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SEEING THE 'FOREIGNER' IN THE ART OF EARLY SOUTHEAST ASIA c.100 BCE – c.900 CE

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2018

VOLUME 2: APPENDICES

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Appendix 1. Compilation of claimed representations of ‘foreigners’ in the art of early Southeast Asia

This appendix collates all examples known to me of visual representations from early Southeast Asian contexts c.100 BCE – c.900 CE considered in at least one academic source to represent ‘foreigners’ in the apparent cultural context of its production. The issue of production context articulates with the discussion in Section 3.4 especially. This inventory includes examples where a figure’s foreignness is disputed and is not restricted to those where my personal interpretation supports a specific view.

There is insufficient space in the main text of this thesis for a thorough analysis of all the examples listed here. Indeed, the information available in some cases is limited and such an analysis would not yet be possible. A selection of those where sufficient contextual data does exist has been presented in the main text, but other selections would have been possible, and it is intended that many of these will be further explored in the future. It is hoped that this inventory will highlight the extent of this type of material, even for Southeast Asia’s early historic period, to help develop this area of research.

The material is arranged according to the modern country they were found in, to not impose too much meaning on the objects at this stage. For the countries not listed, I am not aware of material of this kind yet. A summary of some of the ideas discussed in the literature for the material is given and key references in the relevant literature. Photographs are only included where owned by me and the references can be followed to see the representations in question. I have added a few further examples following identification of relevant material during fieldwork – this should not be understood as indicating their interpretation as ‘foreigners’ *per se*, but rather that they share characteristics with representations that have been interpreted in this way and should be included in discussions of that material. As the main thesis makes clear, direct interpretation of foreignness without understanding multiple aspects of context is not reliable methodologically.

1.1. Cambodia

All examples known to me from Cambodia have been discussed in Chapter 5. These are the heads in the *gavākṣa* on the Sambor Prei Kuk S2 pedestal, the guards in the *vimāna* at the same site, and Maruts on the *torāṇa* from *prasat S7* and potentially Wat Ksal.

1.2. Southern China

Several bronze cowrie containers, drums and related objects associated with Dian culture bear three-dimensional figures which show great detail in aspects of dress including hairstyle. These figures are often in dynamic compositions, including the representation of interactions between figures in similar or different dress. Such material presents opportunities for analysing the compositional structuring of relationships between groups that are apparently represented differently, potentially as auto-stereotypes and hetero-stereotypes, which would give insights into aspects of intercultural interaction in late-BCE Yunnan. This period is contemporary with the extension of Han China's militarily-backed expansion southward into what is today southern China. Visual differentiation may represent ethnic difference and otherness.



Figure A1-1 Conflict scene on Dian bronze cowrie container. Photograph reproduced from Chiou-Peng, 'Horses in the Dian Culture of Yunnan', Fig. 17.2.

Some work has already been done on these figural compositions. Approaches to identity have included reference to contemporary Chinese textual descriptions of the southern 'barbarians', inherently ethnocentric, and ethnoarchaeological reference to 'traditional' forms of dress in southern China's non-Han ethnic groups. The latter approach has understandably received some criticism for the non-contemporaneity of the materials compared, and I noted in the main text the problematic aspects of the idea of 'traditional dress' if assumed to have not changed for hundreds of years.

Another group of figures wearing tall conical headwear or sleeved and trousered dress are sometimes interpreted as having the societal role of shamans and entertainers, and as being 'foreign'. The possible relationship with Steppe groups is of interest, not least because the Dian were renowned



Figure A1-2 'Entertainers' from gilt bronze belt buckle. Yunnan Art Museum (previously Yunnan Provincial Museum), Kunming. Photograph: H. Sondaz, [[Gilt bronze buckle with two dancing figurines](#)], Wikimedia Commons, licensed under [CC BY-SA 4.0](#).

as horse breeders. There is a body of research on possible connections between the Dian and the Saka, Steppe nomads that are connected with those that migrated into South Asia and became known as the Śaka. Some affinities between Dian and Saka material culture have been identified, and there is a possibility that this connection is reflected linguistically in the name of a group associated with the Dian. Such a relationship would be relevant for giving further context to the figures described above, and the nature of otherness.

Key references:

Allard, Francis, 'Stirrings at the Periphery: History, Archaeology, and the Study of Dian', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 2, no. 4 (1998): 321–41.

Chiou-Peng, Tzehuey, 'Western Yunnan and Its Steppe Affinities', in *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia*, ed. Victor H. Mair, vol. 1. Archaeology, Migration and Nomadism, Linguistics (Washington D.C. & Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Man & University of Pennsylvania Museum Publications, 1998), 280–304.

Chiou-Peng, Tzehuey, 'Horses in the Dian Culture of Yunnan', in *Interpreting Southeast Asia's Past: Monument, Image and Text: Selected Papers from the 10th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists*, ed. Elisabeth A. Bacus, Ian C. Glover, and Peter D. Sharrock, vol. 2, 2 vols (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008), 225–38.

Jiang, Zhilong, 'New Excavations at the Bronze Age Site of Shizhaishan, Yunnan, and Implications for the Archaeology of the Ancient Dian Kingdom', *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association* 18 (1999): 117–20.

Kong, Ling Yuan, 'Ethnoarchaeology in China', in *Contesting Archaeologies: Traditions, Theories, Prospects*, eds. Arkadiusz Marciniak & Nurcan Yalman (New York: Springer, 2013), 173–88.

Peters, Heather A., 'Ethnicity along China's Southwestern Frontier', *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 3, no. 1–2 (2001): 75–102.

Wang, Ningsheng, 'Ancient tribes in Yunnan as represented on bronzes unearthed at Shizhaishan in Jinning County', *Kaogu Xuebao* 4 (1979): 423–39.

Wang, Ningsheng, 'Ancient Ethnic Groups as Represented on Bronzes from Yunnan, China', in *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*, ed. Stephen Shennan (London & New York: Routledge, 1989), 195–206.

Zhang, Zengqi, 'Again on the Influence and Diffusion of the Scythian Culture in the Yunnan Bronze Age', in *The Archaeology of the Steppes: Methods and Strategies*, ed. Bruno Genito (Naples: Instituto Universitario Orientale, 1994), 667–99.

Zhang, Zengqi, *滇国青铜艺术 [Bronze Arts of the Dian: The Complete Works of Yunnan National Fine Arts]* (Kunming City: Yunnan People's Publishing House, 2000).

Later, In the Nanzhao period (649-902 CE), there are suggestions for the representations of a South Asian merchant and monks, and Persians, in the Shibaoshan caves (石宝山石窟), Jianchuan county, Yunnan. The area is known to have been on a trade route near Shaxi, an important site in the network connecting northeast India with Sichuan and which became the Tea Road. There are also a group of figures represented in the *Nanzhao tu zhuan* (Illustrated Story of Nanzhao) scroll, thought to be a 12th century copy of a 9th century original. The figures have been recognised as Chinese visitors and an Indian brahmin, as well as local people from the Nanzhao

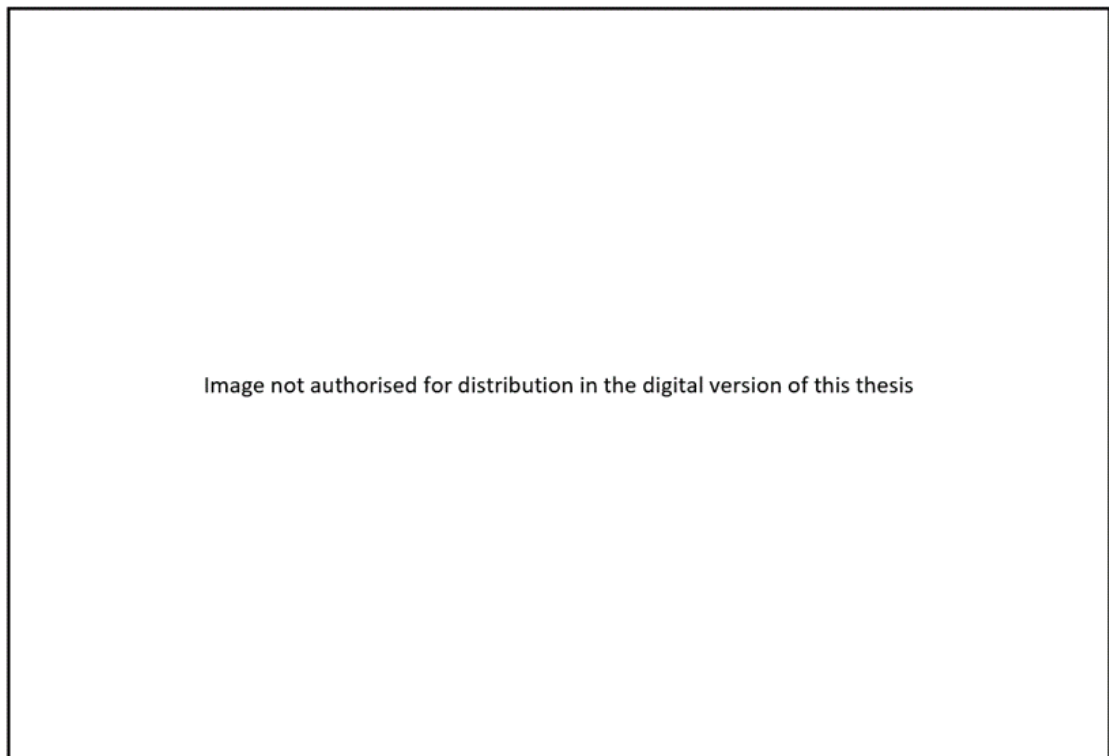


Figure A1-3 Section of the *Illustrated Story of Nanzhao* scroll. Photograph reproduced from Chapin & Soper, 'A long roll', Fig. 6.

polity. Both these juxtapose figures with different geographical associations, making studies of othering relevant.

Key references:

Chapin, Helen B., and Alexander C. Soper, 'A Long Roll of Buddhist Images. I', *Artibus Asiae* 32, no. 1 (1970): 5–41.

Guy, John, 'The Avalokiteśvara of Yunnan and Some South East Asian Connections', in *Southeast Asia & China: Art, Interaction & Commerce, Held June 6th-8th, 1994*, ed. Rosemary Scott and John Guy, Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia 17 (London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, University of London, 1995), 64–83.

Song, Boyin, 劍川石窟 [*Jianchuan Grottoes*] (Beijing: Wen wu chu ban she, 1958).

1.3. Indonesia

The Watu Weti rock art site near Ende on Flores, Indonesia, is considered to date to the early 1st millennium CE. The carved form has been interpreted as the representation of a figure associated with the Đông Sơn culture on a boat, the cultural association being inferred from what has been reconstructed of the headdress and the associated weapon. This would articulate with my discussion in the main text of

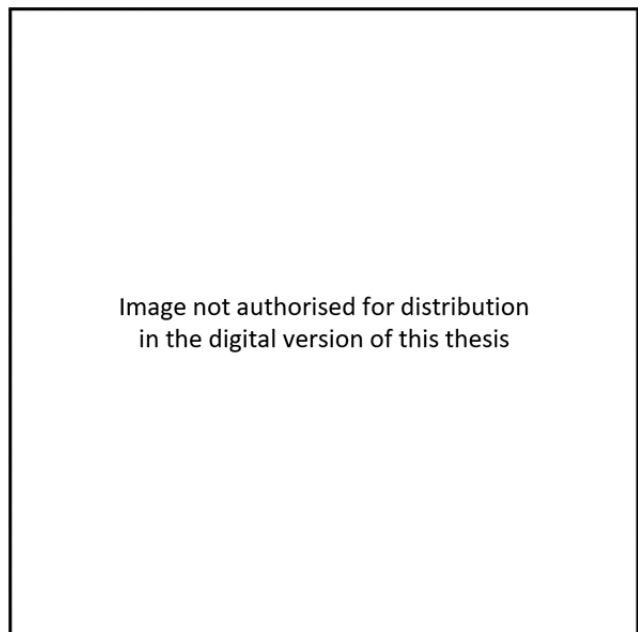


Figure A1-4 Watu Weti rock art; detail of suggested figure on boat. Photograph reproduced from Verhoeven, 'Watu Weti', Fig. 5.

how individual objects held can be used by ancient artists to signify identity, including perceived foreignness. As noted by commentators on the Watu Weti art, the relevance of this representation is the connectedness of the communities in this area of Indonesia with the long-distance exchange networks, indicated by the presence of Đông Sơn-type bronze drums found archaeologically in the region.

Key references:

Verhoeven, T., 'The Watu Weti (Picture Rock) of Flores', *Anthropos* 51, no. 5–6 (1956): 1077–79.

Spennemann, Dirk H.R., 'Einige Bemerkungen zum Dong-So'n Schiff vom Berg Dobo auf Flores, Indonesien', *Tribus* 34 (1985): 145–80.

Bellwood, Peter, 'Bronze Drums, Migrations and Megaliths', in *East of Bali: From Lombok to Timor*, ed. Kal Müller (Tuttle Publishing, 1997), 26–27.

The bronze drum named Makalamau was discussed in the main text (Section 6.6.1), having been recovered from an Indonesian context, on the island of Sangeang. It is in the Đông Sơn tradition, but the production and distribution patterns of Đông Sơn-type drums have been recognised in recent years to be more complex than a single centre of production in northern Vietnam. Thus, the production site of this specific drum is unclear, but it is listed here as its find spot was in Indonesia.

There are several reliefs of interest at Borobudur and, given the monument's significance in the 9th century Buddhist networks connecting South, Southeast and East Asia, this is perhaps not surprising. For example, there are suggestions of a Chinese monk represented in relief IBa372 (Nou & Frédéric, p.325) and a Papuan slave in relief IIB33 (Krom, Vol.1, pp.467-68). Merchants are not uncommon in the reliefs, and some have been suggested to wear foreign dress, for example in relief Ib67 (Krom, Vol.2, p.201), perhaps reflecting interactions with long-distance merchants. Epigraphic sources suggest rulers may have employed foreign merchants as tax collectors in the 9th-11th century.¹ Other figures are noted to be similarly dressed in reliefs Ib58-59 (Krom, Vol.2, p.201). Many of these figures do appear to be visually differentiated, but the significance of this difference needs further research. An interesting example of an

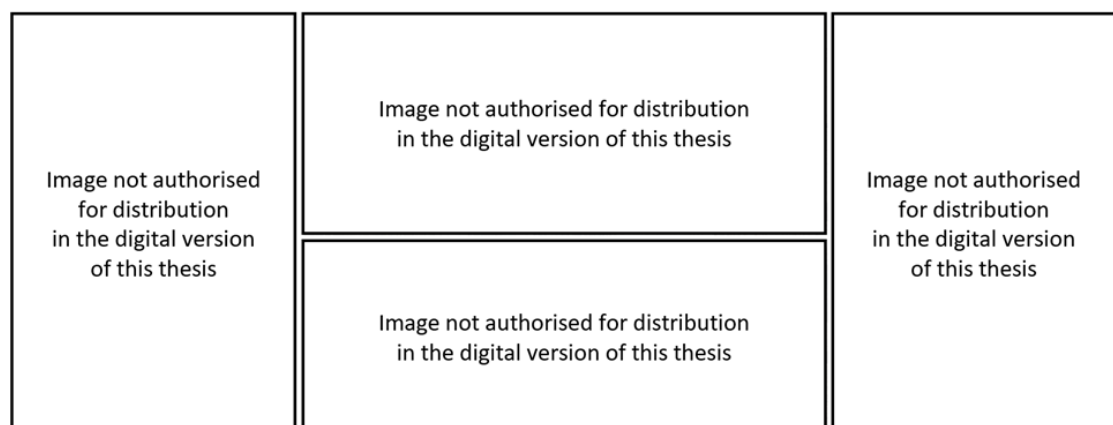


Figure A1-5 Suggested Chinese monk and Papuan slave from reliefs IBa372 and IIB33 at Borobudur. Photographs: Author.

¹ Jan Wisseman, 'Markets and Trade in Pre-Majapahit Java', in *Economic Exchange and Social Interaction in Southeast Asia: Perspectives from Prehistory, History, and Ethnography*, ed. Karl L. Hutterer (Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies & University of Michigan, 1978), 207–8.

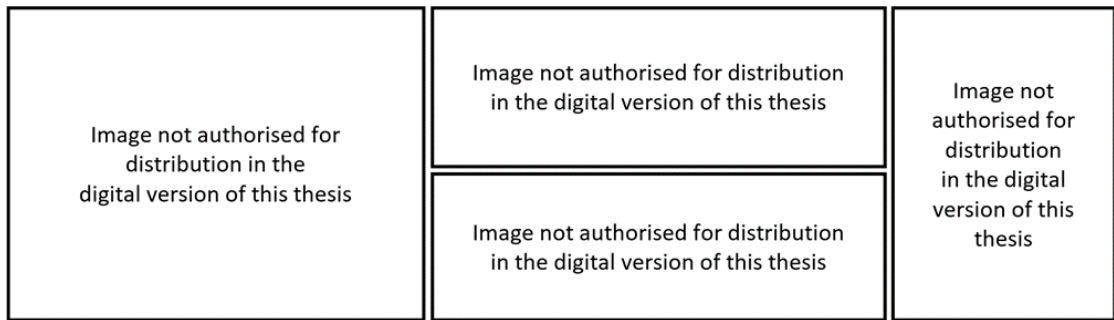


Figure A1-6 Suggested foreigners (merchants?) and a *latte* house of Mariana Islands type from reliefs Ib58 and Ib86 at Borobudur. Photographs: Author.

apparent reference to geographical distance, akin to the use of landscape features or exotic flora and fauna to indicate a non-local setting, may be seen in the representation of a sailors visiting people living in a *latte* house, of a type known in the Mariana Islands of Micronesia (Laguana et al, pp.107-110).² Significantly, many of the texts relating to the narrative reliefs at Borobudur have been identified, which gives greater context for understanding the social roles held by a composition's figures. This gives scope for considering the artistic choices made when representing aspects of appearance.

The *Māravijaya* relief (Ia94) includes figures which should be included in the wider discussion of the possible representation of foreignness at Borobudur. One of Māra's soldiers at the left of the composition has short and curly hair, a long and horizontal ear ornament, and a blowpipe, which visually differentiate him from most of Borobudur's figures. There are some similarities with Krom's 'Papuan slave', noted above, and his identification of a 'stick' may be another blowpipe. The representation of a person from elsewhere in the archipelago is certainly one possibility. Other soldiers in the army may also be relevant. This is of interest because foreigners find



Figure A1-7 Māra's soldier with blowpipe from relief Ia94 at Borobudur. Photographs: Author.

² I thank Panggah Ardiyansiyah, Balai Konservasi Borobudur, for highlighting this relief for me.

their way into *Māravijaya* murals of later Bagan and Thai art,³ and the narrative context of seeking to prevent the Enlightenment would suggest a negative perception of those represented.

Key references:

Krom, N.J., *Barabudur: Archaeological Description*, 3 vols (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1927).

Laguana, Andrew, et al., 'Estorian i Latte: A Story of Latte', *Micronesica* 42, no. 1–2 (2012): 80–120.

Nou, Jean-Louis, and Louis Frédéric, *Borobudur*, trans. M. Christian (New York, London & Paris: Abbeville Press, 1996).

Ong, Natalie S.Y., 'Personal adornment, cosmopolitan inspiration, and social hierarchy: a comparative study of Javanese temple iconography', paper presented at the 15th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Université Paris Ouest Nanterre la Défense, Paris, 6-10 July 2015.

Satari, Soejatmi, 'Dress and Adornments as Reflection of Social Position in Ancient Java during the Ninth to Tenth Centuries', in *Uncovering the Meaning of the Hidden Base of Candi Borobudur: International Seminar, Borobudur, Magelang, 1-5 July 2008* (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Arkeologi Nasional, 2009), 339–46.

Mention should be made of a small group of bronze horse-rider figures from sites in eastern Java, but none from a controlled excavation. Consequently, opinion differs on whether they should be dated to the late Iron Age (c.500 CE) or Majapahit period (13th-16th century). The earlier interpretation puts them in the context of early historic elites importing horses for displays of status rather than as cavalry animals. The later interpretation relates to their identification as Mongol horse-back

warriors with crossbows, in the context of Majapahit conflict with Yuan China (1271-1368).

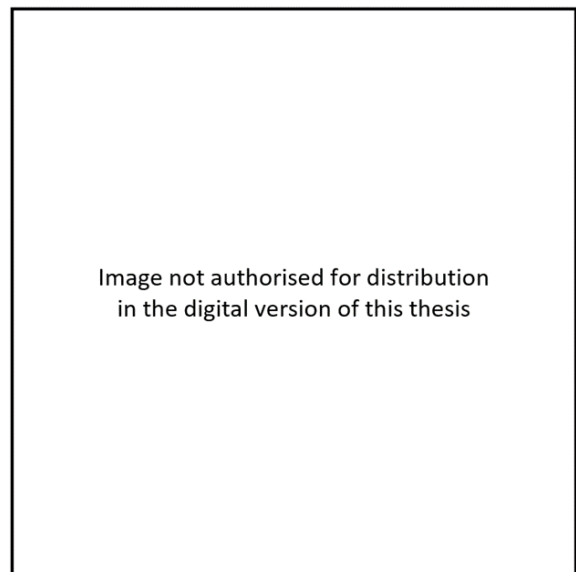


Figure A1-8 Bronze horse-rider figure from Tiris, East Java. Photograph reproduced from van Heekeren, *Bronze-Iron Age*, Pl. 10.

³ Claudine Bautze-Picron, 'Bagan Murals and the Sino-Tibetan World', in *Buddhist Encounters and Identities Across East Asia*, ed. Ann Heirman, Carmen Meinert, and Christoph Anderl (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2018), 45–46; Charles Keyes, 'Muslim "Others" in Buddhist Thailand', *Thammasat Review* 13, no. 1 (2008-2009): 19–42.

Key references:

Bosch, F.D.K., 'Twee bronzen ruitbeeldjes uit het Loemadjangsche', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1926 (1927): 77–80.

Bulbeck, David, 'Island Southeast Asia Late Prehistoric', in *Encyclopedia of Prehistory Volume 3: East Asia and Oceania*, ed. Peter N. Peregrine and Melvin Ember (New York, Boston, Dordrecht, London & Moscow: Kluwer Academic / Plenum Publishers, 2001), 82–116.

Muller, H.R.A., *Javanese Terracottas: Terra Incognita* (Lochem: Uitgeversmaatschappij De Tijdstroom B.V., 1978) – see pp.49 & 59.

van Heekeren, H. R., *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia*, Verhandelingen van Het Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde 22 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958).

1.4. Laos

The heads of two *gavākṣa* from the site of Wat Phu, associated with the pre-Angkorian period of end-6th/early-7th century, have been interpreted as wearing “a conical bonnet smoothly rounded at the top” (Hawixbrock, 2017, p.16).⁴ Seen from the side, the lower edge has a pronounced brim or band, possibly hair emerging from under the cap, but the upper extent does not incline forward like the Sambor Prei Kuk figures' caps. One *gavākṣa* is held at the Wat Phu

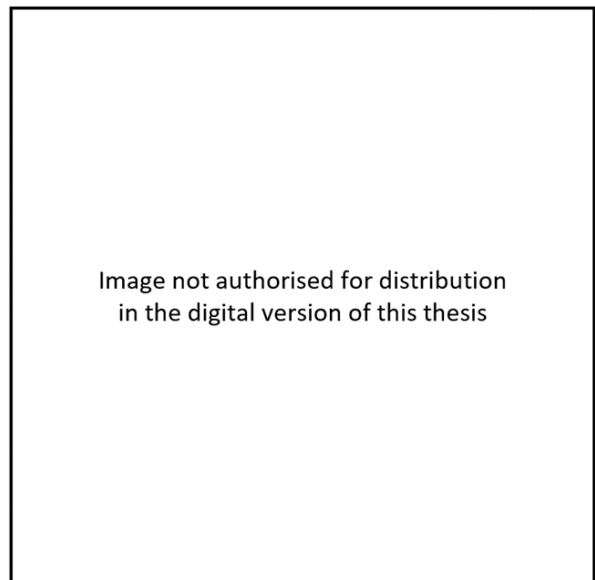


Figure A1-9 *Gavākṣa* from Wat Phu. Photograph reproduced from Hawixbrock et al., *Vat Phu Champassak*, p.105.

Museum, and the other at the Champassak Provincial Museum in Pakse. There is no clear suggestion of foreignness in the literature, but the presence of caps in a pre-Angkorian context is of interest.

Key references:

Hawixbrock, Christine, 'Le musée de Vat Phu et les collections archéologiques de Champassak', *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 97–98 (2010): 271–314.

Hawixbrock, Christine, et al., *ວັດພູ ຈຳປາສັກ - Vat Phu Champassak: Collections du musée de Vat Phu / Vat Phu Museum Collections*, trans. Maïr Hyman (Vat Phu Champassak World Heritage Department & Departement du Patrimoine mondial de Vat Phu Champassak, 2012).

⁴ I am grateful to Michel Lorrillard for bringing these objects to my attention.

Santoni, Marielle, 'Fouille d'un Monument Préangkorien Dans La Ville Ancienne Associé à Vat Phu (Province de Champassak, Laos)', in *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1994: Proceedings of the 5th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Paris, 24th-28th October 1994*, ed. Pierre-Yves Manguin, vol. 2, 2 vols (Hull: University of Hull Centre for South-East Asian Studies, 1998), 1–20.

1.5. Myanmar

An unpublished stamped ceramic sherd from Kaw Hmu,⁵ near Twante in Lower Myanmar, shows a standing figure with headwear that inclines forward, a lower body profile suggesting a knee-length flared garment, and holding two objects, one long and thin, the other rounded. The form of the stamp is consistent with many others in the area with a 'neem-leaf' design above a field containing a figure or motif. It has been suggested this earthenware was being produced in the Twante area from the early 1st millennium CE, but dating is not well evidenced yet; glazed sherds with a similar design



Figure A1-10 Unpublished earthenware sherd with 'neem-leaf' design from Twante; lower pair of images with different raking light sources. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgement to U San Win, University of Yangon.

are also seen, which may suggest a later date or continuation of production. The combination of features for the figure pictured is perhaps comparable to the ruler image on a Kuṣāṇa coin. Of course, theoretically, an early 1st-millennium CE date for a coin need not imply the contemporaneity of the ceramic. If this interpretation is valid,

⁵ Reference no. TW.CA.15.18, approx. 5.5 x 9.0 cm. I am grateful to Elizabeth Moore for bringing this sherd to my attention, and to U San Win for allowing me to photograph it before the excavation report is complete.

it would be interesting to consider the relationship between motifs on coins and ceramics, the meaning of the imagery and purpose of the ceramic, and would remind us that apparent representations of ‘foreigners’ need not be explained by their physical presence.

Key references:

Myo Thant Tyn, Win Kyaing, and Than Tin, ‘Design from Ancient Potshards of Twante’, *Journal of the Myanmar Academy of Arts and Science* 6, no. 6B (2008): 239–63.

Myo Thant Tyn, ‘Ceramics in Burma’, in *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*, ed. Helaine Selin, 3rd ed. (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 1–14.

Also in Lower Myanmar, in the Kyontu area, have been found a number of terracotta plaques bearing roundels that contain a variety of dynamic imagery. They are considered to date to the 5th-8th century CE. Scenes of conflict involving horse riders were discussed in the main text (Section 6.6.2). Another compositional type that may be relevant is of a lion resting a front paw on the head of a naked figure lying face down. The



Figure A1-11 Terracotta plaque from Kyontu, Bago region, Myanmar. Photograph: Author, with acknowledgement to the Bago Archaeological Museum.

compositional structuring recalls the Egyptian scene of the pharaoh as sphinx crushing his enemy with one paw, although no cultural connection is necessarily implied. The lion represents a royal and defensive animal in many cultures and is seen in the visual culture of the Mon sites of Winka and Zothoke, and possibly symbolises the defeat of an enemy by the ruler. Another fragmentary example at Kyontu itself shows an elephant trampling a long-haired figure underfoot, and perhaps encapsulates a similar idea, given the elephant is also an animal with royal connotations and appears with the lions at Zothoke.

Key references:

Luce, G.H., *Phases of Pre-Pagán Burma: Languages and History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

Moore, Elizabeth H., *Early Landscapes of Myanmar* (Bangkok: River Books, 2007).

Stadtner, Donald M., 'Roundel with Figures', in *Buddhist Art of Myanmar*, ed. Sylvia Fraser-Lu and Donald M. Stadtner (New York & New Haven: Asia Society & Yale University Press, 2015), 110–11.

In Upper Myanmar, at the Pyu city of Halin, is a stone stele bearing a throng of 53 Buddhist devotees below a seated figure with the right hand lowered. This figure is thought to be a bodhisattva because of the iconography of posture and gesture. The devotees wear a variety of headdresses and some have been compared to figures in the art of Nanzhao, in Yunnan to the northeast.



Figure A1-12 Stone slab from Halin. Photograph: Author, with acknowledgement to the Halin Archaeological Museum.

Key references:

Moore, Elizabeth H., *Early Landscapes of Myanmar* (Bangkok: River Books, 2007) – see pp.184–85.

Moore, Elizabeth H., 'Cultural Exchange between Myanmar and Yunnan ca. 600 BCE–400 CE', in *Southern Silk Route: Historical Links to Contemporary Convergences*, ed. Lipi Ghosh and Tansen Sen (New Delhi: Manohar, 2014), 45–68.

A bronze throne-back in Naypyidaw National Museum, reportedly found in the Pyinmana area, is considered to date to the Pyu period. Its archaeological context is not known, and an archaeometallurgical study would be valuable. It does not appear to have been published. Below the throne's *makara* crossbar are paired riders of lions or *vyāla*,⁶ who are represented wearing unusual and distinctive dress if this is a Pyu product. They have front-opening upper garments, tall caps with rounded peaks that fall forward, apparently extending quite low at the back and sides, and possibly boots because toes were not modelled although fingers were. This form of dress is consistent

⁶ Horns do not appear to be present.

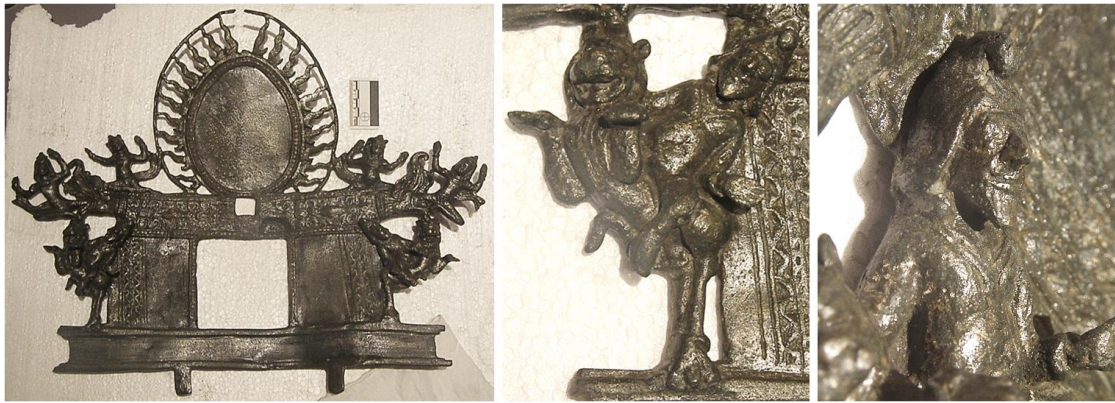


Figure A1-13 Lion-riders on a Pyu (?) bronze throne-back. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgement to the Naypyidaw National Museum.

with the Central Asian vestimentary system encountered on several occasions in this thesis. The pointed chins are suggestive of beards and their noses are more prominent than the other figures on the throne-back. The structure and iconography of the throne-back is quite complete, and lion-riders a distinctive feature, so stylistic comparisons should give productive insights into its relationship with other throne-backs designs.

1.6. Thailand

An impressed clay sealing in the Chansen Museum shows a figure similar in many ways to that on the stamped ceramic sherd from Twante discussed above. The figure wears a knee-length flared lower garment, or full-length garment, and headwear inclined forward and falling forward at the peak, recalling the caps associated with Central Asian-type dress. Again, two objects are held, a long thin object in the raised proper right hand, and a rounded object in the lowered



Figure A1-14 Clay sealing from Chansen ancient city, held in the Chansen Museum. Photograph courtesy of Saritphong Khunsong. With acknowledgement also to the Chansen Museum.

proper left hand. The similarity to the design of Kuṣāṇa coins designs is again noted, although the significance of this is unclear. As an impressed image it is the stamp seal itself, which has not been recovered, which is the primary representation produced by the artist, raising questions of whether the seal and its impression were produced locally. Several objects of this general type are known from Chansen, some of which are inscribed, although this one is not. Analysis of the material used in the sealing's production may add to the understanding of how these objects were used locally.

Key references:

Khunsong, Saritphong, “รัฐทวารวดี” กับการค้า ตามเส้นทางสายแพรไหมทางทะเล ["Dvaravati state" trade on the maritime Silk Route], in *การแลกเปลี่ยนทางวัฒนธรรม บนเส้นทางการค้าทางทะเล: บทความจากการสัมมนาวิชาการ วันที่ 8-9 พฤษภาคม 2557 ณ โรงแรมวินเซอร์ สวีทส์ กรุงเทพฯ* [Symposium on Cultural Exchange on Maritime Trade Routes: Papers from an Academic Seminar 8-9 May 2014 at the Windsor Suites Hotel, Bangkok] (Bangkok: National Discovery Museum Institute, 2014 [2557]), 295–315.

Khunsong, Saritphong, *ทวารวดี: ประตูการค้าบนเส้นทางสายไหมทางทะเล* [Dvaravati: A Major Entrepot on the Maritime Silk Road] (Bangkok: Silpakorn University Press, 2015 [2558]).

Klinphoklab, Anan, ‘การศึกษาความหมายและรูปแบบของตราประทับสมัยแรกเริ่มประวัติศาสตร์ในพิพิธภัณฑ์สถานแห่งชาติอุทอง อำเภออุทอง จังหวัดสุพรรณบุรี (A study on the identification and art styles of seals in the early historical period at U Thong National Museum, U Thong, Suphan Buri)’ (MA Thesis, Silpakorn University, 2004 [2547]).

Wongthes, Sujit, ed., *สังคมและวัฒนธรรม จันเสน: เมืองแรกเริ่ม ในลุ่มลพบุรี-ป่าสัก* [Chansen: A Social and Cultural History] (Bangkok: Ruankaew Printing, 1996 [2539]).

A stamped ceramic sherd, also from Chansen, considered to date to the c.7th century on typological grounds, was discussed in the context of the association of foreign-dressed figures with horses (Section 6.6.4). The rider appears to wear similar forward-inclined headwear to that on the sealing above.

A series of terracotta and stucco figures in foreign dress including forward-inclined headwear, and elements of the Central Asian vestimentary system, notably a front-opening sleeved upper garment and boots, are known from several Dvāravatī *chedi* in the Central Thailand area. These were discussed in some detail as a case study for Chapter 7.

From a similar architectural context are several other figures which are sometimes labelled as ‘foreigners’ in museum display boards and guidebooks for several collections curated by the National Museums of Thailand. It is not yet clear where these attributions originate, and I have not been able to identify references to the

same interpretation in the academic literature. A terracotta figure of a woman from the Khu Bua *chedi* 40 deposit has a hairstyle and ear ornaments consistent with figures understood to represent local people (see Section 7.2.4) but is labelled as a ‘foreign woman’ in the display of the Bangkok National Museum. Similarly, a series of stucco heads from Nakhon Pathom are presented as Indians wearing turbans in the museum display and guidebook of the Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, but no specific comparators for this dress in Indian art are suggested. Elsewhere, these latter figures are interpreted as local Buddhist devotees of high social status. These very different interpretations based only on appearance demonstrate again the subjectivities of direct interpretation.

Key references:

Baptiste, Pierre, and Thierry Zéphir, eds., *Dvāravatī: Aux Sources du Bouddhisme en Thaïlande* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux & Musée Guimet, 2009) – see pp.162–63.

Guy, John, ‘Head of male Buddhist devotee’, in *Lost Kingdoms: Hindu-Buddhist Sculpture of Early Southeast Asia*, ed. John Guy (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014), 219.

Nguanphienphak, Usa, Manatsak Rak’u, and Suthep Sutthiphongkiat, *โบราณวัตถุในพิพิธภัณฑสถานแห่งชาติ พระปฐมเจดีย์* [Antiquities in the Phra



Figure A1-15 Terracotta representation of a woman from the Khu Bua *chedi* no. 40 deposit. Photograph: Author, with acknowledgement to the Bangkok National Museum.



Figure A1-16 Stucco figural heads from Nakhon Pathom. Photograph: Author, with acknowledgement to the Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom.

Pathom Chedi National Museum] (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 2005 [2548]).

Suriyarttanakon, Saranya, and Krisada Pinsri, *พิพิธภัณฑ์สถานแห่งชาติ พระปฐมเจดีย์ / Phrapathom Chedi National Museum*, 2nd ed. (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 2005 [2548]).

A brick from the Chula Pathon Chedi, considered to date from the 9th century, comes from a later phase of the monument and bears an incised representation of the head of a man looking left. The figure is widely recognised as representing a foreigner on the basis of different facial features including a prominent nose and beard, but also a distinctive domed cap with vertically defined sections. The cap is usually interpreted as the Islamic *kopiah*, and as such the figure is usually identified as a Muslim man. The 9th century date assigned to the brick would make it contemporary with the growth



Figure A1-17 Brick with incised representation of man's head from Chula Pathon Chedi, Nakhon Pathom. Photograph: Author, with acknowledgement to the Phra Pathom Chedi National Museum, Nakhon Pathom.

in maritime trade between Tang China and 'Abbāsīd Persia, and the figure is usually interpreted as the representation of a foreign merchant associated with this long-distance trade. A similarly broad range of identifications to the terracotta and stucco *chedi* figures above is offered in the literature, but especially Persian and Arab, including Persians and Arabs resident in the southern Chinese port cities. This example again highlights the issue of the subjectivity of direct interpretation of appearance, but also the assumption of the figure's societal role despite the absence of any iconographic indicators of mercantilism. Indeed, there is almost no discussion as to why this figure came to be represented on a *chedi* brick. Where this is considered, the figure is usually understood as graffiti, apparently of little consequence. However,

there are many other *chedi* bricks with significant ritual imagery and geometric patterns incised, moulded and painted onto their surfaces, which may give some interesting comparators for consideration of the Chula Pathon Chedi brick discussed here.

Key references:

Chantarananon, Pornpan, 'เรื่องของคนอาหรับมุสลิม ในสมัยราชวงศ์ถัง - ความคิดเห็นบางประการ เกี่ยวกับ "ภาพรูปบุคคลบนแผ่นอิฐแบบทวารวดี"' [On Arab Muslims under the Tang dynasty: some comments on "an image of an individual on a brick from Dvaravati"]', *Silpakorn Journal* 29, no. 2 (1985 [2528]): 42–49.

Charernsupkul, Anuvit, 'ภาพรูปบุคคลบนแผ่นอิฐแบบทวารวดี ณ เจดีย์จุลปะโทน นครปฐม: กับความสำคัญทางประวัติศาสตร์และโบราณคดีเอเชียอาคเนย์' [Image of a person on a brick from the Chedi Chula Pathon at Nakhon Pathom: its significance for the history and archaeology of Southeast Asia]', *Silpakorn Journal* 27, no. 1 (1983 [2526]): 55–57.

Charernsupkul, Anuvit, 'ภาพรูปบุคคลบนแผ่นอิฐแบบทวารวดี ณ เจดีย์จุลปะโทน นครปฐม: กับความสำคัญทางประวัติศาสตร์และโบราณคดีเอเชียอาคเนย์' [Image of a person on a brick from the Chedi Chula Pathon at Nakhon Pathom: its significance for the history and archaeology of Southeast Asia]', *Art & Culture Magazine* 6, no. 5 (1985 [2528]): 32–33.

Guy, John, 'Brick Depicting West Asian Merchant Wearing Kupeeyok Hat', in *Lost Kingdoms: Hindu-Buddhist Sculpture of Early Southeast Asia*, ed. John Guy (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014), 40.

Khunsong, Saritphong, "'รัฐทวารวดี" กับการค้า ตามเส้นทางสายแพรไหมทางทะเล ["Dvaravati state" trade on the maritime Silk Route]', in *การแลกเปลี่ยนทางวัฒนธรรม บนเส้นทางการค้าทางทะเล: บทความจากการสัมมนาวิชาการ วันที่ 8-9 พฤษภาคม 2557 ณ โรงแรมวินเซอร์ สวีทส์ กรุงเทพฯ [Symposium on Cultural Exchange on Maritime Trade Routes: Papers from an Academic Seminar 8-9 May 2014 at the Windsor Suites Hotel, Bangkok]* (Bangkok: National Discovery Museum Institute, 2014 [2557]), 295–315.

Khunsong, Saritphong, *ทวารวดี: ประตูการค้าบนเส้นทางสายไหมทางทะเล [Dvaravati: A Major Entrepot on the Maritime Silk Road]* (Bangkok: Silpakorn University Press, 2015 [2558]).

Onwimol, Wipada, 'อิฐมีลวดลายในสมัยทวารวดี [Bricks with designs of the Dvaravati period]' (MA Thesis, Silpakorn University, 2013 [2556]).

Revire, Nicolas, 'Re-Exploring the Buddhist "Foundation Deposits" at Chedi Chula Prathon, Nakhon Pathom', in *Buddhist Dynamics in Premodern and Early Modern Southeast Asia*, ed. D. Christian Lammerts (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015), 172–217.

1.7. Vietnam

Two bronze anthropomorphic lamp-holders from 1st-3rd century CE northern Vietnam belong to a category of object that are often considered to represent foreigners, and the example from Lạch Trường has previously been discussed in these terms. The object type originates in earlier Chinese material culture, where bronze and clay anthropomorphic lamp-holders and similar functional objects have been interpreted as placing the figure in a servile role, with several understood as representing 'barbarians'. Understanding the archaeological context is significant for these objects,

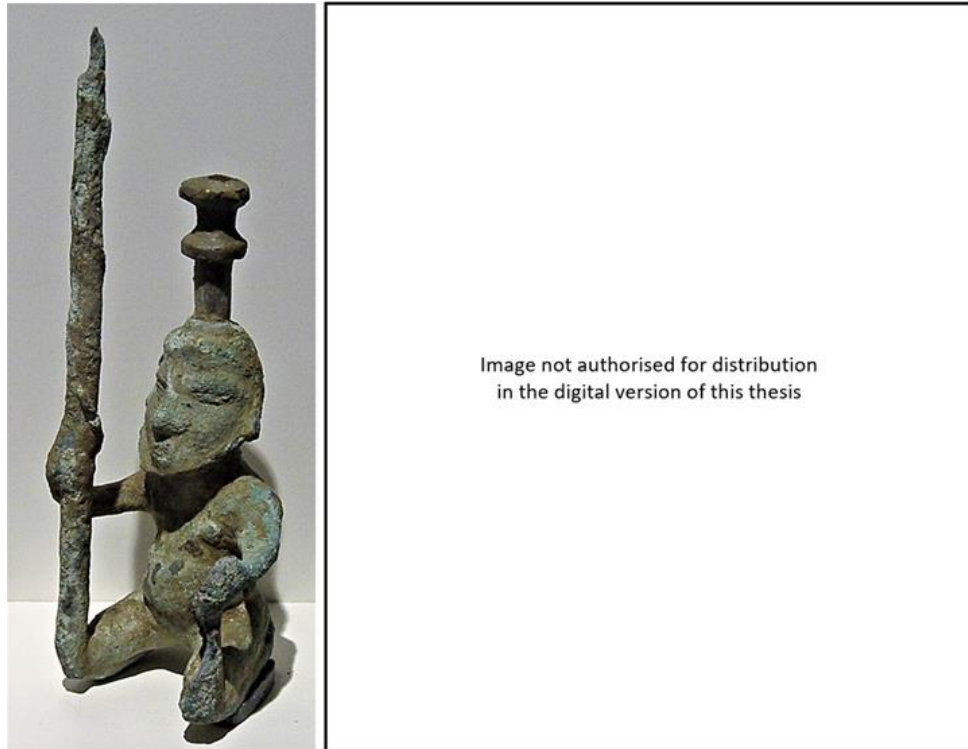


Figure A1-18 Bronze anthropomorphic lamp-holders from (left) Đông Tác and (right) Lạch Trường. Photographs: (left) Author, with acknowledgement to the Guimet Museum, Paris; (right) reproduced from Janse, 'Rapport préliminaire', Pl. I.

because the population of northern Vietnam during this period included descendants of the local Đông Sơn culture, recently immigrant Han Chinese and potentially other ethnicities from further north, as well as an emerging Han-Việt social identity that combined aspects of Sinitic culture with local cultural expression. The meaning of these objects would therefore potentially vary quite considerably depending on who is understood to have been their producers, owners and users, because perceptions of otherness will have varied. A different approach will be to consider other kinds of imagery found with lamp holders, for example exotic and fantastical animals, and whether the apparent foreignness of the figures relates to their associations of exoticness, prestige or the supramundane.

Key references:

Goloubew, Victor, 'Le lampadaire de Lạch-Trường', *Cahiers de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 23 (1940): 33–34.

Janse, Olov R.T., 'Rapport préliminaire d'une mission archéologique en Indochine auprès de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient', *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 9, no. 1 (1935): 144–53.

Nguyễn Phú Phong, 'Les nouvelles recherches archéologiques au Vietnam (Complément au Vietnam de Louis Bezacier)', *Arts Asiatiques* 31 (1975): 3–151.

Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, Michèle, 'Imperial Aura and the Image of the Other in Han Art', in *Conceiving the Empire: China and Rome Compared*, ed. Fritz-Heiner Mutschler and Achim Mittag (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 299–317.

A tin ring bearing a figural head was found at Óc Eo in the Mekong Delta and published by Louis Malleret. He offered different views of the facial features and hairstyle, perhaps comparable to inhabitants of the local area on the one hand, but also comparable with representations of the Hephthalites of Central Asia who practiced cranial deformation.

Key references:

Louis Malleret, *L'Archéologie du Delta du Mékong*, 3 vols, Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1960) – see Vol.2 p.315 & Vol.3 Pls.XCVIII-C.

Louis Malleret, 'Une nouvelle statue préangkorienne de Sūrya dans le Bas-Mékong', *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 23 (1966): 109–20.

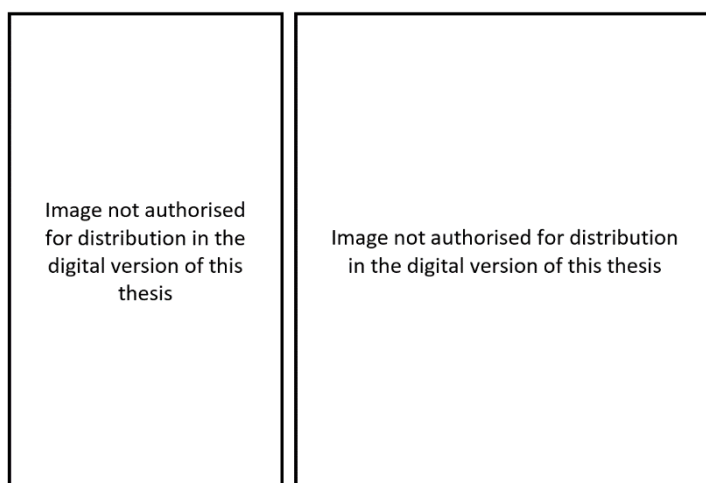


Figure A1-19 Figural head on tin ring from Óc Eo. Photographs reproduced from Malleret, *Archéologie du Delta du Mékong*, vol.3 Pls. XCVIII & XCIX.

Appendix 2. A survey of *gavākṣa* and related features

This appendix compiles *gavākṣa* and formally-related features for the period up to the late 8th century, for stylistic comparison to the S2 pedestal *gavākṣa*.¹ The S2 pedestal was dated on an epigraphic basis to the early 7th century. However, a longer date range was chosen for the comparative material to accommodate the imprecisions involved in the dating of visual material on the basis of stylistic comparison or cultural affiliation, and the potential impact of the phasing of architectural production at a site. There has been no restriction of geographical distribution for this material, since the purpose of this study is to try to identify locations with the most comparable *gavākṣa*, indicating apparent connections between their production systems.

The extensiveness of both the chronological and geographical dimensions of the comparative material means, of course, that a large amount of data is generated, which can be difficult to summarise without generalising. Indeed, the few existing surveys of *gavākṣa* formal variation in the academic literature have tended to be somewhat restricted in scale or selective in the examples discussed, no doubt due to the large quantity of material to be incorporated, and perhaps in part due to the practicalities and restrictions of publishing processes.² However, to ensure greater objectivity in this study's conclusions, and to permit the reader to consider those conclusions without relying on an unsupported art historical assertion, Appendix 2 is itself extensive – but even this is not exhaustive, and represents ongoing work. All *gavākṣa* images included are referenced, with provenance and approximate date also indicated, to aid the reader.³

¹ See Section 5.2.3.

² Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, 'Early Indian Architecture: III. Palaces', in *Ananda K. Coomaraswamy: Essays in Early Indian Architecture*, ed. Michael W. Meister (New Delhi, Delhi, Bombay, Madras & Calcutta: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts & Oxford University Press, 1992), 47–57; Devaprasad Ghosh, 'The Chaitya Window Motif', in *J.N. Banerjee Volume* (Calcutta: Alumni Association, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, 1960), 148–64; Odette Viennot, *Temples de l'Inde centrale et occidentale: étude stylistique et essai de chronologie relative du VI^e au milieu du X^e siècle*, 2 vols, Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient: Mémoires Archéologiques, XI (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1976); Mireille Bénisti, *Stylistics of Early Khmer Art*, trans. K. Thanikaimony (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts & Aryan Books International, 2003), 24–29; Adam Hardy, 'Parts and Wholes: The Story of the Gavākṣa', in *The Temple in South Asia*, ed. Adam Hardy (London: British Association for South Asian Studies, 2007), 63–82.

³ Many of these images are only available in the hardcopy of this thesis in the SOAS Library, because permission to reproduce them in the digital version has not been sought. Nonetheless, online sources

Another effect of the limitations on publishing extensive studies of *gavākṣa* formal variation, has been the reduced availability of high-quality photography of the range of *gavākṣa* forms itself. Many of the images in Appendix 2 have been cropped from photographs that are focussed on another feature, meaning the *gavākṣa* itself is peripheral or incidental, often small in size and the resolution of its details may be compromised.

The methodological approach outlined in Section 5.2.3, prioritising formal comparison over chronological estimations, does not exclude chronological considerations entirely, and approximate date ranges for the *gavākṣa* shown in Appendix 2 are given. These are based on a range of opinions for the date of the *gavākṣa* or its material context, including that of the source of the image shown, but these dates should be understood as approximations only and my use of these dates is not intended to validate them. Chronological considerations are incorporated into my methodology after formal analysis has reduced the quantity of comparative material, and closer scrutiny of the arguments for dating of individual *gavākṣa* can be undertaken. In emphasising formal comparison, I have also tried to prioritise comparators in their unsplit forms – by the 7th century, north Indian *gavākṣa* had developed multi-*gavākṣa* units comprising both *gavākṣa* split into two halves vertically and unsplit *gavākṣa* emerging from between the split halves.⁴ Pre-Angkorian *gavākṣa* do not show split forms, which may in itself indicate something of the connections between production systems, so comparisons with unsplit *gavākṣa* elsewhere are more helpful. Nonetheless, where little material evidence remains at a site for unsplit *gavākṣa*, these split and partial *gavākṣa* are included in Appendix 2 because they are still useful through being stylistically related to the unsplit forms.

A note on the image referencing system in Appendix 2 – Sources for all the images included in Appendix 2 are given underneath the images. For reasons of space and brevity, these are given as abbreviated forms of the references listed in the separate Appendix 2 bibliography, which appears after the images themselves. In addition to published works, use has been made of the online archive of the American Institute of

are indicated for many of the *gavākṣa* shown – see the note on the image referencing system at the end of this introductory information.

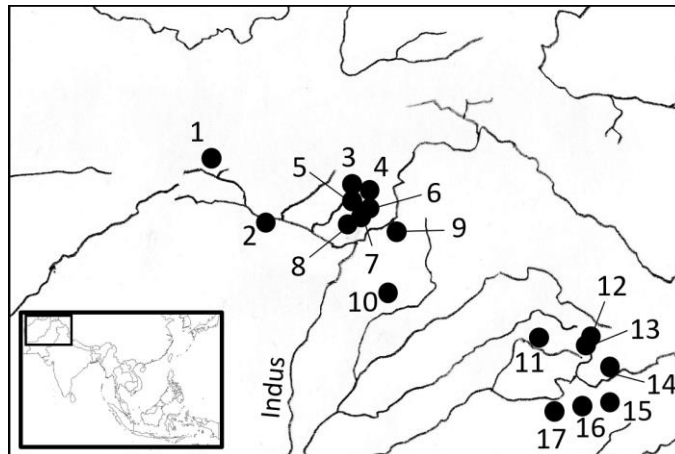
⁴ Hardy, 'Parts and Wholes', 68–71 & 79–82.

Indian Studies, run by its Center for Art and Archaeology,⁵ and these images are referred to by prefixing their Negative numbers and Accession numbers with AIIS. Both numbers can be used for searching the archive. Images have also been found using the online Huntington Archive,⁶ and these are referred to using their scan numbers. Readers should note that, for all these sources, many of the *gavākṣa* have been cropped from larger images. The maps were produced by the author.

⁵ At the time of writing, this can be found at <https://dsal.uchicago.edu/images/aiis/>.

⁶ <https://dsal.uchicago.edu/huntington/database.php>

Northwestern South Asia

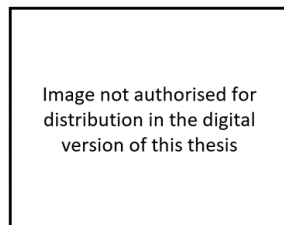


KEY:

- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Tōp-Darrah | 7. Jamāl Garhī | 13. Naggār |
| 2. Haḍḍa | 8. Takht-i-bāhī & Mohammed Nari | 14. Nirmand |
| 3. Marjanai | 9. Taxila | 15. Hatkoti |
| 4. Butkara I | 10. Chōa Saidān Shāh | 16. Dhabas |
| 5. Loriyān Tāṅgai | 11. Masrur | 17. Sanghol |
| 6. Kashmir Smast | 12. Jagatsukh | |

1. Tōp-Darrah (Afghanistan)

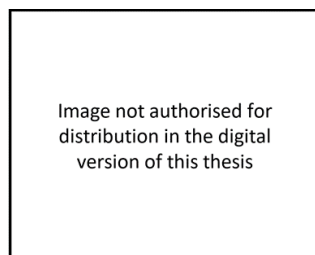
Stūpa, c.7th century (?)



Source of image: Behrendt, *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhāra*, Fig.116

2. Haḍḍa (Afghanistan)

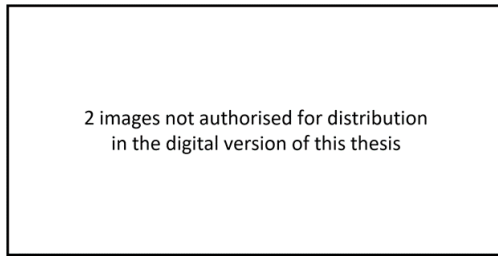
Tapa-i-kafariha monastery (?), c.4th-5th century



Source of image: Behrendt, *The Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, No.68

3. Marjanai, Swat (Pakistan)

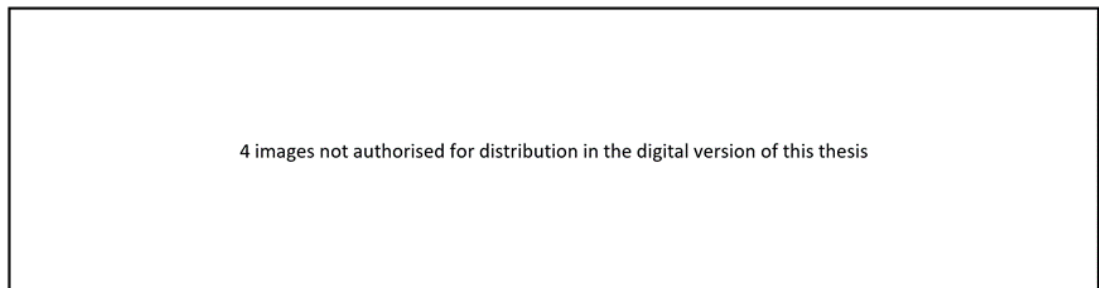
Sculpture, early Gandhāran



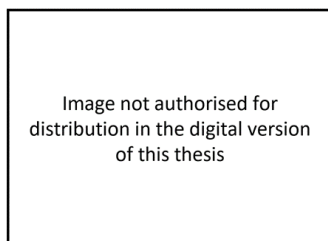
Source of images: Brancaccio, 'Gateways to the Buddha', Fig. 9.2

4. Butkara I, Swat (Pakistan)

Sculpture, early Gandhāran



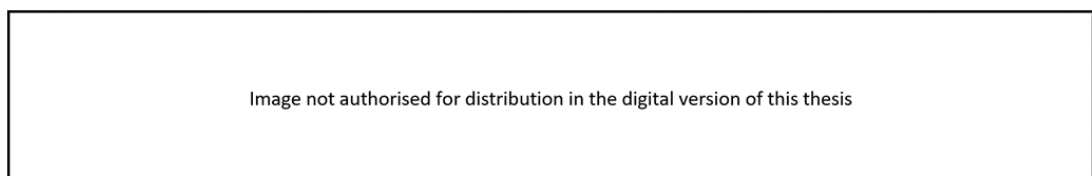
Source of images: Brancaccio, 'Gateways to the Buddha', Figs. 9.1, 9.5, 9.6 & 9.7



Source of image: Behrendt, *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhāra*, Fig.99

5. Loriyān Tāngai, Peshawar Basin (Pakistan)

Sculpture, c.1st-2nd century



Source of image: AIIS Negative no. 245.27 (Accession no. 36096)

2 images not authorised for distribution
in the digital version of this thesis

Source of image: AIIS Negative nos. 245.77 (Accession no. 34602) & 246.33 (Accession No 34610)

6. Kashmir Smast, near Mardan, Sakra Mountains (Pakistan)

Architectural fragment, c.8th century

Image not authorised for distribution
in the digital version of this thesis

Source of image: Fischer, *Schöpfungen indischer Kunst*, Taf. 70

7. Jamāl Garhī, Peshawar Basin (Pakistan)

Sculpture, Gandhāran

4 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: Errington, 'The Western Discovery of the Art of Gandhāra and the Finds of Jamālgarhī', Figs.89, 249, 250 & 251

4 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: British Library Online Gallery (<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/index.html>) Photo nos. 1003995, 1003989, 10031005 & 1003992; accessed 15/06/2019

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Source of image: British Library Online Gallery (<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/index.html>) Photo no. 10031000; accessed 15/06/2019

8a. Takht-i-bāhī, Peshawar Basin (Pakistan)

Shrine T4

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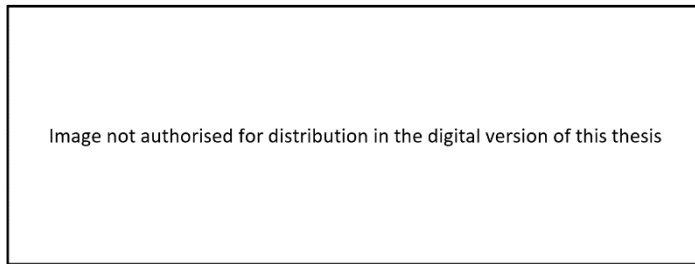
Source of image: Behrendt, *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhāra*, Fig.53

Indrasala cave

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Source of image: AIIS Negative no. 246.20 (Accession no. 34638)

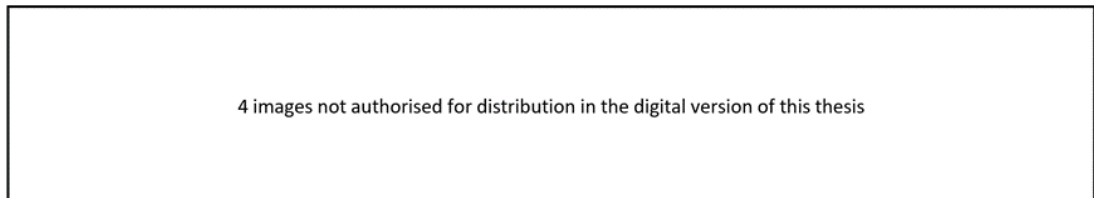
Unspecified location



Source of image: Errington, 'The Western Discovery of the Art of Gandhāra and the Finds of Jamālgarhī', Fig.95

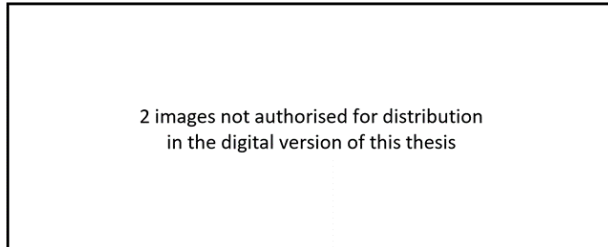
8b. Mohammed Nari, Peshawar Basin (Pakistan)

Sculpture, c.3rd-4th century



Source of images: Rhi, 'Wondrous Vision: The Mohammad Nari Stele from Gandhara', Fig.1

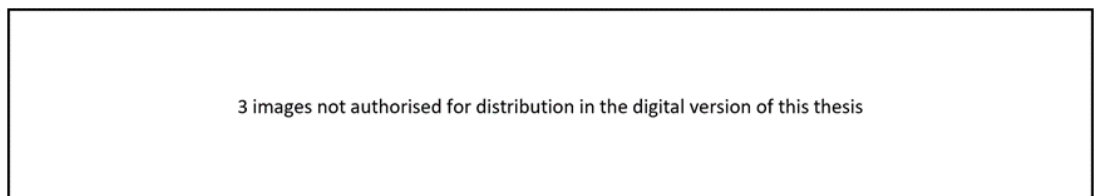
Sculpture, c.4th-5th century



Source of images: Behrendt, *The Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Fig.29

9. Taxila, Punjab (Pakistan)

Sculpture, Gandhāran



Source of images: Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol.3, Pl.216 no.77, Pl.217 no.78 & Pl.218 no.92

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Source of image: Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol.3, Pl.217 no.76

Stupa K1, Dharmarājikā complex, Gandhāran

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Source of image: Behrendt, *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhāra*, Fig.18

Unspecified Gandhāran sites:

3 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: Rhi, 'The Fate of a Bowl (or Bowls)', Fig. 8.17; Behrendt, *The Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, No.36

10. Chōa Saidān Shāh, Salt Range, Punjab (Pakistan)

Temple of Murti, near Chōa Saidān Shāh, post-Gupta

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Source of image: Harle, 'The Post-Gupta Style in Indian Temple Architecture and Sculpture', Fig.2

11. Masrur, Kangra, Himachal Pradesh

Śaiva temple complex, Masrur, c.8th-9th century

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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. AAB 112.51 (Accession no. 9402), AAB 502.19 (Accession no. 58092), AAB 502.16 (Accession no. 58094), AAB 501.99 (Accession no. 58131) & AAB 501.98 (Accession no. 58132)

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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. AAB 502.47 (Accession no. 58106) & AAB 502.6 (Accession no. 58126)

12. Jagatsukh, Kangra, Himachal Pradesh

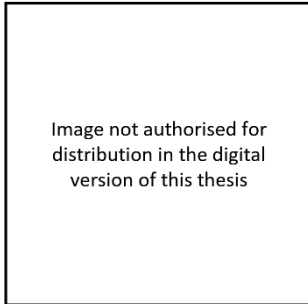
Gaurī-Śaṅkar temple, c.8th century

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Source of image: AIIS Negative no. AAB 112.40 (Accession no. 9238)

13. Naggar, Kullu, Himachal Pradesh

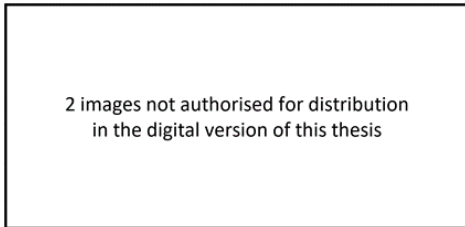
Temple, c.8th-9th century



Source of image: Thakur, 'Temple Architecture in Himachal Pradesh', Pl. XXII.2

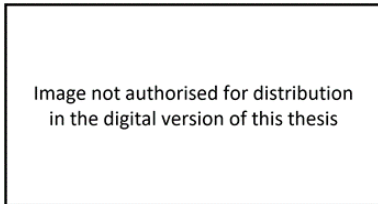
14. Nirmand, Kullu, Himachal Pradesh

Laṭṭa Bāoli temple, c.7th-8th century



Source of images: Thakur, 'Temple Architecture in Himachal Pradesh', Pl. VIII.4

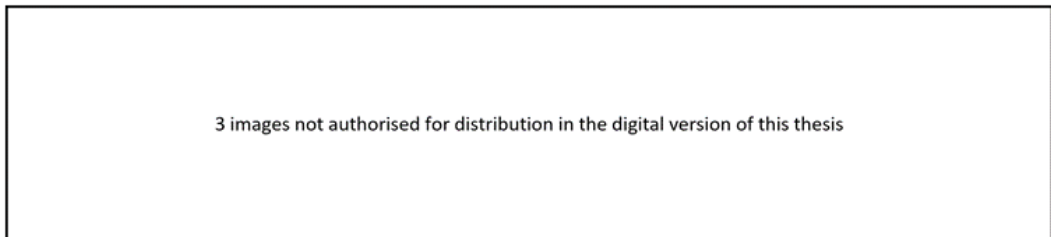
Chaṇḍī Devī temple, c.8th century



Source of image: Archaeological Survey of India, *Rampur Hydro-Electric Project: Scope for Archaeological Study*, Fig. 101

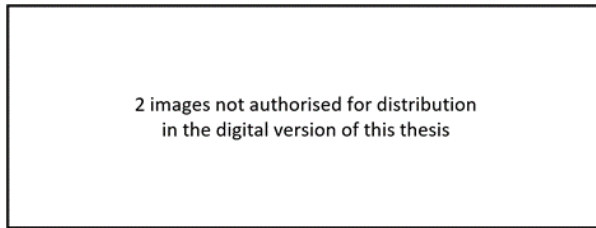
15. Hatkoti, Shimla, Himachal Pradesh

Śiva temple, Parahat, c.7th-9th century



Source of images: Thakur, 'Temple Architecture in Himachal Pradesh', Pl. X.2; Nagar, *The Temples of Himachal Pradesh*, Fig. 170

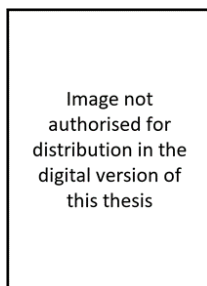
'Miniature' temple, c.7th century



Source of images: Nagar, *The Temples of Himachal Pradesh*, Figs. 181 & 182

16. Dhabas, Shimla, Himachal Pradesh

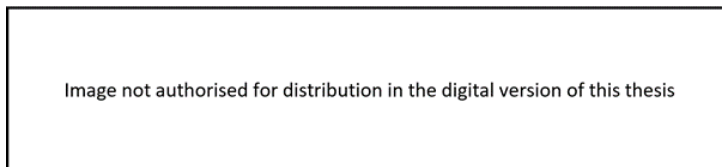
Śiva temple, c.7th-8th century



Source of image: Thakur, 'Temple Architecture in Himachal Pradesh', Pl. VI.2

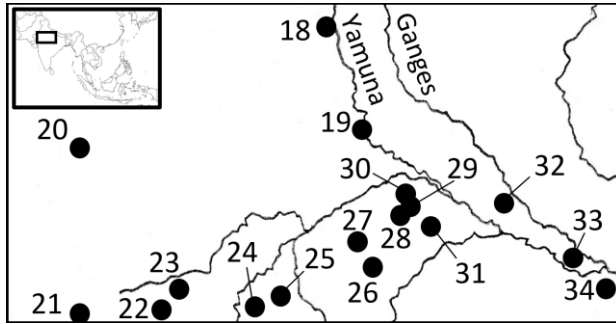
17. Sanghol, Fatehgarh Sahib, Punjab

Architectural fragment



Source of image: Rhi, 'The Fate of a Bowl (or Bowls)', Fig. 8.16

Northwestern India

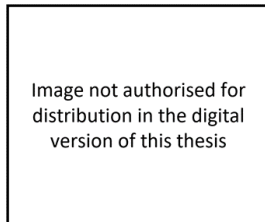


KEY:

18. Delhi	24. Mukandarra	30. Bateśvar
19. Mathurā	25. Cārcomā	31. Deogarh
20. Osian	26. Mahua	32. Bhītargāon
21. Kusumā	27. Dhobini	33. Kauśambi
22. Nagarī	28. Amrol	34. Sankangarh
23. Mākangañj	29. Nareśvar	

18. Delhi, National Capital Territory of Delhi

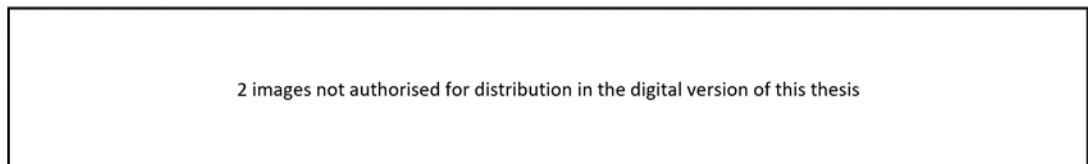
Architectural fragment from earlier structure, Sultan Ghari, c.7th century



Source of image: Ghosh, ed., *Indian Archaeology 1959-60: A Review*, Pl. LVIII-A

19. Mathurā, Uttar Pradesh

Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, c.1st-3rd century



Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. 17.98 (Accession no. 551) & 361.52 (Accession no. 52723)

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Source of images: Hardy, 'Parts and Wholes', Fig.9; AHS Negative no. 19.8 (Accession no. 554); Quintanilla, *History of Early Stone Sculpture at Mathura*, Fig.236

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Source of images: AHS Negative nos. 373.25 (Accession no. 51111) & 348.16 (Accession no. 44959); Quintanilla, *History of Early Stone Sculpture at Mathura*, Fig.237

Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, c.5th-6th century

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Source of images: AIIS Negative no. 348.26 (Accession no. 44949) reproduced with the permission of AIIS and the State Museum, Lucknow; Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, vol. 5, Pl. XXXVIIIa Fig.4; AIIS Negative no. 369.33 (Accession no. 51100)

Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, c.7th-8th century

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Govindnagar, c.1st century

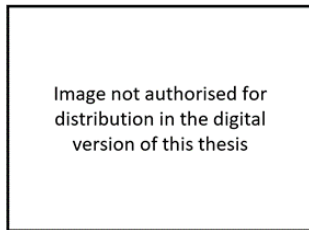
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Source of images: Quintanilla, *History of Early Stone Sculpture at Mathura*, Figs.252, 256, 257, 258 & 259

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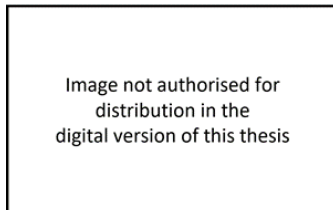
Source of images: Quintanilla, *History of Early Stone Sculpture at Mathura*, Figs.260 & 261

Vrindavan, c.5th century



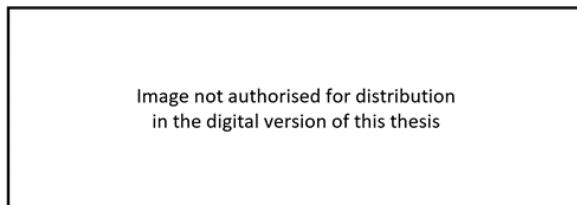
Source of image: AIIS Negative no. 352.90 (Accession no. 44646)

Swami Ghat, c.5th-6th century



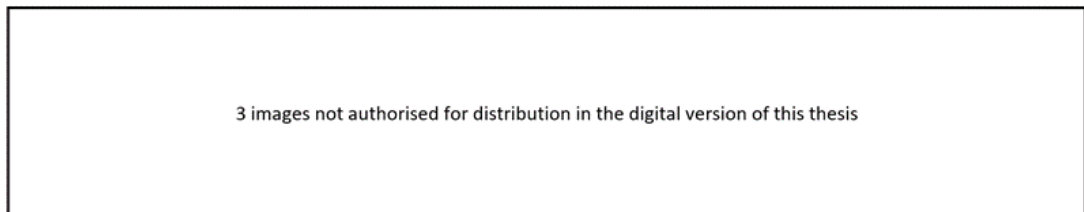
Source of image: Huntington Archive scan no. 1080

Daulatta, post-Gupta

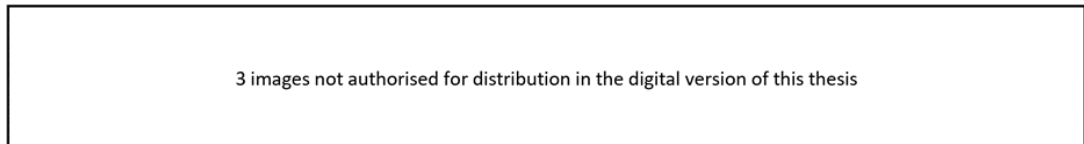


Source of image: Viennot, *Temples de l'Inde centrale et occidentale*, Pl. XVIII Ph.79

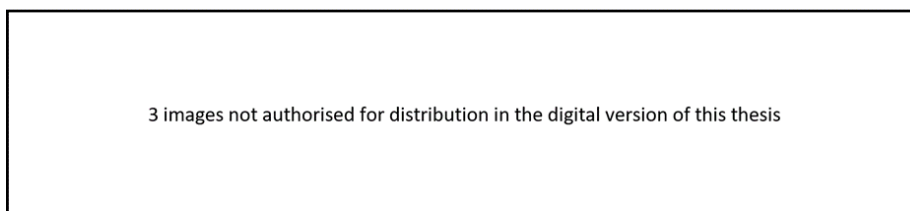
Unspecified sites in Mathurā



Source of images: Coomaraswamy, 'Early Indian Architecture: III. Palaces', Figs.46, 23 & 45



Source of images: Quintanilla, *History of Early Stone Sculpture at Mathura*, Figs.275, 274 & 243



Source of images: Coomaraswamy, 'Early Indian Architecture: III. Palaces', Fig.43; Quintanilla, *History of Early Stone Sculpture at Mathura*, Fig.46b

20. Osian, Jodhpur, Rajasthan

Harihara temple 1, c.8th century

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Harihara temple 2, c.8th century

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Harihara temple 3, c.8th century

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Kund, c.8th century

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Mahāvīra temple, c.8th century

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Satyanārāyaṇa temple, c.8th century

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Śiva temple 1, c.8th century

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Sūrya temple 1, c.8th century

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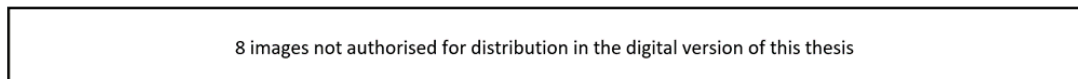
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Sūrya temple 2, c.8th century

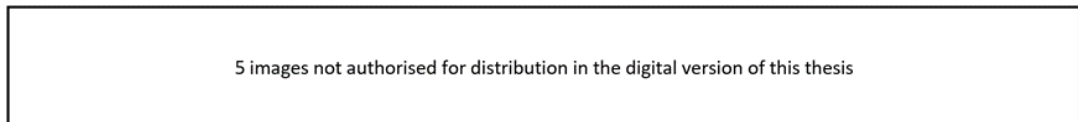


Source of image: Hardy, 'Parts and Wholes', Fig.29

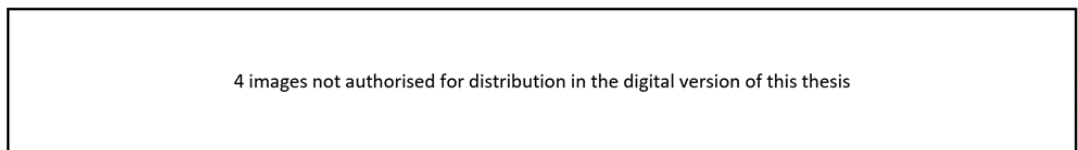
Sūrya temple 3, c.8th century



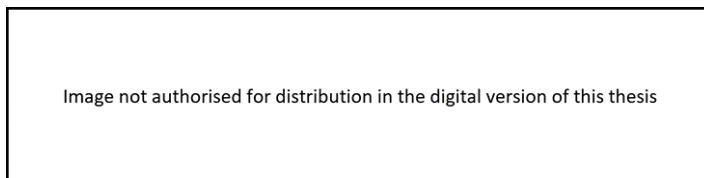
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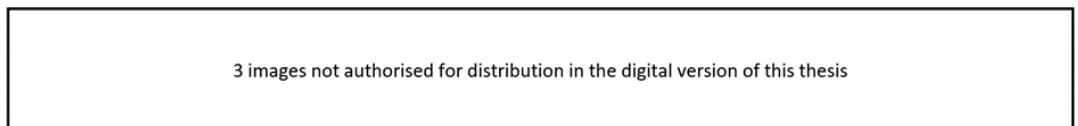


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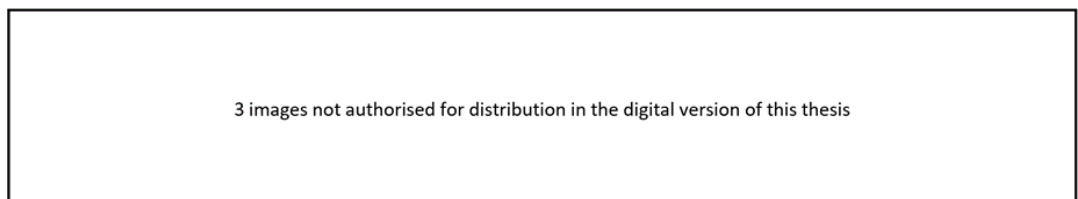


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Viṣṇu temple 1, c.8th century



Source of images: AIIIS Negative no. 493.80 (Accession no. 57979)



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21. Kusumā, Sirohi, Rajasthan

Śiva temple

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative no. 410.31 (Accession no. 43646); Srinivasan, 'From Transcendancy to Materiality', Fig.11

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Source of image: Meister, 'Cāpōtkāṣas of Bhillamāla', Fig.434

22. Nagarī, Upamala, Rajasthan

Architectural fragments, c.6th century

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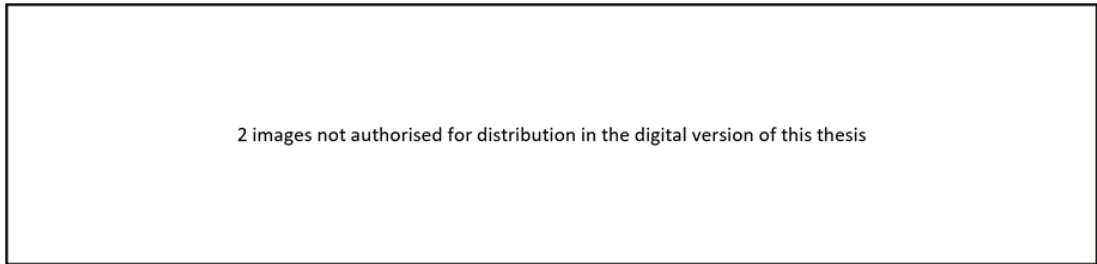
Source of images: Meister, 'Aulikaras, Mauryas, and Minor Chieftans', Fig.291

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Source of image: Meister, 'Aulikaras, Mauryas, and Minor Chieftans', Fig.291

23. Mākangañj, Chittorgarh, Rajasthan

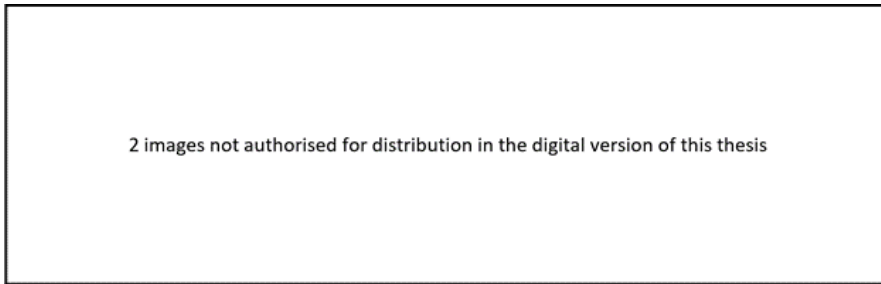
Temple 1, c.7th century



Source of images: Meister, 'Aulikaras, Mauryas, and Minor Chieftans', Figs. 292 & 294

24. Mukandarra, Kota, Rajasthan

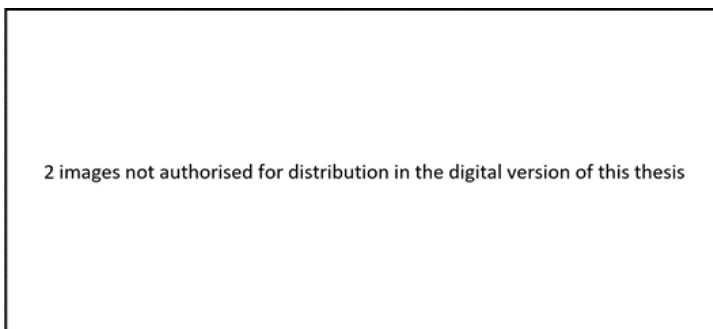
Architectural fragments, c.5th century



Source of images: Chandra, *The Sculpture of India 3000 B.C.-1300 A.D.*, No.38 (pp.98-99); AIIS
Negative no. AAB 88.97 (Accession no. 7061)

25. Cārcomā, Kota, Rajasthan

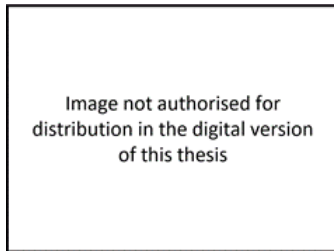
Mahādēva temple, c.5th century



Source of images: AIIS Negative no. AAB 89.27 (Accession no. 21585)

20-25x. Unspecified site, Rajasthan

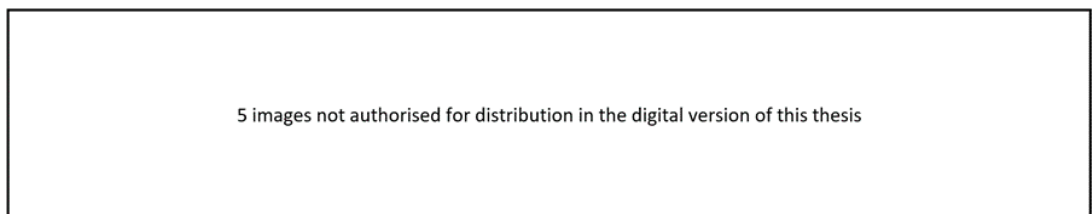
Architectural fragment, Gupta period



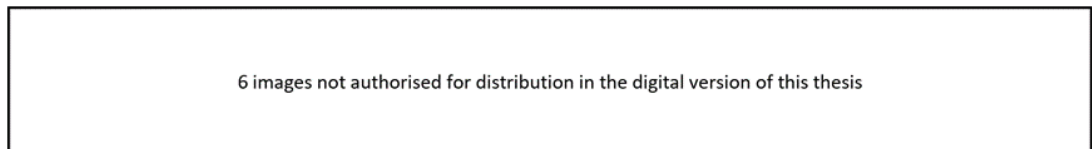
Source of image: Bénisti, *Stylistics of Early Khmer Art*, Fig.261

26. Mahua, Shivapuri, Madhya Pradesh

Śiva temple 1, c.7th century

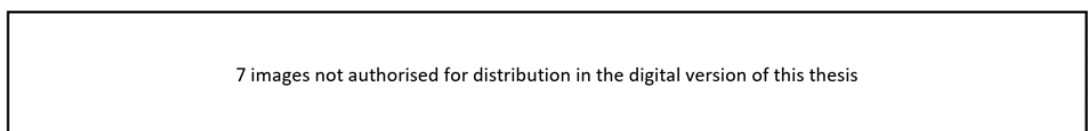


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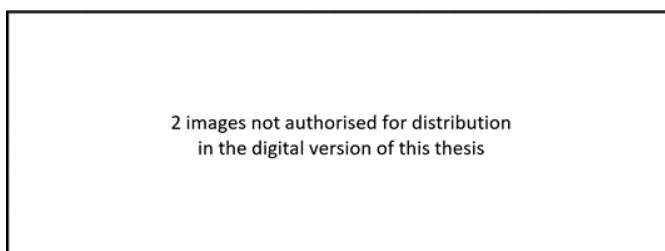


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Śiva temple 2, c.7th century



Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 431.72 (Accession number 48066) & 431.75 (Accession number 48063)



Source of images: AIIIS Negative no. 431.72 (Accession number 48066)

27. Dhobini, Raipur, Madhya Pradesh

Śiva temple, c.7th century

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Source of images: AHS Negative nos. 325.83 (Accession number 42125), 336.11 (Accession number 42131) & 325.76 (Accession number 42118)

28a. Amrol, Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh

Dane Baba temple, c.8th century

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Rameśvara temple, c.8th century

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28b. Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh

Telī-kā-mandir, c.8th-9th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 342.12 (Accession no. 47196), 302.2 (Accession no. 40723), AAB A4.60 (Accession no. 2926) & AAB A4.59 (Accession no. 2927)

29. Nareśvar, Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh

Pitu Preteśvara temple, c.8th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 302.93 (Accession number 40951) & 476.54 (Accession number 53158)

Mātā-kāmandir, c.8th century

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Śiva temple, c.8th century

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Krakotakeśvara temple, c.8th century

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Srisitaleśvara temple, c.8th century

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Valabhi-type temple, c.8th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 302.92 (Accession number 40968) & 302.84 (Accession number 40970)

30. Batesvar, Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh

Bhutesvara Mahadeva temple, c.8th century

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Source of image: AIIIS Negative no. 307.94 (Accession number 41497)

Temple 4, c.8th century

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Temple 5 (compound of), c.8th century

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Viṣṇu temple, c.8th century

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Source of images: AHS Negative no. 307.96 (Accession number 41495)

31. Deogarh, Lalitpur, Uttar Pradesh

Daśāvātara temple, c.5th-6th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. AAB 89.100 (Accession no. 1664), AAB 89.92 (Accession no. 1665), AAB 89.93 (Accession no. 1666), AAB 89.89 (Accession no. 1667), AAB 90.18 (Accession no. 1677) & AAB 90.17 (Accession no. 1678)

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 404.38 (Accession no. 45309) & AAB 90.2 (Accession no. 1661)

32. Bhītargāon, Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh

Bhītargāon temple, c.5th century

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Source of images: Zaheer, *The Temple of Bhītargāon*, Figs. 115, 117 & 129-131

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Source of images: Zaheer, *The Temple of Bhītargāon*, Figs. 132-136

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Source of images: Zaheer, *The Temple of Bhītargāon*, Figs. 137-141

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Source of images: Zaheer, *The Temple of Bhītargāon*, Figs. 142-144 & 146-148

33. Kauśāmbi, Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh

Architectural fragments, c.4th-5th century & c.7th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 617.14 (Accession no. 76856) & 787.28 (Accession no. 95609)

34. Sankangarh, Satna, Madhya Pradesh

Temple, c.6th century

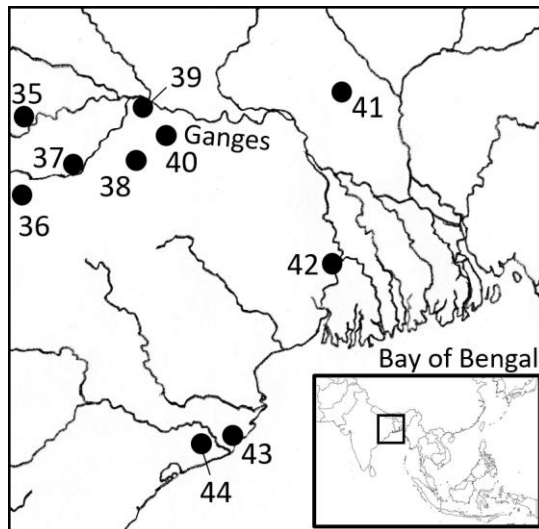
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Northeastern India



KEY:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 35. Sārnāth | 40. Nālandā |
| 36. Boudh Danda & Madfe Danda | 41. Surohar |
| 37. Rohtas | 42. Hooghly |
| 38. Bodhgayā | 43. Balia |
| 39. Patna | 44. Bhubaneswar, Udayagiri & Khandagiri |

35. Sārnāth, Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh

Architectural fragments, c.5th-6th century

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Source of image: Huntington Archive scan no. 1472

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Source of image: Coomaraswamy, 'Early Indian Architecture: III. Palaces', Fig.60

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Source of images: – Huntington Archive scan nos. 1490, 1448 & 1483; AIIS Negative nos. AAB 7.74 (Accession no. 9178) & AAB A27.39 (Accession no. 25202)

36a. Boudh Danda, Singarauli, Madhya Pradesh

Temple 1, Boudh Danda, c.6th-7th century

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Source of images: Singh, *Temples of the Kalachuri Period*, Pls. 3 & 5

36b. Madfe Danda, Singarauli, Madhya Pradesh

Temple, Madfe Danda, c.7th-8th century

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in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: Singh, *Temples of the Kalachuri Period*, Pl.15

37. Rohtas, Bihar

Mundeśvari temple, c.7th century

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Source of images: AHS Negative no. 345.46 (Accession no. 41672)

38. Bodhgayā, Gaya, Bihar

Sculptural reliefs, c.2nd-1st century BCE

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Source of images: AHS Negative nos. 290.35 (Accession no. 38075), 290.36 (Accession no. 38076), 290.37 (Accession no. 38077), 296.14 (Accession no. 38815) & 296.15 (Accession no. 38816)

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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. 296.17 (Accession no. 38818) & 296.18 (Accession no. 38819); Coomaraswamy, 'Early Indian Architecture: III. Palaces', Fig.56; Huntington Archive scan no. 11645
Mahābodhi temple, c.7th century

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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. 513.73 (Accession no. 58772), 513.78 (Accession no. 58767), 513.76 (Accession no. 58769), 513.75 (Accession no. 58770) & 513.62 (Accession no. 58781)

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Source of image: Deva, 'Later Guptas and Minor Dynasties', Fig. 226

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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. 297.10 (Accession no. 38871) & 513.55 (Accession no. 58785)

39. Patna, Bihar

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Source of image: Coomaraswamy, 'Early Indian Architecture: III. Palaces', Fig.67

40. Nālandā, Patna, Bihar

Temple 3, c.6th century

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Source of images: AHS Negative nos. 289.63 (Accession no. 37966) & 289.70 (Accession no. 37973)

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290.82 (Accession no. 38092) & 290.83 (Accession no. 38093)

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290.84 (Accession no. 38094) & 290.85 (Accession no. 38095)

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 290.90 (Accession no. 38100) & 290.76 (Accession no. 38086);
Gosling, *Origins of Thai Art*, p.67 (originally India Office photo)

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 290.74 (Accession no. 38084) & 290.75 (Accession no. 38085);
Jacq-Hergoualc'h et al., 'Une cité-état de la Péninsule malaise: le Langkasuka', Fig.22

Temple 2, c.7th-8th century

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Temple 12, c.8th century

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Architectural fragments, c.7th century

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293.58 (Accession no. 38752) & 293.56 (Accession no. 38750)

41. Surohar (Bangladesh)

Rṣabanatha stela, c.8th-12th century

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Source of image: Lefèvre and Boussac, eds., *Chefs-d'œuvre du delta du Gange*, p.74

42. Hooghly, West Bengal

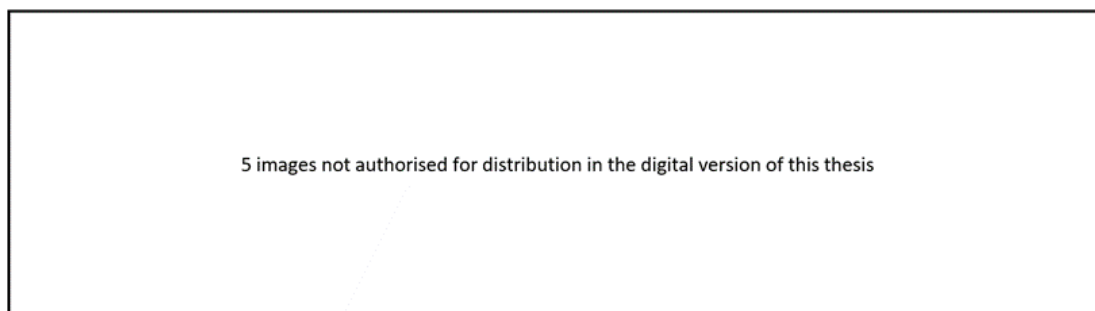
Sūrya *khaṭṭaka*, c.8th century

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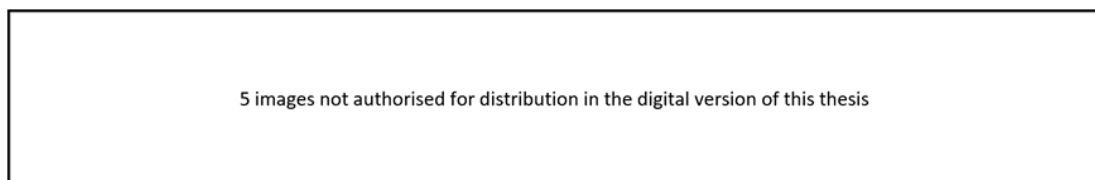
Source of image: Bandyopadhyay, *Architectural Motifs in Early Medieval Art of Eastern India (Pāla-Sena Period)*, Fig. 72

43. Balia, Cuttack, Orissa

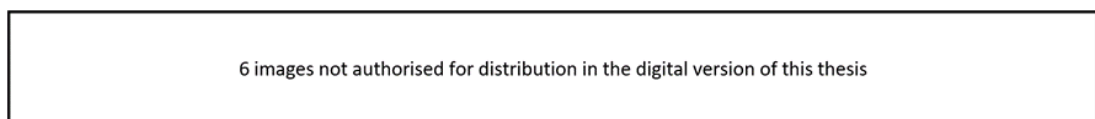
Bhubaneśvara temple, c.7th century



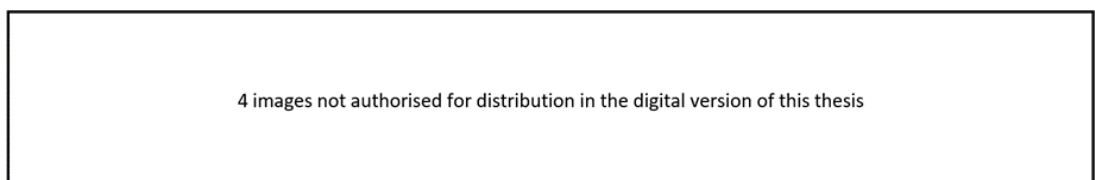
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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 565.3 (Accession no. 65337) & 564.100 (Accession no. 65340)



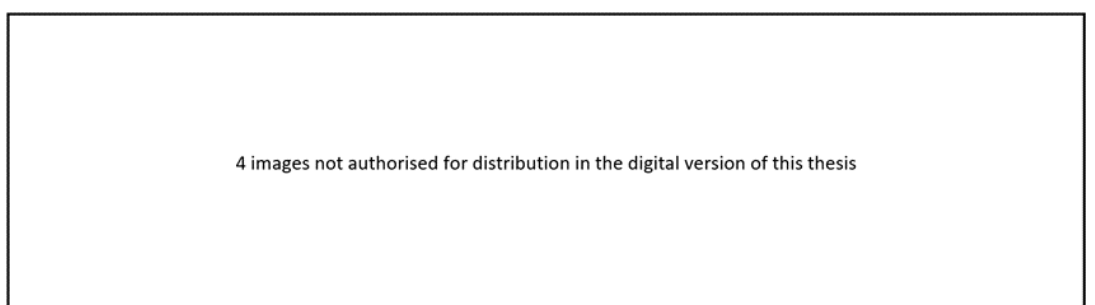
Source of images: AIIIS Negative no. 564.91 (Accession no. 65346)



Source of images: AIIIS Negative no. 564.92 (Accession no. 65347)

44a. Bhubaneswar, Puri, Orissa

Śatrugneśvara temple, c.6th century



Source of images: Donaldson, 'Development of the Vajra-Mastaka on Orissan Temples', Fig.3; AIIIS Negative no. AAB 45.2 (Accession no. 1473)

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Source of images: Donaldson, 'Doorframes on the Earliest Orissan Temples', Figs. 1 & 5
Bharateśvara temple, c.6th-7th century

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Source of images: AHS Negative no. AAB 46.35 (Accession no. 1335); Rao, *Bhuvanesvara*, Pl.36

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Source of images: AHS Negative nos. AAB 46.33 (Accession no. 1334) & AAB 46.27 (Accession no. 1336)

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Source of images: AHS Negative nos. AAB 44.94 (Accession no. 1356), AAB 44.90 (Accession no. 1359)
& AAB 44.89 (Accession no. 1361)

Bhavānī-Śaṅkara temple, c.7th century

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566.87 (Accession no. 65550) & 566.83 (Accession no. 65551)

Lakṣmaṇeśvara temple, c.7th century

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North shrine, c.7th century

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Source of images: AHS Negative nos. 562.44 (Accession no. 65753) & 562.45 (Accession no. 65752)

Paramguru temple, c.7th century

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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. 566.62 (Accession no. 65493) & 564.62 (Accession no. 65497)

Paraśurāmeśvara temple, c.7th-8th century

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Source of images: Rao, *Bhuvanesvara*, Pls. 43, 48 & 70

3 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: Rao, *Bhuvanesvara*, Pl. 60; AIIS Negative no. 48.47 (Accession no. 1407)

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AAB 45.27 (Accession no. 1419), AAB 45.32 (Accession no. 1425) & AAB 45.31 (Accession no. 1431)

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 562.60 (Accession no. 65462), 563.56 (Accession no. 65465) & 563.50 (Accession no. 65472)

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Source of images: AIIS Negative no. 563.51 (Accession no. 65471)

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Source of images: Donaldson, 'Doorframes on the Earliest Orissan Temples', Fig.4

2 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: Donaldson, 'Doorframes on the Earliest Orissan Temples', Fig.12

3 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: Donaldson, 'Development of the Vajra-Mastaka on Orissan Temples', Figs. 6, 4 & 8
Svarṇajāleśvara temple, c.7th century

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Source of images: AIIS Negative no. 562.68 (Accession no. 65713); Rao, *Bhuvanesvara*, Pl.75; Donaldson, 'Development of the Vajra-Mastaka on Orissan Temples', Fig.10; Mitra, 'Śailōdbhavas', Fig.534

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 562.77 (Accession no. 65706), 562.75 (Accession no. 65708) & 562.73 (Accession no. 65710); Donaldson, 'Doorframes on the Earliest Orissan Temples', Fig.10

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Source of images: Rao, *Bhuvanesvara*, Pls. 76 & 77; AIIIS Negative no. 562.67 (Accession no. 65714)
Small shrine in Yameśvara temple compound, c.7th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 566.34 (Accession no. 65640) & (Accession no. 65637)

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative no. 566.40 (Accession no. 65635)

44b. Udayagiri & Khandagiri, Puri, Orissa

Udayagiri Cave 1 (Rāṇī-gumphā), c.1st century BCE

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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. 731.78 (Accession no. 88135), 731.82 (Accession no. 88137) & 731.90 (Accession no. 88153)

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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. 731.93 (Accession no. 88155), 732.4 (Accession no. 88170) & 732.11 (Accession no. 88171)

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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. 732.7 (Accession no. 88173), 732.9 (Accession no. 88172) & 731.100 (Accession no. 88148)

Udayagiri Cave 3 (Chhoṭa-Hāthī-gumphā), c.1st century BCE

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Source of image: AIIS Negative no. 732.9 (Accession no. 88184)

Udayagiri Cave 5 (Jayā-Vijayā-gumphā), c.1st century BCE

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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. 732.39 (Accession no. 88193) & 732.40 (Accession no. 88195)

Udayagiri Cave 9 (Mañchapurī & Svargapurī), c.1st century BCE

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 732.62 (Accession no. 88214), 732.64 (Accession no. 88219) & 732.66 (Accession no. 88224)

2 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 733.3 (Accession no. 88233) & 732.75 (Accession no. 88232)

Udayagiri Cave 10 (Gaṇeśa-gumphā), c.1st century BCE

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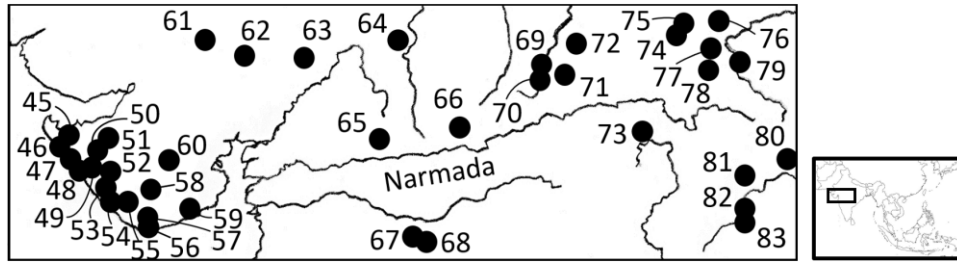
Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 732.79 (Accession no.88242) & 732.77 (Accession no.88243)

Khandagiri Cave 3 (Ananta-gumphā)

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Source of images: Mitra, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri*, Pls. XIV-A & XIV-B

Western and Central India



KEY:

45. Piṇḍārā	58. Bāvā Pyāra	71. Gyāraspur
46. Junī Dhrevaḍ	59. Kaḷsār	72. Eran
47. Miyāṇī	60. Khambhāliḍā	73. Chapārā
48. Visāvāḍā, Khimeśvara & Boricā	61. Roḍa	74. Bhūmarā
49. Bileśvara	62. Lankaroda	75. Bhārhut
50. Dervar & Ghumali	63. Devnī Morī	76. Nāchnā Kutharā
51. Gōp	64. Mandasor	77. Maṛhiā
52. Ḍhāṅk	65. Bāgh	78. Tigāwā
53. Jhamarā	66. Indor	79. Sitamidhi
54. Pātā & Bhāṇasarā	67. Ghatotkacha	80. Kharod
55. Akhodar	68. Ajaṇṭā	81. Palāri
56. Pasnāvaḍā & Sūtrāpāḍā	69. Udayagiri	82. Sirpur
57. Uparkoṭ	70. Sāñcī	83. Rājim

45. Piṇḍārā, Jamnagar, Gujarat

Sūrya temple, c.7th century

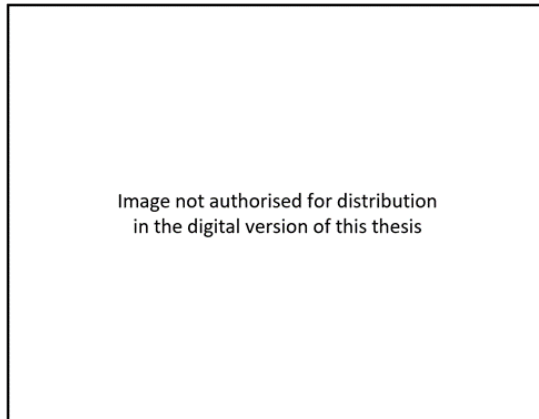
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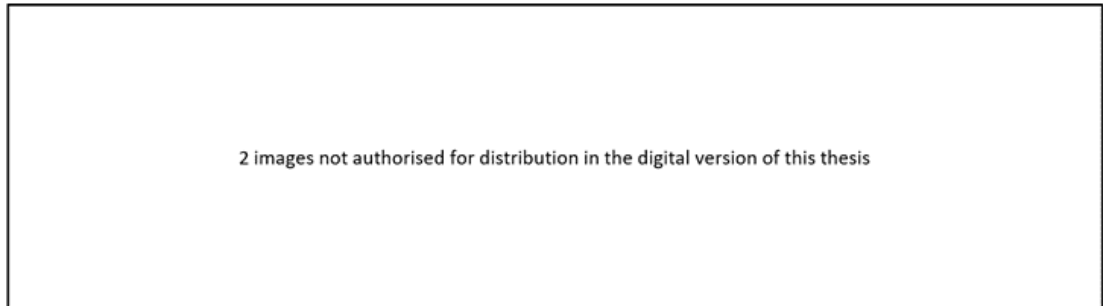
46. Junī Dhrevaḍ, Jamnagar, Gujarat

Rājāḷ-Vejaḷ māṭā temple, c.7th century



Source of image: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.11

Kālikā māṭā temple, c.7th century

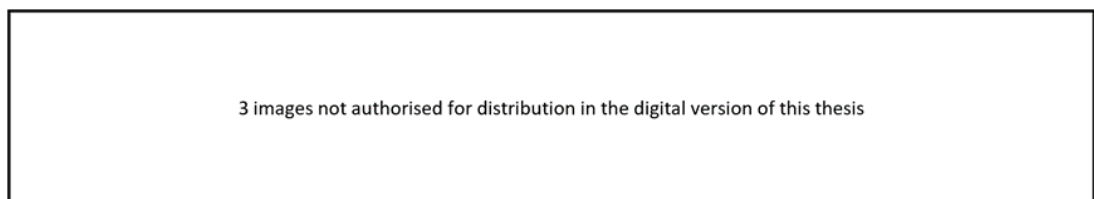


Source of images: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.34;

Vora & Dhaky, 'Maitrakas of Valabhī and Gārulakas of Western Surāṣṭra', Fig.366

47. Miyāṇī, Junagarh, Gujarat

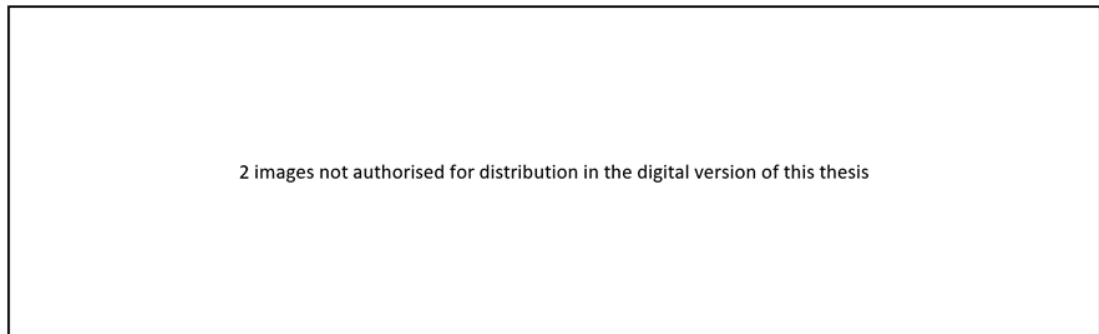
Old temple, c.7th century



Source of images: Vora & Dhaky, 'Maitrakas of Valabhī and Gārulakas of Western Surāṣṭra', Fig.367

48a. Visāvāḍā, Junagarh, Gujarat

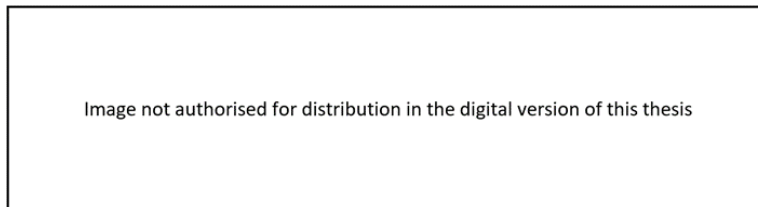
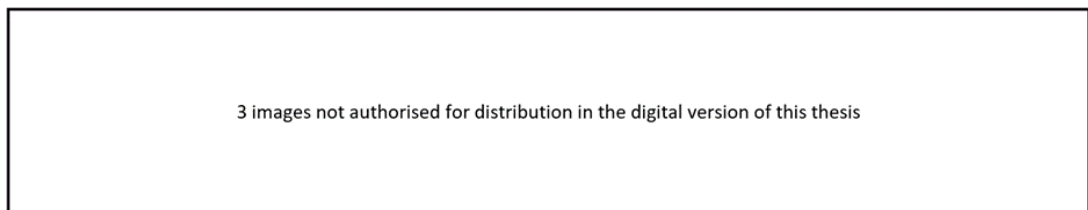
Old temple, c.7th century



Source of images: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.10; AIIS Negative no. 209.93 (Accession no. 31653)

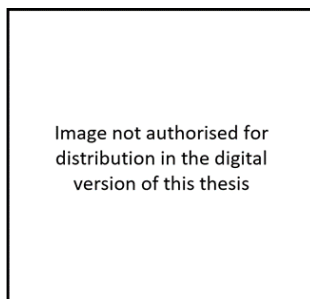
48b. Khimeśvara, Junagarh, Gujarat

Temple 1, c.7th century



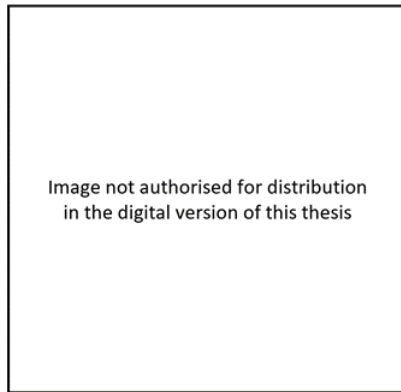
Source of images: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.31

Temple 2, c.7th century



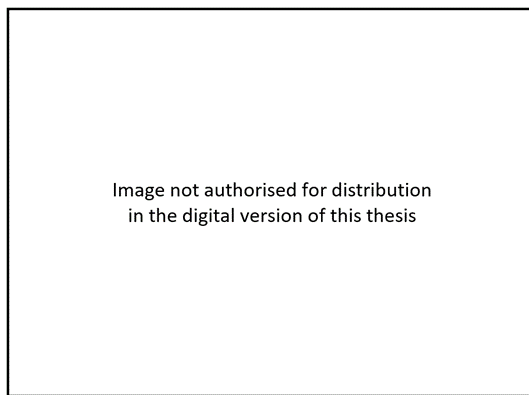
Source of image: Vora & Dhaky, 'Maitrakas of Valabhī and Gārulakas of Western Surāṣṭra', Fig.347

Temple 4, c.7th century



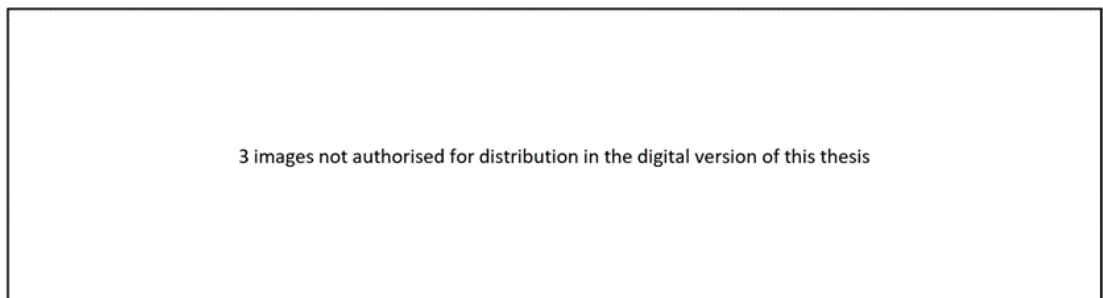
Source of image: AIIS Negative no. 210.26 (Accession no. 29637)

Temple 5, c.7th century



Source of image: AIIS Negative no. 210.27 (Accession no. 29640)

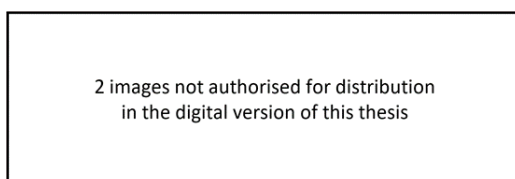
Temple 6, c.7th century



Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. 210.33 (Accession no. 29642) & 210.19 (Accession no. 29641)

48c. Boricā, Junagarh, Gujarat

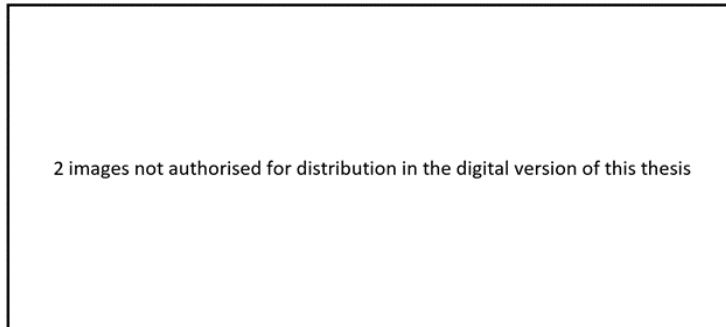
Śiva temple, c.7th century



Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. 219.67 (Accession no. 31771) & 219.66 (Accession no. 31772)

49. Bileśvara, Junagarh, Gujarat

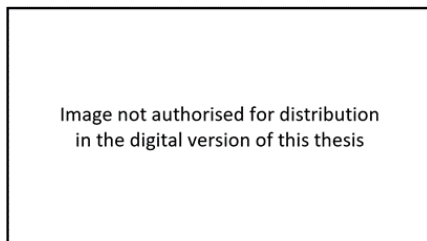
Temple 1, c.7th century



Source of images: AIIIS Negative no. A29.64 (Accession no. 31622); Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.30

50a. Dervar, Jamnagar, Gujarat

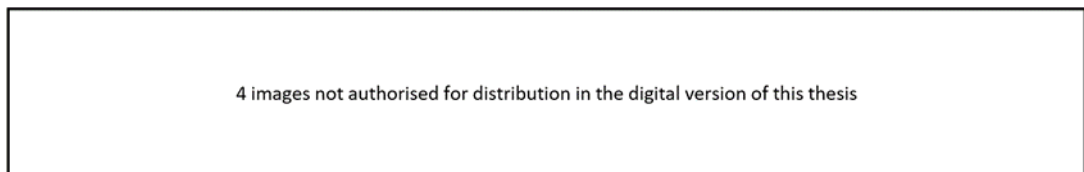
Mātā temple, c.7th century



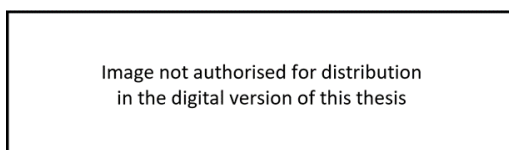
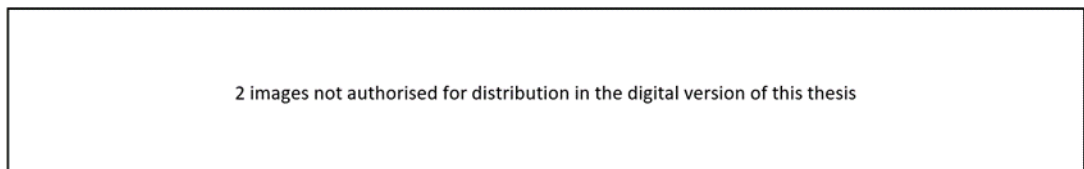
Source of image: AIIIS Negative no. 219.73 (Accession no. 31786)

50b. Ghumali, Jamnagar, Gujarat

Temple 1, c.7th century



Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 211.4 (Accession no. 29744) & 211.8 (Accession no. 29751)



Source of images: AIIIS Negative no. 211.3 (Accession no. 29746)

Temple 4, c.7th century

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Source of images: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.24

51. Gōp, Jamnagar, Gujarat

Old temple, c.6th century

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Source of images: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pls. 7 & 8

52. Ḍhāṅk

Sūrya temple, c.6th-7th century

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Jhilaṇī-vāpī, c.6th-7th century

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Mañjuśrī-vāpī, c.7th century

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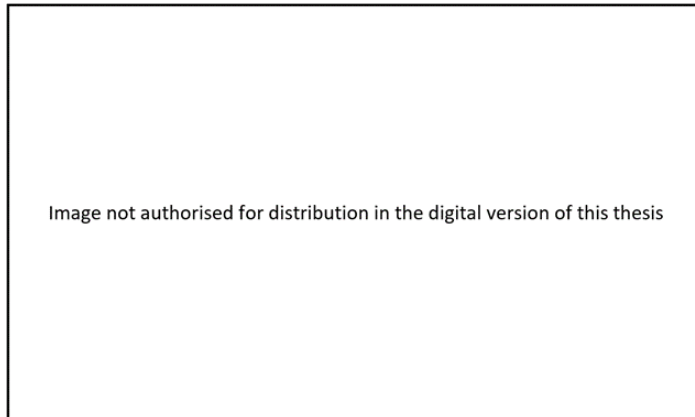
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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. 210.64 (Accession no. 29528) & 210.47 (Accession no. 29525)

53. Jhamarā, Junagarh, Gujarat

Sun temple, c.7th century



Source of image: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl. 19

54a. Pātā, Junagarh, Gujarat

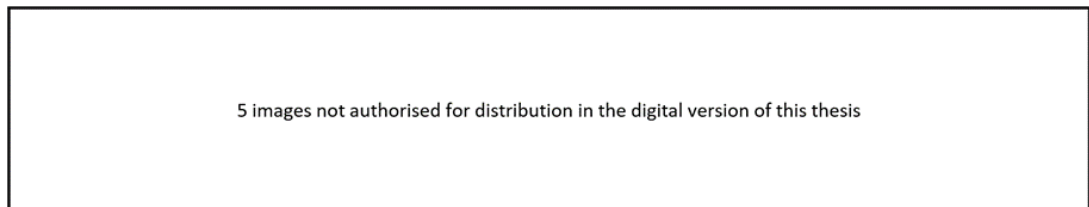
Sūrya temple 2, c.7th century



Source of image: Vora & Dhaky, 'Maitrakas of Valabhī and Gārulakas of Western Surāṣṭra', Fig.378

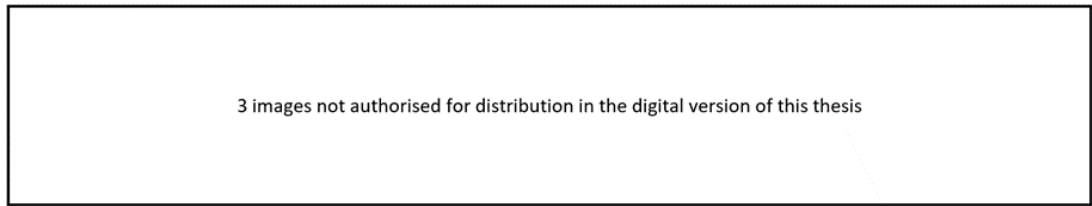
54b. Bhāṇasarā, Junagarh, Gujarat

Temple 1, c.7th century



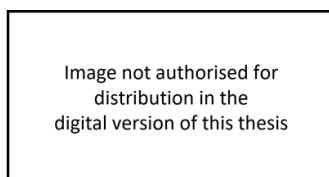
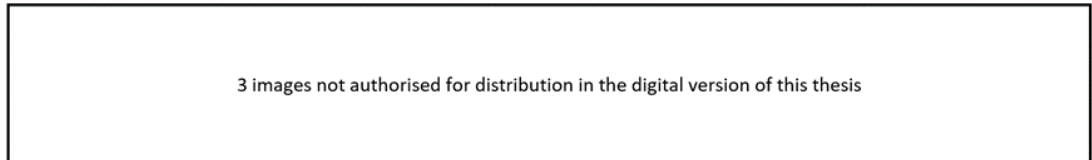
Source of images: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.37

Temple 2, c.7th century



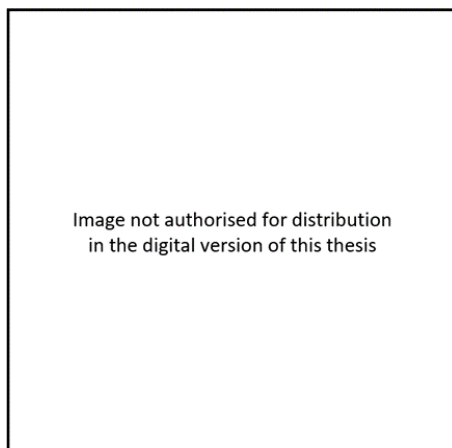
Source of images: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.25

Temple 3, c.7th century



Source of images: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.18

Temple 4, c.7th century



Source of image: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.36

Temple 5, c.7th century



Source of image: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.26

55. Akhodar, Junagarh, Gujarat

Sūrya temple, c.7th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 219.19 (Accession no. 31456) & 219.24 (Accession no. 31453);
Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.37

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative no. 219.23 (Accession no. 31454)

56a. Pasnāvaḍā, Junagarh, Gujarat

Sūrya temple, c.7th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative no. 217.81 (Accession no. 31529)

56b. Sūtrāpādā, Junagarh, Gujarat

Sun temple, c.7th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 217.76 (Accession no. 31560) & 217.79 (Accession no. 31561)

3 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.38

57. Uparkoṭ, Junagarh, Gujarat

Rock-cut cave, c.6th century

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Source of images: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.4

Image not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of image: Coomaraswamy, 'Early Indian Architecture: III. Palaces', Fig.58

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Source of images: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.1;
Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kâṭhīâwâḍ and Kachh*, Pl. XXIII no.7

58. Bāvā Pyāra, Junagarh, Gujarat

Rock-cut caves, c.3rd-4th century?

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Source of image: Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kâṭhīâwâḍ and Kachh*, Pl. XIX

59. Kaṣṣār, Bhavanagar, Gujarat

Firangi temple, c.7th century

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Source of images: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.27; AIIS
Negative no. 217.53 (Accession no. 31498)

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Source of images: AIIS Negative no. 217.53 (Accession no. 31498)

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Source of images: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.27

60. Khambhāliḍā, Rajkot, Gujarat

Rock-cut cave, date?

3 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: Nanavati & Dhaky, 'The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat', Pl.6

61. Roḍa, Sabarkantha, Gujarat

Temple 1, c.8th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 419.59 (Accession no. 45536), 416.76 (Accession no. 45541), 416.75 (Accession no. 45542), 416.74 (Accession no. 45543) & 415.68 (Accession no. 45549)

Temple 2, c.8th century

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Temple 3, c.8th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 415.100 (Accession no. 45504), 415.99 (Accession no. 45505) & 415.97 (Accession no. 45507); Hardy, 'Parts and Wholes', Fig.27

Temple 5, c.8th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 419.76 (Accession no. 45467) & 419.69 (Accession no. 45473); Shah, 'Sculptures from Śāmalājī and Roḍā (North Gujarat) in the Baroda Museum', Figs. 87 & 88

Temple 6, c.8th century

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Temple 7, c.8th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 416.14 (Accession no. 45429), 416.17 (Accession no. 47365) & 416.18 (Accession no. 45426)

Southwest corner shrine, c.8th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 416.51 (Accession no. 45395) & 416.11 (Accession no. 45401)

62. Lankaroda, Sabarkantha, Gujarat

Demra-nu-deru Chatari, c.8th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 417.41 (Accession no. 48461), 417.28 (Accession no. 48471), 417.26 (Accession no. 48473) & 417.27 (Accession no. 48472)

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 417.33 (Accession no. 48467) & 417.34 (Accession no. 48466)

63. Devnī Morī, Sabarkantha, Gujarat

Stūpa, c.4th-5th century

4 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: Shah, 'Western Indian Sculpture and the So-Called Gupta Influence', Pl. XVIII; Mehta & Chowdhary, *Excavation at Devnimori*, Pls. LI-B, LII-A & LII-C

5 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: Mehta & Chowdhary, *Excavation at Devnimori*, Pls. LII-D, LIII-B, LIII-C, LIII-D & LIV-A

64. Mandasor

Toraṇa pillar, c.6th century

5 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: Viennot, *Temples de l'Inde centrale et occidentale*, Pl.III Ph.14; AIIIS Negative no. AAB A5.42 (Accession no. 16197)

65. Bāgh, Dhar, Madhya Pradesh

Cave 3, c.5th century

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Source of image: AIIIS Negative no. W. Spink 872/72 (Accession no. 99199)

Nearby Cave 3, c.5th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. W. Spink 1500/71 (Accession no. 99258) & W. Spink 1499/71 (Accession no. 99259)

Cave 4, c.5th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. W Spink 1516/71 (Accession no. 99310), W Spink 883/72 (Accession no. 99269) & W Spink 1266/73 (Accession no. 99282)

Cave 5, c.5th century

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digital version of this thesis

Source of image: AIIIS Negative no. W Spink TC-24 (Accession no. 97600)

Cave 2, c.7th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative no. 588.34 (Accession no. 69081) & 588.29 (Accession no. 69086)

66. Indor, Guna, Madhya Pradesh

Śiva temple, c.8th century

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67. Ghatotkacha, Aurangabad, Maharashtra

Ghatotkacha cave, c.5th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 694.43 (Accession no. 85339), 694.37 (Accession no. 85347), 694.38 (Accession no. 85344) & 694.35 (Accession no. 85346)

68. Ajaṇṭā, Aurangabad, Maharashtra

Cave 9, c.1st century BCE

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Source of images: Alone, *Buddhist Caves of Western India*, Pl.5; AIIIS Negative no. W Spink 899-68 (Accession no. 61276)

Cave 12, c.1st century BCE

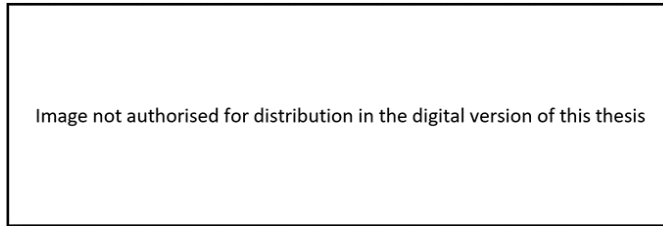
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Source of images: AIIIS Negative no. AAB 175.48 (Accession no. 19115); Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Pl.164; AIIIS Negative no. 175.47 (Accession no. 19114)

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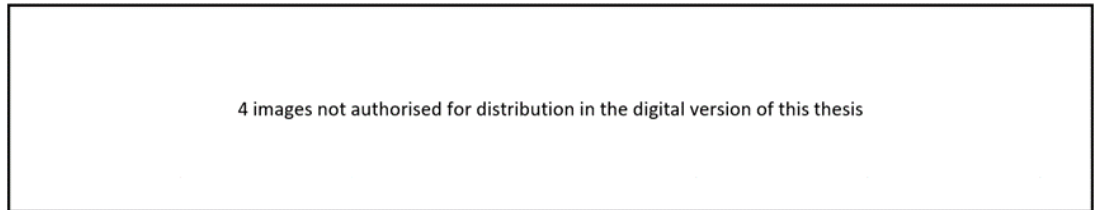
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Cave 15A, c.1st century BCE

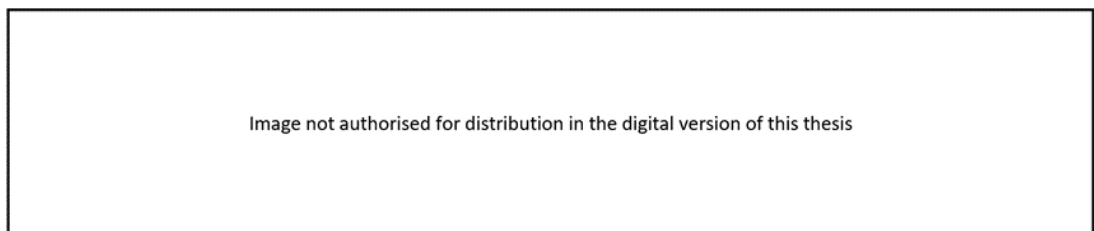


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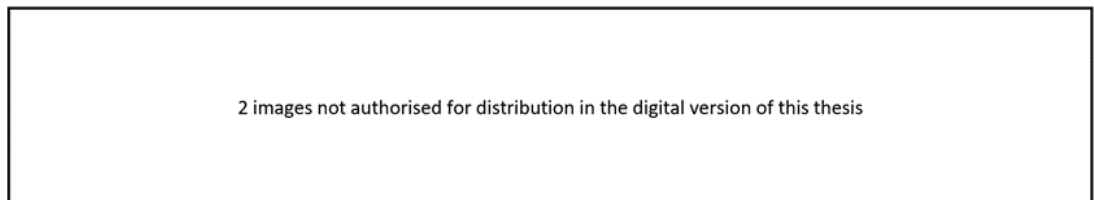
Cave 1, c.5th century



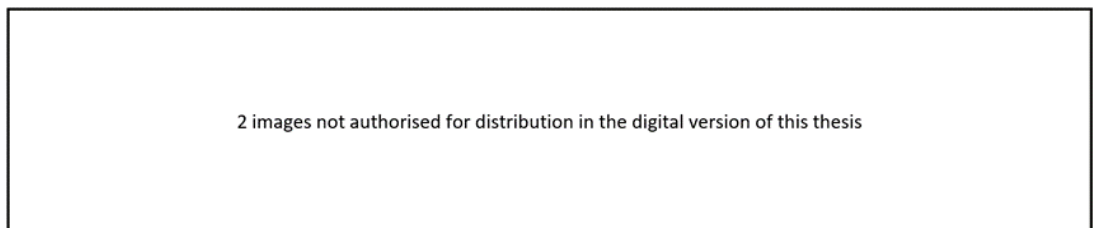
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Cave 4, c.5th century

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Cave 6, c.5th century

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Cave 7, c.5th century

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Cave 9D, c.5th century

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Cave 14, c.5th century

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Cave 15, c.5th century

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Cave 19, c.5th century

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Cave 22, c.5th century

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Cave 23, c.5th century

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Cave 24, c.5th century

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Cave 26, c.5th century

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69. Udayagiri, Vidisha, Madhya Pradesh

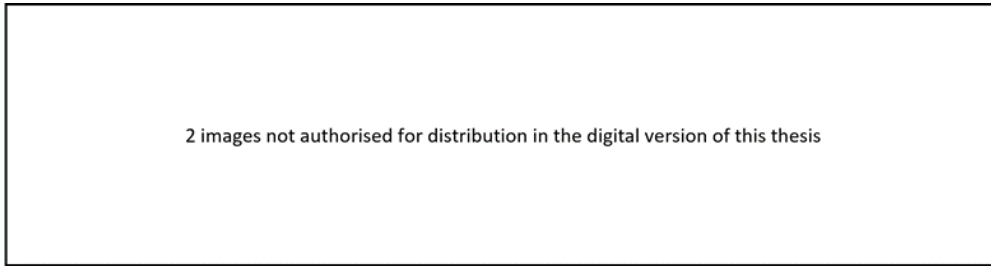
Cave 6, c.5th century

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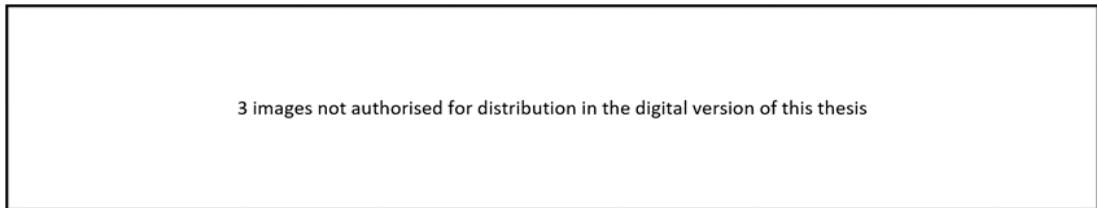
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70. Sāñcī, Raisen, Madhya Pradesh

Stūpa 1, c.1st century BCE



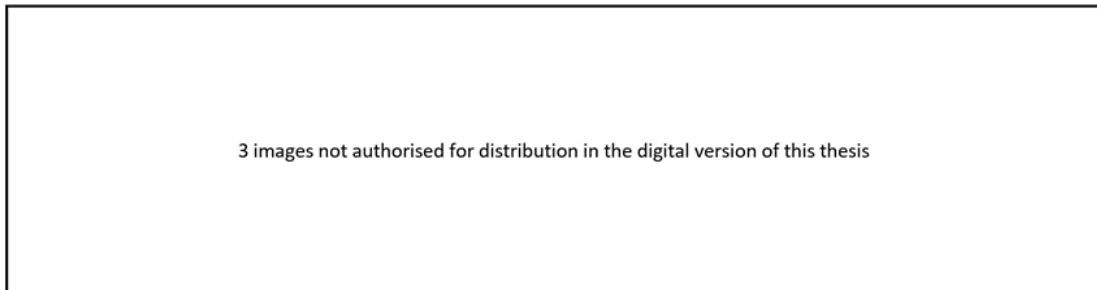
Source of images: Coomaraswamy, 'Early Indian Architecture: III. Palaces', Fig.6; Coomaraswamy, 'Early Indian Architecture: I & II. Cities and city gates, bodhi-gharas', Fig.29



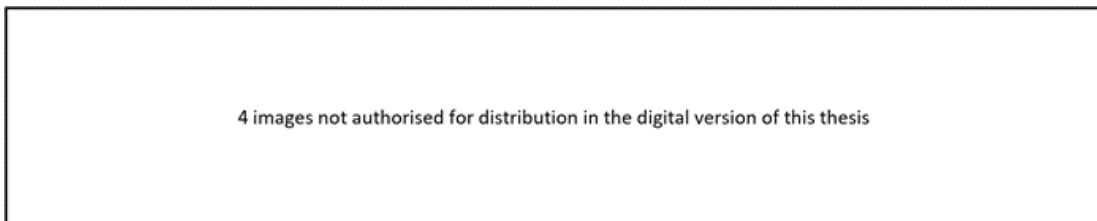
Source of images: Srivastava, *Life in Sanchi Sculpture*, Pls. LII, LXVI & LXV

71. Gyāraspur, Vidisha, Madhya Pradesh

Temple 2, c.8th century



Source of images: AIIIS Negative no. 323.32 (Accession no. 41194)



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72. Eran, Sagar, Madhya Pradesh

Architectural fragments, c.5th century

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73. Chapārā, Vidisha, Madhya Pradesh

Maṇḍapikā shrine, c.6th century

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74. Bhūmarā, Satna, Madhya Pradesh

Śiva temple, c.5th century



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75. Bhārhut, Satna, Madhya Pradesh

Reliefs on architectural fragments of *stūpa*, c.2nd C BCE

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76. Nāchnā Kutharā, Panna, Madhya Pradesh

Pārvatī temple, c.5th century

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Teliyā Maḍh, c.5th century

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Architectural fragments, c.5th-6th century

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77. Maṛhiā, Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh

Vāmana temple, c.5th century

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78. Tigāwā, Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh

Kaṅkāli Devī temple, c.5th century

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Gateway, c.7th century

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Architectural fragments, c.6th-7th century

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Architectural fragments, c.8th century

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79. Sitamadhi, Shahdol, Madhya Pradesh

Temple, c.7th century

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Source of image: Singh, *Temples of the Kalachuri Period*, Pl. 12

80. Kharod, Bilaspur, Madhya Pradesh

Indal Deul, c.7th century

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Śabari temple, c.7th century

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81. Palāri, Raipur, Madhya Pradesh

Siddheśvara temple, c.7th century

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82. Sirpur, Raipur, Madhya Pradesh

Lakṣmaṇa temple, c.6th-7th century

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Rāmacandra temple, c.7th century

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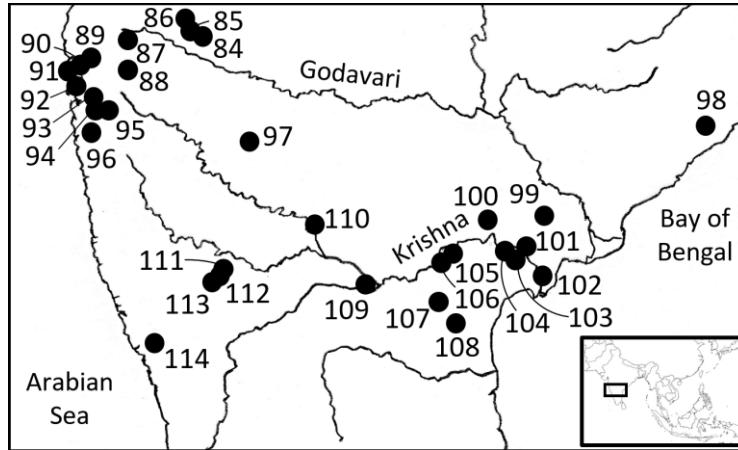
83. Rājīm, Raipur, Madhya Pradesh

Rājīvolacana temple, c.7th century

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Northern Peninsular India

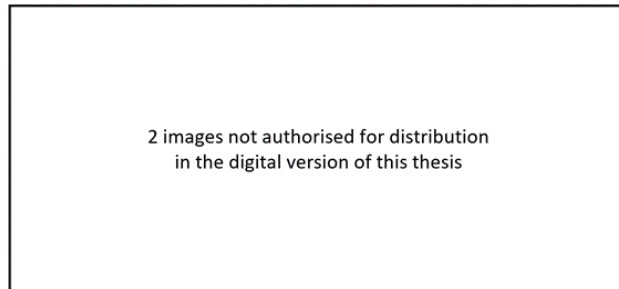


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84. Aurangābād	95. Bedsā	106. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa
85. Ellora	96. Nadsur	107. Satyavolu
86. Pitalkhora	97. Ter	108. Bhairavakoṇḍa
87. Nāsik	98. Mukhalingam	109. Alampūr
88. Junnār	99. Guṇṭupalli	110. Kanaganahalli & Sannati
89. Lōnād	100. Jaggayyapeṭa	111. Aihole
90. Kaṇherī	101. Mogalarājapuram	112. Paṭṭadakal
91. Jōgeśvarī	102. Ghaṇṭaśālā	113. Bādāmi & Mahākūṭa
92. Elephanta	103. Uṇḍavalli	114. Lamgao
93. Kārlā & Kondāne	104. Amarāvātī	
94. Bhājā	105. Goli	

84. Aurangābād, Aurangabad, Maharashtra

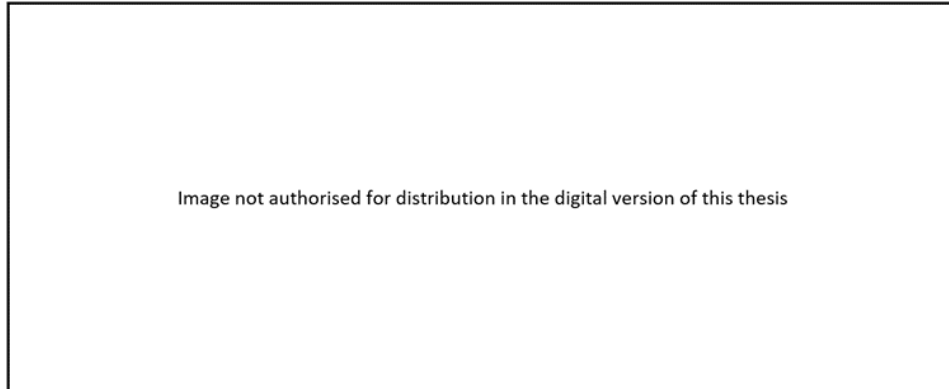
Cave 7, c.6th century



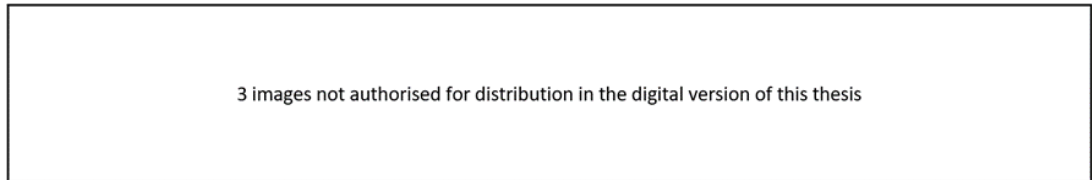
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85. Ellora, Aurangabad, Maharashtra

Cave 9, c.6th-7th century

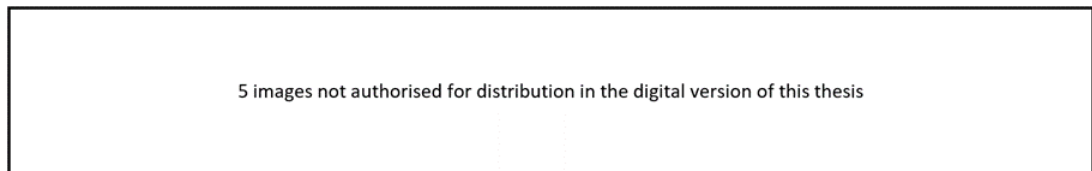


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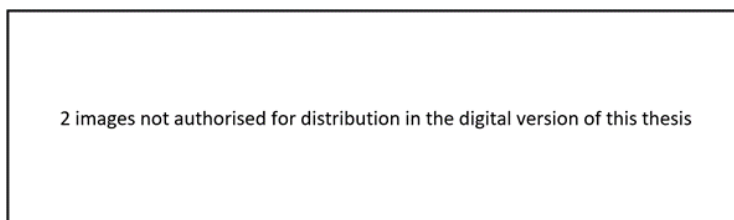
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Cave 10, c.7th century



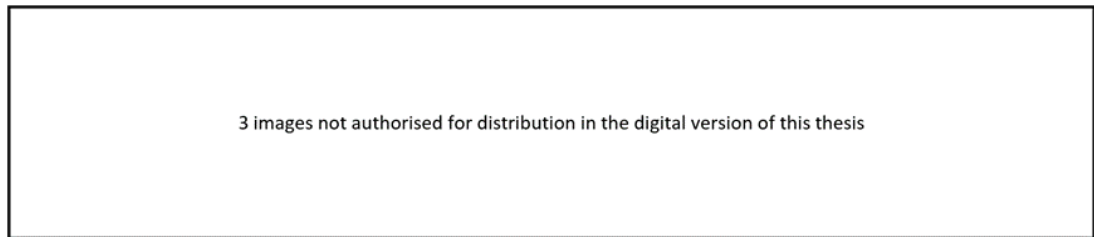
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Cave 11, c.7th century



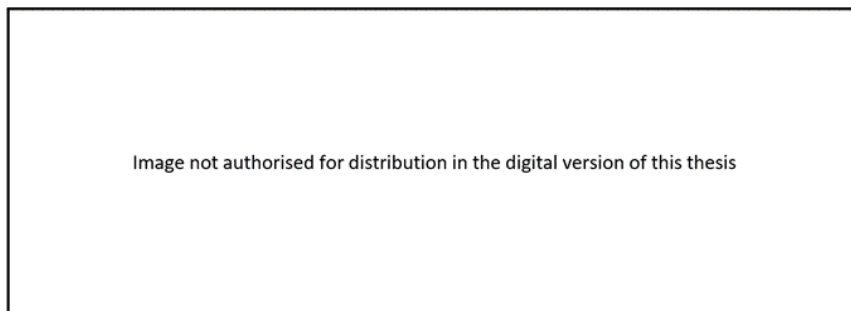
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Cave 12, c.7th century



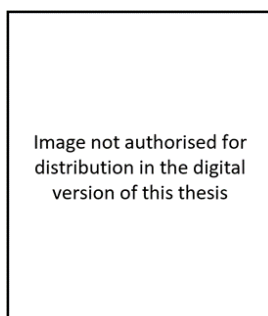
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Cave 14, c.5th-6th century



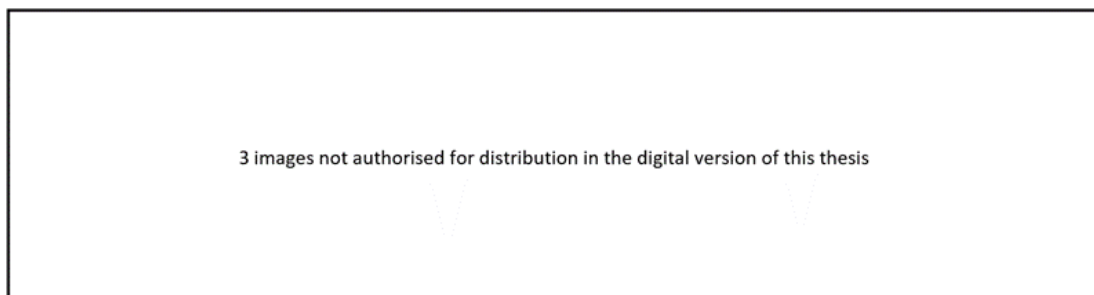
Source of image: AIIIS Negative no. AAB 77.90 (Accession no.1173)

Cave 15, c.8th-9th century



Source of image: Soundara Rajan, *The Ellora Monoliths*, Pl. III

Cave 16, c.8th-9th century



Source of images: Soundara Rajan, *The Ellora Monoliths*, Pls. I & II; Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Pl. 215

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Source of images: Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Pl. 224

Cave 17, c.6th century

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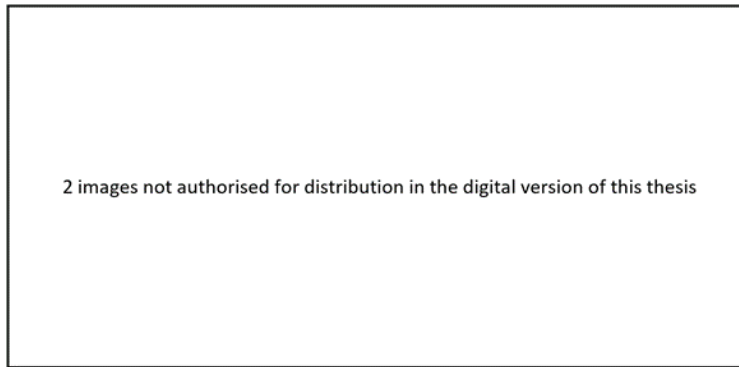
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Cave 30, c.8th-9th century

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Source of images: Soundara Rajan, *The Ellora Monoliths*, Pls. X, XIII & XVI

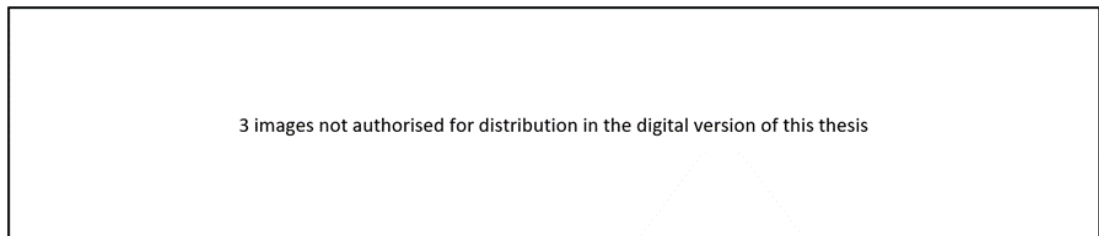
Cave 32, c.8th-9th century



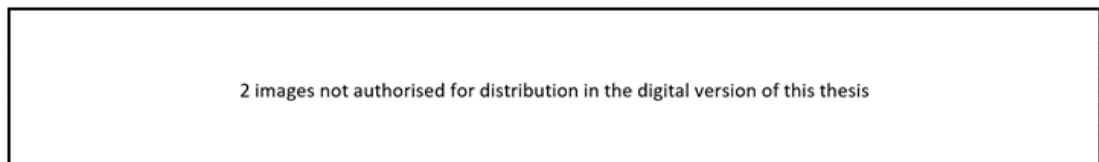
Source of images: Soundara Rajan, *The Ellora Monoliths*, Pls. XXVII & XXVI

86. Pitalkhora, Aurangabad, Maharashtra

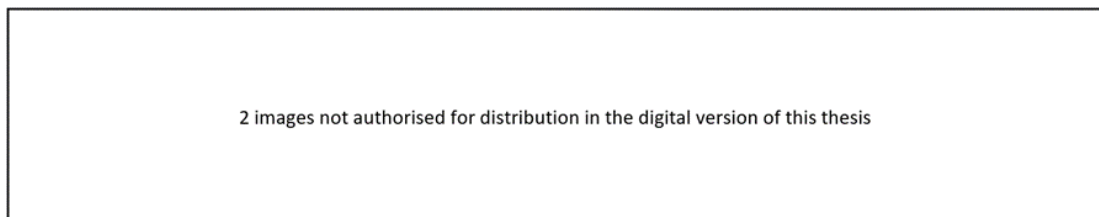
Cave 4, c.2nd-1st century BCE



Source of images: Alone, *Buddhist Caves of Western India*, Pl. 25; AHS Negative nos. 650.8 (Accession no. 80428) & 650.7 (Accession no. 80429)



Source of images: AHS Negative nos. 650.22 (Accession no. 80416) & 696.10 (Accession no. 85235)



Source of images: AHS Negative no. 650.19 (Accession no. 80417)

87. Nāsik, Maharashtra

Cave 18, c.1st century BCE

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Source of images: Alone, *Buddhist Caves of Western India*, Pl. 48; AIIS Negative no. A46.63 (Accession no. 72836)

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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. A46.63 (Accession no. 72836), 688.80 (Accession no. 84766) & 688.81 (Accession no. 84767)

Cave 19, c.1st century BCE

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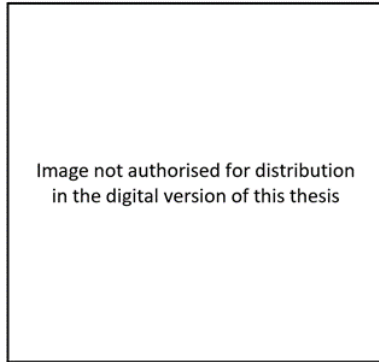
Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. 514.40 (Accession no. 72830), 514.39 (Accession no. 72831) & 514.41 (Accession no. 72829)

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Source of images: AIIS Negative no. 689.91 (Accession no. 85147)

88. Junnār, Pune, Maharashtra

Cave 12, Tuljā Leni group



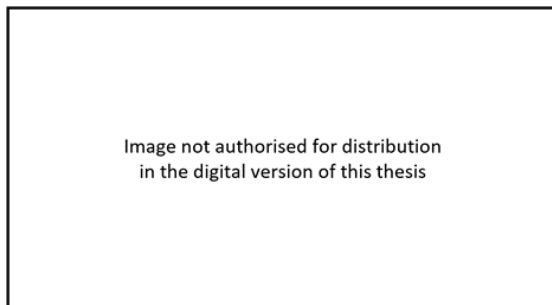
Source of image: Alone, *Buddhist Caves of Western India*, Pl. 129

Caves 15-16, Tuljā Leni group



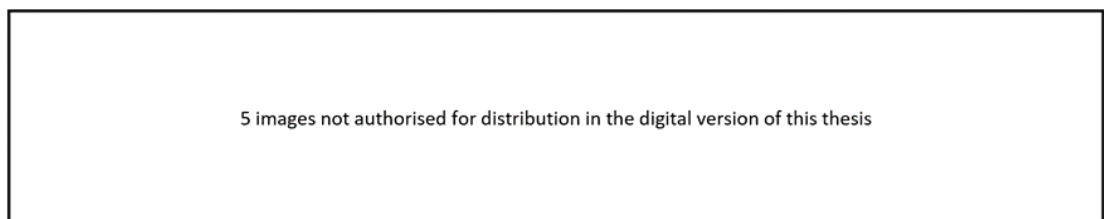
Source of image: Alone, *Buddhist Caves of Western India*, Pl. 130

Cave 26, Amba Ambikā group



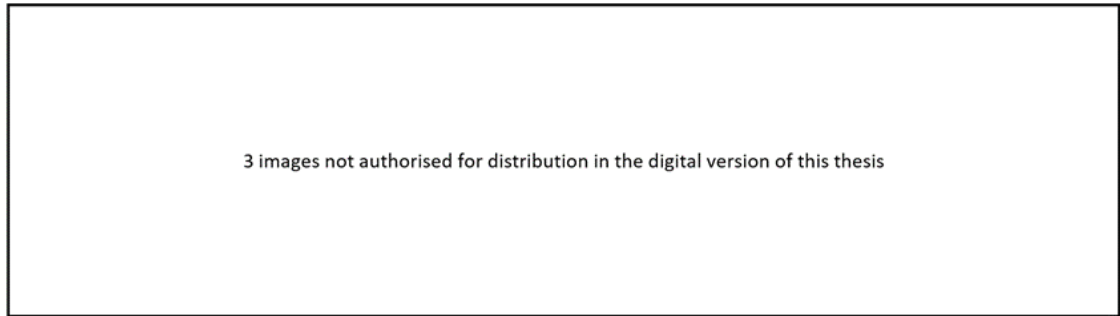
Source of image: AIIS Negative no. 700.67 (Accession no. 84272)

Cave 40, Bhut Leni group



Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. A46.75 (Accession no. 72844), 700.78 (Accession no. 84283) & A46.77 (Accession no. 72842)

Cave 45, Bhut Leni group



Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 654.10 (Accession no. 80279), 654.12 (Accession no. 80281) & 654.14 (Accession no. 80283)

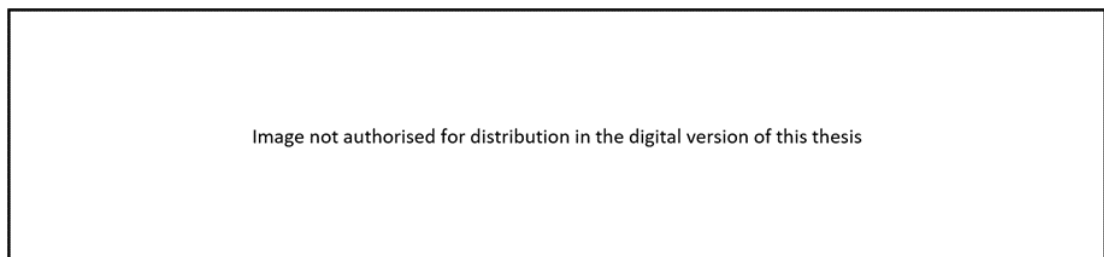
Gaṇeśa Pahar cave



Source of image: Alone, *Buddhist Caves of Western India*, Pl. 133

89. Lōnād, Thana, Maharashtra

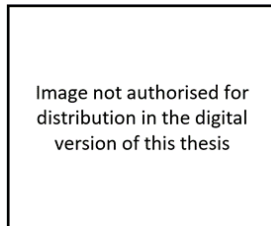
Cave, c.5th century



Source of image: AIIIS Negative no. A46.87 (Accession no. 67073)

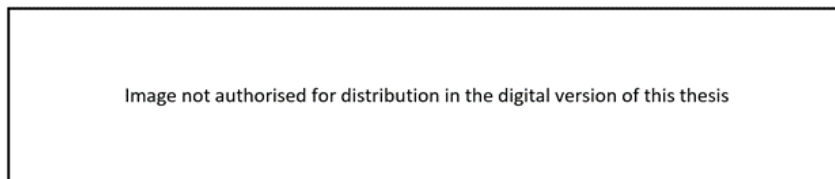
90. Kaṇherī, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Cave 3, c.2nd century



Source of image: Alone, *Buddhist Caves of Western India*, Pl. 209

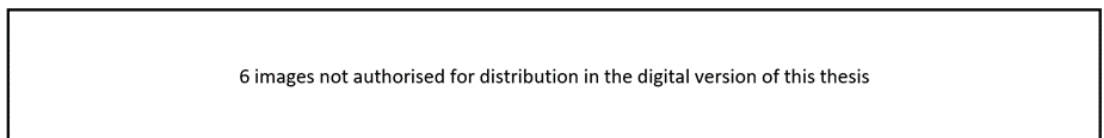
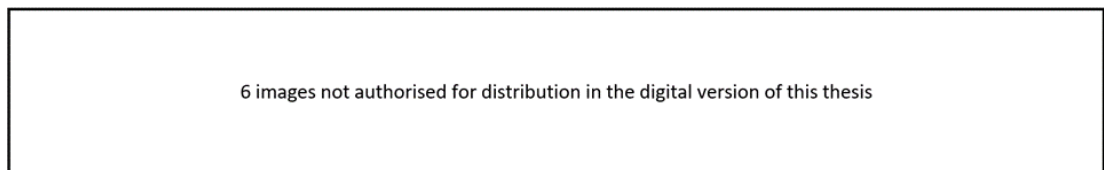
Cave 41, c.6th century



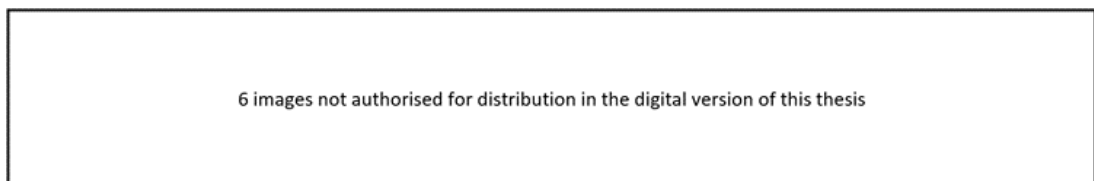
Source of image: AIIS Negative no. 454.78 (Accession no. 55518)

91. Jōgeśvarī, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Śiva cave temple, c.6th century



Source of images: AIIS Negative no. 455.19 (Accession no. 55466)



Source of images: AIIS Negative no. W Spink 625/66 (Accession no. 97383)

92. Elephanta, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Cave 1, c.6th century

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Source of images: AHS Negative nos. 131.15 (Accession no. 16624), 131.14 (Accession no. 16625) & 131.13 (Accession no. 16626)

Cave 4, c.6th century



Source of images: Author



Source of images: Author

93a. Kārlā, Pune, Maharashtra

Cave 8, c.1st century

3 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: AHS Negative nos. 655.1 (Accession no. 80241), 654.90 (Accession no. 80270) & A53.25 (Accession no. 94035)

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Source of images: Alone, *Buddhist Caves of Western India*, Pl. 116; AIIIS Negative nos. 654.81 (Accession no. 80264), 654.92 (Accession no. 80268) & 654.91 (Accession no. 80269)

93b. Kondāne, Kolaba, Maharashtra

Cave 1, c.2nd-1st century BCE

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 691.84 (Accession no. 85064) & 654.74 (Accession no. 80193)

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 654.73 (Accession no. 80192) & 654.75 (Accession no. 80194)

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 654.77 (Accession no. 80195) & 654.76 (Accession no. 80197)

Cave 2, c.2nd-1st century BCE

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 691.96 (Accession no. 85084) & 654.67 (Accession no. 80204)

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Source of images: AIIS Negative no. 654.70 (Accession no. 80201); Alone, *Buddhist Caves of Western India*, Pl. 195; AIIS Negative no. 654.59 (Accession no. 80200)

94. Bhājā, Pune, Maharashtra

Cave 6, c.2nd-1st century BCE

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Source of image: Alone, *Buddhist Caves of Western India*, Pl. 97

Cave 11, c.2nd-1st century BCE

Image not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of image: Alone, *Buddhist Caves of Western India*, Pl. 96

Cave 12, c.2nd century BCE

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Cave 13, c.2nd century BCE

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Cave 18, c.1st century BCE

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 686.20 (Accession no. 85005), 686.21 (Accession no. 85011) & 686.22 (Accession no. 85010)

Cave 22, c.2nd century BCE

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95. Bedsā, Pune, Maharashtra

Cave 7, c.1st century BCE

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 655.43 (Accession no. 80029) & 655.51 (Accession no. 80037); Alone, *Buddhist Caves of Western India*, Pl. 104

2 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: AHS Negative nos. 655.46 (Accession no. 80036) & 655.42 (Accession no. 80030)
Cave 11, c.1st century BCE

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Source of images: Alone, *Buddhist Caves of Western India*, Pl. 107; AHS Negative nos. 655.39 (Accession no. 80045) & 655.41 (Accession no. 80046)

96. Nadsur, Raigad, Maharashtra

Cave 7, c.2nd-1st century BCE

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Source of images: Alone, *Buddhist Caves of Western India*, Pls. 180, 181 & 184; AHS Negative nos. 699.31 (Accession no. 85133) & 699.43 (Accession no. 85140)

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 699.23 (Accession no. 85134), 699.31 (Accession no. 85133) & 699.43 (Accession no. 85140)

97. Ter, Osmanabad, Maharashtra

Uttareśvara temple, c.7th century

Image not authorised for distribution
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Source of image: Fischer, *Schöpfungen indischer Kunst*, Taf.128

98. Mukhalingam, Srikakulam, Andhra Pradesh

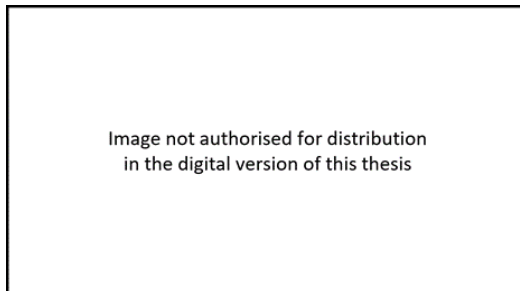
Yameśvara temple, c.8th century

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. 559.83 (Accession no. 64331), 560.10 (Accession no. 64329) & 558.88 (Accession no. 64332)

99. Guṇṭupalli, Andhra Pradesh

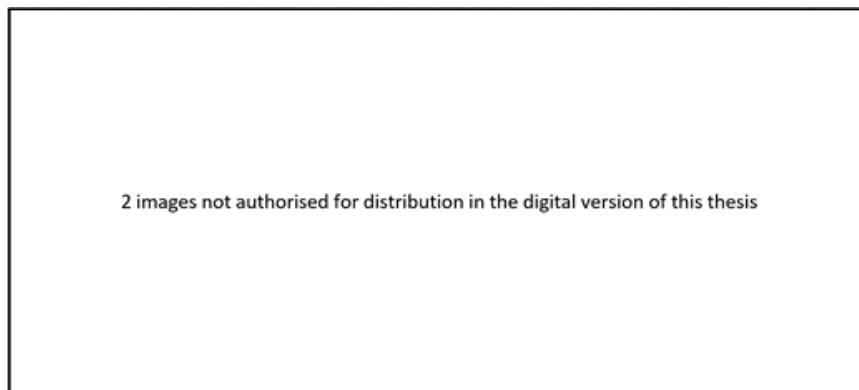
Caves, c.2nd century BCE (?)



Source of image: Viennot, *Temples de l'Inde centrale et occidentale*, Pl.1 Ph.1

100. Jaggayyapeṭa, Andhra Pradesh

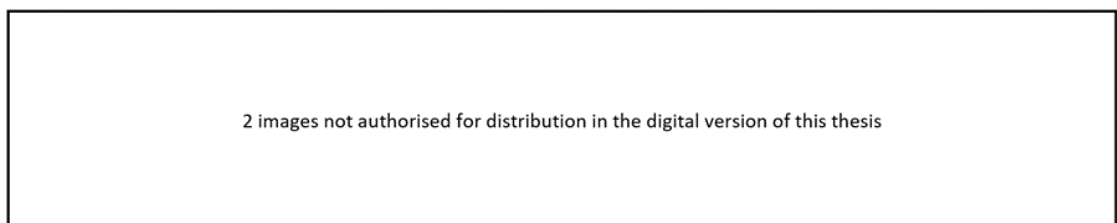
Sculptural relief, c.2nd-1st century BCE



Source of images: Shah, 'Beginnings of the Superstructure of Indian Temples', Pl.9; Srinivasan, 'Āndhras, Ikṣvākus, and Literary Sources', Fig.11

101. Mogalarājapuram, Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh

Cave 2, c.5th-7th century



Source of images: Soundara Rajan, *Cave Temples of the Deccan*, Pl. CXVI; AIIS Negative no. AAB 194.51 (Accession no. 22424)

Cave 3, c.5th-7th century

Image not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of image: Soundara Rajan, *Cave Temples of the Deccan*, Pl. CXVIII-A

102. Ghaṇṭaśālā, Andhra Pradesh

Sculptural relief, c.2nd century



Source of images: Author, with acknowledgement to the Guimet Museum, Paris

103. Uṇḍavalli, Guntur, Andhra Pradesh

Cave temples, c.5th century

2 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: Soundara Rajan, *Cave Temples of the Deccan*, Pls. CXXIV & CXXI-B

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Source of image: Huntington Archive scan no. 21798

104. Amarāvātī, Guntur, Andhra Pradesh

Sculptural reliefs, architectural fragments c.2nd-3rd century

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Source of images: Rao, *Bhuvanesvara*, Pl.5; Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Pl. 91; Coomaraswamy, 'Early Indian Architecture: III. Palaces', Fig.44

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Source of images: Parimoo, 'A Study of Medieval Western Indian Devāṅganā Sculptures on Nāgara Temple Architecture', Figs. 59 & 60; Srinivasan, 'Āndhras, Ikṣvākus, and Literary Sources', Fig.9; Coomaraswamy, 'Early Indian Architecture: III. Palaces', Fig.24

Image not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of image: Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Pl. 92b

105. Goli, Guntur, Andhra Pradesh

Sculptural reliefs, c.4th century

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Source of images: Fischer, *Schöpfungen indischer Kunst*, Taf. 92

106. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Guntur, Andhra Pradesh

Sculptural reliefs, c.3rd century

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Source of images: Krishna Murthy, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍā*, Pls. XIV, XIX & XXVIII

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Source of images: Krishna Murthy, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍā*, Pls. XXIV, XXVI & XX

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Source of images: Krishna Murthy, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍā*, Pls. XXII, V & VII

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Source of images: Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, Pls. XXVI(c), XXXIV(a), XXXIV(b) & XXXV(a)

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Source of images: Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, Pls. XXIII(b) & XLII(a); Vogel, 'The Man in the Well and Some Other Subjects Illustrated at Nāgārjunikonda', Pl. XXXVI b

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Source of image: Vogel, 'The Man in the Well and Some Other Subjects Illustrated at Nāgārjunikonda', Pl. XXXVI a

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Source of image: Vogel, 'The Man in the Well and Some Other Subjects Illustrated at Nāgārjunikonda', Pl. XXXVI c

107. Satyavolu, Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh

Bhimalingeśvara temple, c.8th century

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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. 569.52 (Accession no. 66665) & 569.32 (Accession no. 66673)

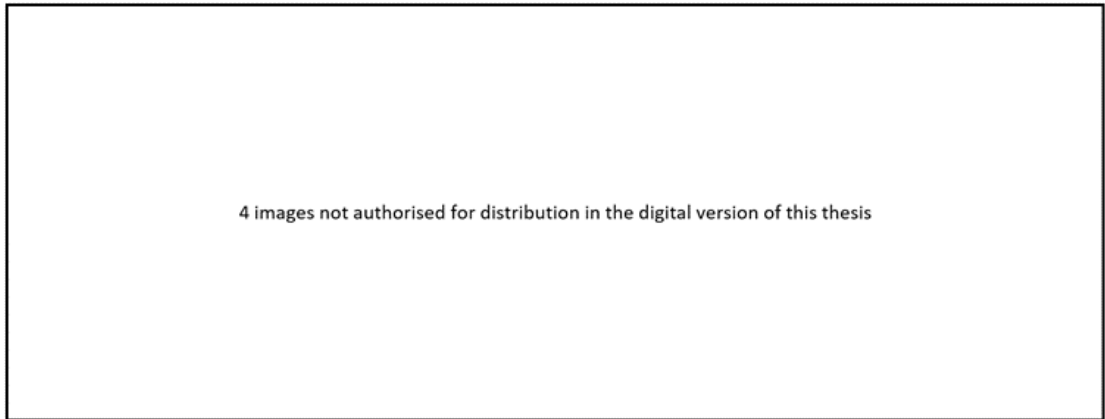
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Source of images: AIIS Negative no. 569.31 (Accession no. 66674)

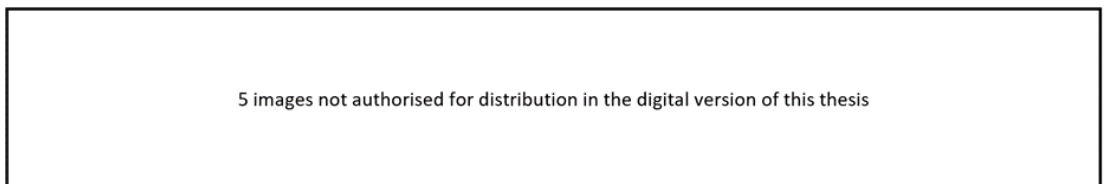
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Source of image: AIIS Negative no. 569.30 (Accession no. 66675)

Ramalingeśvara temple, c.8th century

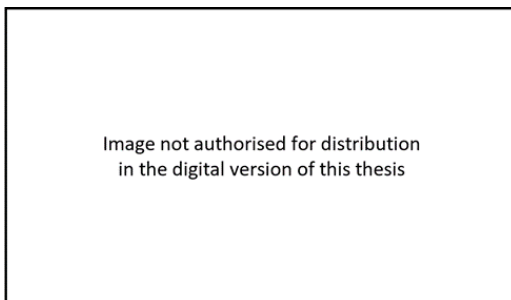


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Source of images: AIIS Negative no. AAB A17.86 (Accession no. 18797)

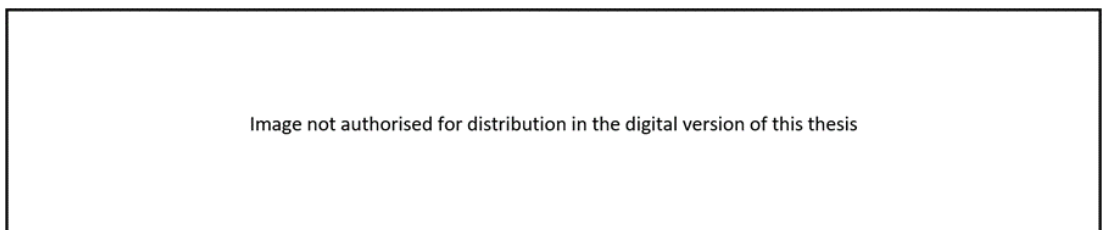
Apsidal temple, c.8th century



Source of image: AIIS Negative no. 171.22 (Accession no. 18807)

108. Bhairavakoṇḍa, Ongale, Andhra Pradesh

Cave 7, c.7th-8th century



Source of image: Soper, 'South Chinese Influence on the Buddhist Art of the Six Dynasties Period',
Fig.15

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Source of images: Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture Part 1*, Pl. XVIII(b)

109. Alampūr, Mahabubnagar, Andhra Pradesh

Arka-Brahmā temple, c.7th century

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Bāla-Brahmā temple, c.7th century

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Garuḍa-Brahmā temple, c.7th century

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Source of images: Prasad, *Chalukyan Temples of Andhradesa*, Pl. 34; AIIS Negative no. AAB A17.60 (Accession no. 18467)

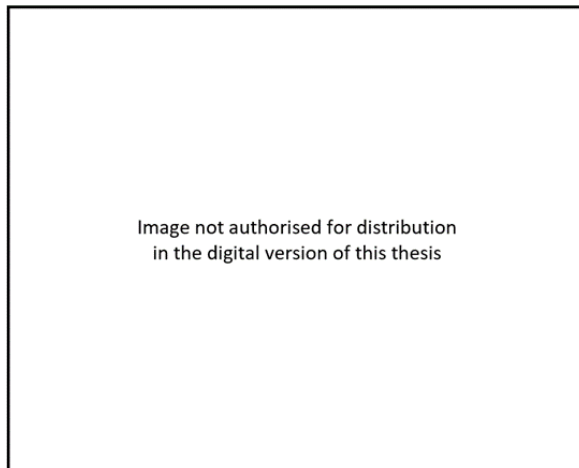
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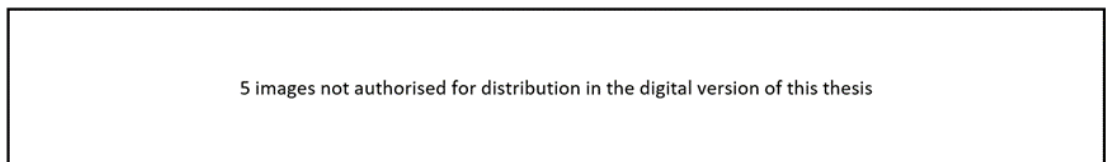
Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. AAB A17.54 (Accession no. 18455) & A17.14B (Accession no. 18465)

Kumāra-Brahmā temple, c.7th century

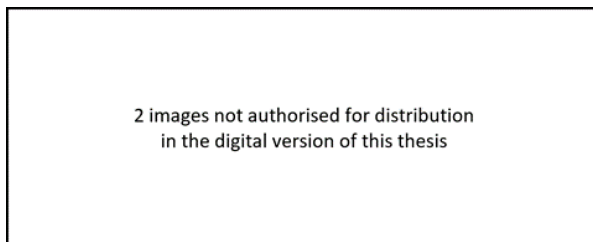


Source of image: AHS Negative no. AAB A17.79 (Accession no. 20616)

Padma-Brahmā temple, c.7th century

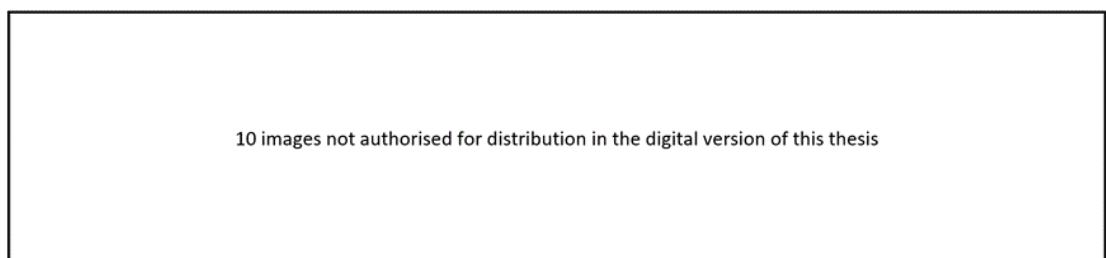


Source of images: AHS Negative no. AAB A17.70 (Accession no. 18595)



Source of images: AHS Negative no. AAB 168.74 (Accession no. 18608)

Svarga-Brahmā temple, c.7th century



Source of images: AHS Negative nos. AAB 168.68 (Accession no. 18620), A17.33 (Accession no. 18626) & A17.32 (Accession no. 18629)

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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. AAB 168.70 (Accession no. 18656) & AAB A17.14A (Accession no. 18633)

Tāraka-Brahmā temple, c.7th century

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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. AAB 168.82 (Accession no. 18584) & AAB 168.76 (Accession no. 18586)

Vīra-Brahmā temple, c.7th century

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Source of images: Prasad, *Chalukyan Temples of Andhradesa*, Pl. 12; AIIS Negative nos. AAB A17.1 (Accession no. 18944), AAB A17.4 (Accession no. 18947) & AAB 167.76 (Accession no. 18952)

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Viśva-Brahmā temple, c.7th century

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6 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. AAB 167.74 (Accession no. 18490), AAB A17.7 (Accession no. 18519) & AAB A16.92 (Accession no. 18520)

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Source of images: AIIIS Negative nos. AAB 167.74 (Accession no. 18490) & AAB A16.92 (Accession no. 18520)

Pratolī (west), c.7th century

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Source of images: AHS Negative nos. AAB 169.11 (Accession no. 18931) & 168.56 (Accession no. 18912)

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Source of images: AHS Negative no. AAB A17.69 (Accession no. 18913)

110a. Kanaganahalli, Gulbarga, Karnataka

Sculptural reliefs, c.2nd-4th century

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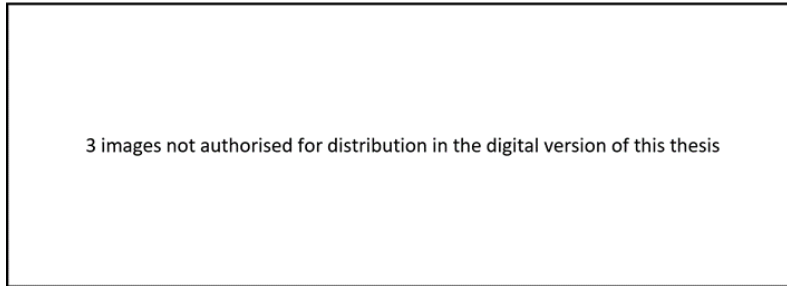
Source of images: Meister, 'Early Architecture and Its Transformations', Figs. 14, 4, 7 & 13

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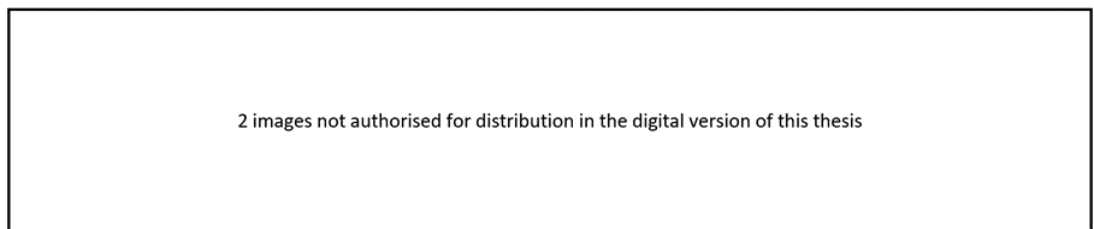
Source of images: Meister, 'Early Architecture and Its Transformations', Figs. 3, 6 & 5

110b. Sannati, Gulbarga, Karnataka

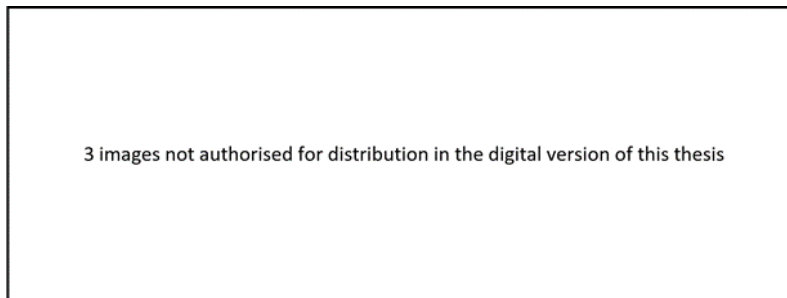
Sculptural reliefs and memorial slabs, c.1st-3rd century



Source of images: Sarma & Rao, *Early Brāhmī Inscriptions from Sannati*, Pl. 17-B (B-8)



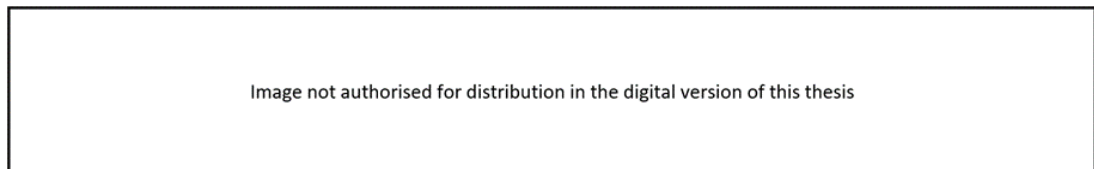
Source of images: Sarma & Rao, *Early Brāhmī Inscriptions from Sannati*, Pls. 20 (C-6) & 20 (C-8)



Source of images: Srinivasan, 'Āndhras, Ikṣvākus, and Literary Sources', Fig.12; Sarma & Rao, *Early Brāhmī Inscriptions from Sannati*, Pls. 19 (C-4) & 22-B (D-4)

111. Aihole, Bijapur, Karnataka

Jain cave, c.6th century



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2-storey cave, c.6th-7th century



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Cikkigüđi, c.7th century

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Durgā temple, c.7th century

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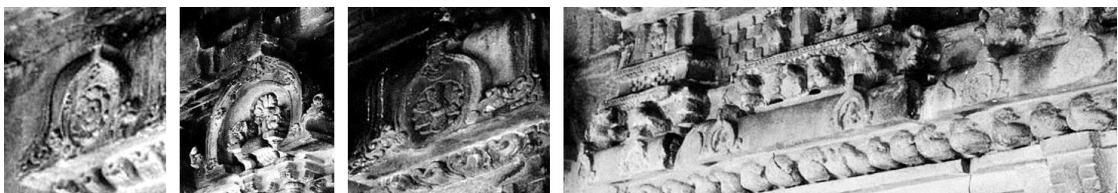


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Source of images: Author; Tartakov, *The Durga Temple at Aihole*, Fig. 54



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Durgā temple *pratolī*, c.7th century

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Source of image: Tartakov, *The Durga Temple at Aihole*, Fig. 53

Gauḍarguḍi, c.7th century

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Huccappayya-maṭh, c.7th century

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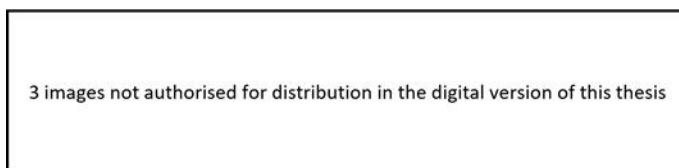


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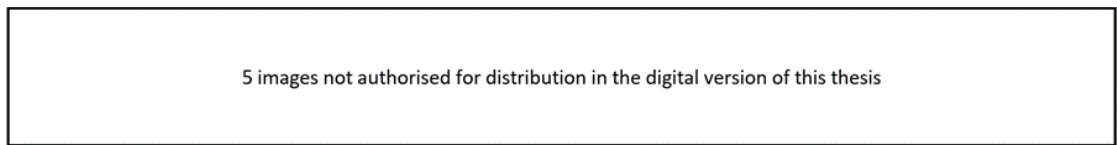


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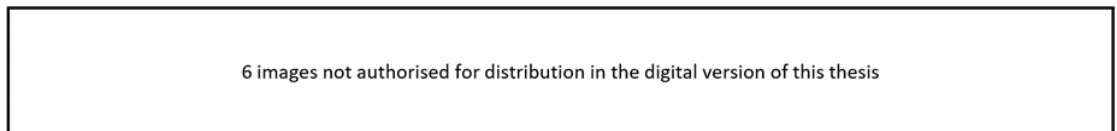
Huccimalliguḍi, c.7th century



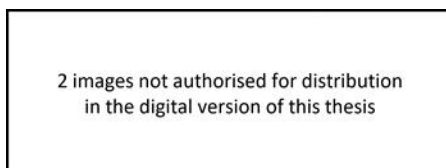
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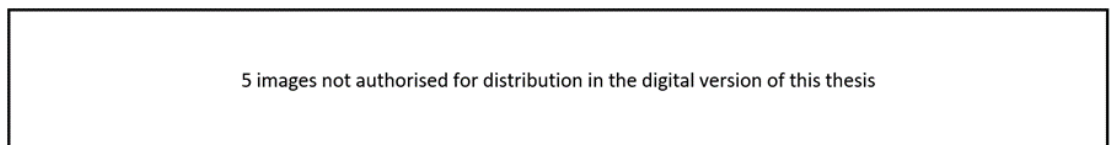
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Koṇṭiḡuḍi 4, c.7th century

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Mallikārjuna temple, c.7th century

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Mēḡuṭi temple, c.7th century

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Sāraṅgīguḍi, c.7th century

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Sūryanārāyaṇa temple, c.7th century

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Tarabasappagudi, c.7th century

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Temple 62, c.7th century

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Huccappayyagudi, c.8th century

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Koṇṭiḡuḍi 1, c.8th century

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Lāḍhkhān, c.8th century

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112. Paṭṭaḍakal, Bijapur, Karnataka

Gaḷaganātha temple, c.7th century



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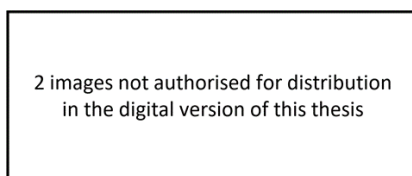


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Jain temple, c.8th century



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Jambuliṅgeśvara temple, c.8th century



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Kāḍasiddheśvara temple, c.8th century



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Kāśīviśvanātha temple, c.8th century



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Mallikārjuna temple, c.8th century

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Pāpanātha temple, c.8th century



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Saṅgameśvara temple, c.8th century

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Source of images: Michell, *Temple Architecture and Art of the Early Chalukyas*, p.194

Virūpākṣa temple, c.8th century



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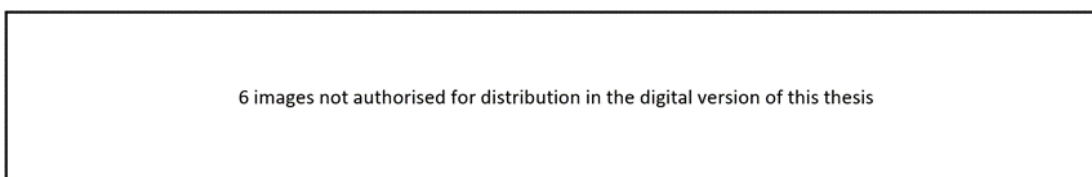
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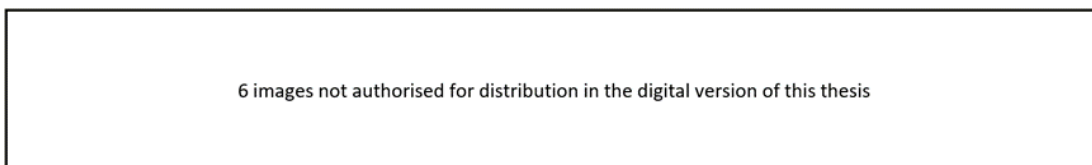
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113a. Bādāmi, Bijapur, Karnataka

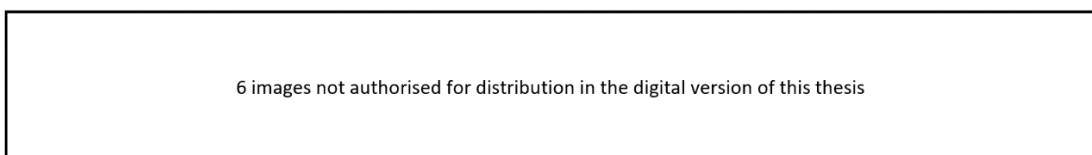
Cave 1, c.6th century



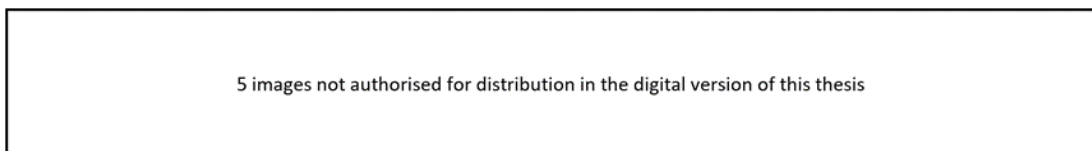
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Cave 2, c.6th century



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Cave 3, c.6th century

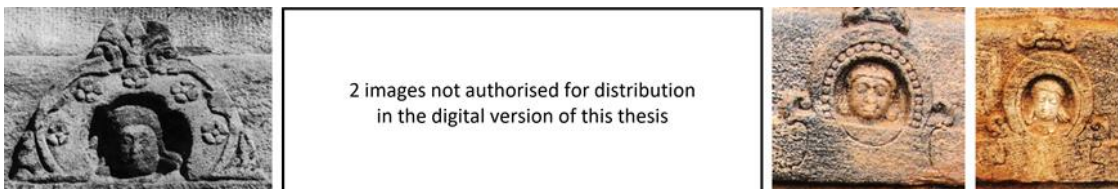


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Upper Śivālaya, c.7th century



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Mālegitti Śivālaya, c.7th century

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Bhūtanātha temple, c.7th century

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Jambuliṅgeśvara temple, c.7th-8th century

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Source of image: Divakaran, 'Le temple de Jambuliṅga', Fig. 13

Unspecified sites, Bādāmi, c.7th-8th century

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113b. Mahākūṭa, Bijapur, Karnataka

Bāṇantiguḍi, c.6th century

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Cikka-Mahākūṭa, c.6th-7th century



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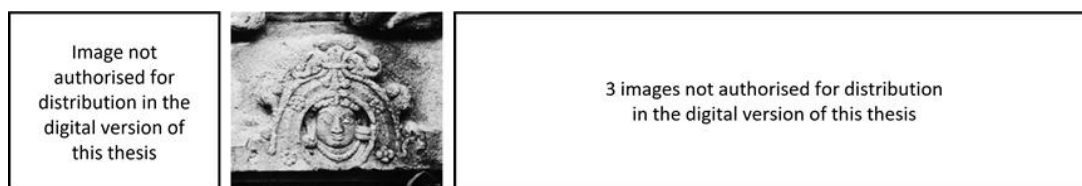
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Mahākūṭeśvara temple, c.7th century

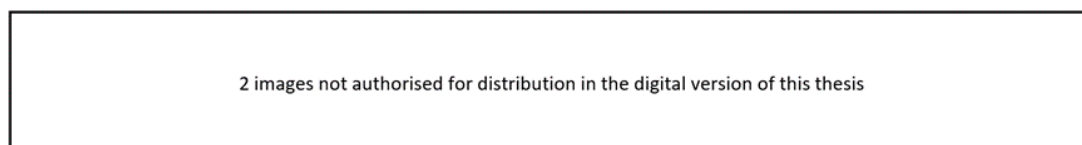
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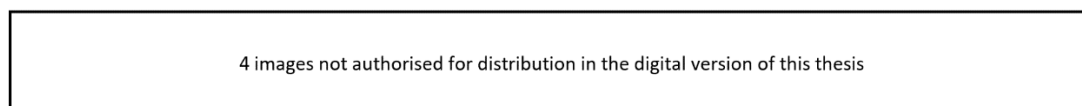
Mallikārjuna temple, c.7th century



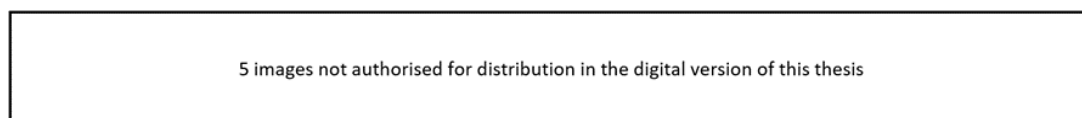
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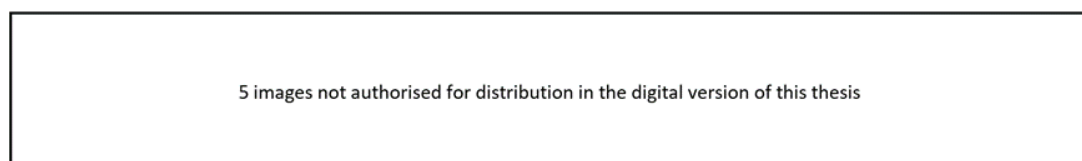
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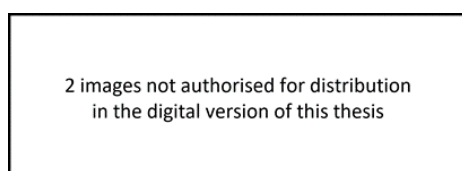


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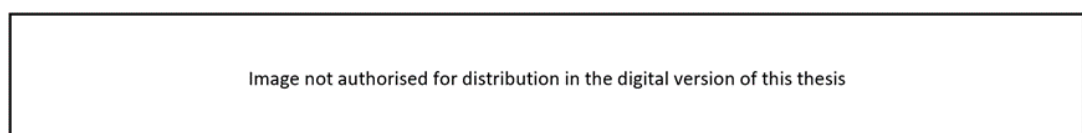
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Saṅgameśvara temple, c.7th-8th century



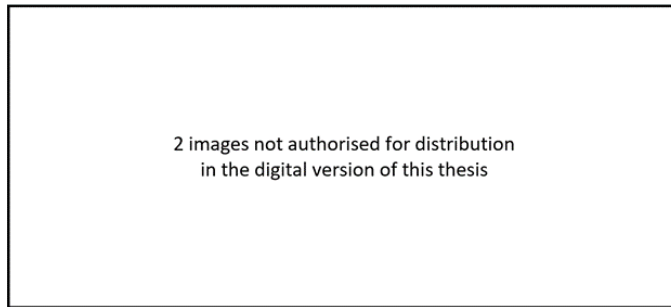
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Candrakeśvara temple, c.7th-8th century



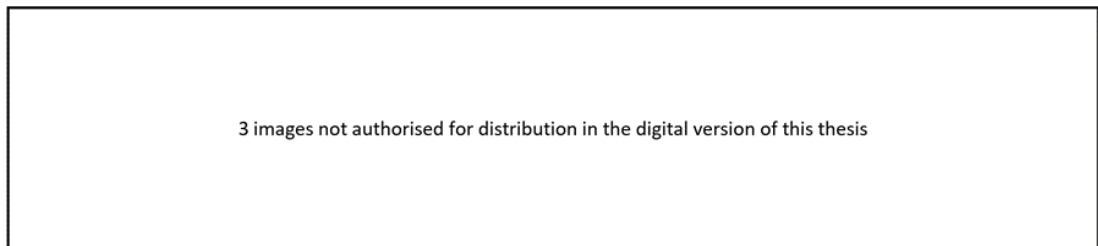
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Kotilinga temple, c.8th century



Source of images: Mohite, 'Mahakuta', unnumbered figures between pp.236 & 237

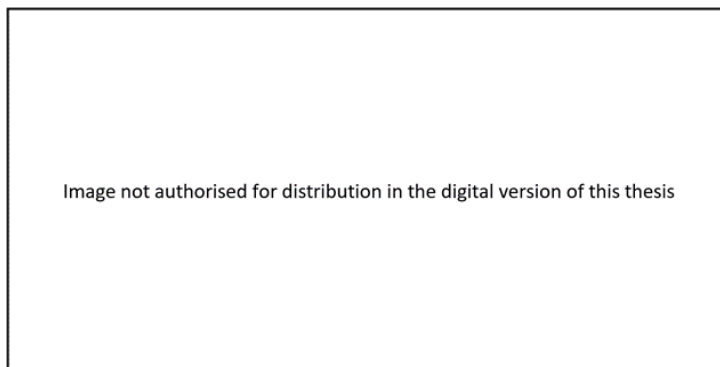
Someśvara temple, c.8th century



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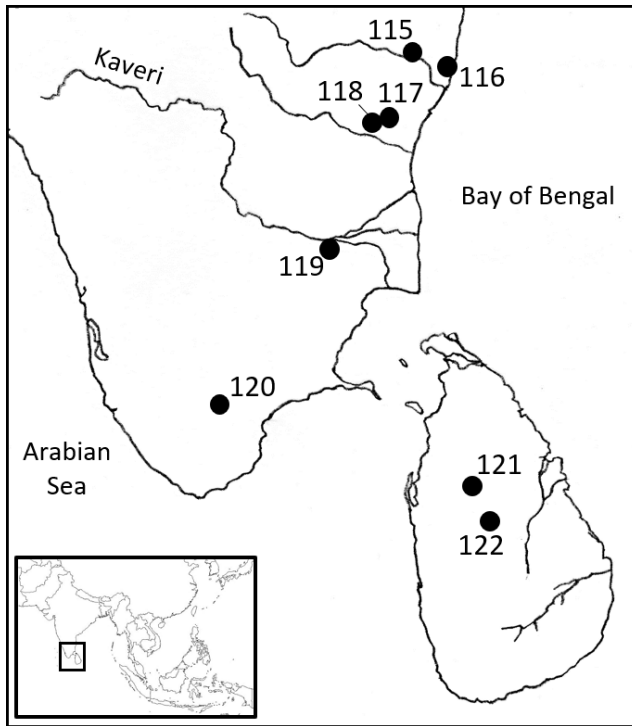
114. Lamgao, Bicholim, Goa

Cave 2, c.6th century



Source of image: von Mitterwallner, 'Two Natural Caves and 11 Man-Made Excavations of Goa, India', Fig. 34

Southern India and Sri Lanka



KEY:

115. Kāñcīpuram

118. Paṇamalai

121. Anurādhapura

116. Māmallapuram

119. Tiruccirāppaḷḷi

122. Matale

117. Daḷavāṇūr

120. Kaḷugumalai

115. Kāñcīpuram, Chingleput, Tamil Nadu

Kailāsanātha temple, c.7th-8th century

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Iravātaneśvara temple, c.8th century

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Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ, c.8th century



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Mukteśvara temple, c.8th century

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Source of images: AHS Negative nos. AAB 41.17 (Accession no. 3641)

Piravātaneśvara temple, c.8th century

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Source of image: AHS Negative no. 41.94 (Accession no. 3649)

116. Māmallapuram, Chingleput, Tamil Nadu

Ādivarāha cave, c.7th century

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Source of image: Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Pl. 282

Kōṇēri-maṇḍapam, c.7th century

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Source of images: AHS Negative no. 40.3 (Accession no. 1044)

Mahiśāsura-mardini-maṇḍapam, c.7th century



Source of images: Author

Rāmānuja-maṇḍapam, c.7th century

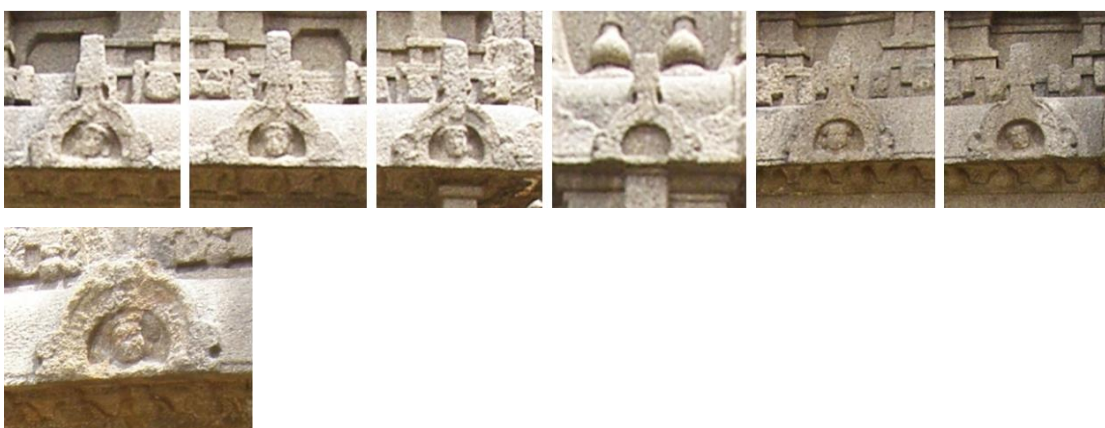


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Source of images: AIIS Negative no. 95.59 (Accession no. 6388)

Trimūrti cave, c.7th century



Source of images: Author

Varāha-maṇḍapam, c.7th century



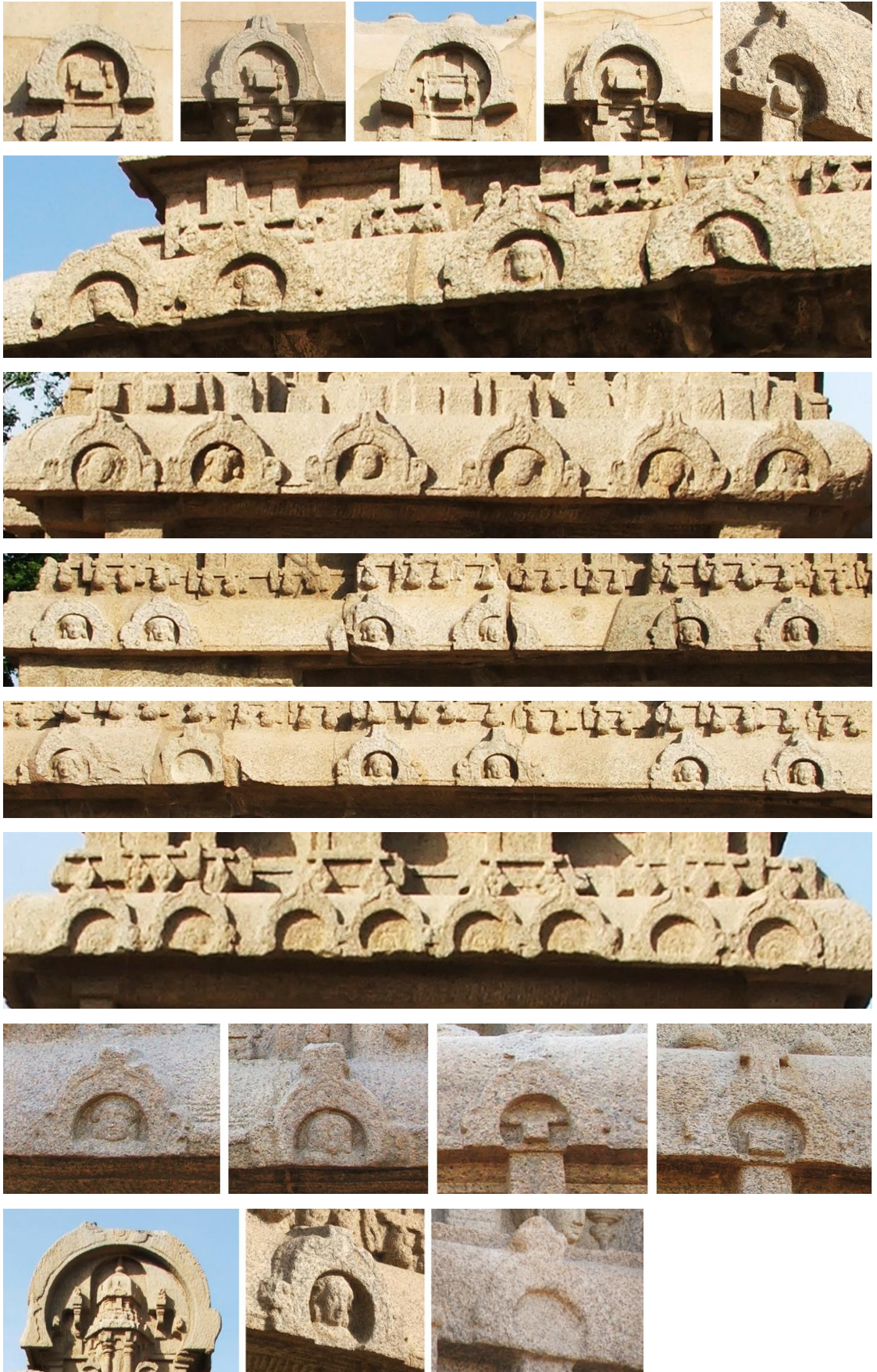
Source of images: Author

Gaṇeśa ratha, c.7th century



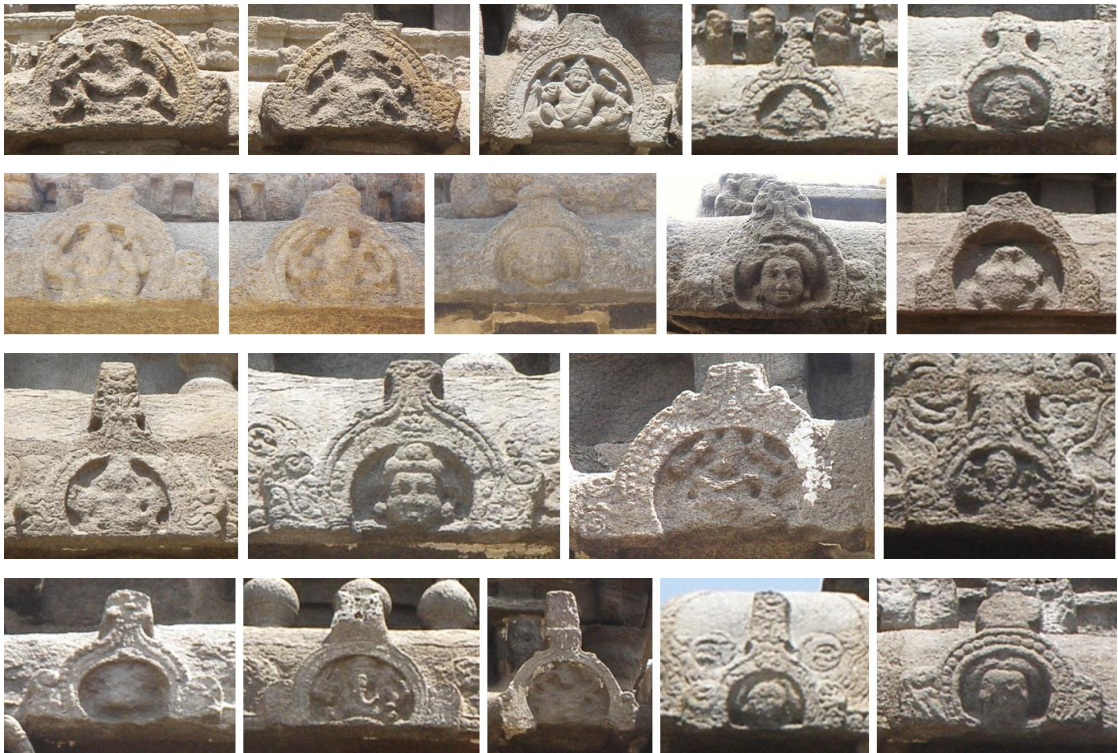
Source of images: Author

Panca rathas, c.7th century



Source of images: Author

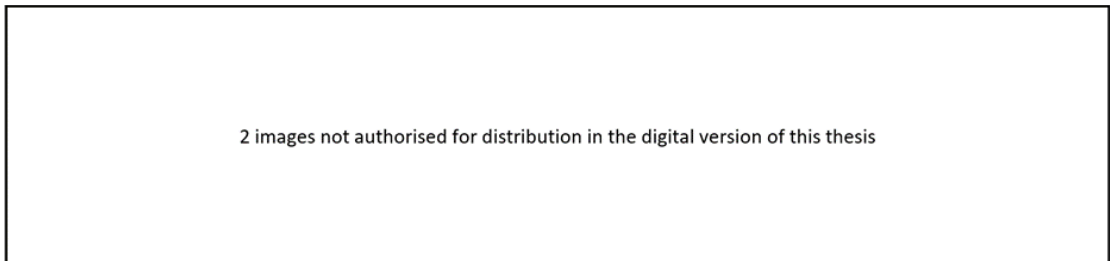
Shore temple, c.7th-8th century



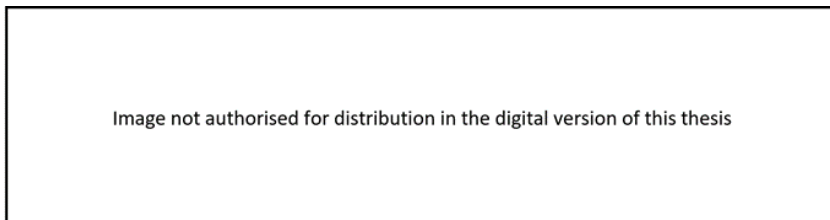
Source of images: Author

117. Daḷavāṇūr, Vilupparam, Tamil Nadu

Śatrumalleśvara-ālayam cave, c.7th century



Source of images: Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Pallava Antiquities*, vol. 1, Pl. XVI-A; Bénisti, *Stylistics of Early Khmer Art*, Fig. 236



Source of image: Srinivasan, *Cave Temples of the Pallavas*, Pl. XIV

118. Paṇamalai, South Arcot, Tamil Nadu

Tālagireśvara temple, c.8th century

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Source of images: AHS Negative no. AAB 91.2 (Accession no. 7949)

119. Tiruccirāppaḷḷi, Tiruccirāppaḷḷi, Tamil Nadu

Lalitāṅkura cave, c.7th century

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Source of image: Srinivasan, *Cave Temples of the Pallavas*, Pl. XIX

3 images not authorised for distribution in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: Huntington Archive scan no. 23092

Lower cave temple, c.8th century

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in the digital version of this thesis

Source of images: AHS Negative no. AAB A19.22 (Accession no. 17867)

120. Kaḷugumalai, Tirunelveli, Tamil Nadu

Vettuvan Koil, c.8th century

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Source of images: AIIS Negative nos. AAB 94.21 (Accession no. 6165), AAB 94.24 (Accession no. 6171), AAB 94.22 (Accession no. 6169) & AAB 94.23 (Accession no. 6170)

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Source of image: AIIS Negative no. AAB 93.94 (Accession no. 6158)

121. Anurādhapura (Sri Lanka)

Īsurumuniya, c.7th century

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Source of images: Boisselier, *Ceylon, Sri Lanka*, Pl. 66

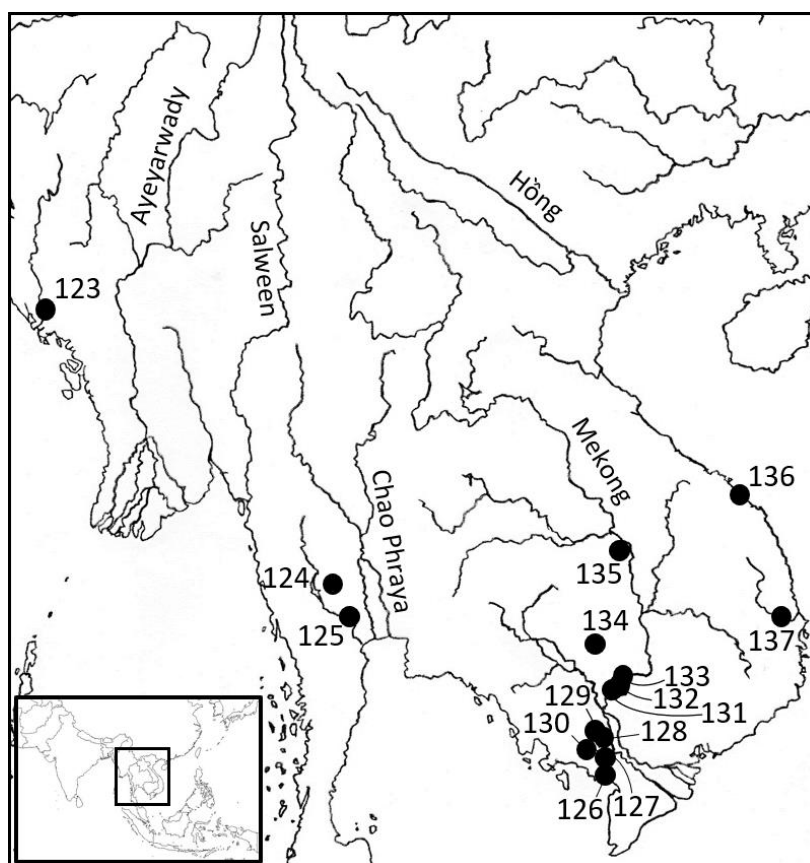
122. Matale (Sri Lanka)

Nālanda Gedige, c.8th century



Source of images: Anton Croos, [Nalanda Gedige - wall](#), [Nalanda Gedige - left side view](#) & [Nalanda Gedige - top](#), licenced under [CC BY-SA 3.0](#) (cropped)

Mainland Southeast Asia

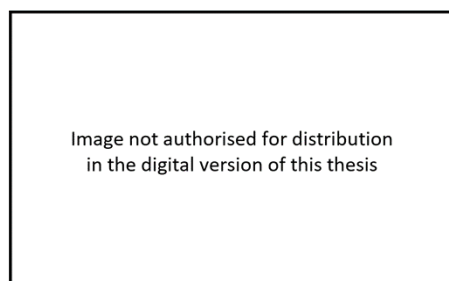


KEY:

123. Mrauk U	128. Phnom Da	133. Phnom Bacheu
124. U Thong	129. Ang Thnal	134. Sambor Prei Kuk & Prasat Eng Khna
125. Nakhon Pathom	130. Phnom Bayang	135. Champassak
126. Óc Eo	131. Dambang Dek	136. An Mỹ, Tam-kỳ & Phú Ninh
127. Núi Sam	132. Kompong Cham	137. Cung-sơn

123. Mrauk U, Rakhine (Myanmar)

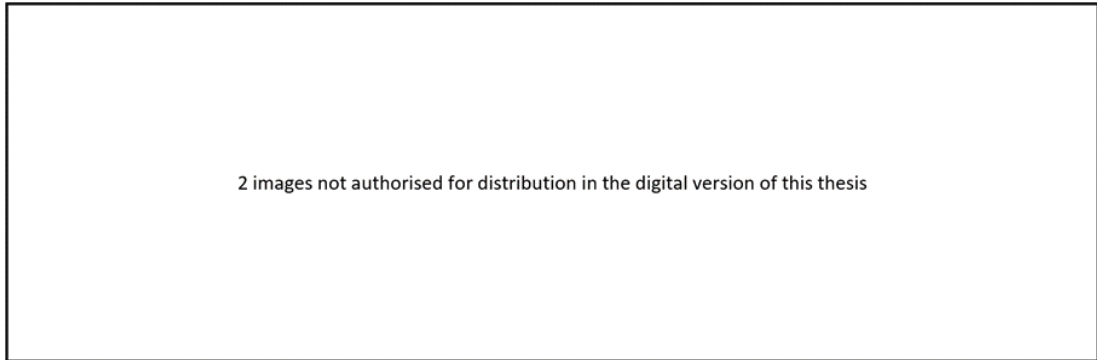
Ni-buza shrine, c.7th century



Source of image: Gutman, 'Between India and Southeast Asia', Fig. 3

124. U Thong, Suphanburi (Thailand)

Antefixes, c.6th century



Source of images: Guy, 'Catalogue', in *Lost Kingdoms*, Cat. 106; U Thong National Museum, Thailand

Architectural features, c.7th-8th century



Source of images: U Thong National Museum, Thailand; Author (with acknowledgement to the Somdet Phra Narai National Museum, Lopburi)

125. Nakhon Pathom, Nakhon Pathom (Thailand)

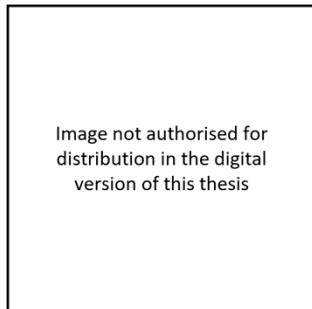
Dharmacakrastambha socle from Nakhon Chaisri, Phra Pathon Chedi, c.7th-9th century



Source of images: Author (with acknowledgement to the Bangkok National Museum)

126. Ốc Eo, An Giang (Vietnam)

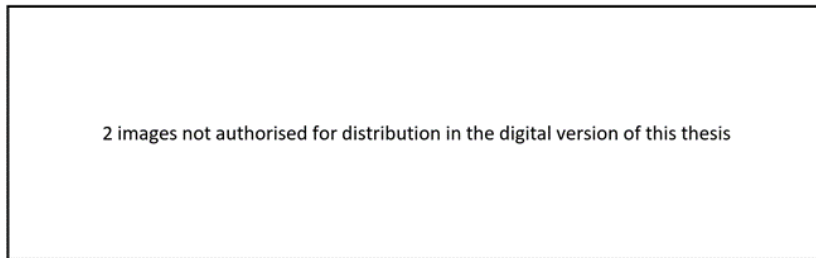
Architectural feature, c.2nd-4th century



Source of image: Lê Thị Liên, *Buddhist and Hindu Art in the Cuu Long River Delta*, Fig. 180

127. Núi Sam, An Giang (Vietnam)

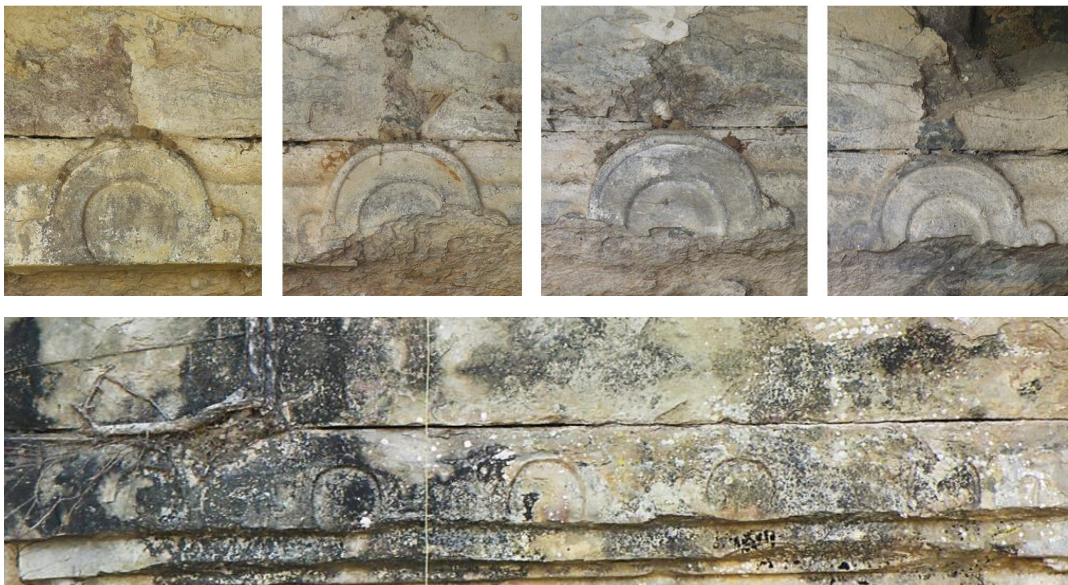
Antefixes, c.6th-7th century



Source of images: Guy, 'Catalogue', in *Lost Kingdoms*, Cat. 107; Malleret, *L'Archéologie du Delta du Mékong*, Vol.1, Pl. LXXI

128. Phnom Da, Angkor Borei, Takéo (Cambodia)

Cave, pre-Angkorian



Source of images: Author

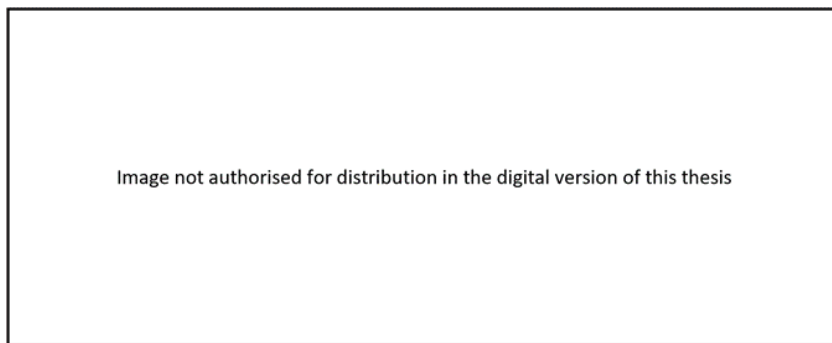
Asram Maha Russei temple, c.7th century



Source of images: Author

129. Ang Thnal, Takéo (Cambodia)

Prasat, Wat Ba Thay, c.7th-8th century



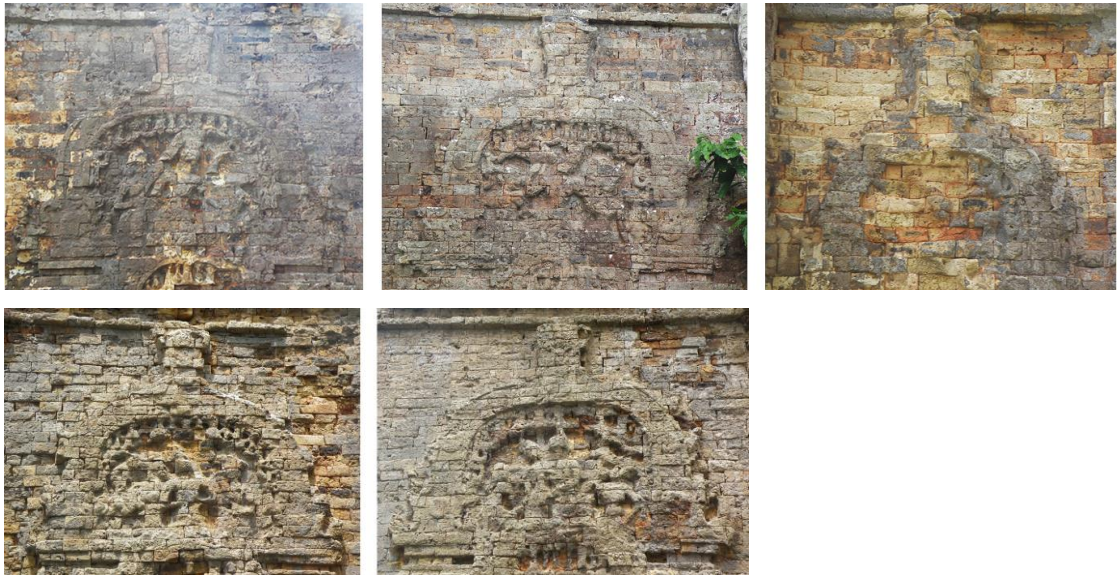
Source of image: Stoeckel, 'Chronique de l'année 1931: Cambodge, Tà Kèv', Pl. XXXIII-B

130. Phnom Bayang, Takéo (Cambodia)

Prasat Phnom Bayang, c.7th century



Source of images: Author; Bénisti, *Stylistics of Early Khmer Art*, Fig.82



Source of images: Author

131. Dambang Dek, Kompong Cham (Cambodia)

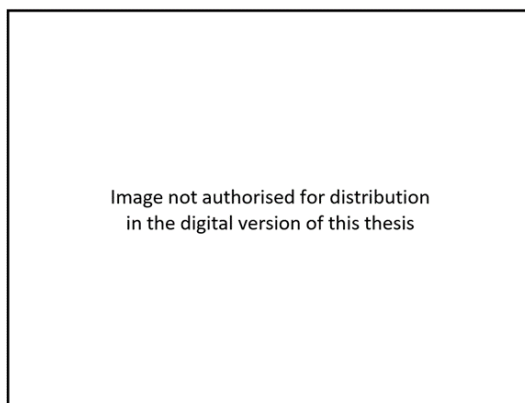
Detail of *torana* arch, c.7th century



Source of images: Author (with acknowledgement to the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh)

132. Kompong Cham, Kompong Cham (Cambodia)

Wat Vihear Thom, c.7th century



Source of image: Parmentier, 'Complément à l'art khmèr primitif', Fig. 18

133. Phnom Bachey, Kompong Cham (Cambodia)

Kuk Preah Theat, c.7th century



Source of images: Author

Detail of *torana* arch, Han Chei temple, c.7th century



Source of image: Bénisti, *Stylistics of Early Khmer Art*, Fig.87

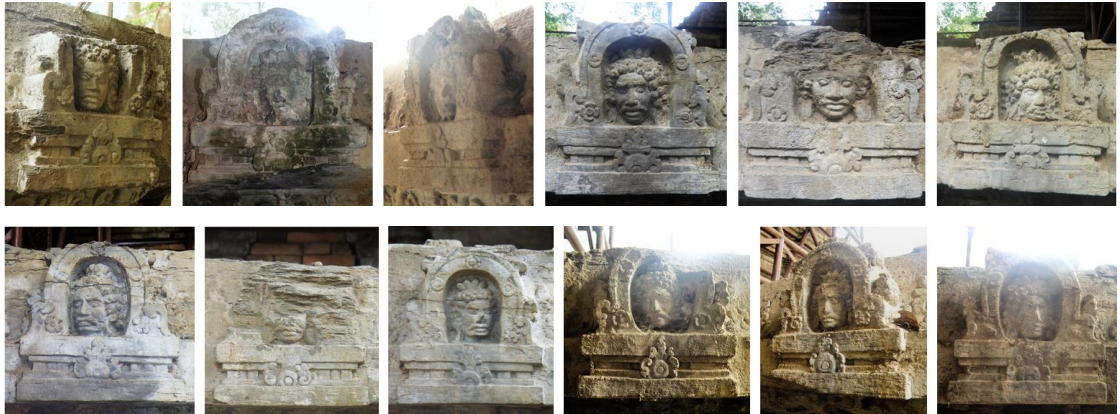
134a. Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom (Cambodia)

Monument N17, c.7th century



Source of images: Author

Pedestal, *Prasat S2*, c.7th century



Source of images: Author

Prasat S10 & S11, c.7th century



Source of images: Author

Prasat S12, N1, N11 & N15, c.7th century



Source of images: Author

Prasat N21, c.7th century



Source of images: Author

134b. Prasat Eng Khna, Kompong Thom (Cambodia)

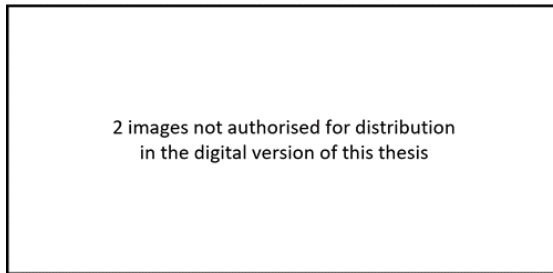
Relief on *torana* arch, Wat Eng Khna, c.7th century



Source of images: Author

135. Champassak (Laos)

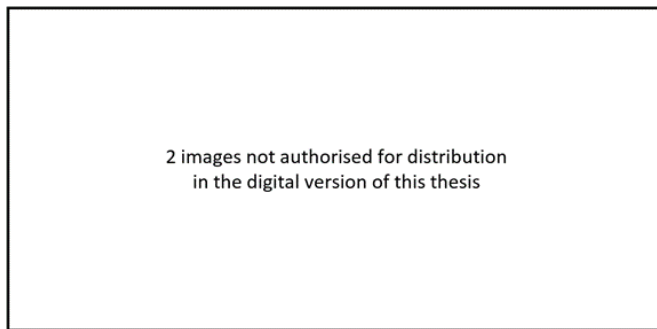
Wat Phu, c.7th century



Source of images: Hawixbrock et al., *Vat Phu Museum Collections*, pp.104-107

136a. An Mỹ, Quảng Nam (Vietnam)

Architectural features, c.6th-7th century



Source of images: Le Bonheur, 'The Art of Champa', Fig.129; Guy, 'Catalogue', in *Lost Kingdoms*, Cat.16

136b. Tam-kỳ, Quảng Nam (Vietnam)

Architectural feature, c.6th-7th century



Source of images: Claeys, 'Chronique de l'année 1937: Archéologie chame', Pl. XCIII, reproduced with the knowledge of *BEFEO*, © Jean-Yves Claeys

136c. Phú Ninh, Quảng Nam (Vietnam)

Architectural feature, c.6th-7th century



Source of images: Courtesy William Southworth

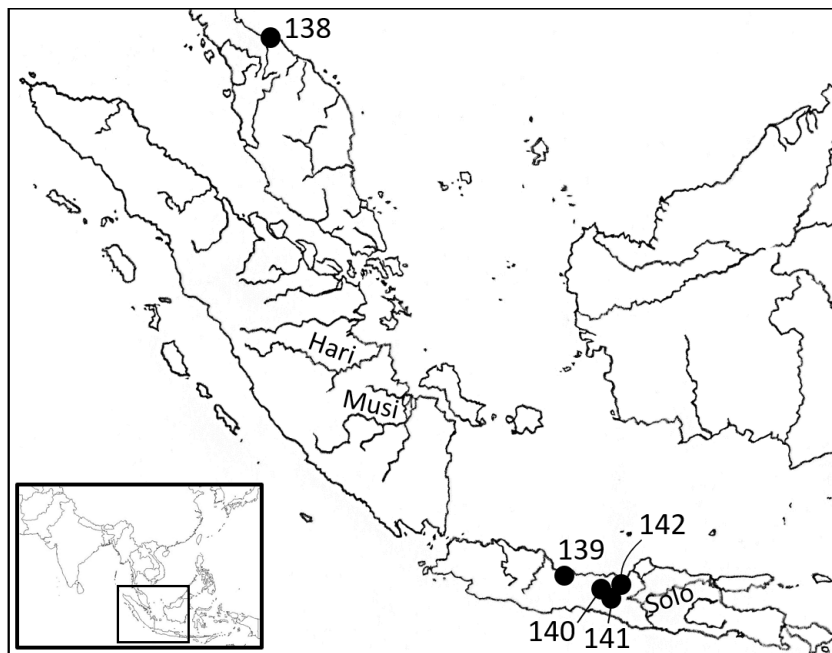
137. Cung-sơn, Phú Yên (Vietnam)

Architectural feature, c.6th-7th century



Source of images: Claeys, 'Chronique de l'année 1937: Archéologie chame', Pl. XCII-A, reproduced with the knowledge of *BEFEO*, © Jean-Yves Claeys

Peninsular and Island Southeast Asia

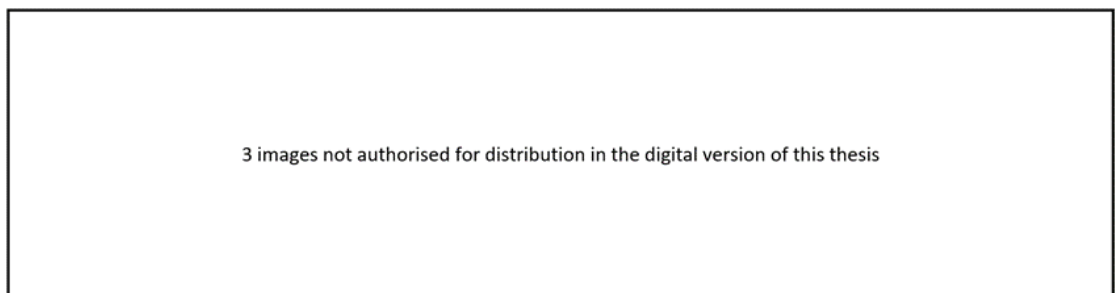


KEY

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------|
| 138. Yarang | 141. Borobudur |
| 139. Kesuben | 142. Grabag |
| 140. Dieng Plateau | |

138. Yarang, Pattani (Thailand)

Site BW20 (?), c.6th century



Source of images: Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *The Malay Peninsula*, Fig.65; No Na Paknam, 'Dvaravati art styles in Pattani', p.72

139. Kesuben, Lebaksiu, Java (Indonesia)

Antefixes, Candi Kesuben, c.8th-10th century

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Source of images: Susetyo, 'Situs Kesuben', Foto 4 & 5

140. Dieng Plateau, Wonosobo, Java (Indonesia)

Candi Bima, c.7th century

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Candi Srikandi, c.7th-8th century

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Candi Arjuna, c.7th-8th century

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Source of images: Author (no permission for online thesis version)

141. Borobudur, Magelang, Java (Indonesia)

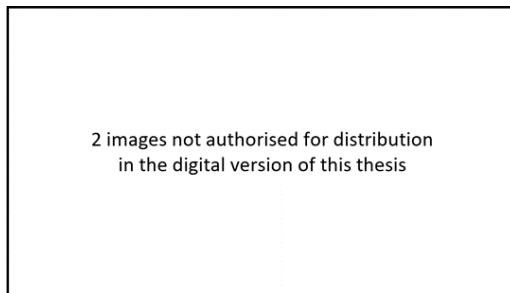
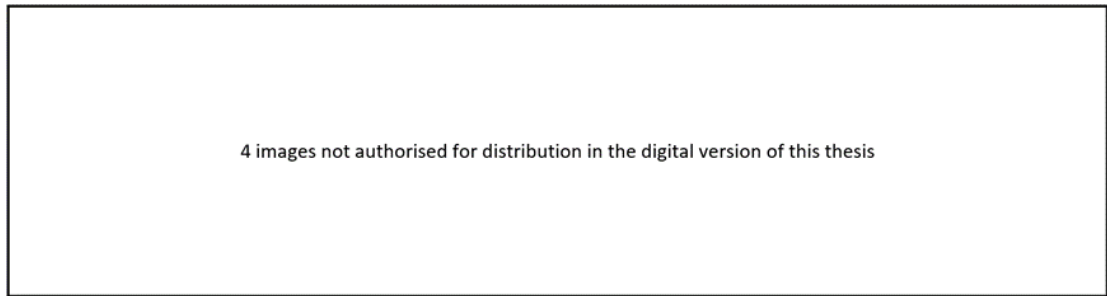
Candi Borobudur, c.8th-9th century

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142. Grabag, Magelang, Java (Indonesia)

Candi Rejo, c.8th-9th century



Source of images: Author (Museum Nasional, Jakarta, Inv. Nos. 5527, 5530, 5531, 5536, 5532 & 5537)
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Northern Sumatra

Mandailing Besar area, c.8th-9th century



Source of image: Author (Museum Nasional, Jakarta, Inv. No. 461b/3566) (no permission for online thesis version)

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Appendix 3. Indra-Maruts *toraṇa*

This appendix compiles pre-Angkorian *toraṇa* recorded as bearing the Indra-Maruts iconography. It is based on identifications in the literature and, where possible, personal inspection and confirmation.

Early references in the French literature are to ‘Indra et les Aṣvins’ or ‘Indra et les chevaliers’, because the identification of the horse-riders as Maruts is a more recent one (see Section 5.3). Some of these *toraṇa* are now rather worn or have received more recent damage to the three figures. However, a familiarity with the pre-Angkorian iconographic features of Indra, Airāvata and the flying horses, arranged symmetrically with either convergent or divergent directionality, sometimes permits the confirmation that what remains sculpturally today is at least consistent with this recorded identification. Any that cannot be independently reconfirmed as having borne this iconography are left in this appendix for information, since this material has not, to my knowledge, been compiled elsewhere. Notably, these examples are from sites in and around Sambor Prei Kuk and their rejection as Indra-Maruts would not invalidate the conclusions drawn in Chapter 5, which uses Michael Vickery’s reconstruction of the areas of authority of Īśānavarman and his successors.

Other identifications as Indra-Maruts iconography are my own, based on published photographs of *toraṇa* where the images are sufficiently clear. For many of the photographs in Michel Tranet’s three-volume *Sambaur-Prei-Kuk* where this iconography is identifiable, it has not yet been possible to verify the associations of individual *toraṇa* with a specific *prasat*, through archival research at the museums where these *toraṇa* are now held. Nonetheless, their association with the area in and around Sambor Prei Kuk seems clear and, as above, an association with a different *prasat* in this vicinity would not invalidate the conclusions drawn in Chapter 5.

In the list that follows, I have included the monument reference numbers for *prasats* outside Sambor Prei Kuk. These are the CISARK number (Carte Interactive des Sites Archéologiques Khmers)¹ and the IK numbering system initiated by Étienne Lunet de

¹ <http://cisark.mcfa.gov.kh/>

Lajonquière in his three-volume *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*, though clearly monuments have been ‘discovered’ since this was published. In the brief notes accompanying each *torāṇa* below, the following shorthand references to key publications are used:

Bénisti	Mireille Bénisti, <i>Stylistics of Early Khmer Art</i> , trans. K. Thanikaimony, 2 vols (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts & Aryan Books International, 2003)
Dupont	Pierre Dupont, ‘Les linteaux khmèrs du VII ^e siècle’, <i>Artibus Asiae</i> 15, no. 1–2 (1952): 31–83
Lunet de Lajonquière	Étienne Lunet de Lajonquière, <i>Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge</i> , 3 vols, Publications de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902-1911)
Parmentier (1927)	Henri Parmentier, <i>L’Art Khmer Primitif</i> , 2 vols (Paris: L’École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 1927)
Parmentier (1935)	Henri Parmentier, ‘Complément à l’art khmèr primitif’, <i>Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient</i> 35 (1935): 1–115
Shimoda	Ichita Shimoda, ‘クメール古代都市イーシャナプラの研究 / Study on the ancient Khmer city Isanapura’ (PhD Thesis, Waseda University, 2010)
Tranet	Michel Tranet, <i>Sambaur-Prei-Kuk: Monuments d’Iṣanavarma I (615-628)</i> , 3 vols (Phnom Penh: Travail d’Inventaire Finance par la Fondation Toyota, 1997-1999)

The *torāṇa*

The *torāṇa* in the following pages are sequenced according to provenance: Kompong Thom province, Kompong Cham province, sites near Phnom Penh, and Eastern Thailand. The Sambor Prei Kuk Conservation Area is now an on-site museum. I am grateful to Kong Vireak at the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, for permission to photograph the *torāṇa* arches held in Cambodia’s museums and shown below.

N4, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom province

Shimoda (p.189) records that this *torana* arch was retrieved during clearance of the N4 *prasat* in 2008-2009. It is currently (2016) held in the on-site museum (no ref no.). The Indra-Maruts iconography is sufficiently well-preserved to identify all three figures. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-1. *Torana* arch from N4, photographed in the Sambor Prei Kuk Conservation Area, 2013. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the Sambor Prei Kuk Conservation Project.

N7, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom province

Dupont (Fig.4 caption) records that this *torāṇa* arch was associated with the N7 *prasat*. It is currently (2016) held in the on-site museum (ref no. 423). The Indra-Maruts iconography is sufficiently well-preserved to identify all three figures. However, Airāvata's pose is unusually straight-legged, not posed in flight as elsewhere. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-2. *Toraṇa* arch from N7, photographed in the Sambor Prei Kuk on-site museum, 2016. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the Sambor Prei Kuk Conservation Project.

N14-2, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom province

Shimoda (pp.244-46) records the left-hand portion of this *torana* arch was retrieved during excavations at N14-2 in 2005 (pp.219-20). The larger right-hand portion was not published with the left-hand piece, but the two are displayed together now (2016) in the on-site museum (ref nos. 346, 353). Only the left-hand Marut remains of the three figures, the other two figures being very worn. An identity of Indra in the centre would be an assumption based only on iconographic association. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-3. *Torana* arch from N14-2, photographed in the Sambor Prei Kuk on-site museum, 2016. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the Sambor Prei Kuk Conservation Project.

N15, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom province

Lunet de Lajonquière (Vol.1 pp.234-35) and Parmentier (1927, pp.72-3 & 280-81) both identified the figures as Indra with horse-riders, while the *torana* was still *in situ* at *prasat* N15.² The *torana* arch is currently (2016) held at the Kompong Thom Provincial Museum (ref ñ.82). These figures on the *torana* are today lost and we have only the archival photographs (Dupont Fig.7) to assess this detail. Indra's mitre and the outline of Airāvata confirm their identity. The flanking riders are unusual for both their feet being visible, rather than only one when the horses emerge from the *torana* more obliquely. The animals' heads are broken already in the archival photographs, but there is no obvious reason to doubt the identification of Lunet de Lajonquière and Parmentier. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.

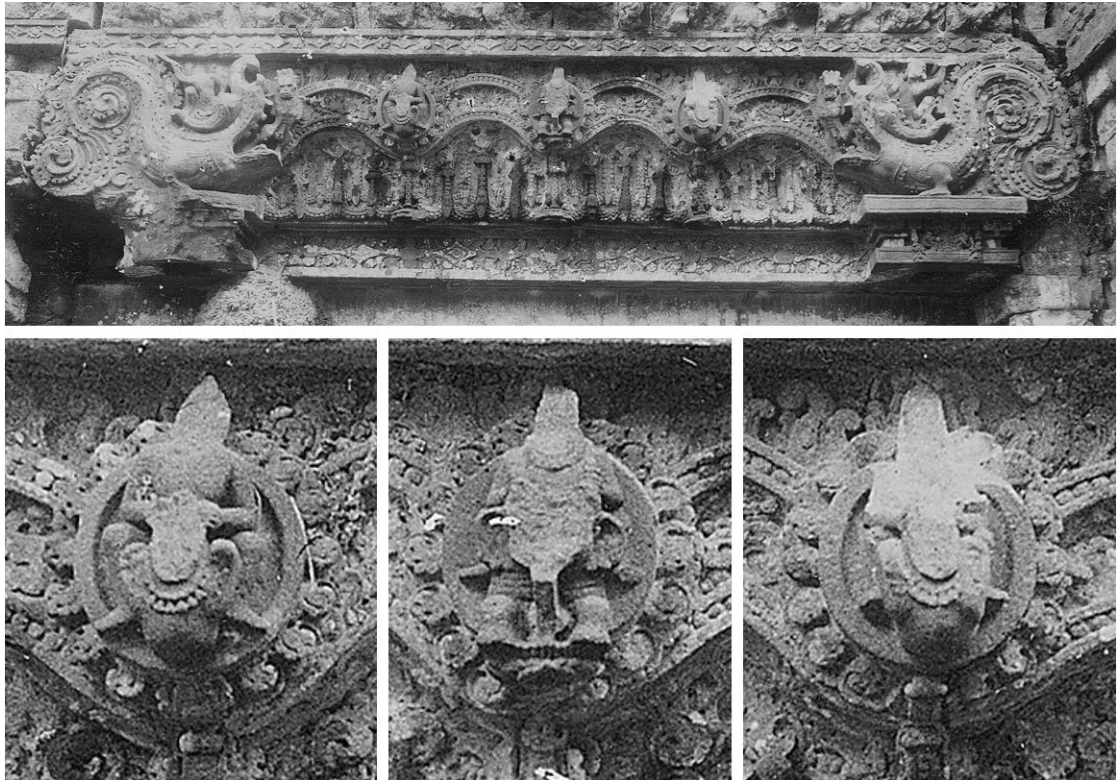


Figure A3-4. *Torana* arch from N15, *in situ*, c.1950. Photograph: École française d'Extrême-Orient, Fonds Cambodge ref. EFEO_CAM12304.

² The EFEO Photo Library records this *torana* arch as being above the east doorway of *prasat* N1 (<http://collection.efeo.fr/ws/web/app/collection/record/228984>) although it is indicated that there is some uncertainty about the information. Dupont published the same photograph in 1952 as located at *prasat* N15 (Fig. 7, p.41), and Shimoda has confirmed the N15 provenance by comparing archival photographs with the objects in the Kompong Thom Provincial Museum (pp. 244–47).

S7, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom province

Parmentier (1927, p.60) first identified the central figure as Indra, flanked by horse-riders, which subsequent authors have all concurred with (see Section 5.3.4). Parmentier recorded the *torana* arch's discovery near S7 but not *in situ*. It is currently on display at the Guimet Museum, Paris (ref no. MG18853). The three figures are very well preserved, and this *torana* arch is the principal object studied in Section 5.3. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-5. *Torana* arch from S7, photographed at the Guimet Museum, 2012. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the Guimet Museum, Paris.

S8, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom province

This *torāṇa* arch appears to have been first published by Tranet (Vol.2 p.123) as associated with *prasat* S8. This accords with its current (2016) display in the Sambor Prei Kuk on-site museum, labelled as from *prasat* S8 (ref no. 358). The *torāṇa* arch is very damaged but enough survives to confidently identify Indra and Maruts. Airāvata is clearly identifiable, and the profiles of divergent Maruts are recognisable through comparison to riding postures of Maruts elsewhere, especially in the right-hand Marut's leg and arm. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-6. *Torāṇa* arch from S8, photographed in the Sambor Prei Kuk Conservation Area, 2013. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the Sambor Prei Kuk Conservation Project.

S10, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom province

The on-site museum's information board assigns this *torana* arch to S10 (ref no. 348). However, Tranet (Vol.1 p.203) identifies it as found near *prasat* N9, but also records two other *torana* arches for this *prasat* (pp.197 & 204), which is only problematic because the *prasat* has a single doorway and no false doors. They could of course have feasibly been moved from somewhere nearby. Tranet (Vol.2 p.155) has one photograph of the S10 *torana* arch from a greater distance and obliquely, but its break and wear patterns are consistent with the *torana* shown below, and this appears to corroborate the on-site museum's attribution. Despite being worn, the iconography of Indra and Maruts is discernible in Indra's mitre crown, and the divergent horse-riders. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-7. *Torana* arch from S10, photographed at the Sambor Prei Kuk on-site museum, 2016. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the Sambor Prei Kuk Conservation Project.

S11, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom province

Tranet (Vol.2 p.172) records this *torana* arch was first found in 1996 at *prasat* S11. It is currently (2016) held at the Kompong Thom Provincial Museum (ref ñ.81) but is not labelled as from S11 specifically, only as from Sambor Prei Kuk. Archival records will need to confirm its provenance as *prasat* S11. The preservation is sufficiently good to permit the clear identification as Indra and Maruts. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-8. *Torana* arch probably from S11, photographed in the Kompong Thom Provincial Museum, 2013. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the Kompong Thom Provincial Museum.

S17-17, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom province

Tranet (Vol.2 p.207) records this *torana* arch as from *prasat* S19 which, according to his plan of the South group (p.191) equates to *prasat* S17-17 in the numbering system in more common use today.³ It is heavily damaged, but the pattern of breakage and reference numbers painted onto the bottom edge confirm the identification of Tranet's *torana* arch with one that is currently (2016) held at the Kompong Thom Provincial Museum (ref ñ.79), the location Tranet also identified for its location in 1997. Nonetheless, archival records will need to confirm its provenance as *prasat* S17-17. Despite the heavy damage, a Marut appears to be identifiable from the sculpture's profile on the left-hand side, when comparison is made to the consistent posture of horse-riding Maruts elsewhere in this appendix. Even if this were accepted, an identity of Indra in the centre would be an assumption based only on iconographic association. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-9. *Torana* arch probably from S17-17, photographed in the Kompong Thom Provincial Museum, 2016. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the Kompong Thom Provincial Museum.

³ Bruno Bruguier and Juliette Lacroix, *Sambor Prei Kuk et le bassin du Tonlé Sap*, Guide archéologique du Cambodge 2 (Phnom Penh: Éditions du Patrimoine, 2011), 192.

M.039 (Prasat Z), Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom province

Shimoda (pp.79-80) identifies this *torana* arch as coming from M.039, a site southwest of the South group and also known as Prasat Z, which is confirmed by the museum label in the National Museum of Cambodia in Phnom Penh (ref ñ.3220) which refers to the site by its Khmer name, Prasat Trapeang Ropeak.⁴ The *torana* arch is well preserved, so the identification of Indra and Maruts is clear. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-10. *Torana* arch from M.039, photographed in the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, 2016. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the National Museum of Cambodia.

⁴ See Bruguier and Lacroix, *Sambor Prei Kuk*, 208, and Shimoda, for these equivalences.

M.083, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom province

Shimoda (pp.119-121) identifies this fragmentary *torāṇa* arch as associated with M.083 in the city area of Sambor Prei Kuk to the west of the temples area. He further notes this was a surface find during survey.⁵ The current location of this object is not known to me. The *torāṇa* arch survives sufficiently well to permit the identification of a horse-riding Marut on the left-hand side. The central figure is probably Indra on Airāvata, whose head outline can probably be reconstructed from the upper edge of the break. Surrounding them are probably the remains of the 'medallion' from which they emerge. The right-hand figure is lost. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-11. *Torāṇa* arch from M.083, photographed at the site. Photograph reproduced from Shimoda, p.119, with the permission of the author.

⁵ Ichita Shimoda and Sae Shimamoto, 'Spatial and Chronological Sketch of the Ancient City of Sambor Prei Kuk', *Aséanie* 30 (2012): 67.

Unprovenanced, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom province

The precise provenance of this *torana* arch within Sambor Prei Kuk is not known. Tranet (Vol.1 p.400) refers to it as having come from a *prasat* in the South group, but this information appears in a section on architectural elements from the North group, so uncertainty remains. It is not known where this object is now, and we have only the photograph published by Tranet. Although grainy, this photograph clearly shows Indra on the elephant Airāvata flanked by two horse-riding Maruts. This example is probably to be assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style, based on what appears to be a leonine beast emerging from the mouth of a *makara* at the right-hand end of the arch, with probable horned eye feature commonly seen with pre-Angkorian *makara*.



Figure A3-12. *Torana* arch from unidentified *prasat*, possibly in Sambor Prei Kuk. Photograph reproduced from Tranet, Vol.1, p.400.

Unprovenanced, Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom province

The precise provenance of this *torana* arch within Sambor Prei Kuk is not known, but the Kompong Thom Provincial Museum information board confirms Sambor Prei Kuk (ref ñ.72). Tranet (Vol.1 p.402) groups it with material having come from the North group and is noted to be held in this museum by him (Vol.3 p.224). Bénisti (pp.293-94) also noted its museum location in the 1970s, then newly-built, and was the first to publish it (Fig.460). She identifies Indra on Airāvata accompanied by horse-riding Aśvins, and the figures' preservation is sufficiently good to confirm her identification, substituting the horse-riders' interpretation as Maruts, as per Section 5.3. This example is assigned to the Prei Kmeng style, on the basis of the figures seated at the ends of the arch, rather than *makara*, and the flattened arch.



Figure A3-13. *Torana* arch from unidentified *prasat* in Sambor Prei Kuk, photographed at the Kompong Thom Provincial Museum, 2013. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the Kompong Thom Provincial Museum.

Unprovenanced – possibly Sambor Prei Kuk, Kompong Thom province

The precise provenance of this *torana* arch is not known, but its storage in the Kompong Thom Provincial Museum today (ref no. not known, the label in the photograph below refers to a different object) suggests it was recovered in the area. Tranet is inconsistent, suggesting *prasat* N9 (Vol 1 p.204) or that it is unprovenanced (Vol.3 p.221). An archival search may shed further light on the issue. The central figure of Indra on Airāvata is sufficiently well preserved to confirm their identity, and the remains of the flanking figures is consistent with Maruts on horses. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-14. *Torana* arch from unidentified *prasat* in Kompong Thom area, photographed at the Kompong Thom Provincial Museum, 2016. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the Kompong Thom Provincial Museum.

Kuk Bareng Chas, Kompong Thom province

Bénisti (pp.282-84 & Fig.446) records a *torana* arch from Kuk Bareng Chas (គុកប៉ារ៉េង ចាស់, CISARK 183, IK 147.02), still at the site at the time of her photograph. It was not to be seen at the site during my trip in 2013. Bénisti identifies Indra on Airāvata, and the “Aśvins on their steeds” (p.283), following her preferred interpretation of their identity. We are reliant on her photograph for this *torana* arch, and it clearly shows the figures she indicated. She noted the combination of *makara* and flattened arch, features normally associated with the Sambor Prei Kuk and Prei Kmeng art historical styles, respectively, and suggested the *torana* is transitional in date on this basis.



Figure A3-15. *Torana* arch from Kuk Bareng Chas. Photograph reproduced from Bénisti, Vol.2, Fig.466.

Prasat Kombat, Kompong Thom province

Parmentier (1927, p.186) recorded a *torana* arch with “Indra et les cavaliers dans les medallions” at a site known to him and Lunet de Lajonquière as Prasat Kombat (ប្រាសាទកំបុត, CISARK 188, IK 152), in the area of Tnaot Chum (ត្នោតជុំ). It is no longer listed on CISARK but is near site 187 (IK 151). The *torana* arch was still at the site at the time of my visit in 2013, but its worn condition does not permit the confirmation of the figures’ identities. Neither Lunet de Lajonquière nor Parmentier provided a photograph. It is unclear if the extension from the top of the central ‘medallion’ originally represented Indra’s mitre. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style, but the iconography is unclear.



Figure A3-16. *Torana* arch from Prasat Kombat, photographed at the site, 2013. Photographs: Author.

Prasat Kuk Nokor, Kompong Thom province

This *torana* arch entered the collection of the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, in 1995,⁶ from Prasat Kuk Nokor (ប្រាសាទគុហ៍នគរ) according to museum display information (ref រ៉.2103). The *torana* arch is sufficiently well preserved to confidently identify Indra and the Maruts. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-17. *Torana* arch from Prasat Kuk Nokor, photographed at the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, 2016. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the National Museum of Cambodia.

⁶ I am grateful to Bertrand Porte for this further detail.

Prasat Kuk Roka, Kompong Thom province

This *torana* arch remains at the site of Prasat Kuk Roka (ប្រាសាទគោករកា, CISARK 1595, IK 156.03), having been reused above a false door at the Angkorian period *prasat* here. The figures have been identified as “Indra et des Aṣvins” by Parmentier (1927, p.158), Parmentier (1935, p.74) and Bénisti (p.287). Mineral concretions cover the figures today but are still sufficiently visible to confirm Indra on Airāvata and two horse-riding Maruts. The same authors identify the *torana* arch’s style as Prei Kmeng because of the *nāga* replacing *makara* at the arch ends, and the flattened shape of the arch.

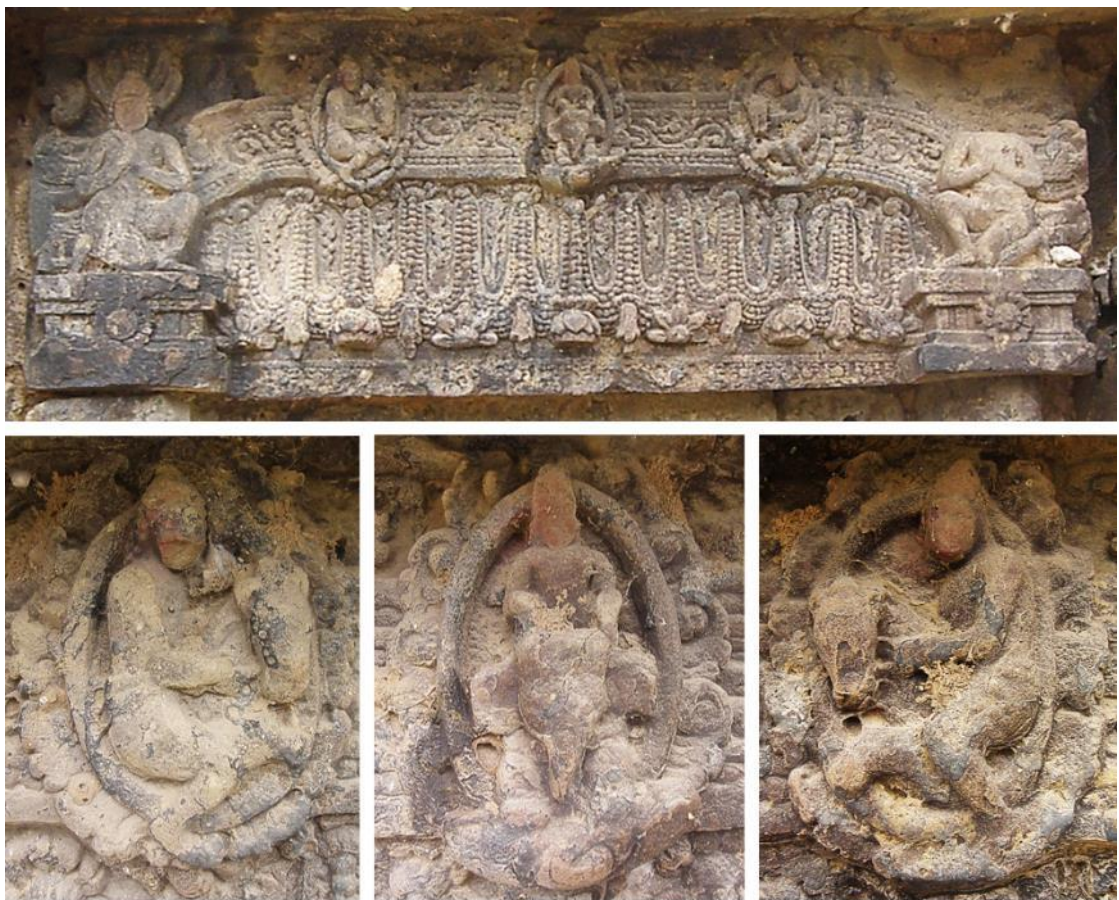


Figure A3-18. *Torana* arch at Prasat Kuk Roka, photographed at the site, 2013. Photographs: Author.

Prasat Phum Run, Kompong Thom province

This *torana* arch is known only from Tranet (Vol.3, p.42). It was found in 1995 at a mound indicating the site of a ruined *prasat* near Phum Run (ភ្នំមីន, based only on Tranet's transliteration; not recorded on CISARK). My trip to the site's vicinity in 2013 yielded confirmation that it had been stolen many years earlier. We are therefore reliant on Tranet's photograph. Nonetheless, this is sufficiently clear, and the *torana* arch sufficiently well preserved, to confirm Tranet's identification of Indra on Airāvata, and also to recognise horse-riding Maruts. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-19. *Torana* arch from Prasat Phum Run. Photograph reproduced from Tranet, Vol.3, p.42.

Wat Mohar, Kompong Thom province

Lunet de Lajonquière (Vol.1, p.237) recorded a *torana* arch at Wat Mohar (វត្តមហាវ, CISARK 204, IK 167) bearing “Indra sur son éléphant” but does not mention horse-riders. Tranet (Vol.3, p.9-14) compiles more information on the site but does not provide a photograph of the *torana* arch. The photographs below therefore appear to be the first publication of this *torana* arch, to my knowledge. A pre-Angkorian *prasat* is not visible at the site, and this *torana* arch with others are gathered at this Buddhist temple. A single heavily-worn fragment of this particular *torana* was found at the site and, while an iconographic interpretation is by no means certain, the remaining weathered central form is consistent with Lunet de Lajonquière’s identification of Indra on Airāvata (left), his proper left arm with elbow out, the mitre’s profile above, and the laterally-bulbous head of a large-eared elephant below. The identification of a Marut is harder to reconcile, but if this is correct the Maruts were perhaps divergent. The arch form is also consistent with Lunet de Lajonquière’s stylistic ‘type I’, which approximates the Sambor Prei Kuk art historical style.



Figure A3-20. *Torana* arch fragment at Wat Mohar, photographed at the site, 2013. Photographs: Author.

Wat Slaeng, Kompong Thom province

The *toraṇa* arch from Wat Slaeng (វត្តស្លែង, CISARK 3939) appears to have been first published by Bénisti (pp.246, 294 & Fig.451), by which time it was already not *in situ*. More recently it has been stored with other ancient *toraṇa* remnants in a lean-to by the modern wat, recombined with the other half not published by Bénisti. It was stolen a couple of years before my visit in 2013 according to an elderly man I met there. There are no obvious *prasat* remains near the wat,⁷ but a mound with bricks at the northern end of the wat compound has been suggested to be the pre-Angkorian *prasat* site.⁸ Bénisti's publication did not offer an identification of the figures, but only the left-hand Marut can be identified. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-21. *Toraṇa* arch at Wat Slaeng, photographed at the site before 2013. Photograph: Kazuo Iwase.

⁷ Bruguier and Lacroix, *Sambor Prei Kuk*, 139–41. The *toraṇa* arch is visible, upside-down, in the lean-to in the photograph p.140. Their photograph verifies the identity of the *toraṇa* arch shown in the photograph reproduced above as Fig. A3-21 (cropped from the original), which was retrieved from <http://picasaweb.google.com/iwase.kazuo/KhmerLintel#slideshow/5184834139015609778> in February 2013, but which has since been removed. It is further confirmed by comparison with an archival photograph published by Bénisti (Vol. 2, Fig. 451) which shows only the left half.

⁸ Cristiano Calcagno, *Kampong Thom and Its Province: History, Geography and Archaeology of the Heartland of Cambodia* (self-published, 2011), 82.

Unprovenanced – possibly Wat Kuk Nokor, Kompong Thom province

This *torana* arch entered the collection of the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, in 1995,⁹ possibly from Wat Kuhear Nokor according to museum display information (ref n̄.2137), a variant transliteration of the Kuk Nokor noted above. The *torana* arch is sufficiently well preserved to confidently identify Indra and the Maruts. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-22. *Torana* arch possibly from Wat Kuk Nokor, photographed at the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, 2016. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the National Museum of Cambodia.

⁹ I am grateful to Bertrand Porte for this information.

Dambang Dek, Kompong Cham province

Archival records confirm this *torana* arch (ref. រ.1768) was at the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, at the time of its inauguration in 1920 (then the Musée Albert Sarraut), having come from Dambang Dek (ដំបងដេក) in Kompong Cham.¹⁰ The records identify this as Lunet de Lajonquière's site IK 86 (Vol.1 pp.93-94) (CISARK 827) southwest of Kompong Cham city, where he recorded the left hand fragment with *makara* and horse-rider, moved to the Résidence de Kompong Cham. Parmentier (1927, p.189) confirms it was moved from there to the National Museum of Cambodia (referred to as the Musée Khmèr de Phnom Penh), matching the brief details on the archival record. Lunet de Lajonquière noted the *prasat* at IK 86 was already lost and represented by a few blocks on the surface but was unable to identify the foundations. Bénisti (p.25 & Fig.100) published the *torana* arch fragment, but Dupont (p.52 & Fig.10) was able to publish both fragments. Two horse-riders are readily confirmed; what remains of the central figure's outline is possibly consistent with Indra, but this cannot be certain. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-23. *Torana* arch from Dambang Dek, photographed at the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, 2016. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the National Museum of Cambodia.

¹⁰ I thank Bertrand Porte for helping to locate these details. There are four Dambang Dek sites on CISARK, two of which are in Kompong Cham.

Kuk Trapeang Srok, Kompong Cham province

This *torana* arch was still at the site of Kuk Trapeang Srok (គុកត្រពាំងស្រុក, CISARK 132, IK 94) at the time of my visit in 2013. It is broken into two pieces that are worn, gathered at the site with several other stone architectural elements from ancient structures, including a doorframe, but it is unclear if this is its original location. No architectural context is available for the *torana* arch, though both Lunet de Lajonquière (Vol.1 p.108) and Parmentier (1927, p.191) refer to a brick structure with laterite 'porch' incorporated into the later wat, which I was not able to confirm. It is very worn but is likely to represent the Indra-Maruts iconography because a figure rides an elephant in the centre, flanked by two figures riding animals, although horses cannot be positively identified from what remains. The presence of *makara* at either end of the arch, coupled with an arch whose shape is flatter than the normal Sambor Prei Kuk style arcs but more undulating than the flat Prei Kmeng arch, would ally it with the Kuk Bareng Chas example, which Bénisti (pp.283-84) considered transitional in date, assuming chronology explained this difference.



Figure A3-24. *Torana* arch from Kuk Trapeang Srok, photographed at the site in 2013. Photographs: Author.

Prasat Phnom Thom, Kompong Cham province

This *torana* arch was still at Prasat Phnom Thom (ប្រាសាទភ្នំធំ, CISARK 144, IK 104) at the time of my visit in 2013. It appears to have been first published by Dupont (p.46 Fig.13) but the photograph was reversed, to judge from the large break having the wrong location and opposite orientation. Nonetheless, it has sustained further damage since Dupont's photograph, notably to the heads of the figures, and Dupont's photograph represents an important record of these lost features. Brick structural remains are seen at the site. Lunet de Lajonquière (Vol.1 pp.129-30) identified Indra and "deux cavaliers", which can be confirmed in Dupont's photograph and is still recognisable today, though more so for the right-hand Marut whose horse retains more of its head. As with Kuk Trapeang Srok, the combination of *makara* at the arch ends and an arch that undulates at the inflections only slightly from a flat profile, would fit Bénisti's criteria for a transitional date but, again, this assumes a chronological reason for this difference.



Figure A3-25. *Torana* arch from Prasat Phnom Thom, photographed at the site in 2013. Photographs: Author.

Wat Sopheas, Kompong Cham province

This *torana* arch was still present at the Wat Sopheas (វត្តសុភោស, CISARK 324, IK 127) site at the time of my visit in 2013. It is cemented into a low wall but was already not *in situ* when Lunet de Lajonquière visited the site (Vol.1 p.178). He recognised Indra on his elephant, as did Parmentier (1927, p.200) but neither commented on the Maruts. Dalet first published it but the image quality is poor,¹¹ and Bénisti (Fig.109) published the left-hand portion. This *torana* arch is relatively well-preserved, and the detail of Indra's mitre crown, and the horse-riding Maruts each with hair up in a chignon. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style. A mid-7th century inscription found at the site is not directly associable with this *torana* arch.

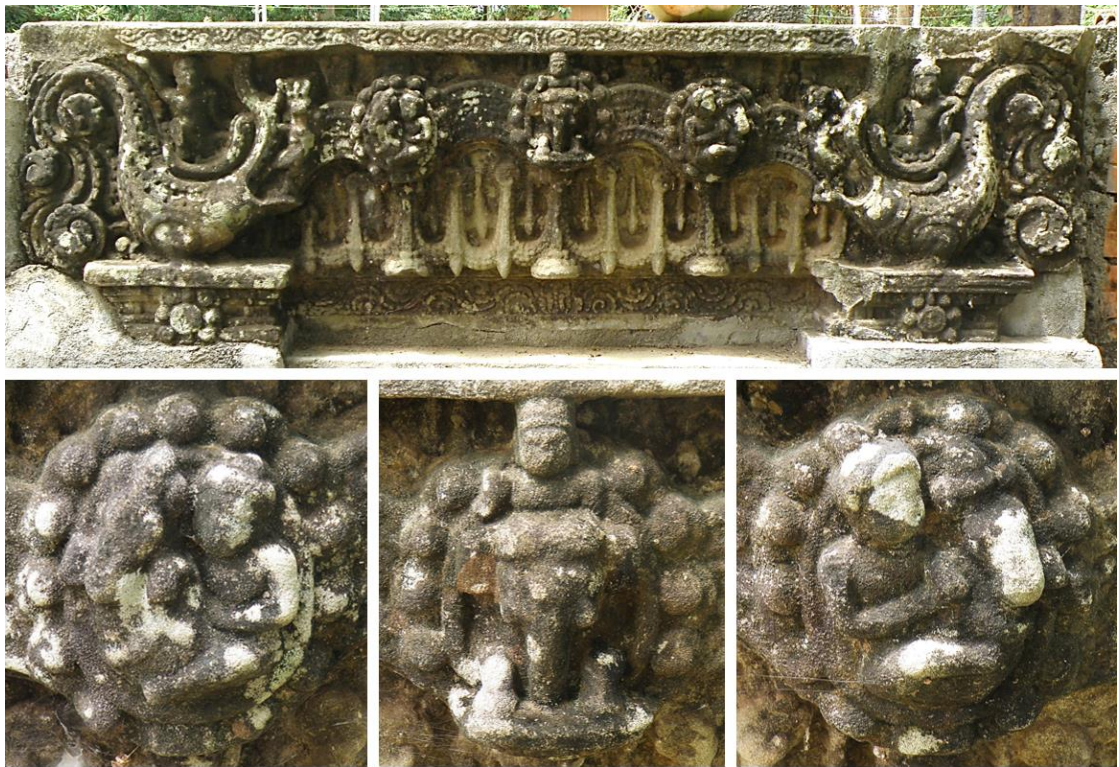


Figure A3-26. *Torana* arch at Wat Sopheas, photographed at the site in 2013. Photographs: Author.

¹¹ Robert Dalet, 'Note sur les styles de Sambor Prei Kuk, de Prei Kmen, de Kompon Prah et du Kulên', *Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises* 19, no. 2 (1944): 25 (Pl.IIA).

Wat Sopheas, Kompong Cham province

A second *torana* arch from the same site of Wat Sopheas was also still present at the site at the time of my visit in 2013. It is cemented into a wall adjoining the previous example. This second *torana* arch was also reported by Lunet de Lajonquière (Vol.1 p.178) and Parmentier (1927, p.200), who recognised Indra on an elephant on this example also. This example was apparently first published by Bénisti (p.300 & Fig.464), using a photograph taken by Dalet. She identifies Indra on an elephant also, but no comments have been made regarding the horse-riders. It has sustained greater damage compared to the other *torana* arch at this site, but the figure of Indra on Airāvata is sufficiently clear. The left-hand flanking figure is all but lost, while the right-hand figure is very worn but what remains of its form is plausibly compared to the iconographic features of horse-riding Maruts seen on other *torana* in this appendix, with the arm at the horse's neck and the raised knee visible. This pair would be divergent. This example is also assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style, and again the mid-7th century inscription found at the site cannot be directly associated with this *torana* arch.



Figure A3-27. *Torana* arch at Wat Sopheas, photographed at the site in 2013. Photographs: Author.

Tang Krasang, Kompong Cham province

This *torana* arch is arranged with several others around a *neak ta* shrine in the grounds of the Tang Krasang (តាំងក្រសាំង, CISARK 126, IK 97) pagoda. It faces toward the shrine which is very close, so it is not possible to photograph as a single object from the front. Lunet de Lajonquière (Vol.1 p.114-15) does not mention this *torana* arch, but Dalet identified Indra on Airāvata flanked by Aśvins.¹² At the time of my visit in 2013, Indra himself has been lost while Airāvata remains, while reined horses with raised forelegs and ridden by Maruts are identifiable, thereby confirming Dalet's information. The presence of *makara* at the ends of an arch which is flatter but with slight inflections, compares to Prasat Phnom Thom above. These features therefore conform to Bénisti's dating to a transitional phase between the Sambor Prei Kuk and Prei Kmeng styles.



Figure A3-28. *Torana* arch at Tang Krasang, photographed at the site in 2013. Photographs: Author.

¹² Robert Dalet, 'Quelques nouvelles sculptures khmères', *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 35 (1935): 152.

Tang Krasang, Kompong Cham province

Another of the six *torana* arches recorded for the Tang Krasang site was not present at the time of my visit in 2013. This *torana* arch was first published by Bénisti (pp.291-92 & Fig.453) using a photograph from the EFEO photographic archives. A different photograph of this *torana* arch from the EFEO photographic archives is reproduced here, listed as from Vat Ratanaram,¹³ which is consistent with Dalet's note that the names Tang Krasang and Wat Ratanaram refer to the same site.¹⁴ Dalet had already identified the figures as Indra on Airāvata flanked by the Aśvins on horses,¹⁵ and this was also noted by Bénisti. The figures are readily identifiable in the photographs as riding an elephant and horses. The flattened arch and *garuḍa* figures at the arch ends are consistent with the Prei Kmeng style.



Figure A3-29. *Torana* arch from Tang Krasang. Photograph: École française d'Extrême-Orient, Fonds Cambodge ref. EFEO_CAM15843_2.

¹³ <http://collection.efeo.fr/ws/web/app/collection/record/250198>

¹⁴ Dalet, 'Quelques nouvelles sculptures khmères', 150.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 151.

Tuol Ang Srah Theat, Kandal province

This *torana*, with arch and columns from presumably the same portal, was excavated in 1940 from the remains of one of the two brick structures at Tuol Ang Srah Theat (ទួលអង្គស្រះធ្លាត់, CISARK 1429, IK 76.36).¹⁶ A doorjamb was recovered, bearing an inscription K.910 dating to 651.¹⁷ This date is not inconsistent with the *torana* arch's Sambor Prei Kuk style combined with other features argued to indicate a chronological proximity to the Prei Kmeng style (Dupont p.61; Bénisti p.198).¹⁸ This *torana* was not seen during fieldwork, and we are reliant on photographs published by Dalet and Bénisti. Only Dalet commented on the figures, identifying Indra on Airāvata flanked by “a king-*nāga* (?) ridden by a woman (?)”. The left-hand figure is probably actually identifiable as a Marut riding his horse, the right-hand figure having been obliterated.



Figure A3-30. *Torana* arch from Tuol Ang Srah Theat. Photographs reproduced from Bénisti, Vol.2, Fig.107 (main, lower right), and Dalet, ‘Fouilles’, Pl.LIV-C (lower left & middle).

¹⁶ Robert Dalet, ‘Fouilles’, *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 40, no. 2 (1940): 490–93.

¹⁷ George Coedès, ed., *Inscriptions du Cambodge, Volume 5* (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1953), 39–40.

¹⁸ See also Dalet, ‘Fouilles’, 142.

Wat Ksal, Kandal province

The *torana* arch found here was already out of context at the time of its first recording, having been incorporated into the base of a more recent Buddha image, as in the only known photograph.¹⁹ The original site of the *torana* is unknown and the Wat Ksal (វត្ត ខ្សាច់, CISARK 1364, IK 79.23) site of the Buddha image has been developed over recent decades so that it also, including the *torana* it held, is no longer available for study.²⁰ The photograph was shot obliquely which meant that details of the headwear could not be assessed in the thesis main text, but other features are visible. Dalet did not comment on the figures, but Parmentier (1935, p.49) identified them as Indra on Airāvata and the Aśvins. Indra on his elephant and horse-riders can be confirmed in the photograph. In terms of style, it was noted in the main text that this *torana* arch presents an unusual combination of forms but that the flattened arch, although covered in vegetal forms, is consistent with the Prei Kmeng art historical style.

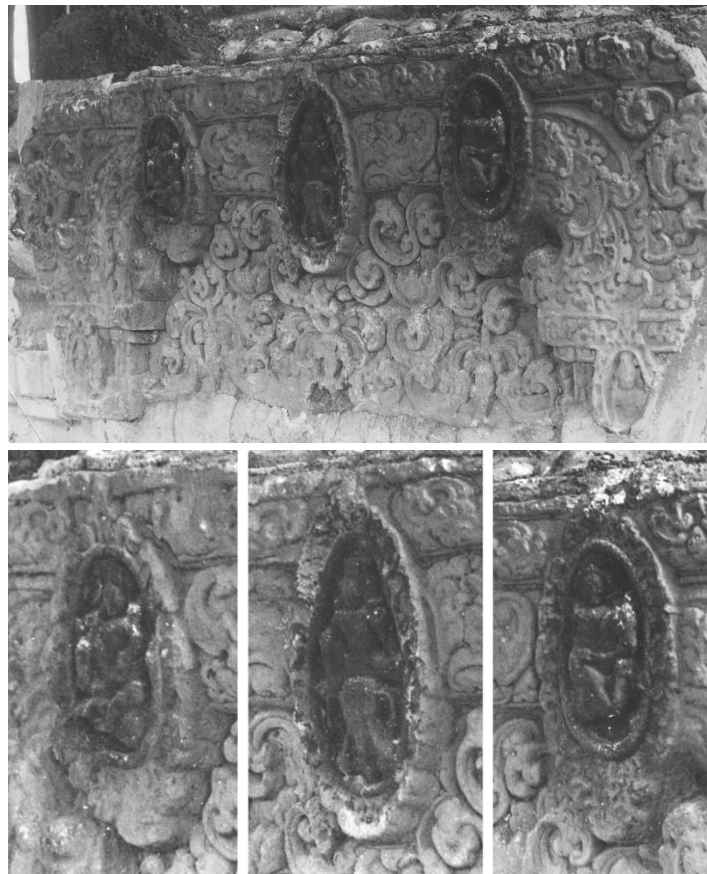


Figure A3-31. *Torana* arch from Wat Ksal. Photograph: École française d'Extrême-Orient, Fonds Cambodge ref. EFEO_CAM15796.

¹⁹ Robert Dalet, 'Dix-huit mois de recherches archéologiques au Cambodge', *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 35 (1935): 128.

²⁰ See Section 5.3.6 for the discussion of this *torana* arch.

Wat Phum Thmei, Kandal province

This *torana* arch (ref ñ.2092) entered the collection of the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, in 1994, having come from Wat Phum Thmei (វត្តភូមិថ្មី), Bek Chan commune, just outside Phnom Penh.²¹ To my knowledge it is not previously published. Many details are relatively well preserved, and the identity of Indra on Airāvata and two horse-riders, the Maruts, are readily identifiable. Several unusual stylistic features appear on this *torana* arch, including the divergent *makara* at the arch ends, meaning that the arch does not emerge from their mouths, and this feature is more commonly seen with the later Kulen style. However, the figured arch with in-curved volutes is more associated with the Prei Kmeng style, while also retaining some of the inflections at the points of the ‘medallions’ seen with the Sambor Prei Kuk style. This combination highlights some of the issues with using stylistic features for dating purposes,²² but a broadly 7th century date is consistent with the more precise assessments on the accompanying museum information board and archival record.



Figure A3-32. *Torana* arch from Wat Phum Thmei, photographed at the National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh, 2016. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the National Museum of Cambodia.

²¹ I am grateful to Bertrand Porte for this information.

²² Whitney Davis, ‘Style and History in Art History’, in *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, ed. Margaret W. Conkey and Christine A. Hastorf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 23–26.

Central *prasat/prang*, Prasat Khao Noi, Aranyaprathet, Eastern Thailand

This *torana* arch was found above the eastern doorway of the central *prasat* or *prang* (equivalent Thai term) of three, but the later architectural style of this structure suggests this *torana* arch was reused and originally positioned elsewhere at the Prasat Khao Noi (ปราสาทเขาน้อย) site.²³ It is currently on display at the Prachinburi National Museum in Prachinburi, Eastern Thailand. The central figure has been recognised as Indra on his elephant, flanked by two horse-riding deities,²⁴ which is consistent with Indra with the Maruts. The deities themselves are more difficult to see in comparison to the animals, because of their small size and because the sculpture is very worn, but they do appear to be present with at least Indra and the right-hand Marut. This example is assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style.



Figure A3-33. *Torana* arch from Prasat Khao Noi, photographed at the Prachinburi National Museum, Prachinburi, 2016. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the Prachinburi National Museum.

²³ M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, 'Pre-Angkorian Discoveries in Thailand', *SPAFA Digest* 11, no. 1 (1990): 18–19.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

North *prasat/prang*, Prasat Khao Noi, Aranyaprathet, Eastern Thailand

This *torana* arch was excavated on the northern side of the northern *prasat* or *prang*, and it is again assigned to the Sambor Prei Kuk style. Other *torana* arches excavated on the other three sides were in the Sambor Prei Kuk and Prei Kmeng styles, which has suggested a date for the structure in a transitional period of the mid-7th century,²⁵ although this would assume no reuse of *torana* arches or structural modifications above the level of the surviving remains had occurred. This *torana* arch is also currently on display at the Prachinburi National Museum. The figures on the arch have again been identified as Indra on Airāvata and horse-riding deities,²⁶ which can be understood as Maruts. These figures are closer to their iconographic forms seen on many examples from Kompong Thom and Kompong Cham elsewhere in this appendix than seen in the previous example.



Figure A3-34. *Torana* arch from Prasat Khao Noi, photographed at the Prachinburi National Museum, Prachinburi, 2016. Photographs: Author, with acknowledgements to the Prachinburi National Museum.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

Unprovenanced – in private collection

This final *torana* arch is known only from its publication in *Art & Archaeology of Fu Nan: Pre-Khmer Kingdom of the Lower Mekong Valley* (ed. James C.M. Khoo, Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2003). It is apparently in a private collection, and nothing is indicated about its provenance or archaeological context. It has been assigned a 6th-century date,²⁷ but this would appear to relate more to the Funan context of its publication because, as noted by the same scholar, it is in the Sambor Prei Kuk style, which dates to the early 7th century. As such, and in the absence of provenance information, we cannot be certain it originated in the Mekong Delta area without further evidence. The presence of a central elephant-rider and lateral horse-riders is consistent with the Indra-Maruts iconography, although the Maruts' horses are shown full-height rather than dynamically emerging from their 'medallions'. Airāvata is also entirely contained. Given the uncertainties surrounding this *torana* arch's origin, it cannot contribute anything to our understanding of the iconography's relationship with the early geopolitical landscape.



Figure A3-35. *Torana* arch in private collection. Photograph reproduced from Miksic, 'The Beginning of Trade in Ancient Southeast Asia', p.32.

²⁷ John N. Miksic, 'The Beginning of Trade in Ancient Southeast Asia: The Role of Oc Eo and the Lower Mekong River', in *Art & Archaeology of Fu Nan: Pre-Khmer Kingdom of the Lower Mekong Valley*, ed. James C.M. Khoo (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2003), 32.

Appendix 4. Analysis of the 'flying palaces' of Sambor Prei Kuk and Phnom Bayang

[illegible]

KEY:

- a: superstructure types as per Ichita Shimoda and Takeshi Nakagawa, 'Diversity of primitive Khmer architecture in Sambor Prei Kuk', *Journal of Architecture and Planning (Transactions of AIJ)* 80, no. 718 (2015): 2923–33
- b: page numbers refer to Ichita Shimoda, *Sambor Prei Kuk: The Flying Palaces of the Towers* (Kompong Thom & Tokyo: Department of the Culture and Fine Arts in Kompong Thom & Waseda University, 2003)
- c: reference numbers of photographs taken during fieldwork in June 2016
- d: codes for aerial beings supporting 'flying palace' (A) anthropomorph, (H) horse, (S) serpentine-necked beast, (V) *vyāla*, typically *sīmha-vyāla* ; (w) winged, (x) wingless; question mark after any of these 6 codes indicates a level of uncertainty due to 'weathering' of the relief; brackets indicate reconstruction of a feature from equivalent figures being on opposite side of the same 'flying palace' because every row of beings inspected was symmetrical; for example, Vw = winged *vyāla*, Hx = wingless horse, A(w) = winged anthropomorph where wings have been reconstructed through reference to confirmed wings visible for symmetrical opposite figure, V? = confirmed *vyāla* where wings cannot be confirmed
- e: 'flying palace' type A or B; see main text Section 5.4.3
- f: codes for pattern elements on base and superstructure: (bl) balusters, (bz) bezels, (fr) 'fleurons', (fw) flowers, (hm) *haṁsa*, (jl) 'jutting leaves', (mk) *makara* finials, (rh) rhomboids; for these terms, see Mireille Bénisti, *Stylistics of Early Khmer Art*, trans. K. Thanikaimony, 2 vols (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts & Aryan Books International, 2003)
- g: codes for *torana* : (div) divergent *makara* , (con) convergent *makara*
- h: codes for figures in lower storey, upper storey and surmounting arch in sequence [quantity of figures, their sex, posture, headdress]: postures (rj) *rājādhāsana* , (yog) *vyogāsana* , (std) standing, (tan) *tandava* , (sea) as if seated on windmill; headdresses (ch) ordinary chignon, (high-ch) high chignon, (dia) diadem (usually tripartite), (mk) *mukuta* , (kir) *kiritaṃmukuta* i.e. 'cylindrical mitre'; others (sc) *siras cakra*; for headdress types see Henri Parmentier, *L'Art Khmer Primitif*, 2 vols (Paris: L'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1927) pp.301-06; Pierre Dupont, 'La statue en préangkorienne', *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 15 (1955): 1–240; Jean Bosseiler, *Asie du Sud-Est, Tome 1: Le Cambodge*, *Manuel d'Archéologie* d'Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie, 1966), pp.235–43
- i: presence of amortissements: 'amortissement' describes the small edifice representations in the superstructure of the 'flying palace', following the terminology of Bénisti, *Stylistics* , p.121-26
- j: use of the 's' symbol indicates the elevated position of the central figure in the surmounting arch above (s-) the primary central figure in the storey below, so that e.g. (mk > ch) indicates the surmounting arch-central figure has a *mukuta* while the central torona figure below has a chignon, thereby indicating hierarchy through iconography
- k: some features at Phnom Bayang are physically obscured (obs) and not completely visible for assessment