

ARTIBUS ASIAE

INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS · NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

RONALD M. BERNIER

TRADITION AND INVENTION
IN HIMACHAL PRADESH TEMPLE ARTS

REPRINT FROM

VOL. XLIV, I



MCMLXXXIII

ARTIBUS ASIAE · PUBLISHERS · ASCONA · SWITZERLAND

RONALD M. BERNIER

TRADITION AND INVENTION IN HIMACHAL PRADESH TEMPLE ARTS

The monuments of the state of Himachal Pradesh in the western Himalaya reveal cross-currents of cultural and stylistic exchange along with local invention in art. There is much more than what has been called a "relapse into primitive folk art" in the northern hills and valleys. Brilliant murals (fig. 1) like those in the nineteenth century palace of Chamba along with miniature paintings present variations upon well known modes of Kangra, Guler, Basohli and elsewhere.¹ Bronze sculpture is vibrant, sophisticated, and powerfully direct as it preserves forms that date from as early as the sixth century A.D. Even more than these arts, the architecture of the Chamba, Kulu, and Saraj areas presents unique interpretations of Pan-Himalayan traditions.

The checkered history of northwestern India is built upon contacts that were made through trade and conquest, but the remote hills were largely spared Muslim invasion. Consequently, records of North Indian art and archaeology of classical Hindu times are preserved there in remarkable wholeness. The earliest bronzes reflect Gandhāra and Gupta traditions, while medieval works show Kashmiri stimulus and contact with the Pratihāra Dynasty of c. 750-1030 A.D.² Pratihāra influence is particularly significant for the study of sculpture in wood and stone. Important monuments in the latter material include the temple of Śiva Vaidyanātha at Baijnath (fig. 2-3), dating from before Islamic contact but heavily repaired in 1786 by Sansar Chand, and that of Viśveśvara Mahādeva at Bajaura (fig. 4-5), ascribed to the mid-eighth century by V.C. Ohri in agreement with Hermann Goetz.³ Political links to the Pratihāras are suggested by the probability that Sāhilavarman (c. 920-940 A.D.), founder of Chamba, rose from the rank of Pratihāra general to that of military governor as he protected the mountain frontier against advances from Kashmir under Śaṅkaravarman (c. 883-902 A.D.) before going on to resist the Hindu Śāhis from Kabul who overcame being vassals of Kashmir to become independent rulers of the Punjab.⁴ When the sack of Kanauj by Indra III Rāṣṭrakūṭa broke up the Pratihāra empire and encouraged the Śāhī and Kashmiri forces to invade the Kangra valley, Sāhilavarman drove off the invaders and protected both Kangra and Kulu. He carried traditions of Pratihāra art and culture to his new capital, Chamba,⁵ where they flourished in the mountains.

Brahmor (ancient Brahmapura) above the Iravati River in the Budhal Valley served as capital of what was to become Chamba state until the 10th century and the time of Sāhilavarman.

¹ M. S. Randhawa, *Travels in the Western Himalayas in Search of Paintings* (Delhi, 1974).

² B. N. Sharma, "Pahari Bronzes," *Arts of Himachal*, V. C. Ohri, Ed. (Simla, 1975), p. 16.

³ Vishwa Chander Ohri, *Arts of Himachal* (Simla, 1976), p. 124.

⁴ Hermann Goetz, *Studies in the History and Art of Kashmir and the Indian Himalaya* (Wiesbaden, 1969), p. 135.

⁵ *Ibid.*

It was isolated and remarkably secure. Its images and buildings best represent the survival of early sculptural and architectural styles that must once have been widespread in the north.

Large scale sculptures in bronze (more properly "brass" alloy) that represent Lakṣanā Devī (Bhagavati), Nandī, and Gaṇeśa were probably made at workshops in Brahmor and what would become Chamba during the reign of King Meruvarman in the third or fourth quarter of the seventh century A.D.; they are termed "good copies of late Gupta statuary such as it had flourished under the great Harshavardhana of Thānesar" by Hermann Goetz, their most thorough researcher.⁶ They are undressed from their garments of bright cloth for only one day of each year.

The highly refined Lakṣanā Devī sculpture stands three feet four inches high and bears an inscription that includes the name of the artist, Gūgā, along with mention of Meruvarman's patronage.⁷ The goddess is Durgā, also called Bhadrakālī in the *Vamśāvalī* and today interpreted to be Bhadrakālī of Basohli.⁸ The tall and crisply graceful figure of the deity, who is shown as Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardini, resembles sculptures of the Cālukya period and the late sixth or seventh century A.D., as is shown by comparison with the Durgā relief at Bādāmī, Cave I. It occupies a square shrine room of wood with its own finely carved entryway (fig. 6) that is preceded by a rectangular *maṇḍapa* porch having four pillars with connecting railings, all late seventh or early eighth century survivors. The survival of this structure and its contents to the present day is of incomparable importance.

The temples of Brahmor occupy a sacred square that is dominated in its dramatic placement at the escarpment edge by an imposing *śikhara* temple of Maṇimaheśa Śiva (fig. 7), the "precious great lord." It is made of stone, but it stands beside a gigantic deodar tree as reminder of the source of more traditional Himachal structure in wood. Inside the tower at the center of its sanctum is a stone *liṅga* of Middle Pratihāra type that dates from the reign of King Sāhilavarman, who replaced an earlier temple of wood that had been dedicated by Meruvarman.⁹ Also constructed as a *śikhara* in the 10th century was the nearby temple of Narasimha, dedicated by Queen Tribhuvanarekhā and endowed by Yugākaravarman, according to a copper-plate inscription.¹⁰ Its important *aṣṭadhātu* image of the ferocious god appears to be slightly later in date than the above sculptures, but it may predate the temple itself.¹¹ Like the Śiva temple, this stone building is covered by a simple umbrella roof of wooden planks that provides protection from the elements as it symbolizes respect. The combination of stone tower and wooden "hat" is not entirely pleasing in terms of aesthetics and it is not an early tradition, first being recorded in the seventeenth century, but it is practical.

The Gaṇeśa sculpture, also inscribed with reference to Meruvarman and standing three feet high without its fourteen-inch pedestal, is now housed in a simple hut, its original temple having

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 139. For good views of the Devī, Nandī, and Gaṇeśa bronzes unencumbered by ritual cloth, see Goetz, *Early Wooden Temples of Chamba*, Leiden, 1955, pls. VI, III, and V respectively; or J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Calcutta, 1911, pls. VIIb, IX, and VIIIa respectively.

⁷ B. N. Sharma, p. 16.

⁸ This is a later interpretation, since Basohli is a seventeenth century foundation. Goetz, *The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba* (Leiden, 1955), p. 78.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹⁰ J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State* (Calcutta, 1911), pp. 163-164.

¹¹ Goetz, *Chamba*, p. 85 and pl. IV; or Vogel, *op. cit.*, pl. VIIIb.

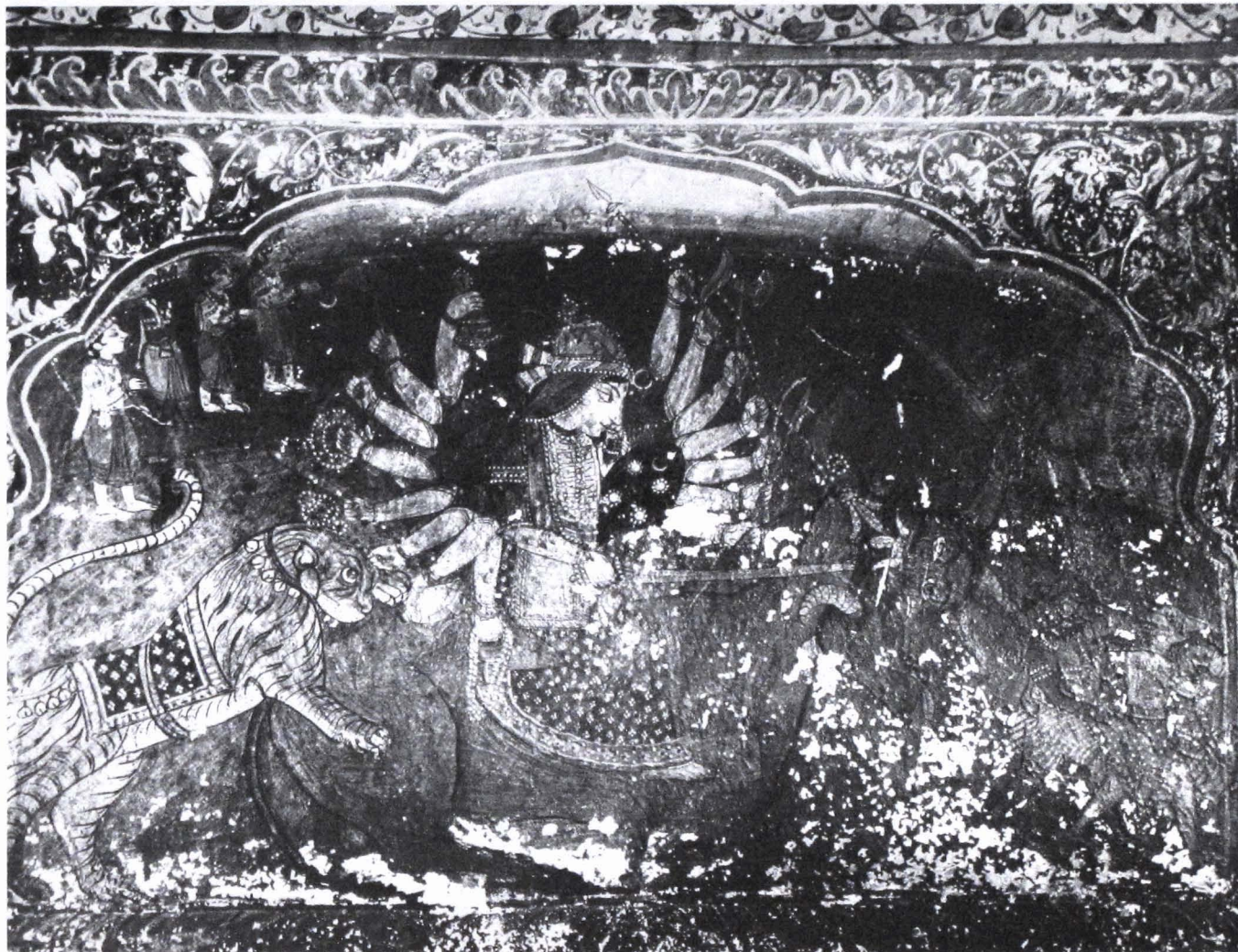


Fig. 1 Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardini fresco painting, Śakti Devī temple, Chatrarhi
(Archaeological Survey of India)

(All photographs by Ronald Bernier or Dianne Bernier, excepted where otherwise noted)

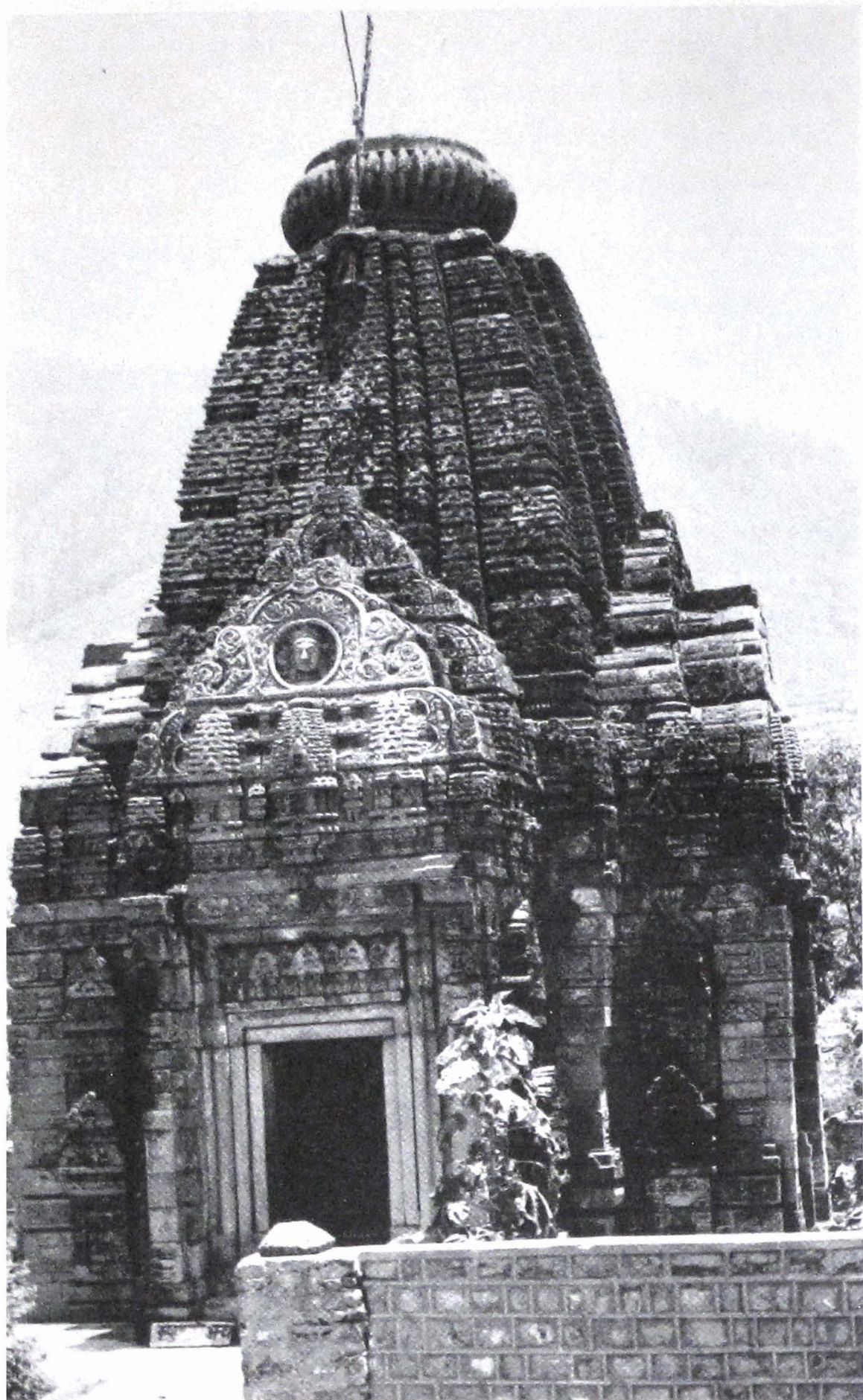


Fig. 2 Temple of Viśveśvara Mahādeva, Bajaura



Fig. 5 Detail of the western porch, Baijnath
(Archaeological Survey of India)



Fig. 3 Detail of the Viśveśvara Mahādeva temple, Bajaura

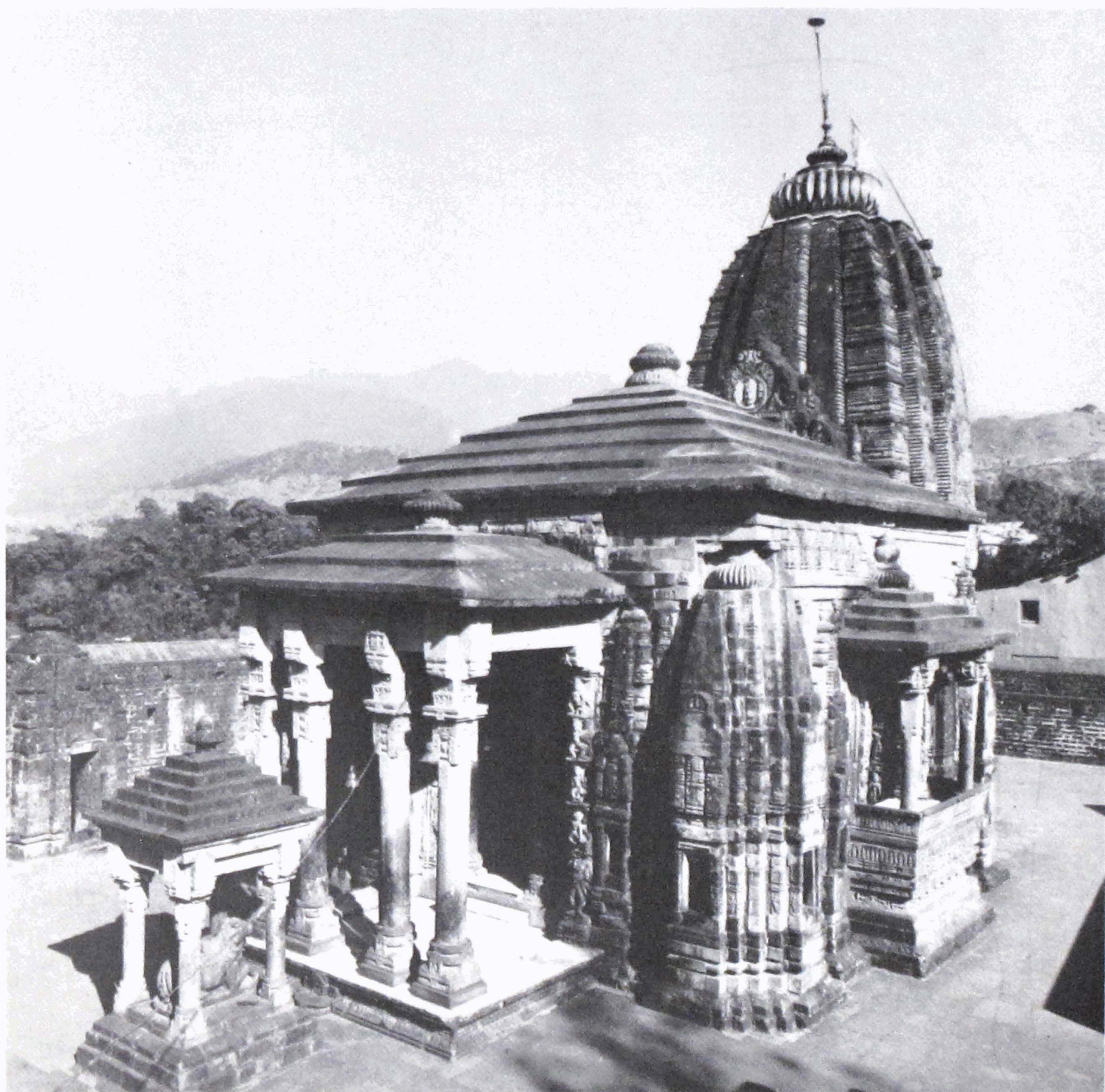


Fig. 4 Temple of Śiva Vaidyanātha, Baijnath (Archaeological Survey of India)



Fig.6 Door frame of the Lakṣanā Devī temple, Brahmor (Archaeological Survey of India)



Fig.7 Mañimahesha Śiva temple, Brahmor



Fig. 8 Temple of Lakṣanā Devī, Brahmor



Fig. 9 Exterior carvings, Lakṣanā Devī temple, Brahmor



Fig. 10 Carvings over entrance, Lakṣanā Devī temple, Brahmoir (Archaeological Survey of India)



Fig. 11 Capital within the *maṇḍapa* of Lakṣanā Devī, Brahmoir (Archaeological Survey of India)

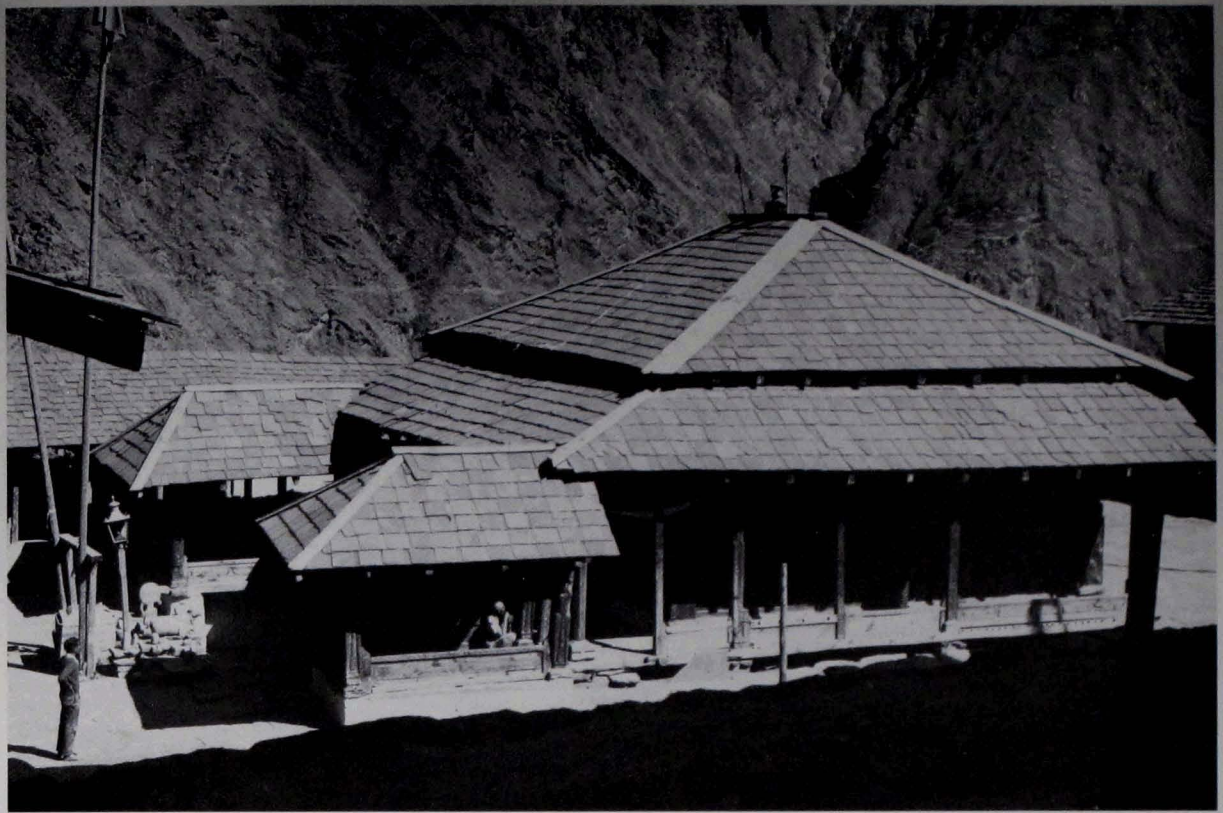


Fig. 12 Śakti Devī temple in Chatrarhi (Archaeological Survey of India)

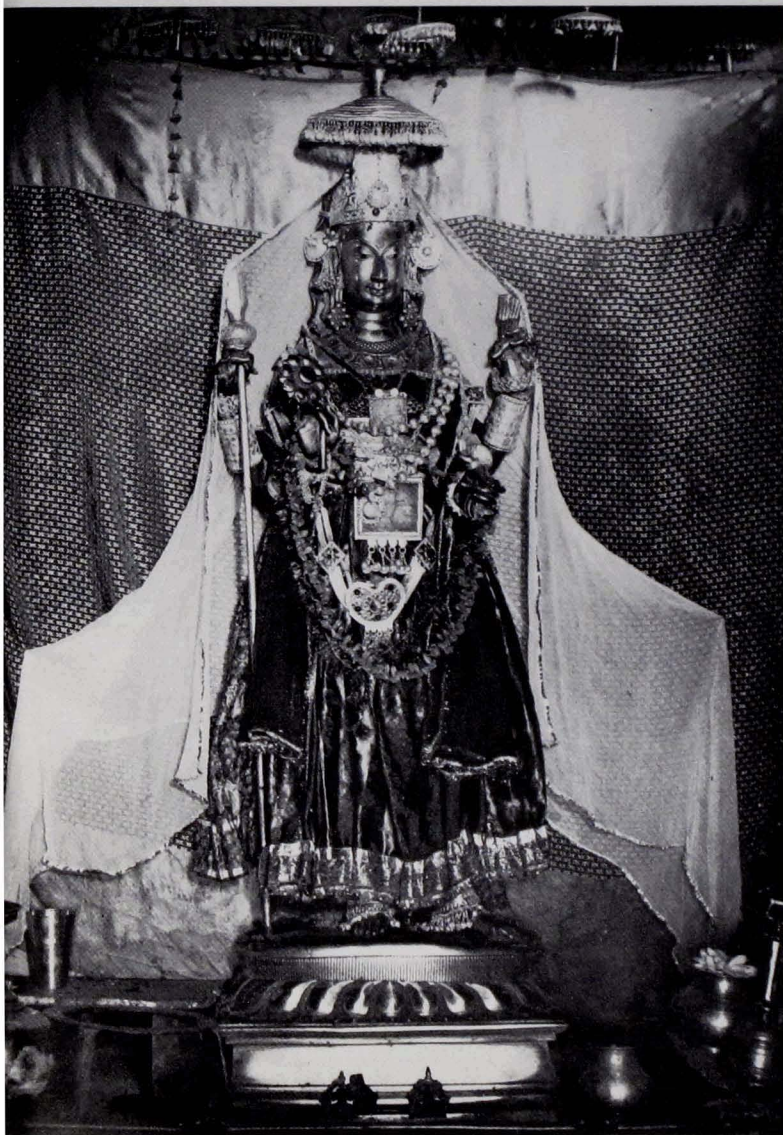


Fig. 13 Image of Śakti Devī, Chatrarhi (Archaeological Survey of India)

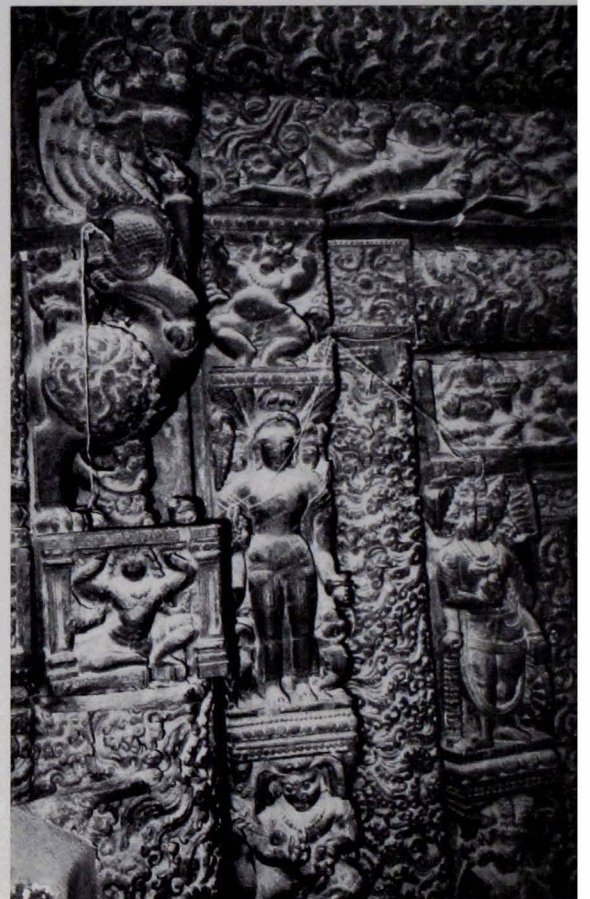


Fig. 14 Doorjamb reliefs, Śakti Devī temple (Archaeological Survey of India)



Fig. 15 Jonog village near Simla



Fig. 17 Lantern ceiling of open *mandapa*, Trigarešvara Śiva temple, Jonog

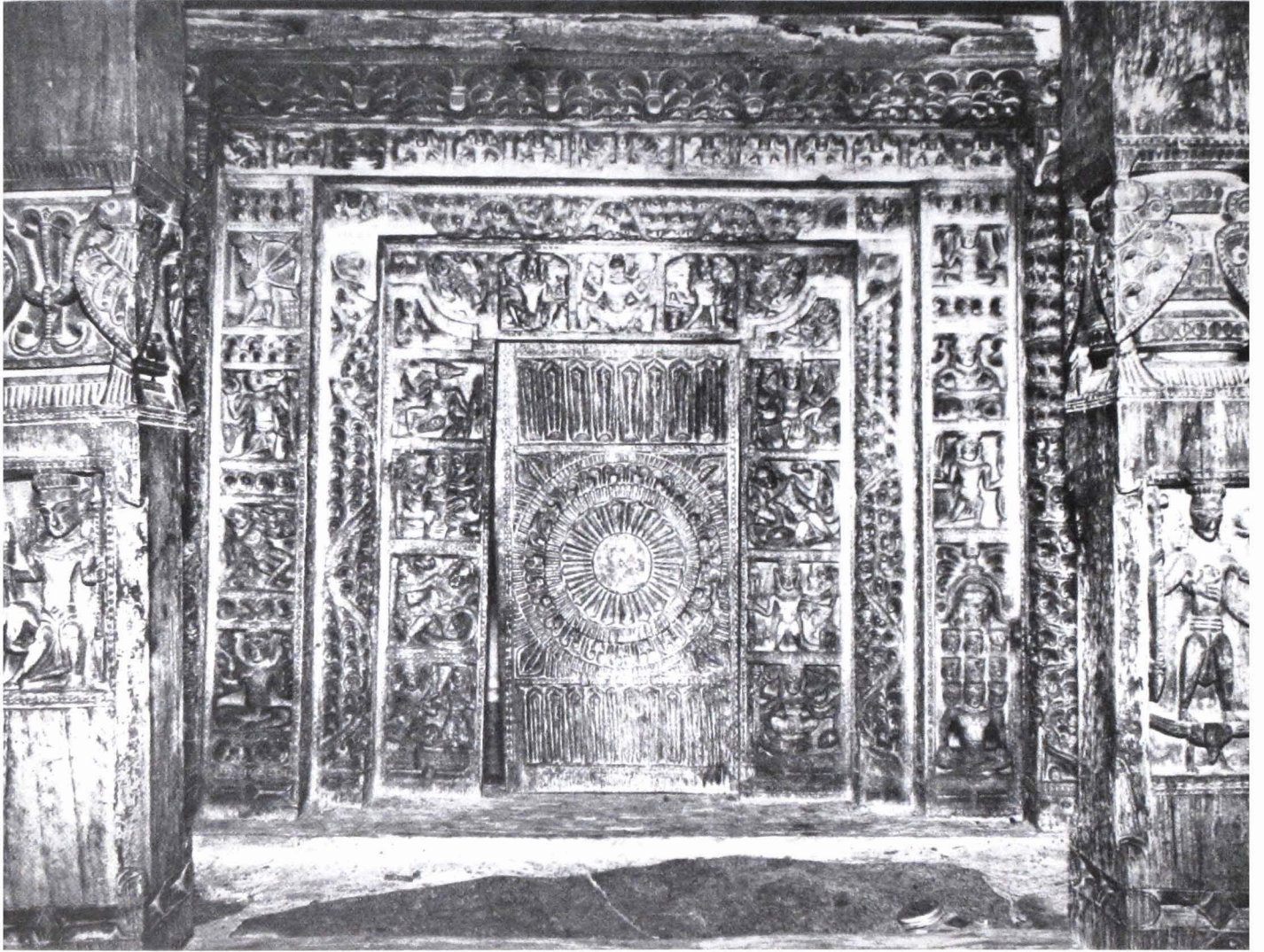


Fig. 16 Open *mandapa* and entry of Trigarešvara Śiva temple at Jonog



Fig. 18 Temple of Gautam Rishi, Goshal, Kulu



Fig. 19 Detail of multiple door frame, Gautam Rishi temple, Goshal, Kulu

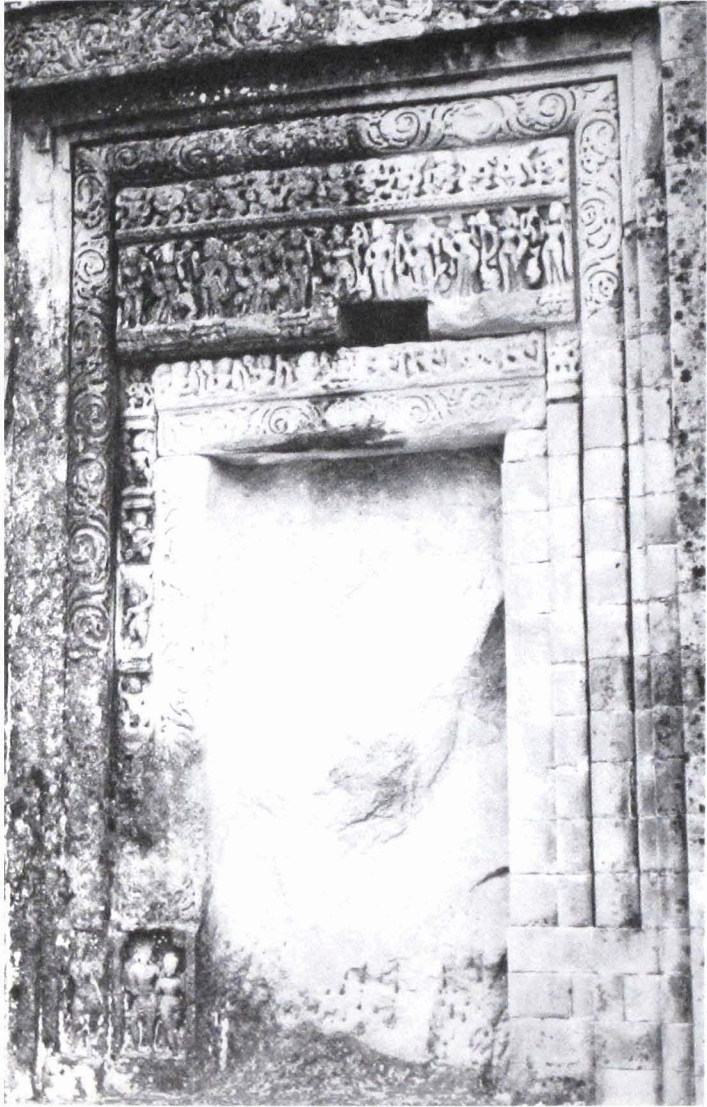


Fig. 20 Uncompleted shrine room excavation at Masrur, Kangra District



Fig. 21 Detail of carved stone door frame at Masrur



Fig. 22 Temple of Hiḍimba Devī, Manali (Archaeological Survey of India)



Fig. 23 House in Dashed village, Kulu valley



Fig. 24 Temple of Tripurasundari Devi, Naggar, Kulu valley



Fig. 25 *Bbandar*, temple storehouse, in Sarahan



Fig. 26 Bhagavati temple in Manan village

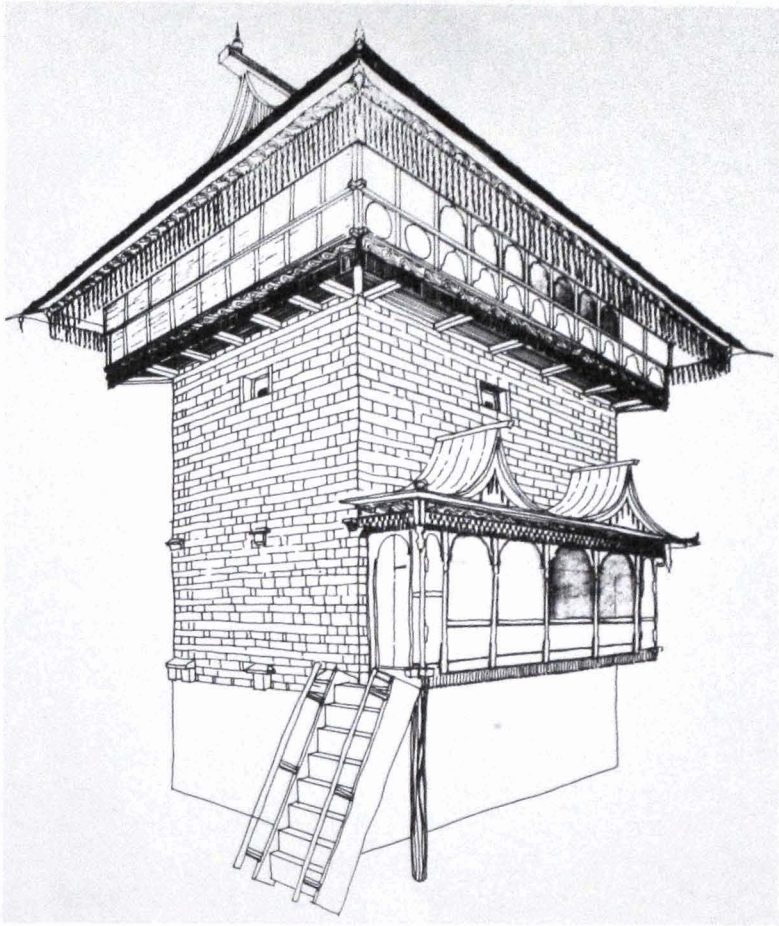


Fig. 27 *Bhandar* in Manan village (drawing by Charles Benson)

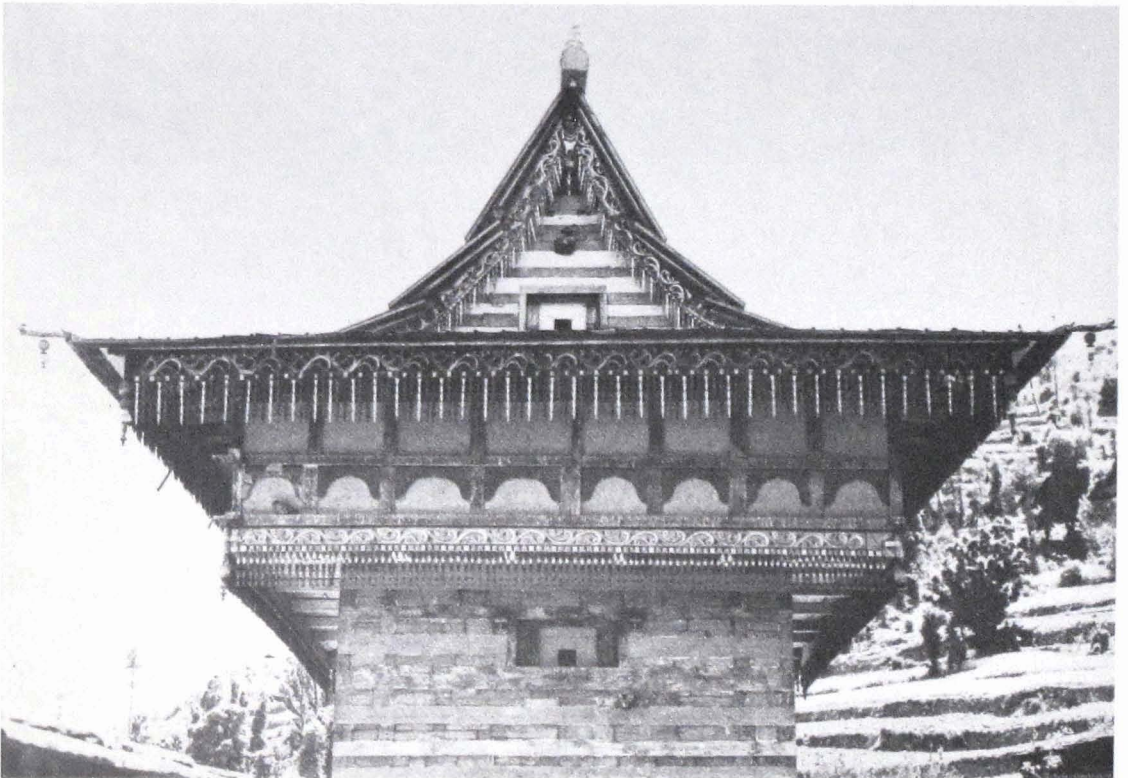


Fig. 28 Detail of *bhandar* superstructure, Manan

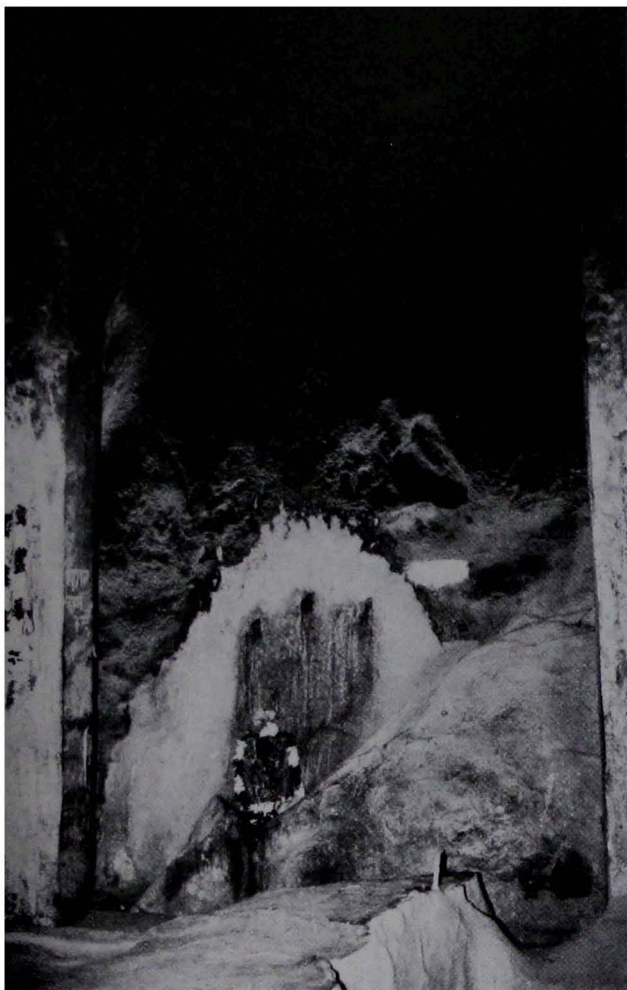


Fig. 29 Sacred boulder inside the temple of Hiḍimba Devī, Manali



Fig. 30 Multiple door frame of Hiḍimba Devī temple, Manali

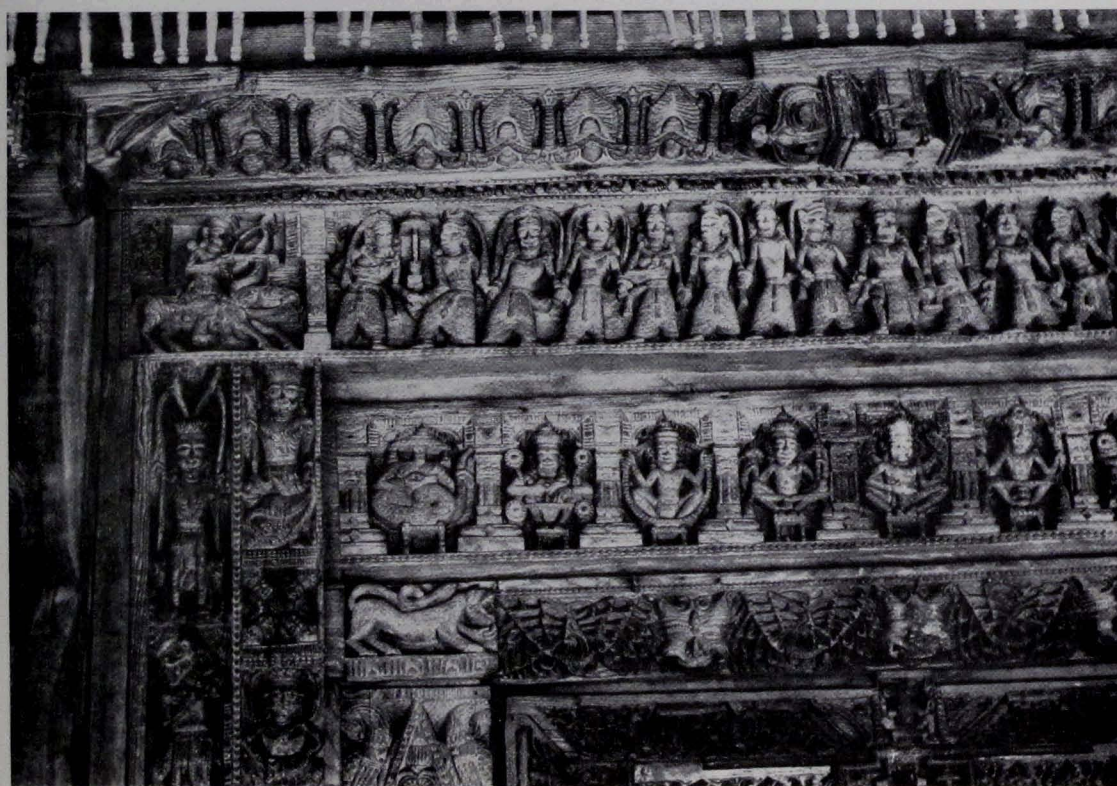


Fig. 31 Hiḍimba Devī temple façade detail

Fig. 32 Laksmi-Narayana temple in Chamba (Archaeological Survey of India)

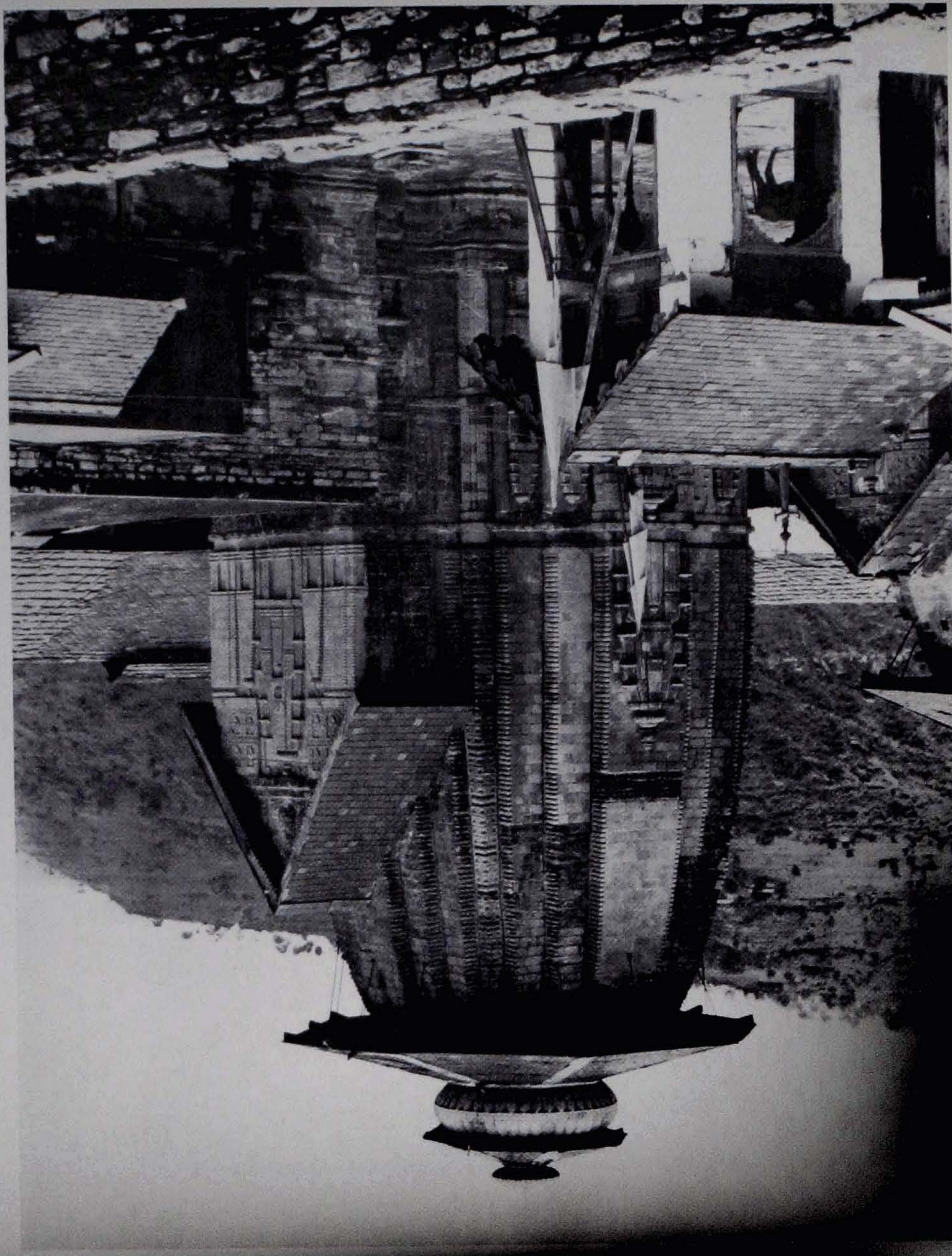


Fig. 31 Laksmi-Narayana temple image, Chamba (Archaeological Survey of India)

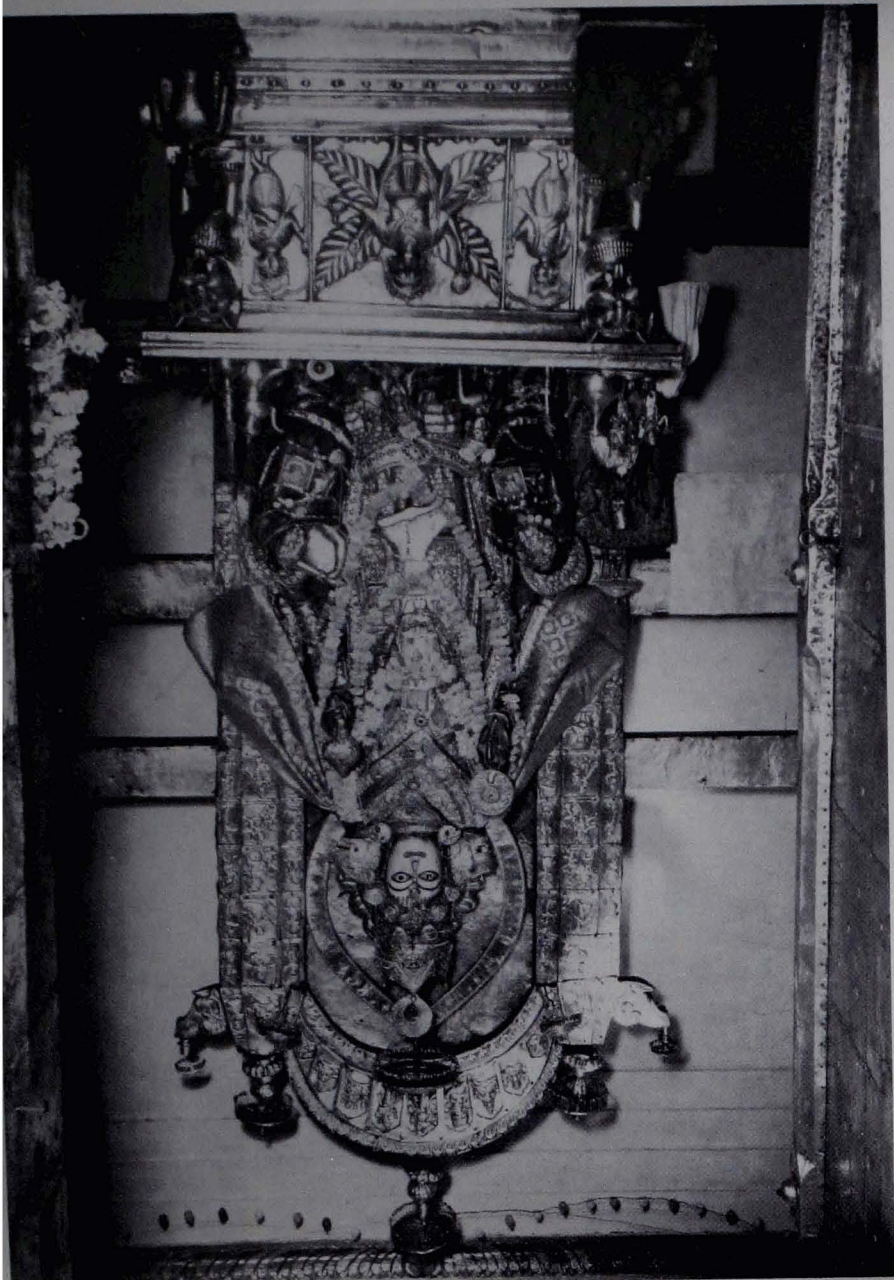




Fig. 34 Durgā Mahiṣasura-mardini on the doorjamb of Hiḍimba Devī temple, Manali

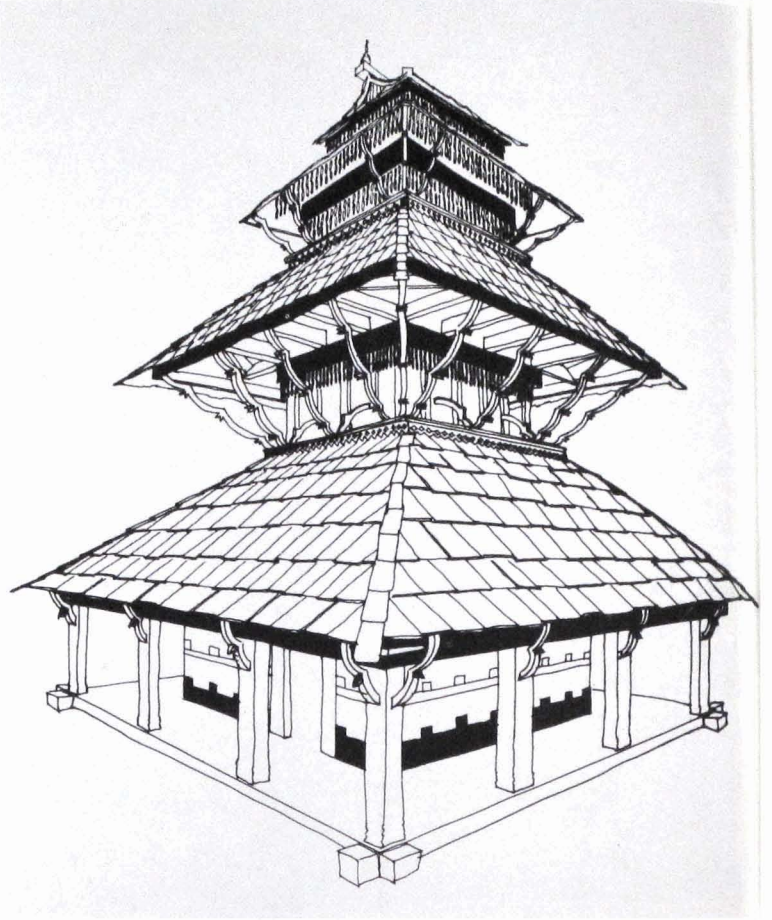


Fig. 35 Brahmā temple, Khokan, Kulu valley (drawing by Charles Benson)

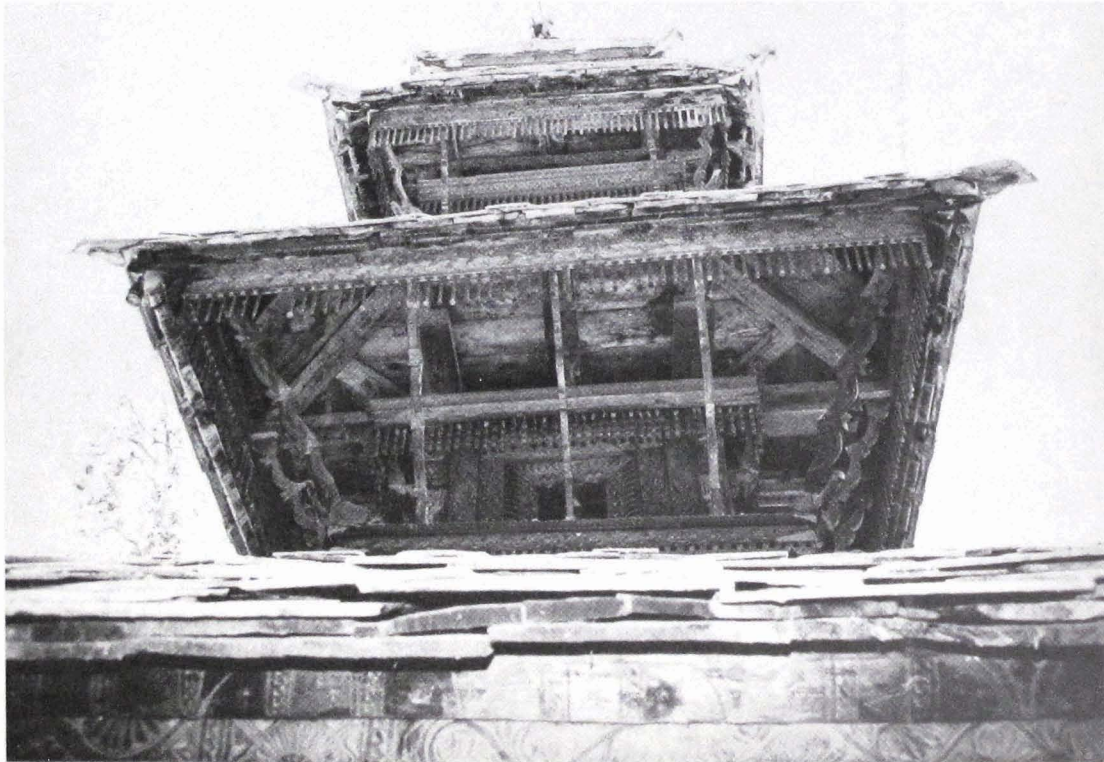


Fig. 36 Structure of upper roofs, Brahmā temple in Khokan



Fig. 37 *Devatā* masks being carried in a Kulu valley procession

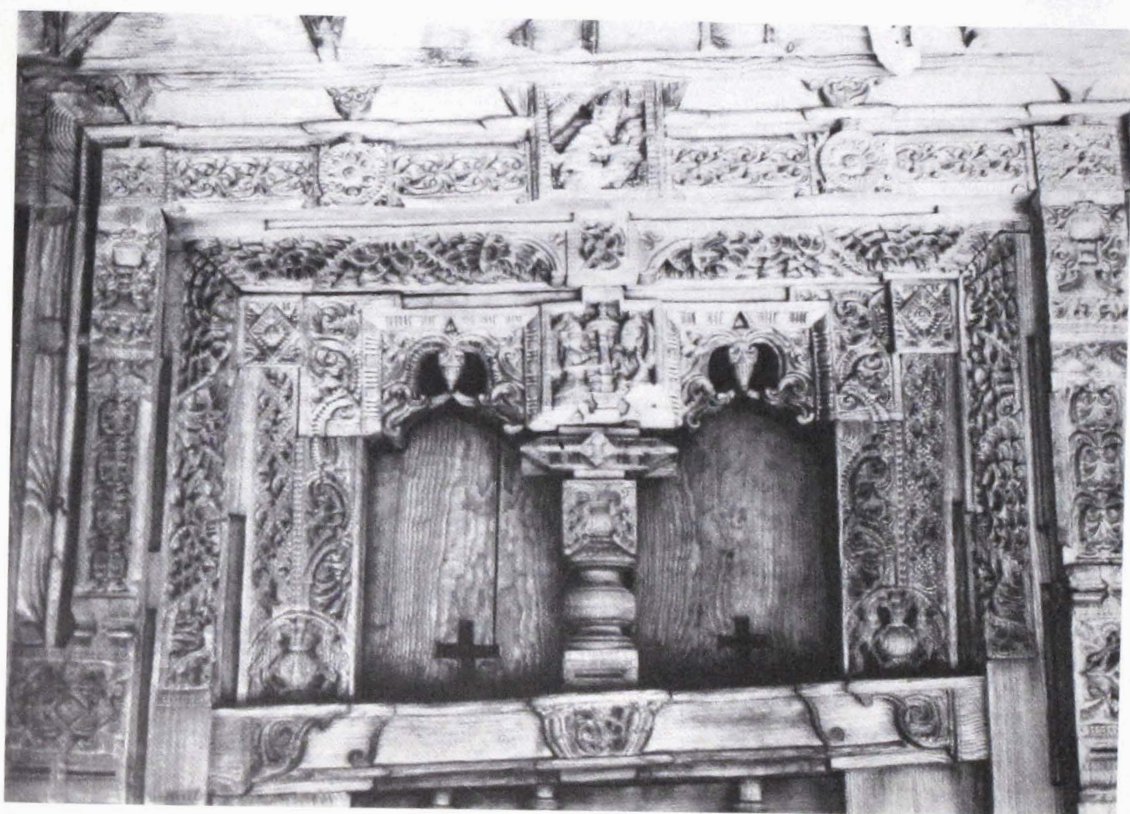


Fig. 38 Window on the façade of the Hiḍimba Devī temple, Manali



Fig. 39 Durgā victorious, Viśveśvara Mahādeva temple, Bajaura
(Archaeological Survey of India)

been lost. The wide-eyed and smiling Nandi, five feet high and nearly six feet long, occupies an open porch before the great Śiva tower. Now lost is a metal sculpture of Śiva himself that was honored by his bull-vehicle.¹² There is no woodcarving of note as part of any temple except that of Lakṣanā Devī, even though the art is known to have flourished as late as the time of building a state *kotbi*, or administrative center, at Brahmor during the reign of King Prithvī Singh (1641–64). Carvings from later Brahmor have largely been removed to the state museums in Chamba and Simla.¹³ The style of their flatly carved figures corresponds to that of miniature and wall painting under Mughal influence.

The earliest architectural traditions of Brahmor are preserved in the temple of Lakṣanā Devī (fig. 8), in its interior and façade alone. This monument may be said to preserve “the average pattern of the later Gupta temple” that is the foundation for later wooden monuments in Himachal Pradesh.¹⁴ A succession of doorframes draws the visitor past the attendant river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā to the beautiful deity within. Exterior carvings (fig. 9) are now so weathered that they “look like curious fungi,”¹⁵ but the celestial figures still preserve rhythm and elegance as they occupy floral and vegetal frames in their time-honored chorus. High on the outer wall, a trefoil niche (fig. 10) that recalls connections with Gandhāra and Kashmir is supported by a frieze that probably represents the Navagrahas (Nine Planets) as it frames a three-faced Viṣṇu on Garuḍa and fly-whisk bearers. The Late Gupta character that holds good for the entry door-frame, with its multiple jambs and lintels, also applies to the entire temple plan with its *maṇḍapa*, *garbha grha*, and *pradakṣiṇā-paṭha*. Inside, columns with four-bracket capitals that are occupied by flying celestials on the protomes (fig. 11) also recall Gupta tradition, as at Ajaṅṭā, Cave II. But in Brahmor the surviving material is wood.

The proportions of the entire façade suggest that the original building was covered by at least one steeply pitched roof of the type that is common to Himalayan structures from Bhutan to Nepal to Kashmir and beyond. During early repair and reconstruction, the building was evidently broadened, perhaps lengthened, and given a roof of shallower slope. In the beginning the structure may have been closer to the related temple of Markula Devī, originally a Buddhist monument, at Udaipur in Spiti. The Brahmor edifice was probably always covered by slate shingles, as has long been common throughout the northwest. The temple as it exists today is not a “pagoda” but a low-roofed construction that is close to domestic proportion, like the temple of Sandhya Devī, dated 1428 A. D., at Jagatsukh in the Kulu valley, or that of Śakti Devī in Chatrarhi village below Brahmor (fig. 12) with its voluptuous goddess in brass (fig. 13) standing four feet six inches high as sister to Lakṣanā Devī. The latter temple is also due to the patronage of Meruvarman, and its dimensions, following rebuilding after the major earthquake of 1905, are twenty-four feet ten inches by twenty-five feet two inches. The walls of its continuous interior gallery, supported by twelve deodar pillars, are covered with paintings, and its double entry complex of relief carving (fig. 14) without *maṇḍapa* may be judged to be “richer and more

¹² Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

¹³ In Brahmor the *kotbi* (building to combine district offices, police quarters, and tax collecting offices) was adorned with “Basohli” style wood carvings. Goetz, *Studies in the History and Art*, p. 155.

¹⁴ Goetz, *The Early Wooden Temples*, p. 75.

¹⁵ Goetz, *Studies in the History and Art*, p. 6.

elegant...more fluid and variegated, but also more mannered” than that of Lakṣaṇā Devī.¹⁶ According to tradition, the temple was the last work made by Gūgā.

The style of carving at the temples of Brahmor Devī and Chatrarhi Devī appears to have become flattened and redefined at later shrines like Trigareśvara Śiva at Jonog (fig. 15–17) near Simla, and Gautam Rishi at Goshal in Kulu (fig. 18–19). There Penelope Chetwode finds “Gupta style adapted to local folk-art”¹⁷ in carving that is “obviously by the same hand as the carving of the temple of Hiḍimba at Doongri.”¹⁸ Flattening does not, in this instance, imply freezing. New directions are taken. Trade route borrowings bring Central Asian motifs to wooden walls while serpents and other long-established symbols take on lively indigenous appearances, even as classical inspiration continues beneath all.

The rock-cut Hindu monument at Masrur in lower Kangra district (fig. 20–21), dedicated to Viṣṇu by a local chieftain in the early eighth century, shows classical origins in its telescoping portals and ornamental towers that neither Maḥmūd of Ghazni in the early eleventh century nor the earthquake of 1905 could entirely erase. Masrur stands for established sources in the north. The mass of rock is impressive for its delicate cutting as well as for its size and remote location. Established design shows gradual modification at the later eighth century temple of Viśveśvara Mahādeva at Bajaura, with its florid Pala-derived additions, while the Śiva temple at Baijnath shows greater localization in its bold and active reliefs that have been termed “symptomatic of the essential mobility of Pahari carvings.”¹⁹ Certainly Durgā, shorter and more elementary at Baijnath, plunges her spear with gusto. A high point in the full evolution from imported model to native invention in art is represented by the late medieval temple of Hiḍimba Devī in Manali (fig. 22), a pagoda that should be considered not only with reference to prototypes in stone but in the full context of wooden arts in the Western Himalaya.

Most wooden temples and houses in the northwest are described as “timber-bonded” because of the use of stone, without mortar, as fill within a basket-like framework of wood (fig. 23). This construction technique is found throughout the Himalaya, with the fill varying from uncut rocks and clay in Sikkim to oil-fired bricks in Kathmandu Valley to log-and-beam layering in Kashmir. Trabeated structures are stabilized by their own weight and walls are thick, without excavated foundations, in a building method that suits earthquake zones. Besides slate shingles, roofs may be covered with wooden planks, as at Naggar in Kulu Valley (fig. 24), or metal sheets. The largest timber-bonded buildings in Himachal Pradesh are temple storehouses termed *bhandar* (fig. 25), as prominent defensive towers,²⁰ while the smallest are simple village shrines that are often dedicated to *nāga* worship.²¹

Any structure in the northwest may be expected to counterbalance bold geometric form with delicate carvings and piercings, pendent roof borders of wood that move in the wind,²²

¹⁶ Goetz, *The Early Wooden Temples*, p. 87.

¹⁷ See Penelope Chetwode, “Temple Architecture in Kulu,” *The Journal of the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts Manufactures and Commerce*, Vol. CXVI, No. 5147 (October, 1968), pp. 924–946.

¹⁸ Chetwode, “Traditional Hindu Architecture in the Western Himalaya,” *Arts of Himachal*, V. C. Ohri, Ed., p. 121.

¹⁹ “Himachal Heritage,” *Marg*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (March, 1970), p. 8.

²⁰ These structures recall the freestanding monastery towers of Bhutan and parts of Tibet.

²¹ Punjab Hills serpent worship is analyzed in detail by J. Ph. Vogel in *Indian Serpent Lore or The Nāgas in Hindu Legend and Art* (London, 1926).

²² The borders are called *khururu* in Saraj, according to Chetwode, and are made by lathe-turning before they are mounted as pendants that swing freely. They have been likened to icicles, but they are more likely to be stylized jewel ornaments.

medallion elements on walls and doors, small but elaborate windows that may be shuttered from within, and bright polychrome both inside and outside. Precious metals are sometimes applied, as in the silver doors of the palace in Sarahan, ancient capital of Bashahr state, and the horns of sacrificial animals are special attachments to temple façades, as they are in Nepal. In this very additive approach to building, metal peacocks, tridents, and other attendant symbols may be mounted upon any sanctified roof. Walls may become canvas-like fields for random placement of sacred signs. Temple structures themselves show endless variation, as in the combination of pent roof and circular tower in the temple of Mananeśvara Bhagavati in Manan village near Narkanda (fig. 26), or the twin gable balcony of the modern *bhandar* in the same location (fig. 27–28). Even so, the edifice in Manali is exceptional in several ways.

The temple of Hiḍimba Devi is especially large, and its plan is irregular on sloping ground as it encloses a huge boulder, symbol of the powerful earth mother (fig. 29). Her space is dark and high-ceilinged, with an openwork frame that supports the superstructure without functional space above. Offerings are presented to her upon a small altar that is a natural projection of the unadorned stone. There is no provision for interior circumambulation, although worshippers are permitted to step down into the small forecourt inside the temple. There is no proper *mandapa*, and the open porch at the front of the building does not continue around it. There is almost a tent-like basicness here, as the temple is approached in its hillside setting by a wide stone stairway.

The monument bears an inscription—rare in the Kulu valley although Chamba provides more than 130 such records from before 1700—that credits the patronage of Rāja Bahadur Singh in the year 1553 A.D. Recent renovation accomplished removal of a late coating of bright enamel paint that was added after the goddess “inspired such devotion in Ranu, her hereditary drummer, that he painted all the wood carving on the temple red and green ... as a thank offering for the safe delivery of his first-born son.”²³ The carvings that are now clearly revealed (fig. 30) are particularly rich and the temple itself is a famous one, although it does not have Protected Monument status. A new asphalt road has been pushed through the deodar forest to its door.

The carving technique at Manali is mainly wood chipping, thus the patterns are sharply angular and clear (fig. 31). They convey action and movement even though the reliefs have a planar, silhouette-derived style in comparison to the softer and more organic carvings at the early temples of Lakṣanā Devi and Śakti Devi. The construction of the building, with massive walls of irregular stones set between wooden courses and multiple roofs of fanning deodar beams, is entirely regional. The top roof is metal-covered over an open balcony, while the lower three roofs are made of wood alone. The monument is part of a family of temple towers among which A. F. P. Harcourt counted four multi-roof buildings in Kulu late in the nineteenth century, before Penelope Chetwode increased that number to thirteen. The total is likely to be more numerous still; C. F. Oldham considered dozens of small Himalayan pagodas in his *The Sun and the Serpent* as early as 1905.²⁴

²³ Chetwode, “Temple Architecture,” p. 940.

²⁴ C. F. Oldham, *The Sun and the Serpent* (London, 1905).

With miniature structures normally being dedicated to serpent worship, larger and more elaborate buildings typically honor the great goddess, often Durgā as Cāmuṇḍa Devī. She has not reigned alone. There is plentiful evidence also of a major cult of Śiva in late Gupta times, not only in Brahmor but throughout Himachal Pradesh, with the aforementioned Bajaura temple among remains. This was followed by flourishing devotion to Viṣṇu in the tenth century, with special focus upon the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple in Chamba (ancient Champaka) that was built by Sāhilavarman in 920 A.D. (fig. 32).²⁵ Its famous marble image has a legendary home in Mt. Abu (fig. 33). Still, the goddess remains most prominent to the present day, and her representations at Hiḍimba Devī and throughout the state are abundant.

Durgā Maḥiṣāsura-mardinī and an attendant figure are shown on the right door jamb of the Manali temple (fig. 34) along with Śiva and Pārvatī on Nandi. Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī are found on the left jamb, while Gaṇeśa occupies the center of the lintel. Above these are the Nine Planets and still higher are flying Vidyādhara figures. The uppermost registers of the entry frame have less distinct symbolic elements, possibly borrowed from Buddhist tradition. Other reliefs include panels that show Kṛṣṇa, as well as representations of chiefs and royalty.²⁶ The placement of characters is hierarchical and quite formal, as in any medieval monument of Hindu India, but the total visual impact is effusive and exuberant, almost playful. The work is highly skilled yet it cannot be called sophisticated, as if the untutored artists captured energy without overlay. Invention is apparent in a wealth of animal and animistic life, including confronting birds, reptiles, and stags that look back over their shoulders while disgorging vegetation. Such motifs are frequent in western Himalayan relief art, and comparison is invited by the Brahmā temple in Khokan in the lower Kulu valley (fig. 35–36).

The building in Khokan is a tower of stone and wood with four roofs, all covered by slate shingles, remarkably close to Nepalese proportions and design even though its inner room is not centered below the tower but is part of the rear wall.²⁷ Its overhanging roofs are braced by angled struts of wood as in Nepal,²⁸ but the brackets are odd scallop forms rather than rectangular frames for deities. Near the mounted horns of animals on the front of this temple, as at Manali, are found small brass reliefs that show Hiḍimba Devī herself, along with metal faces that recall the portable *devatā* plaques that are still carried in Kulu processions (fig. 37). Any of these honors the deity who was born in legend as a fierce female warrior only to fall in love with Bhima of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, whom she married “above her station.”²⁹ In classical literature she is Hirmā Devī, the Hiḍimba of the *Mahābhārata*. Yet she is remarkably local, a folk goddess relic perhaps. At Manali, neighboring gods pay her homage. She radiates power.

The temple of Manali measures approximately twenty-eight by forty-six feet, with its four roofs reaching a height of about eighty feet. The top level is circular and its open balcony

²⁵ The temples were rebuilt by Pratap Singh in the sixteenth century. In the late seventeenth century the *sikhars* in Chamba town were “protected by wheel-roofs of the Kulu type.” Goetz, *Studies in the History and Art*, p. 115.

²⁶ Vishwa Chander Ohri, Ed., *Arts of Himachal*, Notes, p. 149.

²⁷ A plan that is much closer to Nepalese tradition, with a doublewalled *garbha grha* surrounded by columns, is said to belong to the remote temple of Parashar Rishi above Maṇḍi. Chetwode, “Temples of the Western Himalaya,” *The Architectural Review* (Feb., 1973), p. 137.

²⁸ For explanation of Nepalese structural methods, see R.M. Bernier, *The Nepalese Pagoda: Origins and Style* (Delhi, 1979), chapter 3.

²⁹ Chetwode, “Temple Architecture in Kulu,” p. 940.

resembles those that crown the temples of Manan and Khokan. The lower three roofs are squared, and the exterior walls of stone and wood are coated with plaster and whitewash. The building has little to do with mainstreams of the classical and medieval past in India as it takes its own structural pattern. The same is surprisingly true of surface design, with carving lavished upon the verandah and wall of the eastern side of the temple. Two elaborate windows that flank the entry (fig. 38), for example, repeat folk elements along with “international” patterns that have been called Celtic, Byzantine, even Viking.¹⁰ The blend of imported and native elements is harmonious as well as meticulous. It works. The total impression in Manali and in the state of Himachal Pradesh is of a local style in which selective borrowing from neighboring cultures is essential.

At Bajaura, with its eighth century monument that is relatively close to the traditional past, Durgā is shown as an elongated and graceful figure having eight arms and a wealth of weapons and bells as she plunges her trident into the buffalo demon with literary clarity (fig. 39). She is the fully developed product of India’s great traditions and aesthetic refinements. At Manali in its mountain fastness the goddess is a stone.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 939.