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Jewels for a King – Part I

Claudine Bautze-Picron

For CD, generous friend and art-lover

Introduction

When Indian gods and goddesses reached Southeast Asia, their original images underwent deep transformations. This is particularly perceptible in the region which once formed the Khmer kingdom: The iconography got there much simplified, the number of forms shown by the deities – practically numberless in India – was extremely reduced, and the ornamentation became plain.

The Indian perception of the divine is to depict its overwhelming luxuriance, its fullness, its abundance, whereas the Southeast Asian aesthetics rather emphasizes sobriety in the ornamentation and restraint in the movements as befitting a deity. In South Asia, images were also at the focus of rituals involving their apparel and adornments. Such rituals apparelled with human-made clothes the image of a deity already fully dressed and richly adorned with jewellery on all parts of the body. Although the artist created an (apparently) dressed image, the cult image was always felt to be "naked" for the human eyes, calling for its clothing with "real" dresses and jewels, a tradition inherited by countries penetrated by Indian culture. In Southeast Asia like in their country of origin, the body of gods and goddesses was thus hidden by real clothes and jewellery.[1)]

Ancient gold jewellery is rarely discovered, for evident reasons: items were recast, reused, looted, or destroyed. However, from a very early period, goldsmiths have revealed a great skilfulness, drawing most probably their knowledge from Indian masters. Dating back to an earlier period than the one considered here and betraying South Asian iconographic features, golden jewels or plaques that were embossed, forged or more rarely cast, have been excavated in sites located in the ancient kingdom of Fu-nan.[2)]

Pre-Angkorian jewellery of the sixth through ninth centuries remains similarly rare. The few in-situ discoveries made a long time ago are little documented and have tragically been looted from the National Museum in Phnom Penh in the 1970s without their present whereabouts being known; such is the case of three belts discovered at Kbal Romas, Kampot,[3)] Chruy Angkor Borei, Takeo,[4)] and Udong, north of Phnom Penh.[5)] More recently, examples of gorgeous pieces of jewellery variously dated surfaced without unfortunately their precise findspot being documented (McCullough 2000; Bunker 2000; Bunker/Latchford 2008).

1) See for instance a relief on the Bayon showing how an image of Viṣṇu standing in a shrine wears elaborate jewellery and a long skirt: Zéphir 1997: 137, fig. 4; Roveda 1997: 48, fig. 55. It is also true that in the Indian context, one should differentiate between the images worshipped in the shrine and those distributed on the outer walls of the temple, which could not, for evident reasons, be dressed by the devotees – but which could eventually be painted (and one can ask whether the layer of paint does not act as dress).

2) Consult Le Thi Lien 2005 concerning golden plaques discovered in Fu-nan and belonging to the culture of Oc Eo. There is, however, no direct stylistic link between the jewels found at Oc Eo and those published here (Malleret 1962, II: pls. IV-VII, XIV-XVI, XXII-XXXV, XXXIX). Maud Girard-Geslan mentions an inscription found at Go Xoai according to which Bhavavarman 1st, ruler of Fu-Nan, would have ordered his people to bury their precious objects and jewellery before leaving for exile when the country was being invaded by the ruler of Zhenla (in Jessup/Zéphir 1997: 11, note 35).

3) Groslier 1921: 73 & fig. 38, reproduced in Bunker/Latchford 2008: 20, fig. 3.9.

4) Groslier 1931: pl. XLVIII.1.A21; Groslier 1966: ill. 21, reproduced by Bunker/Latchford 2008: 20 & fig. 3.13.

5) Boisselier 1966: 343-344 & pl. LXII.1; Bunker/Latchford 2008: 132, note 30.

Fig. 1 Girdle. Private collection

Fig. 2 Girdle. Private collection

Fig. 3 Detail of Fig. 2

Fig. 4 Detail of Girdle. Private collection

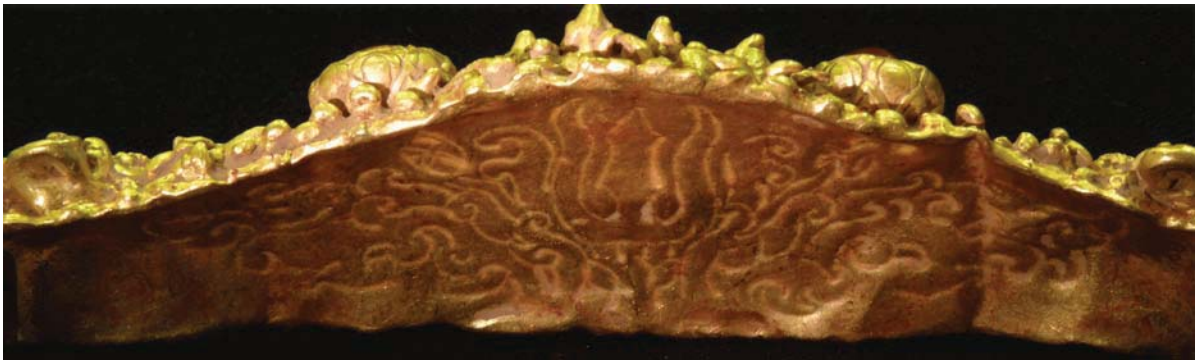

Fig. 5 Detail of inner side of Fig. 4

Fig. 6 Detail of Fig. 1

Fig. 7 Detail of inner side of Fig. 6

Fig. 8 Detail of girdle. Private collection

Moreover, a small but very important group of girdles, rings, pendants and a head-ornament belonging to the pre-Angkorian period and cast using the lost wax process have come recently to our attention. The source of inspiration of these jewels mainly lies in Indian sculpture and architectural ornamentation of the fifth to seventh century from Karnataka to Gujarat whereas they echo back stylistic periods of the seventh-century Khmer architectural decoration. Like these corresponding Indian and Khmer architectural and sculptural examples, these jewels display a great sense for the composition and a great care brought to the carving as their stylistic study reveals. As we shall see in the second part of this paper also, historical information sustains the hypothesis of contacts between more particularly the Cālukya kingdom and Southeast Asia.

Whereas jewellery might have been donated to images of importance, it was also basically produced for the nobility, which was most probably the purpose of the pre-Angkorian jewels surveyed in this paper.[6] A superficial and rapid comparison with already known pieces of jewellery reveals here the existence of an elaborate iconography absent from other published jewels which reflect a more ornamental or decorative nature and harmoniously combine motifs of an abstract nature, such as beads, pendants of various shapes, rosette-like ornaments eventually inlaid with precious or semi-precious stone cabochons, etc.[7] On the contrary, the ornaments studied here include images of real and fantastic animals as well as of gods and semi-divine creatures. They convey a strong and consistent emblematic language which is closely intertwined with the symbolic representation of the royalty and display iconographic aspects related to the divine universe as source of richness and fertility, all aspects with which we shall deal in detail in the second part of this paper.

The deep symbolic functions which these jewels reflect cannot, however, let us forget that the composition had also and mainly to be attractive. Arrangements such as the ones seen on the girdles illustrated here (**Figs. 1-8**) were moreover also encountered in South Asian jewellery: Although no jewel similar to those discovered in Southeast Asia has been recovered in India, their existence is attested through their presence in images of gods and goddesses (**Figs. 15-17**). First-hand evidence is indeed offered by such images of deities wearing jewellery which, one can surmise, reflect actual pieces worn by rulers or offered to cult images.

Fig. 9 Head-clasp. Private collection

Most interesting is the fact that jewels including fantastic creatures such as those seen here were fundamentally, if not practically exclusively, worn by Viṣṇu, a part of the god's iconography which seems to have remained unrecognized. The choice of specific animals, real or not, and distributed in a particular and harmonious manner provides indeed the ornaments, and hence the architectural structure or the adorned one, with specific concepts related to power and authority. There is thus a very close interconnection between the decorative function and the symbolic meaning of the motifs which can never be forgotten or neglected when considering architecture or, as here, jewellery (Part II).

Technique

Two major techniques have been used for producing the belts under survey, either flat hammered strips are interwoven like in basketry (**Fig. 1**) or "loops of forged wire [have been] linked together in a complex way to form a chain that superficially looks like braiding" ("loop-in-

6) Only the girdle reproduced in **Fig. 4** has been previously published by BUNKER/LATCHFORD 2008: 20 & fig. 3.11a.

7) See for comparison, BUNKER/LATCHFORD 2008: figs. 3.16, 3.20, 3.22, 4.22-24, 4.24-34, 5.6-7, 5.8-10 5.14-15, 5.18, 5.21.

Fig. 10 Ring or pendant. Private collection

loop" technique) (**Fig. 2**).[8] As to their buckles, a technical analysis reveals that the main frontal was produced using the lost-wax technique[9] and thus not hammered as most gold jewellery and as the back plate adorned with a floral motif in repoussé have been (**Figs. 5, 7**). A proper study of the pendants (**Fig. 10**) reveals that they might originally have been rings like the one in **Fig. 12** to which a smaller ring would have been soldered at a later period, endowing the object with a new identity: As a matter of fact, the complete iconography of these "pendants" gets its full value when the object is held with the stone above and not below as in the case of pendants.

Motifs not only reflect an elaborate symbolism on which we shall return in the second part of this paper, but also constitute a rich decorative vocabulary which is expressed through harmonious and elaborated compositions. Very evidently, the main motifs are the pair of *makara*s and the scrolls which spread all around the central stone(s). All jewellery depicted in Indian sculpture shows precious or semi-precious stones inserted in an intricate setting made (most probably) of gold. The composition of head ornaments, necklaces or girdles generally include a large stone eventually surrounded by smaller ones, all integrated within this setting. A proper identification of these stones remains evidently impossible, which makes the Khmer jewellery even more interesting: A large crystal is inserted in one case (**Figs. 2-3**), a cornelian stone in two other cases (**Figs. 6, 8**) whereas a large rectangular piece of green glass – probably in place of an emerald[10] – is set in the head-clasp (**Fig. 9**), and another contemporary girdle shows a set of five different stones (**Fig. 4**) whereas stones can also be engraved and intaglios set in a ring or pendant (**Fig. 11**).[11]

Stylistic study and dating

Two *makara*s constitute a basic element in the intricate composition of the jewellery under survey. The pair of such converging *makara*s is an ancient motif depicted at both extremities of the arch surmounting the entrance of caves in India;[12] further early examples illustrate the presence of this motif at both extremities of the cross-beams of the *toraṇa*.[13] In the South, the two *makara*s will

8) BUNKER 2000: 111.

9) The technical analysis and a detailed study of three girdles, of the aigrette, and of the necklace have been put to my disposal by their owner. From a personal observation of the other jewels, I would suggest that they may have been produced with the same lost wax technique whereas most jewels were however produced with the repoussé technique; see BUNKER 2000 for a detailed presentation of the techniques used for the production of jewellery. A description of all jewels studied here will be included in Part II of this paper.

10) As mentioned by FINOT 1896: XLV, glass could be used in India in order to fake emerald. Concerning this precious stone, see GARBE 1882: 21-22 and 76-79.

11) For a detailed study of such a collection of engraved gems of Burmese origin, see MIDDLETON 2005. See pp. 29-33 where she catalogues three such engraved stones illustrating a profiled walking lion such as the one which will be published in the second part of this paper; human images (deities?) remain rather rare; *ibid*.: 27-28 & 120-121, and BUNKER/LATCHFORD 2008: fig. 3.2a. See also MIDDLETON 1997 where the authoress analyses two intaglios reportedly from Cambodia (also reproduced in her book of 2005: 18, and by MCCULLOUGH 2000: fig. 23), one of them showing a *makara* and dated to the seventh century. Two such intaglios will be considered in Part II.

12) Clearly reproducing then a model encountered in wooden architecture; see VIENNOT 1954 and 1958: figs. 36-38; VOGEL 1929-1930.

13) DHAR 2009b: fig. 1.3; VIENNOT 1958: figs. 3-6. See also a *toraṇa* illustrated in a relief from Mathura (de CORAL-RÉMUSAT 1934: 243 & pl. LXXIIIa; VIENNOT 1958: fig. 39). The motif is also encountered supporting a bronze *cakra* from Chausa (Bihar) (DARIAN 1976: 33 & fig. 2).

Fig. 11 Ring or pendant. Private collection

Fig. 12 Ring. Private collection

be integrated in the roundels adorning the *vedikā* of Amaravati whereas at Nagarjunakonda, as observed by Gilberte de CORAL-RÉMUSAT, they are part of a horizontal band which used to adorn the upper crossbeam of a *vedikā* and can be dated in the late third or fourth century.[14] Quite correctly, the authoress related this early representation to the proper, but later, *makara*-arch found in the Buddhist sites of Maharashtra from the late fifth to sixth century, a region where the source of the Khmer *makara*-arch partly lies.

The *makara*-arch is then not only observed above the entrance to monuments but also above images carved within a niche as observed in Ajanta in the second half of the fifth century. From there, the motif spreads to other Buddhist sites of the region[15] in the sixth (Kanheri, Magathana, Aihole)[16] and seventh centuries (Ellora)[17] and is likewise encountered in Hindu monuments (Jogeshvari, Ellora)[18] before becoming part of the architectural ornamentation of the Cālukya and Pallava monuments. Beyond the Indian Subcontinent, the lintel with *makara*s

14) De CORAL-RÉMUSAT 1934: 242-246 & pl. LXXIIa. As illustrated in this example, the motif has gained in complexity: Two large *makara*s mounted by dwarfs swallow the thick bejewelled and heavy twisted band which is carried by further dwarfs and is regularly interrupted by three circular medallions bearing an image of the Buddha; a decorative plinth supports each of them, adorned with a twisted pearled row which ends in two diverging *makara*s. Gilberte de CORAL-RÉMUSAT surmises that there lies the origin of the Pallava treatment of the *makara*-arch with its double bow swallowed by two large converging *makara*s at both extremities and two smaller diverging ones at the centre of the composition. She further relates the presence of a deity or of an abstract motif at the centre of the lintel to the presence of motifs such as the *cakra* or a reliquary above each of the Buddha medallion on the Nagarjunakonda relief (see her pl. LXXIIb-c for Pallava examples).

15) DHAR 2009a for a study of the motif in Maharashtra in the fifth and sixth centuries: pls. 17.2-3, 7-9 show the arch merging with the lintel; pl. 17.6 shows the motif as carved panel in the central part of a lintel; pls. 17.4-5, 11-13 illustrate the arch above a niche. It is worth observing that its first inception in the ornamentation of the lintel at the Lomas Rishi cave in the Barabar hills (Bihar) was followed by a long period of non-representation. The motif of the two converging *makara*s above a niche or an entrance was indeed "rediscovered" in the fifth and sixth centuries when its presence is commonly met with in the caves of Maharashtra (see DHAR 2009a). Consult also DHAR 2009b, chapter 3 for the region and the period with which we are here mainly concerned (Maharashtra, Karnataka: pp. 38-50) and chapter 5 for the Khmer ornamentation (pp. 214-220: Sambor Prei Kuk and Prei Kmeng styles).

16) Kanheri: de CORAL-RÉMUSAT 1934: fig. 1; DHAR 2009a: 174 & pls. 17.11-12 (late fifth century - c. 550 A.D.). Magathana: *ibid*.: 173-174 & pl. 17.10 (c. 575 A.D.). Aihole: MEISTER/DHAKY 1986: 22 & pls. 8-9, where the date of the monument is tentatively attributed to the reign of Maṅgalēśa (A.D. 596-609). The situation at the Buddhist monument of Aihole differs, however, from the one encountered in all other examples: The motif does not surmount an entrance or a niche but covers the false beams of the veranda.

17) DHAR 2009a: 174-175 & pl. 17.13 (early seventh century A.D.).

18) Jogeshvari: *ibid*.: 172-173 & pls. 17.7-9 (ca. 525 A.D.).

Fig. 13 Lintel from Sambor Prei Kuk. Musée Guimet, Paris

Fig. 14 Lintel from Prasat Prei Kmeng. Musée Guimet, Paris

will then occur in pre-Angkorian architecture in the seventh century, a relationship which has been recognized and studied in detail by French scholars.[19)]

The pediment adorned with *makara*s occurs in pre-Angkorian architecture in the seventh century, more particularly in the so-called Sambor Prei Kuk style (first half of the seventh century) (**Fig. 13**). Lintels of this style include a pair of convergent *makara*s and images of specific deities or/and of divine creatures, regularly distributed at the meeting points of the curves of the central part of the lintel. In the following Prei Kmeng style (second half of the seventh century), the *makara*s are replaced by different sets of characters, such as Garuḍa, *dvārapāla*s or *gaja-vyāla*s mounted by *nāga*s acting as *dvārapāla*s (**Fig. 14**).[20)] To conclude this short summary of the development, we should also mention that the Khmer *makara*s will change their position and diverge at a later period, the ninth century, probably as a result of a Javanese influence.[21)]

The stylistic relationship between the architectural ornamentation and the jewellery can be more properly appreciated by way of example when considering the two bodies of divergent *makara*s in a head-clasp for instance

19) In particularly, one will see the articles by Gilberte de CORAL RÉMUSAT published in 1934 and by Pierre DUPONT printed in 1952. Mireille BÉNISTI tackled the question in her book of 1970: 63-73. See also Thierry ZÉPHIR in JESSUP/ZÉPHIR 1997: 167 and more recently Parul Pandya DHAR 2009b.

20) Compare DUPONT 1952: figs. 4-7, 10, 13, 15-23 (Sambor Prei Kuk) to figs. 24-26 (Prei Kmeng).

21) De CORAL-RÉMUSAT 1936: 431.

Fig. 15 Crown of Viṣṇu from Mathura. National Museum, New Delhi

Fig. 16 Crown of Viṣṇu. Badami, Cave 3

Fig. 17 Crown of Harihara. Badami, Cave 3

(**Fig. 9**): A similar composition is encountered at the seventh-century Saṅgameśvara temple which used to stand at Kudavelli Saṅgam (**Fig. 21**),[22] where a beaded oval medallion adorned with a flower is inserted within a frame of short foliated scrolls, all lying in the slightly curved line formed by the two bodies of divergent *makara*s' heads. This part of the ornament, i.e. the two divergent *makara*s' heads, traces its origin back to Nagarjunakonda from where it enters Pallava art, being seen in the lintels of the Dalavanur cave and the Draupadīratha in Mamallapuram.[23] As such also, the two *makara*s are also integrated in the head ornament worn by north Indian images of Viṣṇu (**Fig. 15**).[24] In these sites, the central motif which shows a changing composition[25] is part of a large composition with two convergent large mounted *makara*s at both extremities.

Like in **Fig. 18** (detail of **Fig. 3**), a leogryph jumps out of the open mouth of both *makara*s in most lintels of the Sambor Prei Kuk style (**Fig. 19**), a motif which simultaneously reminds of human fantastic creatures in the same position in lintels noted for instance at Magathana[26] or still at the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal (early eighth century),[27] and of the very same leogryph emerging out of the open *makara*'s mouth in the brackets of caves 1 and 2 at Badami (**Fig. 20**) and other Cālukya sites. Similarly, two pre-Angkorian earrings show a male character

22) Let us remember that the monument, threatened of being submerged through the construction of a barrage, has been moved to Alampur (SARMA 2000). The initial Saṅgameśvara temple was probably built under Pulakeśin II's reign, i.e. 609-642, but most authors have agreed to a later date in the seventh century for the monument as it used to stand till recently in Kudavelli; Carol RADCLIFFE BOLON suggested that the inscription referred to a monument no more existing and pre-dating the monument as we see it today (1985: 51 & 53, note 33, where she mentions the various opinions concerning the dating, which oscillate between mid- and late seventh century).

23) These Pallava monuments were realized during Mahendravarman's reign, ca. 615-630; de CORAL-RÉMUSAT 1934: 244 & pl. LXXIIa-c. The example from Nagarjunakonda shows the medallion with the image of the Buddha lying above the double *makara*s heads motif, which lets surmise a higher antiquity to the ornament "image in medallion".

24) HARLE 1974: pl. 49; BÉNISTI 1970: fig. 271 (National Museum, New Delhi). See also SCHASTOK 1985: fig. 80, and HAVENON 2009: fig. 7, where the scrolls follow the shape of the *makara*s in a Viṣṇu image from Mandasor.

25) At Mamallapuram, a lion head spits two rows of pearls within a roundel, in a composition similar to the one encountered in Gupta head-dresses of Viṣṇu in the North as seen in **Fig. 15**; at Dalavanur, it is a heavy dwarfish male character who is squatting.

26) DSAL/AIIS 97351 & 97354 (detail); DHAR 2009a: 173-174 & pl. 17.10; 2009b: fig. 3.9.

27) DSAL/AIIS 22990; DHAR 2009b: fig. 3.24. The motif is also encountered in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh in the eighth and ninth centuries: *ibid.*: figs. 3.47-48.

Fig. 18 Detail of Fig. 1

Fig. 19 Detail of Fig. 13

emerging out of the *makara*'s open mouth,[28] a motif generalized in the lintel surmounting niches and doors in Cālukya shrines.[29]

The presence of *haṃsa*s (geese) arising out of the open mouths of *makara*s on another girdle (**Fig. 4**) reminds not only that this bird is the *vāhana* (vehicle) of Brahmā, but also that it is a major motif in the pillars of cave 1 in Badami.[30]

The pendant made of a heavy row of pearls to which is attached a lotus flower with tiny garlands and falling on either side of the central stone in one case (**Fig. 6**) is likewise an ornament encountered in the arts of the Cālukyas, for instance at the temple in Kudavelli (**Fig. 21**)[31] before becoming a common element of the lintels of Sambor Prei Kuk (**Fig. 13**).

Further points of similarities with images from Badami can be noted. The structure of the head-ornament adorning the front part of Viṣṇu's tiara is similar to the one of the ornament of **Fig. 9**: A stone or medallion is inserted in the lower part within two *makara*s (**Fig. 15**)[32] or foliated scrolls (**Figs. 16-17**)[33], and further smaller stones form the upper part here (in place thus of Indra). Elsewhere, at Samalaji, two leogryphs are profiled on either side of the central ornament carved in high relief in the lower part of the tiara adorning one image of Viśvarūpa whereas a *kīrtimukha* fills a large roundel in the tiara above another one, both images being dated around 535 and 540 by Sara L. SCHASTOK.[34]

Function and meaning of the *makara-toraṇa* and its gods

Inspired from South Asian models, pediments and lintels constitute highly elaborate parts of the Khmer architecture. The richness of this ornamentation, the extreme care and detailed carving, and the quasi continuous evolution of forms in course of time explain that such architectural

28) MCCULLOUGH 2000: fig. 12. *Makara*s must have constituted a common motif used for earrings since their name can also be given to this ornament (FINOT 1896: 132).

29) The *makara*s of these earrings compare very strongly to a *makara* filling a medallion on a pillar of cave 1 in Badami, see DSAL/AIIS 054755.

30) In contrast to what Mireille BÉNISTI (1970: 103) once wrote; if it is true that some motifs are present all through the development of Indian art, it proves equally true that the motif of the geese alone or in a row is overwhelming in cave 1. The same can be said concerning the *gaṇa*s who sustain at all levels the monuments or the images in caves 1-3 (see TARR 1970: figs. 7-9 [supporting the cave on the façade], 11, 21-22, 25, 33 [supporting an image] or 35 [supporting a bracket image]). For the geese, see TARR 1970: figs. 13 and 14 (caves 1 and 2); DSAL/AIIS 21331, 54636, 54638, 54639, 54640, 54642, 54643, 54649, 54652, 54657, 54658, 54659, 54660, 54661, 54662, 54663, 54664, 54741, 54744, 54753, 54754, 54755, 54756, 54763 (cave 1), 54787 (cave 2). *Haṃsa*s can also replace *makara*s in the lintel; see DHAR 2009b: fig. 3.37 (Ellora, cave 15).

31) DHAR 2009b: figs. 3.27-28.

32) And in the headdress of the Trivikrama in cave 2; LIPPE 1972: fig. 20, for the complete image.

33) LIPPE 1972: fig. 24, for the complete Harihara image.

34) SCHASTOK 1985: figs. 34 (leogryphs) (also in HAVENON 2009: fig. 9) and 39 (monstrous leonine face).

elements were those the study of which was decisive in clarifying and following the subsequent phases of Khmer art. One can assume that the selection of motifs and the way of displaying them – for instance the *makara*s can diverge or converge – had also an aesthetic value, creating a composition which had to be pleasing to the eyes; this is particularly true regarding the animals included in necklaces, belts, and head ornaments.

Moreover, a closer look at this part of the monument which surmounts the entrance allows a better interpretation of the symbolic value of the jewels. As a matter of fact, it has more than one meaning and function:[35] It shows to which deity the monument is dedicated, which deity lives and is worshipped therein, and it includes motifs with a deep symbolic significance which helps to define the nature of the divine world at the same time that it contributes to convey a new perception of 'what' is indeed the monument, making it 'religious' in relating it simultaneously to the human and to the divine world. It also simultaneously displays a propitious and apotropaic function assumed by the presence of vegetation and fantastic animal motifs, mainly the pair of *makara*s. The *makara*s are depicted as convergent in the pre-Angkorian period, a position which betrays a strong propitious function; they swallow rows of pearls forming an elegant curve, a motif which evidently refers to their affiliation to the waters as source of life which brings forth fertility and richness.[36] But at a later period, the ninth century, these fantastic water creatures diverge[37] and can eventually be replaced by *nāga*s, all facing the outside world and thus defend the sacred space.[38]

Fig. 20 Detail of bracket in Badami, Cave 1

In her detailed study of the throne in ancient India, Jeannine AUBOYER reminds that Vivasvan, the Sun-god, pumps water through his only foot during eight months before letting it pour over the earth in the remaining four monsoon months.[39] From the research of different scholars which she summarized and which dealt with the Javanese '*kāla-makara-toraṇa*', we can succinctly consider this architectural ornamentation as illustrating the waters being pumped by a rainbow, a monstrous serpent, or the sun-god and falling down in summer; in this system of interpretation, the *makara*s would refer to the mouths sucking up the waters and the *kāla* to the rains.[40] Within this context, another reference is of relevance: The rainbow is also named *indradhanus*, "Indra's bow", in the

35) GRIMES 1987 on the signification of this architectural element; DONALDSON 1976: 189 and KRAMRISCH 1976, II: 313-331 concerning the meaning in an Indian context. See also COMBAZ 1945: 208-229 for a study of the "*kīrtimukha-makara-toraṇa*", and SNODGRASS 1992: 292-295 concerning the "rainbow *makara*".

36) DARIAN 1976: 32. The *makara* is always related to the waters – and as such is also the vehicle of Varuṇa, lord of the ocean and guardian of the West just like Indra protects the East, seated on his elephant; moreover, the pair of *makara*s refers to both extremities of a rainbow or a monstrous serpent sucking up the water in a Javanese context (see below).

37) De CORAL-RÉMUSAT 1936: 431. In this case also, the monstrous face of the *kāla* can be introduced in the centre of the composition.

38) The diverging position is traditionally shown by the dragons in Chinese art – opposed thus to the converging position of the *makara*s in South Asia. Both traditions met in Indonesia as shown in early studies of the topic – the *makara*s of Indian origin diverging like the Chinese dragons, a position which will be introduced from Java in Cambodia in the ninth century (together with the central monstrous face) (de CORAL-RÉMUSAT 1936: 428, quoting a lecture by Victor GOLOUBEW in November 1930; de CORAL-RÉMUSAT 1951: 43-46 & pls. VII, fig. 19 - VIII).

39) AUBOYER 1949: 119, note 4, quoting Jean PRZYLUSKI and Washburn HOPKINS.

40) *Ibid.*: 118-120, with further suggestions concerning the *makara*s. See BÉNISTI 1970: 24-28, with further references for a comparative study of the monstrous face in Cambodia and India. Concerning more particularly our present topic, I would like to draw the attention to two such faces carved on a lintel from Sambor Prei Kuk (BÉNISTI 1970: figs. 68-69; DHAR 2009b: fig. 5.5) which are extremely close to examples encountered in Cālukya sites (BÉNISTI 1970: fig. 228). Besides, the face is carved on the pillars of cave 1 in Badami, spitting rows of pearls, a simultaneity encountered on the lintel at Sambor Prei Kuk (moreover, the motif appears on the pillars showing the geese, see note 9 in Part II of this paper).

Fig. 21 Lintel in the Saṅgameśvara temple, Kudavelli, Andhra Pradesh

Atharva Veda and the *Mahābhārata*, e.g., and this bright bow is also said to be adorned with numerous gems in the *Saundaryalaharī* by Śaṅkara (verse 40);[41] further, Indra is the god of rains.[42]

Lintels in Sambor Prei Kuk style and a variant of the following Prei Kmeng style include images of specific deities or/and of divine creatures.[43] Further, in a substantial number of examples, Garuḍa holds a major position in the ornamentation.[44] Again, the model for such compositions is to be traced in India: The lintel is the place where gods can show themselves to the worshipper before he enters the monument; this is also the place where the creation of the world through the churning of the milk-ocean by the Devas and Asuras can be depicted at Udayagiri (cave 19) and Badami (caves 2 and 3); or the place where (small) images of gods can be inserted (Badami, cave 1), or mythological or epic narrative be depicted (Badami, caves 1 and 3).[45]

The image of a deity on a piece of jewellery and the image on the pediment of the temple share the function of marking the affiliation of the one who bears the jewel or of the temple to a specific deity.[46] Having Indra's image on the head, or Brahmā's one at the waist are ways of showing oneself as devotee of the depicted god, but also as mundane representative of the god and thus as sharing functions with him – Indra ruling on the gods' universe, is the king par excellence, Brahmā is the priest par excellence. Moreover, the possibility of identifying the *makara-toraṇa* to the *indradhanus* and the very fact that the girdle adorned by the pair of *makara*s is practically the sole privilege of Viṣṇu, the god of royalty, in India, underline the royal nature of such ornaments. This remark applies also to the aigrette with its representation of Indra,

41) HOLTZMANN 1878: 296 (*Mahābhārata*); BROWN 1958: 64 (*Saundaryalaharī*, stanza 40). A verse in the *Atharva Veda* (15.1.6-7) clearly identifies Indra's bow with the rainbow: "That was Indra's bow. Blue its belly, red (its) back" (WHITNEY's translation quoted by KRAMRISCH 1981: 91; see also GRIFFITH 1896 (reprint): 149: "He held a bow, even that Bow of Indra/ His belly is dark-blue, his back is red".). And this might explain that the arch swallowed by *makara*s initially appears at Ajanta above images of the Buddha who can be identified with Indra after his passage on Mount Meru (BAUTZE-PICRON 2010: 28-35; see for instance the Ajanta inscription mentioning that cave 16 was "a splendid dwelling for the ascetic Indra (i.e. the Buddha)" (COHEN 1998: 374).

42) GUTMAN 2002.

43) Regularly distributed at the meeting points of the curves of the central part of the lintel or, as in the Prei Kmeng style, at both extremities and replacing the *makara*s of the Sambor Prei Kuk style; compare DUPONT 1952: figs. 4-7, 10, 13, 15-23 (Sambor Prei Kuk) to figs. 24-26 (Prei Kmeng).

44) See notes 12-13 in Part II of this paper.

45) For Badami: TARR 1970: 168.

46) Or in benefiting from the deity's protection and generosity as betrayed for instance by the presence of images of Lakṣmī on a pair of Western Cālukya earrings dated to the 11th century (AHMAD 1949: 1 & pls. 1-2).

kings of the god, seated on his three-headed elephant – an image which only a king could wear.

Conclusion

The choice and treatment of specific motifs find matching examples in Cālukya architectural ornamentation from the sixth to seventh centuries and similar pieces of jewellery are encountered in the sculpture of the period, which corroborates what had been already surmised at a more general level by various authors evoking the influential relationship between the Cālukyas and Southeast Asia.[47] And this allows even delineating with more precision the geographical location of the source of inspiration of these jewels within a vast region spreading from Maharashtra to Tamil Nadu from where numerous examples of (decorative) motifs found their way in Khmer art.[48]

As early as 1933 and 1934, Gilberte de CORAL-RÉMUSAT had underlined the closeness of ornamentation and composition of pre-Angkorian and Indian lintels; later, Mireille BÉNISTI showed in a series of articles published in *Arts Asiatiques* between 1968 and 1974 how the Khmer decorative ornamentation traced its origin back in South Asia, summarizing a large part of her findings in her publication of 1970. From their research, it is obvious that the main period during which the Indian influence found its way to Southeast Asia, more particularly to the country of the Khmers, broadly spread between the fifth and the seventh centuries.[49] Mireille BÉNISTI concluded that decorative motifs were most probably transported through perishable goods,[50] and she mentioned the presence of items of Indian origin at Oc Eo in Fu-nan;[51] she further also summarized information drawn from epigraphy or Chinese literature referring to the existence of a rich jewellery displayed by the monarch or offered to deities.[52]

Be that as it may, even if objects were imported from the Subcontinent, it does not appear evident that they might have been the intermediary support for the transfer of ornamental and iconographic motifs. Whereas Indian stone and cast images have been discovered all through Southeast Asia, one should not overlook the fact that most of them depict the Buddha.[53] This should not surprise us: Monks have always been carrying manuscripts, paintings or smaller images, and one cannot exclude the possibility that either returning home or travelling to a monastery located on the other side of the Bay of Bengal, monks might have also carried back larger images of the Buddha in order to offer it to the monastery. The situation differs regarding images of the Brahmanical pantheon, and one can surmise that in this case, images have been transmitted through sketch-books and the knowledge of the Brahmans: the aesthetics of the Khmers deeply differs in its sobriety from the genuine and deep feeling for the

47) GUY 2009: 141, "The temple arts of Western Chalukya rulers of the Deccan in the eighth century had a major impact on Hindu Southeast Asia, especially Java and Champa"; RADCLIFFE BOLON 1980: 321 & note 38 (quoting O.C. GANGOLY according to whom the Javanese images of Agastya traced back their origin to South India).

48) De CORAL-RÉMUSAT 1933 for a comparative study of the Indian and Khmer pediment; de CORAL-RÉMUSAT 1934 for a comparative study of Pallava and Khmer lintels; BÉNISTI 1970 for a detailed study of motifs simultaneously found in pre-Angkorian and in South Asian Art; p. 100 note 2, she quotes Philippe STERN who, in our opinion quite rightly, wrote in 1947-48 that "cet art [as a source of inspiration] peut-être en matériaux non durables a disparu, mais il n'est pas impossible qu'il se trouve plus au Sud qu'Ajaṇṭā et Ellorā. Certains détails frappants, kūḍu et style de sculpture, semblent nous ramener à Bādāmi et au pays Pallava ...". For another perspective relating Khmer architecture to North Indian prototypes, see MAXWELL 2007: 99-100 & pls. 14-15, and MEISTER 2006: 39ff.

49) BÉNISTI 1970: 96-100, *passim*.

50) *Ibid.*: 103-106.

51) *Ibid.*: 104-105, referring to the excavations and publications of Louis MALLERET.

52) *Ibid.*: 105-106.

53) It is at time rather difficult to decide whether an image has been produced in South Asia or whether it is a Southeast Asian production based on an Indian model. For instance, JACQ-HERGOUALC'H (2002: 143-144 & fig. 32) reproduces such a small stone image of 16.5 cm discovered in south Thailand which he considers, after GRISWOLD, to be a local production based on a model carved in an atelier of Sarnath. A proper list of all images concerned by this observation is still wanting and would definitely help to clarify a little the situation which changed in course of time; see, however: COEDÈS 1959 (stone image of the Buddha from the region of Nalanda, discovered at Ayutthaya, now preserved in the National Museum, Bangkok), van LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1961 (Buddha image from Bihar now preserved and worshipped in Chiengmai), LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER 2008: 297 & fig. 13 (tenth-eleventh c. image of Viṣṇu illustrating a little elegant, even provincial, style from Bengal and discovered in Java), BAUTZE-PICRON 1999: 40-41 (concerning the possible export of small steles from Bihar towards different countries of the Bay of Bengal). JACQ-HERGOUALC'H 2002 deals in detail with concrete examples of images discovered in the Malay Peninsula and similar to South Asian models and SCHASTOK 1994 studies the impact of Amaravati images in Southeast Asia.

flowing movement and the extraordinary ornamentation which characterize the images of Indian gods and goddesses. These images are richly dressed with jewels from the very first moment of their creation by the artist, which is not the case among the Khmers. I think that the sketch-books or the illustrated manuscripts containing the iconographic guidelines did not particularly stress the presence of the jewels. For that reason and when compared to South Asian prototypes, and this topic would deserve more attention, the jewellery carved on images is rather rarely encountered in Khmer art, and when it is depicted, it does not usually relate to Indian but to local models. So, when we search for depicted jewellery similar to the one under scrutiny, it is not in the Khmer country that we find it but in India. And this allows us to eliminate the possibility that the composition was inspired by the local ornamentation of pediments. Rather the contrary.

Contacts between the Cālukya kingdom and Fu-nan or Chen-la are indirectly attested: B.A. SALETORE suggested that "the conquest of the Kamera (Kavera) country" mentioned in the Kolhapur grant dated A.D. 693 would constitute a reference to the Khmer country.[54] A Cālukya embassy was sent to the court of the Chinese empress Wu in A.D. 692 as we learn from MA-DUAN-LIN, a Chinese encyclopaedist of the thirteenth to fourteenth century, and it is not unlikely that it could have followed the maritime way already open by traders and Buddhist monks.[55] The evidence bearing testimony to the presence of features of various natures of a Cālukya origin could take various forms in Southeast Asia: Debjani PAUL has thus drawn the attention to a Javanese image of Viṣṇu which shows stylistic and iconographic peculiarities tracing their origin back in the art of the Cālukyas or the Pallavas.[56]

Now, we cannot forget that jewellery such as the one presently under scrutiny was definitely an art exclusively designed for the court, more particularly for the ruler. The goldsmith had to be a revealed artist; the objects which he was producing might have been drawn in sketch-books, allowing a transmission of the composition, of the iconography, but considering the highly symbolical royal nature of this iconography, such sketch-books could only have circulated among goldsmiths working for the court. Similarly, we should also not neglect the fact that the Indian monuments to which we refer were royal donations, just like the monuments at Sambor Prei Kuk, the old Īśānapura founded by Īśānavarman (A.D. 617-637). It is not unlikely to suggest that such a sketch-book was "offered", not from a goldsmith to another goldsmith, but from a ruler to another ruler, or that even a goldsmith might have been sent from a king to another one. It is also not impossible to suggest that jewels might have been part of a diplomatic present.

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All photos are copyright Joachim K. Bautze apart from Figs.15 (after *The Golden Age* 2007: 152-153, cat. 11) and 20 (by courtesy of DSAL/AIIS neg. Ar_021324).

54) Under the reign of Satyāśraya Rājāśraya Vinayāditya (A.D. 680-696); SALETORE 1960: 198 & 200, quoted by DIKSHIT 1980: 173, note 91. However, as mentioned by both authors, the name 'Kamera' (or 'Kavera') has also been understood to refer to an island in the Kāverī river; most probably also, the term 'conquest' should not be understood as such: There is no definite proof that the Cālukyas ever sent an army to conquer Fu-nan or Chen-la. See also BÉNISTI 1970: 1-3.

55) The Cālukyas are there named 'Zheluoqibaluopo' (SEN 2003: 26 & endnote 39); see also DIKSHIT 1980: 173, note 91 ('Chi-lu-khi-pa-lo', restored as 'Cāḷukya Vallabha'). SALATORE 1960: 197-202, in particular p. 201, where the author suggests that the embassy to the court of China might have been sent 'through Funan or Cambodia', an event which he dates between A.D. 694 and 696, i.e. in the final years of Vinayāditya's reign.

56) PAUL 1978: 314. Like Varāha does, the god carries here a small image of a goddess whom the authoress identifies with Bhūdevī.

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