement that it was erected in commemoration of a successful voyage made by "the great sea-captain Buddha-gupta", which gives us the first recorded name in Malaya so far known and a most appropriate one. It is assigned to the very beginning of the Vth century about 400 A.D.

Mrs. Quaritch Wales discovered in 1941 at Gua Kepah near the ancient bed of the Muda River a small solid regularly oriented basement about 13½ feet square built in a layer about four inches deep of small rounded river pebbles, in which she found axe-heads, beads of dark blue glass, a piece of thick gold leaf about 7/8ths of an inch square, and fragments of hard stoneware with yellowish glaze belonging to the T'ang period, 618-906 A.D. A number of curved stone and laterite blocks proved clearly that there had been a stupa upon this basement, which Dr. Quaritch Wales dates "probably from the Vth century", the T'ang ware showing that it had continued to be the subject of devotion in the VIIIth century A.D. It seems to him very likely that Gua Kepah was Col. Low's "sandy spit".

The Vth century evidence concludes with a remarkable find made by Mrs. Quaritch Wales in 1941 at a site which she excavated on the right bank of the Sungai Bujang. Here she had unearthed a brick plinth, at the south-west corner of which she discovered "the fragments of a large earthen-ware jar of coarse reddish pottery" of a type found at another site on the same bank of the river and known in the Nilgiri Hills of South India. Amongst these fragments she found a fine bronze image of the standing Buddha, about 8½ inches high, which is now in Raffles Museum, Singapore. Dr. Quaritch Wales says that it "is evidently a product of the Gupta age and may be attributed to the Vth century A.D. Stylistically it is the earliest Buddha image 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". He is unable to state the nature or the date of the brick plinth, near which it was found.

Not only does this earliest evidence from the IVth and Vth centuries A.D. show that Kedah was fully Indianized by then, but also that it must have been in a condition of prosperity, order and settled government. That predicates a very considerable period of prior settlement by Indians, a question which will be considered later.

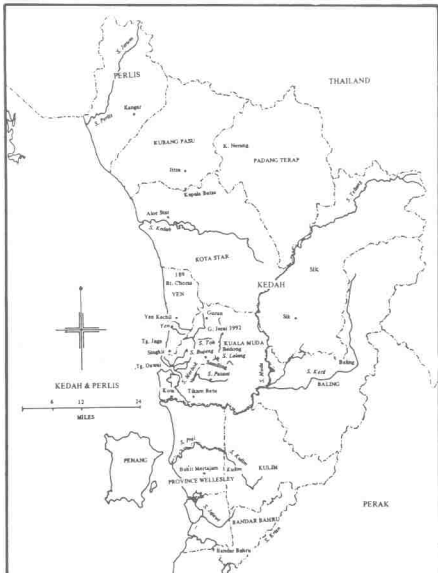
There follows straight on century by century from the early VIth up to the XIth or XIIth a chain of further archaeological evidence from twenty-three

structures, and a large quantity of objects found in them, excavated at sites on the banks of the Sungai Bujang, and from one structure, and the objects found in it, at a site on Bukit Batu Pahat, a low spur of Kedah Peak near the source of the Sungai Merbok Kechil. There is far too much of this evidence for summary here and the reader must be referred for the details to the descriptions given by Dr. Quaritch Wales in his *Archaeological Researches*⁶.

It has been seen, therefore, that there is archaeological evidence century by century for the whole of the period with which this paper is particularly concerned, except for the first three centuries A.D.; and, as to these last, it has been pointed out that the earliest evidence in the IVth and Vth centuries, A.D. predicated a very considerable period of prior settlement by Indians.

Let us look now at the general picture presented. If we were confined only to the archaeological proof, we should think that the town on the Sungai Bujang was purely an Indian one, and a South Indian one at that, because, wherever there is a particular pointer in the evidence, it is to South India; and we should get the same impression of the rest of the sites in Kedah and Province Wellesley. In reality, however, the true picture is one of an Indo-Malay Kingdom and town, ruled by kings, racially of early Malay type, and containing a basic population racially of early Malay type. The royal customs were Indian; but the customs of the people were a blend of their own with Indian, the latter becoming progressively the stronger. The most important buildings in the town were of what is described best as 'colonial imitative Indian' architecture; but the dwelling-houses were prototypes of the Malay houses of modern times and, being of perishable materials, left no traces for archaeologists to find. The town itself lay principally on the western side of the Sungai Bujang, stretching apparently as far as the Sungai Merbok Kechil, but extending also from the eastern bank of the Bujang into the present padi area for a distance which cannot yet be defined. The principal buildings, which included three royal ones (audience halls or council chambers, or other palace buildings), lay mostly on the western bank of the Bujang, with eight religious structures on the eastern; and the river may, therefore, be said to have been the heart of the town. The most remarkable thing about the discoveries made by Dr. and Mrs. Quaritch Wales is that they enable us to trace the general history of this town, to state with certainty the old names given to it by Indians, Chinese and Arabs, and to settle questions which had been in dispute previously. Readers of his *Archaeological Researches* must be warned however, that in 1950 Dr. Quaritch Wales abandoned the identifications of Langkasuka and Kataha proposed by him

6 A stupa was a Buddhist temple shaped like a hemispherical dome, containing a central chamber in which the particular object of worship was placed, the whole being raised on a plinth and surmounted at the top by a box-like construction, upon which an umbrella, made of wood or stone, was placed, the umbrella being the symbol of universal power. A platform for circumambulation surrounded by a wall was built around the stupa in a square or oblong shape; and a *vihara* (monastery) stood near by for the monks attached to the stupa. This description applies to stupas in South India during the period of those, the ruins of which have been discovered in Kedah; but what these last were like exactly is not known.



Map of Kedah and Perlis

there⁷, and accepted those by the present writer, which appear later in this paper.

This town on the Sungai Bujang gave to Kedah its ancient fame; and, as Dr. Quaritch Wales has said truly, it was marked out to become by a process of natural selection one of the important seaports of South-East Asia. It was sited admirably for navigation from the to Ceylon and the Arabian Sea, the Coromandel coast, and the Ganges delta, with the wide and safe anchorage of Kuala Merbok and the distinctive landmark of Kedah Peak, 3,987 feet high, visible from sea at a distance of 30 miles. It possessed an excellent water supply; ample land for food production; sufficient rising ground and all the necessary materials for building either in stone or in wood; and access from the Sungai Merbok to the Sungai Muda by a deep navigable channel, which runs nowadays through an extensive swamp. Mr. C.C. Best, of the Malayan Survey Department (whose authority was a high one both technically and because of his intimate familiarity with Malayan waters navigationally) knew this area well and expressed his conviction that this channel was once much larger and may possibly have been the main outlet of the Sungai Muda, "Which in the old days carried nine tenths of Kedah's exportable produce"⁸

Dr. Quaritch Wales proved that, like most rivers in Malaya, the Muda changed its course, and he was able to plot the part of an ancient one above Gua Kepah⁹. In any event, it is clear that there was inland communication by water between the Merbok and the Muda.

In addition to all these advantages, there has always been easy passage by land from Kedah to Singora and Ligor by the ancient route now followed by the railways. This is a most important point because without such a land-passage the town on the Sungai Bujang could never have become the northern entrepot of Malaya, as it did. The reason for that will be given shortly but, before doing so, mention must be made of another possible means of communication between the east coast and the Sungai Bujang town. The use in Kedah of the name Sungai Patani may be indicative of an ancient trade route from Patani on the east coast up the Patani river through its gold-bearing areas, then by the Sunai Ketil down to the present Sungai Patani area, and so into the Sungai Merbok. This suggestion was made by our highest authority on the north-eastern Malay States, the late Mr. Anker Rentse, who also traced with certainty the inland routes connecting Patani with the gold and tin areas in Kelantan and Pahang, where ancient mining-sites had existed¹⁰. To understand the story of Kedah during the first eleven centuries A.D. and the cause of the existence and prosperity of the town on the Sungai Bujang the following vitally important facts must be kept clearly in mind.

7 "A Note on Takola, Langkasuka and Kataha", H.G. Quaritch Wales, 1950, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXIII, Pt. 1, pp. 152-153.

8 cf. op. cit., n. 3, at p. 15.

9 cf. op. cit., n. 4(b), at p. 4.

10 "A Historical Note on the Northeastern Malay States", Anker Rentse, 1947, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XX, Pt. 1, pp. 23-40, with map, plates, and notes of archaeological discoveries in Kelantan.

All the commercial ships, from wherever they came and whatever their type, sailed upon the monsoons and never against them. For obvious economic reasons short voyages were preferable generally to long ones owing to the delays caused by the changes of wind. The main sea-route between the West and China ran through the Straits of Malacca, and was fed there by subsidiary ones from the Java Sea and from the east coast of Borneo, so that there was a continual traffic up and down the Straits and entreports were a necessity. As far back as written record goes, there were two main entreports for the Straits, one at the north and the other at the south. During the material period the northern one was always on the north-western coast of the Peninsula.

The name of the first is recorded in Ptolemy's Geography (written in the middle of the IInd century A.D.) as Takola, emporion. The latter word, as used in Ptolemy's time, meant a port at which Roman subjects were allowed to trade upon payment of dues to the contemporaneous with Ptolemy proves that there was a well-known port between India and China to which voyages were made by Indian ships and that its Sanskrit name was Takkola. Every authority agrees that these two were one and the same. Ptolemy makes it clear that Takola was on the north-western coast of the Golden Chersonese, his name for the Malay Peninsula; but it is not possible to state with certainty the exact position. The present writer has given reasons for thinking that Trang fits the facts better than Takuapa, where so many have placed it and still do; and this suggestion has been accepted by some good authorities already¹¹. It is, of course, no more than a rational speculation. The southern entrepot is called Sabana by Ptolemy and it is utterly impossible to make even a speculation as to its side. We shall see in due course that the northern entrepot shifted down to Kedah and the southern came to be at Palembang in Sumatra.

Navigational and physiographical facts caused the northern entrepot to be sited on the north-western coast of the Peninsula. Ships trading across the Gulf of Siam had to sail eastward upon the SW. monsoon and westward upon the NE. monsoon. During the latter season the east coast of the Peninsula becomes a complete lee shore shut to trading along it by sailing vessels. In the Malayan portion of that coast the only good sheltered anchorage was in the mouth of the Kuantan River in Pahang. In the Thailand portion, however, there were good ones in Patani roadstead, about latitude 6°57' N.; Singora harbour; Ligor roadstead; and (considerably further north in a different part of the coast) in Bandon bight, about latitude 9°41' No. It so happens that the easiest land passages across the Peninsula run from Singora, Ligor, and Bandon. Singora, also written Singgora, is the Malay name for Singkhla; Ligor is the Malay name for Lakon or Lakhon, used interchangeably with Nakhon, a word believed to be taken from *nagara*, Sanskrit for 'country'.

- 11 (a) "Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya", (Nos. 4 and 5), Roland Braddell, 1949, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, pp. 1-24 at 1-7.
- (b) H.G. Quaritch Wales, op. cit., n. 7.
- (c) "Takuapa and its Tamil Inscription", K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1949, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, pp. 25-30.
- (d) "A History of Malaya and Her Neighbours", Vol. 1, 1957, F.J. Moorhead, at p. 14.

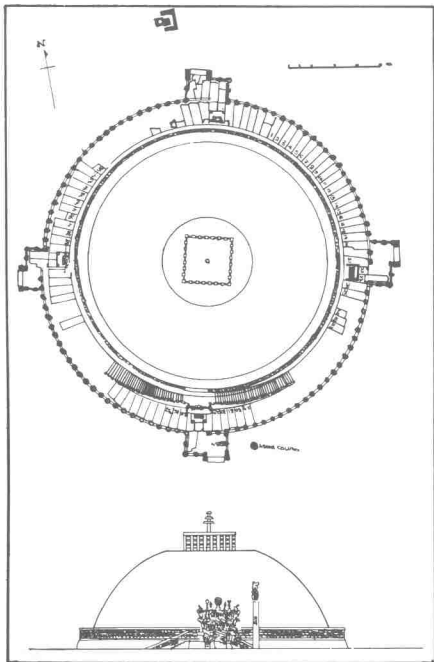
These facts resulted in a lively interchange of goods between the west and east coasts; and archaeological evidence proves the existence of ancient Indianized cities on the coast-line from Patani roadstead up to Bandon bight. The most important of these was at the present Nakon Sri Tammarat, or Nagorn Sridharmraj, as the Admiralty *China Sea Pilot*, vol. 1, 1937, calls it; and the whole province, which the Malays call Ligor, takes its name from that town. These names are versions of the Sanskrit *Nagara Sri Dharmaraja*, bestowed as an honorific by a Siamese king in comparatively modern times. What the actual name of the ancient city was we do not know, but archaeologically it was voeval with that on the Sungai Bujang and in existence during the IVth and Vth centuries A.D. As has been said, easy land passage connected these two cities. The date when the northern entrepot shifted south to the Sungai Bujang area is not known; but the question will be considered in the concluding part of this paper. We can turn now to the name of the city on the Sungai Bujang and its known history.

The identification of Kedah with Langkasuka, which appears in the Hikayat *Marong Maha Wangsa*, or "Kedah Annals", must be ignored. That is a late work, in which it was natural enough for that claim to have been made, because Langkasuka had long since passed into Malay folk-lore and legend as a fairyland kingdom and city of the Golden Age in northern Malaya. Historical geography, however, shows upon the evidence of a series of Chinese names (all transcriptions of Langkasuka) that place was primarily an east coast kingdom centred local authority, i.e. a kind of treaty-port; and it implies, of course, some form of local rule. Indian literature always in the region of Patani; and that, if its boundaries did stretch across to the west coast in the VIth century A.D., they did so into the isthmian region and not into Kedah. The statement concerning these boundaries occurs in the History of the Liang Dynasty, 502-556 A.D., which records the arrival in China of the first embassy from Langkasuka in 515 A.D. It was the practice for envoys and others coming to the Imperial Court from foreign countries to be examined about the palces from which they came; and the envoys from Langkasuka said, amongst other things, that their kingdom had been founded more than four hundred years ago. The whole of the facts were collected and discussed in full by the present writer in 1950¹².

Colonists often give names from their own homeland to their new settlements, and with the ancient Indians this was almost an obsession. There is not a single one of their place-names known to us in South-East Asia, which does not have an Indian counterpart; and Kedah is no exception. The general opinion that the Sanskrit *Kataha* (Tamil *Kadaram*) was the Indian name for Kedah became a certainty when the discoveries by Dr. and Mrs. Quaritch Wales were published. The whole subject, with all the facts, was discussed by the present writer in the paper of 1949 already cited¹¹, to which readers are referred for the details to be summarized now.

12 "Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya", (No. 6), Roland Braddell, 1950, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXIII, Pt. 1, pp. 1-36.

13 Sanskrit is the language of the learned: Prakrit the language of the people and the ancestor of the Prakritic dialects still spoken throughout India.



The Great Stupa at Sanchi, Bhopal State.

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The Sanskrit name *Kataha-dvipa* makes its first appearance in the *Agni Purana*, which is one of the five most important *Puranas*, "Ancient stories". These were very old works indeed, but the recensions now in existence are considered by the foremost Indian scholars to be not earlier than the Gupta period, 300-600 A.D. The geographical names used in them are for the most part those in use about the middle of the Vth century A.D. *Kataha-dvipa*, of which the Prakrit¹³ form is *Kadaha-dipa*, appears, therefore, at about the same time as the earliest archaeological evidence appears in Kedah. The word *dvipa*, Prakrit *dīpa*, is used for an island, a continent or a peninsula, according to the context. The whole Malaysian region was called from ancient times the *dvipantara*, and is still so called in its Prakrit form *dīpantara*, particularly in South India, where a person going to Malaya will often tell friends that he or she is off to the *dīpantara*. Descriptions of the *dvipas* in this region are given in all the five major *Puranas*, but the names used are not always the same. In the *Agni Purana* *Kataha-dvipa* is placed in this region.

The next work in which *Kataha* is mentioned is one for which a variety of dates has been suggested; but the VIIth century A.D. seems to be fairly safe. It shows that *Katahanagara* was a very popular city, noted for its gay life, to which frequent voyages were made. Finally, there comes the *Katha* (romantic) literature of the VIIIth to XIth centuries A.D., in which a number of tales about *Kataha* and references to it appear. When the facts are extracted and analysed, there cannot be any doubt that the references to *Kataha* from the *Agni Purana* to the last of the *Kathas* refer to Kedah and its entrepot, of which the settlement on the Sungai Bujang was the city. There are remains, by the way, of an ancient structure on the summit of Kedah Peak; but, unfortunately, these were cemented by Mr. Ivor Evans in a way which prevents any further examination. From the reports of the two, who discovered their first, and the descriptions by Mr. Ivor Evans, it would seem that this structure may have been a Hindu shrine. From its site it is reasonable to think that this shrine might have had a navigational significance and that there might have been an ancient lighthouse near. It is impossible to assign any precise date, but "not earlier than the VIIIth century A.D." seems probable.

The Tamil equivalent of *Kataha* was *Kadaram*, also written *Kidaram*, a variant usual in the Tamil language, e.g. *kada-kida*, *kana-kina*, *pala-pila* etc. Though an ancient name, *Kadaram* is not proved to be identical to *Kataha* until the XIth century A.D. under circumstances which are noted later.

We can pass now to the Chinese name *Chieh-ch'a* (*Kie-tch'a*), which appears in the VIIth century A.D. Sinologists are all agreed that this is a transcription of the Sanskrit *Kataha*; and that would be only natural, because the writer, who provides us with this name, was a great Sanskrit scholar. He was the famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim I ching (I Tsing, Yi Tsing), who wrote the two classics called in English for short the *Record* and the *Memoirs*. As will be seen shortly, the facts which he gives about *Chieh-ch'a* make it certain that place was the Kedah entrepot.

With this Indian and Chinese proof the true origin of the Malay name *Kedah* becomes apparent. It is the present form of the ancient Indian name *Kataha*,

which in its Tamil form Kadaram had its counterpart in India, namely Kadaram in the Madura District of the present Madras State. The suggestions given in Wilkinson's Dictionary for the origin of the Malay name are mere guesses, which carry no conviction. The antiquity of Kedah, therefore, extends to its name; and it is the only State in the Federation, which can point with certainty to the origin of its name in an ancient Indian one.

The T'ang period, 618-906 A.D., was one of the most glorious in the history of China. There was great Buddhist activity and the last half of the VIIth century was memorable for the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who went to India to study at the great univeristy of Nalanda in Bihar, which had been founded in Gupta times and was then in the height of its fame. Some of the pilgrims went overland; but I Ching and twenty others made the sea voyage, as he tells us in his two works. All the essential facts are collected and discussed by the present writer in the paper of 1950 already cited¹² and in another of 1951¹⁴. The descriptions of the various courses taken in the voyages are so clear as to leave no doubts whatsoever that Chieh-ch'a was an entrepot in Kedah, and the archaeological evidence enables us to identify that entrepot as the Sungai Bujang town with its anchorage in Kuala Merbok.

I Ching arranged his own passage with the owner of a *Po-sse* ship, which is taken usually to mean "Persian", and sailed from Canton in the 11th moon, 671 A.D., to the capital of Srivijaya, for which, of course he gives the Chinese name. At that time it is clear that the southern entrepot for the Straits of Malacca was at Palembang, where the capital of Srivijaya lay. I Ching tells us that there were more than 1,000 Buddhist priests there at this time. He himself spent 6 months studying Sanskrit in Srivijaya before he went to the Ganges delta in one of the king's ships, and he tells of another Chinese pilgrim, who went to Negapatam in another of the king's ships. In another passage he shows that the ships from Srivijaya plied regularly up and down the Straits of Malacca between the two entrepots. The midway port was *Mo-lo-yu*, which, he tells us, had been absorbed by Srivijaya. This name is an exact transcription of *Malayu* (written *Melayu* nowadays) and was at the mouth of the Jambi river on the east coast of Sumatra. The kingdom of *Mo-lo-yu* sent its first embassy to China in the year 644-5 A.D. and disappears after that from Chinese history during the period of the present paper.

Srivijaya, which came to play an important part in the history of Kedah, was the most famous of the Indo-Malay kingdoms. There cannot be much doubt that the Malay Annals (*Sejarah Melayu*) give the tradition of its founding in the story about the Indian prince who appeared at Bukit Seguntang near Palembang, married the daughter of the local chieftain, and succeeded thereafter to the rule of the country with that chieftain's consent. Certain it is that the earliest Malay texts known to us as yet are contained in four inscriptions on stone, which were set up for political purposes by Srivijaya in different parts of Sumatra during the period 683-686 A.D. according to the dates upon them. The language used

14 "Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya". (No. 8), Roland Braddell, 1951, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 1-27.

was a mixture of Sanskrit with Malay, known as "Old Malay", and includes the earliest evidence of the title *Datu*, or *Dato* as we have it in Malaya¹⁵. I Ching says that the pilgrims, who went to Srivijaya learned the *K'un-lun* language there, which in this context must have been the "Old Malay" of the inscriptions.

The name *K'un-lun* was applied by the Chinese in early times as a generic one for the Malaysian region, people, language, and ships, and had an alternative form *K'un-lun*, which caused much confusion not only in the Chinese records themselves but also to modern scholars, who find the origin of the word in the Khmer *Kurun*, meaning "regent". I Ching, however, gives an explanation, which accords with modern ethnological ideas. In the *Record* he names eleven principal *chou* in the South Sea. The Chinese used *chou* in the same way as the Indians used the same way as the Indians used *dvipa*, so that it does not necessarily mean an island. In fact, two of I Ching's were Srivijaya and Mo-lo-yu. He explains in the *Record* that the eleven *chou* "were generally known by the general name of the "countries of *K'un-lun*", since the people of *K'un-lun* first visited Tongking and Canton. The *K'un-lun* are curly-headed and of black skin, whereas the inhabitants of the *chou* are similar to the Chinese, it is their habit to have their legs bare and to wear the *kan-man*" i.e. the sarong. What he means apparently is that the earliest people known to the Chinese as *K'un-lun* or *K'un-lun* were curly-headed and black-skinned, whereas the people of the eleven *chou* also called *K'un-lun* were like the Chinese except in their dress. He only visited the two Sumatran *chou* named above so that the *K'un-lun* there were the only ones whom he saw amongst the eleven. He stayed ashore at Chieh-ch'a on his outward voyage to India and again on his homeward but gives no description of the town or its inhabitants. He mentions it in the *Memoirs* and not in the *Record*. We can feel sure, however, that the bulk of the people, whom he saw in the town, would have been the later *K'un-lun* and that the earlier type would have been represented, if at all, by aboriginals from the mountains who had brought in jungle produce.

The archaeological evidence in Kedah discloses only a small amount of T'ang trade objects — fragments of ceramics and of two Chinese bronze mirrors. It was not until the T'ang era was well advanced that Chinese shipping came to the South Sea. In the Chinese records prior to that period mention is made only of foreign ships carrying envoys and other Chinese. The great advance in their naval construction was made under the Sung dynasty 960–1279 A.D., when the ocean-going vessels (*wangkang*) were brought to perfection and were a familiar sight in all the main ports as far as the Persian Gulf. An abundance of Sung ceramics, nearly all in fragmentary condition, was found at sites on the Sungai Bujang and much of it was of fine quality. This probably was all carried in Chinese ships. But the T'ang objects are more likely to have been brought by foreign ships than by Chinese, except for such as were late T'ang.

Srivijaya was a naval power which commanded the southern end of the Straits of Malacca, and derived its wealth from the Sumatran gold mines and from its entrepot trade. It expanded into an empire, the earliest evidence of

¹⁵ These inscriptions are set out and translated in "History of Sri Vijaya", K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1949, at pp. 113–116.

which comes from an inscription, dated 775 A.D., discovered in Ligor; and in some way, which is not certain, it brought Kedah within its orbit. The earliest evidence of that comes from the Rab geographers, who described the sea route from the Persian Gulf to China, and we will turn now to them.

The accounts vary considerably in value, but all of them give a place called Kalah as the midway point between the Persian Gulf and China. The whole voyage divides into four stages, for each of which a month's sailing is allowed. The first stage is to Quilon on the Malabar coast; the second via the Nicobars to Kalah; the third through the Straits of Malacca to a port on the Indo-Chinese coast; and the fourth from there to Canton. Kalah is the name for a region and coast, the suffix *bar* (sanskrit *vara*) being added where that is indicated; and it is also the name of an entrepot where the ships from the West rendezvoused with those from the East. No historical geographer, who applies the right methods, could have any doubt that Kalah was the Arabs' name for Kedah and for its entrepot in the Merbok — Bujang region. Arabists, however, have made difficulties for themselves either by identifying Kalah with Kra or Kora upon the similarity of names or by confining themselves solely to the Arab evidence and trying to work out distances given in it so as to locate Kalah¹⁶. But historical geography, like any other science, requires that all the reliable facts from every available source should be ascertained and that the theory advanced should fit those facts. In the case of the Arab accounts the word "reliable" is the operative one, since the writers were apt to introduce wonders and sea tales such as one gets in the Arabian Nights or to repeat details from previous writers and get them confused. Once, however, the essential facts are extracted and put together, there can hardly be any doubt even upon the Arab evidence that Kalah was Kedah. As soon as those facts are compared with the archaeological evidence and with the facts about Kataha and Chieh-ch'a, any doubt that there might be disappears and certainty takes its place. Readers will find an analysis of the Arab evidence about Kalah in the present writer's paper of 1950 already cited¹².

The series of Arab accounts begins in the middle of the IXth century A.D. and continues fairly extensively until the Xth century, after which "both the sources are few and far between, and what they show is merely continuation along established lines"¹⁷. It is clear that by the time of the earliest of these accounts the whole route to China was well known and in regular use, but there is no evidence from the Arabs to show when that had begun. The Chinese called them *Ta-shih*, a direct transcription of the Pahlawi (middle Persian) word *Tajik*, meaning an Arab; and their records show that there were *Ta-shih* in Canton during the VIIIth century A.D. The irruption of the Moslem Arabs into the Eastern seas was facilitated by their possession of the Persian Gulf and its coasts, which placed the Persian captains and sailors at their disposal; and a glance at Arab history is helpful to understand it.

In the century after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, June 8, 632 A.D., Arab conquests created a Moslem Empire, which stretched from the Atlantic

16 For an example, cf. "The Malay Peninsula as known to the Arab geographers", G. B. Tibbetts 1956, *Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, Vol. 9, pp. 21-60.

17 "Arab Seafaring", G.F. Hourani, 1951, at p. 83.

to the confines of China and changed the face of the civilized world. Begun during the Orthodox Caliphate, 632–661 A.D., and completed during the Umayyad Caliphate, 661–750 A.D., these conquests form a dramatic chapter in the history of the world. The 'Abbasid Caliphate, 750–1258 A.D., inherited the fruits of them from the Umayyad, which it had destroyed. The second Abbasid caliph, the great al-Mansur, 754–755 A.D., laid the foundation stone of a new capital at Baghdad in 762 A.D. The highest and so most reliable authority on Arab and Syrian history is Professor Hitti of Princeton University, U.S.A., to whose well-known works the reader is referred¹⁸. The Abbasid dynasty was at its prime between the reign of the third caliph, al-Mahdi, 775–785 A.D. and that of the ninth, al-Wathiq, 842–847 A.D. Baghdad's most brilliant period was reached under the famous caliph Harun-al-Rashid, 768–809 A.D. In the graphic words of Professor Hitti, "Though less than half a century old, Baghdad had by that time grown from nothingness to a world centre of prodigious wealth and international significance, standing alone as the rival of Byzantium"¹⁹. But moons rise, wax and wane; and the Abbasids began their gradual decline under the eleventh caliph al-Mutawakkil, 847–861 A.D. It is a curious coincidence that the earliest Arab description of the sea-route to China occurs in his time and the only dated object found in the city on the banks of the Sungai Bujang comes from his reign also.

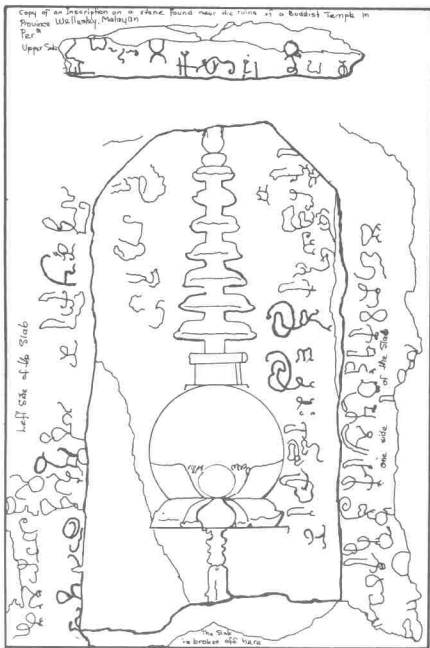
Glassware had been a speciality of Syria from the time of the Phoenicians who provided the ancient world with its finest glass. They had invented blown glass late in the first century B.C., until which time they had manufactured and exported cut glass. During the rest of the historical phases up to the VIIIth century A.D. glassware continued to be a major export from Syria and the Near East, except Anatolia, had been conquered by the Moslem Arabs, after which Iraq and Persia had been subjected by 651 A.D. Thus the trade in Near Eastern glass fell into Arab hands and became one of the staple products in which their merchants traded in the Eastern seas. It is only natural, therefore, that, with two exceptions, the whole of the evidence of Arab trade found by Dr. Quaritch Wales was the glassware, which he discovered at six sites along the Sungai Bujang. Colonel Low a hundred years previously had found glass amongst the ruined temples visited by him in Province Wellesley and Kedah and noted the various colours of that glass. Dr. Quaritch Wales found fragments of glass vessels of various colours, and of lamps, as well as "two cast yellow glass octahedrons". The glass vessels, he says, are "believed to be of Near Eastern manufacture brought by Arab traders"; and he thinks that the two pieces of cast glass were probably of Near Eastern origin also. He described the lamp merely as "Arab lamps", but it may be that he means Arab in style only. In his identification of the one which he was able to restore partially he says that he compared it with "a much larger Arab lamp in the British Museum", which was probably made in Syria and is said to date from XIVth century A.D.²⁰. He includes the two

18 (a) "History of the Arabs, P.K. Hitti, 1956, 6th ed.

(b) "History of Syria", P.K. Hitti, 1951.

19 cf. op. cit. n. 18(a) at p. 301.

20 cf. op. cit. n. 4(a) at pp. 38–39.



The Buddha-gupta inscribed pillar, Province Wellesley, ca. 400 A.D.

octahedrons amongst the "gems" found in a bronze casket which contained the foundation deposits of a temple "probably IXth-Xth century A.D." That fact and the fact that they were small pieces of cast glass would indicate that they were objects prized for their rarity and antiquity. It seems hardly likely that they would have been trade objects brought by Moslem Arab traders. But the rest of the glassware is undoubtedly evidence of Moslem Arab trade.

The clinching piece of evidence comes from a seventh site on the Sungai Bujang, where two silver coins of the reign of the caliph al-Mutawakkil were discovered, one of which bears quite legibly the date 234 A.H., i.e. 848 A.D., the other (on which the date was missing) being of about the same date according to expert evidence at the British Museum. The former is a half-dirham and the latter a quarter-dirham. Each was found in two incomplete portions and each was in one of the two reddish earthenware jars of South Indian style, which were discovered just beneath floor level, when the laterite flooring of a temple on the eastern bank of the Sungai Bujang had been taken up. An Arab dirham had a face value equal to the French franc before the First World War, i.e. about 36 cents Malayan. Its real value cannot, of course, be assessed but, whatever it may have been, the half and the quarter dirham could not have been placed in the jars by reason of their extrinsic value. Since the floor, under which the jars were discovered, was that of the main sanctuary of the temple, the inference would be that the purpose of the coins was to give the date when the building of the temple began. Though he does not mention that consideration, Dr. Quaritch Wales bases himself upon the coins in his dating of the temple as "from about last half of the IXth century"²¹. These two small coins are a formidable piece of evidence in the chain which proves that Kalah was the Arab name for Kedah and its entrepot.

As has been said, the nature of the Arab accounts is such that it is necessary to decide how much of the evidence in them can be treated as reliable and naturally opinions about that will differ. The following description of coastal Kedah, as it was from the middle of the IXth century A.D. to the beginning of the XIth, is based upon such facts in the whole series of accounts as would, in the writer's opinion, be accepted by a Court of Justice. The French spelling of the names is followed, because all the translations (with one immaterial exception) are in that language.

Kalah was a kingdom with its own system of justice, which included imprisonment and times for offences. A king rules over all the groups of people in the country and there was a coinage, the local dirham weighing two-thirds of the Arab one. Only a little money, however, was used in exchange for the Arab goods, so that barter apparently was the principal method by which trading was conducted in the entrepot of Kalah, which is described as the focal point of the main sea-route from the Persian Gulf to China and also of the sea routes from India and to the south through the Straits of Malacca. This entrepot was the centre of the trade in aloe-wood, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, brazil-wood, spices of all kinds "and a number of things too long to

21 cf. *op. cit.* n. 4(a) at pp. 32-33.

enumerate." To these can be added gold, rattan and bamboo from other accounts. The products of Kalah itself, which were the outstanding ones in Arab estimation, were the excellent camphor, the very pure tin, and a species of aloe-wood, the last two being known as *Kalahi*. It will be remembered that Kataha was celebrated for its aloe-wood and that Kadaram, the Tamil equivalent of Kataha, had the variant form Kidaram. One of the three varieties of aloe-wood known to the Tamils was called Kidaravan by them. Thus the aloe-wood of Kedah was so much esteemed in the Arab and South Indian home-markets that it was known by the name of the place from which it was exported.

The city of Kalah was "very large, with high walls, numerous gardens, and abundant streams of water," and it contained a fortress, in which swords were forged that were "true Indian swords". Round this city there was a succession of towns, market-towns, and gatherings of houses. The king of Kalah lived in this city and was known to the Arabs as Djaba al-Hindi, "the Indian". The description of his rich robes and crowns shows that they were in the Indian style; but the noblemen and the ordinary people, both men and women, wore a single *futa* only, i.e. a sarong. The presence of Indians, Moslems and Persians amongst the inhabitants of the city was noted by the Arab writers, but there is no description of the indigenous people. We are told, however, that the people of Kalah lived upon "wheat, dates, vegetables, which are sold by weight, and flat cakes of bread, sold by quantity", and that they did not use bath establishments but washed themselves in running water. The mention of wheat and bread seems peculiar, since wheat would have had to be imported and its cost would have been prohibitive for the ordinary people, who had plenty of land on which to grow their staple foods — rice and sago.

During the centuries after the Islamic destruction in Kedah practically all the tiles, bricks and blocks of stone left on the ground were used for building and other purposes; but the Arab description of the principal city and its satellites is corroborated in a general way by what Colonel Low saw and what Dr. and Mrs. Quaritch Wales excavated, in addition to which there are the sites still awaiting excavation. It can be said justifiably that from the middle of the IXth century A.D. to the beginning of the XI coastal Kedah was a prosperous and well-populated region with a thriving overseas trade and a high degree of civilization. The Arab evidence enables us also to understand the general political situation in the Straits of Malacca and the Malaysian region. To follow that evidence the use of the Arabic word *jazirah* must be explained first. In all the translations it is given invariably its primary meaning of island; but all Arabists are agreed that the word was also used in the same wide sense as *dvipa* was used by the Indians and *chou* by the Chinese.

The sovereign, who seems to have made the greatest impact upon the Arab sailors and merchants, was known to them as the Maharaja of Djawaga, so that the Arab geographers have a great deal to say about him, his possessions, his armies, his fabulous wealth in gold and also as a result of sea-trade; but nowhere is any personal name given for him. The word Djawaga is written as ZaB.DJ, and the great French scholar Gabriel Ferrand explains that the modern pronunciation Zabadj and the ancient Zabag represent an initial Indonesian form

Djawaga, which is the one used by him in his translations and followed here.²² Other Arabists and historians keep to the ancient form Zabag, some using Djawaga also; but, in whatever way it is written, the word is the Arabic transcription of Javaka, a borrowed Sanskrit expression, the generic meaning of which comprised the whole Malay region and Malay people.

The Arab writers use Djawaga in a specific sense and also in a general one. They speak of the island or the country of Djawaga, and they speak also of the islands or the empire of Djawaga. The former is clearly the island of Sumatra; and curiously they speak also of Sribuza, which is a transcription of Srivijaya, in a way that shows it to be Sumatra also. They do not give a detailed list of the "islands of Djawaga", but state they are a very fertile and wealthy archipelago, which was heavily populated. All of them are unanimous that the island of Sribuza" and "the island of Kalah" were dependencies of the Maharaja of Dwawaga, king of the eastern islands or the islands in the China sea.

Without embarking upon a discussion with lengthy details, it can be said at once that the general opinion of historians is that the empire of the Maharaja of Djawaga was in fact the historical empire of Srivijaya; and an analysis of the Arab accounts confirms that opinion. The Arab evidence, therefore, proves that from the middle of the IXth century A.D. to the beginning of the XIth Kedah was under the suzerainty of the kings of Srivijaya; but there is no evidence from any source which tells us what was the exact nature of that suzerainty or when it began. It does not seem to have been a case either of conquest or of absorption. The problem might conceivably inscription in Kedah, Mo-fo-yu, for instance, was absorbed by Srivijaya, as I Ching tells us very clearly, and one of the four "Old Malay" inscriptions, which was discovered in the heart of the Mo-fo-yu country, says that a datu of Srivijaya was in charge there. But the Arab evidence shows that Kedah had its own king. It would have been to the benefit of both the entrepots to enter into a form of alliance, by which the Straits of Malacca could be controlled, and, as Srivijaya was by far the most wealthy and the most powerful of the two, one would expect it to be the predominant partner. Whatever the exact nature of the political situation was, it had the result of embroiling Kedah in warfare with a far stronger naval empire, which had grown up on the Coromandel coast. Neither the Arabs nor the Chinese say anything about this and the proof comes only from records of the imperial Chola kings.

Tamilakam, the land of the Tamils, comprised the whole southern part of the Indian peninsula below the great Krishna (Kistna) River and its chief tributary the Tungabhadra. Traditionally it was divided from very ancient times between Chear (also called Kerala) on the west, Pandya on the south, and Chola on the east, each of these names applying to the dynasty and the people. The history of the Cholas divides into two main periods separated by a long historical night. The earliest, during the first three centuries A.D., will be considered in the concluding part of this paper. The other is that of the imperial Cholas, 850-1200 A.D. The name Coromandel is thought to derive from Cholaman-

22 "Relations de Voyages et Textes Geographiques, Arabes, Persans et Turks", Gabriel Ferrand, Vol. 1, 1913, at p.v.; p. 23 n. 6.

dalam, "Chola country", and the heart of the Chola country was the Tanjore district, which is the name for the entire large delta of the Kaveri (Cauvery) River. Puhar, the Chola capital, with its port Kaveri-pattinam, "Kaveri harbour," lay in this delta but has disappeared almost entirely beneath the sea. During both periods of their known history the Cholas were a sea-faring people, whose kings devoted particular care to the maintenance of a strong navy and the encouragement of commerce overseas. The reign of their greatest king Rajaraja I, 985-1014 A.D., was the formative period of the Chola empire. In 1012 A.D. he joined his only son Rajendra I in the administration of the empire, the completion of which was the work of that son, whose reign is dated, therefore, as 1012-1044 A.D. At that time the Cholas held the whole eastern coast of South India, the Maldives, and Ceylon. The warfare with Srivijaya and Kedah was begun by Rajendra I, who was the only Indian emperor to extend his realm by conquest in South-East Asia.

The language of the Chola kings and their people was Tamil but Sanskrit was used also for official purposes and the inscriptions which relate to Srivijaya and Kedah were mostly bi-lingual in Tamil and Sanskrit. It was the custom to introduce each record by a *prasasti*, i.e., preamble, in which the king and his deeds were extolled. The events recorded in these *prasastis* have proved to be of great historical value and those in the records relating to Srivijaya and Kedah have this value. The inscriptions themselves are engraved upon copper-plates.

The earliest of these inscriptions, known as the Larger Leiden Grant and written in Tamil and Sanskrit, affords the first positive proof that Kadaram was the Tamil equivalent of Kataha and also that Kadaram had the variant form Kidaram. This inscription records the confirmation by Rajendra I of the grant of a village in 1006 A.D. by his father Rajaraja I for the upkeep of a Buddhist monastery at Negapatam; and the last of the inscriptions, known as the Smaller Leiden Grant and dated in the year 1080-90 A.D., records a further grant for this same monastery, by which other villages were settled by Kulottunga I, 1070-1120 A.D., the income of the monastery becoming more than doubled. This last grant is stated to have been made at the request of two datus sent by the king of Kidaram and appears to have been written in Tamil only. As the Chola kings were Hindus of the Shiva sect, the two inscriptions are evidence of religious tolerance and friendly relations.

Before going further, it must be explained that the whole series of inscriptions is considered generally to prove that Kedah was under the suzerainty of Srivijaya and that the kings of Kadram (Kataha) mentioned in them were in reality kings of Srivijaya. There are those who dispute that opinion and the fact is that emphasis is laid throughout on Kadaram and that it is only in the Larger Leiden Grant that one of the two foreign kings mentioned in it is said to be king of Srivijaya and Kataha in the Sanskrit part, the Tamil mentioning Kadaram only. It is really upon Chinese evidence that these two kings are proved to be kings of Srivijaya, assuming that the Chinese name *San-fo-ts'i* means Srivijaya. It can be accepted fully that the inscriptions prove Srivijaya and Kedah to have been parts of the Srivijayan empire; but the explanation is possible that this

empire was a double kingdom with two capitals and that in the time of the inscriptions recording the warfare the capital in use was the one in Kedah. This is too long and too difficult a subject to discuss here.

The records relating to the warfare begin with one dated in the year 1017-8 A.D., which says that the forces of Rajendra I crossed the ocean and conquered Kataha. Full details of the conquered Kataha. Full details of the warfare are given in an inscription dated in the year 1024-5 A.D. and are repeated in several others up to 1043 A.D. in almost identical words. It is possible that the warfare began with the capture of Kadaram (Kataha) in 1017 A.D. and ended with a final and decisive victory before the inscription of 1024-5 A.D.; but it is taken by most Indian historians to have occurred about 1024 or 1025 A.D. and several of them have expressed a difficulty in understanding the order in which the places conquered by Rajendra I are named.

The cause of the war seems clearly enough to have been economic and its object to have been the control of the Straits of Malacca, through which the Chola merchant fleet had to pass on its way to China and back. The Chinese record the first embassy from the Cholas in 1016 A.D., after which there was not another until 1033 A.D. Between those two dates Rajendra I's war occurred and it may well be that his purpose in sending the embassies was to ensure that he would have no trouble with the great Sung Emperor, whose theoretical overlordship was accepted by the kingdoms in the South Sea. Without such a recognition these kingdoms would have had great difficulty in trading with China. If Rajendra I was to gain the desired control of the Straits, the first step obviously was to reduce Kadaram, the northern entrepot, and thus secure a safe base. The next would be to reduce Srivijaya, the southern entrepot. With these two in his hands the rest of the Srivijayan possessions in Sumatra and on the Malay peninsula would fall into his possession with ease. This is the order given in the Chola records, so far as the names can be identified with certainty. The first place in Kadaram, where Sangrama Vijayottunga, king of Kadaram, was captured "with the elephants in his glorious army", and his "large heap of treasures" fell into the hands of the Cholas; next "the extensive capital Srivijaya" was conquered; then places on the east coast of Sumatra, after which those on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula fell; lastly (and probably when Rajendra's armada was returning) the northern end of Sumatra and the Nicobar Islands were captured. These last two were necessary, because they were important stations on the sea-route and without their possession the Cholas would not have had a complete command of the Straits of Malacca. The account concludes with a reference back to "Kadaram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep sea".

War broke out again in about 1068 A.D. during the reign of Virirajendra I, 1063-1070 A.D. The record of this says that the rightful king of Kadaram, who had been driven out, sought the help of the Chola king and that the latter conquered Kadaram after which he handed it back to the rightful king upon receiving homage from him. Nothing appears to be said about Srivijaya in this inscription; but it has been impossible to check through the Chola inscriptions, as they are not available in Kuala Lumpur, where this is being written. The Chola

king Kulottunga I also claims to have conquered Kadaram but this is considered by Indian historians to be dubious. It is a little difficult to accept it in face of the friendly relations evidenced by the Smaller Leiden Grant.

This brings us to the end of the XIth century A.D. and the main structure of Kedah's story from the IV century A.D. has been indicated. The histories of South-East Asia and of Malaya, which have been appearing during the past ten years, deal with Srivijaya, its relations with Kadaram, and the Chola wars in a simple factual manner, as though the subject were a cut and dried one. But the fact is that it needs a complete re-consideration and a further search in the Chinese records. The Chola inscriptions also need a fresh appraisal, with their contents, both Sanskrit and Tamil, set out in full.

There remain the first three centuries A.D., which are the period of the earliest Indian colonization and a Malayan subject rather than a purely Kedah one. They will be treated in the final part of this paper.

The Kedah Casket, a review of its contents

ALASTAIR LAMB

THE granite casket which was discovered amidst the remains of a temple on the Sungei Batu Pahat in Kedah last February, as described in the previous number of *Malaya in History*, was taken to London in May to be opened and examined in the British Museum. The following pages describe what was found inside the casket and make some attempt to assess what new light the casket and the temple in which it was found may cast on the early history of Malaya. It must be appreciated however, that at present only the most tentative conclusions can be drawn. Much work remains to be carried out on the casket, and even more on the further exploration of the temple site on the Sungei Batu Pahat.

The opening of the casket and the removal of the sand with which it had become filled in the course of the centuries posed no serious problems to the staff of the British Museum laboratory through whose hands have passed so many of the great treasures of modern archaeology. They were, indeed, inclined to look on the Kedah find as almost beneath their notice; but this attitude did not persist once the casket began to reveal its contents. When the casket arrived in England nothing had been done to it beyond the opening of the lid and the exposing of the mouth of a small bronze pot lying buried in sand. A number of assumptions, however, had already been made about this object which the examination in the British Museum might or might not verify. It had been identified as a nine-chambered reliquary of a type known in Java to have had a close connection with funerary ritual, and for this reason it had been suggested that the bronze pot, a feature apparently alien to the Javanese reliquaries, had served as the repository for a small portion of the remains of a ruler or important personage in pre-Islamic Kedah. As is usually the case, detailed investigation revealed that not all the assumptions which had been made as to the contents of the casket were entirely correct. In general, however, they were near enough to the truth. The casket did prove to be a nine-chambered reliquary.

While no human remains were found in the bronze pot, traces of undoubtedly organic matter were found beneath it which suggest so strongly as to be beyond reasonable doubt the funerary nature of this object. These traces were very faint, and were only discovered after examination under a high powered microscope followed by delicate chemical analysis. They would certainly have escaped observation had the casket been opened in Malaya.

The first step in examining the casket was to remove the sand from the bronze pot, a task which took several days because all the sand so removed had to be examined under a microscope, and great care had to be taken not to damage the badly corroded walls of the pot. The pot proved to contain nothing more than one gold disk, two inches in diameter, with a single letter stamped on it. The disk was extremely thin, and it had been folded so as to enable it to pass through the narrow neck of the pot. The single letter is not very clear, but it seems most likely that it is the Sanskrit letter *om*. Some date may eventually be assigned to it on paleographic grounds.

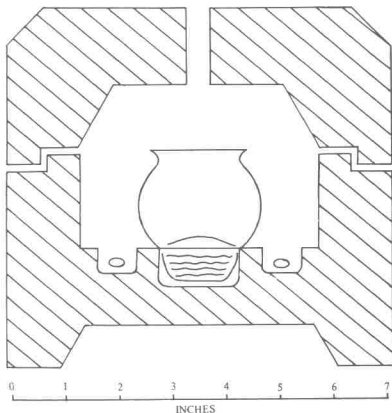


Diagram showing interior of stone casket before contents were removed in the British Museum Laboratory.

The removal of the pot revealed that the floor of the casket contained nine depressions arranged in three rows with the central depression considerably larger than the eight depressions which surrounded it. Each of the eight smaller depressions contained a small semi-precious stone, unset and uncut, and these are now being studied by the Geological Museum in London. The central depression contained a surprising number of objects, some easily identifiable, others badly corroded and requiring further processing in the laboratory. Lying at the top of the heap, immediately under the base of the bronze pot, there was the image of a bull cut out from a thin sheet of silver foil. Its workmanship, like the other objects in the casket, was crude, its design was attractive and showed considerable freedom of expression. Beneath the bull lay a square silver plate embossed with a number of identical symbols strongly suggesting the sun. Next came three bronze objects fused together through corrosion, of which one was certainly a representation of a lotus flower. Then came two gold objects, one a semi-circle and the other, apparently a representation of something along the lines of those wall hangings which are so characteristic of the temples of Tibetan Buddhism. Finally, at the bottom of the depression, there was an image of a seated female figure, cut from thin gold foil, and depicted as holding in one hand a trident and in the other a lotus blossom. This image had been folded into a rough bowl shape so as to permit it to fit into the depression, and on its surface were discovered those traces of organic matter to which reference has already been made. This figure was not cut out very carefully, for a number of bits of foil which should have been removed were still attached to it. Its face was covered with verdigris from the bronze objects lying above it. All the objects in the central depression were of small size: the depression being two inches in diameter and one inch in depth.

What does all this mean? It would be impossible, of course, to give a definitive answer to this question at present, and the suggestions advanced there can only be tentative. What is certain, however, is that the casket is identical with the two caskets of which Dr. Quaritch Wales found fragments near the Sungei Batu Pahat site some twenty years ago. It is a nine-chambered reliquary closely resembling those found in Java which Dr. Stutterheim has described, but with some features which would seem to distinguish it from the Javanese specimens. If it is not precisely like anything found to date in Java, it is certainly quite unlike anything which has been discovered in India, and I have found no evidence to support Dr. Wales' contention that this type of object originated in India. Mr. Sivaramamurti of the Indian National Museum in New Delhi, one of the leading authorities on the art and architecture of South India, to whom I showed photographs of the casket, said that he had never seen anything quite like it.

Of the objects in the central depression, only the bull and the seated female figure can be identified with any certainty at present. There seems to be no reason to believe that they are other than a representation of Siva and his consort Parvati, whose presence in funerary objects of this nature is fully in accordance with what we know of the Javanese ritual. It may perhaps be that the fact that the organic remains are found on the figure of Parvati rather than

on that of Siva is significant as indicating the sex of the person whom the casket commemorates, but this is merely a speculation. To some who have seen the contents of the casket the objects in the central depression have suggested some kind of Tantric rite embodying an amalgam of Buddhist and Hindu features. Such rites were common enough in pre-Islamic South East Asia, but the subject is still little understood. The contents of the casket may prove in this respect to be of some considerable value.

The gold disk inside the bronze pot, with its inscription of a single letter, appears as far as one can tell at present to be identical with an inscribed gold disk which, with a number of similar disks of gold and silver, Dr. Wales found in one of his sites on the Sungei Bujang. If this identification can be sustained, it may prove to be of some importance. Dr. Wales went to great lengths to argue that his disks showed no connection whatsoever to Java, and, indeed, he used this contention as one of the props to his theory as to the South Indian provenance of the culture of early Kedah. The discovery of such a disk in an object of apparently non-Indian origin can only weaken Dr. Wales' theory. Moreover, if the disk from Sungei Batu Pahat is indeed very like that one which Dr. Wales found on the Sungei Bujang, then there would be strong grounds for assigning comparable dates to the sites whence they originated. Dr. Wales separates the two sites in time by nearly two centuries.

As far as one can tell the casket is neither Indian nor Javanese; though it does share a number of features with similar objects which have been found in Java. It seems probable that it owed its immediate origins to some cultural development in northern Malaya or southern Thailand. The architectural details of the remains of the temple on the Sungei Batu Pahat, and of other sites in Kedah, would seem to bear out this conclusion. Dr. Wales argued very strongly that many of the Kedah sites which he excavated had originally been virtual replicas of buildings to be found in South India during the Pallava period, that is to say during the 7th and 8th Centuries A.D. It is hard to find evidence in support of this contention. There are no features in what remains of the Kedah temples to justify their identification with the Pallava style, and there are a number of features which have no counter part in any Pallava building which has survived to the present day. Dr. Wales was constrained to admit that it would be hard to establish the Pallava association on purely architectural grounds; and he was obliged to make great use of associated finds to support his thesis. He placed a crucial emphasis on what he described as "a miniature bronze shrine lid", a small object which was found in the bed of the Sungei Bujang, and which he claimed bore a striking resemblance to the architecture of some of the Pallava monuments at Mahabalipuram near Madras. It must suffice here to remark that few authorities would now agree that the shrine lid has any specifically Pallava features. Moreover, its similarity to an object found at Sambas in Borneo, and now in the British Museum, which has been dated with good reason as much later than the Pallava period, is very destructive to Dr. Wales' argument.

The architecture of the great majority of the Kedah sites possesses as far as one can tell from an examination of fragmentary remains which have survived, a number of features of its own. The style is extremely simple, and appears to

lack elaborate mouldings or other decorative motifs. The absence of carved stone decoration is remarkable. Even the Sungei Batu Pahat temple, constructed largely of stone blocks, presents an exterior quite unadorned by carved figures or other motifs. The extensive use of timber in the superstructure of the temples, the main reason for their present sorry state of preservation, is also a feature of some significance. Timber may well have been the most easily available building material, but so it must have been in Java and Cambodia where a number of structures of 8th Century date have survived which show no use of timber in their construction. The Sungei Batu Pahat temple proves that the builders of ancient Kedah were skilled masons, and the small size of the stone blocks used in this building shows that there was no attempt to use the easiest technique. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the use of timber pillars to support the roof had some cultural significance, and that the stone pillar bases which are to be found in the great majority of the Kedah sites should be considered as indicative of an architectural style as well as of practical expediency.

A few decorative features have survived in the Kedah sites. The curvilinear stone from the Sungei Batu Pahat site is a case in point. This may well be the finial, or *stupika*, to the roof of the temple; and if so, it indicates no affinities to the Pallava buildings of India but invites comparison with similar features in temples in Champa or at Pagan in Burma. If it is necessary to find Indian models for the buildings of pre-Islamic Kedah, then probably the best place to look is in Travancore and other parts of South West India where there are a number of remarkable temples with timber superstructures. But these are of a much later date than the Pallava period. In any case, it is probably unnecessary to seek so far afield, for the ground plan of the modern Siamese *wat* is strikingly similar to that of a typical Kedah site. Of the Kedah roofs, of course, we have extremely small knowledge, since they have without exception disappeared in the course of time leaving but scattered, and puzzling, traces like the *stupika* from the Sungei Batu Pahat site.

This question of architectural identification is an important one to the understanding of the history of pre-Islamic Kedah. The prevailing picture of this subject has been based upon the reconciliation of the conclusions of the archaeological research of Dr. Quaritch Wales with references to Kattaha, Kalah and the like in Indian, Chinese and Arab sources. By themselves, the literary and epigraphical sources are too indefinite to provide much more than an indication of possibilities, and here has been the great importance of Dr. Wales' excavations. Every recent expedition to Kedah, however, has returned home with a feeling that Dr. Wales' system of dating is in many respects at fault. The archaeological evidence, instead of becoming more definite, reveals more and more unanswered questions to the detriment to the coherence of the early history of Kedah. One significance of the casket from the Sungei Batu Pahat site is that it has helped raise these questions and has inspired a fresh attempt to solve them.

The basic problems of Kedah archaeology are, it seems to me, three in number. Firstly, the date of Kedah sites is not satisfactory. Secondly, the stylistic and cultural identification of many objects found in Kedah does not always carry conviction. Thirdly, the extent of the political entity which was

responsible for the Kedah sites has by no means been determined. These three problems resolve themselves into a large number of specific questions of which the following are but a small sample. Is the small bronze Buddha which Dr. Wales found on the lower Bujang really from India and of Gupta date? What is the provenance of some of the pottery fragments from the mouth of the Sungei Bujang? Are they Chinese, or are they imitations of Chinese ware from mainland South East Asia? Will Kelantan and Patani reveal sites similar to those in Kedah? Could it be that Kedah once formed part of a state extending over much of northern Malaya and southern Thailand, and if so, what was its greatest extent? How reliable are the Kedah Annals as a source for the history of pre-Islamic Kedah? Is it significant that the earliest tombs of the Muslim rulers of Kedah are to be found in the region of the Sungei Bujang where are also to be found the greatest concentration of the pre-Islamic Kedah sites? Why should Chinese celadon plates of Ming date and good quality be found in the Sungei Muda so far from the sea? If the Muda was part of a trade route across the Malayan Peninsula, then where was its eastern terminus, and are there any sites there?

All these questions, and many others, urgently demand an answer; and they can only be answered by further archaeological research on a scale greater than has ever been attempted in the past in Malaya. Such research, moreover, will have to extend its scope into southern Thailand, especially in the region of Patani; and this implies work in co-operation with Thai archaeologists. The outcome of such a campaign may, perhaps, be that the culture of which so many traces can be seen in the region of the Merbok Estuary will prove to be neither so ancient nor so Indian as has sometimes been thought. But it is just as probable that the result will be the discovery of a new element in the history of pre-Islamic South East Asia. The study of the history of South East Asia is still young. The very existence of a state like Srivijaya was only established quite recently. There is no reason to suppose that northern Malaya and the Kra Isthmus did not have at times a history of their own which was more than the reflection of the colonising activities of the inhabitants of the south eastern coast of India. The possibilities are exciting, and there can be little doubt that Malayan archaeologists and the Museums Department of the Federation of Malaya will exploit them to the full.

The Temple on the River of Cut Stone

ALASTAIR LAMB

THE people from the village of Merbok on the southern slopes of Kedah Peak, have talked for many decades about "Raja Bersiong's palace". The name of the Sungei Batu Pahat, (the river of cut stone), which below Merbok village becomes the Sungei Merbok Kechil, is probably derived from the abundant evidence of ancient quarrying which can be seen in the stream bed in the region of the site. And it may well be that Colonel Low, Resident of Penang, came here over a century ago, brought to the spot by the same information which led Dr. H.G. Quaritch Wales to investigate this site just before the Second World War.

Dr. Wales found that "Raja Bersiong's Palace" was not a palace. It was the remnants of a temple of impressive dimensions and, for Malaya, of early date — 7th or 8th century according to Dr. Wales. This temple, moreover, possessed a number of features which appear to be unusual and of the greatest interest. In the first place, it was constructed of stone, unlike the great majority of ancient structures in Northern Malaya which have been so far investigated and which were nearly always constructed of bricks and laterite blocks. In the second place, it was very large, the temple itself measuring in plan some eighty by thirty-six feet, and the surrounding enclosure covering an area of at least three hundred feet by one hundred and fifty feet. In the third place, from the discovery of the fragments of bronze sculpture and of two small stone caskets of very specialised design, Dr. Wales was able to conclude that the temple on the Sungei Batu Pahat was a tomb-temple of a type similar to some of the *chandis* of Java which had been built to house the remains of past kings.

The fragments of the stone caskets which Dr. Wales discovered were sufficient to give a good idea of the appearance of these objects as they had originally been. Each, with its lid, must have measured about seven inches cube. Each stood on feet located at the corners of the base of the casket; and apart from this feature each was quite without decoration on the exterior. The bottom of the interior of each casket held nine shallow depressions, arranged in three rows with the central depression of the middle row of slightly larger size than the other eight depressions. These nine depressions are the reason for the naming

of such caskets as nine-chambered reliquaries, and for their identification with similar caskets which have been found in Java.

In Java, before the coming of Islam, nine-chambered reliquaries were used to bury some of the ashes of deceased kings. The ashes were placed in the central depression, or compartment, and into the remaining eight were placed, to quote Dr. Stutterheim, "bits of precious metal and semi-precious stones" and "figures cut in gold-foil, plain or inscribed with mystic syllables". The casket, with the royal remains and these funerary objects, was placed in a temple specially constructed for the purpose, usually in a pit in the centre of the sanctuary, over which there might be placed, if the king had been a Hindu, statues of the king and his consort in the form of Siva and Parvati. The temple was nearly always built on a hill, either natural or artificial, and it always possessed some form of pyramidal roof. With a number of minor differences, the same sort of ritual was employed in the burial of Buddhist monarchs.

Dr. Stutterheim, who made a study of this subject, pointed out that while this ritual was carried out under the cloak of Buddhist or Hindu theology, both derived from India, yet it reflected something which was definitely not Indian and owed its origin to the pre-Indian cultural background of South East Asia. In pre-Islamic South East Asia there would seem to have been a strong inclination to look upon the king as no ordinary mortal, but rather as the mortal manifestation of a deity whose special interest it was to look after the needs of the kingdom on earth. When the king died, his spirit joined the gods; and the dead king in the abode of the gods had it within his power to render great services to the kingdom from which death had parted him. The burial temple was designed to ensure that a link was maintained between the dead king's spirit and his subjects who had survived him. The shape of the temple, and of the mound on which the temple stood, was a deliberate symbolical representation of the mountain abode of the gods. The pyramidal or spire-like roof was built so that, just as lightning is attracted to earth by the pointed end of a lightning-conductor, so the spirit could find its way between the world of the gods and the world of the living.

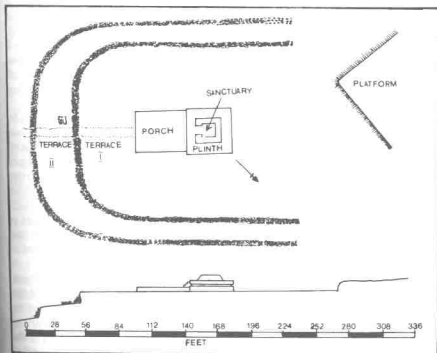
The tomb-temple, the link between the kingdom and the gods, was of great importance in the government of the state. It was, in a way, just as much an organ of government as a modern parliament building is today. For this reason the tomb-temple was built of stone or unusually hard brick in an age when the great majority of buildings, both secular and religious, were constructed of perishable timber. Care, moreover, was taken to ensure that the tomb-temple was adequately maintained. It was usually entrusted, by royal charter, to a village or community which was granted for this task remission of taxes.

If the tomb-temple was important to the government of a state by a dynasty, so also was its destruction important to a conqueror who had overthrown or displaced an established dynasty. Such a conqueror would wish to establish his own links with the gods, and to eradicate those links from which had sprung the strength of those whom he had replaced. It should cause no surprise that many of these tomb-temples have suffered severe damage at the hands of the founders of the new dynasties which arose from time to time

during the turbulent history of pre-Islamic South East Asia.

The chief object which a conqueror would wish to destroy, of course, would be the reliquary containing the royal remains. This was the earthly abode of the dead king's spirit and its survival could only be regarded as constituting a threat to the power and prosperity of the new king. In some of the earlier tomb-temples, which were small and, in comparison with later monuments, flimsily built, the search for the reliquary resulted in the collapse of the entire temple. In some of the larger temples, and especially those where the reliquary was not built into a load-bearing wall, much more has survived; though the reliquary, of course, has nearly always been opened and robbed of its contents.

So far we have been discussing the use of the nine-chambered reliquary in Java. The discovery, however, of two fragments of nine-chambered reliquaries on the Sungei Batu Pahat, one of which is now in the Alor Star Museum, as well as a piece of another reliquary, but larger, more ornate, and clearly of later date, on the lower reaches of the Sungei Bujang, at once suggests that this Javanese practice is in some way related to the ancient state of Kataha. If something definite could be established concerning this relationship, it would be a significant step indeed in the elucidation of the somewhat shadowy history of Kataha.



Plan and elevation of the Temple and two surrounding terraces, and of a third terrace to the North West.

It was for this reason that the University of Malaya Archaeological Society made this structure the scene of its expedition in February and March 1958, which resulted in the discovery of a third reliquary.

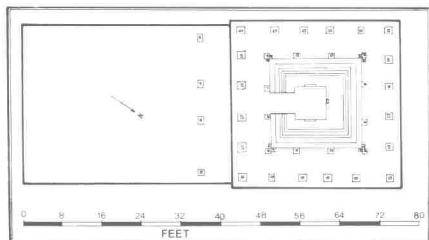
The casket, or reliquary, which was found on this occasion so clearly resembles the fragment now preserved in the Alor Star Museum that its identification must be beyond doubt. But the recent discovery signifies far more than the addition of another example of this type of object to the collection already found in Kedah. The recent reliquary was found in its original position, and, a rare event, it was unopened and unrobbed. Already our knowledge of this type of ritual object has been increased by this discovery, and interesting variants from the normal Javanese practice as described by Dr. Stutterheim can be reported.

The Sungei Batu Pahat temple must have held at least three reliquaries. One was situated in a niche on either side of the sanctuary, and probably in full view. A third, that now found, was concealed in the rear wall of the sanctuary, at floor level. This reliquary, it would seem, was of greater importance than the other two, which might even have been dummies. It was placed on an oval block of granite of peculiar shape, and washed on two sides by a channel leading through the rear wall of the sanctuary which, one must presume, was connected with some form of ritual libation. The inside of the casket is still a mystery, but it can be said with certainty that the rim of a bronze pot, just visible amidst the compacted sand which has crept in during the centuries, marks the container of the ashes. The lid of the casket, just over the rim of the bronze pot, is pierced by a hole about a half inch in diameter which may well have served as a door by which the royal spirit could enter and leave its earthly home. The style of the casket is exceedingly simple, quite lacking the decoration of the surviving Javanese examples, and its size is much smaller than those of Java.

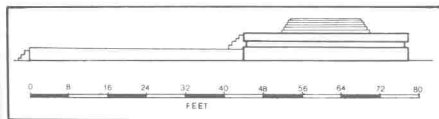
The fact that the Sungei Batu Pahat reliquaries resemble those of Java in general, but not in detail, poses an interesting historical problem. If one concludes, as seems reasonable enough, that simplicity of style and smallness of size indicate an early date, then we have here examples of this ritual object which, as far as I know, antedate those to be seen in Java. Dr. Wales came to this conclusion, and on it he based the following argument. Since the Kedah reliquaries are earlier than the Javanese, it is likely that the ritual with which they are associated was practised in Northern Malaya before it was practised in Java. Further, since Kedah at this period was culturally very close to South East India of the Pallavas, it would seem that the nine-chambered reliquary owed its origin to India.

There is, however, a strong objection to this argument. As we have seen, Dr. Stutterheim argued most convincingly about the essentially non-Indian origin of this ritual. His argument, moreover, is reinforced by the fact that the nine-chambered reliquary would seem to be unknown in South India. This would suggest very strongly that in Kedah at this period, the beginning of the eighth century or earlier, Indian culture was already being significantly modified by influence which originated in South East Asia itself, either from Java or from Malaya or, even, from continental South East Asia. The implication is, if this line

of reasoning has any validity, that the picture of Kedah in the seventh and eighth centuries as but a reflection of Kanchipuram and Mamallapuram, the seat of Pallava culture, stands in need of some modification.



Partially reconstructed plan of the Temple and porch showing the arrangement of the granite bases for the original wooden pillars.



Elevation of the Basement, Sanctuary and Congregation Hall (or porch) at the Temple on the Sungei Batu Pahat.

From an archaeological point of view this is a matter which has received virtually no attention. The Kedah reliquaries have not been subjected to expert investigation. The architecture of temples like that on the Sungei Batu Pahat has not been studied except with the assumption, which it would be hard to justify, that they are replicas of Indian practice. The recent excavations at this temple, and the discovery of an unopened reliquary promise, in time, to be of the greatest value in rectifying these omissions.

At present the reliquary from the Sungei Batu Pahat poses more questions than it answers; and this is a very satisfactory challenge to the historian. There can be little doubt that the temple which yielded this object was a tomb-temple; but it would be hard to say at present who built this temple, why, and in what shape. Stone buildings are not rare in pre-Islamic South East Asia, though one

would be hard pressed to find many stone buildings of much earlier date; but the stones of the Sungei Batu Pahat temple are peculiar in that they are of exceptionally small size, rather suggesting that they were made in deliberate imitation of bricks of clay. While the plan of the temple bears many resemblances to the plans of early South Indian temples, yet many of its features, the stone socles for timber pillars, the sloping timber struts around the sanctuary wall, the extreme severity of the decoration and moulding, do not quite fit in with what we know of South Indian practice. Some of the shaped or moulded stones which now lie about the temple site are equally puzzling: it is difficult, for instances, to find an exact South Indian parallel for the curvilinear stone block which seems to have once served as the finial of the roof structure. These are questions which can only be solved when more is known about Kedah architecture, and such knowledge can only come from the re-examination of the reported Kedah sites and the discovery of fresh sites and fresh inscribed material. It may well be, however, that such future work will reveal that the ancient Indianised buildings of Kedah had some features typical only to Malaya, and that Kataha possessed a culture in its own right which would justify the title of Malayan in the same way as Java and Cambodia have now been recognised as having evolved styles which, though they owe much to India, are still beyond doubt Javanese or Cambodian. There is nothing in India quite like Barabadur or Angkor; there were probably no buildings in India quite like those of which remains have been found in Kedah.

Two Celadon Plates from the Sungei Muda, Kedah

B.A.V. PEACOCK

YANG Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al Haj, the Prime Minister, recently granted the writer an opportunity to examine two interesting stoneware plates in his possession which were acquired by him while he was District Officer, Sungei Patani, in the late 1930's. These two plates, which are shown in the accompanying illustration, were found by two fishermen in the banks of the River Muda a few miles upstream from Srokam in the Sidam District of Kedah. By a happy coincidence, Dr. H.G. Quaritch-Wales was engaged at that time in making his pioneer survey of the ancient Hindu and Buddhist sites in Kedah and the details of the discovery were recorded by him in his *Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya* in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* Volume XVIII Part 1 where he gave his opinion that they were not earlier in date than the XIVth century.

In view of the archaeological importance of the south Kedah region and the at present tantalisingly vague hints of direct Siamese influence to be found in the ancient temples there, a chance to re-examine the plates was eagerly accepted. Any new evidence which could assist in the formation of a valid theory of the history and origin of the Kedah sites would be most welcome.

The plates, however, proved to be undisputably of Chinese workmanship. They are well-fired and heavily potted, a combination producing a resonant, durable ware. The clay of which they are made is fine and homogenous and of a light grey colour. It has been fired in the kiln to a point close to vitrification thus producing the type of pottery, half way between earthenware and porcelain, known as stoneware. In places the foot rings of the plates have been burnt — or rather oxidised — to a red-brown where the glaze has not completely covered the clay body.

The glaze of both vessels is of the hard feldspathic variety as opposed to the soft, easily deteriorated lead type. It is remarkably thick and glassy and shows no trace of crackle or crazing although there are some pits and blemishes, principally on the bases. Decoration has been simply incised or carved into the paste before the application of glaze.

The colour of the plates, an attractive grey-green, marks them as members of that ancient and important class of ceramics known as celadon. The derivation of this name is obscure. It has been suggested that it owes its origin to Celadon, the shepherd in the 17th century French pastoral romance *l'Astree* by Honore D'Urfe, who wore a characteristic grey-green costume. Whatever is the truth of the matter, the wares which bear this name are all of the highly fired stoneware variety with glazes, frequently very thick and glassy, ranging widely in hue from bright 'onion sprout' green to dark olive brown. Some members of this class may actually be the oldest proto-porcelainous stonewares to be made in China or any where in the world and thus ancestral to the whole great Chinese porcelain art. These pottery fragments were described and dated by Ovar Karlbeck on stylistic grounds to the 3rd century B.C. since they carry motifs commonly found on Chinese bronzes of that period.

This pottery was probably the earliest product of a group of kilns situated in the vicinity of Shao hsing, the ancient Yueh Chou, in Chekiang province. The first definite reference of the wares of Yueh is to be found in the 8th century *Ch'a Ching* or *Tea Classic* reputedly by one Lu Yu. This strange book comments on many different types of contemporary pottery, judging them on the, to us, somewhat unusual criterion of their suitability for use as tea bowls. In the *Ch'a Ching* the Yueh pottery was eulogistically likened to jade and ice.

This comparison to jade was by no means accidental and is in fact most significant for it points to an actual striving on the part of the ancient Chinese potters to simulate in their ceramics this greatly valued stone. Thus conditioned and directed, the development of the celadon technique so progressed that many of the finest pieces of the classical Sung period almost rival jade in their beauty.

Celadons were early an important item of China's export trade. Even the early Yueh wares have been found as far afield as Fostat, the old Cairo, and at Samarra. Excavations at the latter site have provided us with valuable evidence of dating, since we know that it was occupied only from A.D. 838 to A.D. 883. The production of Yueh pottery must therefore have been flourishing during the 9th century.

It seems that sometime about the end of the 12th century the popularity of the wares of Yueh began to decline in favour of the products of new kilns near Lung Ch'uan in the prefecture of Ch'u Chou also in Chekiang. In part this may have been due to the more favourable situation of Lung Ch'uan in relation to the sea port of Chu'un Chou through which passed much of the export trade to the West. The fortunes of these new kilns ran high and the Lung Ch'uan wares became the classical manifestation of the celadon type. The Lung Ch'uan kilns continued in operation throughout the Yuan Dynasty and well into the Ming period, though it seems that towards the end of their life they were shifted to Ch'u Chou Fu itself.

The volume of the export trade in celadon continued to rise during the Yuan Dynasty reaching its peak under the Ming between the mid 15th and mid 16th centuries. Its decline after that date appears to have been occasioned by the coming into vogue of the blue and white porcelain. Several factors aided and abetted the long uncontested supremacy of the celadons in the export field. Its

high standard of beauty and great durability made it safe, sure investment for the merchants. But an even greater inducement was the belief that it was an unfailing safeguard against death at the hands of a poisoner, the colour of a celadon dish being held to change colour in the presence of poisoned food. Some rare and highly prized specimens, it was claimed, gave out a piercing cry if other more general dangers threatened, a legend based perhaps on the curious quality of musical resonance possessed by some pieces.

The smaller of the Prime Minister's two places has a freely drawn floral pattern incised on the bottom and vertical grooves on the sides produce a ribbed effect. The larger has a dragon on the bottom and a carved band of leaves round the sides. Stylistically, the writer would be inclined to date both pieces to the beginning of the Ming Dynasty,* an attribution which is borne out by the large unglazed ring on the otherwise glazed bases, a symptomatic though by no means infallible test of Ming celadons.

* About 1400 A.D.

Restoring the Temple on the River of Cut Stone

ALASTAIR LAMB

IN February 1958 a small party of students from the University of Malaya under the direction of Dr. Wang Gung Wu and myself arrived in Merbok New Village, Central Kedah, to explore the remains of an ancient Hindu Temple which lay nearby on the upper reaches of the Sungai Batu Pahat. The results of this expedition, which have been described briefly in the last two numbers of *Malaya in History*, provided the basis for the present season of archaeological work in Kedah which has developed into one of the most extensive archaeological expeditions yet mounted in Malaya.

By March 1958 it had become clear that on the Sungai Batu Pahat there existed sufficient remains of an ancient structure to justify serious thoughts on the possibility of reconstruction along the lines pioneered in Java and Cambodia. With this in mind Dr. Bernard Groslier, one of the foremost authorities in the field of South East Asian archaeology, was invited by the Federation Government in April 1959 to visit Malaya and to report on the possibilities of this temple site. He agreed that some measure of reconstruction was possible, and he further agreed to try to secure the services of one of the French experts from the *Conservation d'Angkor* in Cambodia to help in this work. With great generosity the *Conservation d'Angkor* agreed to release M. Louis Contant, then employed on the reconstruction of the great temple of the Baphuon, and the French Government offered to underwrite the cost of M. Contant's deputation to Malaya. The Museums Department of the Federation of Malaya, under the direction of M.C. ff Sheppard, was on this basis able to secure the necessary funds for a project of reconstruction, and I was invited to direct the work in the field.

Our work began in late July 1959, and at the time of writing is still in progress. To date the main buildings of the temple have been completely cleared and over one half of the temple sanctuary has been reconstructed as far as the surviving evidence will justify. No such work has ever been executed in Malaya before, and one of the first problems which faced us was the finding of suitable workers for the job. This is no longer a problem. Six skilled Malay brick-

layers from Kelantan who were engaged for this project have quickly adapted themselves to the unfamiliar task of reproducing with its original blemishes the form of an ancient structure; and the twenty-five men from Merbok who were hired to do the heavy work have performed their tasks in a manner which leaves little to be desired.

The work of reconstruction has been laborious. The temple was built of very small blocks of stone of a poor quality upon the foundation of a rock outcrop which has, with the passing of time, crumbled away in a number of places to allow portions of the temple to sink deep into the ground. The result has been that before any reconstruction could take place the entire remains had to be removed stone by stone and the foundations excavated to a depth far below their original level. Over one month was spent in this way on one half of the temple sanctuary. In rebuilding we have been confronted with the fact that only a small proportion of the original stones of the temple were in a sufficiently good state of preservation to justify their being replaced untouched. We have had to take material from within the temple structure to build the facing of the walls, and the greater part of the stones so employed have had to be reworked to a varying extent. This has been a slow process.

In reconstructing the temple it has not proved possible to follow very closely the structural methods of the original builders. The temple was, so it appears, erected at a period when stone was just beginning to be employed in the construction of monuments; and the remains of the temple show clearly that its builders were not too happy with stone. They made their stone blocks as much like bricks as they could. They bolstered up stone walls with timber pillars. Their foundations were often inadequate to support the mass of masonry which was placed upon them. We had to avoid these defects as much as possible if we were to create a structure which would survive exposed to the Malayan climate; and our approach has been this. Where possible we have reproduced the original exterior with the original materials. Behind this facade we have made extensive but invisible use of cement and other modern materials. The final result will be a modern core supporting an outer layer which will be either the original facing or an accurate facsimile of it.

The extent of reconstruction has been limited by the fact that we have little reliable idea of the original appearance of the structure from a point about eight feet above ground level. The bases of the *mandapa* and of the sanctuary and the first few feet of the sanctuary wall can be reconstructed with confidence, and to these we have confined ourselves at present. With more investigation and study we may be able to puzzle out further details which we can add later to the foundations now laid. Already, after two months of work on the site, we have worked out some of the details of the original roof and we are steadily unfolding the complex system of terraces which once gave access to the temple. It may never be possible to rebuild the roof, but it is certain that we will be able eventually to restore the terraces and, by so doing, give to the temple its original setting of enclosing walls and approaching stairways.

The extensive use of timber in the original structure, while contributing to the extent to which the temple has crumbled away, has left one useful legacy

in the shape of the stone bases upon which the timber pillars were once located. Many of these pillar bases are still in their original positions, and they enable us to form an accurate picture of the original ground plan of the temple. Such a plan, which a visitor to the Sungei Batu Pahat will be able to work out for himself when he looks over our completed reconstruction from the tower which we have built to enable one to get a birds-eye view of the site, is reproduced in this article. The plan shows clearly, apart from the locations of timber pillars now rotted away, two of the more interesting discoveries which we made while excavating this temple, the nine-chambered reliquaries and the drain, or *somasutra*, which once allowed the sacred liquid used to anoint the image — now lost — in the centre of the sanctuary to run off to the outside.

The arrangement of the *somasutra* is shown here in a photograph. A semi-circular stone, over three feet in diameter, and pierced by a round hole, provides access to a system of horizontal conduit sections by means of a descending pipe made up of large pierced stone blocks. The horizontal conduit fits into the last of these blocks, which provides a right angled bend in the system, by a cunning dovetail. The horizontal conduit is made up of sections from one to three feet long, each carefully fitted in to its neighbours, and the whole covered by large stone blocks. The *somasutra* emerges in the wall of the basement to the sanctuary, some three feet below the level of the sanctuary floor, by means of a spout shaped like the mouth of some animal — the carving is too worn to permit a closer identification. The sections of the horizontal conduit were found buried in the structure of the temple. The pieces which go to make up the descending pipe were found scattered all over the site. The interest in the *somasutra* lies in its very distinctive lay-out which, we feel sure, will eventually enable us to discover more about the style of the temple, which in turn will help us to assign to it a more precise date and to say exactly who built it.

A similar importance is attached to the discovery, while removing the sanctuary walls during excavation, of five more nine-chambered reliquaries identical with the one found in this site last year, and on which I have already written in the pages of this journal. So far three of these new reliquaries have been opened and their contents freed from the sand which has crept in to them during the centuries. Some of the objects so revealed are illustrated here. Each of the three reliquaries opened this year, as well as the one discovered last year and still undergoing examination in the British Museum in London, contains the following:—

1. A copper pot. This is just visible when the reliquary is first opened. It is made of beaten copper and has no decoration or inscription on it. Inside are found a number of semi-precious stones and, in one case, a pearl. Also some gold dust, some traces of organic remains — probably human — and, in one case, a dried seed-bearing plant.
2. An inscribed gold disk. This is found inside the copper pot, and bears a single letter inscribed on it. The letter varies from disk to disk, but this may only mean that each disk is inscribed with a different form of the same letter. Each letter bears a similarity to the Tamil script which is

not sufficiently close to have enabled it, as yet, to be read by anybody in Malaya.

3. A silver bull cut from a sheet of silver foil.
4. A silver square with five stars inscribed on it.
5. A copper turtle.
6. A copper lotus flower.
7. A gold semi-circle with a design, somewhat resembling a knife, stamped on to it. This object seems to have been made from gold dust sintered together in a mould.
8. A gold representation of a *linga* made in the same way as (7).
9. A seated female figure cut from gold foil. She holds a trident in her right hand and a lotus flower in her left. Numbers 3. to 9. are all found in the central depression in the floor of the reliquary under the pot. See the photographs in this article and the sectional plan of the reliquary in my article in the previous number of this journal.
10. In each of the eight depressions in the floor of the reliquary which surround the central depression are found pieces of semi-precious stone, mica, iron-ore, coal and other bits of substances with a ritual significance as yet not understood.

We do not as yet understand what all this means with any certainty. The reliquaries are certainly associated with Siva. They seem to have some Tantric elements in them. It has not been possible to find any direct parallels either with India or with ancient South East Asia. But it is reasonable to suppose that such parallels will be found in time, and it is this probability which gives to the reliquaries their great importance. The following are points which may well be significant in the search for parallels:—

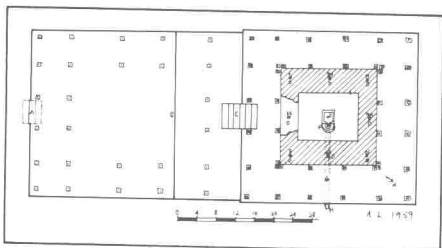
1. The letters on the disks.
2. The arrangement of the contents of the reliquaries.
3. The form and iconography of the seated female figures.
4. The design on the gold semi-circle.
5. The disposition of the semi-precious stones.
6. The location of the reliquaries in relation to the rest of the temple.
7. The symbolism of the turtle and the silver square with five stars.

When these are added to characteristic stylistic features from the temple, its plan, the shape of the finial stone of its roof structure, the disposition of the *somasutra*, and so on, we are beginning to have an appreciable number of points upon which to base our future research. Such points have not been too common in the previous history of archaeological research in Kedah.

What was the date of this temple? We have no exact information on this point, but from its structural technique one would be inclined to place it in the period when stone first began to be used on a large scale in South East Asian temple building. This consideration would suggest a date somewhere between the VIIIth and IXth centuries A.D.

Who built it? Again, we have no exact information. Its plan would suggest a strong South Indian influence, but the details of its construction seem to imply that influence was not direct. We can find a close parallel between the finial stone of the roof and architectural features common in ancient Champa. Other features remind us of Ligor and of Java. The fact that Champa, Ligor and Java all lie within the sphere of the Malay regions of ancient South East Asia may perhaps be significant. One is tempted to see a close connection between the temple on the Sungei Batu Pahat and the sea empire of Sri Vijaya, but it would be most rash at this stage of our researches to press this association to any great lengths. No doubt in time we will be able to make a more positive identification.

The work on the temple on the Sungei Batu Pahat is of importance in more than one way to the better understanding of Malay's past. Not only may it help to provide the badly needed data for a reappraisal of the history of Hindu and Buddhist Malaya but also it will contribute towards making that history more real for Malaysians today. For the first time, thanks to the energy of the Museums Department of the Federation of Malaya and to the enlightened support of the Government, serious steps have been taken to preserve some monument to Malaya's long past history. So many such monuments have disappeared in the last century through the remorseless activity of rubber planters, tin miners, guano diggers and road and bridge builders that it looked as if soon nothing would remain which antedated the XVIIIth century, and very little as early as that. While past devastation cannot be undone, the work on the Sungei Batu Pahat suggests most strongly that any ancient structures to be discovered in future will be treated with the respect which they deserve. The cost of preserving an ancient monument like our temple is small — one would have to spend more on a two bedroom house —, but the value of such relics of the past is beyond price.



Plan of the Temple drawn after the 1959 excavation.

- A. Steps leading to Congregation Hall (MANDAPA).
- B. Step down.
- C. Steps leading up to sanctuary.
- D. Location of stone Reliquaries in Sanctuary Wall.
- E. Location of Image Base (Now lost) in the centre of the Sanctuary.
- F. Mouth of stone conduit or Somasutra.
- G. Line of Somasutra through the foundations of the Sanctuary.
- H. Outlet of Somasutra.

A Model of the Temple on the River of Cut Stone

ALASTAIR LAMB

IN my report on the partial reconstruction of the temple on the Sungei Batu Pahat in Central Kedah,¹ the work of Louis Contant of the *Conservation d'Angkor* and myself from July to December 1959, I included a very tentative reconstruction of the building in an attempt to convey some impression of what it must have looked like when it was built. I have since made a model on the basis of this reconstruction, and a photograph of this model is reproduced here.

How accurate is this model? In broad outlines the original building must have looked something like this, but many of the details here are guesses which can never be confirmed because the evidence is just not there. The main plan of the site has now been determined with some degree of accuracy. The terraces leading up to the main structure can still be seen on the ground. Traces of the wall surrounding the main structure still survive, though, of course, there is no way of determining its height or the nature of the entrances in it. The ground plan of the main temple structure, a pillared hall leading by steps to a platform on which stood a tower surrounded by a verandah, has now been worked out with great certainty. From the stone pillar-bases which have survived we can tell the number and location of the timber pillars which once supported much of the super-structure. The details of this super-structure, the shape of the roof of the pillared hall for example, we cannot determine, and we can but guess at the exact shape of the tower.

In the model I have made no attempt to reconstruct the pillared hall (*mandapa*). Each square on the low platform indicates a stone pillar-base. On these bases originally rose timber columns supporting a roof covered with atap or wooden shingles. No sign of a brick tile was found while excavating this site. The roof was probably very simple in design, but we have no way of even guessing at its appearance since no timber structure from a time anything like as early as this temple (perhaps 8th to 10th centuries A.D.) has survived anywhere in South East Asia. The same consideration, of course, apply to the roof of the verandah surrounding the tower; but here the ground plan has to some extent dictated the shape of the roof, which cannot have been very

different from that which I have put in my model.

A peculiar feature of the original temple was the presence of angled pillars around the base of the tower — two such pillars can be seen in the photograph. There can be no doubt of their presence because the pillar bases for them have angled mortises which permit of no other explanation. What were these for? One cannot say with any certainty, and I have attempted no explanation in the model. It seems probable, however, that they were intended to support some sort of gable in the centre of each side of the verandah roof, a gable made from solid timber and, perhaps, ornately carved. Such a feature, of considerable weight, would need reinforced supports.

The exact shape of the tower is unknown. The original tower fell down many hundreds of years ago leaving very little trace. Some of its decorative features, however, have survived, and it is on these that I have based my reconstruction. We possess the stone from the very summit. We have some of the corner decorations (antefixes) from the first tier of the roof. We know, from the great mass of debris, that the tower was constructed entirely, or very largely, of stone. Some of the stones from the tower are shaped, thus giving clues to its general outline. On this evidence I have made the tower in the model not as an exact replica of the original but as a general impression of the sort of structure that must have at one time been here.

The great problem in attempting any reconstruction of an ancient Kedah temple is to find other structures for comparison. It seems reasonable to suppose that what we have in Kedah must have been like buildings elsewhere in South East Asia, perhaps in Sumatra, perhaps in South Thailand. But our archaeological knowledge of both these regions is very slight indeed. A 13th century Buddhist shrine, Biaro Si Topajan, from Padang Lewas, Tapanoeli, Sumatra, has a plan remarkably like that of the Sungei Batu Pahat temple, as I have pointed out in the 1960 volume of the Federation Museums Journal; and this must indicate the presence of a common architectural tradition in Sumatra and Malaya. This Sumatran site, however, is much later in date than our Kedah structure, and, moreover, it shows many features of local origin since Padang Lewas is a Batak region; so the minor details of its construction and decoration are not much help. In Southern Thailand a number of early buildings have survived. A small Buddhist shrine from Wat Mahtat in Ligor (Nakorn Sri Dharmaraj) probably dates from the 9th century A.D., and some of its features may very well relate to Kedah, but not, unfortunately, to the Sungei Batu Pahat temple. The Ligor shrine, in any case, has been much modified by later Thai influence so that the reconstruction of its original appearance requires the exercise of some considerable imagination. Other sites of potential value in this context in South Thailand, in Ligor, Chaya, Takuapa, Wieng Sra, require a great deal more study before they can begin to tell us much.

Our reconstruction of the temple on the Sungei Batu Pahat, in fact, is something of a pioneer effort. Many of the details may subsequently be proved to be wrong, and probably will be. But if our model does no more than inspire attempts to show up its inaccuracies, it will still have served its purpose; for the solution of the problems presented by these Kedah sites demands the combined

efforts of researchers in Malaya, Thailand and Indonesia. Without some attempt at presenting a reconstruction of a Malayan site, workers in this subject outside Malaya will have nothing concrete upon which to base either their comparisons or their criticisms; and progress in this field requires both.

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Pengkalan Bujang : An ancient port in Kedah

ALASTAIR LAMB

IN 1960 the Museums Department of the Federation of Malaya sponsored two archaeological excavations, at Johore Lama and at Malacca. Both these sites produced huge quantities of ceramics, earthenware, stoneware and porcelain. The wares from Johore Lama were mainly of 16th and 17th century date, and among them were many pieces of Chinese export porcelain of the blue and white type. Malacca, as one would expect, produced wares of somewhat earlier date including many Chinese blue and white pieces of the middle of the 15th century, the period when the Malacca Sultanate was at the height of its power and prosperity. These Malacca finds, moreover, were supplemented by the chance discovery at Kerubong, a few miles from Malacca town, of 57 intact pieces of Chinese porcelain. In all, Malacca and Johore Lama have yielded portions of at least 8,000 items of Chinese export ceramics, along with wares from Annam Thailand and elsewhere in Southeast Asia; and their study will certainly throw a great deal of light on the nature and history of the Asian trade in ceramics from the 15th to the 17th centuries.

Recently this source material has been extended back in time by at least two centuries as a result of excavations at Pengkalan Bujang on the Merbok Estuary in Central Kedah. Malacca and Johore Lama produced Chinese ceramics of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Pengkalan Bujang has revealed several thousand fragments of Chinese porcelains, mainly green glazed celadons, of Sung and Yuan Dynasty date (960-1368). These wares were mixed up with the produce of other ceramic manufacturing regions, Thailand and Indo-China, and, like the finds from Malacca and Johore Lama, they will throw much light on the history of the Asian ceramic trade and on the nature of the products which made it up.

Pengkalan Bujang is at present the highest navigable point on the Sungei Bujang, a river which rises on the southern slopes of Kedah Peak and along the banks of which lie the bulk of the sites of early Hindu and Buddhist settlement which have made Kedah of such great archaeological interest. In the immediate neighbourhood of the present kampong of Pengkalan Bujang can be seen traces

of at least six ancient brick buildings, presumably all of them the remains of Hindu or Buddhist temples. One gets the impression that here was once quite a large settlement covering an area of at least half a square mile. Bricks from these old temples are scattered all over this region, and many of the kampong houses make use of them as bases for their timber supports. In the centre of kampong Pengkalan Bujang, near the new mosque, are several large stone blocks which were once door pillars and lintels of one of these temples. A trench dug anywhere within the kampong will disclose a few fragments of ceramics, earthenware, brown glazed stoneware, and green glazed celadons or imitation celadons.

The fact that much porcelain could be found at Pengkalan Bujang was appreciated by Dr. H.G. Quaritch Wales in 1936; but he does not seem to have realised quite how much, and how varied, were the wares to be discovered here. It was not until we started to investigate the bed of the Bujang itself, and were surprised to find that for nearly a hundred yards of its length the river was running over an almost solid layer of pottery sherds, that we began to see the potentialities of this site and to resolve to make this one of the regions to be investigated by the Museums Department. Careful examination of the banks of the Bujang showed that in this part of its course the river was cutting through an extensive deposit of pottery fragments at least two feet thick and composed of literally hundreds of thousands of sherds.

In April, 1961, we began to dig into this deposit, and in an area of not much over 100 square feet we discovered some 10,000 fragments of porcelain, not to mention much larger quantities of earthenware and stoneware. By carefully washing each spadeful of this deposit through sieves, we found that there were other things beside ceramics in the earth here. A large number of fragments of glass came to light, parts of at least a hundred small bottles of a kind which was at one time widely exported from the Middle East, from Egypt or Syria. Also mixed up in the earth were many beads of glass, agate and terra cotta; and we have so far recovered over 500 specimens of these interesting objects, some of which seem to have originated from Kuala Selinsing in Perak and others from India and, perhaps, Java. We also found a few fragments of gold foil, a small silver lid of a jar or bottle, and a number of fragments of bracelets made from yellow, blue, white and brown glass.

One's immediate impression of this deposit is that it contains a most cosmopolitan selection of objects. Of the ceramics, some come from China, some from Tonkin or Thailand, and some from Persia or elsewhere in the Middle East (though of this last category we have very few examples). Some of the beads are of Malayan origin, but others are certainly Indian or Indonesian. Much of the glass is Middle Eastern, though some may well be Chinese. The implication, indeed, is that at Pengkalan Bujang there was once a very cosmopolitan trading centre. The very nature of the deposit on the bank of the Bujang suggests this, for this deposit is not what one would expect from the usual accumulation of rubbish from prolonged settlement. There are no bones or remains of edible shell fish mixed up with it. It is, in fact, just the sort of deposit one would expect to arise from a place of trade. The broken pottery is that which could have been broken on shipment and discarded on unloading. The beads could well

ave had a similar origin, objects which fell out of broken packets; and the same could be said for the glass. There is no reason to suppose that anything in this deposit was manufactured locally.

My feeling (and it can only be a first impression as I have had no time yet to study the material from this site) is that at Pengkalan Bujang goods were landed either for distribution to and sale in the interior, or for reloading in other ships. Perhaps this was a meeting place of vessels from the Middle East, India and China, a site where many goods were exchanged and relatively few were consumed locally. We know, especially from the Arab geographical texts, that such sites existed — Kalah is a place name that frequently occurs in this connection —; and we can suspect from archaeological evidence that places like Kohkhaeo Island off Takuapa in South Thailand served this function. Perhaps the settlements at Kuala Selinsing at the mouth of the Perak River had a similar purpose. If further study makes it possible to sustain this interpretation of the Pengkalan Bujang deposit, then our excavation here will have thrown a great deal of light on the true nature of the settlements in the whole region of the Merbok estuary. If these settlements are to be equated with the *Kataha* or *Kidaram* of the Indian texts and inscriptions, then they must mark a region of great importance in the history of Indianised Southeast Asia. But the archaeological remains of the Merbok region are very disappointing. The temples are small and unconstructed Angkor. It would create no demand for huge projects of public works. It would be based, essentially, on the existence of good harbours where, for a few weeks of the year, foreign vessels would gather to unload and exchange their wares. It would require a population and an agriculture no greater than needed to victual and water these ships. Some of the more recent trading centres in South-east Asia, Patani for example, were of this type, important as centres of trade rather than centres of population.

The finds at Pengkalan Bujang provide us with the opportunity to extend our knowledge of the trade of Malaya back to the 13th century, if not earlier. They also suggest the fascinating possibility that similar sites of even earlier date may yet be found along the coasts of the Malay Peninsula. There is one such site, near Takuapa, in South Thailand, and others may well exist in Malayan territory. An outcropping of pottery fragments along a river bank is hardly likely to attract much attention by the local people, and is thus unlikely to be reported to the Museums Department in Kuala Lumpur. The only way to find such sites is by going out and looking for them systematically in likely places, and this we propose to do in the near future.

New Light on the Ancient Settlements of Kedah and Province Wellesley

B.A.V. PEACOCK

THE historical importance of the Hindu-Buddhist remains in Kedah and Province Wellesley has long been recognised. The first archaeological discoveries in the region were made by Colonel James Low during the nineteenth century (Low, 1908; Laidlaw), followed in the 1920s and 1930s by sporadic exploration and excavation by Mr. I.H.N. Evans of the Perak Museum, Taiping (Evans, 1926, 1930, 1931). Just before the outbreak of World War II, a major expedition to Kedah and other Malayan sites was mounted by Dr. and Mrs. H.G. Quaritch-Wales under the sponsorship of the Governments of the States of Kedah, Perak and Johor. Dr. Quaritch-Wales investigated over thirty sites in Kedah and Province Wellesley during the course of fourteen months of fieldwork. His reports are still authoritative and the major source of detailed information on the Indianised settlement of North Malaya (Quaritch-Wales, 1940, 1947).

Since the war, interest in the archaeology of the region was renewed by a series of surveys and excavations beginning in 1956 by the University of Malaya (Singapore) and the Federation Museums Department under the principal direction of Professor K.G. Tregonning, Dr. M. Sullivan, Dr. H.A. Lamb and the writer, who was at the time Curator of the Perak Museum (Sullivan, 1958; Lamb, 1959, 1960, 1961). Dr. Lamb's work has been particularly productive and is worthy of special notice. Working more intensively and with much greater technical competence than his predecessors, Dr. Lamb has added enormously to our knowledge of the early history of Southeast Asia, culminating in the complete and splendid reconstruction of the *Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat* which was undertaken with the cooperation of Professor B.P. Groslier and M. Louis Contant of the *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient* in 1959. Dr. Lamb's articles and monographs have paved the way for a reassessment of many of the cherished traditions of Kedah archaeology.

In 1968, the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Malaya with

the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, initiated further studies of the archaeological remains in the Sungai Merbok and Sungai Muda region. Surveys and excavation carried out in the field by Mr. M. Kua under the writer's direction have considerably amplified our understanding of the subject and tend to corroborate some of the ideas put forward by Dr. Lamb. It is the purpose of this note to summarise these advances.

The main area of ancient settlement in Kedah and Province Wellesley lies on the southern slope of Gunong Jerai (Kedah Peak) and between the Sungai Merbok and Sungai Muda. Within this area the principal concentration of sites is found on the right and left banks of the middle reaches of the Sungai Bujang, a southward flowing tributary of the Sungai Merbok. The fine stone-built *Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat* is situated outside this concentration on a spur of Gunong Jerai overlooking the right bank of the Sungai Merbok Kechil. Other important localities, such as the Matang Pasir site and the site at Tikam Batu, lie further to the south close to the north bank of the Sungai Muda.

Based on an analysis of his archaeological findings and also to some extent on historical sources, Dr. Quaritch-Wales proposed an elaborate periodisation of the history of Indianised settlement in Kedah and Province Wellesley. His scheme postulated four main waves of Indian cultural expansion (Quaritch-Wales, 1940: pp. 67-85). The first wave, dated to between the first and third centuries A.D., rests on the slender evidence of Ptolemaic toponyms and the discovery by Mr. G.B. Gardner of what were claimed to be Roman beads and "early" pottery along the Johor River. To the second wave, circa 300 to circa 550 A.D., Quaritch-Wales ascribes his Kedah sites 1-3 and also the *Mahanavika Buddhagupta*, Cherok Tokun and Bukit Meriam inscriptions recovered by Colonel James Low (Lamb, 1963). Since these inscriptions are all clearly Buddhist and sites 1-3 could likewise be reasonably interpreted as the remains of Buddhist stupas, Quaritch-Wales concluded that during this period the predominant influence in Kedah was Buddhist.

The third wave reflected a marked cultural and perhaps political change. During this time, from circa 550 to circa 750 A.D., Kedah came under the influence of Hindu Pallava colonists and, according to Quaritch-Wales, Kedah and its sister settlement of Takuapa in Southern Thailand formed the bridgeheads from which "... Hindu culture was transported overland to C'aiya and Ligor on the East Coast..." (Quaritch-Wales, 1940: pg. 70). This Hindu Pallava influence was superseded in Kedah during the fourth wave from circa 750 to circa 900 A.D. by Mahayanist Buddhist influence which, he maintained, came not only from South India but also from the Pala kingdom of Bengal.

A closer look at Quaritch-Wales' historical conclusions shows that they depend for a good deal of their justification on the dating and comparative typology of a handful of small finds from the Kedah sites and a study of the plans of the structures themselves. For example, he attributed Kedah sites 4-8, a class of chandi temples consisting of a *vimana* or sanctuary with an attached *mandapam* or platform projecting towards the east, to between the mid sixth to the mid eighth centuries, that is to say his third wave of Hindu Pallava influence. Sites 10-23, on the other hand, which cluster in the middle

reaches of the Sungai Bujang, and also the site at Matang Pasir excavated by Mrs. Quaritch-Wales in 1941, he attributed to the fourth or Mahayanist Buddhist wave of the mid eighth to tenth centuries A.D. and later periods down to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. It is worth noting in this connexion that he considered site 11 to be not a temple but a secular building, perhaps "a royal audience hall or council chamber" on the grounds of its double-walled construction which he thought to be an unusual feature (Quaritch-Wales, 1940 : pg. 25) Figure 1.

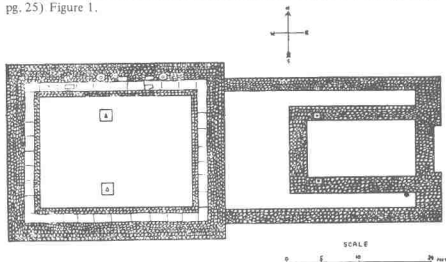


Fig. 1. Plan of Kedah Site 11.

Quaritch-Wales also had difficulty with the interpretation of site 13a. He says, "If indeed the brick sanctuary had been a *vimana* of a S'aiva temple similar to site 4 etc. one might have supposed that the structure 13a, which stood south-east of it facing the river, would be its connected *mandapam*. But in fact there is a definite space between the two structures and 13a differed from anything we had seen before" (Quaritch-Wales, 1940 : pg. 29). Figure 2. We shall return to this point later.

We now have strong evidence, the result of work carried out since the war, that many of Quaritch-Wales' conclusions must be challenged. It may well be that the greater part of his periodisation of early Kedah history is in need of revision. In particular it has become clear in the course of the most recent work that many of his observations are at fault and based on the incomplete excavation of individual sites.

The excavation of the Matang Pasir site led Mrs. Quaritch-Wales to believe that she had uncovered the "massive laterite plinth of what appeared to have been a perched building . . . the main structure of laterite measuring about 19 feet square. From it on the west side projected for ten feet the ruined lower course of a brick and laterite porch" (Quaritch-Wales, 1947). This site was reinvestigated by a team from the University of Malaya (Singapore) under Dr.

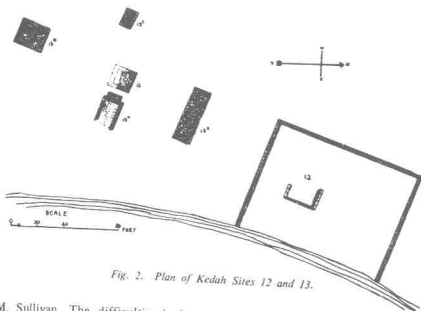


Fig. 2. Plan of Kedah Sites 12 and 13.

M. Sullivan. The difficulties in its correct interpretation were not however cleared away at this time since Sullivan observed "Beyond (the main structure) are a number of scattered blocks which may represent the remains of a porch as suggested by Mrs. Quaritch-Wales, or of a separate building; but as previous excavation drove a wide, deep trench the full length of the west side and across the southwest corner all connection between these remains and the main structure has been severed and no conclusion can be reached as to their former relationship. However it should be observed that if this was a porch it was in a most unusual position, for nearly all the Indian temples, as well as these excavated in Kedah by Quaritch-Wales, are oriented to the east" (Sullivan, 1958: pg. 193).

It was not until four years later in 1961 that Dr. H.A. Lamb was able to show the true nature of the Matang Pasir site. Lamb's more thorough excavations revealed clearly that the western structure, referred to by both Mrs. Quaritch-Wales and Sullivan as a "porch", was in reality the remains of a *vimana* or sanctuary composed of an outer retaining wall of laterite blocks enclosing a rubble filling. Even more important was another fact which emerged, namely that the *vimana* had always been structurally separate from the *mandapam* platform (the main structure excavated by Mrs. Quaritch-Wales and Sullivan) to which it had been linked only by two walls of laterite blocks two feet thick.

The problems of the Matang Pasir site now proved to be illusory for it could be shown to be very similar in plan to other chandi temples in the Kedah region.

Furthermore, Lamb was able to show the *mandapam* was in fact facing to the east and the problem of the apparently irregular orientation of the structure, remarked on by Sullivan, was thus neatly disposed.

The reconstruction of the true plan of the Matang Pasir site called attention to yet another point of very great significance. The overall layout of the building is seen to be closely comparable to the *Chandi Biaro Si Topajan*, Padang Lavas, Sumatra, in which the structural separation of the *vimana* and *mandapam*, an unusual feature, is also found, (Lamb, 1961 : pg. 16).

Recent field surveys, especially during 1968, have shown that this type of *chandi*, built in two separate structural units, is in fact common in Kedah. It is now clear that Quaritch-Wales' site 13a, over which, as we have seen above, he confessed some misgivings, is a further example. Moreover, it is probable that site 14, included by Quaritch-Wales in the later group of porched shrines, should now be recognised as the *mandapam* of a *chandi* of this type, as its eastern orientation and western step indicate. Figure 3. cf. site 13a.

The prevalence of this style of *chandi* suggested to the writer that at least some of the other so-called Mahayanist Buddhist porched shrines of Quaritch-Wales' fourth wave and later may also have been victims of misinterpretation and incomplete excavation. Attention was first focussed on site 15. Quaritch-Wales' plan of this building suggested the remains of the *vimana* or sanctuary component of such a structure. Figure 4. Unfortunately, when this site was

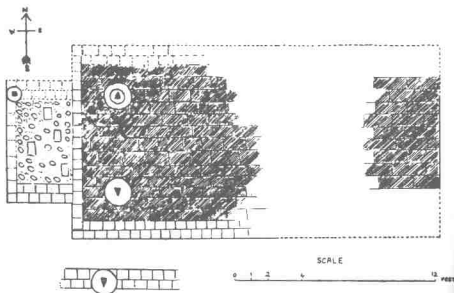


Fig. 3. Plan of Kedah Site 14.

examined in 1968 it proved to be too ruinous for further work to be profitable.

Happily, Quaritch-Wales' site 16 was re-located on the left bank of the Sungai Bujang and complete excavation was undertaken in November and

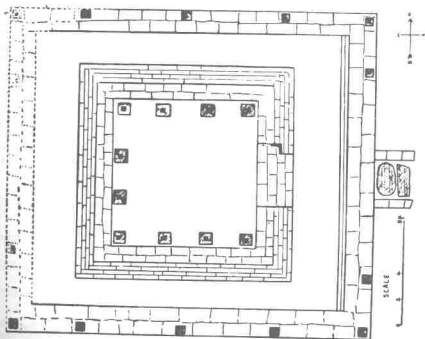


Fig. 4. Plan of Kedah Site 15

December, 1968, under the field direction of Mr. M. Kua. This work soon established that the square double structure of laterite blocks, excavated by Quaritch-Wales, was associated with a laterite *mandapam* platform 10 feet 6 inches by 13 feet 6 inches, regularly oriented towards the east. Plate 1. It is therefore also an example of the category of *chandi* temples with separate *mandapam*.

Preliminary surveys indicate that other structures in the middle Bujang group may also turn out to belong to this category. Further excavations, which it is hoped will be carried out shortly, should establish this point beyond further question.

Dr. Lamb's complete reconstruction of *Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat* laid bare for the first time the inner structural secrets of the building. This brought forth the surprising fact that the *mandapam* platform had been built according to a curious double-walled plan closely analagous to that revealed by Quaritch-Wales' site 11. (Figure 1). It is now clear that on the grounds of structural typology site 11 must be related to the *chandi* temples represented by sites 4-8.

In the light of the most recent discoveries, it seems that Dr. Lamb's contention that "most of these (Kedah) sites are sufficiently similar to one another to justify their being considered as close to each other in date" (Lamb, 1960, pg. 104) has now acquired much stronger factual support. We are confronted by a structural typology consisting of two main categories. Type A, a

chandi temple in which the *vimana* is linked to the *mandapam* in a single unit and comprising Kedah sites 4 – 8 and 11 and Type B, a *chandi* temple built in two separate parts and comprising most of the remaining Bujang sites and the site at Matang Pasir. It is not yet clear whether these two types represent changing patterns influenced by chronology or whether other factors, perhaps sociological, play a part. This remains one of the most pressing problems to which future research should be directed. However, it is now certain in the light of the similarity of the Kedah *chandi* of type B to the Sumatran *chandi* that Quaritch-Wales' claim that "nowhere in Kedah, among remains of any period, have any sculptural, architectural or decorative motifs been recovered that are essentially Javanese or Sumatran in character" (Quaritch-Wales, 1940; pg. 74) can no longer be accepted.

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- Figure 1 Quaritch-Wales, 1940, Fig. 8
Figure 2 Quaritch-Wales, 1940, Fig. 9
Figure 3 Quaritch-Wales, 1940, Fig. 10
Figure 4 Quaritch-Wales, 1940, Fig. 11

Sesuai untuk
penuntut-penuntut
sekolah, ahli sejarah dan
orang ramai yang
sepatutnya mengenali
sejarah tanahair
mereka sendiri



Sejarah Pahang
Hj. Buyong Adil
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262 halaman \$4.00

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