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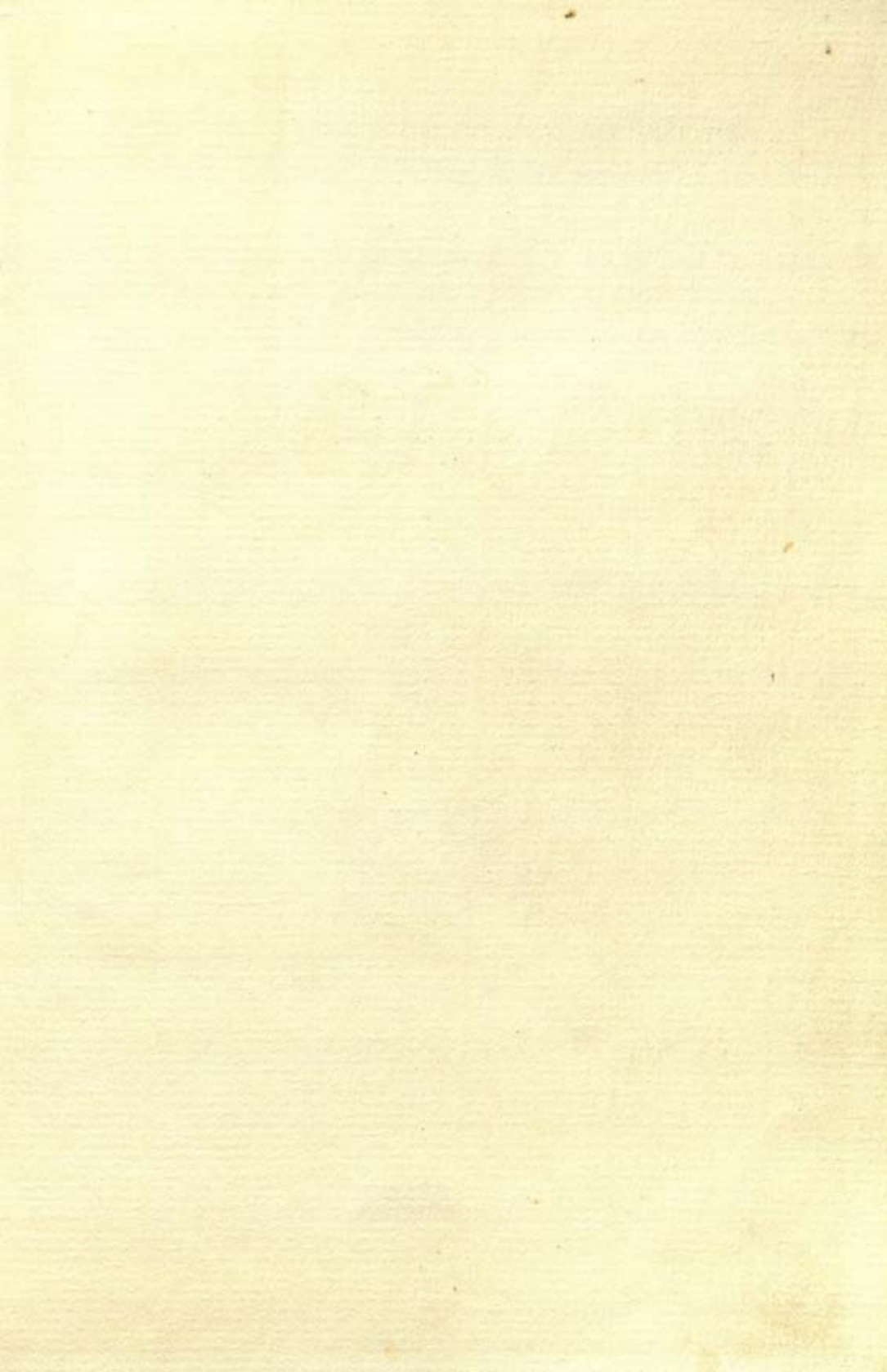
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The Sun-Temple at MODHERA

A Monograph on Architecture and Iconography

by

Wibke Lobo

Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin

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VORWORT

Indische Tempel und indische Kunst sind durch die Arbeiten und Veröffentlichungen einheimischer und englischer Archäologen und Kunsthistoriker seit dem 19. Jahrhundert einer breiten Öffentlichkeit nahegebracht worden. Unter dem Eindruck der gewaltigen Zahl der über ganz Indien verstreuten religiösen Bauten beschränkten sich die Gelehrten auf Bestandsaufnahmen und informierende Kurzberichte über die wichtigsten Anlagen, die bei archäologischen Erkundungsfahrten entdeckt worden waren. Diese teilweise hervorragenden Berichte sind noch heute oft die einzigen Grundlagen für weiterreichende Forschungen an einzelnen Tempeln. Leider ist diese Form der Architekturbeschreibung so sehr zum Vorbild genommen worden, daß der notwendige Schritt von der Kurzberichterstattung zur umfassenden Tempelmonographie, von einigen Ansätzen abgesehen, noch immer nicht getan ist. So stehen zwar umfangreiche Architekturgeschichten zur Verfügung, doch die gründliche Erforschung der einzelnen Tempel läuft erst an. Die vorliegende Arbeit von Frau Dr. Wibke Lobo begibt sich deshalb gleichsam auf Neuland. Gegenstand ist einer der herausragenden Tempel an der Westküste Indiens. Die Verfasserin nutzt gute Kurzberichte und deren Zeichnungen, stützt sich aber grundsätzlich auf die eigene mühevollen und monatewährende Forschung am Tempel von Modhera. Obgleich dieser Tempel in seiner äußeren Form, seiner eindrucksvollen Silhouette aus vielen Kunstbüchern bekannt ist, erschließt erst diese Arbeit seinen architektonischen und künstlerischen Bestand. Tempelstruktur, Komposition der Schmückung und Ikonographie der Bildwerke sind gleichermaßen Gegenstand dieser Untersuchung, die den Haupttempel von Modhera erstmals auch bildlich voll dokumentiert.

Herbert Härtel

PREFACE

In the beginning of this century James Burgess and Henry Cousens wrote their admirable articles on the antiquities of northern Gujarat, published by the Archaeological Survey of India. Since then several scholars worked on certain temple groups and regional building styles of this area, but temple monographs, which give a systematic, detailed account of both architecture and iconography, showing their mutual relationship, are still missing. Even the famous Sun-temple at Modhera, outstanding monument of medieval time in Gujarat, subject of this work, has long remained without a proper research on its artistic treasures.

So I was highly grateful that, on the proposal of Prof. Dr. H. Härtel, Director, Museum of Indian Art Berlin, I got the permission of the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, to prepare a monograph on this temple. During my extended stays at Modhera in the years 1969–70 the authorities of this institution arranged many facilities for me and gave me every possible technical help, while I was photographing or sketching every minute detail of this grand monument. Thanks to this help it is possible to present here for the first time a fully documented account on the rich iconographic material of the Sun-temple.

But this work would not have been completed without the constant encouragement of Prof. Dr. Härtel, whose interest in the progress of this work was the most valuable aid for me. His criticism, suggestions and guidance, the many discussions he found the time for were of indispensable help. He gave me every possible assistance while preparing this publication. To him, therefore, I wish to express my warmest gratitude.

I have to thank also Dr. U.P. Shah, Baroda, for his interest in this monograph. He called my attention to many important articles on medieval architecture and iconography and was kind enough to spend a lot of time in talks with me.

James Burgess, Henry Cousens, and M.A. Dhaky are my chief authorities for architectural and chronological facts. I would like to mention here my deep appreciation for the works of these scholars.

For the kind decision made by the members of the Kommission für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Archäologie des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts under the chairmanship of Prof. Dr. Müller-Karpe to publish this monograph in the series *Forschungen AVA* I like to express my feelings of deep gratitude.

Final words of thanks must go to Mr. Jan Frederic Reisman, now New York, who did the translation from German into English and to Dr. G. Bhattacharya and Mr. H.J. Paech, Berlin, who took many pains in helping me to read over the English manuscript. I am much indebted to the Ernst-Reuter-Gesellschaft der Freunde und Förderer der Freien Universität Berlin for their generous help in financing this translation.

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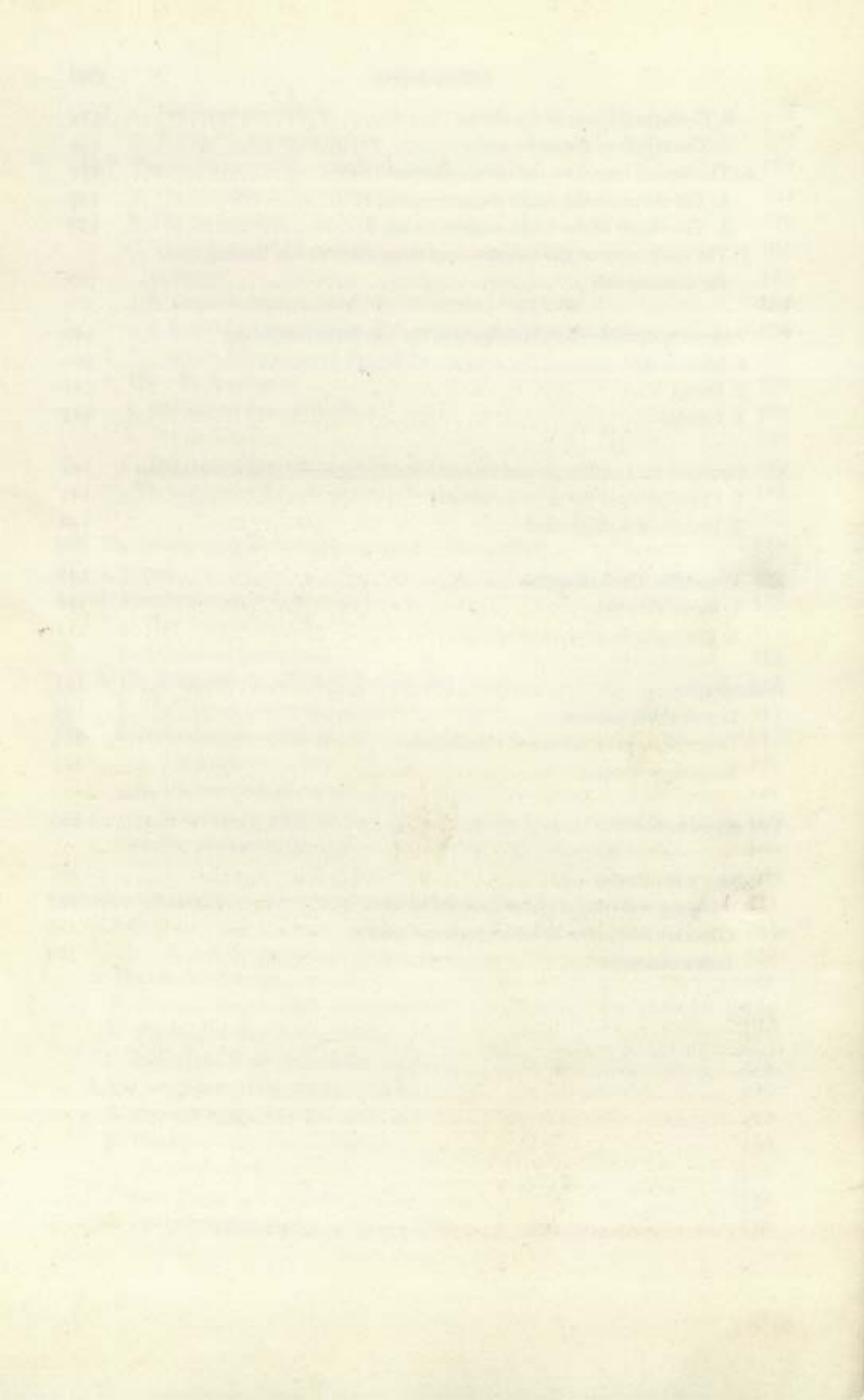
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INTRODUCTION

Modhera and the Sun-temple

Modhera is a small place in north-western Gujarat.¹ Administratively it belongs to the Chanasma Taluka of the Mahesana² District.



Modhera, which is also known as Modherapura or Mundera,³ as well as Modher-poor and Modhbank Puttun⁴ in the Jaina literature, is supposed to have been an important settlement of the Modha-Brāhmaṇs, the gurus of the Modha-Vāṇiyās, in medieval times. It is still considered to be an orthodox Brāhmaṇ village.

The locality is erected upon an extended mound consisting of remnants of earlier settlements.⁵ It stands out considerably from the otherwise flat, sandy landscape,

¹ Situated at a distance of about 80 km north-west of Ahmedabad.

² Mahesana is the official spelling in the Census of India, 1971, Series-5. Gujarat, District Census Handbook, Parts X-A&B, Town and Village Directory, Village and Townwise Primary Census Abstract, Mahesana District. Mehsana is said colloquially.

³ J. Burgess and H. Cousens, *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, more especially of the districts included in the Baroda State, London 1903, p. 71 (*Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IX = *New Imperial Series*, Vol. 32).

⁴ S. Bharucha, *The Sun Temple at Modhera*, *Mārg*, Vol. V, No. 1, 1951, p. 50.

⁵ Archaeological research on the hill gave evidence of three stages of settlement, which are separated from one another by layers of ash. Remnants of fortifications with gateways are still visible. They are built out of bricks. Punch-marked coins and Kṣatrapa copper and silver coins have been

mostly overgrown with spurge. To the west of the place is found the ruined site of an extensive stepwell. On its north-western side a small pillared hall projects up on a steep hill built out of layered bricks (Pls. 1, 2).

About five hundred meters further west lies the Sun-temple in an open landscape at the river-bed of the Pushmāvati, a tributary of the Rupen river (Pls. 3–9).

Although the roofs of the buildings and the tower above the sanctuary (Pls. 6, 7) are ruined, the harmonically balanced arrangement of the site gives the impression of an extraordinary work of art. Its size together with the extravagant abundance of sculptural decoration is fascinating.

Nowadays the temple is no longer the center of religious life, but, nevertheless, it is held in great veneration by the local people and still attracts pilgrims.

Previous publications on Modhera

Despite its significance for art history, the temple site of Modhera has never been adequately studied. That is even more surprising since its importance was already recognized at a very early period.

The alleged first European visitor, Colonel Monier-Williams, is said to have seen the site as early as 1809 in his capacity as surveyor-general. He had been greatly impressed: "There is one of the finest specimens of ancient Hindû architecture at Mundera I ever saw. It is a pagoda very similar in structure to those of the present day; but ornamented so profusely that it is evident the founder was determined to make it the most finished piece of work that it was possible for the compass of human art to effect ...".⁶

In 1887 A.K. Forbes⁷ brought out a short description of the temple and designated parts of the already ruinous site – the dancing hall, called "Sītā's choree", and the holy tank, called "Rām Kuṇḍ" – as being famous places of pilgrimage for the Viṣṇuite ascetics.

J. Burgess and H. Cousens were the first to study the temple somewhat more precisely and published their results in 1903 in the form of an article, the special merit of which lies in the quite exact architectural survey of the structures, i.e., the depiction of the ground plans, elevational draughts, and longitudinal sections.⁸ Both express

found, which indicate an early date of settlement. Cf. S.R. Rao, Recent Exploration in Gujarat and Kathiawad, Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference, Seventeenth Session, Ahmedabad, October–November 1953.

⁶ Quoted in: R.M. Grindlay, *Scenery, Costumes and Architecture chiefly on the Western Side of India*, 2 Vols., London 1826–1830, see J. Burgess, op. cit. p. 72.

⁷ A.K. Forbes, *Rās-Mālā, Hindu Annals of Western India*, with particular reference to Gujarat, New Delhi 1973 (rep., 1st publ. London 1878), pp. 195, 196.

⁸ J. Burgess, H. Cousens, *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, London 1903, pp. 71–81.

their admiration for Modhera quite exuberantly: "... and even now in its ruin and decay it is still an imposing structure, with a majestic beauty rarely met with in such remains. No finer and more interesting structure remains in Northern Gujarat".

Further articles, although short and general, followed in 1941 by H.D. Sankalia,⁹ in 1951 by S. Bharucha,¹⁰ and in 1966 by K.V. Soundrarajan.¹¹ They are based primarily upon the researches done by Burgess and Cousens. M.A. Dhaky published an essay on the dating of the dancing hall in 1963.¹²

In the relevant literature on Indian temple architecture, Modhera is generally mentioned only in some short sentences.¹³

Arrangement of this monograph

The monograph presented here, is a systematic investigation of the Modhera temple site, comprising all details of both architecture and iconography. The first part deals with the architecture. References to the sculptures dealt with in the second, iconographic section, are given. The depiction of the ground plans, elevational draughts and longitudinal sections are based primarily on the published drawings of Burgess and Cousens, the exactness of which were checked by me at the site. The few cases where the drawings deviate from the original are indicated in the footnotes.

The architectural nomenclature follows the relevant works by M.A. Dhaky¹⁴ and

⁹ H.D. Sankalia, *The Archaeology of Gujarat* (including Kathiawar), Bombay 1941, pp. 70, 84–91, Pl. VIII, Fig. 13.

¹⁰ S. Bharucha, *The Sun Temple at Modhera*, *Mārg* Vol. V, No. 1, 1951, pp. 50–56, 10 Figs.

¹¹ K.V. Soundrarajan, *Cosmos at Modhera: A Portfolio of Art*, Roopa-Lekhā, Vol. XXXV, Nos. 1, 2, New Delhi 1966, pp. 37–41, several plates.

¹² M.A. Dhaky, *The Date of the Dancing Hall of the Sun Temple, Modhera*, *JASB*, N.S. Vol. 38, 1963, pp. 211–222, Figs. 1–10.

¹³ E.B. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, London 1913, pp. 51, 52, Pl. XII; St. Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Calcutta 1946, Vol. I, pp. 172, 218, footnote 75; B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India, Buddhist-Hindu-Jain*, 1954 (1st publ. 1953), p. 168, Fig. 27, Pl. 109 (A); P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*, Bombay 1956 (3rd ed.), pp. 146–148, Pl. CIII, CV, CVI, CVII; K. Fischer, *Schöpfungen Indischer Kunst*, Köln 1959, p. 217, Fig. 44, Pls. 264–267; M.A. Dhaky, *The Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat*, *JMIP*, No. 3, 1961, p. 28, Pls. X, XI A; K.F. Sompura, *The Structural Temples of Gujarat*, Ahmedabad 1968 (*Gujarat University Thesis Publication Series-4*) pp. 120–123, Pls. 76–81, 223; H. Härtel and J. Auboyer, *Indien und Südostasien*, Berlin 1971 (*Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* Bd. 16), p. 225, Pls. 161, 162; M. Bussagli, *Oriental Architecture*, transl. by J. Shepley, New York 1973, Pls. 124–126; O. Vionnot, *Temples de l'Inde Centrale et Occidentale*, Paris 1976 (*Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Memoires Archéologiques* XI), pp. 116, 245.

¹⁴ M.A. Dhaky, *Kiradu and the Māru-Gurjara Style of Temple Architecture*, *Bulletin of the American Academy of Benares*, Vol. I, Nov. 1967, pp. 35–45, Figs. 59–75. – *The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture*, in: *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture* (Papers presented at a Seminar held in Varanasi, 1967), ed. by P. Chandra, New Delhi 1975, pp. 114–165, Pls. 55–95.

P.O. Sompura,¹⁵ which are of great value for the determination of the Sanskrit phrases for the individual structural forms.¹⁶

The central point of the second, the iconographical section, is formed by the study of the three groups of "main deities", Ādityas, Lokapālas, and Devīs as they appear on the temple walls. They are described in two parts. The first one mentions their arrangement and designates their common features. Then follow their individual descriptions. In the case where the identification of a deity is problematic a detailed discussion on the different possibilities of interpretation is included.¹⁷ A separate chapter deals with the representation of each group as found in the relevant Sanskrit literature. As regards the Ādityas, who have already been richly treated, it was possible to refer to the existing researches.

On the Lokapālas there exists an interesting account by M.-Th. de Mallmann in her publication on the Agni-Purāṇa.¹⁸ Nevertheless, I found it useful to summarize once more literary and iconographical evidences of this group, adding more details, and, especially, comparing the iconographic descriptions with the relevant sculptures at Modhera and other places of western India. This chapter (chap. XII.) is appended to the iconographical part.

A short chapter deals with the textual situation of the Devīs. Their representation as a group of twelve goddesses and several iconographic peculiarities found at Modhera correspond almost exactly to the descriptions given in the Aparājitaṭṭhā, a Vāstu-text from Gujarat (cf. chap. VII.3.C.c. and footnotes 148, 151). It is interesting to note that in this case a direct relation between a monument and a certain Vāstu-text can be clearly shown.

At the end of this monograph historical contexts are mentioned and the dates of the individual structures of the site are discussed. In order to incorporate Modhera into medieval architectural history, articles by M.A. Dhaky were consulted, who has carefully analyzed the regional building styles of north-western India.¹⁹

¹⁵ P.O. Sompura, *The Vāstuvidyā of Viśvakarmā*, in: *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. by P. Chandra, pp. 47–56.

¹⁶ From the end of the 1950's north-western Indian Sanskrit texts concerning temple architecture have been analyzed particularly by these two authors. They worked out a nomenclature, which made the bewildering abundance of architectural forms comprehensible for the first time. The possibility to name these forms allows one to clarify their functions and makes a stylistic analysis easier. An architectural detail of the temple at Modhera illustrates this fact. On the outer wall of the temple proper, beneath a large figural frieze, appear two cornices of the same design, separated from each other by a cavetto. The lower one is called *kapotāli*, the upper one *mañcikā*. *Kapotāli* means cornice, and *mañcikā* (*mañcika*) stage or platform, in this case pedestal for the figures of the frieze. Although identical in their outer appearance, their functions are different, clearly indicated by their different names. Since *mañcikā* appears only after a particular date, it is an important detail for the chronological classification of a structure.

¹⁷ Cf. chap. VII.3.B.c.

¹⁸ M.-Th. de Mallmann, *Les Enseignements Iconographiques de l'Agni-Purana*, Paris 1963 (*Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études*, Tome 67), pp. 124–137.

¹⁹ M.A. Dhaky, *The Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat*, JMPIP, Nr. 3, 1961; The

An outline of the cult of the Sun-god and its spread in western India is omitted intentionally, because there are already several recent publications on this subject. For the relevant titles see my bibliography under L.P. Pandey, V.C. Srivastava, and H. v. Stietencron.

Diacritical marks are omitted in geographical names.

I. THE TEMPLE SITE

1. The different structures of the site (Fig. 1, Pls. 3–9)

The temple site consists of three different structures. Their medial axis runs in an east-west direction (Fig. 1). At the eastern end of the site, next to the village, lies deeply beneath the normal ground level the holy tank (*kuṇḍa*). On its western side a steep stairway leads into an open pillared hall (*nṛtya-* or *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, Pls. 3–6), henceforward called dancing hall (*nṛtyamaṇḍapa*). Behind it, only being separated by a narrow passage, lies the temple proper (*mūlaprāsāda*), which contains the cella (*garbhagrha*, Pls. 6, 7). Its entrance is directed towards the east, so that the rising sun can penetrate through the open pillared hall into its interior.

On the north-western corner of the temple, there is a rectangular area paved with large stone slabs and enclosed by a low stone wall, which shows the same sequence of mouldings as the socle of the temple (see Pl. 12 below left). Since the wall has partially disappeared, it cannot be determined with certainty where the entrance originally had been (Fig. 1).

Both the temple and the dancing hall are built up upon an extensive brick terrace because the sandy ground made a special firming of the subsoil necessary. This artificially raised terrace is in some places 1,5 to 3,0 meters high and must also have served to even out irregularities of the ground surface. On its southern and western sides, it is deteriorated and ground away and the layers of the bricks are clearly recognizable (Pl. 8). On its eastern side, towards the tank and on its northern side, towards the river, its bordering fortification of stone is still present (Pl. 9, front). Whether, originally, there had been further accesses to the terrace, besides the stairway leading from the tank to the hall, is no longer determinable with certainty. However, there are iconographical evidences which can be interpreted as a proof for the original existence of only this single access (chap. VIII.3.A.).

The freestanding pillars of a gateway (*kīrtistambha*), now collapsed, stand between the tank and the dancing hall (Pls. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9). Remnants of an additional one are

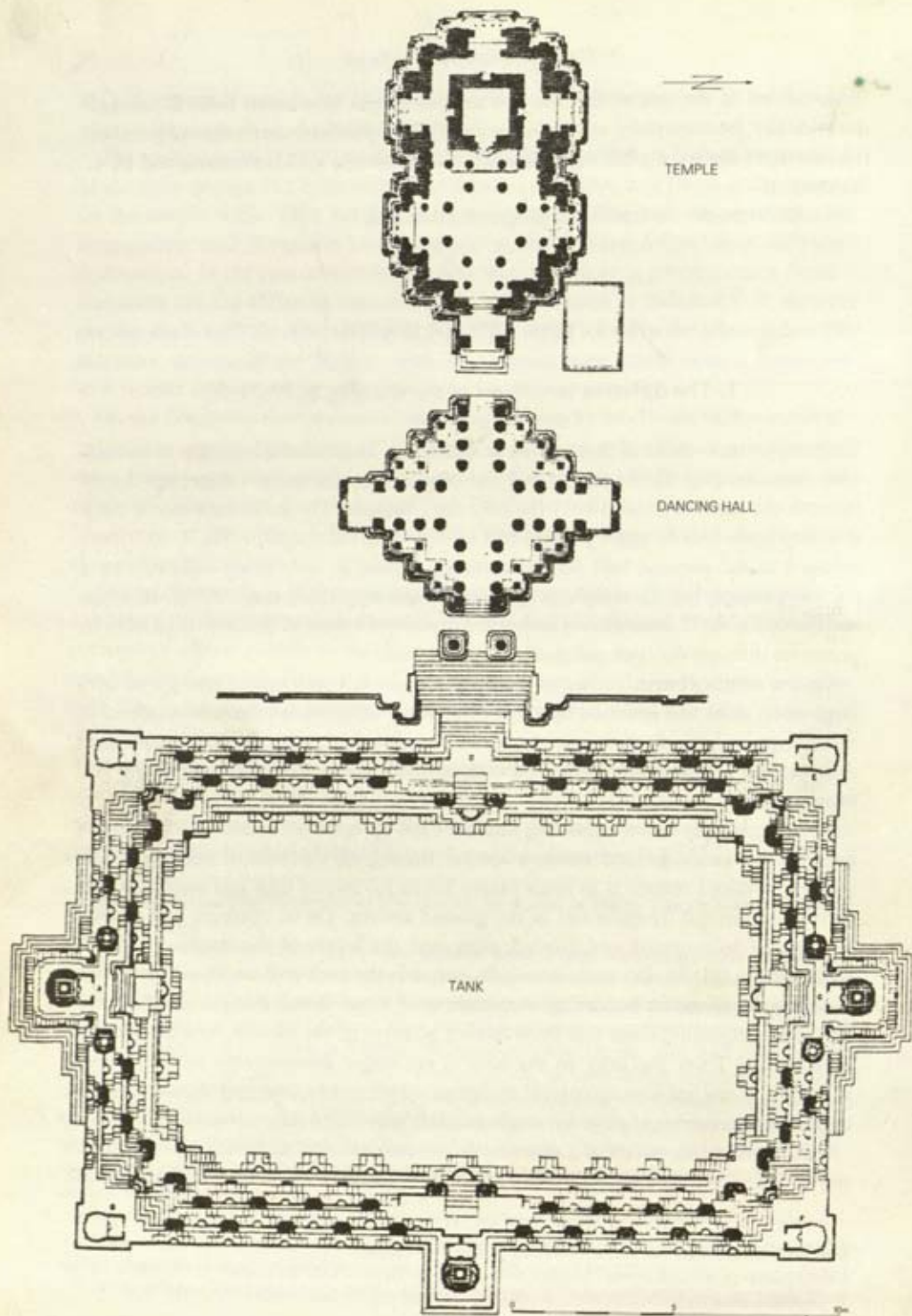


Fig. 1. Ground plan of the temple site. — Drawing: J. Burgess, H. Cousens, *The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat*, New Imp. Set. Vol. 32, Pl. XLVIII.

found on the north-eastern corner of the temple site near to the slope leading down to the river bed (Pls. 9, 103). Two broken pillar shafts, which now lie north-west of the temple, probably once belonged to a third gateway, the original position of which is no longer determinable (Pl. 104).

2. The building material

The whole complex was built of a coarse-grained, buff sandstone, in some places changing to red-brown. The stone blocks were set layer upon layer according to the dry masonry method, that is, they were not joined with mortar. Stability was achieved through a careful balancing of weights.

3. The state of preservation

The state of preservation of the whole site is relatively good, although the roofs of the buildings and the tower over the cella have collapsed. The window frames of the temple are broken out and portions of the wall balustrade at the dancing hall are demolished. Two of the small shrines at the tank are completely missing, a further one is found only in fragments.

The opinions about the causes of the deterioration differ. Burgess²⁰ quotes Colonel Monier-Williams, who reported that Modhera had been destroyed by the Moham-medan iconoclasts. Allegedly, they blew up the tower with dynamite. Percy Brown²¹ mentions Modhera only indirectly, while speaking of the monuments in Gujarat in general, when he writes that a strong earthquake at the beginning of the 19th century caused large-scale devastation. Actually, a severe earthquake took place in 1819 to the east of the Indus delta in the desert of Kutch,²² the effects of which could have been considerable at Modhera.

4. The repairs

In recent times repairs were made on the structures at intervals,²³ the extent of which becomes clear when compared with the old photographs published by Burgess and

²⁰ J. Burgess and H. Cousens, *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, London 1903, p. 72.

²¹ P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*, 3rd ed. Bombay 1956, p. 143.

²² According to a map of the Indian seismic areas Modhera is situated near to the border of the main quake zone. Cf. L. Alsdorf, *Vorderindien, Bharat-Pakistan-Ceylon, Eine Landes- und Kulturkunde*, Braunschweig etc. 1955, p. 31.

²³ The Archaeological Survey of India, *Annual Report, 1914-1915*, Pt. I, p. 8 refers to the beginning of restoration work on the Sun-temple of Modhera.

Havell.²⁴ The debris lying about, was piled up at the edge of the temple site, rubble and sand deposits around the temple and the dancing hall were carried away, the surface around the structures was paved and the inner floors newly laid. The stairs to the entrances were renovated as well as portions of the stairway leading from the tank to the dancing hall. Steel girders were installed over the entrance and in the interior of the temple.

Recently, the roofs of the temple and the dancing hall have been closed and portions of the balustrade at the hall were restored after ancient models.

5. Śivaite shrine next to the Sun-temple

On the north-eastern side of the temple there is a small Śivaite shrine, which is of more recent origin than the temple itself (Pl. 10). The base, upon which it is erected, consists of carved stone blocks. The sculptured panels are in style very near to those of the Sun-temple and it seems that once they belonged to the old site and were reused later.

II. THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE TEMPLE²⁵

1. The ground plan of the temple (Fig. 2 a, b)

The plan of the temple forms an extended rectangle, the long sides of which, i.e., the northern and southern sides, run parallel to the main axis (east-west direction) of the whole site. They measure 19.10 meters at the plinth, the broad sides 11.60 meters. The building is divided by a deep niche (1.15 meters deep, 1.80 meters wide) in the middle of each long side into two equal-sized parts, which are square in their inner measurements, the closed assembly hall (*sabhā-* or *gūḍhamāṇḍapa*)²⁶ in the east and the shrine proper (*mūlaprāsāda*) with the cella (*garbhagṛha*) in the west.

²⁴ J. Burgess and H. Cousens, op. cit. (cf. annotation 20) Pls. XLVII, L, LII, LV; E.B. Havell, Indian Architecture, London 1913, Pl. XII.

²⁵ The architectural analysis starts with the temple proper since it is the most important structure of the site.

²⁶ For the Sanskrit terminology mentioned in the following, compare M. A. Dhaky, Kiradu and the Māru-Gurjara Style of Temple Architecture, Bulletin of the American Academy of Benares, Vol. 1, Nov. 1967, pp. 35–45 and, The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture, in: Studies in Indian Temple Architecture, ed. by P. Chandra, New Delhi 1975, pp. 114–165. For the designation of the various architectural forms Dhaky consulted several north-western Indian Vāstu-texts, such as the Vāstusāstra of Viśvakarmā, the Vāstuvīdyā of Viśvakarmā, the Jayapṛcchādhikāra, the Devyādhikāra, the Aparājitaṭṭha of Bhuvanadeva, the Kṣīrārṇava (Nāradaṭṭha) and the

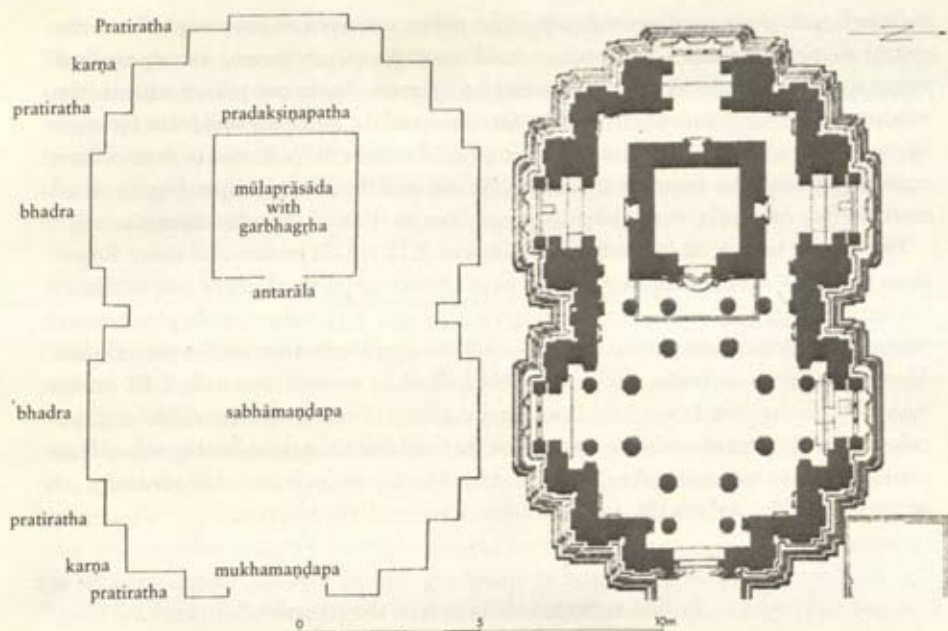


Fig. 2a, b. Ground plan of the temple. – Fig. 2a: J. Burgess, H. Cousens, *The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat*, New Imp. Ser. Vol. 32, Pl. XLVIII, detail.

The four outer corners of the temple are broken by recesses and projections, whereby the middle one of the three projections, i.e., the main corner (*karna*), is more strongly pronounced than both of the side ones (*pratiratha*). The edges of all projections again are broken by three steps.

Windows in the north, south and west as well as a porch in the east are inserted in the remaining wall-surfaces (*bhadras* or *rathas*) between the terraced corners.

A ground plan provided with *bhadra*, *karna* and *pratiratha* is called *tri-aṅga* in north-western Indian Vāstu-texts.²⁷

On the eastern side of the building several steps lead up to a small porch. Two columns, placed on the platform, support the projecting roof.

Through this porch the only entrance of the temple is reached. Inside a partitioning of the space is achieved by various pillar formations. A pair of pillars separates a narrow vestibule (*mukhamāṇḍapa*), which measures 4.15×1.20 meters, from the

Vṛkṣārṇava. He says, "The material found in these texts is indispensable for identifying formal details and in understanding the structural organization of the temple. What is more, these works equip us with the necessary vocabulary for attempting a truthful description of monuments of the medieval period in Western India..." *The Genesis* ... p. 125.

²⁷ Dhaky, *Genesis* (cf. annotation 26) p. 130.

main hall (*sabhā-* or *gūḍhamanḍapa*). Eight pillars arranged in an octagon form the central domed chamber. The distance between these pillars varies. At the cardinal points it measures 1.80 meters, in-between 1.63 meters. Again two pillars separate the window niches on the northern and southern sides of the assembly hall from the main room. Both niches are 4.16 meters wide and 2.25 meters deep. A row of four pillars, marking the division between the assembly hall and the shrine proper, form a small antechamber (*antarāla*) with a slightly raised floor in front of the cella-entrance.

The square cella with its outer dimensions of 5.22×5.22 meters and inner dimensions of 3.36×3.36 meters, is provided with a lower equal-sized storey (see section of the temple, Fig. 8). Around the *garbhagrha* leads the 1.15 meters wide processional passageway (*pradakṣiṇapatha*), which is lighted by three windows, set into niches. They are as deep as those of the assembly hall (2.25 meters), but only 2.82 meters wide. The niches are framed by four square pillars (44×44 cm), so called engaged columns, which are placed directly against the wall but have to be distinguished from pilasters. A pair of square dwarf pillars (44×44 cm) on the balustrade beneath each of the five windows flank the actual window screens on the exterior.

2. The external elevation of the temple

A. Survey (Fig. 3; Pls. 7, 12–16)

On elevation the temple is divided into three basic parts: the 1.50 m high socle (*pīṭha*), the 3.30 m high temple wall (*maṇḍovara*), and the superstructure, which is not preserved. The *maṇḍovara* again is divided into three components: the podium (*vedībāndha*), the figural frieze (*jaṅghā*) and the eave-cornice (*varaṇḍikā*). The recesses and projections of the plan are carried from the socle up to the eave above and effect a vertical break of the wall-surface. A horizontal break is achieved by the tapering socle and, especially, by the carved decoration, which runs as a succession of astragals, cavettoes, mouldings, friezes and ornamental bands of different sizes around the building.

B. The socle (Fig. 4; Pls. 17–22)

The lowest part of the socle is the 15 cm high undecorated plinth (*bhīṭṭa*). To it the 45 cm high cyma (*jāḍyakumbha*) is attached, which is decorated with lotus petals (Pl. 17). A narrow recessed band follows and above this an edged astragal (*karnaka*). Upon it a wide cavetto is carved, ornamented with rhombus-shaped blossoms (*antarapatra*). Above a smaller moulding (*kapotikā* or *chāḍyaki*), which is decorated with a *caitya*-arch motif (*thakārikā*), there is a frieze of 16 cm high *kīrtimukhas* (*grāsapaṭṭikā*). The individual faces are separated from one another by garlands of bead strings. Above a further cavetto and a small projection, also decorated with the

caitya-arch motif, follows a frieze of 30 cm high elephants (*gajathara* or *gajapīṭha*). They are shown frontally and only their heads and front legs are visible. Sometimes small human figures are shown hanging in their trunks (Pl. 18). Half-round miniature pillars stand between them. Above the *gajathara* an 18 cm high figural frieze (*narathara* or *narapīṭha*) is found. Dancing and musical scenes alternate with erotic and warring ones (Pls. 19–22). With this frieze the tapering socle ends precisely at the height of the inner floor.

C. The podium (Fig. 4; Pls. 7, 12, 14)

Both the *narathara*, i.e., the uppermost member of the socle, and the complete podium present an additional vertical subdivision. On each of the wall segments created by the terracing of the temple corners this part, too, is slightly gradated into a central projection (*bhadra* or *ratha*) and several lateral setbacks (*pratiratha*). Through this, plasticity is achieved and the relatively simple arrangement of the podium is broken up.

Its first member is an 18 cm high undecorated band, which runs out in drawn-up tips at each corner, created by the gradating. It is called hoof (*khura*). Above it, slightly set back, follows a larger wall section with rounded upper edge (*kumbha* = pot) and a simple decoration of half lotus blossoms (*ardhapadma*) upon the *bhadra*-sections and half rhombic leaves upon the *pratiratha* sections. After a narrow cavetto follows a convex moulding of semicircular profile, the so-called torus (*kalaśa* = pitcher) without any ornamentation, but repeating the slight projections and recesses of the *kumbha*. A wide cavetto with rhombus-shaped blossoms (*antarapatra*), similar to the one at the socle, leads to a cyma-cornice (*kapotālī*). Its lower side is decorated with lotus petals and with a band of small triangular leaves. Its upper side is provided with *caitya*-arch motifs (*thakārikās*).

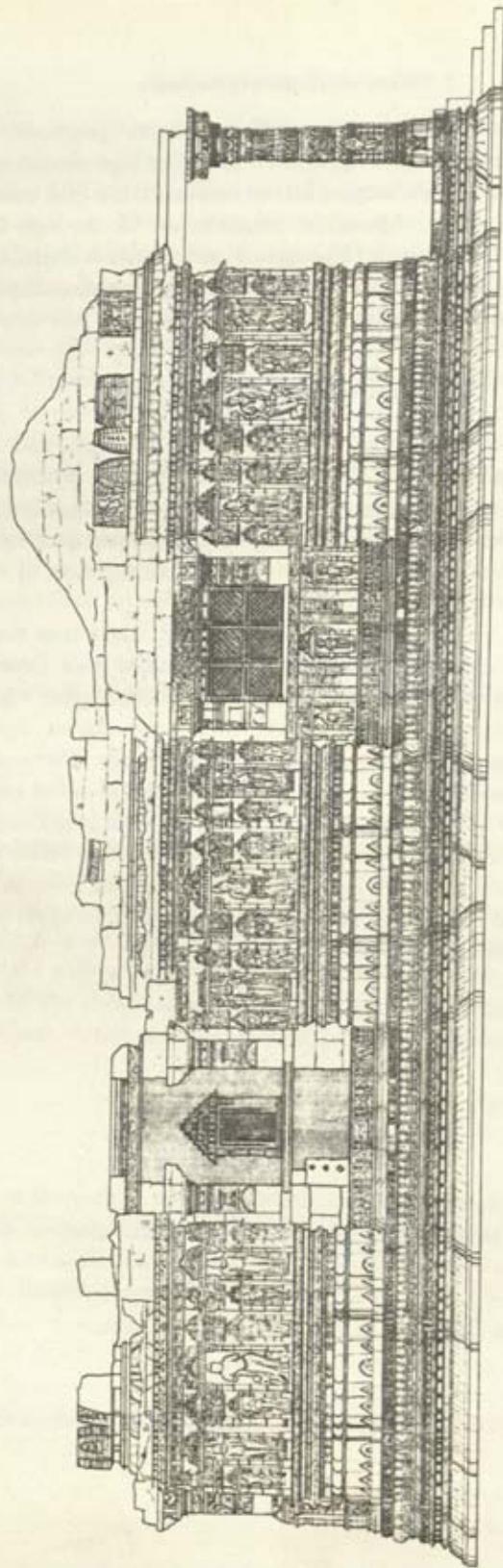


Fig. 3. South side elevation of the temple. — Drawing: J. Burgess, H. Cousens, The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat, New Imp. Ser. Vol. 32, Pl. XLIX, detail.

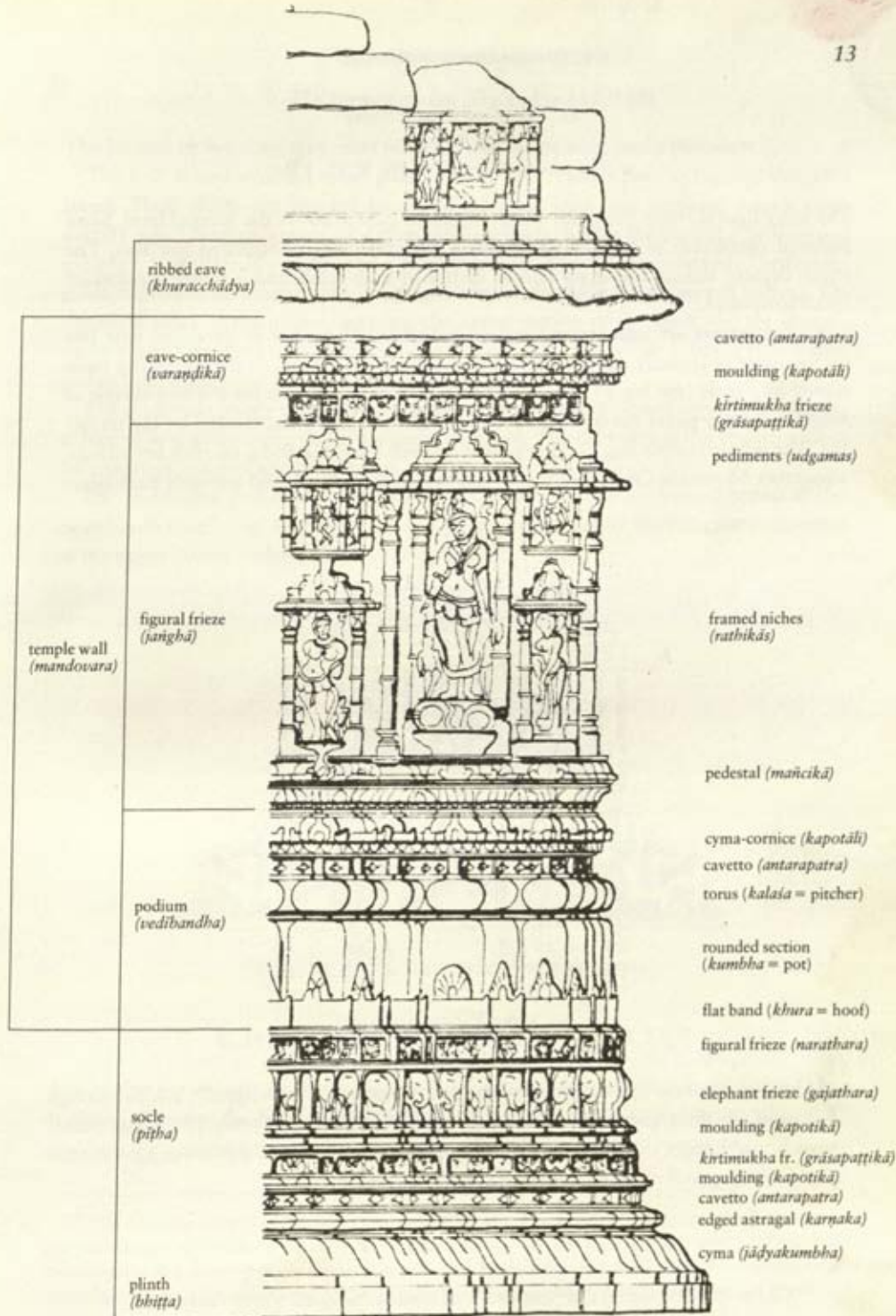


Fig. 4. Profile of the temple wall. – Drawing: W. Brettschneider, Berlin.

D. The large figural frieze

a. The panels (Figs. 4, 5; Pls. 7, 12, 13)

The large figural frieze (*jaighā*), which begins at 2.30 m above the ground level, has a pedestal (*mañcikā*) in form of a modified *kapotāli* and ornamented like this. The frieze depicts almost life-sized Hindu deities in high relief and a larger number of small sculptures.²⁸

All figures are set into framed niches (*rathikās*). These are so arranged that five niches form practically square and as *ratha* gradated blocks, in the following mentioned as panels (see Fig. 5). This arrangement is characteristic for the Sun-temple at Modhera. Each panel covers one of the vertical wall segments, created by the terracing. The whole temple has 11 such panels on each long side and 6 on each broad side, altogether 34 panels. One panel is no longer existent and a second one only partially.

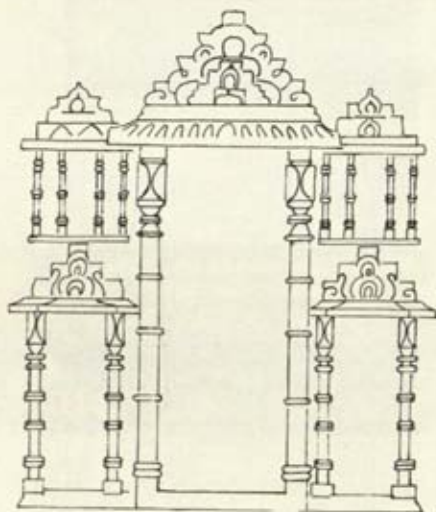


Fig. 5. Panel of the figural frieze.

The middle niche of each panel bears the 1.50 m high "main figure", which belongs to one of the three groups of deities, Ādityas, Lokapālas, and Devis. The upper lateral ones house images of various gods, each 35 cm in height and the lower lateral ones those of Apsarases or ascetics, each 75 cm in height.

²⁸ Cf. Pls. 112–203 and for their iconographical descriptions chaps. VII.3., VII.4., VII.5.

b. The framed niches (Fig. 6; Pls. 113, 128)

The framed niches consist of relief pillars, a narrow canopy, and a pediment.

The half-round profiled relief pillars of the main niches have octagonal moulded bases. Their shafts are divided by edged astragals into four sections, which often display small human figures or *kīrtimukha*-garlands. Below the capital a bell-shaped member, two plate-like parts, and a chalice-formed element, are inserted. The rectangular capital is decorated with hanging leaves of the Aśoka tree (*saraca indica*). On the outer sides of the pillars, between the upper section of the shaft and the capital, *vyāla*-figures standing upon elephant heads are found. The pillars framing the smaller niches follow the same order but are less elaborated.

The gradated canopy sheltering the main figure displays a ribbed upper side (*daṇḍa-cchādyā*) and a miniature dentil course at the front. The canopies of the smaller niches are executed without any decoration.

The triangular pediments (*udgamas*) exhibit filigree-like intertwinements of the *caitya*-arch motif (Fig. 6). Small human figures are frequently flanking the pediments of the upper lateral niches (see Pls. 113 and 128).



Fig. 6. Pediment above the main niches of the panels.

E. The temple wall above the figural frieze (Pl. 12)

Above the pediments a band of square and rectangular cassettes runs around the building except at the *bhadra* sections. Into the square ones *kīrtimukhas* are chiselled and into the rectangular ones human figures and rhombus-shaped blossoms.²⁹

²⁹ The cassettes remind of the dentil courses at the eaves of many earlier temples, which represent the projecting ends of the rafters in wooden architecture. They lost their structural function and became mere decoration. For the dentil course, cf. J. M. Nanavati and M. A. Dhaky, *The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat*, *Artibus Asiae* 1969, Supplementum XXVI, Pls. 8, 10, 11, 19 etc.

The eave-cornice (*varaṇḍikā*) repeats decorative forms of the socle and the podium. The combination of a wide cavetto with rhombus-shaped blossoms (*antarapatra*) and a cyma-cornice (*kapotālī*) ornamented with lotus petals and *ṭhakārikās* appears once again.

A ribbed awning (*khuracchādyā*) is inserted between the temple wall and the super-structure.

F. The windows (Pls. 7, 14, 15, 16, 23, 24)

Of the five windows only the one on the north-eastern corner is almost intact (Pl. 16) and it gives an idea of the original design. The western window shows a hardly damaged balustrade with the window frame missing (Pl. 14). The three other windows are badly destroyed (Pls. 7, 15).

The *bhadra* sections of the temple wall into which the windows are inserted, follow the general scheme described above, up to the *narathara*, the final member of the socle. But further up they show a completely different order. Instead of the podium a figural frieze (*rājasenaka*), 30 cm high and a blind balustrade (*vedikā*), 80 cm high is found here. The frieze is separated from the *narathara* by a double alternation of cavetto and moulding, decorated with *ṭhakārikās*, and is divided by miniature pilasters into different sized fields, which are gradated as *rathas* and show dancers or musicians. Rhombus-shaped blossoms are set between the individual scenes. After a further moulding decorated with *ṭhakārikās* follows the balustrade (*vedikā*), into which framed niches with the images of gods³⁰ are set. The front bears three niches and each lateral part a single one. The balustrade consists of narrow beams (*phalakas*), which are alternately recessed or projected and are decorated either with scrolled creepers or in the order of *pūrnaghaṭa* columns (Pls. 14, 16).³¹ A coping stone terminates the balustrade. It is provided with a row of *kīrtimukhas* separated by cogged, bell-shaped elements. A pair of square dwarf pillars,³² placed upon the balustrade, flank the actual window opening and their architrave forms its upper border. As mentioned above, this section is only partially preserved at the north-eastern window. The screen consists of stone lattice-work. Narrow webs into which tiny lozenges are chiselled divide the area into individual fields with blossom decoration at the intersecting points. During the restoration work on the temple these fields were mostly closed with simple stone slabs, but on the upper part of the screen the original filling of fragile ribs with rhombus-shaped blossoms in-between is still preserved.

The design of the section between the architrave and the roof remains unclear because it is nowhere intact.

³⁰ Cf. Pls. 204–214 and chap. VII.6. for their iconographical descriptions.

³¹ Cf. for their description chap. II.3.C.d.

³² Cf. for their description chap. II.3.C.d.

G. The entrance

a. The porch (Pls. 25, 26, 27, 28)

Four steps lead up to the porch. Its platform shows the same sequence of mouldings as the socle of the temple but the frieze of elephants does not occur here. The *narathara* is connected directly to the band of the *kīrtimukhas*.

Upon the platform pillars are erected at a distance of 1.80 m from one another, which support the roof slabs. The order of these pillars corresponds exactly to that of the entrance pillars at the dancing hall.³³

The roof of the porch has collapsed. Only the architraves remain. They consist of two stone slabs. The lower one shows undulating creepers as they appear on the architraves of the dancing hall, the upper one bears a floral ornamentation, which is typical for the upper architrave slabs inside the temple.³⁴

b. The door (Pl. 25)

The door to the temple is placed precisely in the middle of the eastern wall. Its measurements are 1.60 m in width and 3.10 m in height, corresponding thus almost exactly to the proportions prescribed in the various texts on temple architecture.³⁵ According to these the door should have 1/8th of the total width of the temple and the height should be twice its width. That means for Modhera:

Total width of the temple	11.60 m
1/8th of it	1.45 m
Actual width	1.60 m
The actual width differs by only 15 cm from the prescribed one.	
The height: twice the width of the door	3.20 m
Actual height	3.10 m
The actual height differs by only 10 cm from the prescribed one.	

c. The doorframe (Fig. 7 a, b, c; Pls. 25, 215–220)

The richly decorated doorframe includes the threshold (*udumbara*), the jamb (*pedya*), and the lintel (*uttaraṅga*). The high threshold, which originally was decorated with reliefs, is totally worn away. The different friezes of the jambs are gradated as *rathas* on plan and, additionally, terraced in their elevation (Fig. 7 a plan; Fig. 7 b section; Fig. 7 c elevation). The lowermost frieze, flanking the threshold, shows on its *bhadra*

³³ Cf. chap. III.3.

³⁴ Cf. their descriptions in chaps. II.3.C.f. and III.5.

³⁵ Cf. the text passages analyzed by T. Bhattachayya, *A Study on Vāstuvidyā or Canons of Indian Architecture*, Patna 1947, pp. 238–239.

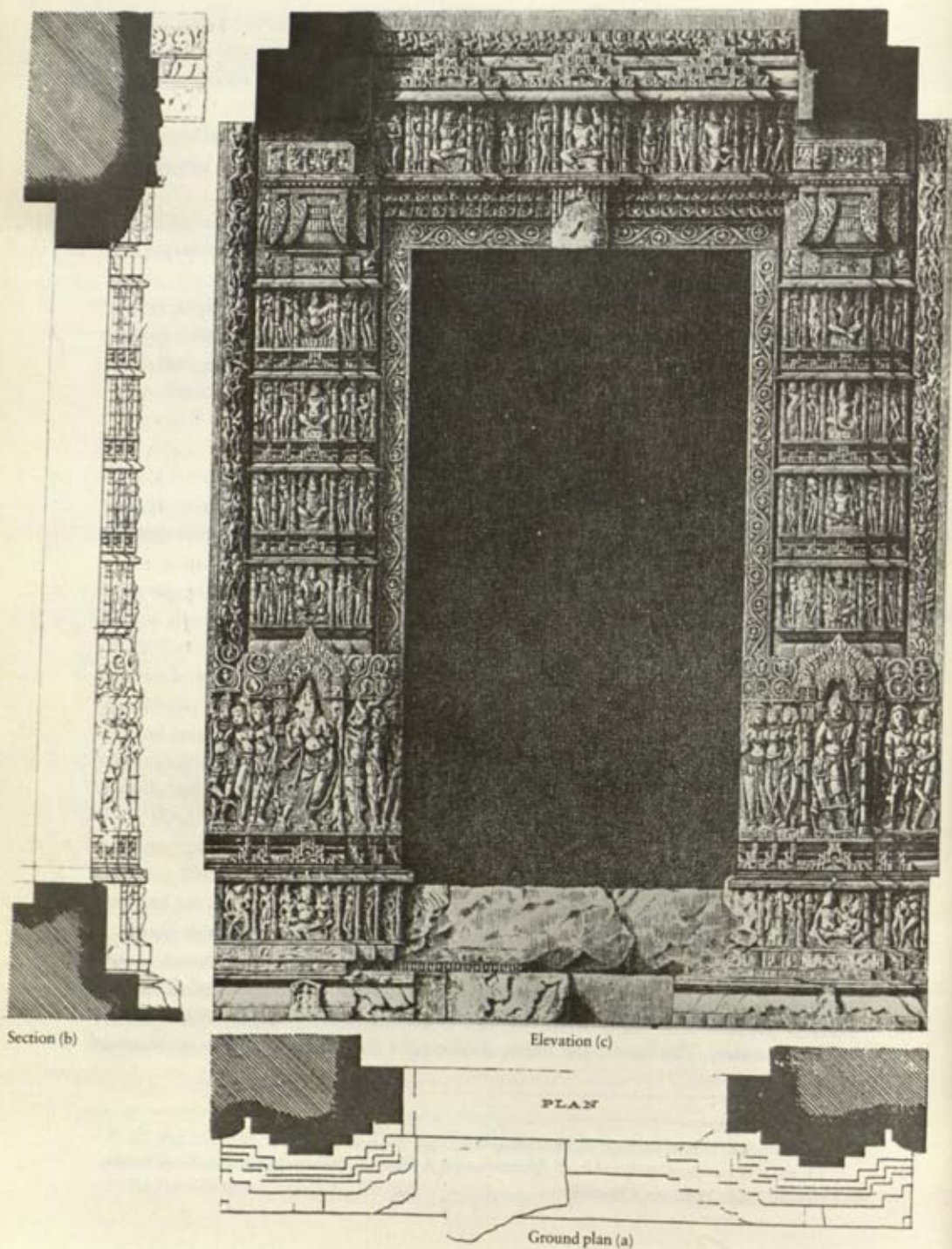


Fig. 7a, b, c. Groundplan (a), section (b), and elevation (c) of the temple entrance. — Drawing: J. Burgess, H. Cousens, *The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat*, New Imp. Ser. Vol. 32, Pl. LI.

fields the gods Gaṇeśa to the left and Kubera to the right.³⁶ Then follows a 90 cm broad and 1.10 m high figural frieze, occupying one third of the frame. On its *bhadra* fields the door-guardians (*dvārapālas*)³⁷ are represented. They are set into framed niches (*rathikās*) and are flanked by slightly smaller attendant figures on each side. The pediments of the *bhadra* fields are shaped as *caitya*-arches and are artistically worked out in their details. They rest upon tiny, shrine-like crowns above the capitals of the relief pillars. Their inner borders issue forth from the gaping jaws of *makaras* and are formed as a chain of *vidyādhara* figures with bent back heads and trunks and twisted arms and legs. Their upper border is filled with foliage ornaments. The apexes of the *caitya*-arches lead into the mouths of *kīrtimukhas* (Pl. 217).

The crown of each *Dvārapāla* is connected with the inner border of the pediment by a small foliate tongue, which is so minute a detail that it seems insignificant. Nevertheless, it is of much importance for chronological classification (cf. chaps. VII.3.A. and XI.1.).

The attendant figures of the *Dvārapālas* are crowned with lotus blossoms and two curled creepers with tiny flowers and figural representations inside, such as miniature elephants, birds, or *kinaras* (Pl. 218).

Above the *Dvārapāla* frieze the doorframe is divided into three vertical, variously designed beams (three beams = *triśākhā*). The narrow inner beam (*pratiśākhā*), encompassing the doorway, is decorated with undulating creepers and inserted flower-buds (Fig. 7c). The outer, likewise narrow beam, is relieved all over with twisted and twirled human figures (*rūpaśākhā*). The central part is formed by a broad pilaster (*rūpastambha*). It is decorated with four superimposed *rathikās* bearing the representations of the Sun-god on the *bhadra* fields and attendant figures on the lateral parts (*pratiratha*).³⁸ Each panel is provided with a miniature canopy and pediment (Pl. 219). The gradated capital of the pilaster consists of three cogged elements and hanging leaves at the edges.

The lintel (*uttaraṅga*) is formed by several beams piled up one upon another. The first one continues the undulating creeper decoration of the inner lateral beams, as mentioned above. The second one shows two rows of *vidyādhara* figures, directed towards the center, where a framed niche is embedded, cutting both, the first and the second beam. The identity of the deity, depicted within, is no longer determinable, but according to the texts, the tutelary image (*lalāṭabimba*), being the god Gaṇeśa in Brāhmaṇical temples, should be placed at this very point. The main portion of the lintel is the following figural frieze, consisting of three gradated framed niches (*rathikās*) with canopies and triangular pediments, housing the images of Brahmā to the left, Śiva in the center, and Viṣṇu to the right. Into the recesses between the *rathikās* figures of the Sun-god, or better of the Ādityas, are set (Pl. 220). It is

³⁶ Cf. Pls. 215, 216 and chap. VII.7.A. for their iconographical descriptions.

³⁷ Cf. Pls. 215, 216 and chap. VII.7.B. for their iconographical descriptions.

³⁸ Cf. Pls. 221–228 and chap. VII.7.C. for their iconographical descriptions.

surprising that Śiva, instead of the Sun-god, is depicted in the central niche. As the texts prescribe, the divinity to whom the temple is dedicated (*adhināyaka*), should be shown here. But on this lintel the Sun-god plays an unimportant part.

A further beam with two rows of *vidyādhara* figures, identical to the lower one, terminates the lintel.

3. The inner elevation of the temple

A. The inner walls (Fig. 8; Pls. 29, 30)

Totally in contrast to the extravagant abundance of sculptural decoration on the outer walls, the inner walls have been, for the most part, left bare. As one of the few decorative elements a double dentilled sawtooth course runs, at a height of 1.50 m above the floor, around the inner chamber with the exception of the window niches (Fig. 8; Pl. 29). At each of the four main corners of the inner chamber and in the middle of each long side, two framed niches are attached, numbering thus altogether 12, which house the images of the Ādityas, each 60 cm in height.³⁹

B. The window niches (Pls. 31, 32)

Of the five window niches only the north-eastern one retains its original form (Pl. 31). All the others are in a decayed condition. The north-eastern niche is almost entirely occupied by a half-high closet of thin stone slabs. Its upper border is slightly projecting and provided with mouldings. A small rectangular door gives access to the interior. Inside there stands now the relief of a deity, covered with *pūjā* paint (Pl. 32). It is carelessly leaned against the wall and was certainly not installed there originally.

C. The pillars

a. The types of pillars

The temple displays two different types of pillars: The octagonal pillars, arranged in an octagon in the middle of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, supporting the dome, form type I. Their characteristic feature is the representation of figural friezes on their lower shaft sections. All the other pillars, dwarf pillars and pilasters belong to type II. They are distinguished by the motif of *pūṁaghaṭa*, also called *ghaṭapallava*, on their shafts. This type can be divided into two subtypes. To type II.1 belong all the octagonal *pūṁaghaṭa* pillars, i.e., those of the vestibule, of the south-eastern and north-eastern window niches and in front of the cella (compare Fig. 2 a). All the pilasters belong to this type as well. Type II.2 includes all square-based, engaged pillars of the window niches and the equally square dwarf pillars on the outer balustrades.

³⁹ Cf. Pls. 229–240 and chap. VII.8. for their iconographical descriptions.

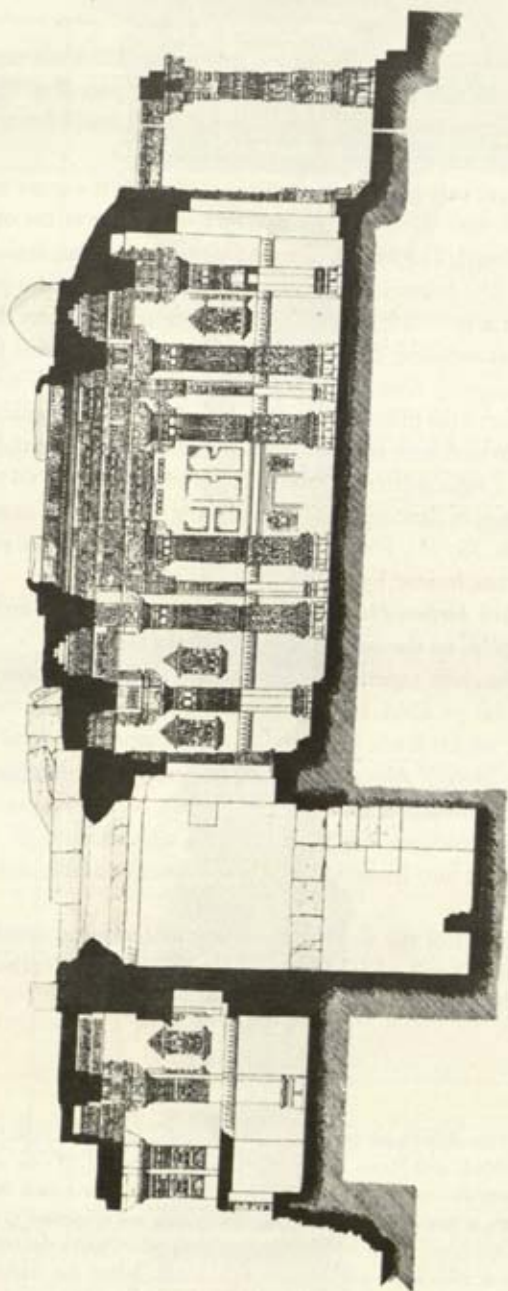


Fig. 8. Longitudinal section of the temple. - Drawing: J. Burgess, H. Cousens, *The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat*, New Imp. Ser. Vol. 32, Pl. XLIX, detail.

b. The pillars of type I (Fig. 9; Pls. 29, 35–46)

Their total height measures 3.80 m. The base is octagonal. The shaft tapers towards the top. It is octagonal in its lower and circular in its upper part (Fig. 9; Pl. 29). The sequence of variously decorated drums creates a horizontal breakdown of the shaft, while the decoration itself shows primarily a vertical line.

The base mouldings are very near to those of the podium at the outer temple wall.⁴⁰ The undecorated plinth with the drawn up tips on each corner of the octagon corresponds to the hoof (*khura*). The *kumbha*, rounded off at the top, is decorated here, too, with *ardharatnas*. The following convex moulding of semicircular profile, the so-called torus (*kalaśa*), has been left bare on the podium as well as on the pillar base. The broad cavetto (*antarapatra*) displays rhombus-shaped blossoms in both cases. The cyma-cornice (*kapotālī*) above it bears here and there *caitya*-arch ornaments (*thakārikās*).⁴¹ The base of the pillar ends with a *kīrtimukha* frieze (*grāsapaṭṭikā*).

A small segment provided with triangular pediments leads over to the shaft. Its first decorative member is a figural frieze (*jañghā*, height of each figure 64 cm), which, in general, shows Apsarases in dancing pose, occasionally Yakṣas and, as an exception, a dancing Cāmuṇḍā (Pls. 33–35). Following the octagonal form of the pillar, there are eight sculptures, each one framed by relief pillars and pediments.

The relief pillars have *kīrtimukha* capitals. The crowning *caitya*-arches are similar to those of the Dvārapālas on the outer doorframe of the temple.

Above this frieze the shaft tapers considerably. An additional constriction forms a pillow-like, semicircular profiled, but equally octagonal moulding (*masūraka*) with engraved ornaments, which leads over to the second, smaller figural frieze (*jañghā*, height of each figure 34 cm). Along with the narrative scenes, Mithunas or different groups of people are shown here (Pls. 36 left, 37, 38). As an exception, the image of the Sun-god with his attendants Daṇḍa and Piṅgala appears once (Pl. 36). Here, too, all the figures are placed into framed niches, also eight in number, which correspond to those of the first frieze.

The following segment of the shaft is circular. Its decoration consists of vertically running stripes of incised and relieved leafwork (*parṇabandha*), each one surrounded by bead strings (Pl. 38 above).

⁴⁰ Cf. chap. II.2.C.

⁴¹ That important parts of the base are called *kumbha* (pot) and *kalaśa* (pot) reminds one of the pillars in the caves of Karli and Nasik. Their bases are vase-shaped. If one assumes that on the Modhera pillars the *kumbha* represents the vessel's abdomen and the *kalaśa* the projecting border above the retracted neck, it would be possible to establish a formal relationship between the ancient Indian pillars and the medieval ones. Apparently medieval pillars carry on with a peculiar motif, which might represent a relic from the wooden architecture, when the wooden pillar shaft was provided with a metal shoe for decay-resistance. Cf. H. Sohrmann, *Die altindische Säule*, Dresden 1906, pp. 51, 52.

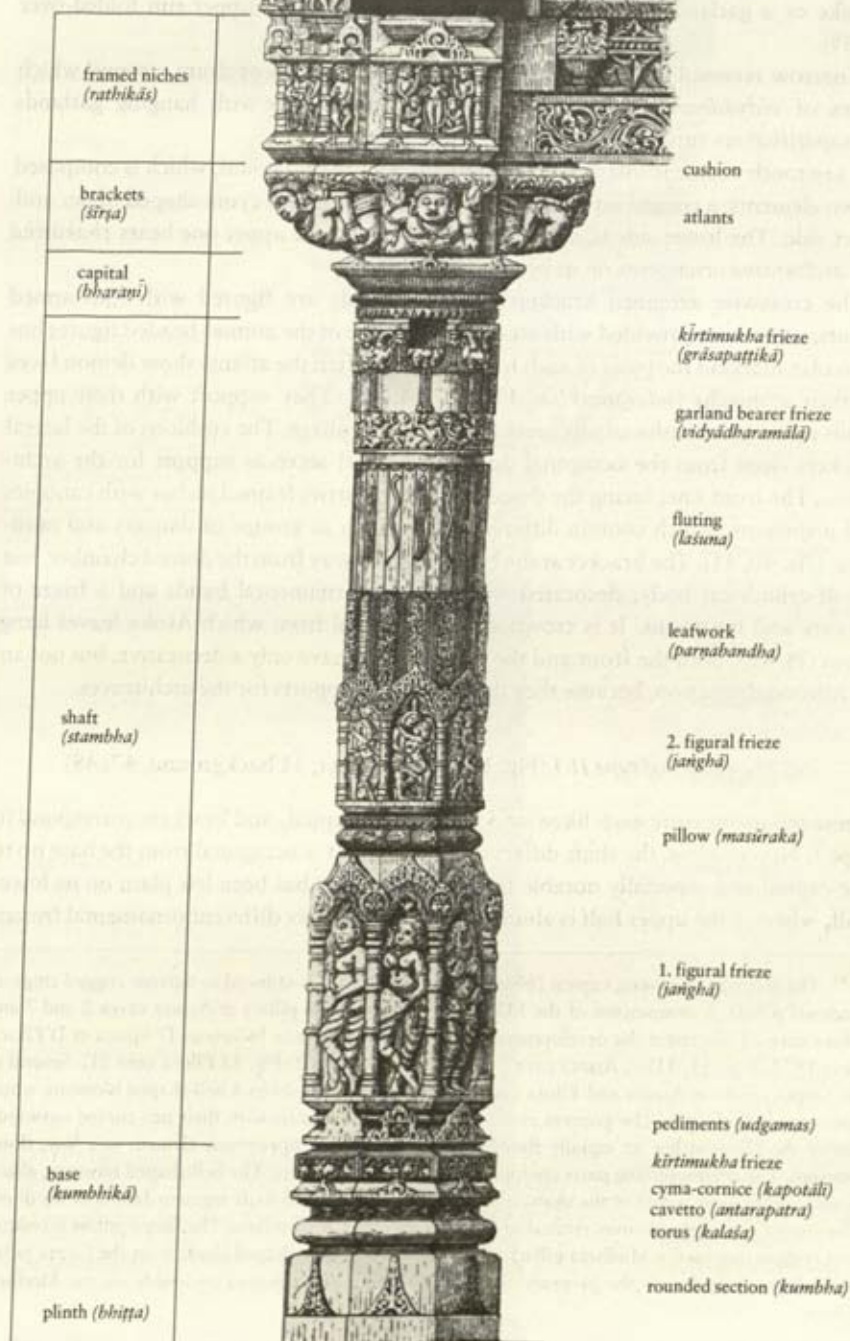


Fig. 9. Order of pillars type I in the temple. – Drawing of pillar: J. Burgess, H. Cousens, *The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat*, New Imp. Ser. Vol. 32, Pl. LIV, detail.

The next drum is fluted (*laśuna*). Every second groove is decorated either with a snake or a garland, but all the grooves have their curved upper rim folded-over (Pl. 39).

A narrow recessed band marks the border to the uppermost drum, around which friezes of *vidyādhara*s (*vidyādharamālā*) and *kīrtimukha*s with hanging garlands (*grāsapaṭṭikā*) are running.

A sawtooth course is inserted between the shaft and the capital, which is composed of two elements, a cogged astragal and a protruding disc with cyma-shaped upper and lower side. The lower side is, additionally, ribbed and the upper one bears *ṭhakārikā* and *ardharatna* ornaments on its border (Pl. 38).⁴²

The crosswise arranged brackets on the capitals are figured with four-armed atlants, sometimes provided with animal heads. One of the animal-headed figures has a circular mark on the palm of each hand (Pl. 46). Often the atlants show demon faces on their stomachs (*udaramukha*s, Pls. 43, 44, 45). They support with their upper hands rectangular cushions, decorated with incised foliage. The cushions of the lateral brackets (seen from the octagonal domed chamber) serve as support for the architraves. The front one, facing the domed chamber, carries framed niches with canopies and pediments, which contain different reliefs, such as groups of dancers and musicians (Pls. 40, 41). The bracket at the back, turned away from the domed chamber, has a half-cylindrical body, decorated with different ornamental bands and a frieze of dancers and musicians. It is crowned with a capital from which Aśoka leaves hang down (Pl. 42). Both the front and the back bracket have only a decorative, but not an architectural function, because they don't serve as supports for the architraves.

c. The pillars of type II.1 (Fig. 10; Pls. 30 center, 31 background, 47, 48)

These pillars measure each likewise 3.80 m. Base, capital, and brackets correspond to type I. Nevertheless, the shaft differs considerably. It is octagonal from the base up to the capital and especially notable for the fact, that it has been left plain on its lower half, whereas the upper half is abundantly decorated. Six different ornamental friezes,

⁴² The formerly imposing capital (*bharaṇī*, *bhr* = to carry) is reduced to narrow cogged rings on medieval pillars. A comparison of the Modhera pillars with the pillars at Ajanta caves 2 and 7 and Ellora cave 21 illustrates the development (Cf. Ph. Stern, *Colonnes Indiennes D'Ajanta et D'Ellora*, Paris 1972, Figs. 11, 11bis, Ajanta cave 7; Fig. 40, Ajanta cave 2; Fig. 85 Ellora cave 21). Several of the Gupta pillars at Ajanta and Ellora carry on their octagonal shafts a bell-shaped blossom, which opens towards the top. The grooves are to be interpreted as petals with their tips curved outwards. Above the blossom lies an equally fluted, round pillow. The uppermost element is a low, fluted blossom. The corresponding parts are found on the Modhera pillars. The bell-shaped blossom, also at Ajanta rather more a part of the shaft, is represented by the fluted shaft segment *laśuna* at Modhera. The curved tips of the grooves remind of the petals on the Gupta pillars. The fluted pillow is reduced to a cogged ring on the Modhera pillars. The uppermost flower-shaped element on the Gupta pillars could be identified with the protruding disc with fluted, cyma-shaped underside on the Modhera pillars.

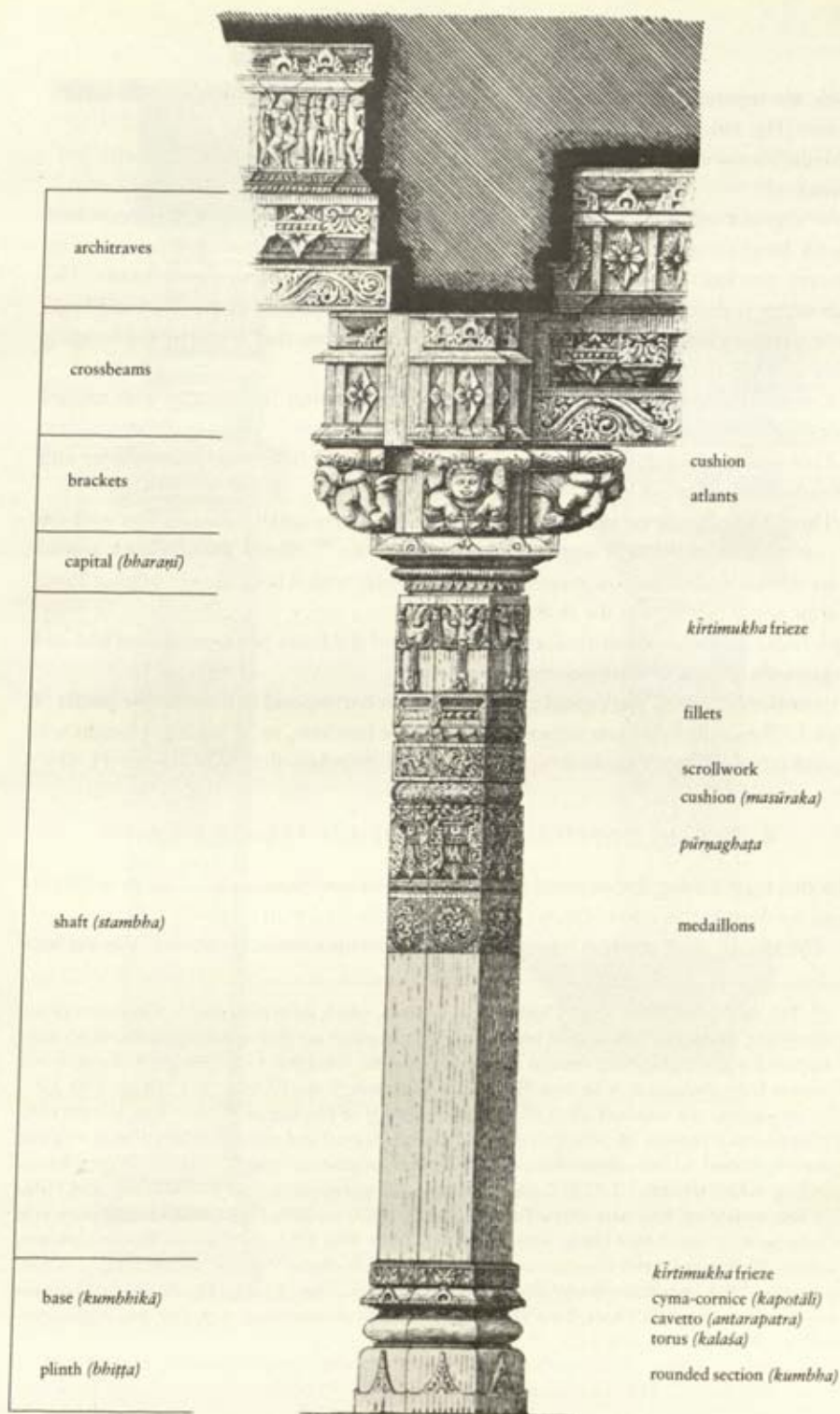


Fig. 10. Order of pillars type II.1 in the temple. — Drawing of pillar: J. Burgess, H. Cousens, *The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat*, New Imp. Ser. Vol. 32, Pl. LIII, detail.

which are separated from one another by narrow cavettoes or fillets, can be distinguished (Fig. 10).

1. Medaillons with beaded borders, inside scrolled foliage. Sprandels filled with leaf-work.
2. *Pūrṇaḡhaṭa* section. Paunchy vase with a roll around its foot, which is decorated with bead strings and leaves. The body shows vertically running grooves on its lower portion. The bulge is marked by a narrow belt with inlaid beads. The shoulder is decorated with lotus petals. The neck is strongly constricted and from the overhanging rim flowers with stalks and leaves pour out, whereby the hanging leaves mark the eight edges of the pillar shaft.⁴³
3. A semicircular profiled, nevertheless octagonal cushion (*masūṛaka*) with incised design.
4. Each of the eight shaft segments shows a rectangular field with plain border and feathered scrollwork inside.
5. Three horizontally running fillets. First appears a very small fluted section with the curved and folded-over upper rim of the grooves.⁴⁴ Above that follows a bead string and after a narrow recession a plain border with Aśoka leaves hanging down from the eight edges of the shaft.
6. A frieze of *kīrtimukhas* (*grāsapaṭṭikā*). Around the faces bead strings are laid and garlands fall out of their mouths.

As mentioned above, the capital and the brackets correspond to those of the pillars of type I. The architraves rest either directly on the brackets, or, if a greater height was aimed at, on inserted crossbeams, decorated with rhombus-shaped blossoms (Pl. 48).

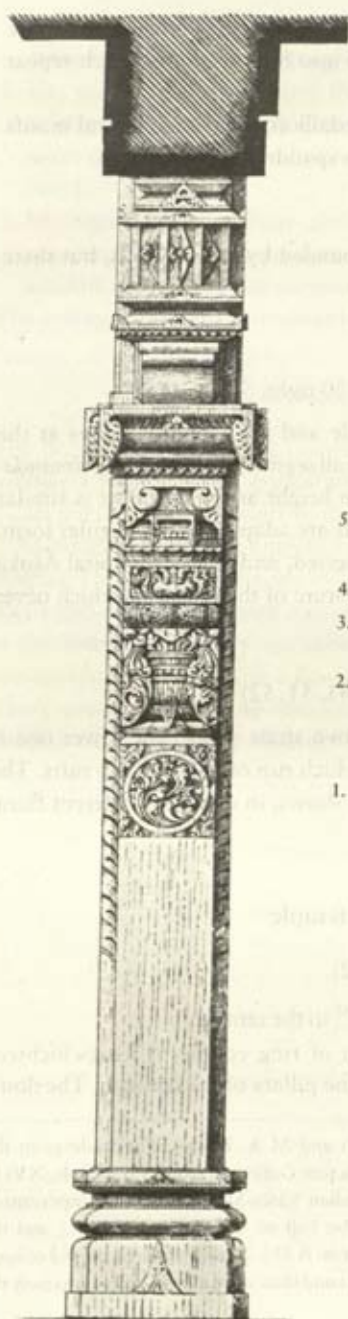
d. The pillars of type II.2 (Fig. 11 a; Pls. 12 right, 14 center, 15, 16, 49)

To this type belong the engaged pillars of the window niches, each 3.80 m in height, and the dwarf pillars on the outer balustrades, each 1.55 m in height.

The square shaft changes into an octagon on its uppermost section. The lower half

⁴³ The decoration of the vessel's body displays details, which are typical for the adornment of the *pūrṇaḡhaṭa*. The belt of ribbons and jewels and the lotus petals are ever recurring motifs, which were interpreted as *pūjā* gifts hung around or placed upon the vessel (cf. S. Al-George, A. Roşu, *Pūrṇa Ghaṭa et le Symbolisme du vase dans l'Inde*, Arts Asiatiques, Tome IV, Fasc. 4, 1957, pp. 250, 251). The *pūrṇaḡhaṭa* is a common motif of decoration already at Bharhut and Sanchi, but only since the Gupta period it appears on pillars, first on the capital (Ajanta) and somewhat later also as a part of the shaft (Ellora). In this context it displays along with the pouring lotus flowers also hanging leaves, marking the pillar edges. Cf. C. K. Gairola, *Évolution du pūrṇa ghaṭa* (vase d'abondance) dans l'Inde et l'Inde extérieure, Arts Asiatiques, Tome I, Fasc. 3, 1954, pp. 209, 219; A. Roşu, *Pūrṇaḡhaṭa et le Symbolisme du Lotus dans l'Inde*, Arts Asiatiques, Tome VIII, 1961, p. 163; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Washington 1928 (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 80, No. 6), Pt. II, p. 62; H. Sohrmann, *Die altindische Säule*, Dresden 1906, p. 69 ff., Figs. 51–55, 57; Ph. Stern, *Colonnes Indiennes D'Ajanta et D'Ellora*, Paris 1972, Figs. 59, 62, 64 (Ajanta), Figs. 134, 140, 142 (Ellora).

⁴⁴ Cf. Fig. 9 and chaps. II.3.C.b., II.3.C.d.



11 b Pilasters



11 a Dwarf Pillars

Fig. 11 a, b. Order of dwarf pillars and pilasters in the temple. — Drawing: J. Burgess, H. Cousens, *The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat*, New Imp. Ser. Vol. 32, Pls. LII (11 a), LIV (11 b), details.

– on the dwarf pillars it is the lower third – has been left completely undecorated. The ornamentation of the upper portion can be divided into four sections, which repeat the decorative forms of the pillars type II.1.

1. Each of the four sides of the shaft bears a half medaillon, filled with figural motifs (*kīrtimukhas*, *makaras*, *haṃsas*) or scrollwork, the spandrels show foliage.
 2. The *pūrṇaghaṭa* motif.
 3. Fillets as number five of type II.1.
 4. *Kīrtimukha* frieze. The individual faces are surrounded by bead strings, but there are no hanging garlands as with type II.1.
- Capital and brackets are identical to type I.

e. The pilasters (Fig. 11 b; Pls. 30 right, 50)

Pilasters are framing the entrances of the vestibule and the window niches at the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* (see Fig. 2 a), and are found on the wall segment between *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and *mūlaprāsāda*. They are also each 3.80 m in height and their order is similar to pillar type II.1, whereby the individual ornaments are adapted to the angular form. Above the fillets (no. 5 in Fig. 11 b) volutes are inserted, and from the capital Aśoka leaves are hanging down. This is a characteristic feature of the pilasters, which never occurs at the pillars.

f. The architraves (Pls. 40, 41, 51, 52)

The architraves of the temple consist always of two stone slabs. The lower one is decorated with undulating creepers, the ends of which run out in feathery tufts. The intervals are filled with leafscrolls. The upper one shows, in contrast, different floral ornaments.

4. The ceilings of the temple

A. Survey (Fig. 12)

There are three different types of ceilings (*vitānas*)⁴⁵ in the temple.

1. The central corbelled dome with a succession of ring courses ("Ringschichten-decke")⁴⁶ in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, supported by the pillars of the octagon. The dome

⁴⁵ For the following Sanskrit terms cf. J.M. Nanavati and M.A. Dhaky, *The Ceilings in the Temples of Gujarat*, Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda 1963, Vols. XVI to XVII, p. 19 ff. The authors analyzed eight north-western Indian Vāstu-Śāstras, the most important of which are the Samarāṅga Sūtradhāra of Bhojadeva (1st half of the 11th cent. A.D.) and the Aparājitaṭpccā of Bhuvanadeva (3rd quarter of the 12th cent. A.D.). They compared the old ceilings in Gujarat with the structural forms described in these texts and thus were able to define precisely the individual Sanskrit terms.

⁴⁶ K. Fischer, *Dächer, Decken und Gewölbe indischer Kultstätten und Nutzbauten*, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 45.

has collapsed and only the lower five ring courses are still preserved. The diameter of the lowest ring measures approximately 5.00 m.

2. Flat corbelled domes above the four corners of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*. Of these the south-western and north-western domes are almost totally demolished, but the south-eastern one is completely and the north-western one almost completely intact.
3. Rectangular flat ceilings above the vestibule, the window niches, the cella antechamber, and the processional passageway. Those of the passageway and its window niches have not survived.

The ceiling of the cella, presumably a corbelled dome, has disappeared.

B. The central corbelled dome (*karotaka*, Pls. 51, 52)

The decoration of the ring courses, rising up above the octagon of the architraves, follows a fixed pattern, typical for north-western Indian temple architecture. It disguises the corbelled structure of the dome and gives the impression of a true vault.

As mentioned above, only five courses of the dome still survive at the Modhera temple. The first and the second ones are cyma-shaped and decorated with lotus petals and a small sawtooth course on the inner border of the first and the outer edge of the second one. They are called *karnadardarikā*. The third course is a frieze of *kīrtimukhas* and the fourth a figural frieze (*rūpakaṇṭha*). It bears small framed niches, which contain alternating standing and sitting female deities. To this frieze 16 *vi-dyādhara* brackets are attached, which usually support semi-goddesses (*nāyikās* or

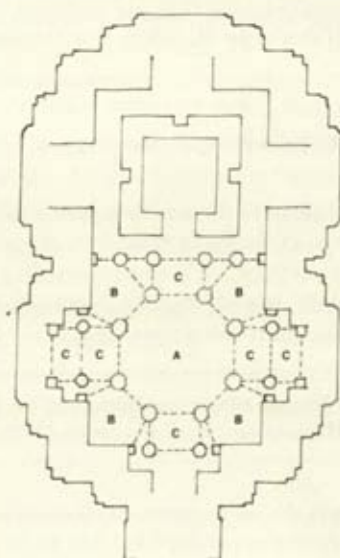


Fig. 12. The different types of ceilings in the temple. — Drawing: H. J. Paech, Berlin.

śālabhañjikās).⁴⁷ At Modhera they are not preserved. The fifth ring course is convex shaped and bears ribs, which thicken towards their triangular tips. In a metaphorical sense they are called *kola*, literally meaning a pig's tusk, and they must originate from the curved wooden rafters of the earliest architecture.⁴⁸

C. The flat corbelled domes above the four corners of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*
(Pls. 53, 54, 55, 56)

The architraves between the pillars of the octagon and between these and the pilasters of the temple wall (see Fig. 12) create a pentagonal frame, above which the dome rises. Out of the pentagon an octagon is made by triangular stone slabs (*vikarṇa vitāna*), placed diagonally over the three right-angled corners. These slabs are decorated each with a great mask of the *kīrtimukha* (Pl. 54), which at this place, too, is a typical and frequent motif. A frieze of palmettes runs around the octagonal frame, whereby the individual palmettes are bordered by bead strings (Pl. 55). Above this frieze rise the ring courses of the dome. The first one shows a frieze of *kīrtimukhas*. From its outer edge hangs a sawtooth course. The second layer is provided with *caitya*-arches, attached at intervals. Both have a cyma-shaped bottom with incised petals and a sawtooth course (Pl. 55). The following layers, which form the flatly domed middle field, appear together as a three-dimensional lotus blossom with two concentric rosettes of eight and of four petals (Pl. 53). The petals are formed as cusped hemicycles (*gajatālus*)⁴⁹ with ribs (*kolas*), radiating from a common center, which is shaped as a flower bud (*mukuli*). The crowning member is a hemisphere with 16 *kolas*.⁵⁰

Nanavati and Dhaky call this type of ceiling *kṣipta vitāna* of the Nābhicchanda order.⁵¹

The exterior of the preserved domes has been rounded by application of mortar during recent reparation works (Pl. 56).

D. The rectangular ceilings of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and the *mūlaprāsāda*
(Pls. 57, 58)

According to the terminology worked out by Nanavati and Dhaky these ceilings belong to the *samatala* class and to the *kṣipta* class of the Nābhicchanda order. The

⁴⁷ The corbelled dome of the Tejapāla temple is still intact and may be considered as representative for this period. Cf. Nanavati and Dhaky, op. cit. (cf. annotation 45) Fig. 5, pp. 23, 24.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 24, Fig. 5.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 25, Fig. 5.

⁵⁰ The cupola illustrated on Pl. 50 has its uppermost element broken off. Of the south-eastern cupola, which is fully intact, no photograph could be taken by me because of poor lighting. It is illustrated by Nanavati and Dhaky, op. cit. (cf. annotation 45) Pl. 31.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 35, Pls. 31, 32.

first one shows floral motifs. The lotusses have double corollas, and the spandrels are filled with *ardharatnas* (Pl. 57).⁵² The second one is a variant of the above described *kṣipta* class of the Nābhicchanda order. It is rectangular in plan and built on a diamond pattern (Pl. 58).

5. The cella

A. The external elevation (Pl. 15 center)

The almost plain walls of the cella display the same double dentilled sawtooth course as appears on the inner temple walls. It runs at about 1.50 m above the floor around the chamber, and is interrupted by the doorframe in the east and by small framed niches, which are now empty, in the south, west and north.

B. The entrance (Pls. 241–247)

The door opening is 1.40 m wide and 2.62 m high. Parts of the lintel and the jambs are broken away.

A semicircular step (*ardhacandra*), shaped like a lotus blossom, is placed in front of the threshold. The ends of the semicycle are running out into volutes, into which conch shells are set (Pls. 241, 242).

The doorframe of the cella corresponds in its ornamentation quite precisely to the doorframe of the temple, described above.⁵³ It is also approximately 90 cm wide and displays almost the same decorative elements. The jambs, too, are gradated as *rathas* in plan and terraced in their elevation.

From the center of the relieved threshold (*udumbara*) a bulbous lotus stalk with four lateral curled creepers projects out. This central, semicircular projection of the threshold is called *mandāraka*. To its side there are figural friezes, depicting groups of dancers and musicians (height of each figure 28 cm). On the *bhadra* fields of the lateral *rathas* the gods Gaṇeśa to the left and Kubera to the right are shown and on the extreme ends again the dancing scenes (Pls. 241, 243, 244).⁵⁴ The lower quarter of the jamb is occupied by the *Dvārapālas*,⁵⁵ set into framed niches and flanked by *Apsarases* and *Mithunas*. The upper part of the jamb consists of five beams (*pañcaśākhā*), instead of three, as on the temple entrance. The narrow inner beam is decorated with creepers. The broader middle section (*rūpastambha*) has three

⁵² Ibid. pp. 35, 36, Pl. 5.

⁵³ Cf. Fig. 7a, b, c; chap. II.2.G.c.

⁵⁴ For Gaṇeśa and Kubera, cf. Pls. 243, 244, and chap. VII.9.A. for their iconographical descriptions.

⁵⁵ Cf. Pls. 245, 246 and chap. VII.9.B. for their iconographical descriptions.

superimposed *rathikās*. On its *bhadra* fields appear representations of the Sun-god.⁵⁶ The *pratiratha* fields are filled with Apsarases (Pl. 247). After a narrow half-round profiled beam with floral ornaments there follows the figural beam (*rūpaśākhā*), decorated with intertwined human figures. The extreme border is formed by a beam with carved creepers (Pl. 248).⁵⁷

C. The interior of the cella

a. The inner walls

The inner walls of the cella are completely devoid of ornament. Traces of mortar between different stone blocks and fragments of the former floor between the upper and the underground chamber (see Fig. 8), which are set into the wall upside down, indicate that the walls are not preserved in their original condition.

b. The inscription (Pls. 61, 62)

On one of the blocks forming the western wall of the cella, H. Cousens found an inscription, which gives in carelessly incised Devanāgarī letters the date: "*vikrama samvat* 1083", i.e., 1025–26 A.D. Further information besides this date is not found. The fact that the inscription is placed upside down can be taken as another indication for the destruction and rebuilding of the cella.

c. The ceiling

The ceiling of the cella and the tower above it have collapsed, so that the full daylight now enters into this normally dark chamber. A few fragments of ring courses lead to the assumption that the cella, too, had a corbelled dome.

d. The underground chamber (Pls. 59, 60)

The floor between the cella (*garbhagrha*) and the underground chamber (*bhūmigṛha*) has collapsed, as mentioned above. Both the rooms are cubical and measure each 3.36 × 3.36 × 3.36 m. It remains unclear how the underground chamber was entered, since, according to the present state of preservation, no traces of stairs are recogniz-

⁵⁶ Cf. Pl. 247 and chap. VII.9.C. for their iconographical descriptions.

⁵⁷ The decoration of the doorframe follows exactly the prescriptions given by the north-western Indian Vāstu-texts. The scrollwork on the bulbous lotus stalk in the middle of the threshold, the appearance of Kubera and Gaṇeśa on the lowermost frieze, and the semicircular lotus step (*ardhacandra*) with conch shells at its sides, are explicitly mentioned in the Vāstuvidyā of Viśvakarmā. Cf. P. O. Sompura, *The Vāstuvidyā of Viśvakarmā*, in: *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. by P. Chandra, New Delhi 1975, p. 53.

able and there does not appear to have been any entrance from the sides. Nowadays, an iron ladder leads the way down (Pl. 59).

On the floor of the underground chamber lies the 1.18 m wide and 44 cm high socle of a Sūrya figure with other blocks at the sides connecting it with the walls. The seven horses of the Sun-god are represented in high relief with their fore-legs prancing forward (Pl. 60).⁵⁸ Whether the socle fell down due to the collapsing of the cella floor, or whether the cult-image originally had been installed there, is no longer determinable. Perhaps it was hidden away in the underground chamber as protection against the Muslim iconoclasts and only a substitute stood in the cella according to a local custom. On the other hand it is possible that the cult-image had been installed at its normal place and the underground chamber was properly used as treasury.⁵⁹

III. THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE DANCING HALL

1. The ground plan (Fig. 13)

The plan of the open pillared hall, also called dancing hall (*nṛtya-* or *raṅgamaṇḍapa*), is derived from a square, which stands on edge (Fig. 13), seen in relation to the east-west direction of the temple site (compare Fig. 1). The square, however, evidently because of the shortage of space, is shoved together on its east-west axis (12.80 m), assuming thus a slightly rhombic form.

All the walls are terraced.

In its present state of preservation, the hall has entrances at its four corners, i.e., on its western, southern, eastern and northern sides (compare Pl. 63 for the eastern, Pl. 64 for the southern and western, and Pl. 5 for the northern entrances). As, however, the ground plan and the south side elevation published by Burgess and Cousens illustrate, this does not correspond to its original form. The ground plan shows that only in the east and west stairs led into the interior, while on the south and north no entrances existed but roofed terraces, which had been considerably drawn out.⁶⁰ In

⁵⁸ For the iconographical description of the pedestal see chap. VII.10.

⁵⁹ J. Burgess and H. Cousens, *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, London 1903, p. 75.

⁶⁰ J. Burgess and H. Cousens visited Modhera at the end of the 19th century and published their report in 1903. Repairs on the temple started in 1914–15 and were continued at intervals. It is not known to me at what time the entrances had been installed in place of the ruined terraces, but several authors speak of four entrances. P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)* 3rd ed., Bombay 1956, p. 147; M.A. Dhaky, *The Date of the Dancing Hall of the Sun Temple, Modhera*, JASB, N.S. Vol. 38, 1963, p. 215; S. Bharucha, *The Sun Temple at Modhera, Mārg*, Vol. V, No. 1, Bombay 1951, p. 54.

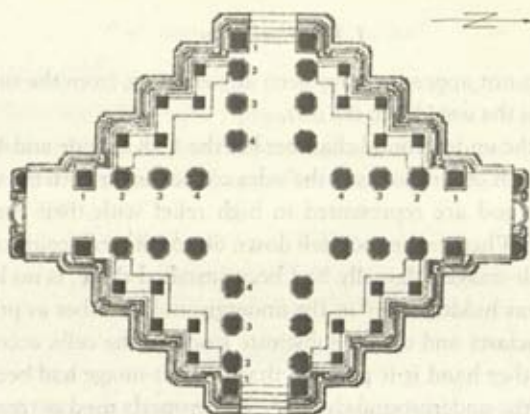


Fig. 13. Ground plan of the dancing hall. – Drawing: J. Burgess, H. Cousens, *The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat*, New Imp. Ser. Vol. 32, Pl. XLVIII, detail.

addition, the south side elevation shows the decorative mouldings of the socle running continuously around the former terraces (only the lowermost mouldings have remained, Fig. 14), while, of course, at the entrances they are interrupted.

From the present entrances four parallelly running pairs of pillars (see Fig. 13, pillar pairs 1, 2, 3, 4) lead towards the center of the hall, forming there an octagon, which supports the central dome. The pillars of the entrance porches (pairs 1) have a square, terraced base. All the other pillars have an octagonal base. The above-mentioned fact that the square plan of the hall had been shoved together on its east-west axis, becomes clear from the different distances of the square entrance pillars to the following octagonal ones. On the south and north the distance measures 55 cm, just as between all the octagonal pairs (from 2 to 3 and to 4). But on the east and west it amounts to only 30 cm, almost half of the normal distance.

As in the temple, the central octagon here, too, is irregular. The interspaces at the cardinal points measure 1.86 m, in-between 1.25 m.

As a part of the outer walls there are five rectangular pillars (45 × 38 cm) on each side of the hall, which follow the recesses and projections of the walls and support the roof.

2. The external elevation of the dancing hall

A. Survey (Figs. 14, 15; Pls. 63, 64)

On elevation the dancing hall has four sections:

1. The socle (*pīṭha*), 1.40 m in height;
2. A connecting figural frieze (*rājasenaka*), 34 cm in height, a blind balustrade (*ve-dikā*), 1.10 m in height, and a sloping seat-back (*kakṣāsana*), 60 cm in height;

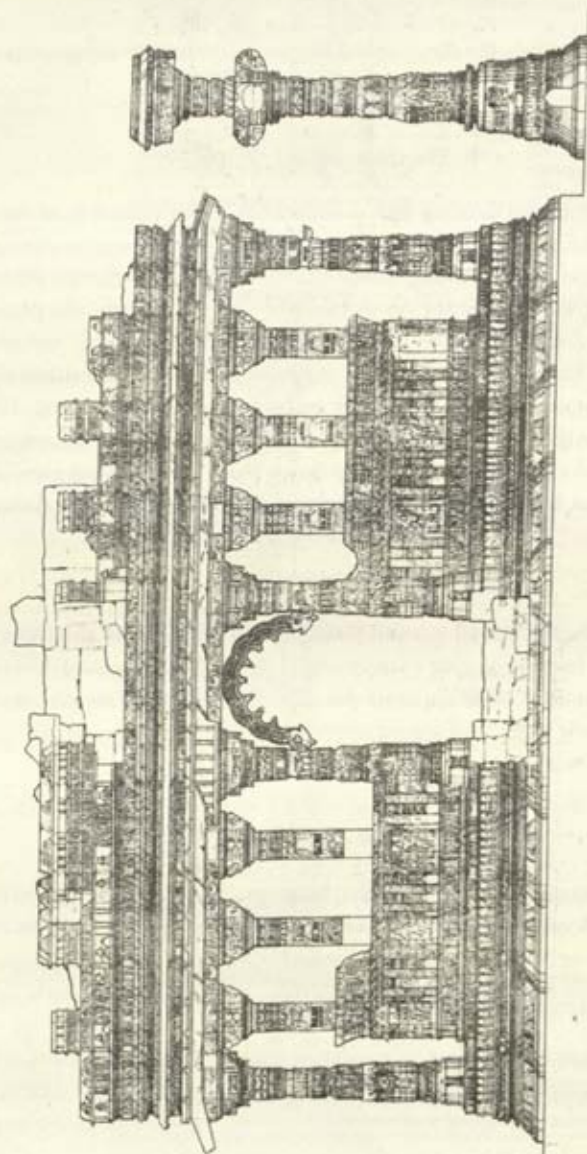


Fig. 14. South side elevation of the dancing hall. — Drawing: J. Burgess, H. Cousens, *The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat*, New Imp. Ser. Vol. 32, Pl. XLIX, detail.

3. Rectangular pillars, which support the roof, height between balustrade and roof 2.00 m;
4. The superstructure, which is preserved only in its lowermost part.

As compared to the temple the dancing hall shows an even more sumptuous ornamentation in its details.

B. The socle (Fig. 15; Pl. 68)

Although the socle of the dancing hall is somewhat lower than that of the temple, it displays a very similar sequence of horizontally running decorative elements.⁶¹ The *jādyakumbha* has 35 cm, the *grāsapaṭṭikā* 12 cm, and the *narathara* 13 cm in height, and are thus narrower than those on the temple, but, in contrast, the *gajathara* with 33 cm is broader. The design of the *grāsapaṭṭikā*, *gajathara* and *narathara* corresponds exactly to that of the temple. The *jādyakumbha* differs considerably, because it is profusely ornamented with scrollwork instead of simple lotus petals (Pl. 68). The *antarapatra* above the sharp edged torus (*karnāka*) shows a more geometric motif of framed lozenges. A sawtooth course hangs down from the following moulding as also from the *narathara*. It is a frequently occurring decorative detail at the dancing hall.

C. The *rājasenaka* frieze (Fig. 15; Pl. 69)

The *rājasenaka* frieze runs all around the socle at the height of the inner floor. It is slightly canopied by a projecting cornice and is divided into areas of different sizes by relief pillars. The larger areas illustrate dancing, musical, and narrative scenes and the smaller ones usually a goddess seated upon a throne. On the projecting corners of the terraced walls often appears the motif of two fighting elephants (Pl. 69).

D. The balustrade (Fig. 15; Pls. 67, 71, 72)

The blind balustrade (*vedikā*) consists here, as at the temple, of narrow beams (*phalakas*), which are alternately recessed and projected and are decorated either with scrolled creepers or with the order of *pūrṇaḥaṭa* pillars. On each projecting corner two framed niches with the figures of different deities (height of each figure 65 cm) are found.⁶²

The coping stone of the balustrade projects considerably into the interior and serves as a seat (*āsanapaṭṭaka*) for the spectators. On its narrow outer face it is provided with the *kīrtimukha* ornament and coggled, bell-shaped elements in-between (Pl. 67).

⁶¹ Compare Pl. 17 with Pl. 68.

⁶² Cf. Pls. 249–267 and chap. VIII.2. for their iconographical descriptions.

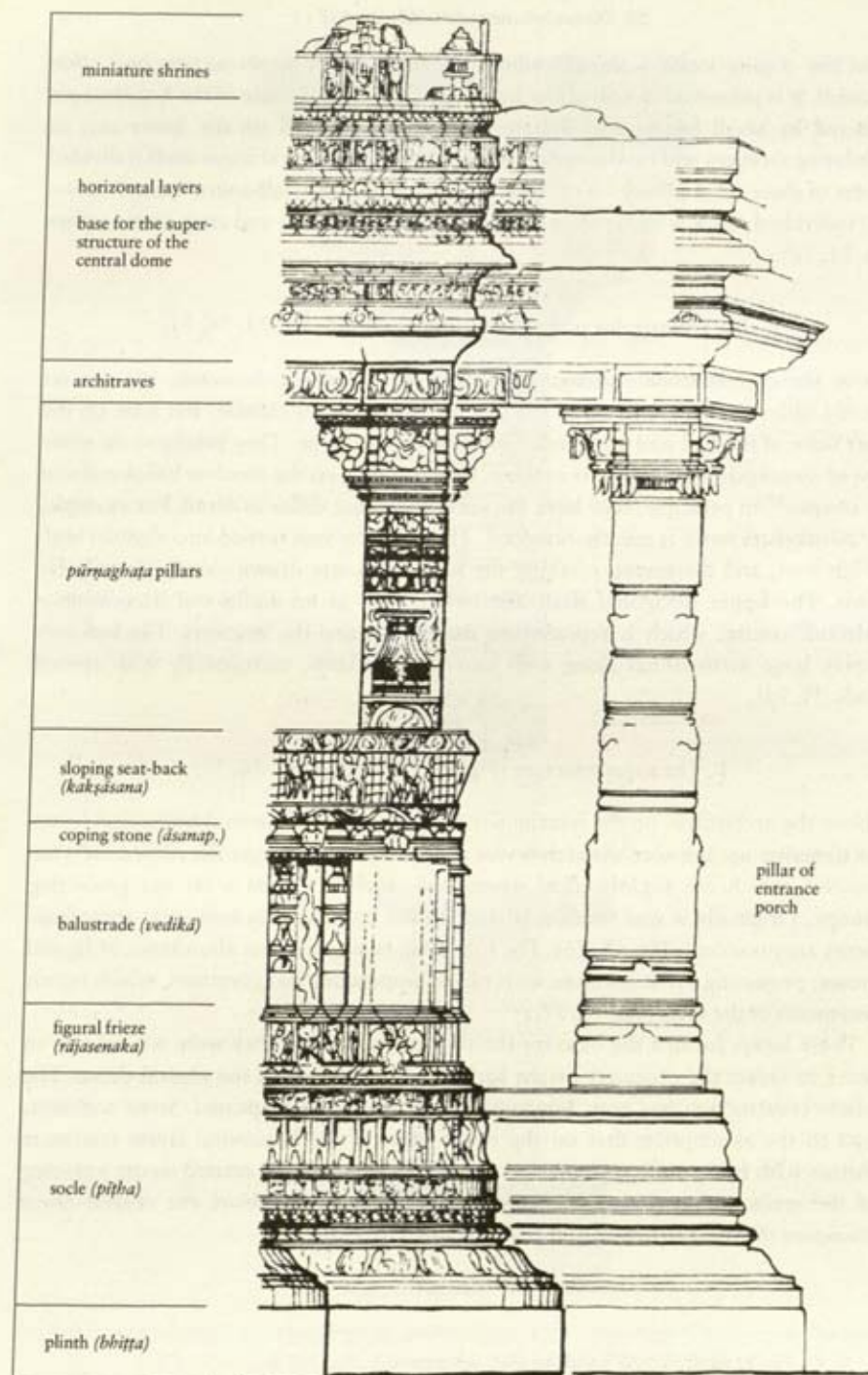


Fig. 15. Profile of the exterior of the dancing hall. — Drawing: W. Brettschneider, Berlin.

On the coping stone a sloped railing is placed, which serves as seat-back (*ka-kṣāsana*). It is preserved in only a few fragments. The figural frieze of the *ka-kṣāsana* is bordered by small beams with foliate ornaments, executed on the lower one as undulating creepers and on the upper one as scrolls. The figural frieze itself is divided by sets of three relief pillars – a central rectangular one and half-round lateral ones – into individual areas with representations of Mithuna-groups and crass erotic scenes (Pls. 71, 72).

E. The rectangular *pūrṇaghāṭa* pillars (Fig. 16; Pls. 73, 74, 75)

Above the coping stone rectangular pillars rise up, which, however, are not set directly upon it as it seems to be the case when seen from outside, but base on the inner floor of the hall and are bonded into the coping stone. They belong to the same type of dwarf *pūrṇaghāṭa* pillars as those, which appear on the window balustrades of the temple.⁶³ In principle, they have the same order, but differ in detail. For example, the *pūrṇaghāṭa* motif is greatly extended. The paunchy vase turned into a goblet with a high foot, and the leaves, marking the four edges, are drawn extraordinarily far down. The upper octagonal shaft section received as an additional decoration a sawtooth course, which is repeated on the capital and the brackets. The brackets display large *kīrtimukhas* along with four-armed atlants, occasionally with animal heads (Pl. 73).

F. The superstructure (Fig. 15; Pls. 63, 64, 65, 76, 77)

Above the architraves on the rectangular *pūrṇaghāṭa* pillars several horizontal layers are towering up. Between the architraves and the lowermost layer flat ribbed slabs are inserted, which are slightly tilted downwards and thus form a far out projecting canopy. Originally it was running all around the building, but now only some fragments are preserved (Pls. 65, 76). The following layers show an abundance of figural friezes, projecting cyma-cornices with ribbed uppersides and cavettoes, which repeat ornaments of the socle (Pls. 76, 77).

These layers formed the base for the roof construction. They were towered up in order to create the necessary height for the superstructure of the central dome. The whole construction has now, however, almost entirely disappeared. Some remnants lead to the assumption that on the outer edges of the horizontal layers miniature shrines with friezes and pyramidal roofs were attached, which carried on the terracing of the walls and encircled the supposed pyramidal roof above the central dome (compare the reconstruction of the temple site, Fig. 17).

⁶³ Cf. Fig. 11 a and chap. II.3.C.d. for their description.

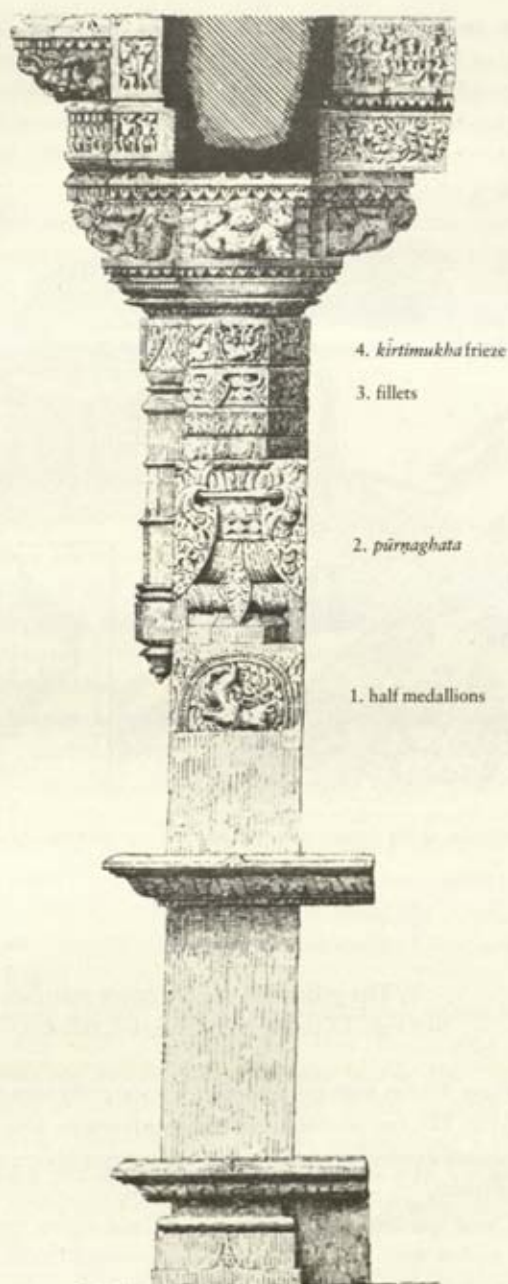


Fig. 16. The rectangular *pūrṇaghāṭa* pillars at the dancing hall. – Drawing: J. Burgess, H. Cousens, *The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat*, New Imp. Ser. Vol. 32, Pl. LIII, detail.

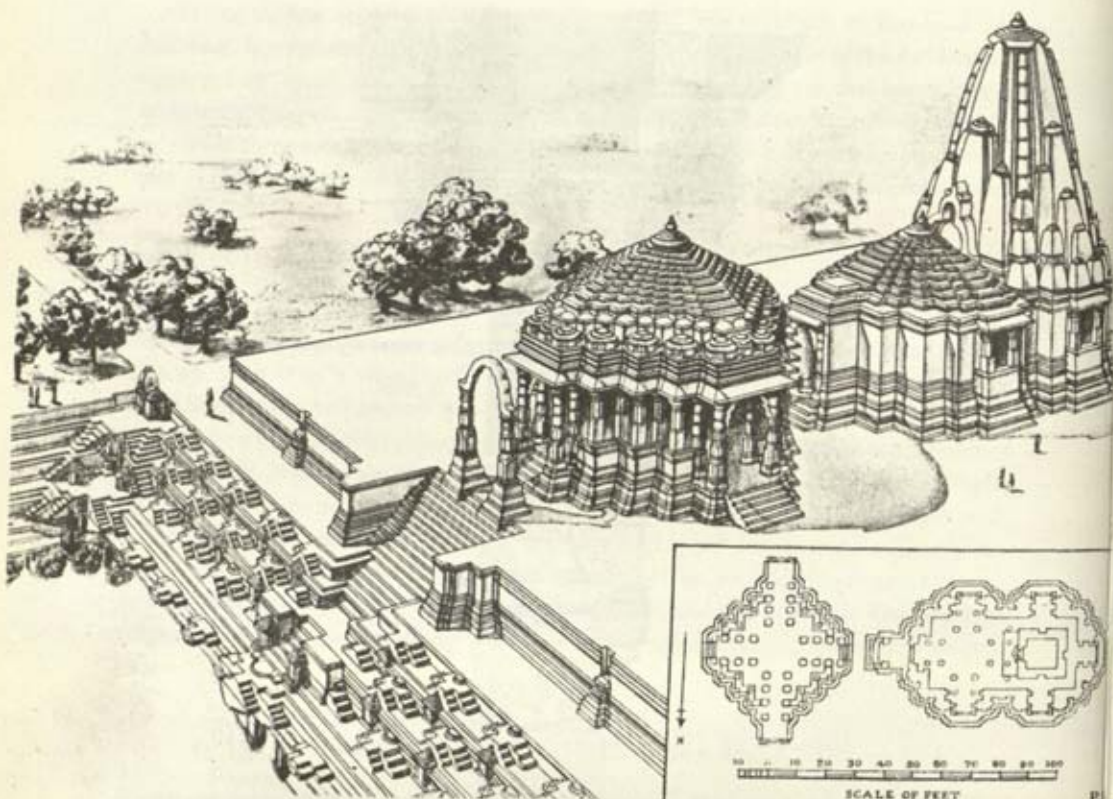


Fig. 17. Reconstruction of the temple site. — Drawing: Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*, Pl. CVII, Fig. 2.

3. The pillars of the entrance porches (on Fig. 13 pairs 1; Pls. 63, 64, 65, 66, 70)

The order of these 3.70 m high pillars follows principally that of the pillars inside the hall (compare Fig. 18), but shows a few peculiar features. One of the essential differences is their square ground plan instead of the octagonal one and the arrangement of the first figural frieze.

The square base has terraced corners (Pl. 70) and shows on its four *kumbha* faces small framed niches with the representations of seated deities. Since the figures are, however, very small, they defy iconographic designation. On the lower shaft section there are again four framed niches, which are similar in style and ornamentation to those of the Dvārapālas at the temple entrance. They bear figures of deities (height of

each figure 56 cm).⁶⁴ Between the niches miniature pillars mark the corners of the shaft. Above this frieze the decoration of the shaft is identical to that of the pillars inside the hall (compare the following chapter and Fig. 18). The capital is provided with hanging leaves and the brackets show volutes with foliage decoration.

Between each pair of the entrance pillars highly decorated "flying arches" are spanned, which rest on *makara* brackets, inserted at the fluted section of the shaft. These arches serve as buttresses. They are nearly semicircular and consist of eight ribbed foils, which end in knob-like cusps (Pl. 65). According to the old texts they belong to the caterpillar type (*ilikā*).⁶⁵ At the same height as the *makara* brackets smaller *vidyādhara* brackets are placed on the shaft, which presumably carried figures. Unfortunately most of these brackets are broken off and of the figures none is preserved.

4. The pillars inside the dancing hall (Fig. 18; Pls. 78–86)

Both, the entrance pillars and the inner ones impress by their excessive diversity of decoration. In style they are similar to the pillars type I inside the temple (Fig. 9), but show a further developed and more enriched ornamentation. The *kumbha* faces of the base have framed niches, mostly with the representations of seated deities; there are three figural friezes instead of two; different ornamental bands, such as sawtooth course and flowerbelt are added.

Moreover, the shaft is variously shaped. Up to the third figural frieze it is octagonal, the third frieze is 16-cornered polygonal, and further on the shaft assumes a circular shape. This type of pillar is called *miśraka* in the western Indian Vāstu-literature.

As shown on Fig. 18 the sequence of the pillar decoration is as follows.

1. The base mouldings are: plinth with drawn up tips at the eight corners of the octagon; on the *kumbha* faces there are framed niches (*rathikās*), mostly with figures of seated deities; then follow the torus (*kalaśa*), the cavetto (*antarapatra*), above it a small cyma-cornice (*kapotālī*), the *kīrtimukha* frieze, and the pediments (*udgamas*) on each face.
2. The first figural frieze (*jañghā*) consists of eight framed niches, which generally depict Apsarases with either a child on their arms, or carrying a fly-whisk, or dancing, or painting the eyes (height of figures 56 cm, Pls. 78, 79, 80). Very seldom there appear representations of deities, as for example, a two-armed Bhairavī with a drum (*ḍamaru*), a skull bowl (*kapāla*) and a skull club (*khaṭvāṅga*) as attributes and accompanied by a dog (Pl. 81). On another pillar is found the image of Cāmuṇḍā, who carries an axe (*paraśu*) and a decapitated human head (Pl. 82).

⁶⁴ Cf. Pls. 268–287 and chap. VIII.3. for their iconographical descriptions.

⁶⁵ M. A. Dhaky, The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture, in: Studies in Indian Temple Architecture, ed. by P. Chandra, New Delhi 1975, p. 137.

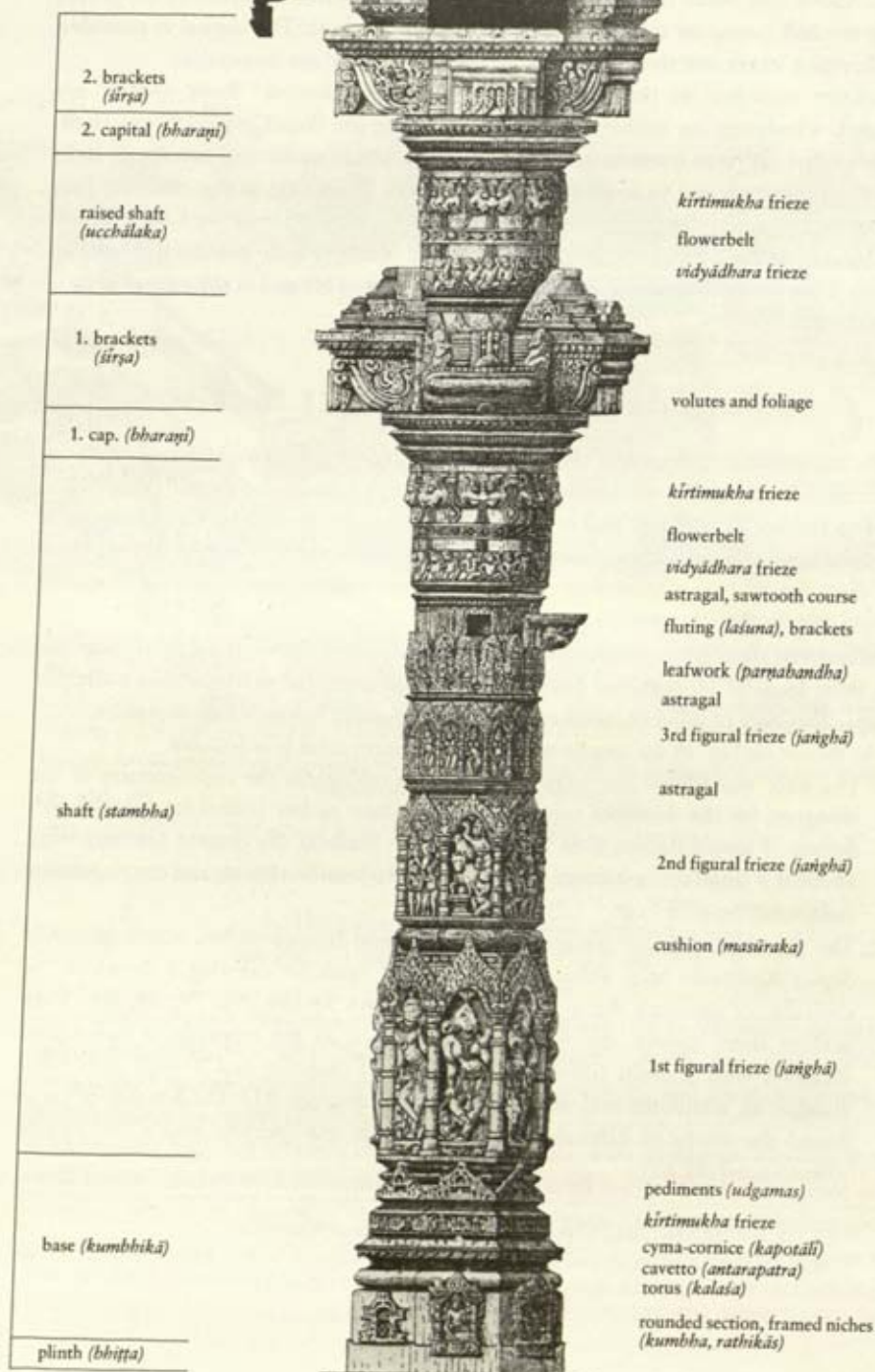


Fig. 18. The pillars inside the dancing hall. – Drawing: J. Burgess, H. Cousens, The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat, New Imp. Ser. Vol. 32, Pl. LIV, detail.

3. Semicircular profiled, octagonal cushion (*masūraka*) with foliate ornaments.
4. Second figural frieze (*jaighā*, height of figures 32 cm). Eight framed niches show, for the most part, narrative scenes, such as hunting, fighting, acrobatic and several other everyday-life and mythological scenes.
5. Sharp-edged astragal, marking the division between the second and the third figural frieze.
6. Third figural frieze (*jaighā*), 16-cornered polygonal. Small framed niches shelter mostly dancers and musicians (height of figures 18 cm).
7. Small, sharp-edged astragal.
8. Circular drum. Band of long vertical leaves (*paṇabandha*, height 20 cm) and a fluted section with snakes in each groove (*laśuna*, 12 cm high). At most of the columns small brackets are attached to this section. They once supported figures. Only very few brackets are preserved, but none of the figures. The pivot holes for the brackets on the *laśuna* section and those for the figures in the stomachs of the atlants are left empty.
9. Sharp-edged astragal and double dentilled sawtooth course below it.
10. The uppermost drum of the shaft has a *vidyādhara* and a *kīrtimukha* frieze, between which a flowerbelt runs.
11. The capital consists of three rings, which have a cyma-shaped, ribbed underside. From the upper one a sawtooth course hangs down.
12. The crosswise arranged brackets are supported by human atlant figures, sometimes provided with animal heads. But on those pillars, which form the inner octagon, these brackets either show volutes and foliate decoration as on the entrance pillars or are shaped as *makara* heads. On these brackets rest the architraves. But the brackets of the pillars of the central octagon, i.e., the pillar pairs 4 (cf. Fig. 13), remain at the front and back sides – as seen from the inner chamber – empty, having only a decorative function. The lateral *makara* brackets support “flying arches” (*vandanamālikās*), which serve as buttresses (Pl. 83). At the cardinal points these arches have a nearly semicircular form, as those of the entrance pillars. They consist of eight ribbed foils, ending in knob-like cusps, and are known as caterpillar type (*ilikā*, Pl. 85). In the spaces between the cardinals the arches are wave-shaped (*āndola*, Pl. 86). The filigree-like decoration on the arches consists of two rows of *vidyādhara* figures in the plough-share position (*lāṅgalaka*) with *kīrtimukhas* between them.
13. The pillars of the octagon are raised above the brackets by about 1.50 m (cf. Fig. 18). The uppermost drum of the shaft with its characteristic decoration and the capital are repeated. A second set of crosswise arranged brackets, decorated with volutes and foliage, support the architraves, which form the frame of the central dome.

5. The architraves (Pls. 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 93)

As in the temple, the architraves here consist of two slabs. They are always decorated in the same manner. The lower one shows filigree-like scrollwork and a *kīrtimukha* in its center. The upper one is provided with a frieze of seated goddesses, carrying lotus flowers in both hands. They are set into framed niches, in-between which pot-bellied male figures are placed. Where the architraves had to be raised by further layers, appear figural friezes. The bottoms of the lower architraves have a lotus blossom with double corolla in their center. Between the architraves of the pillars, supporting the central dome, sculptured panels are inserted. Along with groups of musicians (Pl. 87) and scenes of fighting animals (Pl. 88) also images of gods, such as Gaṇeśa eating *laḍḍus* (Pl. 89) or Bhairava drinking blood from a *kapāla*, are depicted (Pl. 90).

6. The different ceilings of the dancing hall

A. Survey (Figs. 19, 20)

Inside the dancing hall three different types of ceilings are found. The central corbelled dome rises above the inner octagon, on Fig. 19 indicated with A. It starts directly above the architraves on the second set of brackets. Each of the narrow chambers between the four pillar pairs, on Figs. 19 and 20 indicated with B1, B2, and B3, has a

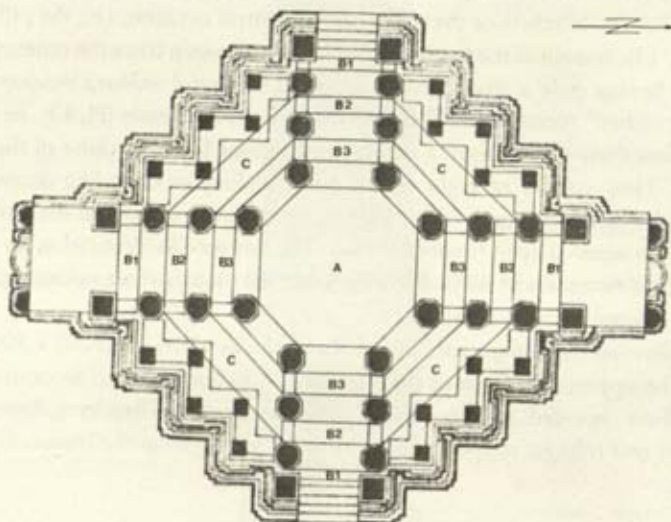


Fig. 19. The different ceilings of the dancing hall. — After: J. Burgess, H. Cousens, *The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat*, New Imp. Ser. Vol. 32, Pl. XLVIII, detail.

slightly corbelled ceiling and each one starts at a different height. B1 starts directly above the architraves. With B2 the architraves are raised by an additional stone slab, decorated with a figural frieze (Pl. 94, hunting scene), and with B3 the architraves are raised by several additional slabs, which are decorated with figural friezes, too, and nearly reach the height of the central dome base (cf. Fig. 20; Pl. 85 center). Of the third type are the diagonal ceilings of the four corners in-between the cardinal points, on Fig. 19 indicated with C. They are flat and start directly above the architraves (Pls. 95, 96).

B. The central corbelled dome A (Pls. 85, 91, 92)

The dome has, for the most part, collapsed. As in the temple only some of the lower ring courses are preserved (diameter approximately 5.00 m). The first layer depicts a figural frieze (*rūpapattikā*), which we do not find at the temple. But the further sequence of decoration is identical with that of the temple dome (cf. chapter II.4.B.):

two rings with cyma-shaped underside, decorated with petals (*kaṇṇadardarikā*);
a frieze of *kīrtimukhas*;

a figural frieze with framed niches containing female deities (*rūpakāṇṭha*); to it brackets are attached, which are supported by six-armed atlants; they carry different weapons in their hands, such as daggers, swords and shields, and some of them are provided with demon faces on their stomachs (*udaramukhas*);

a convex-shaped *kola* course.

C. The ceilings between the pillar pairs B1, B2, B3 (Pl. 93)

These rectangular ceilings belong to the type “*kṣipta vitāna* of the Nābhicchanda order”, as it appears inside the temple (cf. chapters II.4.C. and II.4.D.).

D. The diagonal ceilings C (Pls. 95, 96, 97, 98)

These ceilings are flat (*samatala vitāna*) and coffered. On the sunken panels mythological scenes, mostly from the epics, are depicted in relief.⁶⁶ The bosses on the intersecting points of the coffer frames are shaped as flowers. The spandrels are decorated with *kīrtimukhas*.

⁶⁶ These scenes are very interesting from the iconographical point of view. They are similar to the narrative scenes of the second pillar frieze. They cannot be treated here in detail, because that would go beyond the limits of this work and are, therefore, reserved for a separate publication the same as the narrative scenes of the second pillar frieze.

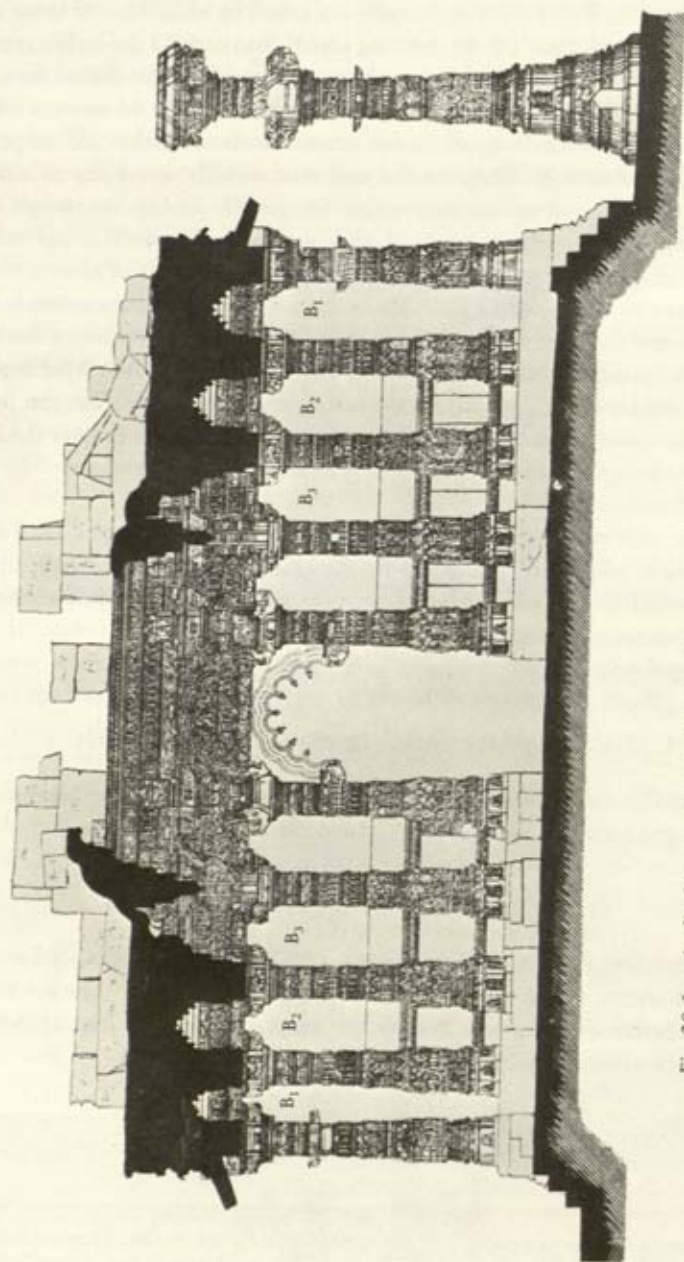


Fig. 20. Longitudinal section of the dancing hall, east-west axis. — Drawing: J. Burgess, H. Cousins, *The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat*, New Imp. Ser. Vol. 32, pl. XLIX, detail.

IV. THE GATEWAYS

1. Survey

At the temple site of Modhera two gateways (*kīrtistambhas*) are found in situ and fragments of a third one lying about. The pillars of the first one (I) stand between the tank and the dancing hall (Pls. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9), the second one (II) is placed on the north-eastern corner of the site near to the slope leading down to the river bed (Pls. 9, 103), and the fragments of the third one (III) now lie near to the north-western corner of the temple, but their original position is no longer determinable (Pl. 104).

The peculiar feature of the gateway-pillars is their type of socle, which corresponds to that at the hall, repeating the same sequence of mouldings and decorative forms.

2. Gateway I (Fig. 14 right; Pls. 8, 99, 100, 101)

Two mighty pillars (height about 5.00 m) formed a gateway between the holy tank (*kuṇḍa*) and the eastern entrance of the dancing hall (*raṅgamaṇḍapa*). They are placed extremely close to the building, presumably due to the shortage of space (Pls. 63, 69).

Base and shaft of both pillars are preserved, but the capitals and the arch between them are now missing. When Burgess visited the site, he had found them apparently in a better state of preservation, because on his drawings the upper parts of the pillars, i.e., the first capital and the brackets, the raised shaft segment, and the second capital with the brackets can be seen (cf. Fig. 14).

The corners of the square plinth (*bhīṭṭa*), the circumference of which is 7.50 m, are broken by fine terracing. All decorative elements of the socle at the hall appear here slightly reduced in size: the cyma (*jāḍyakumbha*) with filigree-like scrollwork, the sharp-edged torus (*karṇikā*), the cavetto (*antarapatra*), the *kīrtimukha* frieze (*grāsapattikā*), the elephant frieze (*gajathara*) and the figural frieze (*narathara*).

The socle is tapering considerably (circumference at the *narathara* 4.50 m), and by the fine terracing of the corners a nearly circular shape is assumed on its upper part.

Jāḍyakumbha, *karṇikā*, and *antarapatra* are interrupted by a plain projection in the form of a *caitya*-arch. One can see it on all the gateway-pillars, but its significance remains uncertain.

The part above the *narathara* corresponds to the base of the pillars at the hall. The terracing is continued and on each of the small steps there appear female figures, who worship the deities on the *kumbha* faces. The following torus, cavetto, cyma-cornice and *kīrtimukha* frieze are same as above described.

The deities on the first figural frieze of the shaft are, due to their bad state of preservation, no longer identifiable. Only Pārvatī (Pl. 100) and Vaiṣṇavī (Pl. 101) can still be made out. Between the crowning pediments of their niches hanging leaves are added. This detail of decoration is only found on the gateway-pillars.

The cushion and the second figural frieze are similar to those of the other pillars. The third figural frieze is very much reduced and hardly recognizable, but further on, the usual decoration is repeated.

3. Gateway II (Pls. 9 right, 102)

The gateway-pillars at the north-eastern corner of the temple site are erected upon a foundation of stone slabs. They are preserved only up to the height of the second figural frieze. Their order is practically identical with that of the gateway-pillars I.

4. Gateway III (Pl. 103)

At the north-western corner of the temple site, one can still find remnants of pillars, which must have belonged to a *kīrtistambha*, as can be seen from their order. The square lower shaft segment together with the extremely reduced third figural frieze are peculiarities, which appear at Modhera only on the pillars of the *kīrtistambhas*.

These pillar remnants are, however, not in their original position, but they belonged to a *kīrtistambha*, which presumably had been erected on the south-eastern corner of the temple site, corresponding thus to that on the north-eastern corner.⁶⁷

V. THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE TANK

1. Survey (Figs. 21, 22; Pls. 4, 104)

The deeply sunk rectangular water-basin, which is fed with ground water, is surrounded by a flight of four terraces. They negotiate the considerable difference in height of approximately 5.00 m between the water-basin (21.40 × 37.70 m) and the normal ground level (uppermost terrace 37.50 × 53.80 m). Small, pyramidal stairways, which are arranged in staggered rows, lead from one terrace to the other. On

⁶⁷ In his article S. Bharucha mentions that the fragments of a third gateway lie on the southern side of the temple site (The Sun Temple at Modhera, *Mārg* Vol. V, No. 1, 1951, p. 53). Possibly he speaks of those pillar remnants, which, later on, were moved to the north-western corner. Also A.K. Forbes in his account on the Modhera Temple speaks of three gateways, i.e., one on each side and one in front of the temple (Rās-Mālā, *Hindu Annals of Western India*, London 1878, p. 195).

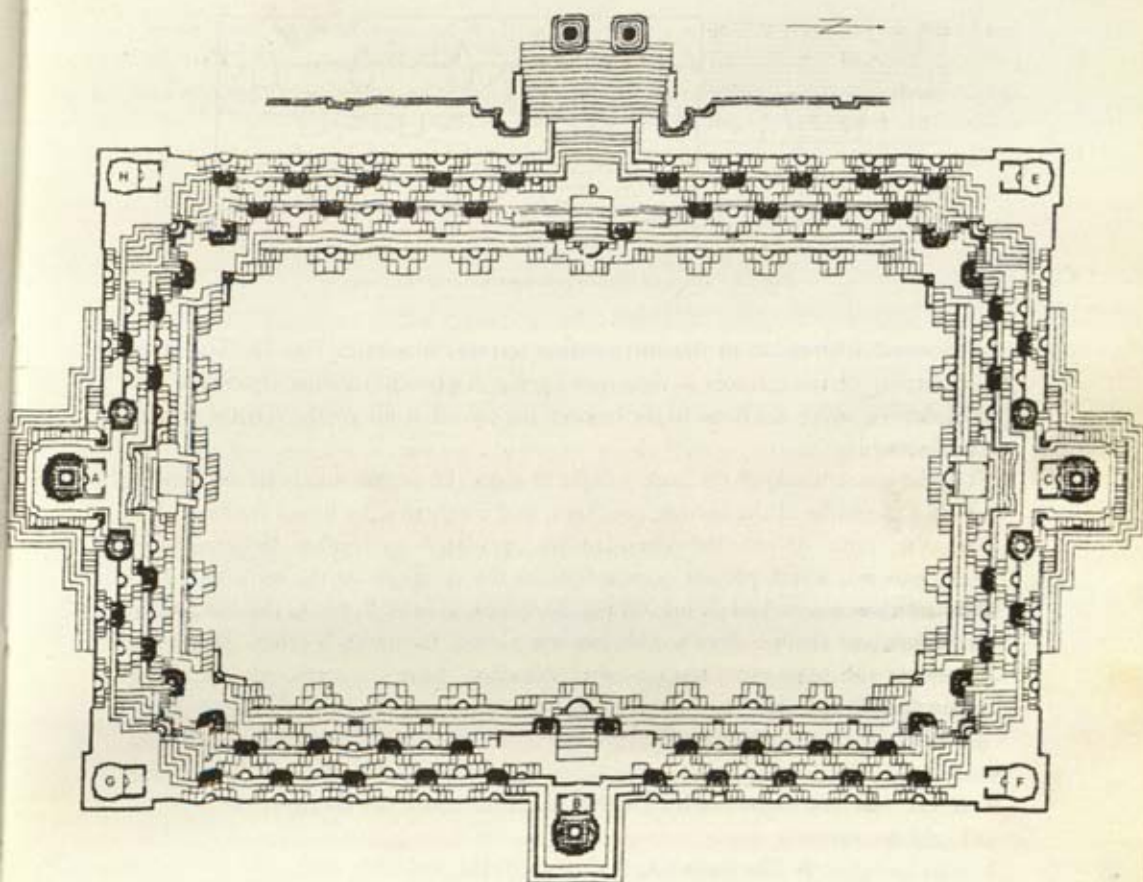


Fig. 21. Plan of the tank. — Drawing: J. Burgess, H. Cousens, *The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat*, New Imp. Ser. Vol. 32, Pl. XLVIII, detail.

the small landings of each of these stairways there is a very low semicircular step (*ardhachandra*).

Between the stairways of both the middle terraces (on Fig. 22 indicated as 2 and 3) miniature shrines with bell roofs are attached to the terrace walls, which contain the reliefs of various deities.⁶⁸ Framed niches with images are found also on the faces of the stairways of the second terrace. Due to climatic influences many of the figures have become unrecognizable and a good part of them has been removed.

⁶⁸ Cf. Pls. 288–299 and chap. IX.2. for their iconographical descriptions.

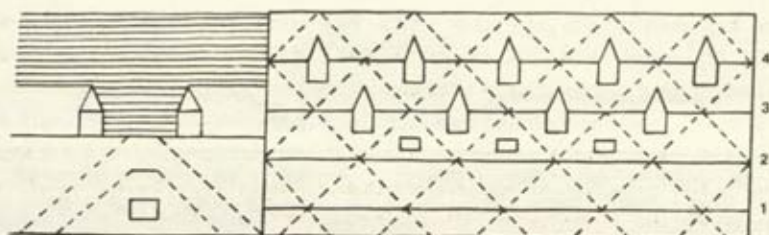


Fig. 22. Pattern of the terraces surrounding the tank.

The visual impression of the surrounding terraces illustrates Fig. 22. The strict horizontality of the terraces is dissolved by the diagonally running stairways. The small shrines, which are fixed to the front of the terrace walls are the vertical element of this pattern.

On the western side of the tank a flight of steps (D) permit access to the dancing hall. In the middle of the eastern, southern, and northern sides broad stairways lead from the tank up to the deep niches, gradated as *rathas* (approximately 4.00×6.80 m), which project outwards from the rectangle of the terraces.⁶⁹ Each niche contains a detached shrine (on Fig. 21 indicated as A, B, C). At the entrances to the niches two smaller detached shrines are placed, facing each other. At the four corners of the uppermost terrace other detached shrines are erected (on Fig. 21 indicated as E, F, G, H).

2. The niches of the eastern, southern, and northern sides

A. The shrines A, B, C (Fig. 21; Pls. 106, 107, 108)

Of the three shrines those of the southern and northern niches are almost intact, while that of the eastern niche is preserved only in fragments. The shrines are all facing the tank. They consist of a square cella (*garbhagṛha*) and a tower (*śikhara*). The cult-images inside the cella are still preserved.⁷⁰ The corners of the square socle (2.00×2.00 m as measured at the plinth) are triply terraced, whereby the central projecting corner (*karna*) is always more pronounced than both of the lateral ones (*pratirathas*), that is to say, the shrines are *tri-aṅga* in plan like the temple proper.

The corners of the low, rectangular platform at the front sides and the semicircular entrance steps (*ardhacandra*) form a part of this terracing.

⁶⁹ In contrast to the ground plan published by Burgess and Cousens the eastern niche walls are also gradated as *ratha*.

⁷⁰ Cf. Pls. 300, 315, 329 and chaps. IX.3.A., IX.4.A., IX.5.A. for their iconographical descriptions.

A vertical break up of the walls is given here, as on the temple, by means of the terracing, and a horizontal one by the sequence of the decorative elements, which repeat those of the temple wall in a simplified form.

The cyma of the socle (*jādyakumbha*) is decorated here, too, with plain lotus petals. It is followed by the torus moulding (*kumuda*), the cavetto (*antarapatra*), and the *kīrtimukha* frieze (*grāsapattikā*), which terminates the tapering socle. In comparison with the temple the elephant frieze and the figural frieze are missing.

The wall (*maṇḍovara*) consists here, too, of podium (*vedibandha*) and figural frieze (*jaighā*, height of figures 48 cm). The sculptures of the *jaighā* are set into framed niches.⁷¹ A ribbed awning (*khuracchādyā*) is inserted between the shrine wall and the tower (*śikhara*).

The concave body of the tower repeats the terracing of the walls. It is covered with a fine network of the *caitya*-arch-motif inlaid with blossoms and cogged bulges. On its lower part, in the middle of each side – except the front one, where a window is inserted – a block of triply gradated panels is attached. They show the images of various deities and their attendants. On each of the four corners a miniature *śikhara* is added. On top of the tower the cogged wheel stone (*āmalaka*) is placed, but the crowning member, the *kalaśa*, is missing (Pls. 106, 110).

The decoration of the doorframe is similar to that of the temple doorway. The lower parts of the jambs are occupied by the framed niches of the door-guardians (*dvārapālas*) together with their attendants, and the upper ones consist of three vertically running beams. The narrow inner beam is ornamented with undulating creepers and the likewise narrow outer one with lotus petals. Both encompass the doorway. On the broad central beam which has the character of a pilaster, there are three superimposed framed niches, gradated as *rathas* and bearing the representations of various deities on the *bhadra* fields and of Apsarases on the *pratiratha* fields. The identity of the deities is, for the most part, not determinable, due to their bad state of preservation. This central beam is crowned with a capital decorated with hanging leaves similar to the pilasters of the temple (cf. Fig. 11b). To the center of the first lintel beam, which repeats, as mentioned, the creepers of the inner jambs, is attached the outwards projecting relief of *vidyādhara*s, carrying a vessel or a fruit. Then follows a narrow course in the manner of a *kīrtimukha* frieze. But instead of horned lion heads human faces are framed with garlands. The central part of the lintel bears a figural frieze, which shows various deities in five framed niches, such as the gods Śiva, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu (Pl. 107 left, center, right).

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⁷¹ Cf. Pls. 301–307; 316–324; 330–338 and chaps. IX.3.B., IX.4.B., IX.5.B. for their iconographical descriptions.



B. The small shrines to the sides of the niches (Fig. 21; Pls. 106, 109)

The entrances of the niches are flanked by two small detached shrines, provided with *śikharas* and facing each other.⁷² Of the cult-images inside only very few fragments are preserved.

C. The reliefs on the niche walls (Pl. 106)

To the front corners of the niches two reliefs of deities, arranged crosswise, are attached, and in the middle of the lateral and rear niche walls again one image each is found.⁷³

3. The corner shrines E, F, G, H (Fig. 21; Pls. 110, 111)

At the four corners of the upper terrace small detached shrines are erected. Those of the south-eastern and north-western corners, indicated as G and E on Fig. 21, are totally destroyed, but those of the south-western and north-eastern corners, indicated as H and F on Fig. 21, are still in a quite good state of preservation, although the cult image inside is missing in both cases. The south-western shrine faces towards the north and the north-eastern shrine towards the west.⁷⁴

Ground plan and elevation are, in principle, similar to the niche shrines, i.e., they consist of a square cella and a tower, but they show peculiarities, which are otherwise not found at Modhera. The socle and the podium of the shrine walls are as described before. On the *jañghā* section there appears a different and in style earlier arrangement of the figures. The pilaster-like projections and the recessed parts bear individual figures, each one at a slightly different height instead of a continuous running frieze. Only those of the *bhadra* sections in the middle of each wall are set into framed niches, those of the *pratiratha* and *karma* sections and those of the recessed parts are supported by *vidyāadhara* brackets.⁷⁵ Above the figures a *kīrtimukha* frieze is running around, as usual. The uppermost section of the wall is decorated with eave-cornice and cavetto, repeated twice. In contrast to the niche shrines no awning is found here. The curvilinear tower starts directly above the second cavetto. The body of the tower is ornamented like that of the niche shrines, but here neither additional miniature *śikharas* nor panels are attached.

⁷² In contrast to the ground plan published by Burgess and Cousens detached shrines are placed also in front of the eastern niche.

⁷³ Cf. Pls. 308–314; 325–328; 339–343 and chaps. IX.3.C., IX.4.C., IX.5.C. for their iconographical descriptions.

⁷⁴ On the ground plan published by Burgess and Cousens this shrine is erroneously facing south (cf. Fig. 1 of this work).

⁷⁵ Cf. Pls. 344–349 and chap. IX.6. for their iconographical descriptions.

The doorway is encompassed by three decorated beams. Both the inner and the outer ones show undulating creepers, and the convex shaped middle one lotus petals. To the lower sections of both, the inner and the middle beam, two figures, a female and a male, are attached, which are canopied by lotus blossoms. In the middle of the lintel the small tutelary image is placed, but the identity of the deity depicted is no longer determinable.

4. The main stairway leading up to the hall (Pls. 3, 4, 105)

On the western side of the tank, at the height of the second terrace, starts the stairway, which leads up to the dancing hall. Lateral balustrades and a small shrine on each side form a narrow passage at its beginning. The first very low step is of semicircular shape (*ardhacandra*). Towards the top the stairway broadens gradually. Its uppermost part negotiates the difference in height between the upper terrace of the tank, i.e., the normal ground level, and the artificially raised ground level of the buildings (cf. chapter I.1. and Pls. 3, 4). Here again lateral balustrades are found, which repeat the order of the *bhadra* parts of the temple, especially the sequence of decoration at the socle. The framed niches on these balustrades shelter the images of various deities.⁷⁶

VI. SUMMARY OF DECORATIVE FORMS ✓

The bewildering diversity of the decorative elements and their relation to the different architectural forms follow a fixed scheme, which will be summarized and analyzed here. From the following table important conclusions, regarding the development of the decorative forms, can be drawn. It gives the most valuable indications for the chronological classification of the different structures of the temple site as shown in chapter XI.

The predominant decorative elements are:

Friezes:

- figural friezes of divine and semidivine images,
- figural friezes depicting narrative scenes,
- elephant frieze,
- kīrtimukha* frieze,
- vidyādhara* frieze;

Floral ornaments:

- undulating creeper,

⁷⁶ Cf. Pls. 350–354 and chap. IX.7. for their iconographical descriptions.

scrollwork,
 lotus petals,
 rhombus-shaped blossoms,
 flower-jewel-belt;
 Framed niches;
Caitya-arch motif;
 Sawtooth course;
 Medallions;
Pūrṇaḥaṭa motif;
 Ribbed and cogged forms.

1. The friezes

Figural friezes of divine and semidivine images

1. On the *jaighā* of the shrine wall: Pls. 7, 12–16, 112–203 for the temple proper. Pls. 106–108, 301–307, 316–324, 330–338 for the niche shrines A, B, C at the tank.
2. On the pillar shaft as first frieze: Pls. 29, 33–35 for the pillars type I inside the temple. Pls. 25–28 for the pillars of the temple porch. Pls. 63–66 for the pillars of the entrance porches of the dancing hall. Pls. 78–86 for the octagonal pillars inside the hall. Pls. 8, 9, 99–103 for the *kīrtistambha* pillars.
3. On the *rūpakaṇṭha* ring course of the central corbelled dome: Pls. 51, 52 for the temple. Pls. 85, 91, 92 for the dancing hall.
4. On the second architrave slab: Pl. 85 for the dancing hall.
5. On the lintel: Pl. 220, Fig. 7c for the temple. Pl. 107 for the niche shrines at the tank.

Figural friezes depicting narrative scenes (religious, erotic, musical, dancing, hunting, fighting)

1. On the socle as the uppermost decorative member: Pls. 12, 17 for the temple. Pls. 63, 64 for the dancing hall. Pl. 99 for the *kīrtistambha* pillars. Pl. 4 for the socle of the upper balustrade of the western stairway at the tank.
2. Below the balustrade: Pls. 14–16, 23, 24 for the temple. Pls. 63, 64, 69 for the dancing hall.
3. On the pillar shaft as second frieze: Pls. 29, 33–35 for the pillars type I in the temple. Pls. 25–28 for the pillars of the temple porch. Pls. 63–66 for the pillars of the entrance porches of the hall. Pls. 78–86 for the octagonal pillars inside the hall. Pls. 8, 9, 99–103 for the *kīrtistambha* pillars.
4. On the pillar shaft as third frieze: Pls. 25–28 for the pillars of the temple porch. Pls. 63–66 for the pillars of the entrance porches of the hall. Pls. 78–86 for the octagonal pillars inside the hall. Pls. 8, 9, 99–103 for the *kīrtistambha* pillars.

5. On the *kakṣāsana*: Pls. 71, 72 for the dancing hall.
6. On the raised architrave: Pl. 85 for the dancing hall.
7. On the lowermost ring course of the central corbelled dome: Pls. 85, 91, 92 for the dancing hall.

Conclusion: The use of figural friezes is extended at the dancing hall. The pillar shafts have a third frieze, the corbelled dome got an additional one, and the second architrave slab changes from floral decoration in the temple to figural friezes in the hall.

The elephant frieze

It appears exclusively on the socle: Pls. 12, 17 for the temple. Pls. 63, 64 for the dancing hall. Pl. 99 for the *kīrtistambha* pillars. Pl. 4 for the upper balustrade of the western stairway at the tank.

The *kīrtimukha* frieze

1. On the socle: Cf. items of the elephant frieze. Pls. 106, 110 for the niche shrines and corner shrines at the tank.
2. On the shrine wall below the eave-cornice: Pl. 12 for the temple proper. Pls. 106, 110, 111 for the niche and corner shrines at the tank.
3. On the pillar base: Pls. 12 right, 29, 30 center, for all the pillars of the temple. Pls. 25–28 for the pillars of the temple porch. Pls. 63–66 for the pillars of the entrance porches of the hall. Pl. 78 for the octagonal pillars inside the hall. Pl. 99 for the *kīrtistambha* pillars.
4. On the pillar shaft below the capitals: Pls. 12 right, 14, 15, 16, 29, 30, 47, 48, 49 for all the pillars and dwarf pillars of the temple without exception. Pls. 63, 64, 73, 74, 78 for all the pillars of the dancing hall without exception. Pl. 99 for the *kīrtistambha* pillars.
5. On a ring course of the central dome: Pls. 51, 52 for the temple. Pls. 85, 91, 92 for the dancing hall.
6. On the doorframe below the figural friezes: Fig. 7c for the temple.

Conclusion: The *kīrtimukha* frieze has mostly a separating function. In general it marks the borders of the different architectural elements. It is placed at the upper borders of the socle and the shrine wall and likewise at the upper borders of the pillar base and shaft, and forms, as in the temple, the lowermost border of the doorframe decoration.

The *vidyādhara* frieze ✓

1. On the uppermost drum of the pillar shaft: Pl. 29 for the pillars type I in the temple. Pls. 25–28 for the pillars of the temple porch. Pls. 63, 78 for the pillars of the entrance porches and in the hall. Pl. 99 for the *kīrtistambha* pillars.

2. On the doorlintel: Fig. 7c for the temple.
3. On the "flying arches": Pls. 65, 83 for the dancing hall.

2. Floral ornaments

The undulating creeper

1. On the lower architrave slab: Pls. 40, 41, 51, 52 for the temple.
2. On the inner beam of the door jamb: Pl. 25 for the temple. Pls. 107, 110 for the niche shrines and corner shrines at the tank.
3. On the lower border of the *kakṣāsana*: Pls. 71, 72 for the dancing hall.

The scrollwork

1. On the lower architrave slab: Pl. 85 for the dancing hall.
2. On the *jāḍyakumbha* of the socle: Pl. 68 for the dancing hall.
3. On the *phalakas* of the balustrade: Pl. 16 for the temple. Pl. 67 for the dancing hall.
4. On the upper border of the *kakṣāsana*: Pls. 71, 72 for the dancing hall.

The lotus petals

1. On the first moulding of the socle (*jāḍyakumbha*): Pls. 12, 17 for the temple. Pls. 106, 110 for the niche shrines and corner shrines at the tank. Pls. 3, 4 for the upper balustrade of the main stairway at the tank.
2. On the undersides of the *kapotālī* courses below and above the *jaṅghā*: Pl. 12 for the temple.
3. On the underside of *mañcikā*: Pl. 12 for the temple.
4. On the underside of the canopy above the main framed niche of each panel: Pl. 12 for the temple.
5. On the doorframe: Pls. 107, 110 for the niche shrines and corner shrines at the tank.
6. On the inner border of the *āsanapaṭṭaka*: Pl. 79 for the dancing hall.

Conclusion: Both the undulating creeper and the simple lotus petals are frequently used at the temple and at the small shrines of the tank, whereas the scrollwork is the characteristic floral ornament of the hall.

The rhombus-shaped blossoms

They appear exclusively in the different cavettoes.

1. Cavetto of the socle: Pl. 12 for the temple.
2. Cavetto below and above the *jaṅghā*: Pl. 12 for the temple. Pls. 106, 110 for the shrines at the tank.

3. Cavetto of the pillar base: Pl. 29 for the temple. Pl. 79 for the dancing hall. Pl. 99 for the *kīrtistambha* pillars.

The flower-jewel belt

It appears exclusively on the pillars of the dancing hall and of the *kīrtistambhas*.

1. On the pillar shaft between *vidyādhara* and *kīrtimukha* frieze: Pl. 78 for the pillars of the dancing hall. Pl. 99 for the *kīrtistambha* pillars.
2. On the pillar shaft between the pediments of the first figural frieze: Pl. 78 for the pillars of the dancing hall.

3. The framed niches

All divine and semidivine images at the temple, the dancing hall and the niche shrines of the tank – only in a few cases at the corner shrines of the tank – are set into framed niches (*rathikās*), consisting of pedestal, framing pillars, ribbed or simple canopy, and pediment. In this form they appear:

1. On the outer shrine wall: Pls. 12–16 for the temple. Pls. 109, 312, 313 for the niche shrines at the tank. Pls. 307, 344–349 for the *bhadra* sections of the corner shrines at the tank.
2. On the balustrades: Pls. 12–16 for the temple. Pl. 67 for the dancing hall. Pl. 4 for the western stairway of the tank.
3. On the doorframe: Fig. 7c for the temple. Pl. 107 for the niche shrines at the tank.
4. On the inner walls: Pls. 29, 30 for the temple.
5. On the niche walls: Pls. 109, 312, 313 for the tank.

A simplified form of the framed niches, not provided with a canopy but only with a pediment in the form of a *caitya*-arch, appears:

1. On all the figural friezes of the pillars: Pl. 29 for the temple. Pls. 65, 78 for the dancing hall. Pl. 99 for the *kīrtistambhas*.
2. On the upper architrave slabs: Pl. 90 for the dancing hall.
3. On a ring course of the corbelled dome (*rūpakāṇṭha*): Pls. 51, 52 for the temple. Pls. 85, 91 for the dancing hall.

4. The *caitya*-arch motif

The *caitya*-arch is the basic unit of the filigree-network decoration of the pediments and towers (cf. Fig. 6 and Pls. 106, 110, 111). Apart from this it occurs as individual motif invariably on the upper edges of projecting mouldings:

1. On the *kapotikā* below the *kīrtimukha* frieze and the elephant frieze of the socle: Pl. 12 for the temple. Pl. 67 for the dancing hall.

2. On the *kapotālī* below and above the *janghā*: Pl. 12 for the temple. Pls. 106, 110 for the niche shrines and corner shrines at the tank.
3. On the *mañcikā*: Pl. 12 for the temple.
4. Below and above the *rājasenaka* frieze: Pl. 14 for the temple. Pl. 67 for the dancing hall.
5. On the base and the capital of the pillars: Pls. 29, 30 for the temple. Pl. 79 for the dancing hall.

5. The sawtooth course

The sawtooth course hangs down from projecting mouldings and ring layers.

1. From the *kapotikā* and *narathara* of the socle: Pl. 67 for the dancing hall.
2. From the *rājasenaka* and *āsanapaṭṭaka* of the balustrade: Pl. 67 for the dancing hall.
3. From the *kapotālī* below and above the *janghā* and from the *mañcikā*: Pl. 12 for the temple.
4. From the *kapotālī* of the pillar base: Pls. 63, 78 for the hall.
5. Above the *masūraka* of pillars type I: Pl. 29 for the temple.
6. Above the *laśuna*: Pls. 63, 64 for the hall.
7. Between shaft and capital of all the pillars: Pls. 14, 29, 39, 47–49 for the temple. Pls. 63, 64, 73, 74, 78 for the dancing hall.
8. From the upper edge of the capital: Pls. 63, 64, 73, 74, 78 for the dancing hall.
9. From the brackets: Pls. 63, 64, 73, 74, 78 for the dancing hall.
10. From the second architrave slab: Pl. 85 for the dancing hall.
11. From the ring courses of the dome: Pls. 52, 55 for the temple. Pl. 85 for the dancing hall.
12. From the layers of the roof: Pls. 63–65 for the dancing hall.

Conclusion: The frequent use of the sawtooth course is typical for the dancing hall. On the socle, on the balustrade, and on the pillars it appears more often at the hall than at the temple. At the shrines of the tank it is not found.

6. The medallions

Full medallions

1. On the pillars type II, 1: Fig. 10 for the temple.
2. On the pilasters: Fig. 11 b for the temple.

Half medallions

On all the dwarf *pūrṇaghāṭa* pillars: Pl. 14, Fig. 11 a for the temple. Pl. 79 center, Fig. 16 for the dancing hall.

7. The *pūrṇaghaṭa* motif

The *pūrṇaghaṭa* motif appears as the medallions exclusively on pillars and pilasters, including the *phalakas* of the balustrades. For the figures and plates see the items of the medallions.

8. The ribbed and cogged forms

1. On all the capitals of every type of pillars and dwarf pillars as a combination of a smaller cogged disc and a larger disc with cyma-shaped, ribbed bottom: Pls. 29, 30, 38, 49 for the temple. Pls. 73, 78 for the dancing hall.
2. On the uppersides of prominent canopies, such as the *daṇḍacchāḍya* above the main niche of each panel and the *khuracchāḍya* at the eaves: Pl. 12 for the temple. Pls. 63, 64 for the dancing hall. Pls. 108, 109 for the niche shrines at the tank.
3. On the *kola* course of the corbelled dome: Pls. 51–56 for the temple. Pls. 85, 91, 93 for the dancing hall.
4. On the tower as ribbed bulges and cogged wheelstones: Pls. 108–111 for the shrines at the tank.

VII. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE TEMPLE SCULPTURES ✓

1. Survey

Sculptures of noteworthy iconography are found at the temple primarily on the panels of the large figural frieze (*janīghā*), on the window balustrades (*vedikā*), on the entrance doorframe, on the cella doorframe, and, finally, here and there on the inner walls.

2. The panels of the large figural frieze (Figs. 23, 24; Pls. 12–14)

The almost life-sized main figures in the central niches of the panels, on Fig. 23 indicated as No. 1, belong to the three groups of deities: the Ādityas, the Lokapālas, and the Devīs.

The twelve Ādityas are arranged around the western part of the building, i.e., around the cella, on Fig. 24 indicated as A1–A12.

To the group of the Lokapālas belong ten figures. They are placed on the main corners (*karnaś*) of the temple and in the deep niches of the northern and southern walls, on Fig. 24 indicated as L.

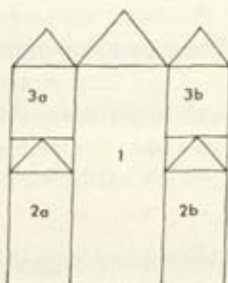


Fig. 23. Panel with main and subsidiary reliefs.

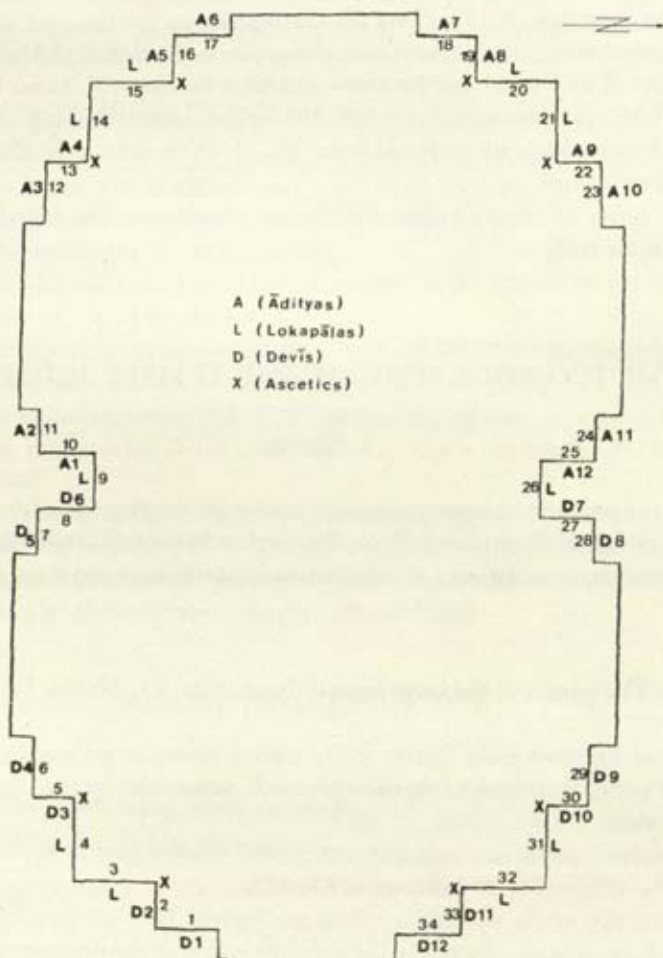


Fig. 24. Sequence of panels on the temple.

The twelve Devis⁷⁷ are grouped around the eastern part of the temple, i.e., around the assembling hall, on Fig. 24 indicated as D1–D12.

The lower lateral niches of the panels, on Fig. 23 indicated as Nos. 2a and 2b, represent, in general, Apsarases carrying a child, a fly-whisk, a flower or a mirror, sometimes in a dancing pose, sometimes as "Girl with a Thorn". In a few cases and only on the panels, which have an Āditya as main figure, there appear, instead of the Apsarases, five times the figures of ascetics and one time a leogryph. On the panels of the Lokapālas and the Devis there appear, in one case each, the image of a Bhairavī instead of an Apsaras. In the recesses of the four main corners (*karṇas*), which are more strongly pronounced than the lateral ones (*pratirathas*) and which have, therefore, a broader wall surface, are placed, in addition to the panels, other images of ascetics, on Fig. 24 marked as X.

The upper lateral niches of the panels, on Fig. 23 indicated as 3a and 3b, represent with only a few exceptions images of various deities, which are very interesting from the iconographical point of view. They belong to the Śivaite, Viṣṇuite and Brāhmaṇical iconography, whereby the different Śivaite images are clearly in the majority.

A compilation of the three groups of main deities together with their respective subsidiary reliefs is given on the following lists.

	relief 2 a	relief 2 b	relief 3 a	relief 3 b	Pl.
<i>The Ādityas</i>					
1	Apsaras	ascetic	Vaiṣṇavī	Sarasvatī	112
2	Apsaras	Apsaras	Nirṛti	Indrāṇī	113
3	Apsaras	Apsaras	Īśānī	fem. Deity	114
4	leogryph	Apsaras	Kubera	Brahmāṇī	115
5	Apsaras	ascetic	fem. Deity	Śivaite Deity	116
6	Apsaras	Apsaras	male Deity	Indrāṇī	117
7	Apsaras	Apsaras	Īśānī	Varāha	118
8	ascetic	Apsaras	Śiva	Durgā	119
9	Apsaras	ascetic	Deity	Gaṇeśa	121
10	Apsaras	Apsaras	Kubera	male Deity	122
11	Apsaras	Apsaras	Kubera	Īśānī	123
12	ascetic	Apsaras	Ghaṇṭākarnī	Gaṇeśa	124

⁷⁷ The schematical sequence of the sculptures on the temple walls (cf. Fig. 24) indicates clearly that originally there must have been twelve panels of the Devis. Nowadays one panel is completely destroyed (No. D5 on Fig. 24) and another one only partly preserved (No. D12 on Fig. 24). Cf. Pls. 143–155 and chaps. VII.3.C.a., VII.3.C.b. for their iconographical descriptions.

	relief 2 a	relief 2 b	relief 3 a	relief 3 b	Pt.
<i>The Lokapālas</i>					
✓ Indra	Apsaras	Apsaras	Sāvitṛī	Viṣṇu	126
Indra	Apsaras	Bhairavi	Deity	Śivaite Deity	127
Agni	Apsaras	Apsaras	Brahmā	Śiva Andhakāsuravadha	128
Yama	Apsaras	Apsaras	Vaiṣṇavi	Maheśvari	129
Nirṛti	Apsaras	Apsaras	Brahmā	Śivaite Deity	131
Varuṇa	Apsaras	Apsaras	Śivaite Deity	male Deity	132
Vāyu	Apsaras	Apsaras	Īśānī	Śivaite Deity	134
Kubera	Apsaras	Apsaras	Mithuna	Vaiṣṇavi	135
Īśāna	Apsaras	Apsaras	Śivaite Deity	Ardhanārīśvara	137
Deity	Apsaras	Apsaras	fem. Deity	Śivaite Deity	138
<i>The Devīs</i>					
✓ 1	Apsaras	Apsaras	Brahmā	Vaiṣṇavi	143
2	Apsaras	Apsaras	Gaṇeśa	Ardhanārīśvara	144
3	Apsaras	Apsaras	Cāmuṇḍā	Mithuna	145
4	Apsaras	Apsaras	Īśāna	Gaṇeśa + Śakti	146
5	Whole panel destroyed				
6	Apsaras	—	Śiva	—	147
7	Apsaras	Apsaras	Deity	Mahākālī	148
8	Apsaras	Apsaras	Śiva	Īśāna	149
9	Apsaras	Apsaras	Śiva	Bhairava	150
10	Apsaras	Apsaras	fem. Deity	Śiva Andhakāsuravadha	153
11	Apsaras	Apsaras	Śiva	Deity + Śakti	154
12	Apsaras	Bhairavi	Īśānī	male Deity	155

The table shows that a relationship between the different reliefs with regard to contents seems to exist in only a few cases, as presumably with the Ādityas and the ascetics (cf. chap. VII.4.C.a.).

The arrangement of the majority of the reliefs is apparently accidental.

The panels give, in general, the impression of being preserved in their original condition, so that a later substitution and a rearrangement of individual reliefs can be excluded for the most part. Only on two panels, i.e., that of Āditya 1 and Āditya 5 (Pls. 112, 115), is clearly recognizable that one of the lower subsidiary reliefs had been repaired. Thus the leogryph (Pl. 115) does not fit in its size and with regard to contents to the normal scheme and seems to be a later substitution (cf. chap. VII.4.C.a.).

Although a relationship between the different reliefs hardly exists, a certain numerical order is determinable. It is to be noted that the upper subsidiary reliefs of the Lokapālas display primarily female deities (14 females to 6 males), while those of the

Devīs show nearly the reverse (16 males to 5 females). Approximately the same number of female as of male deities occurs in the subsidiary niches of the Ādityas. This, too, might be accidental, but should be mentioned anyway.

At the end of the iconographical part, lists are appended (Figs. 50, 51, 52), which show the sequence of the complete panels, each one with its set of deities, starting from the left of the entrance and running clockwise around the temple. The numbers given correspond to those indicated on Fig. 24 inside the line.

3. The reliefs of the Ādityas, Lokapālas and Devīs ✓

A. The Ādityas (Figs. 25–33; Pls. 112–125)

a. Their arrangement and general description

Around the western part of the temple, which houses the cella, the reliefs of twelve Sun-gods are placed. Their sequence is only interrupted by the images of the Lokapālas on the main corners (*karṇas*) of the building. The number twelve leads to the conclusion that they are not to be taken for images of Sūrya, repeated twelve times, but for the representation of the whole group of Ādityas.

Except for only a few unimportant differences, these figures are identical with one another and their iconography corresponds exactly to that of Sūrya.⁷⁸

They stand in an upright position (*samabhāṅga*) upon a pedestal of seven prancing horses. Between the boot-tips of the deities the charioteer Aruna is found. He is visible only down to the hips, holding the reins in one hand and raising the other hand above his head.

(The Ādityas always have two arms, but they are, usually, broken away up to the elbows. Their attributes, the full-blown lotus blossoms, are preserved on nearly all of the figures. In general, they are placed at shoulder level, but in one case at face level (Pl. 121).

The Ādityas carry a cylindrical, flat-topped crown (*kirīṭamukuṭa*) adorned with a diadem and a knob-like crest. The hair-line consists of one or several rows of curls (Pls. 115, 117, 118, 119/120, 121, 122, 123, 124). Their neck clearly shows three lines (*trivālī*). They wear round earrings (*kuṇḍalas*) and a broad necklace (*hāra*) of beads and rhombus-shaped jewels. Those, who are not clad in a cuirass are adorned with additional long bead-strings (Pls. 113, 117) and some have the Śrīvatsa mark on their chest (Pls. 112, 113, 117, 124). All wear the three-threaded Brāhmaṇical cord (*yajñopavīta*) in the prescribed form, i.e., hanging down from the left shoulder to the

⁷⁸ The Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa prescribes that the Ādityas should be depicted like Sūrya: "ādityāḥ sūryarūpeṇa ceti dvādaśa yādava / ..." (III Khaṇḍa, Adh. 72, Śl. 7, edition of P. Shah, Baroda 1958, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXXX).

right hip. The Ādityas are clad in high boots, dhotī, broad belt (*avyaniga*) and upper dress (*uttariya vastra*) in the form of a long, folded shawl hanging down from the elbows to the knees like a *vanamālā*. Several Ādityas wear a cuirass (*kavaca*, Pls. 119/120, 123/125, 124), and, in a few cases, they have a folded scarf around the shoulders, knotted on the chest (Pls. 119/120, 121, 123/125).

The Ādityas are accompanied by Piṅgala and Daṇḍa, who squat to the right and to the left of the god. Piṅgala is generally shown pot-bellied and carrying a stylus, while Daṇḍa holds a staff. Behind them stand the Aśvins, the horse-headed sons of the Sun-god (Pls. 112, 115, 119/120, 122, 123/125, 124). They have sometimes small round vessels in their hands. In the cases where the Ādityas are not accompanied by the Aśvins, two female figures are shown in dancing position (Pls. 113, 116, 117, 118). Possibly they represent the wives of the Sun-god, Rājñī and Nikṣubhā. In one case the Aśvins are replaced by ascetics, who, again, might be connected with the family of Sūrya, since Manu Bhaviṣya, also one of his sons, is supposed to be shown as an ascetic (cf. chap. VII.4.C.a.).

To the left and to the right of the crowns of the deities garland-bearers (*vidyā-dharas*) are depicted, who float in the air or stand upon lotus blossoms facing each other.

A halo, very common in medieval sculptures, is rarely found at Modhera.

On the different shaft-sections of the framing relief pillars small human figures, such as dancers, musicians or adorants are depicted. Sometimes there appear on the upper shaft-sections female figures, who seem to carry bows (Pls. 119/120, 122, 123/125, 124). Possibly they represent the goddesses of dawn and dusk, Ūṣā and Pratyūṣā, who also belong to the attendants of the Sun-god.

b. The individual descriptions of the Ādityas

Āditya 1 (Pl. 112)

Crown and face of the deity are corroded. The chest is adorned with a Śrīvatsa mark. The charioteer Aruṇa with raised arm is placed between the boot-tips of the deity. Daṇḍa is hardly preserved and the head of Piṅgala is damaged. He sits with a stylus and a small vessel in his hands to the left of the god, in contrast to all the other reliefs, where he sits on the right side. Behind Daṇḍa and Piṅgala stand the Aśvins. The one to the right of the god has one hand raised in *abhaya mudrā* and the other carries a small vessel. Male garland-bearers are depicted in floating position. On the upper shaft-sections of the framing pillars are dancers and on the middle sections musicians.

Āditya 2 (Pl. 113)

In addition to the usual necklace the god wears long bead-strings. On his chest there is the Śrīvatsa mark. The belt consists of two thick bulges. Aruṇa's head and arms are broken away. The pot-bellied, bearded Piṅgala sits on the right, Daṇḍa on the left of

the deity. Behind each one stands a female figure who looks up to the god. Each has one hand placed on her hip and the other raised above the head. Female *vidyādhara*s are shown in floating position. Dancing female figures appear on the upper shaft-sections of the framing pillars.

✓ Āditya 3 (Pl. 114)

Crown, head and body of the deity are corroded. Aruṇa is not preserved. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, whose faces are broken away, sit in *ardhaparyāṅka* position. Behind each one stands a bearded ascetic. Male *vidyādhara*s upon lotus blossoms are facing each other. The framing pillars show male figures on their middle shaft-sections.

✓ Āditya 4 (Figs. 25, 26; Pl. 115)

The crown is provided with a richly decorated diadem with a *kīrtimukha* and *makara* heads (Fig. 25). The god wears a scaled cuirass with beaded borders (Fig. 26). On his chest is the Śrīvatsa. Aruṇa is completely destroyed. Behind Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, whose heads are broken away, stand the Aśvins. The one to the right of the god carries a small vessel in his left hand. Male garland-bearers are shown in floating position. On the upper and middle shaft-sections of the framing pillars are small human figures.

✓ Āditya 5 (Fig. 27; Pl. 116)

The crown of the Āditya is provided with a diadem richly decorated with *kīrtimukha*s and garlands (Fig. 27). The body is badly damaged. A band of beads is layed around



Fig. 25. Crown of Āditya 4.

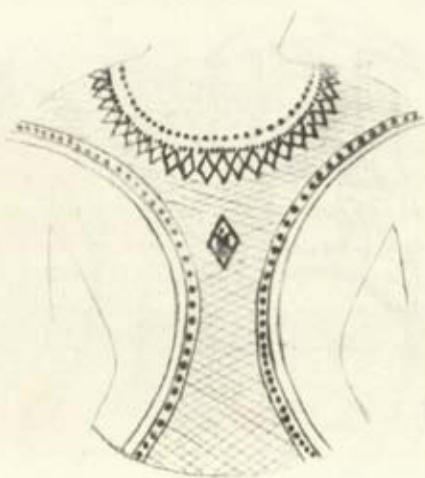


Fig. 26. Cuirass of Āditya 4.

his upper arm. Aruṇa is almost completely destroyed. Behind Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, whose heads are partially damaged, stands each a female figure in dancing position. The *vidyādhara*s stand upon lotus blossoms facing each other. Human figures are found on the upper shaft-sections of the framing pillars. It seems that the Aśvins are shown on the middle ones, since the right figures has the head of a horse.

✓ Āditya 6 (Fig. 28; Pl. 117)

The god wears long bead-strings in addition to the necklace. The Śrīvatsa adorns the chest (Fig. 28). The upper arm ornaments consist of two rows of beads. Four cords form the belt. Head and arms of Aruṇa are broken away. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala sit in *ardhaparyāṅka* position. Behind each one stands a female figure in dancing position looking up to the deity. Male *vidyādhara*s upon lotus blossoms are shown frontally. Male figures are found on the middle shaft-sections of the framing pillars.

✓ Āditya 7 (Pl. 118)

The diadem is decorated with a *kīrtimukha*. It is not clearly ascertainable if the Āditya wears a cuirass. The belt consists of two thick bulges. Aruṇa is totally demolished. Behind Daṇḍa, whose head is broken away, and behind Piṅgala stand each a corroded, possibly female figure. The *vidyādhara*s are presented in floating position. Worshippers are depicted in the middle shaft-sections of the framing pillars. In two cases they have their hands raised in *añjalimudrā*.



Fig. 27. Crown of Āditya 5.

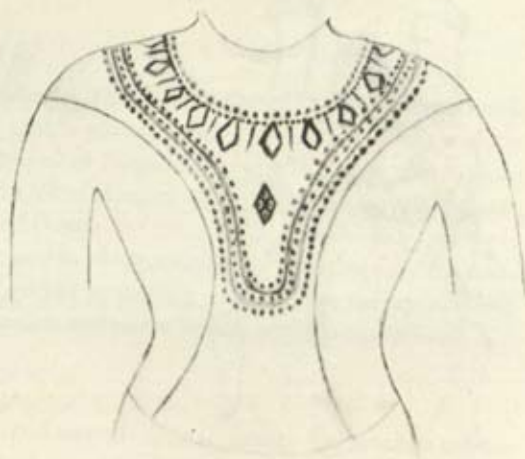


Fig. 28. Chest of Āditya 6.

✓ Āditya 8 (Figs. 29, 30; Pls. 119/120)

The diadem has anthropomorphic ornaments between garlands of beads (Fig. 29). The god is clad in a scaled cuirass with beaded borders and lozenge-formed jewels in the middle part (Fig. 30). The shawl wrapped around the shoulders is knotted on the chest. The upper arm jewellery shows the same anthropomorphic ornament as it appears on the crown. The broad belt consists of several bands and bead-strings and is closed with a *kīrtimukha*-buckle. Of the attendant figures Aruṇa is almost totally demolished, and the heads of Daṇḍa and Piṅgala are broken away. They sit with crossed legs. Daṇḍa holds, as usual, a staff in his left hand, but Piṅgala a rather uncommon branch-like attribute. Behind these two stand the Aśvins, each with a *karaṇḍamukuta* upon the horse-head. Male garland-bearers are presented in floating position. The goddesses Ūṣā and Pratyūṣā with their bows are shown in the upper segments of the framing relief pillars. In the middle segments appear *kīrtimukhas* with garlands and beneath each one a female figure in *yogāsana*.

✓ Āditya 9 (Fig. 31; Pl. 121)

This figure forms an exception within the group of the Ādityas. Its design deviates in several points from the norm. Thus its necklace consists of only a single string of beads (*ekāvalī*). The upper garment in the form of a shawl is not found here, but rather a *vanamālā*, which is laid around the shoulders and falls right down to the knees. The attributes, full-blown lotus flowers one at each side, are held here, exceptionally, at face level. This is a peculiarity, which is seldom found in northern India,



Fig. 29. Crown of Āditya 8.



Fig. 30. Cuirass of Āditya 8.

but is quite common in the south.⁷⁹ The lower left arm, the hand and the attribute are preserved (Fig. 31). The deity is clad as usual, but the representation of the attendant figures deviates from the general scheme. Here Daṇḍa and Piṅgala do not sit next to the feet of the god, but rather stand by his side, the bearded, pot-bellied Piṅgala to his proper left and Daṇḍa to his proper right. Both wear a *karaṇḍamukuṭa* and are, like the Āditya, clad in a cuirass (on Pl. 121 only unclearly visible). Between them and the deity squat small, pot-bellied figures. Aruṇa is almost totally demolished, similarly the *vidyādhara*s and the small figures on the middle sections of the framing pillars.

✓ Āditya 10 (Fig. 32; Pl. 122)

The artistically worked out diadem has a *kirtimukha* on its front (Fig. 32). The chest is adorned with several bead-strings as the upper arms. Of Aruṇa only fragments are preserved. Behind Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, whose heads are partially destroyed, stand the Āśvins. The one to the left of the deity holds a small vessel in his hand. The garland-bearers are shown in floating position. On the middle, exceptionally not on the upper sections of the framing relief pillars, appear the goddesses Ūṣā and Pratyūṣā with their bows and below them dancing figures.

✓ Āditya 11 (Fig. 33; Pls. 123/125)

The crown of the god is shaped like that of Āditya 10 (Fig. 32). A shawl is wrapped



Fig. 31.
Attribute of Āditya 9.



Fig. 32.
Crown of Āditya 10.



Fig. 33. Cuirass of Āditya 11.

⁷⁹ Cf. T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi 1968, 2nd. ed. (1st ed. Madras 1914), Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 313 ff. Rao mentions that in southern India Sūrya has his hands in shoulder height and carries the lotus blossoms at face level, while in northern India Sūrya has his hands in hip height and the lotus blossoms at shoulder level. But Modhera shows exceptions to this rule. Compare in this respect also U. P. Shah, *Some Sūrya Images from Saurashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan*, Bulletin Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda, Vol. XIX, 1965–66, pp. 37–53, Figs. 8, 11, 27: Sūrya with his hands at shoulder height and the blossoms at face level.

around his shoulders and knotted on the chest. He wears a scaled cuirass with lozenge-shaped blossoms in the middle and beaded borders (Fig. 33). The upper arm is adorned with a row of beads. The belt is closed with a *kīrtimukha*-buckle. Aruṇa is badly preserved. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala with staff and vessel have their heads destroyed. Behind them stand the Aśvins, each with a small vessel in one hand. The *vidyādhara*s are shown in floating position. On the upper sections of the framing pillars appear Ūṣā and Pratyūṣā with their bows, beneath them are *kīrtimukha*s and still further below a dancer and a musician.

✓ Āditya 12 (Pl. 124)

The diadem has a *kīrtimukha* on the front. On both sides of it stand lions with garlands of beads falling out of their jaws. The cuirass of the deity has lozenge-shaped flowers in the middle and on the borders. The chest is, additionally, adorned with a Śrīvatsa in the form of a rhombic blossom. Aruṇa, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala are preserved in fragments only. It is not clear if the standing figures represent the Aśvins. The *vidyādhara*s are shown in floating position. The goddesses Ūṣā and Pratyūṣā stand with their bows on the upper sections of the framing relief pillars.

✓ c. Remarks on the Ādityas⁸⁰

The group of the Ādityas is known since very early times, but their number is not yet determined. Ṛgveda II, 27,1 speaks of six deities as being the Ādityas (Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Dakṣa, Aṃśa), while RV IX, 114,3 speaks of seven deities. RV X, 72,8–9 mentions eight gods being the sons of Aditi, though the eighth, Mārtanda, was thrown away by his mother.

The character of the Ādityas is primarily that of protecting gods. But their number of seven can point, as F.M. Müller suggests, to their early connection with the course of time. He supposes that they might represent the seven *tithis* of the four *parvans* of a moon-month.⁸¹

But a clear association of the Ādityas with the time, basing on the course of the sun, is, for the first time, given in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, where their number increases to twelve and where they are identified with the twelve months.⁸²

The Mahābhārata mentions the twelve Ādityas as being the sons of Aditi. Their

⁸⁰ The Ādityas have already been richly treated by several authors. Compare for example: F.M. Müller, Vedic Hymns, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna 1967, 2nd reprint (1st publ. Oxford 1891), (The Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXII), Pt. I, pp. 243–245, 252–254; J.N. Banerjea, Sūrya, Ādityas and the Navagrahas, JISOA, XVI, 1948, pp. 48–102; M.-Th. de Mallmann, Les Enseignements Iconographiques de l'Agni-Purāṇa, Paris 1963 (Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études, Tome 67), pp. 76–81; L.P. Pandey, Sun-Worship in Ancient India, Delhi, Patna, Varanasi 1971, pp. 32, 33, 44, 111 ff., 161; V.C. Srivastava, Sun-Worship in Ancient India, Allahabad 1972, pp. 116 ff., 213 ff.

⁸¹ Müller, op. cit. (cf. annotation 80) p. 252.

⁸² Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Mādhyandina Rezension, A. Weber, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Work No. 96, Varanasi 1964, 2nd ed., VI, 1,2,8 and XI, 6,3,8.

names are: Dhātṛ, Mitra, Aryaman, Śakra, Varuṇa, Aṃśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Pūṣan, Savitr, Tvaṣṭṛ, and Viṣṇu.⁸³

The Purāṇas emphasise their aspect as gods of time. They have to escort the sun-chariot, which is accompanied each month by one Āditya together with six other beings (*ṛṣis, apsarās, yakṣas, nāgas, rākṣasas, gandharvas*).

The individual Purāṇas show slight differences in the sequence of the Ādityas and their assignment to the different months.⁸⁴ The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa gives the following list:⁸⁵

Āditya	Month
Dhātṛ	Caitra
Aryaman	Vaiśākha
Mitra	Jyaiṣṭha
Varuṇa	Āṣāḍha
Indra	Śrāvaṇa
Vivasvat	Bhādra
Pūṣan	Āśvina
Parjanya	Kārttika
Aṃśu	Mārgaśīrṣa
Bhaga	Pauṣa
Tvaṣṭṛ	Māgha
Viṣṇu	Phālguna

In the Purāṇic mythology the Ādityas are, besides their identification with the twelve months, also connected with the twelve signs of the zodiac.⁸⁶

In medieval art the Ādityas appear primarily as attendants of the Sun-god Sūrya, following their Purāṇic designation. Either they are found on the door frames and walls of Sun-temples, as at Modhera, whereby their number can vary,⁸⁷ or they are placed directly on the background of a Sūrya relief, flanking or surrounding the god.⁸⁸

⁸³ The Mahābhārata, crit. ed. by V.S. Sukthankar, Poona 1933, Vol. 1, The Ādiparvan, 1,59,13–15.

⁸⁴ Compare table D of de Mallmann, op. cit. (cf. annotation 80) pp. 78–79 and N.K. Bhattasali, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, Dacca 1929, pp. 154–155.

⁸⁵ The Vishnu-Purāṇa, A System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition, transl. by H.H. Wilson, Calcutta 1961 (3rd ed., 1st ed. London 1840), Book II, chap. X–XI, pp. 191–192.

⁸⁶ Cf. ibid. chap. VIII.

⁸⁷ On the doorframe of the cella at Modhera there are three Ādityas on each jamb (cf. Pl. 247); on the Sūraj-temple at Ranakpur, Rajasthan, there are four Ādityas on each jamb (cf. Neg. No. 966/58 of the ASI). On a *torāṇa* in the Museum of Junagarh, Gujarat, ten Ādityas are depicted (cf. T.A.G. Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Delhi 1968, repr., Vol. I, Pt. II, Pl. XCV).

⁸⁸ Compare the panel of Sūrya from Dhank, Gujarat, in: H.D. Sankalia, The Archaeology of Gujarat (including Kathiawar), Bombay 1941, Fig. 70, and the Kulkudī-Sūrya in the Dacca Museum, illustrated in: Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVII, 1947–48, opposite p. 25.

They have, in general, the same appearance as the Sun-god,⁸⁹ as he is described in the iconographic texts. The characteristic features are: upright position (*samabhaṅga*), cylindrical crown (*kirīṭamukūṭa*), two arms with a lotus blossom in each hand, clad in a cuirass (*kavaca*), a broad belt (*avyaṅga*) and high boots, standing on a pedestal of seven horses or of a lotus blossom, attended by Aruṇa, Daṇḍa, Piṅgala, the Āśvins and Rājñī and Nikṣubhā.⁹⁰

B. The Lokapālas

a. Their arrangement and general description (Fig. 34; Pls. 126–142)

To this group belong ten deities. Two are placed on each of the main corners (*karnaś*) and a single one in each of the deep niches of the southern and northern long sides (cf. Fig. 24). Besides their symmetrical arrangement on the temple wall they are distinguished as a group by some common features. Thus the reliefs of their upper subsidiary niches (on Fig. 23 indicated as 3 a and 3 b) are always flanked by Apsarases, set between framing pillars. In addition, the framing pillars of the main niches never show with this group tiny human figures but only occasionally *kīrtimukhas*. These minute details are, nevertheless, important, because they do not occur elsewhere.

Of the ten deities nine are Lokapālas, being the established group of eight and a surplus Indra. The tenth figure represents an iconographically interesting, rare deity, who has three heads, three arms and three legs and is discussed separately in chap. VII.3.B.c.

The guardians of the space are arranged almost exactly according to their prescribed region,⁹¹ but it seems strange that Indra is repeated on the south-eastern corner, while Agni, to whom the south-eastern region is assigned, is placed on the southern wall:

⁸⁹ According to the Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa the Ādityas should be depicted like the Sun-god (cf. note 78). Another text on iconography, the Viśvakarmaśāstra, describes the Ādityas as having four arms and each one carrying along with the lotus blossoms his individual attributes (cf. T. A. G. Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Delhi 1968, repr., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 310 and Appendix C, pp. 86, 87). But sculptures of this kind are very rare to be found. One example could be the Āditya from the Sun-temple of Konarka, who carries in his front hands the lotus blossoms and in his back hands *akṣamālā* and *śūla* and thus could be identified with Vivasvat as he is described in the Viśvakarmaśāstra (cf. J. N. Banerjĳa, Sūrya, Ādityas and the Navagrahas, JISOA, XVI, 1948, pp. 83–84).

⁹⁰ For the iconography of the Sun-god compare also, Brhatsaṃhitā of Varāhamihira, Varanasi 1959 (Vidyābhavan Saṃskṛta Granthamālā 41), 58, 46–48; Agnipurāṇam, Poona 1900 (Anandāśrama Saṃskṛta Granthāvaliḥ, 41), Adh. 51, 1–2; Matsyapurāṇam, Calcutta 1954 (Gurumandāl Series No. XIII), Adh. 260, 1–9; Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, Third Khaṇḍa, ed. by P. Shah, Baroda 1958 (G. O. S., No. CXXX), Adh. 67; Bhaviṣyamahāpurāṇa, Srīveṅkateśvara ed., Bombay 1959, Brahmaparvan, Adh. 124, 18–20; 130, 50–52; 132, 25–26; 136, 40–41; see further, D. P. Pandey, Sūrya, Iconographical Study of the Indian Sun-God, Leiden 1939 (Diss.); P. Shah, L'Iconographie de Sūrya d'après les Purāṇa, Paris 1955 (Diss.).

⁹¹ Compare chap. XII.1, on the Lokapālas.

south-eastern corner	facing east	Indra
south-eastern corner	facing south	Indra
southern niche	facing south	Agni
south-western corner	facing south	Yama
south-western corner	facing west	Nirṛti
north-western corner	facing west	Varuṇa
north-western corner	facing north	Vāyu
northern niche	facing north	Kubera
north-eastern corner	facing north	Īśāna
north-eastern corner	facing east	three-headed deity

All these figures have many features in common. Apart from a few exceptions they are worked out according to the same scheme (Fig. 34).



Fig. 34. Lokapāla with his typical jewellery.

They stand upon an undecorated platform in *tribhaṅga*. They have four arms and carry attributes in their upper hands. The lower ones show, if preserved, *varadamudrā* with *akṣamālā* on the right and *kaṭihasta* on the left. Some gods have their hair piled up in a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, others are provided with a pointed *karaṇḍamukuṭa*. With the exception of Nirṛti, who is nude, they are clad in a *dhōṭī*. Their jewellery is similar to that of the Ādityas and Devīs. It consists of earrings, a broad necklace, long bead-strings on the chest, bracelets and upper arm ornaments, and intricate waist and hip girdles. Their chest is mostly adorned with a nearly cross-shaped Śrīvatsa mark of four petals. With the exception of Nirṛti and Kubera they have a Brāhmaṇical cord (*yajñopavīta*). All the gods are provided with a *vanamālā*. With Nirṛti it consists of bones, otherwise it is of twisted bead-strings, having a blossom ornament in front of the knees. To most of the Lokapālas their corresponding vehicles (*vāhanas*) are assigned, only with Yama, Varuṇa and Kubera they are not found. With the exception of these three gods all the others have *vidyādhara* figures, floating in the plough-share position (*lāṅgalaka*) or standing on lotus blossoms. On the framing relief pillars occasionally *kīrtimukhas* are found, instead of human figures.

b. Individual descriptions of the Lokapālas

Indra (Pl. 126)

His *jaṭāmukuṭa* is adorned with a diadem, the front ornament of which is flanked by lions. Crescent-shaped earrings are still to be seen. Only the lower right hand is preserved. It lies with a spread out thumb on his thigh (*kaṭihasta*). To his right stood an attendant figure of whom only the highly raised left arm is preserved. Next to his left foot is the elephant Airāvata. Male garland-bearers with *jaṭāmukuṭas* float in *lāṅgalaka* position close to his head.

Indra (Pl. 127)

The god wears a four-tiered *karaṇḍamukuṭa* with a *caitya*-arch-shaped ornament in the front. The circular earrings are set with beads. The lower right hand is broken, the upper right holds *vajra*,⁹² the upper left *anikuśa* (?), and the lower left lies in *kaṭihasta* on the thigh. To Indra's right stands the elephant Airāvata,⁹³ to his left a female attendant figure raising a *kamaṇḍalu* with both hands. Male *vidyādharas*, who seem to wear *karaṇḍamukuṭas* as the deity, are shown in the usual attitude.

Agni (Pls. 128/130)

The strands of his *jaṭāmukuṭa* are disarranged like licking flames. In the front of the diadem a *kīrtimukha* and *makara*-heads with gaping jaws are engraved. Flames are

⁹² The upper part of *vajra* is flat like *triśūla*, while the lower part seems to be three-dimensional.

⁹³ It is to be noted that in this case Airāvata stands to the right of Indra, while on the first panel of Indra (Pl. 126) he is placed at the left side of the god, i.e., in each case below the protruding hip.

shown on the background behind the head. Agni wears disc-shaped earrings, has a moustache and a pointed beard. From his belt festoons are falling down to the thighs, seeming to be metal chains. The lower and upper right arms are broken away at elbow height. The upper left hand holds *kapāla*,⁹⁴ the lower left one shows *kaṭakahasta* and, apparently, carries also a small vessel. To the right of the god stands a female attendant with *karaṇḍamukuṭa*. She has two arms, the right hand holds a fruit and the left one is raised and carries a whisk. Between her and the god stands an animal, the head of which is knocked off. Judging from the shape of the body and the cloven hooves, it is obviously a ram, the vehicle of Agni. To the left of the god there is another attendant, who is male and wears likewise a *karaṇḍamukuṭa*. His jewellery is similar to that of Agni. Female *vidyādhara*s with *karaṇḍamukuṭa*s in *lāṅgalaka* position are at their usual place.⁹⁵

Yama (Pl. 129)

All the four arms of this god are knocked off and his head and body are much corroded. His crown seems to be a *karaṇḍamukuṭa* with pointed, knob-like crest. A female attendant leans with crossed legs against his right side. Next to his left leg squats a male attendant gazing up to the deity and having his right arm bent over his head and his left arm lying on his thigh.

Nirṛti (Pls. 131/133)

In contrast to all the other deities, Nirṛti is shown nude. Serpents wind around his neck, hips and arms, his *mālā* consists of bones. Fragments of disc-shaped earrings are still in place. He wears a *karaṇḍamukuṭa* of four or five tiers, which is adorned with a *kīrtimukha* ornament and garlands of beads. Nose and mouth of the god are slightly damaged, but still it is obvious that he does not have any demon fangs as found very often with Nirṛti. His neck is clearly marked by three lines (*trivalī*). Of his four arms only his lower right and left ones are preserved. In his right hand he holds an object, rounded at its lower end and broken at its top, which might be a sword-hilt.⁹⁶ His left hand lies in *kaṭihasta* on his thigh. Behind his right leg there is a male figure reclining on his right elbow and looking up. He seems to be the vehicle of Nirṛti, *naravāhana*. To the left of the deity is the torso of a male figure, also nude and with serpents around the neck and the hips. The *vidyādhara*s, represented here, are remarkable, because they show a close relationship with Nirṛti. His character is fearsome and both the male *vidyādhara*s have demonic faces with bulging eyes and broad mouths. Their

⁹⁴ This attribute is not common with Agni, though his two-headed, seven-armed, and three-legged form shall carry *ghṛtapātra*, which resembles *kapāla*. Cf. J.C. Harle, Two Images of Agni and Yajñapurūṣa in South India, JRAS, 1962, p. 7.

⁹⁵ This sculpture is erroneously described as Brahmā by H.D. Sankalia, The Archaeology of Gujarat (including Kathiawar), Bombay 1941, pp. 155–156.

⁹⁶ Several iconographical texts prescribe *khadga* for Nirṛti. Cf. chap. XII.2.

wreath-shaped hairdresses of projecting curls (*jaṭāmaṇḍala*) is often found on Bhairava images.

✓ Varuṇa (Pl. 132)

Head and body of this god are badly corroded. He wears a *karaṇḍamukuṭa* with *kīrtimukha* decoration. All his four arms are broken away at wrist or elbow level, but his characteristic attribute, the noose (*pāśa*), is still preserved below his right shoulder. A female attendant with *karaṇḍamukuṭa* and the legs crossed leans against Varuṇa's right side. To the left of the god sits a pot-bellied, male figure on a lotus pedestal. His head is broken away, both the arms rest on the seat. He wears a broad, folded sash like a *yajñopavīta* and has upper arm ornaments. The crossed legs are hanging down and where the right foot is placed a part of the deity's platform has been left out for a small relief, but since it is corroded it remains unclear, whether it represents the head of a *makara*, the vehicle of Varuṇa.

✓ Vāyu (Pls. 134/136)

Though the face and the trunk of the god are corroded, his *yajñopavīta* and his jewellery are still to be seen. His pointed, four-tiered *karaṇḍamukuṭa* has a bud-like crest. Of his four arms only the lower right and the upper left are preserved. The lower right shows *varadamudrā* and carries *akṣamālā*, the upper left holds a full blown lotus flower. To his right side stands a female attendant, who carries a garland (?) in both hands. To his left, partially covered by his legs, is shown a prancing antelope.

✓ Kubera (Pl. 135)

His three-tiered *karaṇḍamukuṭa* is badly preserved. Kubera is pot-bellied and wears a broad sash in the manner of a *yajñopavīta*.⁹⁷ Only his upper right hand is still preserved and carries a corroded attribute, which might have been a lotus flower. On the background, above his left shoulder, there is another badly preserved attribute, possibly *śaṅkha*. Apparently, Kubera's lower left arm rested on *gadā*, because fragments of the club are still to be seen at thigh level and next to his foot. On his right stands a female attendant with crossed legs. With her left hand she seems to hold Kubera's *vanamālā*, her right one rests on her hip.

✓ Īśāna (Pls. 137, 139, 141)

This comparatively well preserved figure has an artistically worked-out *jaṭāmukuṭa* with a diadem. The hair-line is formed by two rows of small curls. The crescent-

⁹⁷ This sash is, nevertheless, not to be identified with *yajñopavīta*. Also the other sculptures of Kubera at Modhera (cf. Pls. 167, 174, 176) do not have a Brāhmaṇical cord, which might be a hint to his character as a Yakṣa. A sculpture of Kubera from Asoda, Gujarat, similarly has a sash. Cf. M.A. Dhaky, Some unpublished Images of Varāha and Kubera from Gujarat, in: Śatābda-Kaumudī Centenary Volume, Nagpur 1964, pp. 49 ff., Pl. IX, Fig. 15. Dhaky calls this sash "*vastropavīta*".

shaped earrings are ribbed. Besides the common jewellery Īśāna has a ribbon narrowly tied around his neck, provided with an oval jewel in the front. Only his lower right hand is preserved. It is shown in *varadamudrā* and carries *akṣamālā*. Additionally, he holds between the thumb and the hand a lotus creeper, which opens into a small flower, decorated with a tiny bird. Fragments of *triśūla* are still visible on his right shoulder. Also on the upper left arm, now demolished, traces of an attribute, possibly *sarpa*, are still determinable. To the right side of the god stands a small, male attendant, wearing *yajñopavīta* and the loincloth of an ascetic. With his left hand he touches the lotus creeper held by Īśāna. To the left side of the god stands a bull, his vehicle. The *vidyādhara*s, a male and a female one, are depicted as usual. The male one wears *jaṭāmukuta*, necklace and *yajñopavīta*.

✓ c. A three-headed, three-armed and three-legged deity (Pls. 138, 140, 142)

All the three heads wear a pointed *mukuta* of four tiers, each one separated from the other by bead-strings. Fine incised lines on the tiers seem to mark the strands of hair, so that despite of its form similar to a *karaṇḍamukuta*, a stylized *jaṭāmukuta* could be shown here. From the hairline up to the top of the crown a *caitya*-arch-shaped ornament is worked out. Nose and mouth of the front and of the proper left face are destroyed, but the right face is well preserved and has a soft, almost smiling expression. The front head is adorned with disc-shaped earrings.

Of the three arms two are on the right side. The hand of the upper one is raised and holds a curved knife, which has in its curve a hook-shaped decoration. The object in the lower hand seems to be the hilt of a sword, which is broken at wrist level, but some fragments are still to be seen in front of the upper hand and the knife. The contours of the upper hand, the knife and the fragments of the sword are difficult to differentiate, because in the background behind them there is a female garland-bearer, standing on a lotus blossom.

In the left hand the deity carries *kapāla*.⁹⁸ To the left of the god stands a male attendant, whose head and arms are demolished. To his left probably a *vāhana* was depicted, but the fragments do not allow any identification.⁹⁹

The identity of this god remains unclear. Burgess¹⁰⁰ reported that the village inhabitants of Modhera put red *pūjā* paint on him weekly and call him Kāla Bhairava. At the time of his visit the figure was strongly encrusted¹⁰¹ and thus he did not dare to identify it, but simply remarked that only Agni might be represented with three legs.

⁹⁸ J. Burgess erroneously says that the lower right and left hands are broken off (The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat, London 1903, p. 77).

⁹⁹ J. Burgess believes to have recognized *makara*, but this seems to be rather improbable (ibid. p. 77).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 77.

¹⁰¹ In the meantime the figure has been cleaned and apparently it is not venerated by the village inhabitants any more.

H.D. Sankalia took over this idea, and, less cautiously than Burgess, called the deity definitely Agni¹⁰² on a similarity with the Agni of the Śiva temple at Kandiur (Travancore),¹⁰³ who carries in one of his hands a curved dagger. R. C. Agrawala¹⁰⁴ agreed to this argument. Nevertheless, both of them did not mention that the Kandiur Agni, indeed, has three legs, but only two heads, even goat-heads, and seven arms, four on the right and three on the left.

Further Agni figures with three legs, seven arms and two, nevertheless, human heads are found on the Gopuras (east, south, west and north) of the Naṭarāja temple at Cidambaram.¹⁰⁵

In this form Agni is described in the Kāśyapaśilpa, a rather late text.¹⁰⁶ The god is supposed to have three legs, seven arms and two heads with *jaṭāmukuta*, a ram as *vāhana* and the attributes *śakti*, *anna*, *sruk* and *sruva* for the right hands and *tomara*, *vyajana* and *ghṛtapātra* for the left ones.

It is doubtful if this text passage can also be applied to the identification of the Modhera figure. The knife in its upper right hand, indeed, could be associated with *tomara* and *kapāla* in the left one with *ghṛtapātra*, but the sword would not fit and the number of heads and arms also represents a significant difference.

The attributes knife, sword and skull-bowl could also point to Bhairava. Nevertheless, the Modhera figure shows otherwise none of the frightening characteristics of this deity. The preserved face has a friendly expression and also the damaged ones seem to have been peaceful, because no bulging eyes, nor disarranged hair curls are to be found. He is dressed in the usual manner as all the other deities, his Brāhmaṇical cord consists of three threads instead of skull bones and he even has a *vanamālā* and not a garland of skulls, as is typical for Bhairava.

But on the other hand, three or four heads – if the hidden back one is counted – are found occasionally with medieval Bhairava figures. For example there is a three-headed, twelve-armed and two-legged Bhairava at Ratnagiri in Orissa.¹⁰⁷ He wears a *jaṭāmukuta* adorned with a crescent and his demon fangs and broad mouth give him a fearsome aspect. Of all the attributes only *vajra*, *khaṭvāṅga* and *ḍamaru* are still recognizable. Two upper hands hold a long object above the head, which could be an elephant-skin or a snake.

Two other three-headed figures with Bhairava qualities are reported to exist at

¹⁰² H.D. Sankalia, *The Archaeology of Gujarat (including Kathiawar)*, Bombay 1941, p. 144.

¹⁰³ Illustrated in T.A.G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi 1968, repr., Vol. II, Pt. II, Pl. CLII.

¹⁰⁴ R. C. Agrawala, *Tripāda-Mūrtis of the Mediaeval Period*, IHQ Vol. XXXI, No. 2, 1955, p. 184.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. J. C. Harle, *Two Images of Agni and Yajñapurusa in South India*, JRAS, 1962, pp. 1–17.

¹⁰⁶ Kāśyapaśilpa, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, 1926, Paṭala 46, Śl. 62–66. Cf. Harle, *ibid.* pp. 3–4.

¹⁰⁷ Illustrated in: R. Chanda, *Exploration in Orissa*, MASI, No. 44, Calcutta 1930, Pl. IV, 3.

Periyakancipuram in southern India.¹⁰⁸ The faces have round, bulging eyes, the attributes are *triśūla* and *kapāla*, and one of them sits on a dog.

Different iconographic texts describe Bhairava, or Mārtaṇḍa Bhairava, as four or five-headed,¹⁰⁹ three heads for Bhairava are mentioned too, although in a philosophical tract,¹¹⁰ and a Tantric text mentions even six or ten heads for him.¹¹¹

Although, to my knowledge, they are not referred to in the iconographic literature, occasionally sculptures of three-legged Bhairavas are found. At Kiradu in Rajasthan a three-legged (two right legs and a left one) and eight-armed figure was discovered by R. C. Agrawala.¹¹² Here Bhairava has a snake-hood, his mouth is broad, his lips are slightly opened and the teeth visible. Snakes wind around his neck, and he wears a garland of skulls. Two of his feet are provided with sandals, the third one is raised and bare. Bhairava carries in his front hands a knife and a skull-bowl, but of the attributes of the other hands only drum and sword are still recognizable. Next to him stands a dog. On the pedestal there is an inscription giving the date *saṃvat* 1516, i.e., 1573–1574 A.D. and the name of this deity as “Tripādamūrti”.¹¹³

Agrawala identified this figure as Atiriktāṅga Bhairava, who is one of the eight Saṃhārabhairavas. They form the eighth group of the 64 Bhairavas and are described in the Rudrayāmaḷa.¹¹⁴

Atiriktāṅga means, having a surplus limb, and could, in this case, very well be interpreted as the third leg of Bhairava. But the Rudrayāmaḷa does not mention three legs of Atiriktāṅga Bhairava, but assigns the same qualities to him as to the other seven Saṃhārabhairavas, i.e., they should have the colour of lightning and hold in their hands jar, shield, club and spear.

A further three-legged sculpture with the characteristics of Bhairava is found on the Śiva temple at Śringeri, Koppa Taluk, District Cikmagalur in southern India.¹¹⁵ The god is shown as an emaciated skeleton in dancing position, and the third leg is raised in a manner similar to that of the Kiradu figure. He has bulging eyes, the hairdress of an ascetic and a garland of skulls. His attributes are the walking staff of a pilgrim and

¹⁰⁸ M. E. Adiceam, *Les Images de Śiva dans l'Inde du Sud II. – Bhairava*, Arts Asiatiques, Tome XI, Fasc. 2, 1965, p. 37, no Plate.

¹⁰⁹ For four heads see, *Agnipurāṇam*, Ānandāśrama-Saṃskṛta-Granthāvaliḥ, No. 41, Poona 1900, Adh. 301, Śl. 11; *Śāradātilakam*, The Kashi Sanskrit Granthamālā 107 (Tantra Śāstra Section No. 1), Varanasi 1963, Paṭala 13, Śl. 71. Here mentioned as “*vedavaktra*” i.e., four. For five heads see, *Agnipurāṇam*, Adh. 52, Śl. 11.

¹¹⁰ *Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam*, Saṃskṛta Text with English Translation and Notes by Jaideva Singh, Delhi, Patna, Varanasi 1963, Commentary on Sūtra 4, p. 44.

¹¹¹ *Mahāmokṣatantra*, 2. Paṭala. Cf. H. Mitra, *Sadāśiva Worship in Early Bengal: A Study in History, Art and Religion*, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, N.S. XXIX, 1933, pp. 246 ff.

¹¹² R. C. Agrawala, *An Interesting Tripāda-Mūrti from Kiradu*, Journal of Indian Museums, Bombay, Vol. X, 1954, pp. 23–24, Fig. 6.

¹¹³ For the reading of the whole inscription see *ibid.* p. 23.

¹¹⁴ Cf. T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi 1968, repr., Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 180–181.

¹¹⁵ Adiceam, *op. cit.* (cf. annotation 108) p. 36.

a skull-bowl. All this points to Bhairava, though the three legs and the emaciated body also suggest an identification with the Śivaite ascetic Bhṛṅgin.¹¹⁶

Returning now to the deity at Modhera, it must be mentioned that on the one hand three-headed Bhairava sculptures and on the other hand three-legged ones are ascertainable, but that they are never both three-headed and three-legged and that three arms for Bhairava cannot be proved at all. But precisely this complete agreement in the number of heads, arms and legs makes out the special feature of the Modhera sculpture.

There is a reference in the Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle¹¹⁷ on the remnants of a temple named Kaṇeri-ki-putalī at the locality of Brindavana near Bijolia. On the northern wall of this building there is supposed to be a standing male figure who has three heads, three arms and three legs. Similar to the Modhera sculpture it is said to possess one left and two right legs, of which one is placed behind the other and the front one is broken away. One of the right hands holds *akṣamālā* and both the other hands are forming an "O".

Unfortunately, these few references do not allow an identification, which could have shed light also on the meaning of the Modhera sculpture.

Nevertheless, in the iconographic literature there is a reference to a three-headed, three-armed and three-legged deity. The Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa describes the god Jvara (fever), a form of Śiva in that way: "Jvara should be made three-legged, with three eyes on each face and three heads, ashes are his weapon, he is fearsome, has three arms and a confused look."¹¹⁸

Several Purāṇas, as for example the Śiva- and the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa along with the regional texts such as the Tamil ŚivaParākkiramam¹¹⁹ narrate the legend concerning this deity. It deals with the terrible battle between the Asura Bāṇa and the Vṛṣṇis. Aniruddha, the grandson of Kṛṣṇa, fell in love with Ūṣā, the daughter of Bāṇa and with the help of the magical powers of her attendant Aniruddha came to visit Ūṣā in her palace. When Bāṇa got to know that, he tried to kill Aniruddha. But the other Vṛṣṇis came to protect him and though Bāṇa was helped by the three-headed and three-armed Jvara, the Vṛṣṇis cut off nearly all of Bāṇa's 1000 arms. With his remaining arms Bāṇa paid homage to Śiva, who immediately stopped the fight and settled the conflict by marrying Ūṣā to Aniruddha.

The ŚivaParākkiramam narrates a slightly different version of this legend. It reports that after the battle Kṛṣṇa and Śiva met in the palace of Bāṇa. Out of fun they began

¹¹⁶ Adiceam considers this figure as "un personnage composite", see op. cit. p. 36.

¹¹⁷ Progress-Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Poona 1905, p. 54.

¹¹⁸ Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, ed. by P. Shah, Baroda 1958, Khaṇḍa III, Adh. 73, Śl. 40: *jvaras-tripādah kartavyastrinetrairvadanaistribhiḥ/bhasmapraharāṇo raudrastribāhurvyākulekṣaṇah//*.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Śrīśivamahāpurāṇam, Kāśī 1963, Rudrasaṃhitā, Yuddhakhaṇḍa, Adh. 52–55, especially 54,16; Śrīśrīviṣṇupurāṇa, Gītāpress, Gorakhpur, 5,33, especially 5,33,14; Čivaparākkiramam, ed. by M. Viravel Pillai, Madras 1941, p. 177. Cf. P.Z. Pattabiramin, Notes d'Iconographie Dravidienne, II, Jvarahareśvara ou Jvaradeva, Arts Asiatiques, Tome VI, Fasc. 1, 1959, pp. 20–24.

to fight again and Kṛṣṇa shot an arrow of cold fever at Śiva, who stopped it with an arrow of hot fever. This one had three heads, nine eyes, four arms and three legs. It represents Śiva in his aspect as Śuvarapaknamūrti (Jvarabhagnamūrti) and is honoured by persons sick with fever.

In southern India Jvara sculptures are found sporadically.¹²⁰ They have three heads, three or four arms and three legs and are invariably shown in dancing position, i.e., with one raised leg. They wear *jaṭāmukūṭa* and have their hands in *gajahasta* or *abhayamudrā* or hold attributes like *agni* and *paraśu* (or lotus?).¹²¹

It is difficult to say, whether the Modhera sculpture might represent Jvara. According to the Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa the number of heads, arms, and legs corresponds exactly to the iconography of this god, the same as the *jaṭāmukūṭa*. But the attributes and, especially, the dancing position of the south Indian Jvara figures known up to now are not found at Modhera. Nevertheless, sword, knife and skull-bowl could be easily associated with his aspect as a fighting god, though they may point also to Bhairava.

There remains the doubt, whether the Modhera sculpture represents Śiva as Bhairava or as Jvara. The interpretation as Jvara seems to be the more convincing one, though he is a rarity in northern India. To associate the figure with Agni appears to be the least probable.

C. The Devīs

a. Their arrangement and general description (Figs. 35–43; Pls. 143–155)

The Devīs are arranged around the eastern part of the temple, i.e., the assembly hall (*sabhāmaṇḍapa*, cf. Fig. 2 a, b). Originally there had been twelve panels each with a Devī in their central niches, but now one panel is completely missing (that of Devī 5), another one has its main figure destroyed (Devī 12, Pl. 155), and a third one the subsidiary reliefs on the right side (Devī 6, Pl. 147).

All the goddesses stand in *tribhaṅga* on a lotus pedestal, which often is flanked by human figures. Into the curled creepers below the blossom are set tiny animals. Attendants are placed either on the same lotus blossom as the deity or upon separate, smaller ones.

The Devīs have, in general, a friendly expression. They wear *jaṭāmukūṭa* or *karaṇḍamukūṭa* with jewelled diadems and crests, or they have intricate hairdresses,

¹²⁰ Compare the sculptures illustrated by P.Z. Pattabiramin, op. cit., Fig. 6 from the temple of Mahāliṅgasvāmi at Tiruvidaimarudur, but this one has only one head (1.4.3.); Fig. 7 from the temple of Kailāsanāthasvāmi at Taramangalam (3.4.3.); Fig. 8 from the temple of Gokarṇeśvara at Tirugokarnam (3.4.3.); Fig. 9 from the temple of Koṇeśarasvāmi at Kodaivaśal (3.3.3.). All these figures are dated to the 13th–15th cent. A.D. by P.Z. Pattabiramin.

¹²¹ Pattabiramin identifies the attribut of the right back hand of Fig. 6 as *paraśu*, but on the photograph it resembles more a lotus bud with stalk, op. cit. (cf. annotation 120) p. 20.

adorned with diadems. All are four-armed. The lower hands show, if preserved, *varadamudrā* with *akṣamālā* on the right and *kamaṇḍalu* on the left. The upper hands carry the different attributes. Their bodies are richly decorated with *vanamālā* and jewelries. They wear crescent-shaped earrings, broad necklaces, long bead-strings, girdles with ornamental buckles, upper arm ornaments and occasionally, in addition to bracelets, broad bangles up to the elbow (Pls. 143, 145, 148, 149). They use anklets and in one case broad leg-rings (Pl. 155). Only to a single Devī a vehicle is assigned (Pl. 147). All the other Devīs are flanked by small attendants, who are always two-armed and hold objects like fly-whisks or vessels or have their hands raised in *añjalimudrā*. In several cases a bud-shaped object has been placed close to the right foot of the Devī (Pls. 146, 149, 153). *Vidyādhara*s, mostly in the typical plough-share position (*lāṅgalaka*) are depicted at their usual places. On the framing relief pillars of the Devīs along with *kīrtimukha*s also dancers, musicians or worshippers are shown. Each of these tiny figures has a projecting lotus pedestal. They seem to serve simply as decoration without having a special relationship to the main deity. But perhaps it is not purely by chance that the two goddesses, who have male attendants at their sides also display only male figures on the relief pillars (Pls. 143, 144).

b. Individual descriptions of the Devīs

✓ Devī 1 (Fig. 35; Pl. 143)

The goddess wears a *karaṇḍamukuta*, which is already quite corroded. The lower right hand rests in *varadamudrā* on the thigh and holds *akṣamālā*. In her upper right hand she carries *śakti* and in the left one *pāśa*. The lower left hand is broken. To her left stands a male attendant, dressed in a *dhotī* and adorned with *jaṭāmukuta*, earrings and a necklace of beads (*ekāvali*). In his right hand he holds an object, which is no more identifiable. His left hand is raised towards the deity. To her left squats a pot-bellied male figure with his hands raised in *añjalimudrā*. The lotus pedestal of the goddess and of both the attendants show below the large blossom with incised petals curled creepers with tiny blossoms (Fig. 35). On each side of the pedestal stands a



Fig. 35. Lotus pedestal of Devī 1.

female attendant. The framing relief pillars have four shaft sections, of which the upper ones are decorated with *kīrtimukhas* and the middle ones with dancers.

✓ Devī 2 (Fig. 36; Pl. 144)

Her hair is arranged in *jaṭāmūkuṭa*, which is adorned with a diadem of floral ornaments and bead-garlands (Fig. 36). The lower right hand of the goddess shows *vara-damudrā* with *akṣamālā*, the lower left one is broken. In the upper hands she carries *triśūla* on the right and *ghaṇṭā* on the left. To her sides stand male attendants dressed in the loincloth of the ascetics. Both carry a small vessel in their left hand. Each of the figures is placed on a separate lotus blossom: the deity on the central large one and the attendants on the smaller lateral ones. Into the curled creepers billing birds are set. The framing relief pillars have three shaft sections, of which the upper ones show *kīrtimukhas* and the middle ones pot-bellied male figures.

✓ Devī 3 (Fig. 37; Pl. 145)

The Devī wears a four-tiered *karaṇḍamukūṭa* with a bud-like crest. The tiers are separated from one another by bead-strings, and *caitya*-arch-shaped ornaments overlap from one tier to the next. The diadem has a *kīrtimukha* on its front (Fig. 37). The lower right and upper left arms are broken at elbow level and there are no traces of the attributes. The upper right, partially destroyed hand holds a staff, which is demolished on its upper and lower ends. The lower left hand hangs down, and the attribute, normally *kamaṇḍalu*, is no more recognizable. To the right and the left of the goddess stand female attendants. The whole group is placed on the same lotus blossom. The framing relief pillars have four shaft sections, of which only the upper ones are decorated with *kīrtimukhas* and bead-garlands.



Fig. 36. Crown of Devī 2.



Fig. 37. Crown of Devī 3.



Fig. 38. Crown of Devī 4.

✓ Devī 4 (Fig. 38; Pl. 146)

The hairdress of this goddess consists of a braid, laid around the head, and a semicircular hair-wreath, to which an anthropomorphic ornament and flowers are attached (Fig. 38). Both of the lower arms are broken at elbow level. The upper right hand holds a lotus bud, and the attribute of the upper left one is a full blown lotus. To the sides of the deity stand female attendants, who are partially demolished. Behind the one to her right there is a bud-shaped object. Each of the three figures stands on its own lotus blossom. The pedestal is flanked by kneeling female figures. The framing relief pillars have four shaft segments. On the uppermost ones there are *kīrtimukhas* with bead-garlands or simply bead-garlands.

✓ Devī 5

The panel of this Devī is missing.

Devī 6 (Pl. 147)

Her hair-strands form a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, which has on its front an anthropomorphic ornament. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* with *akṣamālā*, the upper one holds *triśūla*, the staff of which is partially demolished. Both the left hands are broken off, but the attribute of the upper one, a full blown lotus blossom, is still to be seen on the framing relief pillar to her left at face level. To the right of the goddess lies her *vāhana*, the humped bull. On both sides are female attendants. All stand on the same

lotus pedestal, which is flanked by seated figures. The framing relief pillars have four shaft segments. The upper ones remain undecorated, the others show human figures in dancing or worshipping position.

✓ Devī 7 (Pl. 148)

Her crown is corroded, but seems to be *karaṇḍamukūṭa* with a broad diadem. The hair-line is clearly marked by round curls. Both the lower arms are broken off at elbow level. The upper right hand holds a staff, which can belong either to *aṅkuśa* or to *daṇḍa*. The upper left one carries a trefoiled *pāśa*, and the attribute of the lower left one is *kamaṇḍalu*. Female attendants accompany the goddess. The whole group stands on a single large lotus blossom. The pedestal is flanked by seated musicians, a female *viṇā* player on the left side of the relief and a flutist on the right. The framing relief pillars have four shaft segments, decorated with dancing figures and *kīrtimukhas*.

✓ Devī 8 (Pls. 149/151)

The hairdress of this goddess is similar to that of Devī 4 (cf. Fig. 38). The broad diadem is decorated with a *kīrtimukha*. Only the lower left arm is broken off, but, nevertheless, all the four attributes are preserved. The lower right hand shows *vara-damudrā* with *akṣamālā*, the upper right one carries *vajra*, the upper left *dhvaja* and the attribute of the lower left one is *kamaṇḍalu*. Her girdle is richly decorated and well preserved. She is accompanied by female attendants. Each one stands on a separate lotus blossom. In the background to the right of the deity there is a bud-like object to be seen. Into the curled creepers below the main blossom tiny birds are set. On the right side of the pedestal sits a flutist and on the left one a female garland-bearer. The framing relief pillars have four shaft segments. The lower ones remain undecorated, but on the upper and middle ones there are musicians, dancers and *kīrtimukhas*.

✓ Devī 9 (Pls. 150/152)

Her hairdress, too, is similar to that of Devī 4 (cf. Fig. 38), but less carefully elaborated and badly preserved. Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, but has no *akṣamālā*. The upper right one carries a staff-like attribute, which is broken at the top, and thus it remains unclear if there had been *daṇḍa*, *śakti*, *triśūla* or *dhvaja* for example. The attribute of the upper left, partly broken hand, is a stylized lotus flower resembling the curled creepers of the pedestal. The lower left one holds *kamaṇḍalu*. Both the female attendants of the deity do not stand, exceptionally, next to her, but flank her pedestal. They seem to carry fly-whisks. The framing relief pillars have three shaft segments. The upper ones are decorated with *kīrtimukhas* and on the middle one of the left relief pillar there appears a male figure. All the others remain empty.



Fig. 39. Crown of Devī 10.



Fig. 41. Crown of Devī 11.



Fig. 40. Lotus pedestal of Devī 10.

✓ Devī 10 (Figs. 39, 40; Pl. 154)

The goddess wears a *jaṭāmukuta* of braids. It is decorated with a cross-shaped floral ornament on the front and with bead-strings (Fig. 39). Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* with *akṣamālā*, the upper right one holds *triśūla*. The attribute of the upper left hand seems to be *sarpa*. Though its head is broken off, its body is clearly recognizable in the hand of the deity and on the relief pillar. The lower left arm is broken up to elbow level and the attribute is also missing. On each side of the goddess stands a female attendant, and next to her right foot there is a bud-shaped object. The lotus pedestal has three separate blossoms, a large central one for the deity and small lateral ones for the attendants (Fig. 40). The framing relief pillars have four shaft segments. The uppermost one of the right pillar is decorated with a *kīrtimukha*, and that of the left pillar with a female figure. Below there is on the right a female figure sitting in *yogāsana*. The other segments remain empty.



Fig. 42. Lotus pedestal of Devī 11.



Fig. 43. Lotus pedestal of Devī 12.

Devī 11 (Figs. 41, 42; Pl. 154)

Her *karaṇḍamukūṭa* has five tiers and a bud-like crest. To the front a *kīrtimukha* is attached, and each tier is decorated with rhombus-shaped ornaments (Fig. 41). Both the right arms and the lower left one are broken off. The upper left hand holds *khaṭvāṅga*. On each side of the goddess stands a female attendant, each one on a separate lotus blossom. Into the curled creepers below the main blossom billing birds are set (Fig. 42). The uppermost sections of the framing relief pillars are left bare, all the others are decorated with tiny human figures.

Devī 12 (Fig. 43; Pl. 155)

The goddess is almost totally demolished, only the lower part of the legs and the feet remain. In addition to the usual anklets, exceptionally, heavy leg-rings are found here. To the left of the deity there are fragments of an attendant figure. The lotus flower of the pedestal shows clearly marked petals (Fig. 43). The framing pillar on the left side of the relief is totally and the right one partially demolished.

✓ c. Remarks on the Devīs

Based on common characteristic features, the twelve Devīs also form a definite group. Their textual situation is, however, not as clearly determinable as that of the Ādityas and Lokapālas. Nevertheless, a group of twelve goddesses is described as Dvādaśagaurīs in the medieval Aparājitaṭṭṭipracchā,¹²² in the Devatāmūrttiprakaraṇa and partially also in the Rūpamaṇḍana.¹²³ Considering that the Aparājitaṭṭṭipracchā was composed in the second half of the 12th cent. A.D. in the direct vicinity of Modhera, at Anahilavada Patan,¹²⁴ and that both the other texts of the 15th cent. A.D. appar-

¹²² Aparājitaṭṭṭipracchā of Bhuvanadeva, ed. by P.A. Mankad, Baroda 1950 (G. O. S. No. CXV), Sūtra 222, Śl. 1-19.

¹²³ Devatāmūrttiprakaraṇam and Rūpamaṇḍana of Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana, ed. by U.M. Sankhyatirtha, Calcutta 1936 (Calcutta Sanskrit Series No. XII). Devatāmūrttiprakaraṇam Adh. 8, Śl. 1-14; Rūpamaṇḍana Adh. 5, Śl. 1-7.

¹²⁴ Cf. P.M. Vora and M.A. Dhaky, The Date of the Aparājitaṭṭṭipracchā, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda 1959-60, Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 124-131.

ently go back to this one, it seems justifiable to identify the twelve Devīs at Modhera with the Dvādaśagaurīs of the Aparājitaṭṭṭhā.

In spite of some differences there are iconographic evidences, which confirm this, though the Modhera figures do not always allow a detailed comparison due to their poor state of preservation.

The following list gives an account of the attributes assigned by the Aparājitaṭṭṭhā to the Dvādaśagaurīs and of those, which are found actually with the Devīs at Modhera.

Aparājitaṭṭṭhā¹²⁵

Umā	<i>akṣasūtra, ambuja, darpaṇa, kamaṇḍalu</i> ¹²⁶
Pārvatī	<i>akṣasūtra, Śivadeva, Gaṇādhyakṣa, kamaṇḍalu</i>
Gaurī	<i>akṣasūtra, abhaya, padma, kamaṇḍalu</i>
Lalitā	<i>śūla, akṣasūtra, vīṇā,¹²⁷ kamaṇḍalu</i>
Śrīyā	<i>akṣa, padma,¹²⁸ abhaya, vara</i>
Kṛṣṇā	<i>akṣasūtra, kamaṇḍalu, añjali</i>
Maheśvarī ¹²⁹	<i>padma, darpaṇa¹³⁰</i>
Rambhā	<i>kamaṇḍalu, akṣa, vajra, anikuṣa</i>
Sāvitṛī	<i>akṣasūtra, pustaka, abja, kamaṇḍalu</i>
Triṣaṇḍā ¹³¹	<i>akṣasūtra, vajra, śakti, kamaṇḍalu</i>
Totalā	<i>akṣasūtra, daṇḍa, kheṭaka, cāmara</i>
Tripurā	<i>pāśa,¹³² anikuṣa, abhaya, vara</i>

Modhera

Devī 1	<i>varadamudrā / akṣamālā, śakti, pāśa, kamaṇḍalu</i>
Devī 2	<i>varadamudrā / akṣamālā, triśūla, ghaṇṭā, —</i>
Devī 3	<i>— daṇḍa (?), —, —</i>

¹²⁵ Since the corresponding verses of these three texts show a close parallelism, only the Aparājitaṭṭṭhā as the most important and oldest text, is quoted here. Deviations of both the other texts are mentioned in the annotations.

¹²⁶ The Aparājitaṭṭṭhā gives simply a list of attributes, without mentioning the corresponding hands. In general, firstly *akṣasūtra* (*akṣa, sūtra*) and fourthly *kamaṇḍalu* is quoted, starting with the lower right hand and proceeding clockwise to the lower left one. Even if this sequence is changed in the text, as for example with Lalitā and Rambhā, it can be assumed that *akṣasūtra* is held in the lower right hand and *kamaṇḍalu* in the lower left one, which is the rule in medieval art.

¹²⁷ The Dev. does not mention *śūla*, but says that *vīṇā* should be carried with two hands.

¹²⁸ The corresponding verse of the Dev. is corrupted.

¹²⁹ The Aparājitaṭṭṭhā and the Devatāmūrttiprakaraṇa give for Maheśvarī also the name Himavati.

¹³⁰ The corresponding verse of the Dev. is corrupted.

¹³¹ The Apr. mentions also Śrikhaṇḍā; the Dev. Trikhaṇḍā.

¹³² The Rup. mentions *nāgapāśa*.

Devī 4	—	<i>nīlotpala, padma, —</i>
Devī 5	—	— — —
Devī 6	<i>varadamudrā / akṣamālā, trīśūla, padma, —</i>	
Devī 7	—	<i>, daṇḍa/aṅkuṣa (?), pāśa, kamaṇḍalu</i>
Devī 8	<i>varadamudrā / akṣamālā, vajra, dhvaja, kamaṇḍalu</i>	
Devī 9	<i>varadamudrā</i>	<i>, — , padma, kamaṇḍalu</i>
Devī 10	<i>varadamudrā / akṣamālā, trīśūla, sarpa, —</i>	
Devī 11	—	<i>— khaṭvāṅga, —</i>
Devī 12	—	— — —

It is to be noted that the twelve Gaurīs of the text as well as the twelve Devīs of the temple have each four arms and carry in their lower hands mostly *akṣasūtra* (*akṣamālā*) and *kamaṇḍalu*. What differs is the combination of the attributes in the upper hands, though most of them, as for example *padma*, *trīśūla*, *pāśa*, *vajra*, *aṅkuṣa* and *daṇḍa* are found in both the cases.

Nevertheless, it is most probable that the Devīs of Modhera represent the twelve Gaurīs. Evidently they are all Śivaite goddesses and illustrate thus different aspects of Gaurī, even if their individual attributes are not mentioned in the list of the Aparājitapṛcchā. For example Devī 2 (Pl. 144) with *trīśūla* and *ghaṇṭā* in her upper hands, known as Ghaṇṭākarpī,¹³³ does not appear in the group of the Dvādaśagaurīs at all, but surely must be considered as a form of Gaurī. Moreover, there are goddesses depicted at the Modhera temple, who do figure in the list of the Aparājitapṛcchā, but carry other than the assigned attributes. This seems to be the case, for example, with Devī 6 (Pl. 147). Her attributes *trīśūla* and *padma* and her *vāhana*, the humped bull, characterize her as Maheśvarī. The text, in contrast, describes this goddess as having *padma* and *darpaṇa*.

4. The lower subsidiary reliefs of the panels

A. Two sculptures of Bhairavī

On the panels of the Lokapāla Indra (Pl. 127) and of Devī 12 (Pl. 155), that is on the south-eastern and north-eastern corners of the temple, there is found each the sculpture of the goddess Bhairavī instead of an Apsaras, as usual.

Bhairavī 1 (Pls. 127 right, 156)

The goddess stands in *tribhaṅga* on a lotus blossom. She wears a *jaṭāmukuta* with a diadem of three skulls, but her *vanamālā* and jewellery is similar to that usually worn by the Devīs at Modhera without the characteristic fearsome details. Bhairavī is two-

¹³³ T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi 1968, repr., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 368.

armed, both the hands are broken off, but the attribute of the left hand, *khaṭvāṅga*, is still to be seen, though fragmentary. The skull of the *khaṭvāṅga* is next to her crown and the lower end of the staff in front of her left leg. Two small attendants, one on each side, accompany her. To her left stands an ascetic with a raised arm, to her right a female figure showing her back.

Bhairavī 2 (Pls. 155 right, 157)

She equally stands on a lotus blossom, the *tribhaṅga* position is only slightly indicated. Her face and partially the legs are demolished. Her hairdress seems to be a wreath of projecting curls (*jaṭāmaṇḍala*). Along with the usual ornaments she wears a belt of bones, and instead of a *vanamālā* she has a *kapālamālā*, the fragments of which are still visible in front of her knees. Bhairavī has two arms. The right hand holds *kapāla*, the left *khaṭvāṅga*. To her right stands a small male attendant.

✓ B. The Apsarases (Pls. 112–121, 123, 124, 126–129, 131, 132, 134, 135, 137, 138, 143–150 each right (r.) and left (l.); Pls. 158–161)

The Apsarases are depicted always on the lower subsidiary reliefs of the panels. They amount to a group of fifty figures. All of them stand on a simple lotus pedestal, mostly frontally and in *tribhaṅga*. Only two Apsarases show their backs, but their faces appear in profile (Pls. 121, 153 each l.). Two further figures are shown from the side (Pls. 144, 149 each r.). Some Apsarases have their legs casually crossed and one arm raised above the head in the manner of an ancient Indian Yakṣī (Pls. 112 l., 115 r., 119 r., 138 r., 149 l., 150 r.). Mostly they have their hair done in one or two buns. Only exceptionally small crowns are added (Pls. 135 r., 146 l., 149 r., 160). The ornaments of the Apsarases correspond, in a simplified way, to that of the Devis. Instead of a broad necklace they wear, in general, only a single bead-string. Several thin bead-strings hang down to the hips and are laid around the breasts. They have intricate girdles (Pls. 158, 160, 161). In addition to their anklets they often wear heavy leg-rings above the ankle, mostly on one leg only (Pls. 159, 160). The Apsarases are clad generally in a skirt, the folds of which are marked by fine undulating lines on the legs. Often they hold the ends of their folded scarfs in one of their hands (Pls. 158, 160).

Some of the Apsarases carry attributes, such as variously shaped lotus flowers (Pls. 158, 149 r., 137 l.) or whisks, which are held either straight upwards (Pl. 117 l.) or casually over the shoulder (Pl. 118 r.). Three figures have a small bowl with sweets in their hands (Pls. 114 l., 132 r., 159), one Apsaras has a mirror (Pl. 160) and a further one *śaṅkha* (Pl. 117 r.). Some of them carry a child on their hip or lift it up (Pls. 127 l., 129 r., 138 l., 143 l.). Several Apsarases are shown as "Girl with a Thorn" (Pls. 113 r., 114 r., 148 r., 161) or doing their anklets (Pls. 144 r., 121 l.).

Mostly they are accompanied by small male and female attendants. The females are their maids. They hand a child up, for example (Pl. 127 l.), straighten the gown of the

✓ Apsarases (Pl. 126 r.), massage their feet (Pl. 149 l.) or form their support (Pl. 148 r.). The male attendants in contrast, who generally have the aspect of ascetics, express by various gestures their admiration for the Apsarases (Pls. 128 l., 146 r.).

✓ C. The ascetics and the leogryph (Pls. 112 r., 115 l., 116 r., 119 l., 120 r., 124 l., 159)

a. *Their arrangement on the temple wall*

The panels of several Ādityas show in one of their lower subsidiary niches instead of the Apsarases the images of ascetics and, in a single case, that of a leogryph. Apparently their arrangement on the temple wall follows a certain scheme, because they appear only on the panels of Āditya 1 and 12 (cf. Fig. 24) in the deep niches of the long sides, and on those of the Ādityas 4, 5, and 8, 9, who flank the south-western and north-western main corners (*karnas*). Precisely at these places (on Fig. 24 indicated as X) there are in the recesses two further superimposed reliefs in addition to the panels. As mentioned in chap. VII.2. the wall surfaces of the four pronounced *karnas* and of the deep niches on the northern and southern sides leave more space than needed for the panels. Each of the lower additional reliefs depicts also the image of an ascetic. Thus there are always two ascetics standing in the recesses: one belonging to the Āditya panel and the other one to the additional corner relief.

On the eastern *karnas*, which are flanked by the Devīs, no ascetics appear on the panels but only on the additional reliefs.

This fact might indicate that between the Ādityas and the ascetics there exists a special relationship. Actually, one of the sons of Sūrya, the future (*bhaviṣya*) Manu, is supposed to be represented as an ascetic. He is described as wearing *jaṭāmukuta*, but no ornaments and carrying a vessel and *akṣamālā* in his hands.¹³⁴

On the other hand, from the beginning of the 11th cent. A.D., the representation of ascetics in the recesses of the temple walls becomes usual in Gujarat and Rajasthan.¹³⁵ They replace the leogryphs (*vyālas*), which earlier had been more common and which still appear later in Central India.¹³⁶ The occurrence of a single *vyāla* at a place where, according to the scheme, an ascetic should stand, reminds of this development.

¹³⁴ Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, ed. by P. Shah, Baroda 1958 (G.O.S. No. CXXX), Khaṇḍa III, Adh. 70, Śl. 2-3.

¹³⁵ M.A. Dhaky, *The Vyāla Figures on the Mediaeval Temples of India*, Varanasi 1965 (Indian Civilisation Series II), p. 13, "... by the beginning of the 11th century, the figures of ascetics in various attitudes of austerities took their positions in the recesses apart from the *vyālas*. In the next stage the *vyālas* are almost completely replaced by ascetics in Gujarat as well as Rajasthan. The *Aparājita-prcchā*, a Vāstu-text from Gujarat (of the third quarter of the 12th century) is completely ignorant about the articulation of *vyālas* in *jalāntara* recesses. It enjoins the depiction of ascetics exclusively ...".

¹³⁶ Cf. for example, M. Flory and A. Martin, *Les Temples de Khajuraho*, Luzern 1965, illustrations on pp. 54, 55, 56; S.B. Deo, *Mārkaṇḍī Temples*, Nagpur 1973, Pl. VI.

b. The description of the ascetics

- ✓ The ascetics are shown either nude with their hair bound up in a long bun (Pls. 112 r., 116 r., 120 r.) or clad in a loincloth (*kaupīna*) and provided with a *jatāmukuta* (Pls. 119 l., 124 l.). All are bearded and wear the Brāhmaṇical cord (*yajñōpavīta*). They are two-armed. If preserved, the hands hold a book (Pls. 119 l., 124 l.), *akṣamālā* (Pl. 120 r.) or a water-pot (Pls. 116 r., 120 r.).

c. The description of the leogryph

- ✓ The animal is shown in profile standing on one hind leg. Beneath the raised hind leg squats a male figure with a sword. The jaws of the leogryph are widely opened, his neck is decorated with a bead-string, and his exuberant mane is suggested by undulating lines. In size and style it does not fit into the general scheme. Obviously it is a later substitution (cf. chap. VII.2.).

5. The upper subsidiary reliefs of the panels¹³⁷

Vaiṣṇavī (Pls. 122 l., 162)

The goddess stands in *tribhaṅga*. The foot of the trailing leg rests on a lotus blossom offered by an attendant. She has four arms. Her attributes are *śaṅkha*, *gadā*, and *cakra*. With her lower left arm she embraces a child, which sits on her hip. Vaiṣṇavī wears *kirīṭamukuta* and is adorned with necklaces and girdles. To her right and left squat attendants.

Sarasvatī (Pls. 112 r., 163)

She sits in *ardhaparyāṅka* position on a lotus throne. With her front hands she holds *vīṇā*. The upper right hand carries a lotus blossom, the upper left one is not visible. Sarasvatī wears *jatāmukuta*.

✓ Nirṛtī (Pls. 113 l., 164)

The two-armed goddess is nude, but not emaciated. She sits in *sukhāsana* on a reclining human figure. Her hair is combed back and forms a bun. There are no attributes but her hands rest on her knees.

¹³⁷ The descriptions follow the sequence of the plates of the "main deities". Firstly the subsidiary reliefs of the Ādityas, secondly those of the Lokapālas and thirdly those of the Devīs are treated. The first number of plate refers to the whole panel (right and left abbreviated as r. and l.) and the second one to the individual illustrations of the different deities. If a relief is badly preserved no individual illustration is given, but only the number of the whole panel. For the sequence of the panels and their subsidiary reliefs, see also Figs. 24, 50–52. If not mentioned especially, the enumeration of the attributes starts with the lower right hand, proceeding clockwise to the lower left one.

✓ Indrāṇī (Pls. 113 r., 165)

She stands in dancing position with slightly bent legs. With her lower right hand she embraces a child, which sits on her hip. Her upper right hand holds *daṇḍa*, the upper left *anikuṣa* and the lower left one *vajra*. Crown and ornaments are corroded. To her sides squat attendants.

✓ Īśānī (Pls. 114 l., 166)

The deity stands in *tribhaṅga*. She has four arms. Her lower right hand lies in *kaṭihasta* on her hip. In her upper hands she carries *triśūla* and *sarpa*. The attribute of the lower left one is no longer identifiable. Īśānī wears *jaṭāmukuta*. To her right stands an attendant.

Goddess (Pl. 114 r.)

She sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a lotus throne. The attributes of her upper hands are no longer recognizable. But her lower right hand seems to show *varadamudrā* and the lower left one holds *kamaṇḍalu*. Her hair is arranged in a semicircular wreath similar to that of Devī 4 (cf. Fig. 38).

✓ Kubera (Pls. 115 l., 167)

The pot-bellied god sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a throne. He has four arms. His lower right hand holds a citrus-fruit (*mātulūṅga*, *bijapūraka*¹³⁸). Both his upper hands carry his purse (*nidhi*), which lies on the shoulders. His lower left hand is not visible. Kubera wears *karaṇḍamukuta* and is adorned with earrings and bead-strings.

✓ Brahmāṇī (Pl. 115 r.)

The goddess stands in *tribhaṅga*. She has three heads and four arms. The lower ones are broken off and the attributes of the upper ones are much corroded and difficult to recognize. Possibly her upper right hand carries *sruk*. To her sides are standing attendants.

Goddess (Pl. 116 l.)

She stands in *tribhaṅga*. Of her four hands the upper and lower right ones are broken off. The attributes of the left ones are no longer identifiable. To her left stands an attendant.

¹³⁸ According to the *Aparājita-prcchā* Kubera should carry *bijapūraka*. Cf. chap. XII.2.

Śivaite Goddess (Pl. 116 r.)

The deity sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a throne. She has four arms, but of the attributes only *khaṭvāṅga* in the upper left and *kamaṇḍalu* in the lower left hand can be recognized.

Male Deity (Pl. 117 l.)

He sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a lotus throne and is clad in a *dhōtī*. All his four arms are broken off and there are no fragments of attributes.

✓ Indrāṇī (Pls. 117 r., 168)

The goddess stands in *tribhaṅga*. She has four arms, however, both of her lower hands are broken off. The upper right one holds *vajra* and the upper left *aṅkuśa*. She wears *karaṇḍamukuta*. To her left lies her *vāhana*, the elephant.

✓ Īśānī (Pls. 118 l., 169)

She stands in *samabhaṅga* position. Of her four arms the lower ones are broken. The upper right hand holds *triśūla*, the upper left one *sarpa*. Fragments of a nimbus are recognizable. To her sides squat attendants.

Varāha (Pls. 118 r., 170)

The standing deity has his left foot placed on a pedestal. He is four-armed. The lower right hand shows *kaṭihasta*, the upper right one holds *gadā*. The goddess Bhūdevī sits upon his upper left arm, his hand still holds *śaṅkha*. The attribute of the lower left hand is corroded.

Śiva (Pls. 119 l., 171)

Śiva is shown in dancing pose. His legs are slightly bent and crossed. The frontal left arm lies diagonally across his body (*daṇḍahasta*). The back left hand holds *khaṭvāṅga*. Of the right arms only the frontal one is visible and seems to be raised in *abhayaṃudrā*. He wears *jaṭāmukuta* and is adorned with the usual ornaments and a Brāhmaṇical cord.

Durgā (Pls. 119 r., 172)

The goddess stands in *tribhaṅga*. Fragments of a nimbus are visible. She has four arms. The lower right hand shows *varaḍamudrā* and holds *akṣamālā*, the upper right one carries *triśūla*. With her upper left hand Durgā holds *śakti*, the lower left one is broken off. To her right sits an animal, partly demolished, but still recognizable as a lion, her *vāhana*. To her left lies a human figure.

Deity (Pl. 121 l.)

The figure stands in *tribhaṅga*. It is badly preserved. The head and all the arms are broken off. There are no fragments of attributes.

Gaṇeśa (Pls. 121 r., 173)

The elephant-headed, pot-bellied god sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a round, cushion-like pedestal. He has four arms. The lower right hand holds his tooth (*danta*). The attribute of the upper right one is not recognizable. The upper left seems to carry *paraśu* and the lower left one a bowl with *laḍḍus*.

Kubera (?) (Pls. 122 l., 174)

The god is pot-bellied and sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a stool. He has four arms, but only the attribute of the lower left hand, *bijapūraka*, is preserved. His hair is dressed in a wreath of projecting curls (*jatāmaṇḍala*).

Male Deity (Pls. 122 r., 175)

The deity stands in *samabhaṅga* and has four arms. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and holds *akṣamālā*. The upper right one carries *hala*. The attributes of both the left hands are not identifiable. The god wears *jaṭāmukuta* and is provided with the usual ornaments and *yajñopavīta*. To either side stands an attendant. Both are badly preserved.

Kubera (Pls. 123 l., 176)

He stands in *tribhaṅga*. He has four arms. The lower right hand rests on *gadā*. The upper right one holds *nidhi*, which lies on his shoulders. The upper left hand carries *padma* and the lower left one is broken away. Kubera is pot-bellied and wears *karaṇḍamukuta* and the usual ornaments.

Īśānī (Pls. 123 r., 177)

The goddess sits in *ardhaparyāṅkā* position on a lotus throne. She has four arms. Her lower right hand, which rests on her right knee, shows *varadamudrā*. The upper right one carries *triśūla*, the upper left one *sarpa* and the lower left one *kamaṇḍalu*. She wears *jaṭāmukuta* and is adorned with necklaces and girdles.

Ghaṇṭākarṇī (Pls. 124 l., 178)

She sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a lotus throne. Of her four hands the lower right one lies on her knee, showing *varadamudrā*. The upper right one carries *triśūla*, the upper left one *ghaṇṭā* and the lower left one probably *kamaṇḍalu*, which is badly preserved. She wears *jaṭāmukuta*.

Gaṇeśa (Pl. 124 r.)

The pot-bellied god has four arms. Both the right arms are broken off. The upper left hand carries a bowl with *laḍḍus*, the lower one rests on his attribute *paraśu*. Gaṇeśa stands in *tribhaṅga* and to his right side there are fragments of an animal figure, possibly of his *vāhana*, the rat.

Sāvitṛī (Pls. 126 l., 179)

She stands in dancing pose with slightly bent knees and has four arms. Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the other hands carry *padma*, *pustaka*, and *kamaṇḍalu*. Sāvitṛī wears *karaṇḍamukuṭa* and has in addition to the usual ornaments *vanamālā*. Next to her right and left foot are bud-shaped objects.

Viṣṇu (Pls. 126 r., 180)

Viṣṇu stands in *samabhaṅga*. He has four arms. The lower right hand is broken off, the other hands carry *gadā*, *cakra* and *śaikha*. He is provided with *kiriṭamukuṭa*, the usual ornaments and *vanamālā*. To his right and left are bud-shaped objects as with Sāvitṛī.

Female Figure (Pl. 127 l.)

The two-armed female figure stands in *tribhaṅga*, making up her eyes. Her left hand holds a tiny vessel.

Female Deity (Pls. 127 l., 181)

She is dancing, her legs are crossed in *svastika* position. The attribute of her lower right hand is no longer recognizable, that of the upper right hand could be *śakti* or *sruk*. The upper left one carries *padma* and the lower left *kamaṇḍalu*. The deity is provided with *jaṭāmukuṭa* and the usual ornaments. To her right and left there are bud-shaped ornaments.

✓ Brahmā (Pls. 128 l., 182)

The pot-bellied god stands in *samabhaṅga* position. He has four arms. The lower right hand is broken off. The attributes of the other hands are *pustaka*, *kamaṇḍalu* and a staff, which could be a part of *sruk* or *sruva*. He wears *jaṭāmukuṭa* and has a pointed beard. Along with his usual ornaments he has *vanamālā*. Next to his right and left foot are bud-shaped objects.

Śiva Andhakāsuravadha (Pl. 128 r.)

He is shown in *ālīḍha* pose. His left foot rests on a blossom, which is attached to the back of a slumped human figure. The god carries his attribute, *triśūla*, with the lower

right and upper left hands. The demon Andhaka, who is, according to the legend, pierced by Śiva, is not depicted here. The attributes of both his other hands are no longer identifiable. The relief is very flat and unclearly worked.

Vaiṣṇavī (Pls. 129 l., 183)

The goddess stands in *tribhaṅga*. She has four arms. The lower right one is broken off. In her upper hands she carries *gadā* and *śaṅkha*. The attribute of the lower left hand is not quite clear, possibly it is *cakra*, shown frontally. Vaiṣṇavī wears *karaṇḍa-mukūṭa*.

Maheśvarī (Pls. 129 r., 184)

Maheśvarī has her left leg bent and drawn up, supporting her foot on an attendant. She is four-armed. Her lower right hand holds a child, the upper hands carry *sarpa* and *triśūla*, and the lower left a vessel or a citrus-fruit (?). She wears *jaṭāmukūṭa*.

✓ Brahmā (Pl. 131 l.)

He has three heads, the front face is bearded. Of his four hands the lower right one shows *varadamudrā*, the upper right holds *śrūk*. The attribute of the upper left one is no longer recognizable, but that of the lower left hand is clearly *karaṇḍalu*. The god is pot-bellied and adorned with *vanamālā*. Next to his right foot there is a small, badly preserved animal, possibly representing *haṁsa*, his *vāhana*.

Śivaite Goddess (Īśānī ?) (Pl. 131 r.)

The deity stands in the *tribhaṅga* position. She has four arms. The lower right hand is broken off. The upper right one carries *triśūla*, the upper left one a strongly corroded attribut, perhaps *sarpa*, and the lower left one *karaṇḍalu*. She wears *jaṭāmukūṭa*.

✓ Brahmāṇī (Pl. 132 l.)

The four-armed goddess stands in *tribhaṅga*. She is badly preserved. It seems that her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and that the other hands hold the attributes *śrūk*, *pustaka* and *karaṇḍalu*. She wears *jaṭāmukūṭa*.

Male Deity (Pl. 132 r.)

The figure is poorly preserved. It is standing in a dancing pose, but its identity is no longer determinable.

✓ Īśānī (Pl. 134 l.)

The goddess stands in *tribhaṅga*, but has her right leg slightly bent and raised. She seems to have been four-armed, although her lower right and upper left hands are no

longer clearly recognizable. The upper right one holds *triśūla* and the lower left one *kamaṇḍalu*. She wears *jaṭāmukuṭa*. Behind her left leg lies her *vāhana*, the bull.

✓ Brahmāṇī (Pls. 134 r., 185)

She is shown in *tribhaṅga* and has four arms. Her lower right hand lies in *vara-damudrā* on her hip, the upper right one holds *sruk* or *śakti*, the upper left *pustaka* and the lower left *kamaṇḍalu*. She wears *jaṭāmukuṭa*. In addition to the usual ornaments she has a long shawl hanging down from her lower arms. To her right is placed a bud-shaped object.

Mithuna (Pl. 135 l.)

This relief is very flat and badly preserved. Only the outlines of a male and a female figure are still to be seen.

Vaiṣṇavī (Pls. 135 r., 186)

Vaiṣṇavī is shown in dancing pose and has four arms. With her lower right arm she embraces a child, which sits on her hip. Her upper right hand holds *padma*, the upper left one is raised above the head (*caturahasta*), the lower left one rests on *gadā*.

Śivaite Goddess (Pls. 137 l., 187)

The deity stands in a slightly indicated dancing pose. She has four arms. Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and holds *akṣamālā*. The other hands carry the attributes *padma*, *sruk* and *kapāla*. She wears *jaṭāmukuṭa* and is along with the usual ornaments provided with *vanamālā*. To her left is a bud-shaped object.

Ardhanārīśvara (Pls. 137 r., 188)

The half male and half female god is shown in a dancing pose with bent knees and crossed legs, the right foot slightly raised. The hands of the right, male side show *abhayamudrā* below and *triśūla* above. Those of the left, female side, carry *darpaṇa* and *puṣpa* (?). The *jaṭāmukuṭa* is also divided into two parts. The male side of the body is provided with *yajñopavīta*. To the right foot of the god lies the *vāhana* of Śiva, Nandin.

Female Dancer (Pl. 138 l.)

This figure has her hair arranged in a bun, but there is no crown. She wears the usual ornaments. To her left squats an attendant.

Śivaite Goddess (Pls. 138 r, 189)

She stands in a dancing pose with slightly bent knees. She has four arms. Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*. The attributes of the other hands are *triśūla*, *kapāla*, and *kamaṇḍalu*. She wears *jaṭāmukuṭa*, adorned with a diadem.

✓ Brahmā (Pls. 143 l., 190)

The god sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a cushion-like pedestal. He is three-headed, each head provided with *jaṭāmukuṭa*. The front face has a pointed beard. Of the four hands the lower right one shows *varadamudrā*, and the others carry the attributes *śruṅga*, *pustaka*, and *kamaṇḍalu*. To his right foot stands his *vāhana* *haṁsa*.

Vaiṣṇavī (Pls. 143 r., 191)

Vaiṣṇavī stands in *tribhāṅga*. She has four arms. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the other ones hold *gadā*, *cakra* and *kamaṇḍalu*. She wears *kirīṭamukuṭa* and is provided with the usual ornaments and *vanamālā*.

Gaṇeśa (Pls. 144 l., 192)

The pot-bellied, elephant-headed god sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a cushion-like pedestal. He has four arms. The attribute of the lower right hand is no longer recognizable, the upper right one holds *paraśu*, the upper left *daṇḍa* and the lower left a bowl with *laḍḍus*.

Ardhanārīśvara (Pls. 144 r., 193)

The deity sits in *ardhaparyāṅka* position on a pedestal and has four arms. The right side of the body is male, the left female. The lower right, male hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper right one is broken off. The left, female hands carry a fan and *kamaṇḍalu*. The hair-crown is *jaṭāmukuṭa*, also divided into a male and a female part. Below the left leg, which rests on the seat, lies Nandin, *vāhana* of Śiva.

Cāmuṇḍā (Pls. 145 l., 194)

She is shown as dancing skeleton. Of her four arms only the lower right one, carrying *kapāla* and the upper left one, carrying *khaṭvāṅga* are preserved. She wears *jaṭāmukuṭa*. A *kapālamālā* hangs down from her shoulders. To her right lies a human figure, to her left stands an animal, which seems to be a dog.

Mithuna (Pl. 145 r.)

A male and a female person standing side by side, having their arms laid around the other's shoulder.

✓ Īśāna (Pls. 146 l., 195)

The god stands in *tribhaṅga* position. He has four arms. His lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and holds *akṣamālā*. The other hands carry the attributes *triśūla*, *sarpa*, and *kamaṇḍalu*. Īśāna is provided with *jaṭāmukuṭa*, earrings and, in addition to the usual ornaments, *yajñopavīta* and *vanamālā*. To his right stands a male attendant, to his left his *vāhana*, the bull.

Gaṇeśa with Śakti (Pls. 146 r., 196)

The pot-bellied god and his Śakti to his left stand in *tribhaṅga*. Both have two arms. Gaṇeśa's right hand lies on *paraśu*, his left arm embraces the goddess, and the left hand carries a bowl with *laḍḍus*. The goddess has her right arm laid around Gaṇeśa, the attribute of her left hand is corroded.

Śiva (Pl. 147 l.)

Śiva is represented here in his fearsome (*ugra*) aspect. He is dancing. His lower right hand is raised to shoulder height, the lower left one shows *kaṭihasta*. The upper hands carry *triśūla* and *khaṭvāṅga*. He wears *jaṭāmukuṭa*. To his left squats an attendant.

Deity (Pl. 148 l.)

The deity stands in *tribhaṅga* and has four arms. It is badly preserved, the attributes are no longer identifiable. His lower right hand seems to show *varadamudrā* pointing to an animal.

Mahākālī (Pls. 148 r., 197)

She is represented walking and has four arms. The attribute of the lower right hand is corroded, that of the upper right one is *khaḍga*, of the upper left *kheṭaka*, and of the lower left one *kapāla*. Mahākālī is adorned with *vanamālā*, her crown is corroded and the attendant figure badly preserved.

Śiva (Pls. 149 l., 198)

Again he is shown in his terrifying aspect. He has four arms. The lower right hand is raised to the shoulder, the left one lies in *daṇḍahasta* in front of his body, indicating his dancing position. The upper hands carry *triśūla* and *khaṭvāṅga*. He wears *jaṭāmukuṭa*. To his right side stands Nandin, his *vāhana*, and to his left sits a pot-bellied male attendant.

✓ Īśāna (Pls. 149 r., 199)

He stands in *tribhaṅga* position and has four arms. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and seems to hold *akṣamālā*. The upper hands carry *triśūla* and *sarpa*,

but the attribute of the lower left hand is corroded. Īśāna is provided with *jaṭāmukuṭa*, the usual ornaments and *vanamālā*. To his right lies the bull, his *vāhana*.

Śiva (Pls. 150 l., 200)

Śiva is dancing. He has four arms. His frontal right hand carries *damaru*, the back one *sarpa*. With his frontal left hand he holds a staff, the upper end of which is broken and thus it remains unclear whether *triśūla* or *khaṭvāṅga* had been depicted. The back left hand holds *kapāla*. To his left side stands a female attendant, to his right lies the bull Nandin.

Bhairava (Pls. 150 r., 201)

He, too, is dancing and has four arms. His frontal right hand at shoulder height shows *caturahasta* and the frontal left one *kaṭihasta*. The back hands carry *triśūla* and *khaṭvāṅga*. In addition to *jaṭāmukuṭa* and the usual ornaments he is also provided with *kapālamālā*. Female attendants sit on both his sides.

Two Female Figures (Pl. 153 l.)

They are shown walking and facing one another having their upper bodies slightly bent back. The right one is nude, but the left one is clad in a sort of loincloth. Both have two arms. The left figure has *khaṭvāṅga* in her right arm, the left hand lies at the chin. The figure on the right has one hand on the hip and the other one raised. Both seem to wear *jaṭāmukuṭa*.

Śiva Andhakāsuravadha (Pls. 153 r., 202)

He stands in *ālīḍha* position with the left, raised leg resting on a blossom held by an attendant. He is four-armed. His lower right and upper left hands carry *triśūla*, which pierces the human shaped demon Andhaka. With his upper right hand he carries *kapāla*, with the lower left one *sarpa*. In front of him squats an attendant.

Śiva (Pls. 154 l., 203)

The god is dancing and has four arms, but only the frontal right one, which shows *daṇḍahasta*, is preserved. Nevertheless, the attributes of both the back hands, *triśūla* and *khaṭvāṅga*, are still in place, though fragmentary. Śiva wears *jaṭāmukuṭa* and the usual ornaments. To his right and left squat attendant figures.

Deity with Śakti (Pl. 154 r.)

Both figures stand in *tribhaṅga* and have two arms. The male deity holds with his right hand *gadā*, his left arm embraces the Śakti to his left.

✓ Īśānī (Pl. 155 l.)

The goddess stands in *tribhaṅga*. She has four arms. Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the other hands hold *triśūla*, *sarpa* and *kamaṇḍalu*. To her right stands an attendant and to her left another one, who supports her *kamaṇḍalu*. She wears *jaṭāmukuṭa*.

Male Figure (Pl. 155 r.)

It stands in *tribhaṅga* and has two arms. Both hands are broken off, and there are no fragments of attributes. The head is adorned with *karaṇḍamukuṭa*. To either side stands an attendant figure.

6. The sculptures on the window balustrades (Pls. 204–214)

Of all the sculptures attached to the balustrades of the five windows, only a few are preserved, and only on the north-eastern window the complete set of five figures remain.¹³⁹

A. The south-eastern window

Viṣṇu (Pl. 204)

The sculpture is placed on the right narrow side, the only remnant of the otherwise completely destroyed balustrade. Viṣṇu stands in *tribhaṅga*, facing east. He wears a simple *kiriṭāmukuṭa* and is adorned with the usual ornaments and *vanamālā*. He has four arms. His lower right hand rests on his hip in *kaṭihasta* and on his attribute *gadā*. With the upper right hand he holds *padma*, with the upper left a strongly corroded object, which, according to the usual iconography, should be *cakra* and with the lower left one *śaṅkha*. To his right stands a small attendant.

B. The south-western window

Kārttikeya (Pl. 205)

The god stands on the right narrow side of the otherwise completely demolished balustrade. He is shown in *samabhaṅga* position, facing east. Of his six heads only three are visible, the others are imagined as being on the back side. The hair-dress of the front head is clearly divided into three parts (*śikhaṇḍaka*) and is adorned with a diadem. This face is partly damaged. Along with the usual ornaments Kārttikeya

¹³⁹ Compare the general views of the temple. Pl. 7 for the windows of the southern side, both destroyed; Pl. 14 for the western window; Pl. 15 for the destroyed north-western window; Pl. 16 for the well-preserved north-eastern window.

wears *vanamālā* and *yajñopavīta*. He has four arms. The attribute of the lower right hand is corroded and no longer identifiable, but the upper right one holds *śakti*, the staff of which is, however, broken off for the most part. The attribute of his upper left hand again is badly preserved. It is not clear if it represents the cock. His lower left hand carries a citrus-fruit (*mātuluṅga*, *bijapūraka*). To Kārttikeya's left stands the peacock with his tail fanned and his neck craned towards the fruit in the god's hand. To his right side stands a small male attendant. At the upper corners of the relief *vidyādhara* figures are placed.

C. The western window

Viṣṇu Caturvyūha (Vaikuṇṭha), (Pl. 206)

The image of this deity is attached to the left narrow side of the balustrade, facing north. Viṣṇu stands in *tribhaṅga* on a lotus blossom. Of his four heads the frontal and the side ones are visible. The frontal human head wears *kirīṭamukuṭa*. Both the side ones are theriomorphic, but due to their bad state of preservation it is not recognizable which one is the lion and which one the boar. The whole sculpture is rather weather-worn. The god has six arms, but only three hands with their attributes are preserved. The lower right one shows *varadamudrā*, the upper right one has *khadga* and the upper left one *kheṭaka*. Viṣṇu is flanked by small attendant figures, who appear to carry garlands in their hands. *Vidyādhara* figures are attached to the upper corners of the relief.

Viṣṇuite Figure (Pl. 207)

This sculpture is attached to the left front side of the balustrade and faces west. It is badly preserved. All the four arms are broken off, and there are no fragments of attributes. The *kirīṭamukuṭa* indicates the Viṣṇuite character of the deity. Apparently there had been a snake hood above the crown, a single snake head is still to be seen. The deity stands in *samabhaṅga* and is flanked by attendants. *Vidyādhara*s are shown in the upper corners of the relief.

Viṣṇuite Figure (Pl. 208)

The relief is placed on the right front side of the balustrade, facing west. The deity stands in *samabhaṅga* on a lotus blossom. The *kirīṭamukuṭa*, which is provided with a diadem, is surrounded by a five-headed snake hood. The god wears round earrings and has *vanamālā*. Neck and waist jewellerys are weather-worn. Of the four arms only the upper left one is preserved, the others are broken off at elbow height. The preserved hand holds *cakra*. To the right and the left of the god stand attendant figures. At the usual place *vidyādhara*s are to be seen.

✓ Agni (Pl. 209)

The god is placed at the right narrow side of the balustrade, facing south. He stands in *samabhaṅga* on a lotus blossom. He wears *jaṭāmukuta* with diadem and is bearded. He is pot-bellied. His body is adorned with the usual jewellery, a Brāhmaṇical cord and *vanamālā*. Of his four arms only the upper left one is preserved. The hand carries a manuscript (*pustaka*). These few characteristics don't allow a clear identification of this deity, since *jaṭāmukuta*, beard, pot-belly and the attribute *pustaka* point as well to Brahmā as to Agni. Other peculiar features, which distinguish them, are not found here. The flames behind the body and the head of Agni are missing here as well as on another sculpture of Agni at Modhera (cf. chap. VIII.2.B. No. 4). But also there are not the three heads, normally attributed to Brahmā and shown on all the Brahmā figures at Modhera.

Still the attendants to the right and the left of the god may give the clue to his identity. The figure to his right wears *jaṭāmukuta* and *dhōṭī* and carries a long staff. Possibly this is Daṇḍa, who is also to be understood as being Skanda, the son of Agni and Śiva according to epic mythology.¹⁴⁰ The other attendant is possibly Piṅgala, who, too, is closely related to Agni.¹⁴¹

D. The north-eastern window

Three-headed Goddess (Pl. 210)

The relief is attached to the left narrow side of the balustrade, facing east. The goddess stands in a slightly suggested *tribhaṅga* position. All of her three heads are provided with *jaṭāmukuta*. The frontal face is greatly damaged. All of her four hands are broken off and there are no fragments of attributes. At the upper and lower right corners of the relief leaf-shaped decorative objects are found.

✓ Īśānī (Pl. 211)

The relief of Īśānī is fixed to the left front side of the balustrade, facing north. The goddess stands in *tribhaṅga* position. Since she is covered with *pūjā* paint, details are difficult to recognize. It seems that she wears *jaṭāmukuta*. Her face is destroyed and of her four arms only the upper left one is preserved. The hand holds *sarpa*. To her left stands an animal, the head of which is broken off. Possibly it represents a humped

¹⁴⁰ The birth of Skanda/Kārttikeya as a son of Agni is narrated in the Rāmāyaṇa, The Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa, crit. ed. by G.H. Bhatt, Baroda 1960, Bālakāṇḍa, Sarga 36. The birth of Skanda as a son of Agni and Śiva (in his form as Svāhā, wife of Ṛṣi Aṅgiras) is narrated in the Mahābhārata, crit. ed. by V.S. Sukthankar, Poona 1942, Āraṇyakaparvan, 214.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Bhaviṣyamahāpurāṇa, Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara ed., Bombay 1959, Brahmaparvan, Adh. 124, Śl. 20; Sāmba-Purāṇa, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay 1899. Cf. R.C. Hazra, Studies in the Upapurāṇas, Calcutta 1958 (Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, No. II), Vol. I, pp. 44 ff.

bull, the *vāhana* of Īśānī. To her right the fragments of an attendant are to be seen. From the right and left corners of the narrow canopy top-shaped decorative elements hang down.

Viṣṇuite Goddess (Pl. 212)

This relief is placed in the center of the front side of the balustrade, facing north. It is also covered with *pūjā* paint and thus it is difficult to distinguish details. But it is clear that the goddess wears *kirīṭamukūṭa*, which is surrounded by an originally five headed serpent hood. Now only three heads are preserved. The deity stands in *samabhaṅga* position and is, along with the usual jewellery, adorned with *vanamālā*. All of her four arms are broken off at elbow height and no fragments of attributes are left. To her right and left fragments of attendant figures are to be seen. On the upper border of the relief there are top-shaped decorative elements.

Viṣṇuite Deity (Pl. 213)

The god stands on the right front side of the balustrade, facing north. He is shown in *tribhaṅga* position and adorned with *kirīṭamukūṭa*, which is surrounded by a five-headed snake hood. This figure, too, is completely covered with *pūjā* paint, nevertheless, the usual jewellery, *yajñopavīta*, *dhōṭī* and *vanamālā* are to be seen. All the four arms are broken off. To the left of the deity fragments of an attendant are left.

Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardini (Pl. 214)

She is found on the right narrow side of the north-eastern window balustrade, facing west. She stands with her right foot placed on the back of the buffalo demon Mahiṣa having cut off his head with the sword (*khaḍga*) in her upper right hand. The buffalo head lies between the legs of the animal. With her lower left hand she has gripped a small figure, which is projecting out from the animal's neck and represents the demon Mahiṣa in his human form. Her upper left hand carries a shield, the lower right one is broken off. She has no crown but her hair is built up in a semicircular wreath (cf. Devī 4, Fig. 38). To her right is shown her *vāhana*, the lion, gripping the buffalo in front of him.

7. The doorframe of the temple entrance

A. The lowermost figural frieze (Pls. 215, 216)

In the central niche of the lowermost figural frieze of both jambs a deity is shown sitting in *ardhaparyāṅka* position upon a throne. The god on the left side is the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa embracing his Śakti, who sits on his left lap and a female attendant standing to his right. On the right jamb the pot-bellied Kubera sits, embrac-

ing with his left arm his Śakti sitting on his lap. His right hand lies on his thigh. To his right stands a female attendant. The attribute of Kubera, a bag, appears behind his head and is supported by the two females.¹⁴²

B. The Dvārapālas (Pls. 215, 216)

Both the Dvārapālas stand in *tribhaṅga* position with the swing of their hips directed towards the doorway. They wear *karaṇḍamukuṭa*, the usual jewellery, *dhōṭī* and *vanamālā*. Both have four arms, but nearly all of their hands are broken off, only their upper right ones are preserved. The Dvārapāla of the left jamb has this hand raised to the shoulder, but no attribute is visible. The Dvārapāla of the right jamb carries a lotus blossom in his hand. He is accompanied by ascetics who stand to his right and left up to knee height. The trailing legs of both the Dvārapālas are destroyed, but their standing legs are well preserved and it is clearly discernible that the figure on the right doorjamb is provided with boots just as the Sun-god.

The figure on the left doorjamb has leg rings. This one is bearded and pot-bellied and represents apparently Piṅgala, while the other one is Daṇḍa. They are the attendants of Sūrya and according to different texts the door guardians of temples dedicated to the Sun-god.¹⁴³

C. The reliefs of the Sun-god (Pls. 221–228)

a. Survey

To the *bhadra* fields of the four framed niches on each doorjamb images of the Sun-god are attached. Sūrya is shown here in his characteristic form but in addition to his own attributes he carries those of Śiva or Viṣṇu or Brahmā. It may be startling that on a temple dedicated to the Sun-god he appears in a syncretistic form at such an important place as is the entrance doorframe. This can be explained not only by the tendency of amalgamation of the various sects in the medieval period, but also by the fact that the Hindu ritual inherently is syncretistic. Thus the Sun-god is venerated in the Sāndhya-ceremony, which is practised since ancient times up to the present day by Hindu Brāhmaṇs, no matter if they are followers of Śiva or of Viṣṇu.

¹⁴² A north-western Vāstu-text explicitly says that Gaṇeśa and Kubera should be depicted on the doorframe. Cf. P. O. Sompura, *The Vāstuvidyā of Viśvakarmā* in: *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. by P. Chandra, New Delhi 1975, p. 53.

¹⁴³ T. Bhattacharyya remarks, "Hayaśiṣa Pañcharātra (Saura Kāṇḍa) makes Daṇḍa and Piṅgala the right and the left Dvārapālas evidently of the Sūryya temples." Cf. *A Study on Vāstuvidyā*, or *Canons of Indian Architecture*, Patna 1947, p. 240. M.-Th. de Mallmann mentions that also the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, III, XII, 3 prescribes Daṇḍa and Piṅgala as Dvārapālas of Sun-temples. Cf. *Les Enseignements Iconographiques de l'Agni-Purana*, Paris 1963, p. 92, fn. 1. Further texts, which concern Daṇḍa and Piṅgala Dvārapālas of Sūrya temples are quoted by H. v. Stietencron, *Daṇḍanāyaka und Piṅgala*, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, 1971, p. 10. In his article Stietencron especially treats the problem of identification of both.

b. General description of the composite Sūrya images

All the eight figures of Sūrya are shown sitting on a pedestal, which remains undecorated on the left jamb, but has on the right one curled scrolls. The prancing horses of the Sun-god are in front of the pedestal. They are either four (Pls. 221, 222, 223) or seven (Pls. 224, 228). In each case the deity is provided with *kiriṭamukūṭa* and the typical clothing (cuirass, broad belt and boots). He is adorned with earrings and necklace. It is to be noted that on the left jamb there are *vidyādhara*s next to the god's head (Pls. 221–224) while on the right one leaves are hanging down (Pls. 225–228).

*c. Individual descriptions of the composite Sūrya images*¹⁴⁴

Sūrya/Brahmā (Pl. 221)

Cuirass and boots of the deity are scaled. The original number of arms is no longer determinable, all of the hands are broken off. In front of the feet is shown *haṃsa*, the *vāhana* of Brahmā.

Sūrya/Viṣṇu (Pl. 222)

The deity seems to have four arms. Both the lower hands carry the lotus blossoms of Sūrya, the upper ones *gadā* and *cakra* of Viṣṇu. Around the long boots ribbons are wound.

Sūrya/Śiva (Pl. 223)

Originally there were six arms, but both the lower ones are broken off. The middle ones carry the lotus blossoms of Sūrya and the upper ones *triśūla* and *khaṭvāṅga* of Śiva.

Sūrya/Śiva (Pl. 224)

There are six arms. The lower ones carry the lotus blossoms of Sūrya, the right middle one *śara* and the right upper one *triśūla*. The attributes of the corresponding left arms are no longer identifiable.

Sūrya/Viṣṇu (Pl. 225)

The figure has eight arms. The attributes of both the lower hands are no longer determinable. The second pair of hands carries the lotus blossoms of Sūrya, the third one *śara* and *dhanus*, and the fourth one on the right a corroded and therefore undefinable object and on the left *cakra*.

¹⁴⁴ Descriptions start with the lowermost figure on the left doorjamb proceeding clockwise to the lowermost figure of the right jamb.

Sūrya/Undeterminable Deity (Pl. 226)

The deity has also eight arms. One of the middle pairs of hands carries the lotus blossoms of Sūrya. The other hands are either broken off, or their attributes are no longer identifiable and it remains uncertain which deity is shown together with Sūrya.

Sūrya/Brahmā (Pl. 227)

The eight-armed god has the lower right hand stretched out in *varadamudrā* and the left one holds *kamaṇḍalu*. The second pair of hands carries the lotus blossoms of Sūrya, the third one seems to hold on the right *śrūk* and on the left *pustaka*. The attribute of the upper right hand is not recognizable, that of the left might be a lotus bud.

Sūrya/Viṣṇu/Brahmā (Pl. 228)

The deity has eight arms. The lower right hand is stretched out in *varadamudrā* and the left one, now broken off, apparently carried a vessel. The second pair of hands carries the lotus blossoms of Sūrya, the third one on the right *cakra*, the left is broken off. The attributes of the fourth pair of hands are on the right *śrūk* and on the left *gadā*.

8. The twelve Ādityas inside the temple (Fig. 44, Pls. 229–240) ✓

In contrast to the exuberant ornamentation of the outer walls, the inner walls of the temple have been left bare for the most part. But at each of the main corners of the inner chamber and in the middle of each long side two framed niches are worked out – thus numbering twelve –, which shelter images of the Ādityas. It is to be noted that here the Ādityas are distributed all around the inner chamber, other than on the exterior walls, where the sun-gods are grouped around the cella-part only. Fig. 44 illustrates this arrangement. The dotted line in the drawing indicates the outline of the inner chamber, the numbers given refer to the respective illustrations.

All the twelve images show the characteristic features of Sūrya and are almost identical among themselves. They stand in *samabhaṅga* position on a lotus blossom.¹⁴⁵ The pedestal of seven horses, as it appears with the Ādityas on the outer walls, is found with none of them.¹⁴⁶ Each figure has two arms bent at hip height. The hands

¹⁴⁵ The *Aṃśumadbhedāgama*, Paṭala 49, and the *Suprabhedāgama*, Paṭala 48, prescribe a lotus pedestal for the Ādityas. Cf. T.A.G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi 1968, repr., Vol. I, Pt. II, Appendix C, pp. 83, 84. – A lotus blossom, instead of a pedestal of seven horses is frequently found on medieval Sūrya images.

¹⁴⁶ Burgess and Cousens erroneously state that some of them are standing on a pedestal of seven horses (*The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, London 1903, p. 75).

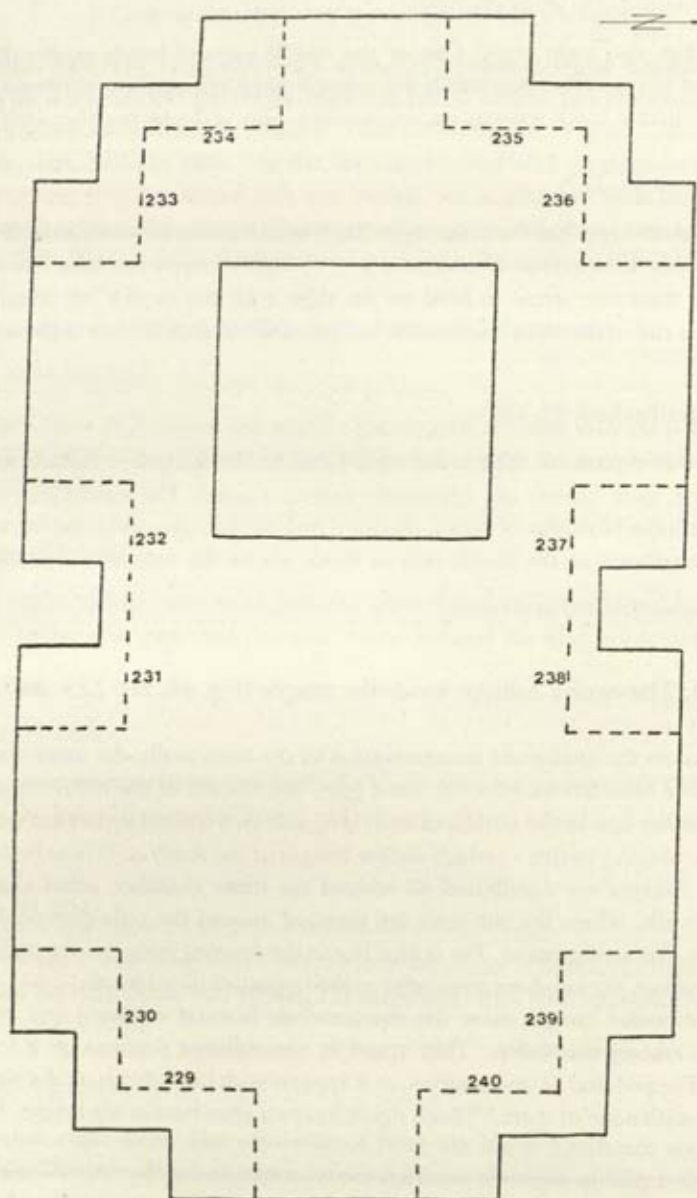


Fig. 44. The distribution of the Ādityas inside the temple (the numbers refer to the respective plates).

are broken off everywhere, but the attributes, full-blown, very large lotus blossoms are still to be seen at shoulder or face height of the deities.

✓ All the Ādityas wear a cylindrical crown (*kirīṭamukuṭa*), a cuirass (*kavaca*), a broad belt (*avyaiga*), a shawl (*uttariya vastra*), a *dhōṭī* and boots. The crown is, in general, less elaborated than that of the Ādityas on the outer walls. It has a pointed crest but only in a few cases diadem-like decorations (Pls. 231, 237, 239, 240). In general the cuirass is scaled, blossom ornaments on it appear in only one case (Pl. 229). The belt consists always of four or six twisted cords, which are closed with a broad buckle in front. A stylized *dhōṭī* in the form of a folded scarf lies on the thighs, but on three figures the legs are covered down to the knees by a tightly fitting gown (Pls. 231, 235 although poorly recognizable on the photo, 239). The upper garment with its flapping ends, hangs like a *vanamālā* from the elbows down to the knees. Usually the boots have the same incised pattern as the cuirass. The Ādityas are adorned with disc-shaped earrings (*kuṇḍalas*) and necklaces of several bead-strings (*hāras*). Several of them have a Śrīvatsa mark on the chest (Pls. 235, 237, 239, 240). The Brāhmaṇical cord is missing, as a rule.

✓ The attendants of the Sun-god, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, are standing in *tribhaṅga* position on both sides of the deities. Daṇḍa is found on the left with a long staff in one hand and the other resting on the hip, and Piṅgala stands on the right. It remains unclear if he carries his usual attributes, the stylus and the inkpot. Both wear either *jaṭāmukuṭa* (Pls. 229, 236, 238) or *karaṇḍamukuṭa* (Pls. 232, 233). Generally they are dressed in a *dhōṭī* and are, like the deities, provided with an upper garment. In some cases they have the Brāhmaṇical cord (Pls. 232, 233, 236, 238).

On the upper corners of the twelve reliefs garland bearers (*vidyādhāras*) are to be seen.

9. The cella doorframe

A. The lowest figural frieze (Pls. 243, 244)

The *bhadra* niches of the lowest figural frieze bear the images of deities, sitting in *ardhaparyāṅka* position. On the left is found the elephant-headed, fat Gaṇeśa (Pl. 243). His Śakti sits on his left lap. He is adorned with the usual jewellery and an abdominal belt. In his right hand he holds an object which might be *paraśu*, the left one is laid around his consort.

The deity on the right side of the doorframe seems to be Kubera (Pl. 244). He is pot-bellied and has his hair tightly combed back. His left hand grasps a longish object with incised lozenge-pattern, the lower end of which lies as a sack below his left foot while the upper end runs out into a bud-shaped point next to his head. With his right arm he embraces his Śakti, who sits on his right leg. The right side of a male deity, normally, does not correspond to his Śakti, but in this special case this arrangement seems to have been necessary with respect to architecture. Both Gaṇeśa and Kubera

should face together with their Śaktis the dooropening. Thus it was unavoidable to place one of the Śaktis to the right of the god.

B. The Dvārapālas (Pls. 245, 246)

The lower parts of the jambs show the images of the Dvārapālas. They are standing in *tribhaṅga*, are directed towards the entrance, have two arms and are adorned with *kaṇḍamukuṭa*, the usual jewellery, *dhotī* and *vanamālā*. Both of them wear scaled boots.

The Dvārapāla on the left jamb is pot-bellied and provided with a pointed beard (Pl. 245). The attribute in his right hand appears to be a small vessel. The left one shows *varadamudrā*. A small attendant is visible on his right side. The Dvārapāla on the right jamb has his right hand broken off, his left carries a pointed staff (Pl. 246). To his right stands a female attendant. Here again the guardians of the door are to be identified with Piṅgala and Daṇḍa.

C. The representations of the Sun-god (Pl. 247)

The upper parts of the jambs have three superimposed framed niches. Their *bhadra* fields bear images of the Sun-god. The stereotyped representation of the six deities suggests that some of the Ādityas are shown. They are standing in *samabhaṅga* on an undecorated pedestal and carry lotus blossoms in both their hands. The gods are provided with *kiriṭamukuṭa*, broad belt, *dhotī*, and boots, and are adorned with *vanamālā*. To their right stands Piṅgala and to their left Daṇḍa with a long staff in his hand.

10. The pedestal of the cult-image in the underground chamber of the cella (Pls. 59, 60)

The 1.18 m long stone block, the pedestal of the former cult-image, is somewhat sunken into the earth, so that its actual height cannot be determined exactly. Its visible height is 44 cm. The frontal border is partly damaged. Six of the originally seven horses are still to be seen, the seventh one on the right corner is completely destroyed. Their arrangement is symmetrical. Three prancing animals with their heads bent back are grouped on both sides of the central, frontally shown horse. This one and those on the right side of the pedestal are badly damaged, while those on the left side are rather well preserved and give an impression of the high quality, which the cult-image once possessed. Beneath the prancing horse on the left side of the pedestal a small human figure is bending backwards. His round and bulging eyes suggest that we are dealing here with the demon of darkness, savaged by the horses of Sūrya. Next to the central horse appears the body of a female figure, bending forwards. She might represent the goddess Mahāśvetā, who, according to the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa, should be depicted on a Sūrya image.¹⁴⁷

VIII. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SCULPTURES AT THE DANCING HALL

1. Survey

Representations of various deities are found at the dancing hall primarily on the projecting corners of the balustrades (cf. chap. III.2.D.7 and on the pillars of the entrance porches (cf. chap. III.3.).

✓ 2. The deities on the balustrades (Pls. 249–267)

A. Their arrangement and general description

On each of the twelve projecting corners of the balustrades two crosswise arranged framed niches are fixed housing the images of various deities. Of the originally 24 deities 19 are still in place, although in different states of preservation. It is to be noted that primarily female deities are shown while the male ones are found only at a few special places. They appear always on the central projecting corner of each balustrade segment and represent the Lokapālas. Although some of them are badly damaged or, as in two cases, completely destroyed, the prescribed position of each of the guardians allows an identification.

Six Lokapālas are preserved (the Nos. refer to Fig. 45):

Indra	south-eastern balustrade, facing east, No. 3, Pl. 250
Agni	south-eastern balustrade, facing south, No. 4, Pl. 251
Nirṛti	south-western balustrade, facing west, No. 10, Pl. 257
Varuṇa	north-western balustrade, facing west, No. 15, Pl. 261
Vāyu	north-western balustrade, facing north, No. 16, Pl. 262
Kubera	north-eastern balustrade, facing north, No. 21, Pl. 266

Most probably the remaining two Lokapālas were shown on the reliefs now destroyed. No. 9 on the south-western balustrade, facing south (Pl. 256) must have been Yama, while No. 22 on the north-eastern balustrade, facing east, must have been Īśāna (no Plate).

Fig. 45 illustrates the sequence of all the reliefs. They are numbered starting with the one left to the eastern entrance running clockwise around the hall. The broken lines indicate the destroyed reliefs.

¹⁴⁷ Bhaviṣyamahāpurāṇa, Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara ed., Bombay 1959, Brahmaparvan, Adh. 130,51; 136,40.

1. Indrāṇī	facing east	(Pl. 249)
2. Missing	facing south	—
3. Indra	facing east	(Pl. 250)
4. Agni	facing south	(Pl. 251)
5. Śakti of Agni	facing east	(Pl. 252)
6. Vaiṣṇavī	facing south	(Pl. 253)
7. Female Deity	facing south	(Pl. 254)
8. Ghaṇṭākarnī	facing west	(Pl. 255)
9. Yama	facing south	(Pl. 256)
10. Nirṛti	facing west	(Pl. 257)
11. Female Deity	facing south	(Pl. 258)
12. Missing	facing west	—
13. Brahmāṇī	facing west	(Pl. 259)
14. Female Deity	facing north	(Pl. 260)
15. Varuṇa	facing west	(Pl. 261)
16. Vāyu	facing north	(Pl. 262)
17. Female Deity	facing west	(Pl. 263)

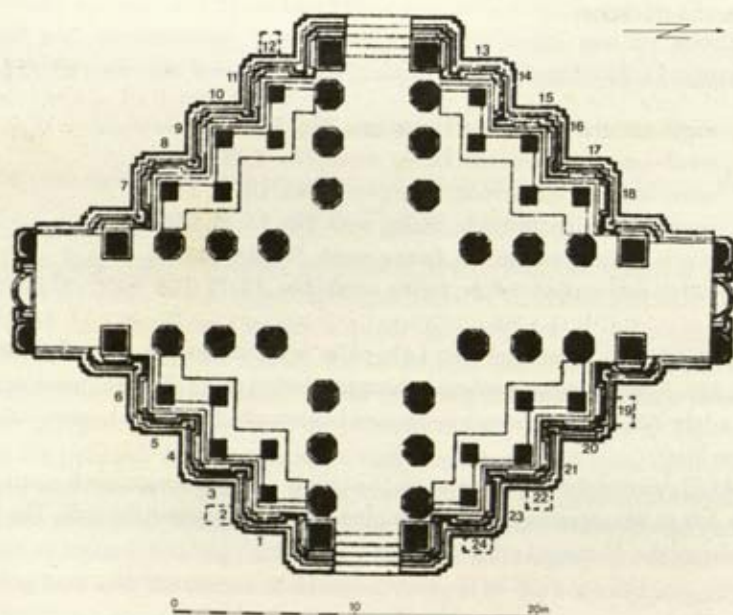


Fig. 45. Sequence of the reliefs on the balustrades of the dancing hall. — Drawing after: J. Burgess, H. Cousens, *The Arch. Ant. of Northern Gujarat*, New Imp. Ser. Vol. 32, Pl. XLVIII, detail.

18. Śakti of Vāyu	facing north	(Pl. 264)
19. Missing	facing north	—
20. Cāmuṇḍā	facing east	(Pl. 265)
21. Kubera	facing north	(Pl. 266)
22. Missing (Īśāna)	facing east	—
23. Cāmuṇḍā	facing north	(Pl. 267)
24. Missing	facing east	—

All the deities, no matter whether male or female, are standing in *tribhaṅga* position (only one exception) on a lotus blossom. They have four arms and are adorned with the usual ornaments if their individual iconography does not require a special appearance as for example with Nirṛti (Pl. 257) or Cāmuṇḍā (Pls. 265, 267). Their crown is in general *karaṇḍamukūṭa* of four bulgy tiers embellished with ribbons and jewels and ending in a bud-like crest. In general the deities are accompanied by their *vāhanas*. Human attendants are found in only a few cases, but it is to be noted that on the framing relief pillars of the niches female adorants are shown. On the upper corners of the reliefs there are foliage ornaments instead of *vidyādhara*s.

B. Individual descriptions

✓ Indrāṇī (No. 1, Pl. 249)

She wears *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. Her face and body are partly damaged. Of her four arms both the right ones are preserved, while the left ones are broken off at elbow height. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper one carries *vajra*. To her left lies her *vāhana*, the elephant.

✓ Indra (No. 3, Pl. 250)

The god is provided with *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. His body is strongly corroded and of his four arms both the left ones are destroyed. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and the upper one holds *vajra*. To his left stands his *vāhana*, the elephant Airāvata.

✓ Agni (No. 4, Pl. 251)

His crown is *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. Of his hands only the upper left one is preserved and carries a staff-like object, the upper part of which is broken off. To his left lies his *vāhana*, the ram (*meṣa*).

✓ Śakti of Agni (No. 5, Pl. 252)

The goddess wears *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. All her four hands are preserved. The lower right one shows *varadamudrā*, the lower left one holds *kamaṇḍalu*. Each of the upper

hands carries a strongly corroded object. Their staff-shaped lower part and the broader upper segment suggest the attributes *śruk* or *śruva*. To the left of the goddess lies a ram.

Vaiṣṇavī (No. 6, Pl. 253)

She has *kiriṭamukūṭa*, embellished with a diadem of *kīrtimukhas*. Her body is strongly corroded. The lower right and the upper left arm are preserved. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and the upper left one holds *cakra*. To the right of the goddess are fragments of a small figure, perhaps her *vāhana*, but details are no longer recognizable.

Female Deity (No. 7, Pl. 254)

She is provided with *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. Her body is strongly corroded and only her upper right arm is preserved. She carries an attribute, the lower end of which is staff-like, while the upper part looks like a spoked wheel. Possibly this is a stylized form of a lotus blossom. To the left of the goddess sits a small, pot-bellied but badly preserved figure.

Ghaṇṭākarnī (No. 8, Pl. 255)

She is adorned with *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. All her four arms are preserved. Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper right one carries *triśūla*, the upper left one *ghaṇṭā*, and the lower left one *kamaṇḍalu*. To her right are fragments of her *vāhana*. The relief shows traces of *pūjā* paint.

Yama (No. 9, Pl. 256)

His body is strongly corroded and all of his arms are broken off. Only his head with *karaṇḍamukūṭa* and large round earrings is preserved. His face is smiling. His identity can be determined due to the fixed sequence of Lokapālas. He stands on the central projection of the south-western balustrade, facing south, and thus must be Yama.

Nirṛti (No. 10, Pl. 257)

The Lokapāla Nirṛti, who has a fearsome character, is shown here in the form of Bhairava. His hair stands on end (*jaṭāmaṇḍala*). He is adorned with *kapālamālā*. Both the lower arms are broken off. The upper right hand holds *ḍamaru*, the left one *kapāla*. To his right are fragments of an animal, possibly a dog.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ Both the Aparājitapṛcchā and the Rūpamaṇḍana quote a dog as vehicle of Nirṛti. Other iconographic texts speak of a man (*naravāhana*) or a donkey (*gardabha*). Cf. chap. XII.2.

Pārvatī (?) (No. 11, Pl. 258)

She wears *karaṇḍamukuṭa*. Her body is strongly corroded, her face damaged. Only her upper left hand is preserved. It carries a stylized lotus blossom as No. 7. To her left squats the pot-bellied Gaṇeśa with his hands in *añjalimudrā*. The presence of Gaṇeśa may point to the identity of the goddess as Pārvatī, his mother.

✓ Brahmāṇī (No. 13, Pl. 259)

She is almost entirely destroyed, but her *vāhana*, *haṁsa*, to her left identifies her as Brahmāṇī.

Pārvatī (No. 14, Pl. 260)

Her hair-dress and her face are partly destroyed. Her right hands are preserved. The lower one shows *varadamudrā* and holds *akṣamālā*. The upper one carries a lotus flower. To her right lies an animal, the head of which is broken off. But on the chest and back a mane seems to be depicted and thus it may be a lion, the *vāhana* of Pārvatī.

✓ Varuṇa (No. 15, Pl. 261)

The god wears *karaṇḍamukuṭa*. His body is corroded and his right leg damaged. Only his upper right hand is preserved, carrying a lotus bud. To his left his *vāhana*, a *makara* with gaping jaws, is depicted.

✓ Vāyu (No. 16, Pl. 262)

He is adorned with *karaṇḍamukuṭa*. Of his arms only the upper right and lower left ones are preserved. The upper right hand carries a lotus bud, the lower left one a vessel. To his left lies an animal, the head of which is broken off. The slim body and the long legs point to his *vāhana*, the stag (*mṛga*).

Female Deity (No. 17, Pl. 263)

She has *karaṇḍamukuṭa*. Face and body are corroded. Three of her arms are preserved, but only the attribute of the upper right hand, *daṇḍa*, can be recognized. To her left are fragments of an animal.

✓ Śakti of Vāyu (No. 18, Pl. 264)

The goddess wears *karaṇḍamukuṭa*. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the lower left one carries *kamaṇḍalu*. With both her upper hands she holds the ends of a long, fluttering shawl.¹⁴⁹ To her right sits an indistinct human figure.

¹⁴⁹ The Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa says that Vāyu should be represented as holding the ends of his garment. Cf. chap. XII.2.

Cāmuṇḍā (No. 20, Pl. 265)

Her body is not emaciated but well proportioned. She is adorned with *kaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and *kapālamālā*. Her lower right hand is broken off. The upper right one holds *ḍamaru*, the upper left one *kapāla* with a fish.¹⁵⁰ The lower left one holds the cut-off head of Caṇḍa or Muṇḍa. To her right stands a jackal or a dog with its head directed upwards and its tongue hanging out.

✓ Kubera (No. 21, Pl. 266)

His head is broken off, but his body is well preserved. His lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and holds *akṣamālā*. The upper right one holds the staff-shaped end of an attribute, the upper part of which is destroyed. Thus it remains unclear if it had been *padma* or perhaps *aṅkuṣa*. The upper left hand carries his characteristic attribute *nidhi* in the form of a long, narrow bag, embellished with a lozenge pattern and running out on the lower end into the head of an animal (mongoose?). The lower left hand holds *kamaṇḍalu*. To his left his *vāhana*, an elephant, is depicted.¹⁵¹

Cāmuṇḍā (No. 23, Pl. 267)

All the upper part of this relief is destroyed. Only the emaciated legs of the goddess, dancing upon a reclining human figure are still to be seen. Her loin-cloth is the skin of an animal, her *kapālamālā* hangs down to her feet.

¹⁵⁰ Cāmuṇḍā holding *kapāla* with a fish is a peculiarity, which occasionally occurs in north-western India. Cf. B. Sahai, *Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities*, New Delhi 1975, p. 202. Sahai quotes a sculpture of Cāmuṇḍā from the Nīlakaṇṭha temple at Arthuna, Rajasthan.

¹⁵¹ The elephant as vehicle of Kubera seems to be a peculiarity of north-western India. It should be noted that only the Aparājitaṭṭhā and the Devatāmūrttiprakaraṇa clearly ascribe him an elephant while other texts speak of a man (Bṛhatsaṃhitā, Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, Matsya-Purāṇa), or a ram (Agni-Purāṇa). The Rūpamaṇḍana mentions both man and elephant (cf. chap. XII.2.), which was considered as an error by J.N. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta 1956, 2nd ed., p. 528. M.-Th. de Mallmann is of the same opinion. Cf. *Les Enseignements Iconographiques de l'Agni-Purāṇa*, Paris 1963, p. 135, note 4. Apparently both of them did not know the text passages of the Aparājitaṭṭhā and the Devatāmūrttiprakaraṇa. It is interesting to note that the iconographic evidence of Modhera proves the correctness of these texts. A figure of Kubera with an elephant as his *vāhana* is also found on the Sās-Bahū temple at Nagda, Rajasthan and on several other monuments of this area. Mentioned by Mrs. A. Kutar, Berlin, in her monograph on this monument, *Die Sās-Bahū-Tempel in Nagda (Rajasthan). Eine Tempelmonographie*, chap. 9.5.2. (doctoral thesis in preparation).

3. The deities on the pillars of the entrance porches (Pls. 268–287)

A. Their arrangement and general description

The first figural frieze on the pillars of the entrance porches shows several images of deities. On the eastern and western porch there appear three deities on each pillar, while on the southern and northern side only two deities are found.

Primarily, female deities are shown, but on the eastern and western entrance there stands on each of the four pillars a male one, facing east. As explained in chap. III.1. the hall in its original form had only entrances on the eastern and western sides, while on the southern and northern sides there had been terraces. The iconographic situation sustains the architectural facts. The male deities, all facing east, obviously are Dvārapālas and their distribution on the pillars illustrates clearly that the pilgrim, coming from the holy tank, had to enter the hall on the east and leave it on the west. On the east the Dvārapālas are Varuṇa and Brahmā and on the west different forms of Viṣṇu.¹⁵²

The female images represent various Śivaite and Viṣṇuite deities. Apparently their sequence is not based on any special relationship among themselves.

All the deities are placed in framed niches as described in chap. III.3. They stand in *tribhaṅga* position on a lotus blossom and have four arms. All are adorned with *vanamālā*, some wear a shawl-like upper garment. Their ornaments are of the usual type. With a few exceptions they are adorned with *kaṇḍamukuta* built of three tiers and ending in a bud-like crest, to which a small foliated tongue hangs down. This detail, although seemingly insignificant, nevertheless has much importance with regard to the chronology of the different structures (cf. chap. XI.1.).

B. Individual descriptions

a. The eastern entrance (Pls. 268–273)

✓ Varuṇa (Pl. 268)

Location: right pillar, facing east.

His lower right hand holds a corroded attribute, perhaps a fruit? The upper right one carries *pāśa*, the upper left one *padma*.¹⁵³ The lower left one is damaged. Frag-

¹⁵² On the pillars of the temple porch, which are, as mentioned in chap. II.2.G.a., almost identical to those of the entrance porches of the hall, the same fact can be observed. Only those sculptures on the first figural frieze, which are facing east, represent male deities and apparently should be Dvārapālas (cf. Pl. 66 center).

¹⁵³ The *Aparājita*prcchā 213,13 mentions as attributes for Varuṇa along with *vara* and *kamaṇḍalu* also *pāśa* and *kamala*, i.e., lotus. The Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa III, 52 speaks of *pāśa* and *padma*, lotus (cf. below chap. XII.2.).

ments of a long staff appear in front of his legs, which may point to his function as Dvārapāla. To his left stands an attendant, partially destroyed.

Pārvatī (Pl. 269)

Location: right pillar, facing south.

Her lower right hand seems to show *varadamudrā*. The upper right one carries *triśūla*, the lower part of which is broken off. The attribute of the upper left hand is not fully preserved. The fragment may represent the hanger of a bell. The damaged attribute of the lower left hand might have been *kamaṇḍalu* as can be concluded from the traces. To the right of the goddess lies a lion, the *vāhana* of Pārvatī.

Lakṣmī (Pl. 270)

Location: right pillar, facing north.

Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and seems to hold *akṣamālā*. The lower left hand carries a fruit (*bījapūraka*). Both of the upper hands hold a lotus blossom.

✓ Brahmā (Pl. 271)

Location: left pillar, facing east.

The god wears *jaṭāmukuṭa*. He has a moustache and a pointed beard. His lower right hand holds a longish object, probably a manuscript (*pustaka*). The upper right hand carries a broad spoon (*sruk*). The attributes of both the left hands are no longer identifiable, thus it is difficult to determine the identity of the deity. *Jaṭāmukuṭa*, beard and the attributes *pustaka* and *sruk* may point to Agni as well as to Brahmā. Other characteristic features as for example the flames of Agni or the three heads of Brahmā are missing here. At Modhera there are several images of Brahmā having only one head, therefore, the identification with Brahmā might be more probable.

Lakṣmī (Pl. 272)

Location: left pillar, facing south.

Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the lower left one is destroyed. Both the upper hands hold lotus buds. To her right an animal is seen, the head of which is broken off. But the form of the body and primarily the legs point to Garuḍa, the *vāhana* of Lakṣmī.

✓ Indrāṇī (Pl. 273)

Location: left pillar, facing north.

Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*. The upper right one holds *vajra*, the upper left one *aṅkuṣa*. With her lower left hand she carries a corroded attribute, possibly a fruit.

b. The southern entrance (Pls. 274–277)

Female Deity (Pl. 274)

Location: right pillar facing south.

Crown, face, and body of the goddess are strongly corroded. Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper one holds a lotus bud. The attributes of both her left hands are no longer determinable.

Female Deity (Pl. 275)

Location: right pillar, facing west.

She is badly preserved. Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and holds *akṣamālā*. The upper right one seems to carry a lotus bud. The attributes of both her left hands cannot be identified any more.

Śivaite Goddess (Pl. 276)

Location: left pillar, facing south.

Her body and her arms are damaged, but the attribute of her upper right hand, *triśūla*, is still to be seen.

Triṣaṇḍā (Pl. 277)

Location: left pillar, facing west.

Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper right one carries *śakti*, the upper left one *vajra*. The lower left hand holds a round object, possibly a fruit.

c. The western entrance (Pls. 278–283)

✓ Īśānī (Pl. 278)

Location: right pillar, facing north.

Crown, face, and body of the goddess are strongly corroded. Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper right one holds *triśūla*, the upper left one *sarpa*. The lower left hand carries a fruit or a vessel. To her right her *vāhana*, the bull, is to be seen.

Viṣṇu (Pl. 279)

Location: right pillar, facing east.

He wears *kirīṭamukuṭa*. The attribute of his lower right hand cannot be identified anymore. The attribute of the upper right hand resembles a spoked wheel as on Pl. 254, but here it should not be identified with a lotus flower, but with *cakra*, since *padma*, the lotus flower, is held in the upper left hand. The attribute of the lower left hand is broken off. The god is flanked by small attendants.

✓ Indrāṇī (Pl. 280)

Location: right pillar, facing south.

Crown and face of the goddess are damaged. Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and holds *akṣamālā*. The upper right one carries *vajra* and the upper left one *aṅkuśa*. The lower left arm is broken off. To her right stands her *vāhana*, the elephant.

Vaiṣṇavī (Pl. 281)

Location: left pillar facing north.

She is adorned with a *kirīṭamukūṭa*. Three arms and her left breast are damaged. The preserved upper right hand holds *cakra*.

Composite image of Viṣṇu and Brahmā (Pl. 282)

Location: left pillar, facing east.

✓ The god wears *kirīṭamukūṭa* and is provided with a long, pointed beard. He is potbellied. His lower right hand holds a longish object, possibly *pustaka*. The attribute of the upper right one resembles the spoked wheel, which also appears on Pls. 254, 258, 279, and 284 and is difficult to identify. In one case (Pl. 258) it can be a lotus flower, in another case (Pl. 279) it must be interpreted as *cakra*. In this case it seems to be a lotus flower, since *cakra* is clearly shown in the upper left hand. The attribute of the lower left hand is damaged. To the left of the god squats a female attendant, who carries a small vessel on her head. Apparently this deity represents Viṣṇu and Brahmā in a syncretistic form. *Kirīṭamukūṭa* and *cakra* point to Viṣṇu, while the beard, the belly and *pustaka* are characteristics of Brahmā.

✓ Indrāṇī (Pl. 283)

Location: left pillar, facing south.

She wears *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and holds *akṣamālā*. The upper right one carries *vajra*, partly damaged, the upper left one *aṅkuśa*, and the lower left one *kamaṇḍalu*. To her right lies the elephant, her *vāhana*.

d. The northern entrance (Pls. 284–287)

Sarasvatī (Pl. 284)

Location: right pillar, facing north.

Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper one carries an attribute, the upper part of which resembles a spoked wheel as on Pls. 254 and 282. Possibly here it represents a lotus flower, an attribute of Sarasvatī. Her upper left hand holds *pustaka* and the lower left one a small vessel.

Lakṣmī (Pl. 285)

Location: right pillar, facing west.

The goddess has her body and her legs strongly corroded. Both the lower arms are damaged, the upper ones carry full blown lotus flowers.

Female Deity (Pl. 286)

Location: left pillar, facing north.

Her face is partly damaged and both the left arms are broken off. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper one carries *aṅkuśa*.

Lakṣmī (Pl. 287)

Location: left pillar, facing west.

Her lower right hand is broken off. Both the upper hands hold plate-shaped lotus flowers. The lower left hand carries *bijapūraka*.

IX. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SCULPTURES AT THE TANK

1. Survey

Images of interesting iconography are found at the tank:

- in the miniature shrines between the stairways of the second and third terraces (cf. Fig. 21); many of the reliefs are corroded or damaged or were removed; of the originally 56 images only 12 are still in place, mostly on the western terraces (Pls. 288–299);
- on the *jañghā* sections of the shrines A, B, C in the deep niches of the eastern, southern and northern sides (Pls. 301–307, 316–324, 330–338); the figures are well preserved and are arranged according to the following scheme: on each wall three deities are depicted along with subordinate figures (cf. Pl. 307); the central deity is always sitting and represents any of the gods, Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Hari-hara or Kārttikeya; the lateral deities are always standing in the *tribhaṅga* position and represent the Lokapālas;
- in the shrines A, B, C the cult-images (Pls. 300, 315, 329);
- on the walls of the three niches (Pls. 308–314, 325–328, 339–343); each front corner has two crosswise arranged reliefs of deities, all preserved; in the middle of each niche wall there is one image of a deity together with his Śakti, preserved on the walls of the eastern niche and on one wall of the northern niche;

- on the *jaṅghā* section of the corner shrines; only F and H are preserved (Fig. 21, Pls. 344–349); the cult-images are missing;
- on the balustrade of the main stairway leading up to the dancing hall (Pls. 350 to 354).

2. The reliefs of the miniature shrines (Pls. 288–299)

✓ Indrāṇī (Pl. 288)

Location: western side, upper row, first from the left.

The goddess sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a lotus throne, facing east. She wears *jaṭāmukuṭa* and is adorned with earrings. Of her six arms the lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the middle one carries *vajra* and the upper one *aṅkuṣa*. The attributes of her left hands are corroded. The middle one holds a longish object, the lower one apparently a fruit. To her right lies her *vāhana*, the elephant.

Sūrya (Pl. 289)

Location: western side, upper row, fourth from the left.

The relief is strongly corroded. Sūrya sits with crossed legs on a pedestal of seven horses. He has two arms. His hands rest on his knees and apparently held the stalks of his lotus blossoms, still to be seen at shoulder height. To his right and left there are traces of smaller figures in the pose of archers, who seem to represent the goddesses Ūṣā and Pratyūṣā. On the upper corners of the relief *vidyādhara*s are to be seen.

Śiva (Pl. 290)

Location: western side, upper row, sixth from the left.

Head and body are corroded. He has six arms. The lower right hand carries *triśūla*, the middle one is broken and the upper one seems to hold *ḍamaru*. The upper left hand shows a gesture of dancing. The middle one is broken, but a fragment of its attribute, the head of a snake, is still to be seen at the elbow. The lower left hand carries *khaṭvāṅga*, the skull of which lies at the height of the god's face. On his legs there are fragments of *vanamālā* or, possibly, *kapālamālā*. To his right lies his *vāhana*, the bull Nandin and to his left there is a musician, playing the drum.

Kārttikeya (Pl. 291)

Location: western side, upper row, third from the left.

The god stands in *samabhaṅga*. His crown seems to be *jaṭāmukuṭa* with a bulgy rim. He is adorned with large round earrings and has four arms. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper one holds *śakti*. The attribute of the upper left one is damaged but seems to be *pustaka*,¹⁵⁴ the lower left hand carries a badly recognizable

object, possibly *bijapūraka*. The god is flanked by small attendants. To his left the peacock is seen, Kārttikeya's *vāhana*.

Composite image of Sūrya and Viṣṇu (Pl. 292)

Location: western side, upper row, eighth from the left.

The god stands in *samabhaṅga* position. His head is destroyed and of his six arms several are damaged. The lower right hand is broken, the lower left one holds a badly recognizable object. The upper front hands are broken, but their attributes, the full-blown lotus flowers of Sūrya, are still to be seen above the shoulders. The upper back hands carry the attributes of Viṣṇu. The right one is broken, but a fragment of *gadā* is still recognizable. The left one touches the spokes of *cakra*. The body of the deity is corroded and except *vanamālā* there are no ornaments recognizable. He is flanked by male attendants, possibly Daṇḍa and Piṅgala. Behind the left one a horse is visible, which might stand for the seven horses of Sūrya. The corresponding figure on the other side might represent Garuḍa in his human form, but details are no more recognizable.

Durgā (Pl. 293)

Location: western side, upper row, second from the right.

Durgā sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a lotus flower, which is supported by two lions, lying back to back. She is adorned with *jaṭāmukuta*, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and a broad belt. Face and bust are damaged, and of her four arms the upper left one is broken. Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper right one seems to hold *triśūla*, the upper part of which is destroyed. The lower left hand carries a somewhat damaged, bulging vessel.

Viṣṇu (Pl. 294)

Location: western side, lower row, third from the left.

The god sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a pedestal. The head with *kirīṭāmukuta* and the body are corroded, of his four arms the lower left one is broken, and the left leg is damaged. His lower right hand rests in *varadamudrā* on his right knee, the upper right one holds *cakra*, and the upper left one *gadā*. To the left of Viṣṇu seems to kneel Garuḍa, his *vāhana*, with human body and bird's head.

✓ Brahmāṇī (Pl. 295)

Location: miniature shrine on the south-western corner.

The goddess sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a throne. Here she is depicted, rather unusually, with four heads. In general her fourth head is considered to be the back

¹⁵⁴ The attribute *pustaka* characterizes Kārttikeya as deliverer of divine knowledge. In this capacity he is shown occasionally in north-western India. Cf. B. Sahai, *Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities*, New Delhi 1975, p. 115.

one and thus not visible. But here, left to the central face appear another two in profile, and right to it a single one. All the four heads wear *jaṭāmukuta*. Of her four arms only the upper right one is preserved. Its attribute is *śruka*. In front of her throne stands her *vāhana*, *haṁsa*.

Viṣṇu Trivikrama (Pl. 296)

Location: left miniature shrine on the north-western corner.

The relief shows Viṣṇu in his fifth incarnation as Trivikrama, raising his left leg. His foot touches a demon-like face.¹⁵⁵ The god wears *kirīṭamukuta* and has eight arms, but all the left ones are destroyed. The front right hand is on his chest in the pose of *kaṭakamudrā*. The following hands are broken, but fragments of their attributes, *gadā* and *khaḍga* are still to be seen. The upper right hand holds *cakra*. To the sides of the god stand several attendants. On his right there is a male figure in *ālīḍha* pose with his hands in *añjalimudrā*. He possibly represents the god Śiva, who, according to the legend, is supposed to pay homage to Trivikrama. On his left side there is a group of three male figures. Two of them are facing one another holding an indistinct object between them. The third man on the extreme left of the god has his hands laid on the arms and shoulders of the figure before him. These details point to a certain episode of the Trivikrama legend. God Viṣṇu in his incarnation as dwarf Vāmana meets the demon Bali and begs for a piece of land. Śukra, the *guru* of Bali, tries to keep him back from imprudent promises because he knows that the dwarf is Viṣṇu.

Narasimha (Pl. 297)

Location: right miniature shrine on the north-western corner.

This relief of Narasimha, the fourth incarnation of Viṣṇu, is badly corroded. A portion of the lion's mane is arranged in *karaṇḍamukuta*. He seems to have eight or ten arms, however, most of them are destroyed and attributes are no longer recognizable. Hiraṇyakaśipu lies crosswise on his knees. To the right and the left of the god fragments of attendant figures are to be seen. On the upper corners of the relief *vidyādhara*s are placed.

Composite image of Sūrya and Śiva (Pl. 298)

Location: eastern side, upper row, fourth from the left.

The god stands in *samabhaṅga* pose. He wears *kirīṭamukuta*. Face and body are corroded. A *vanamālā* is still recognizable. All of his six arms are destroyed but the attributes of the front hands, the lotus blossoms of Sūrya, can still be seen at face

¹⁵⁵ This face is interpreted as Brahmāṇḍa by V.S. Agrawala, *Brahmanical Images in Mathura*, JISOA, Vol. V, 1937, p. 124. More probable seems to be the opinion of R.D. Banerji, to which also J.N. Banerjee agrees, that Rāhu is depicted. Cf. J.N. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta 1956, 2nd ed., p. 419.

height. The attendant figures seem to represent Daṇḍa and Piṅgala. Behind them, on the god's left, is shown a horse, the *vāhana* of Sūrya. On the god's right there is the bull of Śiva. This is the only indication that the deity is a syncretistic one, since all the attributes except the lotus blossoms are destroyed.

Two Male Figures (Pl. 299)

Location: right miniature shrine on the south-eastern corner.

The person on the left side of the relief seems to be a deity or a king. He stands in *tribhaṅga* and is adorned with *karaṇḍamukuta*, the usual ornaments and *vanamālā*. He has the Śrīvatsa on his chest and wears a Brāhmaṇical cord. Both his arms are damaged and there are no attributes. The small, thickset person to his left also stands in *tribhaṅga*. His *jaṭā*, loincloth and Brāhmaṇical cord and the total absence of ornaments prove him to be an ascetic. He has two arms. The right hand is broken and the left one holds an object, which seems to be a spoon.

3. The reliefs of the eastern niche

A. The cult-image, Viṣṇu Anantaśāyī (Pl. 300)

The god reclines on a bedstead. The coils of the serpent Ananta form the cushion and the seven-headed hood surrounds the head of Viṣṇu like a canopy. He has four arms. His lower right hand rests in *varadamudrā* on his thigh. The upper right one carries *gadā*, and the upper left one *cakra*. The lower left one is broken. Lakṣmī sits on a cushion at his feet. Above the god there are several small figures, representing from the left to the right: a bent human figure; Indra on his elephant; a demon with a club (Madhu or Kaiṭabha); the lion of Pārvatī; fragments of an animal. Below the snake-hood stands a horse, the meaning of which is not quite clear. Possibly it represents Kalkī, the tenth incarnation of Viṣṇu. The lower border of the relief forms a frieze of small human figures, who are rather corroded. Their identity remains unclear. On the upper arch-shaped border of the relief there is another frieze of demonic figures with clubs (Madhu and Kaiṭabha) and three framed niches with the images of deities, who are no longer identifiable.

B. The figural frieze of the shrine (Fig. 46, Pls. 301, 307)

✓ Fig. 46 shows the arrangement of the various deities. Starting from the left of the entrance and running clockwise around the shrine there are shown: Vāyu on the north-western corner, facing north; Kārttikeya in the middle of the northern wall, facing north; Kubera on the north-eastern corner, facing north; Īśāna on the north-eastern corner, facing east; Viṣṇu in the middle of the eastern wall, facing east; Indra on the south-eastern corner, facing east; Agni on the south-eastern corner, facing



Fig. 46. Arrangement of the deities on the shrine wall of the eastern niche.

south; Brahmā in the middle of the southern wall, facing south; Nirṛti on the south-western corner, facing south.

✓ Vāyu (Pl. 301)

Location: north-western corner, facing north.

The deity has a human body but an animal's head. Two horns suggest that Vāyu is given here the head of his *vāhana*, the gazelle. He has four arms. The lower right hand carries a long, narrow object with a knob on its lower end, possibly *patākā* or *dhvaja*. His lower left hand rests in *kaṭihasta* on his thigh. Both the upper hands hold a broad shawl, blown up by the wind and thus forming a canopy. To his right stands his *vāhana*, *mṛga*.¹⁵⁶

Kārttikeya (Pl. 302)

Location: center of the northern wall, facing north.

The god sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a peacock, the head of which is broken off. Only three of his six heads are visible. It cannot be clearly seen if his hair is done in the typical threefold coiffure. Kārttikeya has four arms. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper right one holds a long object, which might be *śakti*. The upper left one carries a flower or a noose, and the lower left one a rounded object, possibly a fruit. To his right sits Gaṇeśa, his brother, on a low pedestal.

✓ Kubera (Pl. 303)

Location: north-eastern corner, facing north.

Crown, face, and body of Kubera are corroded. He has four arms. His lower right hand rests on *gadā*, the lower left one carries a fruit. Both the upper hands hold a sack slung over the shoulders. An animal seems to be shown to his left, but it is no longer identifiable.

¹⁵⁶ For the depiction of Vāyu in Gujarat, compare M.R. Majumdar, *Iconography of Vāyu and Vāyu-worship in Gujarat*, JISOA, Vol. XI, 1943, pp. 108–114.

✓ Īśāna (Pl. 304)

Location: north-eastern corner, facing east.

His *jaṭāmukuṭa* and his ornaments are partly corroded. He has four hands. The lower right one carries *triśūla*, the upper right one *ḍamaru*, and the upper left one *sarpa*. The lower left one rests on his thigh in *kaṭihasta*. To his right lies his *vāhana*, the bull.

Viṣṇu (Pl. 305)

Location: center of the eastern wall, facing east.

Viṣṇu sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on the shoulders of his *vāhana* Garuḍa, who is shown in human form and kneeling in *lāṅgalaka* pose. Both the figures are strongly corroded. Viṣṇu wears a *kirīṭāmukuṭa*. He has four arms. Both the lower ones rest on his knees. The upper right one carries *gadā* and the upper left one *cakra*. To the upper corners of the relief foliate decoration is attached.

Indra (Pl. 306)

✓ Location: south-eastern corner, facing east.

Karaṇḍāmukuṭa and face of the god are damaged. He has four hands. The lower right one lies in *kaṭihasta* on his thigh, the upper right one carries *vajra*, the upper left one *padma*, and the lower left one an indistinct, rounded object, possibly a vessel or a fruit.

✓ Agni (Pl. 307 right)

Location: south-eastern corner, facing south.

Crown and head of the god are damaged, the lower right and the upper left arm are destroyed. The upper right hand holds *śakti* (or *sruk?*) and the lower left one *kamaṇḍalu*. Behind his head a nimbus of flames is visible. To his right lies an indistinct animal, possibly the ram, his *vāhana*.

✓ Brahmā (Pl. 307 center)

Location: center of the southern wall, facing south.

The pot-bellied god sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a lotus flower. He has three heads, but they are, the same as the body, strongly corroded. However, a pointed beard is clearly recognizable on the front face. He has four arms. The lower right hand rests in *varadamudrā* on his leg. Of the attribute in the upper right hand, probably *sruk*, only the staff-shaped lower part still remains. The upper left hand carries *padma*, the lower left one is broken. Below Brahmā's left leg, which rests on the seat, the outlines of *haṁsa*, his *vāhana*, are still recognizable.

✓ Nirṛti (Pl. 307 left)

Location: south-western corner, facing south.

The god is shown nude. Around his neck coils a snake. Crown and face are damaged. He has four arms. The lower right hand carries a curved knife, the upper right one *khaḍga*, the upper left one *kapāla*, and the lower left one a bearded human head. To his left lies an elephant, which is here, quite unusually, the *vāhana* of Nirṛti.

C. The reliefs of the niche walls

The arrangement of the reliefs of the niche walls is indicated on Fig. 47.

Vaiṣṇavī (Pl. 308)

Location: left front corner, facing west.

The goddess stands in dancing pose. Her crown is badly damaged. She has four arms. Her lower right hand rests in *varadamudrā* on her leg, the upper right one holds *gadā*, the upper left one *cakra*. The lower left hand is broken off. To her right there is an indistinct attendant.

Śivaite Goddess (Pl. 309)

Location: left front corner, facing south.

She stands in dancing pose. Crown and face are partly damaged, the upper right and lower left hands are broken off. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and holds *akṣamālā*. The upper left one carries *khaṭvāṅga*, the staff of which is damaged. To her right kneels a devotee.

✓ Nirṛti (Pl. 310)

Location: right front corner, facing west.

The god stands in *tribhaṅga* and is shown nude. He wears *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. A snake coils around his hips and he is adorned with *kapālamālā*. He has four arms. His lower

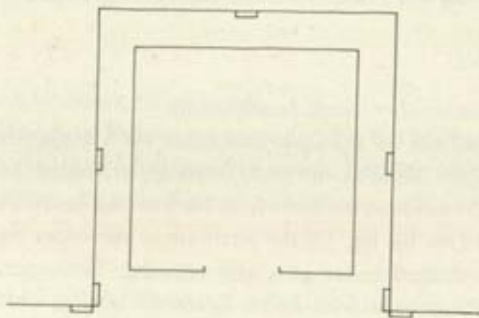


Fig. 47. Arrangement of the reliefs on the niche walls.

right hand is broken off but a fracture above the shoulder and the combination of all the other attributes lead to the assumption that there might have been a sword. The upper right hand holds a curved knife, the upper left one a shield, and the lower left one a cut-off human head. To his left reclines a human figure, who seems to be his *vāhana* (*naravāhana*), to his right is shown a likewise nude attendant with his hairs standing on end (*jaṭāmaṇḍala*).

Yama (Pl. 311)

Location: right front corner, facing north.

Crown and face of the god are corroded. He has four arms. His lower right hand holds an indistinct object, the upper right one carries a long staff, the upper part of which seems to be thickened so that it is not quite clear, if it is *daṇḍa*, the usual attribute of Yama. His upper left hand holds *pustaka*¹⁵⁷ and the lower left one rests in *kaṭihasta* on his thigh. To his left is shown his *vāhana*, the buffalo, and to his right sits a small human figure.

Brahmā and Śakti (Pl. 312)

Location: center of the northern niche wall.

Brahmā sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a lotus pedestal. He has three heads, but crowns and faces are strongly corroded. On his left thigh sits his Śakti, likewise in *ardhaparyāṅka* pose. Brahmā has four arms. The lower right hand is broken off, the upper right one carries *śruṅḍ*. The upper left arm embraces his Śakti, the hand holding *pustaka*. The lower left arm is not visible. His consort has two arms. The right one embraces the god, the left one lies on her body, but the hand is broken off. Below, on Brahmā's right, the fragment of his *vāhana*, *haṁsa*, is to be seen.

Viṣṇu and Śakti (Pl. 313)

Location: center of the eastern niche wall.

Viṣṇu sits in *ardhaparyāṅka* pose on the shoulders of his *vāhana*, Garuḍa, who is represented in human form. The god wears *kirīṭamukuṭa*. On his left thigh sits his consort. Viṣṇu has four arms. The lower right hand rests on his thigh, but it is no more determinable if it carries an attribute or shows a pose. The upper right hand holds *gadā*. The upper left arm embraces the consort. This hand and the lower left one are no longer visible. Viṣṇu's consort has her crown and face destroyed. With her right arm she embraces the god, the left hand holds a flower. On the left side of the relief squats an attendant.

¹⁵⁷ According to the *Aparājitaṭṭhā* 213,11 one of the attributes of Yama is *pustaka* (cf. chap XII.2.).

Deity (Śiva?) and Śakti (Pl. 314)

Location: center of southern niche wall.

The god sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a lotus pedestal. On his left thigh sits his consort, likewise in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana*. Both the figures are strongly corroded. The crown of the god might have been *jaṭāmukuta*. His attributes are no more determinable, but that of the upper right hand could have been *triśūla*.

4. The sculptures of the southern niche

A. The cult-image, Śītālā (Pl. 315)

The goddess of small-pox, Śītālā,¹⁵⁸ sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a large animal. Though head and legs of it are destroyed, it can be assumed that her *vāhana*, generally described as a donkey, is shown here. Śītālā is nude, her hair is cut, and she is devoid of ornaments.¹⁵⁹ She has twelve arms, which are, however, broken off for the most part. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and holds *aṣṭamālā*. One of the upper hands carries *ḍamaru* and another one *triśūla*. The lowest hand on the left holds *kamaṇḍalu*. The uppermost pair of hands lifts a trapeziform, ribbed basket above her head. It is her typical attribute, the winnow (*śūrpa*), used to separate the chaff from the wheat. The borders of the relief bear seven small framed niches with the images of sitting female deities. They cannot be identified anymore due to their poor state of preservation, but their number seven point to the Saptamātṛkās, to whom Śītālā is often associated.

B. The figural frieze of the shrine

✓ Fig. 48 indicates the arrangement of the various deities. Starting from the left of the entrance and running clockwise around the shrine are shown: Nirṛti on the north-eastern corner, facing east; Brahmā in the middle of the eastern wall; Varuṇa on the south-eastern corner, facing east; Vāyu on the south-eastern corner, facing south; Harihara in the middle of the southern wall; Kubera on the south-western corner, facing south; Vāyu on the south-western corner, facing west; Viṣṇu in the middle of the western wall; Varuṇa on the north-western corner, facing west.

¹⁵⁸ For the iconography and the worship of this goddess compare J. Auboyer and M.-Th. de Mallmann, *Śītālā-la-Froide, Déesse Indienne de la Petite Vérole, Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 13, 1950, pp. 207–227.

¹⁵⁹ According to Auboyer and de Mallmann the characteristic features of Śītālā establish a connection between the goddess and a Brāhmaṇical woman, who became impure because of her relation to a lower-cast man. It is said that this woman should have her hair cut, should be nude and ride on a donkey, thus being exposed to shame. Cf. *ibid.* p. 213.

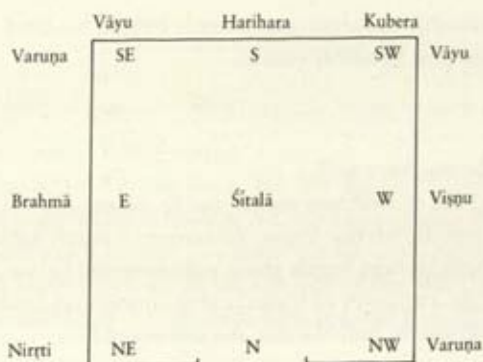


Fig. 48. Arrangement of the deities on the shrine wall of the southern niche.

In contrast to the arrangement of the Lokapālas on the shrine of the eastern niche, here their usual sequence has been totally confused. Nearly none of them faces his assigned direction and Vāyu and Varuṇa are shown twice.

✓ Nirṛti (Pl. 316)

Location: north-eastern corner, facing east.

The hair of the god is arranged in *jatāmaṇḍala*. In contrast to all the other Lokapālas he seems to have only two arms. The right hand carries a sword (*khaḍga*), the left one a cut-off human head.

✓ Brahmā (Pl. 317)

Location: center of the eastern wall.

Only half of the relief is preserved. The left side of the god is destroyed. The pot-bellied Brahmā sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana*. Of his three heads only two are still visible. The remaining hands show *varadamudrā* below and *srūka* above. His *vāhana*, *haṁsa*, is seen below his right leg.

✓ Varuṇa (Pl. 318)

Location: south-eastern corner, facing east.

The god wears *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. He has four arms. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper right one holds *pāśa*, the upper left one *padma*, and the lower left one *kamaṇḍalu*. To his left there are the fragments of his *vāhana*, *makara*, with gaping jaws.

✓ Vāyu (Pl. 319)

Location: south-eastern corner, facing south.

He is adorned with *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. Of his four hands the lower right one holds *gadā*, and the lower left one rests in *kaṭihasta* on his thigh. Both the upper hands are

lifting a long, blown-up shawl, forming an aureole behind his head. Next to his right foot the head of a crouching gazelle is visible.

Harihara (Pl. 320)

Location: center of the southern wall.

The composite god sits in *ardhaparyāṅka* pose on a lotus pedestal. The right side of him represents Śiva, and the left one Viṣṇu. The crown is partly *jaṭāmukuta* and partly *kirīṭāmukuta*. The right, Śivaite hands show *varadamudrā* below and *triśūla* above. The left hands hold the attributes of Viṣṇu, *cakra* above, and *śaṅkha* below. Next to the right leg of the god lies the bull Nandin, the *vāhana* of Śiva.

✓ Kubera (Pl. 321)

Location: south-western corner, facing south.

He wears *karaṇḍāmukuta* and is pot-bellied. His lower right hand lies in *kaṭihasta* on his thigh, the upper right one carries a flower. With his upper left hand he seems to support a sack, which lies on his shoulder. The attribute of the lower left hand is no longer determinable.

Vāyu (Pl. 322)

✓ Location: south-western corner, facing west.

This image of Vāyu resembles very much that on the south-eastern corner (cf. Pl. 319). He wears *karaṇḍāmukuta*. The lower right hand lifts *gadā*, and the lower left one rests in *kaṭihasta* on his thigh. Both the upper hands hold a long, blown-up shawl, forming an aureole behind his head. Next to his right leg his gazelle is shown.

Viṣṇu (Pl. 323)

Location: center of the western wall.

He sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a lotus pedestal. His crown is *kirīṭāmukuta*, his face is damaged. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper right one holds *gadā*, the upper left one *cakra*, and the lower left one *śaṅkha*.

Varuṇa (Pl. 324)

✓ Location: north-western corner, facing west.

Varuṇa wears *karaṇḍāmukuta*. His lower right hand rests in *kaṭihasta* on his thigh, the upper right one holds a flower, and the left hands each a bulging vessel. Next to his left foot the head of his *vāhana*, *makara* with gaping jaws, is visible.

C. The reliefs of the niche walls¹⁶⁰

Female Deity (Pl. 325)

Location: left front corner, facing north.

The goddess stands in dancing pose, her left leg resting on a somewhat raised flower. Her lower right hand is broken off, the upper right one holds an indistinct object, the upper left one a flower. The lower left hand is broken off, but its attribute, *kamaṇḍalu*, is still visible. Below, on the left side of the relief, squats a devotee with his hands in *añjalimudrā*. On the right side there is a bud-like object.

Śiva (Pl. 326)

Location: left front corner, facing west.

Śiva stands with crossed legs in the *svastika* pose. He is provided with *jaṭāmukuta*. His lower right hand holds *kapāla*, the upper right one an indistinct, rounded object, the upper left one *sarpa*. The lower left hand is broken off. Below, to the right of the god, lies the bull Nandin.

Durgā (Pl. 327)

Location: right front corner, facing north.

The goddess stands with crossed legs, her right foot resting on a somewhat raised, bud-shaped object. She wears *jaṭāmukuta*. Her lower right arm is damaged, the hand rests in *varadamudrā* on her thigh. The upper right hand holds *triśūla*, the upper left one a flower, and the lower left one, which is preserved only in fragments, *kamaṇḍalu*. To her right lies her *vāhana*, the lion.

Śiva (Pl. 328)

Location: right front corner, facing east.

He stands in a dancing pose, his left foot resting on a rounded object. He wears *jaṭāmukuta*. The lower right hand holds *kapāla*, the upper right one is broken off, the upper left one carries *khaṭvāṅga*, and the lower left one shows *varadamudrā*. A small devotee with the hands in *añjalimudrā* sits to his left.

¹⁶⁰ For their arrangement see Fig. 47.

5. The sculptures of the northern niche

A. The cult-image, Śiva (Pl. 329)

Śiva is shown dancing, having his left (now destroyed) leg raised. He is provided with *jaṭāmukuṭa* and has 16 arms. Most of his hands are, however, broken. But two of the upper right hands still hold the attributes *ḍamaru* and *triśūla*. With his uppermost pair of hands the god is lifting a snake. Below, to the right of Śiva, there are Brahmā and Viṣṇu beating the drum. Brahmā has three heads and four arms and carries the attributes *śruk* and *pustaka*. Viṣṇu, adorned with *kirīṭamukuṭa*, has *gadā* and *cakra*.

On the borders of the stele small niches with the images of deities form a frame for the dancing Śiva. The upper niches depict Brahmā on the left side of the stele, Viṣṇu in the center, and Śiva on the right. The lateral niches on the right border show Viṣṇu with *gadā* and *cakra* above and Śiva with *śarpa* below.

B. The figural frieze of the shrine

✓ Fig. 49 indicates the sequence of the deities. Starting from the left of the entrance and running clockwise around the shrine there are: Agni on the south-western corner, facing west; Śiva in the middle of the western wall; Yama on the north-western corner, facing west; Nirṛti on the north-western corner, facing north; Kārttikeya in the middle of the northern wall; Indra on the north-eastern corner, facing north; Īśāna on the north-eastern corner, facing east; Śiva in the middle of the eastern wall; Agni on the south-eastern corner, facing east.

Here, too, the normal sequence of the Lokapālas is confused. Only in two cases the actual position corresponds with the prescribed one, i.e., with Agni on the south-eastern corner and with Īśāna on the north-eastern corner. Yama, Nirṛti, Indra and the second Agni are not placed according to the rule.

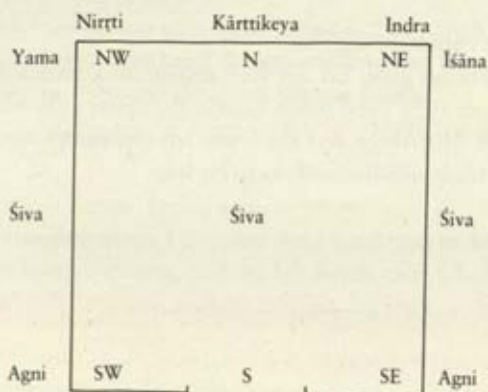


Fig. 49. Arrangement of the deities on the shrine wall of the northern niche.

✓ Agni (Pl. 330)

Location: south-western corner, facing west.

Agni wears *jaṭāmukūṭa* and is provided with a pointed beard. Behind his head a nimbus of flames is to be seen. His lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and holds *akṣamālā*, the upper right one carries *śakti*, the upper left one *kapāla* with an indistinct object inside, and the lower one *kamaṇḍalu*. To his right stands his *vāhana*, the ram (*meṣa*).

Śiva (Pl. 331)

Location: middle of the western side.

The god sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a throne. He wears *jaṭāmukūṭa*. Both the lower hands and attributes are damaged. The upper right hand holds *triśūla* and the upper left one *sarpa*. Next to his right leg lies the bull Nandin.

✓ Yama (Pl. 332)

Location: north-western corner, facing west.

Yama wears *jaṭāmukūṭa*. His lower right hand rests in *kaṭihasta* on his hip, the upper right one carries *khaṭvāṅga*, the upper left one *pustaka*, and the lower left one an indistinct object, possibly a cock. Next to his left leg lies his *vāhana*, *mahiṣa*.

✓ Nirṛti (Pl. 333)

Location: north-western corner, facing north.

His hair is arranged in *jaṭāmaṇḍala*. He is nude. His lower right hand holds *khaḍga*, the upper right one together with its attribute is not visible, the upper left one carries a shield or *kapāla*, and the lower left one a cut-off human head.

Kārttikeya (Pl. 334)

Location: middle of the northern side.

Kārttikeya sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a lotus throne. He is shown three-headed, as always at Modhera. Each head is adorned with *jaṭāmukūṭa*. His lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper right one holds *śakti*, the upper left one *pustaka*, and the lower left one a cock (*kukkuṭa*). In front of the throne, below his left leg, stands his *vāhana*, the peacock.

✓ Indra (Pl. 335)

Location: north-eastern corner, facing north.

He is adorned with *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. His lower right hand rests in *kaṭihasta* on his hip, the upper right one carries *vajra*, the upper left one a flower (?), and the lower left one a rounded, indistinct object. Next to his left leg lies an animal which seems to be his *vāhana*, the elephant.

✓ Iśāna (Pl. 336)

Location: north-eastern corner, facing east.

Iśāna is provided with *jaṭāmukūṭa*. His lower right hand carries *triśūla*, the upper right one and its attribute are destroyed, the upper left one holds *sarpa*, and the lower left one rests in *kaṭihasta* on his thigh.

Śiva (Pl. 337)

Location: middle of the eastern wall.

Śiva sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on the back of an animal, which should be his *vāhana*, Nandin, though his long, stretched-out body has little similarity with a humped bull. The lower right hand of the god rests in *varadamudrā* on his knee, the upper right one carries *triśūla*. The attribute of the upper left hand is damaged, but the fragments point to *sarpa*. The lower left hand holds *kamaṇḍalu*.

✓ Agni (Pl. 338)

Location: south-eastern corner, facing east.

4 Agni wears *jaṭāmukūṭa*. The lower left part of his face is damaged but his long beard, hanging down to his chest, is still visible. Behind his head an aureole of flames is seen. His lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper right one carries *śruka*, the upper left one *pustaka*, and the lower left one *kamaṇḍalu*. Below, on the right and left side of the relief, bud-shaped objects are shown.

C. The reliefs of the niche walls

Viṣṇu Deity (Pl. 339)

Location: left front corner, facing south.

The god is provided with *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. His lower right hand rests in *kaṭihasta* on his thigh, the upper right one holds *padma*, the upper left one *gadā*, and the lower left one *cakra*. Next to his left foot stands an indistinct animal. A female attendant is seen on the right side of the god.

✓ Kubera (Pl. 340)

Location: left front corner, facing east.

He wears *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. The attribute of his lower right hand is somewhat damaged, its rounded form, however, may point to *bijapūraka*. The lower left hand is broken, but fragments of its attribute, a club, are still preserved next to his left foot. With both his upper hands he holds a sack, which is lying on his shoulders and which

ends into a mongoose's head. To the right of the god stands his *vāhana*, in this case a ram.¹⁶¹

Śivaite Goddess (Pl. 341)

Location: right front corner, facing south.

She stands in dancing pose. Her hair is arranged in a wreath. The lower right hand rests in *varadamudrā* on her thigh, the upper left one holds *damaru*. The upper right one and the lower left one are broken. Below her right leg squats a devotee with the hands in *añjalimudrā*. To her left a bud-like object is shown.

Male Deity (Pl. 342)

Location: right front corner, facing west.

The god stands in dancing pose. Crown, face, and body are strongly corroded, and all his hands, except the lower right one, are broken off. It rests in *varadamudrā* on his thigh. To his left squats a devotee with the hands in *añjalimudrā* and to his right there is a bud-like object.

Gaṇeśa and Sakti (Pl. 343)

Location: center of the western niche wall.

The pot-bellied, elephant-headed Gaṇeśa sits in *ardhaparyāṅkāsana* on a lotus throne. On his left thigh sits his consort, likewise in *ardhaparyāṅka* pose. The god has four arms. The lower right hand holds a longish, indistinct object, possibly *danta*, and the upper right one *paraśu*. The upper left arm embraces his Śakti, the hand holding a flower. His lower left hand touches her waist. She has two arms. The right one embraces Gaṇeśa, and the left hand carries a round object, which seems to represent one of Gaṇeśa's attributes, the tray with sweets.

6. The figural friezes on the corner shrines

- ✓ The shrines of the south-western and north-eastern corners (cf. Fig. 21, F and H) show on their *janghā* section various images of deities. On each shrine wall there are three deities along with different minor figures, whereby each central deity is placed into a framed niche. The lateral deities seem to represent Lokapālas, but their poor state of preservation does not always allow an identification.

✓¹⁶¹ As mentioned already in note 151 different vehicles are assigned to Kubera in the various texts. A ram is mentioned by the Agni-Purāṇa. Cf. chap. XII. 2. It is interesting to note that at Modhera Kubera is shown with an elephant (Pl. 266) as well as with a ram.

A. The shrine of the south-western corner H

Eastern Wall (Pl. 344)

The deity of the central framed niche stands in *samabhaṅga* and is strongly corroded. The attributes of all the four hands are no longer determinable, and the attendants to the right and the left of the god are badly preserved. Both the lateral deities have their heads and their attributes damaged and cannot be identified any more.

Southern Wall (Pl. 345)

Śiva and his Śakti are placed in the central framed niche. His lower right hand seems to rest in *kaṭihasta* on his hip, the upper right one carries *triśūla*. Both the left arms embrace the Śakti, the left hands are no longer visible. Head and left arm of the Śakti are damaged. Her right arm embraces the god. To his left the head of Nandin is to be seen. Both the lateral deities are badly preserved and cannot be identified.

Western Wall (Pl. 346)

The central deity is Viṣṇu, standing in *samabhaṅga*. He wears *kiriṭamukuṭa*. Of all his four attributes only *cakra* is preserved in his upper left hand.

Both the lateral deities are damaged. Their heads are missing and their attributes are no longer determinable.

B. The shrine of the north-eastern corner F

Northern Wall (Pl. 347)

The central deity is Śiva, standing in *samabhaṅga*. He wears *jaṭāmukuṭa*. Both his lower hands are destroyed, the upper ones carry *triśūla* and *sarpa*. He is flanked by small attendants.

The lateral deities cannot be identified due to their bad state of preservation.

Southern Wall (Pl. 348)

The central niche shows Viṣṇu, standing in *samabhaṅga*. He wears *kiriṭamukuṭa* and has four arms. Both the lower hands are broken off. The upper right one carries *gadā*, the upper left one *cakra*. On either side stands an attendant.

The lateral deities represent Agni on the south-eastern corner and Yama on the south-western corner. Agni has his head damaged, but an aureole of flames is still visible. To his feet lies his mount, the ram. Yama is badly preserved, but at face height his attribute, *khaṭvāṅga*, is seen, and to the god's right the buffalo, his mount.

Eastern Wall (Pl. 349)

The central deity is Cāmuṇḍā. She is dancing. The whole relief is strongly corroded and details are no longer to be seen. The attribute of her upper left hand seems to be *khaṭvāṅga*.

Both the lateral deities are damaged and their attributes are no longer determinable.

7. The sculptures on the balustrade of the main stairway leading up to the dancing hall

On each side of the balustrade three reliefs are depicted. Two on the left and three on the right side are still preserved.

Indrāṇī (Pl. 350)

✓ Location: left balustrade, facing east.

The goddess stands in *tribhaṅga* pose and is adorned with *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. Her lower right hand is broken, the upper right one carries a longish attribute, which might have been *vajra*, the upper left one a flower, and the lower left one a partly damaged vessel. To her right stands an attendant and to her left an elephant.

Yama (?) (Pl. 351)

✓ Location: left balustrade, facing south.

He stands in *tribhaṅga* pose and wears *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. Of his four arms only the upper right one is preserved, but its attribute is partly damaged. The staff-like upper part of it points to *daṇḍa*. To the right and the left of the god attendants are standing.

Durgā (Pl. 352)

✓ Location: right balustrade, facing south.

She stands in *tribhaṅga* pose and has her hair arranged in *jaṭāmukūṭa*. Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the upper right one holds *triśūla*, the upper left one *śakti*, and the lower left one *kamaṇḍalu*. To her right stands an attendant and to her left her mount, the lion.

✓ Indrāṇī (?) (Pl. 353)

Location: right balustrade, facing south.

The goddess stands in *tribhaṅga* pose. Her crown seems to be *karaṇḍamukūṭa*. Her lower right hand shows *varadamudrā* and holds *akṣamālā*. The attribute of the upper right one is destroyed, that of the upper left one might be *vajra*. The lower left arm is broken off. To the right of the goddess lies an animal, which seems to be an elephant. To her left stands a devotee in *aṅjalimudrā*.

Pārvatī (Pl. 354)

Location: right balustrade, facing north.

The goddess stands in *samabhaṅga*. Her hair is arranged in *jaṭāmukūṭa*. The lower right hand shows *varadamudrā*, the lower left one is broken. Each of her upper hands carry a flower. On the right blossom an indistinct object is to be seen, and on the left one the elephant-headed, pot-bellied Gaṇeśa, her son.¹⁶² Attendants are found at both her sides.

X. VARIOUS SCATTERED RELIEFS BELONGING TO THE MODHERA TEMPLE SITE

1. Male deity (Pl. 355)

Between various architectural fragments on the southern side of the temple site there stands an approximately 1.20 m high stele showing a male deity in *samabhaṅga*. The head is missing and the right side of the body is damaged. He has two arms. The right one is destroyed and the left one rests in *kaṭihasta* on his thigh. He is adorned with a single-stringed necklace (*ekāvali*), upper arm ornaments and bangles, a twisted belt, and *vanamālā*. He wears *yajñopavīta* and is clad in a *dhōṭī*. A few fragments of hair-curls are seen on his left shoulder and towards the border of the stele flame-like hair-strands appear, which fall down almost to elbow level.

To the god's left stands a small male attendant, whose bulging eyes and broad mouth give him a demonic aspect. He stands with his legs crossed, a creeper growing between them.

The identity of the deity remains unclear. The flame-like hair-strands might point to Agni, but also Bhairava can be shown with dishevelled hair, and to him the demonic attendant would fit.

The original location of the relief is hardly determinable. Images of this size, originally about 1.50 m, appear only on the main figural frieze of the temple proper. But to the group of these deities the sculpture cannot be included, because the only deity of the frieze missing must have been a female one. In addition, stylistic features such as the simple ornaments, the hair-curls and two instead of four arms clearly distinguish this sculpture from those of the temple. It must be dated to an earlier period than the temple sculptures.

¹⁶² According to the *Aparājita-ṭīkā*, 222, 9 Pārvatī should carry the images of Śiva, her consort, and Gaṇeśa, her son.

2. Durgā (Pl. 356)

The relief is published by J. Burgess and H. Cousens.^{162a} It is supposed to originate from Modhera, but is not found there any more.

The goddess sits in *yogāsana* on a lotus blossom, which is supported by two lions, lying back to back. She has four arms but all of her hands are broken off and there are no fragments of attributes. Her elaborately arranged hairdress is adorned with a *kīrtimukha* diadem and corresponds exactly to that of Devī 4 at the temple (cf. Fig. 38). A lotus blossom forms a circular nimbus behind her head. She wears the usual ornaments. The lions of her throne suggest her identity as Durgā.

3. Candra (Pl. 357)

This relief, too, is said to come from Modhera, but is no longer to be found there. It has been repeatedly published by M. R. Majmudar.^{162b}

Only the head and the upper torso of the deity are preserved. Both the arms are broken at elbow height. *Jaṭāmukuta* and face are partly damaged. Behind the crown a horizontally placed crescent is to be seen. The nimbus is oval-shaped and has foliate decoration. The ornaments of the god correspond to those of the Lokapālas on the temple.

XI. DATING OF THE SUN-TEMPLE AND THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ITS CONSTRUCTION

1. Correlation of the three structures

The detailed analysis of the temple site has shown important discrepancies in style and architecture between the three structures.¹⁶³

^{162a} Burgess and Cousens, *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, New Imperial Series Vol. 32, Pl. LVIII, London 1903.

^{162b} M. R. Majmudar, *Gujarati or the Western School of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture*, IHQ, Vol. XIV, 1938, opposite p. 560; – *Iconography of Candra and Candraśekhara Images*, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXIII, 1942, Pl. I; – *Cultural History of Gujarat*, Bombay 1965, Pl. XLII right.

¹⁶³ In this context see also M. A. Dhaky, *The Date of the Dancing Hall of the Sun Temple*, *Modhera*, JASB, N.S. Vol. 38, 1963 pp. 211–222.

At a first glance the ground plan of the dancing hall attracts attention. As indicated in chap. III.1. it seems to have been conceived originally as a square, but, due to compelling reasons, had to be changed into a lozenge. Apparently the building had to be adapted to the limited space between the temple and the tank. Otherwise some peculiar features cannot be explained, such as the extremely short distance between pillar pairs 1 and 2 at the eastern and western entrances (cf. Fig. 13),¹⁶⁴ and between the gateway pillars and the eastern entrance to the hall (cf. Pls. 8, 99). Lack of space would mean that the hall and the gateway pillars had to be subsequently fitted into an already finished temple site.

In fact, clear stylistic differences between the temple and the tank on the one hand, and the hall together with the gateway pillars on the other hand confirm this argument. The richer and further developed decoration and the poorer quality of sculpture at the hall and the gateway suggest a later date of erection.

The most striking change of decorative forms is found on the cyma of the socle, on the architraves, on the pillars, and on the central dome.

On the socle of the temple (Pl. 12), of the niche- and corner-shrines at the tank (Pls. 106, 110, 111), and of the balustrade at the western stairway of the tank (Pl. 4 center) the cyma (*jādyakumbha*) is decorated with simple lotus petals. On the socle of the hall (Pl. 68) and of the gateway pillars (Pl. 99) it displays rugged scrollwork.

On the architraves of the temple there are undulating creepers (Pl. 51), while on those of the dancing hall the waves of the creepers are dispersed into scrolls of filigree-like leafwork (Pls. 76, below, 78 above).

The order of the pillars in the hall, as compared to those in the temple, clearly shows a further development (cf. Figs. 9 and 18):

at the pillar bases in the hall there are framed niches (*rathikās*) with pediments (*udgamas*) instead of half-rhombic "jewels" (*ardharatnas*) in the temple; the pillar shafts in the hall have three instead of two figural friezes, and the leafwork and fluting sections are strongly shortened; a flowerbelt is inserted between the *vidyādhara*- and *kīrtimukha*-friezes on the uppermost shaft drum, which never occurs at the temple proper.

The *pūrnaghaṭa*-pillars on the window balustrades of the temple (Pls. 12 right, 14) and those of the hall (Pls. 63, 64, 73) have practically the same order, but they display completely different proportions. The paunchy vase of the temple pillars is turned into a goblet with high foot on the hall pillars, and the leaves, marking the four edges, are drawn disproportionately far down.

On the central corbelled dome of the dancing hall there appears a figural frieze (*nūpapaṭṭikā*) as first ring course. It does not occur at the temple.

In general it can be stated that the use of figural friezes is extended at the dancing hall. The pillar shafts have a third frieze, the corbelled dome got an additional one, and the second architrave slab changes from floral decoration at the temple to figural

¹⁶⁴ Dhaky erroneously says that only the western entrance displays this anomaly. Ibid. p. 217.

friezes at the hall (cf. chap. VI.1.). In addition, the sawtooth course, a minute detail of decoration, is of much value for the chronological classification of the structures. It occurs more frequently at the hall than at the temple, while at the shrines of the tank it does not appear at all (cf. chap. VI.5.). Another detail, of which reference is made again below, is of great importance for stylistic chronology: It is the small foliate tongue between crown and pediment, which occurs only on the pillars of the entrance porches of the hall (cf. chap. VIII.3.A.), on the pillars of the temple porch, on the entrance doorframe of the temple (cf. chap. II.2.G.c.), and on the gateway pillars.

The sculptures of the hall do not display the high artistic quality of the temple sculptures (compare Pls. 112–246 with Pls. 249–287). Their presentation is stereotyped and undifferentiated. Almost all the deities wear a *kaṇḍamukuta* of the same mediocre type, their ornaments are coarse and schematically worked, their faces are devoid of expression.

The reliefs at the tank, in contrast, display the style of the temple proper, even if some of them, as for example the figures on the *janighā*-sections of the shrines, are less elaborately worked out.

Except for the chronological discrepancies between the three structures there are also different building phases clearly recognizable on the temple proper and on the tank.

The porch of the temple together with the doorframe must be synchronous with the columned hall mainly for the following reasons:

The order of the porch columns corresponds exactly to that of the hall pillars (cf. Pl. 27);

the lower architrave slab is adorned with scrolled creepers (cf. Pl. 28) as in the hall, while the corresponding one in the temple invariably has undulating creepers (cf. Pl. 51);

the Dvārapālas on the doorframe wear a *kaṇḍamukuta* of the same type as that of the sculptures of the hall (Pls. 215, 216);

between *kaṇḍamukuta* and inner border of the *makara*-arch above, there is a small, tongue-like connection, which never occurs elsewhere on the temple, but often on the hall and on the gateway pillars (cf. Pls. 268 ff.).

A few sculptures on the outer temple wall, namely the leogryph (Pl. 115) and an ascetic (Pl. 112) are clearly later substitutions, but since they are rather unimportant in this context, they shall not be discussed here.

At the tank the corner shrines seem to belong to an earlier phase of construction. According to M.A. Dhaky¹⁶⁵ the ribbed awning (*khuracchādyā*, also called *kuṭachādyā*) between temple wall (*maṇḍovara*) and tower (*śikhara*) is unknown in the

¹⁶⁵ M.A. Dhaky, The Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat, JMPIP, No. 3, 1961, p. 25; The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture, in: Studies in Indian Temple Architecture, ed. by P. Chandra, New Delhi 1975, p. 162.

10th cent. A.D. and is not adopted before 1025 A.D. On the corner shrines no awning is attached, but the curvilinear tower starts directly above the wall (cf. Pls. 110, 111). In addition, the *jañghā*-section of the corner shrines show a different and in style earlier arrangement of the figures. Instead of a continuously running frieze there are individual figures standing on *vidyādhara* brackets, and only the image of the central *bhadra*-section is placed into a framed niche (Pls. 344–349). This peculiarity is not found otherwise in Modhera and should be interpreted as a preliminary step to the elaborate execution of the *jañghā* section of the niche shrines.

2. Historical background

The clue to the dating of the Sun-temple is the upside-down placed, carelessly incised inscription on the cella wall (cf. chap. II.5.C.b., Pls. 61, 62), which says nothing more than the date “*vikrama samvat 1083*”, i.e., 1025–1026 A.D. Since it is found in the originally dark cella and is difficult to discover even by daylight, it is obvious that it cannot be concerned as an intended information. Therefore, its indicative value is rather poor. It remains unclear as to which event it refers, but in general it is taken as the date of the construction. The evidence of style backs this assumption. Compared with other medieval monuments in Gujarat the Sun-temple at Modhera is evidently, at least in parts, the work of the Bhīmadeva I phase (1022–1066 A.D.) of the Solankī period.¹⁶⁶

Astonishingly enough, the current affairs in the kingdom of the Solankīs during the years 1025–1026 A.D. were extremely turbulent, and it is difficult to believe that so expensive and extravagant a construction as the Sun-temple could really have been made precisely at that time.

In the year 1024 A.D. Mahmud of Ghazni was on his tenth devastating raid through Gujarat. He expelled Bhīmadeva I from his capital Anahilavada and plundered and destroyed the famous temple of Somanātha at Prabhasa on the coast of Kathiawad. On his withdrawal Mahmud of Ghazni took up quarters at Anahilavada and only in 1026 A.D. he returned home after having assigned the rule to an Indian vassal. Soon afterwards Bhīmadeva I managed to drive the vassal out of his capital and took back his reign.

Actually, at that moment great building activities set in. Primarily, the reconstruction of the Somanātha temple is recorded (1027–1030 A.D.), but also the erection of several Jain temples on Mount Abu by Vimala, minister of Bhīmadeva I, took place at

¹⁶⁶ Dhaky, Chronology (cf. annotation 165) pp. 28 ff. In his more recent publications Dhaky does not use any more dynastic denominations for the different styles of Western India, but regional ones, because he concerns the regional context to be the more important. Cf. Genesis and Development (cf. annotation 165) pp. 115, 116. He classifies the Sun-temple as a monument of the Māru-Gurjara style. Ibid. p. 129, fn. 35; p. 132 fns. 46, 47 etc.

that time. The famous step-well "Rāṇī vāva" at Anahilavada is said to have been built by Queen Udayāmatī, wife of Bhīmadeva I, and the Tripuruṣaprāsāda at Anahilavada had been erected in honour of Bhīmadeva's son Mūlarāja, who died at an early age.¹⁶⁷ But, surprisingly, there are no references of any kind to the construction of the Sun-temple at Modhera, neither in the reports of the Gujarat chroniclers, nor in any inscription known up to now.

In the year 1025 A.D. Mahmud of Ghazni was still staying at Anahilavada. It is improbable that works on the temple started precisely at that moment, but evidently there had been an earlier structure. The corner shrines at the tank, which must be dated into the beginning of the 11th century¹⁶⁸ indicate the existence of a pre-Mahmud monument, and thus the inscription in the cella might be interpreted as the date of destruction rather than of construction. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the temple proper must have been erected immediately after the return of Bhīmadeva I and that the dancing hall is much later in date. That means we have to distinguish three different building phases at the temple site of Modhera.

Beginning of the 11th century: The tank with the corner shrines.

Shortly after 1026: The temple proper, the niche shrines and the miniature shrines at the tank.

Third quarter of the 11th century: The dancing hall, the gateways, the porch of the temple proper and the doorframes of the temple and the cella.

XII. APPENDIX

The Lokapālas

1. General facts

The guardians of the space, shown on many medieval temples, form a firmly established group of deities, each one assigned to a certain direction. They are:

Indra	in the east	Varuṇa	in the west
Agni	in the south-east	Vāyu	in the north-west
Yama	in the south	Kubera	in the north
Nirṛti	in the south-west	Īśāna	in the north-east

Sometimes two more Lokapālas are added to these eight, viz. Brahmā for the upper sphere and the serpent king Vāsuki for the lower one.

¹⁶⁷ J. M. Campbell, *History of Gujarat*, Bombay 1896 (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Pt. I) p. 169.

¹⁶⁸ U. P. Shah, *Some mediaeval Sculptures from Gujarat and Rajasthan*, JISOA, Spec. No., 1966, p. 69.

This grouping is widely described in the medieval iconographic texts and in some of the Purāṇas, but earlier literature does not know such a strict determination. Vedic texts of a later phase number some of the most important vedic gods such as Indra, Agni and Varuṇa among the Lokapālas, however, those texts differ considerably in the make-up and assignment of the group. The deities are neither obligatorily identified each one with a definite direction, nor there exists a firmly established and unaltered group at all, as will be shown in the following discussion.

The naming of the Lokapālas, too, in as far as they got a special group-name, underwent considerable alterations. Dikpāla (guardian of the direction) or Lokapāla (guardian of the world) is not a designation used in the early texts.¹⁶⁹ The Atharvaveda,¹⁷⁰ the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā¹⁷¹ and the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa¹⁷² in general speak of Adhipati (master, ruler). The Atharvaveda, too, says Āśāpāla (guardian of the heaven)¹⁷³ and the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā also Diśāmpati (guardian, ruler of the heavenly region).¹⁷⁴

Only Manu explicitly uses the term Lokapāla¹⁷⁵ and so does the Mahābhārata.¹⁷⁶

The Purāṇas seem to take Lokapāla and Dikpāla as synonyms,¹⁷⁷ and the expression Adhipati also appears occasionally.¹⁷⁸

Who actually is numbered to this group is, as mentioned above, very different not only from one text to another but also within one and the same work. In the following lines some examples are given:

The Taittirīya-Saṃhitā gives four versions. In V, 5,5 five gods are invoked: Viśvakarman, Prajāpati, Rudra, Varuṇa, and Agni. They are called "Diśāmpati" and are prayed to protect men and beasts. In V, 5,8, 2–3 six gods and their corresponding regions are mentioned: Agni in the east, Indra in the south, Savitṛ in the west, Mitra and Varuṇa in the north, and Bṛhaspati in the upper sphere. In V, 5,9 another group of gods is invoked as tutelary deities: the Vasus with the Rudras in the east, Yama

¹⁶⁹ The Aitarēyopaniṣad, publ. by M. Ch. Āpte, Poona 1889 (The Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series No. 11), 1,3 and 3,1 do know the term Lokapāla, but in this context clearly human beings and not guardian deities are meant.

¹⁷⁰ The Atharva Veda Saṃhita, ed. by R. Roth and W.D. Whitney, Berlin 1856, III, 27, 1–6.

¹⁷¹ The (Taittirīya-)Saṃhitā of the Black Yajur Veda with the Commentary of Mādhava Ācārya, Calcutta (1854–1899), (Bibliotheca Indica, No. 26), Vol. V, V, 5,10.

¹⁷² Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Mādhyandina recension, ed. by A. Weber, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Work, No. 96, Varanasi 1964, 2nd. ed. VIII, 6,1, 5–9 and XIV, 1,3, 19–23.

¹⁷³ Atharva Veda Saṃhita, I, 31, 1–2.

¹⁷⁴ Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, V, 5,5.

¹⁷⁵ Mānava Dharma-Śāstra, crit. ed. by J. Jolly, London 1887, V, 96.

¹⁷⁶ The Mahābhārata, crit. ed. by V.S. Sukthankar, Poona 1933, 1,216,1; 3,42,16; 3,52,5; 3,265,14.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. the Agnipurāṇam, ed. by H.N. Āpte, Poona 1900 (Ānandāśrama-Saṃskṛta-Granthāvalī, 41), Adh. 51,3 (Dikpa); 51,16 (Lokapāla); 56 (Dikpāla); 96,27 (Lokapāla); Śrīśrīviṣṇupurāṇa, Gītā-press, Gorakhpur, 2,2,31 (Lokapāla); Matsyapurāṇam, by Maharshi Krishnadwaipayanyas, Calcutta 1954 (Gurumaṇḍal Series No. XIII), Adh. 92,52 (Dikpāla); 260,15 (Lokapāla).

¹⁷⁸ Vāyumahāpurāṇam, Lakṣmīvēṅkateśvara Press, Bombay, Adh. 34,87.

with the Pitṛs in the south, the Ādityas with the gods of space in the west, Dyutāna Māruta with the Maruts in the north, and the gods whose master is Indra (Indra-jyeṣṭhas) from below and above. In V, 5, 10 the tutelary deities of six regions are called on and are expected to protect the sacrificial fire: Agni in the east, Indra in the south, Soma in the west, Varuṇa in the north, Bṛhaspati in the large region (*bṛhatī dik*), and Yama in this region (*īyad dik*).

The Atharvaveda III, 27, 1–6 also speaks of six deities: Agni in the east, Indra in the south, Varuṇa in the west, Soma in the north, Viṣṇu in the firm region (*dhruvā dik*), and Bṛhaspati in the upper region (*ūrdhvā dik*). In passage I, 31, 1–2 explicitly four Āśāpālas are called upon, without, however, mentioning their names.

The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa refers to five Adhipatis. In Khaṇḍa VIII, 6, 1, 5–9 they are invoked during the stacking-up of the fire altar: the Vasus with Agni in the east, the Rudras with Indra in the south, the Ādityas with Varuṇa in the west, the Maruts with Soma in the north, and the Viśvadevas with Bṛhaspati in the large region (*bṛhatī dik*). In Khaṇḍa XIV, 1, 3, 19–23 the following group of gods is mentioned in connection with the Pravargya-ceremony: Agni in the east, Indra in the south, Savitṛ in the west, Dhātṛ in the north, and Bṛhaspati above.

The Gobhīlīya Gṛhya Sūtra¹⁷⁹ adds to the guardians of the cardinal regions those of the intermediary ones, so that, included the upper and the lower spheres, there are ten deities forming the group of the Lokapālas. At the construction of a house gifts have to be offered to them: Indra in the east, Vāyu in the intermediary (south-east) region, Yama in the south, Pitṛs in the intermediary (south-west) region, Varuṇa in the west, Mahārāja in the intermediary (north-west) region, Soma in the north, Mahendra in the intermediary (north-east) region, Vāsuki below (*adhastāt*), and Brahmā above (*ūrdhvam divi*).

Manu, Adh. 5, 96¹⁸⁰ speaks of eight deities without mentioning their corresponding position expressly: Soma, Agni, Arka, Anila (Vāyu), Indra, Vitta (Kubera), Appati (Varuṇa), and Yama. Adh. 7, 4 numbers them in a slightly different form: Indra, Anila, Yama, Arka, Agni, Varuṇa, Candra, and Viteśa.

In the epics the Lokapālas seem to play a somewhat subsidiary role. The Mahābhārata¹⁸¹ mentions them at various passages. They number always four, i.e., the guardians of the four cardinal regions, but in slightly different form. The Āraṇyaka-parvan, 52, 5 says Śakra, Agni, Varuṇa and Yama, while Karmaparvan, 30, 76–77 mentions Jātavedas (Agni) in the east, Yama in the south, Varuṇa in the west, and Soma in the north.

The Rāmāyaṇa hardly refers to them. In the Ayodhyākāṇḍam, 16, 24 of the Bombay edition¹⁸² Sītā in her farewell greeting to Rāma invokes Vajradhara (Indra) in the

¹⁷⁹ Ed. by Chandrakānta Tarkālaṅkāra, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1880, 4, 7, 41.

¹⁸⁰ Ed. by J. Jolly, London 1887.

¹⁸¹ Poona Edition.

¹⁸² Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, ed. by Shastri Shrinivasa Katti Mudholkara, Bombay.

east, Yama in the south, Varuṇa in the west, and Dhaneśa (Kubera) in the north. But in the critical Baroda edition¹⁸³ these verses are missing. Also II, 91,13 of the Bombay edition, where three Lokapālas, led by Indra, are mentioned, is missing in the Baroda edition.

The Purāṇas often refer to the Lokapālas, but it is to be noted that there are different groups of guardian deities called by that name. They have, according to their specific location, different functions.¹⁸⁴

Firstly, there are eight or ten Lokapālas, who are invoked during sacrificial ceremonies or are described in iconographic chapters.¹⁸⁵ In cosmographic chapters they appear, always as a group of eight, as inhabitants of the golden mountain Meru, on the peak of which the city of Brahmā is situated, surrounded by the cities of the eight Lokapālas¹⁸⁶. In spite of the fact that sometimes Soma and sometimes Kubera is assigned to the northern region their sequence is stereotyped: Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubera (Soma), Īśāna.

The names of these deities are replaced in the Purāṇas quite often by different surnames. Thus Indra is called for example Ākhaṇḍala, the breaker (Matsya-Purāṇa 92,52), or Śakra, the strong (Agni-Purāṇa 96,28), or Vāsava, one who descends from the Vasus (Śiva-Purāṇa, Rudrasaṃhitā II, 22,44). For Agni is said also Vahni, the offerer (Kūrma-Purāṇa I, 44, 13–14), or Hutāśa, the consumer of sacrifices (Vāyu-Purāṇa 34, 75 ff.). Yama is called Vaivasvata, one who comes from the sun (Vāyu-Purāṇa 34,75 ff.), or Dharmarāja, the king of justice (Matsya-Purāṇa 260, 11–13). Nirṛti is sometimes named Koṇaparāja, the ruler of the intermediary region (Śiva-Purāṇa, Rudrasaṃhitā II, 22,44), and sometimes Virūpākṣa, one who has ugly eyes (Vāyu-Purāṇa 34, 87 and Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, III Khaṇḍa, Adh. 57).

Kubera is called for example Dhanādhyakṣa, the treasurer (Matsya-Purāṇa 92,52).

Īśāna has got the surname Para, the highest (Śiva-Purāṇa, same passage), or Śiva, the benevolent one (Matsya-Purāṇa 92, 52), or Śaṃkara, the auspicious one (Kūrma-Purāṇa I, 44,25).

The second group of Lokapālas is formed invariably by four deities. Their names are: Sudharman in the east, Śaṅkhaṇḍa in the south, Ketumān in the west, and

¹⁸³ The Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, crit. ed. by P. L. Vaidya, Baroda 1962.

¹⁸⁴ For the Lokapālas in the Purāṇas, see also V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *The Purana Index*, Madras 1955, p. 125. The passages cited in the following are meant to give only examples. They are not considered to be an exhaustive account.

¹⁸⁵ Agni-Purāṇa, Adh. 51, 14–16: eight Dikpālas iconographically described, Adh. 56: ten Lokapālas invoked during a sacrificial ceremony, Adh. 96, 26–30: ten Lokapālas iconographically described; Matsya-Purāṇa, Adh. 92,52: ten Dikpālas invoked during a sacrificial ceremony, Adh. 259, 65–69 and Adh. 260, 9–23: eight Lokapālas iconographically described.

¹⁸⁶ Śrīśrīviṣṇupurāṇa, Gītāpress, Gorakhpur, 2,2,31; Śrīśivamahāpurāṇam, Kāśī 1963, Rudrasaṃhitā II, Adh. 22,44; The Kūrma Purāṇa, ed. by A. S. Gupta, Varanasi 1972, I, 44, 10–25; Vāyumahāpurāṇa, Laksmivenkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, Adh. 34,75 ff.

Hiraṇyaroṃaṇ in the north. They are the inhabitants of the Lokāloka Mountains, and they received from Brahmā the dominion over their corresponding regions.¹⁸⁷

The Mānasa Mountains on the ring-continent Puṣkaradvīpa is the home of the third group of Lokapālas. They are likewise four in number: Vāsava (Indra) in the east, Yama in the south, Varuṇa in the west, and Soma in the north.¹⁸⁸

Buddhism, too, knows a group of Lokapālas. They are called Caturmahārājikadevas, the four great kings, and are numbered as: Dhṛtarāṣṭra in the east, Virūḍhaka in the south, Virūpākṣa in the west, and Vaiśravaṇa in the north.¹⁸⁹

The Lalita Vistara gives their iconographic description. The four Lokapālas shall wear a strong armour (*kavacita*) and hold a sword (*asi*), a bow (*dhanu*), an arrow (*śara*), a spear (*śakti*), a lance (*tomara*), and a trident (*triśūla*) in their hands. They shall be adorned with a crown of jewels (*maṇimukuṭa*).¹⁹⁰

Medieval texts such as the Niṣpannayogāvalī show, however, that later Buddhism also accepts the group of Hindu Lokapālas to its pantheon.¹⁹¹

In Jinism the Lokapālas figure as margraves and policemen¹⁹² within the divine state of the Bhavanavāsins (subterranean deities) and the Vaimānikas (heavenly deities). Four Lokapālas (5th rank) are assigned to the Indras, who occupy the first of the ten ranks in a state. The Śvetāmbaras¹⁹³ number the Lokapālas as: Soma in the east, Yama in the south, Varuṇa in the west, and Vaiśramaṇa in the north. The Digambaras change Soma for Indra and call Vaiśramaṇa Kubera.

But as later Buddhism, also Jinism adopts the group of the eight (ten) Lokapālas known from the Purāṇas, and they are described in the late texts.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁷ For the inhabitants of the Lokāloka Mountains, see the Matsyapurāṇam, Calcutta 1954, Adh. 123, 93–95 and Śrīśrīviṣṇupurāṇa, Gorakhpur, 2, 8, 84–85; for receiving from Brahmā the dominion ..., see the Matsyapurāṇam, Adh. 8, 9–10 and Śrīśrīviṣṇupurāṇa, 1, 22, 10–15.

¹⁸⁸ Śrīśrīviṣṇupurāṇa, 2, 8, 9–10.

For the Lokapālas in the Purāṇas compare also W. Kirfel, Das Purāṇa vom Weltgebäude (Bhuvanavinyāsa), Die kosmischen Traktate der Purāṇa's, Bonn 1954 (Bonner Orientalistische Studien, N.S. Bd. 1).

¹⁸⁹ Cf. The Dīgha Nikāya, ed. by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter, London 1903 (Pali Text Society), Vol. II, p. 207, Sut. XVIII, 12 and Vol. III, p. 194, Sut. XXXII, 1.

Cf. also E. Lamotte, Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, des Origines à l'Ère Śaka, Louvain 1958 (Bibliothèque du Muséon, Vol. 43), pp. 759–760.

¹⁹⁰ Lalita Vistara, Leben und Lehre des Čākya-Buddha, ed. by S. Lefmann, Halle A.S. 1902, p. 209.

¹⁹¹ Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpāṇḍita Abhayākara-gupta, ed. by B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda 1972 (G.O.S. No. 109), Dharmadhātuvagīśvaramaṇḍala (p. 61). Cf. also B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, Calcutta 1958 (2nd ed.), pp. 352, 361–363.

¹⁹² W. Kirfel, die Kosmographie der Inder, Bonn, Leipzig 1920, pp. 34, 261, 262, 265.

¹⁹³ Cf. also W. Schubring, Die Lehre der Jainas, nach den alten Quellen dargestellt, Berlin/Leipzig 1935 (Grundriß der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, Bd. III, Heft 7), pp. 153–154.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Nirvāṇakalikā of Pādaliptra, ed. by M.B. Jhaveri, Bombay 1926, pp. 38, a, b; B.C. Bhattacharya, The Jaina Iconography, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna 1974 (2nd ed., 1st ed. Lahore 1939), pp. 108–116.

The various groupings of the Lokapālas in the different texts is compiled in the following list:

Taittirīya-Saṃhitā

V, 5,5	V, 5,8		V, 5,9	
Viśvakarman	Agni	(E)	Vasus and Rudras	(E)
Prajāpati	Indra	(S)	Yama and Pitṛs	(S)
Rudra	Savitṛ	(W)	Ādityas and Viśvadevas	(W)
Varuṇa	Mitra/Varuṇa	(N)	Dyutāna Māruta and Maruts	(N)
Agni	Bṛhaspati	(above)	Indra and gods	(below and above)

V, 5,10

Agni	(E)
Indra	(S)
Soma	(W)
Varuṇa	(N)
Bṛhaspati	(great region)
Yama	(this region)

Atharvaveda III, 27, 1–6

Agni	(E)
Indra	(S)
Varuṇa	(W)
Soma	(N)
Viṣṇu	(firm region)
Bṛhaspati	(above)

Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa XIV, 1,3, 19–23

Agni	(E)
Indra	(S)
Savitṛ	(W)
Dhātṛ	(N)
Bṛhaspati	(above)

Gobhīlīya Gr. S. 4,7,41

Indra	(E)
Vāyu	(SE)
Yama	(S)
Pitṛs	(SW)
Varuṇa	(W)
Mahārāja	(NW)
Soma	(N)
Mahendra	(NE)
Vāsuki	(below)
Brahmā	(above)

Manusmṛti

5,96	7,4
Soma	Indra
Agni	Anila
Arka	Yama
Anila	Arka
Indra	Agni
Vitta	Varuṇa
Appati	Candra
Yama	Vitteśa

Mahābhārata

III, 52,5 VIII, 30,76 ff.

Śakra	Jātavedas	(E)
Agni	Yama	(S)
Varuṇa	Varuṇa	(W)
Yama	Soma	(N)

Purāṇas (first group)

Indra	(E)
Agni	(SE)
Yama	(S)
Nirṛti	(SW)
Varuṇa	(W)
Vāyu	(NW)
Kubera (Soma)	(N)
Īśāna	(NE)
(Brahmā, Ananta)	

Purāṇas (second group)

Sudharman	(E)
Śaṅkha-pāda	(S)
Ketumān	(W)
Hiraṇyaroṃan	(N)

Purāṇas (third group)

Vāsava (Indra)	(E)
Yama	(S)
Varuṇa	(W)
Soma	(N)

Buddhist Caturmahārājikadevas

Dhṛtarāṣṭra	(E)
Virūḍhaka	(S)
Virūpākṣa	(W)
Vaiśravaṇa	(N)

Jinist Lokapālas

Śvetāmbaras	
Soma	(E)
Yama	(S)
Varuṇa	(W)
Vaiśramaṇa	(N)

Digambaras

Indra	(E)
Yama	(S)
Varuṇa	(W)
Kubera	(N)

2. Iconography of the Lokapālas

Iconographical descriptions of the Lokapālas are found in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā, the Purāṇas, and in the medieval Śāstra- and Āgama-literatures. The corresponding passages of some of these works will be quoted here, excepting the south-Indian Āgamas.

The Bṛhatsaṃhitā¹⁹⁵ describes some of the Lokapālas, i.e., Mahendra in Adh. 58,42, and Yama, Varuṇa, and Kubera in Adh. 58,57, but without calling them explicitly Lokapālas or mentioning their respective regions.

The Agni-Purāṇa¹⁹⁶ gives iconographical descriptions of the Lokapālas in Adh. 51, 56 and 96. The first passage quotes eight gods, while both the other ones speak of ten deities.

¹⁹⁵ Bṛhatsaṃhitā of Varāhamihira, Vidyābhavan Saṃskṛta Granthamālā 49, Varanasi 1959.

¹⁹⁶ Agnipurāṇam, ed. by H.N. Apte, Poona 1900 (Ānandāśrama-Saṃskṛta-Granthāvaliḥ 41).

The Matsya-Purāṇa,¹⁹⁷ Adh. 259 and 260 describes eight Lokapālas.

The third Khaṇḍa of the Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa¹⁹⁸ gives detailed descriptions of Śakra (Adh. 50), Yama (Adh. 51), Varuṇa (Adh. 52), Kubera (Adh. 53), Agni (Adh. 56), Virūpākṣa (Adh. 57),¹⁹⁹ and Vāyu (Adh. 58). But this text, like the Bṛhatsaṃhitā, does not speak of these deities as Lokapālas, nor their respective regions are mentioned.

The Aparājitaṭṭpṛcchā,²⁰⁰ Sūtra 213, describes eight Dikpālas.

The works of Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana, Devatāmūrttiprakaraṇa and Rūpamaṇḍana,²⁰¹ regional texts from Gujarat, will not be quoted here because of their close parallelism to the corresponding verses of the Aparājitaṭṭpṛcchā. Some deviations are cited in the footnotes.

Indra

Bṛhatsaṃhitā 58,42: He carries *vajra*, has a third oblique eye on the forehead, and his *vāhana* is a white elephant.

Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, III, 50:²⁰² “Śakra, the white one should be placed on an elephant having four tusks. His wife Śacī should be seated on his left lap. He has four hands while Śacī has two. Śakra of the golden hue wears a blue garment and all kinds of ornaments. His oblique eye should be shown on the forehead. Padma (lotus) and Aṅkuṣa (elephant-goat) are in his right hands while one of his left hands is on the back of Śacī and the other carries the thunderbolt. Śacī holds a charming Santānamañjarī in her left hand, and the right hand is placed on the back of the lord of the gods – Sakra.”

¹⁹⁷ Matsyapurāṇam, ed by Maharshi Krishnadwaipayanyas, Calcutta 1954 (Gurumaṇḍal Series No. XIII).

¹⁹⁸ Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, Third Khaṇḍa, ed. by P. Shah, Baroda 1958 (G. O. S. No. CXXX).

¹⁹⁹ Virūpākṣa is generally identified with Nirṛti. Cf. T. A. G. Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Delhi 1968, 2nd. ed., Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 528. However, this description of Virūpākṣa is misquoted. Instead of the Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, Adh. 57, parts of Paṭala 49 of the Aṃśumadbhedāgama are, even wrongly, translated, as becomes clear from Appendix B, Pratimālakṣaṇāni, p. 258. Hemādri identifies Virūpākṣa with Nirṛti. In his descriptions of the Dikpālas he quotes verses from the Viṣṇudh., Caturvargacintāmani, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1878, Vol. II, Vratākhaṇḍa, Pt. I pp. 143 ff. The Vāyumahāpurāṇa, 34,87 quotes Virūpākṣa as surname of Nirṛti. Apparently the Viṣṇudh. does not mention the Lokapāla Īśāna. But J. N. Banerjee, The Development of Hindu Iconography, Calcutta 1956, 2nd. ed., p. 529, assumes that, in spite of an unusual iconography, Gaurīśvara, Adh. 55, is to be identified with the Lokapāla Īśāna. He is described as Ardhanaṛīśvara, and although at the end of Adh. 55 it is said that this is the Īśāna form of Śiva, it seems rather improbable that the Lokapāla Īśāna is meant.

²⁰⁰ Aparājitaṭṭpṛcchā of Bhuvanadeva, ed. by P. A. Mankad, Baroda 1950 (G. O. S. No. CXV).

²⁰¹ Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana, Devatāmūrttiprakaraṇam (Adh. 4, 59–66) and Rūpamaṇḍana (Adh. 2, 31–38), ed. by U. M. Sankhyatirtha, Calcutta 1936 (Calcutta Sanskrit Series No. XII).

²⁰² See the translation of P. Shah, Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, Third Khaṇḍa, Vol. II, Baroda 1961 (G. O. S. No. 137), p. 159.

Agni-Purāṇa 51,14: He holds *vajra* and rides on an elephant. 56,17: The king of the gods holds *vajra* and sits on an elephant. 96,28: Śakra rides on the elephant Airāvata, is of golden hue, wears *kirīṭa*, has thousand eyes and holds *vajra* in his hand.

Matsya-Purāṇa, 259, 65–69 (260, 66–69):²⁰³ The king of gods has 1000 eyes, rides on an infuriated elephant and has a broad chest, large face, shoulders like a lion and long arms. He wears *kirīṭa* and earrings and has extensive thighs, arms and eyes. He carries *vajra* and *utpala* and is adorned with various ornaments. He is adored by the Devas, Gandharvas, Apsarases and Gaṇas, and is surrounded by lady attendants with umbrellas and whisks. He stands on a lion's throne and is surrounded by Gandharvas and Gaṇas. Indrāṇī sits at his left, she carries *utpala*.

Aparājitapṛcchā, 213,9: *Vajra*, *anikuśa*, *kuṇḍī* and *vara*.²⁰⁴ He rides on an elephant, has thousand eyes and stands in the east.²⁰⁵

Agni

Brhatsaṃhitā: This text doesn't mention him.

Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, III, 56:²⁰⁶ "Agni should be depicted red in colour, wearing a Jaṭā (matted hair) and having smoke as his garment. He should be surrounded with flames. He has three eyes, four arms, and four tusks. He bears a beard. He should be represented seated in a chariot having smoke as its insignia and wind as a charioteer. The chariot should be drawn by four parrots. Svāhā sits on his left lap. She carries a vessel of jewels. In the two right hands of Agni a flame and a trident should be shown and in his left hand a rosary."²⁰⁷

Agni-Purāṇa 51,14: He rides on a ram and holds *śakti*. 56,19: He holds *śakti*, stands on a ram and is full of energy. 96,29: He is seven-rayed and holds *akṣamālā*, *kamaṇḍalu* and *śakti*. He is surrounded by flames, is red and has a ram as his seat.

Matsya-Purāṇa, 260, 9b–11a (261, 10–12): The image of Vahni, the bestower of all desires, should be made shining like pure gold. He stands on a pedestal looking like a crescent. His hair and his face look like the sun. He wears *yajñopavīta* and has a long beard. He carries *kamaṇḍalu* in his left hand, and *akṣasūtra* in his right. He is provided with a shining canopy of flames and has a ram as his *vāhana*. He stands in a *kuṇḍa* or is made like one whose head has seven flames.

Aparājitapṛcchā, 213,10: *Varada*, *śakti*, *mṛṇāla*, *kamaṇḍalu*, *Hutāśana* is like a bunch of flames. He rides on a ram.²⁰⁸

²⁰³ Translated according to the Calcutta edition, Gurumaṇḍal Series No. XIII. The numbers in the brackets refer to the English translation of the text, ed. by Jamna Das Akhtar, Delhi 1972.

²⁰⁴ The text simply says "*varam*", which stands for *varadamudrā*.

²⁰⁵ The Rūpamaṇḍana 2,31 says the same; the Devatāmūrttiprakaraṇa 4,59 mentions "*varadam*", instead of "*varam*" and "*kamaṇḍalu*", instead of "*kuṇḍim*".

²⁰⁶ Shah, op. cit. (cf. annotation 202) p. 145.

²⁰⁷ The second left hand is not mentioned especially, but from the context it becomes clear that Agni embraces his consort with one of his left arms.

²⁰⁸ The Rūp. 2,32 and the Dev. 4,60 are identical with this.

Yama

Bṛhatsamhitā, 58,57: He carries *daṇḍa* and has *mahiṣa* as his *vāhana*.

Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, III, 51:²⁰⁹ "The colour of Yama is like that of a water-laden cloud. The colour of his garment is like that of heated gold and is adorned with all ornaments. He has four hands. He rides a buffalo. His wife, Dhūmorṇā has the colour resembling the blue lotus. She has two hands and is seated on his left lap. In the right hands of Yama a sword and a staff should be shown. On the top of the staff a head should be placed with a garland of flames. One of his left hands is on the back of Dhūmorṇā and the other carries a shield (lit. leather). The right hand of Dhūmorṇā is on the back of Yama and the left hand holds a beautiful Mātuluṅga (citron). On his (Yama's) right side, should be placed the good-looking Citragupta having two hands and dressed in northern style. His right hand holds a pen and the left one a leaf. On the left side of Yama should be placed the dreadful looking Kāla holding a noose."

Agni-Purāṇa 51,14: Yama has *daṇḍa* and is placed on *mahiṣa*. 56,20: He sits on *mahiṣa* and holds *daṇḍa*. 96,30: Yama sits on *mahiṣa* and holds *daṇḍa* in his hand. He is the fearsome fire.

Matsya-Purāṇa, 260, 11b–14 (261, 13–14): Dharmarāja should hold *gadā* and *pāśa*. He rides on a buffalo, is black like soot and sits on a throne. His eyes are sparkling like fire. At his sides are Citragupta, some attendants, groups of demons and the great buffalo.

Aparājita-prcchā, 213,11: Yama holds *lekhaṇī*, *pustaka*, *kukkuṭa* and *daṇḍa*. He rides on a great buffalo and is of black colour.

Nirṛti

The Bṛhatsamhitā does not mention him.

Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, III, 57:²¹⁰ "Virūpākṣa is flame-faced with whirling eyes. His hair is raised up. His beard and moustache (lit. hair on the face) are green and his features are terrific. His colour is reddish-dark. He has two hands and carries a long staff. He wears black garments and all ornaments as usual. He has a camel and has in his hands a staff and reins or better staff like reins (of camel). His wife, Nirṛtī is to be placed on his left side. Her limbs are dark and so is her face. She carries a noose in her hand."

Agni-Purāṇa 51,14: Nairṛta carries *khaḍga* and rides on a man. 56,22: Nairṛta has *khaḍga*, is strong and provided with a *vāhana*. 96,30: Nairṛta has red eyes, rides on a donkey and holds *khaḍga* in his hand.

Matsya-Purāṇa, 260, 15–16 (261, 15f.): Lokapāla Nairṛta, lord of the Rākṣas, rides on a man, is very deceitful and has protective arms. He carries *khaḍga* and is

²⁰⁹ Shah, op. cit. (cf. annotation 202) p. 147.

²¹⁰ Ibid. p. 155.

black like a mountain of soot. He stands on a chariot drawn by a man, is dressed in yellow and provided with ornaments.

Aparājitaṭṭcchā, 213,12: Nirṛti carries *khaḍga* and *khetaka*, decapitates the enemy, has a mouth with hanging fangs, and rides on a dog.²¹¹

Varuṇa

Bṛhatsaṃhitā, 58,57: Varuṇa rides on *haṃsa* and carries *pāśa*.

Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, III, 52:²¹² "The colour of Varuṇa, the lord of the aquatic animals resembles a glossy lapis lazuli (Vaidūrya). He has four hands and a somewhat hanging belly. He wears white cloth and a pearl-necklace in addition to the usual 'all ornaments'. He sits in a chariot of seven swans. On his left there should be a flag bearing the sign of Makara and over his head there should be a white umbrella. His wife Gaurī, beautiful in all limbs has two hands. She is seated on his left lap. She holds in her left hand a blue lotus. Her right hand is on the back of the god. In the right hands of the god, Varuṇa, there should be a lotus and a noose and in the left hands a conch and a vessel of jewels. On his right is Gaṅgā on a Makara and a lotus in her hands. She is as white as the moon and has a beautiful face. On his left is Yamunā on a tortoise with a cāmara and a blue lotus in her hands. She is placid. Her colour is like a blue lotus."

Agni-Purāṇa 51,15: Varuṇa is on a *makara* with *pāśa*. 56,23: Varuṇa rides on a *makara*, holds *pāśa* and is very strong. 96,31: He is white, is on a *makara* and carries *nāgapāśa*.

Matsya-Purāṇa 260, 17–18 a (261, 15–22): Varuṇa holds *pāśa*, is very strong and white like rock-crystal. He wears a white garment and white necklaces. He stands on a fish-pedestal, looks peaceful and carries *kirita* and a bracelet.

Aparājitaṭṭcchā, 213,13: Varuṇa shows *vara*, holds *pāśa*, *kamala*, and *kamaṇḍalu* in his hands. He rides on a *makara* and is in the west.²¹³

Vāyu

The Bṛhatsaṃhitā does not mention him.

Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, III, 58:²¹⁴ "Vāyu (which is invisible to the eye) takes a visible form. He has the colour of the sky. The sky has the form of the wind. His garments are puffed up with wind. He has two hands. Śivā, his wife, is on his left side. She is the personification of motion (...). Wind is represented as holding the ends of

²¹¹ The Rūp. 2,34 and the Dev. 4,62 say almost the same, but instead of hanging fangs, projecting fangs.

²¹² Shah, op. cit. (cf. annotation 202) p. 146.

²¹³ The Rūp. 2,35 says "*varapāśosalam*", apparently corrupted for "*varapāśotpalam*" and "*kuṇḍim*", instead of "*kamaṇḍalum*". As *vāhana* "*nakra*" (crocodile) is given. The Dev. 4,63 follows the Apr., but says "*varada*" instead of "*vara*" and "*padma*" instead of "*kamala*".

²¹⁴ Shah, op. cit. (cf. annotation 202) p. 156.

his garment and so also his wife Śivā. His face is averted and his hair is dishevelled. Vāyu has the smell and the colour of the object it contacts (...), so, on account of being in contact with sky, his colour is that of collyrium. The sky is also his garment. His wife Śivā represents motion. Anila i.e. Vāyu is Aniruddha i.e. unobstructed."

Agni-Purāṇa 51,15: Vāyu carries *vajra* and is placed on a gazelle. 56,25: He is strong, holds a *dhvaja* and has a *vāhana*. 96,31: Vāyu is blue, he is placed on a gazelle.

Matsya-Purāṇa, 260, 18b–19 (261, 15–22): Vāyu has the colour of smoke. He rides on a gazelle. He wears a shining garment, is peaceful, looks young and has knitted brows. He rides on a gazelle, shows *varada*, and is provided with *patākā* and *dhvaja*.

Aparājitaṭṭhā, 213,14: Pavana, the lord of the Vāyu-region, shows *vara*, carries *dhvaja*, *patākā* and *kamaṇḍalu*. He rides on a gazelle and is of yellowish colour.²¹⁵

Kubera

Bṛhatsaṃhitā, 58,57: Kubera rides on a man. He has a slanting *kiriṭa* and a big belly.

Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, III, 53:²¹⁶ "Dhanada or Kubera is white like a leaf of lotus and yellow like gold. ... Kubera has a hanging belly and four arms. His left eye is tawny. He bears a moustache and two large teeth on his face. His dress is that of a northerner (udīcya) wearing a kavaca and is fully decorated with ornaments with a heavy necklace resting on his belly. His crest should be bent towards the left. He rides on a man (naravāhana). The goddess Ṛddhi should be represented as sitting on his left lap. She has two hands. The right one is on the back of the god and the left one bears a vessel of jewels. In the right hands of Kubera there should be a Gadā and a Śakti. In his feet are a banner bearing an emblem of lion and a śibikā. Standing near him should be drawn the two treasures Śaṅkha and Padma in good form. On his side a face coming out of Śaṅkha and Padma should be shown."

Agni-Purāṇa 51,15: Kubera with *gadā* stands on a ram. 56,26: Soma is strong, holds *gadā* and has a *vāhana*. 96,31: Kubera sits on a ram.

Matsya-Purāṇa, 260, 20–22 (261, 15–22): He is adorned with two earrings, has a big belly, a huge body, and is provided with the eight *nidhis*. He is surrounded by many Guhyakas, with his hands he is giving money. He has necklaces and armlets and always a white garment. He carries *gadā*, shows *varada*, wears a *mukuta*, and stands on a chariot drawn by a man.

Aparājitaṭṭhā, 213,15: Dhanada holds *gadā*, *nidhi*, *bijapūra* and *kamaṇḍalu* in his hands. He rides on an elephant and stands in the north.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ The corresponding verse of the Dev. 4,64 seems to be corrupted.

²¹⁶ Shah, op. cit. (cf. annotation 202) p. 147.

²¹⁷ The Rūp. 2,37 and the Dev. 4,65 do not mention the direction, but simply say "saumya". The Rūp. says both "gajārūḍhaḥ" and "naravāhanah", i.e., Kubera rides on an elephant as well as on a man. Compare in this respect also n. 151.

Īśāna

The Bṛhatsaṃhitā does not mention him.

The Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa does not mention him.

Agni-Purāṇa 51,15: Īśāna has *jaṭāmukuta* and stands on a bull. 56,28: Īśāna is strong, holds *śūla* and stands on a bull. 96,32: Īśa has *triśūla* and stands on a bull.

Matsya-Purāṇa, 260,23 (261,23): Īśa is white and has white eyes. The god holds *triśūla* and has three eyes. He rides on a bull.

Aparājitapṛcchā, 213,16: The white shining Īśāna should be made riding on a bull. He shows *varada* and holds *triśūla*, *nāgendra* and *bijapūraka*.²¹⁸

Brahmā and Ananta in their capacity as Lokapālas are described in the Agni-Purāṇa 56,29: Brahmā stands on *haṃsa*, his hands carry *sruk* and *sruva*. 96,32: Brahmā rides on *haṃsa*. He has four faces and four hands. 56,31: Ananta has *cakra* and stands on *kūrma*. 96,32: Ananta has *cakra* and sits on *kūrma*.

²¹⁸ The Rūp. 2,38 says the same, but instead of "*varada*", "*vara*". The Dev. is same as the Apr., but does not mention the colour of Īśāna.

Brahmā	Panel 1	Vaiṣṇavi		Apsaras
	Devi 1			
Apsaras				

Pl. 143

Gaṇeśa	Panel 2	Ardha-nārīya		Apsaras
	Devi 2			
Apsaras				

Pl. 144

Ilāna	Panel 6	Gaṇeśa + Sakti		Apsaras
	Devi 4			
Apsaras				

Pl. 146

Vaiṣṇavi	Panel 10	Sara-swati		Ascetic
	Aditya 1			
Apsaras				

Pl. 112

Brahmā	Panel 9	Śiva Andha-kāura-vadhā		Apsaras
	Agni			
Apsaras				

Pl. 128

Sāvitri	Panel 3	Viṣṇu		Apsaras
	Indra			
Apsaras				

Pl. 126

Female Deity	Panel 4	Śivaite Deity		Bhairavi
	Indra			
Apsaras				

Pl. 127

Ilāna	Panel 7	Devi 5	panel completely destroyed	

no plate

Śiva	Panel 8	Devi 6		
Apsaras				

Pl. 147

Nirṛti	Panel 11	Indrāni		Apsaras
	Aditya 2			
Apsaras				

Pl. 113

Ilāni	Panel 12	Female Deity		Apsaras
	Aditya 3			
Apsaras				

Pl. 114

Camuṇḍā	Panel 5	Mihuna		Apsaras
	Devi 3			
Apsaras				

Pl. 145

Fig. 50. Sequence of panels on the temple walls.

Female Deity	Panel 16	Sivaitē Goddess	Ascetic
Apsaras	Aditya 5		

Pl. 116

Sivaitē Goddess	Panel 20	Male Deity	Apsaras
		Varuṇa	

Pl. 132

Kubera	Panel 24	Itani
Apsaras	Aditya 11	Apsaras

Pl. 123

Brahmā	Panel 15	Nirrti	Sivaitē Goddess	Apsaras
Apsaras				

Pl. 131

Śiva	Panel 19	Ādiṭya 8	Durgā
Ascetic			
			Apsaras

Pl. 119

Kubera	Panel 23	Ādiṭya 10	Male
			Deity
Apsaras			

Pl. 122

Vaiṣṇa- vī	Panel 14	Yama	Mahēśva- rī
Apsaras			

Pl. 129

Isāni	Panel 18	Ādiṭya 7	Varaha
			Apsaras

Pl. 118

Deity	Panel 22	Ādiya 9	Gaṇeśa
Apsara			
			Ascetic

Pl. 121

Kubera	Panel 13	Ādiṭya 4	Brahmā- rī	Apsaras
Leo- gryph				

Pl. 115

Male Deity	Panel 17	Aditya 6	Indraṇī	Apsaras

Pl. 117

Kāmi	Panel 21	Vāyu	Sivaitē Goddess
Apsaras			

Pl. 134

Fig. 51. Sequence of panels on the temple walls.

Panel 25	Ganeśa	Panel 28	Śiva	Panel 31	Arđha-nārīśvara	Panel 32	Dancer	Panel 33	Śiva	Panel 34	Male Figure
Aditya 12		Devi 8		Devi 7		Devi 10		Devi 11		Devi 12	
Ascetic	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Bhairavi
Pl. 124			Pl. 149				Pl. 138				Pl. 155
Panel 26	Vaiṣṇavi	Panel 27	Mahākālī	Panel 29	Bhairava	Panel 30	Śiva Andha.	Panel 31	Śivaite Deity	Panel 32	Śivaite Goddess
Kubera		Devi 7		Devi 9		Devi 10		Devi 11		Devi 12	
Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras
Pl. 135			Pl. 148				Pl. 153				Pl. 154
Panel 28	Śiva	Panel 29	Arđha-nārīśvara	Panel 30	Śiva Andha.	Panel 31	Śivaite Deity	Panel 32	Śivaite Goddess	Panel 33	Śivaite Goddess
Devi 8		Devi 7		Devi 10		Devi 11		Devi 12		Devi 13	
Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras	Apsaras
Pl. 149			Pl. 153				Pl. 158				Pl. 163

Fig. 52. Sequence of panels on the temple walls.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
GOS	Gackwad's Oriental Series
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay
JISOA	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art
JMPIP	Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
MASI	Memoires of the Archaeological Survey of India

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GLOSSARY AND INDEXES

GLOSSARY AND INDEX OF ARCHITECTURAL TERMS

- adhināyaka*, deity to whom a temple is dedicated 20
- āmalaka*, cogged wheel-stone, coping the *śikhara* 51
- āndola*, wave-shaped, typ of flying arch between pillars 43
- antarāla*, antechamber, passage between *maṇḍapa* and cella 10
- antarapatra*, broad cavetto 10, 11, 13, 16, 22, 23, 25, 36, 41, 42, 46, 51
- ardhacandra*, half-moon, flat semicircular step in front of doorsill 31, 32 n., 49, 50, 53
- ardhapadma*, half-lotus 11
- ardharatna*, half-jewel 22, 23, 30, 142
- āsanapattaka*, projecting stone slabs running around the inner side of a balustrade, serving as seat 36, 37, 56, 58
- bhadra*, central projection, buttress 9, 11, 16, 17, 19, 31, 32, 51, 52, 53, 56, 105, 109, 110, 144
- bharanī*, capital of pillar 23, 24 n., 25, 42
- bhīṭṭa*, plinth 10, 13, 23, 25, 37, 42, 47
- bhūmigrha*, underground chamber of cella 32
- caitya-arch*, section of barrel-vault, also known as "indian arch" or horseshoe-arch, most common motif of decoration, having many variations 10, 11, 15, 19, 22, 30, 47, 51, 54, 57
- chādyakī*, minor cyma-shaped moulding 10
- daṇḍachādyā*, ribbed awing of framed niches 15, 59
- gajapīṭha*, see *gajathara*
- gajatālu*, elephant's trunk, cusped hemicycle with ribs, *kolas*, radiating from a common center, decorative motif of a ceiling 30
- gajathara*, frieze of elephants on the socle 11, 13, 36, 47
- garbhagrha*, cella 5, 8, 10, 32, 50
- ghaṭapallava*, vase with stalks of plants, see also *pūrṇaghaṭa* 20
- grāsapattikā*, frieze of *kīrtimukhas* 10, 13, 22, 23, 24, 26, 36, 47, 51
- gūḍhamandapa*, closed hall in front of cella, also called *sabhāmandapa*, assembly hall 8, 10
- haṃsa*, wild goose, motif of decoration 28
- ilikā*, caterpillar, type of flying arch between pillars 41, 43
- jādyakumbha*, cyma-shaped moulding on the socle 10, 13, 36, 47, 51, 56, 142
- janighā*, section of temple wall or pillar shaft with figural friezes 10, 13, 14, 22, 23, 41, 42, 43, 51, 52, 54, 56, 58, 59, 121, 122, 137, 143, 144
- kakāsana*, sloping seat-back above balustrade 34, 37, 38, 55, 56
- kalāśa*, water-vessel, torus moulding, decorative member on top of *śikhara* 11, 13, 22, 23, 25, 41, 42, 51
- kapotālī*, cyma-cornice 4 n., 11, 13, 14, 16, 22, 23, 25, 42, 56, 58
- kapotikā*, minor cornice 10, 13, 57, 58
- kārṇa*, main corner 9, 50, 52, 59, 61, 63, 71, 90
- kārṇaka*, *kārṇika*, edged astragal, torus 10, 13, 36, 47
- kārṇadardarikā*, lower ring course on corbelled dome, mostly decorated with lotus petals 29, 45
- karotaka*, corbelled dome 29
- khura*, hoof, decorative band on podium and pillar base 11, 13, 22
- khuracchādyā*, ribbed awning between wall and superstructure 13, 16, 51, 59, 143
- kinṇaras*, mythical beings with a horse's body and human head 19
- kīrtimukha*, face of glory, mask of horned lion, architectural ornament 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 36, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 51, 52, 53, 55, 57, 142
- kīrtistambha*, pillar of glory, gateway 5, 47, 48, 54, 55, 56, 57

- kola*, pig's tusk, ribs, convex-shaped ribbed ring course on corbelled dome 30, 45, 59
- kṣipta vitāna* of the *Nābhicchanda* order, *kṣipt* = thrown, *vitāna* = ceiling, *nābhicchanda* = concentric, type of ceiling where the component courses are concentrically arranged and recede in 30, 31, 45
- kumbha*, pot, rounded moulding on temple wall and pillar base 11, 13, 22, 23, 25, 40, 41, 42, 47
- kumbhikā*, pillar base 23, 25, 42
- kumuda*, torus moulding 51
- kuṇḍa*, tank 5, 47
- kuṭachādyā*, ribbed awning inserted between wall and superstructure 143
- lalāṭabimba*, tutelary image 19
- laśuna*, fluted sub-capital member of pillar shaft 23, 24, 42, 43, 58
- maṇḍapa*, hall, see *gūḍha-*, *mukha-*, *nṛtya-*, *raṅga-*, *sabhāmaṇḍapa*
- makara*, sea monster, architectural ornament 19, 28, 41, 43, 143
- maṇḍikā*, pedestal, architectural form 4 n., 13, 14, 56, 58
- mandāraka*, semicircular projection in the center of the doorsill 31
- maṇḍovara*, temple wall 10, 12, 51, 143
- masūraka*, cushion, decorative member of pillar shaft 22, 23, 25, 26, 42, 43, 58
- miśraka*, mixed, manifold, type of pillar with square or octagonal base, the shaft turning sixteen-sided in its middle section and circular at the top 41
- mukhamāṇḍapa*, vestibule, passage between porch and hall of temple 9
- mukuli*, flower bud, central decoration on a *gajatālu* 30
- mūlaprāsāda*, room of temple which houses the cella 5, 8, 28, 30
- narapīṭha*, figural frieze on the socle 11, 13, 16, 17, 36, 47, 58
- narathara* see *narapīṭha*
- nṛtyamaṇḍapa*, dancing hall 5, 33
- pañcāsākhā*, doorframe with five beams 31
- parṇabandha*, leafwork decoration on pillar shaft 22, 23, 42, 43
- paṭṭikā*, *paṭṭaka*, girdle, ribbon, fillet, see *grāsapaṭṭikā*, *rūpapaṭṭikā*
- pedya*, jamb 17
- phalaka*, beam 16, 36, 56, 59
- piṭha*, socle, base 10, 13, 34, 37
- pradakṣinapatha*, processional passageway 10
- pratiratha*, secondary offset 9, 11, 19, 32, 50, 52, 61
- pratiśākhā*, inner beam of doorframe with foliate decoration 19
- pūrṇaghaṭa*, vase of abundance, architectural ornament on pillar shaft 16, 20, 25, 26, 28, 36, 37, 38, 39, 54, 58, 59, 142
- rājasenaka*, frieze below the balustrade 16, 34, 36, 37, 58
- raṅgamaṇḍapa*, dancing hall 33, 47
- ratha*, central offset 9, 11, 14, 16, 17, 31, 50, 51
- rathikā*, framed niche 13, 14, 19, 23, 32, 41, 42, 57, 142
- rūpakāṇṭha*, ring course of corbelled dome with figural decoration 29, 45, 54, 57
- rūpapaṭṭikā*, first ring course of corbelled dome with figural decoration 45, 142
- rupasākhā*, outer beam of doorframe with figural decoration 19, 32
- rūpastambha*, central pilaster-shaped part of doorframe bearing framed panels 19, 31
- sabhāmaṇḍapa*, assembly hall 5, 8, 10, 20, 28, 29, 30, 80
- samatāla vitāna*, type of flat ceiling 30, 45
- śikhara*, tower 50, 51, 52, 143
- śīrṣa*, bracket 23, 25, 42
- stambha*, pillar shaft 23, 25, 42
- ṭhakārikā*, type of caitya-arch motif 10, 11, 16, 22, 24
- tri-aṅga*, having three subdivisions 9, 50
- triśākhā*, doorframe with three beams 19
- ucchālaka*, raised shaft segment on pillars 42
- udaramukha*, face on the stomach of atlant figures 24, 45
- udgama*, pediment 13, 15, 23, 41, 42, 142
- udumbara*, threshold, doorsill 17, 31
- uttaraṅga*, lintel 17, 19
- vandanamālikā*, flying arch, serving as buttress 43
- varaṇḍikā*, eave-cornice 10, 13, 16
- vedibandha*, podium 10, 13, 51
- vedikā*, balustrade 16, 34, 36, 37, 59

vidyādhara, garland bearer 19, 20, 29, 41, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 144

vidyādharamālā, frieze of garland bearers, architectural ornament mainly on pillar shaft 23, 24, 42, 43, 142

vikarṇa vitāna, kind of ceiling formed by triangular stone slabs 30

vitāna, ceiling 28

vyāla, rampant animal, often lion or hybrid beast 15, 90

GLOSSARY AND INDEX OF ICONOGRAPHICAL TERMS

- abhaya mudrā*, reassuring gesture 64, 80, 87, 93, 97
abja, lotus 87
agni, fire 80
akṣa, *akṣamālā*, *akṣasūtra*, rosary 71 etc.
ālīdha, standing pose of archer 95, 100, 124
ambuja, lotus 87
aṅjalimudrā, hand pose of adoration and reverence 81, 87, 115, 124, 133, 137, 139
anikuśa, elephant goad 73, 84, 87, 88, 92, 93, 116, 118, 120, 121, 122, 152, 153
anna, food, rice 77
ardhaparyāṅkāsana, sitting pose 65, 66, 91, 92, 93, 94, 98, 104, 109, 122, 123, 126, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 135, 136, 137
 arrow, see *śara*
asi, sword 149
avyāṅga, broad belt of Sūrya 64, 71, 109
 axe, see *paraśu*
 bag, see *nidhi*
 banner, see *dhvaja*
 bell, see *ghaṇṭā*
 belt of bones 89
bījapūraka, citrus fruit 92, 94, 102, 118, 121, 123, 136, 154, 156, 157
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 bow, see *dhanus*
 Brāhmaṇical cord, see *yajñopavīta*
 belt of Sūrya, see *avyāṅga*
 buffalo, see *mahiṣa*
 bull, vehicle of Śiva 97, 98, 99, 100, 122, 125, 132, 135, 136
 bull, vehicle of Maheśvarī 83, 88
 bull, vehicle of Īśāna 76, 99, 100, 127, 157
 bull, vehicle of Īśānī 97, 104, 119
 cakra, disc 91, 95, 96, 98, 101, 102, 106, 107, 114, 119, 120, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 132, 134, 136, 138, 157
cāmara, whisk 61, 74, 81, 84, 87, 89, 155
 camel, vehicle of Nīrtī 154
caturahasta, hand pose in dancing 97, 100
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 club, see *gadā*
 cock, see *kukkuṭa*
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 cuirass, see *kavaca*
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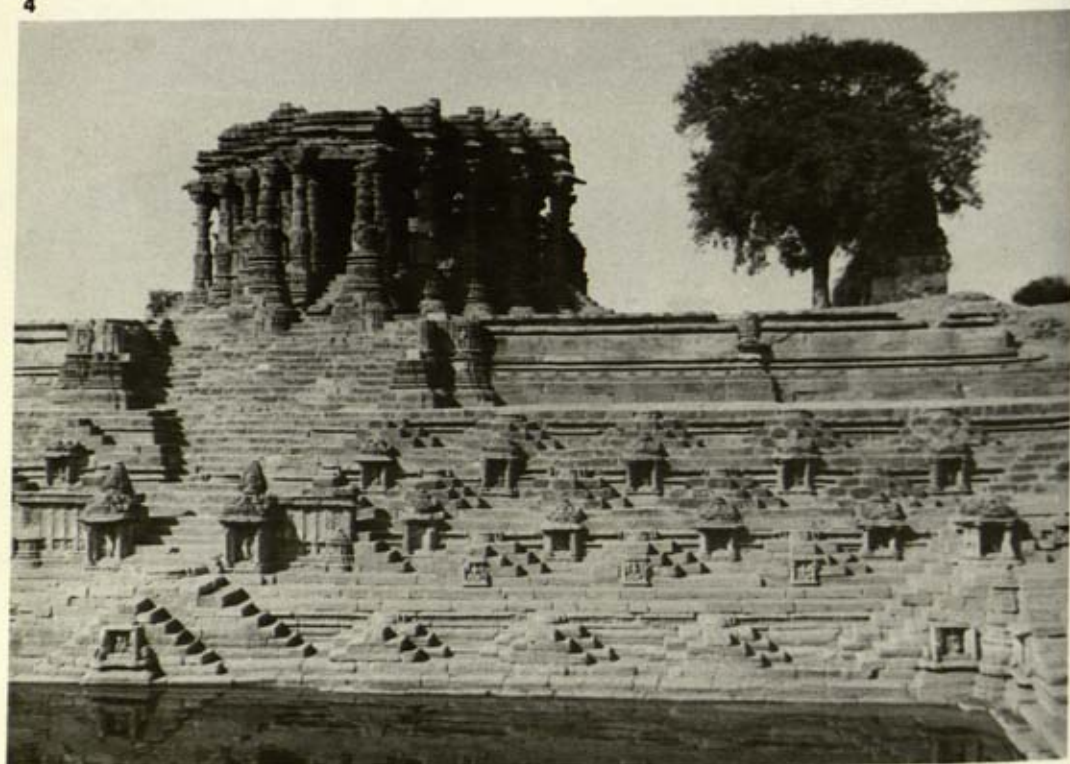
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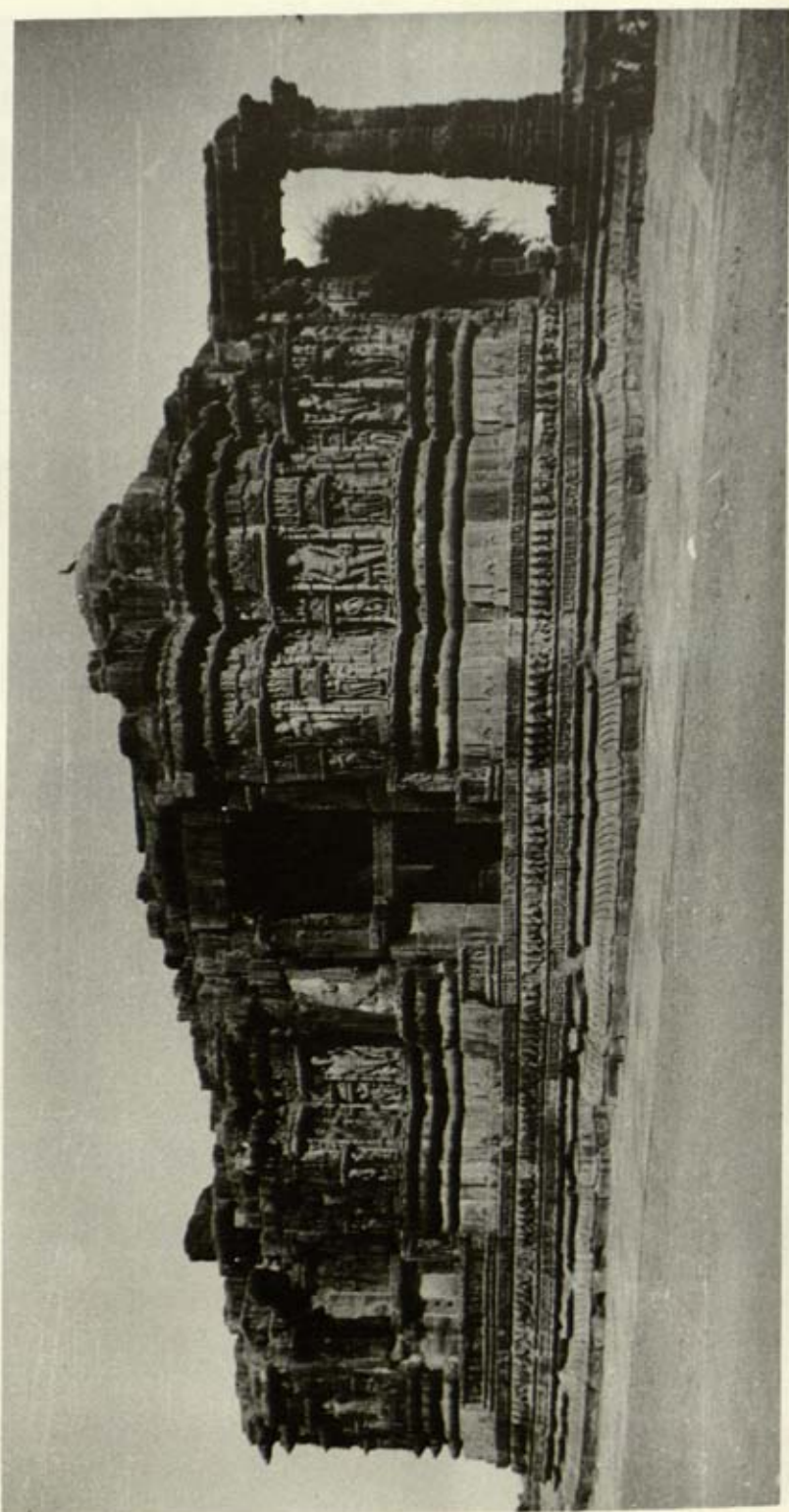


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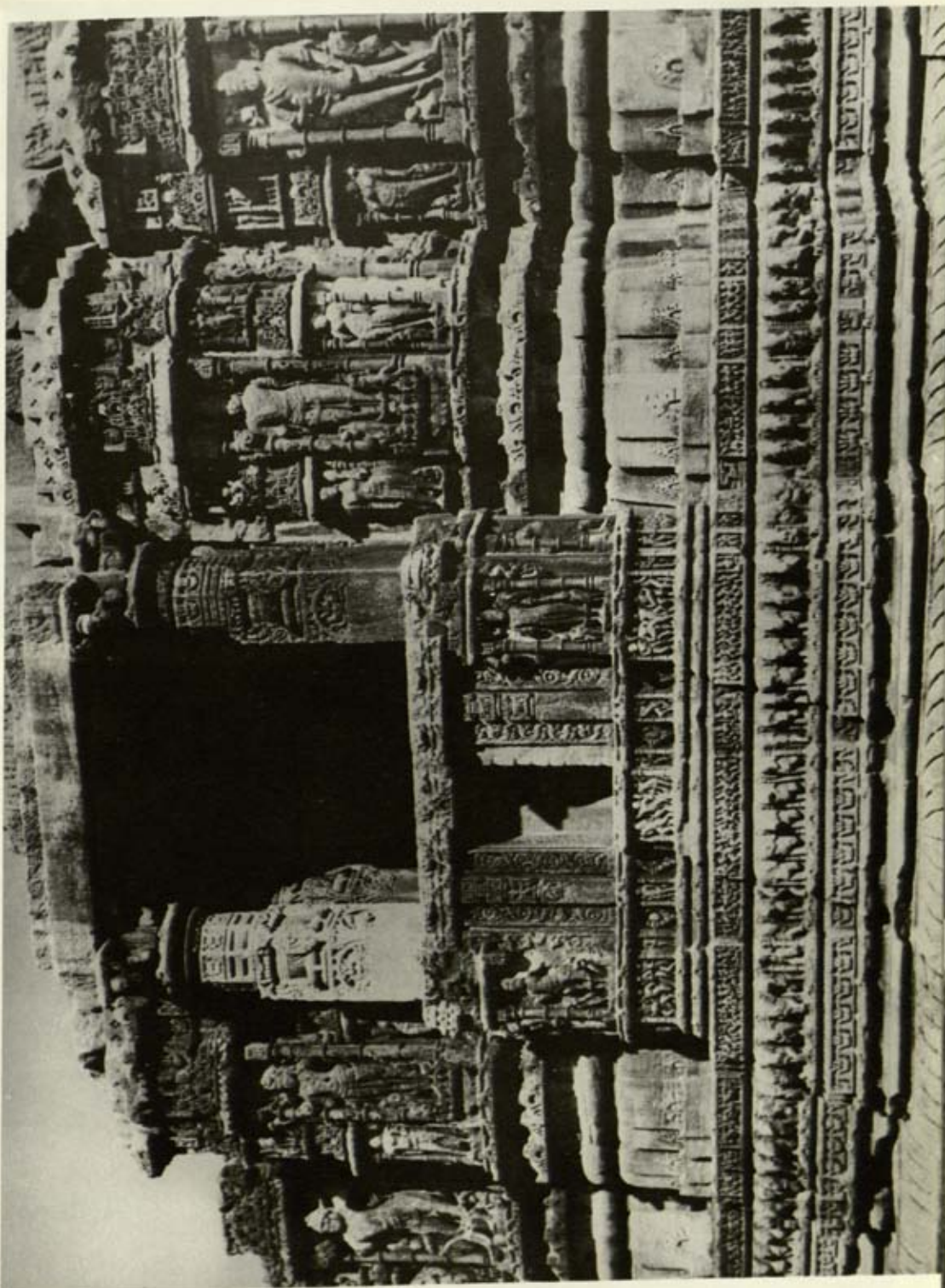


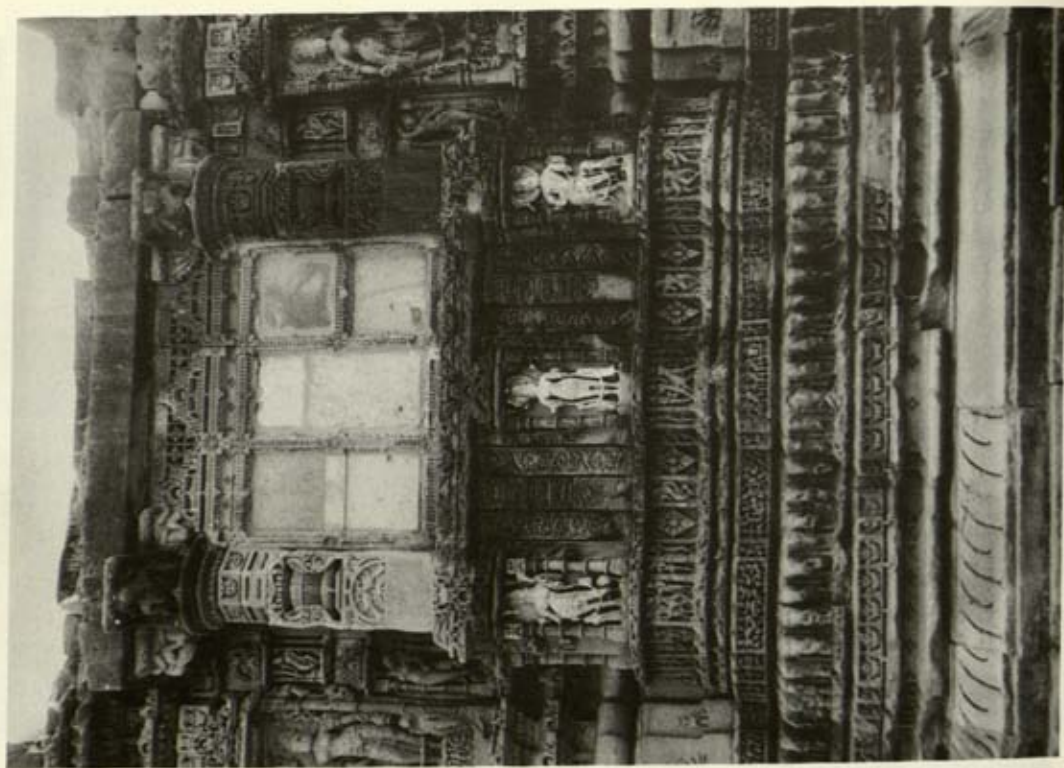
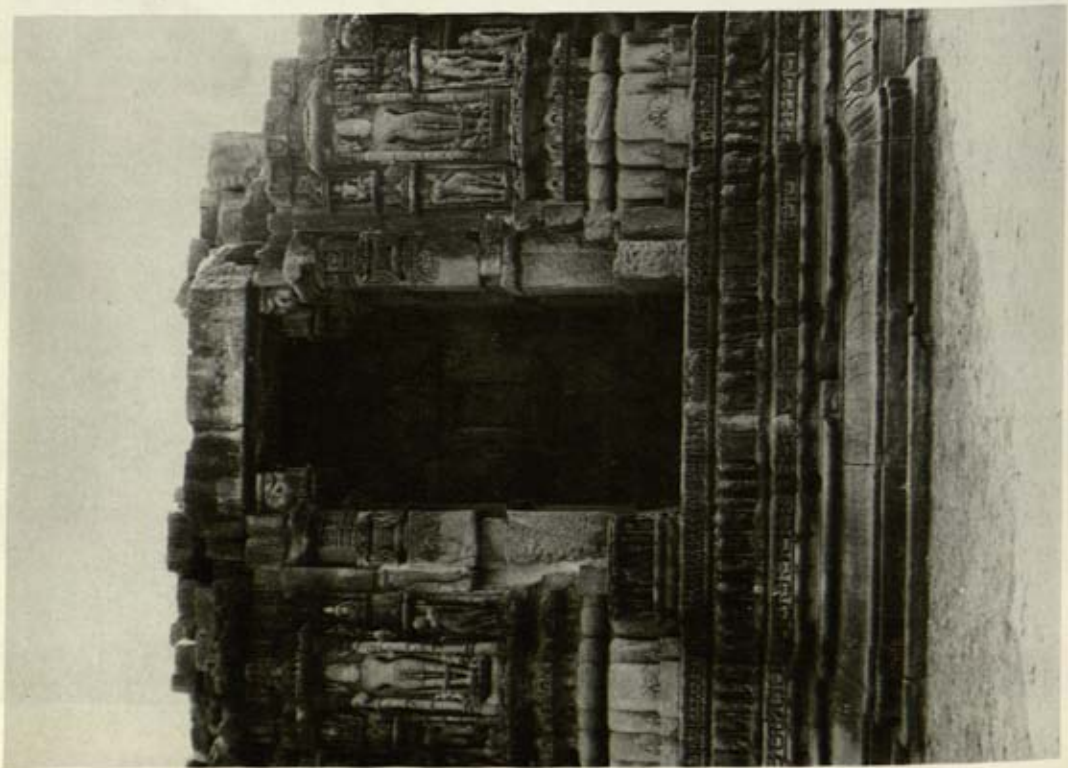








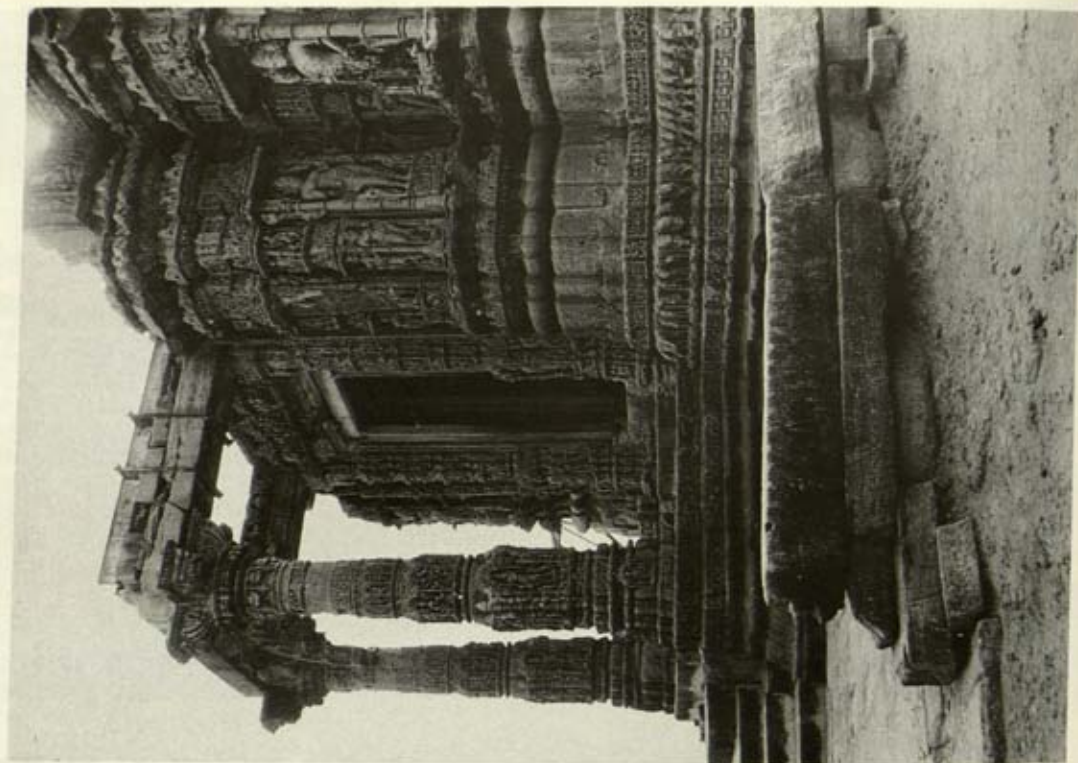
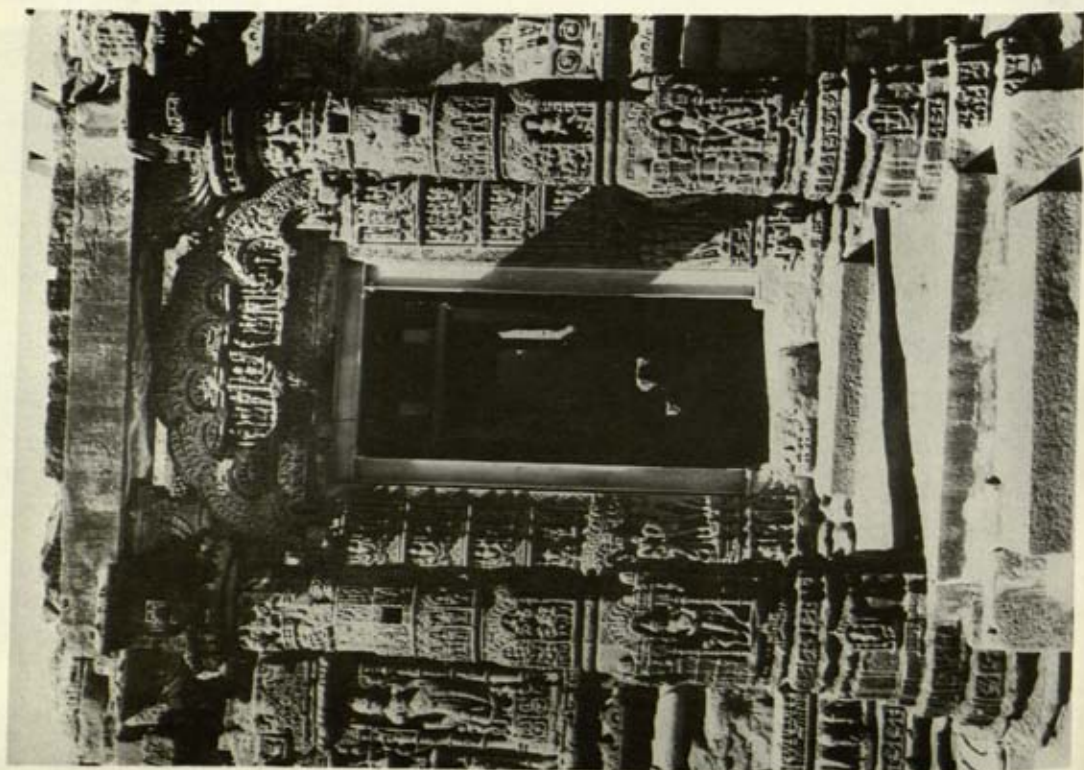




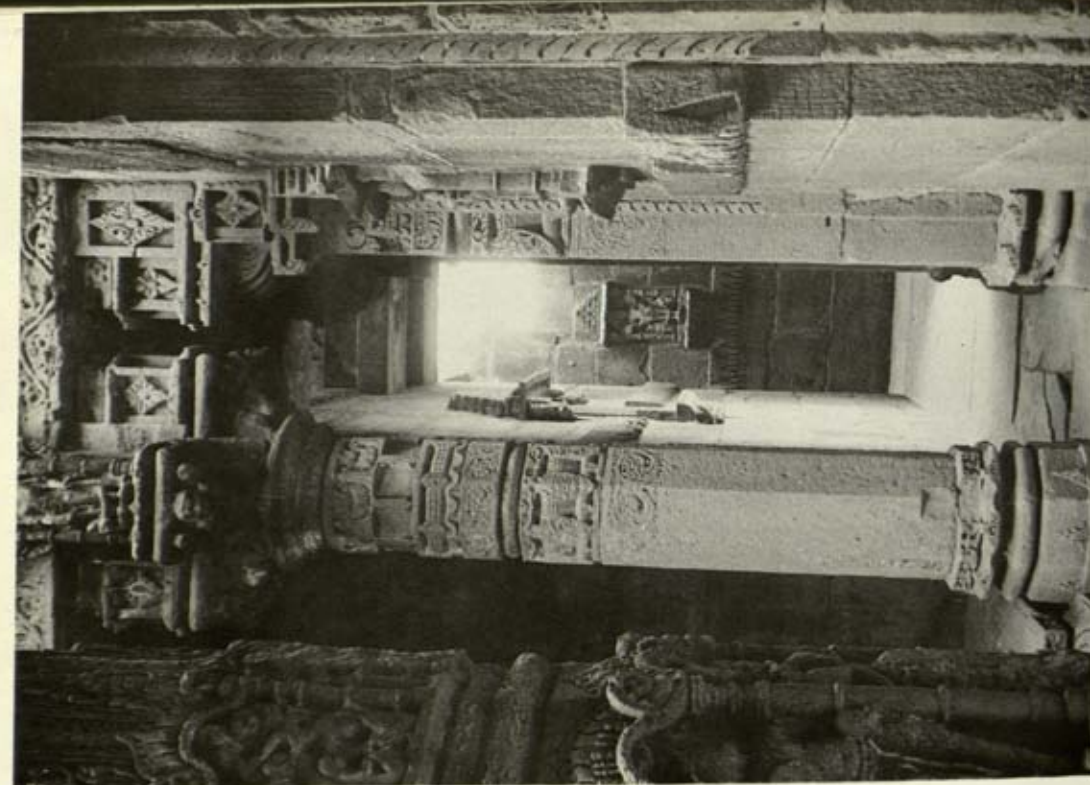


















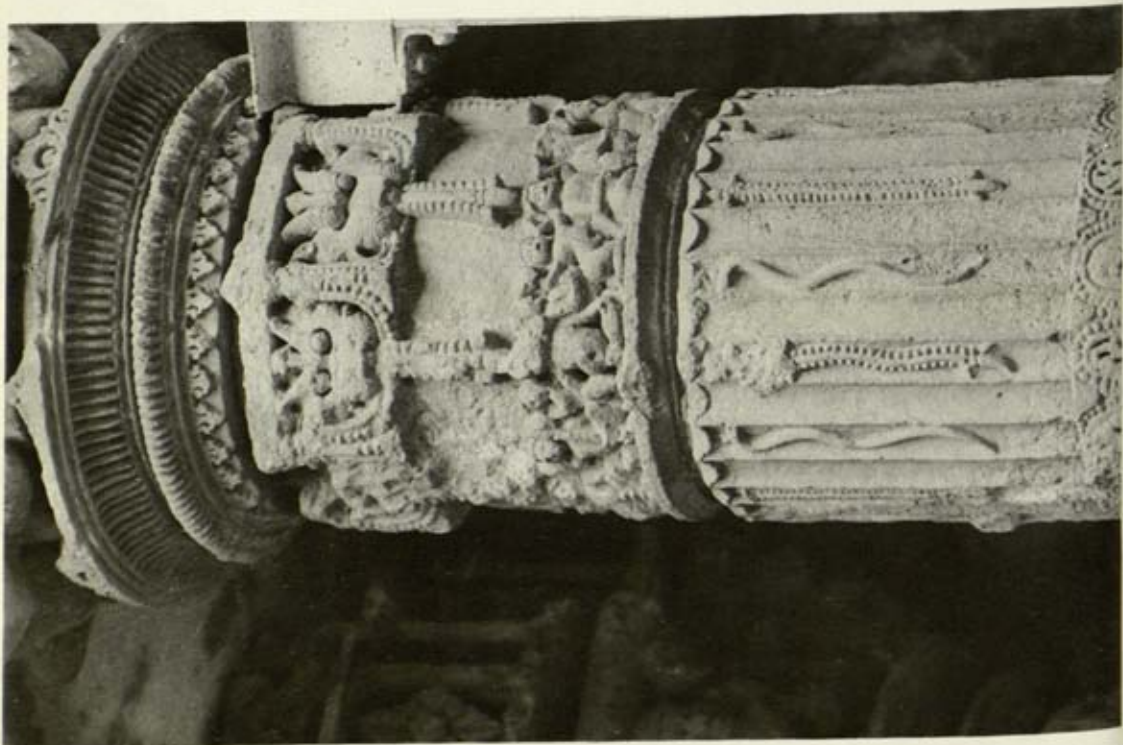
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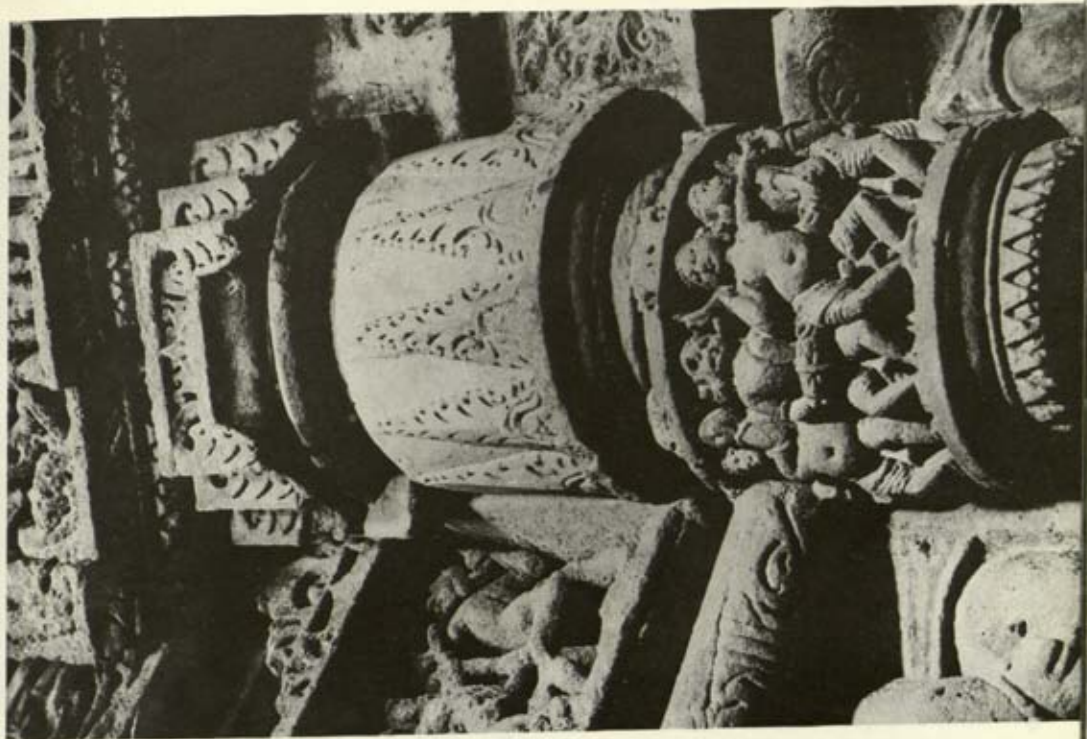


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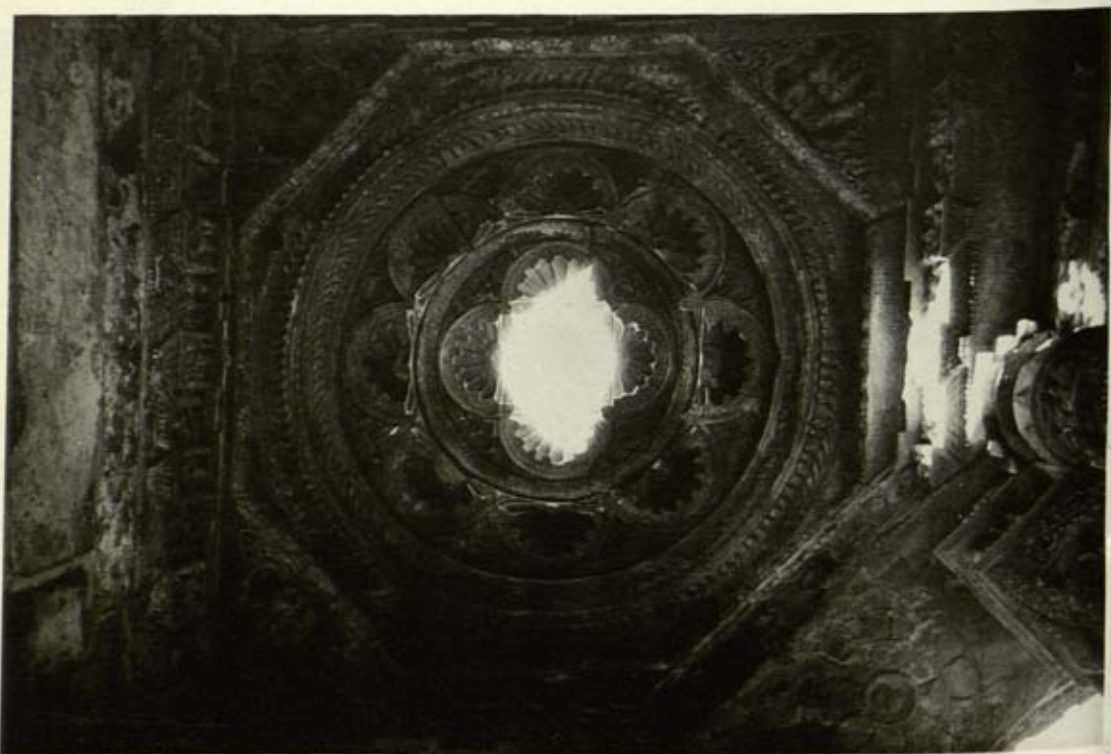


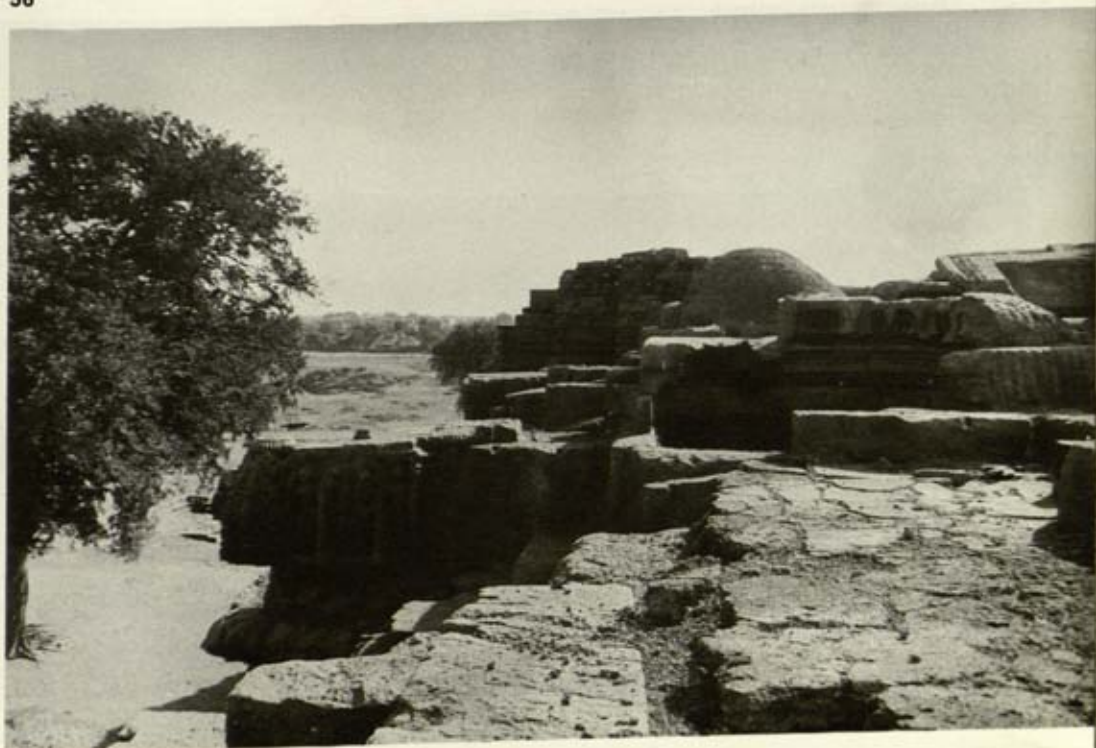
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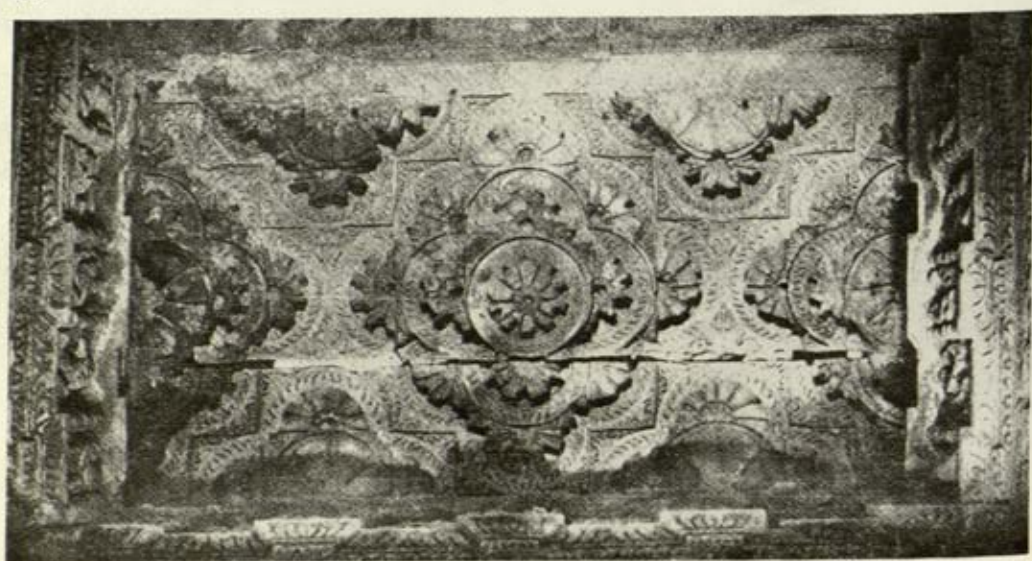












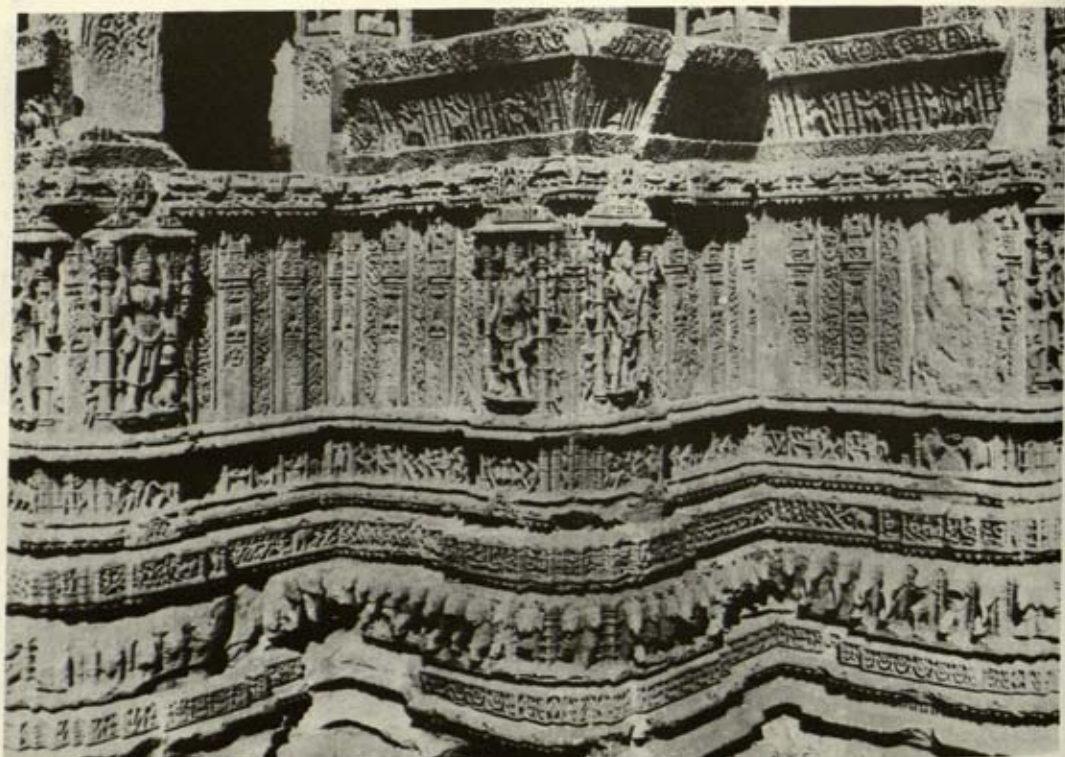


























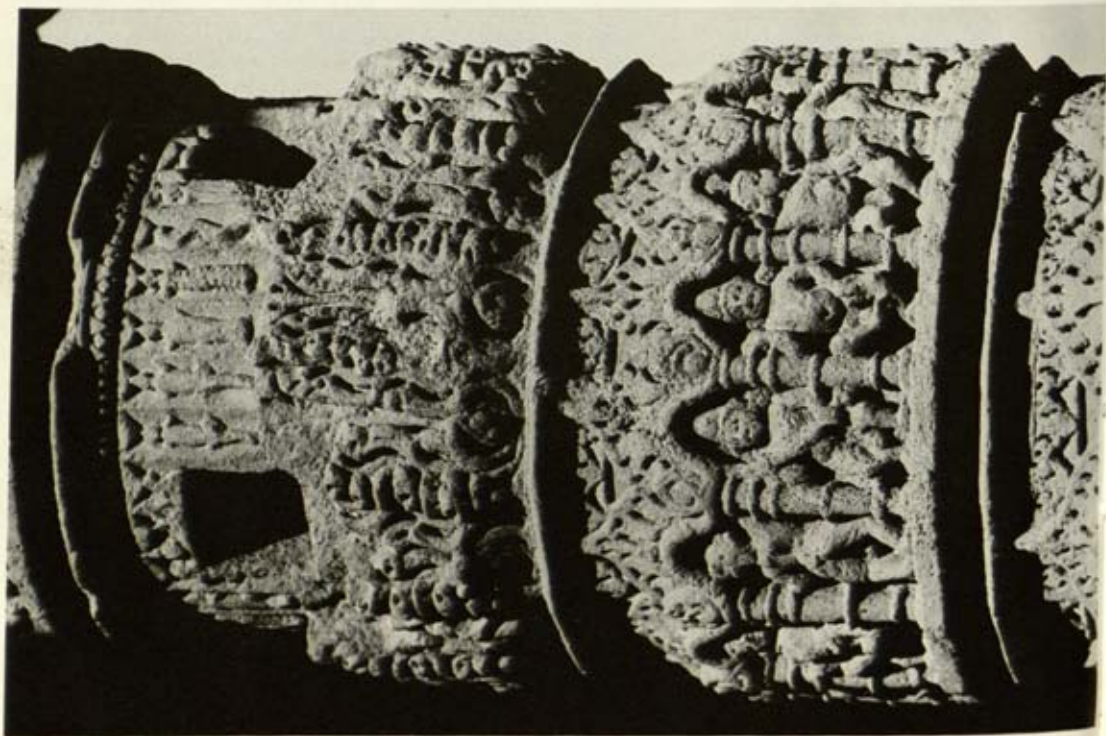


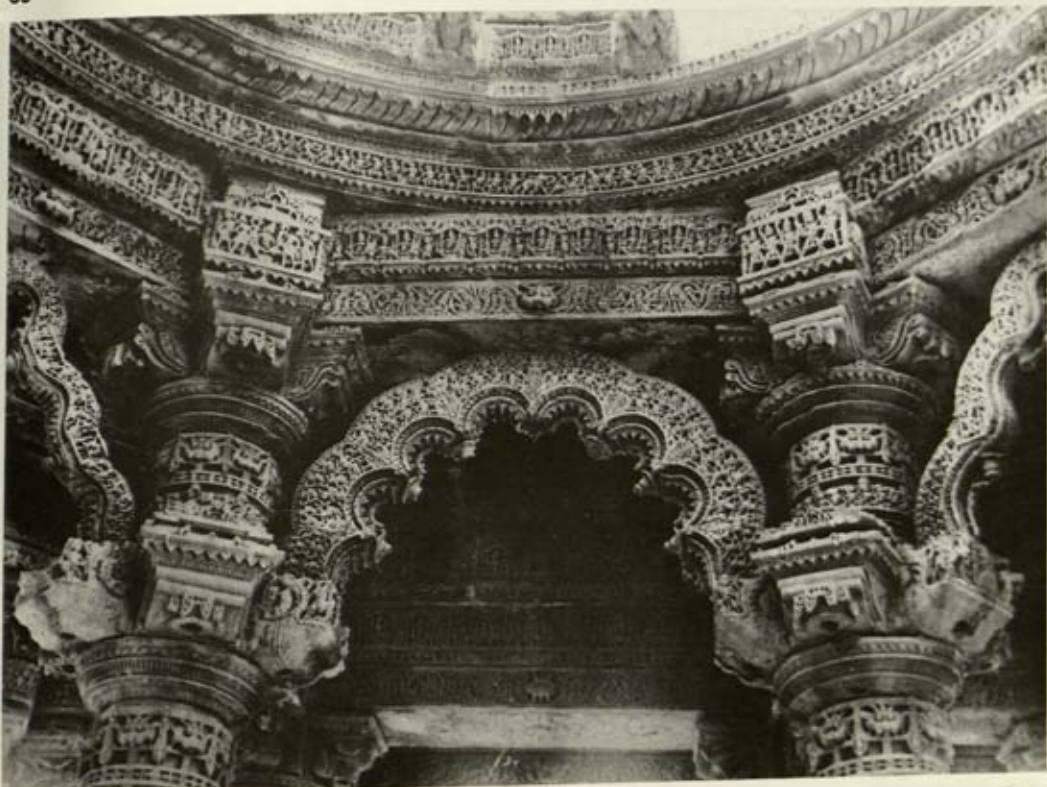


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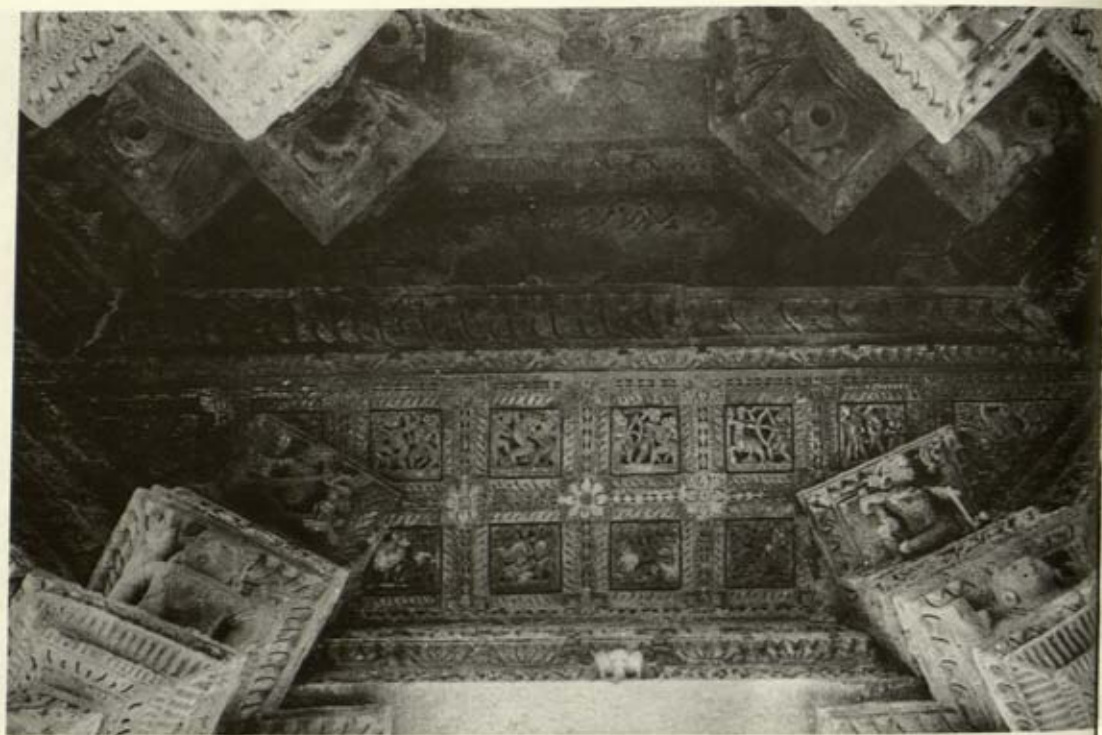














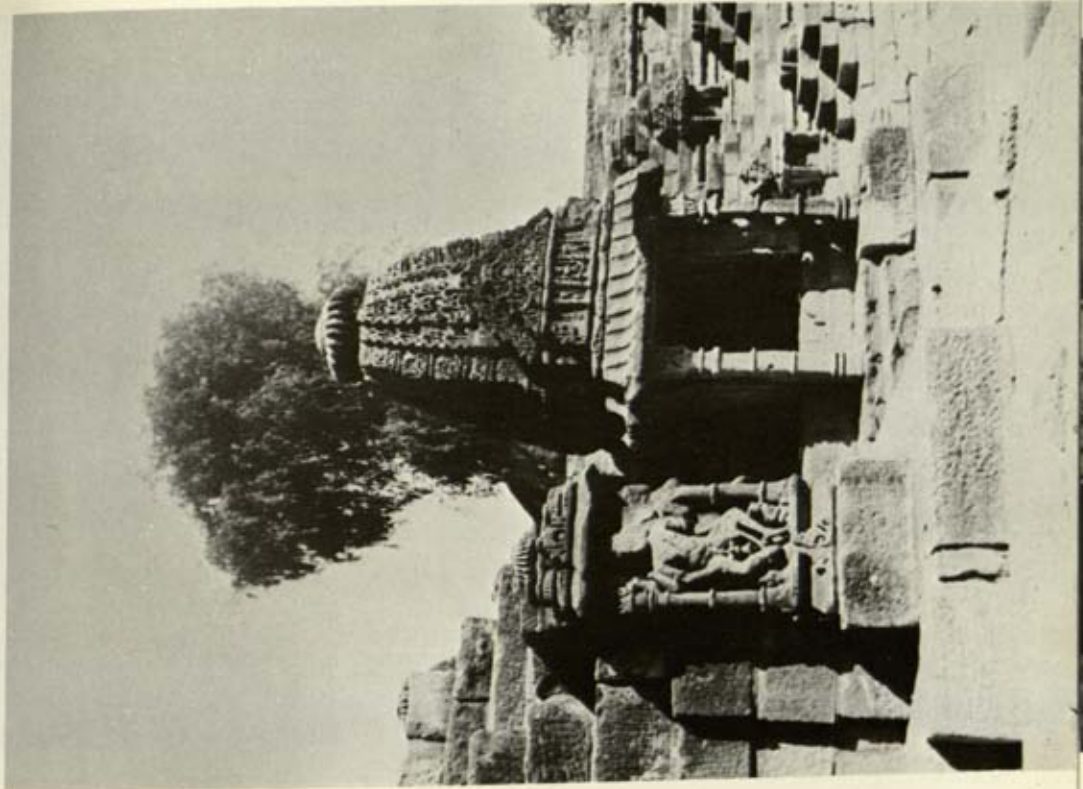


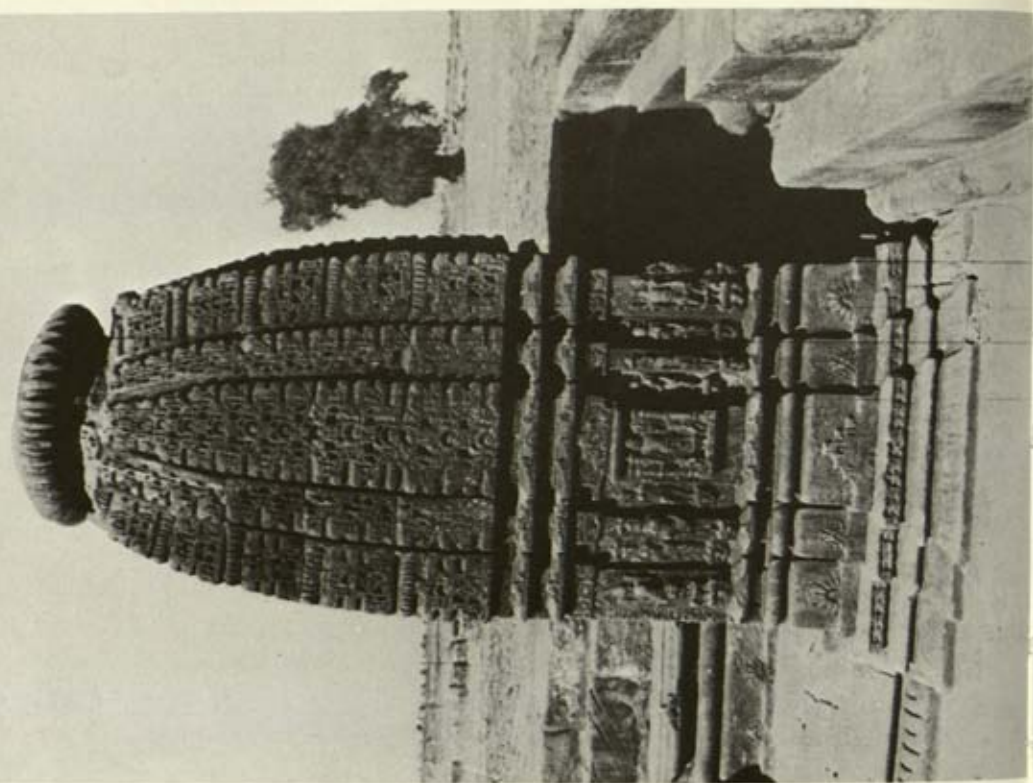




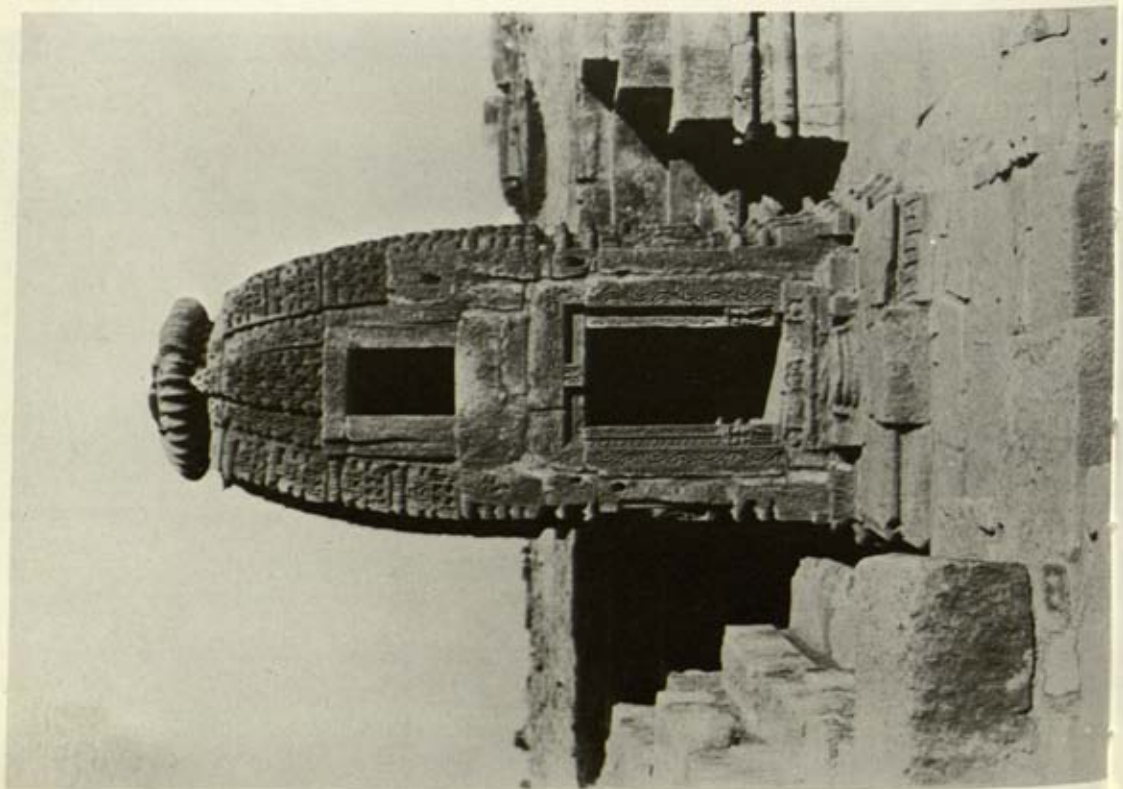






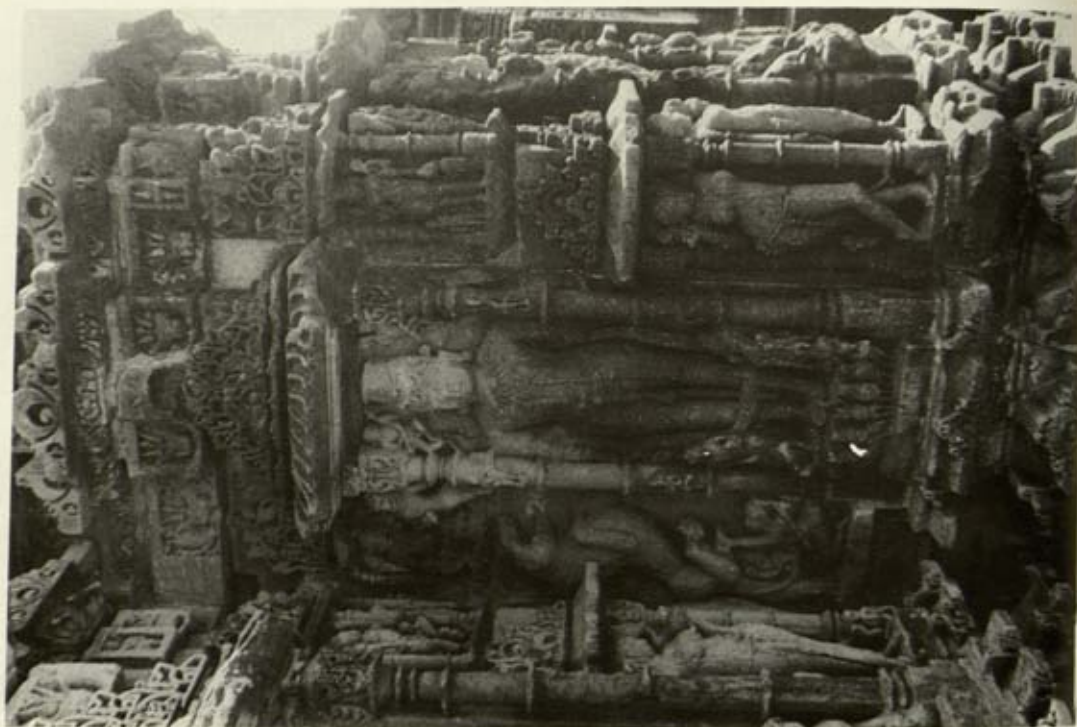


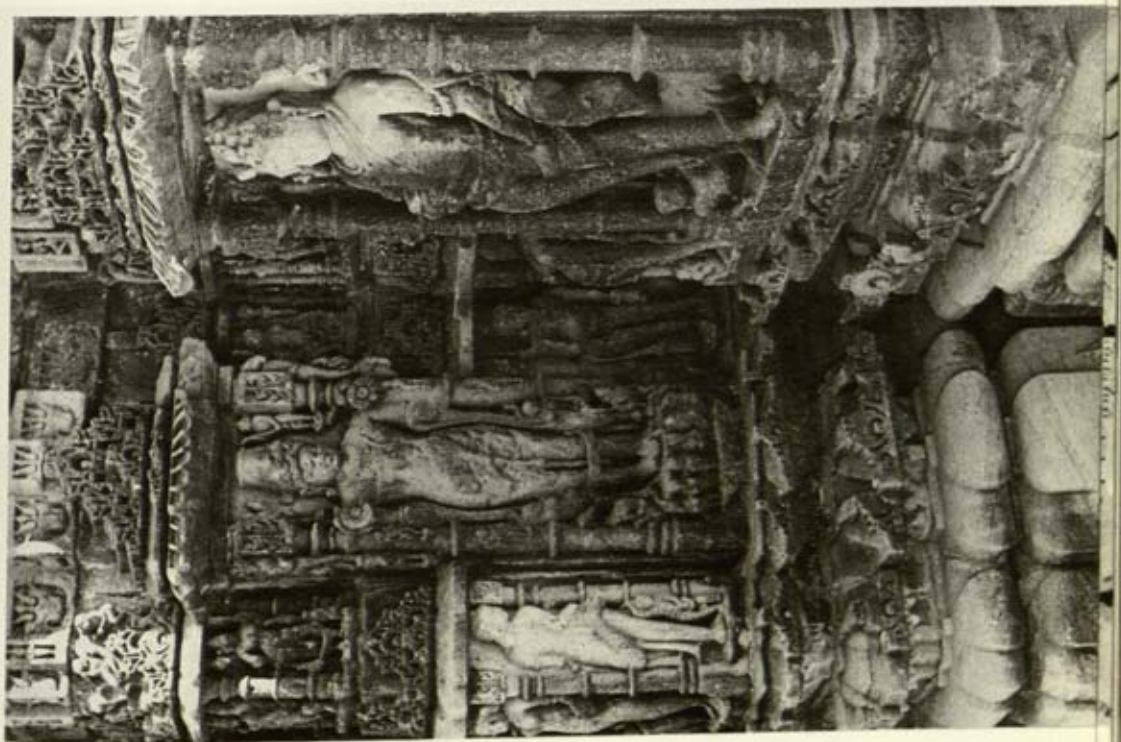
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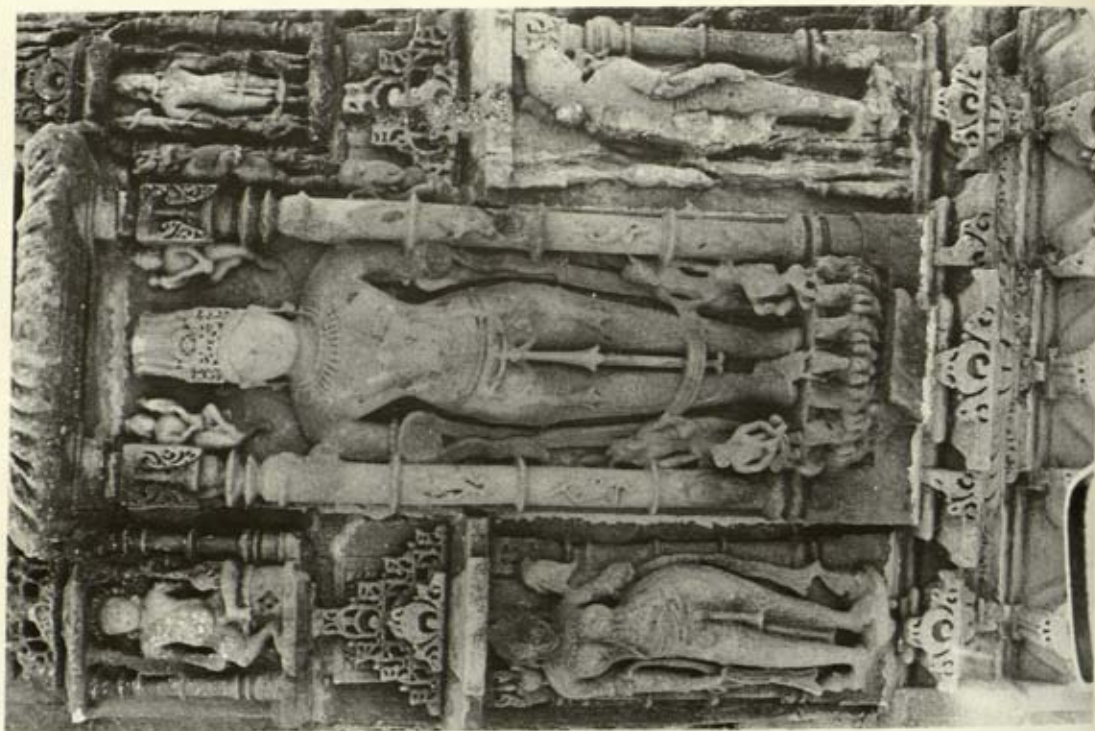


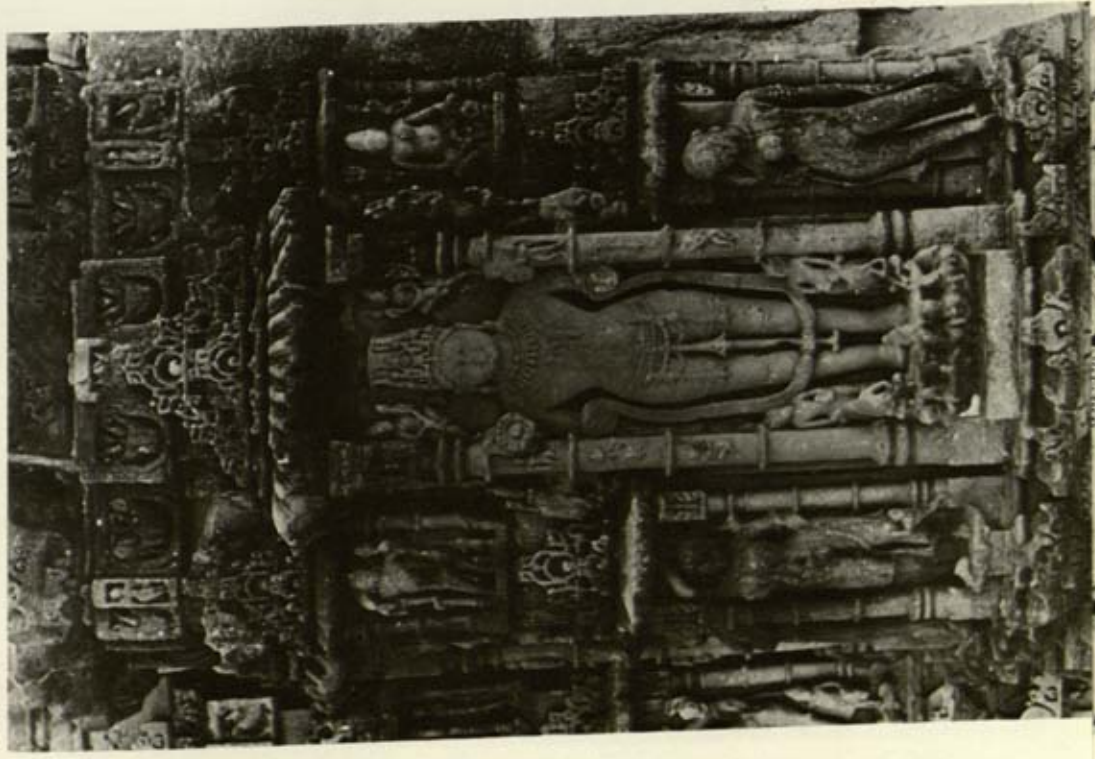
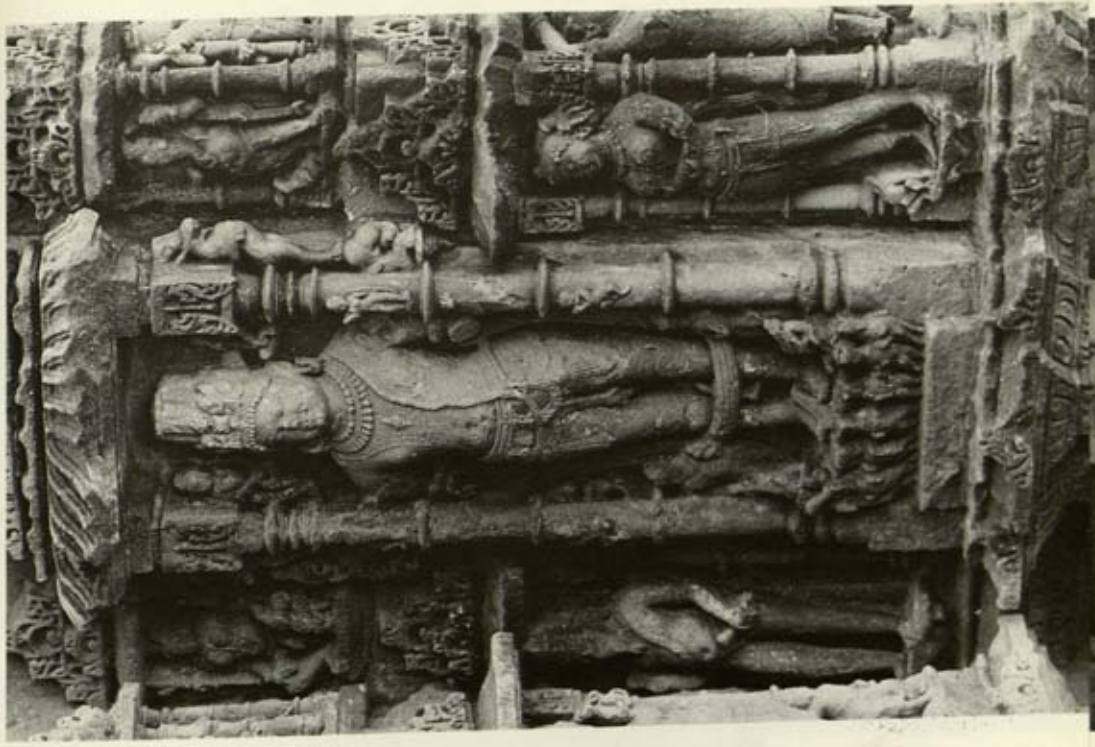






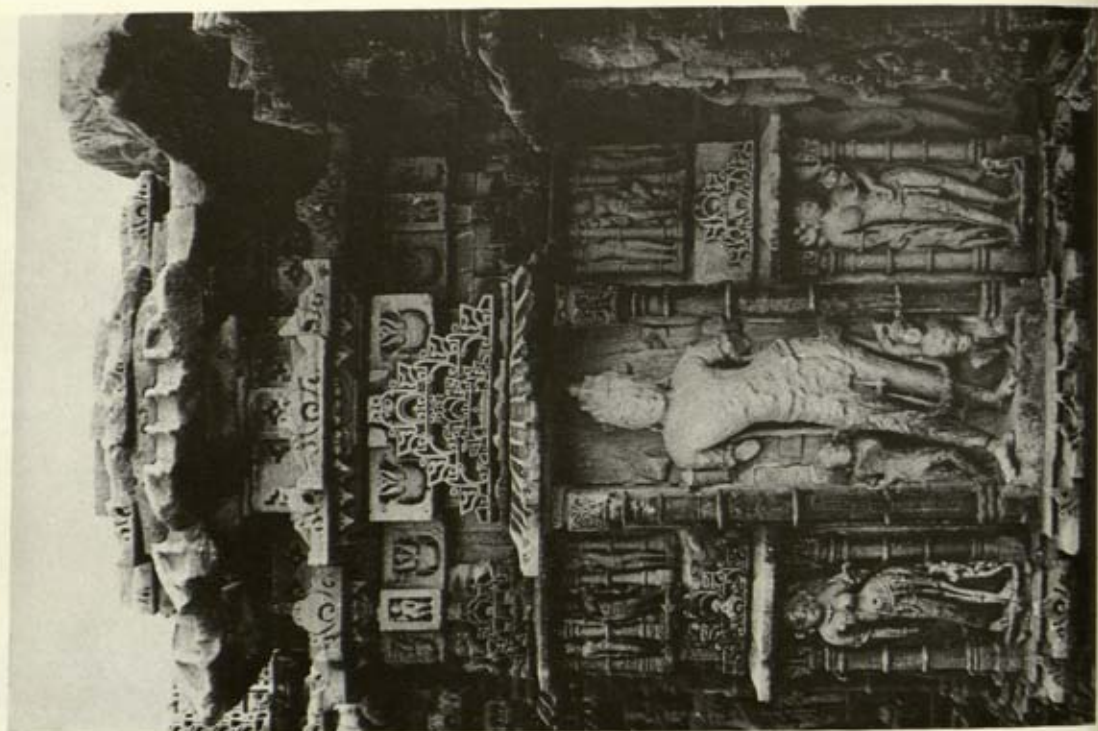


























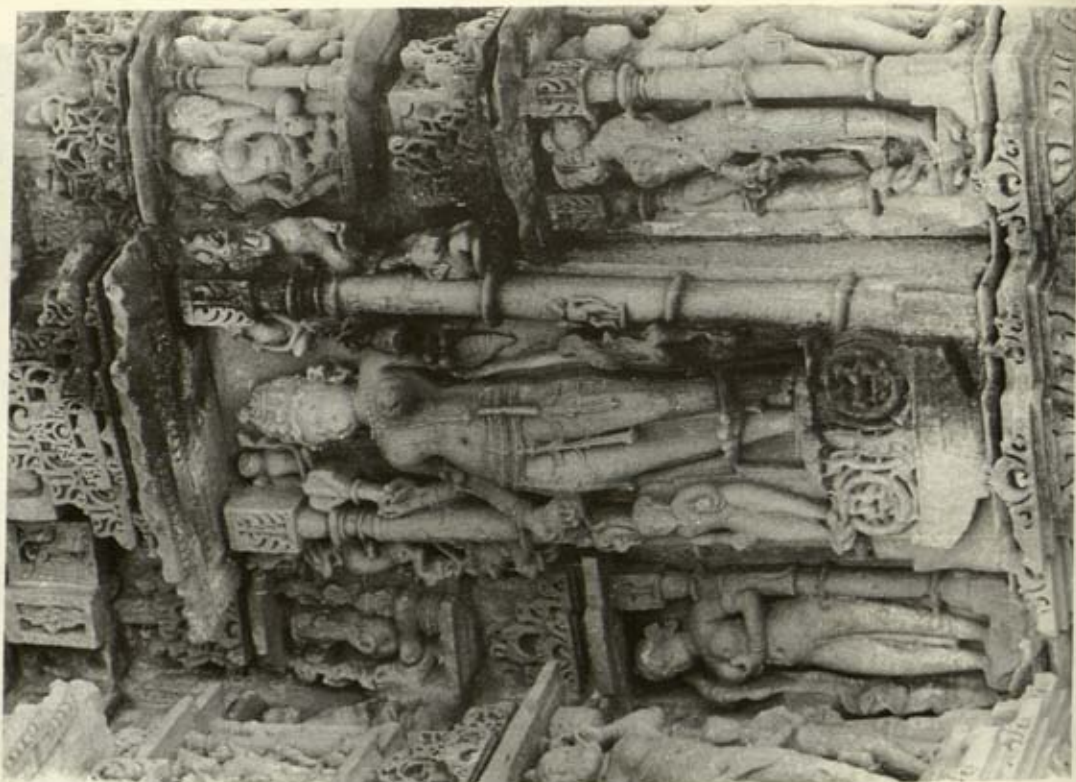




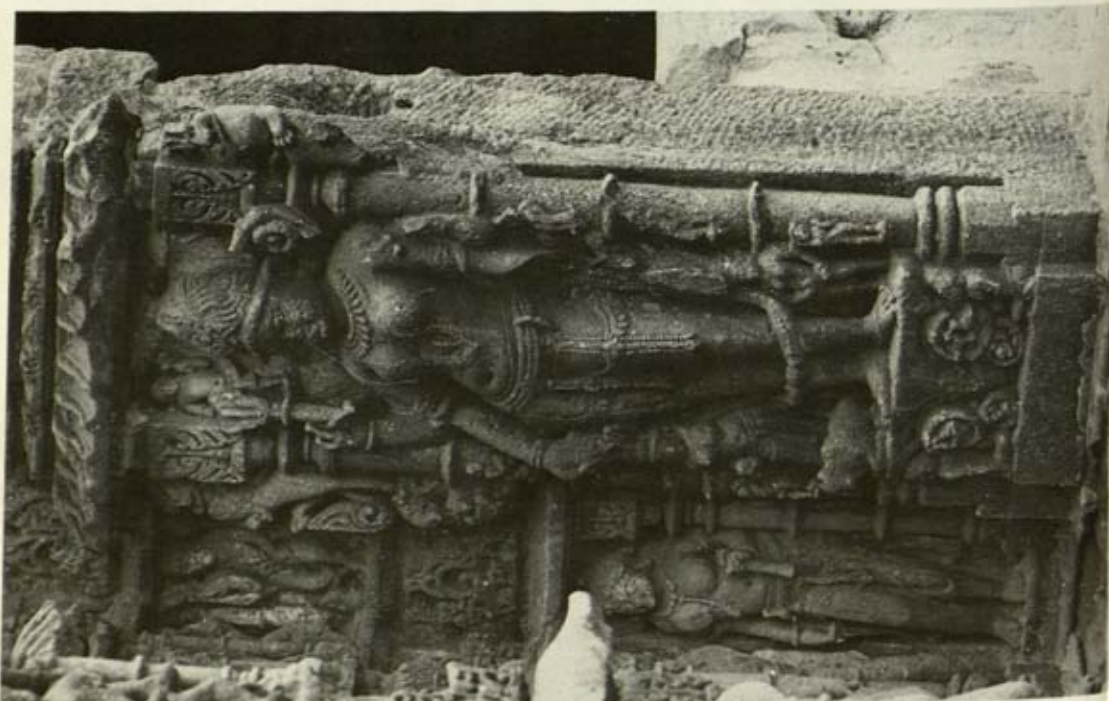
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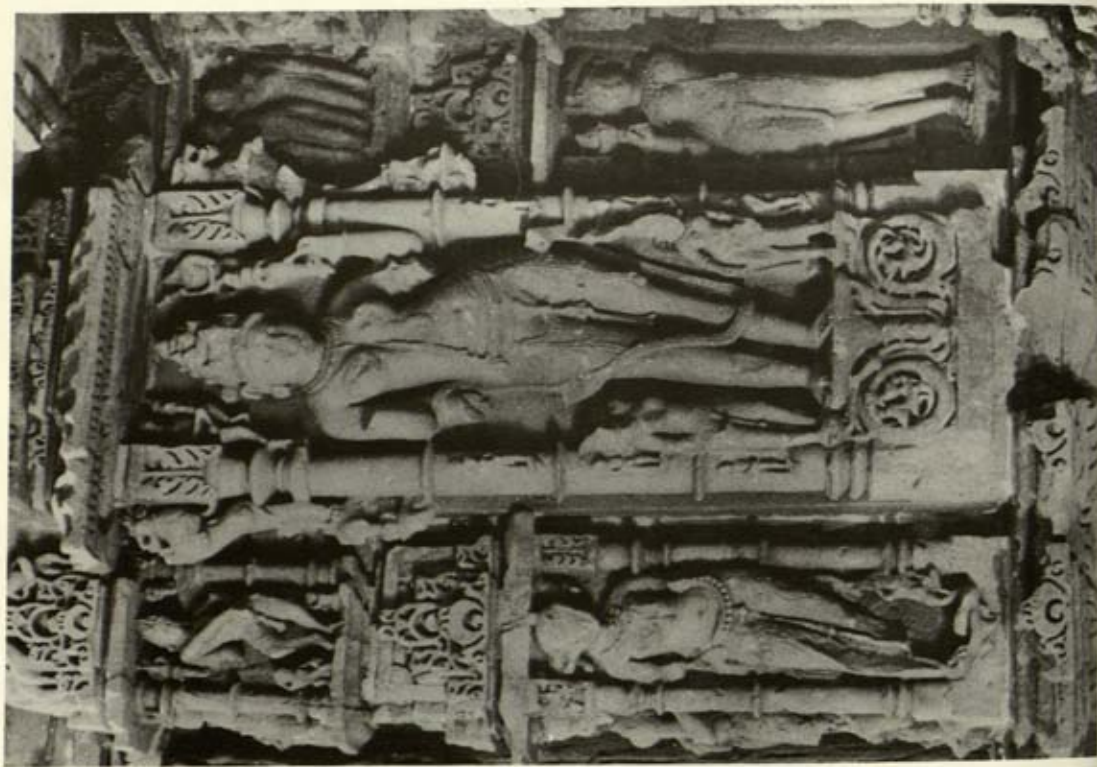




















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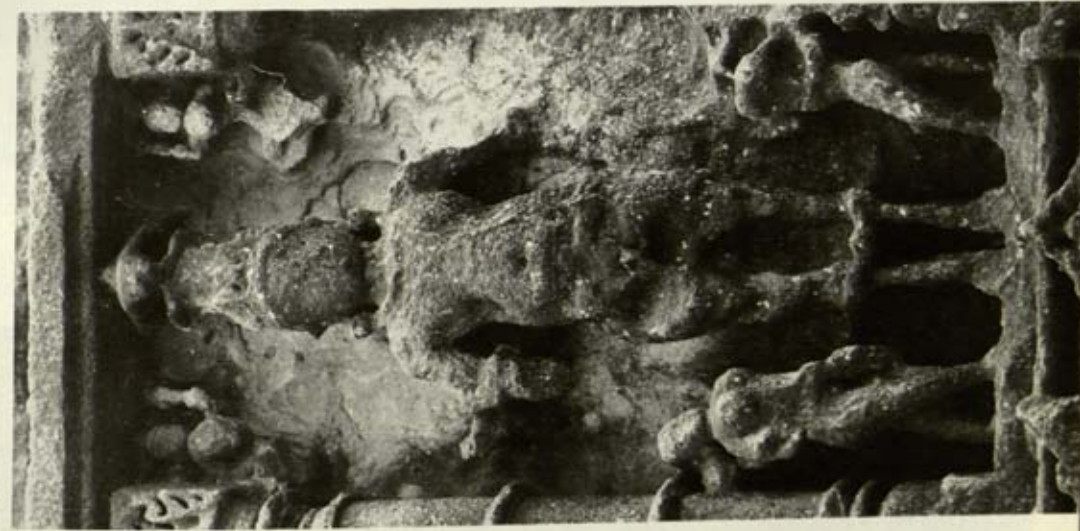
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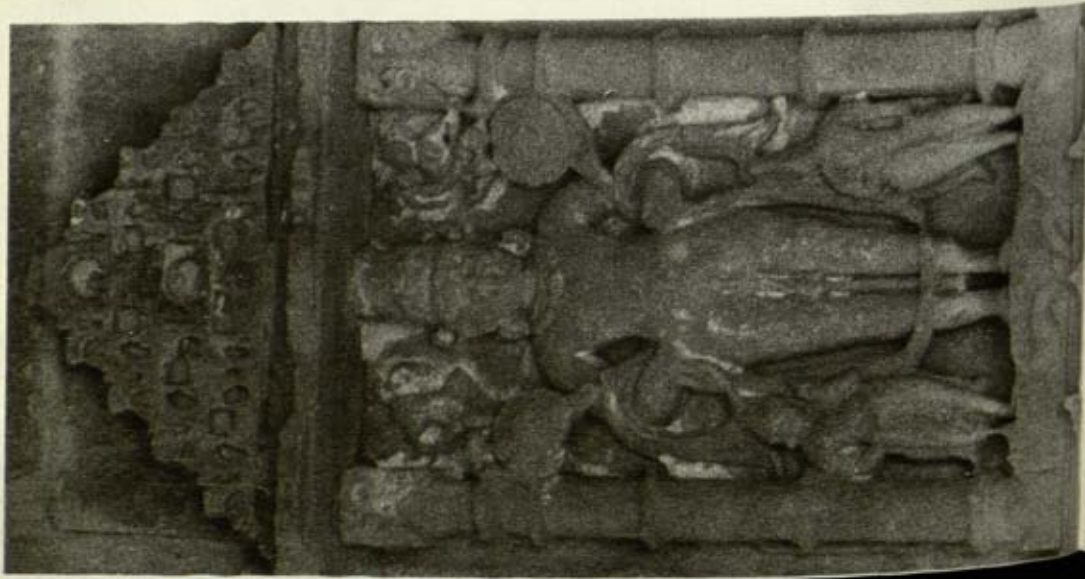


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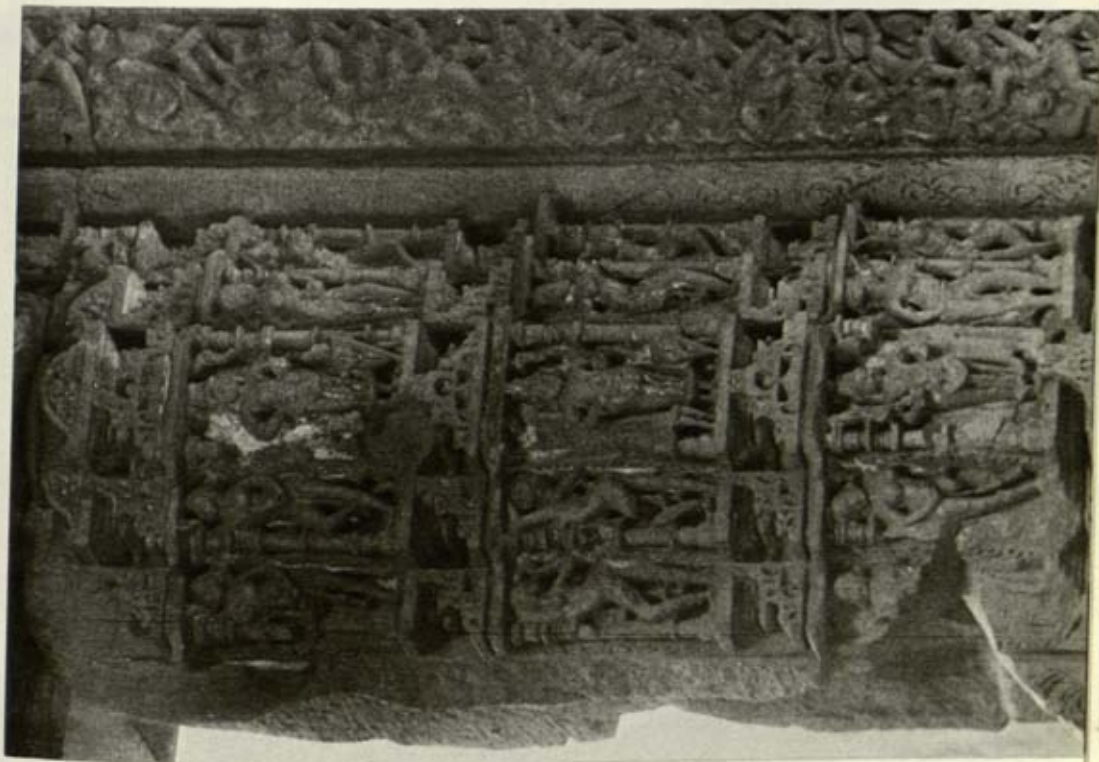


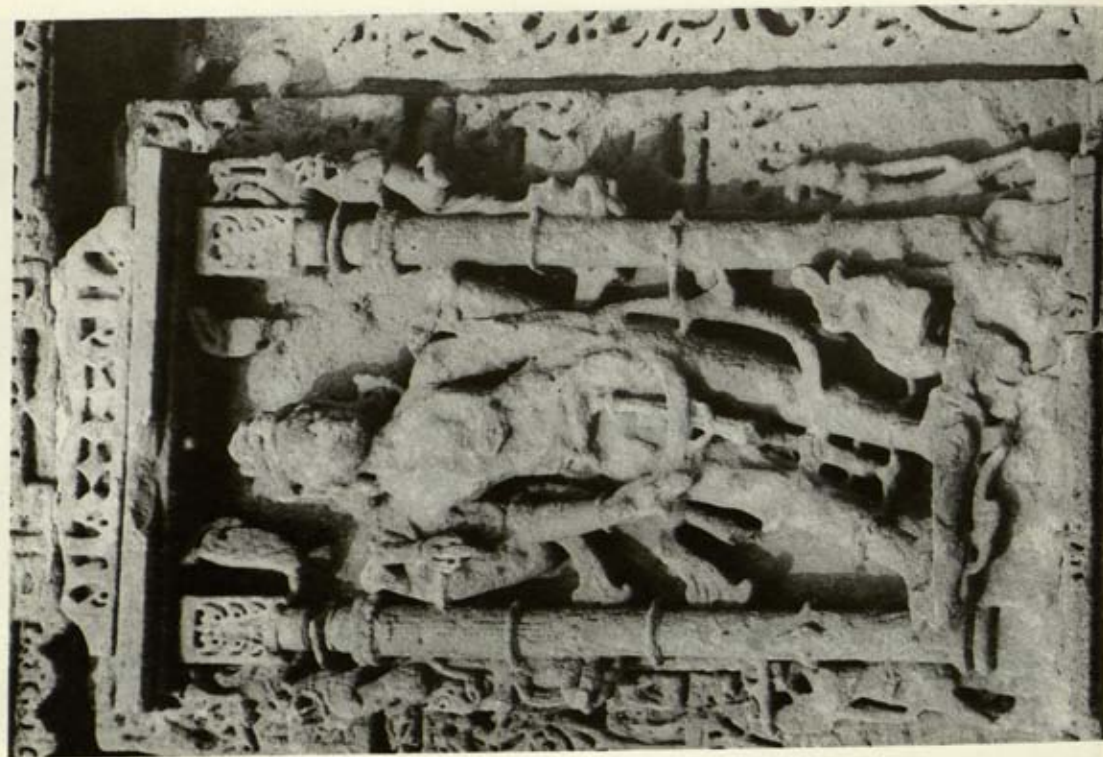














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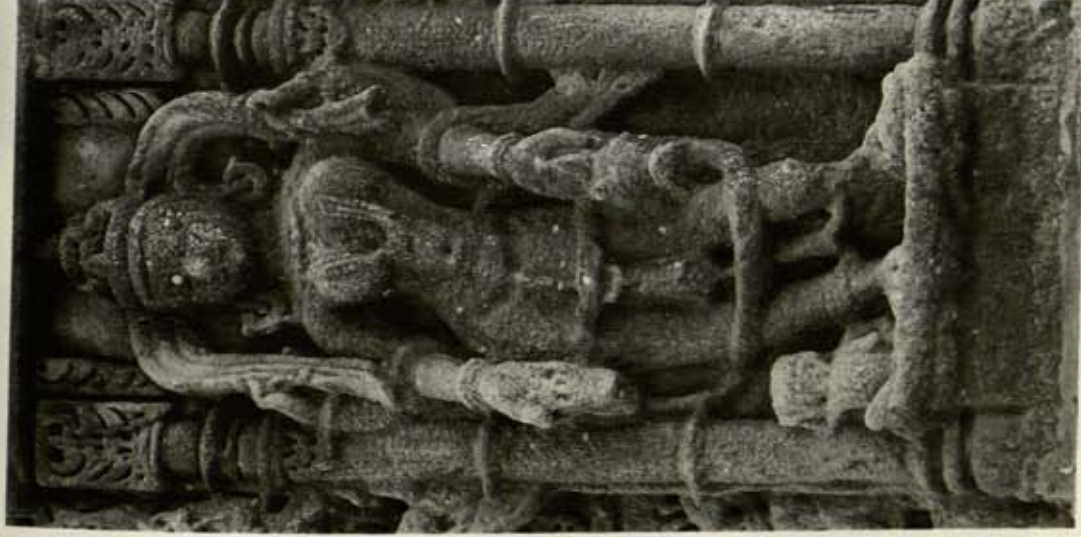
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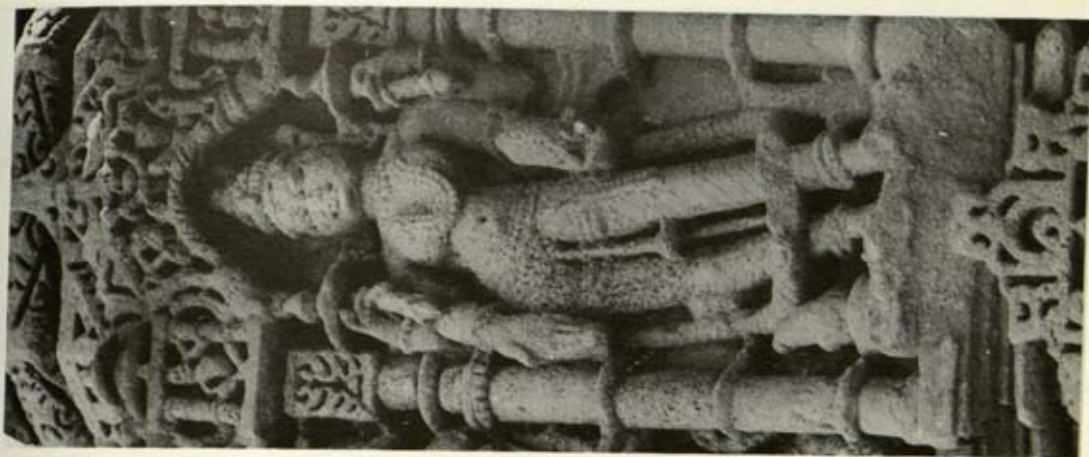
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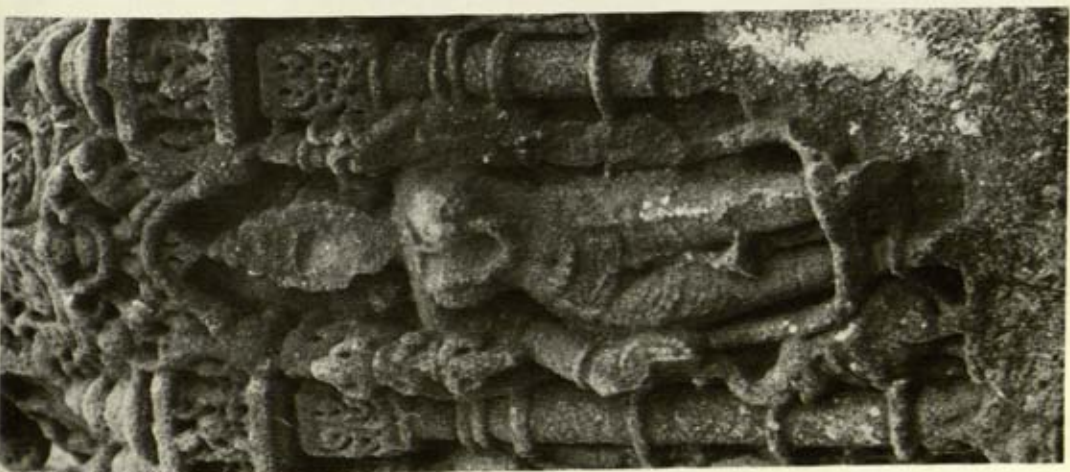


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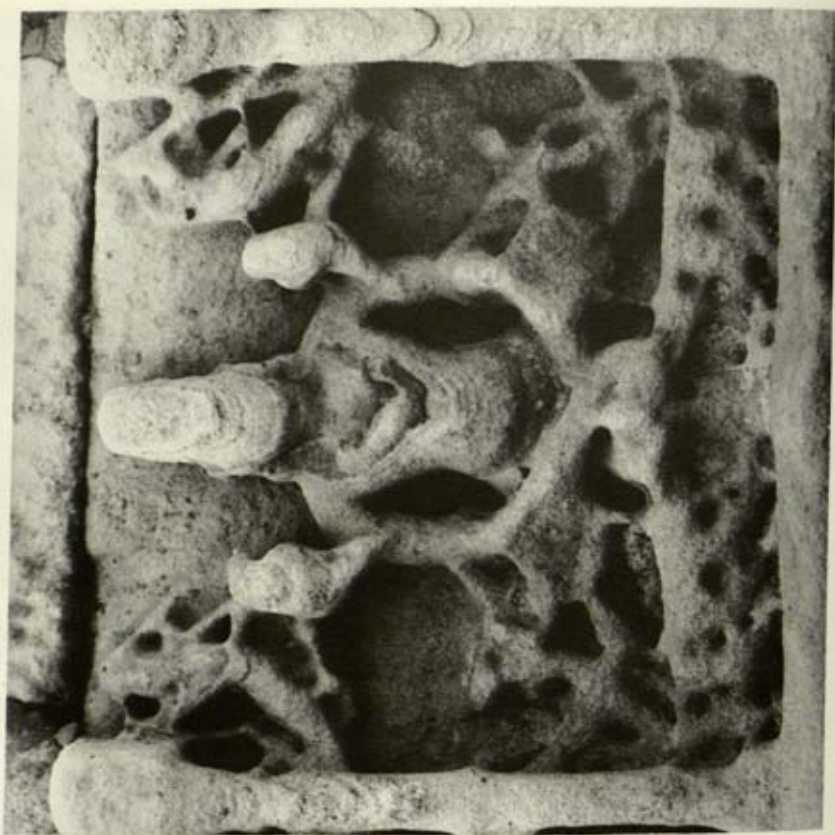
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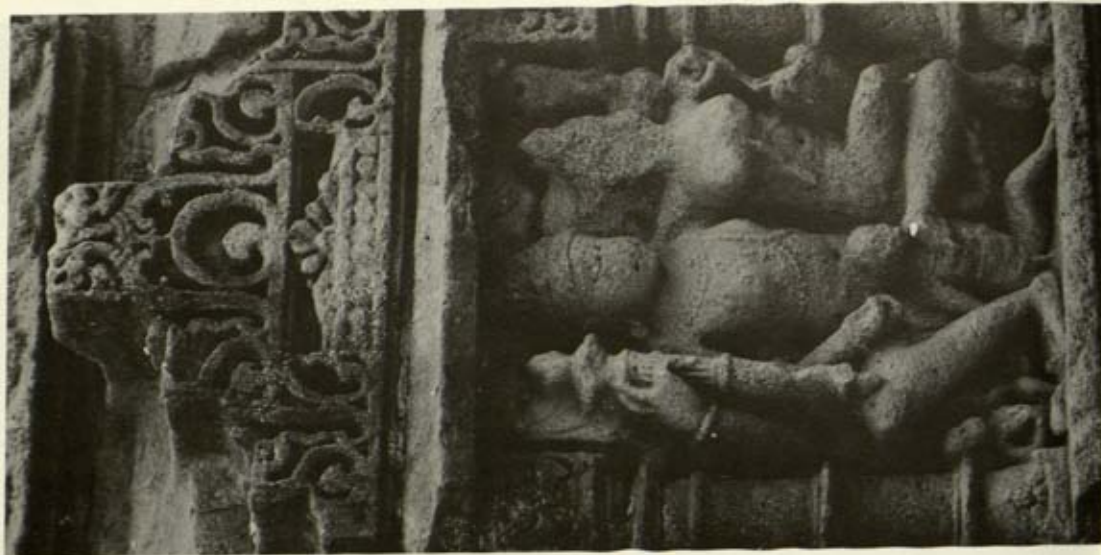
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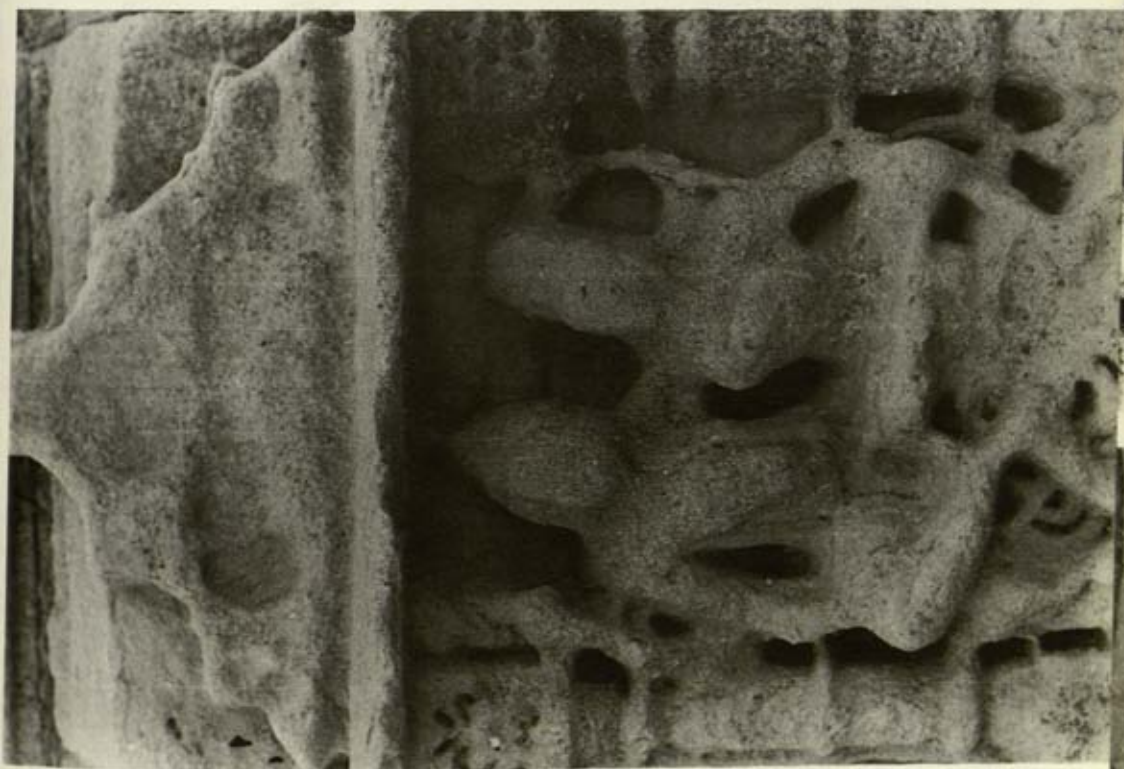












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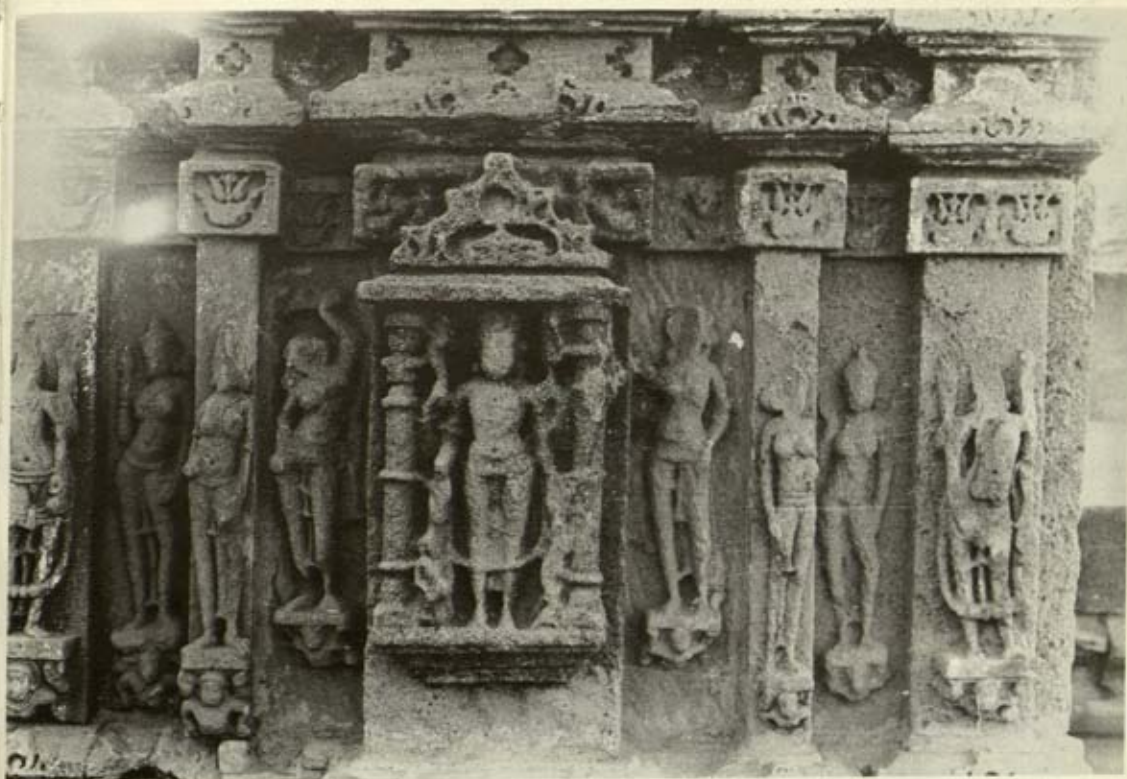


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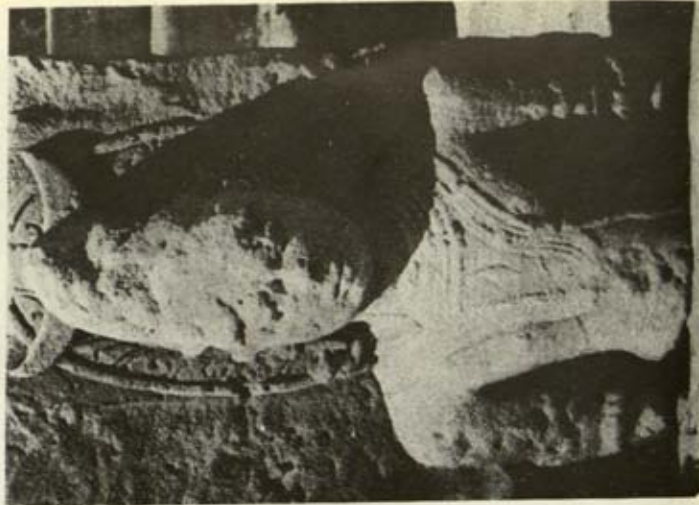
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Hindu Temples — Gujarat — Modhera

Gujarat — Modhera — Hindu Temples

Modhera — Gujarat — Hindu Temples

CATALOGUED.

Errata

The scales of meters on Figs. 1, 2, and 45 are to be replaced by the following ones:

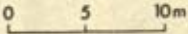
Fig. 1, p. 6: 



Fig. 2, p. 9: 

Fig. 45, p. 10: 

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