

The Khmer and Cham, Each Character in Culture and Art: Relations between Khmer and Cham arts

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History between Lin-Yi, further Champa polity and Funan / Tchen-la/ Angkor polity was not always that of wars and conflicts. The inter-influence between these two nations is undeniable. The inscription of Vo Canh (C.40, South Vietnam) the oldest in Cham area dating back to the second half of the 3th A.D., mentions the great grand daughter of a monarch with the name of Srī Mâra, that Prof. Jean Filliozat linked, through the tamil royal title, to a Southern Indian King on the Coromandel coast(1). The inscription of Miso'n E6 by Prakâsadharmā Vikrantavarman recounted the historical origin of Cambodia with the legendary couple of Kaundinya and Soma, the Nâga King's daughter (2). This official version is coupled with the legend told by the Chinese records, another source of the history of Hun-tien and Lady Ye-ye (Coconut leaf) or Lieu-ye (Willow leaf) (3). Another legend pertaining to the original couple is known in Khmer sources as Preah Thong-Neang Neak. The Chinese records are also a source of information on Lin-yi/Champa, besides the inscriptions. We are going to talk about a country under the name of Champa, mentioned for the first time in two Sanskrit inscriptions, dated 658 A.D. found in Central Vietnam, and 668 A.D. found in Cambodia. The corresponding Chinese transliteration of Champapura is "Chan-Chéng": the city of Chan, mentioned in 877 A.D. (4).

The relationship between Champa and Pre-Angkor Cambodia seems to be on a family basis. A Cham Prince, Jaggadharmā, father of the future Prakâsadharmā, from the Gangârâjavamsa came to Bhavapura and got married with King Isanvarman I's daughter, Princess Sarvânî from the Somavamsa, in the 7th century (5). Whether Jayavarman II came from Javâ or Champa to liberate Cambodia still remains a hypothesis of work, but the circumstances around his return and the possible intervention of Panduranga in Tchen-la by the Senâpati Pâr between 813 and 817 may have something to do with him (6). But it became strained with the first time invasion in 950 A.D. by Angkor in the South of Champa (7). Despite pressure from the Diet-Viet, since 982 (Coedès G., 1964, pp. 230-31) and again in 1021, 1026 and 1044, resulting in the death of Cham King and unrest in Panduranga (Finot Louis, 1903, pp. 645-46), Champa managed to successfully attack Cambodia in 1044 and 1080. After helping the Khmer King, Suryavarman II, to attack the Dai-Viet, Champa reconciled with the latter was attacked by the Khmers in 1145, resulting in the capture of Vijaya. By 1149, it was liberated by the King of Panduranga who occupied the throne of Vijaya amidst internal adversaries and contest from Amarâvatî and even Panduranga for "his consecration as "King of Kings" at Vijaya". The successor of that King made a surprise attack on Angkor and killed its King in 1177 (Ma Touan Lin, 1883, p.557). A Khmer Prince, later crowned as King Jayavarman VII, saved the situation and took revenge by capturing Vijaya and its king in 1190. After a period of trouble and revolt in 1192, Champa was turned into a Khmer province from 1203 until 1220... the conflicts thus ended between Champa and Cambodia.

These formerly fraternal polities turned into enemies has managed to preserve their originality, though receiving mutual influence, during this period of friendly and hostile co-existence. The influence from Java was, at several periods of the history of Champa, also obvious. Cham art received in fact other influence around, like Chinese and Dai-viet influence. Philippe Stern (*Art du Champa et Son Evolution*, Paris 1942) in his study on the evolution of the Cham art and architecture had already pointed out to this trend.

Miso'n E1 Style (Ca. 629-757 A.D.) And The Pre-Angkor Period

This period of Mis'on E1 style would approximately date from the 7th century and be extended to the 8th century. The most quoted examples concern the Mis'on E1 pediment of the reclining Visnu at the Danang Museum, the temple of Pho-Hai or Pho-Sanu, the Mis'on E 1 pedestal of the Siva Linga, all compared to the Prey Kmeng style of the 7th century (circa 640-645 A.D.), which according to Jean Boisselier (*Le Cambodge*, Paris 1966, p.146) disappeared at the end of the 7th century. The other style next to Prei Kmeng is that of Kompong Preah, starting beginning of the 8th century (8).

What differs from the Mis'on E1 pediment of the Recumbent Visnu and the Tuol Baset pseudo-lintel (now at the Battambang Municipal Museum), is that the Brahma seated on the Lotus flower gets out of the arcature framework and the whole scene is flanked with 2 anthromorphic birds holding 2 serpents, that could be assimilated to 2 Garudas, which exist also in the Pre-Angkor lintels of the Phnom-Penh National Museum. Furthermore, the short plain sampot or skirt with double fabric belts

and front pocket of the Mis'on E1 pediment Visnu can be compared to the sampot of the Avalokitesvara of Angkor Borei with a long falling pocket and the triple clothe belts, also seen on the bas-reliefs of the lintel of the Lingodbhavamûrti of Vat Eng Khna. Instead the Visnu of the Tuol Baset lintel is depicted with pleated sampot, triple pockets in the front, and jeweled belt, which we can compare to the Visnu statue of Prâsâd Andet, now at the National Museum of Phnom Penh.

Beside the Ða-nghi Visnu, already mentioned, we have another Tuy-Hoa Visnu, the statue of which can match the Khmer model of the Pre-Angkor period, by the technique of the support arch, in the Prei Kmeng style by the dress. The way the God holds the Cakra and the Conch, especially the Cakra perpendicular to the shoulder indicates some Indian model of the early period.

In terms of architecture, the southernmost Cham temple of Pho Hai or Pho Sanu is also related to Khmer temple of Prey Kmeng period or Kompong Preah style. It is a cross breed between Khmer art and Cham art. It is difficult to give details, since the temple is quite worn out; the silhouette of the lintel looks like a Khmer one dated from the pre-Angkor era.

Jayavarman II And The Damrei Krap Temple Of The Kulen Mountain Or The Transition Toward Hoa-Lai

We are still situated in the South of the Cham sphere with Pho-Hai and Hoa-lai, and another temple called Po-Dam of the Hoa-lai style in the same region, whereas Miso'n E1 is situated in the Northern sphere of Champa. According to Philippe Stern, the Prâsâd Damrei Krap on the Phnom-Kulen in Cambodia would be the best preserved Cham temple of that period and represent the transition between the Ancient style of Miso'n E1 and Hoa-lai style, since the typical arcature of Miso'n E1 style can still be found there. According to Philippe Stern again, this temple was the work of Cham craftsmanship with Cham design, only the sandstone doorframe and lintel are Khmer. It belongs to the Kulen style, dating back to the end of the 8th century and beginning of Jayavarman II reign. Belonging to this style, the temples of Trapeang Phong S2 and 3, of Prâsâd Prei Prâsâd at Hariharalaya, of Ak Yum on the Western Baray with their bases are heavily charged with decorations that may have received Cham influence. On the Phnom Kulen itself, the Peam Kré temple may be one of the earliest monuments by its round column, while its base is decorated with an arcature relating to Cham art with a decoration similar to that of Mis'on F1 (9).

As far as the relief is concerned, we can make some comparison between the Dvârapâla of the Hoa-lai temple, in ruined condition today, and those of Preah Kô temple, either with the dress or the jewelry. The difference resides in the position with a bending knee for the Cham model and much more upright one for the Khmer model.

The Early Period Of Angkor, And Khu'o'ng-My

We cannot compare the Ðong-duang style with any other of the Angkorian period style. It seems for many observers that this style is typically Cham, although some indications of that this is a Javanese model could be found in the attitude of the personages of the Buddhist iconography. According to Philippe Stern, as a reaction to the Ðong-duang exaggeration of vermiculated decoration, Khu'o'ng-my art is considered as part of the end of the Ðong-duang style and beginning of the Mis'o'n A1 style, adopting some of the Khmer influence in the decorative motives, which are of 3 kinds (10). In summary, the Khmer influences on Khu'o'ng-my temples cannot be dated prior to the middle of the 9th century.

The Khmer Influence Under Suryavarman II And Jayavarman VII On The Monuments Of Binh-Dinh / Thap-Mam Style, Ivory Towers Or Duó'ng-Long And Vâ-Tu'o'ng:

This Khmer influence is also noted on the superstructure of Hu'ng-thanh kalan and on the Thap-mam sculptures. Hu'ng-Thanh imitates Angkor-Vat tower, but in the Cham way. The angle motifs below the superstructure, in the form of garuda with raised arms are Khmer in facture, as we can see the library of the end of Angkor Vat style, and at the enclosure of Preah Khan at Angkor, dating back to the first part of the Bayon style (11).

The Dresses And Hair-Dresses

It is not an easy task to compare the dresses and hair-dresses, between these two civilizations. If we consider the Khmer expression of art, which deals mostly with the Gods, since even the Kings and Queens can lend as models to the physical gods' representations, we can notice that the Khmer art

tends to the idealization of physical beauty. Instead, naturalism prevails in Cham art, even in the Miso'n E1 and A1 styles. We are struck by the natural ugliness and purposeful awkwardness of the Đong-du'ong style, which dealt mostly with Buddhist iconography. The awe inspired by the Đong-du'ong Dvârapâlas is owed to this exaggerated naturalism and realism, in which the Chinese influence of the Ta'ng era may be speculated (12).

I will conclude with the presentation of two more statues of Lord Ganesha, one at the Danang Museum (8th century) with two arms, found at Miso'n B3 temple, and the other one of the National Museum of Phnom-Penh, from Tuol Pheak Kin (Kandal Province), both seated in the same vajrâsan (looser one for the Khmer model) fashion with the frontal third eye, which for the Khmer Ganesha is a lozenge one, often used in Champa of the Đong-duang period. There stops the comparison, for the Khmer model is much more naturalistic and devoid of any decoration as the Cham model... The way the Cham deity is seated, crossed legs under, at the later period, like the Siva of Yang Mum (15th century), can also be seen in the Khmer post-Bayon period.

We purposely omit to talk about other influences on Cham art, like those of the Dvâravatî sculpture at Prah Pathom, as well as Annamese art with the end of the Dong-duang vermiculated exaggeration and with Thap-mam. The obvious influence from India in some decorative motifs, like the kudas of the 6-8th centuries at Kañcîpuram and Bahur with its lion head, and from Java throughout the Cham periods, especially at the Miso'n A1 style. The Chinese influence dealt not only with art, but also with technical warfare and weaponry (13).

1- Vo Canh inscription:

COEDÈS, George, "The date of the sanscrit inscription of Vo-canh", *The Indian Historical Quarterly* 16 (3), 1940, pp. 484-488

BHATTACHARYA, Kamaleswar, "Précisions sur la paléographie de l'inscription dite de Vo-canh", *Artibus Asiae* 24 (3-4), 1961, pp. 219-224

GASPARDONE, Émile, "L'inscription de Vo-canh et les débuts du sanskrit en Indochine", *Sinologica* 8 (3), 1965, pp. 129-136

FILLIOZAT, Jean, "L'inscription dite de 'Vo-canh'", *BEFEO* 55, 1969, pp. 107-116

JACQUES, Claude, "Note sur la stèle de Vo-Canh", *BEFEO* 55, 1969, pp. 117-124.

LUONG NINH, "Bia Vo-canh", *Khao Cô Hoc* 3, 1980, pp. 63-65

2- Finot, Louis: Les inscriptions de Miso'n, III, Iignes 16-18, *BEFEO* IV, pp. 896-977, stèle found near Miso'n E6 (in. Coed. C96), Face B, prose (l.14); VI, *BEFEO* IV, p.928 sqq., ruined stèle found near Miso'n B1 (Insc.Coed. C.81), Face B, ll. 11-12.

3- Pelliot, Paul: "Le Fou-nan", *BEFEO*, 3, 1903, p.256; *The History of the Southern Qui gave Liu-ye "Willow Leaf"*, but the dynastic histories vary for Ye-ye "Coconut Leaf".

4- Coedès, Georges, *E.H.I.I.*, p.209

5- Finot, Louis: Les inscriptions de Miso'n (op.cit.), p.896.

6- Finot, Louis: Inscriptions de Quãng-nam, Première stèle de Dong-du'ong, Face B, st. VI, *BEFEO* IV, p.84 sqq. (in. Coed. 66); Dupont, Pierre: *Etudes sur l'Indochine ancienne*, II, *Les Débuts de la Royauté Angkorienne*, *BEFEO* XLIV, p.119 sqq; Tchen-la et Pânduranga, *BSEI*, nlle série, XXIV, I (1949, 1er trim.), p.9 sqq.

7- Coedès, Georges: 1964, pp. 230-31.

8- By comparison with the Battambang Tuol Baset lintel of the same subject as the Cham pediment, French Scholars, such as Jean Boisselier, could date the Cham pediment to Prei Kmeng style. The subject is known in the Hindu iconography as Visnu Anantasayin, when Lord Visnu sleeps on the Eternity Nâga "Ananta" during the end of one kalpa and the birth of another one in this case the Lotus era, which is our era, when Lord Brahma sprang forth from Lord Visnu navel, seated on a lotus flower. Although this theme is quite frequent in Khmer Art, before and during Angkor time, Vaisnava iconography is rather accidental in Cham art. Rare also are the standing Visnu images in the round, as we can see in the one from Đa-Nghi, possibly from the 8th century, crowned with a head-dress

made of mukuta held up by a diadem ornamented with 3 fleurons, above which is an onion-shaped octagonal chignon". This description fits with that of the reclining Visnu of the Tuol Baset lintel, while the Mis'on E1 Visnu, which seems to be un-finished did not have a diadem with fleurons. Further the Đa-Nghi Visnu wears a jeweled belt as on the Tuol Baset reclining Visnu. Another lintel of Visnu Anantasayin of the ruined temple of Pho Tho village (Quang Ngai province) with 4 arms, the full hood of the Nâga seen with the 7 heads, the front right hand supporting the head, as well as the fleuron on the diadem, and the position of the legs reveal more resemblance with the Tuol Baset lintel. Although the Pho Tho lintel did not have any arch, the 2 flowers-like medallions on both sides recall also the 2 medallions of the Tuol Baset lintel, but hidden by 2 flying figures in añjali, as these medallions can be seen on the Phnom Bathê Prâsâd Svay Preahm lintel of the same style, with the external arch curved in and the external one curved out, noticeable also at Sambaur Prei Kuk, as Philippe Stern had pointed out for Mis'on E1 style, especially with the small arcature of the famous buff sandstone Pedestal of the same temple.

9- As a Cham craftsmanship, the temple of Damrei Krap offers Cham features for its pilasters, its superstructures and false doorframes arches, its cornice with atlantes, even its tympanum as well as all its brick decoration. In the same line, the temples of Kting Slap and Phnom Sruoch, both collapsed today, may be the Khmer copies de Damrei Krap. Again on the Phnom Kulen the Neak Ta temple is Khmer for its plan and sandstone parts, but Cham with its wall decorations of reduced edifices similar to those over the pilasters of the Hoa-lai Southern temple, both quite ruined. The hanging stones of Neak Ta temple and the roofing horns at Kting Slap temple look close to Cham motives, as noted Pierre Dupont (BEFEO, XXVII, 2, pp.668-670).

Finally, the passage from the round small column to the octagonal one on the temples seems to take place about the same time for the Khmer and Cham art. Before Damrei Krap, the central group of Sambaur Prei Kuk temples, as well that of Peam Kré, was already endowed with octagonal small columns. At Damrei Krap, the small sandstone columns are octagonal and Khmer, although those in brick of the false doors "have the mass and the silhouette of the Cham small columns and remain round". Therefore at the Cham style of Hao lai, of a more recent period than Damrei Krap, the small columns are octagonal, but with Cham mouldings and decoration.

10- Motive of face leaves, typically Khmer at the Kulen style, at the end of which this motive bears a trefoil decoration, like at Thmar Dap before 850 A.D. and constantly employed at the end of 9th century and the first half of the 10th century (Preah Kô 879 AD, Phnom-Krom between 900 and 910 A.D., Banteay Srey 967 A.D.). At Preah Kô and Phnom Krom, the decorations are nearly identical to those of Khu'o'ng-my. "Between these leaves fall hanging the flower pendentives on foliage, in the shape of a lotus flower with pointed petals exactly like in the Khmer art (see Phnom-Krom), floral form which did not seem to be employed until then in the Cham art"... Usually, this decorative motive runs as a short frieze at the top of the small pilasters that are on the side of the false door of the protruding body of the Southern sanctuary-tower of Khu'o'ng-my.

The motives of lozenges and leafy triangles, similar to those of the Hoa-lai style, which usually decorate the central part of the pilasters, are found at the same Khu'o'ng-my southern sanctuary. Nevertheless, "the separation between the lozenges and the triangles is marked by a moulding in relief, which did not exist in the Hoa-lai style, but figured already in the Cham art of the Mis'on E1 pedestal"... But the decoration of lozenges arranged with a central flower motive framed vertically and horizontally with 4 other floral motives on stems and especially the 4 oblique lotus flowers between them. This motive arrangement was found at Preah Kô (879 A.D.), before Khu'o'ng-my; however it did not appear before the end of the Kulen style, and was much employed at Preah Kô and at the end of 9th century, and lasting until the 10th century.

The motive hung on a horizontal bar, high placed and distinct from the upper part of the frieze, hanging by one of the crosier ends. This motive appears on the frieze of the same southern tower sanctuary of Khu'o'ng-my. It is exactly the Khmer decoration of the 9th and 10th centuries. We can notice the Khmer influence by the "trefoil motive which, at Khu'o'ng-my and on the Khmer prototype, follows the hanging crosier", as we can see at the stucco decoration of Preah Kô (879 A.D.). This motive did not appear at Thmar Dap, but only in the middle of the 9th century and mostly used at the end of the 9th century and the first half of the 10th century, for the last time at Banteay Srey (967 A.D.).

11- After Hu'ng-thanh, the Ivory towers or Đu'ong-long are built on the plan of Khmer temples, with the decoration of foliation motives in the Thap-mam style on the lintels, arranged in the Khmer lintels manner usually centered with a Kâla at the lower part, spitting large rolls of foliages curving in both senses, dating back to the second and third period of the Bayon style. This kind of lintel can be seen at the Southern Sanctuary of the Ivory Towers and at Thap-mam. On the pediment decoration of the serpent/nâga, the arrangement of it is Cham in manner, while the head of the serpent lifted in the angles is Khmer. Likewise, the motive of garuda with raised arms is Khmer, but the expression of it is Cham in facture: we found this motive already at Hu'ng-thanh and Thap-mam. Furthermore, the representation of angle lion or garuda of Khmer influence is to be found at the bases of the Ivory Towers, those of Thap-mam and Miso'n G1, the one of the Vo-than tomb being an awkward copy of a Khmer lion.

Other details in stone decorations refer also to the Khmer influence: such as the personages with pointed beard at Thap-mam recalling the Khmer Rsis of later styles; the falling in an anchor-shape of the dress of a dancing figure looks like a copy of the same type in the Bayon style; more typical is the double flapped border of the dress in form of lotus petals, surrounding the waist, so frequently represented in Khmer art since the Angkor-Vat style. Finally in the architectural setting, the insertion of sandstone decoration in the brick-wall mass, at the Ivory Towers, is also testimony of the Khmer influence, when usually the Cham kalans are entirely in brick. According to Philippe Stern, "it is possible also that during the transition period between the Miso'n A1 and Binh-dinh styles, the appearance of X motives at Miso'n E4 and of narrative lintels at Miso'n E4 and Chanh-lô is due to the action of the Khmer art, as well as the disposition in tiers of the base of the Ivory Towers, comparable to the Khmer Mountain-temple".

12- The fashion in the hair-dress can be compared for the early style of Miso'n E1 and Pre-Angkor period, especially for the jatâ-mukuta of the asetics/Rsis, dressed in a bun or chignon type of plaited hair, as we can see on the pedestal of Miso'n E1 or on the Lingodbhava lintel of Vat Eng Khna. The same hair-dress became more complicated, since for the gods, it is knot into 2 or 3 parts, with the falling locks on both sides in the loop-shape at the level of the knots, as we can see on the Siva statues of Miso'n C1 and E4. This fashion evolves later curly tufts of hair on both sides of the knots, without coming out of the knots as before like for the Deva of Miso'n B group or the Dvârapâla from Trakieu... Besides the Jatamukuta, we have the Kirita-mukuta, which is properly a head cover or crown. Similar to the convention used in Cambodia, the Jata-mukuta is usually adapted to the hair-dress of God Siva, while the Kirita-mukuta would cover Lord Visnu head, as we can see on the head of the Đa-Nghi Visnu. Some Kirita-mukuta of the Tra-kieu period, especially for the female dancers of the Tra-kieu pedestal, are hair retainers or made hollow to let the hair seen.

There is no point of comparison with the Khmer fashion of hair-dresses, except for the Pre-Angkor period, concerning the ascetics. Otherwise for the main deities, the jata-mukuta is reserved conventionally to Lord Siva in the shape of the cylindrical Kirita-mukuta of Lord Visnu, since sometimes the combination of Hari-Hara obligated the chignon of Siva to be the half part of the cylinder, as we can see on the Hari-Hara of Prâsâd Andet. It seems to our knowledge that there is no representation of Hari-Hara in the Cham art. But at the Angkor-Vat style, the Kirita-mukuta of Visnu is no more cylindrical, but made of tiara, which is worn by Siva and other deities also, and a conical head cover. The jata-mukuta of Hara, in the Hari-Hara representation, is made in the same fashion than the Cham hair-dress, with plaited chignon and the loop-shape tufts in all directions, but not on both sides of the knots as in the Cham art. The hair-dress of the Devi of Koh-Krieng presents more similarity with the Cham fashion, but again the loop hair-tufts are spread all around, except in the front part. The Siva hair-dress of Bakong-Roluos is cylindrical chignon with small loop-tufts spread all around, the whole retained by a diadem. This hair-dress became with the Umamahesvara of Banteay Srei, an enrolled string of hair plaits disposed in circle to form a chignon, the whole also retained by the diadem.

As a general remark for the fashion of the deities way of dressing, the difference between the Cham and the Khmer expressions, is that the Cham used skirt, dhoti or sampot with flower patterns or other decorative pattern, while the Khmer mostly used plain fabric without any pattern, except for the Angkor-Vat and Bayon styles, in which, whether influenced by the Cham or not, the flower patterns appeared. There are two ways of arranging the lower dress: one is plain smooth fabric, surely the today type of Pha-muong, i.e. silk sampot, the other one is the pleated skirt or sampot chang Kben. The first type is usually found during the Pré-Angkor and Kulen and Preah Kô styles period, where the

pleats are obtained from the way the dress was tied, while the second one is often used during the Angkor period, where the dress was pleated into small pieces, before wearing. The Cham have these 2 types, and they add a third one consisting, especially ladies, of 2 skirts wearing one upon another as we can see on the statue of the Mahisasuramardini of the Guimet Museum, or the Deity of Dong-phuc, or the bronze statue of the Danang Municipal Museum, identified as Tara of Đong-duang style. The fourth type may be the pans worn by the Tra-kieu female dancers, tightly stuck to the body and quite thin and transparent, which was also the fashion in Southern India, possibly Tamil-nadu of the same period.

13- Finally a mysterious piece of sculpture from An-My, now at the Danang Museum, identified as an Ogre of late 10th century, with another female counterpart hair-dressed with a kind of fabric head cover or turban. I do not believe them to be an ogre, but rather local deities. The heavy round earrings are similar to those of the Garuda of the Miso'n E1 lintel, believed to come from model of Gandhara, Central Asia and South-India. The way, the head cover is tied into a topknot, looks very much like the one of the Pre-Angkor standing Siva of the Phnom-Penh Museum. This fashion may come from China, and the curly hair under a diadem can be compared to the Tra-kieu Yaksha of the Danang Museum, or the Heads and Bust of the Hanoi Museum, found at Phú-ninh or Tam-ký, which have the same huge earrings, dated by Jean Boisselier to around the 6th century. The front cockade is an interpretation of the Indian traditional cockade used for the turban at Mathurâ, Gandhara and Central Asia arts, and here in the form of a flower. The necklace in form of a large plate contains floral designs similar in pattern to those of the Miso'n E1 pedestal, and can be compared to those worn by some Bodhisatva from Gandhara.