

ULRICH WIESNER

NEPALESE TEMPLE
ARCHITECTURE

ITS CHARACTERISTICS AND ITS RELATIONS
TO INDIAN DEVELOPMENT



STUDIES
IN
SOUTH ASIAN CULTURE

EDITED FOR THE
INSTITUTE OF SOUTH ASIAN ARCHAEOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

BY

J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW

VOLUME VIII

U. WIESNER

NEPALESE TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL

1978

NEPALESE TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

ITS CHARACTERISTICS AND ITS RELATIONS
TO INDIAN DEVELOPMENT

BY

ULRICH WIESNER

With 46 Figures and 16 Plates



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL

1978

ISBN 90 04 05666 1

Copyright 1978 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

EDITOR'S PREFACE

In 1971 the University of Cologne in the person of Professor Dr. Roger Goepper requested me to take on the supervision of one of its research students. After interviewing the candidate and having heard his explanation of the problem he wished to explore, I agreed to act as supervisor.

In the years that followed this decision turned out to be one which for several reasons I was to have no cause to regret. In the first place the subject fascinated me and as a result our regular discussions as the research progressed, were occasions to which I looked forward with real pleasure.

In the second place watching the thesis grow and finally reach its conclusion has given me an almost personal sense of achievement. For what Dr. Wiesner hoped to be able to prove, viz. that the brick architecture of Nepal goes back in its entirety to the Kuṣāṇa period—though a few embellishments were added later on—was at the start, at least in my opinion, by no means a foregone conclusion. However, as the months went by, more and more convincing arguments were produced and the final result, as it now lies before us in print, is a piece of research which in the spring of 1974 rightly earned the author his Ph.D. degree *summa cum laude*.

My third and final reason for satisfaction with the decision taken in 1971 is the warm personal friendship which has grown up between us and which I am sure will deepen in the years to come. It is for all these reasons that I am writing these few introductory lines for the editorial preface with the greatest possible pleasure.

Cambridge, autumn 1977

J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW

CONTENTS

Editor's Preface, by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, <i>Professor of South Asian Archaeology, University of Amsterdam</i>	v
List of Figures	ix
List of Plates	xi
Foreword	xiii
I. DEFINING THE PAŚUPATI TEMPLE TYPE	1
II. NEPALESE STATE TEMPLES	10
1. The Mahādeva Temples	10
The Paśupati Cult	10
The Paśupatināth Temple at Deopatan	12
The Yakṣeśvara Temple at Bhaktapur	15
The Mahendreśvara Temple at Kathmandu	16
The Kumbheśvara Temple at Patan	16
The Gokarṇeśvara Temple at Gokarna	17
The Tripureśvara Temple at Kathmandu	18
2. The Nārāyaṇa Temples	19
The Nārāyaṇa Cult	19
The Cāṅgu Nārāyaṇa Temple at Changu	22
The Nārāyaṇa Temple at Patan	23
The Jagannāth Temple at Kathmandu	23
The Dvārikānāth Temple at Bhaktapur	24
3. The Matsyendranāth Temples	25
The Matsyendranāth Cult	25
The Matsyendranāth Temple at Patan	27
The Matsyendranāth Temple at Kathmandu	28
4. The Taleju and Degutale Temples	29
The Taleju Cult	29
The Degutale Cult	30
The Taleju Temple at Kathmandu	31
The Degutale Temple at Kathmandu	32
The Degutale Temple at Patan	33

III. TYPOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF NEPALESE TEMPLES WITH MULTIPLE ROOFS . . .	34
1. Course of the Discussion Hitherto	34
a. Construction Method	37
b. Building Type	38
2. The Multiple Roofs of Nepalese Temples	38
3. The Nepalese Temple as Building Type, Consisting of Cella with Ambulatory and Empty Compartment in the Second Story	44
The Pārṣvati Temple at Nachna-Kuthara	45
The Śiva Temple at Bhumara	47
The Temple at Gop	47
The Meguti Temple at Aihole	48
The Lāḍ-Khān Temple at Aihole	49
Bengal	50
Kerala	50
IV. THE PORTAL SYSTEM OF NEPALESE STATE TEMPLES	52
1. Introduction	52
The Portal System	52
The Basic Structure of the Portal System	53
2. The Lintel Extremities	55
The Gupta Period	56
The Kuṣāṇa Period	56
The Nepalese Lintel Motif's Place in the Context of Indian Developments	59
3. The Curved Wall Bracket	60
The Place of the Nepalese Curved-Bracket Motif in Indian Developments	70
4. The Inner Portal Frame	71
a. The Indented Frieze	72
b. The Voluted Consoles with Attendant Pilasters	75
c. The Stepped Roof Layers over the three Portal Openings	76
d. The Trefoil Arch Frames of the Flanking Portals	78
V. THE CORNICE OF NEPALESE TEMPLES	80
1. Sculptural Embellishment	82
2. Reduction to one Surface	83
3. Double Profile Views	86
4. Autonomy of the Beam End Motif	87
VI. THE ROOF STRUT OF NEPALESE TEMPLES	89
VII. EVOLUTION OF THE PAŚUPATI TEMPLE TYPE	104
BIBLIOGRAPHY	110
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES	113
INDEX OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES	114

LIST OF FIGURES

1.	Varanasi, 'Nepalese Temple' on the banks of the Ganges	2
	Schlagintweit, Indien in Wort und Bild, 2, Plate opposite p. 56	
2.	Deopatan, Paśupatināth temple on the banks of the Bagmati, viewed from the north-east; cf. Plate I	3
	Le Bon, Globus, 50, p. 149	
3.	Patan, square in front of the royal palace, plan	5
	Kathmandu Valley Plan, p. 107	
4.	Patan, square in front of the royal palace, viewed from the south; the Nārāyaṇa temple is concealed by the buildings in the left foreground; cf. Plate V, b	6
	Le Bon, Globus, 50, p. 148	
5.	Schematic groundplan of a temple of the Paśupati type	8
6.	Schematic section of a temple of the Paśupati type	8
7.	Schematic front elevation of a temple of the Paśupati type	8
8.	Bhaktapur, Nyatapola temple, view from south	39
	Fergusson, History, p. 304, fig. 172	
9.	Kathmandu, Jagannāth (Nārāyaṇa) temple, obstructed by later temples, viewed from north-west	40
	Le Bon, Globus, 50, p. 114	
10.	Schematic section of a three-storied temple	44
11.	Schematic front elevation of a three-storied temple	44
12.	Nachna-Kuthara, Pārvatī temple, groundplan and front elevation	45
	Cunningham, A.S.I., Reports 21, Plate 25	
13.	Bhumara, Śiva temple, groundplan	46
	Banerji, The Temple of Siva at Bhumara	
14.	Gop, temple, groundplan	48
	Burgess, Report on the Antiquities of Kāthiāwād and Kachh, Plate 53	
15.	Aihole, Lād-Khān temple, section	49
	A.S.I., A.R. 1907-1908, Plate 70	
16.	Tripartite portal system	54
17.	Reconstruction of a portal frame based on two architectural fragments in the Mathura museum	57
	After Vogel, La sculpture de Mathurā, Plate 22, a and b	
18.	Drawing of lintel fragment in the Lucknow museum, Example II.	58
	After Vogel, La sculpture de Mathurā, Plate 36, c	
19.	Drawing of lintel fragment, Example III	58
	After Lohuizen-de Leeuw, The Scythian Period, Plate 51	
20.	Drawing of lintel fragment in the Lucknow museum, Example IV	58
	After Rosenfield, The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans, Plate 30	
21, a.	Brackets of a toraṇa from Kankali Tila, front	62
	Smith, The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities, Plates 34, 35	
21, b.	Brackets of a toraṇa from Kankali Tila, rear	63
	Smith, The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities, Plates 34, 35	
22.	Evolution of the bracket motif	66

23.	Ajanta, Cave I, portal to shrine	68
	Fergusson, Burgess, <i>The Cave Temples of India</i> , Plate 42	
24.	Ellora, Cave II, portal to shrine	69
	Fergusson, Burgess, <i>The Cave Temples of India</i> , Plate 61	
25.	Ajanta, fresco painting	70
	Fergusson, <i>History</i> , p. IX	
26.	Ajanta, Cave II, portal to shrine	73
	Fergusson, Burgess, <i>The Cave Temples of India</i> , Plate 45	
27.	Bhumara, temple portal	74
28.	Sakhar, temple portal	74
29.	Bhaktapur, Taleju Bhavani temple, portal	74
30.	Ajanta, Interior of Vihāra XVI	76
	Fergusson, <i>History</i> , p. 154	
31.	Konarak, Sun temple, restored elevation	77
	Fergusson, <i>History</i> , p. 222, Fig. 123	
32.	Cornice from Gandhāra	81
	Combaz, <i>L'Inde et l'Orient classique</i> , Plate 15	
33.	Fragment of a lintel from Kankali Tila, section and front elevation	84
	Smith, <i>The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities</i> , Plate 31	
34.	Ajanta, Cave I	85
	Fergusson, Burgess, <i>The Cave Temples of India</i> , Plate 41	
35.	Cornice of the Sun temple at Martand	86
	A.S.I., A.R. 1915-1916, Plate 37	
36.	Vihāra at Bhaja	90
	Fergusson, Burgess, <i>The Cave Temples of India</i> , Plate 97	
37.	Khandagiri-Udayagiri, Gaṇeśa Gumphā, pillar	91
	Fergusson, Burgess, <i>The Cave Temples of India</i> , p. 87, Fig. 21	
38.	Badami, Cave III, struts from the veranda of Cave III.	93
	Burgess, <i>Report of the First Season's Operations in the Belgam and Kaladgi Districts</i> , Plate 27	
39.	Ajanta, Cave II, pillar with strut	94
	Fergusson, Burgess, <i>The Cave Temples of India</i> , Plate 45(2)	
40.	Mount Abu, Lūṇa Vasahī temple, dome of maṇḍapa	95
	Fergusson, <i>History</i> , p. 237, Fig. 130	
41.	Mount Abu, Vimala Vasahī temple, maṇḍapa	96
	Fergusson, <i>History</i> , p. 236, Fig. 129	
42.	Kuruvatti, Mallikārjuna temple, roof struts beside the eastern portal	97
	Rea, <i>Chalukyan Architecture</i> , Plate 68	
43.	Kuruvatti, Mallikārjuna temple, eastern portal	98
	Rea, <i>Chalukyan Architecture</i> , Plate 60	
44.	Belur, Chenna Keśava temple, roof struts	99
	Government of Mysore Annual Report, 1946, Plate 11	
45.	Railing pillars from Bhutesar	100
	Cunningham, A.S.I., <i>Reports 3</i> , Plate 6	
46.	Railing pillars from Kankali Tila	102
	Smith, <i>The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities</i> , Plates 60, 61	

LIST OF PLATES

- I Deopatan, Paśupatināth temple, view from east
Courtesy Jochen Rein
- II a Gokarna, Gokarṇeśvara temple, view from east
b Kathmandu, Taleju temple, after removal of surrounding structures, view from north-east
Courtesy Jochen Rein
- III a Changu, Cāngu Nārāyaṇa temple, view from south
Courtesy Jochen Rein
b Bhaktapur, Dvārikānāth temple, view from east
Courtesy Jochen Rein
- IV a Vishnupur, Radha Mohan temple
Courtesy D.G., A.S.I., 774/57
b Tiruvenchikulam, temple
Courtesy D.G., A.S.I., 1988/62
- V a Kathmandu, Jagannāth temple, view from west
b Patan, Nārāyaṇa temple, view from east
Courtesy Jochen Rein
- VI a Patan, Nārāyaṇa temple, wall core in upper story
b Patan, Nārāyaṇa temple, look into the pyramidal roof
- VII a Patan, Nārāyaṇa temple, pradakṣiṇāpatha, on the right the entrance to the cella
b Patan, Nārāyaṇa temple, four-fold image in cella
- VIII a Bhaktapur, Dvārikānāth temple, portal on the west side
b Kathmandu, Jagannāth temple, detail of western façade with portal frame and cornice
- IX Kathmandu, Jagannāth temple, portal on south side
- X Bhaktapur, Dvārikānāth temple, portal on east side, detail
- XI a Patan, Nārāyaṇa temple, cornice
b Patan, Nārāyaṇa temple, portal on south side, detail, missing parts replaced with brickwork
- XII a Ramgarh, Muṇḍeśvari temple, detail of façade
Courtesy D.G., A.S.I., 642/71
b Nachna-Kuthara, Caturmukha temple, detail of southern façade
Courtesy D.G., A.S.I., 2434/60
c Fragment from Takht-i-Bahi
Courtesy D.G., A.S.I., 684/71
d Fragment from Takht-i-Bahi
Courtesy D.G., A.S.I., 637/71
- XIII a Khajuraho, Dūlādeo temple, struts of maṇḍapa
Courtesy D.G., A.S.I., 1580/60
b Sunak, Nilakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple, struts of maṇḍapa
Courtesy D.G., A.S.I., 219/65

- XIV a Deopatan, Paśupatināth temple, roof struts on eastern side
b Patan, Nau-bāhā, roof strut
c Kathmandu, Itum-bāhā, roof strut
d Patan, Nārāyaṇa temple, roof strut
- XV a Palampet, Ramappa temple, struts of maṇḍapa roof
Courtesy D.G., A.S.I., 1237/59
b Tīruvanam, roof struts
Courtesy D.G., A.S.I., 2007/62
- XVI a Relief from Pitalkhora
Courtesy D.G., A.S.I., 140/71
b Fragment of a strut in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin
Courtesy Staatl. Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Indische Kunst,
Berlin

FOREWORD

The object of the following work is to examine the traditional temple architecture of Nepal, taking the Paśupatiṅāth temple in Deopatan as point of departure for the analysis. Ever since the 15th century, that particular building has been employed as a model for many other temples built in the various capitals of that country, the choice of the Paśupati type being determined by a definite function, viz. that of a state temple.

In what follows, building type and ornamentation of the Paśupati temple, a form which incorporates all the constituent elements of Nepalese temple architecture, will be analysed in separate studies, and the various motifs traced back to their Indian roots. It will be shown that the wood and brick construction form used in Nepalese temples is a transposition of Indian prototypes in stone which go back to the Kuṣāṇa period and were later handed down in Nepal, with more recent Indian decorative motifs being imported occasionally and integrated into the existing scheme. Hence, in terms of Indian developments, Nepalese temple architecture must be described as provincial.

Conversely, an analysis of the temple architecture that has survived in Nepal furnishes us with a number of clues to the evolution of early Indian architecture which could not have been deduced from the material that has survived in India itself.

The work on this study, which was started in 1970 and completed in its present form in the spring of 1974, was promoted and sponsored by many people and institutions. First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to my teacher, Professor Dr. Roger Goepper, whose original suggestion prompted the direction of the work. Thanks are due, too, to Professor Dr. Heinz Ladendorf, who assisted me with many pointers from the field of art theory. With regard to the Indological aspects of the study, I very much appreciate the interest shown by Professor Dr. Bernhard Kölver in the progress of the work. I also owe much to Mr. Krishna Prasad Shrestha and Mr. Thakur Lal Manandhar for a number of talks I had with them in Nepal. My particular thanks are due to Professor Dr. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, who monitored the work from the standpoint of the history of Indian art, and who arranged for the finished study to appear in the series 'Studies in South Asian Culture'. The many conversations she found time for in Amsterdam as well as the opportunity I had of working in her Institute proved to be a considerable and indispensable aid.

Publication has been made possible by a grant in respect of the printing costs from the German Research Society, for which I would also like to express my thanks. The actual original research was financed by a grant made by the post-graduate scholarship scheme of the University of Cologne.

Photographs were kindly supplied by the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, and by Mr. Jochen Rein.

A final word of thanks must go to Mr. A. J. Jordan, who translated the manuscript into English.

U.W.

CHAPTER ONE

DEFINING THE PAŚUPATI TEMPLE TYPE

Among the hundreds of temples situated at Varanasi on the banks of the Ganges, there is one which is not generally known by the name of a deity, but is simply called the 'Nepalese Temple'.¹ (Fig. 1) It is a double-storied building, erected on a square plan, with brick walls and ornamental woodwork. Its upper story is set back, and each story has its own roof. On all four sides there are huge portals, each having three openings. At Varanasi, this temple has always been looked upon as a curiosity owing to its design. It cannot be related to the prevailing local temple types, and constitutes a direct import from Nepal. The temple is an instance of a national architectural style occurring in an alien environment. Since Nepal has till recently been closed to Europeans, the building at Varanasi was the only readily accessible example of the architecture of that country.²

The temple was founded by Nepalese kings of the Gorkha Dynasty (since A.D. 1768) in the first half of the 19th century, as the decorative details³ show. At that time, Varanasi was very popular among members of the Nepalese royal family, both for pilgrimages and as a place of refuge then under British rule, where they could plot and scheme over Nepal's future.

The temple is consecrated to the supreme national deity of the Nepal Valley, Paśupatināth.⁴ Paśupatināth has his main sanctuary at Deopatan, near the centre of the Nepal Valley, on an eminence above the Bagmati river (Fig. 2; Pl. I). This temple site is one of the oldest in the country. Although the building has been repeatedly destroyed in the course of its fifteen-hundred-year history, the shrine located today in the centre of the complex has preserved a form of which there is written evidence since the 14th century at least. The building is two-storied, erected on a square plan and has a separate roof for each story; the upper story is set back. On all four sides there are huge portal structures. The Paśupati temples at Varanasi and at Deopatan are identical in constructional type and decorative scheme.⁵ What is more, they have an identical cult image in the centre of the shrine, and are consecrated to the same god, Mahādeva, under the name of Paśupatināth. The religious (name and cult image) and architectural agreement of the two buildings can only be accounted for as the relation between original and copy.

The presence of the god Paśupatināth in the shrine at Deopatan is taken as a fact. Since his presence had to be demonstrated at Varanasi as well, this could hardly be done more effectively than by giving the buildings the same appearance. At Deopatan, the hidden presence is combined with a certain outer form in the Paśupatināth temple. The recurrence of this outer

¹ Havell, E. B., *Benares, The Sacred City. Sketches of Hindu Life and Religion*, 2nd ed., London, p. 131.

² Coomaraswamy, A. K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, reprint of the 1927 edition, Dover Publications, New York, 1965, p. 144.

³ Havell, *Benares*, p. 131.

⁴ Sen, R. R., *The Holy City (Benares)*, Chittagong, 1912, p. 214.

⁵ But for a few slight differences, chiefly in the area of the portal, which are probably due to a misunderstanding of the older forms.



Fig. 1. Varanasi, 'Nepalese Temple' on the banks of the Ganges

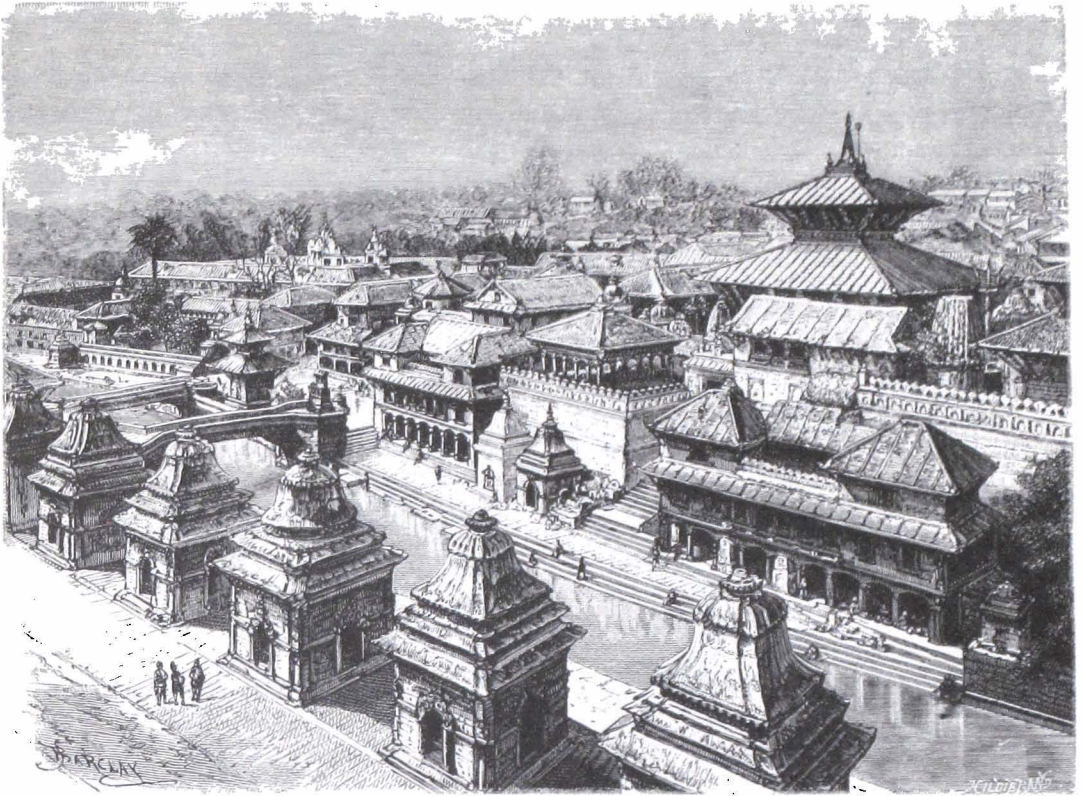


Fig. 2. Deopatan, Paśupatināth temple on the banks of the Bagmati, viewed from the north-east; cf. Plate I

form in Varanasi points to the same hidden presence. The alien-looking building at Varanasi is obviously a copy of the original temple at Deopatan.

Now, the building erected in the 19th century at distant Varanasi is not the only copy of the original Paśupati temple at Deopatan. In the Nepal Valley itself, there are a number of buildings which are replicas of the Paśupatināth at Deopatan. These temples are located at the royal palaces in each of the three ancient capitals of the country.⁶ The earliest building of this type is the Yakṣeśvara shrine at Bhaktapur, erected by King Yakṣamalla at his palace in A.D. 1460. Today, the temple is generally known by the name Paśupatināth. For the power of the king to be legitimated, it seems to have been essential for the supreme deity of the country to

⁶ A vague idea of the original-and-copy relationship between the various temples was already developed by Regmi, who writes that the Nārāyaṇa temple at Patan is built on the pattern of the Yakṣeśvara temple and that the same is true of the portal system of the Kumbheśvara temple; Regmi D. R., *Medieval Nepal*, Part 2, *A History of the Three Kingdoms 1520 A.D. to 1768 A.D.*, Calcutta, 1966, p. 880.

On the problem of the copies, see Bandmann, G., *Ikonologie der Architektur*, Libelli, Darmstadt, 1969. The Nepalese phenomenon is certainly in contrast with the 'partiellen Charakter der mittelalterlichen Kopie' (Bandmann, p. 20). Still, it is doubtful whether the condition to be met by a 'totale formale Kopie' required by this writer applies to Nepal. Bandmann writes: 'Auf totale formale Kopie stoßen wir erst in historisierenden Epochen, die ein Bewußtsein der zeitlichen Distanz haben und des Bauwerk ästhetisch verselbständigen' (Bandmann, p. 20). Conscious historicism can only have played a minor role in Nepal. Suitability of the original pattern for the ritual seems to have been the overriding consideration.

Bandmann (p. 22) cites an interesting parallel. President Truman once suggested that a replica of the White House be built in each of the world's capital cities to house the American embassy.

reside near the seat of the ruler. King Yakṣa, we are told, had previously been obliged to make a daily pilgrimage all the way to the original temple.

Following the death of Yakṣamalla in A.D. 1482, the country, hardly unified, split up again into three separate kingdoms, viz. Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur. All three vied with one another in developing their capitals into autonomous centres, and the rivalry extended to the religious plane as well. At Kathmandu, construction activity really got under way in the reign of King Mahendramalla (1560–1574). He built the Mahendreśvara temple at his palace at Kathmandu, basing the design on the Yakṣeśvara temple at Bhaktapur. The former, like its counterpart at Bhaktapur, is now only known by the name Paśupatināth. Unlike the other two kingdoms, Patan had mainly a Buddhist tradition. Not until a comparatively late date, viz. in A.D. 1672, under King Śrīnivāsamalla, was the existing Kumbheśvara temple site identified with Paśupatināth and a corresponding shrine with cult image erected. Later municipal construction linked up the Kumbheśvara temple and the palace.

The copies of the original shrine at Deopatan, erected as they were in completely different centuries, all reveal certain differences in appearance today. These are due to the personal history of each structure, since all developed independently of the original. Hence, each temple in its present state has a different relationship to the original. Even the Paśupati shrine at Deopatan itself has undergone many changes in its ornamental features.

One interesting question concerns just what was understood by fidelity to the original. The identity of two buildings was not achieved by having both agree in only one or more essential features in order to create a symbolic unity, i.e. no attempt was made to reproduce one fundamental element to stand for the whole. Instead, the original in its entirety had to be re-created. Each element in the one structure had to have its counterpart in the other. Replicas were made, permitting no stylistic variations on the original theme, the 'correctness' of the motifs in themselves and their positioning being crucial. The individual motifs were set in a dimensional framework, and this was preserved in each copy. The reproduction of absolute dimensions, on the other hand, was not so important.

In the reign of King Mahendramalla, the Paśupati temple form at Deopatan was also adopted for temples consecrated to gods other than Mahādeva but enjoying a comparable significance for state and king as Paśupati. By using this architectural form, which had been identified hitherto with the supreme national deity, Paśupati, in temples dedicated to other gods as well, it was possible to demonstrate that they had acquired an equivalent status. The justification for copying the sacred prototype was no longer a consecration to Paśupatināth, but the importance of the deity concerned for the state. Buildings erected in this particular form were state temples.

At the same time as the Mahendreśvara (Paśupati) temple was built, King Mahendramalla, in that very year A.D. 1564, erected the huge Taleju temple (Pl. II, b) inside the palace compound at Kathmandu. The basic form of the Paśupati temple was extended in this building by adding a third story and a high stepped base. Somewhat later, in A.D. 1566, Purāṇdarasiṃha built a two-storied Nārāyaṇa shrine before his palace at Patan (Pl. V, b; Figs. 3, 4), adopting the Paśupatināth form for this god. Thus, in the 1660's, three buildings of this type were erected, viz. the temples to Mahendreśvara, Taleju and Nārāyaṇa.

In due course, Nārāyaṇa shrines on the pattern of the Paśupati temple at Deopatan were built at each of the royal residences in the other two capitals of the Nepal Valley: the Jagannāth temple at Kathmandu (Pl. V, a; Fig. 9, p. 40) and the Dvārikānāth shrine at Bhaktapur (Pl. III, b). In Buddhist Patan, the supreme deity was Matsyendranāth and so it was natural

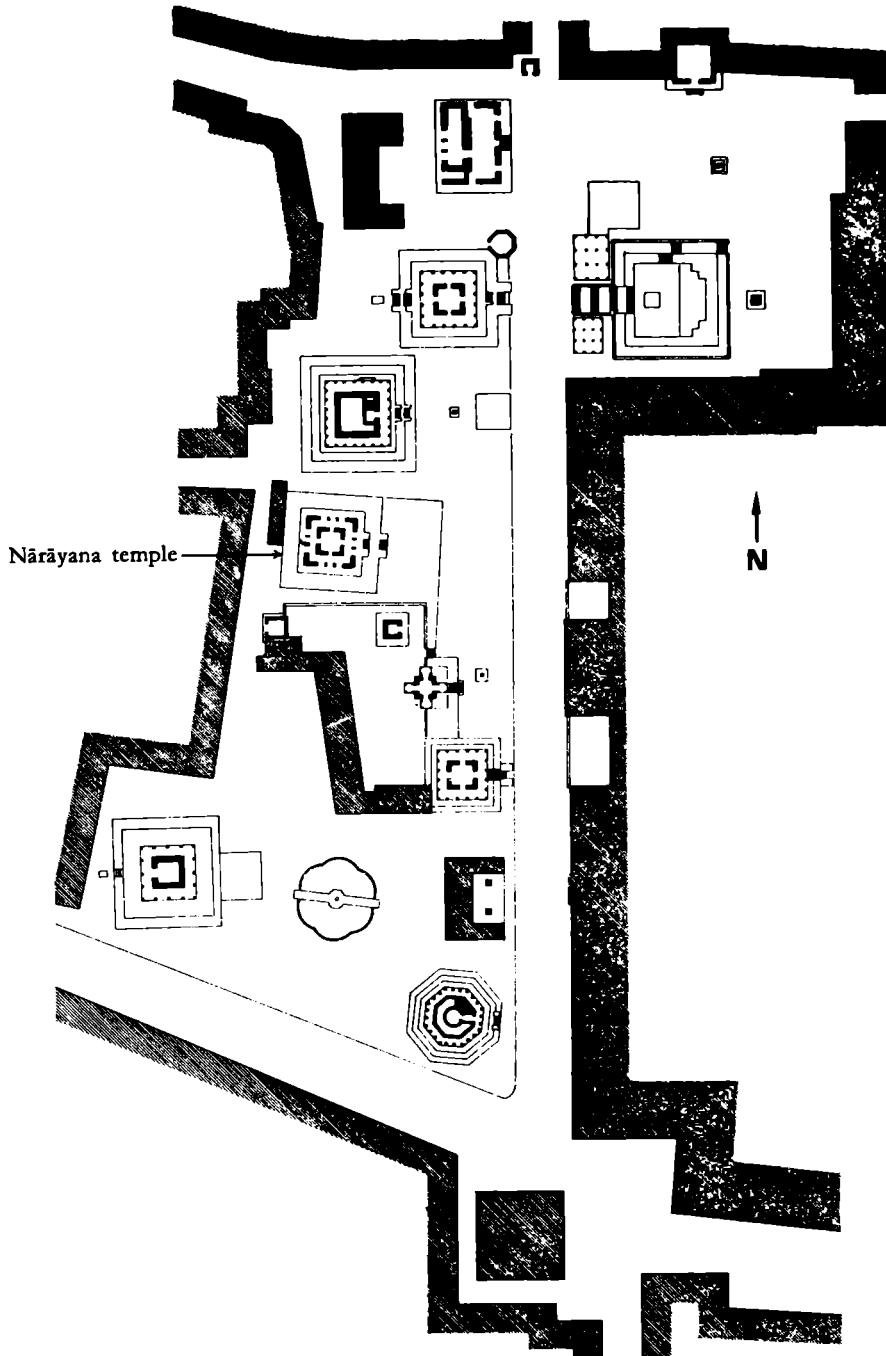


Fig. 3. Patan, square in front of the royal palace, plan

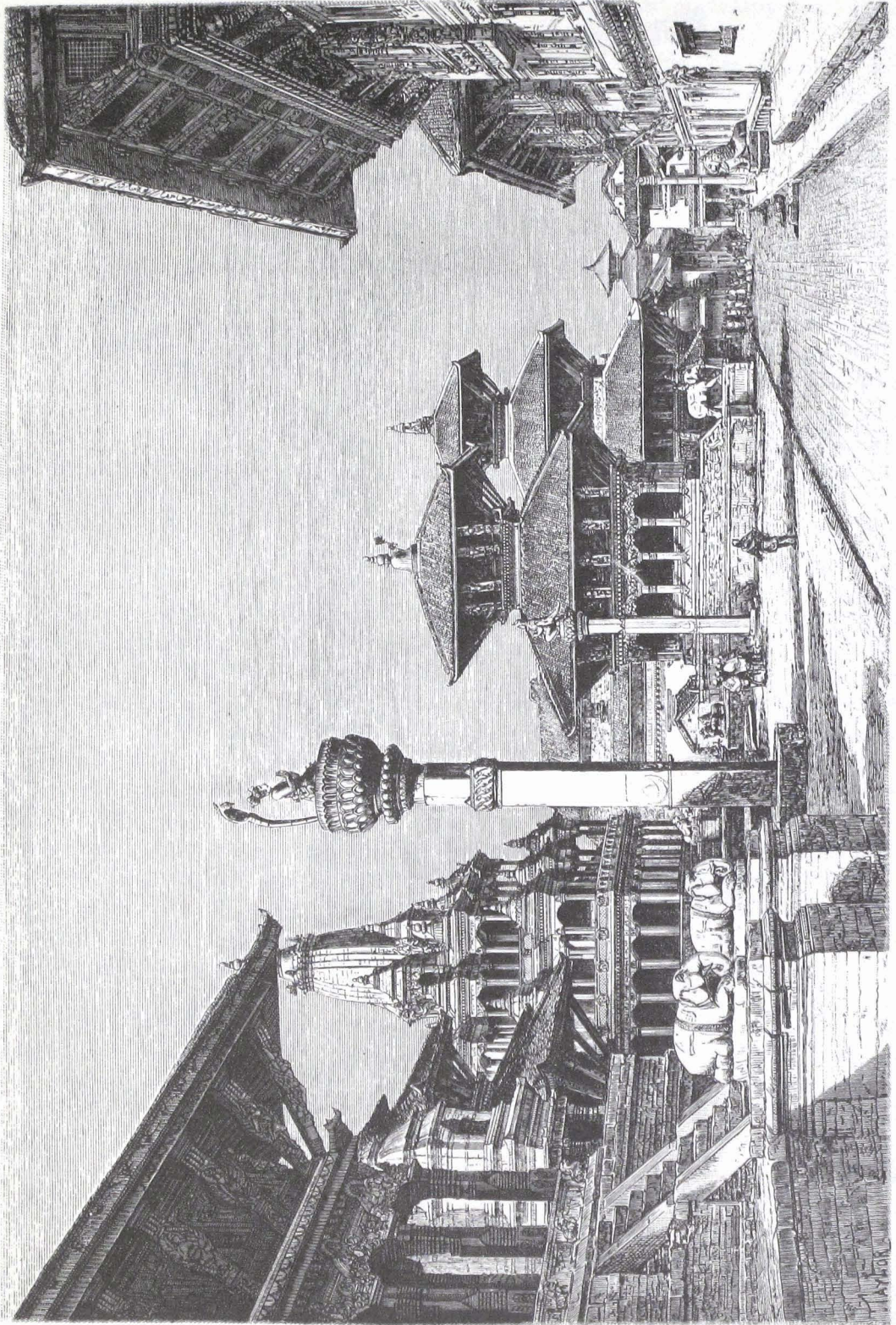


Fig. 4. Patan, square in front of the royal palace, viewed from the south; the Nārāyaṇa temple is concealed by the buildings in the left foreground; cf. Plate V, b

for a building of the Paśupatināth type to be erected to this god, too (1621). Like the Taleju temple at Kathmandu (Pl. II, b), it had three stories. Apparently, three-storied buildings as copies of the Paśupatināth were employed primarily for shrines dedicated to deities like Taleju and Matsyendranāth. It was not until a late date that these gods acquired importance for the Nepalese state. All Paśupati and Nārāyaṇa temples have two stories.

Of the many shrines erected as copies of the original Paśupati temple (Fig. 2; Pl. I), it is the Nārāyaṇa shrine at Patan (Pl. V, b) that seems to have undergone least change in the course of its history. Moreover, it was built comparatively early, in A.D. 1566. Since the shrine is no longer used for worship, it is open to foreigners. This Nārāyaṇa temple at Patan aptly illustrates the general Paśupati type.⁷

The building is located along with a great number of other shrines on the western side of a street (Figs. 3, 4) which has been widened to form a kind of square, the whole eastern side being taken up by the royal palace. This square was formerly the political and religious centre of a small, independent city-kingdom. The Nārāyaṇa temple (Pl. V, b), the oldest sacred building at this site, stands on a three-stepped base with a narrow platform at the top permitting a circuit of the shrine's exterior. The two-storied building is erected on a square plan (Figs. 3, 5) and the façades on all four sides are identical, so that the building has no actual main front. The upper story is set back on all four sides, the transition being in the form of a continuous pent roof. The upper story has a pyramidal roof. These two massive, widely projecting, clay-tile roofs plunge large sections of the façade in deep shadow. The corners are emphasized by upturned, horn-shaped elements. At the top, in the middle of the building, there is a bell-shaped element described as a stūpa or gajura.⁸ The great overhanging roofs are supported by long, outward sloping, plank-like struts (Pl. XIV, d), positioned above a continuous cornice (Pl. XI, a). They are decorated with standing deities and often painted in bright colours.

The cornice (Pl. XI, a) consists of a band of console-like beam ends, the square faces being conceived as lion masks. This cornice divides the façade of the lower story into two zones of equal height (Pl. V, b). The lower (Fig. 7) is completely taken up by a monumental portal, a huge tripartite structure, the central opening being rectangular, while the flanking openings are topped by trefoil arches. The entire surface of the three doorways is overlaid with minute ornamental work. Only the outermost sections of the portal frame are decorated with figures. In these portions, the complicated outline of the portal scheme is fitted into the masonry in an extraordinary fashion.

The upper zone of the lower story is divided symmetrically by three large window frames. This pattern is repeated in the second story, the façade consisting of the cornice—surmounted by the roof struts or brackets—and of a wall area. The conspicuous features of the temple are the huge tile surfaces of the two projecting roofs and the wall area in the lower story with the large tripartite portal.

The temple can be entered from all four sides. The west side of the building facing the

⁷ See also the description of the Nārāyaṇa temple, p. 23.

⁸ Wright's history uses 'gajura' and the chronicles translated by Hasrat 'stūpa'; Wright, D., *History of Nepal, Translated from the Parbatīya*, reprint, Kathmandu, 1972, p. 216; Hasrat, B. J., *History of Nepal, As told by its own and Contemporary Chroniclers*, Hoshiarpur, 1970, p. 76.

This architectural element belongs to a South Indian building tradition; there is no longer any evidence of it in North Indian buildings. 'The crowning piece is called the "Stūpi" with the Kalaśa. And one of the most representative Northern texts, the S.S., knew these real characteristics of the Southern or Dravidian Temples'. Shukla, D. N., *Hindu Science of Architecture, Vāstu-Śāstra*, 1, Lucknow, p. 430.

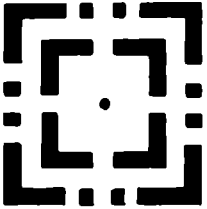


Fig. 5. Schematic groundplan of a temple of the Paśupati type

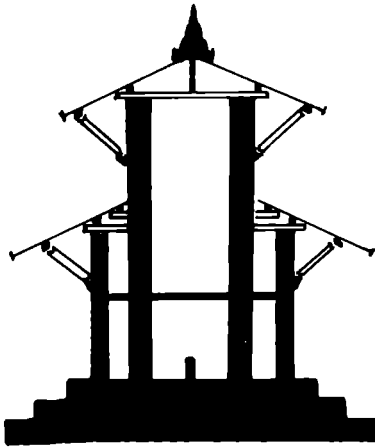


Fig. 6. Schematic section of a temple of the Paśupati type

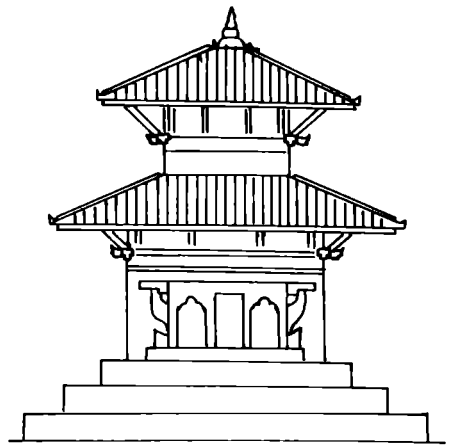


Fig. 7. Schematic front elevation of a temple of the Paśupati type

palace is emphasized by a narrow stairway lined with figures (Pl. V, b). This leads to the upper platform of the base, from which the interior of the shrine can be reached via a high threshold. The shrine consists of a cella in the centre surrounded by a narrow ambulatory (pradakṣiṇāpatha) (Fig. 5; Pl. VII, a), which is used in a clockwise direction. The cult image (Pl. VII, b), visible through four single portals, is always to the right of the beholder. The huge, tripartite portals on each side of the temple façade find their counterparts, therefore, in the single door portals leading from the ambulatory into the cella. In the centre of this chamber and, hence, in the very centre of the shrine is a cult image facing in four directions (Pl. VII, b).

The only light in the shrine enters through the portals when opened, which leaves some parts of the room in complete darkness. Only the cult image is adequately illuminated when the doors are open. The portal openings being very small, one result is that the visitor casts a shadow on the image upon entering.

A striking fact is the complete lack of ornament in ambulatory and cella (Pl. VII, a), which is quite a contrast to the extravagant decoration of the façade (Pl. V, b). The walls are exposed and constructed of the same hard-burned bricks as the exterior. The woodwork is completely devoid of any ornamental or figural treatment. Only the portal frames of the cella have simple bands of moulding, but otherwise they, too, are plain. The tripartite portal system has, in its rear, i.e. inside the ambulatory, a plain, open post-and-beam construction spanning the opening in the masonry (Pl. VII, a). Neither formally nor tectonically is it related to the system represented on the façade, which is therefore purely ornamental, while the system inside has a load-bearing function.

The ceiling is a simple affair of binders and joists at about the level of the cornice. Hence, the height of ambulatory and cella is only half as great as that part of the façade below the pent roof which extends round the building (Fig. 6; Pl. VII, a). This suggests that the zone above the cornice (below the first roof) is merely a by-product of the widely projecting and highly pitched roof, which made it necessary to carry the outer walls higher, thus creating an additional chamber above the ambulatory. This part of the building has no visual significance.

There is no ascent to the upper story, and access is only possible by way of a small aperture in the ceiling of the ambulatory. Obviously, the upper story is of no importance in the temple cult.

In the upper story we find the layout of the lower story repeated (Fig. 6) in a very high, shaft-like, central area (Pl. VI, b) and a rather low ambulatory (Pl. VI, a). The central chamber, extending to the ceiling, is located directly over the cella; both are enclosed by a continuous core, (Fig. 6), on which the pyramidal roof rests. Light enters through the windows in the façade with their very small apertures. The walls, not being open to view, are made of cheap, sun-burnt bricks (Pl. VI, a). The doorways have no frames; instead, a plank-like lintel has been sunk into the brick masonry. The floors are covered with rubble. Across the upper edge of the core runs a beam, into which a post has been mortised (Fig. 6; Pl. VI, b). This supports the roof structure and the heavy stūpa located at this point.

The temple is some 15.2 metres high, including the base.⁹ The side lengths, are generally 6.6 metres; the core enclosing the cella has a side length of 3.33 metres. The inside width of the cella is 2.25 metres and the ambulatory is about 1 metre wide.

⁹ According to information kindly provided by Mr. Wiedner, Department of Surveys, His Majesty's Government, Kathmandu.

CHAPTER TWO

NEPALESE STATE TEMPLES

1. THE MAHĀDEVA TEMPLES

The Paśupati Cult

Paśupati, a form of Mahādeva (Śiva), attained unprecedented and paramount importance as state god¹ in the history of Nepal. He is, as Lévi puts it, the political incarnation of the country.² Paśupati seems originally to have been a divine patron of the Nepalese rulers,³ holding this position at least since the time of Aṃśuvarman (early 7th century). Aṃśuvarman refers to himself as someone 'who is favoured by the feet of the Lord, the divine Paśupati', 'bhagavat-Paśupati-pādānugrahitō'.⁴ Since the time of Jayasthitimalla (1382–1395) at the latest, it was customary for the kings to include in their praśāsti the title 'Paśupaticaraṇa-kamala-dhūli-dhūṣarita', 'covered with the dust of the lotus feet of Paśupati'.⁵ The present era in Nepal, which began in A.D. 879, is described as 'Śri-Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-saṃvatsara'.⁶ In the year N.S. 502, Paśupati was addressed in an inscription as the sovereign lord of Nepal, 'Nepālādhipati'.⁷ Evidently, Paśupati's role had developed from that of the ruler's divine patron to that of a national god, a new function which is reflected in the historiography of the later chronicles. There, the national life is identified with the history of the Paśupatināth temple and with the deity. Indeed, the only fact worth recording about many of the obscurer rulers of early times was some donation they made to the temple.⁸

In the later Malla period (1482–1768), when Nepal was split up into three different kingdoms, it was no longer enough to worship at his original site this deity who had become the incarnation of the state. For royal power to be legitimate, it was necessary to provide each of the three capitals with a Paśupati temple of its own as a replica of the original, i.e. an attempt was made to restore the situation which had probably existed centuries before under Aṃśuvarman, viz. the link between palace and shrine.⁹

The earliest temple of this kind is the Yakṣeśvara temple at Bhaktapur. King Yakṣamalla is said to have had a dream in which the god himself called upon him to build a copy of the original shrine¹⁰ near the palace. Not much later, the kingdom of Kathmandu followed with

¹ See Lévi, S., *Le Népal: Étude historique d'un royaume Hindou*, Paris, 1905–1908, Vol. 1, pp. 357–366; Regmi, D. R., *Medieval Nepal*, Part 1. *Early Medieval Period 750–1530 A.D.*, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 556–558; Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, pp. 563–564.

² Lévi, 1, p. 360.

³ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 563.

⁴ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, p. 556 and note 29; Bhagvanlal Indraji and G. Bühler, *Inscriptions from Nepal*, *The Indian Antiquary, A Journal of Oriental Research* 9, 1880, p. 170, Inscription No. 6.

⁵ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 563.

⁶ Petech, L., *Medieval History of Nepal (c. 750–1480)*, Roma 10, *Materials for the Study of Nepalese History and Culture* 3, Serie Orientale Roma, 1958, pp. 13, 15.

⁷ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, p. 540.

⁸ See also Lévi, 1, p. 360.

⁹ See also p. 13 and note 27.

¹⁰ See under Yakṣeśvara temple, p. 15.

the Mahendreśvara temple, and Patan with the Kumbheśvara shrine, which was, it is true, founded much earlier but which was now given a new interpretation to accord with these new religious developments. Just how important it was to legitimate royal power by providing a literal direct link between royal seat and Paśupati in order to satisfy popular feeling is shown by an incident that occurred in the kingdom of Kathmandu. We are told by a legend in Hasrat's chronicle that Queen Gaṅgā Rāni had a subterranean passage laid to connect the temple at Deopatan with her residence at Kathmandu.¹¹ Wright's history gives a different version of the story:¹² ' . . . Ganga Rani offered a flag to Pashupati-nātha, one end of which was tied to the top of his temple, and the other to the top of the durbār in Kāntipur (a distance of nearly three miles)'. This demonstration of the unity of palace and temple recurs in Pratāpamalla's reign (1641–1674). This time, Hasrat's account records how the king built a road from Kathmandu to Paśupati which he lined with temples, obviously a pilgrims' route. He, too, is said to have laid a subterranean passage between temple and palace.¹³ Here again, Wright's history tells a different tale: 'He then placed emblems of Śiva, with temples built over them, at intervals of a pace, all the way from Pashupati to Kāntipur, and hung up a patākā (flag) of cloth, extending from the temple of Pashupati to the temple of Mahādēva in Mohan-chōk in the dūrbar at Kāntipur'.¹⁴

The names of the temples are, as a rule, composed of the name of the king to whom the foundation is ascribed (or for whom it was erected) and the word Śvara, which refers to Śiva. The only apparent exception is the Paśupati temple, but here too the name contains an obvious link between Śiva as Paśupati and the royal founder—Paśuprekṣa. Within the sphere of India's cultural influence, this practice has been closely studied in one case only, viz. in connection with the Devarāja cult in Cambodia. The discussion is summarized in an article by Mabbett:¹⁵

Two features of the practice of divinisation in the erection of liṅgas or statues should therefore strike us. One is the attenuation of the claim to divinity . . . The other is the diffusion of divinity, whereby not only kings but the relatives of kings and queens, their servants, and holy men are all alike liable to be identified with Śiva, Śiva's consort, the Buddha, Prajñāpāramitā (the Buddhist perfection of Wisdom) or the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara. These are not the features of a royal cult designed to hold the population in awed subjection to a superhuman despot. They are features of an idea of divinity different from ours.¹⁶

In Nepal, too, it was the custom as early as the Licchavi period for high-ranking persons to erect Śiva-liṅgas.¹⁷ In Bengal, the deceased was generally referred to by joining his name to that of Śvara.¹⁸ In India, this way of describing a liṅga is of some antiquity. Since the Guptas at least, inscriptions prove that liṅgas and temples were erected (for rulers and for priests as well) and named in this fashion.¹⁹

The name alone will not suffice, therefore, as a criterion to account for the special position

¹¹ Hasrat, p. 66.

¹² Wright, pp. 210–211.

¹³ Hasrat, p. 76.

¹⁴ Wright, p. 216.

¹⁵ Mabbett, I. W., Devarāja, *Journal of South-East Asian History* 10, 1969, pp. 202–223.

¹⁶ Idem, p. 215.

¹⁷ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 563; see, e.g., Bhagvanlal Indraji, p. 167, Inscription No. 2 and p. 171, Inscription No. 7.

¹⁸ Chatterji, B. R., *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, Calcutta, 1928, p. 246.

¹⁹ See, e.g., Goyal, S. R., *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, Allahabad, 1967, p. 135, note 2.

of the temple buildings under discussion, since this could also apply to hundreds of other temples. It is the architectural form and the caturmukhalinga which are important. In each capital, there was only one shrine consecrated to Mahādeva having this particular shape. That the temple was named after the royal founder was a matter of luck and nothing more. Today, the names Mahendresvara and Yakṣesvara have been completely forgotten by the local population, and the temples are known by the name Paśupati only.

The Paśupatināth Temple at Deopatan

This richly embellished, two-storied edifice (Pl. I; Fig. 2) on a single-stepped base is located inside an irregularly enclosed compound on a plateau half way up the Kailāsa mountain. The building is surrounded by a bewildering variety of associated temple structures and dharmasālās. On the west, it is linked with the township of Deopatan by a road on the same level as the temple; the compound is open to the east and approached from the Āryā Ghaṭ and the Bagmati river by a stairway up a steep slope.

The roofs are copper-covered, the lower one having six roof struts or brackets on each side, the upper one four on each, as well as corner struts (Pl. XIV, a). Between the struts of the two roofs is fine-meshed lattice-work. The walls of the lower floor are marble-lined up to the cornice. The doors and the inner frame of the great portal structure are covered with silver, the outer framework with gold. The roof struts are painted with bright colours and the walls of the pradakṣiṇāpatha tiled. In the centre of the cella is a large caturmukhalinga.²⁰

The temple's foundation dates back to King Paśuprekṣa of the Somavamśa dynasty, who is said to have lived in the 3rd century A.D.²¹ According to Kirkpatrick, this king built the temple and consecrated it to 'Paśupati Mahādeo'.²² Wright's history, however, which depicts Paśuprekṣa as a culture hero, attributes to him only one of many (legendary) rebuildings of the temple.²³ It is evident that Paśuprekṣa erected this temple to his patron deity Mahādēva under the name Paśupati.²⁴ In the early seventh century, under Aṃśuvarman, the god Paśupati is mentioned for the first time in an inscription.²⁵ Since then, he has functioned as the titular deity of Nepal's rulers.²⁶ Whether Aṃśuvarman's veneration of Paśupati was reflected in any building work on the temple has not been recorded. Bhagvanlal Indraji

²⁰ A description of the liṅga can be found in: Bhagvanlal Indraji, p. 166, note 12, and in: Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, p. 557.

²¹ Regmi, D. R., *Ancient Nepal*, Calcutta, 1969, p. 277; Jayaswal, K. P., *Chronology and History of Nepal, 600 B.C. to A.D. 880*, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 22, 1936. Jayaswal writes about the conquest of Nepal by the Licchavis (on p. 258): 'They annexed Nepal about A.D. 200 and established a direct government there, marking the event with the installation of Paśupati—which is a Mukhalinga of the style of the Nāga-Vākātakas, i.e. of the period.' An inscription on the Paśupatināth mentions that the 'ancestor' of the Licchavi kings came from Paśupura (Hasrat, p. XXVIII). This would mean an extraordinary identification of the Licchavi with Paśu.

²² Kirkpatrick, W. J., *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, reprint, New Delhi, 1969, p. 188; see also Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, p. 277.

²³ Wright, p. 113; see also Hasrat, p. 36.

²⁴ Named after King Mānadeva were, e.g.: a cult image Māneśvara, his palace Mānagṛha and a monastery Māna-vihāra (according to Jayaswal, p. 188). The name Paśuprekṣa is taken to mean 'he who has beheld Paśu (pati)'; see Uebach, H., *Das Nepalamāhātmyam des Skandapurānam. Legenden um die hinduistischen Heiligtümer Nepals*, München, 1970, p. 6. See also note 21.

²⁵ Bhagvanlal Indraji, p. 171: 'The illustrious Aṃśuvarman, who has been favoured by the feet of the divine Lord Paśupati, . . .'

²⁶ Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, pp. 284, 286.

identifies the hill north of the temple with the site on which Aṃśuvarman is said to have built his famous palace, Kailāsa-kūṭa.²⁷ This would produce an obvious link between the ruler's seat and the temple of the ruler's titular deity.

The beginning of a new era in Nepal, that of Śrī-Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-saṃvatsara in A.D. 879, is associated with some event at the shrine, but we are unaware of its exact nature.²⁸ Banerjee suggested tentatively that the temple was converted in that year from a śikhara into a multi-roofed building.²⁹ However, no actual construction data are available before the 14th century.

King Anantamalla (1274–1310) is said to have rebuilt the temple roofs and lined them with gold.³⁰ In A.D. 1349, Paśupati's liṅga was smashed in three parts by the troops of Sultān Shams ud-dīn Ilyās of Bengal.³¹ It is likely that the temple itself was destroyed as well, since every town in the Valley is reported to have been burnt down during these raids.³² The liṅga of Paśupati was replaced by a new one as early as A.D. 1360 at the order of Jayasiṃharāma.³³ The temple building was probably restored at the same time, likewise in its old form. In the year N.S. 533 (A.D. 1413). King Jyotirmalla (1409–1428) endowed a golden kalaśa and a flag for the top of the temple.³⁴ By the reign of this king at the latest, the building must have assumed its present form.³⁵ In the year N.S. 549 (A.D. 1429), a certain Jayasiṃhamalla of Patan had the temple renovated.³⁶ King Mahendramalla (1560–1574) probably added a third story to the two-storied building.³⁷ It is reported that shortly afterwards, in A.D. 1585, the temple was re-restored to its original state under Queen Gaṅgā Rānī. 'In 705 of the Nepal era this Rani having obtained the permission of Nityānanda took off one storey of Paśupatinath's temple which had three stories. . . .'³⁸ King Pratāpamalla (1641–1674) had extensive

²⁷ Bhagvanlal Indrajī, p. 170, note 23: 'Kailāsakūṭa is at present the name of a large mound about forty feet high situated to the north of Paśupati's temple. It is covered with ruins, and no doubt it is the site of the palace mentioned in this inscription and the following ones.' Thakur Lal Manandhar, who is also of the opinion that the Kailāsakūṭa palace stood at this spot, reports that until about fifty years ago there was an accumulation of column stumps and other architectural remains to be seen. The hilltop has been completely levelled and one solitary fragment of a Gupta pillar recalls the buildings that formerly occupied this site.

An account of the views held by Lévi, Petech and Regmi on the location of this palace can be found in: Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, p. 238.

²⁸ Petech, p. 15.

²⁹ According to Banerjee, N. R., *Inscriptional Evidence on the Preservation of Monuments in Nepal, Ancient Nepal. Journal of the Department of Archaeology*, 13, 1970, p. 53; the article supporting this view was to appear in *East and West*, but has not yet been published.

³⁰ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, p. 247.

³¹ Petech, p. 118.

³² Idem, pp. 118–120.

³³ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, pp. 316, 325; Banerjee, *Inscriptional Evidence*, p. 53, gives 1381 as date; Petech, p. 147, mentions a manuscript in which building work on the Paśupati temple, is attributed to Jayasiṃharāma, but it is not clear whether this was renovation of the principal shrine or work on a secondary shrine. In the context of the building's history, the passage probably refers to the rebuilding of the principal shrine with its liṅga.

³⁴ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, p. 414; Petech, p. 155; Bhagvanlal Indrajī, p. 184; Banerjee, *Inscriptional Evidence*, p. 53.

³⁵ The Yakṣeśvara temple at Bhaktapur was erected as early as 1460 and is a copy of the Paśupati temple at Deopatan.

³⁶ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, pp. 448–449, idem, 2, p. 259.

³⁷ Shrestha and Singh, *History of Ancient and Medieval Nepal*, 1, Kathmandu, 1972, pp. 33, 50; see also Banerjee, *Inscriptional Evidence*, p. 53.

³⁸ Hasrat, p. 66; see also Wright, p. 210. According to Wright, the queen used the gold of the removed roof for a gajura.

construction work carried out in the temple precincts. He endowed a new finial for the temple and built up Āryā Ghaṭ (Fig. 2) on the Bagmati below the temple.³⁹ Pratāpa's successor, King Nṛpendramalla (1674–1680) is said to have covered the roofs with gilt copper slabs.⁴⁰ The western and southern portal structures, including the toraṇas, were donated by this king's most powerful minister, Devīdās, in the year N.S. 796 (A.D. 1676).⁴¹ Hasrat reports repair work done by Pārthivendramalla (1680–1687) and apparently completed within twenty-four hours.⁴² In A.D. 1696, more work on the temple became necessary, and this was carried out by Rddhilakṣmī.

'We learn from the Thyāsapu A that the termites had attacked the door frames of the temple on 815 Āśvina śukla 9 ādityavāra. The termites in course of time had eaten the wooden frames of other parts of the structure. The temple was going to topple down. . . .'

According to the Thyāsapu A 817 Kārtika kṛṣṇa 13 svāti . . . , this day the finial of the top of the temple of Paśupati-nātha was taken out and the temple structure was broken. On Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 6 hastā . . . , the new construction began. Five days later, on the day of ekādaśī . . . , the door frames were set up. Later in the month of Chaitra on kṛṣṇa 6 . . . , Koṭyāhuti was begun with the lighting of fire. On Vaiśākha śukla 11 . . . the finial was placed on the temple, a garland-like gold chain was offered, there was the great bath and also the great sacrifice (mahāvali), flagstaves came up, on Jyeṣṭha śukla 9 . . . Koṭyāhuti was completed, after four days both the king and the queen mother returned. Their coming back was ceremonial.⁴³

This reconstruction took seven months.⁴⁴ Evidently, important sections of the woodwork, such as the portal frames, were replaced at the same time, but the overall conception of the building was not altered.

King Jayaprakāśamalla (1736–1768) stole the temple treasures and removed the golden gajura.⁴⁵ Under King Rāṇā Bahādūr Shāh (1778–1806), a number of donations were made to the temple, and the gajura was probably also replaced.⁴⁶ Under King Gīrvāṇ Yuddha Vikram Shāh, more donations were made to the temple.⁴⁷ The building survived the earthquakes of 1810⁴⁸ and 1833⁴⁹ without damage. Under King Rājendra Vikram Shāh (1817–1847), General Bhīmsen Thāpā donated golden and silver doors for the southern side of the temple in 1820.⁵⁰ Subā Kulānand Jhā had silver doors made in 1834 for the other three sides.⁵¹ In 1838, the copper-covered roofs of the building were restored.⁵² In 1925, under Chandra

³⁹ Wright, p. 216; Hasrat, p. 76; Banerjee, *Inscriptional Evidence*, p. 53; Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, pp. 80–81, 100–101.

⁴⁰ Banerjee, *Inscriptional Evidence*, p. 54.

⁴¹ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 910; also for a detailed description of these portals. See also Hasrat, pp. 79–80, who attributes the gift of a toraṇa to one of Parthivendramalla's ministers.

⁴² Hasrat, p. 80.

⁴³ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 151.

⁴⁴ Banerjee, *Inscriptional Evidence*, p. 54.

⁴⁵ Wright, p. 228.

⁴⁶ *Idem*, pp. 257, 260–262; Hasrat, p. 94.

⁴⁷ Wright, p. 265; Hasrat, p. 97.

⁴⁸ Wright, p. 265.

⁴⁹ *Idem*, p. 270.

⁵⁰ *Idem*, p. 266: 'In this reign, in Vik. S. 1877 (A.D. 1820), General Bhīmasēna offered gold and silver doors to the southern side of the temple of Paśupati-nātha. Afterwards, with the permission of the Rājā, he made silver doors for the temple, placing four in the inner apartment and one in each of the four outer sides.' But see Wright, p. 272; according to Banerjee, *Inscriptional Evidence*, p. 54, there is an inscription on the toraṇa of the southern portal; see also Hasrat, p. 98.

⁵¹ Wright, p. 272.

⁵² *Ibid.*, see also Wright, p. 266; Hasrat, p. 98.

Shumsher Jung Bahādūr Rānā, the woodwork of the temple was painted to embellish and protect it; the roofing was renewed with gilt copper slabs.⁵³ In addition, the outer walls were faced with marble. The temple was not damaged by the earthquake of 1934 either.⁵⁴ In 1967 the entire temple underwent thorough restoration, the woodwork was repainted, and the silver portals cleaned and mended.⁵⁵

The Yakṣeśvara Temple at Bhaktapur

This huge temple is situated at the south-eastern corner of the durbār square, at the junction of the southern approach from the town to the palace area. Since the building is on the edge of a plateau, it must at one time have been a prominent landmark.

It is a two-storied building on a single-stepped base. The lower roof has six struts on each side, the upper roof four on each, as well as corner struts. All the roof struts are reinforced with strips along the edges. The frame sections of the portal structures are coarsely worked and of recent origin. The moulded thresholds on all four sides consist of three blocks each. The central blocks in each case have mortises on the outer sides, indicating that these blocks were formerly used as thresholds in other tripartite portal structures having much smaller dimensions. Only in their present context have they been extended by the blocks on either side. The side length of the outer walls is generally 10.13 metres, that of the cella 4.46 metres. The pradakṣiṇāpatha is unusually wide for the size of the cella. This fact and the origin of the threshold in a much smaller portal suggest that the building was enlarged, with the core (the cella) being unaffected and only the outer wall displaced.

The temple was erected in A.D. 1460 (V.S. 1517) by King Yakṣamalla (1428–1482)⁵⁶ and consecrated to Mahādeva under the name Yakṣeśvara.⁵⁷ A local legend⁵⁸ relates how Mahādeva appeared to King Yakṣamalla in a dream and called upon him to erect a replica of the Paśupatināth temple at Deopatan (Pl. I) beside his own palace of Bhaktapur, so that the king would not have to cover the long distance from Bhaktapur to Deopatan every morning. There is no inscriptional evidence of this. Only two inscriptions have been preserved, the first dating from the year N.S. 607 and the second from the year N.S. 614.⁵⁹

Wright's chronicle ascribes the erection of this temple, as well as the Nārāyaṇa temple situated at the same site, to King Jitāmitramalla (1673–1696).⁶⁰ Construction is said to have taken place in the year A.D. 1682 (N.S. 802). Since, however, Jitāmitramalla cannot be considered the founder of the temple, he may have been responsible for an extension which amounted to a complete rebuilding.⁶¹ The earthquake of 1934 caused serious damage to the temple.⁶² Most of the woodwork evidently had to be renewed during reconstruction.

⁵³ Banerjee, *Inscriptional Evidence*, p. 54.

⁵⁴ Rana, *Brahma Shumsher Jang Bahadur, Nepālko mahābhūkampa*, 2nd ed., Kathmandu, 1935, p. 117.

⁵⁵ Banerjee, *Inscriptional Evidence*, p. 54.

⁵⁶ Rana, *Nepālko mahābhūkampa*, p. 117.

⁵⁷ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, p. 459.

⁵⁸ According to information supplied by Mr. K. P. Shrestha, Bhaktapur.

⁵⁹ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, p. 455, and No. LXXVI of the Appendix; Idem, 1, p. 459, and No. LXXVIII of the Appendix. According to Mr. K. P. Shrestha, a recently published article in *Pūrṇimā* shows that the two inscriptions are merely dedications of an already existing temple, and not the inscriptional recording of a new establishment, as Regmi maintains.

⁶⁰ Wright, pp. 192–193.

⁶¹ See description of the building.

⁶² Rana, *Nepālko mahābhūkampa*, p. 117.

The Mahendreśvara Temple at Kathmandu

This two-storied building stood at the north-eastern corner of the durbār square on the site occupied by today's simple shrine. The bazaar road coming from the south-west (the India-Tibet road) led straight to the temple and turned west at this point. The material handed down is too scanty to permit anything definite to be said about any typological variations in the building.

The temple was erected by King Mahendramalla (1560–1574) in conjunction with his new palace.⁶³ Hasrat's chronicle reports: 'The Rajah built a temple to the north and close to his palace in which he placed a liṅga of Mahādeva called after his name Mahendreśvar'.⁶⁴ No inscription recording the foundation has survived. All that is documented by inscription is a donation made by Lakṣmīnaraśiṃhamalla (1620–1641) in the year A.D. 1641 (N.S. 761).⁶⁵

In 1934, the great earthquake caused a complete collapse of the building.⁶⁶ It was not rebuilt in its old form, and in its place stands today's modest shrine.

The Kumbheśvara Temple at Patan

This slender, high, five-storied edifice is situated within an enclosed sacred precinct in the north of Patan on the town's north-south axis, at the other end of which is the Matsyendra-nāth temple. The land falls away sharply at this point towards the river flats. In contrast with the normal type, the temple has two cult images, and is erected not on a square, but on a rectangular plan. The narrow sides face north and south. Only the uppermost roof of the building is copper-covered; the first and second roofs have six struts on each side, the third and fourth four on each side, the fifth two, and all have corner struts as well. In spite of the rectangular shape, all four sides have the same number of struts; between the struts of the lowest roof is fine-meshed lattice-work. There is no particular threshold. The ambulatory is interrupted in the south-western corner by a chamber, which can be reached through the left-hand portal opening on the southern side. The side lengths are 7.60 metres and 8 metres.

Standing on a round, stone yoni in the centre of the building is the Sarveśvara-liṅga, consisting of a simple stone liṅga over which a gilt, embossed copper caturmukhaliṅga like that of Paśupatināth has been placed. In the north-east corner of the cella there is said to be a second liṅga consecrated to Kumbheśvara. Since this has been moved away from the centre of the structure, it cannot be the main cult object. The temple's construction does suggest an effort to create the impression of a building on a square plan but the discrepancy points to a complicated history.

According to legend, the Sarveśvara-liṅga located in the centre of the structure is the fixed point from which the foundation of Patan took place.⁶⁷ This central position reflects the political pretensions embodied in the name of the liṅga—Sarveśvara. The Kumbheśvara-liṅga

⁶³ For a description of the temple and the liṅga see Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 884; according to Rana, *Nepālko mahābhūkampa*, p. 114, the temple was built in the year V.S. 1621 (A.D. 1564).

⁶⁴ Hasrat, p. 63; see also Wright, p. 207, where there is mention of a 'Mahindrēśvari' and a 'Paśupatinātha' temple which the king is said to have erected near his palace. This is presumably a misunderstanding, for 1) the use of the name Paśupati at that time is odd; 2) Hasrat's history mentions only one temple and the name given is of the normal type. Wright's statement would only apply on the hypothesis that King Mahendra had built one temple to Śiva as Paśupati and another to the śakti, giving the latter his own name. However, such a procedure would be unique. It is more likely that the Buddhist author of Wright's history was mistaken.

⁶⁵ The inscription records the gift of a Guthi; see Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, pp. 59 and 64. Such a gift does, however, indicate that the temple's structure at the time was in a good condition.

⁶⁶ Rana, *Nepālko mahābhūkampa*, p. 115.

⁶⁷ Wright, pp. 134–135; for another version, see Hasrat, pp. 43–44.

is said by the Nepālamahātmya to have been set up by a muni called Kumbhasambhava (= Agastya) and given the name Kumbheśvara.⁶⁸ The temple site is undoubtedly very ancient, as Patan's foundation legend suggests. In the course of its history, it acquired several layers of meaning in keeping with changes in the cult. It was during one of these processes that the Sarveśvara-liṅga became identified, at a rather late date, with the liṅga of Paśupati.

It is possible that a building at this site was destroyed during the devastations of 1349.⁶⁹ Wright's chronicle ascribes the construction of a two-storied temple and the renovation of the entire temple precinct to King Jayasthitimalla (1382–1395).⁷⁰ An inscription dating from the year A.D. 1392, on the other hand, says that the temple was erected by a certain Ananta Lakṣmī during the reign of Jayasthitimalla.⁷¹ In A.D. 1663 a fire raged in Patan which destroyed large parts of the town.⁷² Nine years later, in A.D. 1672, King Śrinivasāmalla (1661–1684) built a two-storied edifice with the caturmukhalinga as its cult image.⁷³ Since that time, the Sarveśvara-liṅga has been identified with the Paśupati-liṅga. This two-storied building was given three stories more, to make five in all, by King Yoganarendramalla (1684–1705).⁷⁴ According to Bendall, there was a long inscription dating from the year N.S. 921 (A.D. 1801) in the main temple, which recorded renovation work.⁷⁵ The earthquake of A.D. 1833 largely destroyed the building.⁷⁶ The present Kumbheśvara temple derives from the period after 1833, but incorporates a few older elements. In 1934, it was again damaged by an earthquake,⁷⁷ but subsequently restored when King Mahendra had thorough renovation carried out.⁷⁸ The building is said to have had a double core at one time, probably before 1833, which was carried up to the second story. Between the two cores was a narrow passage, which could not, however, be used as an additional pradakṣiṇāpatha.⁷⁹ This second core may have been inserted for static safety at the time of the heightening work ordered by King Yoganarendramalla. The inner core, which probably reached as far as the third floor, would then only have had to bear the load of the fourth and fifth stories.⁸⁰

The Gokarṇeśvara Temple at Gokarna

The three-storied temple on a single-stepped base is situated on a small plateau recessed in a hillside with an abrupt slope toward the Bagmati in the south-east (Pl. II, a). A steep stairway links temple precincts and river.

⁶⁸ Uebach, pp. 141–144; in Hasrat's history, the temple is given the name Kāmeśvara. This deity is associated with King Guṇakāmadeva (Hasrat, pp. 44 and 46). Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, p. 596, reports that King Guṇakāmadeva erected a temple under his name.

⁶⁹ Petech, pp. 119–120.

⁷⁰ Wright, p. 183.

⁷¹ Petech, p. 135; Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, pp. 357, 600. The inscription is reproduced in: Bendall, C., *A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research in Nepal and Northern India During the Winter of 1884–5*, Cambridge, 1886, pp. 83–87.

⁷² Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 285.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Hasrat, p. 70; Wright's chronicle attributes this to the earlier King Śrinivāsāmalla (Wright, p. 245), but in this case Hasrat's information seems more reliable.

⁷⁵ Bendall, *A Journey*, p. 12; Plate IV reproduces a view of the building in the year 1884, which largely tallies with its appearance today.

⁷⁶ Hasrat, p. 70, note 3; Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 601.

⁷⁷ According to Rana, *Nepālko mahābhūkampa*, p. 116, the building was completely destroyed; see, however, Regmi's supposition, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, p. 601.

⁷⁸ Shah, M. B. B., *Sudhāra kārya vivaraṇa (sacitra)*, Kathmandu, 1960, pp. 170–171.

⁷⁹ According to information supplied by the temple priest.

⁸⁰ The building probably had a structure comparable with the Vaikuṅṭha Perumāḷ temple at Kanchi.

Only the uppermost roof is copper-covered. The lowest roof has six struts on each side, the middle roof four each, the topmost two each, as well as corner struts. The eastern side is emphasized as main façade by a toraṇa on a metal-lined base. The sides are 9.4 metres long, with variations. Unlike the temples associated with Paśupati, it has no caturmukhaliṅga.⁸¹

Very little is known of the history of the shrine, but it is likely that Gokarṇeśvara is one of the oldest temple sites in the Valley. Legend relates that the foundation goes back to the time before the Kirāṭa dynasty: '... one of the Rajahs named Gokarṇa obtained a boon from a deity by serving him and constituting a Liṅga of Mahādeva after his own name—Gokarṇeśvara.'⁸² The chronicles relate that the durbār of the Kirāṭas was located at this point.⁸³ The identity of the place named Gokarṇa, which is mentioned in the Monghyr inscription of Devapāla of Bengal dating roughly from the year A.D. 800, is still unsettled.⁸⁴

Under King Jayasthitimalla (1382–1395) there was a thorough-going religious reorientation.⁸⁵ Today's tradition ascribes the building of the temple to this king.⁸⁶ In A.D. 1583 (N.S. 703), during the reign of Śivasimhamalla (1578–1620), a new gajura was installed.⁸⁷ In A.D. 1851 (V.S. 1907) a fire destroyed large sections of the temple.⁸⁸ The subsequent reconstruction saw a renewal of all woodwork above the cornice. Whether the third story was added on this occasion cannot be confirmed.⁸⁹ The reconstruction was accompanied by a general renovation of the entire temple compound, since most of the free-standing cult images derive from this time. The earthquake of A.D. 1934 caused no damage.⁹⁰ Further renovation was carried out by King Mahendra Vīr Vikram Shāh.

The Tripureśvara Temple at Kathmandu

The huge, three-storied edifice stands on a high, multi-stepped base inside a regular, octagonal square above the Bagmati, overlooking Tripureśvar, a district of Kathmandu which has only recently been settled. The temple precinct is linked by a stairway to the river below and its many ghaṭs. The base has five steps, and there are secondary shrines in the corners: in the south-east a Bhairava, in the south-west a Gaṇeśa, in the north-west a Bhagavatī and in the north-east a Satyā-Nārāyaṇa shrine.

The two upper roofs of the temple are copper-covered. The lowest has six struts on each side, the middle one four on each and the uppermost roof two, as well as corner struts. The

⁸¹ A ground plan of the entire temple complex can be found in: *The Physical Development Plan for the Kathmandu Valley*, published by His Majesty's Government of Nepal, Department of Housing and Physical Planning, Kathmandu, 1969, p. 107.

⁸² Hasrat, p. 12.

⁸³ Idem, p. 35; Wright, p. 112.

⁸⁴ For this discussion, see Petech, p. 30; Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, pp. 87–100; in this connection, Regmi even believes that the temple compound may have existed only since the 14th century and that the locality was previously quite unimportant (idem, 1, p. 92).

⁸⁵ Hasrat, p. 56; Wright, p. 183.

⁸⁶ According to information supplied by the temple priest.

⁸⁷ Shah, *Sudhāra kārya vivaraṇa*, p. 29.

⁸⁸ According to information supplied by the temple priest; on the portals there are still clear traces of the fire.

⁸⁹ At any rate, Jayasthitimalla's building probably had two stories only, since it was not until Mahendramalla's time that certain temples were given more than two stories.

⁹⁰ Shah, *Sudhāra kārya vivaraṇa*, p. 19.

lowest story of the building is extremely high, giving the temple as a whole a commanding height; the scale of the various elements of the portals and cornice was misunderstood and distorted; the lintel ends are rounded off like those of the Taleju temple. The latter may well have served as a model in other respects as well. Unlike the shrine associated with Paśupati, this building has no caturmukhaliṅga.

The edifice, a generously dimensioned structure, along with the courtyard buildings surrounding the temple, a stairway to the Bagmati and the ghats on the river bank, were all built in A.D. 1817–1818 by Queen Lalitatripurasundari in honour of her late husband, King Rāṇā Bahādūr Shāh.⁹¹ Wright's chronicle, however, tells us that the temple was built to obtain salvation for Lalitatripurasundari.⁹² Certainly, the combination of part of a woman's name with one of Śiva's, as in Tripureśvara, is unusual. The earthquake of 1833 damaged the temple: 'The top of Tripurēswara temple also fell down.'⁹³ The inscription on a pillar in front of the temple recording its foundation supplies details of the construction work:

She employed, with the permission of her grandson, the minister Bhīmasena, the Upādhyāya and other Brāhman̄s for the execution of this work and for the ceremonies incidental thereto. On the 9th of the bright half of Ashāḍha, Vikrama Saṁvat 1874, a Monday the śilādhivāsana, the worship of the stones for the building was performed. The cornerstone was laid (śilāpraveśa) on the 9th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada of the same year, and on the 3rd day of the bright half of Māgha, of the following year, a Monday, the Liṅga of Śiva was consecrated. At all these ceremonies the royal Guru, Raṅganātha, presided. On the 5th day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha V.S. 1875 the temple itself was consecrated, and finally on the 10th of the dark half of Jeth 1877 a Dharmasālā and a staircase leading to the river Vāgmati, a garden and a bell were made over to the temple.⁹⁴

2. THE NĀRĀYAṆA TEMPLES

The Nārāyaṇa Cult

Vaiṣṇavism must have been of great importance for the state in early Nepalese history. The names of the two principal rivers in the Nepal Valley, Bagmati and Vishnumati, reflect this.⁹⁵ The spread of Vaiṣṇavism during the Licchavi period in Nepal must be ascribed as much to the royal protection the sect received, possibly emulating the imperial Guptas of India, as to the growing flood of the popular bhakti cult.⁹⁶ In front of the Cāṅgu Nārāyaṇa temple stands a pillar which at one time was crowned by a garuḍa and bore an inscription of King Mānadeva. The pillar is generally ascribed to King Haridatta (c. A.D. 400),⁹⁷ who is also said to have introduced Vaiṣṇavism into Nepal as the royal cult, taking the Guptas in India as his model.⁹⁸ The emblem of the Guptas was the garuḍa, Viṣṇu's vehicle. In an inscription, Skandagupta refers to his agents in the various parts of his empire as garuḍas and to enemy kings as nāgas, i.e. snakes.⁹⁹ Nāgas are garuḍa's natural enemies. A mythological figure was here converted

⁹¹ Bhagvanlal Indrajī, p. 194; Wright, p. 266; Hasrat, p. 98.

⁹² Wright, p. 266.

⁹³ Idem, p. 270.

⁹⁴ Bhagvanlal Indrajī, p. 194.

⁹⁵ Pal, P. *Vaiṣṇava Iconology in Nepal. A Study in Art and Religion*, Calcutta, p. 1.

⁹⁶ Idem, p. 6.

⁹⁷ Jayaswal, p. 209; Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, p. 276.

⁹⁸ Jayaswal, pp. 209–210.

⁹⁹ Goyal, S. R., *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, Allahabad, 1967, p. 139, after Fleet, *Corpus*, III, p. 62.

into a political symbol. The pillar in front of Cāngu Nārāyaṇa must be seen in this context. Jayaswal deduces rightly that the Garuḍa pillar implies Gupta supremacy in Nepal.¹⁰⁰ It is a mark of sovereignty set up at the reigning house's chief cult site. Those countries of the time which were not subject to the Guptas had Śaivism as their 'state religion'. Mānadeva's inscription on this pillar compares the king's parents with Hari (Viṣṇu) and Lakṣmī.¹⁰¹

In the Nepal Valley there are four Nārāyaṇa sanctuaries, located at the four cardinal points on the edge of the Valley: Cāngu Nārāyaṇa in the east, Bishankhu in the south, Icāngu in the west and Būdhānilakaṇṭha in the north. Even today it is said to be the custom for all four shrines to be visited in one day.¹⁰² This custom amounts to a ceremonial circumambulation of the Valley.

Hasrat's chronicle makes several references in various contexts to four Nārāyaṇas, and offers different lists of names. With regard to King Haridatta, this chronicle relates, 'He used to go daily to worship the four Nārāyaṇas, namely Chāngu, Sishya or Sikhor, Viśāṅku and Ichāṅgu'.¹⁰³ There follows a description of the transfer to Būdhānilakaṇṭha of a fifth original Nārāyaṇa from the old destroyed capital Viśālnagar.

After a considerable time in this way one night he saw in a dream Jalāsyana Nārāyaṇa, who told him that he need not take the trouble of going to the four Nārāyaṇas daily, but should dig up the image of the said Jalāsyana which was lying under the ground in the bed of the Rudramati: for that image was the original Nārāyaṇa of Viśāla Nagar as Haridattavarma might prove by removing the earth with which it was covered. Accordingly, the Rajah ordered the work to be commenced; . . . and the Rajah installed the image in a sleeping posture in a tank which he built for the purpose. He likewise built the temple of the four Nārāyaṇas.¹⁰⁴

This legend is obviously the outcome of an interweaving of several historical lines of development and religious constellations. It presupposes the destruction of Viśālnagar, which did not take place till four centuries after Haridatta (in the eighth or ninth century). What is more, a fourfold oriented Nārāyaṇa constellation, consisting of different incarnations of this deity,¹⁰⁵ is overlaid by a Jalāsyana constellation. Elsewhere, Hasrat gives the following names: Jalāsyana, Vaneśvar Jalāsyana, Jñāneśvar Jalāsyana and Avasthān Jalāsyana.¹⁰⁶ The four (five)

¹⁰⁰ Jayaswal, p. 209.

¹⁰¹ Pal, Vaiṣṇava Iconology, p. 2.

¹⁰² According to information supplied by Thakur Lal Manandhar.

¹⁰³ Hasrat, p. 36; see also the list in: Wright, p. 114, and in Hasrat, p. 58, note 4.

¹⁰⁴ Hasrat, pp. 36-37; Wright, p. 114, contains a similar account. The same motif is used in the legend surrounding the foundation of Icāngu; see Hasrat, p. 59.

¹⁰⁵ See Hasrat, p. 25: 'The four Nārāyaṇas with their respective gaṇas or followers are Śrī Chāngu Nārāyaṇa whose gaṇa is Chinnamastā; Śiṣya Nārāyaṇa whose satellite is Sishali and Ichāngu Nārāyaṇa whose gaṇa is Maheśvari.'

¹⁰⁶ Hasrat, p. 28; Vaneśvar at least might be a place-name as well.

It was after completing the present study that I had access to Slusser's extremely valuable article: Slusser, M. Sh. and Gautamavajra Vajracarja, Some Nepalese Stone Sculptures: A Reappraisal within their Cultural and Historical Context, *Artibus Asiae* 35, 1973, pp. 79-138. Slusser names three Jalāsyana Nārāyaṇa images in the Kathmandu Valley, viz. at Būdhānilakaṇṭha, at Bālanīlakaṇṭha and one in the Hanūmān Dhokā at Kathmandu. One more is said to exist at Palāñok (outside the Valley), but this was executed much later. No reason is given for the astonishing fact that there are three images of this kind in the Kathmandu Valley; the relationship between the three icons is also obscure, since the writers do not take account of the maṇḍala ideas on which the constellation is based. To this must be added the fact that one of these images, which had previously been located elsewhere, was installed by Pratāpamalla in his palace, i.e. at the new centre. It would not be very surprising if the three images Slusser mentioned were joined by a fourth in the Kathmandu Valley.

Nārāyaṇas clearly form a maṇḍala which treats Nepal as an epitome of the cosmos. In order to maintain his realm, King Haridatta had to pace round it daily by visiting the four Nārāyaṇas. This was hardly feasible owing to the distances involved, but the underlying idea is that the king had to perform a ceremonial circumambulation of his kingdom. The extent of his realm (the maṇḍala) is marked off by a cruciform system with the four Nārāyaṇas at the extremities and the central Nārāyaṇa at the point of intersection in the capital. Just how powerful this maṇḍala concept must have been is shown by the fact that this fourfold orientation of the whole country based on the four (five) Nārāyaṇas was superseded by a similar Buddhist pattern, with stūpas being used as marker points which were called the four Buddhist Nārāyaṇas.¹⁰⁷

Under King Jayasthitimalla (1382–1395), there was a revival of Vaiṣṇavism in the kingdom. Just as King Mānadeva had compared his parents to Hari and Lakṣmī, so Jayasthiti now describes himself as an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa.¹⁰⁸ This custom of regarding the rulers of Nepal as incarnations of Nārāyaṇa has survived to this day.¹⁰⁹ The symbol of the four Nārāyaṇas distributed across the country also acquired fresh significance in the Malla period. King Viśvamalla of Bhaktapur (1547–1560) is said to have come to Deopatan in the kingdom of Kathmandu to obtain permission from the local ruler to install the four Nārāyaṇas at the four cardinal points in the temple of Paśupati.¹¹⁰ The Paśupati-liṅga would then have been given a new interpretation as the central Nārāyaṇa.

It was not only the Nepal Valley itself which was given this pattern based on four Nārāyaṇas. The notion seems to have been applied, at a later date, to the three capitals of the Valley as well. In Kathmandu, at any rate, there are four Nārāyaṇa-sanctuaries which are visited by the population on a certain day every year.¹¹¹ At the time when King Viśvamalla of Bhaktapur has the four Nārāyaṇas installed in the Paśupati temple, the first Nārāyaṇa shrine was erected in a durbār square at Patan (Pl. V, b), viz. in A.D. 1566. Inside this shrine is a cult image facing the four cardinal points (Pl. VII, b) after the fashion of a caturmukhaliṅga or caturmukhacaitya.¹¹² According to the inscription in front of the temple Nārāyaṇa is to be found in the centre of the cult image, though invisible.¹¹³ At the four sides of this core are full-figure representations of Saṃkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, each at one point of the compass, as the four emanations of the central Nārāyaṇa, each having its counterpart in one of the four Nārāyaṇas on the edge of the Valley. The centre, once located in Viśālānagar, has now been moved to the capitals of tripartite Nepal and to a temple in front of the palace. The Nārāyaṇa shrine at Patan seems to be the first in this series of buildings. In the Jagannāth at Kathmandu (Pl. V, a), the date of construction of which is uncertain, there is a cult image just like that at Patan (Pl. VII, b). The corresponding Dvārikānāth temple at Bhaktapur (Pl. III, b) now has a more recent cult image.

¹⁰⁷ See Hasrat, p. 37.

¹⁰⁸ Pal, *Vaiṣṇava Iconology*, p. 10; Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, p. 484.

¹⁰⁹ Pal, *Vaiṣṇava Iconology*, p. 10.

¹¹⁰ Wright, p. 190; Hasrat, pp. 58–59.

¹¹¹ According to information supplied by Thakur Lal Manandhar.

¹¹² See Pal, *Vaiṣṇava Iconology*, pp. 68–69; unfortunately, Pal does not include the cult images installed in the Nārāyaṇa temple at Patan and in the Jagannāth temple at Kathmandu. A description of such an image can be found in: Waldschmidt, E. and R. L., *Nepal. Kunst aus dem Königreich im Himalaya*, Recklinghausen, 1967, Kat. Nr. 19.

¹¹³ See note 135, p. 23.

The Cāngu Nārāyaṇa Temple at Changu

This temple is an imposing landmark for almost the entire Nepal Valley. The two-storied building (Pl. III, a) on a double-stepped platform stands in the middle of a large, rectangular, enclosed courtyard on a steep, high ridge, the Dolagiri, which juts out into the Valley from the east.¹¹⁴

The upper roof is copper-covered and has four struts on each side, the lower roof six on each, as well as corner struts. The roof struts have been widened in recent times by having two strips added to each. The main façade of the building is marked by a portal structure faced with embossed copper.

According to Bhagvanlal Indraji, the temple contains an image of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa.¹¹⁵

Cāngu Nārāyaṇa is one of the oldest and most important temple sites in the Nepal Valley. It is here that the earliest inscription recorded in Nepal, issued by King Mānadeva (A.D. 464–A.D. 503) has been preserved.¹¹⁶ It was engraved on a Garuḍa pillar said to have been installed by King Haridatta (c. A.D. 400).¹¹⁷ The temple was formerly one of a group of four Nārāyaṇa temples distributed over the Valley at the four cardinal points.¹¹⁸ It is reported that King Haridatta visited these Nārāyaṇa temples daily.¹¹⁹ The temple is mentioned in an inscription of Aṃśuvarman dating from the year Saṃvat 32 (600–603).¹²⁰ Aṃśuvarman is also credited with making a donation to the temple.¹²¹ It is possible that the building was destroyed in A.D. 1349 by the troops of Sultān Shams ud-dīn Ilyās of Bengal.¹²² A shrine certainly did stand on this site during the reign of King Jayasthitimalla (1382–1395), for it is recorded that the king often visited Cāngu Nārāyaṇa.¹²³ Moreover, the rulers of Nepal regarded themselves subsequently as incarnations of Viṣṇu.¹²⁴

King Viśvamalla of Bhaktapur (1547–1560) is said to have erected a new edifice on the ruins of the collapsed temple.¹²⁵ In the year N.S. 705 (A.D. 1585), Queen Gaṅgā Rānī had restoration work carried out.¹²⁶ This queen promoted construction on an extensive scale; she had, *inter alia*, the Paśupati temple re-restored to an orthodox form.

At the close of the 17th century, the temple having fallen into decay, repair work is reported to have been carried out by King Pārthivendramalla (1680–1687).¹²⁷ In the reign of Bhūpālendramalla (1687–1700), the king's mother Rddhilakṣmī, ordered extensive renovation of the temple. On this work being completed in the year N.S. 814 (A.D. 1694), a large

¹¹⁴ A ground plan of the entire temple complex without the interior structure can be found in: *The Physical Development Plan for the Kathmandu Valley*, p. 107.

¹¹⁵ Bhagvanlal Indraji, p. 163, note 1.

¹¹⁶ *Idem*, p. 163 et seq.

¹¹⁷ Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, p. 276; Jayaswal, p. 209; a description of the pillar can be found in: Bhagvanlal Indraji, p. 163.

¹¹⁸ For lists of the names of these four sanctuaries, see Hasrat, pp. 36, 58–59, and Wright, p. 114.

¹¹⁹ Hasrat, pp. 36–37; Wright, p. 114.

¹²⁰ Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, p. 165; according to Jayaswal, p. 209, note 1 (after Lévi) the original name of the temple was Dolaśikharaśvāmin.

¹²¹ Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, p. 166; Aṃśuvarman is here said to have dedicated a kavaca to the divinity.

¹²² There is no actual report of this, but it is rather likely; see Petech, pp. 119–120.

¹²³ According to information supplied by Thakur Lal Manandhar.

¹²⁴ See note 108, p. 21.

¹²⁵ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 564; Shrestha and Singh, *History of Ancient and Medieval Nepal*, 1, p. 65; Hasrat, pp. 58–59, does not refer the story to Cāngu-Nārāyaṇa, but to Icāngu.

¹²⁶ Wright, p. 210; Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 51.

¹²⁷ Hasrat, p. 80; according to this history, the king paid for the work with money confiscated from a brahman.

torāṇa was set up and a tulādāna festival held.¹²⁸ Rddhilakṣmī seems to have been as keen a promotor of building work as Gaṅgā Rānī. Work was also done on the Paśupati temple under this queen.

Only eight years later, in A.D. 1702, the temple was destroyed by fire. The edifice had to be largely rebuilt, and it is likely that the entire woodwork was affected. In the year N.S. 828 (A.D. 1708), the three rulers of the Valley assembled to attend the inauguration. On this occasion they donated the gilt copper slabs for the roofs.¹²⁹ It is possible that the building was damaged in the earthquake of 1833, for it is said to have been given gilt roofs in 1834.¹³⁰ The buildings enclosing the temple precinct and adding some unity to the whole, date back to the year 1878.¹³¹ These elements in particular were severely damaged by the 1934 earthquake. They had to be re-erected under Juddha Shumsher Rānā.¹³² More recently, King Mahendra Vir Vikram Shāh had the temple building renovated.

The Nārāyaṇa Temple at Patan

This two-storied building (Pl. V, b) standing on a two-stepped platform is situated at the widest section of the durbār square (Figs. 3, 4). Together with the Kṛṣṇa temple, it flanks a lane coming from the west and leading straight to the middle axis of the chief palace building.¹³³

The temple is reached from the east by a stairway system. The roofs of the edifice have four struts on each side as well as corner struts. The threshold on the eastern side is moulded. On the northern side of the base is a stone drain in the shape of a makara. The side lengths, with variations, amount to 6.60 metres.

The temple was erected opposite the palace in A.D. 1566 (N.S. 686) by Purāṇdarasiṃha in memory of his father Viṣṇusiṃha.¹³⁴ The inscription to be seen outside informs us about the origin of the temple and its cult image.¹³⁵ Nothing is known of the further course of the building's history. The edifice seems, however, to have survived largely in its original state. Thorough restoration work was recently carried out under King Mahendra Vir Vikram Shāh.¹³⁶

The Jagannāth Temple at Kathmandu

This two-storied building (Pl. V, a) on a three-stepped platform stands in a prominent position at the south-eastern corner of the durbār square (Fig. 9, p. 40) in front of the Hanumān Dhokā.¹³⁷ In its present form it is in keeping with the Pañcāyatana type, for the

¹²⁸ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 148; Bhagvanlal Indraji p. 163 (however, not published there); Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 564; a new gajura is here said to have been installed in the year N.S. 818.

¹²⁹ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 161; Idem, 2, p. 877; Regmi's two accounts differ slightly.

¹³⁰ Goetz, H., *Nepal, Encyclopedia of World Art 10*, New York, Toronto, London 1965, p. 560, col. 2.

¹³¹ Shrestha and Singh, *Picturesque Kathmandu*, Kathmandu, 1969, p. 47

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ For a plan of the durbār square with outlines of the temple, see Fig. 3, p. 5.

¹³⁴ Wright, p. 207; Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 266.

¹³⁵ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 266, note 10: 'The inscription was set up to record the building of the temple by Purāṇdarasiṃha. According to the twelfth verse, five images were set up, those of Nārāyaṇa (at the centre), Vasudeva (east), Saṃkarṣaṇa (south), Pradyumna (west), and Aniruddha (north). The temple was dedicated to the memory of his father'. The image concerned was līṅga-shaped, with one of the Vyūhas on each of its four sides.

¹³⁶ Shah, *Sudhāra kārya vivaraṇa*, p. 177.

¹³⁷ A plan of the temple in the context of the durbār square (taking no account of the building's interior) can be found in: *The Physical Development Plan for the Kathmandu Valley*, p. 106; there is a bird's eye view of the square on p. 172.

corners of the platform have secondary shrines on separate bases added to the main platform and superimposed on its continuous moulding. Consequently, the secondary shrines cannot have belonged to the original conception.

The lower roof of the temple has six struts on each side, the upper roof four on each, as well as corner struts. The edifice is plastered and painted in a brick pattern (Pl. VIII, b); the side entrances of all four portals have been walled up. In the cella stands a Nārāyaṇa image similar to the image at Patan (Pl. VII, b). In the pradakṣiṇāpatha, a Jagannāth cult room has been added on the eastern side, with the corresponding portal frame to the central room being transformed into an image niche. On the northern side of the platform there is a stone drain in the shape of a makara. The side lengths of the building, with variations, amount to 8.25 metres.

The temple's history has considerable gaps. Although it is known today as the Jagannāth temple, the centre of the structure does not have a Jagannāth configuration,¹³⁸ but one of Nārāyaṇa.¹³⁹ It may therefore be assumed that it was originally a Nārāyaṇa, and not a Jagannāth temple.¹⁴⁰

Pratāpamalla (1641–1674) is generally regarded today as the builder of the shrine.¹⁴¹ The large inscription on the eastern side of the platform bears the date N.S. 774 (A.D. 1654),¹⁴² but the text contains no reference to the temple itself. According to Regmi, there is an inscription on a copper panel going back to the year N.S. 753 in the central Jagannāth temple.¹⁴³ Unless the inscription was subsequently transferred to this point, the temple must have existed as early as the reign of King Lakṣmīnaraśiṃhamalla (1620–1641). The four secondary shrines were not part of the original complex.¹⁴⁴ The date of its conversion from a Nārāyaṇa to a Jagannāth temple cannot be established.¹⁴⁵

Until the present century, the building was plastered white (Fig. 9).¹⁴⁶ The flanking portals were already walled up and painted over at the start of this century.¹⁴⁷ This step may have been taken in connection with the installation of a Jagannāth niche in the interior. The edifice has recently been renovated.

The Dvārikānāth Temple at Bhaktapur

This two-storied building (Pl. III, b) on a two-stepped platform flanks the western approach

¹³⁸ See description of the building.

¹³⁹ This central image corresponds to that in the Nārāyaṇa temple at Patan.

¹⁴⁰ Landon's view that the temple was dedicated to both Jagannātha and Guhyeśvarī is nowhere substantiated; see Landon, P., *Nepal*, 1, London, 1928, p. 194.

¹⁴¹ On Pratāpamalla see Wright's history (pp. 213–214) report: 'He built Indrapur and a Jagannātha-dēvala in front of the durbār, and on the 5th of Māgh Sudi, N.S. 774 (A.D. 1654) he composed a prayer to Kālikā, and had it inscribed on stones in fifteen different characters, all of which he had studied. These he placed in different temples and in the durbār'.

¹⁴² The temple was probably already in existence by that year.

¹⁴³ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 58; unfortunately, Regmi gives no details regarding this inscription.

¹⁴⁴ Such five-fold structures are only recorded in Nepal for the former Rānī-Pōkharī temple of Pratāpamalla and for the much later Tripureśvara shrine. However, in the Jagannāth temple the bases of the lesser shrines are also superimposed on the moulded borders of the inscription from N.S. 774. To this extent, at any rate, the assumption that Pratāpa built the lesser shrines must be subject to qualification.

¹⁴⁵ Jagannāth enjoyed popularity during the last century, when many temples were erected in his honour.

¹⁴⁶ See illustrations in: Landon, *Nepal*, 1, pp. 192 and 194. This appears to have been done in order to lend unity to the square following the rebuilding of the palace at the beginning of the Shāh period. A few other temples on the durbār square still have the white plaster.

¹⁴⁷ See illustrations in Landon mentioned in the preceding note.

to the palace compound. Behind it is an irregular arrangement of smaller shrines associated with the Dvārikānāth temple.

The temple can be reached from the east by way of a staircase. The moulded thresholds are of wood (Pl. VIII, a); the lower roof has four struts on each side, the upper roof two on each, as well as corner struts. On the northern side of the platform are the remains of a stone makara, which served as a drain. Inside is a tripartite cult image facing east, but the way it is installed betrays that it cannot have been part of the original conception.

The shrine is also known by the names Gopīnāth, Kedārñāth (combination of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu) and Char Dham.¹⁴⁸ The temple's history is full of gaps. Today, the building belongs to a group of four shrines which symbolize India's principal centres of pilgrimages.¹⁴⁹ These vicarious centres are said to have been set up by King Bhūpatīndramalla (1696–1722).¹⁵⁰ The other three shrines are situated west of the Dvārikānāth temple. They are small buildings facing one direction and, contrary to normal practice, they are built of stone.¹⁵¹ They differ quite appreciably from the monument under discussion, and it may be assumed that these other three shrines were erected behind the larger building, which already existed in Bhūpatīndramalla's day (and which was given a new symbolical interpretation for the cult). These four shrines used in today's cult were not, therefore, constructed in the same period. Moreover, the temple must have received a new cult image subsequently.¹⁵² From this it may be inferred with some certainty that the temple was built before the reign of Bhūpatīndra.¹⁵³ Nothing is known of the further history of the monument, but the Dvārikānāth temple, like the other buildings in the durbār square, must have sustained considerable damage in the earthquake of 1934.

3. THE MATSYENDRANĀTH TEMPLES

The Matsyendranāth Cult

Inscriptional evidence of a Lokeśvara cult in Nepal dates back to the 8th century.¹⁵⁴ Buṅgama Lokeśvara appears for the first time in the early 12th century,¹⁵⁵ but it was not until the 14th century that this deity took the form of Siddha Matsyendranāth.¹⁵⁶ The cult's first temple at Patan was probably built at that time. The Kathmandu shrine was founded in the

¹⁴⁸ According to information supplied by Mr. K. P. Shresta, Bhaktapur.

¹⁴⁹ The temple discussed here represents Dvārakā, a town in Gujarat dedicated to the Kṛṣṇa cult.

¹⁵⁰ According to information supplied by Mr. K. P. Shresta, Bhaktapur.

¹⁵¹ All three shrines collapsed during the 1934 earthquake; one only was rebuilt later in a simplified form. There is an old illustration in: Landon, Nepal, 1, p. 57, where one of the shrines is visible.

¹⁵² See description of the building.

¹⁵³ The building had evidently lost its significance for the ritual in Bhūpatīndramalla's time, so that it could be given a new function. The Jagannāth temple at Kathmandu, too, was given a new interpretation so as to agree with the ceremonial of the time (q.v.).

¹⁵⁴ Regmi, Medieval Nepal, 1, pp. 573–574.

¹⁵⁵ Idem, 1, p. 574; idem, 2, Vol. II, pp. 569–570.

¹⁵⁶ Regmi, Medieval Nepal, 1, p. 573; Chattopadhyay, K. P., An Essay on the History of Newar Culture, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S. 19, 1923, p. 482, considers him to be an old rain god: 'At the same time it suggests, that the god came into or developed in Nepal with the people who taught irrigated cultivation to the aborigines. The Newar name of the deity is still Bunga and as Lévi suggested the names Lokeśvara (Buddhists) and Matsyendranātha were probably given later to an earlier god in order to make it fall in line with the official religion.'

first half of the 15th century, although in both cases legend gives a much earlier date for the original foundation.¹⁵⁷

One important aspect of the cult is its connection with the state. Evidence of this can be found in the legends, recorded mainly in Wright's history.¹⁵⁸ These relate how King Narendradeva brought the deity from Assam to Nepal in order to rid the country of a lengthy drought. On the arrival of the deity in the Valley, all of Nepal's gods assembled and agreed that Avalokiteśvara be given the office of protector and lord of Nepal under the name Matsyendranāth. As Lévi writes, 'Matsyendra Nātha est le protecteur du Népal et comme le symbole de son indépendance; il préside aux destinées du royaume et apparaît aux heures de crise comme l'âme même du pays.'¹⁵⁹ Snellgrove describes Matsyendranāth as a national deity who is even honoured by the Gorkhas,¹⁶⁰ this great god being both Buddhist and Hindu owing to the identification of Avalokiteśvara with Śiva in one deity, Lokeśvara.¹⁶¹

'The festival of Matsyendranātha opens the religious year, and it is held by the Newars to be the most ancient of the different Yātrās or processions. It brings the spring rains; in fact without its efficacious action the heavens will refuse their waters for cultivation.'¹⁶² These annual processions take up a good deal of space in Wright's history and the various events involved are regarded as an index of the well-being of the state. As a rule, the king follows the deity's carriage on foot.¹⁶³ During the reigns of Siddhinarasimhamalla¹⁶⁴ and Śrīnivāsamalla¹⁶⁵ in particular, great significance seems to have been attached to these processions.

For the astrologers consulted to find the most auspicious day for Matsyendranāth's procession and the various related ceremonies an open hall, the Mañimaṇḍapa, was built in front of the royal palace in Patan. In its centre a stone throne was reserved for the king.¹⁶⁶ Coronations were often held in this hall.¹⁶⁷ This double function of the Mañimaṇḍapa is an obvious demonstration of the dependence of the kingdom on Matsyendranāth. Conversely, Śrīnivāsamalla had an inscription engraved in the pradakṣiṇāpatha of the Matsyendranāth temple at Patan defining citizens' duties toward the state.¹⁶⁸ In an inscription dating from the year N.S. 795 at Bungamati, Śrīnivāsamalla refers to the deity emphatically as 'Lokanāthacaraṇa-kamala-dhūli-dhūsarita-śīroruha', a term which had been reserved till then exclusively for Paśupati.¹⁶⁹

Legend has it that, shortly before the collapse of the three Malla kingdoms, Matsyendranāth¹⁷⁰ appeared to declare that power would pass to the Gorkha dynasty. In this apparition,

¹⁵⁷ On the identification of the two deities at Patan and Kathmandu, see also: Wylie, T., *A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal*, Serie Orientale Roma 42, Roma, 1970, p. 14 et seq., note 20.

¹⁵⁸ Wright's history, pp. 140–152, narrates the legend of its introduction into Nepal.

¹⁵⁹ Lévi, 1, p. 352; see also the legend of the expulsion of Mukundasena's troops in: Wright, p. 171.

¹⁶⁰ Snellgrove, D. L., *Buddhist Himalaya*, Oxford, 1957, p. 113.

¹⁶¹ Idem, 151–152.

¹⁶² Chattopadhyay, *An Essay on the History of Newar Culture*, p. 482.

¹⁶³ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 654.

¹⁶⁴ Wright, pp. 240–241.

¹⁶⁵ Idem, p. 243.

¹⁶⁶ Idem, p. 247; Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 327.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, pp. 396, 462.

¹⁶⁹ Idem, p. 284.

¹⁷⁰ Wright, p. 197; Lévi, 1, pp. 352–353.

Matsyendranāth delegated Nepal's sovereignty to a Bhairava who was to link it with the Ghorkas' sovereignty. In Kathmandu there is a second Matsyendranāth deity.¹⁷¹ According to legend, King Guṇakāmadeva moved his residence from Patan's old capital to the new city he had founded.¹⁷² Emulating the Lokeśvara cult at Patan, 'he made an image of Khasarppa Lokēswara, and caused his jātrā to be celebrated every year.'¹⁷³ For a capital to be properly 'appointed' for any religion, the presence of this deity and an annual procession were apparently required. The deity at Kathmandu is also said by legend to have delegated his sovereignty to Kaśyapa and raised him to the siṃhāsana throne.¹⁷⁴ Still, at Kathmandu Matsyendranāth never achieved the ascendancy he enjoyed at Patan.

The legend dealing with King Narendradeva reveals a certain link between Matsyendranāth and the cult of the dead.¹⁷⁵ After the king's guru, Bandhudatta Ācārya,¹⁷⁶ had been killed by some magic or other, the ācārya entered Matsyendranāth's right foot. Four days later, the king too died of grief at the loss of his ācārya and entered the deity's left foot. As the chronicler remarks,¹⁷⁷ 'For this reason, any one going to see Machchhīndranātha looks at his feet, in order to see Narēndra-dēva Rājā and Bandhudatta Āchārya'.

According to the view current in India, the feet can stand for the whole deity.¹⁷⁸ So, this legend implies that Bandhudatta and Narēndra entered the deity itself. To what extent deification tendencies are at work here cannot be decided. Certainly, the statue of Matsyendranāth is to be regarded as a memorial similar to, e.g., the Yakṣeśvara-līṅga for King Yakṣamalla.

The Matsyendranāth Temple at Patan

The temple is situated in the Taḥ-bāhā (Dharmakīrtimahāvihāra) in the south of the town. It is a large three-storied edifice on a single-stepped platform in the middle of an extensive, square-like area. The platform has recently been given a balustrade with prayer-wheels. The roofs are copper-covered, the uppermost roof having two roof struts on each side, the two lower roofs four on each, as well as corner struts. The first story is tiled up to the cornice and has sculptured nāgas at the corners. The thresholds of the portals are un moulded. Since the northern portal is the most important, the entire framework is faced with silver, in part with gold, and this is also true of the corresponding inner portal. On the eastern side, the inner portal is closed by an inscription panel dating from the year N.S. 793 (A.D. 1673). The cult image faces the north. The side lengths of the building, with variations, amount to 8 metres.

¹⁷¹ Snellgrove, D. L., *Shrines and Temples of Nepal*, *Arts Asiaticus*, 8, 1961, p. 106, note 1: 'The names Matsyendranāth and . . . are never in fact used by Newars, who name their gods (dya) after the place of their residence. Thus the "white Matsyendranāth" of Kathmandu is known as Janabāhā-dya, and the "red Matsyendranāth" of Pātan as Buṅga-dya from the village of Buṅga, his original residence, to which he is taken at six-yearly intervals.'

¹⁷² Wright, p. 154; Hasrat, p. 46.

¹⁷³ Wright, p. 155; in Hasrat, p. 46, the deity is referred to as Śvetamukhya Candra or Yamaleśvara.

¹⁷⁴ Hasrat, pp. 14-15, who largely follows the Svayambhūpurāṇa.

¹⁷⁵ See the legend in: Wright, p. 151.

¹⁷⁶ He used mantras to cause Avalokiteśvara to come to Nepal in the shape of a black bee.

¹⁷⁷ Wright, p. 151.

¹⁷⁸ See early representations of the Buddha; Gorakhnāth too was venerated in his footprints; see also Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 566.

Legend ascribes the first shrine to King Narendradeva (7th century).¹⁷⁹ In A.D. 1408 (N.S. 528), the building is said to have been destroyed by a great earthquake.¹⁸⁰ In the reign of King Yakṣamalla (1428–1480), there certainly was a temple at this site.¹⁸¹ According to Oldfield, the earliest inscription in the building is from the year A.D. 1582.¹⁸²

Under Siddhinarasiṃhamalla (1620–1661), a new shrine building was erected which must have been of an unusual height for that period.¹⁸³ This edifice already had three stories. In 1656 (N.S. 776), its rooftop was struck by lightning,¹⁸⁴ but it is not possible to establish the extent of the damage caused. In the reign of Śrīnivāsamalla (1661–1684), the monument was restored,¹⁸⁶ and it was on this occasion that the king had the large inscription installed in the interior bearing the date N.S. 793.¹⁸⁶ In the reigns of Siddhinarasiṃha, Śrīnivāsa and Yoganarendramalla, the deity enjoyed the greatest veneration from the royal family.¹⁸⁷

In 1833 the temple was repaired after the havoc caused by the earthquake. Finally, it collapsed completely during the great earthquake of 1934.¹⁸⁸ The rebuilding which followed was carried out under Juddha Shumsher Jung Bahādūr Rāṇā,¹⁸⁹ The silver gates and tiling date from this time.¹⁹⁰ Repair work was done under King Mahendra Vīr Vikram Shāh in 1969. It was then, too, that the roofing of copper slabs was renewed, which had dated back to Indramalla (1706–1709) or to Śrīnivāsamalla (1661–1684).¹⁹¹ According to Oldfield,¹⁹² the covering of the lowest roof with gilt copper slabs goes back to the year 1726.

The Matsyendranāth Temple at Kathmandu

This two-storied edifice on a single-stepped base is situated in the centre of the Jana-bāhā (Kanakacaityamahāvihāra), a narrow court lined with cult images. In a departure from the standard type, the temple has a definite front on the east with a large, tripartite portal. The

¹⁷⁹ Hasrat, p. 45: 'The Rajah built two temples for Matsyendranāth, one in Patan and the other one in Vāgmati village, in each of which Matsyendranāth resides for 6 months of every year.' See also Wright, pp. 148–149; Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, p. 197, believes that the Avalokiteśvara Matsyendranāth cult was actually introduced in Narendradeva's time.

¹⁸⁰ Wright, p. 180: 'The temple of Machchīndranātha and all other buildings fell down, and innumerable human beings perished'; see also Petech, p. 151. But it is not quite clear whether in fact the Matsyendranāth temple at Patan is meant or that at Bungamati.

¹⁸¹ In the reign of Yakṣamalla (1428–1480) a temple was erected to Dharmarājāminanātha-lokeśvara near the Matsyendranāth temple (see Wright, p. 188). This deity is regarded as the 'little brother' of Matsyendranāth (see Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 570; Snellgrove, *Shrines and Temples*, pp. 104, 106). Their images always occur together. This would mean that, at the time when the Minanātha temple was built, a Matsyendranāth temple already existed. What is more, Yakṣamalla is credited with building not only the Minanātha temple at Patan, but also the Matsyendranāth temple at Kathmandu.

¹⁸² Oldfield, H. A., *Sketches from Nīpal, Historical and Descriptive*, 2, London, 1880, p. 265; the inscription may, therefore date, from the beginning of the reign of Purāṃdarasiṃha, who built the Nārāyaṇa temple at Patan.

¹⁸³ Wright, p. 242: 'Formerly, in Hapātal, no house was allowed to be built higher than the rath of Machchīndra-nātha, but Siddhi-Narsinha built a very high temple, which he called Tava-gōl . . .'; according to Rana, *Nepālko mahābhūkampa*, p. 116, the building was erected as early as 1621.

¹⁸⁴ Wright, p. 242.

¹⁸⁵ Idem, p. 246.

¹⁸⁶ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, pp. 286–287; see also Wright, p. 246.

¹⁸⁷ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 570.

¹⁸⁸ Rana, *Nepālko mahābhūkampa*, p. 116.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ According to an inscription on the temple.

¹⁹¹ According to an inscription on the roof.

¹⁹² Oldfield, *Sketches from Nīpal*, 2, p. 265.

pradakṣiṇāpatha was converted into a series of subsidiary chambers; the cult image faces east. The eastern side of the building is magnificently conceived, the walls being overlaid with embossed figure work, and the portal frame system with embossed copper. Above the main portal are three toraṇas in a row, set in a scheme of copper branches. The remaining sides of the lower story are tiled; the roofs are copper-covered with hanging embossed flags. The two roofs have four struts on each side as well as corner struts. The woodwork is painted. Recently, the platform of the building was given a balustrade with prayer wheels. The side lengths, with variations, amount to 7.76 metres.

The earliest temple at this site was built in the reign of King Yakṣamalla (1428–1480).¹⁹³ Parts of a previous edifice located at Yamala are said to have been used for this,¹⁹⁴ but little is known about the history of the building. Under Mahendramalla (1560–1574) a donation was made to the temple.¹⁹⁵ One great patron of the Matsyendranāth cult at Kathmandu was King Pratāpamalla (1641–1674),¹⁹⁶ but it is not clear whether any structural work was carried out by this ruler.

In the 19th century, the shrine received many valuable donations. Large sections of the copper and silver portal structures were executed at this time.¹⁹⁷ The copper-covered roofs were restored in the reign of King Tribhuvan Vīr Vikram Shāh;¹⁹⁸ it is possible that they also originated in the 19th century.¹⁹⁹ Further renovation was carried out more recently under King Mahendra Vīr Vikram Shāh.²⁰⁰ The information at hand does not indicate when the building was given its present form.

4. THE TALEJU AND DEGUTALE TEMPLES

The Taleju Cult

Tradition has it that Teleju was brought to Nepal by Harisiṃha in A.D. 1324,²⁰¹ and she became the tutelary goddess of the royal family.²⁰² In the Malla period, it was the custom for the dying king to pass on to his eldest son a mantra which he could use to make the goddess Taleju-mājū obey his wishes.²⁰³ This magic formula was handed down, just like the sovereign's

¹⁹³ Wright, p. 189: 'In his reign some potters, while digging for clay, found an image of Lokēswara, which had been made by Guna-kāma-dēva Rājā, but which had been buried under the ruins of the temple that fell down in the time of the Thākuri Rājās. The Rājā got the image repaired, and put it into a new temple, which he built for it in Kāthmāndū. The image henceforth was named Yamalēswara, and the place where it was dug up was called Yamala.' The Svayambhū-Purāṇa reports in the form of a prophecy: 'Long after that, during the reign of Yakshamalla, there will arise a Lokanātha in the place of Yamalēswara.' See Mitra, R., *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, reprint Calcutta, 1971, 254.

Excavations at the beginning of this century did in fact produce the remains of a vihāra at this site (according to information supplied by Thakur Lal Manandhar).

¹⁹⁴ According to information supplied by Thakur Lal Manandhar.

¹⁹⁵ Hasrat, p. 64.

¹⁹⁶ King Pratāpamalla introduced a temple car procession in Kathmandu presumably on the lines of the Patan festivals; see Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 570; Hasrat, p. 74: '... and re-established the Rathyātrā of Lokēśvarnāth which had been stopped by the Thākuri Rajahs.'

¹⁹⁷ The dates given range from N.S. 941 (A.D. 1821) to N.S. 1029 (A.D. 1909).

¹⁹⁸ According to an inscription on the temple.

¹⁹⁹ The uppermost roof on the eastern side bears the date N.S. 1003.

²⁰⁰ See Shah, *Sudhāra kārya vivaraṇa*, p. 63.

²⁰¹ Hamilton, F. B., *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, reprint, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 210–211; Lévi, 1, pp. 378–379; Petch, p. 179; Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, pp. 592–594.

²⁰² Hamilton, *An Account*, p. 210.

²⁰³ Wright, p. 200.

insignia, to his successor.²⁰⁴ Ratnamalla (1482–1520), Yakṣamalla's youngest son, is reported to have gained possession of the mantra by treachery. He fled with it to Kathmandu, where he founded a dynasty of his own.²⁰⁵ Although the mantra is said to have been handed down in Kathmandu from Ratnamalla's time, Mahendramalla still went daily to Bhaktapur to worship the goddess there. One day, however, she announced that she had been residing at Kathmandu since Ratnamalla's time.²⁰⁶ It was only in Mahendramalla's reign, therefore, that this point was finally settled. It appears that Kathmandu acquired a magic ascendancy over the other two kingdoms of the Valley as from this period. Mahendramalla erected a huge sanctuary to the goddess on a high stepped artificial hill (Pl. II, b). In course of time, the goddess was honoured in a temple at each of the three capitals, but it is only at Kathmandu that Taleju has a shrine which is built on the pattern of the Paśupati temple.²⁰⁷

Lakṣmīnaraśiṃha, later king of Kathmandu, and his half-brother Siddhīnaraśiṃha, subsequently ruler of Patan, are said to have quarreled about the mantra of Taleju. This dispute was so bitter that Lakṣmīnaraśiṃha, who was in possession of the mantra, struck his brother.²⁰⁸ Since Lakṣmīnaraśiṃha became insane in his old age, he was not able to pass on the mantra to his son, Pratāpamalla.²⁰⁹ Still, as we are assured by the chronicle Pratāpa was nonetheless an able ruler.²¹⁰ Lévi believes that the mantra was lost after that time.²¹¹ But some reports say that it was recovered with the aid of a brahman called Viśvanāth Upādhyāya and that it passed to Siddhīnaraśiṃha, Pratāpa's uncle and the half-brother of that Lakṣmīnaraśiṃha who had died insane.²¹²

This view of Taleju's power to lend legitimacy to the kingdom is confirmed by Jayaprakāśamalla (1736–1768), who awaited the outcome of the struggle for his capital Kathmandu, hiding in the temple of Taleju and who, after losing both battle and throne, made a desperate attempt to blow up the temple. This undertaking was only partly successful, for the monument itself stood firm and passed to Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shāh.²¹³ Still, the conqueror did not have the mantra which could have enabled him to impose his will on the goddess. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa is said to have performed human sacrifices in an attempt to gain power over her, but Taleju appeared to the king in a dream to express her disapproval.²¹⁴

The Degutale Cult

The cult practised by the Mallas involved the adoption of more ancient deities. These were honoured by the Newars in the form of stones, which were set up near rivers. Each clan had such a stone at which it met once a year. Members of clans associated with a particular stone

²⁰⁴ Lévi, 1, p. 379.

²⁰⁵ Hasrat, p. 56; Wright, pp. 201–202.

²⁰⁶ Hasrat, pp. 59, 63–64; Wright, p. 207.

²⁰⁷ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 593.

²⁰⁸ Hasrat, p. 65.

²⁰⁹ Lévi, 1, p. 379; Wright, p. 219; the madness seems to have befallen him before he was given the mantra; see also Hasrat, p. 65.

²¹⁰ Hasrat, p. 74; Wright, p. 213.

²¹¹ Lévi, 1, p. 379.

²¹² Hasrat, pp. 66–67; Wright, p. 233; Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 439.

²¹³ Hasrat, p. 91; Wright, pp. 231–232.

²¹⁴ Hamilton, *An Account*, p. 211; Hamilton (p. 210) refers to Taleju as the titular deity of the reigning house; Lévi, 2, p. 36.

could not intermarry.²¹⁶ This implies a form of ancestor worship.²¹⁶ The general rule was for the deity to be worshipped in the open air, and no shrines were erected.

Under King Śivasimhamalla (1578–1620), this nature cult was adopted by the royal family of the Mallas. The king had a large temple built in his palace under the religious direction of Lambakarṇa Bhaṭṭa, a brahman from Maharashtra.²¹⁷ When Śivasimha's son came to the throne in Patan, he took the goddess with him and erected a temple to her just like that at Kathmandu.²¹⁸ King Pratāpamalla (1641–1671) is known to have been a patron of the Degutale cult.²¹⁹

Although this was a family deity of the Mallas without any direct significance for the state, as in Taleju's case, the Degutale cult was adopted by the Shāh kings. Under Rāṇā Bahādūr Shāh (1777–1805), descendants of Lambakarṇa were summoned to the three temples of the Valley as pūjāri and the rite performed with great pomp.²²⁰

The Taleju Temple at Kathmandu

This structure (Pl. II, b) situated to the north of the palace surpasses in height and monumental effect all other temples of the Nepal Valley.²²¹ It is a three-storied temple on a twelve-stepped base with sixteen secondary shrines. This twelve-stepped, mountain-like base is divided into three horizontal levels, viz. a high, three-stepped, lower section having a broad terrace lined with twelve secondary shrines; a further three-stepped base with four secondary shrines on its terrace, which is enclosed by a wall. From this terrace a third, very steep, three-stepped base rises which serves as platform for the main temple.

All the roofs on the main building are copper-covered; the lower one has six struts on each side, the middle one four and the top roof two each, as well as corner struts. Between the struts of the lower roof is fine-meshed lattice-work. The thresholds are moulded, the lintel ends rounded off, and the doors are faced with gold. No information is available about the interior of the building. Access to the complex is from the south, i.e. from the palace side, by a staircase, the lower part of which is shifted to the right out of the main axis.

The first Taleju temple is said to have been erected close to today's site by King Ratnamalla in A.D. 1501.²²² The edifice in its present form was built in the reign of King Mahendramalla (1560–1574).²²³ From that time onwards, the inhabitants of Kathmandu are reported to have been allowed to erect high houses.²²⁴ Under King Pratāpamalla (1641–1674), copper-roofing

²¹⁶ According to information supplied by Thakur Lal Manandhar.

²¹⁸ Snellgrove, *Shrines and Temples*, p. 114; according to Snellgrove, p. 10, note 2, the deity is called Digu-dya. 'Digu-dya may just mean "god of worship".'

²¹⁷ Hasrat, p. 64; Wright, p. 209.

²¹⁹ Wright, p. 233; the name used here is Dhantala Varāhi. Originally, Taleju and Degutale were worshipped in the same temple at Patan (see Hasrat, p. 69). Even today there is some confusion among the people whether the Degutale temple is not in fact the temple of Taleju.

²²⁰ Hasrat, pp. 76–77; Wright, p. 217. It is not quite clear whether the brahmans under Lambakarṇa Bhaṭṭa were appointed to the cult before the time of Pratāpamalla, whereas the chronicles assign this event to the time of Śivasimhamalla, who adopted the Degutale cult for the ruling house.

²²¹ Hasrat, p. 156; Wright, p. 261.

²²² A plan of the complex, also showing wall dimensions in relation to the other buildings in the palace area, is reproduced in: *The Physical Development Plan for the Kathmandu Valley*, p. 172. The ground plan, however, is not in fact square, as shown in this plan, but has three symmetrical step-backs on each side.

²²³ Wright, p. 202.

²²⁴ Hasrat, pp. 63–64; Wright, p. 207; going by this, the temple was completed in A.D. 1549. According to Rana, *Nepālko mahābhūkampa*, p. 114, the building was executed in the year V.S. 1621 (A.D. 1564).

²²⁵ Wright, p. 207.

was added.²²⁵ The portal frames and the gilt doors, too, are ascribed to this ruler.²²⁶ Two years before his death, as well as in A.D. 1680, white ants caused damage to the building's woodwork.²²⁷ King Bhāskaramalla (1700–1714) donated a new *gajura*.²²⁸ The queen mother, Bhuvanalakṣmī had the frames of the inner portals gilded in A.D. 1700.²²⁹ Under King Jayaprakāśamalla, renovation work was carried out on the platform.²³⁰ Before fleeing to Bhaktapur, this ruler caused an explosion on the steps of the temple,²³¹ but it is not possible to establish the extent of the havoc created. The monument survived the earthquake of 1810 and 1833 without sustaining any damage.²³² During the 1934 earthquake, the *gajura* got out of alignment,²³³ but subsequent repairs remedied the damage.

The Degutale Temple at Kathmandu

This three-storied temple is situated on the south side of the square in front of the Hanumān Dhokā and stands on a broad, tower-like base belonging to the palace.

The roofs are copper-covered, the lowest roof having six struts on each side as well as corner struts; below the top roof is continuous, forward-sloping, fine-meshed lattice-work. Between lintel and cornice is an ornamented zone; the lintel ends have been rounded off as in the Taleju temple. Above the cornices of the first and second stories, vertical reinforcing beams have been inserted. There are three *torāṇas* over each portal. The woodwork is painted. No information is available about the interior of the building. To the south, the exterior of the temple is spoilt by an annex extending up to the first cornice.

The building was erected at the same time as the Degutale temple at Patan by King Śivasimhamalla (1578–1620).²³⁴ The two shrines are closely related. King Pratāpamalla (1641–1674) carried out considerable alterations: '... by the advice of Lambakarṇa Bhaṭṭa he placed his own statue in front of the Durbar on a stone pillar and covered the roof of Digoṭolah with gilt copper tiles.'²³⁵ The building already had three stories.²³⁶ The pillar referred to was installed in A.D. 1670 (N.S. 790) and stands in the main axis of the temple.²³⁷ Under Rāṇā Bahādūr Shāh (1777–1805) there was a renewal of the cult at this temple.²³⁸ Nothing is known of any structural work performed in the 19th and 20th centuries. During the earthquake of 1934, the capital and figures fell off the Pratāpa pillar,²³⁹ but were subsequently replaced.

²²⁵ The king's name is found in an inscription carved on a roof edge.

²²⁶ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, pp. 908–909; also for a detailed description of the portals.

²²⁷ *Idem*, p. 117.

²²⁸ *Idem*, p. 161; the date is A.D. 1705.

²²⁹ *Idem*, p. 909.

²³⁰ Hasrat, p. 90; Wright, p. 228.

²³¹ Hasrat, p. 91; Wright, p. 231.

²³² Wright, pp. 265, 270.

²³³ Rana, *Nepālko mahābhūkampa*, p. 114.

²³⁴ Hasrat, p. 64: '... Śivasimha . . . took for his Guru, an eminent Brahman named Lambakarṇa Bhaṭṭa, according to whose advice he built the temples of Digoṭolah, one in Patan and one at Kathmandu.' Śivasimha did in fact rule in both kingdoms; see Wright, p. 209.

²³⁵ Hasrat, pp. 76–77; Wright's history, on the other hand, attributes the building of the temple to Pratāpa (Wright, p. 217): 'By his advice the Rājā built a high temple near Dēgutālē, with three golden roofs, and placed his own and his son's statues on a pillar (in front of it).'

²³⁶ Wright, p. 217.

²³⁷ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, pp. 104–105 and in Appendix No. 64.

²³⁸ Hasrat, p. 156; Wright, p. 261.

²³⁹ Rana, *Nepālko mahābhūkampa*, p. 114 and in the Plate opposite.

The Degutale Temple at Patan

This three-storied temple dominating the durbār square stands on a broad, tower-like base inside the palace. In a departure from the normal type, each side has only one entrance with a large window frame on either side. The lowest roof has eight struts on each side, the middle one six, and the uppermost roof four on each, as well as corner struts. No information is available about the interior of the building.

Like the Degutale temple at Kathmandu, the building was erected by King Śivasimhamalla (1578–1620).²⁴⁰ King Siddhinarasimhamalla (1620–1661) had the monuments roofed with gilt copper slabs in 1647 (N.S. 767).²⁴¹ After being completely destroyed by fire,²⁴² the edifice was restored with three stories by King Śrīnivāsamalla (1661–1684) in A.D. 1663,²⁴³ during his reign too, an octagonal temple was built to house the image of Taleju, which had been kept till then in the Taleju shrine.²⁴⁴ Yoganarendramalla (1684–1705) erected a pillar bearing his own image in front of the temple, in imitation of Pratāpa's pillar.²⁴⁵

The building certainly sustained damage during the earthquakes of the last century. It is possible that the temple portals were simplified and given their present form at that time. During the 1934 earthquake, the monument and its tower-like base collapsed.²⁴⁶ The reconstruction which followed involved no substantial changes, at any rate not on the exterior.

²⁴⁰ Hasrat, p. 64; Wright's history credits Śivasimha's son with building the temple, although the latter died during his father's lifetime (Wright, p. 233).

²⁴¹ Wright, p. 238.

²⁴² Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 2, p. 285; Regmi reports that the temple had five stories before the fire, whereas the rebuilt temple was given only four. This seems unlikely, since nothing of the kind is reported about the temple at Kathmandu.

²⁴³ Wright, pp. 244–245.

²⁴⁴ Hasrat, p. 69: 'This Rajah built the Mūlchowk or chief square in the Darbar of Patan, and at the centre of it he constructed a golden temple and also built a Maṇḍala of eight angles at the northeast corner of Mūlchowk in which he placed the image of Tulja which was in the temple of Digoṭolah before this time.'

²⁴⁵ Wright, p. 248.

²⁴⁶ Rana, *Nepālko mahābhūkampa*, p. 115, and four reproductions between pp. 114 and 115.

CHAPTER THREE

TYOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF NEPALESE TEMPLES WITH MULTIPLE ROOFS

1. COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION HITHERTO

Several attempts have been made to fit Nepalese temples into the evolution of South and South-East Asian architecture. In 1923, Chattopadhyay presented a summary of these theories in his 'Essay on the History of Newar Culture'.¹

The classification of Nepalese shrines had already been studied in the early 19th century by the first British agents to visit Nepal on behalf of the Indian government: Kirkpatrick,² whose report was published in 1811, and Buchanan Hamilton (1819).³

Hamilton was the first to note the close resemblance between these buildings and Chinese pagodas, and rejected the view allegedly expressed by Kirkpatrick that they were related to Indian maṇḍapas.⁴ This was the line largely taken by James Fergusson in his 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture', which appeared in 1891, where he writes: 'They are unlike anything found in Bengal, and all their affinities seem with those in Burmah and China'.⁵ With regard to Burma, Fergusson writes:

These many-storeyed kioums with the tall seven-storeyed spires, bring us back to the many-storeyed temples in Nepal, which are in all essential respects so nearly identical, that it can hardly be doubted they had a common origin. We are not yet in the position to point out the connecting links which will fuse the detached fragments of this style into a homogeneous whole, but it is probably in China that they must be looked for, only we know so little of the architectural history of the western portion of that great country, that we must wait for further information before even venturing on this subject.⁶

Fergusson has trouble squaring this theory of a building style centred in Western China and extending to Burma and Nepal with his observation that the temple buildings in South Kanara, too, have features relating them to those in Nepal and Burma.⁷ Unfortunately, Fergusson omits to apply to his appraisal of Nepalese architecture the general statement he makes concerning Nepalese culture, viz. that it is modelled on the India of Hsüan-tsang's time.⁸ This step was in fact taken by Sylvain Lévi in 1905: 'Mais leur architecture reproduit sans doute des formes de date immémoriale; peut-être se retachent-elles directement à la primitive

¹ Chattopadhyay, *An Essay on the History of Newar Culture*, pp. 489–492.

² Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, p. 159.

³ Hamilton, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, pp. 40–42.

⁴ *Idem*, pp. 41–42; this is in fact a misinterpretation which was, however, perpetuated in subsequent literature. Kirkpatrick (p. 159) is not talking about temples, but about Nepalese maṇḍapas, which he compares with the Indian. He points out explicitly that Kathmandu owes its name to this building type.

⁵ Fergusson, J., *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1891, p. 305.

⁶ *Idem*, p. 629.

⁷ *Idem*, p. 278: 'I cannot offer even a plausible conjecture how or at what time a connection existed between Nepal and Thibet and Canara; . . .'

⁸ *Idem*, p. 299.

architecture en bois que précéda dans l'Inde et qui inspira même plus anciens monuments de pierre.⁹ Here, Lévi launches the theory of a style of timber construction, lost in India, an idea which holds its own in almost the entire subsequent literature on this subject.

Proceeding from the plaque of Sohgaura, Lévi defines the Nepalese temples as pagodas and writes:

Le kondo et le pagode du temple d'Horiuji au Japon, élevés sous la règne de Shotoku Taishi (593–621), attestent que dès la fin du VI^e siècle le type consacré de la pagode en bois, tel qu'il existe encore au Népal, s'était propagé par l'intermédiaire du bouddhisme chinois, jusqu'à la Corée, l'initiatrice des artistes japonais.¹⁰

By postulating an Indian origin of the Far Eastern pagoda, Lévi can explain the similarity of buildings in China, Japan and Nepal without having to assume any direct influence.¹¹ Still, his theory too ignores the buildings in South-West India.

In his 'Story of the Stūpa',¹² published in 1936, Longhurst deals extensively with the notable similarity to be found between certain structures all the way from Japan to Kerala.

The most remarkable feature about the wooden architecture of the west coast of India, from South Kanara to Travancore, is its striking resemblance to that of the Himalayas. As there is no possibility of the former style influencing that of the latter, we must look for some other reason to account for this strange phenomenon, and the only one which presents itself in this case is a common origin for both styles of architecture.¹³

Longhurst does not look for this common origin in a certain construction method (depending on material) or in an architectural tradition linking the two regions; for him, the points of similarity are the product of a common underlying idea that has left such a decisive mark on their form.

Although the wooden temples of the Himalayas, from Kashmir to Nepal, are comparatively modern structures, they illustrate better than any other examples the extraordinary influence which the umbrella motif had on the development of Indian architecture, and, at the same time, explain how the many-roofed wooden pagodas of China and Japan originated.¹⁴

Percy Brown who, contrary to Fergusson and Longhurst, knew Nepalese architecture at first hand, goes no further in the chapter on the 'Building Art of Nepal' in his 'Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)'¹⁵ than Fergusson did fifty years earlier. He adopts Fergusson's twofold classification of temples into 'those of the "sikhara" variety clearly derived from the style of temple favoured in India, and those of the multiple roof design associated with the pagodas of China . . .'¹⁶ 'In the sphere of architecture Nepal illustrates,

⁹ Lévi, 2, pp. 11–12.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ In Vol. 3, pp. 185–189, on the other hand, Lévi remarks that the resemblance between Chinese and Japanese pagodas, on the one hand, and the Nepalese variety, on the other, is due to Newar influence in those countries. In doing so, Lévi is surely mistaken in his appraisal of actual cultural developments in China, and certainly overrates Nepalese influence.

¹² Longhurst, A. H., *The Story of the Stūpa*, Colombo, 1936.

¹³ Idem, p. 29.

¹⁴ Idem, p. 41.

¹⁵ Brown, P., *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)*, 5th revised edition, Bombay, 1965, pp. 162–165.

¹⁶ Idem, p. 163.

with marked significance, the impact of two of the most forceful civilisations in the East, that of India on the one hand, and of China on the other, . . . '17 Brown also refers to the observed resemblance between Nepalese temples and those on the south-west coast of India, and writes:

As both types are over thirteen hundred miles apart, . . . the resemblance is difficult to explain. One theory is that a presumed anthropological connection existed between the Nayars of Malabar and the Newars of Nepal, while another accounts for the pagoda-like attribution by a contact with China by sea as proved by the Chinese type of fishing nets used on this coast.¹⁸

Somewhat earlier, in an article published in 1935,¹⁹ Brown had, it is true, cautiously dissociated himself from this view and moved closer to the opinion expressed by Lévi thirty years before:

Most of these religious structures are of what may be termed the pagoda type, a tower-like conception in diminishing stories constructed largely of wood and ordinarily associated with the architecture of the Far East; . . . As to the pagoda type . . . although this distinctive structure has been usually regarded as of Chinese origin there is evidence accumulating which suggests that a phase of wooden architecture incorporating this pagoda form in the shape of wooden roofs in tiers, found favour in India previous to the Muhammadan invasion. Such buildings being constructed of timber has disappeared, but they have left records of their existence in temples as far apart as those in Kashmir with their stone imitation of planked roofs, those of the Mers in Kathiawar, with their Buddhistic gables, those in south Kanara, and in a lesser degree those in Orissa with the pyramidal superstructure to their Jagamohans.²⁰

Ananda Coomaraswamy takes a similar line in his 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art' (1927):²¹ 'These wooden edifices preserve the elements of much older styles, of which the monuments are no longer preserved in India; they illustrate too a half-way stage between Indian prototypes and Chinese derivatives.' Benjamin Rowland adopts this view almost literally:

It is quite possible that some of these structures preserve now lost styles of early Indian construction. . . . One is immediately reminded of the pagodas of China and Japan. The explanation for this resemblance probably lies in the fact that the Nepalese towers and their Far Eastern equivalents have common prototypes in now lost wooden architectural forms in India. We have already seen pyramidal stone roofs of a similar type in Kashmir. The skyscrapers of ancient Nālaṇḍā, as described by Hsüan-tsang, or even the famous wooden pagoda at Peshawar, may well have furnished the inspiration for this and similar Nepalese temples.²²

The discussion to date regarding the classification of Nepalese temple architecture, can be arranged in the two question complexes adopted by Lévi, viz.

1. the question of construction method (timber construction, consequent roof shape) and
2. the question of building type (temple towers, pagodas).

¹⁷ Idem, p. 162.

¹⁸ Idem, p. 132.

¹⁹ Brown, P., Buildings in Nepal, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 3, 1935.

²⁰ Idem, pp. 85-86.

²¹ Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 144.

²² Rowland, B., *The Art and Architecture of India, Buddhist/Hindu/Jain*, 3rd, revised edition, The Pelican History of Art, Harmondsworth, 1967, p. 158.

a) *Construction Method*

This has been an issue ever since Brown's 1935 essay²³ (following Lévi). It is now assumed that there was once a style of timber construction now lost in India, traces of which can still be found in the temples surviving in Kashmir, Kathiawar, South Kanara and in Orissa too. This view, advocated with qualifications by Coomaraswamy and Rowland, renders superfluous any assumption of a coherent architectural complex extending from China to Nepal and Burma, as argued by Fergusson. Instead, the expedient of a lost style of timber construction is used to fit the Nepalese temples into the overall development of Indian architecture.

As early as 1883, Simpson pointed out in an article²⁴ that this style of timber construction, defined by the criterion of a straight sloping roof, is to be found in none of the innumerable early reliefs of Indian architecture.²⁵ Nevertheless, he suggests that we assume for that time two different architectural forms or timber construction styles, one having a curved roof, the other a straight sloping roof.²⁶ If we suppose, however, that there was once a style of timber construction with a straight sloping roof as its criterion, this does not exclude the architecture of China. In fact, we would be back with Fergusson's idea of an architectural bloc extending from China via Nepal as far as Burma, but now enlarged to include the areas named by Brown where the lost Indian timber construction form is said to have dominated. Stella Kramrisch makes the endlessness of such a discussion clear when she writes in connection with the temples of Kerala, which have the same roof form as those in Nepal: 'Carved barge-boards, drop ornaments, pinnacles and finials show this type of wooden architecture allied not only to that of Nepal; wooden churches in Norway, Russia and the Balkans are members of the same family.'²⁷

No attempt has been made till now to investigate and identify the characteristic features of the postulated Indian style of timber construction.²⁸ Hence, no precise definition or demarcation from the architectures of other countries is possible. The mere fact that India once had a style of timber construction will hardly suffice as criterion, as the discussion has shown. Anyhow, as far as Nepalese architecture is concerned, one aspect has been overlooked, viz. that this was not primarily a style of timber construction. Nepalese temples are built rather of brick, with only the roof structure, false ceilings and the frames of doors and windows consisting of wood. The roof shape too as defined hitherto (straight sloping roof) is a completely inadequate criterion.²⁹

²³ See note 19.

²⁴ Simpson, W., *Architecture in the Himalayas*, reprint, New York, 1970.

²⁵ Idem, p. 68.

²⁶ Idem.

²⁷ Kramrisch, St. Dravida and Kerala, *The Arts and Crafts of Kerala*, Cochin, Trivandrum, Madras, p. 31.

²⁸ An exception is the recent essay by Dumarçay, J., *Les charpentes rayonnantes sur plan barlong ou carré de l'Asie méridionale*, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 60, 1973.

²⁹ Of relevance here is the theory, formulated by Havell and others, explaining this particular roof form in very different regions as a result of the same meteorological conditions: severe rainfall (Havell, E. B., *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India. A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilization*, London, 1915, pp. 120-121). Quite apart from the fact that, contrary to Havell's assertion, very different meteorological conditions prevail in the Kathmandu Valley and in Bengal, the connection between severe rainfall and high-pitched, widely projecting roofs, is not convincing. For in Bengal with its particularly high precipitation the temple roofs are almost flat and project only slightly. The roof form in Nepalese religious buildings is neither an indicator of local precipitation nor a result of such a phenomenon.

Havell's theory is supported by N. R. Banerjee in his contribution: *Eḍūka* (or terraced) and Multiple-roofed Temples, *Bhārati. Bulletin of the Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, Prof. V. S. Agrawala Volume*, 12-14, 1968-1971, pp. 90-91.

b) *Building Type*

In building type, Nepalese temples have been defined hitherto as pagodas³⁰ or tower temples. This definition was chosen in an attempt to fit Nepalese edifices into the general course of developments in India, since there had been tower-shaped temples in early Indian architecture. These are mentioned in the reports of Chinese Buddhist monks who travelled across India in the 7th century, and also recorded in reliefs. But nothing is known of the inner structure of these buildings or of the significance for the cult of the towers shown in these reliefs. All that can be asserted with certainty is that the buildings were Buddhist. All they have in common with Nepalese buildings is the fact that they are towered edifices with diminishing stories, each story having a roof of its own. This too is an inadequate criterion, since we are unaware of the different or similar conditions that produced this shape.³¹ The roof type and its stepped form are features shared by both Nepalese temples and those depicted in the reliefs, but also, as Kramrisch points out, by churches in Norway, Russia and in the Balkans.

2. THE MULTIPLE ROOFS OF NEPALESE TEMPLES

The picture generally conjured up by a 'Nepalese' temple is typified by the often depicted, five-storied Nyatapola temple (Fig. 8) on its high, stepped, artificial hill at Bhaktapur.³² This temple was built in the reign of Bhūpatīndramalla (1694–1722) and constitutes a new foundation. It is, in fact, one of the most impressive buildings in the Valley. But its height (five stories) and its artificial hill of five terraces are exceptional. There is only one other five-storied temple, that of Kumbheśvara, at Patan, but it is built on a simple platform. The normal temple has three stories.

The artificial hill on which the Nyatapola temple stands is also exceptional, and there are few temples with such a base. In a recent article,³³ N. R. Banerjee has attempted to trace these artificial hills back to the terraced temple of Ahichchhatra, which he assigns to the 5th century.³⁴ Some time before, Marchal³⁵ had adopted a similar approach, identifying the Bhaktapur temple as an exemplar of the Indian prototype, from which the Cambodian temples on artificial stepped hills had originated. But, all they have in common is the shape of the terraced hill. What the Indian temples themselves looked like is a matter of conjecture. One fact hard to square with such an early and direct derivation of the terraced hills in Nepal from those in Ahichchhatra is that the Nepalese structures were without exception founded in the late Malla period. No single temple established at an earlier date has such a stepped base. The two temples at the oldest cult sites of the Valley, viz. those consecrated to Paśupati (Pl. I) and Cāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa (Pl. III, a) have only a plain, low base.

These two buildings have one more feature in common which distinguishes them from the new temples established in the late Malla period: they have two stories only. This is a conspicuous feature. All shrines related to the Paśupati temple are double-storied, viz. the

³⁰ Cf. Marchal, H., *L'architecture comparée dans l'Inde et l'Extrême-Orient*, (Études d'art et d'ethnologie asiatiques, 2, Paris, 1944, p. 27, where Lévi's view is subjected to a critical discussion.

³¹ See also Seckel, D., *Kunst des Buddhismus. Werden, Wanderung und Wandlung*, Kunst der Welt, Baden-Baden, 1962, p. 113.

³² Illustrations in, inter alia, Fergusson: *History*, p. 304, and in Waldschmidt: *Nepal*, Pl. XXVI.

³³ Banerjee, *Eḍūka*, pp. 81–110.

³⁴ *Idem*, pp. 93–96.

³⁵ Marchal, *L'architecture comparée*, pp. 26–27.

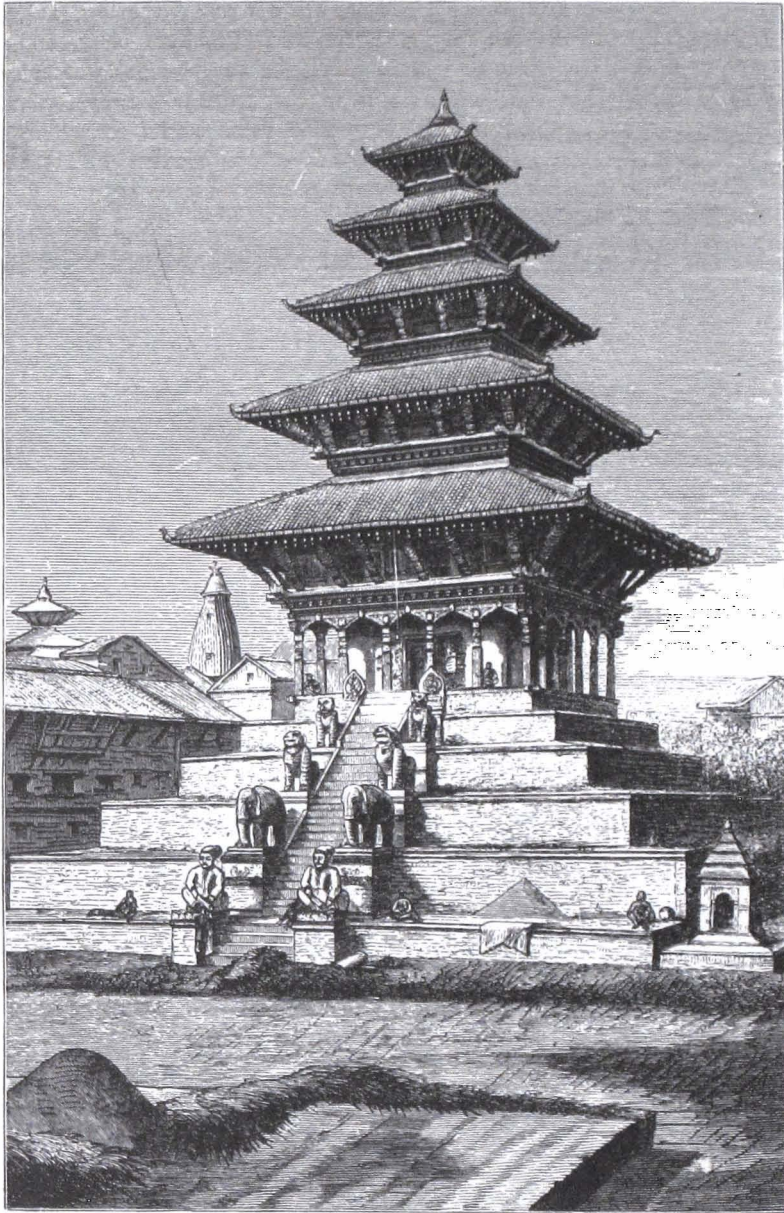


Fig. 8. Bhaktapur, Nyatapola temple, view from south

temples of Yakṣeśvara at Bhaktapur, Mahendreśvara at Kathmandu and Kumbheśvara at Patan.³⁶ The same applies to the Nārāyaṇa temples referable to Cāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa. As we have seen,³⁷ these buildings were of particular importance in the state cult. These are the temples which formed the starting point for the structural development of the durbār squares in each of the three capitals (Fig. 9). It was a later period which produced the variety of three-storied

³⁶ See the history of these buildings, pp. 15–17.

³⁷ See under the history of these buildings and the cult, pp. 22–25.

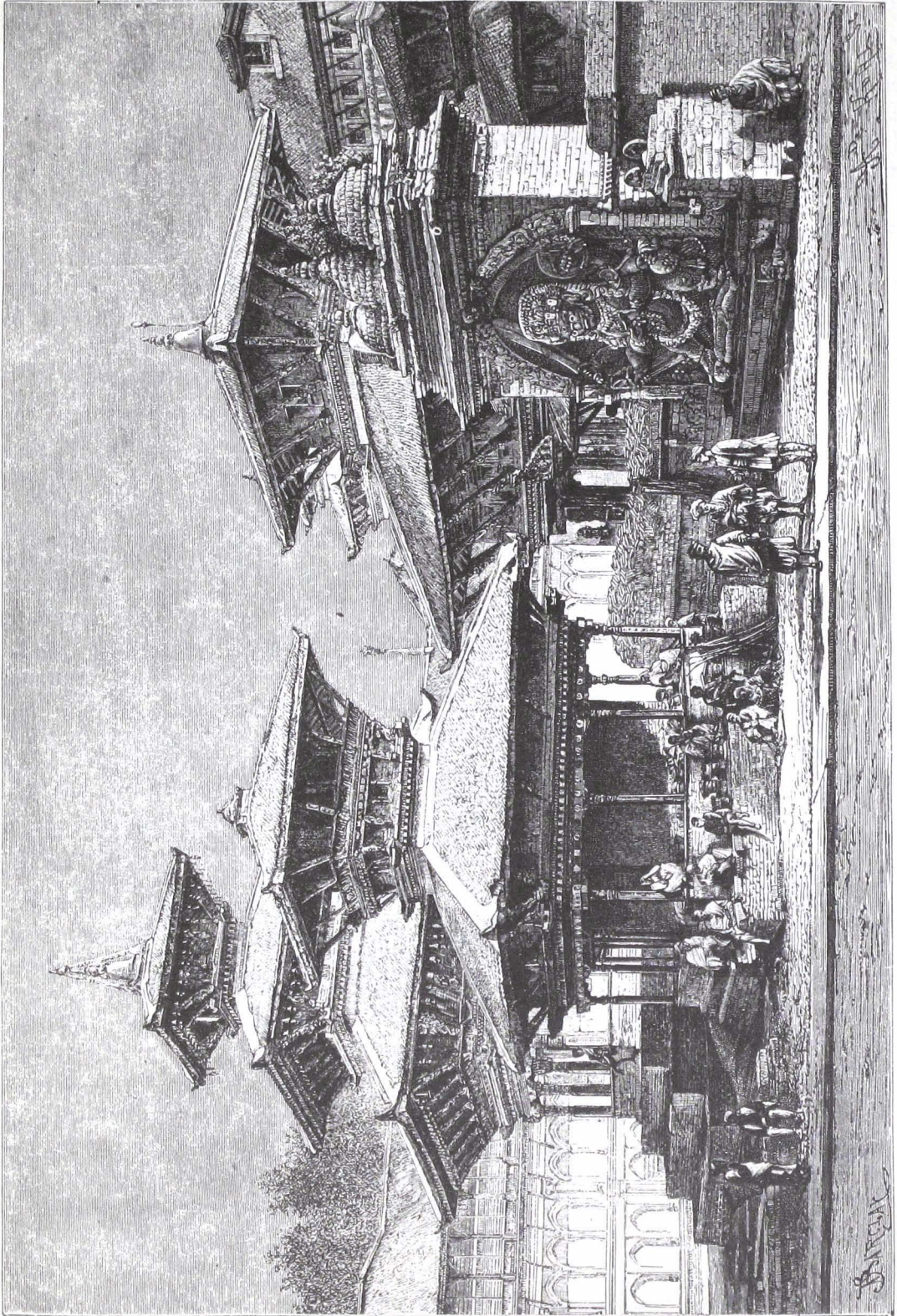


Fig. 9. Kathmandu, Jagannath (Narayana) temple, obstructed by later temples, viewed from north-west

temples which characterize the durbār squares of today. This enables us to hive off one group of temples as the oldest (on the durbār squares, at least) with a function which was of great importance for the state. Yet, these temples are obviously not towers but two-storied shrines (Fig. 9). Since the reports about multi-storied temples indicate that these were not established till the later Malla period, we may assume that the two-storied temple is the older type in Nepal.

A key position in architectural developments during the Malla dynasty is occupied by the Taleju temple at Kathmandu (Pl. II, b), erected in 1564. It is the first temple which

1. is proved to have had three stories and
2. had a high stepped base.

A completely new architectural conception in Nepal was realized here for the first time, viz. that of the tower temple. The foundation legend, too, suggests that this structure was a project unusual for the period. The goddess herself ordered King Mahendramalla to erect a high temple inside the palace in the form of a yantra, a magic diagram. The king commissioned his architects to build a temple on this plan, but they did not know how to go about it. Finally, they were enlightened by a sannyāsi, and were then able to erect the temple.³⁸

Still, this account fails to reveal the problem which made the project appear insoluble to the architects. Clearly, they were unable to go about the task using their traditional knowledge and skills. They required enlightenment by a holy man. In fact, the structure reflects an apparently quite traditional feeling for design, and the ground plan is not marked by any departures from the standard pattern of this type. So the problem cannot have been one of employing a yantra as ground plan for a temple. What is new in the structure is the fact that it is a 'high temple',³⁹ and that it was erected on a huge, multi-terraced, stepped base. The structural problem, therefore, was a matter of imposing a third story on to the normal temple design and of building the stepped base.

The Taleju temple at Kathmandu was the first in the Valley to have more than two stories (Pl. II, b). In course of time, local deities, too, were given high temples. Their reaction, however, was one of displeasure, initially at any rate.

It is very likely that King Mahendramalla (1560–1574) not only built the Taleju temple in 1564, but had a third story added to the Paśupati temple at Deopatan as well.⁴⁰ Only some twenty years later, however, in A.D. 1585, this step was reversed in the reign of Queen Gaṅgā Rānī. As Wright puts it: 'The middle roof of the temple of Pashupati being in very bad repair, she caused it to be taken off, leaving the temple with only two roofs. The gold of the one taken off was made into a Gajura and placed on the top of the temple, which was thoroughly repaired.'⁴¹ Hasrat's account makes it quite clear that the building had had three stories.⁴² The Queen had obtained permission from the temple priest before taking this action.⁴³ Still, it was a serious measure, and the whole incident remains rather obscure in view of the attention paid in Nepal to preserving temple designs intact in spite of the replacement of individual elements. Gaṅgā Rānī's step can only be accounted for as a restoration of the

³⁸ Wright, p. 207; for another version, see Hasrat, pp. 63–64.

³⁹ The classification of a temple as 'high' occurs very rarely in Wright's chronicle and in each case refers to a departure from the normal height of two stories.

⁴⁰ See also the history of the Paśupati temple.

⁴¹ Wright, p. 210; Hasrat, p. 66.

⁴² See Hasrat, p. 66.

⁴³ Ibid.

temple to its traditional, correct two-storied form. Gaṅgā Rānī was a passionate builder and certainly would not have missed this opportunity to add stories to such an important structure. But any departure from the traditional architectural scheme of things seems to have met with stiff opposition from the priesthood. And it was the latter who not only gave the Queen permission to carry out the renovation, but probably called upon her to do so.

Some hundred years after the erection of the Taleju temple, King Siddhinarasiṃha of Patan had a very high temple built for Matsyendranāth in 1665. This temple had three stories. In the same year, however, it was struck by lightning and the spire fell off.⁴⁴ Shortly after, at a large procession for Matsyendranāth, the deity appeared in the form of a small child and announced that he was not pleased that such a high temple had been erected to him.⁴⁵ Nor can the lightning recorded in the chronicle have failed to impress the population in this respect. The king had committed a grave transgression by having a temple built for the deity which departed from the traditional height. By doing so, he had exposed himself to the god's fury.

Whereas Matsyendranāth directed his anger at this departure from the cult against his own temple, and damaged it by lightning, a similar departure from orthodoxy at Bhaktapur threatened the whole city.

Bhūpatindra Malla built a three-storied temple, the length of which ran north and south, and placed in it, facing west, a Bhairava for the protection of the country, and the removal of sin and distress from the people. This Bhairava gave much trouble, and the Rājā in consequence consulted clever men, who told him that, if the Īsvari of the Tantra Shāstra, whom the Bhairava respected, were placed near him, he would be appeased. He therefore at an auspicious moment, laid the foundation of a five-storied temple, with a flight of stairs, and with images of lions, griffins, elephants, and Jaya Malla (and) Phattā. The pillars were of carved agrās (or sāl) wood, and there were five stories of roofs. This temple is the most beautiful, as well as the highest, in the whole city. In building it the Rājā set an example to his subjects by himself carrying three bricks, and the people brought together the whole materials in five days. When the temple was finished he secretly placed in it the deity of the Tantra Shāstra, who rides on Yama-rāj (supposed to be a Baudhamārgī-dēvatā), whom no one is permitted to see, and who is therefore kept concealed. After this the Bhairava became tranquil.⁴⁶

Both the Bhairava temple and the Nyatapola temple (Fig. 8) were erected about 1700. The legend of their foundation does not account for Bhairava's sudden metamorphosis from tutelary god of the city to divine menace. The reason is apparent, however, once one recalls that the magic equilibrium of the city had been disturbed by the height of the temple for Bhairava. This equilibrium was restored by the erection of another high temple, the Nyatapola. Such a city is obviously subject to a finely balanced system which lays down and marks off the authority and function of each deity. Whenever this system is disturbed, the deities get out of control and their malevolent aspect becomes manifest.

A similar idea must have been at work at Patan, where, at the same time as the two temples at Bhaktapur, the Kumbheśvara temple identified with Paśupati was given two extra stories to make five in all.⁴⁷ Matsyendranāth had already been given a three-storied temple in 1665, and Kumbheśvara is the other principal deity of the city. The two temples are on the city's

⁴⁴ Wright, p. 242.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Idem, pp. 194–195.

⁴⁷ See under the history of the Kumbheśvara temple, pp. 16–17.

north-south axis. At the two extremities are the temples of Matsyendranāth and Kumbheśvara, resp.; the royal palace is in the middle. The terrain falls off from the Matsyendranāth to the Kumbheśvara temple. Add to this the fact that the Matsyendranāth temple was a three-storied edifice, and the result could not fail to be seen as a radical shift of power within the city in favour of this temple. To redress this balance, the Kumbheśvara temple was given three more stories in the reign of King Yoganarendramalla (1684–1705). This building with its five stories was now able, in spite of the difference in elevation, to measure up to the Matsyendranāth temple.⁴⁸

As soon as such a high temple was built, the citizens of the town, too, were allowed to build their own houses higher than before.⁴⁹

The various legends surrounding the construction of the temples make it clear that the tendency to build high (i.e. three-storied) temples only started in the 16th century with the erection of the Taleju temple.⁵⁰ The new building type was opposed by the priesthood, and hence by the people. It was believed that the system of a magic equilibrium which had to prevail in the whole country was being disturbed. It was not until the end of the 17th century that this new tendency won the day, and very soon the *durbār* squares of all three capitals were dominated by three-storied temples.

Chinese reports dating back to the 7th century have been cited in an attempt to prove that towered temples already existed in Nepal at that time.⁵¹ But the towered structure which must have amazed the Chinese is a seven-storied palace.⁵² No inferences may be drawn from this regarding contemporary temple architecture, particularly since the Chinese accounts contain not one single description of a temple.

The observation that the two-storied temple type must be older than the three-storied is confirmed by one more factor, viz. the structure of the buildings themselves (Figs. 6, 7; p. 8).

The temple contains a core which extends through two floors, and encloses both the cult image cell and the empty compartment above (Fig. 6). Around this core, there is a closed circumambulatory path (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*), so that the wall of the core forms the inner wall of the *pradakṣiṇāpatha* here while, in the upper story, it forms the outer wall of the temple. Hence, the buildings have quite a simple structure consisting of two parts: the core, and the *pradakṣiṇāpatha* enclosing it in the lower story.

Where the building has more than two stories (Figs. 10, 11), we do not find the basic design being adhered to and a further core added, extending through three floors. A frame is placed

⁴⁸ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, p. 600, refers specifically to this fact: 'It is said that, looked at from a distance atop a house in the heart of the Patan city this temple appears to rise as high as the top of the Matsyendranātha temple, which is situated at a higher altitude.'

⁴⁹ Wright, pp. 207, 242.

⁵⁰ Just what role was played in this development by the three-storied *Indreśvara* temple at Panauti (outside the Kathmandu Valley) cannot be ascertained. The sanctuary concerned is a very old one. In a colophon dated N.S. 516 (A.D. 1396), it is mentioned in conjunction with *Jayasimharāma*, who had his political centre in the area of Banepa and Panauti (Petech, pp. 148–149). As renovator of the *Pasupati-līnga* at Deopatan (q.v.) he is also said to have erected a new finial over the *Indreśvara* temple (Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, p. 393). It is possible that this ruler had the *Indreśvara* temple erected in the place of some older structure as a sign of his political power. According to the Physical Development Plan for the Kathmandu Valley (p. 50), the temple was only built in the 15th century. About A.D. 1500, the area around Banepa and Panauti was for a short period an independent Malla kingdom (Petech, p. 153). The construction or renovation of the temple could have been carried out at that time. The fact remains that no evidence regarding the construction of the temple is available, nor do we know when it was given its third story.

⁵¹ See, e.g., Lévi, 2, pp. 11–12.

⁵² Description of the palace in, e.g., Waldschmidt, *Nepal*, p. 42.

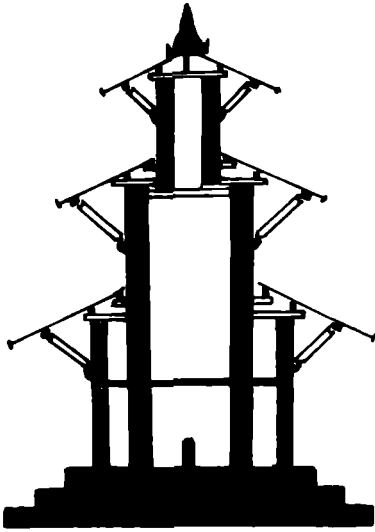


Fig. 10. Schematic section of a three-storied temple

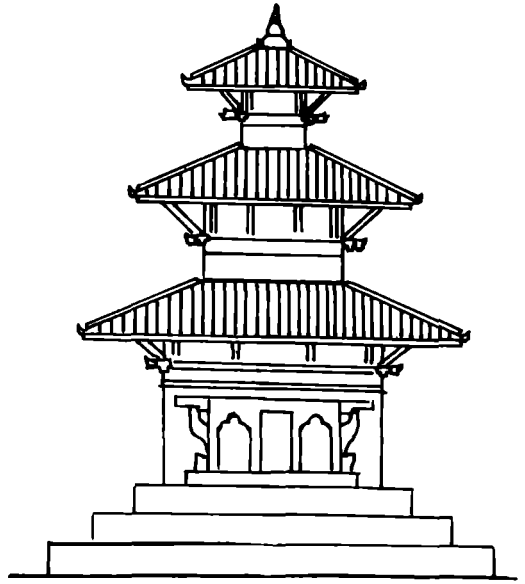


Fig. 11. Schematic front elevation of a three-storied temple

across the rim of the core to support all further floors (Fig. 10). This frame is composed of beams laid across the rim of the core and reducing the circumference of the opening concentrically. They form a new reduced rim on which the next story is placed. It is at this point, then, between the second and third stories that the design of the temple is changed (Fig. 6, p. 8; Fig. 10). All further stories, including the third, turn out to be mounted on top of the core, i.e. imposed on the basic two-storied construction. Seen from the outside, however, there is no break in the overall conception (Fig. 7, p. 8; Fig. 11).

3. THE NEPALESE TEMPLE AS BUILDING TYPE, CONSISTING OF CELLA WITH AMBULATORY AND EMPTY COMPARTMENT IN THE SECOND STORY

The object of the argument hitherto was to identify the basic type of the Nepalese temple. Contrary to what has been assumed hitherto, this is not a tower, but a two-storied shrine consisting of a cella with enclosed ambulatory and an empty compartment in the second story (Fig. 6, p. 8). A wall core encloses both the cella and the empty compartment above. Consequently, the structure of the building type displays very archaic features.

Waldschmidt has pointed out that Nepal largely avoided the customary temple form of the Indian Middle Ages with cult room crowned by a tower and connected with a porch or several anterooms.⁵³ This fact, i.e. that no *maṇḍapas* were used in Nepalese temple architecture is rather peculiar.

Maṇḍapas are not found in North Indian temples before the end of the Gupta period. This would provide an important *terminus ante quem* for the typological classification of Nepalese shrines. Still, a temple type with three components, viz. cella, ambulatory and empty compartment in the upper story, was not completely unknown in the Gupta period.

⁵³ Waldschmidt, *Nepal*, p. 45.

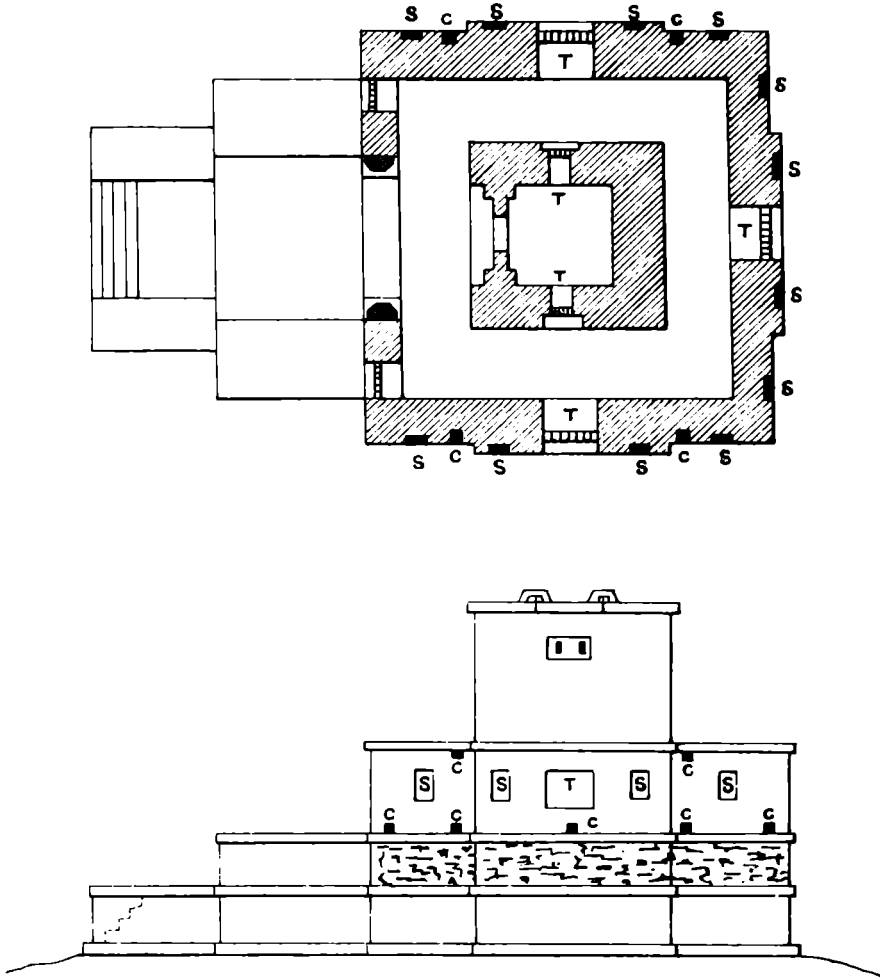


Fig. 12. Nachna-Kuthara, Pārvati temple, groundplan and front elevation

*The Pārvati Temple at Nachna-Kuthara*⁵⁴

According to the elevation and ground plans (Fig. 12) published by Cunningham,⁵⁵ the Pārvati temple is a small shrine consisting of a cella with a surrounding closed pradakṣiṇāpatha. In addition, there is a second story over the cella. Both second floor and cella are enclosed by a continuous wall core. The shrine stands on a base, with a terrace and stairway in front on the entrance side. The dimensions of the building are: cella, outside 15'-16', inside 8'; pradakṣiṇāpatha, outside 33', inside 26'.⁵⁶ Access to the temple is from one side

⁵⁴ Agrawala, P. K., *Gupta Temple Architecture*, Indian Civilisation Series 8, Varanasi, 1968, pp. 42-43; Banerjee, R. D., *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Varanasi, 1933, p. 130 et seq.; Viennot, O., Le problème des temples à toit plat dans l'Inde du Nord, *Arts Asiatiques* 18, 1968, pp. 30-32.

⁵⁵ Cunningham, A., *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports 21*, Calcutta, 1885, Pl. XXV.

⁵⁶ Banerji, Imperial Guptas, p. 138.

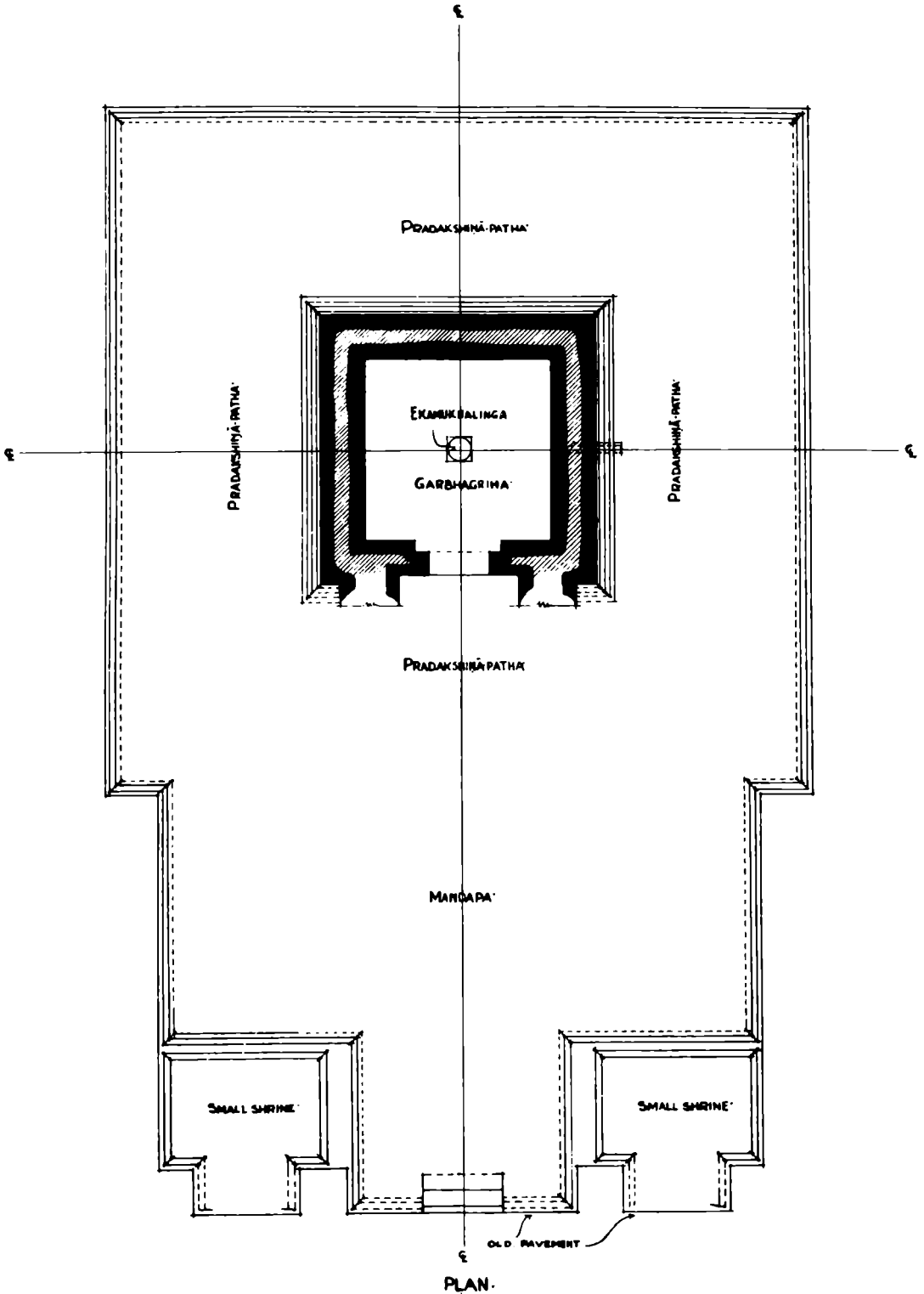


Fig. 13. Bhumara, Śiva temple, groundplan

only, and the cella, too, has only one entrance. The story above may not have had any access, for there were no traces of either staircase or entrance.⁵⁷

*The Śiva Temple at Bhumara*⁵⁸

The temple at Bhumara (Fig. 13) is generally associated with the Pārvatī temple in Nachna-Kuthara (Fig. 12), since it is built on the same plan.⁵⁹ In addition, its staircase was flanked by two small secondary shrines. However, all that has survived of the whole structure at Bhumara is the base and the cella itself. Judging from these remains, the core structure (the cella) did not have a second story. It is possible, therefore, that the temple at Bhumara, unlike that at Nachna-Kuthara, had only two components, viz. an ambulatory and a cella. The building has the same dimensions as the temple in Nachna-Kuthara: 15'–16' for the cella and 35' for the square surrounding terrace.⁶⁰

Saraswati gives an account of another building situated in what is now Bangla Desh:

At Baigram in the Dinajpur District in Bengal the ruins have been exposed of a temple of an identical plan, but the method of roofing the sanctum and the outer hall of circumambulation is not known. According to the copperplate inscription date 128 G.E. (A.D. 447–48) found at the site the remains represent the temple of Lord Govindasvāmin, erected by one Śivanandin . . .⁶¹

This building too consisted of a cella with surrounding pradakṣiṇāpatha.

*The Temple at Gop*⁶²

This edifice is located outside the actual sphere of Gupta influence, on the Kathiawar peninsula; it dates back to the 6th century. The temple consisted of a tower-like core structure surrounded by a closed pradakṣiṇāpatha (Fig. 14). While the pyramidal roof of the core structure is built of stone, the pent roof covering the pradakṣiṇāpatha is of timber. The points where the rafters rested on the tower are still visible. The two roofs were separated by a narrow wall zone in the core structure. Whether the structure of the tower-like core was subdivided into two stories by a system of binders and joists is not reported in the literature. However, the structure of the core containing the cella stood out prominently from the roofed-over pradakṣiṇāpatha, so that its roof and the wall zone below look like a separate floor when seen from the outside.⁶³

⁵⁷ Agrawala, *Gupta Temple Architecture*, p. 43.

⁵⁸ Idem, pp. 41–42; Banerji, *Imperial Guptas*, p. 130 et seq.; Viennot, *Le problème*, pp. 32–34; Viennot believes that the temple had no pradakṣiṇāpatha, but a second story instead. Even if this were the case, the building would still belong to the group discussed here.

⁵⁹ Banerji, R. D., *The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara*, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 16, Calcutta, 1924, p. 3.

⁶⁰ Banerji, *Imperial Guptas*, pp. 137–138.

⁶¹ Saraswati, S. K. *Temple Architecture in the Gupta Age*, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 8, 1940, p. 151; see also Agrawala, *Gupta Temple Architecture*, p. 78.

⁶² Agrawala, *Gupta Temple Architecture*, pp. 56–58; Burgess, J., *Report on the Antiquities of Kāthiāwād and Kacch, Being the Result of the Second Season's Operations of the Archaeological Survey of Western India 1874–75*, London, 1876, p. 187 et seq., Plates LI, LIII, Plan in Plate LII; Sankalia, H. D., *The Archaeology of Gujarat (including Kathiawar)*, Bombay, 1941, pp. 55–59.

⁶³ In the subsequent versions of this temple in Kathiawar, the ambulatory is missing, but in the interior the core structure is clearly divided into two stories by a layer of beams. See Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, Plate IV, Fig. 6.

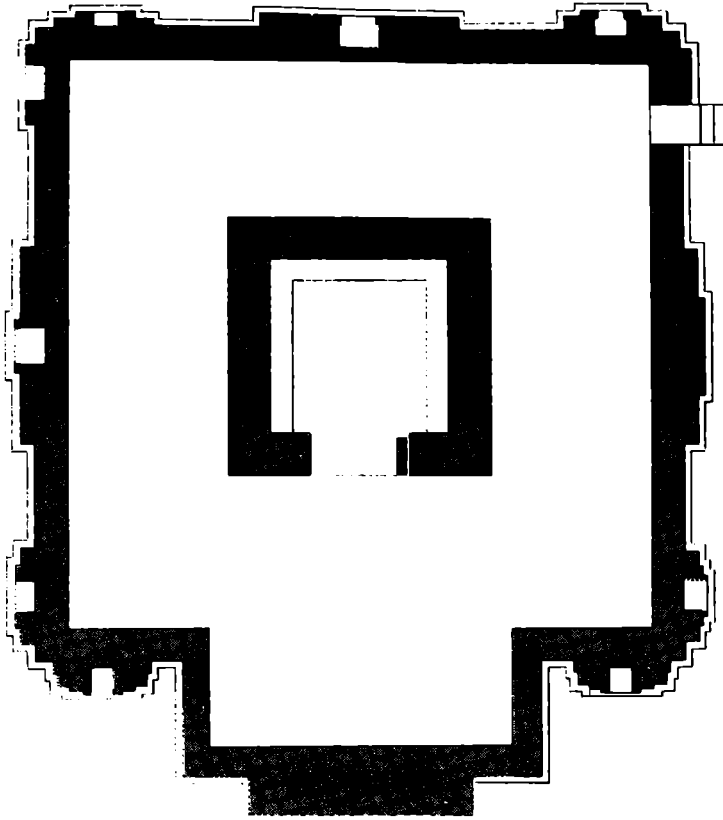


Fig. 14. Gop, temple, groundplan

The building occupies an interesting position in the evolution of this architecture. In this connection, P. K. Agrawala writes:

However, there are reasons to believe that the Gop temple represents the Gupta model in a regional garb, undoubtedly with several adventitious and individualistic forms. Not only it is of utmost importance in bearing witness to the peripheral overflow of the style of the mainland, but also as the originator of a local temple style in Kathiawar.⁶⁴

Two buildings which are often associated with the Pārvaṭī temple in Nachna-Kuthara are the Meguti and Lāḍ-Khān temples, both at Aihole.⁶⁵

*The Meguti Temple at Aihole*⁶⁶

This building was completed in A.D. 634–635, and consists of a main section erected on a square plan with a maṇḍapa in front. The main section is composed of a cella with surrounding pradakṣiṇāpatha and a second story over the cella. Cella and second story are enclosed by a continuous wall core. The pradakṣiṇāpatha was subsequently transformed into

⁶⁴ Agrawala, *Gupta Temple Architecture*, pp. 57–58.

⁶⁵ See, *inter alia*, Agrawala, *Gupta Temple Architecture*, pp. 61–62; Viennot, *Le problème*, p. 31.

⁶⁶ Cousens, H., *The Ancient Temples of Aihole*, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1907–8*, Calcutta, 1911, pp. 195–196, Pl. 73, Fig. b.

a series of eight storerooms. A closer look at this main section reveals the same three elements as in the Pārvati temple at Nachna-Kuthara: cella, ambulatory and empty compartment. In the Meguti temple this basic type is extended to include a porch and a maṇḍapa. From a typological point of view, it is more developed than the Pārvati temple.

The Lād-Khān Temple at Aihole⁶⁷

In spite of the resemblance (Fig. 15), this building does not necessarily belong to the group, for the typological source is different. As Brown has shown, it is a pure maṇḍapa form.⁶⁸ However, the building has one peculiarity: above its centre, a second story has been added like a tower. Typologically, this element has nothing to do with the maṇḍapa form, and is obviously an attempt to bring a maṇḍapa into line with a normal temple type.

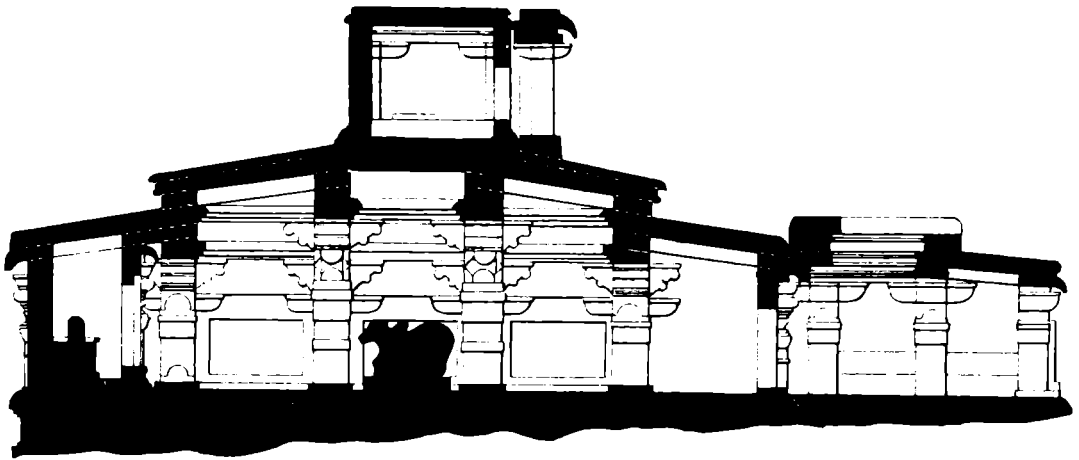


Fig. 15. Aihole, Lād-Khān temple, section

The further course of Indian temple architecture is along the lines of the Meguti temple. The chief feature was the combination of a two-storied image shrine and a maṇḍapa. This is the medieval Indian temple form which Walsdchmidt contrasts with the Nepalese type. In the various regions of India, we notice many different tendencies in developing and varying this architectural type which reached maturity in the Gupta period and which consisted of a core with cella and empty compartment, and an ambulatory, extended by a maṇḍapa.

In this respect, South Indian temple architecture is most closely connected with the basic type (Fig. 12). Saraswati writes:

It is not difficult to trace in this double-storeyed variety the beginnings of the 'Draviḍa' or south Indian temple style. One of its frequent characteristics is an inner sanctum with a covered cloister around, as in the Gupta-temple referred to. The superstructure of a temple of the south Indian style consists of repetitions of the sanctum cella in gradually receding courses, one above the other, and the beginnings of such an arrangement may already be noticed in the provision of an upper story, which being placed above the inner sanctum cella of these Gupta temples has the appearance of being set back.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Idem, p. 190 et seq., Pl. 69, 70, 72.
⁶⁸ Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 52.
⁶⁹ Saraswati, *Temple Architecture*, p. 152.

Worthy of separate study is the role played in some peripheral regions of the Indian sub-continent by the architectural type of the Pārvatī shrine at Nachna-Kuthara (Fig. 12). These are the areas which were largely unaffected by later tendencies in Indian architectural developments. This Gupta temple type was able to survive in its pure and unadulterated form into the 19th century. True, it was subject to various historical, cultural and geographical variations, so that buildings in different regions were given a completely different stylistic treatment, although this never affected the actual type, which was preserved intact.

These three peripheral regions of the Indian subcontinent are: Bengal, Kerala and Nepal.

*Bengal*⁷⁰

Writing on the buildings of Bengal, which he classes as folk architecture, Brown comments: 'Obviously originating from a somewhat primitive cabin-like structure it gradually evolved into a system derived from wooden houses and bamboo thatched huts of the ancestral forest dwellers. This is shown specifically in the sloping roof, curved eave, and other similar features, which could only be the result of long years of building in timber and bamboo'.⁷¹ Characteristic is the downward curve of the roof, with the contour being repeated in the design of all wall surfaces.

Temple architecture in Bengal has evolved the most varied types, but the difference is one of degree only, viz. in the number of stories and superimposed turrets. The rule is for the shrines to be erected on a square plan. Among the various temple types, the most frequent form is a double-storied building consisting of cella and ambulatory, having on its roof a tower-like superstructure as second story which is reminiscent of a śikhara (Pl. IV, a). Cella and ambulatory are open on three sides, the fourth side being closed. Each of these three sides has a large tripartite, arched opening instead of a portal. Each access to the sanctum from the ambulatory is one single opening. The heyday of this style was in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

Here, in a completely alien stylistical garb, we have a temple type which corresponds to that of the Pārvatī temple in Nachna-Kuthara (Fig. 12).

*Kerala*⁷²

As early as 1924, R. D. Banerji noted the affinity of the temple type found on the Malabar coast (Pl. IV, b) to that of the Gupta period typified by the Pārvatī temple at Nachna-Kuthara (Fig. 12).⁷³ This idea was not taken up in the later literature on the temple architecture of Kerala and South Kanara; the prevailing view, like Brown's attitude to Bengal's architecture, was that this was an indigenous construction form with roots of its own. The detailed description of the Rāma shrine at the Vaḍakkunnātha temple building of Trichur is instructive for a study of the resemblances to and differences from Nepalese temples:

The most southerly of the group is the two-storeyed shrine of Rama, square on plan, with its adhishtana, walls, and prastara relieved five times on each of its four faces. The central reliefs on

⁷⁰ Brown, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 149-153; Gangoly, O. C., *Indian Architecture*, 4th revised edition, Bombay, 1954, pp. 44-45.

⁷¹ Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 150.

⁷² Kramrisch, *Dravida and Kerala*, p. 15 et seq.; Poduval, R. V., *Architecture in Kerala*, in: *The Arts and Crafts of Kerala*, Cochin, Trivandrum, Madras, p. 41 et seq.; Srinivasan, K. R., *Temples of South India*, India—The Land and the People, New Delhi, 1972, p. 181 et seq.

⁷³ Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 139 et seq.

the side and the rear faces, corresponding to the door opening on the west, have false doors inset between the pilasters carrying the sala motif on top. The corner bays have the karnakutas at the corners and the intervening ones the panjaras. The narrow recesses have lesser shrine-motifs on paired pilasters. The kuta, sala, panjara reliefs are overshadowed by overhanging eaves of the pent roof sloping down from hooks and beams, set higher up on the face of the inner wall, and resting on the wallplate of the outer wall, the overhanging eaves further supported by intricately carved caryatid-like wooden brackets sprung from the top region of the outer wall again. The inner wall rises up to a further level, carrying the four-sided domical ultimate roof, or sikhara, also of metal sheet, with a stupi on top. The sikhara roof has four nasikas, or dormers, at the middle of its four sides.⁷⁴

Hence, the building consists of a square core, enclosing both the sanctum and the empty cell located above, as well as the surrounding pradakṣiṇāpatha. Additional features like the peculiarities of the roof design and the function of the roof struts indicate a particularly close relationship between this temple type in Kerala and that of Nepal.

In spite of considerable stylistic differences, the temple architecture of Bengal (Pl. IV, a), Kerala (Pl. IV, b) and Nepal (Pl. V, a) has several common features:

1. They can be traced back to a type known to have existed in the Gupta period and exemplified by the Pārvatī temple in Nachna-Kuthara (Fig. 12).
2. Bengal, Kerala and Nepal are on the periphery of the Indian subcontinent—both geographically and culturally.
3. All three regions enjoyed a heyday in architecture between the 16th and 18th centuries. This period was particularly favourable to the emergence and cultivation of local peculiarities, since there was no longer any dynamism forthcoming from the centre that was capable of integrating these (Hindu) countries.
4. All three forms may be classed as provincial art.

⁷⁴ Srinivasan, *Temples of South India*, p. 185.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PORTAL SYSTEM OF NEPALESE STATE TEMPLES

1. INTRODUCTION

The Portal System

Each wall of the shrine's square main story has a large tripartite wooden portal system (Pls. V, a, b; IX; Fig. 16), consisting of an upright rectangular central doorway set between two lower doorways, each topped by a trefoil arch. The jambs, of little depth, are conceived as a stepped porch, and consist of several receding pilaster orders set in a large, elongated, rectangular, moulded frame. The central doorway is set in an additional, slightly projecting frame, consisting of two slender pillars supporting a horizontal slab, which widens as it rises and generally serves as base for a huge, lavishly decorated tympanum (*torāṇa*). The entire portal system rests on a long, stone threshold. At the sides, the overall scheme is extended by various carved architectural elements which give the portal a complicated 'wing-like' contour (Pl. VIII, b). These elements consist of a long, narrow frieze-like panel with ornamental and figural decoration, surmounting a quadrant-shaped architectural member containing a Tāntric deity depicted on a *makara*, and of a further panel resting on the threshold that slopes up to the side and contains a guardian deity. The various elements located on the periphery of the portal frame proper (the 'inner' frame) create a second ('outer') frame, which binds the portal structure to the surrounding wall-area in an extraordinary fashion. The expansive nature of the conception enhances the monumentality of these portal systems. In view of the tiny sanctum behind to which they lead (Figs. 6, 7, p. 8), it is hard to explain their function as entrances. What we miss is a room inside large enough to be in keeping with their monumental size. The portal systems on all four sides of the shrine are not so much passages to the modestly dimensioned sanctum as large altar screens, in the centre of which the cult image does in fact appear when each central doorway is opened.

The upper frieze-like panel on each side is enclosed above, below and at the side by a five-fold band of moulding (Pls. VIII, b; IX), which is carried round the entire portal system, including the threshold. Only the two quadrant-shaped elements are left outside. On the assumption that the moulding is not just some arbitrary, unimportant, decorative motif, an analysis of the portal system's basic design reveals the following features:

1. The fact that the band of moulding encloses the threshold (Fig. 16) means that the latter not only belongs to the tectonic scheme of the portal, but is an integral part of the portal system's overall design.
2. The curved architectural elements located on either side and isolated by the band of moulding from the rest of the portal system (Fig. 16) are obviously additions to the basic portal scheme as marked off by the band of moulding. Nor can there be any relation between these elements and the frieze-like slabs above which might be accounted for by, e.g., some supporting function.
3. Since the threshold is much longer than the portal structure resting upon it, the observer

is tempted to associate its two projecting extremities with the two frieze-like panels projecting on either side at the top of the structure. By this time one realizes that these panels are not just two isolated architectural elements added to the inner (rectangular) frame, but belong to some older continuous element, and are in fact the projecting ends of a lintel, the entire middle portion of which is missing, having been overlaid by the 'inner' frame of the portal (Fig. 16).

4. The reconstruction of a lintel across the portal system suggests a further observation: Following the band of moulding which separates the two frieze-like panels from the inner frame of the portal, we obtain a second band (Pls. IX, X; Fig. 16) which is independent of the first, and has an elongated, rectangular contour enclosing the entire tripartite scheme and superimposed on the lintel.

For the morphology of the portal system this superimposition means that the main tripartite scheme was fitted into an already existing doorframe. This view, viz. that we are dealing with two different superimposed portal schemes (Fig. 16) is given support by an examination of the portal system at the Paśupatināth temple in Deopatan. Photographs (Pl. I) taken from outside the temple precinct show clearly that certain parts of the portal scheme are covered with silver, others with gold. The result is a division of the portal scheme into two different zones. These tally exactly with the two areas identified in the formal analysis. Therefore, the various sections of the portal system were not regarded as being of equal importance for the cult. The fact that the portal systems of other temples are uniformly coated with metal is no contradiction in this respect. The point is that, in the Paśupatināth temple, the break occurs at this point and nowhere else. Thus, knowledge of the relative significance for the cult of the various parts of the portal system was preserved until recent times.

The Basic Structure of the Portal System

If we visualize the portal system as defined by the band of mouldings (Pls. VIII, b; IX; Fig. 16), the result is a highly archaic construction form. It is a doorframe made of jambs and of a lintel and threshold which are of roughly the same length and are anchored to the wall by their projecting extremities. At the foot of the jambs is a panel element showing a guardian deity. Of the various components of the frame this is the only one that does not pretend to have a static function.

However, whereas lintel and threshold are prominent features, the jambs, though essential components in such a frame, do not appear at all, being overlaid by parts of the inner frame (Pl. VIII, b). The quadrant-shaped elements located on either side do not belong to the basic form, as we have seen, since they have not been enclosed by the main band of mouldings. Nor was the three-door scheme itself part of the original system. What this means is that we have lost our criterion for deciding whether the basic portal structure itself had three doors or only one.

Now, in Nepal in particular, it is not hard to find examples of a doorway having a wide, projecting threshold and lintel, with jambs mortised in these. This type occurs in the entire religious, urban and rural architecture of the Nepal Valley. The difference seems to lie merely in the degree of decoration. There has been a tendency, therefore, to conclude that Nepalese temple architecture can be traced back directly to Nepalese rural buildings. This assumption was strengthened by the observation that roof shape and roof supports in both architectural

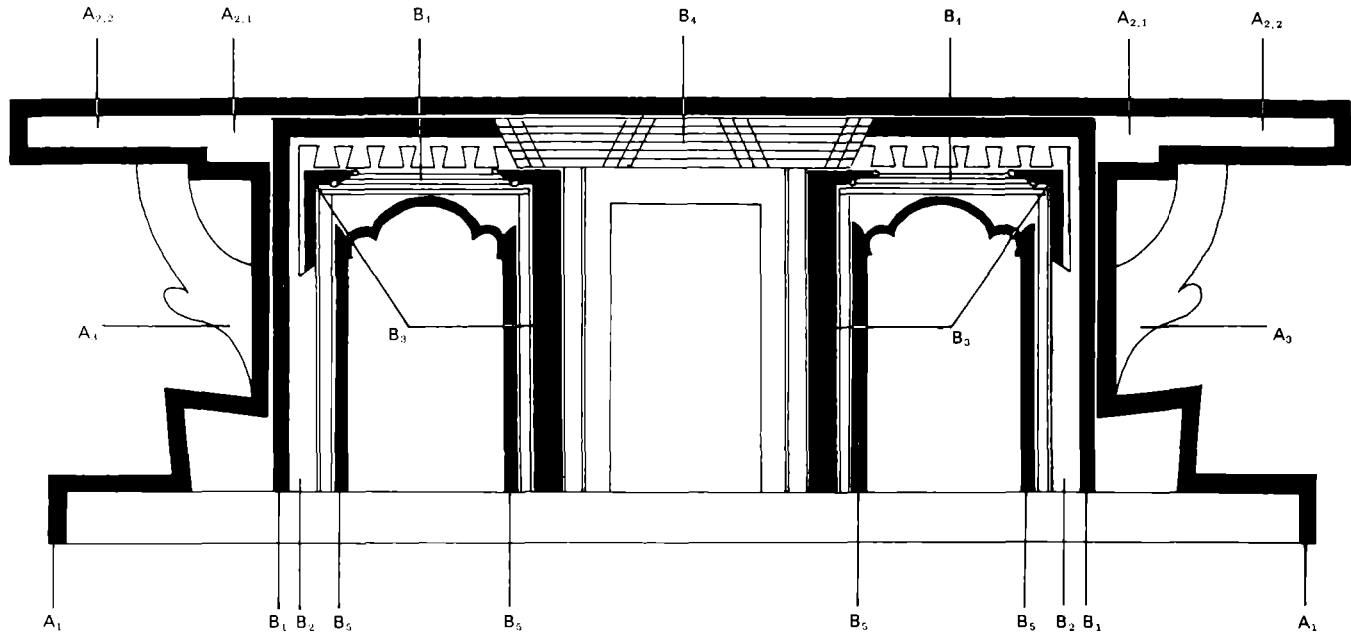


Fig. 16. Tripartite portal system

A₁ The outer portal frame, band of moulding
A₂ The lintel extremities
 A_{2,1} Main register
 A_{2,2} Flanking panel
A₃ The curved wall bracket

B₁ The inner portal frame, band of moulding
B₂ The indented frieze with pilaster stump
B₃ The voluted consoles with attendant pilasters
B₄ The stepped roof layers over the three portal openings
B₅ The base
B₆ The trefoil arch frames of the flanking portals

traditions can be reduced to the same basic form. This would make it possible to derive the chief constituent elements in Nepalese temples from purely indigenous sources. The underlying idea, as far as Nepal's cultural development is concerned, is that the country's architecture could be viewed as the primary component in the national identity, even if other elements, viz. all other arts and even the religion of the country had been adopted from India. This is reflected in the efforts now being made, as part of a national cultural policy, to knit together the culturally heterogeneous sections of the country by building in this traditional Nepalese (Newar) style, thus demonstrating the intrinsic unity of the country on the one hand, and distinguishing its own from Indian culture on the other.

The question arises, therefore, of whether temple and farmhouse are, in fact, links in one architectural chain, or in how far the architectural elements used in farmhouse construction are comparable with those found in temple architecture. The system of threshold, lintel and mortised jambs employed in religious architecture is merely a decorative system (Fig. 16), a curtain before the tectonic elements proper (Pl. VII, a). The features which farmhouse and temple appear to have in common really belong to two completely different stages of development. The components and elements used in religious architecture are both extremely complicated and archaized at the same time. They can only be the result of a long evolution, although—in Nepal at any rate—all the intermediate links in the chain are missing. It is no contradiction that these architectural features are employed as decorative elements in urban houses and in palace architecture as well. This is not a further development from a rural style of construction, but the adoption of certain motifs from the sphere of religious architecture, where they had been given form and meaning. This also goes to explain the apparent stylistic unity in the architectural landscape of Nepal, which falls into two categories, viz. an unbroken tradition of farmhouse construction on the one hand, and an archaizing temple architecture on the other which strongly influenced urban house and palace construction.

For the further discussion of the portal system, it will be important to bear in mind that its elements are not of a tectonic nature.

2. THE LINTEL EXTREMITIES

The inner frame of the portal is extended at each upper corner by a rectangular, elongated, frieze-like panel filled with ornamental figures and decorative motifs (Fig. 16, p. 54; Pls. VIII, b; IX, X). The bottom edge of the panel has a step, so that the element is in fact made up of two parts of unequal vertical extension; the vertically longer, but horizontally shorter zone adjoins the actual ('inner') frame of the portal. In relation to the wall plane, this element is recessed. The transition is in the form of a five-stepped band of moulding which encloses the area of relief along the three outer edges, but not on the portal side. Here, it has no frame of its own, but is open, since the high, angular moulding of the 'inner' portal frame which crosses at this point is not related to this panel of relief, and in fact cuts it off abruptly (Pl. X; Fig. 16). On the other hand, the five-stepped moulding enclosing the panel is not broken off, but carried round the entire portal system (Pl. IX; Fig. 16). As we have seen, the two frieze-like panels are the extremities of a former continuous lintel the entire middle section of which has been overlaid by other design elements.

Each lintel extremity, then, consists of two panel-sections of different height. In the section with the greater vertical extension, adjoining the inner frame of the portal, is a scene with figures; in the narrower but very long, adjacent section we find a series of circular floral

motifs occasionally filled with Tāntric symbols. So, the two adjoining panel-sections of different height differ not only in shape but in content as well.

The Gupta Period

Cunningham refers to the projecting 'head of the door' beyond the jambs as one of the characteristics of Gupta architecture.¹ He traces this motif back to a wooden form in which the extension of the lintel was a structural necessity.² This is the only attempted explanation of the motif to date and one that later authors have continually fallen back on.³ In the relative chronology in her article, 'Le problème des temples à toit plat dans l'Inde du Nord',⁴ Viennot tries to show that the projected lintel was only employed in the early Gupta period.⁵ Certainly, a tendency can be noted in Gupta architecture to evolve clear portal frames. In this respect, the projecting lintel presents a problem that is all the more complex as the questions architecture has to deal with are not only aesthetic in nature, but concern meaning as well. And the function of these very lintels must have been so crucial for the religious architecture of those times that it was impossible to eliminate them from the portal scheme on purely aesthetic grounds. This motif retained its validity, after all, *pace* Viennot, until the time of the Teli-kā-Mandir at Gwalior.⁶

Still, a closer look at the portal frames of the Gupta period shows clearly that the lintel motif was, in fact, often employed, but not in the same design context as in Nepal. The Nepalese lintels do not reproduce any Gupta form.

The Kuṣāṇa Period

Example I. In the Mathura museum there are two architectural fragments which obviously once belonged to the same portal system.⁷ The first is the left-hand end of a lintel-cornice and the second a fragment of the portal jamb. These two pieces permit a partial reconstruction of the portal for a shrine of the Kuṣāṇa period.

This portal (Fig. 17) had an upright rectangular opening indicated by mouldings. The line of the opening⁸ is repeated in the broad surrounding frame which is divided along the jambs into a series of vertical panels, which are filled with pairs of standing figures in architectural settings. At the top is an area of relief spanning the full width of the opening and showing a number of standing figures bearing gifts. An additional ornamental band of moulding marks off this upright rectangular frame from the rest of the portal. About half way up the wide area of relief is a small adjoining area containing a rosette and a flying figure. These two flanking areas or panels widened the portal frame in lintel fashion. The crowning member extended in this way is circumscribed by a floral staff divided into small segments and by a broad band filled with a creeper, both starting at the foot of the portal. Considering the line

¹ Cunningham, A., *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports 9*, Calcutta, 1879, p. 44.

² *Idem*, p. 43.

³ See, e.g., Rowland, *The Art and Architecture*, p. 136.

⁴ Viennot, *Le problème*, pp. 49–50.

⁵ This view is discussed in connection with the curved bracket.

⁶ Viennot, *Le problème*, Fig. 86; Fischer, K., *Schöpfungen indischer Kunst*, Köln, 1959, Fig. 241; whether a continuous tradition is involved or a conscious reversion, cannot be examined here.

⁷ Vogel, J. Ph., *Le sculpture de Mathurā*, *Arts Asiatica*, Paris and Bruxelles, 1930, Pl. 22, a, b.

⁸ *Idem*, Pl. 22, a, on the lower, right-hand side of the fragment; Pl. 22 b, the fourfold stepped moulding on the left-hand side of the fragment.

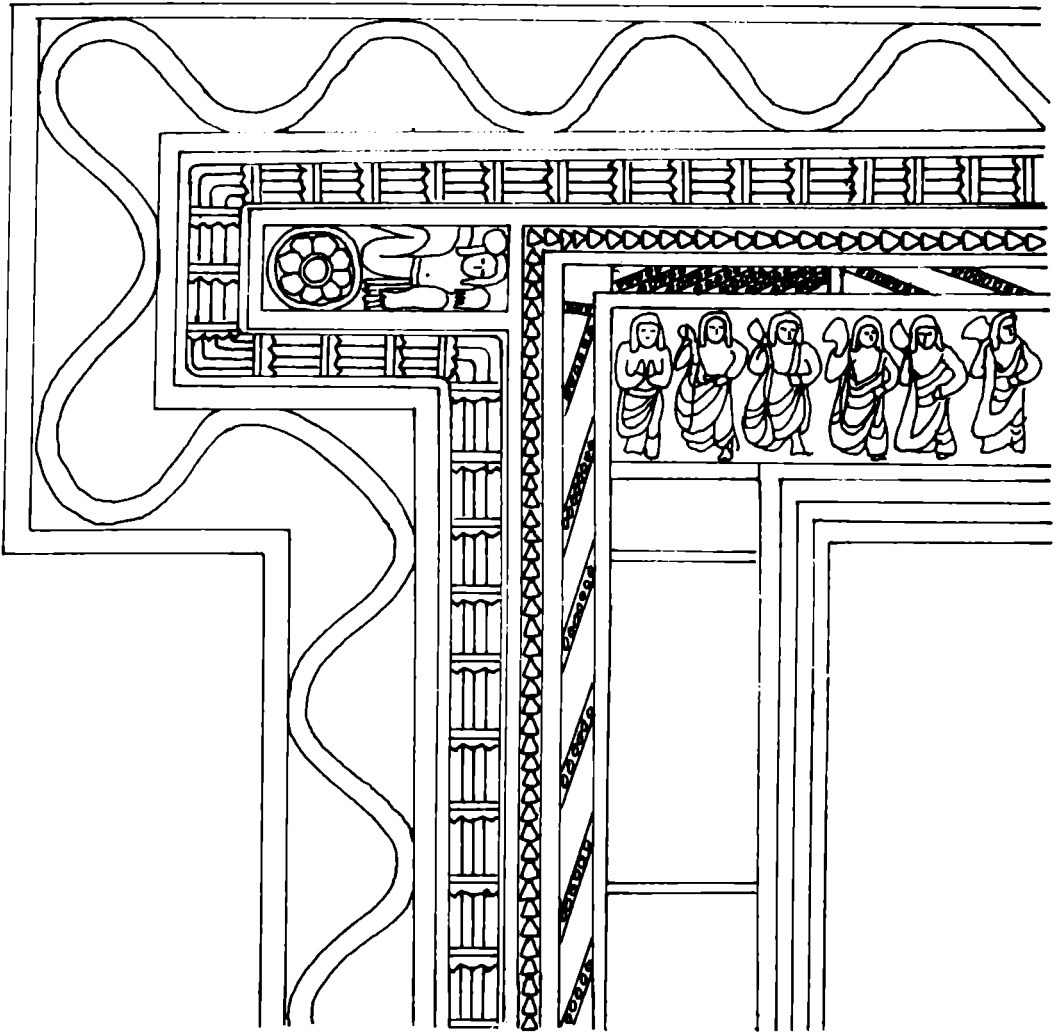


Fig. 17. Reconstruction of a portal frame based on two architectural fragments in the Mathura museum

of the floral staff, and the ornamental band of moulding, it is clear that this portal can be resolved into two different types of frames which have been fitted into one another. The first follows the principle of posts and projecting lintel, while the second is a plain, upright, perpendicular plank frame.

Example II. The right-hand section of the crowning member of another portal (Fig. 18) can be seen in the museum at Lucknow.⁹ This fragment is enclosed at the top, on the right and along its bottom edge by a band containing a creeper. The width of the portal opening proper is indicated by slight moulding below the main panel or register, which is filled with a row of Buddhas and a devotee on the right.

⁹ *Idem*, Pl. 36, c.

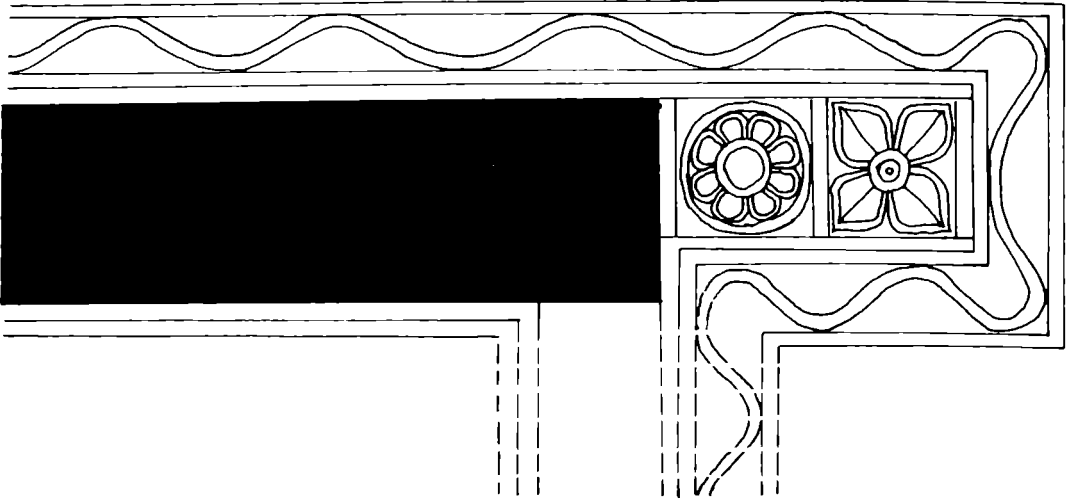


Fig. 18. Drawing of lintel fragment in the Lucknow museum, Example II

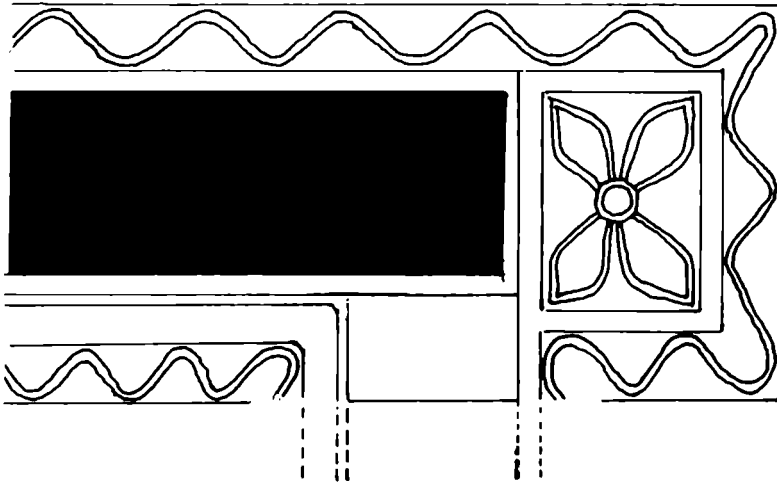


Fig. 19. Drawing of lintel fragment, Example III

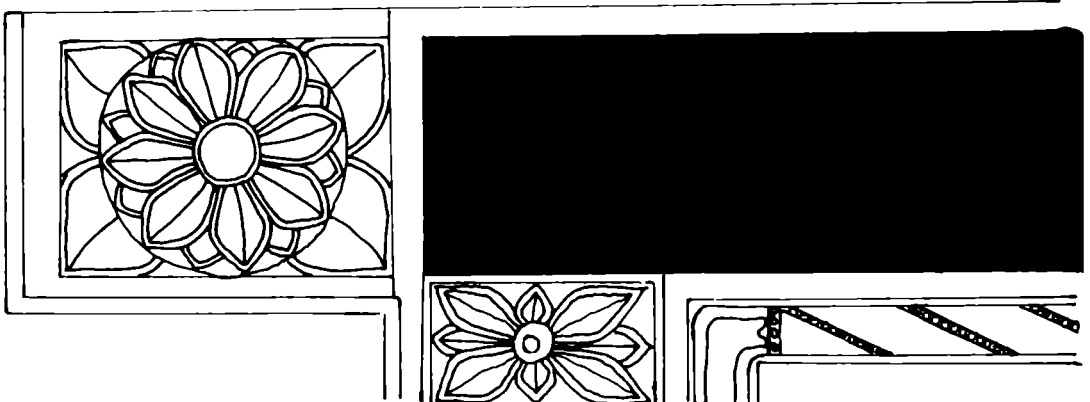


Fig. 20. Drawing of lintel fragment in the Lucknow museum, Example IV

The actual doorway was bounded by narrow jambs having the same width as the devotee. A smaller (outlying) panel extends the crowning member on either side. The lower edge of these outer panels, each filled with two rosettes, runs slightly higher than that of the main register, but their upper edge lies on the same level. As in the specimen in the Mathura museum, it is clear that two different types of portal frame have been fused together (Fig. 17), one having the lintel motif, the other, which was inserted in the first, having the form of an upright rectangular frame. Unlike the specimen at Mathura, there is an obvious tendency here to integrate the two different forms. This is mainly achieved by omitting the ornamental band of mouldings which separates the various component parts of the crowning member at Mathura. As a result, the two flanking panels adjoin the main register and the upper edges are now all on the same level. The extremities of the lintel are now related to, and flank, the main register. This makes it possible to regard outer and main registers as one unit. These features enable us to assign the Lucknow example to a later stage of development than the Mathura fragment. While the first simply shows two different frames existing alongside, the second tries to merge the two.¹⁰

The attempt to combine main register and lintel ends produced a variety of solutions, as can be seen from two further examples.

Example III (Fig. 19), discovered in Mathura, is a fragment of the crowning member of a portal in which the lower edge of the main register lies higher than that of the lintel end.¹¹ The latter, however, has shrunk to a unitary area decorated with a floral motif.

Example IV (Fig. 20), one more fragment excavated in Mathura, shows outer and main registers completely fused.¹² Here, both lower and upper edges are on the same levels. Examples III and IV represent a new development. The ornamental mouldings which mark off main register from lintel extremity so clearly in Example I, are lacking here, as in Example II. However, the portal opening itself is now surrounded by a prominent ornament, and, as a result, the main register, located hitherto directly over the portal opening, is isolated from the latter. This peculiarity promotes the tendency to combine main register and the 'former' lintel ends. Strangely enough, the process of merging main register and flanking lintel extremities does not culminate in the elimination of these foreign looking elements, but instead in the incorporation of the main register into the lintel motif. The latter proves stronger than the tendency to create a clearly defined frame for the portal. In Example IV, in particular, the old lintel motif is again dominant.

The Nepalese Lintel Motif's Place in the Context of Indian Developments

The discussion so far has shown that two different portal types were combined in the Kuṣāṇa period, so that a plain rectangular form was superimposed on an apparently more ancient portal form consisting of posts and a lintel with projecting ends (Example I; Fig. 17). We have also noted a tendency to merge the two frame types in order to produce a formally

¹⁰ This is lent support by the stylistic properties of the two fragments. According to information supplied by Prof. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, there are no Gandhāra influences to be detected in Example I, but certainly in Example II. It is likely, therefore, that Example II is of a later date.

¹¹ Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E., *The 'Scythian' Period. An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of Northern India from the 1st Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D.*, Leiden, 1949, Fig. 51.

¹² Rosenfield, J. M., *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967, Fig. 30.

satisfactory solution, so that the portal's crowning member again constituted a homogeneous element. This formal coherence was achieved by dispensing with the stark external moulding of the inner, rectangular frame, so that the formal demarcation within the crowning member was eliminated. In this process, however, the difference of content in the various sections was preserved.

As we have seen, Example II (Fig. 18) shows the fragment of a crowning member consisting of main register and two flanking panels. The lower edges of the outer and main registers are separated by a step.

A comparison of Nepalese lintel extremities (Fig. 16; Pls. VIII, b; IX, X) with this fragment in the Lucknow museum (Fig. 18) reveals a formal agreement between the two. Both have a main register decorated with figures which passes without a break into a flanking panel that starts slightly higher up. In both cases, the upper edges are on the same level, while the bottom edges are separated by a step. In the flanking panels of the examples from both the Kuṣāṇa period and Nepal, there is a floral decoration in the form of rosettes. Although these examples reflect different stages of historical and stylistic development, they tally completely as architectonic motifs. This furnished us with a derivation as well as a date for the motif of the Nepalese door lintel.

Moreover, the derivation of the Nepalese lintel motif from Kuṣāṇa architecture reaffirms that the Nepalese motif is not related to any primitive construction form which might link it with Nepalese peasant architecture, for example. The architectural form is the complicated product of a long history. It would appear too that the Nepalese lintel motif, as employed in temple architecture, is a retranslation into timber of forms which were developed in stone.

A closer look at the lintel motif in Nepal (Fig. 16) and at Mathura (Fig. 18) reveals an interesting fact: the main register decorated with figures in the Kuṣāṇa period should be regarded as part of the inner frame, while only the two flanking areas project over the portal jambs. In Nepal, on the other hand, the surviving fragments of the main register also belong to the projecting part of the lintel (Pl. VIII, b). In Nepal, therefore, it is only the crowning member itself which has been preserved, but not the sections of the frame belonging to it. One question which remains to be answered is whether the crowning member was borrowed as an isolated motif, or whether it was adopted along with the entire portal frame, which has only survived in the scant remains of the lintel. In Nepal, main register and flanking panels are regarded today as a lintel (cf. Examples III and IV from Mathura), and the origin of the main register in a different architectural tradition has been completely forgotten.¹³

3. THE CURVED WALL BRACKET

In the corner between the uprights of the portal frame and the projecting lintel (Fig. 16, p. 54; Pls. VIII, b; IX, X, XI, b) is a roughly quadrant-shaped curved architectural element based on two concentric circles.¹⁴ The outer section is referred to here as 'wall bracket' (Pl. XI, b). Its base is in the bottom quarter of the portal frame. From this point, the outer line of the element describes a concave curve, turning inward about half way up the bracket, circumscribing a small sack-like bulge and then running in a convex curve as far as the lower edge of the lintel end. The inner line describes a distinct quadrant. Most of the bracket's

¹³ Yet, the difference in content is still retained.

¹⁴ Morphologically the element is not a unit. The inner part is perhaps only the filling of the empty space between bracket and frame.

surface is taken up by a makara. The rear part of the monster merges into a floral pattern of large spirals. In its wide-open jaws stands a multi-armed Tāntric deity, generally a goddess, who is shown in front of a tree.

Percy Brown was the first to draw attention to the connection between this curved wall bracket motif and certain Indian elements.¹⁵ He writes:

One motif is however of exceptional historical and structural interest. It was the custom of the Newar builders to follow the ancient procedure of projecting the wooden lintels of their doorways and other openings beyond the uprights forming the jambs. To act as a support to this projection they introduced a curved bracket which they decorated with a figure, and it is not difficult to recognize in this a later edition of that dryad support holding the other ends of the cross-bars of the toranas in the Sanchi stupa dating some two thousand years previously. Through all these centuries this artistic structural motif has preserved its identity, modified during its long period and altered by circumstances but performing its original purpose as in the days of primitive Buddhism in India.¹⁶

Brown offers a purely functional explanation based on the assumption that the lintel and curved bracket as employed in Nepalese temples were statically necessary members. Yet, the foregoing discussion has shown that

1. the two elements were quite separate originally, both structurally and morphologically, and that
2. they no longer perform any static function in their present context.

They are purely decorative motifs and, therefore, subject to other conditions than those applying to statically necessary members. Brown did, however, recognise that the Nepalese curved bracket and the corresponding motif in Sanchi belong to one morphological line of development.

Nonetheless, a comparison of the Sanchi motif¹⁷ with the bracket employed in Nepal reveals that the architectural member at Sanchi, although still suggesting a curved bracket, has largely evolved into a group carved in the round. What is left is merely an iconographic motif employed in a certain position (between lintel and jamb). In Nepal, on the other hand, not only the iconographic, but also the architectonic (curved bracket) motif is intact (Pl. XI, b).

It is these different stages of development at Sanchi and in Nepal which make it clear that we are dealing with a combination of two different motifs, viz. an architectonic and an iconographic. For the rest of their history, the two motifs are correlated. To show this correlation, it may be useful to outline the evolution of the architectonic motif, particularly as attention has been confined so far to this element's iconographic aspect.¹⁸

In early Indian architecture, such a curved supporting member was used in various positions to transmit loads and to support projecting stories¹⁹ as well as beams by shortening the distance between two pillars.²⁰ It was also used in free-standing toraṇas to serve as a strut

¹⁵ Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 164.

¹⁶ *Idem*, p. 184.

¹⁷ Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, 2, New York, 1960, Figs. 7, 14–15.

¹⁸ E.g., the work of Viennot, O., *Les divinités fluviales Gaṅgā et Yamunā aux portes des sanctuaires de l'Inde. Essai d'évolution d'un thème décoratif*, Paris, 1964.

¹⁹ E.g., in the façades of the caitya halls at Bhaja and Kondane; Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Pl. XXII, 1 and 2.

²⁰ E.g., in the Gaṇeśa Gumphā at Khandagiri-Udayagiri; Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Plate XXXII; Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, 2, Pl. 49.

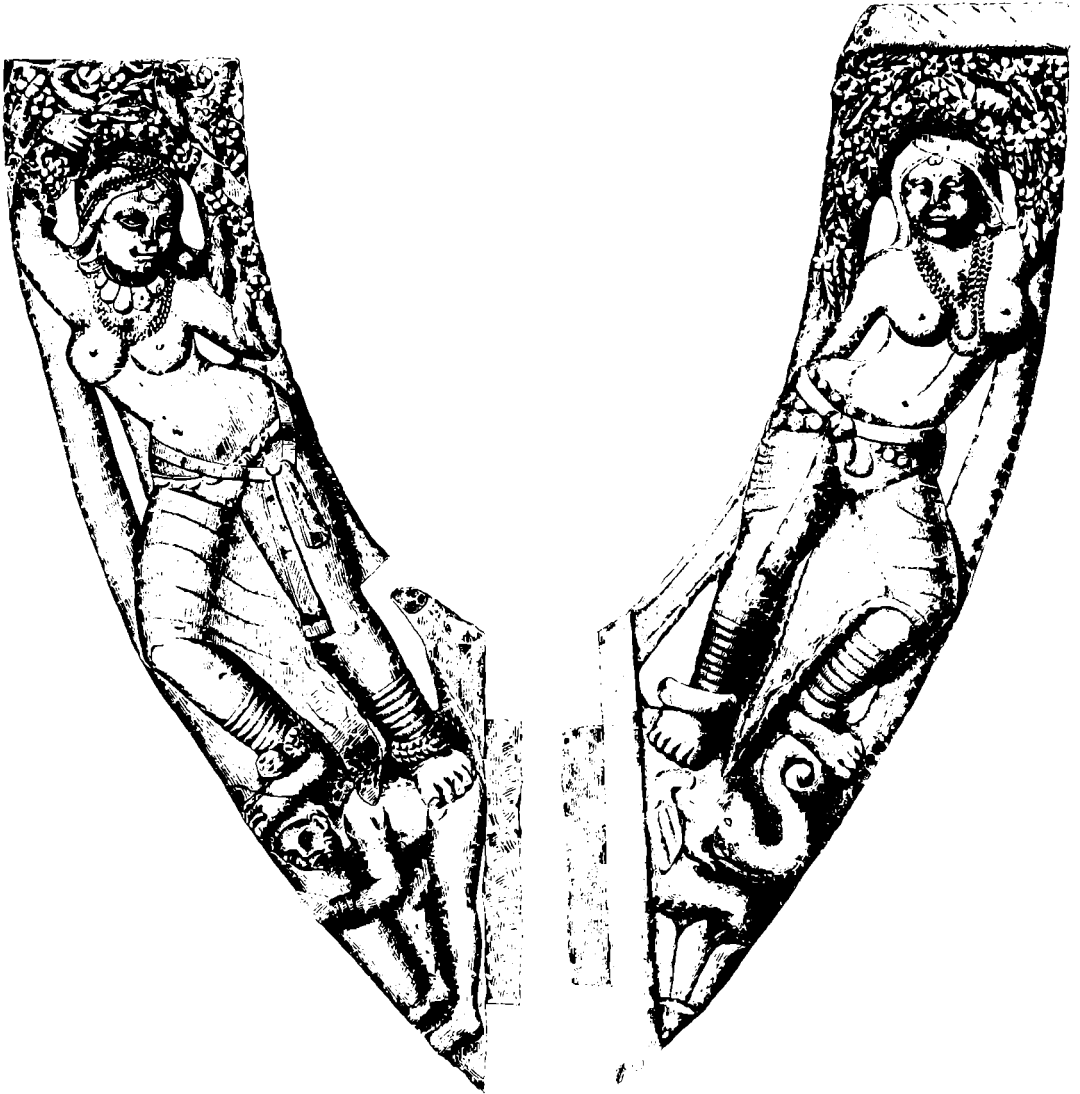


Fig. 21, a. Brackets of a toraṇa from Kankali Tila, front.

for the projecting ends of the cross-bars. So, this is a simple, originally tectonic element, which was not always curved, but might be straight, even when used in one and the same position. The two strut shapes seem to have been interchangeable. The curved bracket evolved a 'face', the side being used depending on its location in the structure. Where the curved bracket is situated between beams and pillar (Fig. 37, p. 91), the face is on the under-surface.²¹ On a free-standing toraṇa (Fig. 21), the element could be seen from both sides,²² so it would have two faces. At Sanchi²³ the sections carved in the round can be traced back to such a curved supporting member with a broad face, the curved outer line being indicated by

²¹ See note 20, p. 61.

²² See note 17, p. 61.

²³ Ibid.

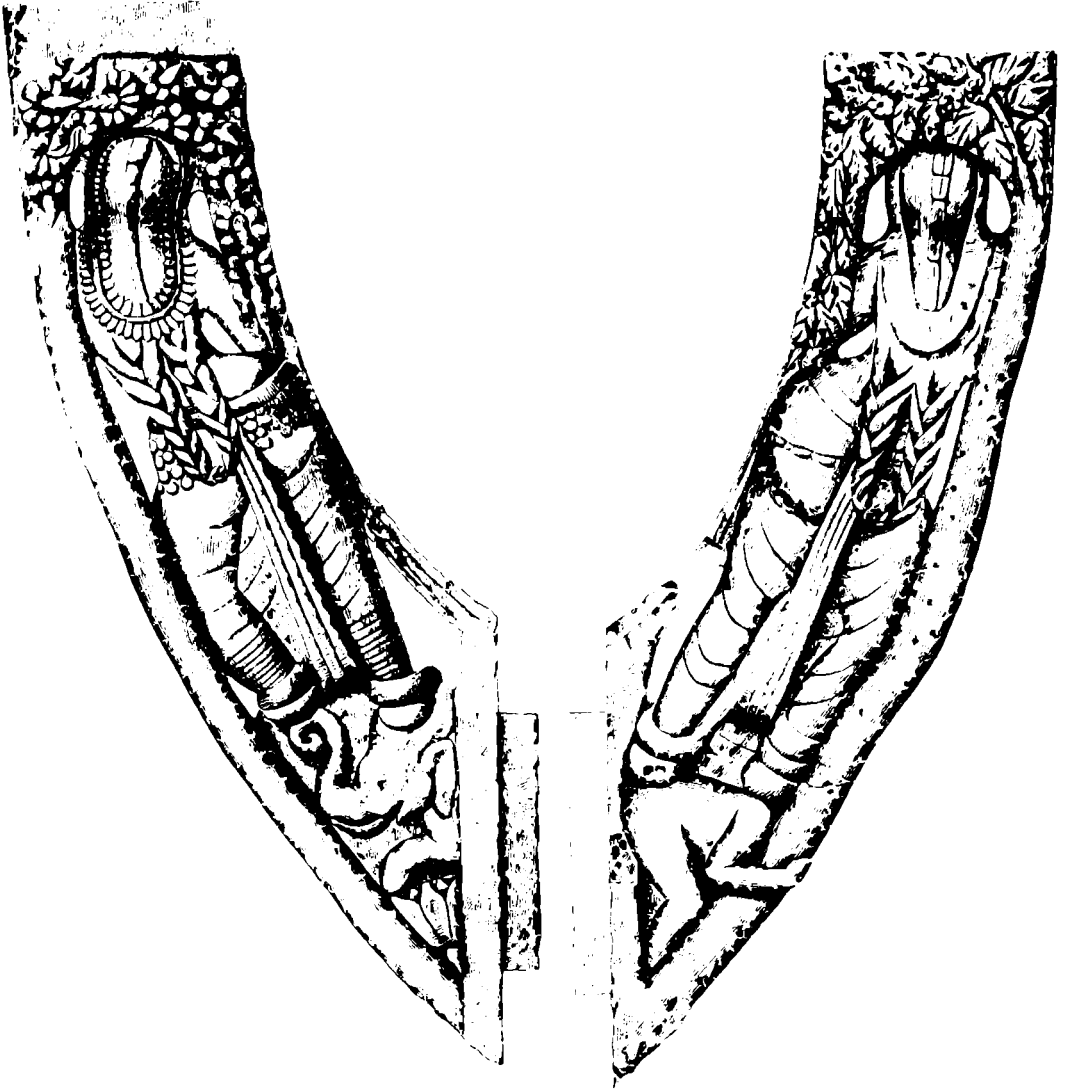


Fig. 21, b. Brackets of a toraṇa from Kankali Tila, rear.

the contour of the tree trunk. The iconography was pressed into a mould or shape which is not justified by the motif itself, and can only be accounted for as a reminder of the former architectonic element. The iconographic representation is not free, therefore, but bound to one particular architectonic form, to an architectonic motif.

Even more characteristic than at Sanchi is the shape of the curved bracket in two earlier specimens dating from the pre-Kuṣāṇa period (Fig. 21). These were found at Kankali Tila, near Mathura, and are now in the Lucknow museum.²⁴ They belong to the same toraṇa. Here, too, only one yakṣi is shown, with front and back depicted on the two sides. As at Sanchi the architectonic shape is indicated by the contour of the tree trunk. The element with

²⁴ Smith, V. A., *The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1901, Pl. XXXIV and XXXV.

two faces is pierced, but no full carving in the round has been attempted. In both specimens from Kankali Tila, it is possible to detect a tendency for the architectonic element to break up. They are, therefore, the genuine precursors of the sculptures at Sanchi.

Further specimens of this type have survived from the Kuṣāṇa period. One of them is now in the Seattle Art Museum;²⁵ another, sawn apart to make two faces,²⁶ is in the Victoria and Albert Museum London.²⁷ These examples from the Kuṣāṇa period again have the original plank or beam-shaped form. In contrast with the pieces referred to above from the pre-Kuṣāṇa period, we find the architectonic form re-established here. Each side is decorated with a yakṣī, the two figures being separated by the architectonic element. These specimens from the Kuṣāṇa period constitute a reversion to an approach which had been rendered obsolete by the examples from Kankali Tila and Sanchi.

The curved bracket is an established feature of the free-standing toraṇa. The transfer of this architectonic motif from the toraṇa to the shrine portal took place during the Kuṣāṇa period. The earliest known example is that of Jankhat.²⁸ Just how difficult it was to find a satisfactory formal solution for the integration of an element into a closed portal context that had evolved in a different context can be seen from its further history during the Gupta period. The curved bracket was employed complete with its iconographic motif, since the two were inseparably associated with one another.

It should be noted that the adoption of this motif seems to have coincided with the final phase in the development of the free-standing toraṇas. The transference of such an essential toraṇa component makes the shrine's portal system the 'heir' to the free-standing toraṇa, for it is likely that the curved bracket with its iconography was transferred to the portal system as one detail that was to stand for the whole. In the Kuṣāṇa period, portal systems and free-standing toraṇas were two quite separate, morphological elements. Some change in the cult, which will probably remain obscure, rendered the free-standing toraṇa superfluous.²⁹ Its role within the cult was now assumed to some extent by the portal system, and this was signified by the adoption of a distinctive architectonic and iconographic detail together with its religious function.

A close look at these architectural fragments from the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa periods reveals a certain vagueness in the iconography. Viennot³⁰ remarks that, in the period immediately preceding the Gupta period, no distinction was made between vṛkṣadevatās (tree goddesses) and nadīdevatās (river goddesses). In all these cases, for instance at Sanchi, the artists used the śalabhañjikā motif consisting of a standing female figure with crossed legs, who is seen holding the branch of a tree with one hand. In the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa periods, this motif is extended to include a 'vehicle' in which the deity stands.³¹ Thus, a new iconographic interpretation is heralded which finally turns vṛkṣadevatās into nadīdevatās.

²⁵ Lee, Sh. E., A Kushan Yakshi Bracket, *Artibus Asiae*, 12, 1949, p. 184 et seq., Figs. 1 and 2.

²⁶ According to information supplied by Professor van Lohuizen-de Leeuw.

²⁷ Vogel, La Sculpture de Mathurā, Pl. XII; further examples are shown in: Smith, The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā, Pl. XXXVI, 1 and 2.

²⁸ Photograph: D. G., A.S.I., 675/71; published in: Agrawala, Gupta Temple Architecture, Pl. XII, c.

²⁹ Benisti remarks that, in the 4th century, A.D., only few stūpa complexes have a vedikā and that vedikās disappear altogether in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. (M. Benisti, Le Stūpa d'après le Kriyāsamgraha. Étude sur le stūpa dans l'Inde ancienne, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 50, 1960, pp. 94-95.)

³⁰ Viennot, Gaṅgā et Yamunā, p. 9.

³¹ Ibid.

This metamorphosis occurred in the Kuṣāṇa period.³² The various surviving specimens reflect this gradual revaluation. As Viennot demonstrates, the process did not come to an end with the emergence of the goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā, but continued through the entire Gupta period.

In the various stages of its evolution, this complex motif retains certain elements as constants, while others are subject to change. These constants, ensuring the morphological identity of the motif all the way from the art of the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa periods to the beginning of the Gupta period, are:

1. the śālabhañjikā as iconographic motif,
2. the shape of the curved bracket as architectonic motif,
3. the position of the element in the upper corners of the toraṇa.

This final constant must be qualified to the extent that the element is later integrated into the portal structure. Here again, however, it appears in the upper corner.

During this development, the variable is the deity's 'vehicle'. By the early Gupta period, this had become a makara.

The object of the present discussion is to show that the motif as it appears in Gupta times is identical with the form encountered in the Kuṣāṇa period. That they are iconographically identical has long been recognized, and was noted for the first time by J. Ph. Vogel.³³ What has not been considered hitherto is the role played by the architectonic element in this respect, for this is an architectonic motif with an evolution which was confined to the curved bracket of the toraṇa. In all other representations of river deities—i.e. apart from those on this particular architectural member—the goddesses are not depicted with a tree. So they are not śūlabhañjikā representations.³⁴ This makes it clear that we are dealing with a special mode of iconographic representation which is quite distinct from others going by the same name. The motif of goddess-with-tree on a makara is only employed on the curved brackets.³⁵ Therefore, this iconography, found on free-standing toraṇas and later on portals, has nothing in common morphologically with other renderings of river deities. It is an architectonically bound motif.

An analysis of the various forms of the curved bracket in the Gupta period, using schematized drawings (Fig. 22), may demonstrate how this element evolved in the age following the Kuṣāṇa period. This approach will be based on the relationship between the curved bracket bearing the figure and the lintel of the portal. The result is a sequence of three different evolutionary stages extending from Kuṣāṇa times down to the end of the Gupta period no. 1 (i.e. after Viennot).³⁶

1. In the Kuṣāṇa period, the element is used as a curved beam which seems to transmit the load of the projecting lintel to the portal jambs. This bracket is therefore located below the lintel and this is the position of all specimens dating from the Kuṣāṇa period derived from free-standing toraṇas. It is also the position of the specimen at Jankhat (Fig. 22, b),³⁷ where

³² Ibid.

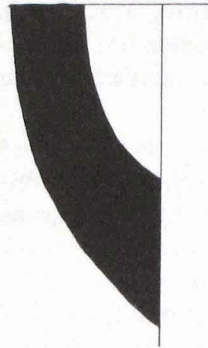
³³ Idem, pp. 1, 9. See also note 46, p. 71.

³⁴ An exception is Nagarjunakonda, for which an explanation must still be found: see Viennot, Gaṅgā et Yamunā, p. 10.

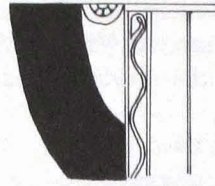
³⁵ Closer consideration would show whether the mode of representation at Nagarjunakonda might not fit into this morphological evolution.

³⁶ Viennot, Gaṅgā et Yamunā, p. 13; the various periods are stages in the evolution of this motif.

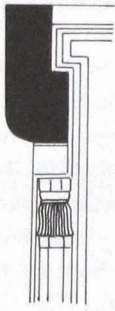
³⁷ Viennot, O., *Le makara dans la décoration des monuments de l'Inde ancienne: positions et fonctions*, *Arts Asiatiques*, 5, 1958, p. 195; Viennot points out specifically that at Jankhat the element was located in a masonry bond.



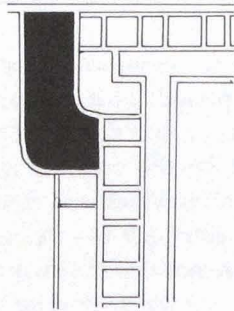
a) Kankali Tila



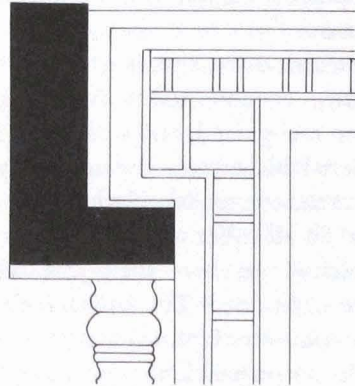
b) Jankhat



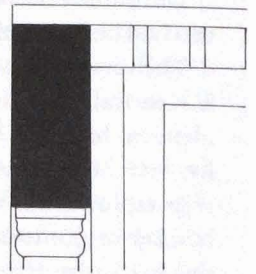
c) Udayagiri, Cave VI



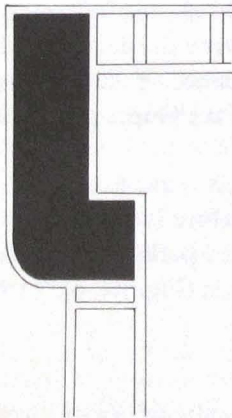
d) Udayagiri, Cave XIX



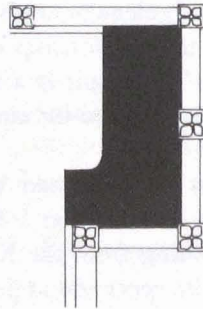
e) Ajanta, Cave XVII



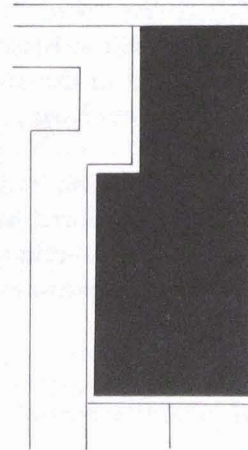
f) Ajanta, Cave XVII



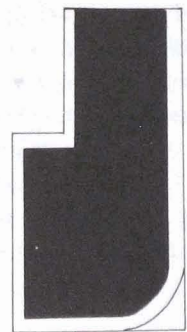
g) Bagh, Cave IV



h) Ajanta, Cave XXIV



i) Tigawa



j) Besnagar

Fig. 22. Evolution of the bracket motif in three stages (I, a-b; II, c-f; III, g-j)

fortunately the relevant sections of the frame have been preserved as well. In this case, however, we have a transfer from a free-standing toraṇa to a portal in a masonry bond.

2. The specimens from the Gupta period seem to constitute a new approach compared with that at Jankhat. Here, too, the curved bracket element has been removed from the bond of the free-standing toraṇas, but is no longer located below the projecting part of the lintel as at Jankhat. This is now impossible, since the portal frames are extended only slightly at the upper corners. In the Gupta period, the element was no longer located below the lintel, but beside and flanking it (Fig. 22). At the same time, being an element which does not belong to the portal structure proper, it is placed on a special half column (Fig. 22, c, e, f). This arrangement demonstrates the isolated, as well as the flanking, position of the curved bracket, for the placing of this element on a half column of its own appears to be quite illogical in view of its former tectonic function. When the beam is regarded as an iconographic vehicle, however, the apparent illogicality vanishes. It becomes evident that the iconographic and the architectural motif were still indissolubly linked. They form a unity. This fact is completely ignored in Viennot's study, so that the results of her relative chronology in parts I, A-D³⁸ become dubious. At any rate, they do not agree with the tentative evolution of the motif outlined here. This should not be taken to imply that the examples originated in the chronological order of such a tentative evolution. Local traditions may have survived, preserving different stages of development which cannot be fitted into a relative chronology. Hence, what we have is merely an evolutionary stage and not a relative chronological classification.

The iconographic and architectural unity of the motif as adopted by Gupta architecture is clearly seen in caves VI and XIX at Udayagiri (Fig. 22, c, d). In the sequel, there was interaction between the curved bracket and the lintel it flanks. The outcome was ever greater assimilation which culminated in the transformation of the curved bracket into a rectangular panel. At the same time, it lost the half column on which it had been placed when it was incorporated into the portal frame. As a result, the element also loses its isolated position flanking the portal frame and becomes a part of the frame itself.

3. This process ushers in the final stage, which affects not only the curved wall bracket, but the lintel of the portal as well, for the inner frame is overlaid by the representation of a pavilion or palace, consisting of two half pillars with a miniature roof and superstructure (Fig. 24). In Viennot's view, this motif evolved from the lintel and the two half columns, which bore the Gaṅgā and Yamunā motifs.³⁹ Still, the conversion of the lintel motif into a palace motif does seem rather unlikely, particularly as there is no evidence of any prior stages in the direction of such a re-interpretation. It is more plausible that a fully evolved motif, viz. one representing a palace or hall, was imported from outside and fitted into the portal. What is more, at Ajanta, Cave I,⁴⁰ there is an instance of the palace superstructure, including the half columns, being used, while at the same time the motif of the river-deity is placed on half columns, too (Fig. 23). This invalidates Viennot's attempted explanation.

The palace is in a typical mediaeval mode, reduced to a few distinctive elements and dispensing with any unitary scale. Integrating this new motif into the portal structure means superimposing it on the lintel that had occupied this position hitherto (Fig. 24). At the same

³⁸ Viennot, Gaṅgā et Yamunā, pp. 13-35.

³⁹ Idem, p. 21 et seq.

⁴⁰ Idem, Pl. 4, a and 9, c (Aurangabad, Cave I). A fine example from the Gupta period which contradicts Viennot's theory, is shown in: A.S.I., A.R., 1907-1908, Pl. XX.

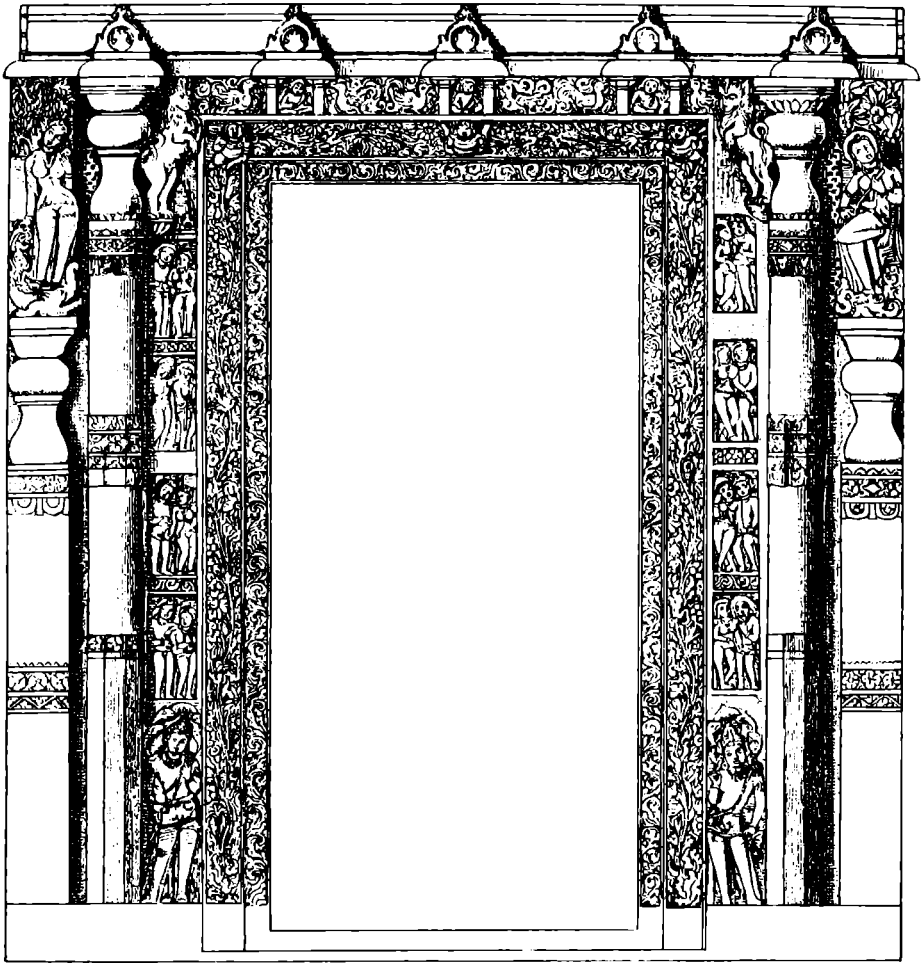


Fig. 23. Ajanta, Cave I, portal to shrine

time, the Gaṅgā and Yamunā motif is incorporated in the portal complex and the whole is circumscribed with a thick floral staff in order to emphasize this new unity. The basic rectangular form of the portal now has flanking areas at its upper corners which Viennot describes as 'bulges'.⁴¹ The question is whether these really are 'bulges' of a basic rectangular shape and not, in fact, the ends of a monumentalized lintel with its entire middle section overlaid by other elements, in this case by the representation of the palace. Such a superimposition of features has already been encountered in a Nepalese context (e.g., in the relation between 'inner' and 'outer' portal frames). There is evidence of this in Mathura too.⁴² The underlying principle, viz. that old features must not be discarded abruptly, but be overlaid by the new, so that some elements are retained to stand for the whole, was applied in

⁴¹ Viennot, *Gaṅgā et Yamunā*, p. 20: "Au sommet des portes: la moulure forme un décrochement où se placent les divinités fluviales."

⁴² See section on lintel extremities.

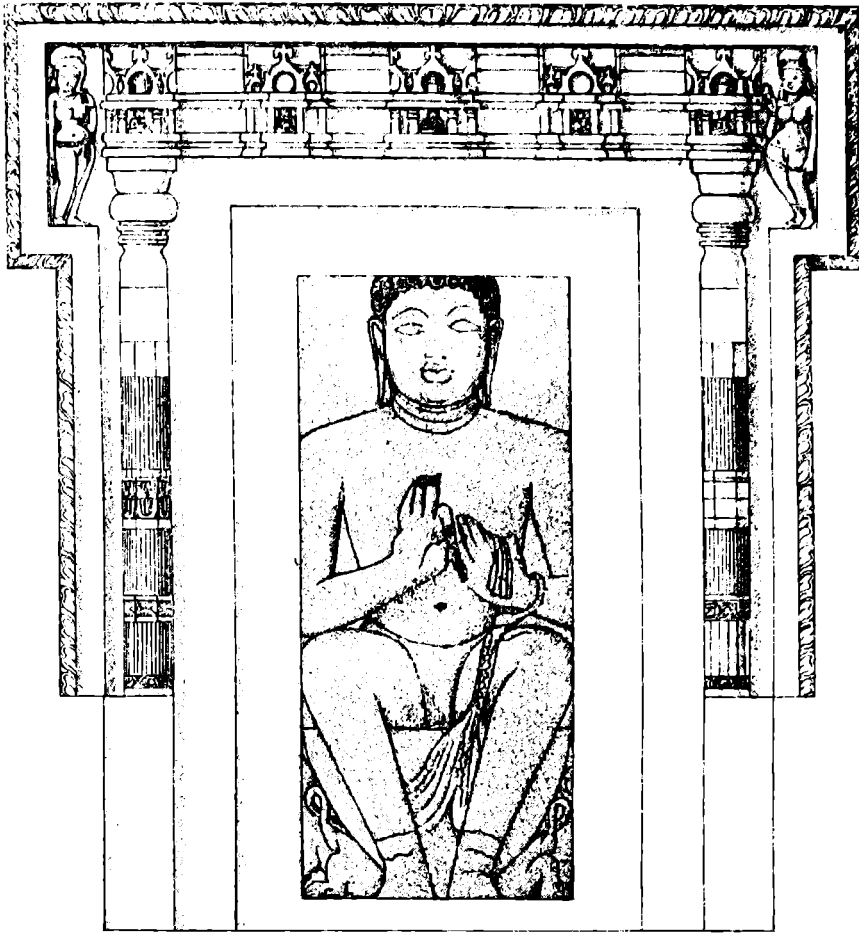


Fig. 24. Ellora, Cave II, portal to shrine

India at different periods. The result is a series of layers of form and meaning, each layer retaining its own validity.

It is interesting to note that the 'bulges' have a subsequent history which is totally unconnected with the figural content for which Viennot thinks they were created. Long after the river goddess had been relegated to the base of the portal, we still find the bulges of the portals with a different figural and ornamental content.⁴³ This is a separate architectural motif, therefore, unconnected with the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The motif is the monumentalized successor to the old lintel.⁴⁴

In the portal frame, the principle of overlaying older features is taken further than in the Kuṣāṇa period. The result is a complete refashioning of the original shape, which is now entirely overlaid by other elements, leaving only the outer border in the form of a floral staff.

⁴³ In Viennot's work, *Le problème*, there are several illustrations of temple portals which confirm this: Figs. 28–29, 35, 86–87.

⁴⁴ It was described as such by Cunningham too, *Reports* 9, p. 43, and subsequently by Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 48.

Although this clear delineation and demarcation by such a staff is a new development, it also constitutes a reversion to solutions used in the Kuṣāṇa period. In the Gupta portals the encircling staff performs the function of indicating the old 'design', since the entire inner portion now has a different content. It is in this inner portion, viz. in the part not occupied by the palace motif, that we find the river goddesses. As has already been shown, Gaṅgā and Yamunā do not actually change their positions in the portal. They are integrated into the portal structure by the introduction of the ornamental staff which extends the lintel motif and encloses the goddesses. Having flanked the lintel hitherto, they now become a motif within the lintel itself.



Fig. 25. Ajanta, fresco painting

In the process, the old 'vehicle' for the image, the curved bracket, loses its identity. The iconographic motif has been detached once and for all, and passes to the ends of the monumentalized lintel. As subsequent developments were to show, this association was to be a temporary one only. Very soon, the iconographic motif left the ends of the lintel, too, and moved to the base of the portal frame. The main stages in the evolution of the motif of the river goddesses took place on the curved bracket. It was this association which, in turn, ensured the survival of the curved wall bracket, transformed now into a rectangular vehicle for the image, up to the moment when the iconographic motif was incorporated in the monumentalized lintel. The comparatively short time it remained in the lintel and its subsequent relegation to the base of the portal demonstrate that the iconographic motif had become freely disposable as soon as it lost its own vehicle.

The Place of the Nepalese Curved-Bracket Motif in Indian Developments

A survey of the evolution of this element in India shows:

1. There is evidence of the curved bracket in India from the pre-Kuṣāṇa period till early Gupta times.

2. The transfer of this element from the free-standing torana to the shrine portal occurs roughly during the period of transition between the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta times.
3. Shortly after, the element's shape changes from curved to rectangular.
4. Viennot has demonstrated that the motif of the river goddesses did not resolve into Gaṅgā and Yamunā until the early Gupta period.⁴⁵ They are then distinguished by being given different 'vehicles'.

This evolution permits a tentative classification of the Nepalese curved-bracket motif.

1. In Nepal, Gaṅgā and Yamunā are not differentiated goddesses.
2. The architectonic element on which these goddesses appear is not rectangular, but curved.
3. The bracket is associated with a portal system.

Bearing these facts in mind, we can assign the curved-bracket motif in its iconographic and architectonic character as handed down in Nepal, to the transition period between the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta times.

There are, however, several discrepancies, so that some autonomous development or re-interpretation of the motif must have taken place in Nepal.

1. The architectonic shape employed in Nepal (Pl. XI, b) has a more complicated contour than those encountered in India. It consists of a concave curve which passes, by way of a sack-like bulge, into a convex curve.
2. The river goddesses stand in the open jaws of a makara, and not on its back. No traces of such a posture have been found in India.

Still, there is one more makara motif, known in India since the Kuṣāṇa period, showing a small human figure in the monster's open jaws.⁴⁶ This motif evolves into an established form and is employed until the Pāla period mainly in complex compositions of throne structures at the ends of the crossbars.⁴⁷

It seems possible that this second iconographic motif became merged in Nepal with that of the river goddess standing on a makara. This would account not only for the position of the river goddess and the composite nature of the bracket, but also for the function of the curious, sack-shaped bulge in the contour, where a small human figure is often seen, apparently unrelated to the rest of the motif.

4. THE INNER PORTAL FRAME

In the structural analysis of the tripartite portal system (Fig. 16; Pls. VIII, b; IX), it was shown that the overall design is composed of two large overlying areas, viz.

1. the 'outer' portal frame and peripheral elements, consisting of a five-fold stepped band of mouldings, the lintel ends and, adjoining these, the curved bracket (Fig. 16, p. 54);
2. the large, flat rectangular 'inner' scheme also bordered by a band of moulding (Fig. 16).

Like the portal system as a whole, this inner frame, too, can be resolved into various quite separate design elements, which underwent little change, to conform to the overall conception, so that their various origins can easily be read off. The ensuing discussion of the

⁴⁵ Viennot, Gaṅgā et Yamunā, p. 30 et seq.

⁴⁶ Vogel, J. Ph., Le makara dans la sculpture de l'Inde, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques, Annales du Musée Guimet*, 6, 1929-1930, pp. 133-147; see p. 140 et seq. and Pl. XXXVI, a. In Pl. XXXV, c Vogel shows the relief from Besnagar, in which all three elements, viz. makara, river goddess and a small figure (a triton, according to Vogel's interpretation), are present.

⁴⁷ Kramrisch, St., Grundzüge der indischen Kunst, Hellerau [1924], Pl. 7.

inner framework will take up the various elements in the following order, starting from the periphery:

1. the encircling band of moulding, including indented frieze and the two outer pilasters (Fig. 16, p. 54),
2. the voluted consoles below, with their pilasters (Fig. 16, p. 54),
3. the stepped layers of 'roof', increasing upwards over all three portal openings (Fig. 16, p. 54),
4. the trefoil arch frames of the two flanking portals (Fig. 16, p. 54).

a) *The Indented Frieze*

The inner portal frame is enclosed by a simple, ornamental band of moulding (Fig. 16; Pls. VIII, b; IX), which starts out from a pilaster-like feature (stump) (Pl. X), has a sharp outer edge going back to the wall plane, but slopes inward toward the middle of the portal, the slope being decorated with a floral pattern. This band of moulding marks off the 'inner frame from the 'outer' scheme and peripheral elements. In its upper horizontal portion it is accompanied by an indented frieze. Both mouldings and frieze are overlaid by other formal elements in the area over the central doorway.

The frieze is broken by deep indentations which recede to form wedges and produce very prominent 'teeth' which broaden slightly toward their lower horizontal edges. The upper edges of this frieze are connected by continuous double moulding, which is carried round the two upper corners of the inner frame to pass into the comparatively thick pilaster stump about two thirds of the way up the portal. Between the final 'tooth' and the downward turn of the moulding there is an empty space, a small, square, recessed area which is undecorated, and apparently belongs neither to the indented frieze nor to the ornamentation below (Pls. VIII, b; X).

The moulding comes to an end over the pilaster stump in a rising curve toward the interior (Fig. 16; Pl. X). A block-like element is formed at this point, set on the pilaster and concealing the starting point of a further pilaster located in another wall plane behind. This second pilaster is topped by a voluted console which has its counterpart (Pl. IX) on the other side of the portal opening in a further console likewise placed on a pilaster. The latter, however, is carried up the full height of the portal, and this presents a problem, since the unbroken pilaster has the same design in every plane as

1. the pilaster stump of about two-thirds the height of the portal and
2. the pilaster section with the voluted console, emerging from behind the end of the moulding of the indented frieze.

Obviously the two offset pilaster sections were regarded as a unitary element having its counterpart in the unbroken pilaster (Fig. 16; Pls. IX, X). As the two voluted consoles are in the same wall plane, we find the upper parts of both the broken and the continuous pilaster in this plane, whereas the pilaster stump is located in a plane set further forward, since this pilaster has to join the end of the moulding of the indented frieze. This means that it has a double function to perform, and the technical expediency employed to make this possible involved widening the lower part of the pilaster to form a new wall plane, so that it is now able to meet the moulding, which is on a different plane from that of the voluted consoles. It is clear that everything short of physical violence has been used to fuse these two different systems.

The indented frieze with the continuous moulding forms a frame of its own which stands out clearly from the other decorative elements adjoining it on both sides (Fig. 16). Whether it originally enclosed a single or multipartite portal can no longer be deduced merely from its use in the large portal systems.

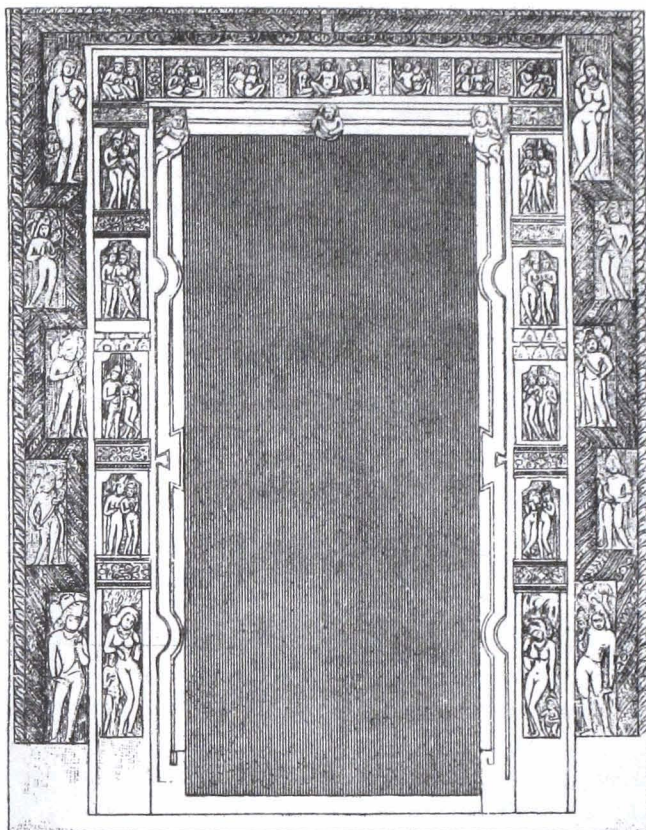


Fig. 26. Ajanta, Cave II, portal to shrine

In her article on 'Le problème des temples à toit plat dans l'Inde du Nord', Viennot discusses a frame motif which she establishes for the portals of the temples at Bhumara (Fig. 27), and Sakhar (Fig. 28), and which is said to have originated in a motif employed in Cave XXVII at Ajanta.⁴⁸ She writes, 'Ce motif ne fut employé que durant une période très courte ce qui lui donne une importance particulière pour établir la chronologie relative des reliefs où il paraît.'⁴⁹ Still, the motif occurs in a similar form in other portals,⁵⁰ which are no longer found in the original structural context, however. The two portals concerned are from Bihar. They certainly owe much to Gupta portals, but must be dated later than those at Bhumara and Sakhar. More definite dating, such as Viennot proposes, is no longer possible, therefore. It is certainly a motif which had fully evolved by the 6th century, but continued to be

⁴⁸ Viennot, *Le problème*, p. 34.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Banerji, R. D., *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, A.S.I., New Imperial Series, 47, Calcutta, 1933, Pl. XCII.

employed until the 9th, and even later. In Cave XXVII at Ajanta we find the earliest known instance of this frame motif.

At Ajanta (Cave XXVII, and Cave II, Fig. 26, p. 73) a narrow band is laid round the portal opening and broken by continuous bulge-like moulding. This moulding running parallel to the portal opening is indented at intervals to form alternate semi-circles and symmetrical trapezoids. At Bhumara and Sakhar, this motif has been slightly modified and has

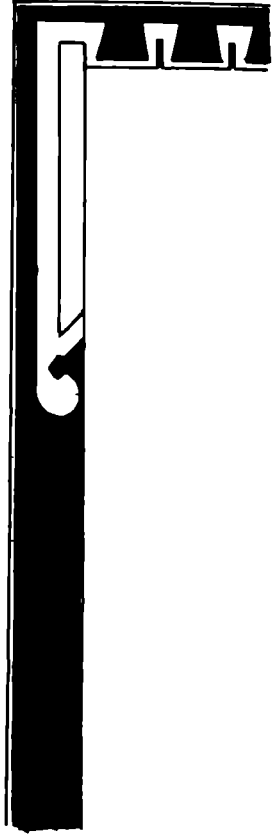
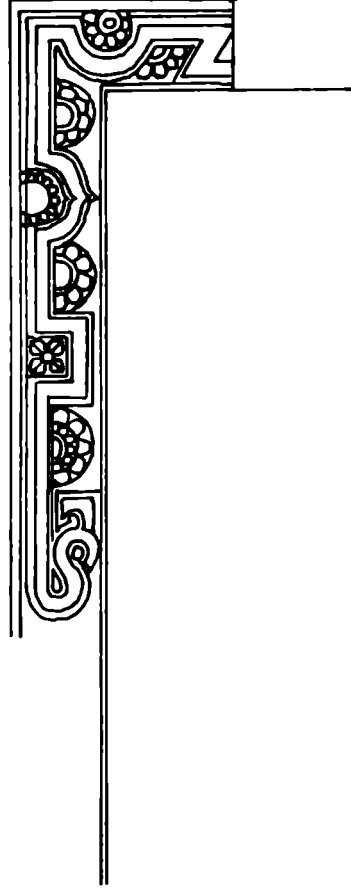
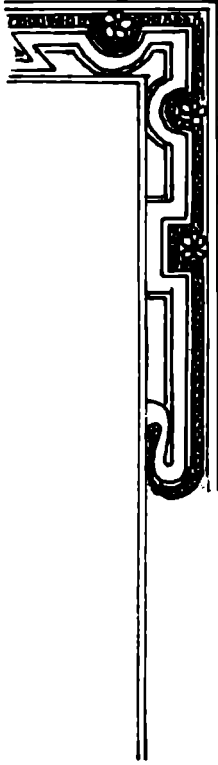


Fig. 27. Bhumara, temple portal

Fig. 28. Sakhar, temple portal

Fig. 29. Bhaktapur, Taleju Bhavani temple, portal

become much more decorative. The band surrounding the portal opening is broader, and the indentations in the form of semi-circles, rectangles and trapezoids are more prominent. The moulding now stops at a point rather more than two thirds of the way up the portal and is carried back up in a narrow arc toward the middle, ending in a floral or voluted pattern.

The frame motif employed in India is very similar to the indented frieze and attendant moulding used in Nepalese temples. However, whereas the Indian motif occurs as an ornament in low relief, the Nepalese is a deeply indented plastic pattern (Pl. IX). This difference could be due to the material used in each case. In India, the pattern evolved comparatively freely and with much variety; in Nepal, it was rigid and regular. Of all the geometric forms used in India, viz. rectangle, semi-circles and trapezoid, one only is used in Nepal: the symmetrical trapezoid, a shape in which the bold plastic 'teeth' appear.

Material for a comparison and evidence of the identity of the two motifs may be found in the design of the Indian portal jambs. The ornamentation is carried round the portal on three sides and finishes in an upward arc with a voluted end (Figs. 27, 28). In Nepal too, we find such an arc, but much simplified (Fig. 29). Here too, the moulding is carried up, from about the same level, in an arc towards the middle, and ends in an upward sloping line (Pl. X). This end motif coincides with the Indian example. Still, it cannot be fully accounted for in its Nepalese context, where the indented frieze is not carried round the portal as in India, but used at the top only. It is a much reduced feature, with its former extent being indicated by the course of the moulding. Some technical requirement may have led to this confinement of the indented frieze to the upper frame of the portal, viz. the employment of voluted consoles with their pilasters (see the structural analysis). The comparison with Indian examples also makes it clear that this motif originally framed a single portal.

b) *The Voluted Consoles with Attendant Pilasters*

The flanking portal openings are set in a system of pilasters with voluted consoles (Fig. 16, p. 54; Pls. VIII, a, b; X). This is peculiar to each portal opening and, unlike the indented frieze, for example, does not extend to the tripartite portal scheme as a whole. As a rule, the middle portal does not have such an arrangement, but an upright rectangular frame. Still, there are instances, such as the Gokarneśvara temple or the Matsyendranāth temple at Patan, where such a support system is, in fact, used for all three portal openings. The employment of pilasters and consoles within a jamb is functionally pointless, for there is no open space to be spanned below the consoles. It is a purely ornamental feature, therefore, like the other elements of the portal. The voluted consoles are employed quite geometrically above two offset cylindrical stumps, which are connected by upward sloping moulding. The combination of pilaster and console produces a rectangular area decorated in relief. This system of pilasters and voluted capitals was shown in the previous discussion to be an autonomous motif.

Searching for comparable architectural motifs to facilitate dating, we find in Nepal itself a miniature shrine dating from the 7th century showing such a post and beam construction.⁵¹ This cult object is in the Dhvākā-bāhā at Kathmandu and is built on a square plan. At the corners are posts, each bearing two voluted consoles. Between the posts is a niche frame. The voluted consoles are identical with those used in the large tripartite portals. Kramrisch notes⁵² that the figures in the niches, owing to their architectural setting, are closely related to the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh. However, the relationship between the architectural settings must remain obscure, for in fact there is no evidence of such design features on the Daśāvatāra temple. Actually, the use of voluted consoles in Gupta architecture appears to be rather exceptional. They are only found in the Lād Khān temple, which preserves older forms. The style of the consoles recalls examples in the Mediterranean area, and voluted consoles of the same type are recorded in the architecture of Gandhāra.⁵³ However, since the dating of the miniature shrine in the Dhvākā-bāhā can be accepted, it is certain that this motif was

⁵¹ Kramrisch, St., *The Art of Nepal*, New York, 1964, Fig. V, p. 28, text p. 27; Snellgrove, *Shrines and Temples of Nepal*, p. 97 and note 3.

⁵² Kramrisch, *The Art of Nepal*, p. 27.

⁵³ *Sculpture Buddhiste dello Swat*, exhibition catalogue, Torino, 1963, Nos. 102, 103, 105; it is within this context that we must consider the capital found in Pataliputra (see A.S.I., A.R., 1906–1907, Pl. XIX, Figs. 4–6).

introduced into Nepalese architecture as early as the 7th century. In India, a matured form had already become prevalent in the late Gupta period (Fig. 30).⁵⁴

c) *The Stepped Roof Layers over the three Portal Openings*

The middle portal is overlaid by a frame consisting of two slender pillars and a finely structured slab (Fig. 16, p. 54; Pls. VIII, a, IX, X). This slab is subdivided into a number of

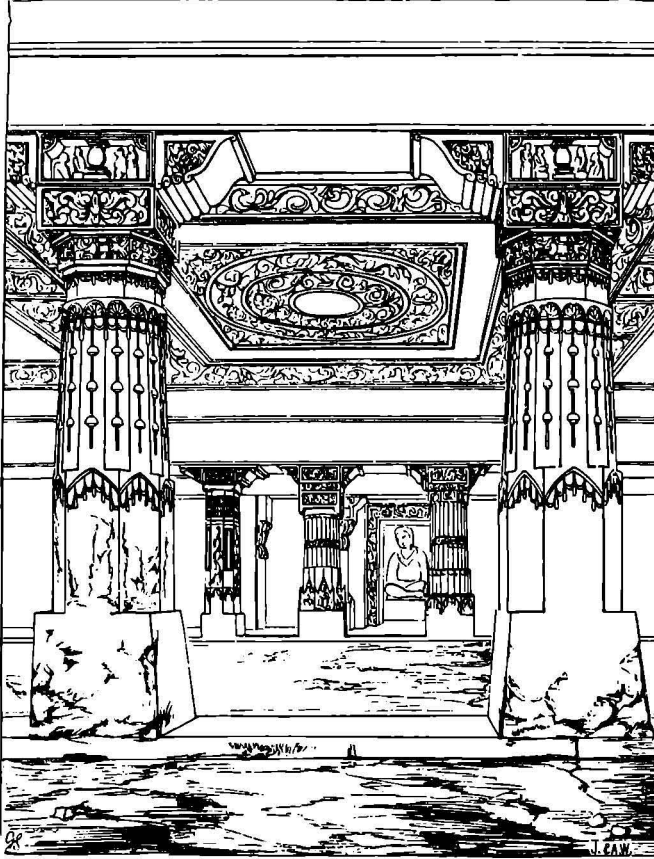


Fig. 30. Ajanta, Interior of Vihāra XVI

layers, each of which projects slightly further than the one below, so that the slab broadens as it rises. A vertical division is provided by a series of projections and recesses, with three projecting and two recessed zones. The projecting elements too have three steps on either side. The various horizontal layers of which the slab is composed are drawn up to points at the corners, so that their upper edges form a curve.

This motif of multiple horizontal layers is also employed in a zone located over the two flanking doorways that is enclosed by the trefoil arch frames and the two voluted consoles. Here, the motif is not superimposed on the frame, as in the main portal, but fitted into it. This is a decorative feature, therefore, having elements peculiar to each of the three openings of

⁵⁴ Frédéric, L., *Indien. Tempel und Skulpturen*, Zürich und Stuttgart, Fig. 152 (Ellora, Cave XXXIII); Gangoly, *Indian Architecture*, Fig. 33 (Ajanta, Cave XVI); Burgess, *Report*, London, 1874, Pl. XVII (Badami, Cave I).

the tripartite portal, but at the same time adding some degree of unity to the overall portal scheme, since it is used over all three openings.

In Gupta portals, a palace (i.e. *maṇḍapa*) is a favorite entrance motif, showing an open hall in reduced form consisting of two pillars surmounted by a layer of roofs (Figs. 23, p. 68, 24, p. 69). It is in this position, too, that the motif occurs in Nepalese portals. Undoubtedly, the intention is the same, even though the designs of the roof layers do differ substantially.

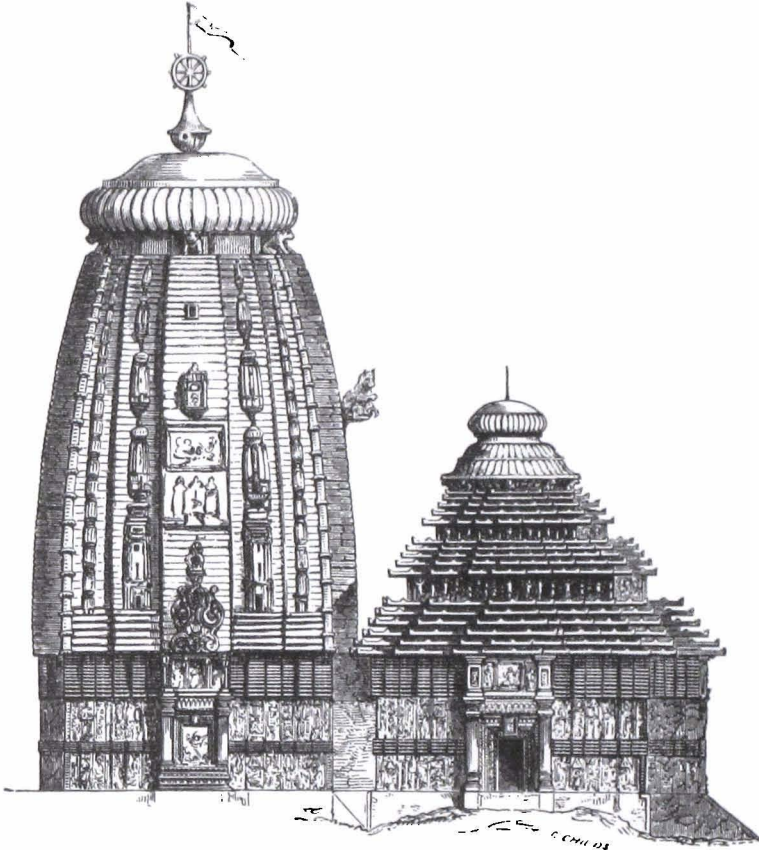


Fig. 31. Konarak, Sun temple, restored elevation

Still, there are later representations of roofs which tally with the Nepalese. These are found mainly in Orissa (Fig. 31), but also, e.g. in Khajuraho. There, actual roofs are resolved into various horizontal layers with angular, drawn-up corners. On each side of the building, the roof conceived in this way has three symmetrical stepbacks, and each horizontal layer follows these, too. This style of roof design was known at Bhubaneswar since at least A.D. 900.

This motif agrees with the one employed in Nepal:

1. in its horizontal layers,
2. in its corner design,
3. in its three stepbacks.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ In the 12th century, this motif appears in pictorial representations in Nepal; see Rowland, *The Art and Architecture*, Pl. 99 (A); Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Fig. 280.

Each horizontal tier certainly stands for a separate roof, the stratification implying a multi-roof system. This formula for the reduced-scale representation of a roof is already fully evolved in Orissa, where such a multi-roof system is projected onto an actual roof. One piece of architecture is depicted on another.

Now, the point is that this form of representation is associated in North India with a definite building type, and is not freely used elsewhere. It is confined to the *maṇḍapas* (Fig. 31) located in front of the sanctuaries, i.e. to buildings which originated in secular, and not in religious, architecture. It is never found on the *śikhāras* over the actual sanctuaries. The association with one building type suggests that what is represented in Nepal is a *maṇḍapa*, which was not adopted as building type by the temple architecture of that country. This representation of the roofs stands for a structure preceding the sanctuary, symbolizing an intermediate area which has not in fact been built. Similar tendencies, in which the portal frame incorporates the representation of a hall imagined to be located in front, have been noted in Gupta architecture. But the forms in this case are appropriately 'contemporary.'⁶⁶

The use of stepped roofs over the portal openings is not a native Nepalese product. It occurs in various Indian temples of the 12th and 13th centuries.⁶⁷ However, in these instances we find single-layer and not, as in Nepal, three- and multi-layer stepped roofs.

d) *The Trefoil Arch Frames of the Flanking Portals*

In the vertical rectangular frame of each flanking portal we find an opening topped by a trefoil arch and having a double, stepped border (Fig. 16, p. 54; Pls. VIII, b; IX, X). In the upper spandrels left open between the arch and the rectangular frame, flying *apsaras* are depicted.

The trefoil arches are in the upper quarter of the upright rectangular doorway and start from a horizontal seat which passes into two small reduced shouldered arches. These and the larger, occasionally rather flat, central arch which they carry span the opening. The proportions of the various arches vary from temple to temple (compare, e.g., the *Matsyendranāth* temple at Patan with the *Jagannāth* temple at Kathmandu).

While the inner band of moulding round the trefoil arch passes by way of a step into the vertical moulding, the outer band of moulding has, at the lower point of contact on each shouldered arch, a vertical horn-shaped element that runs in a straight line to the outer edge of the frame, but in a curve toward the interior. This rather low feature is found in all portals and is an essential part of the trefoil arch (Pl. VIII, b).

Such a horn-like element is certainly meant to indicate a roof corner, so it may be assumed that the trefoil arch, including the horn-like corner feature, is the representation of some architectural element.

In fact, we do find such architectural elements used as niche frames in Nepalese illustrations from the 12th century.⁶⁸ They consist of two seats projected inwards, from which two short shouldered arches and a broad flat central arch emerge. This system is inserted in a roof

⁶⁶ See discussion on p. 67.

⁶⁷ The same motif as in Nepal, of a portal structure preceded by two pillars with a roof layer, is employed, e.g., in the *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa* temple near Pedgaon, built in the middle of the 12th century, and in the temple at Somnathpur, constructed in 1268; see Burgess, J., Report of the First Season's Operations in the Belgām and Kaladgi Districts, Plate V; Frédéric, Indien, Fig. 322; see in particular H. Cousens, *Medieval Temples of the Dakhan*, A.S.I., Imperial Series Vol. XLVIII, Calcutta, 1931, where a great many examples are given.

⁶⁸ See note 55, p. 77.

composed of horizontal stratified layers, the corners of each layer being drawn up to a point. These roof layers correspond to the stepped roof layers of the Nepalese portal structures. Hence, the horn-like feature of the trefoil arch is, indeed, meant to be a roof corner. Gangoly pointed out that, in the shape of this trefoil arch, a motif from Pāla art has been preserved in Nepal.⁵⁹ Nepalese painting—at least during its early stages—is known to have been based mainly on Pāla painting. In Pāla sculpture, this same motif is often used to frame figures, and consists of a trefoil arch with horn-like corner features.⁶⁰ The motif is only known from the painting and sculpture of the Pāla period, but not from its architecture, which was almost completely destroyed. We have to go back to the caitya halls of the Gupta period to find it being employed in architecture.⁶¹ Here, too, there are the trefoil arch and horn-shaped corner elements, and so it differs from the trefoil arch niches in the reliefs from Gandhāra, which never show the horn-like corner features. We must therefore conclude that the Nepalese motif was adopted from Pāla art.

⁵⁹ Gangoly, *Indian Architecture*, p. 44; on this point, see also R. Das Gupta, *Nepalese Miniatures*, Varanasi, 1968, p. 13, who refers to an observation made by Basil Gray.

⁶⁰ Rowland, *The Art and Architecture*, Pl. 94 (A).

⁶¹ For instance, Ellora, Viśvakarmā Cave; Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Fig. 155.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CORNICE OF NEPALESE TEMPLES

The Nepalese shrine is surrounded by a console cornice which is carried round the entire structure (Pls, V, a, b; VIII b; IX, XI, a). The cornice divides each front into two equal horizontal zones. The lower zone is filled to its full vertical extent by the large, tripartite portal system. The upper area contains three symmetrically spaced window-frames. The visual impact of the cornice suggests a base for the outward-slanting plank-like roof struts. The bold, projecting roof plunges the wall area above the cornice in deep shadow and conceals any features it has. Whether the console cornice is meant as a cornice proper or as a string course to mark off the stories depends on how these sections of the façade are viewed, viz. as separate stories or merely as a function of the huge projecting roof.

Above the pentroof, which is carried round the building, the same console cornice is repeated to surround the set-back tower-like superstructure of the shrine. Here, the cornice is not half way up the wall, but directly above the top of the roof, and only separated from it by a narrow strip of wall.

The cornice (Pl. XI, a) is divided into several courses, each projecting to a different degree. Over a band with wave-like moulding and suspended, indented triangles, we find the main zone, which is made up of projecting beam ends, the consoles, alternating with square, florally ornamented spaces. The course over the consoles is boldly notched to form a pattern of linked perpendicular staves. The cornice is protected by covering slabs of fired clay.

In shape, the consoles are the extremities of a layer of beams. Although refashioned as animal heads, the short projecting beam ends have retained their square form. The face of the beam end is designed as a mask resting on two stretched-out paws, so that the animal's upper jaw is placed between in a curve. The mouth and lower jaw are shown on the underside of the beam end, between the two parallel front paws. The two paws and the vat-shaped segment on top of the mask define the edges and corners of the beam end. There is a tendency, therefore, for a sculptural form to be resolved into four views, which are assigned to the four sides of a beam. Just how violently the animal heads have been fitted on to the beam extremity is shown by the way the animal mask is split into an upper and a lower section, which are allocated to different surfaces. This procedure can be observed in the cornices of all the temples. In most cases, the beam ends form a series of repeated lion masks. Only very rarely do we find bird masks, and these too are given paws (Pl. XI, a). The animal depicted is reduced to a few elements—a head and two paws—which always occur in the same relative positions.

The console cornice employed in Nepalese shrines has no prior evolutionary stages which have survived till the present day. This complex, ornamental feature has been preserved in one single stage of its evolution. In view of the striking resemblance between Nepalese and Hellenistic cornice orders, it is appropriate to start a search for comparable motifs in that region where influences from the Mediterranean area are most likely to be expected: in Gandhāra. There, an abundance of reliefs with a Buddhist content has been preserved, with representations of architectural features or elements often applied to mark off different scenes.

In a number of architectural representations there are cornices, which fall into two different groups:

1. console cornices, the consoles being shown as simple undecorated beam ends, and
2. cornices, with consoles, likewise formed by a series of beam ends, but decorated with a lion mask.

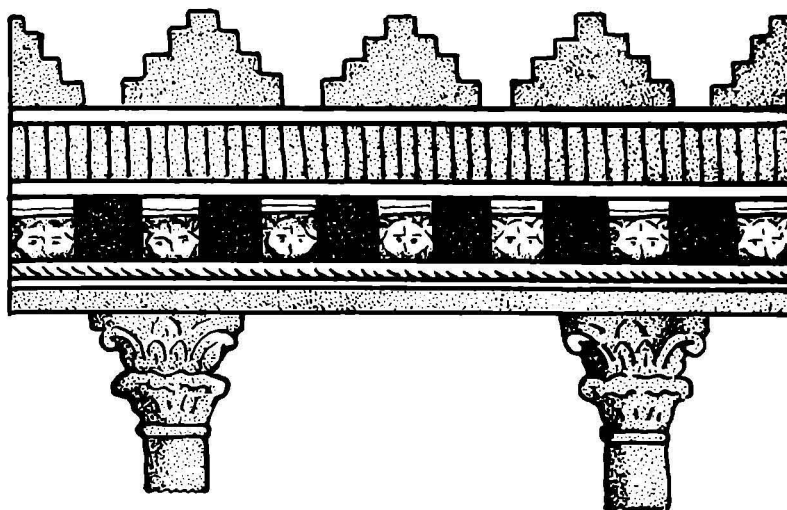


Fig. 32. Cornice from Gandhāra

This second type seems to occur less often than the other with consoles of plain, square beam ends. The discussion which follows concerns the lion mask type only.

Example I. This fragment (Pl. XII, c) was discovered at Takht-i-Bahi¹ and shows a piece of architecture consisting of a pillar with a defaced three-part animal capital surmounted by a cornice and the end of a gable, which overlaps a further story. The beam ends of the console cornice are decorated with lion masks, and serve as base for a final course above, which is moulded and has a merlon-type frieze. The consoles have retained their rectangular shape. Superimposed on the beam end is a lion mask without mouth and lower jaw, resting on two stretched-out paws. The corners of the console face are defined by the paws and ears of the mask. The head is topped by a thin, cushion-shaped element.

Example II. This fragment (Pl. XII, d) also comes from Takht-i-Bahi² and consists of two horizontal zones separated by a console cornice. There are no other connecting architectural elements. The flat, rectangular consoles, refashioned as lion masks, are bounded above and below by a band with an indented frieze. In contrast to Example I, these animal heads have been given a plastic treatment, but again, only a half-mask with upper jaw is shown. Still, since these consoles project further from the wall plane, the undersides of the beam ends have been included in the overall conception. Mouth and lower jaw have been assigned to this under-surface. The corners of the beam end are again defined by the paws and ears of the animal. The cushion-like element shown in Example I is lacking.

¹ D. G., A.S.I., Photograph No. 668/71.

² D. G., A.S.I., Photograph No. 637/71.

Example III. This fragment was discovered at Sahri-Bahlol³ and shows a multi-storied decorative piece of architecture with a high base divided up by four pillars. The various stories are separated by string courses designed as console cornices. In shape, they correspond to those described in Examples I and II. The reproduction shows the relief from below, so that the design on the undersides of the beam ends can be clearly seen as well. On this side of the console are the two parallel, tube-like front legs of the animal with the lion's mouth in-between. The animal's legs are represented along the edges of the beam itself, and the paws extend as far as the face end, where they appear between the lips of the mask.

A comparison leaves no room for doubt that the Nepalese cornices (Pl. XI, a) coincide with the Gandhāra type. The following features are found in both:

1. The consoles are in the bond of a string course.
2. The consoles are plain, square beam ends.
3. The consoles are designed as lion masks with
 - a) the upper half, including the paws, on the face of the beam, and
 - b) the mouth, lower jaw and front paws on the underside of the beam end.

However, since there is an appreciable distance in space and time separating these cornices in Nepal (Pl. XI, a) and Gandhāra (Pls. XII, c, d), some account must be given of the subsequent evolution of the motif in India. Developed in Gandhāra, this motif has a colourful subsequent history in the subcontinent. Before long, variations emerged, which were the outcome of the most diverse lines of development. The following discussion, therefore, is not confined to any one region or period, but attempts to trace the various tendencies observed.

1. SCULPTURAL EMBELLISHMENT

On reliefs at Amaravati and at Nagarjunakonda, we often find horizontal bands separating different scenes, and having lions to perform a supporting function.⁴ The lions are shown frontally, with lifted head, deep chest, and raised front paws. This treatment is complicated in its perspective, and may be the result of combining a front view of the animal with a view from below. Obviously, the animals are meant to be load-bearing or console figures for the story above. Hence, they have the same function as those in Gandhāra, and are found in the same cornice-like context. The conception is plastic and no longer bound to a block-shaped console. An identification of the motif from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda with that from Gandhāra is confirmed by the following common features:

1. The lions are found in a cornice-like context.
2. The lions are used as load-bearing or console figures.
3. The lions are composed of head and front paws.

Having been retranslated from low to high relief, they reveal the following variations:

1. The association with the console beam no longer applies.
2. The chest now has to be depicted.

However, there was no complete break with the style evolved in Gandhāra, as can be seen in the rather unfortunate perspective employed for the lions, which can only be accounted for by assuming such a retranslation. For no attempt was made at Amaravati to represent a

³ *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1911-12*, Calcutta, 1915, Pl. XLVII, Fig. 30.

⁴ Rowland, *The Art and Architecture*, Pl. 70 and 73 (A); both pieces date, according to Rowland (after Barrett), p. 128 from the 3rd-4th century A.D.

lion: instead, a matured motif was adopted and remodelled. But the process of adaptation stopped half way between the Gandhāra form with its relief-like surfaces and a full sculpture in the round.

In Gandhāra itself, however, we find a further development of this motif which points in this direction. It is found in architectural ornaments in stucco. At Takht-i-Bahi,⁶ closely set lions are seen bearing the story above. They are shown from the front and in the round. Their paws are not raised, as in Amaravati, but placed horizontally. A similar mode of representation can be observed in the lions at Jaulian⁶ and on the Ali-Masjid stūpa.⁷ In these instances, they alternate with human figures. As for the identity of the figure, the same applies as at Amaravati, except that the motif is now more evolved, for the architectural element of the beam end can no longer be inferred from the style of the lions, but merely from their position. One more tendency follows from this treatment in the round—the individual lions appear to be farther apart.

2. REDUCTION TO ONE SURFACE

On the Daśāvātāra temple at Deogarh, two different types of cornice are used, one on the projecting parts of the secondary sides,⁸ the other above the portal on the main façade.⁹ On the projecting portions of the other three sides, above a horizontal frame beam, is a frieze consisting of a series of square, slightly staggered panels showing alternating lion masks and trefoil arch niches. The lion masks on the slightly projecting surfaces are designed as half-masks, without mouth and lower jaw. The lips are drawn up at the sides to reveal two fangs. The masks are highly ornamentalized and set in a square, the corners being indicated by the animal's fangs and ears. A comparison of this mask type with Example I from Gandhāra confirms that the two motifs are identical. The only difference is that, at Deogarh, the projecting console cornice has been reduced to a strip of frieze, thus losing its tectonic significance. Indicative of the distance from the original is the iconographically erroneous substitution of fangs for the front paws, due to the fact that the views from below and from the sides were lost in the translation into a flat medium, while the original mode of representation was retained for the face of the beam end. Seen in this way it was natural to account for the element exposed by the lips as being fangs. This insistence on retaining a part, now detached from a meaningful whole, could not fail to produce this misinterpretation.

There is a further cornice form on the entrance side of the temple above the door lintel. This cornice is conceived as a narrow band with closely set lion masks and is bound by three mouldings, two to the side, and one above. Below, in the direction of the portal frame, the cornice has no strip of moulding of its own. The lion masks shown at short intervals are half-masks without mouth and lower jaw in the form of a flat rectangle. Compared with the cornices on the other three sides of the temple, this particular cornice has moved away much further from its origins in Gandhāra. Whereas the masks on the other cornices are still to be viewed as isolated units alternating with other differently decorated and slightly recessed panels, the masks on the cornice over the portal are simply lined up in a row and have lost all the characteristics of the old console beams.

⁶ Fischer, *Schöpfungen indischer Kunst*, Fig. 51.

⁶ Idem, Fig. 48.

⁷ Rowland, *The Art and Architecture*, Pl. 41 (A).

⁸ Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, 2. Plates 110–111.

⁹ Viennot, *Gaṅgā et Yamunā*, Pl. 13.

On the Daśavatāra temple at Deogarh, therefore, two different cornices have been used, representing different stages in the evolution of one and the same motif. This fact shows that a motif may be subject to further development, while at the same time preserving older evolutionary stages of the same motif, possibly charged with a different meaning.

Obviously, a cornice-like band of moulding lined with lion masks was one of the established components of a portal since the Gupta period. But the moulding style makes it clear that this element is a later addition which extends the portal scheme in an upward direction. This is the case in the temple at Sakhar,¹⁰ where a band of closely set lion masks was added above the actual portal frame. In conception, this agrees completely with the band found over the portal of the Daśavatāra temple. One more instance is the fragment of a portal frame found at Kankali Tila. (Fig. 33)¹¹

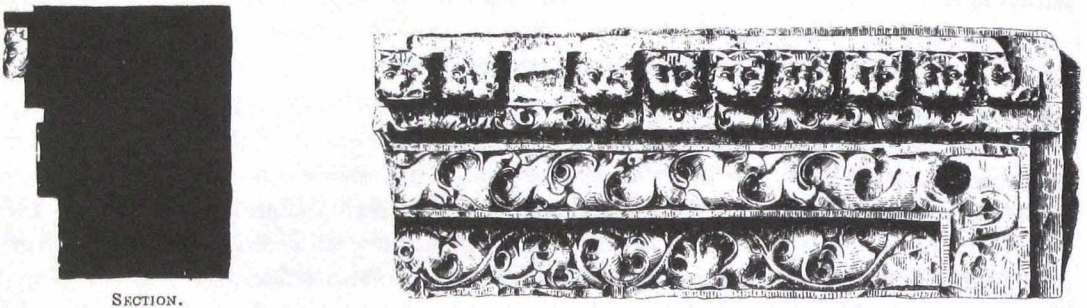


Fig. 33. Fragment of a lintel from Kankali Tila, section and front elevation

On the Vāmana temple at Marhia dating from the Gupta period, such a cornice motif is employed both in connection with the portal frame and as continuous crowning cornice.¹² Here, too, we find flat rectangular lion masks closely set in a row.

Further instances can be found at Ajanta, Cave XIX,¹³ Cave I (Fig. 34)¹⁴ and Cave XXIV.¹⁵ In the two later caves, the outline of the lion mask changes from flat rectangular to arc-shaped. In all likelihood the latest examples of this type are the cornices over the window-frames of the Caturmukha temple at Nachna-Kuthara (Pl. XII, b), which was erected as late as the 9th century.¹⁶ In shape, they tally exactly with the cornices at Sakhar and Marhia. In Kashmir too, the cornice motif was preserved. Here, it retained much greater tectonic relevance than in the Gupta buildings. It is used as crowning cornice (Fig. 35), e.g. in the 8th-century Sun temple at Martand.¹⁷ The lion masks are still associated with consoles, which stand out clearly from the wall. As in all other examples of this group, the front paws of the lion are also missing in Kashmir.

¹⁰ Viennot, *Le problème*, Fig. 28.

¹¹ Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, Pl. XXXI, Fig. 2.

¹² Chandra, P., *A Vāmana Temple at Marhiā and some Reflections on Gupta Architecture*, *Artibus Asiae*, 32, 1970, Figs. 7-8, 10.

¹³ Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, 2, Plate 178; Havell, E. B., *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India. A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*, London, 1915, Pl. XLVI.

¹⁴ Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, 2, Pl. 146.

¹⁵ Idem, Pl. 183.

¹⁶ D. G., A.S.I., Photograph No. 2434/66.

¹⁷ *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1915-16*, Calcutta, 1918, Pl. XXXVII.

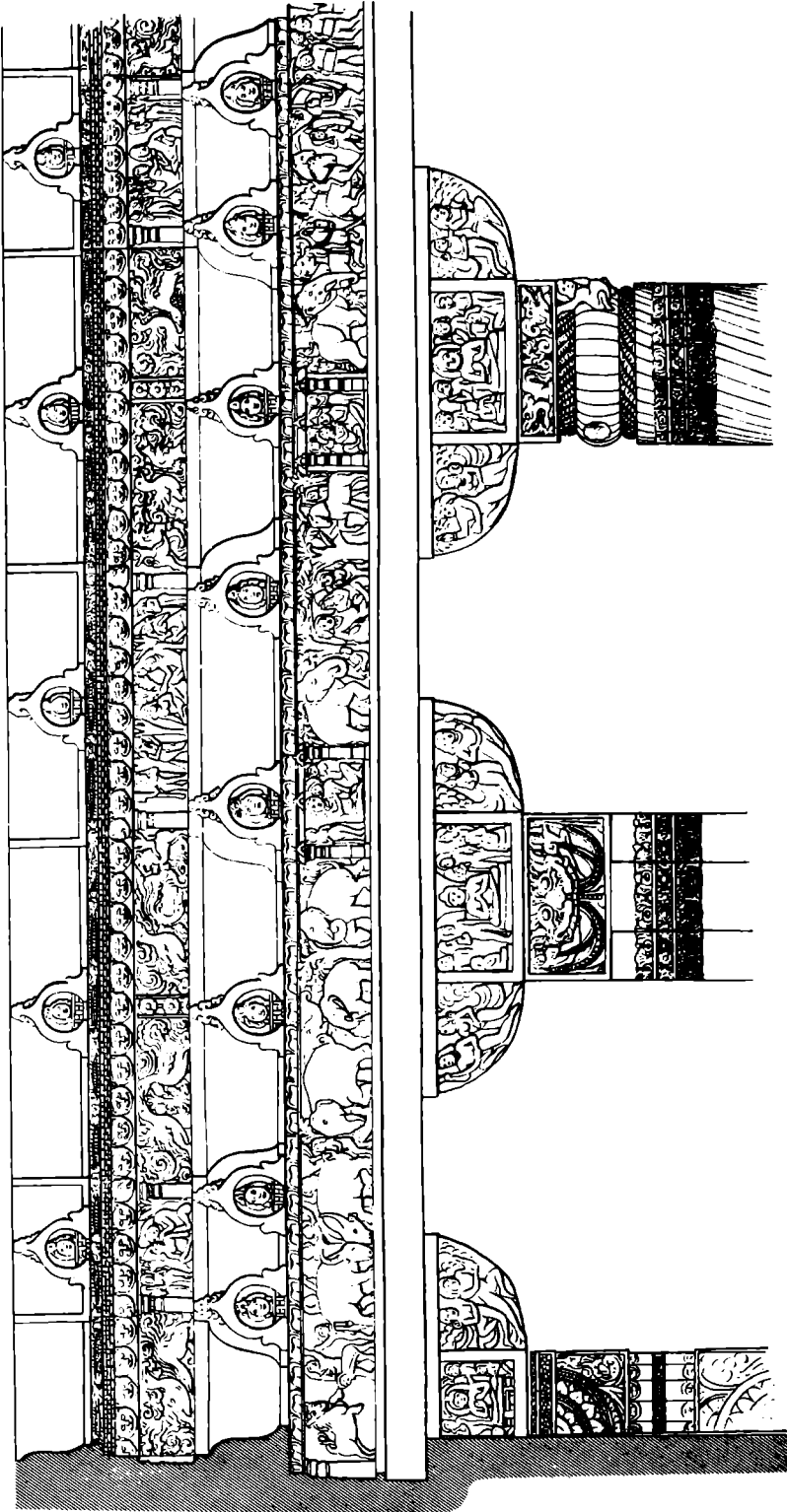


Fig. 34. Ajanta, Cave I

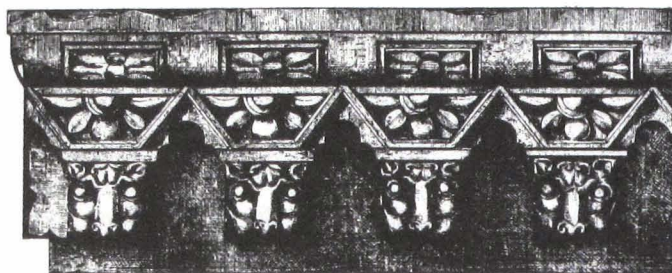


Fig. 35. Cornice of the Sun temple at Martand

3. DOUBLE PROFILE VIEWS

On the four projections of the eight-sided Muṇḍeśvarī temple at Ramgarh (Pl. XII, a) dating from A.D. 636 there are console cornices over the window frames.¹⁸ The cornices are composed of six lion's heads arranged in two's and shown in artificial face-to-face attitudes. The bridge of the lion's nose forms one of the two front edges of the console. As a result, the view of the animal's head is split into two profiles, one being on the face end and the other on one side of the console. The other side bears a representation of one paw and the mane, while mouth and lower jaw are located, as usual on the underside of the beam end, with the head resting on the two paws. The only departure from the type evolved in Gandhāra appears to be the two-by-two arrangement of the lion masks. This cannot fail to produce the arbitrary solution as described, since the lion's heads have not been translated into free sculpture, but continue to be associated with the beam end of the console. Here, too, we note a tendency to give new life to an old, rigid motif. In the process, the lion's heads have been turned to face one another. However, the beam-end motif itself remained unaffected.

This variation of the cornice motif is employed in the 9th-century Teli-kā-Mandir at Gwalior,¹⁹ where the cornice with the pairs of lion's heads facing one another is used above the huge portal frame.²⁰

This line of development was of great significance in South Indian architecture. The earliest evidence of the motif can be found in Pallava architecture, e.g. in the Dharmarāja Ratha in Mahabalipuram. From Pallava art it finds its way into Cālukya architecture. Among the Cālukyas, it is clearly regarded as a South Indian motif, for it is only used on buildings in the 'Dravidian' style like the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal. Later, the cornice motif reappears in Coḷa architecture.

The link between the South Indian type and that of Gandhāra would hardly be apparent now but for the specimen in the Muṇḍeśvarī temple (Pl. XII, a) which is obviously identical with the motif in Gandhāra. The latter represents an earlier stage in a tentative history than the South Indian examples. In Pallava, Cālukya and Coḷa architecture, there is a course located usually in the region of the crowning cornices showing a row of lions arranged in pairs and facing one another, and reproduced in comparatively high relief. The lions have

¹⁸ D. G., A.S.I., Photographs Nos. 642/71 and 641/71.

¹⁹ Viennot, *Le problème*, Fig. 86; Fischer, *Schöpfungen indischer Kunst*, Fig. 241.

²⁰ The same application can be found on the Sūrya temple at Osia; *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1908-1909*, Pl. XLI, a.

lost any link with a beam console. They consist of head, paws and chest. Identical with Muṇḍeśvari are:

1. the face-to-face arrangement in pairs,
2. a large number of animals in a row,
3. their position on the building corresponding to that of a cornice.

4. AUTONOMY OF THE BEAM END MOTIF

Inside the eight-sided maṇḍapa of the Khanwar Math temple at Khajuraho,²¹ in a drum zone below the cupola, the corners originally had three projecting beam ends each, some of which have survived till today. They are designed as lion's heads with stretched-out paws. The upper half of the lion mask, including the upper jaw, rests on the face of the beam end, while the underside shows the open mouth of the animal, its lower jaw and the two front legs. The link with the console-beam type created in Gandhāra with its lion mask and features distributed between face and underside of the beam end is obvious. Still, there is one material difference. The various beam ends in Khajuraho do not form cornices, nor were they conceived as consoles, but as holders. The animal's open mouth held the upper tenon of a piece of sculpture standing on a capital and sloping forward, showing a yakṣi under a tree. The angle of inclination was determined by the length of the beam end.

Beam ends decorated with lion heads and used in the same way can be seen in the Dūlādeo temple at Khajuraho (Pl. XIII, a).²² Every detail of the beam end can be traced back to Gandhāra. However, the beam as used at Khajuraho has been detached from its complex environment and re-used quite freely, imbued with a new meaning. Evidently, it was possible for part of a motif to be handed down 'properly' in every detail and at the same time be employed with complete freedom in a new context.²³

All the examples cited can be derived from the cornice motif that emerged in Gandhāra. Nevertheless, in spite of this affinity based on a common origin, it would be difficult to relate the various specimens to one another. They are not simply different stages in a line of development. Rather, we must assume that they belong to separate, local, evolutionary strands which were to take the most varied of courses, even though all of them had their point of departure in Gandhāra. For this reason, too, it is not possible to examine all of India's regions at one point in time, and expect to encounter the same phase of development in all of them.

The courses taken by this evolution differ immensely. In South India, there was a tendency to neglect the architectonic motif—the rectangular console beam—and to stress the iconographic motif—the lion. In some areas of North India too, the architectonic element is modified. It is translated to one plane. Since, however, the way of representing the iconographic motif with features distributed over various surfaces has been retained, the lion motif had to be reduced. In the process, paws, mouth and lower jaw were lost. Elsewhere, e.g. in

²¹ Havell, *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, Pl. LXXXVI.

²² D. G., A.S.I., Photograph No. 1580/60.

²³ Similar free use of the lion motif can be found in temples at Aihole. The motif here is composite: the lion emerges from the jaws of a makara: see *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1907-1908*, Figs. on pp. 198 and 200, Pl. LXXXII.

Kashmir, by contrast, the motif in its entirety was surprisingly well preserved to a late date. Although the conception of the console beam remained unaffected at Khajuraho, it was detached from its cornice environment, and was now employed quite freely. As a rule, however, it is the location in the building, i.e. the position of the console beam or mask within the context of a cornice, which remains the main distinctive feature and survives all other design changes.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ROOF STRUT OF NEPALESE TEMPLES

The plank-shaped roof strut or bracket plays a crucial role in the design of Nepalese shrines (Figs. 1, p. 2, 2, p. 3, 9, p. 40; Pls. I–III). The struts are installed in the area between the wide, projecting roof and the cornice. The masonry behind it is plunged in shadow and any features it may have can only be surmised. The struts, decorated with what are often highly dramatic figures in bold colours, are bathed in light, and the effect is quite dramatic. This pantheon drawn up below the roofs is transformed by the steep slope of the struts into a baroque pageant which unfolds before the eyes of the devotees.¹

The roof struts appear to rest on the coping of the cornice, but are in fact mortised quite separately into simple holes in the wall. The top end of the rather narrow strut is notched at the front, and the strut leans against a continuous purlin (Pl. XIV, d). To what extent this element is an actual structural necessity could only be established by an analysis of the roof's structure. It definitely has a weighting and supporting function, strengthening and anchoring the overhanging sections of the roof. The struts were only installed after construction was completed.²

Each shrine has two different struts (Pl. III, a, b), viz. a plank-shaped type with one face, which is used on all four sides of the structure, and a corner strut, which is fully carved.³ As a rule, each side of the building has six plank-shaped struts for the lower roof and four for the upper roof, as well as corner struts for each roof.⁴

The face of the long, narrow roof strut is composed of two different sections (Pl. XIV, d) viz. a roughly square base area with iconographic content from the most varied of sources and a large area extending above the first. This main section shows the figure of a deity sculptured almost in the round, and usually associated with the divinity worshipped in the temple. In general, this representation fits the basic plank-like shape of the roof strut. However, the figure frequently takes up more space, mainly on account of its multiple arms. Less often, the face of the roof strut itself is widened by adding strips along the sides. Above the deities on all struts is foliage arranged in layers (Pl. XIV, d) which is not associated in any way with a particular deity. It merely indicates a tree behind the figure. This is an iconographic peculiarity which cannot be explained in its present context. In a departure from the standard type, we find on the struts of the Paśupatināth temple at Deopatan (Pl. XIV, a) a female deity in a relaxed attitude, standing over a squatting figure and reaching into the foliage with one arm. This is a pure Śālabhañjikā motif. As on the roof struts of all other temples, the stylized foliage is arranged in vertical layers. On the Paśupatināth temple, however,

¹ The angle is usually 45°.

² The struts bear inscriptions either in Sanskrit or in Newari naming the deity represented and also the donor; Deo, S. B., Glimpses of Nepal Woodwork, *The Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, N.S., 3, 1968–1969, p. 28.

³ These are classified Siṅgha, Bhenra siṅgha, Maga siṅgha and Garuḍa siṅgha; Deo, Glimpses of Nepal Woodwork, p. 28.

⁴ The struts are called vilampan at Patan and vilampū at Kathmandu and Bhaktapur; Deo, Glimpses of Nepal Woodwork, p. 28.

it does have a definite link with the depicted deity. It is a self-contained and very ancient Indian motif. In order to relate the roof struts of the Paśupati temple to those of the other temples, two possible solutions present themselves:

1. The foliage has been removed from the context of the Śālabhañjikā motif and applied to these struts with another iconographic content.
2. The original form of the roof strut is the one with the Śālabhañjika motif.

In the course of an iconographic revaluation, the tree goddesses evolved into deities directly associated with the cult image installed in the temple. The foliage, however, remained unaffected by this change. This second thesis is supported by one more fact: but for a few

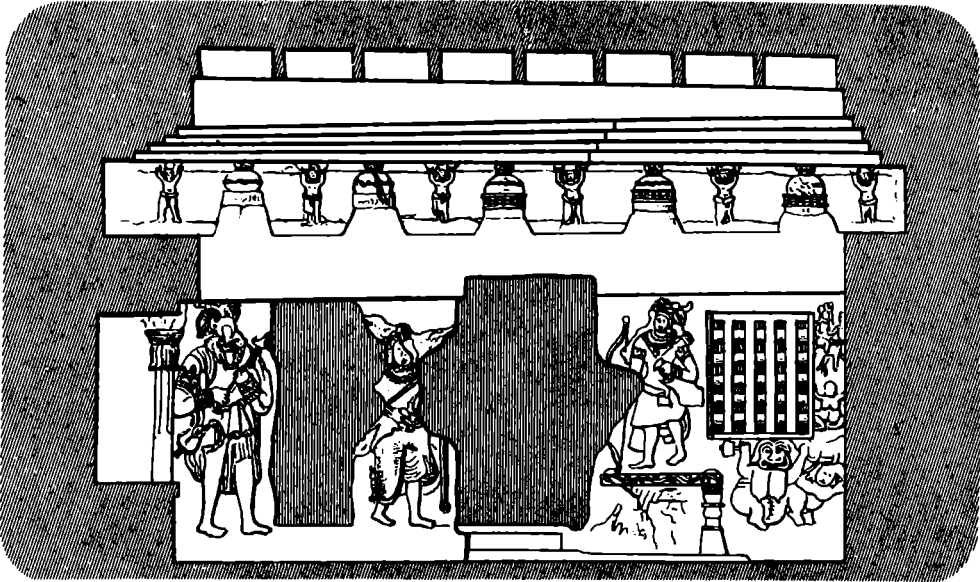


Fig. 36. Vihāra at Bhaja

exceptions, all the deities are depicted, not in a statuesque pose, but in a dancing attitude. This very attitude is the same as that invariably adopted by the tree goddesses in the Śālabhañjikā motif.

While the style of the struts in the Paśupati temple (Pl, XIV, a) points to a recent origin,⁵ there are much older struts with this motif in the Valley of Nepal (Pls. XIV, b–c). Since they are only found in Buddhist temple structures, however, it would seem that this iconographic motif was employed primarily in a Buddhist context, while, with one single exception, the identity of the deity was altered in Hindu religious architecture.

An analysis of the Nepalese roof strut suggests, therefore, that the various representations on this element are developments and reinterpretations of the śālabhañjikā motif. Identical features are: the dancing attitude of the deities, the tree behind and the two-fold division of the surface of the roof strut.

In Indian architecture, struts or brackets for stories, beams and roofs are an old motif which was employed till recent times, and lent itself to a wide range of variations. Simple curved sections of timber are shown used as struts for stories in the façades of the caves at

⁵ Certainly as replacements for older struts with the same iconography.

Bhaja⁶ and Kondane⁷ as early as the 2nd century B.C. Another form of such brackets has been preserved inside the veranda of the small vihāra at Bhaja (Fig. 36) built about 150 B.C.⁸ There, in the upper area, stūpas alternate with outward-leaning atlantes, whose arms are stretched up to bear the load of the beams.⁹ These atlantes are iconographic ornaments superimposed on an architectural strut element. Such load-bearing figures, in this case thick-

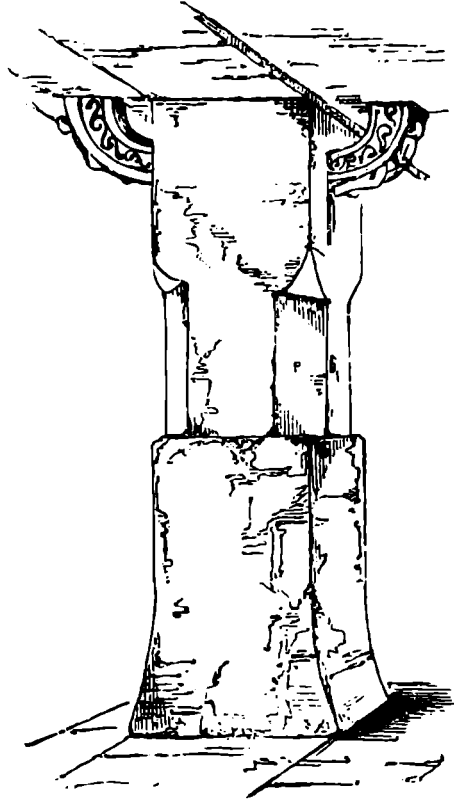


Fig. 37. Khandagiri-Udayagiri, Gaṇeśa Gumphā, pillar

set, gnome-like beings, are also used at Khandagiri-Udayagiri on the veranda of the Ananta Gumphā (built about 25 B.C.–A.D. 25).¹⁰ They do not decorate a straight, outward sloping strut, as in the small vihāra at Bhaja, but a curved quadrant-shaped element which has developed a broad face, and transmits the load of the roof to the pillar. Since the same iconographic motif (the atlante) is used on tectonic elements having the same function but a different design, we may conclude that straight, outward-sloping struts and curved, quadrant-shaped brackets were interchangeable.

⁶ Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Pl. XXII, Fig. 1.

⁷ *Idem*, Pl. XXII, Fig. 2.

⁸ *Idem*, Pl. XXX, Fig. 1.

⁹ The origin of these atlantes in a motif from the Near East has been demonstrated by Combaz, G., *L'Inde et l'Orient classique*, Paris, 1937, p. 163 et seq. and Pl. 106–110.

¹⁰ Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, 2, Pl. 46.

Some years ago, work in the caves of Pitalkhora produced a relief (Pl. XVI, a) showing the façade of a multi-storied structure.¹¹ Each story is divided into two horizontal zones. In the upper stand atlantes between horseshoe-shaped openings bearing the story above with their raised arms. The atlantes of the lower story are gnome-like and pot-bellied, while those in the upper story are slender by comparison. On this façade therefore, two different types of atlante are used. The motif agrees with that used in the small vihāra at Bhaja and the Ananta Gumphā. Since the latter two are shown against the background of a beam-like element, we may assume that the atlantes at Pitalkhora are also supposed to be on such a tectonic member.¹² Shortly after the Ananta Gumphā, the Gaṇeśa Gumphā, likewise at Khandagiri-Udayagiri, was executed.¹³ Here too, the elements are beam-shaped and curved (Fig. 37) with a broad face, on which we no longer find gnome-like atlantes, however, but male and female deities. By now, the latter are not shown bearing a load, so the element has undergone a crucial change. The iconographic motif is no longer indicative of the tectonic function.

Brown refers to the struts in this cave as prototypes of the Badami struts (Fig. 38) which were produced at least six centuries later.¹⁴ In fact, no struts from the entire intervening period have survived.

The motif reappears next in Cave III at Badami,¹⁵ which is dated A.D. 578 (Fig. 38). The tops of the square pillars of the veranda now show console-like elements with almost fully carved deities standing before a broken, flat background. The figures depicted are mithunas or heavenly couples, seen against the foliage of a tree. Both background and figures slope forward, and it is not difficult to detect here an evolved form of the struts which used to be decorated with atlantes. The struts have lost their basic plank-like shape, and now bear the beams of the room. At the two outermost corners of the veranda are struts or brackets sloping toward the façade which have no real face and show not mithunas, but a vyāla or rearing, horned lion.¹⁶

The struts in Cave III at Badami have become vehicles for images, retaining hardly any tectonic function, but adding life to the actual architecture. At the same time, they create in the room a second zone, which still forms a part of the overall conception, but is located above the zone in which the devotee moves.

Soon after at Badami, the motif of the forward-leaning strut was employed again in Cave II at Ajanta (Fig. 39), executed between 600 and A.D. 642, on two pillars flanking the approach to the main cult image of the complex.¹⁷ It is no longer found in rows, as at Badami, but is used as an isolated element to enhance an effect. The element is compacter, and shows a female deity in front of a tree with a smaller figure on either side. Similar to the strut at Ajanta is the shape of that at Aurangabad, Cave III.¹⁸ At about this time too, Cave XXI at Ellora¹⁹ was executed.

¹¹ Deshpande, M. N., The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan, *Ancient Indian. Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 15, 1959, Pl. LXV, A.

¹² Further examples in: Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 10.

¹³ Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, 2, Pl. 47, 49; Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 6.

¹⁴ Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 29.

¹⁵ Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, 2, Pl. 126, 128-131.

¹⁶ Fischer, *Schöpfungen indischer Kunst*, Fig. 138; Smith, V. A., *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 3rd enlarged and revised edition, Bombay, 1959, Pl. 71, B.

¹⁷ Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, 2, Pl. 156.

¹⁸ D. G., A.S.I., Photograph No. 1033/55; Franz, H. G., *Hinduistische und islamische Kunst Indiens*, Leipzig, 1967, Figs. 106-107.

¹⁹ Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, 2, Pl. 227-230.

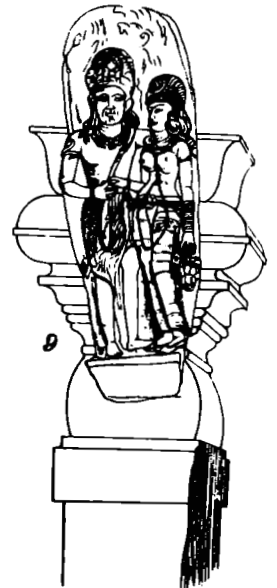
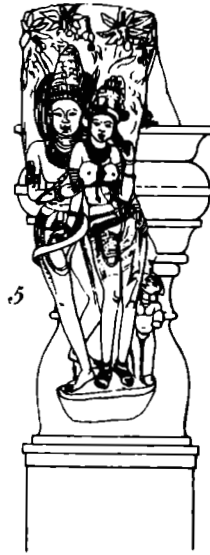
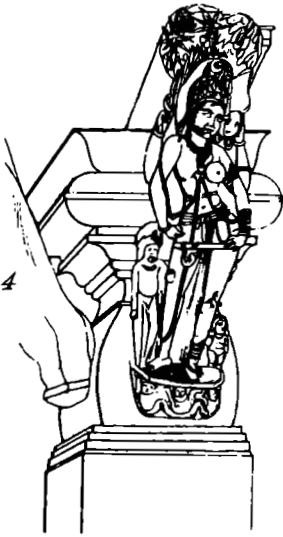
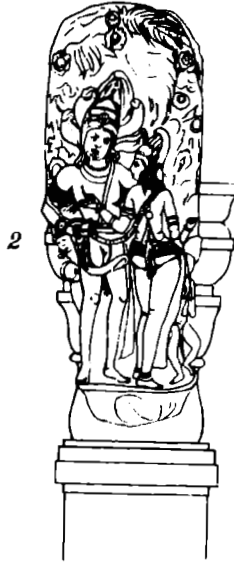
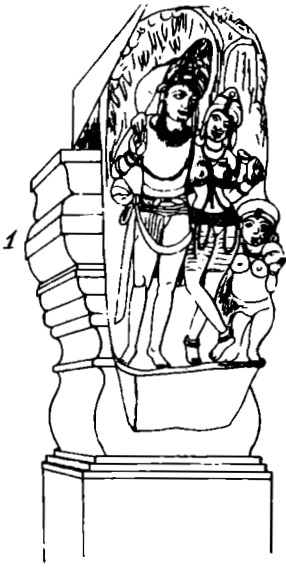


Fig. 38. Badami, Cave III, struts from the veranda of Cave III

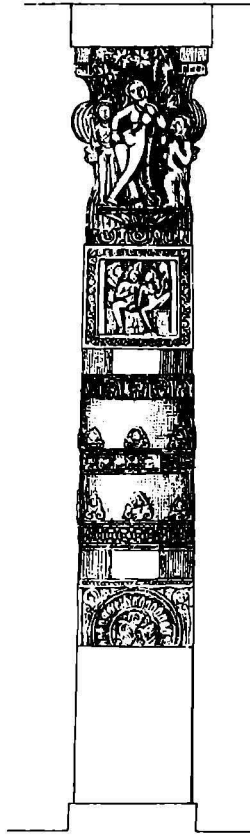


Fig. 39. Ajanta, Cave II, pillar with strut

In the inter-columniation of the veranda we find such struts extending almost the whole way from the balustrade to the beams. They are monstrously enlarged and completely out of character with the rest of the architecture. The iconographic motif resembles that at Ajanta and Aurangabad, but the struts at Ellora look as if they were added later, and are too large for the pillars. They have lost the airy elegance of the struts at Badami. The contemporary stone architecture of the 6th and 7th centuries has left us no such elements. In the period from the 10th to the 13th century, we find the strut being used as a vehicle for an image in stone architecture all over India. This appears to be a new flowering, occurring quite suddenly out of the blue.

In North India the strut or bracket occurs in a group of temples in the area between Gujarat and Rajasthan as a long, slender element, decorated with a female figure standing in front of a tree with a small figure on either side. The tree is highly ornamentalized and the motif is reminiscent of that at Ajanta and Aurangabad. Unlike the specimens from the 6th and 7th centuries, this element has a marked plank-like character, but no supporting function, and is merely used as vehicle for an image in the cupola of the maṇḍapas in front of the sanctuaries. Early instances are the struts of the Sās-bahū temple at Nagda dating from the late 10th century.²⁰ Here, we find eight such struts in the cupola. There are similar instances in

²⁰ D. G., A.S.I., Photograph No. 1341/65; Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2, p. 149.



Fig. 40. Mount Abu, Lūṇa Vasahī temple, dome of maṇḍapa

the Nilakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple at Sunak (Pl. XIII, b), built in the 11th century.²¹ Here we find 12 struts in the same positions as at Nagda. In the temples of Mount Abu, this element is employed both inside the cupolas of the large maṇḍapas and in the capital zones of the pillars. These two buildings are the noted Vimala Vasahī temple (Fig. 41),²² where the maṇḍapa was added about 1150 to an already existing sanctuary, and the Lūṇa Vasahī temple,²³ built about 1230 (Fig. 40).

At about the same time as the early examples of its use in the area between Gujarat and Rajasthan, the strut motif was adopted by the architects of Khajuraho, where it is found in much the same position, viz. the ceilings of the maṇḍapas and at the level of the pillar capitals (Pl. XIII, a). However, the element is not used uniformly over the whole space, as e.g. in the maṇḍapas of the temples on Mount Abu, but occurs in 'clusters'. What is more, some are given a visible holder at the top in the form of a lion's head (Pl. XIII, 1). One more difference is significant: the plank-like character of the strut has disappeared, and the female deity is carved in the round. Evidently, this is a further development of the motif as found at Nagda, Sunak and on Mount Abu. An early instance is the Pārśvanātha temple built

²¹ D. G., A.S.I., Photograph No. 219/65; Deva, *Temples of North India*, p. 46.

²² Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Pl. CX, Fig. 2; Fischer, *Schöpfungen indischer Kunst*, Fig. 269; Deva, *Temples of North India*, p. 40.

²³ Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Pl. CX, Fig. 1; Smith, *A History of Fine Art*, Plate 95, A; Rowland, *The Art and Architecture*, Pl. 110.

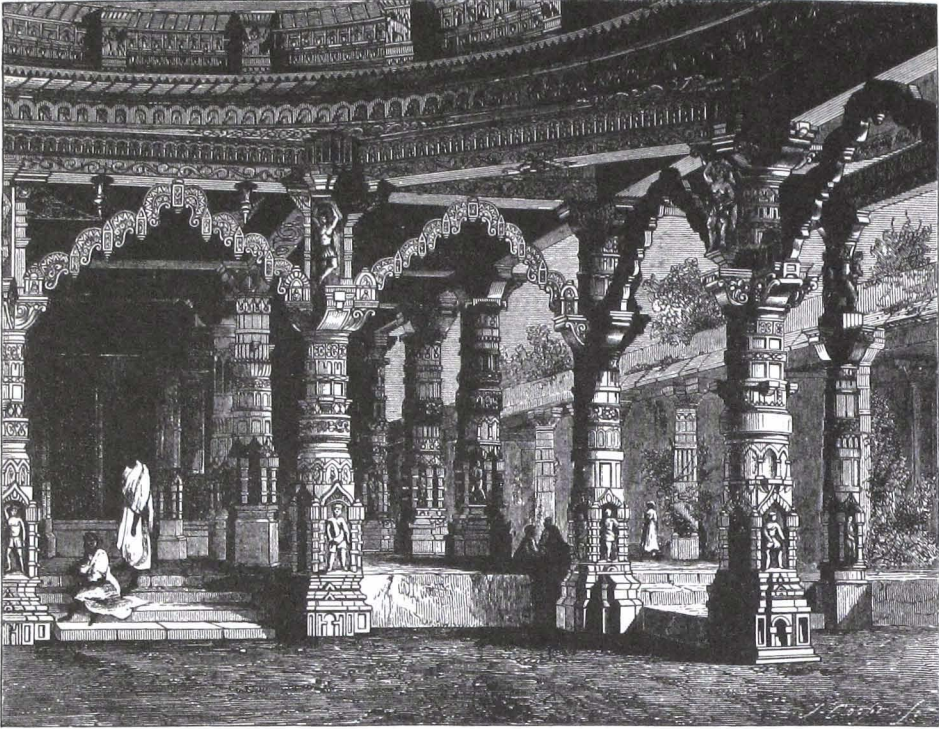


Fig. 41. Mount Abu, Vimala Vasahi temple, maṇḍapa

between A.D. 950 and 970,²⁴ where the strut is used in the ceiling of the maṇḍapa. A further example is the Viśvanātha temple, built about A.D. 1000, where the element is situated at the level of the pillar capitals.²⁵ The motif holds its own in the architecture of Khajuraho from the 16th till the 12th century, and occurs also in the Dūladeo temple (Pl. XIII, a), which represents the final, rigid phase of this architectural style.²⁶

After the 7th century this motif of the outward-sloping strut or bracket, decorated with a female deity, reappears in South Indian architecture, though at a later date than in North India. It would seem as if these South Indian specimens do not take up the story from North India, but constitute a return to the stage of development observed at Ajanta (Fig. 39, p. 94) and Aurangabad. The strut is, as a rule, not long and slender, but short and compact as in the two cave temples cited. Unlike the North Indian specimens, the motif tends to be used on the façade of the temple below the projecting roof. The tree behind the deity is mostly ornamentalized to form an almond-like foil. The earliest example of such a strut appears to be that in the temple at Karvati (Kuruvatti) (Figs. 42, 43) near Bellary, built in the 11th century.²⁷ Some time later, the motif occurs in the Chenna Keśava temple at Belur (Fig. 44), constructed in the year 1117.²⁸ It is found outside the edifice between the capital zone of the pillars and

²⁴ D. G., A.S.I., Photograph No. 159/54; Deva, *Temples of North India*, p. 62.

²⁵ Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Pl. XCIII, Fig. 1; Deva, *Temples of North India*, p. 63.

²⁶ D. G., A.S.I., No. 1584/60; Deva, *Temples of North India*, p. 64.

²⁷ Smith, *A History of Fine Art*, Pl. 120, C; Sivaramamurti, C., *Royal Conquests and Cultural Migrations in South India and the Deccan*, Calcutta, 1955, Pl. X, a.

²⁸ Government of Mysore, *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the Year 1946*, Plate XI; Frédéric, *Indien*, Figs. 313-314; Sivaramamurti, *Royal Conquests and Cultural Migrations*, Pl. X, c.



Fig. 42. Kuruvatti, Mallikārjuna temple, roof struts beside the eastern portal

the rafters, and supports the overhanging parts of the roof. The closely related Hoyśaleśvara temple at Halebid, built about A.D. 1151, also has similar struts. Here, they are used in the interior of the temple on pillars near the sanctum.²⁹ What is certainly a further development of the struts at Belur and Halebid can be seen in the struts of the Ramappa temple at Palampet (Pl. XV, a),³⁰ built in 1215, where they are again found below the projecting roof. In this case, admittedly, the plank-like character of the element reappears in a reversion to an archaic style.

The motif of the plank-shaped strut or bracket can look back on a rich tradition with manifold variations not only in 'high' architecture, but in popular or provincial building art as well. The use of this motif in the 'street architecture' of Bombay Presidency as far as Baroda was noted in 1883 by Simpson in a work dealing, inter alia, with Nepalese architecture.³¹ These are forward-leaning struts, with an iconographic subject which has, it is true, undergone a revaluation. Depicted are music-making *apsaras*.³²

²⁹ Frédéric, *Indien*, Fig. 318.

³⁰ Fischer, *Schöpfungen indischer Kunst*, Fig. 208; Srinivasan, *Temples of South India*, pp. 159–160.

³¹ Simpson, *Architecture in the Himalaya*, p. 68.

³² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, for the Year Ending 31st July, 1938*, p. 15, and Pl. XIV; the pieces are said to have belonged to a shrine in Baroda.

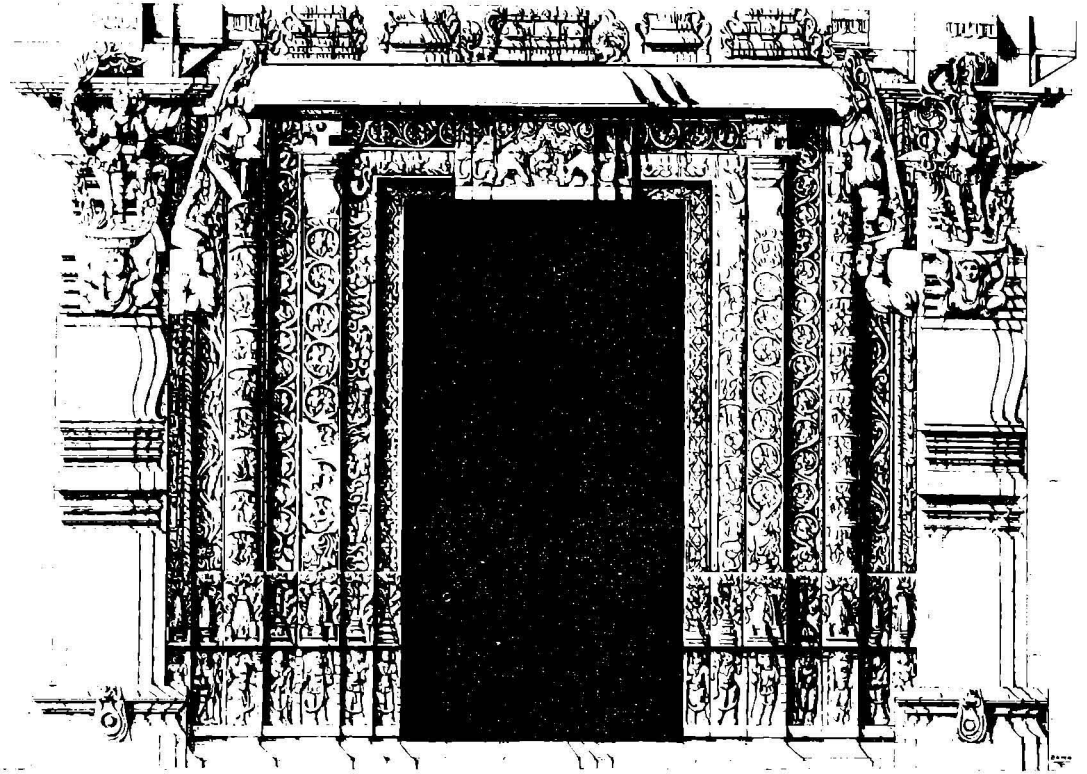


Fig. 43. Kuruvatti, Mallikārjuna temple, eastern portal

Interestingly enough, such struts are also employed in the religious architecture of Kerala (Pls. IV, b; XV, b). As in Nepal, they are used below the projecting roof, and lean against a continuous purlin.³³ In Kerala they constitute a foreign body which has not been integrated into the scheme of the façade. The exterior of the building is made up of two different sections with different origins, existing side by side but unrelated to one another:

1. the façade with its bold, plastic architectonic design
2. the roof construction, to which the struts belong.

The motif of the plank-like strut is often accompanied by a further element, a corner strut or bracket, which however, has a different iconographic subject, viz. a vyāla or mythological animal standing erect on its hind legs and usually having horns. As already noted, the first instance can be found in Cave III at Badami,³⁴ where it appears at the outermost extremities of the façade, and decorates the corners of the building represented. It is true that both types of strut are not always used in conjunction, but where they do occur together in the same building or architectural member, e.g. on a pillar capital, we always find the strut decorated with the vyāla at the corners and the plank-like struts on the front. Hence, this second type of strut has its definite, invariable place in the building and in relation to the plank-shaped element. In the Viśvanātha temple at Khajuraho, such corner struts are used in the area of the

³³ D. G., A.S.I., Photographs Nos. 2004/62 and 2007/62.

³⁴ See note 16, p. 92.

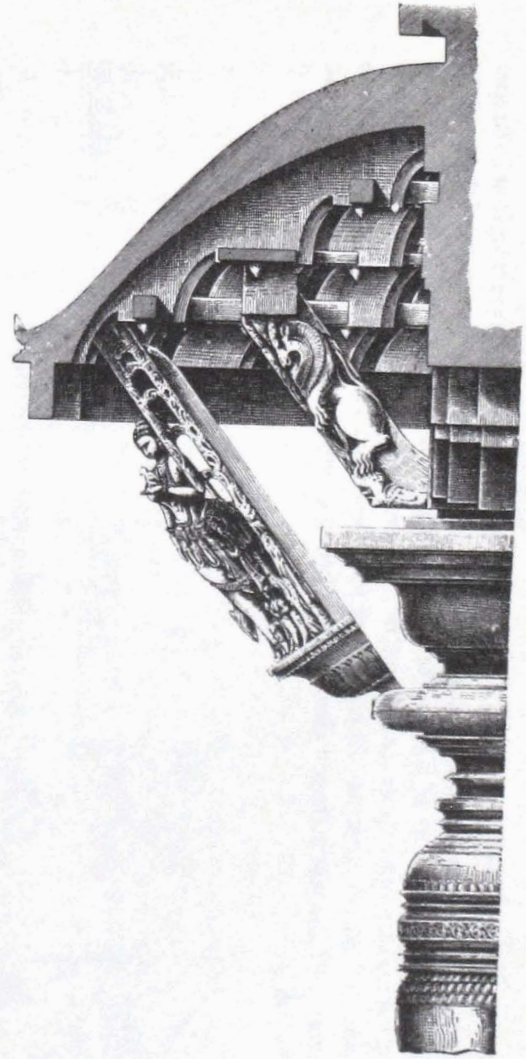
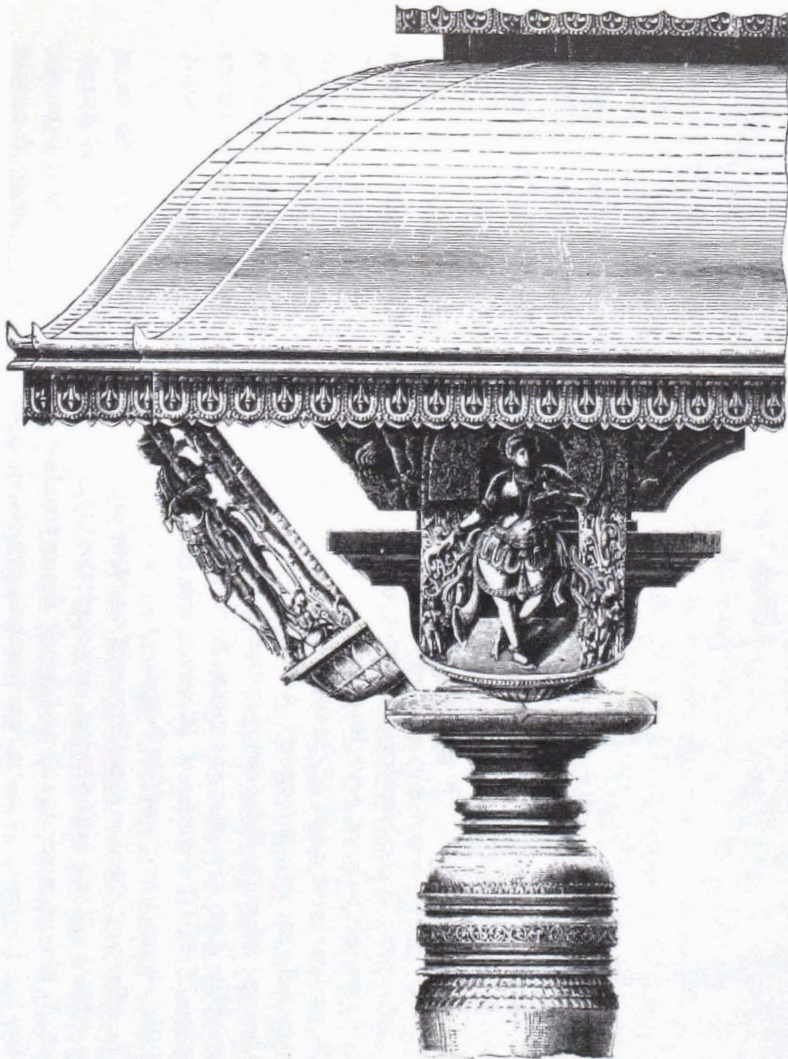


Fig. 44. Belur, Chenna Keśava temple, roof struts

pillar capitals.³⁶ In the Chenna Keśava temple at Belur³⁶ and the Ramappa temple at Palampet (Pl, XV, a)³⁷ they occur, as at Badami, on the façades, supporting the corners of the roof. In the provincial architecture of Kerala, the element has this specific position.³⁸

The examples quoted above are far apart both in space and time, but are linked by a common tradition in their corner struts. By the end of the 6th century at the latest, the corner strut so conceived and the plank-shaped elements had become firmly associated with one another in this tradition.

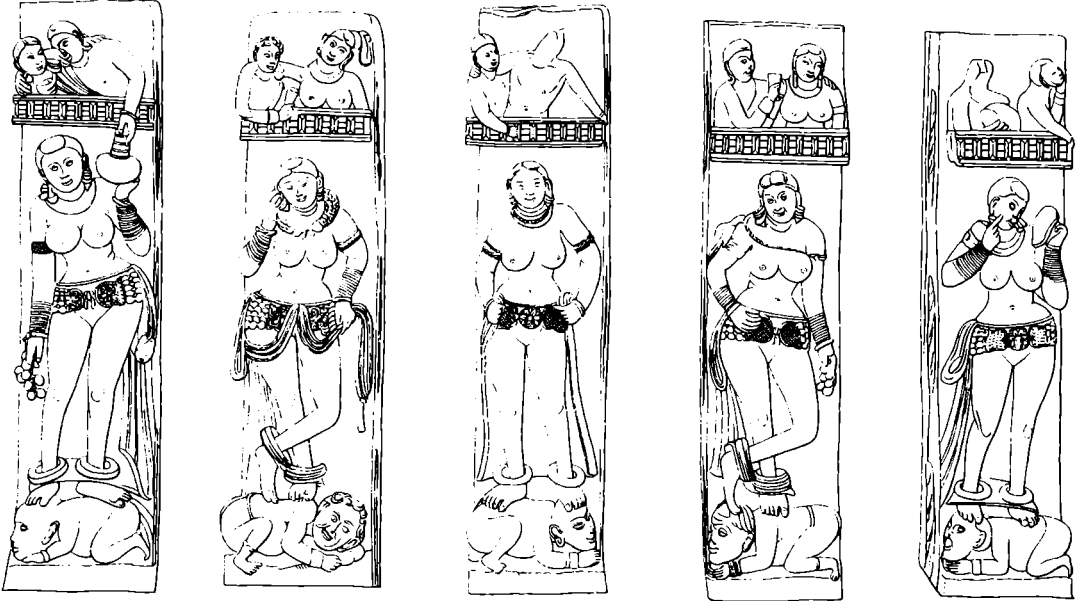


Fig. 45. Railing pillars from Bhutesar

An attempt to fit the Nepalese roof-strut motif into the general evolution of this motif in India, as set forth above, reveals:

1. The architectonic motif of the roof strut is related to a motif which was used in India in many different artistic contexts. As the struts in the Chenna Keśava temple at Belur or the Ramappa temple at Palampet, for example, show, they are employed in the same position under the roof. Likewise, the special form of a corner strut is known to have existed since Badami Cave III at the latest. However, this reference does not permit more precise dating of the architectonic motif in Nepal.
2. The affinity of the iconographic motif on Nepalese struts to Indian specimens, too, must be subject to some qualification. Although the Indian struts (say, after Ajanta and Auran-gabad), almost invariably show a female figure standing under a tree, they differ from the Nepalese inasmuch as the lady is never shown standing on a cowering gnome. A certain affinity of the two motifs is noticeable, but this does not permit any dating or localization of the Nepalese motif.

³⁶ See note 25, p. 96.

³⁸ See note 28, p. 96.

³⁷ See note 30, p. 97.

³⁸ See note 33, p. 98.

Still, the iconographic motif as handed down in Nepal (Pls. XIV, a-c) corresponds in every detail to a mode of representation which was employed on vedikā posts during the Kuṣāṇa period. It is a female figure standing in a relaxed attitude on a squatting gnome. The famous posts of the vedikās of Bhutesar (Fig. 45),³⁹ now in the Lucknow museum, show exactly the same motif. At the top, we find a balcony scene instead of a tree-top, but there are other specimens from this period with a similar tree-top instead of the balcony (Fig. 46).⁴⁰ The agreement of the Kuṣāṇa examples with those in Nepal is not, however, confined to the iconography proper, but extends to the strut itself and its divisions. Both are narrow, upright rectangular, 'plank-like' specimens designed in three sections (gnome, female figure, balcony, or: gnome, female figure, tree-top). This enables us to date the iconographic motif on Nepalese roof struts (Pls. XIV, a-c). For all the stylistic changes which the motif underwent since it emerged in the Kuṣāṇa period, the motif has been preserved in Nepal. In India itself, it ceased to be handed down at a later date. Hence the only possible time for the adoption of the motif is the Kuṣāṇa period.

Now, the fact that the iconographic motif commonly found on roof struts in Nepal is indeed known in India, but not in an architectural context as in Nepal, presents certain difficulties. In the preceding discussion, we noted a considerable gap in the Indian evolution of the strut amounting to some six centuries including the Kuṣāṇa period. This gap need not imply that the motif was not used in the intervening centuries; it only means that no monuments have survived. On the one hand, it has been established that the examples before the Kuṣāṇa period (Fig. 37, p. 91) and those after A.D. 578 (Fig. 38, p. 93) belong to the same line of architectural development. As regards their iconographic content, however, there are appreciable differences. Later Indian examples depict a female figure under a tree. This is a motif without any model in, e.g., the Gaṇeśa Gumphā, so that we must assume some further development of the iconographic motif in the meantime.

This gap in the evolution of the iconography of the Indian struts can be closed by the iconography of the representations on the vedikā posts (Fig. 46). Here, we find a standing female figure such as occurs on later struts while, in the shape of a cowering gnome, they also contain the motif of the yakṣa or atlante, which was used in the early examples (Fig. 36, p. 90).⁴¹ The representations on the vedikā posts show a composite motif with elements derived from various sources. They constitute the missing link in the iconographic evolution outlined above. In this connection, we should not overlook a small detail in the struts of Badami Cave III. Here, the main figures are accompanied by small putti-like personages (Fig. 38, p. 93). Viewed in its evolutionary context, it is obvious that this subsidiary feature is, in fact a transmutation of the old yakṣa-atlante motif.

The assumption that there were roof struts or brackets in the Kuṣāṇa period having the shape of vedikā posts is lent some support by the fact that certain architectural members of that period had interchangeable shapes. Members with different tectonic functions had the same architectural form and were given the same iconographic ornamentation. Hence, there was no difference in design between vedikā posts and the pillars in building façades. The structure of the toraṇa at Bharhut, dating from the second half of the 2nd century B.C., is

³⁹ Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, Pl. XVIII-XIX.

⁴⁰ Smith, *A History of Fine Art*, Pl. 32, C; Agrawala, V. S., *Indian Art*, Varanasi 1965, Pl. XL, Fig. 137, a.

⁴¹ Regarding these points, see an article by C. Krishna Gairola, *Atlantes in Early Indian Art*, *Oriental Art*, N. S., 1, pp. 138-142.

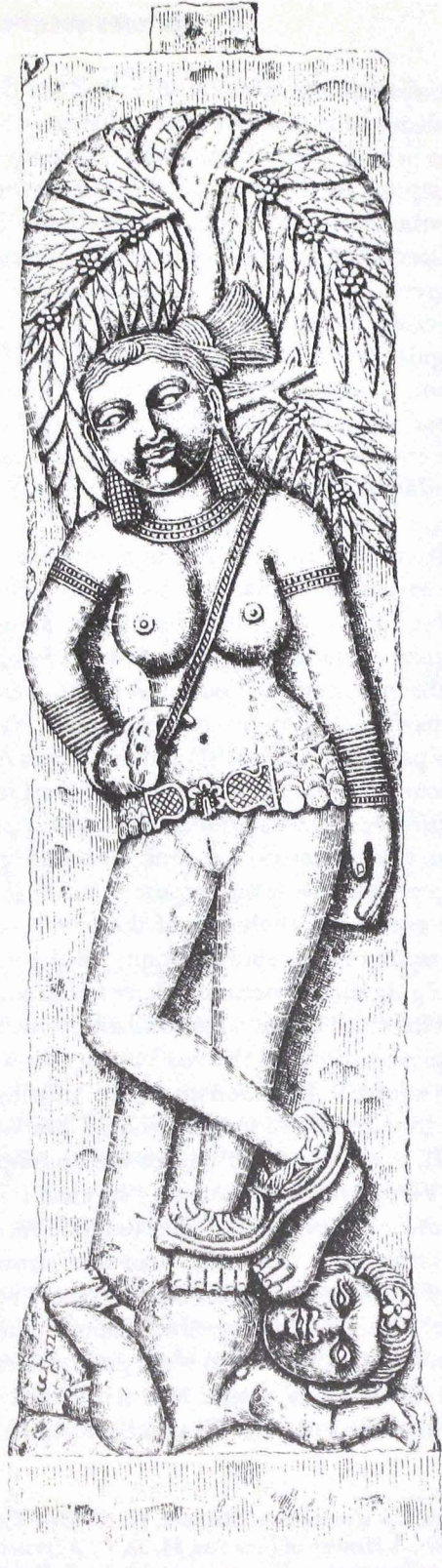
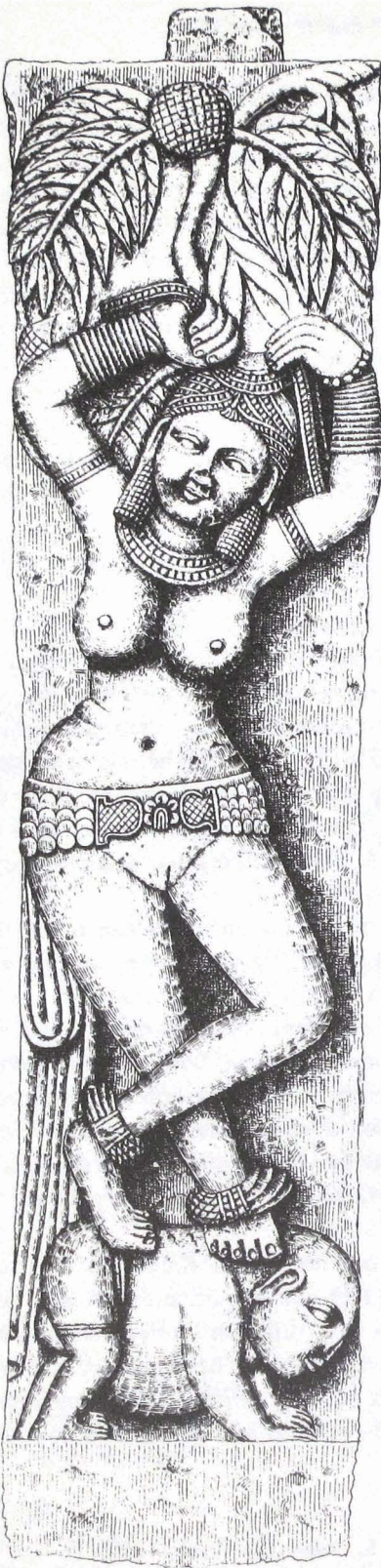


Fig. 46. Railing pillars from Kankali Tila

decorative architecture showing pillars alternating with column-like wall elements.⁴² The latter have a wide face decorated with a female figure. A similarly structured story like the one in Bharhut is depicted on a fragment from the Kuṣāṇa period.⁴³ In an open, ornamental architecture we again find pillars and column-like elements alternating in a layer. The broad, 'plank-like' face of the pillar is decorated with a female figure shown in relaxed attitude and raising one arm. The pillar is slender, in the form of an upright rectangle. In both shape and design, these architectural elements, which are clearly identifiable as pillars, tally with the vedikā posts.

Yet, if pillar and vedikā post were interchangeable in design and shape, then it is no longer impossible to add a third to these two tectonic members, viz. the roof strut. True, we have no direct evidence of the use of such a strut in the Kuṣāṇa period; still, design and iconography of the Nepalese struts are in complete agreement with the posts and pillars of that period. Since this strut does occur before the Kuṣāṇa period and again after the sixth century, it may safely be assumed that it also existed in the Kuṣāṇa period itself. So, this agreement need not necessarily indicate a morphological derivation of the Nepalese strut from the Indian vedikā post. Nevertheless, the gap in the surviving monuments is remarkable.

After this study was completed, the author's attention was drawn by Professor Härtel to the fact that the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, recently acquired a specimen from the Kuṣāṇa period which belongs to the series of struts discussed above.⁴⁴ It is a fragment and forms the upper section of a plank-like architectural element (Pl. XVI, b). On the front, a female figure is shown holding in her right arm a child whom she is suckling with her left hand. In the background is an openwork tree. It is no longer possible to say anything about its actual location. However, the upper edge of the exhibit is significant. This is evenly worked, has a tenon and slopes off to the back, which suggests that it was at one time installed in a forward-sloping position. This Berlin fragment would appear to be the missing link in a line of morphological evolution which has been shown to have started long before the Kuṣāṇa period and which extends into the present century.⁴⁵

⁴² Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 10, and Pl. XIII, Fig. 3.

⁴³ Rowland, *The Arts and Architecture*, Pl. 50.

⁴⁴ The fragment has the Cat. No. I 10 168.

⁴⁵ It is likely that, now that the existence of such an architectural element has been established for the Kusāna period, further pieces will turn up that have in the past been assigned to other categories.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EVOLUTION OF THE PAŚUPATI TEMPLE TYPE

An attempt to visualize the evolution of temple architecture in the Valley of Nepal cannot be based on any archaeological data.¹ Nor is it possible to consult any older buildings, for the Valley was thoroughly devastated by the troops of the Sultān Shams ud-dīn Ilyās of Bengal in 1346. 'The invasion of Shams ud-dīn Ilyās may have contributed, along with the perishability of the building material, timber, to the disappearance of all the monuments of the ancient Nepālese architecture. It is a noteworthy fact that none of the extant buildings, however ancient their foundation, seems to be earlier than the 15th century'.² To judge from the architectural history of the Paśupati temple at Deopatan and the Yakṣeśvara temple at Bhaktapur, this type must have existed in its present final form since the 15th century at least.³ In 1460, the Yakṣeśvara temple was erected as a copy of the original Paśupatināth temple, and was meant to incorporate the latter in the capital of the day, opposite the royal palace. Now, any form will acquire a sacred and magic character if it is so ancient that there is no record or recollection of its origin. When the population can no longer trace this form back to some historical event, and believes instead that it has been there since time immemorial, and is thus of divine origin, than the form itself becomes sacred and serves as a prototype. In this connection, it is significant that the Paśupati temple is not associated with the name of any king who might have been the founder; rulers are invariably mentioned as discoverers of an already existing cult image or as restorers of a ruined temple.

Following the devastation caused by a Muslim invasion in 1346, the Paśupati temple, too, had to be rebuilt. It is recorded that the cult image was restored in its old form, and for the reconstruction of the temple itself we may assume fidelity to the original. The years following the ravages will certainly have seen general efforts to restore the old state of things. The time was hardly right for a new approach. It may be supposed, therefore, that the building destroyed in 1346 had the general form of the present-day shrine. Anyhow, human memory in 1460 would surely have sufficed to recall whether the reconstructed temple had been given a different or even a completely new design.⁴ In its present form, the Paśupati temple has existed since the early 14th century at least. This provides us, for a certain temple type, with a date which goes back to an age from which no structures have survived. From this it may be inferred that since the early 14th century this building type has undergone no architectural changes. The development which produced this temple type must have been wound up by about A.D. 1300.

¹ One published excavation report is available: Deo, S. B., *Archaeological Excavations in Kathmandu: 1965. Report on the Work Undertaken Jointly by the Department of Archaeology, His Majesty's Government of Nepal, and the Indian Co-operation Mission, Nepal*, Kathmandu, 1968.

² Petech, pp. 119-120.

³ See the history of the Paśupati temple at Deopatan and note 35, p. 13.

⁴ The way in which forms that are typical of the later Malla period, are faithfully passed on is certainly no new tendency, but probably applied to the time of Jayasthitimalla as well.

In order to assign dates to such a process, some account must be given of Nepal's political and cultural history up to the 13th century. The earliest inscriptional reference names rulers of the Licchavi dynasty. It is generally assumed that they were connected with a clan of the same name at Vaiśālī, to the north of present-day Patna.⁵ Regmi places the migration to Nepal in the 2nd century A.D.,⁶ Jah in the reign of Candragupta.⁷ S. B. Deo writes,

The numerous icons, coins, inscriptions and sculptures with which the valley was littered could easily trace the antiquity of the valley to the days of the Licchavis, but nothing positively of the pre-Licchavi period was known or discovered. . . . There are literary references, stories, accounts in the late Vamśāvalis etc., which lend remote antiquity to the history of Nepal. Yet the fact remains that it is with the Licchavis that one comes within the ambit of history proper, corroborated by reliably dated evidence.⁸

The history of the Kathmandu Valley prior to the arrival of the Licchavis is largely unknown and subject to conjecture. Jayaswal, for example, refers to the finding of Kuṣāṇa coins in the vicinity of Kathmandu,⁹ from which he infers direct Kuṣāṇa rule in the Valley.¹⁰

Be that as it may, a massive influx of Indian culture occurred under the Licchavis. Nepal steps suddenly on to the stage of history, and participates fully in Indian developments. Snellgrove writes about this epoch: 'From the start everything must have been Indian: styles of writing and painting, of carving and sculpture, of building and decoration. Thereafter whatever changes took place in northern India would eventually be imitated in Nepal'.¹¹ Just how close these contacts with the main centres in North India were, can be seen in the surviving stone sculpture.¹²

This period also saw the introduction of Hinduism to Nepal. In view of this full-scale import of a complete culture from India, it is highly unlikely that religious architecture formed an exception, or that the new alien rulers fell back on some indigenous Nepalese building tradition.¹³ Two arguments, at least, can be advanced in favour of the adoption of Indian temple architecture:

1. A fully developed religion requires a definite structural form for its ritual to give it an unmistakable imprint. What is more, a religion being adopted by a country where it has no roots is, as a rule, received in toto, and only in a subsequent phase merged with indigenous traditions. For sacred architecture, this means that it, too, is taken over en bloc. Religious architecture has a demonstrative function. Christian missionary work in Europe typifies this inseparability of religion and religious building.
2. The religion was practised by the ruling class, the Licchavis, and the priesthood. Both

⁵ This is a highly controversial topic. For a summary of the discussion to date, see Hasrat, pp. XXVII, XXVIII.

⁶ Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, p. 75.

⁷ Jah, H. N., *The Licchavis (of Vaiśālī)*, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies 75, Varanasi 1970, p. 104 et seq.

⁸ Deo, *Archaeological Excavations*, p. 1.

⁹ Jayaswal, p. 261 after E. H. Walsh (JRAS, 1908, p. 677). The find comprises coins of Vima Kadphises and Kaniška.

¹⁰ Jayaswal, p. 261.

¹¹ Snellgrove, *Shrines and Temples of Nepal*, p. 4.

¹² Singh, Mandanjeet, *Himalayan Art. Wall-Painting and Sculpture in Ladakh, Lahaul and Spiti, the Siwalik Ranges, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan*, Unesco Art Books, New York, 1968, p. 177; Kramrisch, *The Art of Nepal*, p. 24.

¹³ Chattopadhyay, *An Essay*, p. 491, remarks with regard to the assumption that Nepalese architecture has its origins in India: 'Such a conclusion is in harmony with the hypothesis formulated from the other data that the main elements of the characteristic early culture of the Newars came from India.'

groups came from India, so that the religion had the function of a royal cult. The subjugated population probably pursued a primitive stone cult which required no building for worship. The interpenetration took place only later, and culminated in the adoption by the royal house of Degutale as its patron deity.¹⁴ Significantly enough, it was at this very time that a temple for Degutale was erected in the royal palace at Kathmandu. The population continued to venerate stone deities in the open. Kramrisch writes:

The shapes in which the Newars venerated their own divinities, which had preceded the gods of Buddhism and Hinduism in Nepal, sharply differed from the forms of the latter. Stones were venerated in their natural shapes, whether singly, piled up in heaps under trees, raised on altars or still in the ground below the surface of the earth. Such objets trouvés were numerous but they did not arouse the visual imagination, did not clamor for precise limits, proportion, or similarity to anything. Only when the gods of India in their Indian form came to Nepal did the history of Nepali art begin. The numinous stones are formless and timeless. They are worshipped to this day.¹⁵

The religious architecture promoted in Nepal by the new ruling class of the Licchavis could only start after their arrival in the country (assumed to have taken place between A.D. 200 and 400). Since the line of development which produced the Paśupati temple type must have been completed by 1300, this gives us two dates between which this type must have evolved.

The actual stages in the evolution of the Paśupati type cannot be inferred from the historical data at our disposal. However, the results of the foregoing morphological analyses furnish material for a reconstruction:

For the Gupta period, we have evidence of a temple type consisting of a closed circumambulatory path and an empty compartment in the second floor. Cella and empty compartment were enclosed by a solid masonry core. This type is fully evolved in the temple at Nachna-Kuthara, which may date from the early sixth century. Shortly after, developments were initiated in North India which were to produce the maṇḍapa and the śikhara, so that the building type exemplified at Nachna-Kuthara found no direct sequel in later temple architecture. This specimen, therefore, is one that stands at the close of a line of development, and must have had prototypes going back to the time of the Kuṣāṇas.

In Nepalese temples we find a number of decorative elements too, which, as motifs, must date back to the period before the 6th century. They are:

1. the lintel,
2. the curved wall bracket,
3. the cornice and
4. the roof strut.

Here, however, more precise dating is possible than for the temple type itself. In the 2nd century A.D., the Indian lintel, cornice and roof-strut motifs had already reached the established form they have in Nepal today. The curved-bracket motif, on the other hand, shows features suggestive of the 3rd or 4th century. We have here a group of decorative elements, all deriving from the time before A.D. 400, which are distinctive features in the design of the building.

¹⁴ See section on the Degutale cult in Chapter 2.

¹⁵ Kramrisch, *The Art of Nepal*, p. 16; just what other traditions in fact existed in Nepal prior to the arrival of the Licchavis must for the time being remain a subject for speculation. However, the arrival of a new ruling class obviously meant a complete cultural re-orientation of the country.

The decorative elements of this group permit no inferences about the superstructure of the temple, in particular about its two-story scheme or its groundplan. As we have seen, three of these elements must have been given their final form by the 2nd century A.D. In fact, these elements from the 2nd century are used in every Nepalese brick structure, whether temple or palace, whereas the curved wall bracket, dating from the time around A.D. 400, only occurs in exceptional cases. The stepped lintel over the single-door portal; the cornice, composed of beam ends with lion masks; and the roof struts are the basic decorative elements in Nepalese brick architecture. In this connection, the differences in groundplan and superstructure are immaterial. The roof struts also suggest that the roofs must have been forward-sloping and not flat. Hence, the brick architecture of Nepal in its entirety is based on the art of the Kuṣāṇa period. This is a surprising result.

The curved bracket, however, as the structural analysis has shown, was a later addition. Moreover, a large number of portals have the lintel, but not the curved bracket, which was assigned to the period around A.D. 300. So the latter motif must have been appropriated in isolation into the context of Nepalese portals. Furthermore, it must have been associated with a particular meaning which made it impossible to use it everywhere.

This group of three early decorative elements and the temple type based on cella, processional path, and empty cell in the second story, were fully evolved in the Kuṣāṇa period, suggesting that both decorative scheme and building type emerged at the same time. This would enable us to assign the Paśupati temple and its principal features to this period. Judging by the roof struts, the building must have had forward-sloping roofs. The portal was a unitary structure with a frame and stepped lintel. Finally, the building had a continuous cornice composed of beam ends with lion masks.

Whether this form of the Paśupati temple already had portals on all four sides for the four cardinal points cannot be inferred from either the building type or the decorative scheme. However, in this respect it is of great significance that the Paśupatināth temple's central cult object is a caturmakhaliṅga facing in all four directions. The four-sided orientation of the cult image is reflected in the four-sided orientation of the shrine housing it. For the Kuṣāṇa period we have inscriptional evidence of cult images being referred to as pratimā-sarvato-bhadrikā, as 'images with a good effect on all sides'.¹⁶ This effect is undoubtedly due in part to the style of the shrine, and J. N. Banerjea points out that certain literary references imply that the number of doors of a shrine depend on the number of faces on the cult image.¹⁷

In early Indian architecture, there were temples with four fronts. Kramrisch informs us that shrines with one portal and those with four belong to two different traditions.¹⁸ Although both types have a square plan, the shrines with only one portal emphasize that particular direction by having a portico on that side (Sanchi, temple No. 17; Tigawa). Shrines opening on all four sides have not survived in any great number.¹⁹ They were brought in line with the first type by permitting access to the temple from one side only, the other doorways being filled with large reliefs (e.g. the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh). The type with one front only is not decorated at all on the other three sides. The only surviving opening is called a dvāra,

¹⁶ See van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, The 'Scythian' Period, where several examples are listed. I am indebted to Prof. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw for drawing my attention to this point.

¹⁷ Banerjea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd revised and extended edition, Calcutta, 1956, p. 460.

¹⁸ Kramrisch, St., *The Hindu Temple*, Calcutta, 1946, pp. 273-274.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

while the other three are called *ghanadvāra* (massive door).²⁰ Symbolically, therefore, the building retained its four-fold orientation. The process by which temples with a four-fold orientation were brought into line with those having only one orientation was completed by the Gupta period. Hence, the fact that the Paśupati type, too, has a (not only symbolical but actual) four sided orientation is an additional argument in favour of assigning it to the Kuṣāṇa period.²¹ This also enables us for the first time to visualize what sort of temple the Licchavis must have built. Its design must have largely resembled that of the present Paśu-patināth temple.

Of interest for subsequent architectural developments are the slight discrepancies between today's type and that which emerged in the Kuṣāṇa period. The essential features were established at that time, and all that could be added was an embellishment of the existing form, and this was confined to enlargement and ornamentation of the portal structure.

One addition is the indented frieze with its moulding, ending half way up the portal. This motif cannot be given more precise dating, but must have reached Nepal between the 6th and 9th centuries. It is a frame motif, which in North India enclosed only single-door portals. In Nepal too, it was probably used in a unitary doorway, for it was only later that the framework was enlarged, when an open system taken from a completely different morphological source was fitted into this extended form. This second system is a tripartite scheme after the fashion of an arcade, topped not by an arch but by voluted consoles carrying the 'entablature'. This style is still used today for the covered walks of private houses, but also as entrance motif in such large halls as the *Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa* at Kathmandu. These are open systems, with the three-part arcade scheme serving as interface between the public highway outside and the privacy of the interior. They are not meant to be closed by doors. The adoption of this motif in the frame scheme and the consequent transformation of the portal into a three-part 'arcade' must have been due to some significant change in the religion. As a result, the entrance motif was monumentalized and the old frame elements like lintel ends and curved bracket ended up so far apart that they became flanking motifs. The outcome was a hybrid form. It is worth noting that this 'arcade' motif and its voluted consoles constitute a reversion to an indigenous form, and not an import from India, for the voluted console is one of the oldest stock motifs of Nepalese architecture. Originally, it too had come from India but this fact had certainly been long forgotten. Snellgrove suggests that Tantrism was introduced to Nepal in the 8th century.²² This event may very well have had a decisive effect on temple architecture. Still, it is remarkable that an indigenous architectural motif was used.

Very soon, there was a tendency to close the 'arcades' again. This was achieved by incorporating more frame motifs into the portal system. In the area enclosed by pilasters and voluted consoles, trefoil arch frames and stepped miniature roof tiers were incorporated. It was this last motif in particular that went some way to lending unity to the complex portal system. Both these motifs are derived from Pāla-Sena art, and were probably introduced into Nepal in the 11th or 12th century. This was the time of the final phase of North Indian influence in Nepal. Further cultural contact was interrupted by the conquest of the Sena capital by the Muslims in the early 13th century. For Nepal, North India ceased to be a source of inspiration,

²⁰ Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, p. 157 and note 73; occasionally, false doors were represented; see Srinivasan, *Temples of South India*, p. 185.

²¹ Snellgrove, *Shrines and Temples of Nepal*, p. 109, is of the opinion that the four-sided orientation of the temples was effected in the course of the spread of Tantrism, i.e. in the 8th century.

²² Snellgrove, *Shrines and Temples of Nepal*, p. 109.

and became a threat. In order to survive, Nepal was compelled to withdraw into itself. Following a period of chaos in the 13th century, this led to the great programme of re-organization undertaken by King Jayasthitimalla (1382–1395). Petech writes of this king that he was a legislator who codified the whole structure of Nepalese society within a strictly orthodox Hinduistic framework.²³ He created caste divisions which retained their validity until the end of the 18th century. Previously, the contact between Nepalese upper class and North India, and the constant waves of immigration, had been more important than a vertical unification of the entire population in the Valley of Nepal. The separation from North India culminated significantly enough in the field of language. Instead of the internationally understood Sanskrit, it was the indigenous Newar language which was used in official inscriptions for the first time during the reign of King Jayasthitimalla.²⁴

²³ Petech, p. 139.

²⁴ Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 1, p. 368.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AGRAWALA, P. K., *Gupta Temple Architecture*, Indian Civilisation Series, 8, Varanasi, 1968.
- AGRAWALA, V. S., *Indian Art. A history of Indian art from the earliest times up to the third century A.D.*, Varanasi, 1965.
- BANDMANN, G., *Ikonomie der Architektur*, Libelli, Darmstadt, 1969.
- BANERJEA, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd revised and enlarged edition, Calcutta, 1956.
- BANERJEE, N. R., Inscriptional Evidence on the Preservation of Monuments in Nepal, *Ancient Nepal. Journal of the Department of Archaeology*, 13, 1970.
- BANERJEE, N. R., Eḍūka (or Terraced) and Multiple-roofed Temples, *Bhārati. Bulletin of the Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, Prof. V. S. Agrawala Volume*, 12-14, 1968-1971.
- BANERJI, R. D., *The Temple of Siva at Bhumara*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1924.
- BANERJI, R. D., *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Varanasi, 1933.
- BANERJI, R. D., *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series 47, Calcutta, 1933.
- Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, for the Year Ending 31st July, 1938.*
- BENDALL, C., *A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research in Nepal and Northern India During the Winter of 1884-5*, Cambridge, 1886.
- BENISTI, M., Le stūpa d'après le Kriyāsamgraha. Étude sur le stūpa dans l'Inde ancienne, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 50, 1960.
- BHAGVANLAL INDRAJI and G. BÜHLER, Inscriptions from Nepal, *The Indian Antiquary. A Journal of Oriental Research*, 9, 1880.
- DR. G. LE BON's Reise nach Nepal, *Globus. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde*, 50, 1886.
- BROWN, P., Buildings in Nepal, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 3, 1935.
- BROWN, P., *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)*, 5th revised edition, Bombay, 1965.
- BURGESS, J., *Report of the First Season's Operations in the Belgām and Kaladgi Districts*, London, 1876.
- BURGESS, J., *Report on the Antiquities of Kāthiāwād and Kachh, Being the Result of the Second Season's Operations of the Archaeological Survey of Western India 1874-75*, London, 1874.
- CHANDRA, P., A Vāmana Temple at Maṛhiā and Some Reflections on Gupta Architecture, *Artibus Asiae*, 32, 1970.
- CHATTERJI, B. R., *Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia*, Calcutta, 1928.
- CHATTOPADHYAY, K. P., An Essay on the History of Newar Culture, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S. 19, 1923.
- COMBAZ, G., *L'Inde et l'Orient classique*, Paris, 1937.
- COOMARASWAMY, A. K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, reprint of the 1927 edition, Dover Publications, New York, 1965.
- COUSENS, H., The Ancient Temples of Aihole, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1907-8*, Calcutta, 1911.
- COUSENS, H., *Medieval Temples of the Dakhan*, Archaeological Survey of India, Imperial Series 47, Calcutta, 1931.
- CUNNINGHAM, A., *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports 3*, Calcutta, 1873.
- CUNNINGHAM, A., *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports 9*, Calcutta, 1879.
- CUNNINGHAM, A., *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports 21*, Calcutta, 1885.
- DAS GUPTA, R., *Nepalese Miniatures*, Varanasi, 1968.
- DEO, S. B., *Archaeological Excavations in Kathmandu: 1965. Report on the Work Undertaken Jointly by the Department of Archaeology, His Majesty's Government of Nepal, and the Indian Co-operation Mission, Nepal*, Kathmandu, 1968.
- DEO, S. B., Glimpses of Nepal Woodwork, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, N.S. 3, 1968-1969.
- DESHPANDE, M. N., The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan, *Ancient India. Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 15, 1959.
- DEVA, K., *Temples of North India*, New Delhi, 1969.
- DUMARÇAY, J., Les charpentes rayonnantes sur plan barlong ou carré de l'Asie méridionale, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 60, 1973.
- FERGUSON, J., *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1891.
- FERGUSON, J., and J. BURGESS, *The Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880.
- FISCHER, K., *Schöpfungen indischer Kunst. Von den frühesten Bauten und Bildern bis zum mittelalterlichen Tempel*, Köln, 1959.

- FRANZ, H. G., *Hinduistische und islamische Kunst Indiens, Der indische Kunstkreis in Gesamtschau und Einzeldarstellungen*, Leipzig, 1967.
- FRÉDÉRIC, L., *Indien. Tempel und Skulpturen*, Zürich und Stuttgart.
- GAIROLA, K., Atlantes in Early Indian Art, *Oriental Art*, N.S. 1.
- GANGOLY, O. C., *Indian Architecture*, 4th revised edition, Bombay, 1954.
- GOETZ, H., Nepal, *Encyclopedia of World Art*, 10, New York, Toronto, London, 1965.
- GOYAL, S. R., *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, Allahabad, 1967.
- HAMILTON, F. B., *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, reprint, New Delhi, 1971.
- HASRAT, B. J., *History of Nepal, As told by its own and contemporary chroniclers*, Hoshiarpur, 1970.
- HAVELL, E. B., *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India. A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*, London, 1915.
- HAVELL, E. B., *Benares, The Sacred City. Sketches of Hindu Life and Religion*, 2nd edition, London.
- Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1911-12*, Calcutta, 1915.
- Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1915-16*, Calcutta, 1918.
- JAH, H. N., *The Licchavis (of Vaisāli)*, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies 75, Varanasi, 1970.
- JAYASWAL, K. P., Chronology and History of Nepal, 600 B.C. to 880 A.D. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 22, 1936.
- The Physical Development Plan for the Kathmandu Valley*, published by His Majesty's Government of Nepal, Department of Housing and Physical Planning, Kathmandu, 1969.
- KIRKPATRICK, W. J., *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, reprint, New Delhi, 1969.
- KRAMRISCH, ST., *The Hindu Temple*, Calcutta, 1946.
- KRAMRISCH, ST., *The Art of Nepal*, New York, 1964.
- KRAMRISCH, ST., *Grundzüge der indischen Kunst*, Hellerau.
- KRAMRISCH, ST., *Dravida and Kerala, The Arts and Crafts of Kerala*, Cochin, Trivandrum, Madras.
- LANDON, P., *Nepal*, London, 1928.
- LEE, SH. E., A Kushan Yakshi Bracket, *Artibus Asiae*, 12, 1949.
- LÉVI, S., *Le Népal: Étude historique d'un royaume Hindou*, Paris, 1905-1908.
- LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW, J. E. VAN, The 'Scythian' Period. *An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of Northern India from the 1st Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D.*, Leiden, 1949.
- LONGHURST, A. H., *The Story of the Stūpa*, Colombo, 1936.
- MABBETT, I. W., Devarāja, *Journal of South-East Asian History*, 10, 1969.
- MARCHAL, H., *L'architecture comparée dans l'Inde et l'Extrême-Orient*, Études d'art et ethnologie asiatiques, 2, Paris, 1944.
- MITRA, R., *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, reprint, Calcutta, 1971.
- Government of Mysore, *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the Year 1946*.
- OLDFIELD, H. A., *Sketches from Nipal, Historical and Descriptive*, London, 1880.
- PAL, P., *Vaiṣṇava Iconology in Nepal. A Study in Art and Religion*, Calcutta.
- PETECH, L., *Medieval History of Nepal (c. 750-1480)*, Serie Orientale Roma, 10, Materials for the Study of Nepalese History and Culture, 3, Roma, 1958.
- PODUVAL, R. V., Architecture in Kerala, *The Arts and Crafts of Kerala*, Cochin, Trivandrum, Madras.
- RANA, B. SH. J. C., *Nepālko mahābhūkāmpa*, 2nd edition, Kathmandu, 1935.
- REA, A., *Chalukyan Architecture*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series 21, Madras, 1896.
- REGMI, D. R., *Medieval Nepal, Part 1 (Early Medieval Period, 750-1530 A.D.)*, Calcutta, 1965.
- REGMI, D. R., *Medieval Nepal, Part 2, A History of the Three Kingdoms 1520 A.D. to 1768 A.D.*, Calcutta, 1966.
- REGMI, D. R., *Ancient Nepal*, Calcutta, 1969.
- ROSENFELD, J. M., *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967.
- ROWLAND, B., *The Art and Architecture of India, Buddhist/Hindu/Jain*, The Pelican History of Art, 3rd revised edition, Harmondsworth, 1967.
- SANKALIA, H. D., *The Archaeology of Gujarat (including Kathiawar)*, Bombay, 1941.
- SARASWATI, S. K., Temple Architecture in the Gupta Age, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 8, 1940.
- SCHLAGINTWEIT, E., *Indien in Wort und Bild. Eine Schilderung des indischen Kaiserreiches*, Leipzig, 1890.
- SECKEL, D., *Kunst des Buddhismus. Werden, Wanderung und Wandlung*, Kunst der Welt, Baden-Baden, 1962.
- SEN, R. R., *The Holy City (Benares)*, Chittagong, 1912.
- SHAH, M. B. B., *Sudhāra kārya vivarana (sacitra)*, Kathmandu, 1960.
- SHUKLA, D. N., *Hindu Science of Architecture, Vāstu-Śāstra*, 1, Lucknow.
- SHRESTHA and SINGH, *Picturesque Kathmandu*, Kathmandu, 1969.
- SHRESTHA and SINGH, *History of Ancient and Medieval Nepal*, 1, Kathmandu, 1972.
- SIMPSON, W., *Architecture of the Himalayas*, reprint, New York, 1970.
- SINGH, M., *Himalayan Art. Wall-Painting and Sculpture in Ladakh, Lahaul and Spiti, the Siwalik Ranges, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan*, Unesco Art Books, New York, 1968.

- SIVARAMAMURTI, C., *Royal Conquests and Cultural Migration in South India and the Deccan*, Calcutta, 1955.
- SLUSSER, M. SH., and Gautamavajra Vajracarya, Some Nepalese Stone Sculptures: A Reappraisal within their Cultural and Historical Context, *Artibus Asiae*, 35, 1973.
- SMITH, V. A., *The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1901.
- SMITH, V. A., *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 3rd enlarged and revised edition, Bombay, 1969.
- SNELGROVE, D. L., *Buddhist Himalaya*, Oxford, 1957.
- SNELGROVE, D. L., Shrines and Temples of Nepal, *Arts Asiatiques*, 8, 1961.
- SRINIVASAN, K. P., *Temples of South India*, India—The Land and the People, New Delhi, 1972.
- Sculpture Buddhiste dello Swat*, exhibition catalogue, Torino, 1963.
- UEBACH, H., *Das Nepālamābātmyam des Skandapurānam. Legenden um die hinduistischen Heiligtümer Nepals*, Münchener Universitätschriften, München, 1970.
- VIENNOT, O., Le makara dans la décoration des monuments de l'Inde ancienne: positions et fonctions, *Arts Asiatiques*, 5, 1958.
- VIENNOT, O., *Les divinités fluviales Gaṅgā et Yamunā aux portes des sanctuaires de l'Inde. Essai d'évolution d'un thème décoratif*, Publications du Musée Guimet, Recherches et documents d'art et d'archéologie, 10, Paris, 1964.
- VIENNOT, O., Le problème des temples à toit plat dans l'Inde du Nord, *Arts Asiatiques*, 18, 1968.
- VOGEL, J. PH., Le makara dans la sculpture de l'Inde, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques, Annales du Musée Guimet*, 6, 1929–1930.
- VOGEL, J. PH., *La sculpture de Mathurā*, Ars Asiatica, Paris and Bruxelles, 1930.
- WALDSCHMIDT, E. and R. L., *Nepal. Kunst aus dem Königreich im Himalaya*, Recklinghausen, 1967.
- WRIGHT, D., *History of Nepal, Translated from the Parbatiya*, reprint, Kathmandu, 1972.
- WYLIE, T., *A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal*, Serie Orientale Roma, 42, Roma, 1970.
- ZIMMER, H., *The Art of Indian Asia. Its Mythology and Transformations*, Bollingen Series, 39, New York, 1960.

INDEX TO GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

- Ahichchatra 38
Aihole 87n
 Lād-Khān temple 48–50, Fig. 15
 Meguti temple 48–49
Ajanta 70, 100
 Cave I 67, 84, Figs. 23, 34
 Cave II 74, 92, 96, Figs. 26, 39
 Cave XVI 76n, Fig. 30
 Cave XVII Figs. 22e, 22f
 Cave XIX 84
 Cave XXIV 84, Fig. 22h
 Cave XXVII 73, 74
Amaravati 82, 83
Assam 26
Aurangabad 96, 100
 Cave I 67n
 Cave III 92, 94
Avasthān Jalāsāyana 20
- Badami, Cave III 92, 94, 98, 100, 101, Fig. 38
Bagh, Cave VI Fig. 22g
Baigram 47
Bālanilakanṭha 20n
Balkans 37, 38
Banepa 43n
Bangla Desh 47
Baroda 97
Belur, Chenna Keśava temple 96, 97, 100, Fig. 44
Bengal 34, 37n, 50
Berlin, Museum für Indische Kunst 103, Pl. XVIb
Besnagar 71n, Fig. 22j
Bhaja
 Caitya hall 61n
 Vihāra 91, 92, Fig. 26
Bhaktapur 4, 30, 32
 Bhairava temple 42
 Dvārikānāth (Nārāyaṇa) temple 4, 15, 24, 25, 39,
 Pls. IIIb, VIIIa, X
 Nyatapola temple 38, 42, Fig. 8
 Taleju Bhavani temple Fig. 29
 Yakṣeśvara (Paśupatināth) temple 3, 4, 10, 12, 13n,
 15, 39, 104
Bharhut 101, 103
Bhubaneswar 77
Bhumara, Śiva temple 47, 73, 74, Figs. 13, 27
Bhutesar Fig. 45
Bihar 73
Bishanku 20
Bombay Presidency 97
Būdhānilakanṭha 20n
Bungamati (Vāgrmati village, Buṅga) 26, 27n, 28n
Burma 34, 37
- Cambodia 11
Changu, Cāngu Nārāyaṇa temple 19, 20, 22, 23, 38,
 39, Pl. IIIa
China 34–37
- Deogarh, Daśāvātāra temple 75, 83, 84, 107
Deopatan
 Āryā Ghaṭ 12, 14
 Kailāsakūṭa 13
 Kailāsa mountain 12
 Paśupatināth temple 1, 2, 4, 11–15, 21, 30, 38, 41,
 53, 89, 90, 104–108, Fig. 2, Pls. I, XIVa
Dvārakā 25n
- Ellora
 Cave II Fig. 24
 Cave X (Viśvakarmā) 79n
 Cave XXI 92, 94
 Cave XXXIII 76n
- Gandhara 59n, 75, 79–83, 86, 87
Gokarna
 Durbar of the Kirāṭas 18
 Gokarṇeśvara temple 17, 18, 75, Pl. IIa
Gop, temple 47, 48, Fig. 14
Gujarat 94, 95
Gwalior, Teli-kā Mandir 56, 86
- Halebid, Hoysalesvara temple 97
Himalayas 35
- Icāngu 20, 22n
- Jankhat 64, 65, 67, Fig. 22b
Japan 35, 36
Jaulian, Ali-Masjid Stūpa 83
Jñāneśvara Jalāsāyana 20
- Kanara 34–37, 50
Kanchi, Vaikuṅṭha Perumāḷ temple 17n
Kankali Tila
 brackets 62, 63 Figs. 21a, 21b, 22a
 lintel 84, Fig. 33
 railing pillars Fig. 46
Kashmir 35–37, 84, 88
Kathiawar 36, 37, 47, 48
Kathmandu (Kāntipur) 4, 11, 30, 105
 Degutale temple 31–33, 106
 Dhvākā-bāhā 75
 Hanumān Dhokā 20n, 23, 32
 Itum-bāhā Pl. XIVc
 Jagannāth (Nārāyaṇa) temple 4, 21, 23, 24, 25n,
 39, 78, Fig. 9, Pls. Va, VIIIb, IX

- Kathmandu (Kāntipur) (*continued*)
 Jana-bāhā (Kanakacaityamahāvihāra) 28
 Kāṣṭhamāṇḍapa 108
 Mahendresvara (Paśupatināth) temple 4, 11, 12, 16, 39
 Matsyendranāth temple 25, 26n, 27–29
 Mohan-chōk 11
 Rāni Pōkharī 24n
 Taleju temple 4, 7, 30–32, 41–43, Pl. IIb
 Tripuresvara temple 18, 19, 24n
 Yamala 29
- Kerala 50, 98, 100
- Khajuraho 77, 87, 88, 95
 Dūlādeo temple 87, 96, Pl. XIIIa
 Khanwar Math 87
 Pārśvanātha temple 95
 Viśvanātha temple 96, 98
- Khandagiri-Udayagiri
 Cave III (Ananata Gumphā) 91, 92
 Cave VI 67, Fig. 22c
 Cave X (Gaṇeśa Gumphā) 61n, 92, 101, Fig. 37
 Cave XIX 67, Fig. 22d
- Konarak, Sun temple Fig. 31
- Kondane, caitya hall 61n
- Kuruvarti, Mallikārjuna temple 96, Figs. 42, 43
- London, Victoria and Albert Museum 64
- Lucknow Museum 57, 59, 63, 101, Figs. 18, 21a, 21b, 45
- Mahabalipuram, Dharmarāja Ratha 86
- Malabar 36, 50
- Marhia, Vāmana temple 84
- Martand, Sun temple 84, Fig. 35
- Mathura 59, 60, 68
 Mathura museum 56, 59, Fig. 17
- Mount Abu
 Lūṇa Vasahī temple 95, Fig. 40
 Vimala Vasahī temple 95, Fig. 41
- Nachna-Kuthara 106
 Caturmukha temple 84, Pl. XIIb
 Pārvatī temple 45, 47, 49–51, Fig. 12
- Nagarjunakonda 65n, 82
- Nagda, Sās-bahū temple 94, 95
- Nālaṇḍā 36
- Norway 37, 38
- Orissa 36, 37, 77, 78
- Osiā, Sun temple, 86n
- Palampet, Ramappa temple 97, 100, Pl. XVa
- Palāñok, 20n
- Panauti, Indresvara temple 43n
- Paśupura 12n
- Patan (Lalitpur) 4
 Degutale temple 32, 33
 Dharmarājaminanāthalokesvara temple, 28n
 Kāmesvara temple 17n
 Khumbesvara temple 3n, 4, 11, 16, 17, 38, 39, 42, 43
 Kṛṣṇa temple 23
 Mañimaṇḍapa 26
 Matsyendranāth temple 4, 16, 25, 26n, 27, 28, 42, 43, 75, 78
 Mūlchowk 33n
 Nārāyaṇa temple 3n, 4, 7–9, 21, 23, 24, 28n, 39, Figs. 3, 4, Pls. Vb, VIa, VIb, VIIa, VIIb, XIa, XIb, XIVd
 Nau-bāhā Pl. XIVb
 Taḥ-bāhā (Dhamakirtimahāvihāra) 27
- Patna 105
- Pattadakal, Virūpākṣa temple 86
- Pedgaon, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa temple 78n
- Peshawar 36
- Pitalkhora 92, Pl. XVIa
- Rajasthan 94, 95
- Ramgarh, Muṇḍesvari temple 86, 87, Pl. XIIa
- Russia 37, 38
- Sahri-Bahlol 82
- Sakhar, temple 73, 74, 84, Fig. 28
- Sanchi
 brackets from toraṇas 61–64
 temple No. 17 107
- Seattle Art Museum 64
- Sishya or Sikhor 20
- Somnathpur, temple 78n
- Sunak, Nilakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple 95, Pl. XIIIb
- Takht-i-Bahi 81, Pls. XIIc, XIIId
- Tibet 34n
- Tigawa, temple 107, Fig. 22i
- Tiruvanam, temple Pl. XVb
- Tiruvenchikulam, temple Pl. IVb
- Travancore 35
- Trichur, Rāma shrine at the Vaḍakkunnātha temple 50, 51
- Vaiśālī 105
- Vaneśvar Jalāsyaṇa 20
- Varanasi, 'Nepalese Temple' (Paśupatināth) 1, 2, Fig. 1
- Viśālnagar 20, 21
- Vishnupur, Radha Mohan temple Pl. IVa

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

- Aṃśuvarman 10, 12, 22
Ananta Lakṣmī 17
Anantamalla 13
- Bandhudatta Ācārya 27
Bhāskaramalla 32
Bhimsen Thāpā 14, 19
Bhūpālendramalla 22
Bhūpatīndramalla 25, 38, 42
Bhuvanalakṣmī 32
- Cālukya 86
Candragupta 105
Chandra Shumsher Jung Bahādūr Rāṇā 14, 15
Coja 86
- Devapāla 18
Devidās 14
- Gāṅgā Rānī 11, 13, 22, 23, 41, 42
Gīrvāṇ Yuddha Vikram Shāh 14
Gokarṇa 18
Gorkha 1, 27, 126
Guṇakāmadeva 17, 27, 29
Gupta 19, 20, 44, 56, 64, 65, 67, 70, 71, 73, 75–79,
84, 106, 108
- Haridatta (Haridattavarma) 19–22
Harisīmha 29
Hsüan-tsang 34, 36
- Indramalla 28
- Jayaprakāśamalla 14, 32
Jayasīmhamalla 13
Jayasīmharāma 13, 43
Jayasthitimalla 17, 18, 21, 22, 104n, 108
Jitāmitramalla 15
Juddha Shumsher Jung Bahādūr Rāṇā 23, 28
Jyotirmalla 13
- Kaniṣka 105
Kīrāṭa 18
Kuṣāṇa 56, 59, 60, 63–65, 69–71, 101, 103, 105–108
- Lakṣmīnarasīmhamalla 16, 24, 30
Lalitatripurāsundarī 19
- Lambakarṇa Bhaṭṭa 31, 32
Licchavi 11, 12, 19, 104–106, 108
- Mahendramalla 4, 13, 16, 30, 31, 41
Mahendra Vir Vikram Shāh 17, 18, 23, 28
Malla 10, 29–31, 38, 41, 43
Manadeva 12n, 20–22, 26n
Mukundasena 26n
- Narendradeva 26–28
Nṛpendramalla 14
- Pāla 71, 79, 108
Pallava 86
Pārthivendramalla 14, 22
Paśuprekṣa 11, 12
Pratāpamalla 11, 13, 14, 20n, 24, 29n, 30, 31n, 32, 33
Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shāh 30
Puraṇdarasīmha 4, 23, 28
- Rājendra Vikram Shāh 14
Rāṇā Bahādūr Shāh 14, 19, 31, 32
Raṅganātha 19
Ratnamalla 30, 31
Rddhilakṣmī 14, 22, 23
- Sena 108
Shāh 24, 31
Shams ud-dīn Ilyās 13, 22, 104
Siddhīnarasīmhamalla 26, 28, 30, 33, 42
Śivasīmhamalla 18, 31–33
Skandagupta 19
Somavarṇa 12
Śrīnivāsamalla 4, 17, 26, 28, 33
Subā Kulānand Jhā 14
- Thākuri 29n
- Vīma Kadphises 105n
Viṣṇusīmha 23
Viśvamalla 21, 22
Viśvanāth Upādhyāya 30
- Yakṣamalla 3, 4, 15, 27–30
Yoganarendramalla 17, 28, 43

PLATES

Deopatan, Paṣupatinath temple, view from east

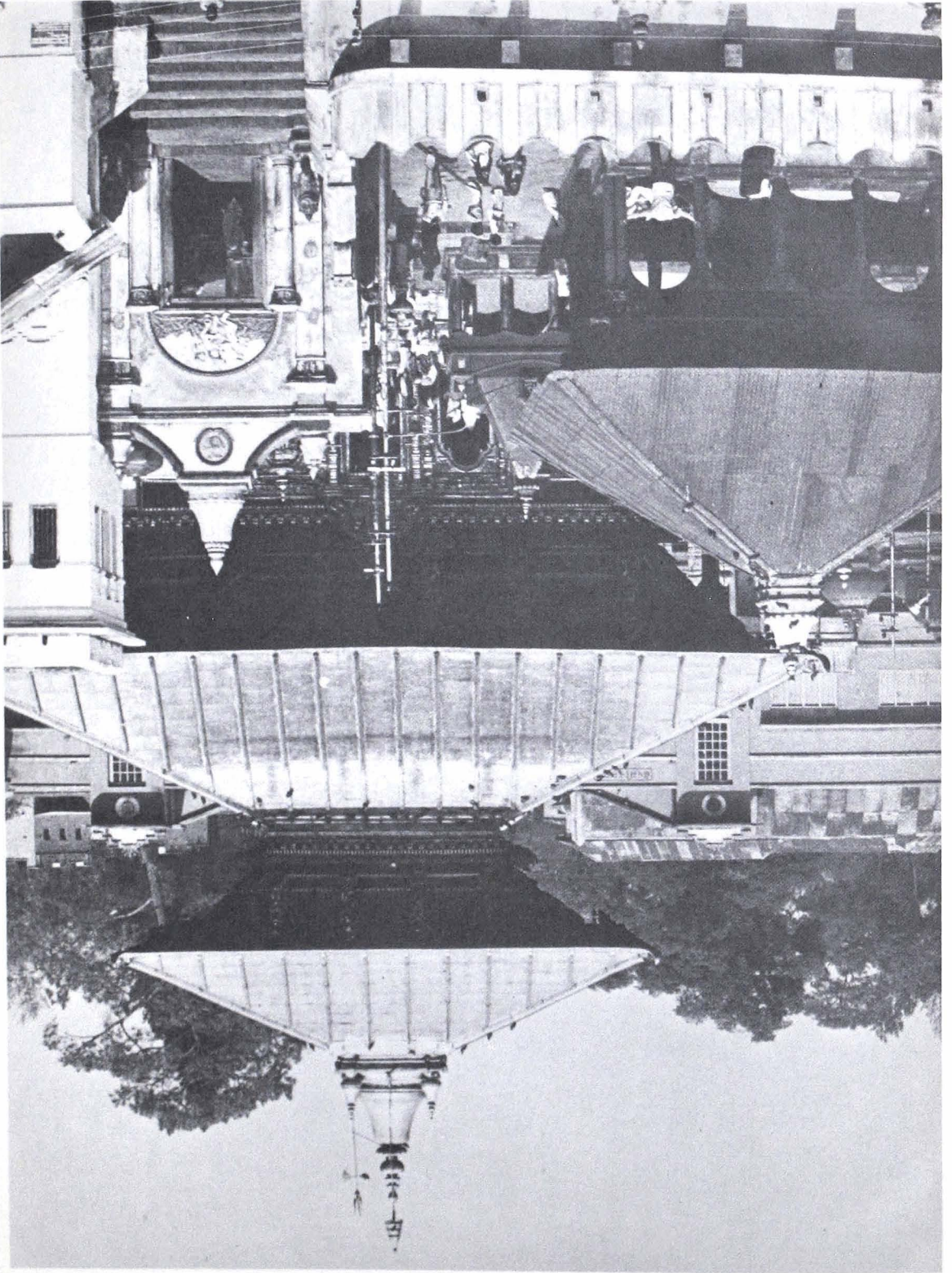
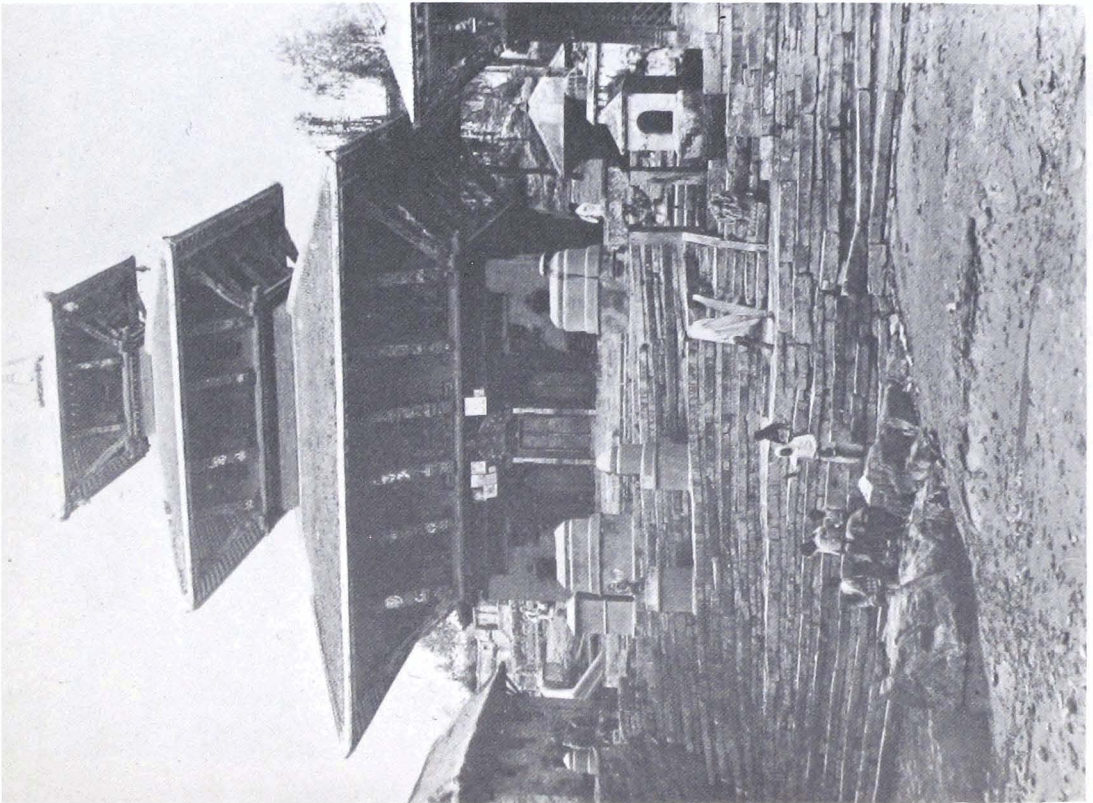
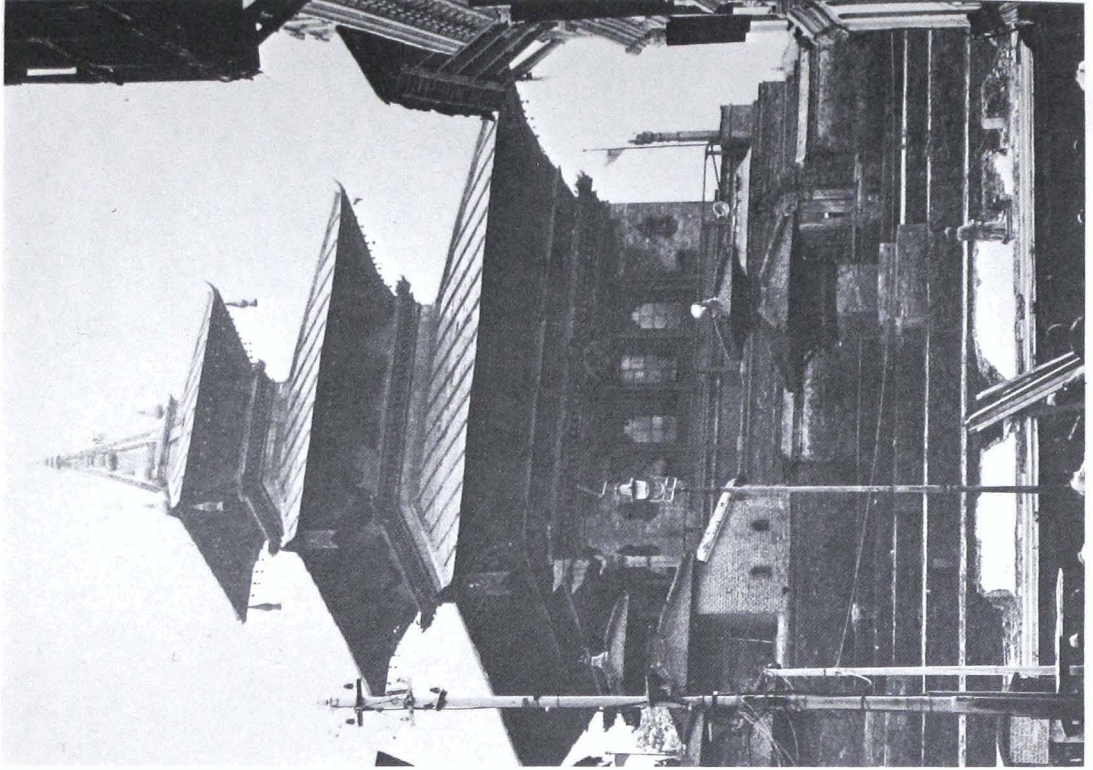


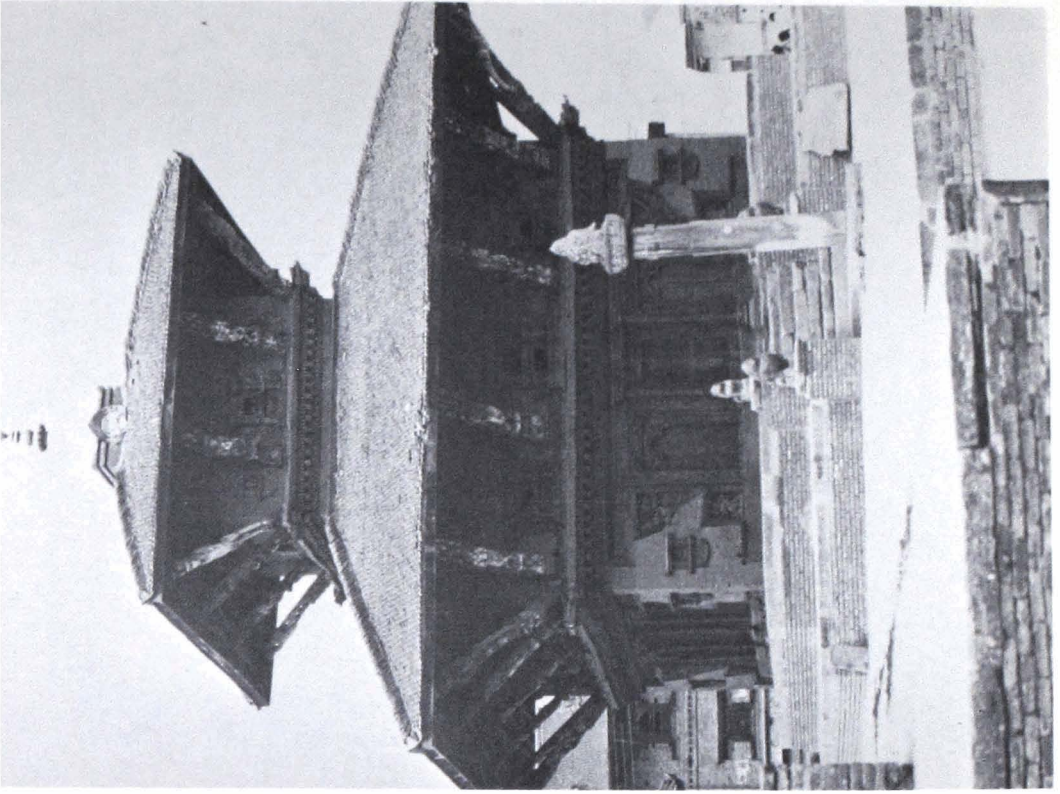
PLATE I



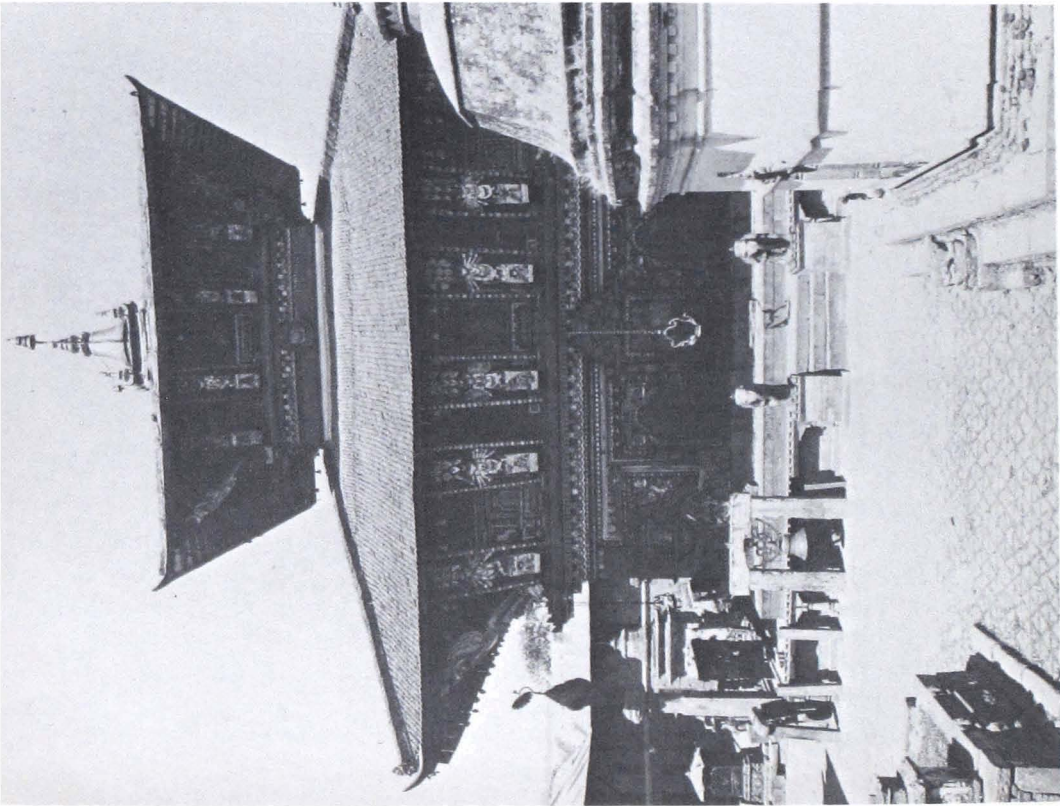
a) Gokarṣvara temple, view from east



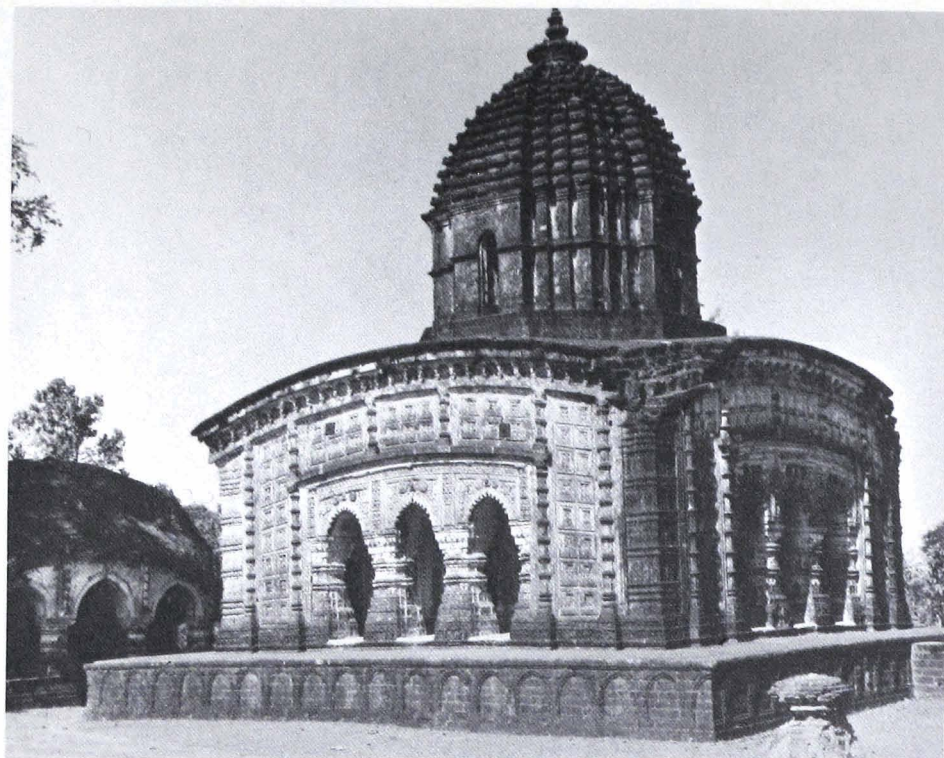
b) Kathmandu, Taleju temple, after removal of surrounding structures, view from north-east



b) Bhaktapur, Dvārikānāth temple, view from east



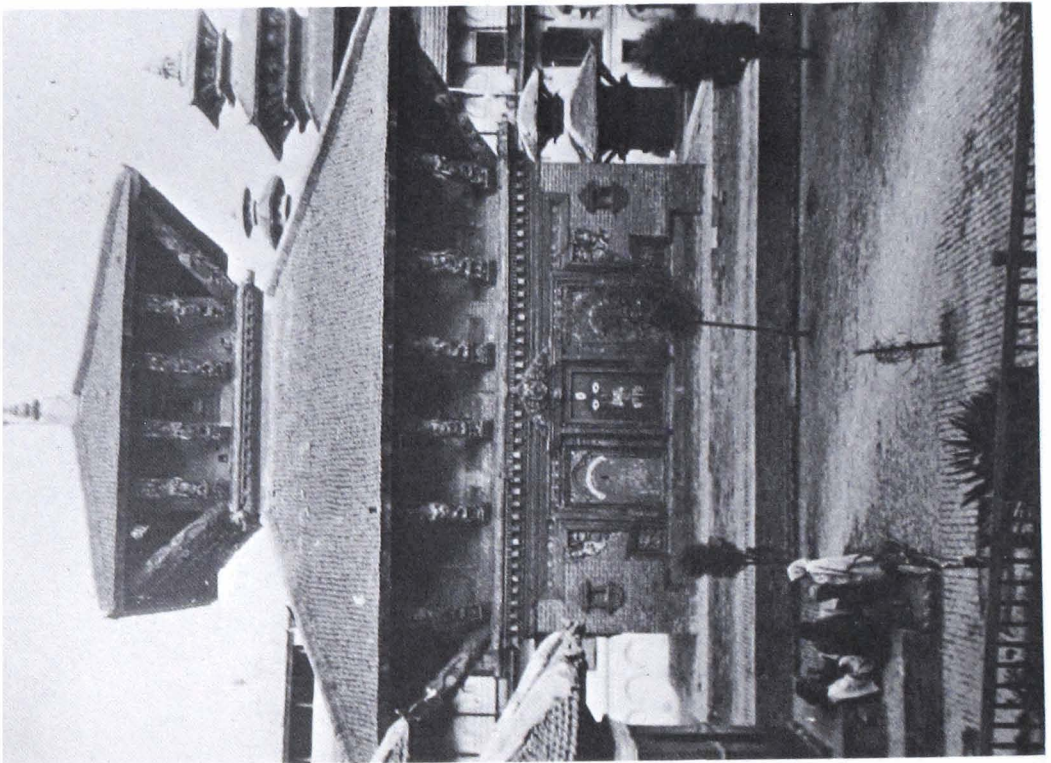
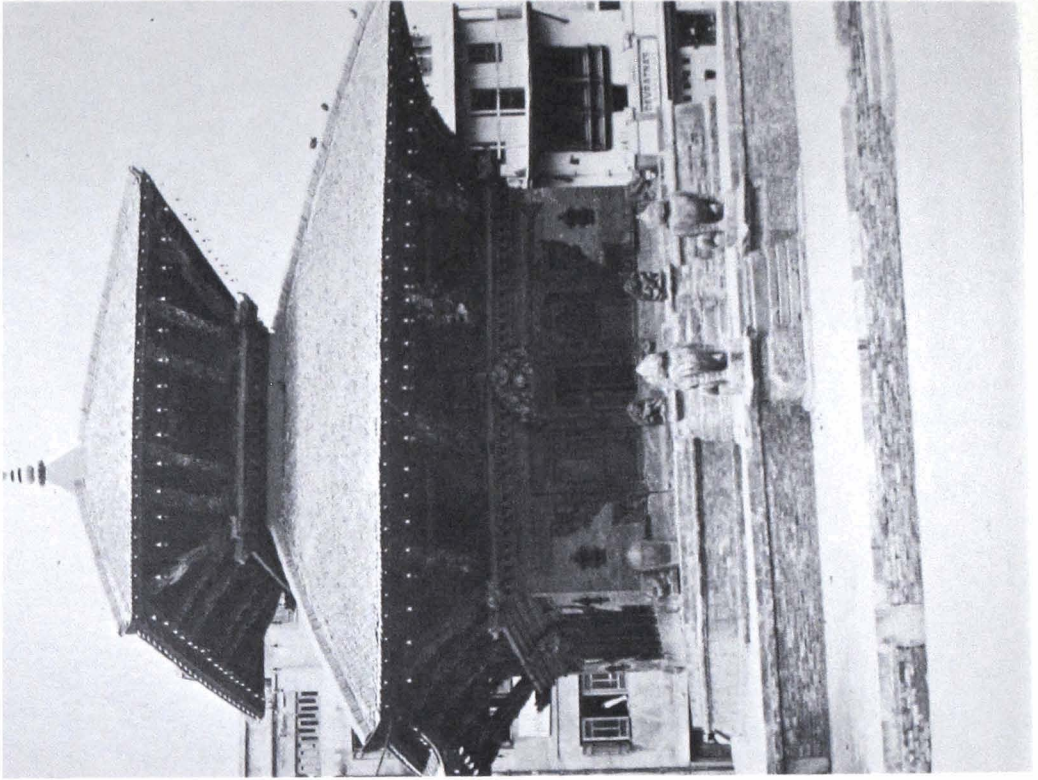
a) Changu, Cāṅgu Nārāyaṇa temple, view from south

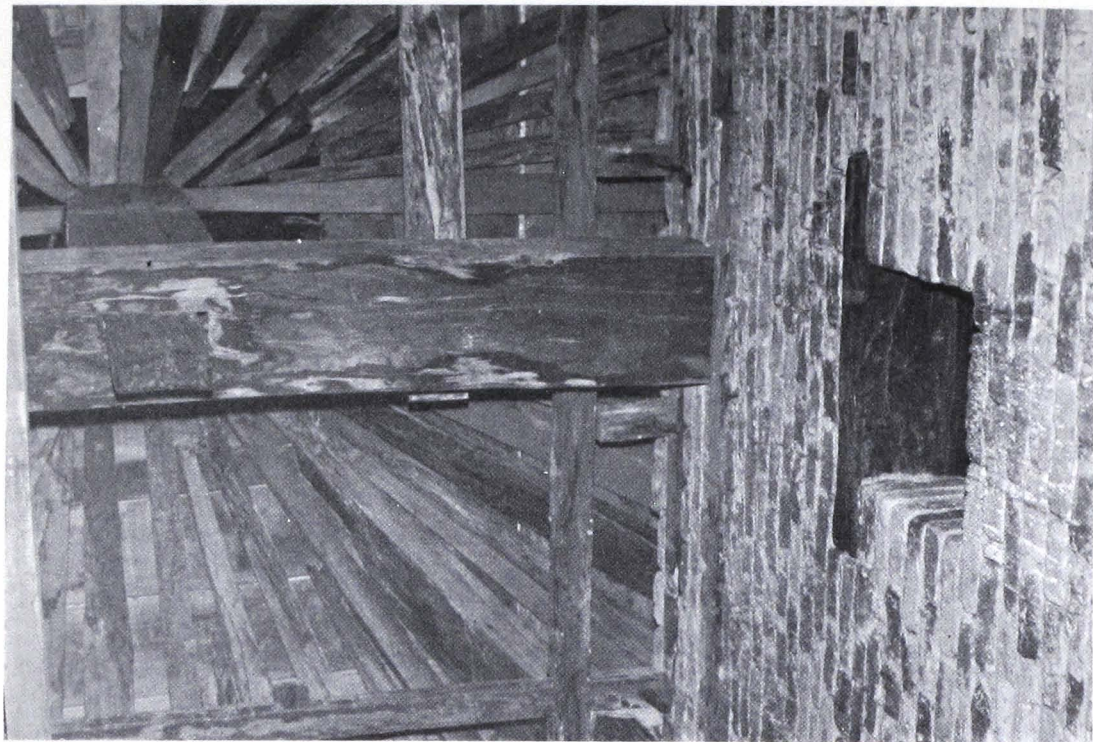


a) Vishnupur, Radha Mohan temple



b) Tiruvenchikulam, temple

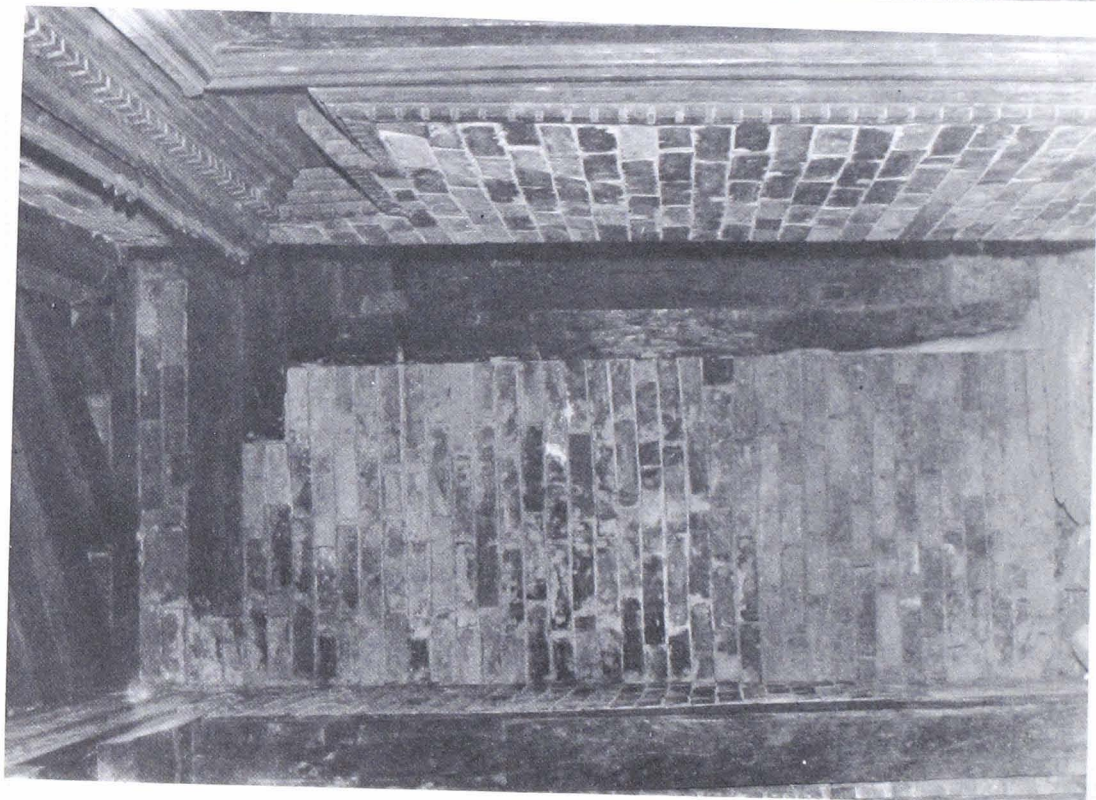


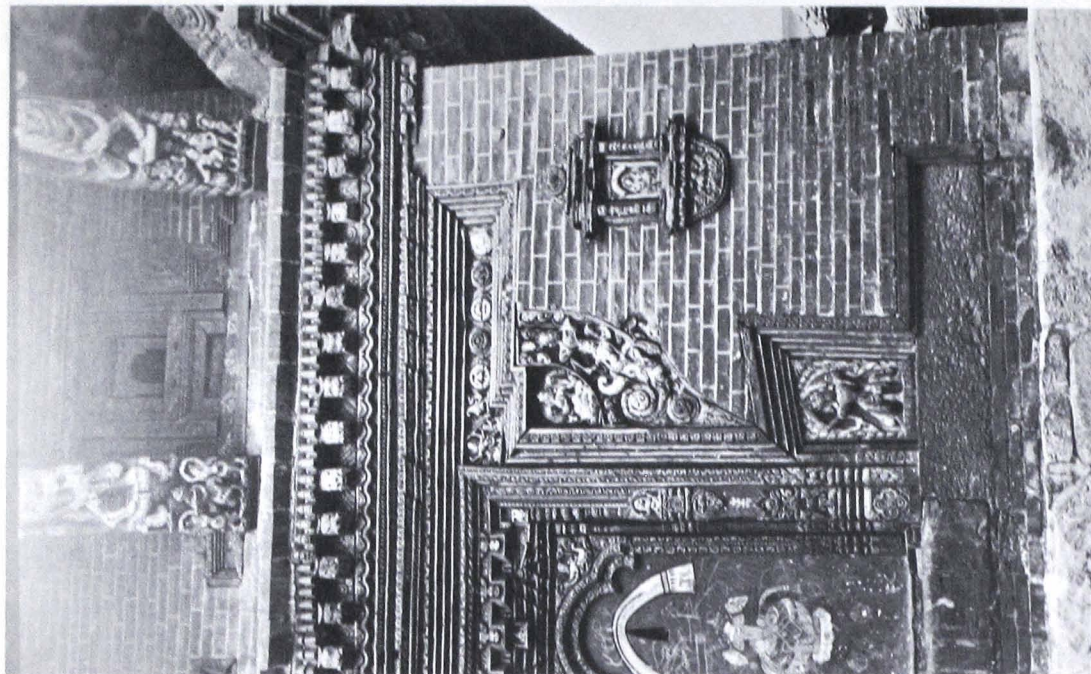


b) Patan, Nārāyaṇa temple, look into the pyramidal roof



a) Patan, Nārāyaṇa temple, wall core in upper storey

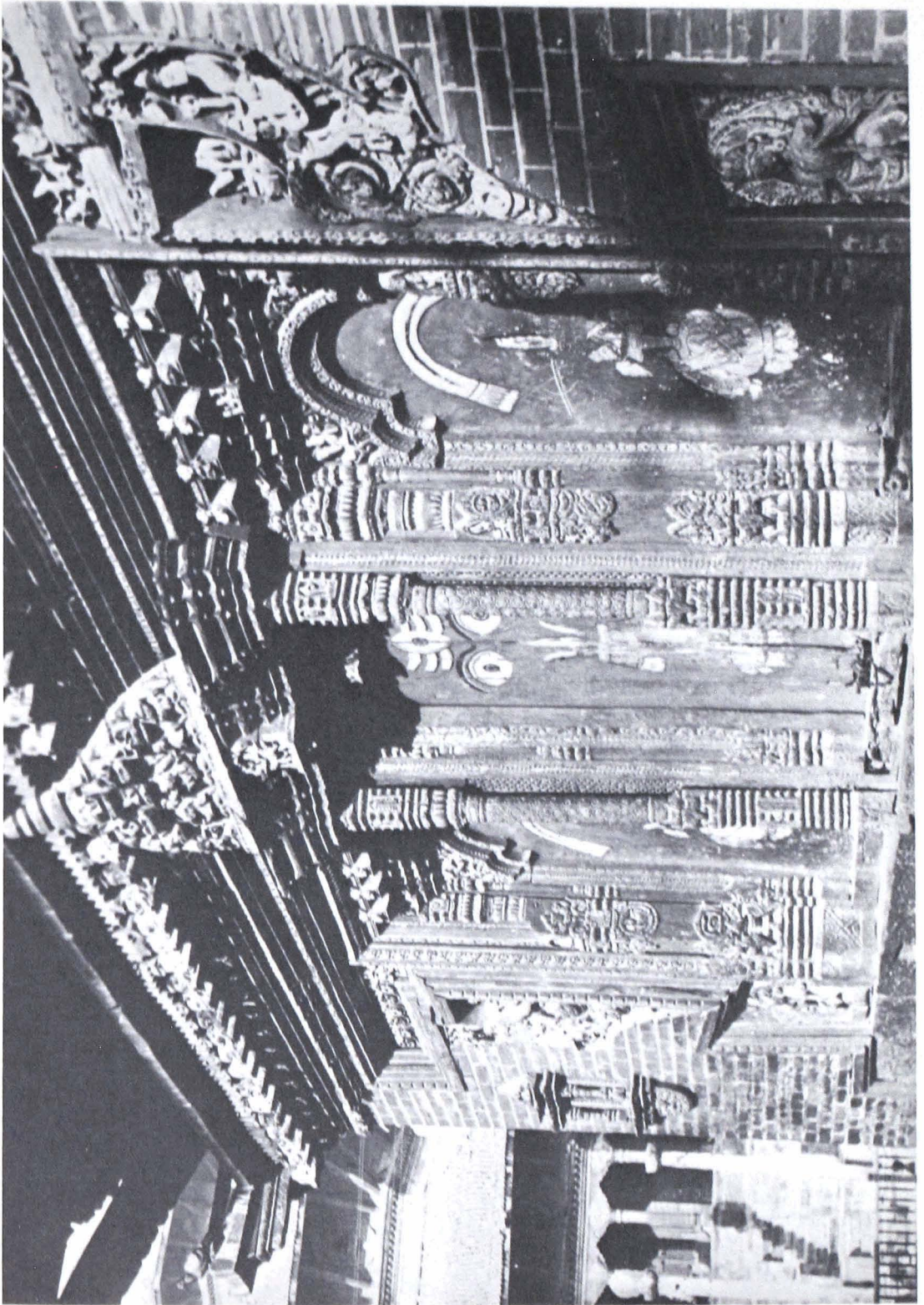




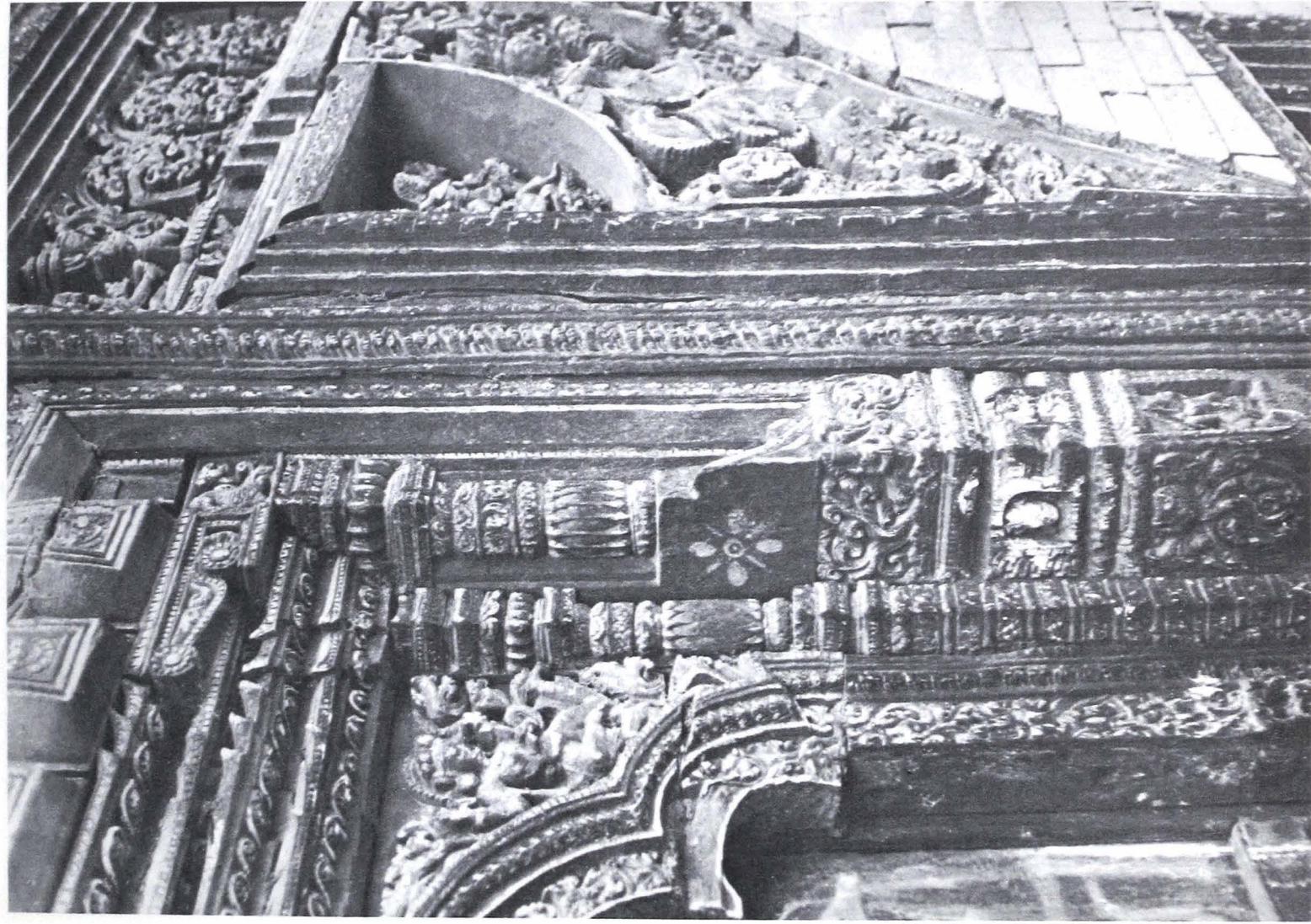
b) Kathmandu, Jagannāth temple, detail of western façade with portal frame and cornice



a) Bhaktapur, Dvārikānāth temple, portal on the west side



Kathmandu, Jagannath temple, portal on south side

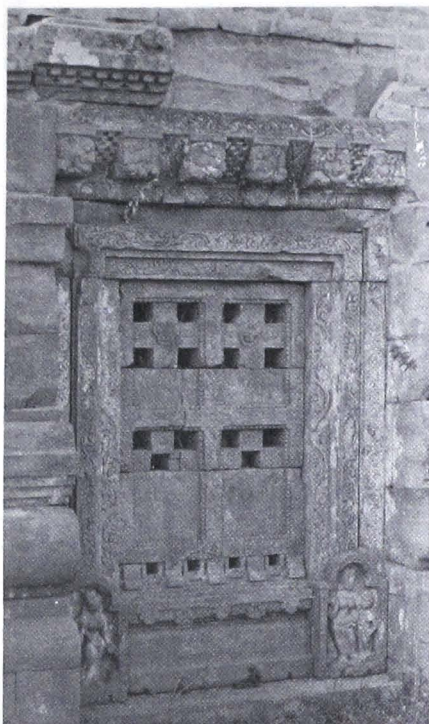




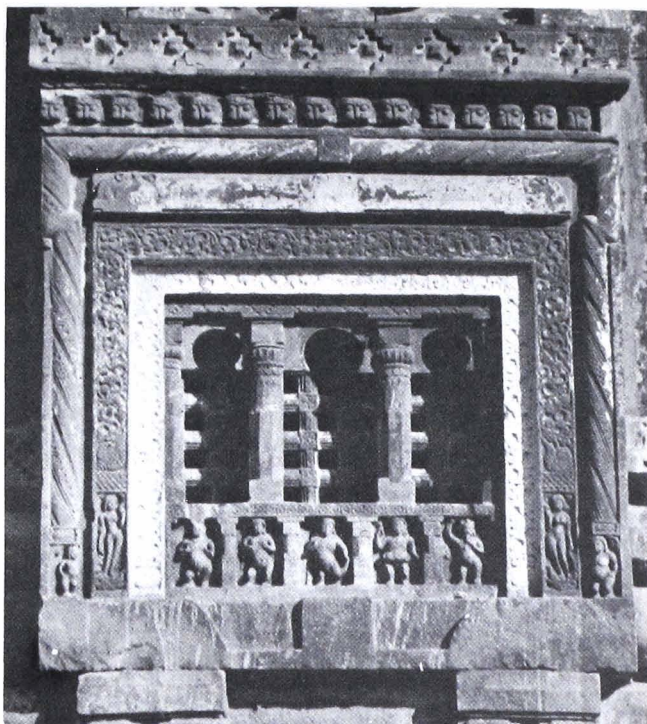
a) Patan, Nārāyaṇa temple, cornice



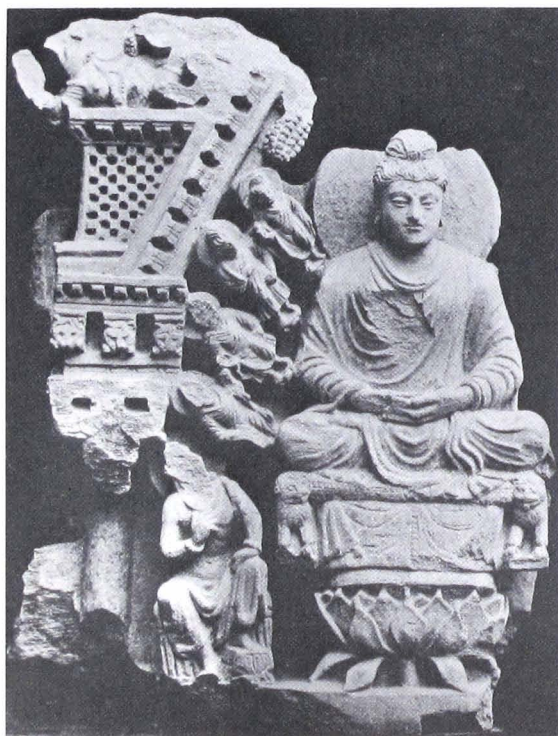
b) Patan, Nārāyaṇa temple, portal on south side, detail, missing parts replaced with brickwork



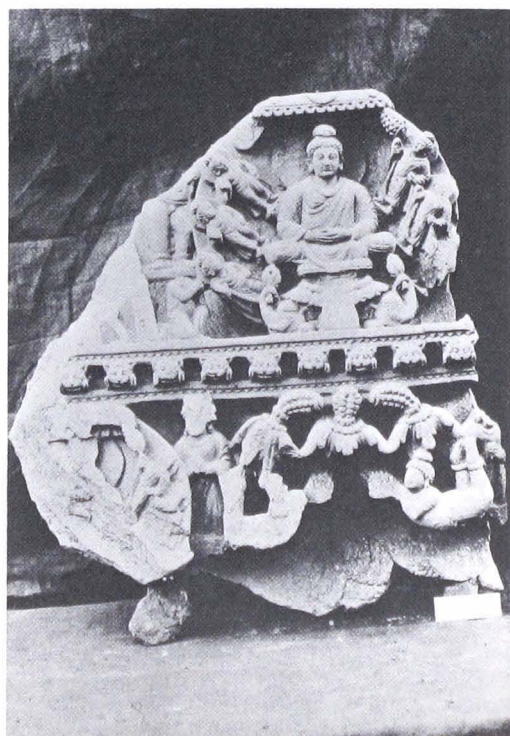
a) Ramgarh, Muñdeśvarī temple, detail of façade



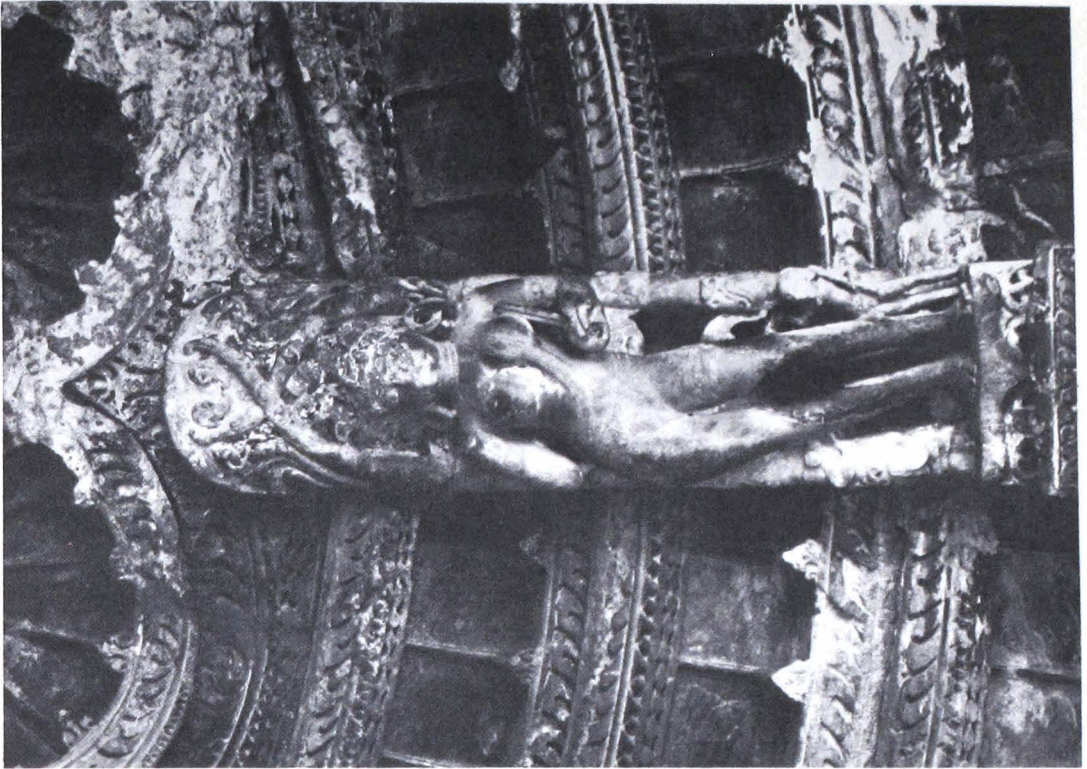
b) Nachna-Kuthara, Caturmukha temple, detail of southern façade

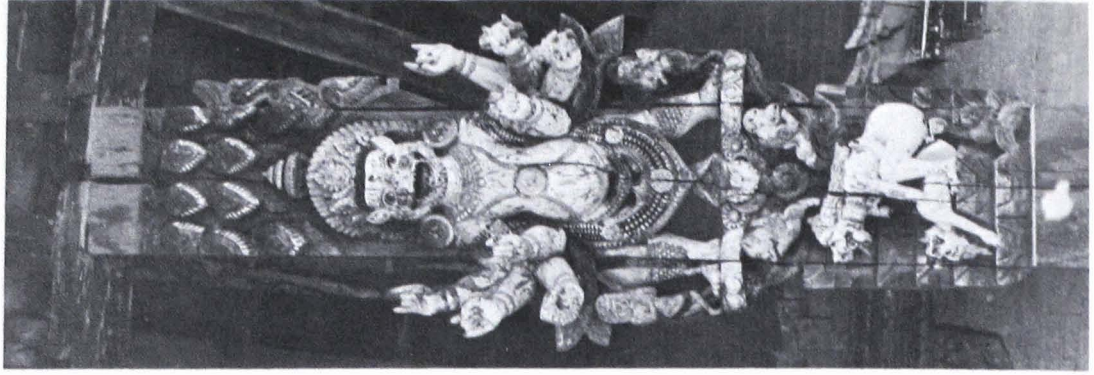


c) Fragment from Takht-i-Bahi



d) Fragment from Takht-i-Bahi





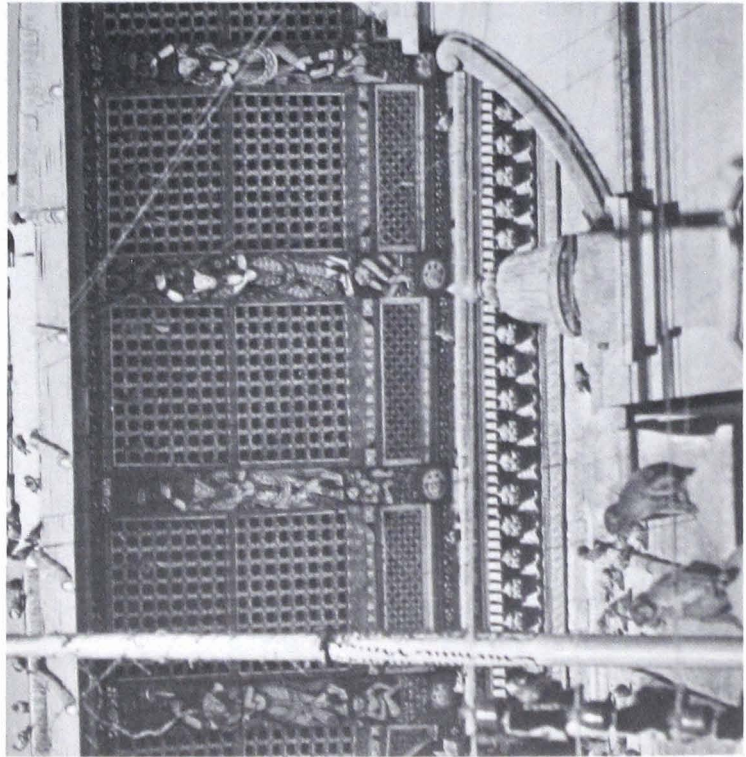
d)



c)

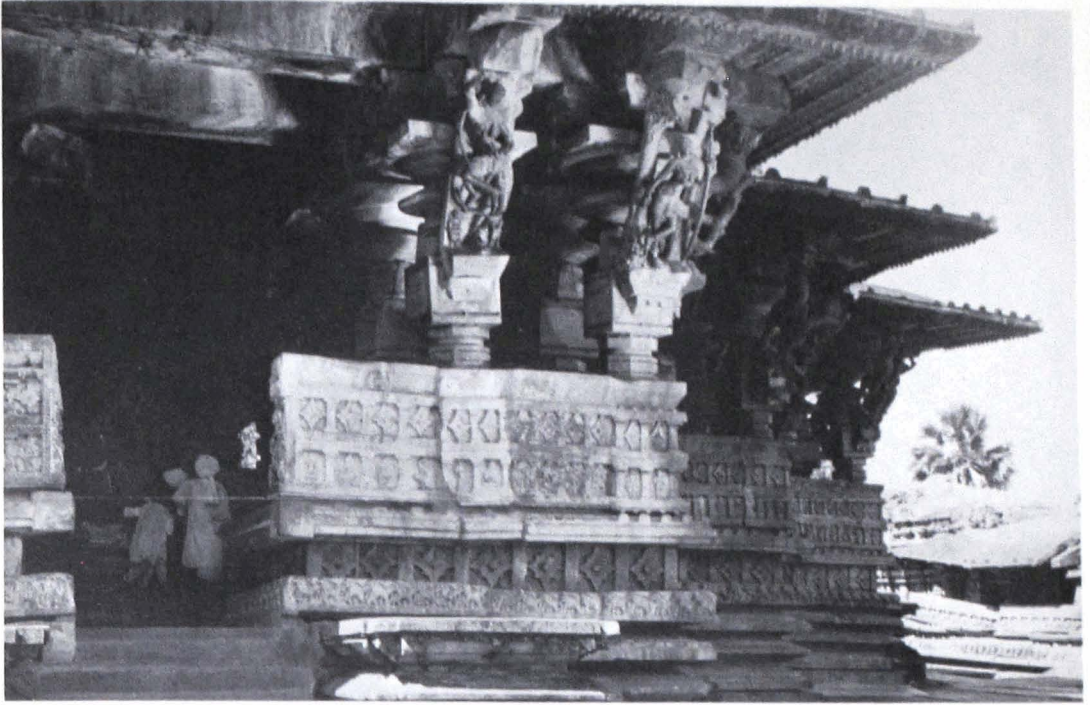


b)

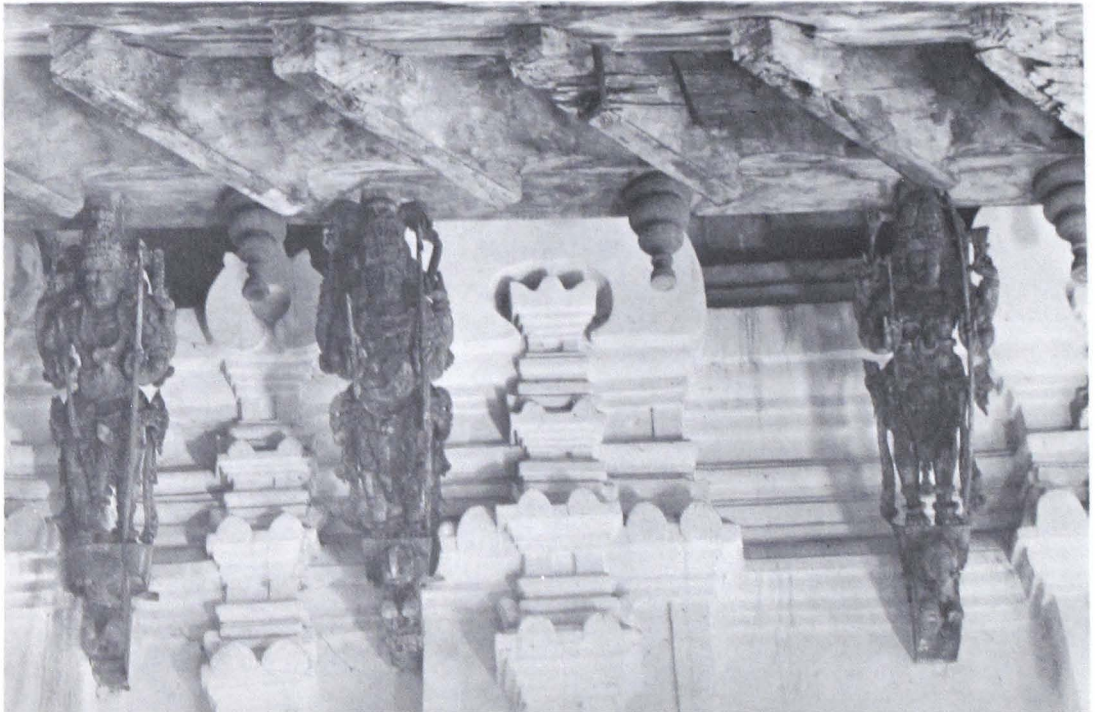


a)

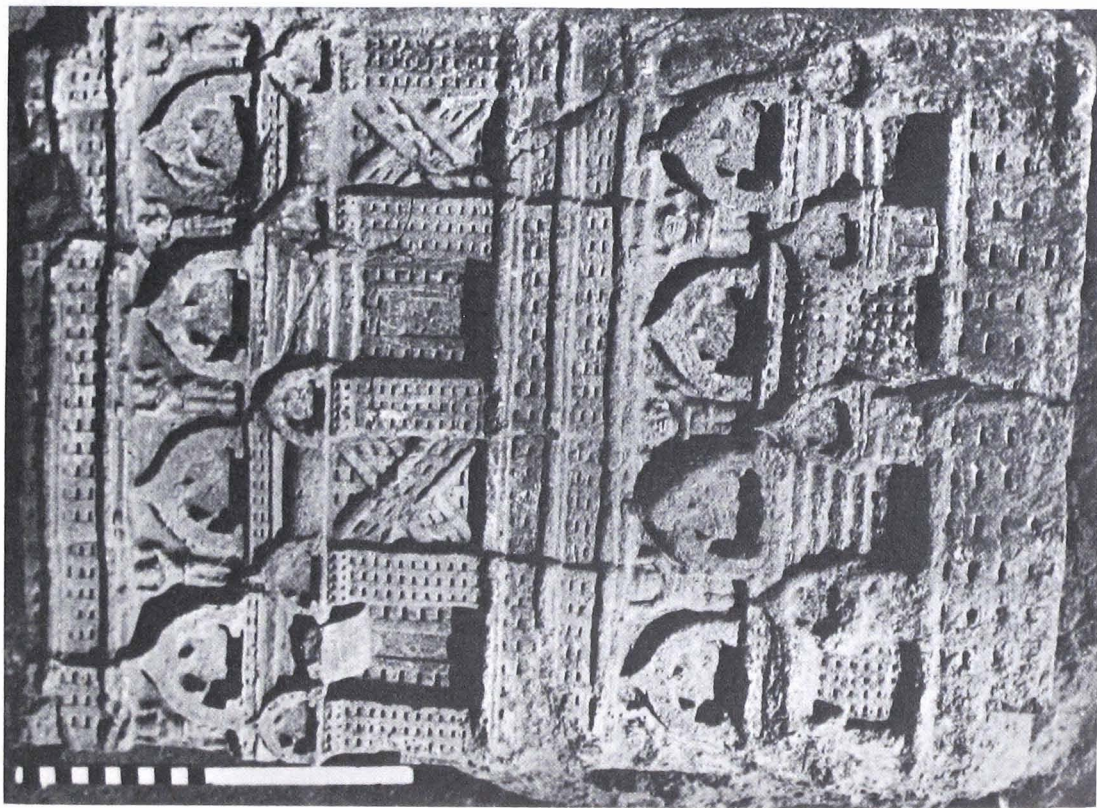
a) Deopatan, Paśupatiṅgā temple, roof struts on eastern side; b) Pātan, Nau-bāhā, roof struts; c) Kathmandu, Itum-bāhā, roof struts; d) Pātan, Nārāyaṇa temple, roof struts



a) Palampet, Ramappa temple, struts of maṇḍapa roof



b) Tiruvanam, roof struts



a) Relief from Pitalkhora



b) Fragment of a strut in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin

