



Jewels for a King - Part II

Claudine Bautze-Picron

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Fig. 22
Detail of
girdle,
see Fig. 4.
Private
collection

Jewels for a King – Part II*

Claudine Bautze-Picron

Symbolic ornamentation: motifs and stones

Real or fantastic animals or beings interlaced with a rich flora have been a permanent feature of South Asian jewellery before becoming part of the pre-Angkorian aesthetics. They introduce specific contents to the image at the same time that they reveal parts of the divine personality. The following survey, though brief as it may be, allows an insight into the respective meaning of these motifs and their bearing to the overall symbolism of the ornaments in which they are inserted.

The scrolls, the lotus — All motifs listed below are distributed in a luxuriant setting of curly foliage which covers the entire buckle of the girdles or the aigrette. These scrolls can eventually arise out of the tail of the *makaras*; they roll out on the entire space, forming like wavelets at the surface of a pond and very likely refer indeed to the cosmic waters:⁵⁷⁾ Large lotus flowers emerge

out of them, carrying the semi-precious stones (**Fig. 10**). In one example, large lotus leaves are even depicted floating and entangled among the flowers and their stones (**Fig. 22**). Some more rare examples of girdles, unfortunately now lost, have a buckle exclusively adorned with intricate floral volutes.⁵⁸⁾

Makaras — They constitute the predominant motif in the ornamentation (**Figs. 3-4, 8-9, 15, 18-19, 22, 32, 36, 38-41**), also observed forming earrings for instance.⁵⁹⁾ Referring to the water and its rich symbolism, the *makara* is probably the most perfect example of the confusion between the reality and the fantastic and unseen world.⁶⁰⁾ It is a creature permanently in movement and whose shape

* Part I of this study including **Figs. 1-21** has been published in *IAZ* 14.2010: 42-56.

57) COOMARASWAMY 1931: 56-60. Most interesting is the fact that the gargoyles in the Bayon are all shaped like the fantastic creatures which we observed in the jewels under survey; see SO 2007: 82-95.

58) GROSLIER 1921: fig. 38.B (reproduced by BUNKER/LATCHFORD 2008: fig. 3.9); BUNKER/LATCHFORD 2008: fig. 3.10; BOISSELIER 1966: 353-354, pl. LXII.1 where two monstrous heads are put at both extremities of the buckle.

59) MCCULLOUGH 2000: fig. 12. See also Part I, note 29. For mediaeval examples from North India, see POSTEL 1989: 116, figs. V.39-41.

60) COOMARASWAMY 1931: 47-56; VOGEL 1929-30; VIENNOT 1954 & 1958.



Fig. 23
Ring.
Private
collection



Fig. 24
Ring.
Private
collection

is constantly changing with its back transformed into large volutes made of tiny scrolls, a motif which perhaps constitutes an ambivalent and simultaneous reference to foliage and to the waters where this fantastic animal dwells.

Gaṇas (dwarfs) — Dwarfs ride *makaras* or act as telamones and support the central gem in the girdles, rings and pendants (Figs. 8, 22-23). Dwarfs form a common motif in Indian art where they display the same thick lips and hair spreading around the head (Fig. 25; compare to Fig. 19) or forming tiny curls as here.⁶¹ As *makara*-riders (Figs. 3-4, 6, 18, 22, 26), they are commonly encountered in Cālukya sites; as brackets, they are for instance encountered in cave 2 in Badami beside the fact that rows of *gaṇas* support also the monument or the images in this site.⁶²

61) SASTRI 1959. See for instance DSAL/AIS 54686. Dwarfs with moustache such as those in the lintel from Sambor Prei Kuk (Figs. 13, 19) are rare but not unknown; see a carving preserved in the Site Museum of Mansar (Fig. 25) (consult <http://mansar.eldoc.ub.rug.nl/> for the material recovered in the site as well as for the proceedings of the 2008 symposium held in the British Museum).

62) 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).

Vyālas (leogryphs) — Leogryphs jump out of the open mouth of the *makaras* in Khmer lintels or here in a girdle (Figs. 3, 18) whereas this position is usually occupied in India by a human character or a human-shaped *nāga*. However, the motif is encountered forming a bracket in different Cālukya monuments, for instance in the Badami caves (Fig. 20).⁶³

Gaja (elephant) — Four elephants cast back to back support a large crystal in a pendant (Fig. 26), a reminder of their function as carrier of the universe, i.e. of the temple in Indian architecture. The presence of the animal can also be reduced to its head: Two such heads form or adorn then the circular and lower part of the ring (Fig. 23); variations are here noted: A rider sits on the elephant (head), or the head of a *vyāla* lies above the head of the elephant (Figs. 10-11) or the *gaja-vyāla* head is substituted for the sole elephant (Fig. 24). The overwhelming presence of the animal is probably there to remind that it is a royal animal and the vehicle of Indra, king of the gods.

Gaja-vyāla (elephant-leogryph) — A rather rare combination showing the body of the lion but with the trunk

63) Or already at Nagarjunakonda; VIENNOT 1954: fig. 3.



Fig. 25 Gaṇa from Mansar. Site Museum of Mansar



Fig. 26 Detail of girdle, see Fig. 1. Private collection

and the tusks of the elephant, it is here depicted in a girdle (Figs. 6, 40) and in one ring (Fig. 24) and is likewise observed in a lintel of the Prei Kmeng period (Fig. 27) and forming a bracket in Cālukya monuments of the first part of the eighth century, such as the Huccappayyaḡuḡi at Aihole or the Pāpanātha at Pattadakal (Fig. 28).⁶⁴

Haṃsa (goose) — The *haṃsa* is not only Brahmā's *vāhana* (vehicle), it is also a symbol for air and heaven (Fig. 22). Rows of geese constitute a motif often encountered in Indian and Khmer architecture, where it is carved beneath the eave. Alone or in row, the *haṃsa* constitutes in particular a major motif on the pillars of cave 1 in Badami⁶⁵ whereas rows are also encountered on the

façade of Pallava monuments.⁶⁶

Nāga (snake) — This spirit of the nature rarely appears as a real snake, but rather shows itself in a human body with a snake-hood attached in the nape (Fig. 27) or with a multiplied body (Figs. 29-30). As symbol of earth and water, he confronts Garuḡa, image of heaven and fire: Both are said to be enemies and can be combined within a single image, Garuḡa trampling on *nāgas*, or seizing one of them in his hands (Figs. 12, 31).⁶⁷

Garuḡa — Vehicle of Viṣṇu and symbolizing the solar fire, this eagle is depicted in a monstrous form, combining the human body to the beak and the wings of the bird. Garuḡa appears here as supporting the semi-precious stone of the ring or pendant (Figs. 12, 31). He is often depicted in the central and only medallion of the pediment in Khmer architecture,⁶⁸ which reminds of the

⁶⁴ For the Huccappayyaḡuḡi in Aihole where the monstrous being emerges out of a *makara*'s open mouth: DSAL/AIIS 71129 and TARTAKOV 1980: 84 concerning the date of the temple. See also MEISTER/DHAKY 1986: pl. 223 (plinth of the Virūpākṣa in Pattadakal).

⁶⁵ The motif of the geese alone or in frieze, in contrast to what Mireille BÉNISTI once wrote (1970: 103), is a beloved motif in some Cālukya monuments: The motif is encountered from cave 1 in Badami till the Durga temple in Aihole or the Virūpākṣa in Pattadakal; see TARR 1970: figs. 13-14 (Badami, caves 1 & 2); MEISTER/DHAKY 1986: pls. 243, 245, 248 (Pattadakal), 152 (Aihole); photos DSAL/AIIS 21331, 54636, 54638-54639, 54640, 54642-54643, 54649, 54652, 54657-54664, 54741, 54744, 54753-54756, 54763 (all examples of friezes carved on the pillars of cave 1 in Badami), 54787 (cave 2). I would suggest that the frieze of *haṃsas* acts here like it does in later

Khmer reliefs, i.e. suggesting the world of the gods: It is the vehicle of Brahmā and it is a bird flying in the sky (i.e. above the world of the humans; see AUBOYER 1949: 123 for the Khmer examples). Thus 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. *Haṃsas* can also replace *makaras* in the lintel; see DHAR 2009b: fig. 3.37 (Ellora, cave 15).

⁶⁶ VOGEL 1962: 6-69. And see previous note.

⁶⁷ Concerning this motif in early Indian art, see VOGEL 1926: 171-172 and note 89 below.

⁶⁸ DUPONT 1952: figs. 15-20.



Fig. 27
Detail of
lintel from
Prasat Prei
Kmeng,
see Fig. 14.
Musée Guimet,
Paris



Fig. 28
Gaja-vyāla.
Pāpanātha
temple,
Pattadakal

presence of the divine eagle in the lintel in Cālukya temples (sixth-eighth centuries).⁶⁹⁾

Images of gods — The presence of Indra in the aigrette and of Brahmā in one girdle (Figs. 8-9) fits within a long development showing images of deities inserted in the jewellery since the Kushan period (see below).⁷⁰⁾ For instance, a roundel adorned with the depiction of a dwarf (?) occupies the central part of Trivikrama's head-dress in cave 3 at Badami (Fig. 32).⁷¹⁾ Without speculating about the identification of this character (could it be Vāmana?), the mere presence of a 'divine' figure as a major element of the head ornamentation appears to have been a known feature at that period, as shown by the similar use of the image of the Buddha in the aigrette of Padmanidhi on the façade of cave 19 at Ajanta (Fig. 33) or of another Bodhisattva painted in cave 1 in the same

site.⁷²⁾ And till today, this tradition of hooking a picture of the clan's head to the turban has survived among the Rajputs. This image of Indra, king of the gods, constitutes one of the earliest, if not the earliest known, examples showing him seated on the three-headed elephant Erāvaṇa (Erawan) and holding the thunderbolt in a gesture utterly displaying his power. The later and fairly numerous depictions of the god on his vehicle which are introduced in the central part of lintels are clearly drawn out of such a representation,⁷³⁾ and will lead to its presence as an independent topic in the highly symbolic ornamentation of temples from the Khmer period⁷⁴⁾ till the eighteenth century at Wat Arun in Thonburi. And till the twentieth

⁶⁹⁾ TARR 1970: fig. 32 (Badami, cave 3 where it is depicted on the overhanging eave); MEISTER/DHAKY 1986: pls. 87 & 100 (Aihole, Sāraṅgī-maṭh; *ibid.*: 42, second or third quarter of the seventh century).

⁷⁰⁾ And which survives till today. For a Western Cālukya eleventh-century set of earrings showing Lakṣmī, see AHMAD 1949 without forgetting the constant presence of one or more Buddha images in the head ornaments of female and male Buddhist deities.

⁷¹⁾ LIPPE 1972: fig. 21 for the complete image.

⁷²⁾ TAKATA/TAEDA 1971: 74, and for the full image of Padmanidhi, *ibid.*: 152.

⁷³⁾ However, seventh-century lintels often depict the god sitting astride on a real elephant (DUPONT 1952: figs. 4-5, 7, 13). ROVEDA 1997: figs. 62 & 117 (detail) (Banteay Srei, South 'Library') (967 A.D.): The god kneels on a three-headed elephant. De CORAL-RÉMUSAT 1951: pl. X, fig. 29: Banteay Srei, the god kneels on one single elephant.

⁷⁴⁾ See for instance MARCHAL 1951: pl. X, photo 36: A group of three elephants squeezed within an angle of the walls and seen as if emerging out of the monuments; Indra carrying his *vajra* sits above them flanked by two attendants. Consult also BOISSELIER's detailed study of the three-headed bronze elephant kept in the Mahāmuni Temple in Mandalay (1967: 321-325).



Fig. 29
Ring /
pendant.
Private
collection



Fig. 30
Detail
of
Fig. 29

century, the three-headed elephant has been understood as the perfect symbol of royalty in Laos and Thailand. It is also possible that the green glass set in the ornament below the god might announce the Siamese tradition of depicting Indra as being green.⁷⁵⁾ Similarly, the two horse-riders observed in one case (Fig. 37) are most probably the Maruts noted in a lintel where they flank Indra sitting astride his elephant (Fig. 38, detail of Fig. 13).

Stones and gold — From an early period, gems have been not only appreciated and cherished for their beauty and purity, and for their medicinal virtues but have also been loaded with symbolic functions and meanings. It remains, however, difficult to ascribe specific functions to each of them, such beliefs being part of a tradition which never stopped to be alive.⁷⁶⁾ As Louis FINOT reminded in his *Lapidaires indiens*, numerous literary and epigraphic testimonies from South and Southeast Asia prove the fundamental importance of precious and semi-precious stones, and a genuine ‘science of stones’ (*ratna-parīkṣā*) developed with treatises or *ratnaśāstras* being

written.⁷⁷⁾ Two kinds of rock-crystal (*sphaṭika*) are said to exist, one named *sūryakānta* throws fire under the sun and one named *candrakānta* pours water when under the moon;⁷⁸⁾ a rosary of rock-crystal is also said to bring success⁷⁹⁾ whereas cornelian (*rudhirākṣa*) is reputed to help gaining sovereignty and servants.⁸⁰⁾

The stones are here set in a golden background, creating a rich ornamentation permeated with an extremely vivid style. The ornament is the place where a full landscape spreads out, image of the ever-lasting richness of the nature in all its aspects: The fauna in its full range of forms from reality to the unseen world moves in a pond of lotuses and scrolls out of which colourful stones emerge. The noble metal is considered to be the best possible for a good health, it sustains appetite, vision and helps to live long; it supports intelligence (wisdom), virility, force, memory, voice; it gives desire and beauty, for instance.⁸¹⁾

77) FINOT 1896: I-VI.

78) *Ibid.*: XLVII and 167; see also p. 56. For further names of the rock-crystal, see GARBE 1882: 26 & 87.

79) GARBE 1882: 88.

80) FINOT 1896: 55.

81) According to GARBE 1882: 5 & 34: „Gold schmeckt klebrig, zusammenziehend, bitter und süß; es vertreibt die drei Krankheitsstoffe (Galle, Schleim, Wind), ist kalt und ein wohlschme-

75) WENK 1965: 36 & pl. VIII showing the green-skinned Sakka and the white-skinned Brahmā; see also, for instance, CHUAWIWAT *et al.* n.d, plates on pp. 52-53: Two further panels illustrated these gods. This information was confirmed to me by Peter SKILLING whom I thank here.

76) See for instance SHASTRI/JOSHI n.d. and JOHARI 1996.



Fig. 31 Ring / pendant. Private collection

The main design combines two *makaras* or *gaja-vyālas* symmetrically positioned on either side of the central stone(s), and pendants or rings illustrated in **Figs. 23-24, 29-31** and **47** illustrate a similar strict symmetrical composition with a semi-precious stone being set in a lotus-shaped basis (**Figs. 10, 29-30**) and eventually supported by dwarfs or images of Garuḍa overpowering *nāgas* (**Figs. 23, 31**), or by four elephants (**Fig. 30**). Elephants constitute indeed a permanent element of this category of jewels, two faces combined with the faces of a fantastic lion forming the main body of the ring. On the contrary, *makaras* are utmost rare in the ornamentation of the rings where they are replaced by *nāgas*, a motif which is more suitable through its form to this type of jewels.

Further motifs, like dwarfs or divine couples, or even leaves and foliated scrolls are integrated within the composition of the buckles strictly ruled by symmetry and mirroring the structure of pediments in Indian and Khmer architecture. As a matter of fact, the jewels illustrated in the present paper closely compare to Khmer pediments of the Sambor Prei Kuk and Prei Kmeng styles (seventh century) which echo those encountered in Cālukya and Pallava monuments (sixth-eighth centuries) as seen in the first part of this paper.

ckendes Elixir, schafft Appetit, stärkt die Sehkraft und verleiht langes Leben. Es verschafft Verstand, Manneskraft, Stärke, Gedächtniss und Stimme; verleiht dem Körper Anmuth, bewirkt Schönheit und Aufhören von Noth. Das gewährt (das Gold) den Männern, wenn es getragen wird.“

More specifically, these are basically two elements which are permanently alluded to through these creatures, i.e. the fire through the lion and its fantastic aspects (such as the *vyāla*) or through Garuḍa and the water through the *makara* or the *nāgas*. Both elements are closely related: Garuḍa masters the *nāgas* and the leogryph jumps out of the *makara*'s open mouth, which might remind that the fire was borne out of the water. All these ornaments – earrings, rings, pendants, and belts – thus vividly picture the boundless richness and fertility borne out of the cosmic waters out of which lotuses emerge, carrying colourful stones and entangled with animals which are either related to the waters (*makaras*, *nāgas*, elephants) or to the fire (lions, Garuḍa) or to the earth (elephants).⁸²⁾ What is to be seen in a girdle like the one showing Brahmā (**Fig. 8**) is practically a depiction of the universe: The god ruling in the divine Mount Meru located at the centre of and above the circular universe where seas and continents or mountains alternate; the interlace of scrolls and the two divergent *makaras* evoke this overwhelming presence of the cosmic water out of which Mount Meru and the circular mountains or continents emerge sustained by a *gaṇa*. Similarly, the cabochon of the rings and pendants is an image of the universe being created out of the cosmic waters symbolized by the lotus flowers and the *nāgas*, and is supported by *gaṇas* or elephants. The existence of such jewels does not merely imply that their bearer enjoys the endless source of life symbolized by their decoration, but that he also stands at the source of this boundless fertility: These motifs appear as reflections of his royal and divine powers.⁸³⁾

The imaginary bestiary of the jewels and South Asian images of bejewelled gods

A pair of early Indian earrings datable to the first century B.C. and discovered in Java includes the depiction of an elephant and of a winged lion.⁸⁴⁾ Such precious evidence remains however extremely isolated, and we must turn

82) Concerning the “water cosmology”, as he so rightly formulated, see COOMARASWAMY 1931: 19-26.

83) As such, they hold the function shown in India by the ‘royal throne’: The very same animals and fantastic creatures are there depicted as if emerging out of the ‘cosmic’ body of the deity (AUBOYER 1949: 142-143).

84) LERNER 1984: 20-21, cat. 2; WOODFORD SCHMIDT 1995: fig. 4; UNTRACHT 1997: 292, figs. 693-694.



Fig. 32
Headdress
of Viṣṇu.
Badami,
cave 3



Fig. 33
Ornament on
Padmaniddhi's
head.
Ajanta,
cave 19

towards religious sculpture for finding records of the image of an animal, real or fantastic, completely or partly represented, as part of the ornamentation of a deity. First-hand evidence is indeed offered by images of deities wearing jewellery which, one can surmise, reflect actual pieces worn by rulers or offered to cult images. The presence of animals as integrated part of this jewellery becomes particularly common from the third or fourth century onwards.

Without dwelling on this topic, we shall summarize here the evidence prior to the sixth century and announcing the use of the bestiary in jewellery at that period. Before the earrings of the Kronos collection mentioned above had been discovered, some authors did suppose that artists from the region of Mathura in the Kushan period had been inspired by images from the Gandhara region where animals, real or not, as well as fantastic creatures are set within necklaces and diadems.⁸⁵⁾ However, the motifs selected around Mathura, beside their inspiration being much greater than in Gandhara, exclusively pertain to the pan-Indian tradition: We find thus *makaras* swallowing rows of pearls at the necklace

(Fig. 36),⁸⁶⁾ rows of lions having the muzzle of an eagle forming the lower band at both sides of the turban or tiara cresting the head,⁸⁷⁾ Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa forming the plate of the armband (Fig. 37),⁸⁸⁾ or the eagle depicted in the crest.⁸⁹⁾

Compared to the art of the northwestern region, such compositions from the Mathura region grasp the dynamism of the movement, the fluidity of the lines, and the plasticity of the volumes which are not encountered in the stiffer depictions of pairs of horned animal heads or of *makaras* included in the ornamentation of the necklace or

85) VOGEL 1930: 43 & 111, also quoted by LOTH 1972: 61-62. For a study of these elaborated ornaments in Gandhara, see WOODFORD SCHMIDT 1995. The two *makaras* flank a gem in the central ornament of the turban or diadem on a number of images (*ibid.*: figs. 12, 19), but do not seem to appear as element of the necklace where they are replaced by horned animal heads (*ibid.*: 30, figs. 1, 8, 12).

86) VOGEL 1930: pl. XXXIVa (= LOTH 1972: pl. 24.5; photo DSAL/AIIS 000484); photo DSAL/AIIS 052841 (both in the Mathura Museum); *Special Exhibition* 1987: cat. 10 (ill. p. 16 for the necklace) (also reproduced by BAUTZE-PICRON 2004: fig. 3) (private collection) (in all cases: Avalokiteśvara or a Bodhisattva).

87) Of Avalokiteśvara: BAUTZE-PICRON 2004: 233 & notes 46-49; see *Special Exhibition* 1987: cats. 10 & 11 (with further references to cat. 11 in BAUTZE-PICRON 2004: 252, App. 1.a.A.1; see also p. 270 note 49), and of Indra: photos DSAL/AIIS 044750 & 044751, references in BAUTZE-PICRON 2004: 270 note 48.

88) VOGEL 1930: pl. XXXIIIa (= LOTH 1972: pl. 59.7-8); *Special Exhibition* 1987: cat. 10. (ill. p. 15 for the armlet) (also reproduced by BAUTZE-PICRON 2004: fig. 3).

89) Photo DSAL/AIIS 052841 (Mathura Museum); or even a squatting male figure above lions heads (and apparently further lions on the side): photo AIIS 000326 (Lucknow State Museum). A very typical and often encountered motif in Gandhara shows the eagle carrying off or overcoming a *nāginī*, a motif which simultaneously illustrates the opposition between fire and water, or male and female (STOYE 2008).



Fig. 34 Detail of girdle, see Fig. 2. Private collection



Fig. 35
Detail of
lintel from
Sambor Prei
Kuk, see Fig. 13.
Musée Guimet,
Paris

of the turban for instance in Gandhara.⁹⁰⁾ Further, proper Indian ornaments could find their way to Butkara in the first century A.D., as noticed by Carolyn WOODFORD SCHMIDT.⁹¹⁾

Most interesting is the fact that around Mathura these motifs appear mostly and eventually together on images

of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The presence of lions or eagles in the head-dress points to the light, to the sun and the fire; the depiction of Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa refers likewise to the god vouching for royalty; the *makaras* of the necklace swallow thick rows of pearls, a reference to the richness hidden in the very depth of the seas. From now on, real or fantastic animals or compositions introduce specific contents to the image at the same time that they reveal parts of the divine personality. More specifically, these are basically two elements which are permanently alluded to through these creatures, i.e. the fire and the water.

It is in the very same region of Mathura and in the following Gupta period that Viṣṇu images got adorned with the *makara*-necklace (Fig. 38) earlier worn by Avalokiteśvara. The fact that the Bodhisattva could also wear armbands showing the god Viṣṇu lets surmise the existence of a relationship between the two characters which would deserve further research.

Beside the lion face which becomes a favoured ornament of the god's tiara, one of the earliest dated examples being observed around 402 A.D. at cave 6 of Udayagiri,⁹²⁾ it is indeed the pair of *makaras* which constitutes a major element of the god's ornamentation from the Gupta

⁹⁰⁾ TISSOT 1985: 91-92, figs. 172-175, 177-182, 205, 217-221, pls. XXIX.1-4, XXXIII.1-7.

⁹¹⁾ WOODFORD SCHMIDT 1995: 22-23 and her fig. 5. This transfer of motifs was recently corroborated by Akira MIYAJI (2008).

⁹²⁾ HARLE 1974: pl. 8. For another example from Udayagiri, see *ibid.*: pl. 18 (for the attribution, see WILLIS 2009: 74), or pl. 61 (from Unchdih, Allahabad Museum).

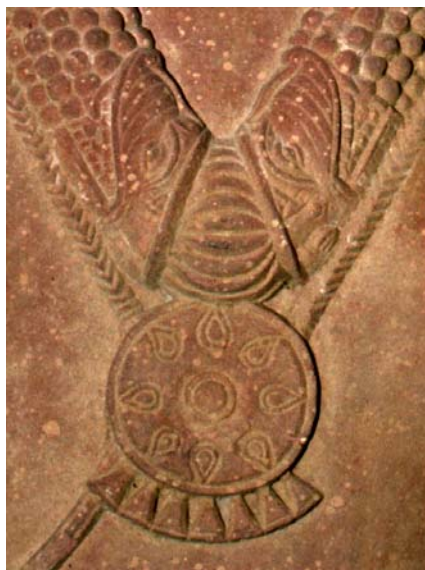


Fig. 36
Necklace
on an image
of Avalokiteśvara.
Private collection

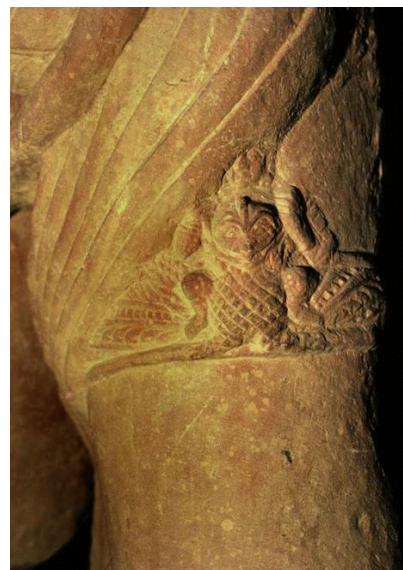


Fig. 37
Armlet on
an image of
Avalokiteśvara.
Private collection



Fig. 38 Necklace on an image of Viṣṇu. Government Museum, Mathura

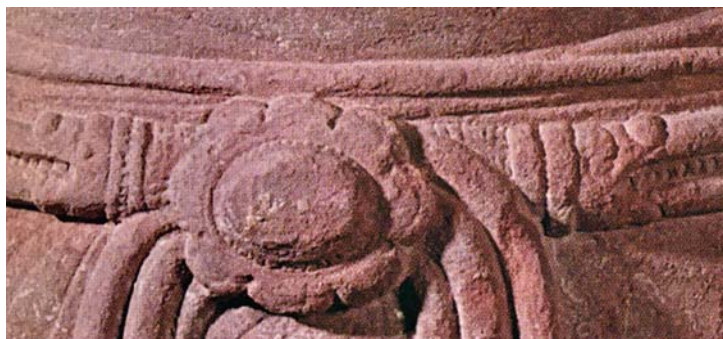


Fig. 39 Girdle on an image of Viṣṇu. Government Museum, Mathura



Fig. 40
Necklace
on an image
of Narasiṃha.
Badami, cave 3



Fig. 41
Necklace
on an
image of
Harihara.
Badami,
cave 3



Fig. 42
Girdle on
an image of
Avalokiteśvara,
Phnom Da style.
Musée Guimet, Paris



Fig. 43 Girdle, see Fig. 4. Private collection



Fig. 44 Girdle, see Fig. 8. Private collection

period and onwards, both being eventually combined like in **Fig. 15** (or in **Fig. 32**). After having been inserted in the ornamentation of Bodhisattvas in the region of Mathura in the second and third centuries A.D., this motif is integrated in the Gupta period within the head ornamentation (**Fig. 15**)⁹³ and in the composition of the necklace and girdle worn by Viṣṇu (**Figs. 38-39**).⁹⁴ As well as being worn at the ears of the god, *makaras* also adorn the

necklace in sixth-century images of Narasiṃha and Harihara at Badami (cave 3, dated 578 A.D.) (**Figs. 40-41**),⁹⁵ or the belt in later seventh and eighth-century images of Viṣṇu and Sūrya from Daphtu and from the royal site of Aṃśad, both sites located in Bihar.⁹⁶ In all those examples as on those, earlier, from Mathura, they are shown divergent on either side of a central cabochon which belongs to a more or less elaborated setting but which clearly announces the pre-Angkorian jewellery; on the other hand they have always been convergent in

⁹³ HARLE 1974: pl. 49; *The Golden Age* 2007: 152-152, cat. 11 (mid-5th century).

⁹⁴ WILLIAMS 1982: pl. 73 (c. 430-460) or *The Golden Age* 2007: 154-155, cat. 12 (5th century) (it is unclear whether this torso discovered at Jaisinhapura, Mathura, belonged to an image of Viṣṇu or of a Bodhisattva).

⁹⁵ BANERJI 1928: pl. XVIII.a-b; LIPPE 1972: fig. 24. The *makara* as earring is worn in Harihara's left ear whereas the right (Śiva's) ear is adorned with a snake.

⁹⁶ ASHER 1980: 87-88, pls. 88 & 194 (Aṃśad), 195 (Daphtu).



Fig. 45 Necklace, head-clasp and ring / pendant, see Fig. 9. Private collection

architecture,⁹⁷⁾ a way of distributing them which will be inherited by Southeast Asian architecture in its early phase. This lets surmise that the jewellery under scrutiny, since mainly showing convergent *makaras*, might have simultaneously been inspired from actual Indian pieces of jewellery, necklaces or belts, where the animals diverge,⁹⁸⁾ and from an architectural prototype.

Whereas the presence of *makaras* remains mainly related to images of Viṣṇu in the Indian context, it is not the case in Khmer images of gods and later Angkorian-period jewellery. More often indeed, the central precious stone is here fixed in an intricate setting with further smaller stones distributed symmetrically around it or with elaborated tiny scrolls running all around – without any *makara*. A typical motif is for instance reproduced at the waist of a depiction of Avalokiteśvara belonging to the style of Phnom Da, i.e. dated between the middle of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century (Fig. 42)⁹⁹⁾ where it compares with an ornament often encountered between



Fig. 46 Cornelian intaglio, see Fig. 12. Private collection

the sixth and eighth centuries in various parts of central and north India; see here for instance the central part of Narasiṃha's necklace at Badami (Fig. 40).

Be that as it may, it remains that the ornament adorned with *makaras* is predominantly encountered on images of Viṣṇu, secondarily on those of Sūrya. Cave 3 at Badami has an iconography which is basically Vaiṣṇava and integrates as such the presence of Harihara (like in cave 1).¹⁰⁰⁾ Like the monuments of Sambor Prei Kuk, the old Īśānapura founded by Īśānavarman (A.D. 617-637), most Badami caves were royal foundations – cave 3 was founded by Maṅgaleśa, younger brother of the ruler Kīrti-varman, in A.D. 578.¹⁰¹⁾ The presence of Harihara – an image allowing the presence of Śiva – in this context, i.e.

97) The example in the Durga temple at Aihole remaining an exception; see following note.

98) Large divergent *makaras* are rather rare in the composition of the lintel: The Durga temple in Aihole includes such an example (RADCLIFFE BOLON 1985: fig. 26; DHAR 2009b: 45, fig. 3.19). However, miniaturized divergent sea monsters support a central medallion in an elaborate composition which includes also the two convergent large *makaras* at both extremities (DHAR 2009b: figs 3.16-17, 24, 30, 33-36, 39-40, and 43-44 for examples dated between the seventh and the eighth century).

99) The full image is reproduced by JESSUP/ZÉPHIR 1997: 152-153 & 347, cat. 7; a detailed study of the sculpture including detailed drawings and pictures of the ornaments was earlier made by MALLERET 1954.

100) Although both images are part of different pantheons: Cave 1 is basically Śaiva in its iconography.

101) DIKSHIT 1980: 38 & 273; WILLIS 2009: 44.



Fig. 47 Pendant, detail of Fig. 48. Private collection

the veranda displaying a definitely Vaiṣṇava iconography,¹⁰²⁾ reminds of observations recently made by Paul A. LAVY concerning the concomitance of Harihara images and *liṅgas*, both as main symbols of the political power in the pre-Angkorian period.¹⁰³⁾

Appendix — Catalogue

Girdle a (Figs. 2-3, 18, 34): 69 × 3.1 cm (height at the buckle). Belt made in the loop-in-loop technique. A clear crystal marks the centre of the composition; two convergent *makaras* with *vyāla* rising out of their open mouths and mounted by dwarfs flank it whereas two riders on horse, probably the Maruts, close the composition. The beaded row running along the edges is commonly met with in Indian decoration from the Gupta period and onwards (see Fig. 21, e.g.).

¹⁰²⁾ It is probable that the cult image depicted an aspect of Viṣṇu since the foundation inscription mentions that this image was consecrated at the festival of the waking of the god after his four months sleep (WILLIS 2009: 44-45; DIKSHIT 1980: 273). We cannot exclude, however, the possibility of having had a *liṅga* standing in the shrine.

¹⁰³⁾ LAVY 2003: 21-23, “Rulers based in northern Cambodia, where the style of rule was linked to Śiva, were trying to assert and/or maintain control over coastal areas to the south, where Viṣṇu had the traditional symbol of royal power. Those northern rulers consequently employed an icon that represented the union of both deities and the concurrent conceptions of authority represented by each, in order to symbolise and legitimise their own territorial and political aspirations.”

Girdle b (Figs. 4-5, 22, 43): 100.4 × 3.8 cm (height at the buckle). Braided belt. Ref.: BUNKER/LATCHFORD 2008: figs. 3.11a-b. Five different stones, four around a central one, occupy the centre of the composition; each is set within a lotus flower as if arising out of a pond filled with lotus flowers and leaves which finds its source in the open mouth of the two convergent *makaras*. Further tiny garnets are set at the extremities of the belt, marking the limit of the buckle. Dwarfish male characters sustain the central flower or ride astride geese which also fly out of the *makaras*' mouth. Further small stones are inlaid in the side decorative bands which limits the central ornamentation. The inner face of the girdle is engraved with a *triśūla* on either side of which scrolls spread (Fig. 5), in a motif similar to the one encountered in a relief from Vat Phu which is dated during Jayavarman I's reign (657-681 A.D.).¹⁰⁴⁾

Girdle c (Figs. 1, 6-7, 26): 85 × 3.6 cm (height at the buckle). Braided belt. An oval cornelian is set within a plain golden edge. Large and clearly drawn scrolls roll over the upper edge, spreading on either side of an ornamental motif. Two similar large volutes are seen below the stone. The treatment of these scrolls differ from the one noted in the other jewels under scrutiny (below): It is plainer, lacking the numerous tiny curls which run along the main body of the volutes on the belt with the rock crystal and those, slightly broader, which are placed against these volutes and form a line parallel to them. The rearing monstrous animal with bulging eyes combines the body of a lion to the trunk and tusks of an elephant. As such, it is observed as a console in the first part of the eighth century at the Pāpanātha in Pattadakal (Fig. 28) and the Huccappayyaguḍi in Aihole where it jumps out of a *makara*'s open mouth.¹⁰⁵⁾ The heavy row of pearls to which is attached a lotus flower with tiny garlands falling there from is likewise an ornament encountered in the arts of the Cālukyas, for instance at the temple from Kudavelli (Fig. 21) before becoming a common element of the lintels of Sambor Prei Kuk. It shows a similar form on a lintel of Prasat Kraham, a monument dated in Jayavarman II's reign (eighth-ninth century).¹⁰⁶⁾

¹⁰⁴⁾ BÉNISTI 1970: 35, fig. 137 (with further reference in note 9).

¹⁰⁵⁾ DSAL/AIIS 71129 for the Huccappayyaguḍi. TARR 1980: 84 concerning the date of the temple in Aihole. See also MEISTER/DHAKY 1986: pl. 223 (plinth of the Virūpākṣa in Pattadakal).

¹⁰⁶⁾ MARCHAL 1951: 22, fig. 24.1, whereas on the earlier examples from Sambor Prei Kuk, the lotus is attached to a chain which hangs.



Fig. 48 Pendant attached to necklace and pendant / ring, see Fig. 47. Private collection

Three parallel decorative rows bound the central ornamentation: 1. A row of lotus petals with stamens emerging behind in a row of tiny curves. 2. Two twisted thin cords run in zig-zag all around the belt with high-relieved dots filling the side triangular and central diamond-shaped spaces. 3. The same motif adorns the third band, but with dots only in the central rhombi and no dot at all on the back side of the belt. Beaded rows separate or frame these two bands which mark the extremities of the belt as such whereas the lotus petals hide the clasp of the central ornament which is inserted in the belt (see Fig. 7: back). A similar motif, forming a trellis covering a broader surface, is observed on a pedestal from Sambor Prei Kuk.¹⁰⁷⁾

Girdle d (Figs. 8, 44): 77 × 7.8 cm (height at the buckle).

Belt made in loop-in-loop technique. Brahmā sits within a trefoiled niche with lower extremities curled outwards; broad volutes spread on the outside. A similar niche is encountered at the Preah Kô, dated 879 A.D.¹⁰⁸⁾ Sitting above the large circular cornelian which is fixed with a golden nail marking its centre and which is supported by a dwarfish figure with spread arms, the god appears here as if ruling over the universe, with divine couples frolicking among the scrolls which spread on either side and are limited by the divergent *makara* faces. The large circular cornelian is fixed with a golden nail within an interlace of leaves and volutes above which couples are frolicking.

¹⁰⁷⁾ MARCHAL 1951: pl. X, photo 35; the author observes (p. 21) that this grid-pattern is only observed in the Sambor Prei Kuk period. Further examples are reproduced by BÉNISTI 1970: figs. 48-49.

¹⁰⁸⁾ MARCHAL 1951: pl. XIII, photo 49; see also pl. XII, photo 41 for another three-lobed arch above a Dvarapāla in the same monument (but with the curls replaced by two divergent *makaras*). Later development shows the multiplication of lobes.

Necklace (Fig. 45): 65.5 × 0.75 cm. Produced in the loop-in-loop technique, the necklace is fastened with a hook and eye.¹⁰⁹⁾

Aigrette (Figs. 9, 45): 47 × 39 × 8 mm. Indra is half-kneeling on the triple head of his vehicle, the elephant Airāvata; he holds in the upraised right hand the *vajra*, making apparently use of it whereas the left hand displays the gesture of ‘absence of fear’ (*abhayamudrā*). A rectangular piece of green glass (9 × 14 mm) is set in the lower part of the ornament, flanked by two profiled *makaras* who stretch below it and are ridden by two dwarfish fantastic creatures.

Ring a (Fig. 23): 4 × 4 cm. Two *gaṇas* support the oval brown ochre stone whereas two heads of elephants mounted by their *mahouts* form the main body of the ring.

Ring b (Figs. 12, 24, 46): 4 × 4.2 cm. A cornelian intaglio shows a lion walking to the right. The stone is supported by two images of Garuḍa trampling on *nāgas* whereas two *gaja-vyāla* heads form the ring, intertwining their proboscis in the lower part.

Ring/Pendant c (Figs. 10-11): 5.5 × 4.4 × 3.5 cm. The cornelian intaglio depicts a standing woman holding a *triśūla*. It is set within an elaborate lotus flower around which further buds spread. Two monstrous faces, showing a lion face lying above an elephant face form the main part of the ring. A close-up look at the small ring shows how it was soldered afterwards to the main item.

Ring/Pendant d (Figs. 29-30, 45, 48): 4.8 × 3.4 cm. A large rock crystal is set within a lotus flower supported by four kneeling elephants. Two impressive three-headed *nāgas* form the circular part of the ring. The short inscription under the central part of the ring has been read by Dominique Soutif as possibly being *dvija*.

Ring/Pendant e (Fig. 31): 4.5 × 4.3 cm. A rock crystal is set within a lotus flower sustained by two images of Garuḍa standing between two profiled and convergent *makaras*. This ornament might eventually be later than most other jewels under study when considering the less clear illustration of the *makaras*, practically completely dissolved in tiny curls and less easily recognizable.

Pendant f (Figs. 47-48): 4.3 × 4.3 cm. A large cornelian stone is set within a lotus flower. Two *makara* faces lying above monstrous lions faces form the ring in a very intricate rendering. The pendant hangs to a necklace made in the loop-in-loop technique. The short inscription incised under the central part has been read *sīlā* by Dominique Soutif who gives it a pre-Angkorian date.

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109) For a similar necklace, see BUNKER 2000: fig. 17.

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Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Dieser Artikel bearbeitet in Südostasien gefundenen Goldschmuck der Khmer, der wahrscheinlich vor dem 9. Jahrhundert entstand, bevor Angkor zur Hauptstadt des Reiches erkoren wurde. Eine enge Beziehung zum Stil von Sambor Prei Kuk (7. Jahrhundert) tritt dabei deutlich zu Tage. Über den Einsatz der Geschmeide – Hüftgürtel, Halsketten, Kopfschmuck, Ringe und Anhänger – können nur Vermutungen angestellt werden, da diese sowohl Kultbilder als auch Herrscher geschmückt haben können, zumal die Statuen der Göttinnen und Götter der Khmer verhaltene Bewegungen und Linien aufweisen und somit eine gewisse Nüchternheit bei der Darstellung von Schmuckstücken ausstrahlen, wodurch sie sich grundsätzlich von der indischen Ästhetik unterscheiden. Genau wie in Indien, wo diese Art Schmuck ihren Ursprung hat, erfordert die den Kultbildern der Khmer gewidmete religiöse Hingabe eine Bekleidung der Statue, die mit Juwelen geschmückt wird.

Dieser Goldschmuck reflektiert eine Bildsprache indischer Herkunft: Zur Darstellung gelangen sowohl reale als auch fantastische Wesen, wie z.B. der *hamsa* (die Wildgans), der Elefant oder der *makara* (ein fabelhaftes Wasserwesen), Götter wie Brahmā oder Indra, die alle in ein üppiges florales Dekor zusammen mit Edelsteinen unterschiedlicher Farbgebung eingebettet werden. Die Herkunft der streng nach symmetrischen Gesichtspunkten ausgerichteten Anordnung mit *hamsas* oder *makaras* um einen zentralen Schmuckstein herum kann wieder auf Indien, besonders auf die architektonische Ausschmückung der Cālukya-Tempel des 6. bis 7. Jahrhunderts zurückgeführt werden. Darüber hinaus kann gezeigt werden, dass, beginnend mit der Gupta-Zeit etwa ab dem 4. Jahrhundert, Halsketten und Hüftgürtel dieselbe Struktur aufweisen, wie sie von der zeitlich späteren Dekoration der Khmer her bekannt ist.

Wie dem auch sei, der hier vorgestellte Goldschmuck stammt aus einer Epoche verstärkten Austausches zwischen den Reichen der Cālukyas und der Khmer; er verkörpert zuerst in Indien nachgewiesene, auf Kultbildern gemeißelte Urformen, weshalb die Möglichkeit nicht völlig ausgeschlossen werden kann, dass einige dieser Schmuckstücke vielleicht sogar indischen Ursprungs sind. Französische Forscher wie Gilberte de CORAL-RÉMUSAT, Mireille BÉNISTI und Philippe STERN hatten bereits mehrfach auf die intensive Beziehung zwischen dem Subkontinent und der südostasiatischen Halbinsel hingewiesen, ohne jedoch dafür den archäologischen Beweis erbracht zu haben. Der hier veröffentlichte Goldschmuck gehört somit zu den bisher nur vermuteten Bindegliedern dieser beiden bedeutenden Kulturkreise.

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IMPRESSUM

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