Indology's Pulse
ARTS IN CONTEXT

Essays Presented to Doris Meth Srinivasan in Admiration of Her Scholarly Research

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INDOLOGY'S PULSE: ARTS IN CONTEXT

14 Kashmiri Temples: A Typological and Aedicular Analysis

Adam Hardy

The idea of a type is a fundamental one in Indian temple architecture. Forms of shrine long established in timber construction, each with a distinctive roof shape, were transformed and monumentalised in masonry. In both the Nāgara tradition of northern India and the Drāviḍa of the south, particular versions of these earlier shrines became the basic varieties of temple, defined by the exterior form or image of the walls surrounding the sanctum together with the superstructure above it. Aedicularity was a development from this typological thinking, as new temple forms were created by combining established ones. Aedicules, or representations of shrines, appeared as niches in walls; more radically, a shrine image would be placed at the top of a new, more developed form; or an image of one form would emerge from the centre of another form. Many developed compositions were conceived entirely as a multitude of aedicules embedded within the body of the temple and, in the more complex cases, interpenetrating. That, at least, is a way of seeing things for which I have long argued.[1]

The Kashmiri temple form has its own architectural 'language',[2] as distinct from the Nāgara as from the Drāviḍa. This chapter will examine the characteristics of this form and show how the concepts of type and aedicule help to understand how temples of this form were designed. It will briefly discuss origins, and consider the role that wooden temples must have played both in the genesis of the tradition and its continuing life. I shall argue that the chapters on temples in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* are substantially concerned with this form, and that they give clues to types of Kashmiri temple for which we have no surviving examples, and insight into an ambition of this tradition to build impressive, centralised,

multi-shrine complexes. The chapter will end with a survey of how the image of this temple form lived on for some time in the carved woodwork of the western Himalayas, perhaps reflecting wooden temples of that region that themselves followed the Kashmiri tradition.

THE KASHMIRI FORM: A TYPICAL EXAMPLE

Kashmiri temples are known mainly from stone examples in and around the Kashmir valley, belonging to the 8th to 10th centuries, although they probably had timber forbears. The largest and best-known remains are those of the Mārtaṇḍa temple ('Sun temple') at Martand, attributed to the renowned king Lalitāditya of the Kārkoṭa dynasty (724–61). Evoking its "feeling of large scale", Percy Brown (1976: 159) usefully points out that the precinct of this temple is actually no larger than the cloister at Wells cathedral, the main shrine the size of its chapter house. Rather smaller in scale but more lavish in detail are the two temples of Avantipura, one Vaiṣṇava, the Avantisvāmī, the other Śaiva, the Avantīśvara. Both are foundations of the first ruler of the subsequent Utpala dynasty, Avantivarmā (855–83). These three great monuments are ruined in various degrees, none with its superstructure surviving.[3] In fact, our understanding of the Kashmiri temple form as a whole comes principally from just two small shrines that are virtually intact, essentially identical in composition: the Śiva temple, Payar (*c*. 950–75) and the Śiva temple, Pandrethan, which we may take as our typical example. For temple dates in this article I am following Krishna Deva,[4] who dates Pandrethan to AD 925–50. Huntington's contention that it more likely belongs to the 8th or 9th century is not unreasonable (Huntington 1985: 362–63), however, given that Kashmiri temple forms, unlike those in many regions of India, underwent little fundamental change during that timespan.

The Pandrethan temple (**Fig. 14.1**) stands on a square, moulded *jagatī* or platform with space for circumambulation, which in the photograph

is submerged in the small tank surrounding the shrine. The square *garbhagṛha* (sanctum) has a single, wide projection on each side, each forming a shallow porch over a doorway. While the north door is the principal one, the presence of three others makes this a *sarvatobhadra* ('beautiful on all sides') temple, in the sense that modern scholarship ascribes to the term.[5] Pilasters mark the corners of the central block, which is virtually square in elevation if plinth and cornice are included in the height. This central part is covered by a two-tier pyramidal roof approximately equal in height to the *garbhagṛha* walls, from which it is corbelled inwards, with a 60-degree pitch. The upper tier is carried on a row of projecting corbels in the narrow recess between the tiers, and each face of the upper tier has a central dormer opening in the form of a trefoil arch. A course is missing from the summit, making the pyramid more truncated than intended. The peak would have been crowned by an *āmalaka* (ribbed capstone). Beneath this roof, the *garbhagṛha* is covered by a lantern ceiling of stone slabs, ascending through a series of three nested squares. Each of the porch-like cardinal projections has pilasters at the corners, a little smaller in scale than those at the *garbhagṛha* corners, and is sheltered by a pitched roof with its eaves within the wall zone of the *garbhagṛha* and its ridge meeting the lower tier of the pyramidal roof just below the recess. The roof pitch is again 60 degrees, forming an equilateral triangle on the gable. Above the opening and piercing the gable is a trefoil arch, corbelled, supported on pilasters of a still lesser order. It is above all these gabled arches that impart an uncannily Gothic character, resembling the very niches and pinnacles that inspired Summerson (1949) to write his seminal contribution to aedicular theory.

Pandrethan is typical in having no attached *maṇḍapa*, Martand being the exception in having a large porch. Most Kashmiri temples appear as the free-standing, centralised, *maṇḍala*-like structure envisioned as the *prāsāda* in Vāstuśāstra texts. A

Fig. 14.1. Śiva temple, Pandrethan, *c.* 8th–10th centuries. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

fully-fledged '*sarvatobhadra*' plan, however, though less exceptional than elsewhere in India, is not the norm, most examples having a single door, with niches in the other *bhadra* projections. A few details at Pandrethan are peculiar to this temple. The *vedībandha* or plinth, generally plain, is unusual here in having a band of elephant heads below a narrow *kapota*. The cardinal projections are slightly deeper than usual. Triangular pediments over doorways, with inscribed trefoils, are not ubiquitous. The pilasters here, as at Payar, have a broad, foliated zone in the capitals, giving a Corinthian flavour contrasting with the more Doric character (albeit also cognate with Indian pillar forms) that is generally so striking in Kashmir. Dormers may, as at Payar, be single arches under pitched gables, rather than trefoils. Despite these particular details, the little temple at Pandrethan may be seen as representative of the Kashmiri form.

ORIGINS AND PARALLELS

Where does all this come from? Commentators from Fergusson onwards have evoked the remoteness and inaccessibility of Kashmir, coupled with

its openness to cosmopolitan currents. On the indigenous side, the tiered roof relates to regional vernacular forms, and to the Himalayan wooden 'pagoda' temples built across many centuries. At the same time, connections with two strands of monumental architecture are evident: firstly, the legacy of ancient Gandhāra with its Graeco-Roman echoes, possibly supplemented by subsequent westerly contacts, as well as its Indic roots; and secondly, hardly surprisingly, Kashmiri temples have much in common with Hindu temples throughout India.

Western Classicism is evoked by the Doric-like or Corinthian pillars, the pediment-like gables – sometimes like broken pediments, when their base-cornice is interrupted – and the well-built, sober monumentality that impressed Percy Brown. The coffered vault running back from the trefoil arches at Martand looks remarkably Roman, despite being trilobite, and even has true voussoirs. Aedicular thinking, as I hope to convey, is the deepest connection with Indian temples in general, but this is not uniquely Indian. Hellenistic and Roman architectures had their *aediculae* in pedimented door and window surrounds as well as shrine-like niches. At the large scale, one can see the Pantheon in Rome as a round temple with the representation of a rectangular one projecting out of it as the porch. In Gandhāra, with links both to the west and to peninsular India, a wide range of aedicular forms was available. Among these was the Classical temple-end with pediment, as seen in the *stūpa* base known as the Shrine of the Double-headed Eagle at Taxila (1st century BCE) alongside the simpler version of the *caitya* hall type (without aisles), and an archway or *toraṇa* of the kind associated with early *stūpa*s.[6] In the Kushan period, especially around the 2nd century CE, two aedicule forms predominate in Gandhāran relief panels and *stūpa* decoration. One is the *caitya* hall type, with or without aisles; the other a 'dome and cornice' shrine.[7] The panel in **Figure 14.2** contains both. In such a composition, domed shrines are suitable
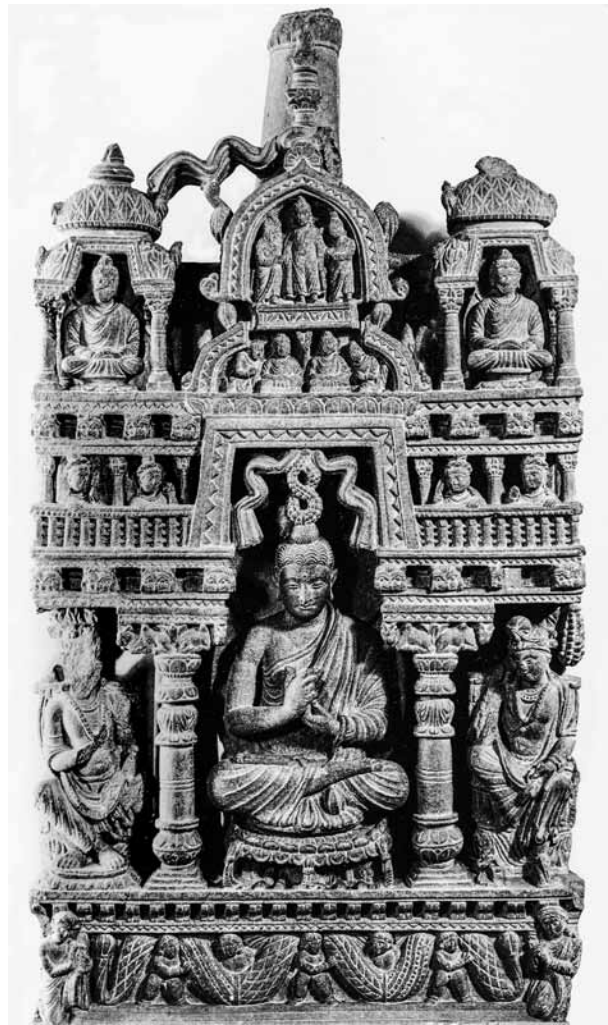

Fig. 14.2. Relief panel from Loriyan Tangai, Gandhāra (now Pakistan), *c.* 2nd–3rd centuries, showing Great Miracle of Śrāvastī (?), schist, 86.5 x 40.5 cm, now in the Indian Museum, Kolkata, acc.no. 34602. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

for corners, the *caitya* hall shape as a centrepiece. In this example a trapezoidal doorway fronts each domed shrine and forms the lower compartment of the *caitya* arch, conflating this type of doorframe with the inward sloping pillars once found in structures of this kind. Both the *caitya* hall type and the dome-and-cornice form had been translated into masonry in Gandhāra by the 2nd century CE.[8]

All these Gandhāran aedicule forms reverberate in Kashmiri temple architecture, to varying degrees. Apart from the Classical pediment, stylised *toraṇa*s persist (see **Figs. 14.11, 14.12, 14.16**). The two-tier

Kashmiri form can perhaps be read as a peaked-roof version of the dome-and-cornice shrine, an impression reinforced by an example like the one in **Figure 14.3**, where a domed shrine containing a *stūpa* is entered through an aisle-less *caitya* arch portal. Connections between the *caitya* hall type and the Kashmiri porch are deeper than the gable-image alone: the trefoil arch form regularly sheltering beneath Kashmiri gables points back directly to Gandhāran '*caitya* hall' aedicules, to the extent that they often have the same characteristic curls at the sides (**Fig. 14.1**, upper tier; **Fig. 14.2**). Incidentally, a structure painted in the veranda of Cave 17, Ajanta (late 5th century) shows that regions far from the wet Himalayan slopes had explored the idea of encasing the imagery of a *caitya* hall

Fig. 14.4. Detail of painting of the story of Dhanapāla, Cave 17, Ajanta, late 5th century. Photo: Adam Hardy.

cross-section under the eaves of a pitched wooden gable (**Fig. 14.4**).

Among characteristics shared with other Hindu temples is the fundamental one of the *garbhagṛha* and bi-axial plan. The crowning *āmalaka* is shared with Nāgara temples, while the tiered, pyramidal roof is virtually the same as a western Indian version of the Phāṃsanā mode, as exemplified by the temple at Gop in Saurāṣṭra (*c*. late 6th century), probably owing to similar vernacular roots rather than direct contact. The Kashmiri trilobite arch shares a common origin, in the *caitya* hall cross-section, with the *śūrasena* pediment that emerged in Gupta times and remained prominent in Nāgara temples. Here a whole horseshoe arch (termed *candraśālā* or *gavākṣa* in the Nāgara context) sits over a pair of halves derived ultimately from the side aisles of a *caitya* hall.

The history of the *śūrasena* motif in the Nāgara tradition is instructive for understanding Kashmiri aedicularity. Transformation of the *caitya* hall type into stone or brick, as already witnessed in 2nd-century Gandhāra, is the basis of the northern Indian category of temple termed Valabhī (referring to the hooped rafters of its timber prototype), one of the modes of Nāgara architecture. A Valabhī shrine is square at both ends rather than apsidal, and the aisle shapes appear purely as an exterior form, with *śūrasena* pediments forming the gable ends. Even more than as a temple form in itself, the

Fig. 14.3. Relief showing a *stūpa* shrine (adoration scene), from Butkara/Swat, mid-1st century CE, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale 'Giuseppe Tucci', Rome, green schist, inv. no. 1146, MAI B 920. Photo: Adam Hardy.

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Valabhī is significant for its history as an aedicular component of other forms, especially at the centre of a composition where, once again, the arched opening can evoke both shrine and gateway. Valabhī pavilions, single-arched or aisled, marked the centre of each level in Gupta period proto-Nāgara shrines, eventually fusing into the central spine (*latā*) of the curved *śikhara* that defines the Latina mode of Nāgara (Hardy 2007: 108–10). A Valabhī aedicule is the norm as a niche in the *bhadra* of Nāgara temples, and there are widespread examples of a Valabhī form taking up the entire *bhadra* and extending up into the *śikhara*.[9] This very concept is used universally for the frontal projection on a Nāgara shrine: the antechamber (*antarāla*) and arched fronton (*śukanāsa*) together create the emergent Valabhī. A superb Himalayan example of a Nāgara temple exploiting this last idea on all four sides is the Baśeśar Mahādeva temple, Bajaura, Himachal Pradesh, of the 9th century (**Fig. 14.5**). A Valabhī emerges from each face of a Latina shrine, the two steps of the Valabhī – effectively one Valabhī emerging from another – enhancing the sense of emanation. Although symmetrical, with a doorway in each direction, only one side opens to the *garbhagṛha* within, the others containing a small sanctum. The temple is thus quasi-'*sarvatobhadra*' in the way that is typical of Kashmiri temples.

KASHMIRI AEDICULARITY AND TYPOLOGY

Returning to Kashmiri temples themselves, this example of Bajaura (**Fig. 14.5**), so close in its spatial organisation, is especially helpful for grasping their underlying aedicular concept. We can now give a more succinct and holistic, aedicular description of the composition of the Pandrethan temple, our representative example. Just as Bajaura has Nāgara Valabhī projecting from Nāgara Latina, Pandrethan has what we may call 'Kashmiri Valabhī' projecting from 'Kashmiri Phāṃsanā' (**Fig. 14.1**). The Phāṃsanā has a two-tier roof, each *bhadra* taking the form of a Valabhī shrine and extending up into the superstructure. Use of the term Valabhī in this

Fig. 14.5. Baśeśar Mahādeva temple, Bajaura (Kullu), 9th century. Photo: Adam Hardy.

way has textual support, as explained below. The gable-roofed Kashmiri Valabhī form undoubtedly originated in timber, and continued to be built in timber as well stone, as suggested by the western Himalayan works. Both the textual evidence and the western Himalayan examples will be discussed later.

In aedicular terms, then, overall composition of a typical Kashmiri shrine is relatively simple. Pandrethan has just five primary aedicules – four radiating from one, with the doorways and dormers at a secondary level. Several Kashmiri temples, however, including the important monuments at Martand and Avantipura, consist of a complex that brings together a host of shrines and shrine-images. There are gateways: none intact, but clearly following similar forms to the shrines. These lead to rectangular enclosures lined by cellular shrines, flat-roofed but with aedicular doorways, all fronted by a barely detached colonnade (**Fig. 14.6**). The

Fig. 14.6. Peristyle of Viṣṇu temple, Buniyar, 8th century. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

central cell on each side of the enclosure may be larger, suggesting (though none survives intact) a fully articulated, roofed shrine. Occasionally the main temple itself may be a cluster of actual shrines with *garbhagṛha*s. The Mārtaṇḍa temple

(**Fig. 14.7**) is fronted by a large porch, presumably a Valabhī, with lateral shrines, each containing paired sanctums, probably with single Valabhī roofs facing sideways. On the evidence of its surviving base, the Avantīśvara temple, entered from all four sides, would have had fully articulated, small shrines at the four corners, between the Valabhīs (**Fig. 14.8**).

Then, there are the minor orders of aedicules. These include the door surrounds, such as those to the cloistered cells, and the aedicular niches and false niches, which typically appear on the *bhadra*, within the major Valabhī. Minor aedicules are especially abundant at Martand (**Fig. 14.7**) and Avantipur, where they appear in various wall panels and in vertical rows on the wide pilasters of the gabled portals, badly worn but generally recognisable. The Mārtaṇḍa temple also has them on its upper and lower *jagatī*s. These minor aedicules are all Kashmiri Valabhī forms, or

Fig. 14.7. Mārtaṇḍa temple ('Sun temple'), Martand, mid-8th century. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.
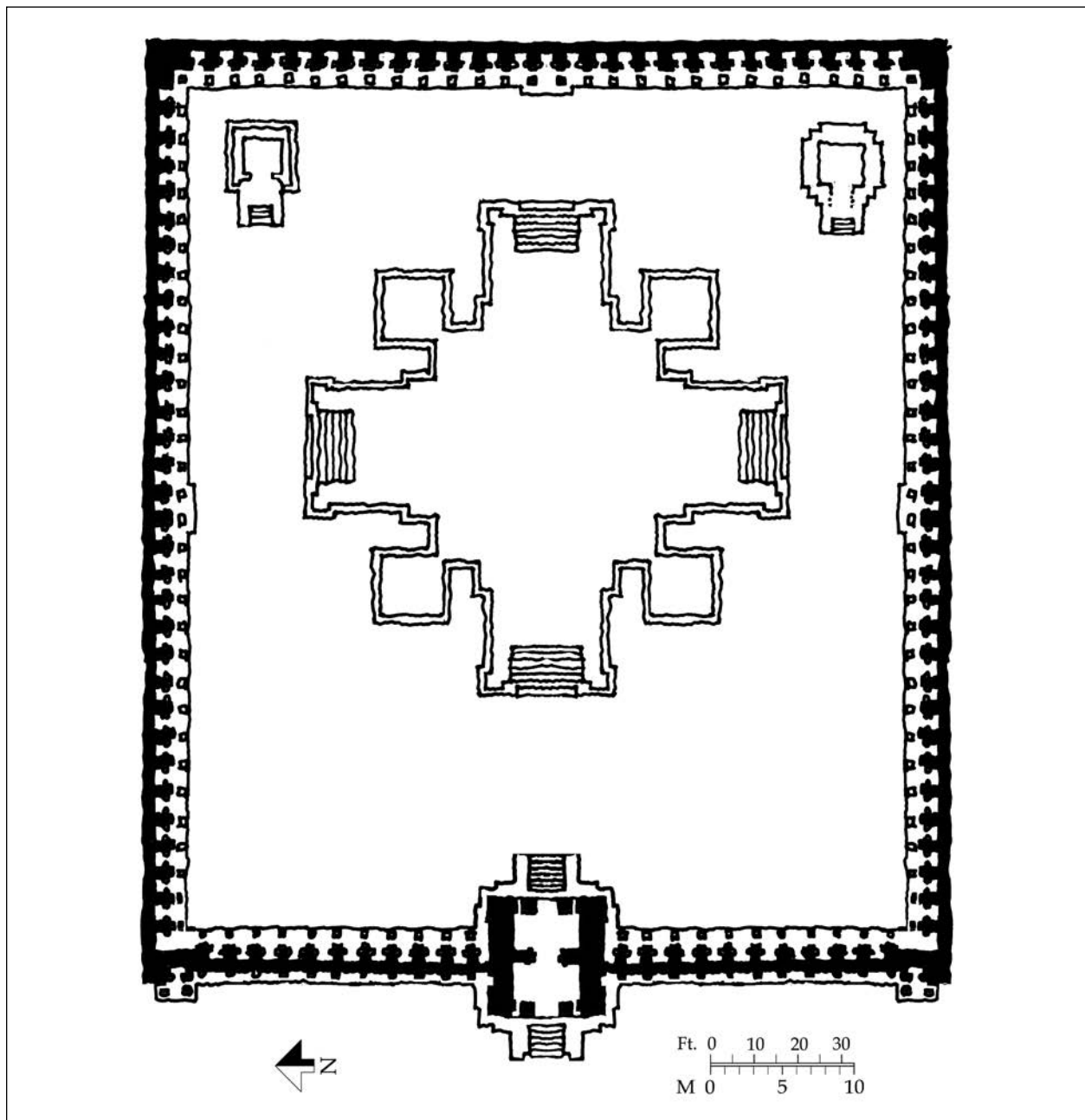
Fig. 14.8. Plan of Avantīśvara temple, Avantipura, second half of 8th century. Only the base survives from the main shrine. After Krishna Deva 1991: 372, fig. 144.

combinations thereof, and the range is essentially laid out at Martand. They undergo no obvious progressive development, unlike other Indian temple typologies that manifestly evolve and proliferate.

As no Kashmiri Valabhī temples survive, their typology (**Fig. 14.9**, top) must be deduced from the large-scale, gabled *bhadra*s, and the niches and so on. The most basic kind, Type V1, already encountered in the gabled portals at Pandrethan

(and also seen at Payar), is a trefoil arch, with or without pilasters, under a pitched roof. An elaboration, V1a, places a horizontal tie or cross-bar above the arch, leaving an equilateral triangle at the apex. This is found in the doorways to the cells of the Mārtaṇḍa temple and of the Viṣṇu temple at Buniyar (*c.* 900–925) (**Fig. 14.6**). A rosette, a small trefoil or a bust may be placed in the apex. In Type V2, the equilateral triangle is separated from the cross-bar by a narrow recess. In other words, the
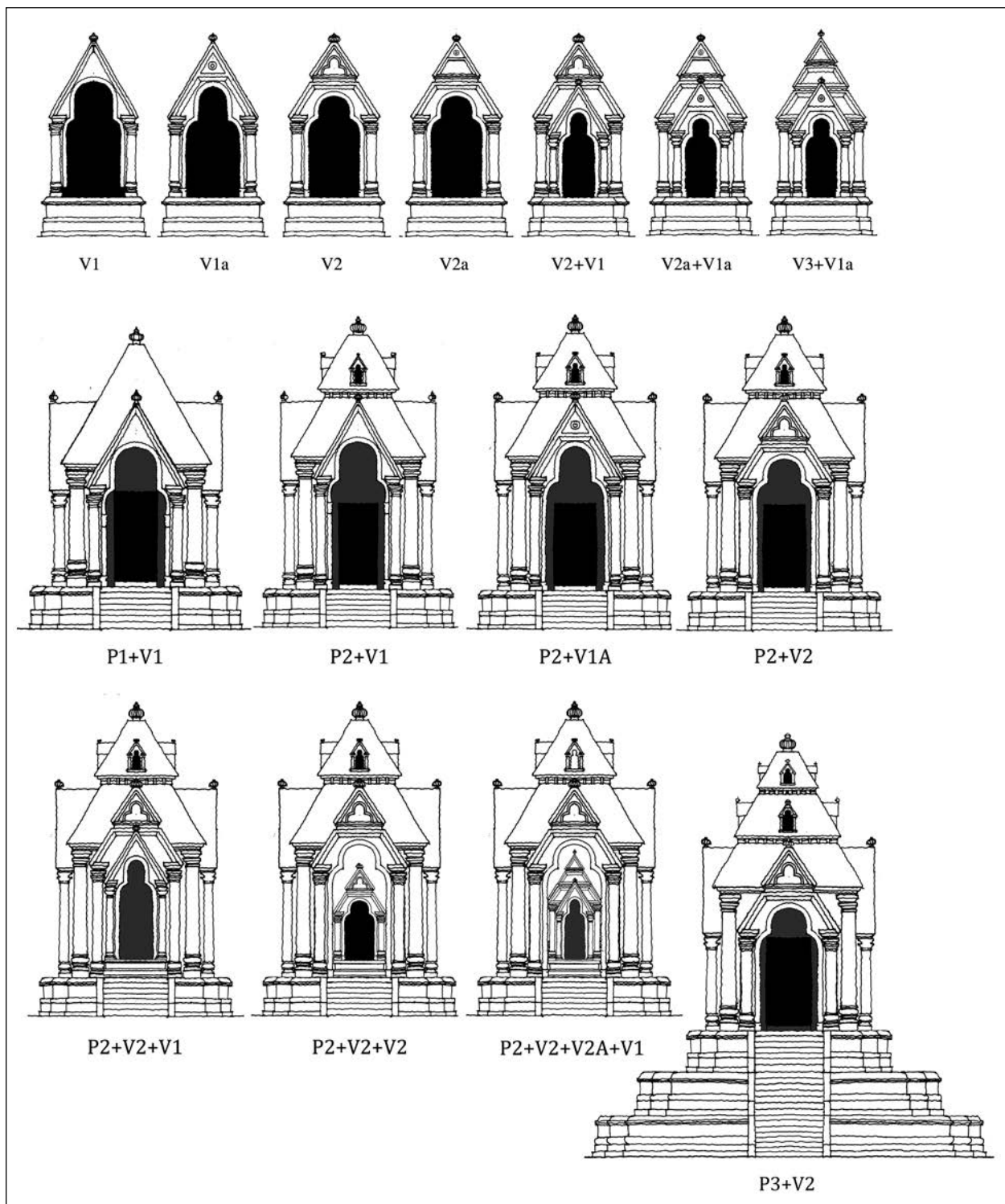
Fig. 14.9. Typology of Kashmiri temple forms: 'Kashmiri Valabhī' (top row), and 'Kashmiri Phāṃsanā' (middle and bottom row). The temple in the lower right-hand corner is the Himavān type as described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. Drawing: Adam Hardy.

aedicule becomes a Kashmiri Valabhī with a two-tier roof, the longitudinal equivalent of the two-tier Phāṃsanā. One may speculate as to whether this form evoked Gandhāran echoes of classical

pediments in the upper tier, and trapezoidal doors in the lower one.[10] The V2 form is seen in the *bhadra* of a miniature Śiva shrine at Patan (*c*. 883–902). Various examples with the cross-bar, including the

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Fig. 14.10. Mārtaṇḍa temple, Martand, porch interior: niche (left) and doorway (right). Photo: Christina Papa-Kalantari, courtesy of the Western Himalaya Archive Vienna.

great *bhadra* gables at Martand, are so damaged that it is impossible to know whether they were V1a or V2, at least from photographs. Lastly, the V2a places a cross-bar in the upper tier (**Fig. 14.10**, right).

From Martand onwards we find composite Valabhī aedicules – Valabhīs giving birth to Valabhīs, playing the same game as we see in the wall-shrines of Bajaura (**Fig. 14.5**). For example, V2 can contain a smaller V1 (V2+V1). Or we can find V2a+V1a: **Figure 14.10** (left) shows this inside the porch at Martand, next to a simple V2a over a doorway. A three-tiered Valabhī, shown in **Figure 14.9** as V3+V1a, is hypothetical, but reasons for its plausibility will become apparent.

Before leaving minor aedicules, two further forms should be mentioned as part of the repertoire, especially when the Kashmiri temple form reaches the western Himalayas. Both are forms of *toraṇa*. The first takes a form loosely related to its trefoil arch, sometimes with further lobes, and curled up at the ends. **Figure 14.11** shows one such *toraṇa* in a V1. *Toraṇa*s can be elaborated by a kind of branching out. The second type, much simpler, has a stepped outline, and may derive from the shape left over between simplified brackets in miniature colonnades. It is seen at Martand in the lower *jagatī*, where it alternates with trefoils, set between miniature pillars. Portable devotional

objects shared the same architectural language. An 8th-century ivory Bodhisattva (**Fig. 14.12**), now in the British Museum, sits in a beautiful carved wood triptych panel conceived as three interlinked miniature Valabhī (V2) shrines. The central one, its proportions stretched horizontally, is fronted by a five-lobed *toraṇa*, with *toraṇa*s of the stepped form fronting the lateral cells, linked to the centre one and curled at the outer ends.[11]

Turning to fully three-dimensional shrine forms (**Fig. 14.9**, middle and bottom), the most basic (P1) has a simple pyramidal roof interrupted only by the peaks of its *bhadra*s, shown here as V1. No examples survive, but we shall find textual evidence for its existence.[12] P2+V1 is what we see at Pandrethan and Payar.[13] P2+V1a is seen in a small Śiva shrine at the

Fig. 14.11. Carved stone panel, *c.* 10th century, Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Photo: Verena Widorn, courtesy of the Western Himalaya Archive Vienna.
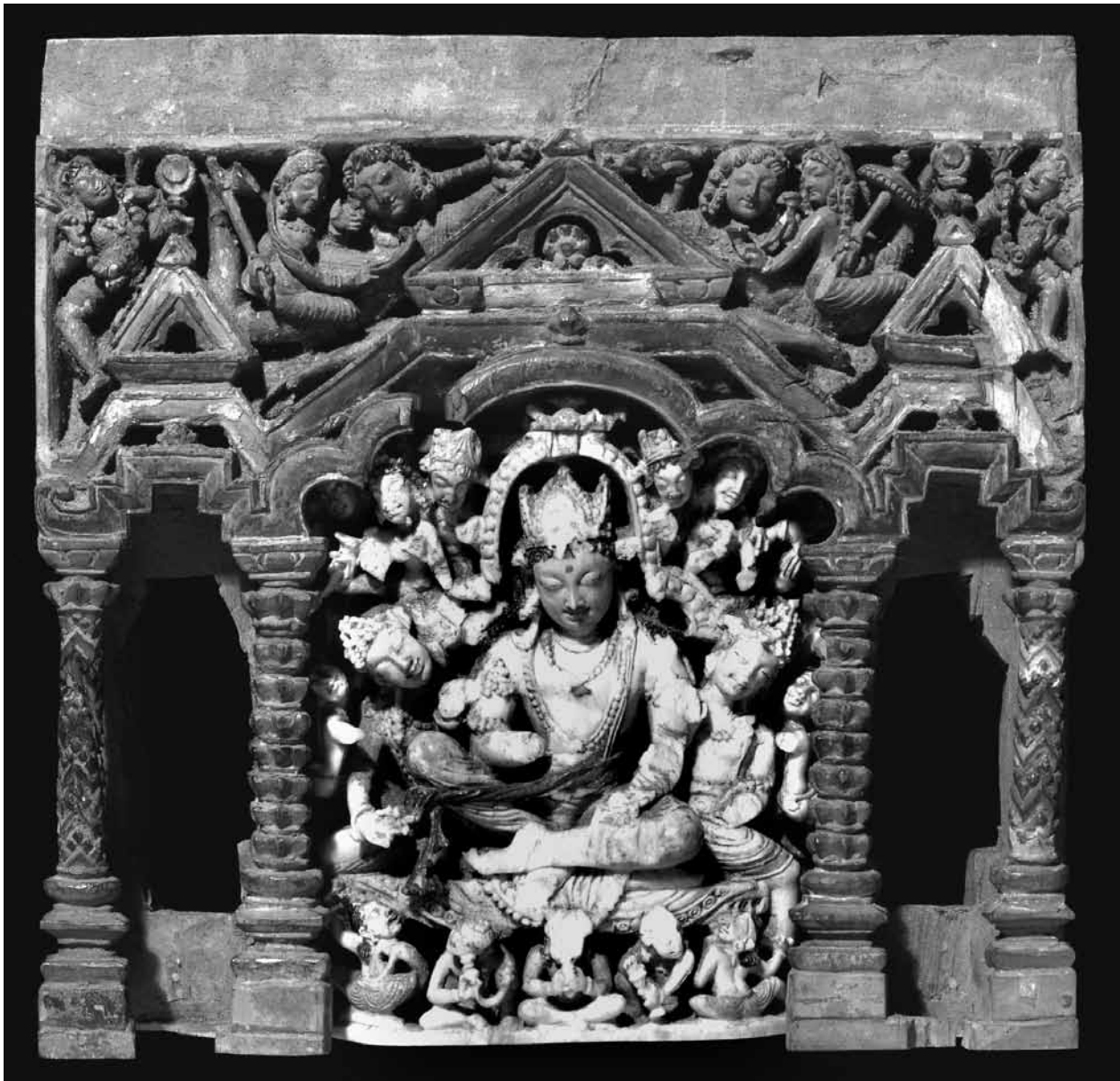
Fig. 14.12. Wooden panel with ivory Bodhisattva figure, Kashmir, 8th century, now in the British Museum, London, acc.no. 1968,0521.1, height 14.5 cm. Photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Manasbal Lake (*c.* 900–25),[14] without dormers in the upper tier, and a single example with no *bhadra*s and a Valabhī only at the front. A miniature shrine at Patan is P2+V2. A further degree of elaboration is achieved through triple sequences on the *bhadra*s. The Sugandheśa temple, Patan (*c.* 883–902), had this feature, with the lesser Valabhī as the doorway on the south side, but the temple is too ruined to see exactly what aedicule types were involved – possibly P2+V2+V1. The Śiva temple, Fatgadh (*c.* 900–925) is comparable, again with the Valabhī types unidentifiable; here the smaller aedicule is in

a recess rather than projecting. Fortunately, in the temple at Narastan,[15] one triple sequence survives in fine condition up into the lower tier of the superstructure. Assuming that this was P2, it is very clearly P2+V2+V2. One example, the Śaṅkaragaurīśa temple, Patan (*c.* 883–902), had a quadruple sequence on the three closed sides. It was perhaps P2+V2+V2+V1, only the last of these being clear.

Beyond this, if textual clues are to be believed, there were three-tier Phāṃsanā roofs, P3. It is quite possible that the grander and more elaborate temples took this form, possibly the Mārtaṇḍa
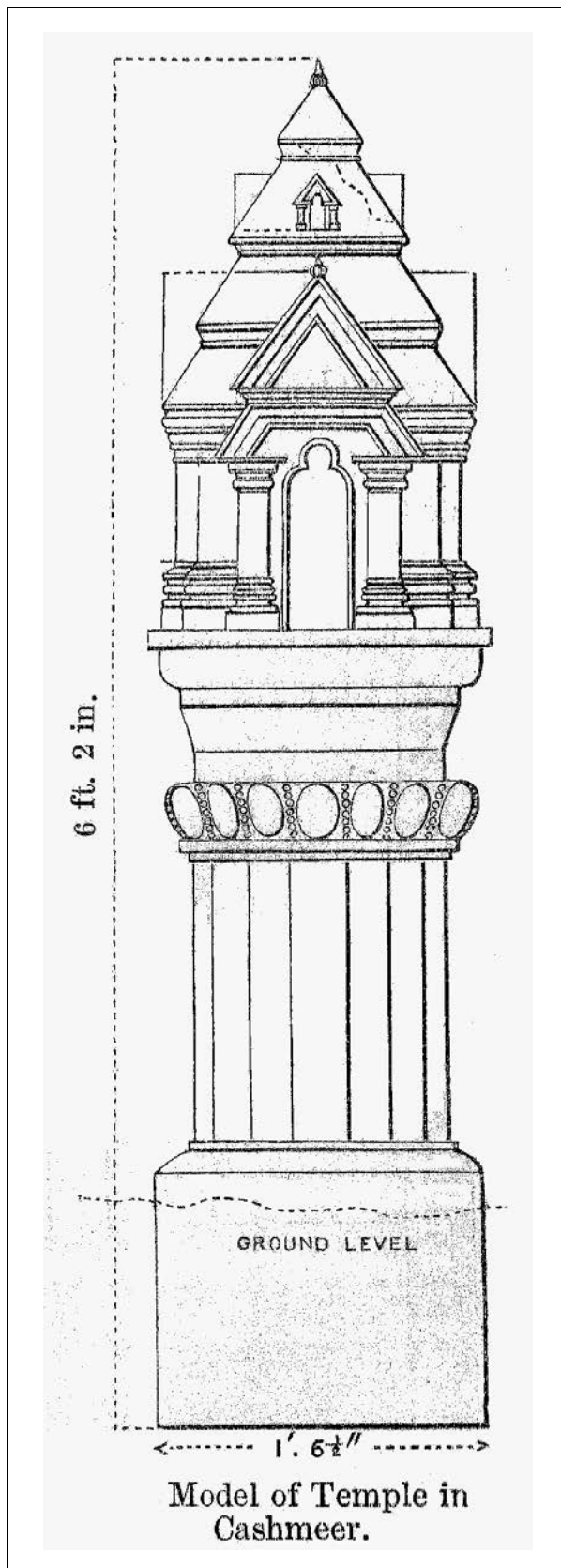
6 ft. 2 in.

GROUND LEVEL

1'. 6½"

Model of Temple in
Cashmeer.

Fig. 14.13. "Model of Temple in Cashmeer", drawn by
Alexander Cunningham and published by Fergusson
(1910: 256, fig. 141) in his *History of Indian and Eastern
Architecture*.

temple itself. Sceptics may look at a *kūṭastambha*
in an engraving from a sketch by Cunningham
(**Fig. 14.13**), published by Fergusson as a "Model
of Temple in Cashmeer" and showing a four-tier
Phāṃsanā (P4+V2).

During the 8th century, under the empire
of the Pratihāras, Nāgara temple architecture
reached the western Himalayan foothills from its
heartland in the Gangetic basin and Central India,
as testified by the great, 8th-century rock-cut Śiva
temple at Masrur (see below), and the later temple
at Bajaura (**Fig. 14.5**), both in Himachal Pradesh.
The similarity of the plan of Bajaura to a typical
Kashmiri temple plan has been noted, along with
their common pattern of aedicular organisation. It
might be expected that interaction would take place
at the level of architectural language. Certainly,
fragments of slightly crude Nāgara detailing have
been found at Avantipura. But it is beyond Kashmir
proper, in the Salt Range (Punjab, Pakistan), around
the 9th–10th centuries, that we find fully-fledged
Nāgara-Kashmiri combinations. Temple A at Amb
(*c.* 9th century) is a Latina (Nāgara) temple with
a Kashmiri Valabhī *śukanāsa*-cum-porch (Meister
2010: fig. 48), while the temple at Malot,[16] extremely
ruined yet intelligible, is of the Kashmiri kind, with
large Nāgara shrine-models in the *bhadra*s.

THE TEXTUAL DIMENSION

Aedicularity often comes through obliquely in
the Vāstuśāstra texts, most obviously when the
texts describe combining types with types – one
form to be placed at the centre of another, for
example.[17] Typology, on the other hand, is the entire
framework of these texts. The *Viṣṇudharmottara
Purāṇa* (*VDhP*) is an encyclopaedic work that
includes three chapters on temples. Ronald Inden
(1985: 53–54) argues that the text was composed in
8th-century Kashmir. In common with the earlier
Bṛhat Saṃhitā, the architectural descriptions are
not detailed, so the precise formal and stylistic
characteristics of a temple cannot be deduced
in the way they can be from a later work such
as the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*. Some passages

have clearly been incorporated from older texts, consisting of simple statements about shape and basic proportions, and suggestive of wooden buildings. Others, however, give enough detail to weigh heavily in favour of an 8th-century Kashmiri ascription.

The chapters in question belong to the third volume or *khaṇḍa*, and are available in the English translation of the *VDhP* by Priyabala Shah (2002). Stella Kramrisch (1946, II: 411–21) paraphrases them in an appendix to *The Hindu Temple* entitled "The Hundred-and-One Temples of the 'Viṣṇudharmottara'". Chapter 86 deals with "one hundred types of temples" (v. 129), while Chapter 87 describes the Sarvatobhadra type, which indeed is a climax of the previous hundred and attains the auspicious number 101. Chapter 88 treats the defining features of a Sāmānya Prāsāda or common temple. This is based on a square of 8 x 8 parts (v. 1), and the base:wall:superstructure (*mañjarī*) are in the proportion 1:1:1 (vv. 6–7). The wood for the column (*gṛha stambha* – but could it be plural?) is prescribed, as well as for the door (v. 3). Since the wall of the *garbha* is distinguished from the wall of the temple (v. 8), there has to be an internal ambulatory, not mentioned for the types in Chapters 86 and 87. Although the chapter begins with "Now I shall tell you the general characteristics of a temple", and a Sāmānya Prāsāda type is also referred to in Chapter 87, the description in Chapter 88 is difficult to correlate with the other chapters and may be from an earlier source, rather than being the basic norm for the 101 as Kramrisch assumes.

It is the first three of the "hundred temples" that most compellingly fit the Kashmiri form. The problem with paraphrasing is that it allows cheating, by missing out what does not make sense or does not fit. So I shall quote the relevant passage verbatim from Shah's translation, adding only a question mark [?] and small comment where the sense is confusing:[18]

The site platform (Jagatī) should be divided according to the portion of the temple [i.e. its plan should be divided

into parts corresponding to those of the temple plan?]. The Jagatī should consist of three stages (Bhūmikās) of equal height. The length of each stage should be made half of its height [? too narrow]. The stage (Bhūmikā) one after the other should have the shape of the Bhadrapīṭha shape. (4–5)

Kaṭi (the hip or waist of the temple) should be made, half of the (height of the) temple, similarly the Kūṭa (the portion of the temple above the Kaṭi). The width of the flight of the steps should be one-eighth of (the measurement of) the bottom of the Kaṭi [? too narrow]. (6)

For each Bhūmikā (stage) [the word "steps" is missing here, cf. Shah 1998: 200] should be of equal number. The Kūṭa (portion above the Kaṭi) should be divided into three parts, each having an auspicious Āmalasāraka. (7)

O King! The Kūṭa should be quadrilateral and gradually elevating. The (three parts) Vicchedas (compartments) should be decorated with a row of lions. (8)

The height of the door should be one-eighth above the deity. The height of the door should be made twice that of the width. (9)

On it an elevated Candraśālā (terrace) beautifying the door should be made. O King! On the first Veccheda (part) of the Kūṭa decorated by auspicious Āmalasāraka the temple should be made with four bent (Bhagna) or unbent (na Bhagna) doors. (10–11)

Similarly in the two other Vicchedas of Kūṭa the temple should be done [i.e. they should also have these doors?]. The temple should be surrounded by four separate Candraśālās on the four doors. This charming temple is celebrated as Himavān. (12)

The temple having a Kūṭa with two Chedas is called Mālyavān and the temple with only one Kūṭa is called Śṛṅgavān. (13)

This is surely a description of three classes of Kashmiri temple, having respectively a three-tier superstructure (Himavān, P3) (**Fig. 14.9**, lower right), two-tier (Mālyavān, P2), and a single one (Śṛṅgavān, P1). The Himavān, given the lengthiest treatment, has three superimposed platforms (vv. 4–5). Stepped platforms for *stūpa*s are widespread, but in Hindu temples are known only in ruined brick temples of the Gupta period and in Kashmiri temples.[19] The *bhadrapīṭha* shape must be a square with cardinal projections or *bhadra*s. Kashmiri

temples do, unusually, have a superstructure (here the *kūṭa*) roughly equal in height to the wall (here the *kaṭi*) (v. 6). The superstructure of the Himavān has three tiers (*vicchedas*, *vecchedas*, *chedas*), the ubiquity of the ribbed *āmalasāraka*s being a little surprising, but presumably they adorn the Valabhīs and dormers (v. 7) (cf. **Fig. 14.11**). The row of lions (*siṃhamālā*) is a row of lion-face corbels in the recesses between the *vicchedas*, as seen in many of the cornices supporting diminutive trefoil arches (v. 8). The door is the door, of proportions going back to the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (v. 9). Over the door is a *candraśālā* – not a terrace, of course, but a trefoil arch, potentially just a pediment to the door, but probably the Valabhī top, complete with gable (v. 10). The bent or unbent doors (v. 11) are the dormers, trefoiled or straight. The first *veccheda* in which they sit is probably the top one, with its *āmalasāraka*. Or it could refer to the lowest, since it seems that each stage is to have these dormers (v. 12), in which case the Valabhī tops, crowned by *āmalasāraka*s, would count as the lowest dormers. Finally, it is confirmed that there are four entrances, or at least one and three symbolic ones, crowned by *candraśālā*s – in other words, four cardinal Valabhīs (v. 12).

It is not unusual for temple types in a chapter of this kind to fall into sets. Kramrisch divides the hundred temples of Chapter 86 into eight groups. The first comprises the three temples already discussed, but the logic of some of Kramrisch's groupings is obscure. Her second group actually consists of minor variations on the first, while other parts of the text seem to consist of rambling ancient fragments and statements like "one having the shape of a Haṃsa is called Haṃsa and having the shape of a Ghaṭa is called Ghaṭa" (v. 101). One grouping that does stand out, constituting most of Kramrisch's seventh group, is a series running from twelve storeys (and six sides) down to one, (vv. 93–97). More interesting in the present context are two strands running through the text, not falling neatly into continuous passages, that relate compellingly

to Kashmiri temples, even if less clearly than the initial three types. One of these concerns Valabhī temples, the other centrally-planned multi-peaked temples.

The Valabhī material begins with a temple type called the Valabhī:

The Valabhī temple built in the shape of Valabhī is beautiful. It is facing all the four directions. Its length is thrice its width. It has one Mekhalā and on both the sides of the Valabhī temple there is a Candraśālā. In the temple three Āmalasāras should be made. In one part is Mekhalā and the other part is Kaṭi and the third part is Valabhī, which all are famous. (21–23)

Apart from being the name of this particular type, the term 'Valabhī' (referring to roof beams) applies to its shape, well known to be long, and also – in the *VDhP* – to the roof of that temple type, equivalent of the '*kūṭa*' of Kashmiri Phāṃsanā shrines. Thus, in that sense, there is a platform (*mekhalā = jagatī*), a *kaṭi* and a *valabhī*. Three *āmalaka*s or *āmalasāraka*s line the ridge – so one will show on the gable, as on Kashmiri porch Valabhīs and niches. There will be *candraśālā*s in both 'sides': i.e. probably meaning in the ends, but also on the sides, where there must be shallow Valabhīs as the temple is said to face in four directions.

The *VDhP* also uses the term 'Valabhī' in the way I have been using it to mean the form of this kind of temple employed as a large or small aedicule projecting from another form. The description of the Himavān that opens the chapter is not so explicit about the Valabhī nature of its gabled *bhadra*s, but elsewhere we are told of different temple forms having or not having a (large) Valabhī (v. 80). All of the foregoing description could apply equally to Nāgara Valabhī as to Kashmiri Valabhī, but references back to the Mālyavān type favour the latter. A type called Bhadrakālī (v. 47) has a Valabhī "on the back of Mālyavān", i.e. of a P2, which probably means that it is a full-scale version of my hypothetical V3. The Dvāraśālā that follows (v. 48), with a Valabhī "extended obliquely on the back of

the Mālyavān", could well be a rectangular temple with a three-tier roof that has hipped ends.

The *VDhP*'s series of centrally planned temples with multiple superstructures begins with the Kailāsa in Chapter 86, culminating in the Sarvatobhadra in Chapter 87. The text states that "The temple having five Śikharas, four Maṇḍapas and four doors is known as Kailāsa" (v. 103). Kramrisch (1946, II: 416–17) felt that four of the five *śikhara*s in this "cross shaped temple" would have been on the *maṇḍapa*s. Alternatively, they could be on corner shrines, as implied by the surviving base of the Avantīśvara (**Fig. 14.8**). Corner shrines are explicitly mentioned for a further type with nine *śikhara*s: "The temple with four intermediate temples placed in between the Maṇḍapas, equipped with Śikharas and Manjari in the middle, is called Sura-rāṭ due to nine Śikharas" (vv. 111–12). This concept could certainly apply to the Avantīśvara if the porches/*maṇḍapa*s carried Phāṃsanā instead of Valabhī superstructures, or indeed if Valabhī tops count as *śikhara*s. *Śikhara*, throughout these passages, could mean a Nāgara spire and *maṇḍapa*s could be pillared halls; equally, *śikhara* could mean a Kashmiri Phāṃsanā roof and *maṇḍapa*s could be porches; or these terms could be generic, applicable to either style. However, the compellingly Kashmiri character of previous types, together with the preponderance of four-faced shrines in Kashmir, points towards the Kashmiri tradition.

This impression is reinforced by the subsequent prescriptions for the Sarvatobhadra temple. Before examining these, it is worthwhile to summarise the arguments of two important papers with contending claims for this impressive conception. Ronald Inden, in "The Temple and the Hindu Chain of Being" (1985), focuses on the imperial temple that Lalitāditya apparently built (though no trace remains) at his new capital of Parihāsapura, after he had achieved the *dig-vijaya* ('conquest of the quarters') to become paramount King of Kings. Lalitāditya embraced the Pāñcarātra school, which

Inden argues is the basis of the *VDhP*. This is the most emanatory of Vaiṣṇava philosophies, and Doris Srinivasan (1979; 1990) has ably demonstrated the patterns of emanation expressed in its iconography, as she has for its Śaiva equivalent, the Śaiva Siddhānta. I have tried at length to show how, in temple architecture, emanation is the corollary of aedicularity, as shrine-images emerge from shrine-images, which emerge from shrines (Hardy 2007: 36–43). Inden's concern is with the emanation of power from the gods – downwards, via the temple, through the king, and onwards down the expanding chain – and with the ritual actualisation of this 'cosmomoral order' by its human creators. His focus is not architectural, other than in its concern for the hierarchy of spaces in the temple, but he does assume that this paradigm of 8th-century imperial temples must have been the "best of temples", the Sarvatobhadra (Inden 1985: 55).

A contrasting interpretation is found in Michael Meister's recent work on the Śiva temple at Masrur. He shows how this rock-cut monument was conceived as a centralised, symmetrically planned cluster of peaks, its central *śikhara* surrounded by numerous lesser *śikhara*s crowning four radiating *maṇḍapa*s, at the corners, in pairs at the four entrances, and yet more, all richly varied Nāgara types (Meister 2006). Meister argues that this was the precedent for the great Cambodian temple mountains and is likely to have been the imperial temple of the powerful king Yaśovarman of Kanauj, ally and later rival of Lalitāditya. The ultimate dominance of the latter, as claimed by the 12th-century Kashmiri chronicler Kalhaṇa, is disputable. Meister cites Kramrisch's "Hundred and One Temples" and sees Masrur as a realisation of the *VDhP*'s Kailāsa type and of its apotheosis, the Sarvatobhadra. Kramrisch's interpretation of the Kailāsa as having *śikhara*s on its four *maṇḍapa*s leads Meister to see this as a "crucial and definitive description of the temple we find at Masrur" (Meister 2006: 36). A better candidate would
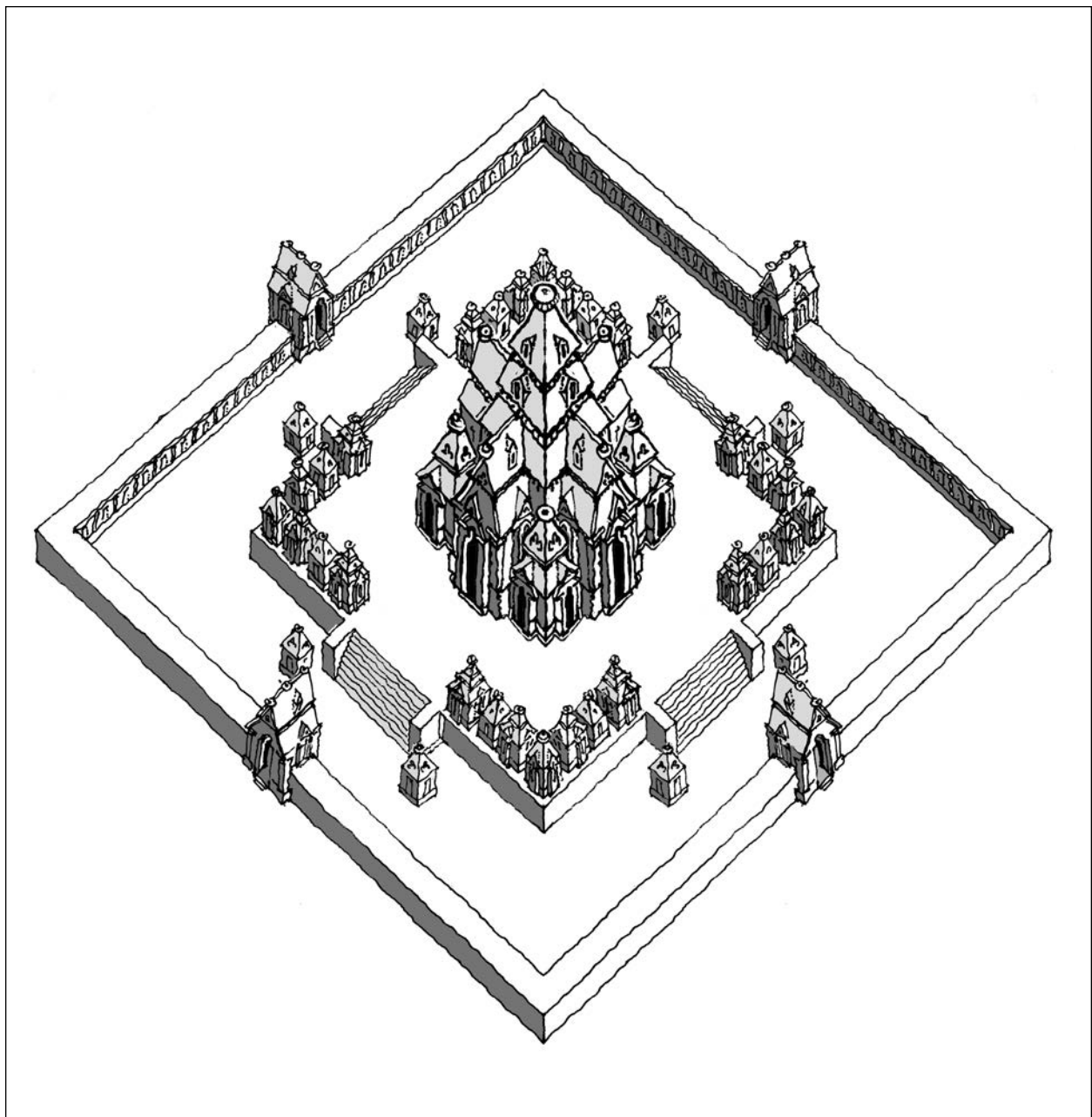
Fig. 14.14. Bird's eye view of the Sarvatobhadra temple described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. Drawing: Adam Hardy.

be the Sura-rāṭ, with its nine *śikhara*s, but the additional complexity of Masrur points towards the Sarvatobhadra itself.

A structure with nine *śikhara*s like the Sura-rāṭ type stands at the centre of the complex that constitutes the Sarvatobhadra (Chapter 87). The *garbhagṛha* opens into four *maṇḍapas* with *śikhara*s, and there are four attached corner shrines (vv. 9–10). Each *maṇḍapa* has four doors, of which one is specified as its entry to the *garbhagṛha* (v. 11), one evidently to the outside, two perhaps giving

into the adjacent corner shrines. The central *śikhara* is higher (v. 13), the others being equal in height. This seems to indicate that the *maṇḍapa*s are not large but comparable in size to the corner shrines. In my interpretative drawing (**Fig. 14.14**) I take 'equal height' to mean that the perimeter spaces all have two-tier roofs, whereas the middle one has three tiers.[20] I also assume that Valabhī roofs can count as *śikhara*s, though Phāṃsanā roofs on the *maṇḍapa*s would be at least as plausible. The central *śikhara* is "decorated with various figures", the others having

*kuhara*s (v. 14), interpreted by Kramrisch (1946: 417) as "'cave' or niche of the *śukanāsa*", which must be over projecting entrances. The entire complex is raised on a platform *jagatī/mekhalā* surrounded by a compound wall (*prākāra*) (v. 3) that follows the same shape. It is later confirmed that this is lined with cells (v. 42), and that the vast courtyard is "beautified with natural celestial waters". One third of each side of the platform is taken up by a flight of steps (v. 5). The perimeter is lined with 24 minor temples, a row of three either side of each flight of steps, in addition to corner shrines and paired shrines flanking the steps at the lower level (vv. 6–8). These are of different kinds. A Garbha-mandira type (not found elsewhere in the text) is next to the corners. Those flanking the steps at the top are of the Himavat type, without a *mekhalā* (v. 7). As this is no doubt the Himavān described earlier in the text, with its three-*cheda* roof, we may imagine that the central *śikhara* could even have four, like Cunningham's *kūṭastambha* (**Fig. 14.13**). The remaining subsidiary shrines are classified as Deva-kula or Sāmānya (term for the minor temple of Chapter 88), without *maṇḍapa* except for those at the corners, so I have given the corner ones porches.

The cell-lined compound and the presence of the Himavān seem to clinch this Sarvatobhadra for the Kashmiri form of temple. The whole emanating pantheon to be installed in the respective chambers of this multitudinous hierarchy of shrines is carefully explained, starting with Vāsudeva facing East, Saṃkarṣaṇa (Balārama) South, Pradyumna West, and Aniruddha North. These are the initial emanations of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, essentially Pāñcarātra, and the temple planning would be perfect for a four-faced Viṣṇu at the centre. If Lalitāditya did indeed build an imperial temple outside Parihāsapura, it was surely along these lines.

Can we therefore conclude that Viṣṇu-Lalitāditya-Kashmiri-Inden is victorious over Śiva-Yaśovarman-Nāgara-Meister? Not crushingly so. Meister (2006: 44) rightly asserts that "the typology of the Sarvatobhadra temple-type is not specifically

Vaiṣṇava, nor dedicated to a single sect". A plan of this general kind would indeed be equally suitable for a *caturmukhaliṅga* (four-faced *Śivaliṅga*) at its centre and to house a Śaiva Siddhānta pantheon in its graded courts. But the *VDhP*'s Sarvatobhadra gives us the plan of Masrur only very loosely. When the Nāgara tradition came north, it created Śiva temple plans like Bajaura and Masrur. This was not just the mountain air, but a fair degree of rivalry, and above all a way of thinking pervasive in Kashmir at that time. Here is the point that it is not a precise type from the *VDhP* that can be linked to Masrur, but rather a way of thinking and planning temples that the text reflects, and which runs through the Kashmiri temple form from simple four-faced shrines to great symmetrical complexes.

THE WESTERN HIMALAYAN CONTINUATION

Buddhism was present in Kashmir at least from the time of Aśoka, and predominated during the Kushan era. Still, in the 8th century, Lalitāditya and his entourage patronised Buddhist institutions and monuments; they built *vihāra*s and *stūpa*s, while the Kashmir temple form, at least from the surviving evidence, seems to have been confined, in the Kashmir valley, to Brahmanical foundations. However, in the broader western Himalayan region that came within the Kashmiri cultural sphere, the form has left striking traces in a number of Buddhist shrines, as well as some notable Devī temples. Religious coexistence and syncretism are characteristic of this region.

Its architecture finds expression in a magnificent tradition of wood carving, but the structures are not entirely of timber. Pillars, beams, ceilings, and roofs are wooden, but walls are generally rubble or roughly dressed masonry. In earthquake prone areas, the masonry is held together by hefty timber baulks. Long ones are laid along the outer surfaces of the wall, alternating with shorter ones running through the wall.

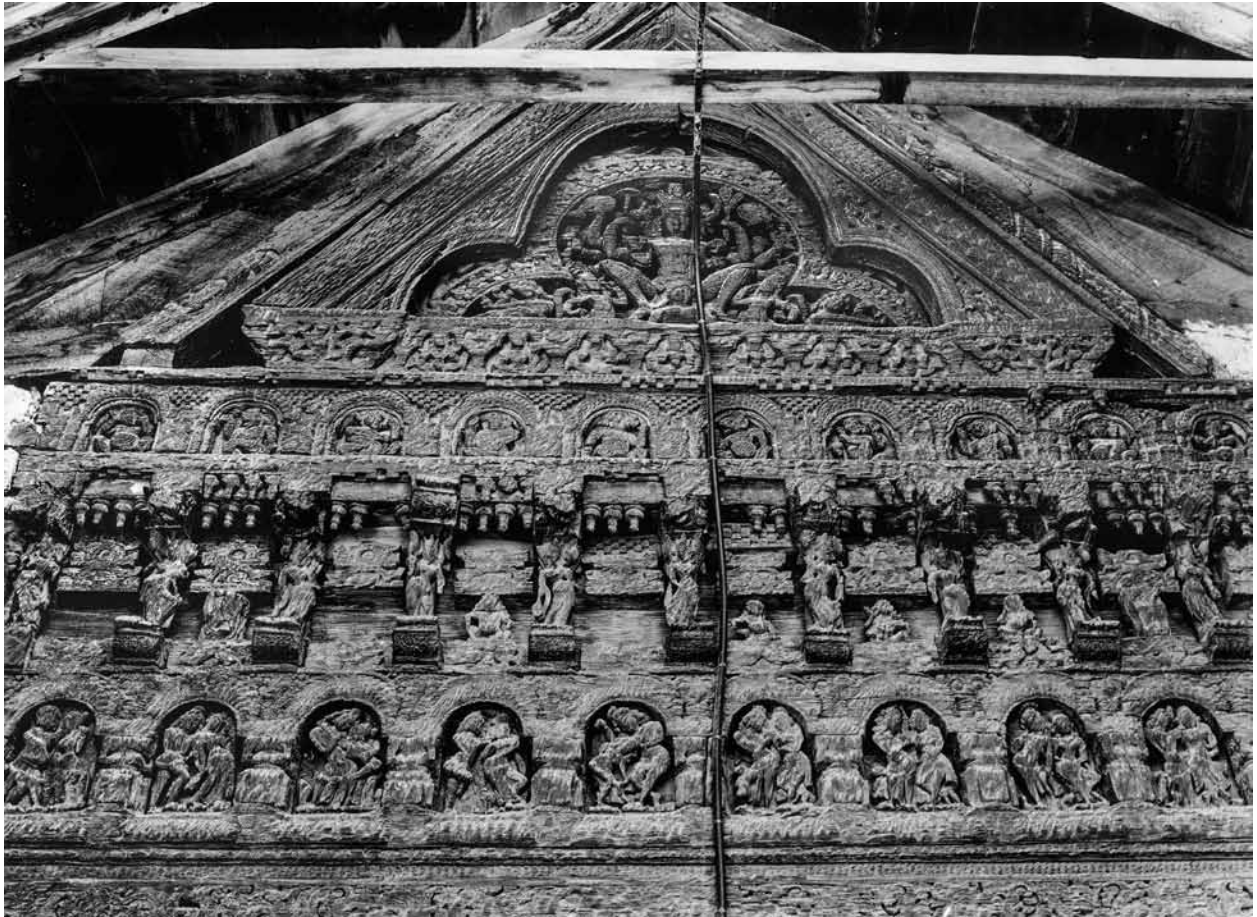One exciting fragment is a fine Kashmiri-style carved wooden triangular gable, in which Viśvarūpa

Adam Hardy

Fig. 14.15. Wooden doorway of Lakṣaṇā Devī temple, Brahmaur, Himachal Pradesh, with incorporated gable from a Kashmiri-style temple. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Viṣṇu is shown within a trefoil arch (**Fig. 14.15**). This is placed over the doorway of the Lakṣaṇadevī temple, Brahmaur, Chamba District, Himachal Pradesh, of *c.* 700 CE. Though altered at various times, the pillars and ceilings of this temple, and the doorway itself, are manifestly post-Gupta, i.e. early Nāgara, while the gable seems to be from elsewhere.[21] It must be from a timber or part-timber temple, either a Kashmiri Valabhī one or the porch of a Kashmiri Phāṃsanā one. Its form corresponds to the top part of Type V2.

While the wooden doorway at Brahmaur, along with the roughly contemporary one in Śakti temple, Chatrahri, Chamba District, is post-Gupta, the western Himalayas was home to a remarkable tradition of wooden doorways with clear Kashmiri connections. With their multiple bands (*śākhā*s), these doorways or portals also have post-Gupta

links, but their wide pilasters faced with a vertical line of shrine-images recall the great stone portals of Martand and Avantipura, as do the Kashmiri forms represented in the aedicules themselves. The key examples are at the temple of Ribba, Kinnaur (*c.* 9th century; destroyed by fire in 2006),[22] the Mirkulā Devī temple, Udaipur, Lahaul (*c.* 10th–11th centuries),[23] the monastery of Khojarnath in western Tibet (*c.* late 10th century),[24] and the Dukhang of the famous Alchi monastery in Ladakh (*c.* latter half of the 12th century).[25]

The miniature shrines on the doorways relate to those on portable panels like the one in the British museum (**Fig. 14.12**), and no doubt to aedicules on wooden doorways in Kashmir, now lost. Indeed, the basic idea of the British Museum miniature relief remains the most usual: a lobed or a stepped *toraṇa*, or a combination, fronting a one- or two-tier Valabhī

shrine (V1+t or V2+t) (**Fig. 14.23**; **Col.pl. 27**). Very small shrine-images of this kind are also seen at the centre of pillar capitals. The branching, foliated form of *toraṇa* is widespread, sometimes spewed from the jaws of a *kīrttimukha* at the apex, and often simply on its own, raised on pillars. All these architectural forms are, to various degrees, rendered schematically, with the images they frame receiving the care and attention.

The wonderful portal-façade to the *garbhagṛha* of the Mirkulā Devī stands apart for the sophistication, in both conception and execution, of its shrine-images and miniature *toraṇa*s. They occur in three zones: on the larger, outer pilasters, sheltering Gaṅgā and Yamunā at the base
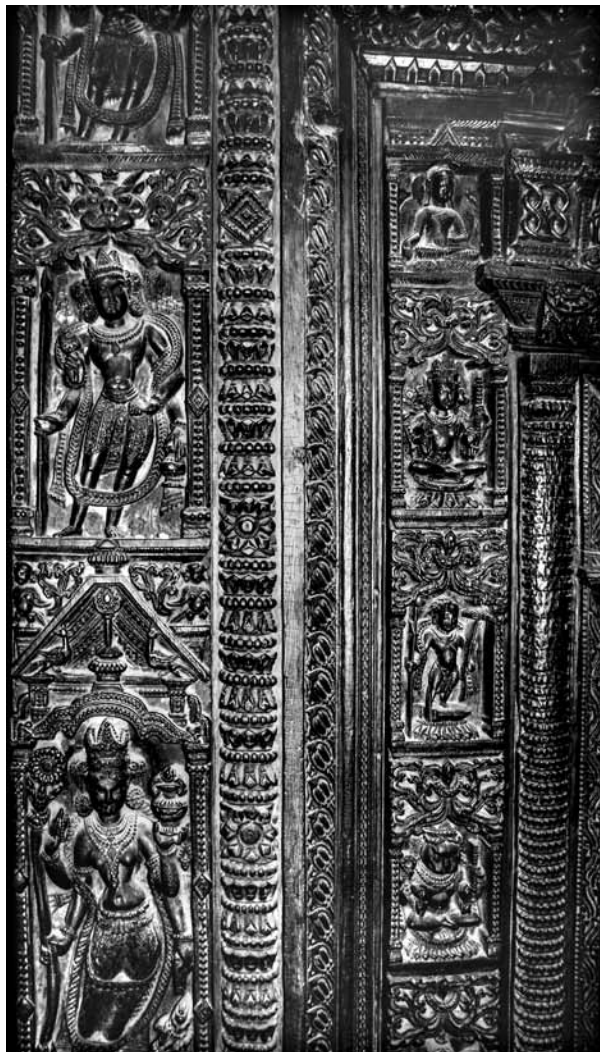

Fig. 14.17. Mirkulā Devī temple, *garbhagṛha* doorway, right. Photo: Adam Hardy.

Fig. 14.16. Mirkulā Devī temple, Udaipur, Lahaul, *c.* 10th–11th centuries, doorway to *garbhagṛha*, left. Photo: Adam Hardy.
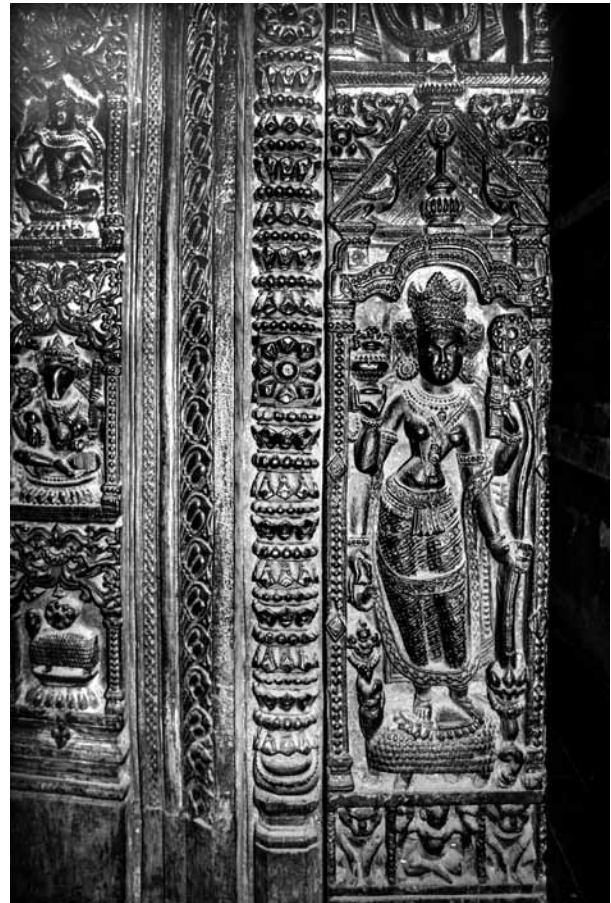
(**Fig. 14.16**, lower left; **Fig. 14.17**, right), with two male deities above (**Fig. 14.16**, upper left); on the pilasters flanking the door, housing the *daśāvatāra*s of Viṣṇu; and in two registers over the door, containing the nine planets (*navagraha*) (**Fig. 14.18**). Belonging to this set is Sūrya, carved as the *lalāṭabimba* at the centre of the lintel, with three aedicules in the row above, and five at the top. The *daśāvatāra*s on the inner pilasters and the male deities on the outer ones are under foliated *toraṇa*s. The aedicules for the slender-waisted river goddesses, along with shrines 2 (**Fig. 14.19**), 4, 6 and 8 above the door, are V1+t, the *toraṇa*s with *āmalaka*s, and with paired birds gracing the pediments who were already there at Martand. A subtle elaboration appears on the goddess-shelters: the pediment, raised on pilasters, is flanked by half trefoils, faintly echoing *caitya* hall aisles and hinting at a process of splitting. Shrines 1, 3 (**Fig. 14.20**) and 5 display the same elements at
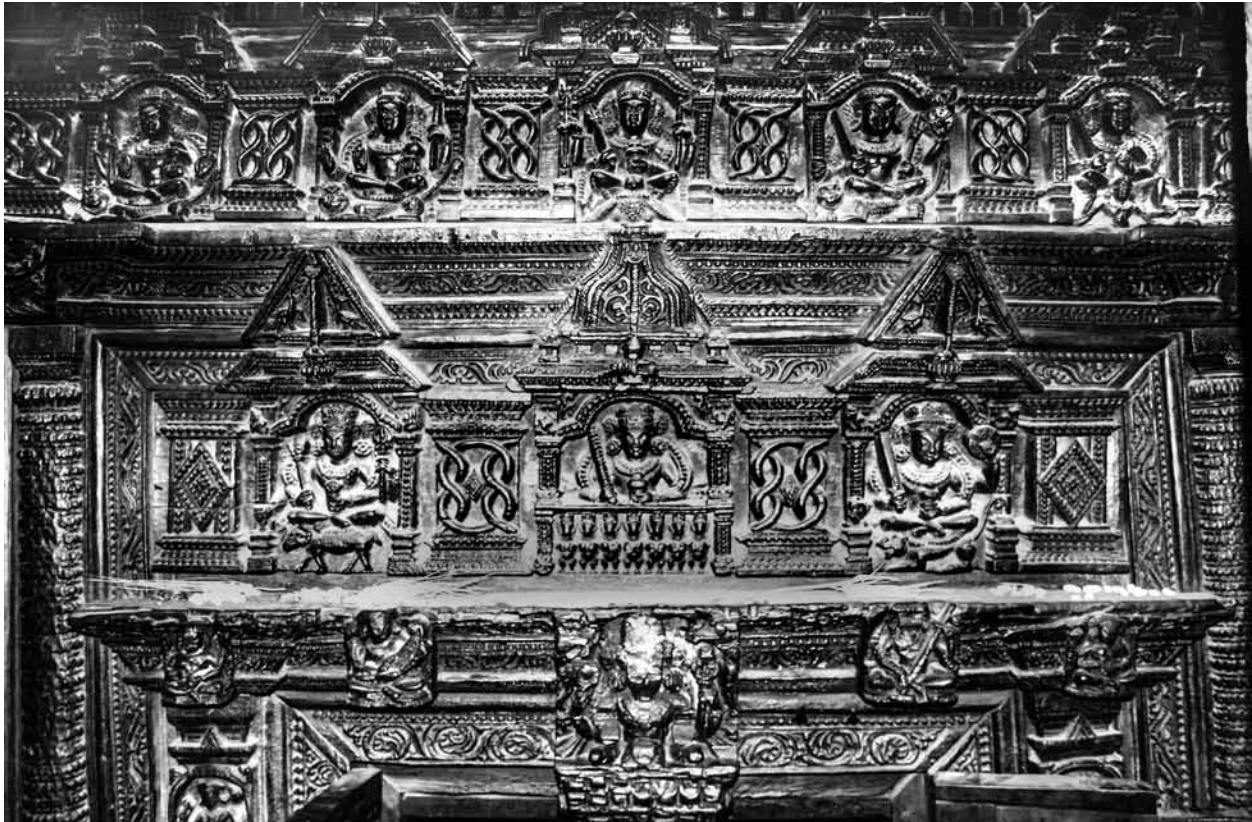
Fig. 14.18. Mirkulā Devī temple, lintel over *garbhagṛha* doorway. For reference in this chapter, the miniature shrines are numbered 1–5 in the top row, 6–8 in the row below. Photo: Adam Hardy.

the side, but instead of the pitched pediment we have an ogival one, distantly recalling Gandhāran *caitya* arches, and this is flanked at roof level by a pair of diminutive Kashmiri *kūṭa*s (P1). To put *kūṭa*s at the corners of the superstructure in this way is an archetypal idea in Indian temple architecture generally, but not seen in any actual example of the Kashmiri mode. Shrine 7 (**Fig. 14.21**), at the centre, is basically the same without the side aisles, but with a larger, triangular roof gable looming behind.

Although these miniature shrines are not scale models that could be copied for buildings, they display architectural thinking and imagination, playing the endless game of combination of types. It is possible that they freely reflect actual designs now lost, or they might, in the relatively unconstrained context of small relief carvings, be exploring ideas that could potentially be realised at full scale. In this light, we may consider the design of the Mirkulā Devī as a whole. The *garbhagṛha* faces South-east and is a little over 3 m square externally. Today, it

Fig. 14.19. Mirkulā Devī temple, *garbhagṛha* lintel, detail of miniature shrine 2. Photo: Adam Hardy.

Fig. 14.20. Mirkulā Devī temple, *garbhagṛha* lintel, detail of miniature shrine 3. Photo: Adam Hardy.

is surrounded by an ambulatory with a later outer wall, and a recent roof. The *maṇḍapa*, replete with extraordinary carving of various dates, has four central pillars creating a nine-bay plan. Its ceiling panels, depicting Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist themes and with strongly post-Gupta connections, are stylistically different from the *garbhagṛha* portal, but cannot be very distant in date. The pillars, and probably the central lotus ceiling, seem to be the result of patronage by a local ruler in the 17th century, stitching the pieces together to create the temple anew. The very first temple would have been the square sanctum on a platform, with its carved façade. There is no evidence of ornamental treatment on the other elevations. We know that

temples in the region have perennially had tiered, wooden roofs, and it is probable that in this period they closely resembled the Kashmiri Phāṃsanā. The Mirkulā Devī has no projections on the sanctum exterior, so it cannot have had Valabhī *bhadra*s, but its roof may well have displayed trefoil gables like the one re-used at Brahmaur.

Ribba, too, suggests something similar. Here the original part of the building was a cella with walls about a metre wider than at the Mirkulā Devī. The portal faced east, while the remaining three elevations contained shallow niches of carved wood, consisting of square frames set a metre above the floor with inscribed Kashmiri aedicules: Vıa (one with the apex missing).[26] The original roof had long since disappeared and, although there were no real *bhadra*s, it is again tempting to imagine a tiered, tiled or wood-slatted Phāṃsanā with large, carved Valabhī dormers.

Fig. 14.21. Mirkulā Devī temple, *garbhagṛha* lintel, detail of miniature shrine 7. Photo: Adam Hardy.

Adam Hardy

Fig. 14.22. Dukhang, Alchi monastery, Ladakh, *c.* latter half of 12th century, entrance. Photo: Adam Hardy [**Col.pl. 26**].

Whatever exterior woodwork these temples had would not have been pure 'function' simply by virtue of being wood, as the notion of a trefoil gable itself illustrates. The Ajanta Cave 17 mural (**Fig. 14.4**) already shows aedicular imagery well established in wooden gables, and there is no reason, by the time of the Mirkulā Devī, that the architectural fantasy so fertile in its doorframe should not also have emblazoned its rooftops.

As well as in the Brahmaur gable, full-scale aedicular imagery in timber can be seen at Alchi. This is not in any intact Kashmiri-style temple exterior, but in details from a late stage of the tradition that provide a glimpse of the character such a temple would have had by this time. In the entrance passage to the Dukhang ('*Du-khang*, 'Assembly Hall'), a pair of lion-brackets carry a floating gable carved with five lobes, conceptually sheltering a figure suspended behind, and

providing a skeletal Valabhī porch to the carved portal beyond (**Fig. 14.22; Col.pl. 26**). The veranda of the adjacent Sumtsek (*gSum brtsegs*) shows a similar idea in triplicate (**Fig. 14.24; Col.pl. 28**). This centralised structure, famous for its breathtaking mural paintings, was thought to belong to the 11th century, but recent scholarship points to the early 13th (Luczanits 2005). The tall, three-bay veranda is traversed by a beam running from side to side. A Buddha figure flanked by two Bodhisattvas populate the upper tier, sitting on the beam in their respective bays, each sheltered by a notional gable. Unlike the entrance gable of the Dukhang, these are made Valabhī not by carving on the gable members themselves, but by separately carved slender bars silhouetted in the triangular opening, the central one lobed and the lateral ones zigzagging.

Inside the thick walls of the Sumtsek (**Fig. 14.25; Col.pl. 29**), three more of these symbolic gables crown the tall axial recesses, sheltering the giant images of Mañjuśrī, Maitreya and

Fig. 14.23. Dukhang, Alchi monastery, detail of doorway. Photo: Christian Luczanits, courtesy of the Western Himalaya Archive Vienna [**Col.pl. 27**].

Fig. 14.24. Sumtsek, Alchi monastery, *c.* early 13th century, façade. Photo: Adam Hardy [**Col.pl. 28**].

Fig. 14.25. Sumtsek, Alchi monastery, interior. Photo: Adam Hardy [**Col.pl. 29**].

Avalokiteśvara. Their niches rise into the second of three storeys. A square central well rises above a small *chorten,* allowing light to seep in from the distant uppermost realm, while the first floor cuts across the great niches, so that the gables are barely sensed from the ground, poised aloft amid the gently glowing reds and blues of painted *maṇḍala*s. We cannot know whether or not the Sumtsek was the only structure of this kind, but it provides a fitting end to a history of Kashmiri temple typology and its aedicular permutations. The *maṇḍala* of the four-faced shrine with its *bhadra* Valabhīs turns outside-in, and the Bodhisattvas gaze inwards from under cusped gables towards the still centre.

CONCLUSION

In the context of Indian temple architecture, the medieval temples of Kashmir stand apart in their distinctive form, and the westerly influences infusing the architectural language. Yet their aedicular basis, and the typological thinking underling their variations, reveal deep-rooted connections with the other classical traditions of temple architecture in India. This exploration has brought out other observations of pan-Indian significance. Prescriptions for temple designs in the architectural chapters of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*

Purāṇa appear to be the earliest to allow such close correlation with built structures, and they are concerned largely with the Kashmiri form of temple. This text, more than the monuments themselves, reveals the Kashmiri tradition pioneering the ideal of multi-shrine, centralised temple complexes. Finally, this tradition teaches us not to assume a simplistic progression from 'functional' timber to 'symbolic' stone, but to see that builders in wood and in stone worked in dialogue to satisfy needs and feed imagination.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

1. For example, see Hardy 2007: Chapter 1, 10–17.
2. See Hardy 2012 for a proposed distinction between 'language' (kit of parts), 'mode' (general shape and way of combining the parts), and 'type' (specific composition).
3. Fergusson (1910, II: 261) argues that the roof of the Mārtaṇḍa temple would have been of wood.
4. Krishna Deva 1988. The full range of examples is dealt with there, so I give no further references when citing examples. Krishna Deva includes no plan of the Avantisvāmī, for which see Huntington (1985: 365), and Percy Brown's reconstruction (1976: pl. CXXXVIII).
5. The name is given to different forms in different texts, not all open on four sides: see, for example, Hardy 2015: 96, 102–05, and 177–80, for three different versions from the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*.

6. That these are all entrances as much as little buildings does not preclude them from being aedicules: the boundary between the two is fluid (as in the Pantheon), and even *toraṇa*s, gateways by definition, perform the function of aedicules (at a secondary level, as niches in the wall) in many strands of Indian temple architecture. See Brancaccio 2006 for a survey of Gandhāran archways as entrances.
7. In southern India the domed superstructure of the latter came to be interpreted as a crowning pavilion (*kūṭa*).
8. The linked shrines forming a cloister at the now ruined *stūpa* court of the Takht-i-Bahi monastery (*c.* 2nd century) are recognisably of two kinds: their chambers crowned alternately by domed *kūṭa*s and apsidal pavilions with the external form of a *caitya*

hall, as illustrated already in Fergusson 1910: 258, fig. 144.

9. E.g. the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, Bhubaneswar (7th century), is one of the earliest of many examples in Odisha.

10. In the upper *jagatī* at Martand are what appear to be trapezoidal pediments, but they are restored and may have been the lower part of P2.

11. A similar panel from the Kanoria collection, India, is published in Siudmak 2007: 57, fig. 41.

12. Fergusson (1910: 261, fig. 147) published a drawing from a sketch by Cunningham of the 'Central Cell of the Court at Martand', showing an unencumbered pyramidal roof, with no Valabhī other than the pedimented doorway within. Did this exist, or is it conjecturally completed?

13. See Krishna Deva 1988 for illustrations of the examples named in this section.

14. Not illustrated in Krishna Deva (1988), but see image no. 115.13A in the online archive of the American Institute of Indian Studies: http://dsal.uchicago.edu/images/aiis.

15. http://www.shehjar.com/list/141/1670/1.html, accessed on 28/07/2017.

16. Meister 2010: figs. 124–30. Michael Meister discussed this use of 'quotation' in a paper presented at the symposium of the European Association of South Asian Archaeology and Art, Stockholm, 2014.

17. The Vardhamāna and Sarvatobhadra types in Chapter 56 of the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* are

'placed in' various other compositions; Hardy 2015: 88, 99–126.

18. See Shah 2002: 198–214, Khaṇḍa III, Ch. 86, on temples. The passage is quoted verbatim, with minor errors, like missing capitalisation, rectified.

19. For the Gupta examples see Greaves 2014. Martand (where they were built in two phases), the Viṣṇu temple, Buniyar, the Deṭhā-mandir, Bandi, and the Sugandheśa at Patan have two-stage platforms.

20. Kramrisch (1946: 418) has a sketch plan of the Sarvatobhadra. To me it is unconvincing, not laying out the subsidiary shrines, with narrow flights of steps, and with no outer enclosure.

21. "This trefoil pediment must have been brought from a separate ninth-century timber temple built under the patronage of Kashmiri rulers, who wielded considerable political and cultural influence over this region" (Deva 1991: 100).

22. See Klimburg-Salter (2002) and Luczanits (1996). Klimburg-Salter (2002: 21) tentatively suggests a 9th-century date, concluding that it was "built after the advent of Kashmiri influence in Himachal Pradesh, which probably occurred after ca. the mid 8th century, and prior to the advent of the patronage of the Western Tibetan kings in the late 10th century".

23. See Widorn (2007), Chandra (2013).

24. See Luczanits (1996), Neumann & Neumann (2008).

25. See Khosla (1979), Luczanits (2005).

26. Klimburg-Salter 2002: see sketches by Michael Falser, figs. 4 (p. 12) and 7 (p. 17).

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Col.pl. 26. Dukhang, entrance, *c.* 11th–12th centuries, Alchi monastery, Ladakh. Photo: Adam Hardy [**14.22**].

Col.pl. 27. Dukhang, detail of doorway, Alchi monastery, Ladakh. Photo: Christian Luczanits, courtesy of the Western Himalaya Archive Vienna [**Fig. 14.23**].

Col.pl. 28. Sumtsek, façade, *c.* 11th or early 13th cent., Alchi monastery, Ladakh. Photo: Adam Hardy [**Fig. 14.24**].

Col.pl. 29. Sumtsek, interior, Alchi monastery, Ladakh. Photo: Adam Hardy [**Fig. 14.25**].

Col.pl. 30. Exterior of the main temple showing decorative painted and carved wood elements, Kangwu, Muli Tibetan Autonomous County of Sichuan Province, China, consecrated in 2008. Photo: C.L. Reedy [**Fig. 23.2**].