

The Origin of Vietnamese Glazed “Hanuman” Figurines for the Indonesian Market in Java*

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Abstract

Among Vietnamese ware by the 14th-15th century, the golden age of their export, one finds a very unusual ware in particular forms or motifs such as glazed figurines and wall tiles. These kinds of wares diverged greatly from the Vietnamese or Chinese ceramic traditions. One can actually compare them with findings from Java in Indonesia, whereas almost no finds have been reported from Vietnam itself. Hence, it seems very probable that these unusual wares were manufactured by special order for the market in Java. As a typical example, in this article the author discusses the origin of the image of “Hanuman” polychrome figurines based on an analysis of sherds found at the Trowulan archaeological site and sculptures/reliefs at the Panataran Temple in East Java. Moreover, the author attempts to reconstruct the purpose of these figurines ordered by the high society in Trowulan, the capital of the influential power Majapahit Kingdom.

Keywords: Vietnamese figurine, Majapahit, Dvarapala, Panataran, Trowulan

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1. Introduction

(1) Preface

The National Palace Museum has a relatively large number of Vietnamese glazed wares in its collection including two strange glazed figurines, such as the ‘Hanuman’ polychrome (購瓷 293, Fig. 1 and 2) and the Mandarin figurine (購瓷 279, Fig. 3) in blue and white with brown glaze.¹ These differ from the majority of this collection, consisting of table wares such as bowl, dish and jar etc., which basically followed the Chinese porcelain tradition; the two figurines are formed in the very rare pose of kneeling while holding some kind of vessel by two hands.

Even though both figurines are wearing similar Vietnamese/Chinese long dress, however, the heads clearly differ; the Mandarin in a cloud motif costume, shows a white face with brown hat, while the polychrome one, hatless, with a large head in a hunting motif dress, appears very unusual with a large mouth and two earrings, and whose skin is black. The latter, almost without neck, also has black hands which protrude from a half-sleeved dress, so that it is popularly called ‘Hanuman’, the name of the famous monkey general in the Hinduism epic of *Ramayana*.

Why did Vietnamese craftsmen manufacture these figurines in a strangely kneeling posed?² Also, what is the function of these glazed ceramics? The attempt to answer these questions is my basic motivation for writing of this article.

(2) Preceding studies

As another strange types of glazed ware in Vietnamese ceramics, the study of glazed wall tile already began after publication of a pioneering work by Mayuyama Yasuhiko on 65 tiles found *in situ* at the Great Mosque of Demak, Central Java,

1 II-33 and II-67 in National Palace Museum 國立故宮博物院, *The Coordinates of Clay: Ceramics in the NPM Collection 泥土的座標——院藏陶瓷展* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2019).

2 Among discoveries at the Thang Long royal palace site, Hanoi, ceramic figurines are included, see in Trung Tam Nghien Cuu Kinh Thanh, *Nhung Kham Pha Khao Co Hoc Duoi Long Dat Nha Quoc hoi* (Hanoi: Nha Xuat Ban Khoa Hoc Xa Hoi, 2016), 272-278. However, the kneeling posture one has not been reported, whereas only 2 sherds of glazed tile were excavated there.

Indonesia.³ John Guy pointed out three fundamental cultural influences for creation of these tiles, which are mainly found in Java; Vietnamese, Hindu Javanese, and western Islamic contexts,⁴ though he did not consider findings in the Trowulan archaeological site, East Java. Seventeen years later, Marie-France Dupoizat and Naniek Harkantiningsih designated the important fact that the running animal images in the cartouche flame style on Vietnamese glazed tiles originated from the bas relief medallions of the Panataran Temple ruins, East Java, in the first report of selected foreign glazed sherds, including several Vietnamese figurines, found in the Trowulan.⁵ Also, based on classification of sherds found in the Trowulan during 2012-18, I noted the significant influence of the Persian glazed tile technique in both shape and motif on Vietnam via a Muslim connection in Java.⁶

Among findings of numerous Vietnamese glazed sherds in Trowulan, Ohashi Koji more clearly described the position of Vietnamese glazed tiles and figurines among the total sherds of glazed ware found there;⁷ especially he emphasized that huge sherds of figurines consisted not only of human images but also various kinds of non-humans. After his classification of whole glazed sherds in the Trowulan site, the local cultural/religious background in Java became a more important factor for understanding Vietnamese figurines. We should carefully note the fact that the Trowulan is still the only one archaeological site where Vietnamese figurines have been unearthed.

3 Mayuyama Yasuhiko 蒔山康彦, “A remark for Vietnamese blue & white tiles on the Demak Mosque デマク回教寺院の安南青花陶磚について,” *Oriental Ceramics 東洋陶磁* 4 (1977): 41-57.

4 John Guy, “The Vietnamese Wall Tiles of Majapahit,” *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 1988-89 (1990): 27-46.

5 Marie-France Dupoizat and Naniek Harkantiningsih, *Catalogue of the Chinese Style Ceramics of Majapahit* (Cahiers d’Archipel 37 Paris: Association Archipel, 2007), 98-99.

6 Sakai Takashi 坂井隆, “Glazed tiles found in Trowulan archaeological site, Indonesia インドネシア、トロウラン遺跡出土のタイル,” *Oriental Ceramics 東洋陶磁* 44 (2015): 63-83, and “Vietnamese tiles and Persian tiles ベトナムタイルとペルシャタイル,” in *Ceramic Archaeology in the Medieval & Pre-modern Ages 中近世陶磁器の考古学* vol. 8, ed. Sasaki Tatsuo 佐々木達夫 (Tokyo: Yuzankaku 雄山閣, 2018), 261-291.

7 Sakai Takashi 坂井隆 and Ohashi Koji 大橋康二, *Hizen wares excavated from Royal Capital Sites in Indonesia – Trowulan and other sites – インドネシアの王都出土の肥前陶磁ートロウラン遺跡ほかー* (Tokyo: Yuzankaku 雄山閣, 2019).

Hariani Santiko considered that a valuable fact is the basic function of the Panataran Temple as the national shrine dedicated to the spirit of the active volcano Mt. Kelud/*Mahameru* for the Majapahit Kingdom, which had its capital in Trowulan, by her continuous studies since the 1990s.⁸ Regarding bas reliefs of Panataran, Nozawa Akiko and Yohanes Hanan Pamungkas described, especially for narrative reliefs, the religious meaning in their study of ancient musical instruments and classical Javanese literatures,⁹ and recently a study identifying all animals in 80 medallion reliefs of the main shrine of this temple, was initiated by Arina Monik Yudiant and Fera Ratyaningrum.¹⁰

For Vietnamese glazed figurines Sumarah Adhyatman had already shown a kneeling strange human image in her basic catalogue of foreign glazed ware found in Indonesia.¹¹ About twenty years later, Yajima Ritsuko introduced a kneeling Mandarin figurine and briefly described similar figurines in the cargo of the Cu Lao Cham shipwreck.¹² Vietnamese glazed wares, the majority of this cargo, were held by a commercial salvage company which conducted a joint project with the Vietnamese National Museum of History. John Guy pointed out the important fact that the teak made ship can be identified as a Sino-Southeast Asian ship from Ayutthaya due to wooden dowels used to build it, and discoveries of Singburi ware jars, made in Central Thailand.¹³ Based on concentrated finds of Vietnamese glazed ware from the 14th-15th centuries, he also estimated that Java was the final destination of this ship, including 6

8 Hariani Santiko, "Candi Panataran: Candi Kerajaan Masa Majapahit," *KALPATARU Majalah Arkeologi* Vol. 21, No. 1 (2012): 20-29.

9 Nozawa Akiko and Yohanes Hanan Pamungkas, "Depictions of Music Making and Theatrical Dynamism: The Relief of Candi Panataran in East Java, Indonesia," *Music in Art*, XLIII/1-2 (2018): 159-174.

10 Arina Monika Yudianto and Fera Ratyaningrum, "Ikonografi Medallion Binatang Mitologi Pada Relief Candi Panataran," *Sakala Jurnal Seni Rupa Murni*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2023): 27-41.

11 Sumarah Adhyatman, *Antique Ceramics found in Indonesia* (Jakarta: The Ceramic Society of Indonesia, 1981).

12 Yajima Ritsuko 矢島律子, *Vietnamese Blue & White wares, the best flowers of Dai Viet ベトナム青花—大越の至上の華—* (Machida: Machida Municipal Museum 町田市立博物館, 2002).

13 John Guy, "The Hoi An (Cu Lao Cham) Shipwreck Cargo and Asian Ceramic Trade," in *Proceedings of the International Conference: Chinese Export Ceramics and Maritime Trade, 12th-15th Centuries* 十二至十五世紀中國外銷與海外貿易國際研討會論文集 (香港: 中華書局, 2005), 105-125.

human figurines.

However, until the present no special study of Vietnamese glazed figurine has been published, except a short paragraph about the surprised impression on numerous findings of figurine sherds in Trowulan site by Yajima Ritsuko.¹⁴ Anyway, by combining the above-mentioned studies, we can now consider more details of the function and destination of Vietnamese glazed figurines.

(3) Methods and destinations

In this article, firstly I will classify all 10 examples of Vietnamese glazed human figurines collected in several museums including two from the National Palace Museum, especially in basic forms. Then, by result of this work, I will try to consider characteristics of human figurines found at the site of Trowulan.

As the second step, will discuss two subjects derived from the findings at Trowulan and the Panataran Temple; 1. motif of glazed wall tiles and medallions of the Panataran and 2. Hanuman and Dvarapala images in Panataran. Because the polychrome figurine of the National Palace Museum is basically very similar not to Hanuman but to the kneeling type of Javanese Dvarapala (gate guardian in Indian religions) image, in this part I will compare important elements of such images. Moreover, based on result of classification works of glazed sherds in Trowulan during 2012-18, I will present analysis of non-human figurine sherds, followed by comparison with kinds of animal images in the Panataran medallions.

By such steps, finally I will discuss the basic chronology of Vietnamese glazed figurines, and try to determine the function of these figurines in Trowulan, or the reason why the high society of Majapahit ordered them from Dai Viet/Northern Vietnam.

14 Yajima Ritsuko 矢島律子, “The Vietnamese wares by the 1400’s – underglaze iron as standard point 1400 年期のベトナム陶磁——鉄絵を定点として—,” in *Essays of Asian Buddhist Arts Southeast Asia* アジア仏教美術論集東南アジア, ed. Koezuka Takashi 肥塚隆 (Tokyo: Chuokoron Bijutsu Pub. 中央公論美術出版, 2020), 532-533.

2. Characteristics of the ‘Hanuman’ and similar figurines

At present ten Human image-style Vietnamese glazed figurines collected in several museums can be confirmed and categorized in three types as seen in Table 1.¹⁵

Table 1 Human image Vietnamese glazed figurines (by Author)

No.		type	character	holding item	pose	head	face	cloth	kinds	motif	H
1	NPM A	A	black skin male	jar	kneeling L	short hair/ barrette	earring	separate short sleeves	Polychrome	floral-cloud/ hunting	23
2	Philbrook	A	black skin male	<i>Kris</i>	kneeling L	short hair/ barrette	earring	separate short sleeves	B & W/Brw	cloud	18.8
3	ACM A	A	black skin male	dagger	kneeling L	short hair/ barrette	earring	sarong	B & W	dots & curved lines	22.7
4	NPM B	B	Mandarin	ewer	kneeling R	Boli hat	thin eye	long	B & W/Brw	cloud/cst- lotus	32
5	Sato A	B	Mandarin	ewer	kneeling R	Boli hat	thin eye	long	B & W/Brw	unknown	25.9
6	ACM B	B	Mandarin	jar	kneeling R	Boli hat	thin eye	Mongolian	B & W	3 dots/pram	31
7	ACM C	B	scholar	jar	kneeling R	Futou	no mustache	long	B & W	cloud/grass	30.5
8	VNMH	C	court lady	incense burner	standing	arranged hair	earring	long	Polychrome	floral	17.6
9	ACM D	C	Buddhist monk	no	standing	no hair	<i>Urna</i>	shoulder & sarong	B & W	no	35.4
10	Sato B	C	Panakawan?	no	standing	short hair/ barrette	beard	shawl/sarong	B & W	unknown	21.5

The type A, kneeling black-skinned fat male, is included as NPM-A (1, Fig. 1, 2), moreover similar figurines have been collected by the Philbrook Museum of Art, Oklahoma, USA (2, Fig. 4) and the Asian Civilizations Museum, Singapore (3, Fig. 5).¹⁶ Sumarah Adhyatman previously introduced no. 2,¹⁷ which is in a kneeling pose and grips a Javanese dagger, *Kris*. A cylindrical vessel is put on the right knee; a very similar feature can be seen in no. 3. Differences between both figurines and no. 1 are items held as well as glazing, and we should note that no. 1 is also wearing a *Kris* at the back (Fig. 2), a common style in Java. These three figurines, almost the same height

15 According to John Guy, “The Hoi An (Cu Lao Cham) Shipwreck Cargo and Asian Ceramic Trade,” 116-117, besides examples in this table among the Cu Lao Cham shipwreck other 4 figurines of type B are included. However, because the auction catalogue cannot be used as a scientific data, such examples are not discussed in this article.

16 Asian Civilizations Museum 2004-00904.

17 Sumarah, *Antique Ceramics found in Indonesia*, 394-395.

at 19-23 cm, have no tail, an important element which should be present if they were meant to represent Hanuman, the monkey general.

The type B, the kneeling Mandarin, is included as NPM-B (4, Fig. 3), and I confirmed three other examples: a Chinese *damao* 大帽 /*boli* 鉢笠 hat, both in the collection of the Sato Memorial Museum, Toyama, Japan (5, Fig. 6)¹⁸ with the Asian Civilizations Museum (6, Fig. 7)¹⁹, and a scholar-like image on a Chinese *futou* 幞頭 hat (7, Fig. 8)²⁰. These four figurines are sculpted in almost the same pose, which displays them gripping a jar on the left knee, even though costume of no.6 appears a kind of Mongolian image. They kneel on the right knee and wear shoes on the left feet, while type A kneels on the left knee and is barefoot.

Three figurines in standing posture, categorized as the C type, comprise a court lady (8, Fig. 9)²¹, probably a Buddhist monk (9, Fig. 10)²², and a funny man (10, Fig. 11)²³. Two figurines (but not no. 8) are wear light tropical costumes, exposing much skin. No. 10 whose body is in a warped position with protruding stomach, resembles *Gareng*, a comical figure or *Panakawan* in the Javanese folk theater.²⁴

During 2012-18, I collaborated on the classification of glazed ware sherds found in the Trowulan site. As discussed later, in this work we confirmed the presence of numerous sherds of Vietnamese figurines, and although unfortunately we cannot reconstruct their complete form, a certain part of them comprises human images, as seen in Fig. 12-15.²⁵ Among all figurine sherds, about 16% depict some part of a

18 Yajima, *Vietnamese Blue & White wares, the best flowers of Dai Viet*, 64. At present this figurine has been become a collection of the Sato Memorial Museum, Toyama.

19 Asian Civilizations Museum 2011-02264.

20 Asian Civilizations Museum 2009-01435, formerly the cargo of the Cu Lao Cham wreck.

21 Vietnamese National Museum of History, formerly the cargo of the Cu Lao Cham wreck.

22 Asian Civilizations Museum 1997-01946.

23 Yajima, *Vietnamese Blue & White wares, the best flowers of Dai Viet*, 65. At present this figurine has been become a collection of the Sato Memorial Museum, Toyama.

24 *Semar*, the most famous *Panakawan*, was firstly imagined in the bas relief of the *Sudamala* story of the Sukuh Temple, Central Java, dated 1437.

25 Sakai and Ohashi, *Hizen wares excavated from Royal Capital Sites in Indonesia – Trowulan and other sites* –, 33.

human body (Table 3 below), in which are seen characteristics of the type B or C. Based on this data in Trowulan, the only one archaeological site where Vietnamese figurines have been discovered, we can easily infer a profound relationship between the manufacture of these art works and their special presence in the ruins of the capital of Majapahit.

Given that the original finding conditions under which no. 7 and 9 were discovered among the cargo of the Cu Lao Cham wreck, the dates of type B and C are roughly considered to fall into the second half of the 15th century. And because a horse-riding hunter motif on the reverse of no. 1 can be seen as a Mandarin wearing a *damao/boli* hat, I contemplate that at least no. 1, the only one polychrome figurine among type A, was also manufactured at almost the same period as types B and C. However, regarding the dating of no. 2 and 3 we have no evidence to support any estimate except that the glazing of blue and white ware developed earlier than polychrome ware.

3. Pictorial comparison with the Trowulan archaeological site and the Panataran Temple ruins

In order to understand of the origin of the type A figurine, in this section I will consider the special cultural/religious conditions of Trowulan by connecting the bas relief and sculpture of the Panataran Temple/*Candi Panataran*. Trowulan, the capital of the Majapahit Kingdom, is located 40 km from the mouth of the Brantas River, the 2nd longest in Java, and 55 km north-northeast of the Panataran Temple. However, because Panataran was constructed at the south foot of Mount Kelud, the most active volcano in Java, in fact the travel distance between both places is more than 100 km along the Brantas River. If we ascend from the Panataran another 80 km to the upstream sector of this river, we reach the Singasari Temple, hypothesized as having been the capital area of the Singasari Kingdom by the 13th century (Map. 1).

Concerning relations between Trowulan and Panataran, firstly I will briefly discuss Vietnamese glazed wall tile, and next compare Dvarapala statues, especially as they developed in Java.

(1) Glazed wall tiles with the medallions of Panataran

As the result of analysis of glazed wares found in the Trowulan site, I have classified Vietnamese glazed wall tiles into five large shape categories,²⁶ and motifs also can easily be divided into three groups: plant, geometric, and animal. Moreover, the mammal motif of the animal motif group (Fig. 16) is used in mainly the cartouche flame shape and the circle shape, while the bird motif (Fig. 17) is concentrated in the cross shape. In addition, it is important that complete wall tiles in both motifs still can be found *in situ* at the Great Mosque of Demak, Central Java. Among 65 blue and white wall tiles of this mosque, in four cartouche-petal flame shape tiles with almost similar running large-eared Mammalia was drawn (Fig. 18). The attributes of each part of this animal are not the same as the Chinese mythical *Qilin*, but are basically very similar to animals of the several medallions (Fig. 19) in the main shrine of the Panataran Temple (Fig. 39).

Panataran Temple is composed of three wide courtyards with many ruins of shrines and gates in a non-symmetrical plan. Twelve dated inscriptions derive from a wide timespan, from 1197 AD to 1454 AD.²⁷ Nine inscriptions are concentrated during the 14th century, the golden age of the Majapahit Kingdom, hence this temple complex is assumed to have functioned as Majapahit’s state temple, which was frequently renovated or expanded by the royal powers.²⁸ The main shrine was constructed at the center of the III courtyard in the eastern side (Map. 2), and still retains a foundation with three terraces. On the wall of each terrace were carved different bas reliefs; the *Ramayana* on the first level wall, the *Krishnayana* on the second level wall, while the third level wall is decorated with Hindu-Javanese mythical animals, Garuda and winged Naga.²⁹

26 Sakai, “Glazed tiles found in Trowulan archaeological site, Indonesia” and Sakai, “Vietnamese tiles and Persian tiles”.

27 Nozawa and Yohanes, “Depictions of Music Making and Theatrical Dynamism: The Relief of Candi Panataran in East Java, Indonesia,” 160.

28 Hariani, “Candi Panataran: Candi Kerajaan Masa Majapahit.”

29 Nozawa does not identify winged Naga but Hamsa/goose, the vehicle of Brahma (Nozawa and Yohanes, “Depictions of Music Making and Theatrical Dynamism: The Relief of Candi Panataran in East Java,

Bas reliefs of the *Krishnayana* occupy 25 large long panels in clockwise sequence, consisting of several scenes with many characters. In contrast, the *Ramayana* bas relief is composed of 106 relatively small rectangular panels with few images. Moreover, 80 medallions are fitted in the spaces among each panel of the *Ramayana* (Fig. 20). The upper half of each medallion comprises a carved floral Arabesque motif, while the lower half of each medallion depicts various animals; 23 mammal, 1 reptile, 13 birds and 4 mythical animals.³⁰ The majority of them comprises a couple of the same animal facing in opposite directions.³¹ Among them one animal in the cartouche flame shape wall tile is identified as a Jackalope, a mythical animal. Four medallions of this in exceptionally good condition are found at the northern corner of the west wall, the stair side to the upper. However, the first panel of *Ramayana* starts at the southern corner of the west wall, then continues in counter-clockwise direction. Therefore, on the same wall of the *Ramayana*, narrative and animal medallions are disconnected, including the style of representation of single animals per a medallion and no image of monkeys which have no direct relation with the story of the *Ramayana*. Probably animal medallions were fitted into each space of the *Ramayana* panels as a symbolical depiction of nature, which is perhaps meant to suggest a holy mountain as seen in the *Gunungan* puppet in the Javanese shadow play *wayang kulit*.

(2) Hanuman and Dvarapala images of Panataran

The *Ramayana* bas relief of the main shrine depicts part of a narrative from Hanuman's first visit to Alengka/Lanka, the capital of Ravana until the death of Kumbakarna, hence many images of Hanuman occupy in the majority of panels. Because Hanuman is a general/minister of the monkey kingdom, his identifying characteristic, a long tail, is seen in panels (Fig. 20). This important feature is not found

Indonesia," 161), whereas architectural historian Chihara, Daigoro identified them as winged Naga and winged Narasinga (Chihara Daigoro 千原大五郎, *Hindu-Buddhist Architecture in Southeast Asia* 東南アジアのヒンドゥー・仏教建築 (Tokyo: Kashima Syuppankai 鹿島出版会, 1982), 326.) However, if viewed in the context of reliefs of other buildings in this temple such as the Naga shrine and the Pendopo terrace, it seems there is no possibility that they are *Hamsa*.

30 Arina and Fera, "Ikongrafi Medalion Binatang Mitologi Pada Relief Candi Panataran," 31-37.

31 Besides these medallions, the Naga shrine has 3 animal medallions, and 12 more animal carved rectangular stones were used for the foundation of the half-restored upper structure of the main shrine.

in Vietnamese figurines of the type A including no. 1 (NPM-A), therefore we cannot call it Hanuman.

What is the model for the type A figurines? To answer this question, the important key points are their common elements; kneeling pose, short hair on the top of the head and jewelry (earring and neckless etc.). One image can be identified as Dvarapala (the door guardian in Indian myth). Dvarapala was adopted by the Javanese when they accepted Indian religion in the Central Java period (7th-10th centuries). Even though Dvarapala images are still relatively common in Java (see Table 2), unfortunately, I cannot find a specialized study which focuses on this impressively huge Javanese Dvarapala, and also the identification as its form is not determined. However, by observation of pictures of remaining statues/sculptures which depict a figure holding a club, an important weapon of Dvarapala, I found several basic differences, hence to provide better understanding model of the type A figurine here I will explain the basic classification of Dvarapala in Java.

Originally, Dvarapala was represented in the standing pose while gripping a club by a hand in India, and this image was directly followed by the mainland of Southeast Asia. Although ancient Javanese also firstly accepted Dvarapala by a common human image in this standing pose (the type A) such as an example among bas reliefs of Borobudur (8th-9th centuries), Central Java, at almost the same time the Javanese sculptors created a fat man in kneeling pose (the type B) for an unknown reason, and a couple of huge stone sculptures were put at gates of temples such as the Sewu Temple, Central Java.³² The type B is firstly distinguished by the different position of the club; there are two subtypes, one shouldering the club (Sewu, B1), and the other with a club touching the hilt of the club (Plaosan Temple, B2). These 3 types were together passed from the Central Java period to the East Java period (11th-15th centuries); we can find different types of Dvarapala in each site of East Java, moreover various types were found in some temples. In the Trowulan Museum, two A type statues are found, while

32 A couple of Dvarapala statues (H. about 2 m) still remain inside of each gate at the central position of 4 sides in the almost symmetrical rectangular plan (185 by 165 m) of this temple.

the club of the statue outside the museum building is standing at his left leg (A1). The other statue at inside of the museum building is gripping his club by his right hand (A2, Fig. 27). Two huge statues, about 3.7 m, near the Singasari Temple are kneeling with a hand touching the hilt of a club (Fig. 21).³³

In wide courtyards of the Panataran 12 Dvarapala statues remain: 4 couples at gate ruins (Map. 2 – A/D) and 2 couples at 2 stairs of the main shrine. Among them a statue at the West Gate and another one at the Central South Gate have dates inscribed on them: 1310 AD of the former (W2, B3 type, Fig. 22)³⁴ and 1320 AD of the latter, formed in half cross-leg pose (CS2, B4 type, Fig. 23). Moreover, 2 couples of the main shrine statues represent type A1³⁵ including one with inscribed date of 1347 AD (WS1, Fig. 24). Two other Dvarapala statues in the Panataran Museum with pleated club are respectively depicted in the B4 type (Fig. 25) and the oblique stance pose (WW2, C type, Fig. 26). The latter was probably once placed on front of the staircase leading up to the 2nd terrace of the main shrine.³⁶ The C type of statues is found in the Sukuh Temple (the 15th century), Central Java (Fig. 28), and a couple in the collection of the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (Fig. 29)³⁷. Due to this correlation, this type is considered to have been created in the 15th century.

In view of this classification of Dvarapala statues in Java, 3 Vietnamese figurines of the A type can be considered as the result of influence from the B3 type Dvarapala of Java. If cylindrical vessels on the right knee of no. 2 and 3 were derived from the club,

33 Both Dvarapala statues are locating 300 m west of the main temple. Because this position is not aligned with the central axis of the temple, probably these statues are not directly related to this temple.

34 Because another statue at this gate is the type B3, it seems the differences between the B2 and B3 types are caused by various stonemasons.

35 Sometimes these statues are identifiable as Bhairawa or Mahakala by foundations decorated with skulls, but they can be identified as Dvarapala due to the touched club and position in pairs at the front of stairs.

36 In a picture taken around 1901 (KITLV107243) this statue can be seen at this position, but there is a different standing headless statue at the same place in the picture of Isidore van Kinsbergen (KITVL87821, Fig. 39) by 1867. Meanwhile, I cannot confirm the original placement of the B4 statue in the Panataran Museum (Fig. 25), which was established to house the collection from the general area of Blitar area by the second half of the 19th century and was moved to Panataran in 1999 (<https://museum.kemdikbud.go.id/museum/profile/museum+Panataran>).

37 This couple of statues (No. 1997.6.1 in the Gallery 10) is only 61 cm H., so they belong to a kind of miniature.

their form is similar to the type B3, especially the shape of the head and body. Even though no Dvarapala grips a *Kris* by two hands, this image also can be regarded as a combination of Vietnamese craftsmen from two different sources of information so that they are both represented as gripping club and *Kris* from Java.

Table 2 Figurines and Javanese Dvarapala (by Author)

	type	date	pose	gripping item	club/tool	hair	face	earring
Sukuh	C	15 c	oblique stance	club	2 hands gripping	short	circle eye, fang	unknown
Totok Kerot	B4	unknown	cross legs	club?	2 hands shouldering?	unknown	circle eye, fang	skull
Panataran WW2	C	unknown	oblique stance	club	2 hands shouldering	curl, behind long	circle eye, fang	large
Panataran WS1	A1	1347	standing	snake	standing	curl, behind long	circle eye	unknown
Panataran M	B4	unknown	cross legs	club	2 hands shouldering	curl, behind long	circle eye, fang	large
Panataran CS2	B4	1320	cross legs	club	2 hands shouldering	curl, behind long	circle eye, fang	skull?
Panataran W2	B3	1310	kneeling R	club	2 hands shouldering	curl, behind long	circle eye	skull
Trowulan M2	A2	13, 14 c	standing	club	a hand gripping	curl, behind long	circle eye, mustache, fang	metal
Trowulan M1	A1	13, 14 c	standing	snake	standing	curl, behind long	unknown	skull
Singasari E	B2	c 1300	kneeling R	mudra	standing	unknown	circle eye, mustache, fang	skull
Singasari W	B2	c 1300	kneeling R	touch knee	standing	unknown	circle eye, mustache, fang	skull
Plaosan S	B2	9 c	kneeling L	snake	standing	curl, behind long	circle eye, mustache	circle
Sewu L	B1	782	kneeling L	club & snake	a hand gripping	curl, behind long	s. circle eye, mustache, fang	circle
Maospahit L	A2	1553?	crouching	jar	2 hands gripping	unknown	beak	no
Maospahit R	A2	1553?	crouching	snake?	a hand gripping	pyramidal	circle eye	no
NPM A		Poly-chrome	kneeling L	jar	2 hands gripping	short	circle eye, mustache	circle
Philbrook		B & W	kneeling L	<i>Kris</i>	standing on knee	short curl	circle eye, mustache	circle
ACMA		B & W	kneeling L	dagger	standing on knee	short curl?	circle eye, mustache	circle

4. Analysis on figurine sherds in the Trowulan

In this section, I will describe the results of basic classification of non-human figurine sherds found in the Trowulan during the joint identification work. Vietnamese glazed ware was already found in Trowulan by the 10th-13th centuries, but quickly

increased after the first half of the 14th century. Finally, during the 15th century, the estimated number of individual objects became about 2 times greater than Chinese wares.³⁸

Under such conditions, we can find numerous sherds of figurines, and beyond parts of humans, explained in the earlier section, other sherds can be classified according to shapes and kinds of glaze, including local green ware, as seen in Table 3. Because we did not have enough time for reconstruction of the objects except a dog (Fig. 30), and no information of their complete condition from previous studies, it was impossible to analyze these sherds adequately. Therefore, here I will explain a number of examples based on pictures according to the following procedure; number figures (N) of this table were calculated by the way in which each sherd, can be categorized as something kinds in whole numbers, but all sherds have a possibility of 0.5 point, hence, these numbers provide a rough idea for understanding of these figurines.

Table 3 Identification of figurines sherds of Trowulan (by Author)

	humans	mammals					reptiles	birds	non living		unknown	total
		dog	cow/horse	elephant	scales	unknown			mountain (?)	pedestal		
B & W	4.0	1.5	3.0	1.0			1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	16.5
B & W/Brw								0.5			1.0	1.5
White	2.0	1.0			1.0	1.0		1.0		1.0	1.0	8.0
Brw & W	3.5	2.5	2.0			3.0	0.5	2.5	1.0	0.5	2.0	17.5
Brown		1.0				1.0		1.0			1.0	4.0
Grn & W							1.0	0.5				1.5
Celadon		1.0	1.5	1.0		2.0				1.0		6.5
Yingqing			1.0					1.0				2.0
Grn (local)									0.5	1.0		1.5
total	9.5	7.0	7.5	2.0	1.0	7.0	2.5	8.5	2.5	4.5	7.0	59.0
large	0.0	1.5	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	4.0				
small	4.5	3.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0				

38 Sakai and Ohashi, *Hizen wares excavated from Royal Capital Sites in Indonesia – Trowulan and other sites* –, 161, Table. 1.

Figurine sherds are divided into 2 large categories: living and non-living. The former comprises mammals, reptiles and birds, respectively 23.5N, 2.5N and 8.5N, while the latter comprising mountains (?) and pillar pedestals,³⁹ is counted 7.0N with unknown sherds contribute 7.0N. Concerning glaze colors, brown and white and blue and white sherds are overwhelmingly dominant, followed by white and celadon.

Among mammals, dog, cow/horse and elephant can be identified relatively easily. Dog and cow/horse were covered by various kinds of glaze. We could reconstruct a dog body in brown and white (Fig. 30), and unexpectedly this figurine is quite large (H. 49 cm, W. 36 cm).⁴⁰ The cow/horse is also mainly made in blue and white and brown and white glaze (Fig. 31), but sherds of this category include the other similar animals such as the dog, while the elephant is only confirmed in celadon (Fig. 32). In the reptile category, celadon lizards (sometimes frogs or birds) and blue and white 4 toed dragons are included. As a large category, sherds tentatively identified as birds are numerous and varied, such as blue and white (with brown, Fig. 33) including a kind of crest in brown and white.⁴¹ Although several sherds of toes with webs are difficult to identify with confidence as waterbirds or other living creatures, I feel that the absolutely number of birds is not inconsiderable. Living creatures can be divided into large (bird, more H. 50 cm) and small sizes (human, elephant, less than H. 30 cm), while figurines of dog and cow/horse are found in both sizes.

The most mysterious examples are sherd with uneven surfaces covered by many small holes and bulges, such as a blue and white glazed example (Fig. 34). This kind of sherds, including local green ware, was found in large quantity, but no re-constructable part could be confirmed. As a sample of this type of sherd, I am interested in a local green glaze ornament, exhibited in the Trowulan Museum (Fig. 35). On the surface of

39 A complete celadon pedestal with lotus leaves and floral medallions (H. 25.5 cm, D. 36.0 cm) found in East Java is introduced by Sumarah Adhyatman (Sumarah, *Antique Ceramics found in Indonesia*, 382-383).

40 If one adds the head, this figurine is estimated to be about 70 cm tall (Sakai and Ohashi, *Hizen wares excavated from Royal Capital Sites in Indonesia – Trowulan and other sites –*, 24, 31).

41 As an example, a brown & white sherd is seen as a feathered part of bird (Dupoizat and Naniek, *Catalogue of the Chinese Style Ceramics of Majapahit*, 97, no. 43).

this ornament is a stair connected to the entrance of a building, which can be seen in the upper part of a natural steep slope.⁴² The above-mentioned sherds are similar to the slope part of this miniature ornament.

If we compare kinds of glaze of these figurines with basic compositions of glaze of total Vietnamese table wares by the second half of the 14th and the 15th centuries,⁴³ the proportion of the iron glaze (brown, brown and white) is higher, while underglaze iron, the largest type of table ware by the second half of the 14th century, cannot be found in figurine sherds. Also, no polychrome sherds, created after development of blue and white around the middle of the 15th century, were found. However, while celadon glaze disappears from the tableware category by the 15th century, it was still used for many small figurines; hence, we can estimate that figurines of living beings were first manufactured about the end of the 14th century, then increased by the first half of the 15th century.

5. Discussion

(1) Chronological position

Vietnamese figurines to my knowledge can be categorized in 3 types as mentioned in the section 2. Among them, 2 examples of blue and white glazing of the A type were undoubtedly created by the first half of the 15th century or slightly earlier based on the beginning of this glazing in Vietnam and comparing the images with Javanese Dvarapala statues, especially the B3 type of the first half of the 14th century. Moreover, around the middle of the 15th century the no. 1 (NPM-A) is followed by a change to the pouring vessel with polychrome glazing.

Meanwhile the manufacturing period of the B type was almost the same time as

42 Two examples of non-glazed terracotta 'Rock Garden' (H. 77.5 and 49 cm) ornaments are very similar to this exhibit, see Damais, *Majapahit Terracotta, The Soedarmadji Jean Henry Damais Collection*, 48-51.

43 2,008 estimated individual number, see in Sakai and Ohashi, *Hizen wares excavated from Royal Capital Sites in Indonesia – Trowulan and other sites –*, 161.

or slightly later than the no. 1 (NPM-A) due to the similar Mandarin motif of a riding hunter worn on its back (Fig. 2). If we consider the fact that two examples from each of the type B and C were included in the cargo of the Cu Lao Cham wreck, the creation of both types can be assigned to the time of this shipwreck, the second half of the 15th century. Regarding glazing types, sherds of figurines found in the Trowulan site are estimated respectively as the second half of the 14th century for the small celadon mammals and the 15th century for large size birds of non-celadon due to the reasons given in the section 4. The creation of several mammal figurines in blue and white and blue and white with brown, in both sizes, probably can be dated to the transitional period, around the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries. However, human figurines found in Trowulan in our classification work can only be confirmed for the B or C types, which should be certainly dated to the second half of the 15th century. Therefore, differences of size cannot be understood in one timeline, but it suggests a possibility of coexistence for other purposes. At this point, we have to be aware of the important function of dog and birds in Hinduism as *Vahana*, the vehicles for certain deities, such as the dog for Bhairava,⁴⁴ the goose/swan for Brahma and Garuda for Vishnu etc.

In summary, non-human figurines were created around 1400 AD or slightly later, followed by blue and white human figurines of the A type, while human figurines of the B and C types were produced in the second half of the 15th century.⁴⁵

(2) Function

According to the contexts in which they were discovered, Vietnamese figurines were certainly manufactured to suit orders from Java like glazed wall tiles. Among

44 As a famous example, the Bhairava from the Singasari Temple is seated on a dog (Fig. 36).

45 At the main gate (split gate/*candi bentar*) of the Pura Maospahit, Denpasar, Bali, two guarded statues are carved. The statues are placed in positions normally reserved for Dvarapala, but since these statues do not wield clubs, one of the main features of Dvarapala, we cannot apply this term to them. However, the left one is obviously representation of Garuda carrying a small jar (Fig. 38, possibly a reference to *Amerta/Amrita*, the elixir of immortality; Garuda is associated in Hindu mythology with this substance). This statue has probably a relation with the type B figurine in its later phase. Flanking at the entrance to the main shrine, are two small (H. c. 60 cm) statues made by black clay. Their faces resemble those of the B2 type of Dvarapala (personal communication from John Miksic).

human figurines, the A type, made firstly, are images of Dvarapala, who has a special role as guardian of temple or palace gates. However, this type is about 10% smaller than common Javanese stone sculptures such as at Panataran. Also, consider the fact that ceramics are easily broken, these figurines should not have been placed at real temples etc., but in conjunction with something on a smaller scale. Moreover, small animal figurines are thought to have been put inside Dvarapala, like animal medallions in Panataran.

Then, what is located at the center? Unfortunately, I have no certain archaeological evidence for the central object surrounded by animal figurines and miniature gate with Dvarapala figurines. However, if we postulate something miniature for religious purpose in the Majapahit era, I would contemplate that besides the above-mentioned terracotta/glazed 'Rock Garden', something like the statue of 'Samuderamanthana'⁴⁶ in the Trowulan Museum (Fig. 37) might be a possibility.

The B type figurine, a far different image from Dvarapala except for its kneeling pose, is obviously not to suit for any ceremony involving orthodox Hindu religious scenery. But we have to consider carefully the artistic change of Javanese Hinduism by after the middle of the 15th century, when the Muslim powers of the northern coastal area of Java expanded their cultural/political influence. Around this period the Dvarapala statues changed to the C type, the example of the Sukuh Temple (Fig. 28) in particular displays quite a different face and jewelry from the B type. The main shrine of this temple was also constructed in the pyramidal style, very far from the East Javanese style such as Panataran. In such changed conditions, the B type figurine, still retaining the kneeling pose, is thought to be an acceptable image in a similar religious miniature scenery, in which probably the central monument had been replaced by a miniature 'mountain' (Fig. 34) or 'Rock Garden.'⁴⁷ However, the C type figurine in

46 A miniature form of temple architecture (H. c. 2.5 m) decorated the relief of the Churning of the Ocean of Milky, found in Ampelgading, Malang, East Java. This statue is also concerning with the creation story of *Amerta*.

47 More recently, we can observe strange manmade mountain like monuments in the centers of several Islamic sultanates of the Southeast Asian archipelago, such as the Sunyaragi Garden, Cirebon, West Java or the Gunongan in Aceh, Sumatera.

standing pose should not be distinguished from any function of such scenery, even though no.9 (Fig. 10) is shaped like a Buddhist monk and Java as the main market had continued. Because figurines of this type do not possess any significant parts from Dvarapala, therefore their function was changed to that of a common doll.

6. Conclusion

Glazed wall tiles, another strange Vietnamese ware, were adopted in Trowulan instead of Chinese Cizhou iron glaze tile⁴⁸ as a form of acceptance of the Persian wall tile culture, and continued to be used until the early Javanese Islamic era. I would conclude, that the Vietnamese figurines were created as representations of Dvarapala, an important character for Javanese Hindu miniature scenery, together with many animals at almost the same time as wall tiles were introduced around the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century. Then, in the changing condition of Javanese Hindu culture, the character image metamorphosed to the kneeling Mandarin with hanging a jar at the second half of the 15th century,⁴⁹ and was probably never used again after the early Islamic era, the 16th century.

Although I can hypothesize such a basic stream of development of this ware, however, there still remain several important questions, such as; who were the traders who transported them from Northern Vietnam to Java, and where did the Mandarin costume originate? For the first question, the Cu Lao Cham shipwreck was designated as an Ayutthaya vessel by John Guy, but we have no evidence about transporters in the earlier period. Moreover, at present, unfortunately we still cannot find the evidence for my estimation as the *ganlu* 甘露 servant these figurines wearing the Mandarin costume/hats including a Mongolian style, probably an official of the early Le period. We have

48 Sakai and Ohashi, *Hizen wares excavated from Royal Capital Sites in Indonesia – Trowulan and other sites* –, 28-29.

49 Probably this change was happened by the emphasis of *Amerta/Amrita*, which is considered the same substance to *ganlu* 甘露 in the Chinese Buddhism, frequently associated with Avalokiteshvara 觀世音菩薩. As a possibility, the Vietnamese craftsmen, originally influenced by the Chinese Buddhism, might have created these figurines in their image of the *ganlu* servant by the mandarin costume.

to await new findings related to such questions about the maritime relations among various parts of Southeast Asia around the 14th-15th centuries.

Postscript

After finish writing of this article, I have received a meaningful pointing out from Prof. YAJIMA Ritsuko for identification of celadon elephants (Fig. 32) as Thailand products. I would respect her opinion, however, raw-material of this celadon and other figurines is not clearly different. Also, if Thailand ware, the basic function of these figurines are not change, and we should concern the role of Ayutthaya as an agency connected Northern Vietnam and Java, because Thailand ceramics occupied the second large quantity in Trowulan by the 15th century after Vietnamese.

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越南施釉雕像「哈奴曼」的起源與 印尼爪哇市場的關聯^{*}

坂井隆^{**}

提 要

在十四至十五世紀越南陶瓷出口的黃金時期中，可以發現一些形式或母題相當特別的陶器，例如施釉的雕像和牆磚。由於這些陶器的風格明顯偏離越南或中國陶瓷的傳統，並且越南本地幾乎沒有類似器物的報導，但若將其與在印尼爪哇的發現進行比較，這些陶器很可能是應爪哇的特別訂單製作的。作為一個典型的例子，本文將基於在爪哇東部特羅烏蘭（Trowulan）考古遺址發現的陶片及巴納塔蘭（Panataran）寺廟的雕像與浮雕進行分析，以追溯「哈奴曼」（Hanuman）加彩像的起源。此外，我還試圖重建這些由滿者伯夷（Majapahit）王國首都特羅烏蘭的上層社會所訂製的雕像用途。

關鍵詞：越南雕像、滿者伯夷、守門天、巴納塔蘭、特羅烏蘭

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Fig. 1 ‘Hanuman’ figurine (NPM 購瓷 293)



Fig. 2 ‘Hanuman’ figurine, behind



Fig. 3 Mandarin figurine (NPM 購瓷 279)



Fig. 4 A type of Philbrook MA



Fig. 5 A type of ACM



Fig. 6 B type of Sato M



Fig. 7 B type of ACM



Fig. 8 B type of ACM



Fig. 9 C type of VNMH



Fig. 10 C type of ACM



Fig. 11 C type of Sato M



Fig. 12 A face: Trowulan



Fig. 13 A face: Trowulan



Fig. 14 Hands: Trowulan



Fig. 15 Two left feet: Trowulan



Fig. 16 Mammal tiles: Trowulan



Fig. 17 Bird tiles: Trowulan



Fig. 19 A medallion: Panataran



Fig. 18 A cartouche flame tile: Demak



Fig. 20 Two Hanuman reliefs: Panataran



Fig. 21 B2 type: Singasari W



Fig. 22 B3 type: Panataran W2



Fig. 23 B4 type: Panataran CS2



Fig. 24 A1 type: Panataran WS1



Fig. 25 B4 type: Panataran M



Fig. 26 C type: Panataran WW2



Fig. 27 A2 type: Trowulan M2



Fig. 28 C type: Suku



Fig. 29 C type of Asian Art M



Fig. 30 A dog: Trowulan



Fig. 31 cow/horses: Trowulan



Fig. 32 elephants: Trowulan



Fig. 33 birds: Trowulan



Fig. 34 mountains (?): Trowulan



Fig. 35 a miniature ornament: Trowulan



Fig. 36 Bhairava: Singasari Temple



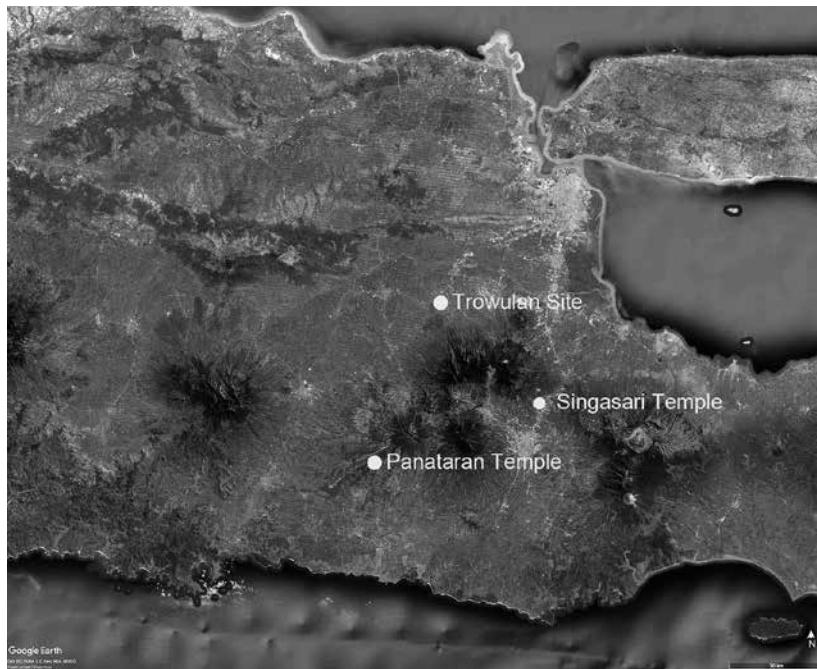
Fig. 37 Samudheramanthana of Trowulan M



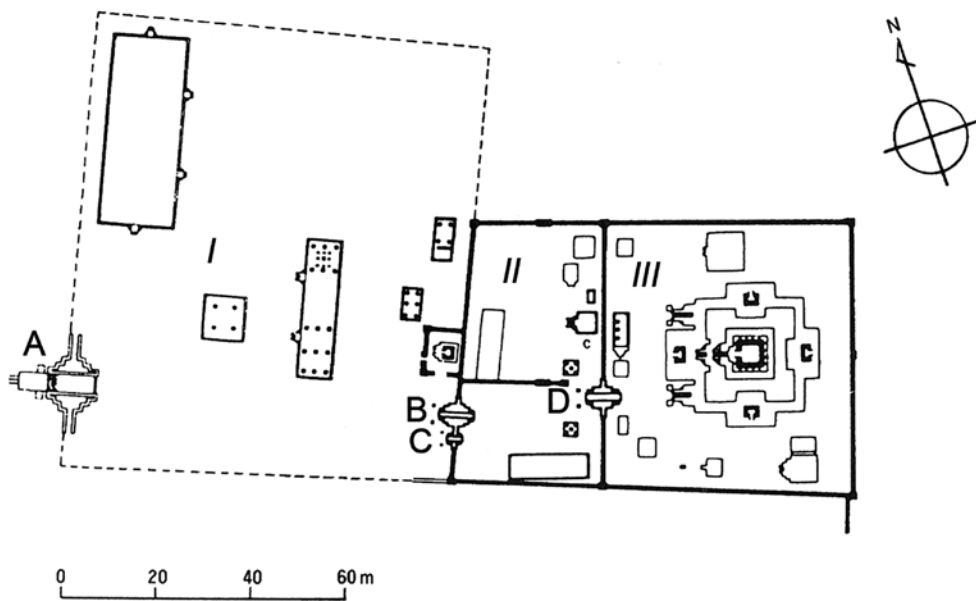
Fig. 38 Garuda: Pura Maospahit



Fig. 39 The Panataran main shrine by 1867



Map. 1 Location of sites in East Java



Map. 2 Plan of the Panataran Temple