



DORIS • DUKE

The Southeast Asian Art Collection

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THE FOUNDATION FOR
SOUTHEAST ASIAN ART AND CULTURE
NEW YORK





Sculpture



SCULPTURE COMPRISES THE LARGEST GROUP OF HOLDINGS IN the Doris Duke Southeast Asian Art Collection. The majority of these sculptures served a religious purpose, either as decoration for temples or as images to which one paid obeisance. Most are Thai of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the second largest group Burmese of the same period. A small number of works was produced by the Mon people, who dominated south-central Thailand during the sixth through eleventh centuries, while an additional few represent Khmer (Cambodian) artistic expression of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Thai and Burmese sculpture is generally gilded and sometimes lacquered and inlaid with glass—a flamboyant aesthetic at odds with twentieth-century Western taste, which has valued the subtlety of the Orient. Scholars and collectors of Southeast Asian art have focused on earlier, so-called classical sculpture and architecture, a fact made abundantly clear when one visits museum collections in Europe and the United States. Doris Duke's astute appreciation of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Thai and Burmese material—more or less ignored by other Westerners in the 1960s, and which more recently has been acquired by Southeast Asian collectors or Western decorators—led to her compiling the finest collection of this material in the West. Today it would be impossible for a collector to amass a comparable group of objects, for the marketplaces of Thailand and Burma have been drained of most authentic works of that period.

If the Thai Village Project that Miss Duke imagined had been completed, each house would have held fine furniture, decorative arts, the highest-quality imported ceramics, and religious sculptures, for Buddhist altars are maintained in Thai homes. In the early stages of planning, the *sala* was intended to hold the bulk of religious paintings and sculptures, but by 1964, with the plan now including replicas of the *ubosot* and the Royal Pantheon of Wat Phra Kaeo, a portion of the sculpture would certainly have been placed in those buildings. The display would have comprised not only freestanding sculpture but also decorative elements, as the exterior and interior of a Buddhist temple are adorned with wood carving and, in some instances, stucco decoration. (In the period represented in this collection, many of the religious buildings in central and southern Burma and Thailand were constructed of stuccoed brick, while those in the north of Burma and Thailand were of wood.)

above detail, Plate 6, page 29
opposite Dry-lacquer Burmese
Buddha; see p. 49 and Figure 14.



Plate 1 This wooden Thai Vishnu (h. 106 cm) would have adorned the gable end of a temple. It is probably the object mentioned on the earliest SEAAC invoice.

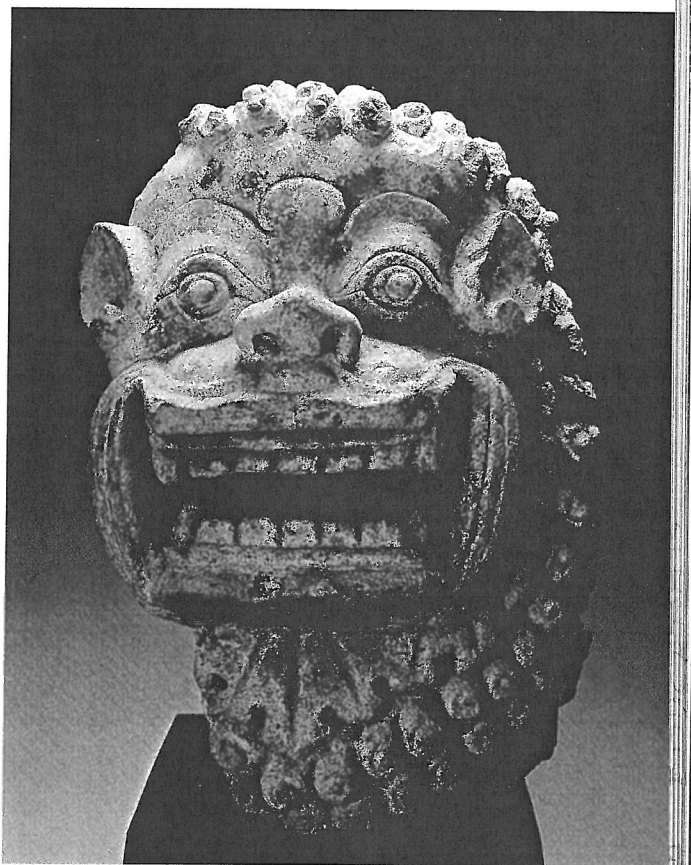


[24]

One of the first pieces purchased for the collection, a Vishnu (Plate 1), may well have adorned the gable end of a temple.¹ Vishnu is a Hindu god, but as the deity who protects and preserves humankind, he has been associated with Thai royalty, and temples adorned with images such as this were royal dedications known as *wat luang*. Other figures of an auspicious nature, such as lions (Plate 2) and the *kinnara* (Plate 3), a figure that is half man and half bird, helped to establish the supramundane aspect of the temple.

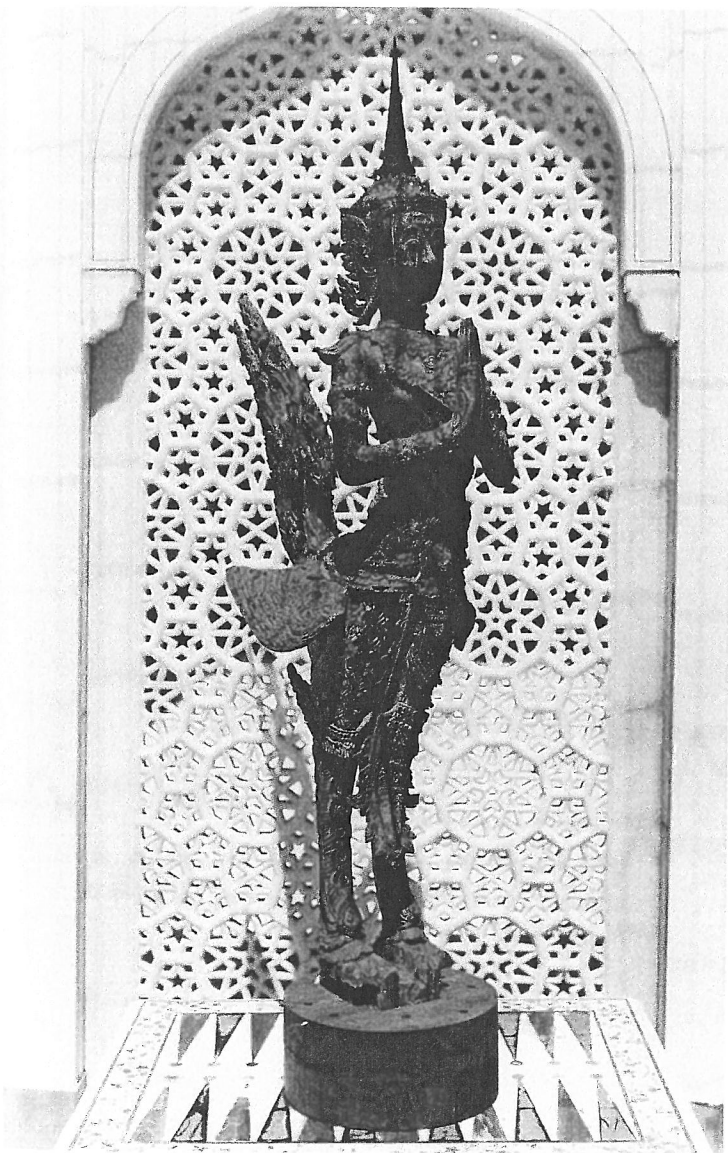
To place the collection in a larger cultural context, one must understand how Buddhism, originating in India, came to Southeast Asia and became the religion of the majority of the mainland's population. For millennia, traders plying the seas between China, India, and the West have found shelter from the shifting trade winds along the coasts of mainland Southeast Asia (see map, p. 7). They also sought the natural products of the area—hardwoods, spices, and other luxury items—and brought with them tales of their own countries, culture, arts, and religions. By the early centuries CE, entrepôts were located along the coastline, and Indian theories of statecraft and religious beliefs—Hinduism and Buddhism—had begun to profoundly affect the local peoples.

By the sixth century, Hinduism, a social and religious system based on Brahmanism and which incorporates a multitude of deities, had become the state religion in Cambodia and southern Vietnam (where it was practiced by the Cham people). During the same era, the peoples of Thailand and Burma adopted Buddhism, a religion that had arisen from the teachings of one man, Siddhartha Gautama of the Shakya clan, a prince born, by tradition, circa 563 BCE. Following his enlightenment, Shakyamuni (a title that means seer of the Shakya clan, an enlightened being) taught that the universe is a cycle of eternal flux, that life is an endless chain of events, and that *samsara* is an endless cycle of rebirth—all assumptions shared with Hinduism. Buddhism offered a promise of escape from that cycle—an escape possible through meritorious deeds.



above Plate 2 Stucco lion (h. 46 cm) from a building of the Dvaravati period (6th–11th centuries in Thailand). Lions, as important symbols of royalty, often protected temples. WAM

left Plate 3 *Kinnara*, half human and half bird, reside in Himaphan forest at the base of Mount Meru, the cosmic mountain. This Thai *kinnara* (h. 128.5 cm) was photographed in the 1960s at Shangri La, Miss Duke's home in Hawai'i. AAM



Furthermore, Buddhism's rejection of the caste system made it more appealing to foreigners, and its adaptability allowed indigenous belief systems to coexist with it. As one Buddhist scholar wrote: "Southeast Asian Buddhism locates human beings within a complex cosmology of various divine, human and subhuman powers and provides a system for coping with them."² This cosmology involves the great stories of Buddhism as well as reverence for local spirits and ancestors. The life story of the Buddha and the *jatakas* (tales of his previous incarnations) are the most commonly depicted stories in the art.

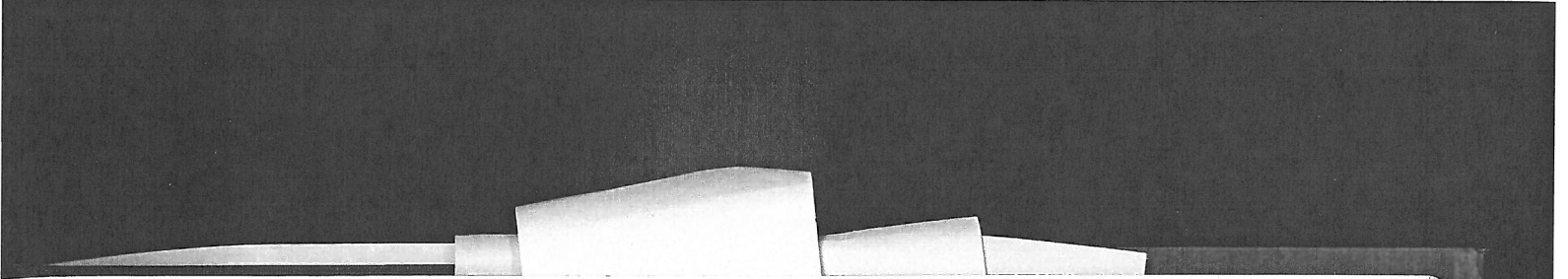
At his birth, Siddhartha's father was told that his son would be a great man, a *cakkavattin* (one who turns the wheel of the law), either in the religious or the secular world. Disturbed to think of his son

as a religious mendicant, the king confined him to the palace in hope of diverting him from any but a secular path. As a young man, having married and had a child, Siddhartha left the palace one day to see more of the world. In this and subsequent trips he saw a dead man, a sick man, an old man, and a holy man, and he realized that suffering was the fate of all men. He determined to follow the path of the holy man in order to put an end to such suffering.

Knowing that his father would never willingly allow him to leave, he silently slipped away in the middle of the night, the gods muffling his horse's footsteps. Once away, he turned back his groom and horse and cut off his hair; in subsequent years, he attempted various austerities as he sought enlightenment. Only when he followed the Middle Path, one



Plate 4 Stucco head (h. 17 cm)
of an attendant figure from a
Dvaravati-period relief (6th–
11th centuries, Thailand). WAM



of moderation, did he achieve his goals. In Southeast Asian art, he is most often depicted seated, his fingers pointing downward, at the moment he calls the earth to witness his accumulation of merit and announces his enlightenment.

Various sects of Buddhism exist throughout the world, but Theravada Buddhism has been the form practiced in the Southeast Asian countries of Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia since the thirteenth century, and it is the form represented in the art of the Duke Collection. Pali is the language of the Theravada Buddhists, whose practice is closely linked, both historically and in practice, with the Buddhism of Sri Lanka. A multitude of Buddhas preceded Siddhartha Gautama; hence we refer to Gautama Buddha as historical, someone who has lived in our present memory. The Theravada Buddhists adhere to what they believe was the life and word of the historical Buddha. Theravada Buddhism teaches ideals of wisdom, compassion, and selflessness; the last is epitomized in the story of Vessantara, the prince *bodhisatta* (which literally translates 'enlightened being') of the penultimate life of the historical Buddha Shakyamuni. (See below, p. 60, for story.)

CENTRAL THAILAND

Like most art in Thailand and Burma, a majority of the works in the Doris Duke Collection are related to Buddhism and were created to pay homage to the great teacher. Most date to the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, though a few are from an earlier time, with the earliest dated to the Dvaravati period (sixth–eleventh centuries). The Mon people of the Austroasiatic linguistic group, who lived in Burma and central Thailand, had adopted Buddhism by the sixth century. In Thailand, they built *chedi* (reliquary mounds) and other religious buildings decorated with stucco ornament, and they carved stone figures of the Buddha that recall, though do not imitate, contemporary Indian-style sculpture. They predominantly followed a Theravada Buddhism similar to that of later centuries, and the imagery uses the same iconographic types seen in more recent centuries—images

of the historical Buddha, attendant figures, and the characters in the *jataka* tales.

During the Dvaravati period in Thailand, the Buddha is represented in monastic robes, devoid of jewelry, and standing or sitting in an iconographically prescribed manner that identifies what moment in his life is being depicted. His attendants, on the other hand, are elaborately garbed to show their princely status (Plate 4), in poses of obeisance, and often quite relaxed compared to the more iconic portrayal of the Buddha. This deeply modeled head represents an attendant or a character from a *jataka* tale and would have been part of a relief on a large *chedi*. He wears hoop earplugs and an elaborate hairdo, and though detached from the body, we sense the motion of his head as it turns to one side. Stucco lends itself to fine and expressive modeling, and the stucco sculpture of the Dvaravati period shows great variety and liveliness. A large lion (Plate 2), which would have stood sentry at a Dvaravati temple, exemplifies this duality as it opens its mouth to roar.

To explain Southeast Asian periods of rule and the extent of power in Western terms of states and political boundaries requires many adjustments, as Southeast Asians did not think of land ownership in the manner of peoples of the West; rather they considered land that lay fallow for three years as reverting to state control.³ Their model for hegemony consisted of an area some scholars describe as a *mandala*, a periphery with commercial ties to a powerful center that offered protection. When discussing Southeast Asia, it is also important to recognize that today's political borders do not necessarily relate to historical boundaries (see map, p. 7).

For instance, the Khmer, who spoke an Austroasiatic language related to that of the Mon, lived in the area known today as Cambodia and ruled a region that shrank and grew, depending on the power of the king. The period of Khmer hegemony, centralized in Angkor (near modern-day Siem Reap) from the early ninth to fifteenth centuries, on occasion extended as far as the Burmese border, embracing present-day Thailand. Thus artistic styles within the



[28] Plate 5 This 12th-century standing Khmer-style Buddha (h. 44.5 cm) holds his hands in the teaching gesture. WAM

area we now call Thailand were at times not merely Khmer-influenced, but Khmer in actuality. Most of the Khmer kings were Hindu, with a few notable exceptions, but Buddhism was always practiced by some of their followers. The same artisans produced stylistically related Buddhist and Hindu art.

By the eleventh century, the Khmer dominated central Thailand, their influence extending to religion and the arts. Dvaravati-style art was subsumed into Khmer, with specific iconographical types, such as the standing Buddha with two hands raised in teaching gesture (*vitarka mudra*), being adopted by the eleventh century. Stone sculpture, stucco relief, and small bronzes, like this mid twelfth-century Buddha with raised hands (Plate 5), were created throughout the region at the important production centers of Lopburi, in central Thailand, and Phimai, in the northeast on the Khorat Plateau.⁴ Portable bronzes, created for personal altars or as gifts to temples, had existed in Southeast Asia from the sixth century.

Many of these portable bronzes incorporate a throne and an aureole. Aureoles with a treatment similar to that of this Buddha image are rare, but not unknown, and aid our interpretation of the moment in the Buddha's life that is being depicted. In looking closely at the individual flames, one sees in each a tiny crowned Buddha seated in a posture of meditation. One interpretation of depictions of multiple Buddhas is that they represent the Buddhas of the past, usually numbering twenty-eight;⁵ this interpretation may not be applicable to this example, which includes thirty Buddhas, unless we assume the artist miscalculated.⁶ If we view the flames as emanating from the Buddha, the most likely explanation for this multiplication of Buddhas is the canonical story of the Miracle of Sravasti, which took place when the Buddha emitted fire and water from his body and multiplied his form in response to a challenge by six rival teachers. This example differs from most Indian and Southeast Asian illustrations of the subject in the crowns worn by each of the Buddhas.

The crown became popular in Southeast Asian art in contradiction to Pali texts that stipulate the Buddha

be dressed as a monk without jewels or headdress and with identifying characteristics such as a cranial protuberance (*ushnisha*) and the distended earlobes that refer to his once having worn princely jewels.⁷ An apocryphal story that seems to have originated in about the eleventh century appears as the most common explanation of the crown on the Buddha in Southeast Asian art. In this second story, the Buddha converts a heretic king (Jambupati) by donning royal attire and magically appearing as the Universal Monarch, expanding himself to enormous size. In both the Sravasti and the Jambupati stories, magic plays a role in the Buddha's display and may explain why multiple Buddhas symbolizing the Sravasti tale wear crowns.⁸ In Southeast Asia, the crown may be a sign of sovereignty, symbolizing the common identity of all Buddhas and hence appropriate garb for any image.

A seated stone Buddha in the collection (Plate 6) also dates to the latter half of the twelfth century. The figure is in the meditation gesture (*dhyana mudra*) under the protective hood of Mucalinda, the serpent (*naga*) who protected the Buddha from a fierce storm during the first week of his enlightenment, when he continued meditating. Snakes are commonplace in Southeast Asia, and the frequency with which this theme is depicted in sculpture may result from a desire to placate them by honoring their positive qualities. While the standing bronze discussed above (Plate 5) and this stone piece represent different moments in the life of the Buddha, stylistic similarities, such as the crown and the high arc of the waistband, place their production under the period of Khmer domination. The proportions of this seated stone figure, especially the treatment of the *naga* hoods that branch out from below the Buddha's shoulders, and the manner in which two hoods join at the top, may suggest the sculpture was created in central Thailand.⁹

The sculptural reliefs of the Khmer temples of Angkor, evoking the chaos of battle and the bustle of commerce (Figure 11), confirm thirteenth-century Chinese descriptions of the frequent state of war in Southeast Asia and the luxurious life of the wealthy citizens of Angkor, the great Khmer city of the tenth

Plate 6 A Khmer-style Buddha (h. 114.5 cm) seated under the serpent Mucalinda, who protected him from heavy rains. WAM





above Figure 11 Relief of a woman in a palanquin, from the southern gallery of Angkor Wat, Cambodia (late 12th century).

right Plate 7 Pair of *naga* (serpents: average h. 20.6 cm). Both religious images and decorative elements, such as these fittings for either a howdah or palanquin poles, were cast in bronze.
WAM



to fifteenth centuries. Rulers and generals rode horses or elephants, while wealthy women were carried in palanquins adorned with a variety of bronze fittings. *Naga* and *garuda* (birds) were the most common motifs for these decorative elements, and this pair (Plate 7), which would have fit on the ends of wooden poles from which the palanquin was suspended or embellished the howdah carried by the elephants, are typical of the multiheaded *naga*. They could have been produced either in Cambodia or in present-day Thailand.

Bronze, cast by the lost-wax technique, proved a marvelous medium for the fashioning of all types of accoutrements for the regalia of battle, everyday life, and the rituals of Hindu and Buddhist religion. One such item is the conch (Plate 8) used both to call

troops to battle and as a ritual implement in Hindu or Buddhist temples. Few of these conchs have survived, and this one is unusual, as a conch shell has been inset in the bronze bracket.

Khmer domination of Thailand came to an end in the thirteenth century with the rise of Tai-speaking¹⁰ principalities, in the far north, Lan Na, and in north-central Thailand, Sukhothai. In central Thailand, the city of Lopburi, a locus of power during the period of Khmer rule and a center for the arts, retained its regional importance. The founding of the state of Sukhothai in north-central Thailand around 1279, by Ram Khamhaeng, signaled the beginning of a Thai state distinct from earlier Mon Dvaravati cultures. The establishment of Sukhothai also signaled the beginning of a new style of art distinct from Khmer

or Mon influence and considered by many to be the high point of Thai sculpture. Then, in 1351, in lower Thailand, the Thai principality of Ayutthaya was established on the Chao Praya River, and in 1438 Sukhothai was brought under its rule. Two artistic traditions developed in this new center of Thai culture, one growing out of Khmer styles and the other related to the Thai idiom of Sukhothai; each had its own unique characteristics.¹¹

Ayutthaya became an important trading center in Southeast Asia, and it is this Thai city that early Western visitors describe in some detail: "The emperor or king of Siam is surrounded by as much magnificence and such splendid ceremonial as any other king in all the Indies. His foot never touches earth: wherever he wishes to go, he is carried on a golden throne, and he shows himself once a day to the lords and nobles of his court with a display of ostentation which exceeds that of any Christian king."¹² But in 1767 the Burmese sacked Ayutthaya, and in 1782 Bangkok was established downriver in a more desirable location for trade and defense from the Burmese. While some sculptures in the Duke Collection come from the Ayutthaya period, many more were made during the Bangkok period, which in its early years (Rama I, 1782–1809, and Rama II, 1809–1824) retained close ties to the artistic traditions of Ayutthaya.

The fantastic *kinnara*, half human and half bird, resides in Himaphan forest at the base of Mount Meru, the cosmic mountain (Plate 3, p. 25). The special place of *kinnara* in Thailand is demonstrated by the popularity of the Indian story of a *kinnari* (a female *kinnara*), Manora. A hunter captures her and takes her to the human world, where she falls in love with Prince Suthon but then is separated from him. Unable to live without her, he finds his way to her heavenly forest and wins her back by performing seven feats. Thai sculpture of the Ayutthaya period is characterized by elegance of line and, by the seventeenth century, an attention to detailed ornamentation. This *kinnara* exemplifies these traits, with the elegant balance of long legs and thin neck and the weighty body, with its layering of feathers.



Plate 8 In both Hinduism and Buddhism, the conch (l. 24 cm) was used for ritual purposes and in battle, to rally the troops. AAM



[32]

Plate 9 Adorned images of the Buddha (left, h. 120.5 cm; right, h. 178 cm) were popular during the Bangkok period (1782–present). His jewels refer to his royal lineage. AAM

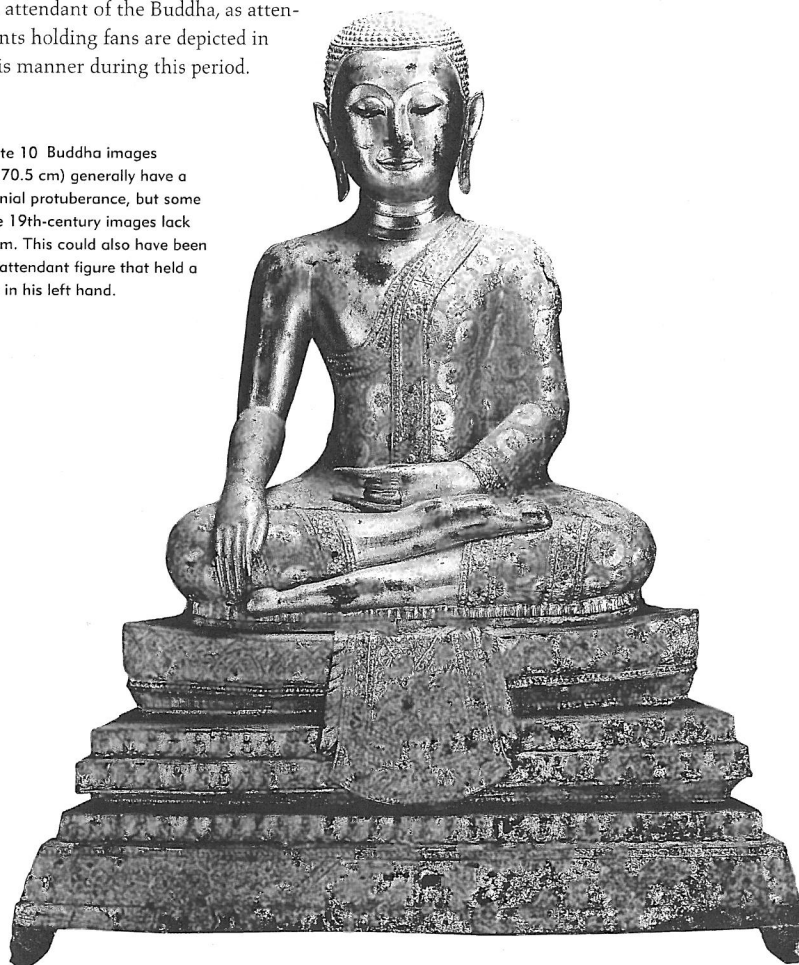
Apparently Miss Duke was fond of this example, as she had it photographed at her home, Shangri La. One of the buildings for which she had architectural plans drawn, the Royal Pantheon of Wat Phra Kaeo, Bangkok, has freestanding *kinnara* around its base. She probably intended to display this piece, and the three others in the collection, around her replica in a similar location. (The collection also includes a group of small temple replicas [Figure 2, p. 11] of a type that are mounted on posts around the *ubosot* of Wat Phra Kaeo; these were probably intended to be placed near the Thai Village replica of that temple.) The placement of auspicious figures such as this one in the compound of a Buddhist temple enhances the sacred quality of the space. Other fantastic creatures, such as *makara* (crocodiles), *naga*, and *garuda*, are carved on the gables below the roof or on the eaves themselves. Most of this architectural sculpture was lost when Ayutthaya was razed.

The early kings of the Bangkok period, Rama I and Rama II of the Chakri dynasty (1782–1824), consciously followed precedents set in art and architecture of the Ayutthaya period, as they attempted to link their dynastic claims to the past. Many Buddha images survived the Burmese destruction of Ayutthaya in 1767 and lay in the debris of the destroyed cities of central and north Thailand. Rama I brought 1,200 Buddha images to Bangkok, where they were installed in the new temples and monasteries of that city. Ayutthaya artists had revived the iconography of the standing adorned Buddha with two hands raised.¹³ Like the Khmer example discussed above (Plate 5, p. 28), this imagery probably refers to the time he showed himself in his glory to Jambupati. Bangkok standing images are similarly depicted, with the Buddha dressed in royal attire and either one or both hands raised in *abhaya mudra* (the gesture that the Thais call “calming the ocean”; Plate 9). Dating these images is difficult, as they were stylistically similar throughout the nineteenth century.

Under King Rama III (1824–1851), Buddha images were generally crowned and adorned as they had been in the preceding period. During the reign of King Rama IV (1851–1868), when European culture

became familiar, however, there was an attempt to humanize the Buddha, and he was depicted without an *ushnisha* (Plate 10), one of the marks of a great leader and the usual iconography for the Buddha.¹⁴ Images created during Rama VI’s reign generally wear monastic robes arranged in a series of narrow folds, but this example is elaborately adorned. Without the *ushnisha*, one might think him a monk,¹⁵ but his right hand in earth-touching gesture (*bhumisparsha mudra*) is more common for a Buddha. An alternate interpretation may indicate he is an attendant of the Buddha, as attendants holding fans are depicted in this manner during this period.

Plate 10 Buddha images (h. 70.5 cm) generally have a cranial protuberance, but some late 19th-century images lack them. This could also have been an attendant figure that held a fan in his left hand.



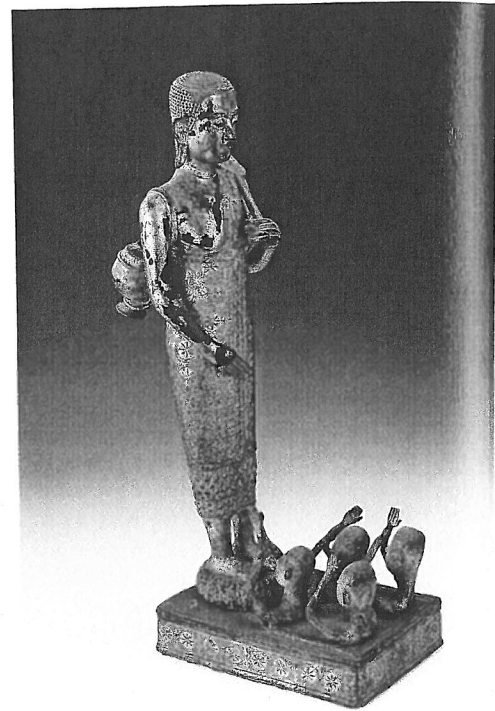
below Plate 11 In Thailand, devotees (h. 54 cm) are often placed attending an image of the Buddha. Frequently they represent his disciples Moggallana and Sariputta. WAM

right Plate 12 The monk Phra Malai accumulated sufficient merit to be allowed to visit heaven and hell and to tell of all he had seen. In this sculpture (h. 49.5 cm), inhabitants of hell beg him for assistance. Thailand. AAM

When an individual makes an offering or donates an image to a temple, the act gains merit for the donor and, in his generosity, for all sentient beings as well. The acquisition of merit through the donative process is the simplest way that a layperson can assure a better life in his next incarnation. This act of charity (*dana*) is performed in the practice of placing multiple images and offerings around the central figure on an altar. These gifts may be Buddha images or offerings of food, lotuses, and incense, the latter more transient offerings given in multiples of three in honor of the Buddha, the teachings (*dhamma*), and the monastic community (*sangha*).



[34]



Devotees and attendants are prominently placed before a central Buddha on an altar (Plate 11). Pairs of attendants are often intended to represent Sariputta and Moggallana, his two most dedicated disciples, who were converted to Buddhism when they heard the Buddhist creed "Whatever proceeds from causes, their causes have been stated, as also [the means of] their cessation." During the Bangkok period in central Thailand, attendants were generally cast in bronze or brass, then gilded. Like images of the Buddha, they would be among the gifts donated to a temple. These two monks press their hands together in the gesture of respect and salutation (*anjali mudra*) to pay obeisance to the Buddha; the simplicity of their clothing and the bases upon which they sit suggest a date during the early Bangkok period.

Not all imagery is limited to the Buddha and his attendants; a favorite story of the nineteenth century tells of the monk Phra Malai whose accumulated merit allowed him to visit the many hells, then ascend to Culamani Chedi in Tavatimsa heaven, where he discoursed on what he had seen. The tale, coming from a Sinhalese source, is often depicted in manuscript painting. In sculptural representations (Plate 12), Phra Malai wears his monk's robe and carries his alms bowl over his shoulder, while at his feet, the beseeching damned stretch their arms toward him. There is a separate hell for each evil deed one commits; for instance, adulterers are driven naked up thorn trees by ferocious dogs that bite at them from below, while large birds pick at their eyes and flesh from above.

Bronze is the usual medium for Bangkok-period sculpture, but the tradition of woodcarving asserts itself in images such as this Buddha (Plate 13), whose jewelry, headdress, clothing, and the base upon which he stands are worked in repoussé metal. The sweet and delicate face indicates Burmese influence, which is interesting, as the details of the robe and headdress suggest a date in the late nineteenth century, somewhat distant from the eighteenth-century Burmese incursions into Thailand. Two stylistically related images are placed on the tall altar bearing the Emerald Buddha in the *ubosot* of Wat Phra Kaeo, and we might surmise this piece would also have been placed on the altar replicating that temple, though no papers have yet been found that describe exactly where the Duke Collection's individual objects were intended to be placed.

The abundance of hardwoods in Thailand and Burma provided the materials for artisans to create wood carving for all purposes. Architectural decoration includes doors, window frames, eaves and the struts supporting them, gables, and details of the interior. The Thai houses purchased for the planned Thai Village Project were not as heavily embellished as religious buildings, but their furnishings provided surfaces that welcomed detail. The collection includes many of these finely carved furnishings, which would have filled the interiors of the Thai houses.



Plate 13 A wooden Bangkok-period Buddha (h. 86.5 cm), with metal used for his clothing and headdress, is close in style to two Buddhas on the altar of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, Wat Phra Kaeo, Bangkok.

right Plate 14 A Thai woman would sit on the floor or on a low platform to avail herself of a mirror, often elaborately carved and gilded like this one. AAM

below Plate 15 Chinese-style motifs were popular in Thailand during the 19th century. The Buddha images (average h. 132 cm) on and around this Chinese-style bed (h. 226 cm) are Burmese in the Mandalay style of the 19th century.



An aristocratic woman's boudoir would have held a mirror (Plate 14) for her daily toilet. Placed on a low wooden platform (similar to the platform under the Burmese altar [Plate 27, p. 49]), the mirror might have been accompanied by a rack for hanging a towel or face cloth (see Plate 56, p. 80, for such a rack) and other toiletries. Before assimilating Western influence, the Thais did not use chairs but instead sat or knelt on a cushion on the floor, or in this case, on the platform in front of the mirror. Animal motifs are incorporated into the details of the carving. The *naga*, looking very much like a Chinese dragon, swoops down along the edge of the mirror, and small lion heads emerge in the details of the base as well as the lion foot. The openwork on the lower frame is also indicative of Chinese influence, and this, taken with the dragon

naga, suggests a mid nineteenth-century date, when both Western and Chinese motifs were embraced.

A piece most certainly of this time is the Chinese-style bed (Plate 15) that Miss Duke displayed, surrounded by nineteenth-century Burmese Buddhas, in the Coach Barn. Clawed lion feet support the piece, which is intricately carved with floral motifs, fretting, and landscapes on the base and the canopy. Red and black lacquer and gilding accentuate the carved details. A more discreetly decorated, though intricately carved bench (Plate 16) was also displayed in the Coach Barn. The overall floral medallion pattern of the backrest, with its inlaid glass and deeply cut flowers, contrasts with the broader carving on seat and legs and may indicate the back and base were carved at different times.¹⁶

Plate 16 Furniture is often elaborately carved, like the fine backrest and base of this Thai bench (l. 189 cm). AAM

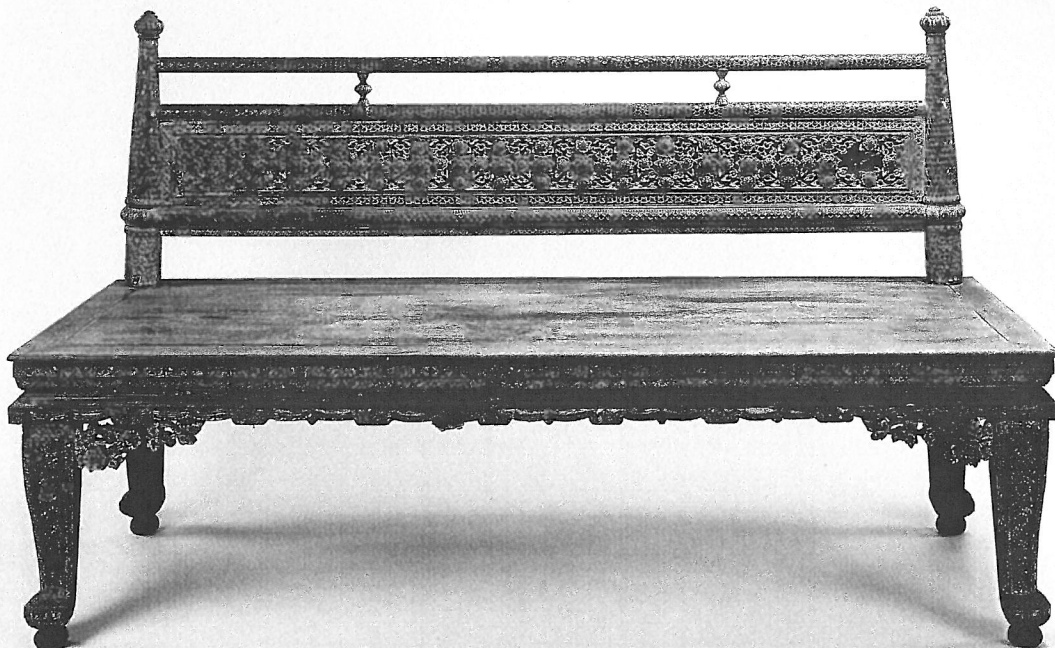
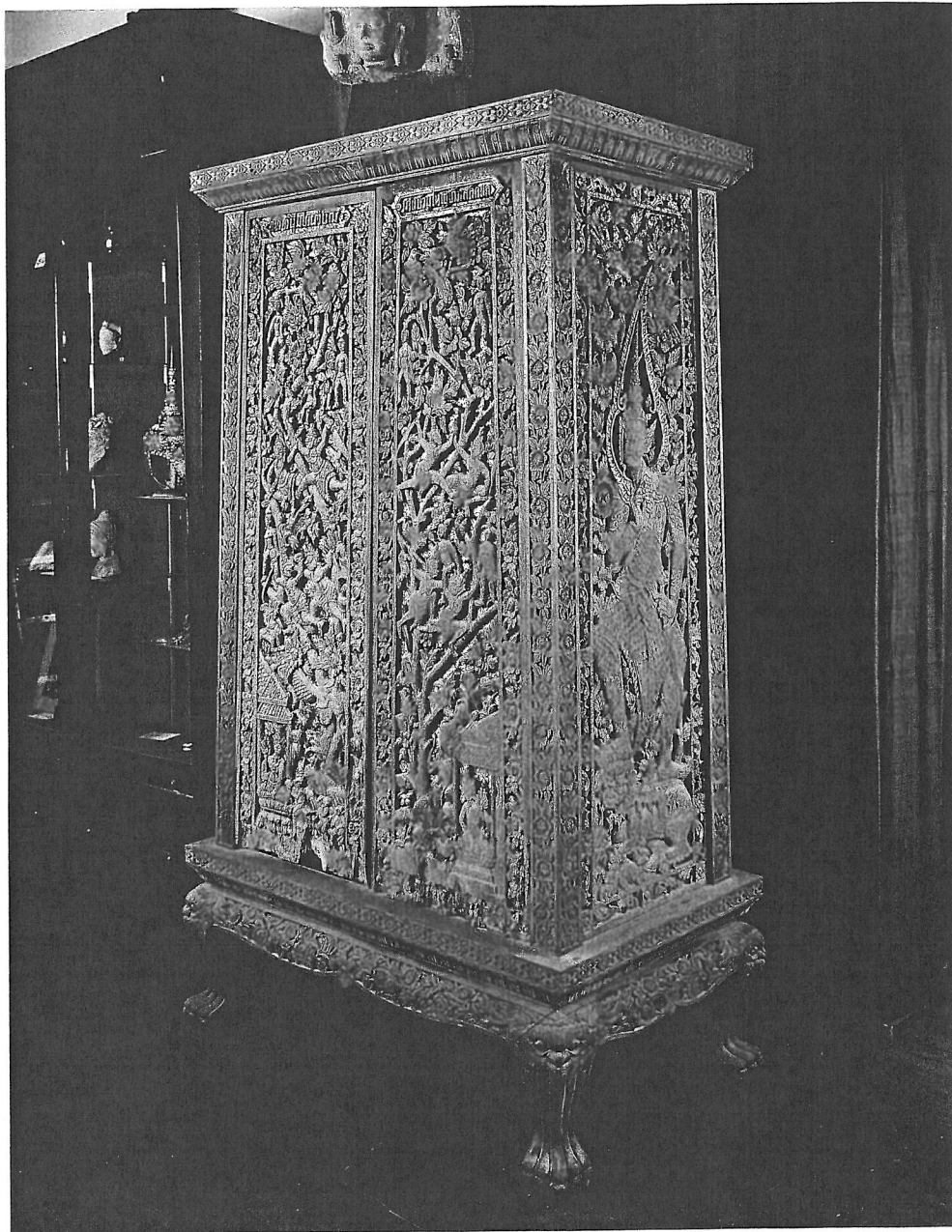


Plate 17 Thai manuscript cabinets
can be painted, lacquered, or
carved. This one (h. 216.5 cm) has
scenes of the Himaphan forest.
WAM



The intention in furnishing the Thai Village was to recreate a typical village, although these elaborate pieces of furniture from upper-class homes or palaces would have indicated a prosperous urban, rather than rural, setting. It would have been necessary to include some of the religious art in the houses, even though both the large open pavilion, the *ubosot*, and the Royal Pantheon would have provided for their display.

One other type of furnishing that incorporated fine carving is the cabinet with shelves and two doors that swing out. These practical containers found a place in both temples as storage for manuscripts, and in the home, for clothing and household items. Cabinets produced for the home were sometimes given to a temple, indicating the difficulty in identifying the provenance of many pieces. One large carved cabinet in the Duke Collection (Plate 17) incorporates a scene of Himaphan forest where a magic wishing tree, thick with fruit of young maidens, grows. It has been suggested that the cabinet doors originally functioned as doors to a room and have been refitted to the cabinet; thus they may be from the Ayutthaya period.

LAN NA SCULPTURE

A different sculptural tradition evolved in northern Thailand. Historically, the inland areas of Southeast Asia form a cultural and artistic tradition separate from that of the coastal regions. Their remoteness from international trading centers preserved a continuity of traditional culture that remained relatively untouched into the nineteenth century. The area was first ruled by Thai peoples in the thirteenth century, when King Mengrai established the kingdom of Lan Na, the land of a million rice fields, which extended from Upper Burma into Laos. The Buddhist monasteries had links to monasteries in Sri Lanka and northern India, and the sculpture from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reflects their influence. A bronze, kneeling devotee (Plate 18) of the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries¹⁷ illustrates how the earlier, fuller figure type was replaced by an attenuation of body and limbs that continued into subsequent periods.

In northern Thailand, neighboring peoples exerted their influence, in particular the peoples of Yunnan, in southern China, and the Burmese, who ruled the area from the mid sixteenth century until 1774. At that time, the Tai peoples of the region, assisted by the Siamese, broke from Burmese rule and reestablished the independent state of Lan Na. Underpopulation in the region and a desire of the Tai princes to establish a formidable kingdom led to the resettlement of peoples from Laos, Burma, and the contiguous region of Sipsong Pan na (Xishuangbanna Autonomous Prefecture) in Yunnan Province, China.¹⁸ Like the peoples

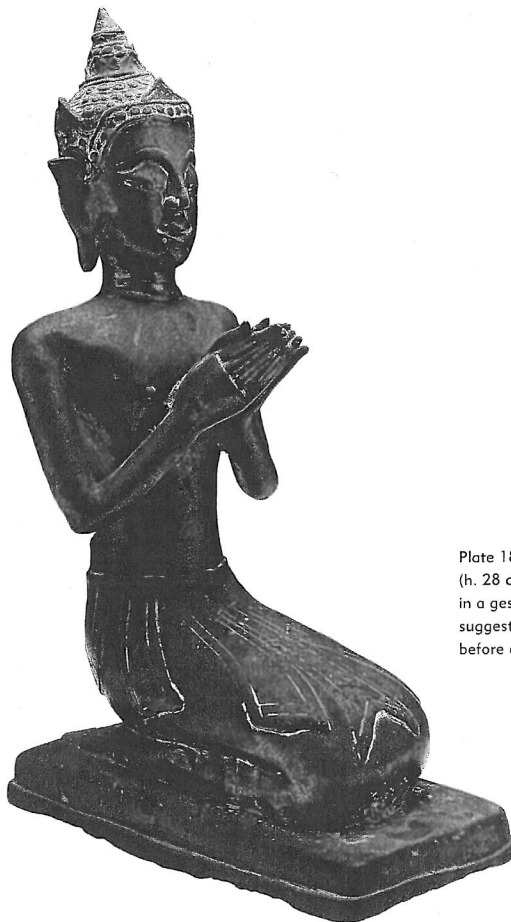
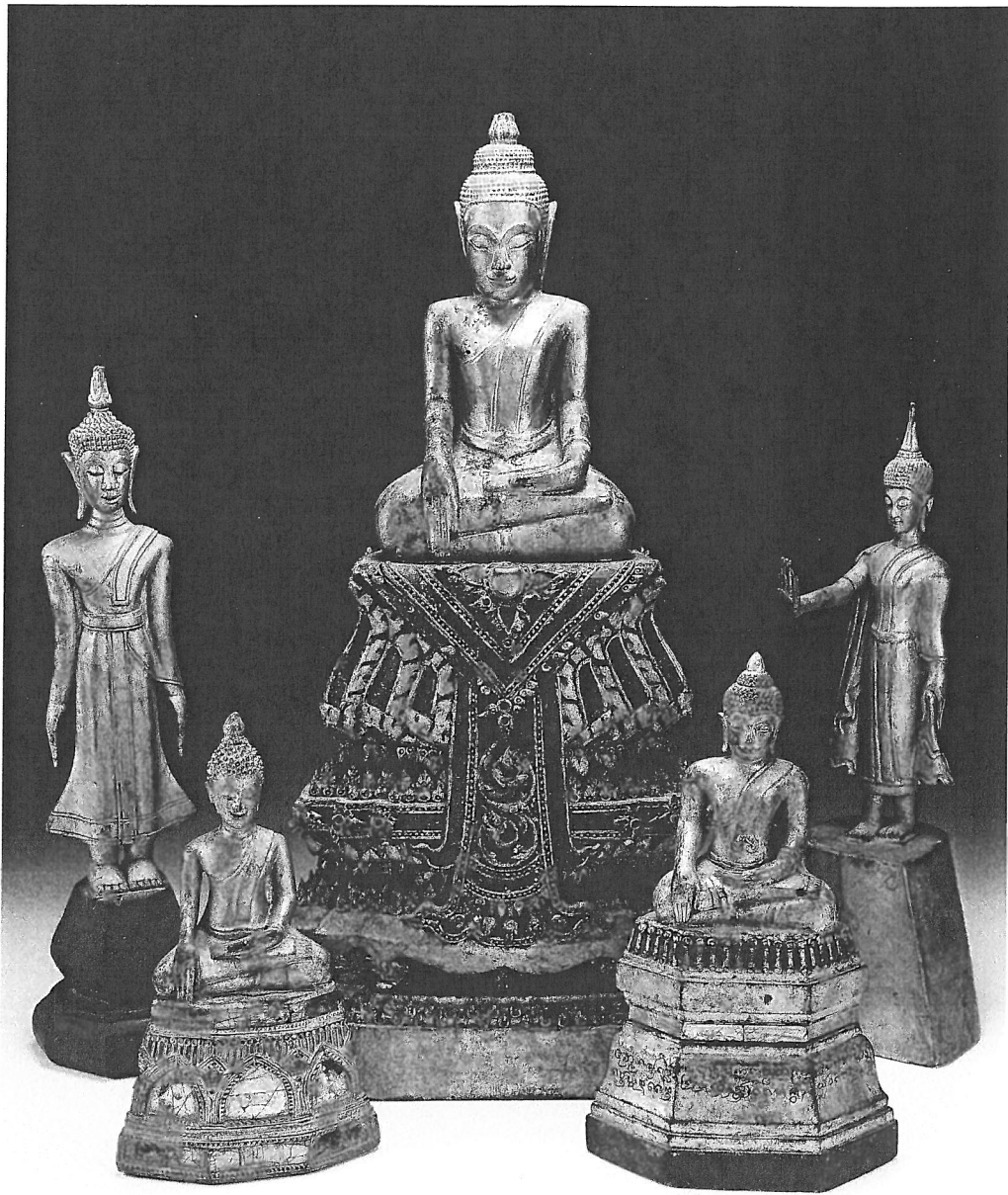


Plate 18 This Thai figure (h. 28 cm) holds his hands in a gesture of obeisance, suggesting he was once placed before a Buddha. AAM



[40]

Plate 19 Small northern Thai wood sculptures of the Buddha (average h. 31 cm), inscribed with wishes for the attainment of merit by the donor, were given to temples. WAM

from Lan Na, they belong to the Tai-Kadai linguistic group and share customs and artistic antecedents.

Just as the kings of the Chakri dynasty (who remain the monarchy today) were asserting their legitimacy by building the city of Bangkok, so the Lan Na princes rebuilt the city of Chiang Mai. Much of the artistic remains in the north dates to the past 200 years. Wood was used extensively in the construction and decoration of monasteries, just as it was in Burma, the Shan States, and Laos, for hardwoods were abundant. A Lan Na chronicle, the *Tamnan Phra Kaen Chan*, cites the Buddha's permission to create wooden images in his likeness.¹⁹

Small sculptures of the Buddha in a variety of poses and gestures (Plate 19), and larger images, elaborately decorated and draped (Plate 20), adorned the altars of temples. Some sculptures are inscribed with dedications that include the date, the name of the donor, and then text such as: "I, Thao Wiset Bunsung, being the commissioner, establish this Buddha image together with my wife, sons, and daughters to uphold the religion assigning [the merit] to father and mother."²⁰ Since the act of creating an image or commissioning one accrues merit, it is not surprising to find that the principal image of any temple would have been surrounded by a multitude of Buddhas. Women and men without sons often sponsored at least one Buddha image during their lifetimes.²¹

Given the large size of the tall, thin Buddha with hands at his sides in a gesture known as 'calling for rain' in Laos and 'opening of the three worlds' in Thai, we might assume a wealthy person had commissioned it (Plate 20). He wears elaborate clothing that mimics the stiff felt or quilted formal attire of a Burmese king. Another stylistic influence is suggested by the unusual iconography of the 'calling for rain' pose, which was popular and seemingly developed in Laos. The use of inlaid glass, seen on the jeweled bands hanging over his clothing, is common throughout Burma, Laos, and northern Thailand.

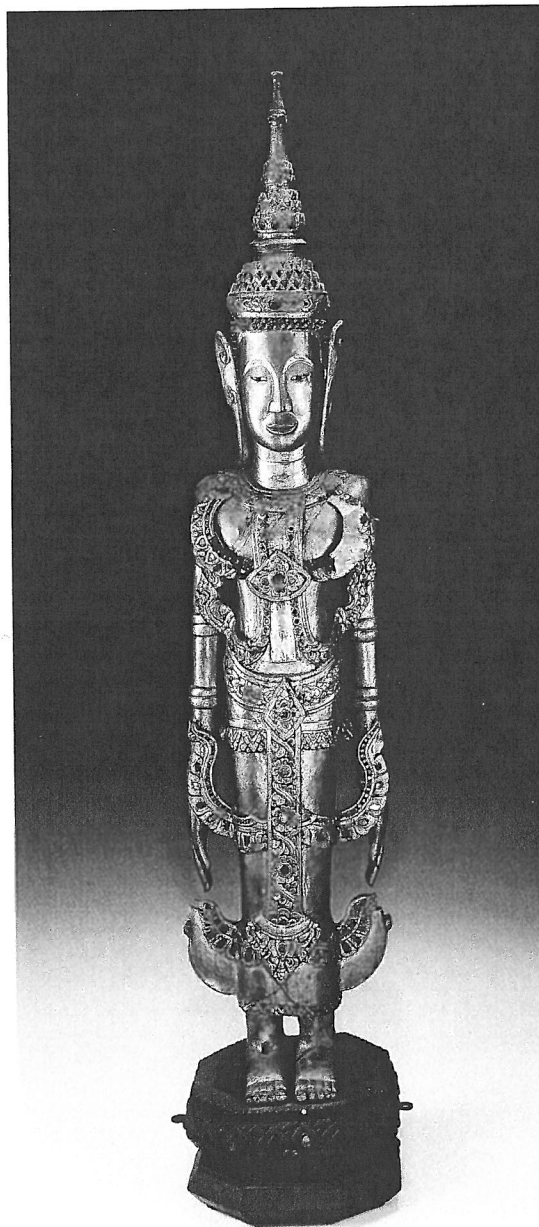
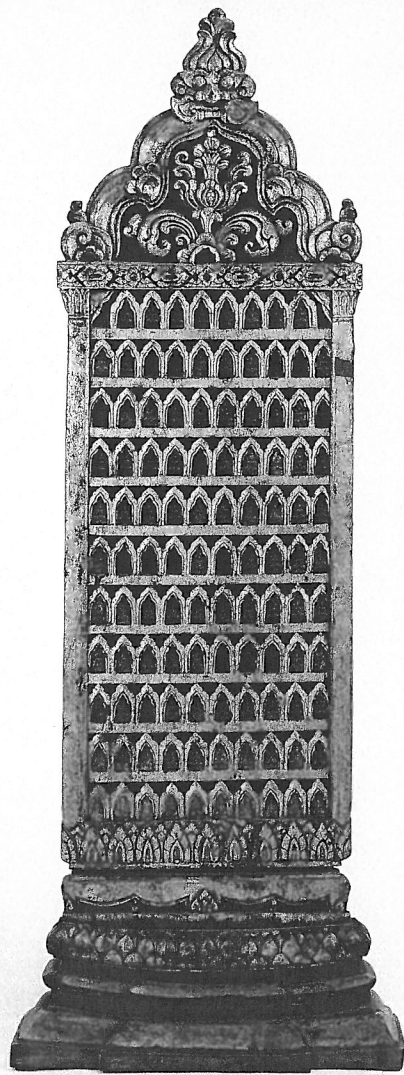


Plate 20 This northern Thai Buddha (h. 162 cm) holds his hands at his sides in a gesture known as 'calling for rain.'



Another common sculptural form is the votive tablet (*phra phim*), which is stamped using a clay, wood, or metal mold and damp clay. Tablets from a Theravada country, such as Thailand or Burma, generally feature an image of the Buddha. A monk or other pious individual can quickly accrue a quantity of merit by commissioning tablets, and this was probably the original intention of their makers. The tablets were often placed in a reliquary in the act of consecration. In Thailand in the nineteenth century, however, these small, portable tablets were adopted as amulets that protected the wearer from all types of evils and misfortune.²² The apotropaic function of the votive tablets reflects the commingling of local spirit worship and Buddhism. By the seventeenth century, the Thai set these tablets in elaborate free-standing frames (Plate 21), which were placed in the temple before the altar, along with other offerings and images.

Another type of furnishing placed before the altar in front of the principal image, and also characteristic of the north, is the *sattaphan* or candleholder (Plate 22). The holder can be of any size, but it always supports seven candles, a possible reference to the seven mountains surrounding Mount Meru, considered the *axis mundi* or the center of the universe in Buddhist (and Hindu) cosmology. Intertwined *naga* characterize Lan Na candleholders, but floral motifs replace snakes in this example. The ubiquitous devotional figure, the *theppannom*, dominates the panel, hands pressed together in a worshipful pose. He bears lotuses, while below, the embodiment of the mythical planet Rahu swallows the moon, causing an eclipse, and monkeys attempt to thwart him by grabbing his elbows.

Plate 21 Votive tablets of stamped clay are considered auspicious throughout the Buddhist world; the making of them is an act of merit. In Thailand, votive plaques are sometimes set into stands (h. 115 cm) to be placed before an altar.

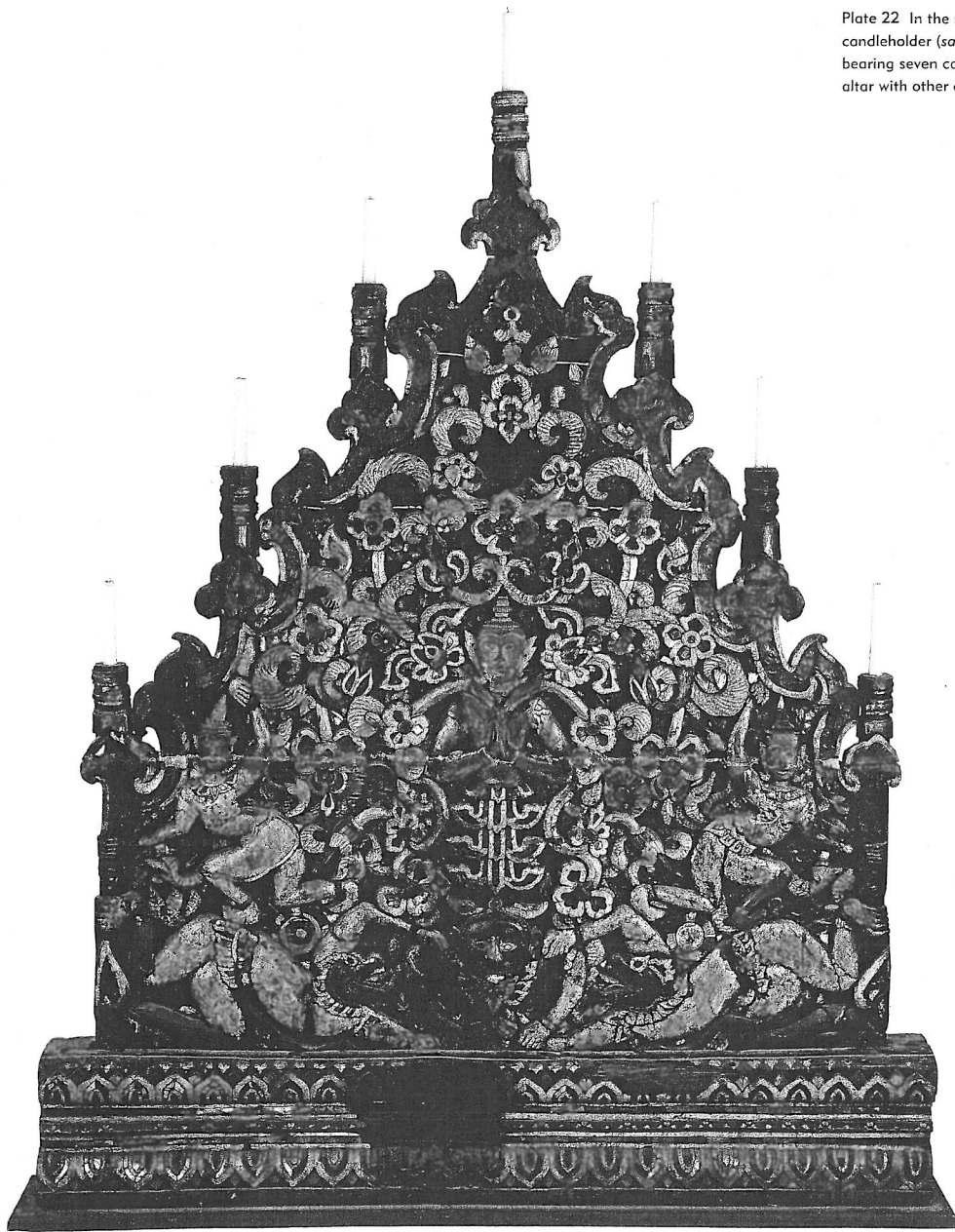
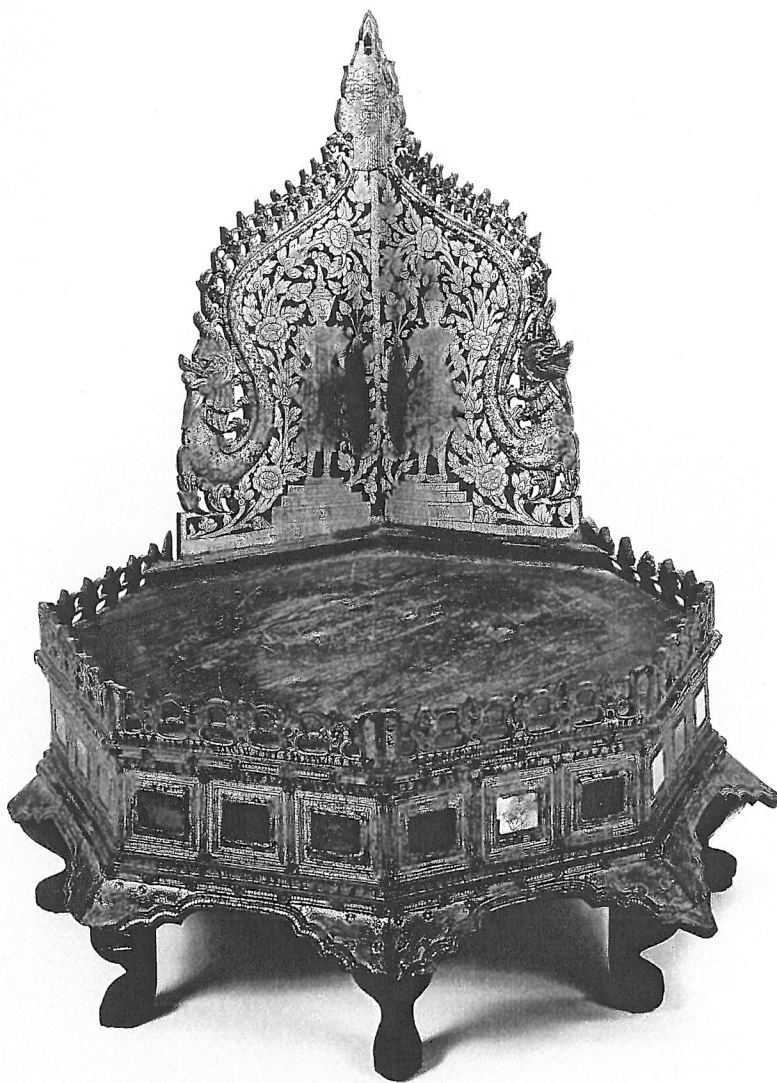


Plate 22 In the north of Thailand, a candleholder (*sattaphan*; h. 185.5 cm) bearing seven candles is set before the altar with other offerings. WAM



Since both monks and laypeople sit on the floor of the temple, little furniture is needed other than cabinets for the manuscripts and a pulpit (*thammat*) where a monk sits to deliver a teaching or to lead the monks in a chant. Often these *thammat* are tall architectural structures in the form of a temple (Figure 12), like this example from central Thailand, and large enough to allow for more than one chanting monk to sit inside. Four dramatic *thammat* are included in the Duke Collection and, like this one, have been used as platforms to display sculpture in the Coach Barn in New Jersey. Black and red lacquer and carved surfaces enliven the base and the eaves of the roof, and the roof finial (*cho fa*), a birdlike element, characteristically finishes its ridge and eaves. In the north of Thailand, this creature is considered to be a combination of swan and elephant, though it also seems to have *naga* antecedents. Although the tall proportions of the *thammat* differ from that of a northern Thai building with a roof that sweeps lower to the ground, the construction of the roof, with its multiple levels, is typical.

A more unusual *thammat* in the collection is a low seat (Plate 23) of eight-sided construction on which a single monk or abbot would sit to give his teachings. Fashioned of wood, it is decorated with red and black lacquer, gilt, and inlaid glass. Two gilt figures offering lotuses stand amid a floral pattern on the backrest, a pattern reminiscent of that on the candleholder.²³



opposite Figure 12 In central Thailand, the pulpit (*thammat*; h. 428 cm) can take many forms. There are four tall architectural examples in the Doris Duke Collection.

right Plate 23 An abbot or monk giving instruction would have sat in this *thammat* (h. 38.5 cm) from the north of Thailand.

Plate 24 In the north of Thailand, the steps or the risers leading up to a pulpit (*thammat*; average h. 42 cm) are often carved in the shapes of animals.



Plate 25 In northern Thailand, manuscript chests (h. 92 cm) with raised lacquer decoration (*thayo*) hold the sacred texts of a monastery.



Some *thammat* have a more elevated base than this one, and they require steps to mount. These steps may be carved in the shape of animals or with supports of animals on either side of each step (Plate 24). The artist captures a lighthearted playfulness in these carvings of elephants, an animal greatly respected in Southeast Asia both for its great strength and for its role in many folktales and *jatakas*.

The other piece of furniture necessary to the monastery is the manuscript cabinet. The cabinets (Plate 25) produced in northern Thailand are radically different from the elegantly decorated examples from the central and southern areas of the country, which will be discussed in the chapter on painting (see Plates 31 and 47–50, pp. 56 and 70–73). The placement of the chest on a pedestal relates to pinched-waisted throne used for images of the Buddha in Burma. Created of wood, they may be carved but more often include raised reliefs of *thayo*, a putty of lacquer sap mixed with clay, sawdust, or ash, a technique commonly used in Burma. Inlaid glass is also applied in abundance, in broad patterning that achieves more in the way of gaudy ostentation than delicacy. The tops of the chests are left unfinished, suggesting a cloth or

some other object was placed on top. Burmese influence, in the style of the sculpture, material, and techniques, links the artwork of northern Thailand more closely to that of Burma than to the more urbane works of central Thailand.

BURMA (MYANMAR)

The Pyu peoples of northern Burma and the Mon of the south were the dominant forces in Burma until the tenth century. Then in 1057, King Anawrahta of Bagan, in central Burma, laid siege to the Mon city of Thaton, returning triumphant with the king, his artisans, and a set of the *Tipitika*, the sacred texts of Buddhism. Establishing Buddhism as the state religion, he began—and subsequent rulers continued—a building program that resulted in a city of thousands of temples and *chedi*. At the end of the thirteenth century, Bagan experienced a period of rapid decline, possibly as a result of Kublai Khan's incursions into Burma, but more probably because of a laxity on the part of the kings and the increased power of the religious elite.²⁴ With the decline of Bagan, the next three centuries saw a confusing series of changes of capitals and powers, ending in the eighteenth century in upper Burma in the area surrounding present-day Mandalay. (The Duke holdings of Burmese art date exclusively to the eighteenth to twentieth centuries.)

At the end of the eighteenth century, King Hsinbyushin invaded and leveled Ayutthaya, the capital of Thailand. Like King Anawrahta in the eleventh century, he returned home with members of the Thai royal family and dozens of artisans, whose work influenced that of Burmese artists. With the frequent change of capitals, a result of astrological predictions and calculations, artisans were constantly employed with new building projects and with reconstructing buildings, which were dismantled and moved from one location to the next. Monasteries were built in wood, like the palaces, and adorned with extensive carving; Buddha images and *nat* (indigenous spirits)—made of marble, bronze, wood and dry lacquer—along with crafts in a variety of media, filled the temple compounds. After King Hsinbyushin's death,

his son Bodawpaya and subsequent rulers began a period of conflict with the British, which ended with the British conquest in 1885.

The Burmese practice Theravada Buddhism and propitiate the *nat*, who are known to be volatile and easily offended. In the eleventh century, King Anawrahta, in his zeal to promote Buddhism as the national religion, banned *nat* worship, but he soon realized he was alienating the people from the very religion he propounded. Rescinding his order, he allowed images of the thirty-seven *nat*, who are believed to live on Mount Popa near Bagan, to be placed in a building on temple grounds. It is a measure of the adaptability of Buddhism that *nat* shrines remain a powerful presence in Buddhist establishments to this day. *Nat*, a word related to the Sanskrit word for 'lord,' are nature spirits tied to specific locations or drawn from legendary or actual historical personages.²⁵ The most frequently propitiated spirit is the Mahagiri *nat*, who protects the household and is displayed in the southeast corner of a house as a coconut wrapped in a red and white cloth (Figure 13). Aungzwa-ma-gyi, formerly a soldier in the royal army of Bagan at the end of the twelfth century, was raised to

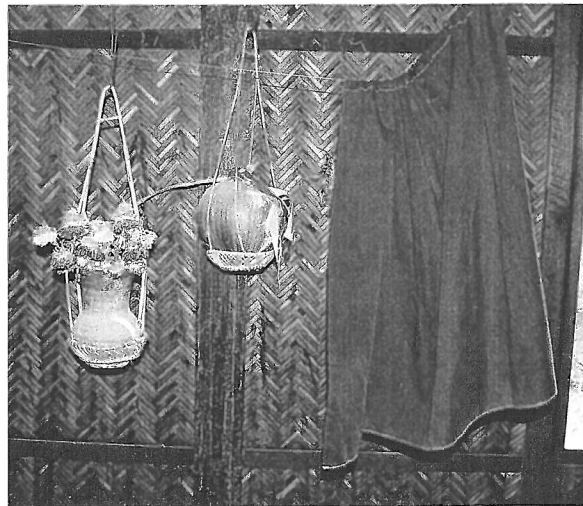


Figure 13 The Mahagiri *nat* is the most important of the indigenous spirits of Burma and is worshiped in the form of a coconut in most households. This one is from Minnanthu Village, Bagan.



Plate 26 Aung-zwa-ma-gyi is a historical figure who achieved the status of a spirit (*nat*; h. 152.5 cm) in 12th-century Burma.

the status of *nat* after serving his crown prince faithfully. *Nat* are identifiable by various attributes, and he wears a uniform and is depicted on a white horse (Plate 26). When King Anawrahta made Buddhism the national religion, he had the foresight to include the Buddha as the supreme *nat*.

Images of the Buddha have been made throughout Burma since the religion first made its way to the area in the sixth century, but the Mandalay-style Buddha (taking its name from the last Burmese capital before the period of British rule) has become the quintessential example of Burmese art (Plate 27). The sweet, childlike face, elaborately layered and folded drapery, and the entire surface, brilliant with gold and inlaid with sparkling glass, combine to form an image both ethereal and fantastic. To the Westerner, its golden jewels seem to contradict the monastic vow taken by the Buddha, but to the Buddhist devotee, this great personage is deserving of royal attire. Again, reference to his magical appearance before the heretic king Jambupati is made.

The most common iconography for the Mandalay Buddha shows him standing (Plate 15, p. 36); seated with his hand in earth-touching gesture (*bhumisparsa mudra*, Plate 27); or lying on his side in death, the *parinibbana* (Plate 15, p. 36). During the period when the collection was installed at Duke Farms, Miss Duke took particular care of this Buddha, carefully dusting it herself whenever she visited the Coach Barn.²⁶ She also favored one of the most dramatic and imposing objects in the Duke Collection, an altar in which the Mandalay-style Buddha is placed (Plate 27).²⁷ She had displayed it in the hallway to Shangri La during the years the collection was stored at her Honolulu estate (Figure 9, p. 19).

The installation of the altar in the Coach Barn incorporated Burmese and central and northern Thai Buddhas and attendants placed on finely carved offering tables laden with offering paraphernalia. Manuscript cabinets flanked the sides of the elaborate altar, the focal point in a room bursting with artworks. Miss Duke, a very spiritual woman, frequently placed incense, flowers, and lighted candles before this altar.²

Plate 27 An elaborate
Burmese altar (h. approx.
345 cm) with a Mandalay-
style Buddha (h. 51 cm).

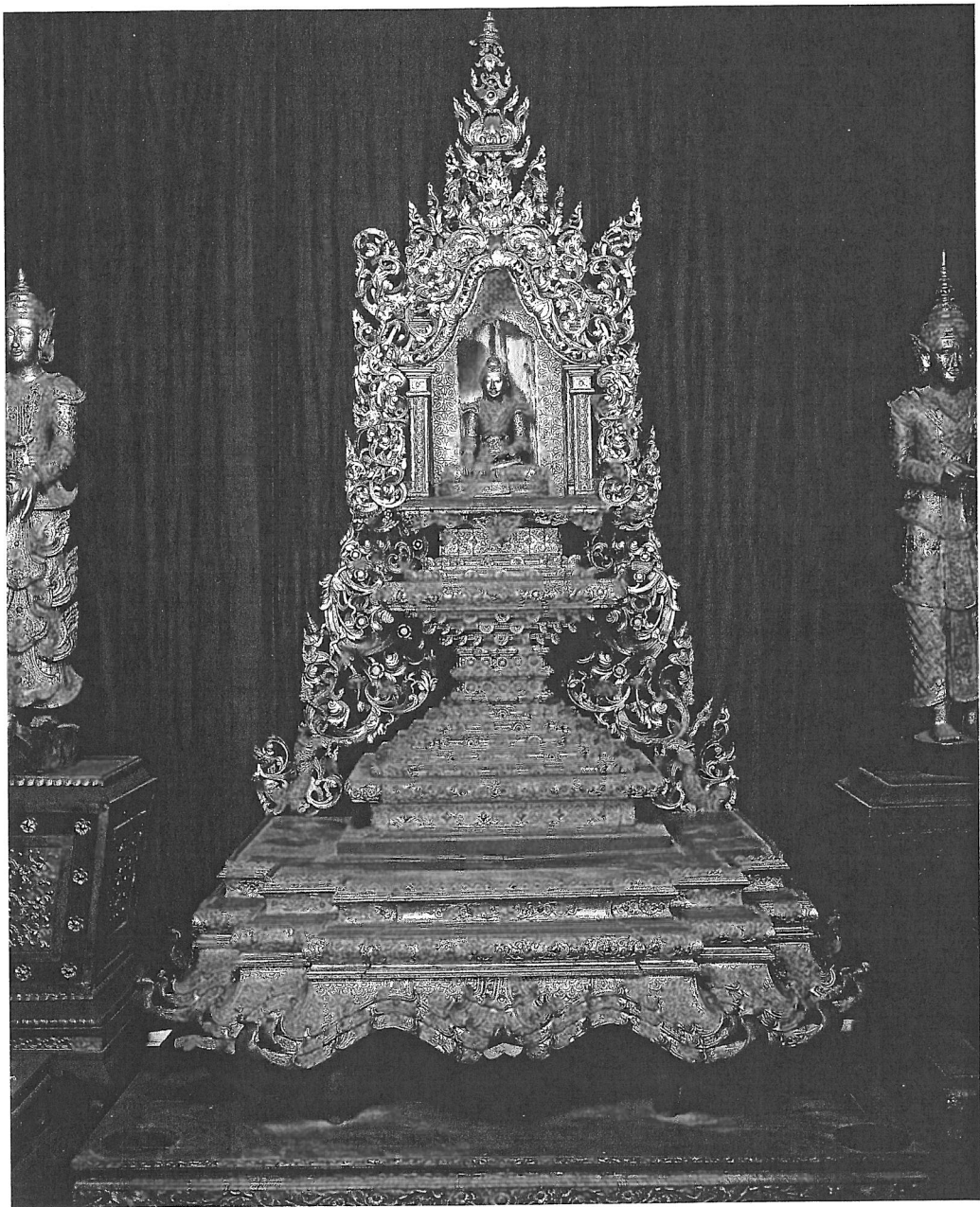


Plate 28 As in Thailand, the Buddhist altar in Burma includes images of devotees (h. 61 cm). This figure, with his flying draperies and sweet face, is particularly engaging. WAM



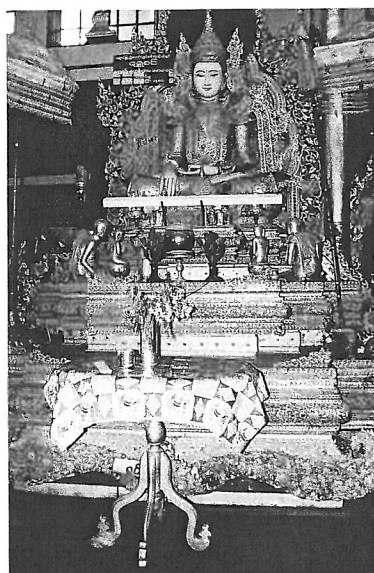
It was a fitting choice, for the variety of sculptures on and surrounding it effectively mirrors the breadth and depth of her passion for the objects she collected. Thrones of this type are still used in the temples surrounding Inle Lake in the Shan States on the eastern borders of Burma (Figure 15), though the center of production for these thrones seems to have been Mandalay.²⁹

Bronze, wood, dry lacquer, and marble are the most common media for works of this later period, and in some instances, wood and marble are combined, the head and hands made of marble, and the body of wood. Other media are also combined (Plate 28).³⁰ The artist, not content with the three-dimensionality of the wooden figure, has added flying drapery of leather studded with glass, while investing this devotee with the guileless expression of one whose abode is Mount Meru. The Buddhist altar often includes multiple Buddhas and devotional figures; this sculpture would have been placed in front of and below the figure he revered.

Dry lacquer, a method developed in China and practiced throughout East Asia, is sometimes used to fabricate Buddha images (Figure 14 and p. 23). The earliest example known in Burma dates to the eighteenth century. The first step in making a dry-lacquer image involves producing a clay form. The artist then coated it with ash paste, covered it with a lacquer-soaked cloth, then coated that with *thayo*, a putty of lacquer sap and sawdust. Once the putty dried, the desired details could be tooled into the surface.³¹ Images of quite large size were fashioned in this manner, most in Mon-ywa district. This Buddha is an excellent example of the possibilities inherent in the technique and of Shan taste, for the artists sold most of their images in the Shan States.³² Many large lacquer images remain in the temples of the Shan States (Figure 15), where the people are of Tai descent. Burmese claim that the figure known as Nan Paya, in Salay, just south of Bagan, is the largest dry-lacquer Buddha in Burma; it is possible to walk inside this image. In Burma, artisans no longer create



above Figure 14 This large Burmese Buddha (h. 181.5 cm) is a fine example of Burmese use of dry lacquer. (Also see p. 23.) WAM



left Figure 15 Thale monastery, Inle Lake, Burma. Buddha images and larger elaborate altars continue to be used at monasteries in the Shan States.

Plate 29 Standardized, graduated weights (average h. 13 cm) cast as elephants, birds, or lions, have been used for centuries in Burma. WAM



dry-lacquer images; use of the technique died out in the twentieth century.

Finally, a group of sculptures that served a practical purpose should be mentioned, as the Duke Collection includes quite a number of these delightful objects. Graduated weights of a feline, elephantine, or birdlike shape have been made in Burma since the fifteenth century for use in trade, though the practice of using them has died out in the past century.³³ These high-lead bronze standardized weights were fabricated under governmental controls; chronicles tell us that in the eighteenth century, the use of weights not made in the palace was a criminal offense.³⁴ Although certainly mass-produced for a mundane purpose, the sculptural quality of the animals has an obvious appeal (Plate 29). The high, sloping hexagonal base of the bird (back left) indicates that it is a nineteenth-century product, while the smaller bases of some

of the other weights indicate an earlier date in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. Each of the weights in this group is from a separate set.

NOTES

1. DDCF Archives, SEAC.8, inventory of art objects; date of purchase 5/20/60.
2. Donald Swearer, *The Buddhist World of Southeast Asia* (New York: State University of New York, 1995), 6.
3. David Chandler, *A History of Cambodia* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983), 16.
4. The flaring, ridged crown of this example relates to other bronzes from Phimai, though the facial features are not so bold as those. See Hiram W. Woodward, Jr., et al., *The Sacred Sculpture of Thailand: The Alexander B. Griswold Collection, The Walters Art Museum* (Bangkok: The Trustees of the Walters Art Museum 1997), plates 70, 73, and 74, pp. 77 and 79.

5. Hiram W. Woodward, Jr., has suggested emanated Buddhas such as these indicate both the Buddhas of the past and the Miracle of Sravasti; see "The Bayon-period Buddha Image in the Kimbell Art Museum," *Archives of Asian Art*, 32 (1979): 72–83.
6. The number of Buddhas is sometimes also twenty-four.
7. Textual evidence provides only two explanations for the crown. One is the Jambupati tale. The other lies in the practice of Vajrayana Buddhism (which we know was practiced in Southeast Asia, in particular at Phimai, at the time this piece was made), in which a crown denotes enlightenment.
8. A second sculpture in the Duke Collection, in which the aureole is detached from a crowned seated Buddha, includes the same small Buddha images in the flames.
9. It may have been carved in Suphanburi; for a comparison, see Woodward et al., *The Sacred Sculpture of Thailand*, 80, plate 75.
10. 'Tai' refers to speakers of the Tai language group. 'Thai' refers to citizens of Thailand.
11. For a discussion of these artistic traditions, see Woodward et al., *The Sacred Sculpture of Thailand*.
12. Cited by Dirk Van Der Cruysee (trans. Michael Smithies), *Siam and the West 1500–1700* (Chiang Mai, Silkworm Books, 1991), 52; Cornelis van Neijenrode, *Vertoog van de gelegenheid des koninkrijks Siam, 1621* (Account of the situation in the kingdom of Siam, 1621), in *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht* (Chronicles of the Historical Society of Utrecht, 1871), vol. 27, 279–318.
13. Woodward et al., *The Sacred Sculpture of Thailand*, 233.
14. M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, *Art in Thailand: A Brief History* (Bangkok: Amarin Press, 1986), 30.
15. He might be interpreted as an image of Phra Malai, as is sometimes depicted in painting when he is discoursing with the gods in heaven. For an example of Phra Malai, with his right hand in a similar gesture and seated on a throne, see Henry Ginsburg, *Thai Manuscript Painting* (London: The British Library, 1989), plate 25.
16. See Naengnoi Punjabhan and Somchai Na Nakhonphanom, *The Art of Thai Wood Carving: Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, Ratanakosin* (Bangkok: Rerngrom Publishing Co., Ltd., 2535 B.E. [1992]), 188, for another example. Forrest McGill feels that the back and seat of the bench were constructed together.
17. For a dated Buddha (1509) of similar though more elaborate dress, see Ping Amranand and William Warren, *Lanna Style, Art and Design of Northern Thailand* (Bangkok: Asia Books Co., Ltd., 2000), 46. For comparable devotees, see Theodore Bowie, ed., *The Arts of Thailand: A Handbook of the Architecture, Sculpture and Painting of Thailand (Siam), and a Catalogue of the Exhibition in the United States in 1960–61–62* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1960), plates 112, 137; and M. C. Subhadradis Diskul et al., *The Suan Pakkad Palace Collection* (Bangkok: Princess Chumbhot of Nagara Svarga, 1982), figure 31.
18. Susan Conway, *Silken Threads, Lacquer Thrones: Lan Na Court Textiles* (Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2002), 26. Throughout its history, war in Southeast Asia was waged to obtain laborers and increase population. In this instance, regional cities such as Chiang Mai, depopulated by warfare, had fallen into neglect.
19. Sanguan Chotisukharat, "Phra Kaen Chan Legend," *Conference on Lanna Thai Legends*, 2514 B.E. [1971] 66–68, as cited in Naengnoi Punjabhan, Aroonrut Wichienkeo and Somchai Na Nakhonphanom, *The Charm of Lanna Wood Carving* (Bangkok: Rerngrom Publishing Co., Ltd., 2537 B.E. [1994]), 110.
20. Hans Penth, *Kham charuk thi than phra phuttharup nai Nakhon Chiang Mai (Inscriptions on the bases of Buddha images in the city of Chiang Mai)*, (Bangkok: Samnak Nayok Ratmontri [Office of the Prime Minister], 1976), 171, translated by Hiram W. Woodward, Jr. Example dates from 1920.
21. Naengnoi Punjabhan et al., *The Charm of Lanna Wood Carving*, 110–11.
22. For a lengthy discussion of votive tablets in Thailand, see M. L. Pattaratorn Chirapravati, *Votive Tablets in Thailand: Origins, Styles, and Uses* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1997).
23. For a six-sided pulpit decorated with a devotional figure carrying flowers from Wat Rong Ngae, Pua District, Nan Province, see Naengnoi Punjabhan, *The Charm of Lanna Wood Carving*, 141.
24. Michael Aung-thwin, *Pagan: The Origins of Modern Burma* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985), 28.
25. Maung Htin Aung, *Folk Elements in Burmese Buddhism* (Rangoon: U Hla Maung, 1959), 96–97. See also Sylvia Fraser-Lu, *Burmese Crafts, Past and Present* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1994; reprint 2002), 5–7.
26. Cupie Singh, personal communication, 9/02.
27. For a similar altar, see John Lowry, *Burmese Art* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1974), plate 1.
28. Cupie Singh, personal communication, 9/02.
29. Sylvia Fraser-Lu, personal communication, 10/02. She also pointed out that Burmese altars do not seem to be arranged in a systematic manner, unlike the Thai altar.
30. A similar figure, dated approx. 1850, is illustrated in Lowry, *Burmese Art*, plate 4.
31. Fraser-Lu, *Burmese Crafts: Past and Present*, 244. Ralph Issacs and T. Richard Blurton, *Visions from the Golden Land: Burma and the Art of Lacquer* (London: British Museum Press, 2000), 102.
32. Sylvia Fraser-Lu, personal communication, 10/02, and idem, *Burmese Crafts: Past and Present*, 244.
33. Donald Gear and Joan Gear, *Earth to Heaven: The Royal Animal-Shaped Weights of Burma* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1992). See also Fraser-Lu, *Burmese Crafts: Past and Present*, 135.
34. Gear and Gear, *Earth to Heaven*, 10.