Michael W. Meister

Temples of the Indus

Studies in the Hindu Architecture of Ancient Pakistan

BRILL

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Brill's Indological Library

Edited by

Johannes Bronkhorst

In co-operation with

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VOLUME 35

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LEIDEN • BOSTON
2010

Cover Illustration: Amb, Punjab, Temple A, northwest. Photo by author.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Meister, Michael W.
Temples of the Indus : studies in the Hindu architecture of ancient Pakistan / by Michael W. Meister.
p. cm. — (Brill's Indological library ; v. 35)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-90-04-18617-0 (hardback : alk. paper) 1. Hindu architecture—Pakistan—Salt Range Region. 2. Hindu architecture—Indus River Valley. 3. Hindu temples—Pakistan—Salt Range Region. 4. Hindu temples—Indus River Valley. I. Title. II. Title: Studies in the Hindu architecture of ancient Pakistan. III. Series.

NA6010.72.S25M45 2010
726'.1450934—dc22

2010018109

ISSN 0925-2916
ISBN 978 9004 18617 0

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To the Universities of Pennsylvania and Peshawar, the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, Professors Abdur Rehman and Farid Khan and the Pakistan Heritage Society, the American Institute of Pakistan Studies, Islamabad, to all participants in the integrated Śāhi temple project; to draftspersons, surveyors, and excavators who contributed their skills; F. Masih, representative of the Department of Archaeology and Museums; Alka Patel, who proffered her camera and a long lens at an important site; to Dr. Elizabeth Stone and two annonymous readers for helpful suggestions about revision; and to Kamal Khan Mumtaz, whose project with young architects and seminar for the Anjuman Mimaran in 1989 was an important inspiration, I offer my thanks.

Michael W. Meister
Philadelphia
01 January 2010

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

All figures are by the author unless otherwise credited.

CHAPTER ONE

SALT RANGE AND INDUS TEMPLES

Early medieval temples in the Khisor range of hills along the west bank of the Indus River in the North-West Frontier Province and those on the escarpments and plateau of the Salt Range, between the Indus and Jhelum rivers on the southern edge of the Pothohar tableland in the western Punjab, were visited by Alexander Cunningham in the mid second half of the nineteenth century and again by Aurel Stein at the beginning of the twentieth century; many were placed on a Government List of Protected Monuments in 1904 (ASN[H]PR 1918: Appendix F); and intermittent visits by officers of the Archaeological Survey, Northern (Hindu and Buddhist) and Frontier Circles, occurred through the nineteen twenties. Daya Ram Sahni ibid.: 5, for example, reported on his first visit to temples at Amb that "useful repairs have already been carried out by the Public Works Department…though it must be confessed the work has lacked skilled supervision."

Early Field Reports

Cunningham 1875: 82–85 during his first field tour to the region reported "a number of old Hindu temples in the Salt Range, which all belong to the Kashmirian style of architecture, with its fluted pillars and peculiar trefoil arches"; these he associated with the "last dynasty of the Hindu kings of Gandhāra." Referring specifically to temples at the sites of Amb, Malot, and Katās, he drew the conclusion that these "temples of the Salt Range may be assigned with much probability to the latter half of the 9th century," in part on the basis of their use of "spiral twisted pillars" not found on most of the temples under discussion. Six years later, at his first opportunity to visit the fort of northern Kāfirkoṭ, above the west bank of the Indus south of its intersection with the Kurram River, Cunningham 1882: 27 in part revised his earlier opinion. Noting that no trefoil arches were found there, he related the architecture of these temples to a period "which succeeded the semi-Greek architecture of the Indo-Sythians."

When he visited Kāfirkoṭ in 1903, Stein 1905: 10–17 was able to map and carry out an extended survey, discovering a further temple at the foot of the fort "at the point where the narrow boulder-filled ravine which skirts the north-west face of the site debouches into the bed of the Indus." He observed that the location of this fortress guarded important trade routes from the Indus and the Punjab up the Kurram Valley to Bannu and south along the Indus to Sind. "These little temples," he wrote, possess "distinct architectural interest as representing a type which meets us in the temples of several ancient sites of the Salt Range, but there with additions characteristic of Kashmirian style which are conspicuously absent at Kafirkot." Of his newly located temple, Kañjarī Koṭhī, however, he added that the "appearance of a rudimentary trefoil arch evolved out of the 'beehive' ornament [the *jāla* web of a Nāgara tower] may be an indication of Kashmirian influence which in the Salt Range tracts on the opposite side of the Indus seems to have obtained a hold since the seventh century." Stein would change his mind at a later point, but had been studying Cunningham's Reports.

In an imprecise repetition of the conflation of Salt Range temples with those of Kashmir Cunningham began, David Ross 1883: 153, in *The Land of Five Rivers and Sindh*, commented on the pilgrimage site of Katās: "The architecture is the same as in Kashmir, beautiful fluted pillars, trefoil arches, dentils, and pointed roofs." This is much closer to an appropriate description of Malot than of temple remains at Katās, Kāfirkoṭ, and Bilot. In *The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*, James Burgess 1897: 28 chose to illustrate, of all the temples in the Salt Range, only the one at Malot. He remarked that the "pyramidal sikhara or spire has long ago disappeared," but made no mention of the curvilinear North Indian Nāgara shrine models that decorate the Malot temple's walls, although he gave good illustrations of them in his plates. He followed his illustrations of Malot with a set of Kashmir temples, then of an atypical sixth-century temple at Gop in Saurashtra that has a pyramidal roof, of which he felt the need to remark "the roof of the sikhara looks not unlike that of a Kashmiri temple" (for an analysis of the temple at Gop, see Meister/Dhaky/Deva 1988: 177–179).

Part of the problem early in the twentieth century was that few officers had experience of all the monuments, and of the few they had visited, it was often many years before they returned. Cunningham 1882: 34 wrote of Amb: "The temples are all of the Kashmiri style, but they

are almost certainly of late date [ca. 800–950], as all the arches have cinquefoil instead of trefoil heads, which is the only form in Kashmir." Sahni ASN(H)PR 1918: 5, when reporting on conservation of temples at Amb, still followed Cunningham's analysis: "Like the temple at Malot, these temples are constructed in a semi-Kashmiri style with cinquefoil arches instead of trefoil ones as is the case in the temples of Kashmir." He then observed, however, that the "spires of the temple are in the usual North Indian style."

If Cunningham in 1872–3 took the presence of a trefoil arch to be the marker of 'Kashmiri style' in Salt Range temples, when he was able to visit Kāfirkoṭ in 1878–9 he 1882: 27 noted the trefoil's absence, finding the temples within the fort "interesting as examples of the ruder or later style, which succeeded the semi-Greek architecture of the Indo-Sythians." Stein 1905: 14, while echoing some of Cunningham's views when he visited Kāfirkoṭ a quarter century later, felt that trefoil arches could have evolved from previous Buddhist *caitya*-hall architecture or from a temple's 'beehive' ornament; and noted that the "sloping sides" of the niches on Temples A and B "are not unknown to Gandhara architecture." Mortimer Wheeler 1950: 57–58 cited Stein's field notes on Bilot temples, where Stein observed a "*śikhara* shape [covered with] an intricate diaper of carvings in which a floreate 'horseshoe' or 'beehive' ['our *chaitya*'] ornament varied by large *amalakas* plays the chief part," observations that echo his comments on the Kañjarī Koṭhī at Kāfirkoṭ. Of Temple C, he also noted "rich mouldings of unmistakably Gandhāra origin."

Burgess 1897, instead of focusing on the trefoil arch, shifted attention toward Kashmir's characteristic pyramidal roof, which in the Salt Range is found possibly only at Malot and a neighboring ruined temple at Shiv Gangā. In his revised edition of James Fergusson's 1910: I.270 monumental nineteenth-century *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, however, Burgess cautioned "We now know sufficiently the forms and age of the Gandhāra monasteries to supply most of the missing links connecting the Kashmīri style with that of the outer world; but till the temples in the Salt Range, and other little-frequented parts of the Panjāb are examined, we shall not know all that we desire."

Through the first half of the twentieth century, many distractions took away from completion of such a task. Stein came closest, as he marched through Swāt into Central Asia to western China. In *Serindia* 1921: I.21–23 he consolidated his earlier impressions of temples in the

Salt Range by comparison with the ruin of a temple in a hamlet called Gumbat, near Kuz-Sarai in the Tālāsh Valley, that he visited first in 1897: "I was still able in 1897 to distinguish remains of elaborate decorative friezes carved with diapers of the 'beehive', and Amalaka ornaments reminiscent of the ruined Hindu shrines of Ketās, Malōt, Amb, &c., in the Salt Range." The temple's siting he compared to that of the Sāt-Garha pilgrimage complex at Katās, and remains of a trefoil-arched porch, inner stairway, and upper chamber to Temples B and C at Bilot. Stein then leapt to a significant intuitive conclusion that "destruction here of all architectural ornament has deprived us of the chance of proving in detail that the decorative motifs observed in the Salt Range and by the Indus were mainly derived from the later development of Graeco-Buddhist art in Gandhāra." His argument continued:

> But the survival in the Gumbat porch of remains of the trefoil arch furnishes by itself a very characteristic indication. This architectural feature was long considered peculiar to the style of the old Kashmir temples, where it first attracted attention. But its presence is obvious in the far older remains of Gandhāra Vihāras and their sculptural representations, and M. Foucher [1905], in his masterly analysis of architectural art in Gandhāra, has proved that its true origin must be looked for there. It is the prevalence of the trefoil arch in the Salt Range temples and those of Kāfirkoṭ, which mainly accounts for the theory expressed by General Cunningham that their style was directly developed under Kashmīr influence. The critical analysis of the historical records of the Kashmīr kingdom has proved that its political power, which was supposed to account for this influence, was at all times restricted to a far more modest area than earlier writers assumed. It is only the rarity of architectural remains of later date in Gandhāra, which has hitherto obscured the fact that the characteristics of the Salt Range temples of the centuries preceding the Muhammadan conquest can be traced to the direct development of that Graeco-Buddhist style.… Hence the special significance of the Gumbat ruin: it furnishes an example of this later development on ground which in art and culture was most closely bound up with Gandhāra. There are no means of fixing the date with any approach to exactness. But taking into account what is known of architecturally related remains elsewhere, I am inclined to take the seventh and ninth centuries as the approximate limits.

Abdur Rehman 1979: 266–281 has also documented a number of inscriptions and other fragmentary evidence for Śāhi-period architecture in the Peshawar Valley and Swāt. A well-known inscription from Udabhāṇḍa (Hund) records the building of a *devakula* for Kāmeśvarīdevī, consecrated between 168 and 169 of an unspecified

era, which Sahni 1933–34: 98 assigned to the Harsha era, "equivalent to 774 and 775 A.D." while Rehman 1979: 247–248 dated this instead to "A.D. 1002"; he assigned a related inscription "to the same temple complex to which Mahārājñī Śrī Kāmeśvarīdevī added a *devakula*, probably a small temple building." Rehman 1993 has more recently found an inscription to date the Śāhi Era twenty-two years earlier than he had before, which would place the building of Kāmeśvarīdevī's *devakula* in ca. 980. An Italian team headed by Pierfrancesco Callieri 2005 has begun to excavate a grand "sacred building" on the citadel at Barikot that his team identifies as remains of a Hindu-Śāhi temple in Swāt. Interesting fragments of marble images and stucco ornament have also been found (Filagenzi 2005). A. H. Dani 1988: 94 has observed correctly, however, that "the archaeology of the Hindu Shahis still remains [largely] unrecognized and undefined."

Stein was very sensitive to the particularities of construction of early temples in the northwest: masonry of small 'tufa' (*kañjūr*) blocks held together with mortar; walls once surfaced with plaster; interior domes set above an octagon formed by corner squinches, with horizontal corbelled construction simulating curved voissoirs; in some cases wooden beans crossing the corners. Wheeler 1950: 58, commenting on Stein's and Hargreaves' descriptions of these sanctum ceilings, came to the conclusion that "incipient use of voussoir-construction, combined with the employment of mortar throughout the masonry, may be interpreted either as evidence for an (early) post-Islamic date, *i.e.* a date not earlier than the beginning of the eleventh century, or, as seems more likely, a pre-Islamic infiltration of Iranian methods through the adjacent passes from the Iranian plateau." Stein 1921: 1.535, in describing a monument with a "dome constructed of corbelled (horizontal) courses of bricks," had remarked "use of the squinch…as a 'means of setting the dome upon a square base' is abundantly attested, in Syria, Asia Minor and other parts of the Near East from the fourth century A.D. onwards" and ultimately of Iranian origin.

More Recent References

Little active fieldwork was done in the northwest between the two world wars. Stein, however, was funded by Harvard and the British Museum to carry out *Archaeological Reconnaissances in North-western India and South-eastern Iran* from 1931–33, allowing him to revisit

Katās and Malot in the Salt Range, which he had visited first in 1889, and to survey damaged structures at Nandana. At Katās, he was newly struck that the "decorative scheme" of the large terrace-basement on which the major temple group was placed was "reminiscent of that common at the bases of Buddhist *stūpas* in Gandhāra and Swāt." Of the temples themselves, however, he 1937: 1.49 retreated: "As already correctly pointed out by Cunningham," he wrote, "the general style of these temples in their constructive features and such decorative details as are still recognizable shows close similarity to that of the temples of Kashmīr dating from the eighth to the tenth century." This same confusion colored most secondary references to the Salt Range and Indus temples through the twentieth century.

In his comprehensive *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, for example, Ananda Coomaraswamy 1927: 108 & 143, without actual experience of the monuments, is both brief and ambiguous in his references to temples in the northwest. In a preliminary discussion of North Indian Nāgara architecture, he grouped together structures at Kālar, Malot, Amb, and Kāfirkoṭ as examples of "brick towers" (only Kālar is brick; Malot is built of red sandstone; Amb and Kāfirkoṭ, of *kañjūr*, a porous form of sedimentary stone). In a section devoted to art in Kashmir, he remarked "In India proper the typical Kāśmīrī roof is found only at Gop in Kāṭhiāwād; the trefoil arch as an integral architectural form only in parts of the Pañjāb which were subject to Kaśmīr in the eighth and ninth centuries, particularly at Malot and Kāfir Koṭ." His sole illustration—Plate XCI "Medieval (Kaśmīr and Pañjāb)"—paired Malot with the temple at Pandrethan, dating Malot eighth and Pandrethan tenth century, reversing dates we might assign today.

Later comprehensive surveys of Indian art and architecture by Percy Brown 1942 and James Harle 1986 placed their brief references to Salt Range and Indus temples in chapters devoted to the Kashmiri tradition, as did M. Taddei 1970: 199. Benjamin Rowland's 1953 Pelican History of Art survey made no mention of temples in Pakistan. Brown 1959: 161 ended his chapter on Kashmir's temples with two paragraphs introducing "a concluding manifestation of this type of architecture…illustrated by a series of temples outside the present borders of Kashmir and occupying various sites in the Northern Punjab and the North West Frontier; they may accordingly be referred to as a provincial offshoot of the Kashmiri style." Yet he also qualified his conclusion, remarking that this "architecture links up the style of Gandhara

with that of Kashmir." He grouped temples at Amb, Katās, Nandana, and Malot in the Punjab into one category "more nearly related to the Kashmiri style." Of the temples at Bilot, he wrote "Kashmir attribution may appear in the cusped or cinquefoil arches . . . but the direct influence, if any, . . . is remote." The details of their exterior ornamentation, he remarked, "denote a closer association with the Gupta style than that of Kashmir." Harle 1986: 197–198, following Brown, also placed his description of the Salt Range temples in a chapter on Kashmir, but noted that "another group in Dera Ismail Khān . . . forms an extension of post-Gupta Madhyadeśa."

Modern rethinking of these monuments in part began with a brief article by J. E. van Lohuizen-De Leeuw 1959: 61–69 identifying fragments of an "Ancient Hindu Temple in Eastern Afghanistan." In comparing the temple at Malot to those at other sites in the Salt Range and along the Indus, she remarked "Malot does indeed display this [Kashmiri] influence [but] the most important difference [compared to other sites] is the roof, which instead of showing the pyramidal form of Kaśmīr, displays the more or less conical śikhara common to . . . North India. . . . We would propose to single out the temple at Malot . . . as a rare example of a really strong influence of Kaśmir on the Salt Range." On "the particular case of the trefoil and cinquefoil arch," she went on to comment, "there is no cogent reason to assume Kāśmīrian influence, the less so as the cinquefoil arch and niche . . . are extremely rare in Kāśmīr." Brown 1965: 161 had also written of Malot: "Although its style is obviously influenced by that of Kashmir, there is an originality in the architectural treatment of this temple which betokens the presence in the locality, at the time, of a group of workmen of a superior order."

F. A. Khan 1969 and Abdur Rehman 1979 have contributed to a new interest in these temples in Pakistan. In 1989, the Anjuman Mimaran, Lahore Conservation Society, and the Lahore Chapter of the Institute of Architects Pakistan organized field tours and a seminar and exhibition to promote understanding of this part of Pakistan's heritage. In his introduction to the seminar proceedings, architect Kamil Khan Mumtaz (1989: 2–3) wrote:

> Practically all the authorities classify the Salt Range and Kafirkot temples with the *Kashmir* style of architecture. . . . Moreover, most authorities seem to agree that while the classical Hindu temple employed dressed stone masonry it did not use cementing mortar or the arcuated forms of structures . . . generally attributed to the Muslim builders from the

> Sultanate period onwards.... Yet here amidst the ruins of a great fortified city stood the majestic forms of some half dozen shikharas of the north-Indan variety in full bloom.... *The* implications of our *findings* were staggering. The structures were either not as old as had been claimed, or a new chapter had to be added to the story of the development of Hindu temple architecture in the sub-continent.

The Salt-Range Temple Project

I first saw published photographs of temples near Dera Ishmail Khan in the late 1970s that seemed to me to provide early links in the development of the *latina* Nāgara temple—the preeminent accomplishment of Indic architecture—and a type hitherto unknown to me and not available elsewhere. With a project development grant from the Smithsonian Institution I was able to visit Lahore and Karachi in the summer of 1980 to discuss these isolated monuments and the possibility of a future project with the then Director, Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, Muhammad Ishtiaq Khan.

For the next decade, however, my time was spent on another extended project, the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, initiated by the American Academy of Benares and carried through by the Center for Art and Archaeology of the American Institute of Indian Studies. This continuing project, inspired and guided by M. A. Dhaky, drew on extensive new scholarship and younger scholars who were remapping understanding of India's temple traditions (Chandra 1975). One of Dhaky's chief goals in undertaking this responsibility was to develop an accurate vocabulary from texts and observation of built temples to describe the temple architecture of South Asia. In the preface to the first volumes published (Meister [ed.] 1983: v), I wrote "This project has taken many years to reach the form in which it is now presented. Intended to help consolidate a generation of research, this Encyclopaedia particularly attempts to codify an appropriate technical terminology for Indian temple architecture, and to illustrate that terminology by chapters which survey the remains of temple architecture...within a geographic and historical framework."

I cautioned, however, "Terminology may initially overwhelm the reader; and I hope no generation of scholars will slavishly imitate the terminology; but the terms work, and through understanding the terms, their meaning and the categories they establish, the student can approach the temples he studies with a more precise perception....

Consistent use of an authentic terminology can become a means to understand the logic of the temple itself." I have minimized use of this terminology in this study, meant for different audiences, but have provided a glossary of terms and refer all readers to the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture* for its wide coverage of comparanda.

In 1991 I was encouraged to return to work in Pakistan by Professor Farzand Durani, then Dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Peshawar. At his invitation, and with support from the Penn/Peshawar exchange program of the Middle East Center, University of Pennsylvania, I surveyed Salt Range sites for the first time in December 1993 in the company of Professor Abdur Rehman, Chairman of the Department of Archaeology, Peshawar University, a scholar of deep integrity and accomplishment whose doctoral dissertation in Australia, revised and published as *The Last Two Dynasties of the Śāhis* (Rehman 1979), had refocused our knowledge of the Hindu Śāhi (Uḍi Śāhi) dynasty in Pakistan and the temples associated with it. Knowing of the ongoing scholarship engaged with the *Encyclopaedia* project, Rehman encouraged me to take on the responsibility to reintegrate early temples in Pakistan into that new ground of knowledge. He suggested that we make this an ongoing project with an archaeological component, not simply an art-historical overview. I returned the next year to survey further sites and to discuss formulating a joint project with the Pakistan Heritage Society founded by Professors Rehman and Farid Khan. A license for an "integrated study of Hindu-Śāhi sites" was issued by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, to the Pakistan Heritage Society in 1996.

Support from the American Institute of Pakistan Studies and the University of Pennsylvania's Research Foundation and South Asia Regional Studies Department made two seasons of excavation at north Kāfirkoṭ and further fieldwork in the Salt Range possible between 1996 and 1998. In April 2001, I was also Scholar-in-Residence at the Overseas Research Centre, American Institute of Pakistan Studies, Islamabad. Since 1997 we have presented papers on the Project's progress at biennial conferences of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists (Meister 2000; ibid. 2008; Meister/Rehman 2005) and published other work-in-progress reports (Meister 1996; 1997; 2005; 2006; Rehman 1996) that form a foundation for this volume. Two students have completed related doctoral dissertations at the University of Peshawar in this period (Masih 2000; Shah 2007). Further archaeology, however, awaits a more constant world.

Compiling this volume has been my responsibility and represents my current conclusions as a South Asianist and art historian. Professor Rehman, chief supervising archaeologist for the project, has shared field notes and data generously, but is not responsible for my failings or limitations. A final archaeological field report on excavations at north Kāfirkoṭ remains his task. Professor Farid Khan supervised the excavation of Temple E at Kāfirkoṭ and has inspired, facilitated, and entertained the team throughout. Their collaboration has truly been an integrated effort. I am pleased to help bring these temples back into a full discussion of South Asia's remarkable architectural legacies.

CHAPTER TWO

SITES, HISTORY, AND COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY

Centered in the Peshawar Valley and on the Pothohar Plateau, ancient Gandhāra was at times ruled from Peshawar, Charsadda, Taxila, Kabul under the Turk Śāhis, and in the ninth and tenth centuries by Hindu (Uḍi) Śāhis from Udabhāṇḍapura (Hund). The Chinese pilgrim, Xuanzang 1906, visiting Gandhāra in the seventh century, noted, along with many Buddhist sites then in decline, hundreds of Hindu structures for which little evidence now remains (Rehman 1984).

Shoshin Kuwayama 1999: 36–37 & 52–54 has identified a "kingdom, inaugurated by Khingal [that] existed in the Kābul valleys with capitals at Begram in the summer and Hund in the winter. It came into existence in parallel with the political weakening of the Hephthalites toward the middle of the sixth century and lasted until the rise of the Turks in Kābul in the middle of the seventh century." In his opinion "Turkish rulers of Kābul replaced the Khingal dynasty in the third quarter of the seventh century." Kuwayama's rethinking of the history of Kapiśī (Kabul) in this period is particularly useful for understanding the historical frame with which fortresses and temples along the Indus must eventually be correlated. Most striking, in his interpretation, is a shift in trade routes:

> Particularly important for the history of the Northwest was the policy of the West Turks never to cross the Hindukush in order to occupy Gandhāra and beyond. Therefore, after the decline of the Hephthalites, a political vacuum to the west of the Indus thus fell into the hands of a local dynasty…inaugurated in Kāpiśī by a ruler called Khingal.… This new political map drawn from the middle of the sixth century onward is also closely related with a drastic change in the trade routes connecting the north with the south through the Hindukush.… This change was really an epoch-making event by virtue of its atrophying effect on Gandhāra and its promotion of Bāmiyān and Kāpiśī as trade centres stimulating their sudden prosperity in and at the south foot of the Hindukush respectively.

Kuwayama ibid. 59 found evidence from the site of Kair Khana to reconstruct "a conflict between the two different religions" between ca. 606–629—before Xuanzang's visit—involving worship of a local divinity Zhuna (Zur in Muslim sources) versus "a new intruder group

worshipping Sūrya [the Sun god] as the one and only deity." He argues that the Kinghal dynasty extended its reach to the west bank of the Indus by the seventh century—to Hund, which became its winter capital, but also to Bannu and possibly even Dera Ismail Khan—a region with a large Brahmanical population alongside Buddhists. Kuwayama 1977 & 1999: 66–68 has also studied a number of marble sculptures of Brahmanical affiliation found from south of the Hindukush, which he has tended to date to the seventh and eighth centuries.

Nāgara Architecture in the Northwest

Nāgara architecture, with its typifying curvilinear tower, evolved in middle India in the fifth to early seventh centuries. It had other formal modes—barrel vaulted in some instances or layered pyramidal in others—which do not appear in Pakistan, but its architects had developed a *latina* morphology for the Nāgara temple by the mid-sixth century that made it immediately distinctive. Sites in the Salt Range and along the Indus preserve a sequence of temples with curvilinear towers with vertical banding that defines the evolution of a distinctive regional school of Nāgara architecture.

Turk Śāhis ruling from Kabul and Hund in the seventh–eighth centuries continued to proclaim themselves Buddhist, yet during their rule, and perhaps with their patronage, a regional school of temple architecture, built on a greater Gandhāran foundation, evolved to give local expression to a new Nāgara vocabulary that had developed in Gangetic India to house Hindu, Jain, and occasionally Buddhist images for worship (Meister 1986). Using the technology of a greater Gandhāran construction—with ashlar-faced, sometimes rubble-filled walls, mortar, and simple interior domes and squinches—these temples interpret the *latina* Nāgara morphology of Hindu middle India in local and original ways.

In the period of the succeeding Hindu Śāhi rulers of Hund from the ninth to eleventh centuries, this regional variety of Nāgara architecture developed distinct formulations, with doubled chambers buried on the vertical axis within a single *latina* tower and with an upper ambulatory path accessible by means of a narrow stairway in one wall of the ground storey. Sometimes called '*mināras*' today, these larger temples did stand like fortification towers along the ridges of the Salt Range and along the upper Indus River (fig. 112).

While little of this may now survive in Gandhāra proper, sources of certain features of construction and ornament—as both Cunningham and Stein have observed before me—can be traced to that greater region. On the model set by M. A. Dhaky in the ongoing *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, where regional rather than dynastic groupings have been used to distinguish schools, I 1998 had proposed that we designate the regional school of temples on the Indus and in the Salt Range that experiment with varieties of the *latina* tower in this period 'Gandhāra Nāgara' (greater Gandhāra to be more precise).

Sites with temples from this period are often associated with earlier occupation. Fortifications at Kāfirkoṭ, Bilot, and Amb show phases of construction that may go back to the later Kuṣāṇa period, with fort walls in a variety of masonry styles. Turk-Śāhi and Uḍi-Śāhi temples we surveyed were analyzed on the basis of their evolving morphology in comparison with the well developed chronology for Nāgara temples from other parts of the subcontinent. Mouldings, ground plans, pilaster types, frieze ornamentation, composition of superstructure, and other elements observed and compared within this group can provide a working sequence and provisional chronology.

Monasteries and *stūpas* south of Kabul (Lézine 1964), as well as those in Gandhāra, can offer two distant points of reference for sub-structural elements of these Nāgara experiments. These include plinth-and-torus underpinnings of local moulding typologies, presence of arcuate construction, and "pilasters of a Hellenistic appearance" and other "Hellenistic details," as Lohuizen-De Leuw 1959: 54–55 described temples at Kāfirkoṭ, that "may well go back to local traditions handed down from late Buddhist times." Kuwayama 1999: 66, who observed monastic "rooms roofed with domes supported by a squinch arch at each of the four corners" in Kapiśī monastic complexes, linked construction of these Kabul *stūpas* to the rise and fall of the Kabul kingdom and concluded "probably, before the middle of the seventh century they could not have existed."

Dating of the *stūpa* at Guldāra southeast of Kabul (Lézine 1964; Fussman/Le Berre 1976), where Kuṣāṇa coins had once been found, has remained somewhat problematic. Summarizing evidence, Bivar 1978: 178 remarked "there are indications which would support a later dating, and it is these which weigh most strongly with the excavators. (1) Certain monastery rooms were roofed with domes on concentric squinches.… For the present reviewer, these arguments for late date are pressed too far." His description is helpful: "the monument was

faced in exquisite diaper masonry, incorporating engaged pilasters on three levels, those of the upper drum supporting an entablature of trapezoidal gables alternating with ogival arches. This stonework was originally cased in plaster." He pointed out that some rooms in the monastery had barrel vaults.

I am most struck by the combination of a round 'brick-like' arch within a pointed ogee-arch 'roof' used to frame the central recesses of the Guldāra *stūpa's* ground-storey walls (fig. 147), framed by 'Corinthian' pilasters blocked as a foundation for plaster decoration. Two other *stūpas* preserved in the Kabul region (Lézine 1964: figs. 8, 51–52) retain large trefoil chambers on the axial front of the *stūpa's* dome to suggest or frame an image (fig. 148).

If I emphasize the coherence of Nāgara architecture's introduction in the seventh century and its regional evolution in the northwest, these Kapiśī *stūpas* can help emphasize the multiplicities and vast canvas of Buddhist architectural forms that could continue to act as a foil. In my view, it is possible—from Taxila, Guldāra, Kāfirkoṭ, Bilot, Māri, and other examples—to illustrate a sequence of round, ogee, and trefoil arches, for example, that is locally based (fig. 149), without requiring the referencing of other regions.

Pre- and Proto-Nāgara Sites

Mūrti

Stein 1937: 1.57 concluded that the "built-up mound on the Mūrti hillock which, judging by its size and position, can represent only a much decayed *stūpa*, and the ruined shrine by its side correspond exactly to the 'tope and Deva temple' mentioned by Hsüan-tsang in close proximity to each other." From the remains of this red sandstone temple, Stein ibid.: figs. 17–21 recovered many architectural pieces, which now are in the Lahore and Chandigarh museums.

This temple, although its architectural form cannot easily be reconstructed, acts as a significant cornerstone for a chronology of Hindu temples in this region. Its remains stand in contrast to all other temples in this study. "The style of the sculptures and decorative reliefs is clearly that of the Gupta period," according to Stein 1937: 1.55. Joanna Williams 1982: 145 called them "pure examples of late Gupta style." Though seemingly carved from locally available sandstone, the sculp-

tural remains from this temple can be compared directly to carvings from the Śiva Temple at Bhūmarā in Central India (Banerji 1924), ca. 500. Artisans familiar with the nascent stone temple tradition of the plains might seem to have been brought to Mūrti to establish this small temple. Its layout may have resembled that of the Bhūmarā temple: a cubical sanctum, without a developed *śikhara* above, placed at one end of an open terrace, with a pillared hall and projecting stairway in front, flanked at Bhūmarā by sub-shrines at ground level (Williams 1982: 119).

Katās

Stein 1937: I.49–52, Plan 5, published "a rough sketch plan of ruined temples and basement" at the pilgrimage center of Katās upstream from Murtī. According to Stein, the ruins Cunningham: 1871:188–191 had described much earlier on the slope of the hill above the sacred pool "had all suffered badly by decay and clumsy repairs, and several of the smaller shrines mentioned by him as comprised in the Sat-ghara group of temples have disappeared since his time." He was able to observe, however, that "the successive terraces on which these temples are built are of much greater antiquity" and the basement to a large hall east of the Sat-ghara had a "similar decorative scheme, reminiscent of that common at the bases of Buddhist *stūpas* in Gandhāra and Swāt." One of its pilasters "still retains the outlines of a surmounting double bracket, once stuccoed."

I summarize earlier reports of this important sacred site because of its complexity and poor state today. As Stein 1937: 50 presciently observed: "'Continuity of local worship' would help to account for the use made of the same spot for Hindu shrines during the centuries immediately following." Stein visited Katās shortly after the basement of another structure further down the hill had been partly cleared, revealing "an earlier stuccoed facing, also decorated with pilasters but here plain.… It appeared to me evident that the base had obviously been enlarged…and that it had once belonged to a Buddhist *stūpa*." Cunningham 1875: 92, who had thought the outer basement part of a Jain temple, had compared its façade, divided "into a number of small panels or recesses by broad pilasters", to the base of the Mānikyāla *stūpa* he had recently excavated, and concluded it was "certainly much older than the group of Brahmanical temples in the Kashmirian style, which stand immediately above it."

The main multistoreyed Temple A (fig. 5) at Katās, centered to the west on the terrace supporting the Sat-ghara group, still has a stairway in the southern wall of its entry portico that led to an upper ambulatory and chamber. This temple has repeatedly been rebuilt and repaired in later periods to keep it in active worship and has heavy layers of recent plaster (fig. 5). The core structure of Temple A, however, was probably a multistoreyed temple from the same period as those at Amb, Bilot (B–C), and Nandana, which also have narrow stairways leading to upper chambers. Arrayed around Temple A are remains of several earlier sub-shrines of which only the one on the southwest (B) retains clear evidence of its original form. Built out of multiple levels of *kañjūr*-masonry, with a square plan, sloping plain walls with corner pilasters, a small cella with interior dome, and evidence of a vaulted entry hall, Temple B (figs. 6–8) comes from a substantially earlier phase than Temple A at Katās.

Temple B's composition can distantly be compared to that of Karwān-balasi, near Kuzai Gumbhaz, Little Pamir, in Afghanistan, a structure Stein 1912: 77 described as an "adaptation of an ancient architectural model of Buddhism" (fig. 140). As Stein 1937: 70–71 described its construction: "This is solidly built of slabs set in mortar.… The interior shows a small cella, ca. 5 feet by 4½ feet.… Commencing at a height of 5½ feet from the floor, the cella walls are reduced by means of gradually projecting horizontal courses to form a dome." Comparing it to Buddhist buildings in Swāt and Gandhāra, Stein found a "similarity of constructive features [that] distinctly suggests pre-Muhammadan origin for the Karwān-balasi ruin, and this assumption finds further support in the horizontal construction of the interior dome and of the arch above the narrow entrance." He concluded the structure was "a small Vihāra, or chapel, intended to shelter some sacred Buddhist image."

The surface ornament of the tower of Temple B at Katās (figs. 6, 7) can be reconstructed as a series of cornice storeys (fig. 8), with tiny intermediate rows of pillars, carved across several levels of *kañjūr* blocks. This type of very simple 'multistoreyed' tower has parallels at Sārnāth in Uttar Pradesh in the Gupta period where representations of stone structures use cornices to mark storeys (fig. 53), and elsewhere across Northern India and the Deccan (fig. 141) where such structures continued to be built in the seventh and eighth centuries (Meister 1986; Meister/Dhaky/Deva 1988). Maitraka/Gārulaka temples of the seventh century in coastal Saurashtra (figs. 61, 145) and Saind-

hava dynasty temples from the same region in the eighth century also use small blocks of stone, each storey made up of several 'brick-like' courses (Nanavati/Dhaky 1969; Meister/Dhaky/Deva 1988). Even the name of the little understood Saindhava dynasty seems to indicate a link with the Indus (Sindhu is an ancient name for the Indus River), suggesting contact north to south along the Indus River Valley.

Kāfirkoṭ (north)

The fortress at Kāfirkoṭ (fig. 64a) contains remains of five east-facing temples, four (A–D) known since the time of Cunningham and one newly excavated by the Pakistan Heritage Society (E). A sixth temple, Kañjarī Koṭhī, at the foot of the fort on the Indus riverbank, was documented by Stein 1905 but no longer survives. Of these, Temple B has the least developed typology (figs. 11, 12, 54). It is footed by a course of limestone masonry, but otherwise is constructed of small *kañjūr* blocks. It has a square plan, battered walls, cantoning corner pilasters, with small battered niches framed by fillets centered on each wall (fig. 11). Above the niche, four projecting brackets support a central offset in the superstructure. A row of sockets in a recessed band above suggests that there were once rafters to support a thin, perhaps temporary, ambulatory roof.

The surviving superstructure of Temple B preserves three levels, defined as cornice storeys, ornamented with single *candraśālās* ('moon window' motifs), constructed of several courses of small *kañjūr* blocks. The upper two cornice storeys have rows of dentils beneath. In the recess below are 'beam ends', marking only the corners of each offset, ornamented with flowers. This tripartite vertical division of the superstructure anticipates *latina* banding, but the horizontal storeys remain distinct, not bound by other Nāgara markers such as the ribbed-stone *āmalakas* of Temple A.

Temple A (figs. 13, 14), south of Temple B, has a similar square plan but a more developed superstructure (fig. 54). It is founded on a course of limestone blocks, with battered walls, cantoning corner pilasters, and battered central niches. Two pilasters to either side—not sloping inward as on the corners—suggest support for a slightly cantilevered central projection in the superstructure. The rectilinear pilasters float over one course of *kañjūr* stone above the wall's base mouldings. These consist of a rectilinear plinth, torus, fillet, and recessed sloped lip (fig. 107)—a sequence common in Gandhāra and

also foundational to basal mouldings at sites in Saurasthra, at Gop, ca. 525–50, and elsewhere (Meister/Dhaky/Deva 1988: 176–180).

The same sequence forms the bases for Temple A's pilasters. Their capitals consist of two levels of three spade-like forms that, finished with plaster ornament (Callieri 2005), simulated acanthus leaves of the 'Gandhāran-Corinthian type', a broad thin bracket above with tiny volutes (Faccenna/Filigenzi 2007: 72, 75). These simplified forms, though constructed in different materials, can in kind be compared to pilasters on Kapiśī *stūpas* (fig. 141). Above these pilasters are a flat fillet and curved architrave at the top of the wall; then a broad recess with rectangular sockets at its base that suggest that wooden planks were used to support an ambulatory roof.

The superstructure that begins above this broad recess has corner divisions and a broad central projection marked below by widely spaced flower-ornamented beam-ends (fig. 13). The first storey of this superstructure on each side consists of four units of paired cornices ornamented with single *candraśālās*, rows of dentils below. Above each '*khaṇḍa*' unit is a flat plank, with saw-tooth fringe below, on which an *āmalaka* rests. On each face these cornice units, crowned by *āmalakas*, define corner bands for the superstructure; on the first storey only, two measure the central cantilevered offset. At the second level corner units are repeated; the narrowed central offset becomes a band of single cornices ornamented with central *candraśālās* flanked by half *candraśālās*. A third level would have further consolidated this central vertical band in ways that parallel experimentation found in Central India in the sixth, and Saurashtra in the seventh century (figs. 56–59). The lobes of Temple A's circular *āmalakas* appear to have been fashioned from separate pieces of stone. Both Temples A and B once had a fronting vestibule. The broken entries in these temples' eastern faces (figs. 14, 78) suggest these would have been vaulted.

Bilot

The fortified hill on which the Bilot Kāfirkoṭ (fig. 64b) stands has several groups of temples (fig. 15 a–c), of which the oldest, and most complex in its archaeological phasing, is that of Temple D. Imposing in its presence, set above a steep flight of stairs high up the hill's slope, this must once have been an impressive structure to those moving through the valley below. Temple A sits in a separate compound down the hill (fig. 20) and two-storeyed Temples B and C, from a later cen-

tury, share a large platform near the fort's southern gate (figs. 24, 25). I will discuss Temple D, which I consider the earliest foundation, first.

Set on a large platform, now shorn of much of its facing, Temple D's sanctum is square in plan, with battered walls, corners marked by pilasters (fig. 16). Two additional pilasters frame a central shrine model with sunken cella (the one in the western wall has a lantern ceiling) that suggest support for a central cantilevered projection in the superstructure. Sockets and a broad flat recess above these pilasters suggest an ambulatory roof and hall, possibly of wood.

The tower above (for a schematic reconstruction, see fig. 144) has a lower storey with pillared corner pavilions and 'perforated' central window-like screens; the broad central offset has a frieze with two large floral medallions that flank a central lattice. The corner pavilions stand as if independent structures, each roofed by a pair of receding cornices crowned by an *āmalaka* (figs. 16, 60). A single 'moon-window' ornaments the upper cornice, a split *candraśālā* motif the lower. Next to each crowning *āmalaka*, in the recess that separates it from the central band of the superstructure, a tiny pillaret suggests pillars supporting the next pavilion above in each corner band. In Nāgara architecture, the proper term for these bands of *khaṇḍa* units is *veṇukośa*, the nodal sheath of reed or bamboo. Such pillarets are found on the tower of Temple A at Kāfirkoṭ (fig. 59)—and later on the brick temple at Kālar (fig. 28)—and one detached *kañjūr* pillaret was found in the excavation of Temple E.

The central projecting vertical band (*latā*) of the tower consists of a series of ascending cornices with dentils beneath. These each have a central *candraśālā* window motif, framed by half-*candraśālās* merged with other full *candraśālā* motifs (fig. 22). This merging allows the pattern to gradually be compressed, as cornices are reduced in width receding up the curvilinear tower. I have compared this pattern from Temple D's superstructure to later forms on Temples A and C at Bilot in fig. 62.

The shrine models that frame small central cellas on south, west, and north walls of Temple D are a remarkable reduction of the tower above (fig. 55). This representation of new or experimental architectural forms on a temple's walls seems one characteristic of Gandhāra-Nāgara temples that appears here for the first time. The entry to each sunk cella has a shallow vestibule (*antarāla*) and doorframe; tall pillars to either side of the vestibule support a large trefoil arch suggesting an entry vault. Not unlike the upper vaulted dormer form (*śukhanāsa*)

over the vestibule entry of a Nāgara temple, this trefoil arch has foliated endings to both the upper and flanking arches. The superstructure of this shrine representation has only two corner levels of paired-cornice units, crowned by *āmalakas* marking them as storeys. The central band above the trilobed fronton consists of three quarter-round cornices, topped by an *āmalaka* flanked by tiny pillarets; the upper platform (the 'upper altar' or *uttaravedī*), supports a shallow necking and crowning *āmalaka*.

It is useful to compare the shrine models on Temple D with somewhat simpler forms found on the doorjambs to the sixth-century 'Gupta' Temple at Deogarh and on a votive *stūpa* at Nālandā (fig. 53 c & d). The lower storey at Deogarh is represented as a very large cornice—almost suggesting an awning—a narrow clerestory-like recess above, and a thin platform supporting free-standing *āmalakas* with finials on the corners. This lower awning is decorated with a central, projecting split-*candraśālā* as ornament, a centeral *candraśālā* above, projecting from the second storey, completes the suggestion of a two-level 'trefoil' dormer. The narrow cornice marking the roof for this second storey also supports clerestory-like perforations (not dentils) below the 'upper altar' (*uttaravedī*), crowning *āmalaka*, and pot finial. Nālaṇḍā simplified this formula, presenting the upper cornice as a third level.

Temples B and A at Kāfirkoṭ and Temple D at Bilot share characteristics of a square plan with battered walls, sockets for an ambulatory roof, and superstructures with slightly projecting central bands. Temples at Ālampur in Andhra Pradesh—near the southern extreme of the geographic extension of Nāgara formulas in the seventh century (Meister/Dhaky/Deva 1988: 320–334)—also began with a square sanctum within an enclosing hall, the superstructure with its central projecting band beginning only above that roof, but with more detailed *latina śikharas*. Links can also be made to Gārulaka, Maitraka, and Saindhava experiments in Saurashtra (ibid.: 181–184). The suggestion of freestanding corner pavilions in the superstructure of Temple D at Bilot in part can also be seen to parallel pillared aedicules found in brick temples built in Dakṣiṇa Kosala early in the seventh century (Meister 1989). An even more prescient comparison—in constructional conventions, composition of *candraśālās* spaced along broad cornices, and corner aedicules—can be made to the late sixth/early seventh-century Bilvanātha Temple at Bileśvara in Saurashtra (fig. 144).

Evolution of Gandhāra-Nāgara Sites

To understand the evolution of Nāgara temples in the Northwest, the Gandhāran underpinning of the region's experimentation with Nāgara first needs to be outlined. Construction with *kañjūr* blocks, mortar, plastered surfaces, incipient domes and voussoirs, battered walls, pilasters with rudimentary 'Indo-Corinthian' (or rather pseudo Corinthian) capitals can be found in Gandhāra. Behrendt 2004: 259 suggests that construction with *kañjūr* masonry at Taxilā was a reflection of patronage rather than chronology. The square, domed chambers of temples in the Salt Range and along the Indus in part parallel cells for monks and images in Buddhist monasteries elsewhere. The evolution over several centuries of this local squinch and dome construction can be traced in figs, 32–41. Examples of voussoir construction can be seen in figs. 45, 47, 102 and in comparison with corbelled arches, fig. 50. The trefoil entry of shrine models on the walls of Temple D at Bilot and elsewhere seem derived in part from a trefoil form already present as ornament on the *kañjūr* casing of the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* at Taxila (fig. 3) and have a long history in the region (fig. 149).

Basal mouldings of Gandhāra-Nāgara temples are not shaped as are those typical of Nāgara architecture elsewhere in South Asia; there a common sequence is *khura* (hoof), *kumbha* (shoulder), *kalaśa* (pot), and *kapotapāli* (inverted cyma eave), as at Pattan Munāra (fig. 118). Gandhāra-Nāgara forms are rooted in the plinth-and-torus mouldings of monuments in Gandhāra. The mouldings of early Gandhāra-Nāgara, as at Kāfirkoṭ A and B, consist of a high right-angled 'plinth' (without a 'hoof'), a heavy rounded 'torus' springing directly from the plinth below, and a sloping 'lip' above, recessed substantially from vertical alignment.

Faccenna and Filigenzi 2007: 67 name this Gandhāran base the "torus type" and its three principal components plinth, torus, and cavetto. Temples at Kāfirkoṭ and Bilot began with such a 'torus type' of base, gradually adding other components (fig. 107). Kāfirkoṭ Temple C added a broad recess, with floral beam ends at corners of wall offsets, and a quarter-round *kapota* 'eave' with a row of dentils below, reminiscent of sixth/seventh-century temples in Saurashtra (Nanavati/Dhaky 1969: fig. 54). The battered walls and pseudo-Corinthian pilasters of the first Gandhāra-Nāgara temples reflect Gandhāran prototypes. What is completely new in these structures, however, above their ground storeys,

is their experimentation with the Nāgara temple's formulations for a tower and its compressed symbolic potency.

Even this needs some qualification, in that large Buddhist buildings in brick from the Northwest to Bodhgayā and beyond may have laid some groundwork to suggest a towering temple. What Rowland 1967: 98 called "Buddhist skyscrapers" in the second and third centuries, as represented by the Kumrahar plaque imaging the early form of the Bodhgayā temple—or the atypical large fifth-century brick Hindu temple at Bhītargāon (Zaheer 1981) with its brick arches and vaults (figs. 142, 143)—give us slim evidence of this constructional tradition and its spread. Of Bodhgayā, Rowland wrote "it seems reasonably certain that one of the most striking features of its construction, a series of brick arches and vaults…must have belonged to the original fabric. These arches were constructed of bricks joined with mortar." Of the origins for this construction, he tentatively speculated, "it is just possible that this method of vaulting…was introduced through the Kushan contacts with Sasanian Iran."

Kāfirkoṭ: Temple C

Temple C at Kāfirkoṭ differs from Kāfirkoṭ's Temples A and B and from Temple D at Bilot in significant ways. The walls have no batter. The plan no longer is a simple square; a broad offset framed by pilasters centers each wall, extending into the superstructure (figs. 17–19). Above the 'torus type' basal mouldings found on Temples A and B, Temple C added a quarter round cornice cap with dentils below and a broad recessed band with projecting flower-ornamented beam-ends at the corners of each offset (figs. 17, 107). Pilasters framing the central projection have rudimentary pseudo-Corinthian capitals, as on Temples B and A, but with foliated half-diamonds clasping the shaft below. Pilasters on the temple's corners, however, for the first time in this region have pot-and-foliage (*ghaṭa-pallava*) capitals, a characteristic of Gupta and post-Gupta temples from other regions (found at Mūrti in the Salt Range), above an octagonal section of shaft. There is no indication of an ambulatory roof; instead a cornice with dentils tops the wall frieze, then a recess framed by fillets ornamented by widely spaced floral diamonds and beam-ends. At the top of the wall frieze, between the pilasters framing the central projection, is a band of 'sawtooth' fringe, as if the leaves of a celebratory gateway.

The sunk chamber centered on each wall of Temple C has a stepped frame; attached pillarets to either side of this entry support a trian-

gular three-level pediment made up of two levels of half *candraśālās* supporting a crowning *candraśālā*, a single foliated *candraśālā* filling this frame (fig. 17). Pediments of this form characterize many Nāgara temples in this period, but appear here for the first time at Kāfirkoṭ.

The superstructure of Temple C consisted of a central and corner bands made up of a series of heavy cornices carved over multiple layers of *kañjūr* masonry (fig. 17). Corner bands ornament these cornices with single large floriated *candraśālās*; cornices of the central band have a more complicated ornament, with a central *candraśālā* flanked by half *candraśālās* that merge with outer *candraśālā* motifs, a rudimentary pattern found also on Temple D at Bilot (fig. 16). The central cavities of these *candraśālās* are filled with fleur-de-lis-like ornaments rather than flowers as on Kāfirkoṭ's Temple A or Temple D at Bilot. Only traces of the corner *āmalakas* that marked every third level survive.

The platform and compound of Temple C will be discussed in a later chapter.

Kāfirkoṭ, Kañjarī Koṭhī

Although somewhat smaller, the now missing Kañjarī Koṭhī, documented by Stein in 1905 when it stood on the bank of the Indus River at the foot of a path leading up to the fort, should be compared with Temple A at Bilot (figs. 20, 21). Both have central wall projections, framed central niches, and battered 'perforated' windows on corner faces. Base mouldings include a crowning cornice, with dentils beneath, and a tall recessed band—decorated with the floral beam-ends and diamond patterns found in the upper necking of Temple C's wall at Kāfirkoṭ—above a sloped fillet, torus, and plinth. The top of the wall frieze on both temples has a saw-tooth garland between pilasters.

On Kañjarī Koṭhī, this saw-tooth pattern also underpins flat platforms supporting *āmalakas* in the superstructure. Wall pilasters have incorporated *āmalaka*-like rings in the upper part of their shafts. The pediments of the frames around the walls' central cellas have three levels; those over corner 'windows' have half *candraśālās* flanking a *candraśālā* below and a crowning *candraśālā* above. The lower level of the superstructure of Kañjarī Koṭhī echoes the unusual pattern of Temple A at Kāfirkoṭ, with corner *āmalakas* and cornice units with *āmalakas* paired on the central projection (fig. 21). The greater depth of the walls' central projections, extending into the tower, gives these central bands a more emphatic three-dimensional profile, however,

compared to Temple A (fig. 13), and greatly emphasizes the bulbous nature of the Kañjarī Koṭhī's rounded *āmalakas* set on their platforms.

Bilot: Temples A and H

Temple A at Bilot (fig. 20)—in its own compound down a steep slope below Temple D—was built on a high platform, a stairway to the east (fig. 64b). The facing of this platform no longer survives. The considerable extent to which Bilot Temple A's groundplan has evolved can best be seen by comparing it to those of temples at Kāfirkoṭ (figs. 67). Attached pillars (cantoning pilasters) set at the corners of the temple and the central projection create one rhythm, frames of the central cellas and corner 'windows' another. The pediment over the small cell in the center of each wall shows a large trefoil arch and cavity, suggesting a vaulted vestibule; large lotus medallions are placed on the wall to either side (perhaps an homage to those in the necking of Temple D, fig. 16). The corner 'windows' have full frames, large three-level pediments supported on pillars with a saw-tooth fringe between. At the top of the wall's frieze is a band of saw-tooth fringe, a cornice with dentils below, and a narrow recess ornamented with flowers. On the south, large sockets above the wall's central pilasters have been cut through this saw-tooth band, cornice, and dentils as if to provide for heavy beams to support an ambulatory roof. These, however, seem either an afterthought or part of some later attempt at conservation.

The superstructure of this massive temple, its cornice levels carved across half a dozen or more courses of *kañjūr* 'brickwork', shows considerable evolution, especially in the interwoven lattice pattern (*jāla*) of its central projection (fig. 20), which suggests an ascending interlocked series of triangular pediments. (In fig. 62, I compare patterns from Temples D, A, and C at Bilot.)

The ruins of Temple H, to the north of Temple D's compound at Bilot (fig. 99), preserve wall mouldings with a recessed band ornamented with floral diamonds and beam-ends, and perforated 'windows' on the corner wall frieze, that suggest this temple should be related to Kañjarī Koṭhī and to Temple A at Bilot (figs. 20, 21). Buildings in this group express the solidity and power of local construction, and represent a period when ideas about Nāgara architecture had been deeply absorbed but locally expressed. Few decorative or constructional influences from India's plains are yet evident; only core ideas of what a Nāgara temple could be. Local craftsmen have incorporated

these ideas self-consciously and adapted local materials and constructional conventions to give them expression.

Māri-Indus, Temples A and B

Two temples that signal continuing evolution are located on a hill on the left bank of the Indus River, opposite the town of Kalabagh, above the port-town of Māri-Indus. Here, where the Indus exits the Attock gorge, two temples were built early in the eighth century that consolidate and extend the regional idiom developed over the previous century (figs. 26–27, 42–45). Both have only corner and center offsets, with walls projecting on the east to frame an entry hall (figs. 42, 43). The hall for Temple A is barrel-vaulted; that of Temple B has a trefoil entry and an interior dome (figs. 44–47). Temple A's plan largely parallels that of Temple C at Kāfirkoṭ; Temple B, that of Temple A at Bilot (figs. 67, 69, 70).

Temple A at Māri has pseudo-Corinthian pilasters on the corners of each offset, a broad thin bracket above with tiny volutes; a decorative saw-tooth fringe at the top of the wall frieze; and a recessed rosette-ornamented band beneath the superstructure, with floriated beam ends marking corners of each offset. The base mouldings have a broad recess ornamented with foliated diamonds, also with foliated beam ends marking the corners of wall offsets. C*andraśālās* making up the web of the superstructure have rosettes filling their openings. The web of the central band uses outer c*andraśālā* arches merged with elevated half c*andraśālās* to support a central c*andraśālā*, thus suggesting a three-tiered pediment moving up the *latā*. Corner bands have a split and central c*andraśālā* ornament over cornice units that support heavy round projecting *āmalakas* (fig. 43).

Shrine models at the center of each wall frame sunk cellas with offset doorways. Their porticoes suggest trefoil vaulting. These models are square in plan, without offsets and no corner *āmalakas*; trefoil ornaments instead move up the cornices that mark the body of the curvilinear superstructure to a platform supporting a crowning *āmalaka*. The walls that enclosed Temple A's front hall also had pilasters and an aedicule with pilasters, cornices, and pediment patterning, but no cella.

In its wall freize, the more elaborate Temple B separates its corner and central offsets by recesses, then cantons both corner and center faces with pilasters (fig. 27). This makes the corner piers, framed by

two pilasters on each face, suggest a cluster of four pillars supporting the corner band of the tower above (fig. 70). The necking under Temple B's superstructure is ornamented with floral diamonds and beam-ends, reminiscent of, but more ornate than those on Kāfirkoṭ's Temple C. The *śikhara* continues to be ornamented by a variety of *candraśālās*, with *puṣpa* rosettes placed in their openings, comparable to those of Temple E at Bilot, if woven together in a somewhat more intricate way. The basic brick-like quality of masonry has not changed; however, the heavy underpinning by rows of dentils of cornices marching up the tower found on earlier temples has disappeared.

Sunk niches that simulate sancta are set directly above the wall's base mouldings at the center of each face of Temple B and on walls that frame a front hall (fig. 42). These are sheltered by shrine models. Those on the central faces of the sanctum have prominent trefoil entries and Nāgara *śikharas* with two levels marked by corner *āmalakas*. The horizontal cornices, however, are ornamented by discrete rows of central and half *candraśālās*, more in the fashion of preceding temples at Bilot and Kāfirkoṭ than of the ornament of these temples' own evolved superstructures. If shrine models on the walls of Bilot's Temple D seem to have consciously represented an earlier level of architectural experimentation, these also look backward toward earlier antecedents.

Bilot, Temple D Sub-shrines (Temples E–G)

Temple E, a south-facing sub-shrine for Temple D survives, built above a domed chamber in Temple D's extended platform on the northeast (fig. 68). Remnants of two conjoined south-facing cells, with superstructures, added to the northeast corner of the compound, suggest the beginning of a cloistered enclosure (figs. 64b, 103). Temple E, however, seems substantially later than Temple D's sanctum. A doorway on the west has a slightly 'T'-shaped frame (fig. 100). Closed false doors segmented into six panels, with large roundels as ornament, mark the other faces. The plain corner friezes of the wall have a large lotus roundel high up and saw-tooth fringe at the top (fig. 23). Pilasters that frame these cardinal 'entries' have simple torus-type bases, plain shafts, and pseudo-Corinthian capitals, with a plain upturned curved moulding and dentils rather than the thin brackets with volutes found on Temple A at Kāfirkoṭ (fig. 13). Dentils also appear over the doorways and under the necking of the superstructure.

The *jāla* web of Temple E's *śikhara* is organized into pedimental forms, crossing and obscuring the underlying cornices of the middle

band (fig. 23). Corner bands are organised with tall units, with an upper bi-level pediment above a large split *candraśālā*, crowned by small *āmalakas* fit into the split-*candraśālā* base of the next level. This unusual pattern means that there are *āmalakas* embedded in both faces of each corner unit rather than single large corner *āmalakas*, as on Temple A (fig. 20). South-facing Temple E and its missing north-facing companion (figs. 68, 101–102) were built above domes of chambers sunk in Temple D's platform that had trefoil entries that faced to the east. Archaeological evidence for this expansion of Temple D's platform will be discussed in a later chapter.

Kālar, Brick Temple

Rustic and self contained, the Gandhāran school of Nāgara temples fascinates by its autonomy. Yet its architects must periodically have become aware—as had builders at Mūrti centuries earlier—of architecture produced in other regions of the subcontinent. The singular fired brick temple at the site of Sasu-da-Kalra (Kālar) begins to show some overlay from Central India, while still retaining many distinctive local characteristics (figs. 28, 29).

The Kālar temple divides its walls and superstructure into five rather than three offsets for the first time in this region (figs. 28, 29). Pilasters on the west wall have vase-and-foliage capitals, while pilasters on intermediate offsets of the south wall retain a cut-brick version of Gandhāran-Corinthian; both have thin 'modillion' brackets, common to Gandhāra and temples in the Salt Range, beneath a plain entablature (Faccenna/Filigenzi 2007: pl. 36). Some bands of ornament among the mouldings—saw-tooth, checkerboard, upturned leaves, reverse stepped pyramids—although available in Gandhāra, resemble more closely ornamentation of temples in the seventh and eighth centuries in other parts of India (Meister/Dhaky 1991). A simple pillared frame with a trefoil pediment made up of two half *candraśālas* supporting a central *candraśāla* (a pattern, known as *śurasena*, common in seventh- and eighth-century India) shelters a sunk niche on the central projection of each wall.

A single Uḍi-Śāhi coin of Vakka—a ruler not identified in the *Rājataraṅgaṇī* or elsewhere (Rehman 1979: 89)—was found during clearance of this temple's foundation years ago (Talbot 1903: 335). This has sometimes been assigned to the reign of the first Uḍi-Śāhi king, Kallar, the beginning of whose reign Rehman 1993; 1997–98 has recently has been able to assign to ca. 821. The temple at Kālar,

however, seems more archaic than this, and may have been built half a century earlier. The web pattern of its superstructure resembles that of Temple E at Bilot (fig. 100), especially the oddly enlarged split *candraśālā* on the corner band (figs. 23, 28).

The Kālar temple's wall mouldings are largely hidden by later bolstering brickwork, but below the wall frieze is a typical quarter-round cornice, with fillets of upturned petals and reverse stepped pyramids below, and a broad recess with beam ends at the corners of wall offsets and a band of floral pattern between. Only a trace of the typical torus base for these mouldings survives.

Ornate *candraśālās* placed along the cornice at the top of the wall have rims and highly developed foliate flanges and crowns (compare fig. 58). Those on the tower are flat, carved over a series of thin cornices (two courses of brick per cornice, one for the necking between). These interlock to form an ornamental web for the central *latā*. Flanking bands are ornamented with half *candraśālās*; corner bands have a split and upper *candraśālā*, below *āmalakas* with tiny niches (*pañjara*) fitted next to each (fig. 29). These seem reminiscent of the tiny pillarets that flank *āmalakas* at Kāfirkoṭ and Bilot (figs. 59, 60). In India proper, a *bālapañjara* (chain of niches) was used to designate cloisters that connected pavilions on each storey of a palatial prototype (Meister 1989). Seen in rudimentary form at Deogarh (fig. 56), this ornamented *bālapañjara* recess primarily disappears by the end of the eighth century.

The sanctum at Kālar, as in other Gandhāra-Nāgara temples, has a corbelled dome, in this case with wooden beams across the corners above multilayered squinches (fig. 38). Kāfirkoṭ's Temple B has only single stones as squinches set at sanctum corners; these are carved to suggest a slight arch (fig. 32). Temple A's squinches, on the other hand, have multiple courses of *kañjūr* blocks that support several circular fillets, one dentils, below the dome (figs. 33, 34). Wooden beams across sanctum corners were also used in Temple A at Bilot and possibly Temple C at Kāfirkoṭ.

Later Nāgara Sites

It is possible to describe a continuous evolution of a local Indus style of Nāgara architecture—that distinctive curvilinear temple form characteristic of vast regions of Northern India—that developed from

the sixth to the eleventh century. This local expression of a general Northern Indian typology is both self-conscious in its formulation and original in its evolution over time. It both experiments with the *latina* model of Nāgara and develops a series of unique local solutions. This is nowhere more obvious than in temples built, in the ninth and tenth centuries, under Uḍi-Śāhi hegemony.

Kāfirkoṭ, Temple D

Temple D was built on a hill above Kāfirkoṭ's northern gateway, just inside the fortification wall (fig. 64a). Only the sanctum survives, with plain *kañjūr* walls that suggest that it once stood within a closed covered hall (fig. 30). The superstructure above has projecting central and flanking offsets; only corner bands are conterminous with the sanctum below. Of temples we have discussed in the Salt Range so far, only the brick temple at Kālar had a tower with five vertical divisions, as commonly found in eighth- and ninth-century Nāgara temples in North India.

The storeys of Temple D's *śikhara*—as elsewhere only on Temple E at Bilot (fig. 23)—are marked in the corner bands by small *āmalakas* decoratively embedded within a *jāla*-web pattern on both faces, not by a single projecting *āmalaka*; this web is more complex than that of Temple E, however, becoming a jumble of intertwined half-*candraśālās* on the intermediate offsets (fig. 31) in a fashion that anticipates the typical web pattern found on Temples B and C at Bilot (fig. 62).

Amb, Temples A and B

Amb Sharif, located ca. five miles below Sakesar peak on the southern flank of the Salt Range, has a rugged fortress with fortification walls that show overlapping phases of masonry construction going back to the period of the late Kuṣāṇas (fig. 109). Two temples now stand in the fort (Cunningham 1882: 5 reported a third temple, no longer present). In plan, the east-facing Temple A has a central offset on each wall (fig. 110) and a vestibule hall with a remarkable cinquefoil entry (fig. 48). Wall mouldings are characteristic of this phase (compare Amb and Māri-Indus, fig. 107). The attached pillars that canton wall faces have vase-and-foliage capitals and thin modillion brackets. Sunk niches were centered in each wall. Above the wall's frieze, a cornice based by dentils, recess, and upper row of dentils act as base for the superstructure. Tall units with squared *āmalakas* making up the corner

bands are faced with a web made up of interwoven half *candraśālās*, much like those of Temples D at Kāfirkoṭ and B and C at Bilot (figs. 31, 62); facing stones of the central bands of the *śikhara* are missing.

The entry hall of Temple A—unlike that of Temple B at Māri-Indus (fig. 44)—is well preserved. The side walls that frame this vestibule have a central projection, framed by pillars but with no niche. Above these, an upper register of the vestibule's walls extends the ornament of the first level of the temple's superstructure. Only above this is a bi-level hip roof fronted by a foliated trefoil pattern above a cinquefoil gateway (fig. 48). This entry extends slightly upwards into the upper level, through a rectangular face that frames the entry's façade. This façade separates square pillars of the outer walls of this portico from two circular pillars with vase-and-foliage capitals that support the entry's cinquefoil arch. Unlike the cinquefoil arch of the inner doorway, the upper cusp of the outer entry is twice as large as those to either side (figs. 47–48).

Within this foyer, the sanctum's doorway is equally remarkable. Squared pillars support a cornice with dentils and a cinquefoil arch, with equal cusps bound by a broad band, making no reference to foliated forms. Above, however, a single foliated *candraśālā* once framed a seated sculpture, now stolen, surrounded by a cinquefoil pediment made up of foliated *candraśālā* forms. My earliest photograph of this has had to be crudely dodged to make these features visible (fig. 47). The triangular supports at the corners of the sanctum's domed ceiling (fig. 46b) simulate the appearance of vaulted pendentives.

The much larger west-facing Temple B at Amb is typical of the direction taken by temples in the Salt Range built by the Uḍi Śāhis (fig. 49). Its walls have two registers, with five divisions; attached pillars frame the offsets of both. The lower storey has unornamented rectangular sunk chambers in corner faces and an elaborate central cella with a foyer framed by circular pillars with vase-and-foliage capitals that support a cinquefoil arch (figs. 49, 50). The upper register of the wall has aedicules, framing screened 'windows' of different scales, on all five offsets.

The west face of Temple B and the hall in front have been almost completely destroyed. A stairway in the northern entry wall (fig. 110), however, leads up to an upper chamber in the tower and a narrow surrounding ambulatory (Meister/Rehman 2005: fig. 16). Tiny slit windows let one look out from narrow recesses between the outer bands of the *śikhara*. The thin *āmalakas* on the corners of the *śikhara* barely

divide a web of pattern along the corner bands; intermediate and central *latās* are tightly, even mechanistically, woven with this pattern, save that the central line of arches has small heads intermittently projecting from the cavities.

The large platform on which Temple B stands (fig. 109) was cleared of rubble in 1920 under the supervision of Daya Ram Sahni ASNC(H) PR 1921: 6. Of this ruined plinth, he wrote: "What does remain of this facing…is enough to show that it was adorned on all sides with rows of boldly conceived niches separated by moulded pilasters, as is generally the case in *stupa* plinths in Gandhara." Except in one spot, little of this facing remains. Mouldings, however, consisted of an evolved 'torus type' with a rectilinear plinth, torus, and recessed 'straight reversed ovolo' as lip; niches were battered, topped by a projecting 'T' beam, with foliated beam ends above, and set between pilasters (figs. 107–108). Sahni ibid.: 6 & pl. VII illustrated three sculptures found in clearing rubble from Temple's B's plinth. He commented only: "Among the minor antiquities found during the operations three deserve mention." These were a low relief animal plaque, an 'Image of Mahādeva' as identified by Sahni, and a Narasiṁha, all three perhaps earlier than either of the two standing temples, although themselves separated by centuries (fig. 146). An attendant female sculpture Cunningham 1882: 33 had seen seems to be one in the Lahore Museum (Meister/Rehman 2005: fig. 17).

These two temples at Amb demonstrate a developed school of temple building in this region in the ninth and tenth century, with plain pilastered (and plastered) walls and elaborate superstructures. Temple B has two levels of wall-frieze and an interior upper chamber typifying the late phase of Uḍi-Śāhi temple construction. Their cinquefoil entrances (figs. 47–48) continued and elaborated a line of evolution begun as early as the trefoil entries to shrine models on Temple D at Bilot and Temples A and B at Māri-Indus (figs. 22, 42–43, 46). Although much restored by British contractors early in this century, both temples still represent a remarkable and elegant efflorescence of this school.

Gumbat, Swāt

I have discussed Stein's 1921: 21–23 response to remains at Gumbat in Swāt that he associated with Salt Range and Indus temples in Chapter One. Remains of a trefoil arch at the entrance, and a stairway within the wall leading to an upper chamber, led him to compare this ruined

structure to Temples B and C at Bilot. His sketch plan and notes suggest the temple had only a central projection on each wall, as in Temple A at Amb, but he clearly marks a stair in the left-hand wall that led to an upper ambulatory and cella in the fashion of Amb's Temple B (figs. 110, 140). Stein 1912: 16 first visited this site in 1897, when remains of the surface ornament still survived, and I see no reason to doubt his identification of this ruin with Katās, Amb, and Bilot. As in the case of temple remains from eastern Afghanistan reported on by Lohuizen-De Leeuw 1959, these test the range of what I have called Gandhāra Nāgara.

Bilot, Temples B and C

Large temples were built in fortresses at Amb, Bilot, Katās, and Nandana in the Salt Range in the tenth century. These still were *latina* temples, with single curvilinear spires, but within their walls were stairways leading to an upper storey within the tower where an interior corridor surrounded an upper chamber (figs. 105, 110, 111). In this respect they are unique among all other Nāgara temples in South Asia.

At Bilot, Temples B and C face each other on an extensive platform, with embedded chambers in this plinth, on north and south, flanking broad stairways to the temples' entries (figs. 24, 25,104). The entry halls and upper walls of these temples' superstructures are substantially damaged, but vaulted and trefoil entries remain. The wall's frieze has two highly ornamented levels, as at Amb Temple B; and stairways in the left hand walls of antechambers led to an upper ambulatory and chamber (fig. 105). The ornamental elaboration of these temple's walls is considerable, with chambers on the central walls (fig. 106) articulated with trefoil arches above round columns reminiscent of those at Amb (fig. 50). The *jāla*-web patterning is a jumble of intertwined half *candraśālās*, as at Kāfirkoṭ Temple D and Amb (figs. 31, 49, 62).

Nandana, Temple A

This unique architectural experimentation with multiple chambers folded within a *latina* tower came to an end early in the eleventh century. At that time the great fortress at Nandana on the eastern flank of the Salt Range fell to Mahmud of Ghazni, who sought to control the significant routes across the Punjab leading toward Multan and Delhi (fig. 112). Uḍi-Śāhi kings then took refuge with their relations in Kashmir. Stein 1937: 36–44 provided a detailed account of the forti-

fications, platforms, and ruins he found in the pass of Nandana. He reported that the terrace on which Temple A was built had "been repeatedly enlarged" and was "far more ancient" than the temple, which was "built throughout with cut slabs of tufa, of irregular sizes and smaller than those used in the platform. The masonry is set in mortar but is distinctly inferior to that of the terrace." Of the traces of decoration on the temple's walls, of which relatively little remains intact, he reported: "The whole face of the outside wall was once covered with stucco, of which portions remain in some places. These wall faces were decorated with an elaborate scheme of trefoil arches, niches, *amalaka*-topped pilasters, &c., all carved in rather flat relief, and showing motifs derived from late Graeco-Buddhist art."

In this sequence of Salt Range temples, only that built at Nandana suggests corner turrets below its central tower (figs. 51, 52). These turrets seem to reflect a multi-spired convention that developed in Central and Western India in the ninth and tenth centuries, eventually becoming the multiply turreted *śekharī* of medieval India (Meister/Dhaky/Deva 1988). At Nandana, however, this third level of the temple's walls contains an ambulatory and second chamber on its interior, marking it as less part of the superstructure than as a support for the central *Latina* spire (fig. 111).

The Nandana temple is badly abraded, its east face fallen away. A massive interior dome with corbelled squinches roofed the ca. 12' 7" square sanctum; a stairway embedded within the northern wall led to an upper vaulted ambulatory corridor around a second domed chamber, also with stepped squinches (figs. 41, 110). The divisions of exterior walls reflect this interior space. A tall bi-level frieze, each level topped by a cornice with dentils and a saw-tooth fringe below, measures the sanctum within. A third level—shrine models represented on the corners ornamented with a segmented doorway, *latina* tower above, and a crowning *āmalaka* (fig. 51)—encloses the interior's upper chamber and ambulatory. Central and flanking offsets of this third level—which acts both as the top of the walls and the support for the superstructure—are ornamented with flat niches with tall pediments; the central *latina* spire begins only above. At the center of the wall's ground level was a large vaulted cavity; on the second level is a framed trefoil niche, as at Amb Temple B (figs. 49, 51). Corner and flanking offsets on both storeys are plain save for cantoning pilasters.

What the ritual needs of these temples with upper chambers were we cannot recover (some have speculated that the 'lookout' peepholes in the upper levels made them defensive watchtowers as well as ritual

shrines). That they are original to the Salt Range is clear. These monuments form an important missing link in the history of South Asia's architectural traditions, and one entwined with the locality in which they were built.

Contributions to the History of Nāgara

Nestled into fortresses along the west bank of the upper Indus, temples at Kāfirkoṭ and Bilot, and the pilgrimage site of Katās on the Punjab's Salt-Range plateau, represent the earliest surviving Hindu monuments in South Asia's northwest and offer important insights into the processes of temple formation that led to the development and dissemination of Nāgara temple architecture across Northern and Central India in the sixth and seventh centuries. Although little studied in the twentieth century, when brought back into scholarly discourse, these monuments offer missing links that help illuminate the experiments carried out in the fifth to seventh centuries necessary for architects to develop an architectural formula for Nāgara temples (Meister 1981, 1986). The simple tiered superstructure of Kāfirkoṭ's Temple B can be compared to shrine models from Sārnāth, Deogarh, and Nālandā (fig. 53); Temple B at Katās to simply storeyed '*bhūmi-prāsāda*' temples surviving from different parts of India (fig. 141); Temple A at Kāfirkoṭ to evidence for the formative superstructure of the sixth-century 'Gupta' Temple at Deogarh (figs. 56, 59). My reconstruction of Temple D at Bilot can be compared to both Deogarh and the seventh-century Sun temple at Dhāṅk, Saurashtra (figs. 144, 145).

The use of signature shrine models on the central faces of temples in the Northwest became a defining characteristic of this school of Nāgara, often referring more to earlier experiments than to the temples on which they appear. These models provide a record of architects consciously thinking through architectural design problems and possibilities. Marking temple walls with images of past architecture could provide an historical frame for architects who worked within a symbolic system that saw niches and sub-shrines as an expansion of the temple as a whole. Experiments recorded on the walls of later temples could give permanent articulation to the thinking of their architects. If the rhetoric of architectural representation in South Asia seems often to relate to an ahistorical semiotic rather than an historical reality, from time to time the two do seem to overlap.

One of the more remarkable aspects of these early temples in the northwest is their manner of construction. Not only are *kañjūr* blocks used as if a brick facing for inner plaster and rubble construction, layered into courses to make mouldings and cornices, and corbelled to form interior domes, but parts of the architectural cladding were put together like a puzzle, individual pillarets inserted in the *śikhara* (fig. 59), and *āmalakas* made of separate wedge-shaped pieces, as on Temple A at Kāfirkoṭ. Such primitive modes of construction mark a formative phase, expressing a borrowed morphology.

In a recent volume of the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, Krishna Deva assigned temples at Kāfirkoṭ and Kālar to the tenth century (Dhaky 1998: 362–366); a decade previously he had assigned temples at Malot, Katās, and Amb to the tenth century in a note to his chapter on temples in Kashmir (Meister/Dhaky/Deva 1988: 391–393). I hope this study can return these remarkable architectural monuments in the northwest to discussions of the origins, originality, and evolution of Nāgara architecture. The earliest of these temples—sixth and seventh centuries, not tenth—contribute vital information to any analysis of the early formulation of the Nāgara *śikhara* and of thought processes that entered into the creation of that most distinctive and powerful architectural representation of the Indic world.

Original in its early experiments with Nāgara, providing missing information for a history of the evolution of this potent temple typology for housing the divine in South Asia, this idiom in the Northwest is remarkable for its flexibility and constancy, receptivity and capacity to transform itself to meet local tastes and needs. Few sites in South Asia have so strong a sense of being outposts as the Kāfirkoṭ forts, yet through these monuments they root themselves to a central symbol of Indic sacrality. Even changing political boundaries, ancient and modern, cannot cloak this.

Chronology

From a square plan with battered walls, a shallow cantilevered central projection in the superstructure, plinth-and-torus mouldings, and pseudo-Corinthian pilasters to multistoreyed temples with no batter, three layers of offsets in both plan and superstructure, pilasters with vase-and-foliage capitals, and upper inner chambers with ambulatory corridor embedded in a locally distinctive Nāgara *śikhara*, these

temples evolve. A provisional chronology worked out from field study is summarized below. Archaeological evidence is discussed in Chapter Three.

Table: Provisional Chronology of Nāgara-related temple sites

Site	Temple	Approx. Date	Characteristics *(except Mūrti, all have internal corbelled domes and squinches)*
Mūrti	temple ruins, red sandstone construction	late 5th/early 6th century	imported Nāgara elements present: *āmalaka, candraśālā,* vase-and-foliage, etc.
Katās	Sat-ghara, Temple B SW sub-shrine) *kañjūr* construction with mortar and plaster	late 6th century	square plan; battered walls; pseudo-Corinthian pilasters; battered niches; storeyed '*bhūmi-prāsāda*' tower (cornices and pillarets)
Bilot	Temple D	late 6th/early 7th century	square plan; sockets suggest an ambulatory roof; proto-Nāgara tower and shrine models with cantilevered central band
Kāfirkoṭ	Temple B	early 7th century	square plan; sockets suggest an ambulatory roof; 'cornice' storeys w. cantilevered central projection; battered walls and niches
Kāfirkoṭ	Temple A	7th century	square plan; sockets suggest an ambulatory roof; *latina* Nāgara tower; āmalakas on corners and paired on projecting central band
Kāfirkoṭ	Temple C	late 7th century	plan with central offset; no ambulatory roof; 3-band *latina* tower; central wall niches framed with pediments; first use of vase-and-foliage as well as pseudo-Corinthian capitals
Bilot	Temple A	late 7th century	plan with central offset; 3-band *latina* tower; central wall niches with pediments; grilles on corners
Kāfirkoṭ	Kañjarī Koṭhī (destroyed)	late 7th century	plan with central offset; 3-band *latina* tower; *āmalakas* on corners and paired on projecting central band; central wall niches with pediments; grilles on corners

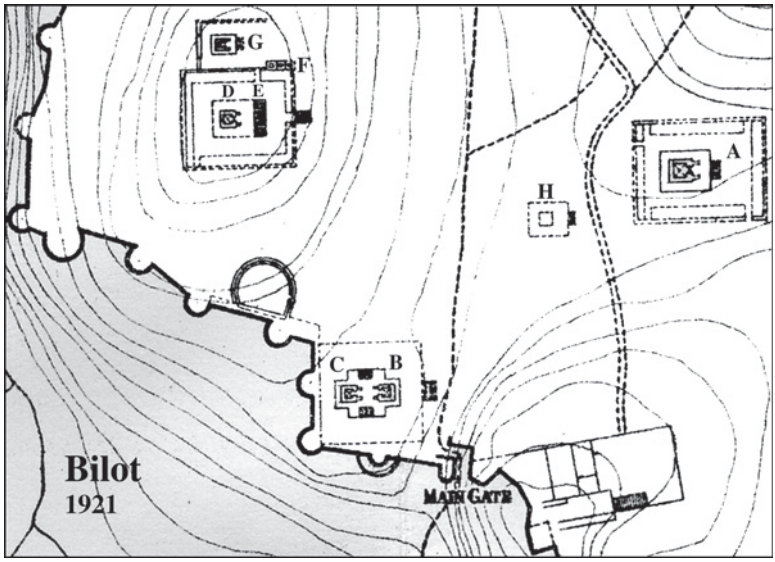
Table (*cont.*)

Site	Temple	Approx. Date	Characteristics
Bilot (*)	Temple H (ruins)	late 7th century	mouldings and corner grills like Kañjarī Koṭhī
Māri-Indus	Temple A	early 8th century	plan with central offset; 3-band *latina* tower; central wall niches framed by shrine models
Māri-Indus	Temple B	8th century	plan with central offset; 3-band *latina* tower; central wall niches framed by developed shrine models; corner faces cantoned by paired pilasters
Bilot (*)	Temple E and paired Temples F–G (added to Temple D compound)	8th century	plan with central offset; 3-band *latina* tower; developed interlocking web on tower; central wall projections ornamented with lotus-paneled doorways
Kālar	brick temple	late 8th century	plan with central and flanking offsets; 5-band *latina* tower; developed interlocking web on tower; central niches framed with pediments; vase-and-foliage and Corinthian capitals; ornamented fillets
Kāfirkoṭ	Temple D	mid-9th century	plan with central and flanking offsets; 5-band *latina* tower; developed interlocking web on tower; plain sanctum set in ambulatory hall
Amb	Temple A	late 9th century	plan with central offset; 3-band latina tower; hip-roofed entry hall with cinqfoil entry
Gumbat, Swāt	ruined temple	10th century	plan with central offset; 3-band *latina* tower; narrow vestibule; internal stairway and upper chamber; remains of trefoil arch at entrance
Katās	Sat-ghara, Temple A (main pilgrimage shrine, much rebuilt)	10th century	plan with central and flanking offsets; vestibule with internal stairway and upper chamber

Table (*cont.*)

Site	Temple	Approx. Date	Characteristics
Amb	Temple B	10th century	plan with central and flanking offsets; 5-band *latina* tower; developed interlocking web on tower; bi-level wall-frieze; internal stairway and upper chambers
Bilot	Temples B & C	late 10th century	plan with central and flanking offsets; 5-band *latina* tower; developed interlocking web on tower; bi-level wall-frieze; internal stairway and upper chambers
Nandana	Temple A	early 11th century	plan with central and flanking offsets; 5-band *latina* tower; developed interlocking web on tower; bi-level wall-frieze with suggestion of corner turrets; internal stairway and upper chambers

(*) Stein's 1911–12 pencilled sketch plan of Bilot's fort, finalized and published by Hargreaves as an appendix to ASI(FC)AR 1920–21 (see detail below), labelled three conjoined chambers to the north-east in Temple D's compound, 'F'; what we here call Temple H to the north, 'G'; and a small ruined platform between D and A, 'H'. Revised designations used by Masih 2000: 127–28 and Shah 2007: 89–90 can better order the surviving subsidiary shrines as part of Temple D's expanded complex.



CHAPTER THREE

ARCHAEOLOGY AT KĀFIRKOṬ AND PROBLEMS OF PLATFORM EXTENSIONS

Little has changed in the fort of north Kāfirkoṭ, above the Indus on its west bank in the North-West Frontier Province, since Aurel Stein 1905: 10–16 visited in 1903 (fig. 63). Surrounded by rugged fortification walls, built in several discernable layers, and with a citadel at the west end, this fortress seems to have been occupied from the late Kuṣāṇa period to the end of the Uḍi-Śāhi dynasty early in the eleventh century (Rehman 1979; idem 2002). Two seasons of excavation undertaken by the Pakistan Heritage Society in north Kāfirkoṭ's fort has revealed archaeological evidence to contribute to the history and chronology of its monuments (Meister/Rehman 2005).

Excavations at Kāfirkoṭ

The remains of four east-facing temples built of *kañjūr* blocks stand above ground in the fort—Temple D near the fort's main gateway to the north, Temples A and B toward the center of the plateau, and Temple C and the remains of a two-storey structure called the Māri slightly lower to the south (figs. 64a, 77). The Pakistan Heritage Society and the University of Pennsylvania carried out two seasons of excavation in this fortress between 1996–98, recovering evidence for two phases of construction and uncovering the platform and compound of a previously unknown structure, Temple E (Meister 2000; Meister/Rehman/Khan 2000; Meister/Rehman 2005).

Temple C

In our first season we focussed attention on clearing the platform, entry stairs, and vestibule of Temple C, establishing the relationship between it and the two-storeyed ruin in front called the Māri, and beginning to expose the temple's extended compound (fig. 65). We cleared the mound of rubble covering the eastern face of Temple C, exposing mouldings of the *kañjūr* platform on which the temple stood. A long stairway on the east, somewhat resembling those leading to

the platforms of Buddhist *stūpas* in Gandhāra, formed an approach. *Kañjūr* walls framed an antechamber in front of the sanctum fronted by a pair of large round *kañjūr* pillars (fig. 71), a formula somewhat reminiscent of that of the Jandial temple at Taxila. Abdur Rehman had hoped to find coins and sculptures in the rubble to either side of the platform's stairway, as often was the case when excavating *stūpas* in Gandhāra and Swāt.

We discovered that squared ashlar blocks of limestone masonry, on either side of the original *kañjūr* stairway, had been used to extend this platform, covering over two chambers sunk in its eastern face (marked 'a', fig. 71). The mouldings of these extensions mimicked those of the *kañjūr* platform. Socketed limestone bases had also been added against the round *kañjūr* pillars and framing walls of the entry vestibule and inserted into mouldings of the vestibule's outer walls (figs. 71, 74), suggesting that a pillared hall, probably with wooden posts, had once been built on the enlarged plinth. Similar limestone bases were found, jumbled where they had fallen from the edge of the platform, in the trench on the north below. Wooden beams were used at some point to frame a sill for a rebuilt doorframe to the sanctum, later filled in, perhaps to help prevent the temple from collapsing. Stones of the vestibule show discolouration and a thick layer of ash in excavations near the Māri suggests a fire had once burned out the wooden beams and floor of the upper storey of that entry hall.

That archaeological evidence at Kāfirkoṭ can suggest two phases for Temple C, corresponding to earlier and later phases proposed by our stylistic analysis of the full range of Salt Range and Indus temple sites, was given significant added confirmation by the results of a second season. By digging a trench through part of the limestone extension of Temple C's platform on the northeast (fig. 72), we exposed one full pilaster of the original *kañjūr*-faced platform, with a 'Gandhāran-Corinthian' (Faccenna/Filigenzi 2007: 75) capital preserving in much greater detail volute and acanthus-leaf formulas, taken from Gandhāran and ultimately Bactrian antecedents (fig. 73), than do the sketchy 'pseudo-Corinthian' pilasters found on Kāfirkoṭ's temple walls (fig. 13).

We continued to expose remains of the limestone walls of the rectangular compound surrounding Temple C and its connection to the ruined two-storey *kañjūr* structure called the Māri (fig. 65). Near the Māri, limestone walls had been built over *kañjūr* ones and between the Māri and the temple a small *kañjūr* pedestal that once may have

acted as base for a standard-bearing column had also been enlarged by the addition of limestone masonry. We located entry stairs for the compound and a raised colonnaded cloister on the north and irregular chambers with evidence of pilaster-bases on the south. On the west, the compound was built to fit against an existing hillside.

Rehman's excavation diary of this season recorded the following:

> We know a little better about the temples including the [two-storeyed] Māri, which evidently is part of Temple C. The layout of the Temples A, B, and C is now quite clear although some more work needs to be done.… The Māri now looks more like a fronting hall [for the temple compound].… A row of pillar bases—each comprising a square limestone block having a deep hole or socket on the top—was found along the northern wall.… There is evidence to show that the Māri, on the east side, was fronted by a porch sheltering an imposing flight of steps. Except on the Māri side, Temple C is surrounded by a cloistered platform running along the perimeter wall. It is about a metre in height. In the southwest corner are the remains of three rooms on a row. The roof of this cloistered platform or covered walk…was supported by wooden columns resting upon similar stone bases as seen in the Māri. A coin of Sāmanta was found on this platform. There is evidence to show that this platform as well as [extension of] the Māri go with the extension of the temple in period II.… The original temple (Period I) may go back in date to a much earlier period.

Temple E

Further discoveries in the second season focused on excavations carried out in the vicinity of Temples A and B (fig. 66). The site plan published by Hargreaves ASIAR 1921–22: pl. 26 recorded surface traces of a platform and compound south of Temple A (fig. 63). When these were exposed, we discovered a situation parallel to that of Temple C. Some physical evidence for a buried structure remained, with disruption on the north suggesting the site had once been plundered, a trench once cut in then filled with rubble. After clearing the ground, we began a new trench along the south edge of what seemed to be a buried platform, quickly exposing a low pilastered wall made of *kañjūr* stone, with fallen pillar bases, shafts, and capitals jumbled in the trench. Our trench followed this pilastered wall to its southeast corner, where we found limestone masonry used to extend this platform, mimicking the *kañjūr* mouldings, as was the case for Temple C (fig. 79).

We were able to expose the full east face of this expanded platform, with an elegant white limestone stairway at its center (fig. 79). We

found a coin of Sāmanta, second of the ninth-century Uḍi-Śāhi kings, in front of this stairway and another at floor level in the northeast cloister. This newly excavated temple we designated Temple E. Our lead archaeologist, Abdur Rehman, appropriately questioned whether we had demonstrated two phases or simply a change in plan, suggesting that we needed to find out whether an earlier stairway was hidden below the limestone one. As we had done with Temple C, we began to excavate the eastern face of the *kañjūr* platform from the rubble remains of the limestone extension and found a projecting *kañjūr* stairway below the limestone treads of the addition. Both the *kañjūr* platform and this older entry stair have flat pilasters with pseudo-Corinthian capitals and modillion brackets (figs. 80, 81).

More startling, however, were two elaborate chambers we uncovered in this eastern face to either side of the older stairway (figs. 80–82). These had been filled in with rubble when the limestone platform extension was built against the *kañjūr* platform. These have a pillared portico, a trefoil-arched entry, and a small interior cella. To either side of the entry portico are square pillars with half-*candraśālā* ornaments above; circular pillars support the central foliated trefoil entry (fig. 83). Behind the portico, a plain unornamented doorway leads to a small sanctum. This rather grand entrance may perhaps reproduce one used for the hall enclosing the temple above, which doesn't survive. A vaulted entry is suggested by the gaps in the front walls of Temples A and B at Kāfirkoṭ (figs. 87, 89), a foliated trefoil entry door survives for the vaulted hall of Temple B at Māri-Indus (fig. 46a), and a trefoil-vaulted entry foyer is suggested by the shrine models on the walls of Temple D at Bilot (fig. 55).

The sanctum that once stood on the plinth of Temple E in most respects may have resembled Temple A to its north—set within an ambulatory hall and vestibule of which only sockets for beams to support the roof remain (fig. 87). We found one small *kañjūr āmalaka*—resembling those that mark the corners of shrine models on the walls of Temple D at Bilot (fig. 55)—in the excavation of Temple E. The chambers embedded in the front face of the *kañjūr* platform of Temple E—as also the two east-facing cells filled in on the plinth of Temple C—suggest a ritual practice not typical of later periods. By covering up these east-facing sub-shrines, builders of these expansions have chosen to reorient these temples' earlier cultic patterns.

Further excavations exposed an expansive rectangular compound, built to enclose Temple E during a second phase, with a flight of steps

into the compound and a raised colonnade with limestone pillar- and pilaster-bases on the east (figs. 79, 84–86). Wooden pillars socketed into these bases formed the colonnade. Construction of this large compound encroached on Temple A's foundation to the north (figs. 66, 88).

Temples A and B

To excavate the east faces of platforms for Temples A, B, and E a century-old wall built of boulders leading across the site had to be moved (fig. 78). Temple A stands above a rugged core foundation, but the *kañjūr* masonry facing its original platform has disappeared. Exploratory excavations to the east in the second season recovered partial remains of front stairs leading to the foundations of Temples A and B, with long earthen chambers at ground level to either side (figs. 66, 87, 89). Further excavation, however, would be necessary to fully understand these remains.

Rehman's excavation notes report:

> The newly discovered Temple E is similarly surrounded by a cloistered platform. An imposing flight of steps descends into the temple court on the east. No remains of a porch however could be traced. Steps ascending to the original platform (Period I)…were found buried beneath the steps of the second period.
>
> Beam sockets in the eastern walls of Temples A and B indicate that these were fronted by open wooden vestibules, which in each case could be approached by a flight of steps. [Through excavation we discovered that] the steps in these cases are flanked by small chambers. In one of these chambers associated with Temple A was found a coin of Samānta. The cloistered platform of Temple E runs under the [remains of the] platform of Temple A.
>
> In front of Temple B, above [and in front of] the steps, came to light a…figure in two pieces…made of locally available limestone. Presently I am inclined to think that the first phase of construction of Temples C and E marks the earliest structures on this site and goes with the first phase of the fortification wall.

Excavated Cult Image

In the excavation of Temple E, only one small limestone fragment with a furled ribbon (Meister 1989: fig. 11) gave evidence for sculpture from either phase. Recovery of a nearly complete cult image at Kāfirkoṭ, buried under the stone fence we had removed, was a challenging discovery (fig. 90). This was found in two pieces, the lower part

first, in soil above and in front of the stairway leading to Temple B's platform. This sculpture is ca. 58 cm tall, and could comfortably have fitted in Temple B's sanctum, ca. 1.5 m square.

Rehman's initial identification of this image was that it was a form of Śiva Maheśvara (Rehman 1996). I might indeed contrast this image with the terra-cotta plaque of Śiva with Umā from the fourth/fifth century found at Rang Mahal near Bikaner (Goetz 1950); but this image seems to have a more remarkable story to tell of cultic complexities in the northwest that I have explored more fully elsewhere (Meister 2007).

The lower half of the figure shows only the legs and torso of an athletic ascetic wearing a *laṅgoṭā*-like short cloth, his heels drawn up tightly in yogic fashion, his toes turned down to touch his lotus seat. He is not shown ithyphallic—as both Śiva and Lakulīśa, the second-century Śaiva teacher who founded Pāśupata Śaivism, usually are (Shah 1984)—but rather with indrawn genitalia as the Buddha sometimes has been described (Desai 1997). The downturned leaves of the lotus pedestal on which this figure is positioned can be compared to those of terra-cotta images of Buddha from Devnimori (Harle 1974: fig. 116) or to a somewhat more developed lotus seat with double petals of a schist Buddha from Bāramūla (Paul 1986: 101–102 & fig. 40).

The upper portion of the sculpture, found in excavation a few feet in front of where its lower half had been discovered days before, is bare-chested, a heavy lappet of cloth over his left shoulder, with four arms and three faces. His upper left hand carries a leaf-headed sceptre; the lower left is broken (although the shape of it, bent at the elbow, is visible); the two right arms are gone. A small fragment of an aureole, also roughly indicated on the sculpture's back, is preserved above this septre.

We must first emphasize, however, what this image is not. There are no clear signs of the deity we know as Śiva from Āgamic sources, such as trident, bull, or erect phallus. There are no skulls, snakes, no differentiation of faces. The figure's body is composed along a column—perhaps the *skambha* of the *Atharvaveda*'s influential cosmology (X.7.17)—that begins at the root of his spine, ascends through his genital region and torso, emerging vertically behind his heads as a sort of pillow, which Rehman took to be the head of a Śiva-*liṅga* (figs. 91, 93). It is a 'sign', the prime meaning of '*liṅga*', but it is not phallic. It's symbolism seems entwined perhaps with that of the 'heretic hermits' of the *Atharvaveda*—who wandered the wilderness and

saw there a vision of themselves becoming 'Mahādeva', a great cosmic Lord, as Stella Kramrisch 1981: 88, 97 told their story—not representing phallic worship, which Śaiva cults had coopted by the time of the *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas (Davis 1995).

A local parallel can be made to a small *liṅga* column in the Peshawar Museum that illustrates a northwestern regional convention (Meister/Rehman 2005, fig. 8): the column grows up from a bust that has three heads (not four); the two side faces are smaller and not cardinally directed, as also is the case with our image. Rather than cosmic Śiva himself, the Kāfirkoṭ sculpture may reflect a cult of living *yogins*, a Mahāyogin who, like Ekavrātya, "saw as one the great God and his own true Vrātya being." As Kramrisch 1981: 91, 97 paraphrased the Arthavavedic story, "a roving ascetic…realized the birth of his god and his own rebirth in that god." It may be that transcendent yogic moment that this image recorded.

As Eliade 1969: 103 & 236 described, "as a result of yogic experience, the physical body becomes 'dilated', 'cosmicized', transubstantiated"—"the [process of] divinization of man, the 'man-god', remains a predominant motif of Indian spirituality." This sculpture seems proportioned to measure points of yogic meditation, the root of the *skambha* at his spine, and so on through the yogic *cakras* to the crown of his head and the head of the pillar (fig. 96).

I have made one last critical observation about this figure, focusing on what is held in his upper left hand and the remnant of a halo behind (Meister 2009). This sceptre (*dvaja*) has a peculiar cluster of leaves—neither pipal nor lotus—with what seems like a series of seeds emerging from it (fig. 91). The best comparison for this leaf-cluster can be found on reliefs of the first/second century at Mathurā of eight auspicious symbols. These are placed on *āyāgapaṭas*, ceiling slabs, and even on the great umbrella once placed over the head of Friar Bala's *bodhisattva* at Sārnāth (Agrawala 1965). There, one motif that Coomaraswamy 1931: 79 had called '*paṇṇa-pacchi*' (a full pouch), shows a basket of such leaves supporting a strangely marked fruit (some have called it a garland) (fig. 95).

To summarize a longer argument (Meister 2009), the best explanation of what this symbol is comes from looking at reliefs from Bhārhut and Amarāvati, where representations of the jackfruit have been clearly differentiated from the lotus and other plants (fig. 95). The jackfruit, in descriptions from the time of Pliny and later, has been called the 'fruit of the sages', able to feed many ascetics at a time

(Yule/Burnell 1903: 440). The jack tree also has one remarkable feature, that some of its fruits grow upward from its roots. These special jackfruits are repeatedly recorded as of great sweetness and prestige (ibid.: 442). The '*paṇṇa-pacchi*' of the earlist sets of auspicious symbols in my view represents the auspicious jackfruit rising from the ground. By the ninth century, when the lotus had supplanted the more ambiguous *'paṇṇa-pacchi'* marker, a Tibetan list of *aṣṭamaṅgalas* (Wayman 1989) interpreted this as a symbol of radiance, rather than its common association with water cosmology (Coomaraswamy 1993).

Why the jackfruit? Perhaps in the world of cults near the turn of the first millennium B.C.E. the jack was taken, first by the Buddhists, to be the vast tree at the center of Jambudvīpa (a river of sweetness flowing from its roots). As examples, Aśoka's edicts refer to the 'continent of the rose apple' as some would translate it (although the rose apple of Bengal, which the British took to be *jambu*, is only a small tree imported into India from southeast Asia); a label inscribed at Bhārhut on a scene showing a tree-spirit handing out food and drink identified the tree as '*jambu*' (Lüders 1963: 170); and an inscription on the veranda of the first-century C.E. *caitya* cave at Karli recorded that this rock-mansion, established by Seṭh Bhūtapāla, was "the most excellent in Jambudvīpa" (Burgess 1881: 28).

Priests in Bengal still use pots of jack leaves in home rituals, looking very much like the *pūrṇaghaṭa* set to one side of the '*paṇṇa-pacchi*' symbol in some *aṣṭamaṅgala* sets. I take the sceptre in the hand of our image as a '*jambu-dvaja*' (Monier-Williams 1899: 412, referring to the cosmic tree itself), its radiance—its ring of ovoid seeds resembling those of the jackfruit—a powerful part of its cosmogonic symbolism (figs. 95, 96).

If this unique sculpture can be taken as an image of a Mahāyogin, 'great *yogin*'; Yogīśvara, 'Lord of *yoga*'; Mahādeva, 'Great Lord'—it is also about an aspiration toward human transcendence that has great antiquity in India. That these ideas still had cultic potency at Kāfirkoṭ in the sixth and seventh centuries seems to me likely, in ways stranger and less easily parsed than through the canons of later Hinduism. Perhaps that is why the Uḍi-Śāhi kings were attracted to existing ancient holy centers in this region, yet also felt the necessity, in reclaiming these sites in the ninth and tenth centuries, to redesign temples built at a time of cultic fluidity to make them both 'modern' and more conventional.

Platform Extensions

Kāfirkoṭ, Temples C and E

Characteristic of the early years of Uḍi-Śāhi hegemony at Kāfirkoṭ in the ninth and tenth centuries was the reshaping and expansion of older shrines. Both Temples C and E had plinths enlarged, embedding projecting stairs with limestone extensions that sealed up cells in the face of their earlier *kañjūr* platforms (fig. 97). Both temples were enclosed within large cloistered compounds during this phase. Coins of Sāmanta (ca. mid-ninth century) were found at floor level in both compounds. These extensions had a clear stratigraphy in excavation; each was built against the finished front face of an existing platform, and chambers in this face were filled in. In the case of temple C at Kāfirkoṭ, the flight of *kañjūr* steps projecting from the original platform was retained, limestone extensions added to the platform on either side (figs. 71). Walls connecting Temple C's compound to the Māri showed limestone blocks above existing *kañjūr* walls and a small *kañjūr* platform between was also expanded with limestone. Temple E, on the other hand, expanded its platform by embedding its projecting *kañjūr* stairway in a limestone extension with new limestone treads above (fig. 97).

Bilot, Temples A and D

Temple A at Bilot may have had platform extensions to either side of stairs projecting from its platform that are suggested now—following clearance by the Public Works Department early in the twentieth century—by a trace of their foundations (fig. 69). The masonry cladding for this temple's high platform has not survived. A portion of limestone ashlar masonry forming part of the south wall of the excavated compound, however, may suggest second-phase construction.

Temple D at Bilot presents a more formidable set of possibilities. The late sixth-century sanctum and entry were built toward the west end of a rectangular platform. A stairway leading up to this platform on the east is now flanked by domed subterranean chambers, their façades missing, with ground plans that suggest they once functioned as east-facing shrines at ground level (fig. 68). Temple D was the preeminent temple at Bilot in the seventh century. It may, however, have had its platform extended to either side of a projecting stairway some

time early in the eighth century to accommodate these large east-facing domed chambers (figs. 101, 102). Only excavation might tell for sure.

The facing masonry of Temple D's platform is badly preserved, except on the southeast corner of its south face, where it provides a wall for one of these east-facing chambers (figs. 100, 101). Made of courses of *kañjūr* masonry above a limestone foundation, this façade is ornamented with plinth-and-torus mouldings, pseudo-Corinthian pilasters with modillions, a row of saw-tooth fringe between. A small sunk niche is framed by two half pillars that support a broad pediment; a small free-floating split-*candraśālā* pediment is placed on the wall to the right. This ornamentation compares more closely to Temples A and E than to Temple D (figs. 20, 23).

A critical shift in the development of Nāgara ornament was when 'moon-window' motifs began to interlock to form a web of surface patterning resembling nested pediments (fig. 62). This is not the case for Bilot Temple D or Kāfirkoṭ Temples A–C; it is integral to the ornament of Bilot Temples A and E (and this bit of Temple D's present platform). To an art historian and archaeologist the seriation of such patterning, as also the evolution and complexity of plans and elevation, are a necessary kind of 'stratigraphy' in the reconstruction of a site's history. Neither it nor the stratigraphy of excavation can be discarded, but both must be reconciled by forming testable hypotheses.

My working premise is that Temple D stood originally on a rectangular platform with a stairway projecting to the east, as had Temple A and Kāfirkoṭ's Temple C (figs. 68, 69, 71). If there were east-facing cells flanking the stairs, as on Kāfirkoṭ Temples C and E, these are unrecoverable without excavation. This platform seems to have been extended to accommodate larger sub-shrine chambers to either side of the platform's projecting stairway sometime shortly after Temple A was built. Such enlarged chambers would have continued to serve ritual practice requiring east-facing shrines.

That paired free-standing sub-shrines with *latina* towers were constructed over these subterranean chambers later in the eighth century (Temple E, fig. 100) facing south and north would seem to signal a change in ritual orientation before the rise of the Uḍi Śāhis. The two conjoined shrines, Temples F–G, which can suggest a cloistered compound, also come from his period (fig. 103). Such a sequence suggests a more subtle seriation than had the excavations at Kāfirkoṭ.

This phasing, however, may help explain what preliminary excavations in front of Temples A and B at Kāfirkoṭ recovered. Both no

longer have finished platforms, but rather stand on foundational cores against which earthen extensions were added, with roughly made chambers at ground level and a shallow stepped approach between (fig. 66). The bits of *kañjūr* side landings discovered for both seem shifted and reused (figs. 87, 89). This may have happened in the same period as the extension of Bilot Temple D's platform; the proportional consequences of extending their platforms seem comparable (fig. 98), even if the remains at Kāfirkoṭ are fragmentary and disturbed. The entrance to the ground-level south chamber in front of Temple A has *kañjūr* stonework to either side, set on the south directly against the ashlar limestone of Temple E's compound (fig. 87). Part of this dislocation at Kāfirkoṭ may have had to do with the campaign to expand the compounds of Temples E and C in the ninth century. Without further excavation, we can recover little else (Meister 2005b).

At Kāfirkoṭ, northeast of Temple E's compound, where Temple A's extension was exposed (figs. 79, 87), Rehman observed that the "cloistered platform of Temple E runs under the platform of Temple A." The two chambers unearthed in front of Temple A are unequal in dimension, however. That on the south is built directly against the extended wall of Temple E's colonnade, its *kañjūr* doorframe mortared to the roughly backed stones of Temple E's compound, much as limestone bases were inserted against the walls of Temple C (fig. 74) in Kāfirkoṭ's second phase. This suggests adjustments to Temple A as Temple E was being expanded. Rehman's field notes record that "in one of these chambers associated with Temple A was found a coin of Sāmanta." We know from living temples elsewhere that both the praxis and physical form of temples in use often change over time. It is the intermediate lives of these monuments that further archaeology at Bilot and Kāfirkoṭ could help us define.

Amb and Nandana

Partially cleared in 1920 by the Archaeological Survey (ASNC[H]PR 1921: 6), the "ruined plinth" of Temple B at Amb is large enough for there to have been a substantial pillared hall in front of the surviving vestibule (fig. 109). Daya Ram Sahni re-set the stones of the stairway on the west but recommended no attempt be made to replace flanking structures for lack of any evidence of their nature. He compared the remnants of the platform's surface to "*stupa* plinths in Gandhara" (fig. 108). Whether or not Temple B reused an earlier plinth, as seems

to have occurred at Katās and Nandana, cannot be determined from the remains. Coins and sculptures found in the fort, however, confirm the ancient and continuing occupation of the site.

At Nandana, there also is evidence of plinths and terraces much earlier than the construction of Temple A. Of a massive ruin to the northeast, Stein 1937: 40–41 had observed that the "decorative scheme with its pilasters [of the plinth] distinctly reminded me of that seen on the bases of large *stūpas* examined by me in Swāt." This suggested to him "that this strange massive pile had originally consisted of the drum and dome of a *stūpa*." A small later mosque, built in front of the west-facing Temple A, which to Stein "appeared to have been built within the ruins of an older and large structure," completed reuse of the site. The Salt Range Temple Project had planned to carry out exploratory excavations at Amb, but circumstances have not made that possible.

CHAPTER FOUR

ORIGINAL VARIATIONS IN TENTH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURE

Visiting Gandhāra in the seventh century, the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang 1906 noted, along with many Buddhist sites then in decline, hundreds of Hindu structures for which very little evidence remains. If there is a Gandhāran legacy in Hindu temple architecture of subsequent centuries, however, it took two paths: one, a unique tradition of temples with two-tiered pyramidal roofs with gables built in Kashmir from at least the reign of Lalitāditya in the eighth century (fig. 4). The other was an independent tradition, both in Gandhāra and south, in the Salt Range and along the Indus, that merged a *latina* tower to a Gandhāran base (fig. 13), which we have described in previous chapters. This project has focused on the consequences of this second lineage and its contribution to the history of temples of Nāgara form. Both regions were politically interconnected, and it is not surprising for their architects at times to interact. Their common heritage, however, does not demonstrate the derivation of one from the other.

Kashmir in particular remained remarkably insular in developing its bi-level peak-roofed temple form. A few limited quotations from the Nāgara decorative repertory of the plains—an occasional *āmalaka* or *candraśālā*—crept into ninth/tenth-century Kashmir decoration. Architects in the Salt Range and along the Indus were more open and experimental (Meister 1997). In addition to developing a unique formulation for late Gandhāra-Nāgara temples at Katās, Amb, Bilot, and Nandana in the tenth century (fig. 111), these architects built several unique and instructive experiments in the tenth century that need a separate description.

Pattan, Rahimyar Khan, Mināra (Pattan Munāra)

Rahimyar Khan in the Punjab is far away from the Salt Range, on the edge of the Cholisthan desert, but one tenth-century temple there needs to be compared to what was being built in the Northwest. Closer to Jaisalmer than to the Indus River, Pattan was a crossroads. The 'lighthouse tower' (fig. 113), known now as Pattan Mināra, is the

ruined core of a red-brick temple related to architecture in Marudeśa (Dhaky 1975) as well as, in a limited way, to the Salt Range. A temple of considerable architectural importance, it has largely slipped out of South Asia's scholarly attention (Meister 2006).

Background

The core of this temple stands proudly, if in somewhat forlorn isolation, on the Cholistan desert ca. five miles east of Rahimyar Khan (fig. 114). In the nineteenth century, Pattan Munāra continued to be the focus of an important annual fair. Mughal 1997: 36, 146 identified its tower as "remains of a pre-Islamic shrine" and the site as "early historical and Islamic." Commented on in a series of Gazetteers during the British period, this structure received brief archaeological attention when Vats 1929 reported on it in the Archaeological Survey of India's *Annual Report for 1926–27*. The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* 1908: 73 located Pattan Munāra "in the Naushahra *tehsil* of Bahāwalpur State, Punjab, situated in 28E 15' N. and 70E 22' E., 5 miles east of Rahīmyār Khan."

Perhaps the earliest published report on the structure was by Lieut.-Col. B. R. Branfill 1882, but "the writer having no leisure to visit this place sent a native messenger." He did plead that "It is to be desired that photographs and a full description of this ancient relic should be taken and published." Cousens 1929 followed up on Branfill's report of carved stones at nearby Vijnot, but not on the brick tower at Pattan Munāra. Branfill recorded his informant's description of a stone sanctum door, no longer present: "A small low door on the west side gives access to a little vacant chamber. The jambs, lintel, and sill of the doorway are of (red sand-)stone, carved with a row of deep rectangular incisions, and the remains of a lion's head in front of the sill."

Auj 1991: 84 called the tower at Pattan Munāra "another stupa built during the time of Kanishka" and noted that "Apart from Buddhist stupas of Sui Vihar and Pattan Munara which are in Cholistan, the other two stupas of the Indus valley are at Mirpur Khas and Thul Mir Rukan in Sind." His principal source for Pattan Munāra was the entry in the Bahawalpur District Gazetteer (*Panjab State Gazetteer* 1908: 377), which referred to the tower at Pattan Munāra as a "Buddhist monastery" and reported that "the second storey was pulled down by Bahadur Khan Halani in 1740 A.D. and a brick was discovered which bore an inscription in Sanskrit showing the monastery was erected in

the time of Alexander the Great." Auj 1991: 85–89 allowed that "The identification of Pattan Munara with Alor, the old capital of Sind during the rule of Rai Chach is probably correct" and cited Tod 1920: 1283 saying that Alor "was one of the 'nine divisions of Maru' governed by the Pramar." The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* 1908: 73 reported that a "Sanskrit inscription, now lost, is said to have recorded the existence of an ancient monastery." The *Panjab State Gazetteer*, vol. 36a, 1908: 377 described the structure as it survived in the nineteenth century in the following way: "The only piece of ancient architecture . . . is a tower which stood in the centre of four similar but smaller towers all forming a Buddhist monastery. The four towers which were joined to the central tower at its upper storey existed in dilapidated condition as late as the beginning of the 18th century, when they were pulled down."

Surviving Remains

The west-facing structure that survives today, however, tells its own story (figs. 113–115). On a high mound, an elegantly constructed brick cella with an upper chamber rests on a foundational core (*bhiṭṭa*). The pedestal (*pīṭha*) consists of plinth and torus; and wall mouldings (*vedībandha*), of hoof (*khura*), shoulder (*kumbha*), pot (*kalaśa*), and cyma eave (*kapotapālī*) (fig. 118). These are mouldings typical of temples in Western India. The wall's five offsets have a beautifully finished brickwork frieze, plain save for a garland of pearl chains and half-lotuses at the top and a simple pedimented niche on the central offset. The complex cornice at the top of the wall consists of a pair of cyma mouldings to either side of a broad recessed band of palm-leaf pattern (fig. 114).

The cubical 'upper storey' with a chamber inside (fig. 113) is in fact the core of the lower register of a now dismantled multi-spired *śikhara* built over a sanctum with a surrounding ambulatory corridor. The four subsidiary 'towers' of the 'monastery' described by the Bahawalpur Gazetteer—no longer present—were the corner buttresses of this elaborate tower, framing the circumambulatory path (fig. 119). Such a well-finished core can be seen exposed beneath the surviving central tower of a ruinous nine-spired *śikhara* crowning a ninth-century temple at Harṣa, near Jaitaran in Rajasthan (Meister/Dhaky 1992: 259–263, fig. 580).

Vats 1929: 109–110, while not elaborating on the Gazetteer's discussion of that inscribed brick referring to Alexander's period, did

recognize the architectural nature of this structure. He wrote of the upper storey's sockets:

> They appear to have been meant for the insertion of wooden beams joined together at the projecting ends by crossbeams, over which were raised pillars for supporting the projecting parts of the four subsidiary *sikharas* corbeled out near the middle of the second storey. Decayed pieces of beams, which might have held together the lower frame-work fitted into the holes referred to, still exist on the sides of the tower. The vacant spaces at the corners, between the central and subsidiary *sikharas*, were occupied by tower-like constructions relieved by *chaitya*-roof and gable-mouldings.

He concluded that "the main *sikhara*, which was originally surrounded by four subsidiary spires, furnishes unmistakable evidence of the structure having been a Hindu temple of *Pancharatna* type, the like of which is not known elsewhere." Vats' 1929: fig. 34d photograph of Pattan Munāra before conservation shows two levels of the corner band of the central spire still preserved (fig. 121, right).

Vats compared this temple's brickwork to that at Sirpur and Bhītargāon in eastern and Central India, with which he was intimately familiar, and concluded that "I am disposed to assign [the structure] to the later Gupta period.… Compared with the Lakshmana temple at Sirpur, which has been assigned with great probability to the 7th or 8th century A.D., the Munāra is a much finer work." In fact, the quality of brickwork can more readily be compared to early cut-brick tombs in Pakistan of the Muslim period (Meister 2003) (figs. 138–139).

Reconstruction

It is today possible to place the monument of Pattan Munāra more precisely into the evolution of temple architecture in Western India and to distinguish its uniqueness. Vats, in proposing that the tower of this temple with an enclosed ambulatory had been '*pañcaratna*', borrowed his terminology from late Bengali temples with five towers (McCutchion 1983). A series of stone temples with multi-spired *śikharas* and enclosed ambulatories in Central and Western India, however, are a more relevant comparison for Pattan Munāra (Meister/Dhaky 1992) (figs. 120, 121).

Vats 1929: 110 reported that "the Munara stands on a solid mass of sun-dried bricks and has neither porch nor platform attached to it." Other temples with an inner ambulatory path are configured with

an enclosed hall, with projecting balconies that echo balconies at central points around the ambulatory (fig. 120). Of the large temple at Harṣa, Meister/Dhaky: 259 wrote "As is the case for a number of other *sāndhāra* [ambulatory] temples of the eighth and ninth centuries, the rectangular groundplan…is composed of two squares—one for the *mūlaprāsāda* [sanctum] and the other for the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* [pillared hall]." The broad balconies that project from the ambulatory path around the sanctum focus light on the central niches on the walls of such temples. Four pillars of these balconies are spaced to align with the sanctum's corner and flanking offsets, to frame the central niche on the sanctum wall (fig. 114). In Western India in this period, these balconies can be of two types. Eighth-century ambulatory temples at Chittorgarh, for example, project all four pillars to form a wide balcony (fig. 120b). In western Rajasthan, a different typology prevailed; balconies were framed by thin walls projecting from the corner piers framing the ambulatory, and only the central, more broadly spaced, pair of pillars projected (figs. 120a).

Despite Pattan Munāra's tower-like appearance today (fig. 113), this temple would have had ambulatory balconies and some form of a front hall. Remains of curved levels of large brick domes survive above the crowning mouldings of the sanctum wall (figs. 114, 115). Flat triangular panels carved with quarter-lotuses framed these domes. Vats 1929: 110 observed that "these semi-domes were built on the same design as the dome of the cella." These seem a remarkable extension of the constructional technology pioneered in the Northwest. They may mimic the ornamented stone ceilings of Western India (Nanavati/Dhaky 1964), but they are not built like them. Pattan's 'Minār' has been heavily conserved in recent decades (Mughal 1997: pls. 22, 23), but the remains of these domes remain intact. They acted as ceilings for balconies projecting on north, west, and south and perhaps a larger one for an entry hall to the west. Their scale would have required balconies four pillars wide, as at Chittor (figs. 119, 120).

At Pattan Munāra, the central wall niches have a vaulted interior below a trefoil pediment (figs. 114, 117). Vats 1929:10 observed this as well in 1926–27, describing "arched niches, which occupy the central projection on three sides." This almost disguised knowledge of arched vault and dome-construction connects this temple in some fashion to the Gandhāra-Nāgara architecture of the Northwest (fig. 149). As a distant comparison, the entry hall fronting Māri's Temple B has a

trefoil entry and a dome inside (fig. 46); the front hall of Temple A is vaulted (figs. 44, 45); and many temples in the Gandhāra-Nāgara tradition have wall niches with arcuated entrances. No stone temple in Western India shows knowledge of such construction; no sanctum is domed; highly decorated corbelled ceilings do appear in pillared halls (Nanavati/Dhaky 1964), but not as a roof for ambulatory balconies. In most respects, Pattan Munāra can better be related to stone temple architecture in Western India. Its base mouldings, architectural elements, and ornament fit within the "Mahā-Maru" category Dhaky 1975 first established, and seem comparable to ca. late ninth-/early tenth-century temples in Marudeśa.

While vaults and arches were found in early brick architecture at Bhītargāon and Bodhgayā (figs. 142, 143), they played no part in the seventh/eighth-century brick temples of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, which instead used corbelled interior spaces to lighten the tower's fabric. Yet technology does linger in isolated pockets. A small number of surviving *latina* brick temples from the tenth century at Ṭiṭhaurā and Kurārī, in Madhyadeśa, have interior domes and squinches. Krishna Deva (Dhaky 1998: 87) wrote that the sanctum interior of the Viṣṇu Temple at Ṭiṭhaurā "has a domical ceiling of three diminishing concentric rings, the largest resting over corner squinches supported on thick timber beams."

The cubical brick core of the superstructure now visible above the broken ambulatory ceilings at Pattan Munāra (fig. 113) would have been hidden within an ascending construction of two levels, each supporting corner *latina* towers, making the *śikara* nine-spired. Vats 1929: pl. 34d published an important photograph of the Mināra before conservation showing a part of the southwest corner of the central tower surviving (fig. 121, right). Comparable temples in Western India in many cases have had their superstructures damaged or rebuilt, perhaps because of the difficult engineering of such a structure and the region's not infrequent earthquakes. I compare a detail of Vats' photograph with one of the multi-spired superstructure of the ca. 850–875 Mālādevī temple at Gyaraspur, Madhya Pradesh, to suggest the kind of appearance Pattan Munāra would once have had (fig. 121).

Afterlife

That Pattan Munāra was particularly important throughout the desert regions through many centuries was recorded in early British Gazetteers (*Panjab State Gazetteers* 1908: 378): "The Hindu Rājas and chiefs

of Sindh, Bikāner, and Jaisalmer used to visit the tower as late as the beginning of the 18th century and annually celebrated a *mela*, called Shivarātrī, in the month of Māngh." A structure used for that festival was torn down only in the nineteenth century according to the same source and a mosque was built to discourage Muslim women from worshiping the temple's *liṅga* for fertility. While carrying out field research in Marwar, however, I found no memory of this festival at Pattan among residents of the desert regions of western Rajasthan. Although a part of Pattan Munāra survives, its ritual life does not.

Malot and Shiv-Gangā

At Malot in the Salt Range, ca. seven miles downstream from Katās, architects built a temple in the tenth century seemingly mimicking the square plan and pyramidal bi-level typology of Kashmir (figs. 122–128). Marriage alliances may explain this, but local architects built the temple, and scholars have largely misinterpreted the result. This temple can neither demonstrate Kashmiri hegemony in this region nor define temples in the Salt Range.

Historiography

The temple was visited in 1848 by General James Abbott 1849: 131–137 whose account was accompanied by two sketches of the temple. He poignantly reported that "I write at great disadvantage so many hundreds of miles from any books of reference, and with a memory almost unrefreshed by study during five and twenty years." Cunningham 1875: 85–90 speculated that Malot was the site of Xuanzang's Simhapura. Stein 1937 perhaps more accurately associated Simhapura with the valley of Mūrti, southwest of Malot, where a great *stūpa* once stood (fig. 1b). According to Cunningham's report, which he accompanied with plans of both the temple and the fort it stands near,

> the only remains of any antiquity at Mallot are a temple and gateway in the Kashmirian style of architecture. They are built of a coarse sandstone of various shades of ochreous red and yellow, and many parts have suffered severely from the action of the weather, the surface having altogether crumbled away.… The exterior pyramidal roof of the structure has long ago disappeared.

Cunningham remarked, without observing the Nāgara shrines inside, that the large trefoil 'vaults' on the cardinal faces of this temple "have

a T shaped key-stone two courses in depth, similar to those in the temples of Kashmir." These are, however, shaped from the horizontal masonry of the wall (fig. 122).

Architectural Form

The Malot temple consisted of a central shrine and a gateway to the east, but lacks the enclosing compound of cells common to many temples in Kashmir (fig. 128). It was built of sandstone from the Salt Range, as at nearby Mūrti. On each wall, gigantic fluted pillars, topped by an *āmalaka*, block capital, and entablature, support a high trefoil vault (fig. 122). Within these are sub-shrine models with recessed cellas (fig. 126), their entries also framed by fluted pillars and trefoil vaults. Both the larger fluted frame and the sub-shrine entries mimic the sanctum's entry and vestibule on the east (fig. 123). The smaller fluted columns that flank these sub-shrine chambers support a kind of head-house, above a multi-lobed *toraṇa* and crowning face-of-glory (*kīrttimukha*), that frames the central vault of the trefoil entry (fig. 130). Above this is a band of now much abraded images. The superstructure above is a representation of a large Nāgara tower with flanking *latina* turrets (figs. 122, 126).

The double-high attached columns and trefoil arches that frame these Nāgara sub-shrine representations have shallow quarter columns within that support an additional echoing layer of trefoil framing (fig. 126). The temple is presumed to have been capped by a pyramidal roof with peaked dormers—now largely lost and replaced by a watchtower—a form common to Kashmir and suggested by shrine models in the entry gateway (fig. 124).

Both scale and siting make this temple dominant in its region, but its eclectic nature marked more the diversity of Uḍi-Śāhi patronage late in their rule, not Kashmiri control of the Punjab. Stein 1937: 58 captured its preeminent position well: "It stands in impressive isolation on a bare rocky spur close to where the southern edge of the Salt Range, here nearly 3,000 feet above sea-level, falls off with precipitous cliffs towards the plain." Stein also noted that, two and a half miles north, "a little hollow filled with luxuriant vegetation holds the small Hindu sanctuary of Shibgangā by the side of a pool fed by springs.… The temple is constructed in the Kashmirian style, but it has been so heavily covered with plaster that none of the original decoration of the walls is now visible."

Most crucial to our understanding of the architectural originality of the temple at Malot, and of architects in the Punjab in this period, is the least commented on aspect of this remarkable monument, the large curvilinear models of shrines that fill the central projections on its walls. Of these, while describing in detail the tall fluted attached pillars of the wall, Cunningham 1875: 27 mentioned only that in "the recess between the pilasters is a highly ornamented niche with trefoiled arch, flanked by small fluted pilasters. The roof of the niche first narrows by regular steps, and then widens into a bold projecting balcony, which supports three miniature temples, the middle one reaching up to the top of the great trefoiled recess." He does not describe these "three miniature temples" at all. That these are curvilinear, following the Nāgara conventions of Northern India, and that together they suggest the multi-spired forms of tower—both *anekāṇḍaka* (with 'not one tower', for a temple with circumambulatory walls) and *śekharī* (multi-clustered *śikhara* designed for temples without an ambulatory)—which architects had developed by the tenth century, none of those scholars who have advocated a 'Kashmiri style' in the Punjab seems to have observed.

What I have called the 'Gandhāra-Nāgara' typology for temples in the Punjab from the sixth through the tenth centuries represents a particular local and original variation of *latina* formation for the Nāgara superstructure. In the tenth century—as multi-spired forms of Nāgara tower set new standards across Northern India—images that suggest these appeared as models on the walls at Malot, signalling both this temple's local and translocal connections and its architects' knowing and creative originality.

If the overall form of the temple at Malot does consciously mimic the architectonic massing and pent-roof model of Kashmir, it is almost unique in doing so in the Salt Range. Only the now ruinous and remade structure at the grove of Shiv-Gangā nearby also seems perhaps to have had a pyramidal roof. Built probably at a time in the tenth century when a strong matrimonial and political link did exist between the Uḍi-Śāhi kings and Kashmir, the temples at Malot and Shiv-Gangā were constructed in distinctive local sandstone by architects who chose to make a rhetorical point by framing Nāgara models over the temple's cardinal niches by the fluted pillars, trefoil arches, and attic pediments typical of Kashmiri shrines.

Māri-Indus, Temple C

Cunningham 1882: 25 reported on the remains of temples on the hill above Māri that the largest "was an oblong building, 78 by 28 feet, divided into three parts, evidently an entrance hall, a central hall, and a sanctum. The next was 48 feet square. Three others were respectively 14 feet square, 15 by 13 feet, and 8 ½ by 7 ½ feet." The smaller of these are the *latina*-Nāgara Temples B and A (fig. 131) previously discussed. The square platforms Cunningham noted may have been plinths of earlier *stūpas*, of which little now remains. Of mounds much devastated by treasure hunters, Mumtaz/Akbar 1989: 32 reported that the largest, "according to local people, was a residence of the ruler of the area." These ruins preserve remains of a large temple, designated Temle E, built on a high platform (fig. 132). This temple had a square inner sanctum, ambulatory path, and outer walls with central projections (fig. 133). The platform had a flight of steps on the east and space for a large fronting hall. The high face of this platform preserves only traces of original ornament, with characteristic mouldings of plinth, torus, and straight reverse ovolo with pilasters above (Fig. 107, top).

The ground plan of Temple C as it can tentatively be reconstructed is remarkable in this region; its inner circumambulatory path seems to measure the extended offset projections on the outer walls. Remains of thin pilasters mark broad corners; intermediate offsets support small square pillarets with spirelets (*śṛṅgas*) in the superstructure (fig. 136). The square pillarets seem to have been ornamented with half floral-diamonds; the spirelets have five vertical bands and survive on two levels.

Only a part of the north outer face of Temple C survives (fig. 134). A central projection contains a corbelled cavity framed by a distinctive 'Kashmiri-style' split pediment; the lower part once framed the stepped arch of a ruined niche below; the upper part frames a trefoil arch with an abraded image, perhaps of Sūrya with one of his female attendants to his left (fig. 135). The framing trefoil has foliated swirls, and can be compared to trefoil-framed wooden sculptures in the British Museum from Kashmir Smast, Swāt. Above the truncated upper pediment is a row of saw-tooth fringe. What appear to be half-lotuses and *candraśālās* ornament the top band of the split pediment below.

The split pediment on the central projection (fig. 134) suggests that a hip-roofed gable may have been above, its scale and relationship to the top of the wall is somewhat different from what is found

in Kashmir (fig. 4). While the shattered remains of the temple's superstructure hint at a multi-spired tower, with a cluster of curvilinear spirelets over intermediate piers (fig. 136), what its central and corner spires were like—covering the broad span above the inner ambulatory and sanctum—cannot be reconstructed.

The temple at Malot has central shrine models with curvilinear Nāgara towers flanked by extra turrets. Temple C at Māri-Indus had central niches marked by split hip-roof pediments framing trefoil arches that suggest the gabled pyramidal form of roof that once crowned Malot. Temple C seems almost a reverse response to the local experiment found at Malot, and an answer to it, with split pediments of 'Kashmiri' form sheltering central niches, but flanking equilateral offsets with spirelets that suggest knowledge of the evolving multi-spired formulas of Nāgara architecture in the tenth century.

At both Māri-Indus and Malot—almost as a kind of architectural question and response—architects seem knowingly to have marked their temples as eclectic and original. Only in the tenth century did the Salt Range wear its political alliances so prominently on its architectural sleeve through such experiments as these.

CHAPTER FIVE

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

For over a decade I have divided my research in the field between two projects. In Pakistan, as this monograph records, in collaboration with the Pakistan Heritage Society, we surveyed, documented, and analysed temples along the Indus and in the Salt Range. We excavated in the fort at north Kāfirkoṭ for two seasons, finding evidence for several phases of construction for the fort's temples—one when temples were built first in the sixth-to-eighth centuries, and a second in the ninth and tenth centuries when Uḍi-Śāhi rulers reclaimed sites of ancient importance, reformulating temples and expanding their compounds. Critical to these conclusions was recovering a previously unknown Temple E (figs. 76–86). We could compare activity at this site to phases found at Bilot Kāfirkoṭ and elsewhere. We also surveyed the fortress at Amb in the Salt Range, finding fortifications of an early period, with overlapping layers of rebuilding, and coins of the Kuṣāna and Uḍi-Śāhi periods exposed by a recent road cut, but were unable to carry out further excavation. We did record stories from later periods that culturally remapped the landscape of the site (Meister 2005a).

Restoration and Transformation

I have also approached restoration, reoccupation, and redefinition of temples as a process of self-preservation of sacred sites, ethnographically (or ethnohistorically) through a multi-disciplinary project sponsored by the J. Paul Getty Trust on "Continuities of Community Patronage, Pilgrimage Temples of Western India" (Meister 2008; Babb/Cort/Meister 2008). A team that consisted of an historian of religion, John E. Cort, a sociologist and anthropologist, L. A. Babb, and me as art historian focused in part on two of the many temples at Osiāñ, 58 km west of Jodhpur in Rajasthan. That site has a number of shrines still standing that were first built in the eighth century, at about the same time as the archaeological remains I have studied in Pakistan. I should like briefly to compare results of these two projects.

The temples at Osiāñ have been well known since D. R. Bhandarkar's 1912: 100–115 visit in 1904 and publication of his archaeological report on them. Scattered across the desert, these monuments are framed by two living shrines: the Mahāvīra Jain temple—the oldest structural Jain temple in India (Dhaky 1968)—and the Sacciyāmātā temple, built on a hill at the center of the site. The Sacciyāmātā temple was dedicated to a local goddess who, according to Jain hagiography, converted to Jain ways, although a number of other communities continue to worship her in differing fashions (Meister 1995). The orientation of the site links another hillock, that known as Luṇādri in the Oswal Jain myth of the goddess's conversion, which speaks of a Jain sage who settled there eighty years after the death of Mahāvīra, leading to the building of a Jain temple (Babb 1993).

That hillock has a small modern structure sheltering two plaques of Jain sages' footprints, one inscribed 1189 C.E., A line of largely abandoned eighth-century Vaiṣṇava temples on the desert below the Luṇādri hill stretches west toward the north-facing Mahāvīra shrine and its neighboring Jain school, established early in the twentieth century. The temple complex on the Sacciyāmātā hill to the north is oriented to the southwest, as if in deference to the location of the Mahāvīra temple. In the catchment area between the Mahāvīra temple and Sacciyāmātā's hill, a large compound step-well—part of a larger system to capture and retain water—was constructed at the end of the eighth century, shortly after the Sacciyāmātā and Mahāvīra temples were first built.

One part of our research involved reconstruction of phases in the lives of these temples, both in the distant and the recent past. To illustrate this, I worked with two young architects in Jodhpur, had drawings scanned, and then finished drawings and added new ones in Philadelphia. A small shrine to the northwest of the Sacciyāmātā temple's compound, for example, was a gateway shrine in the eighth century, in ruins at the time of Bhandarkar's visit, remade into a 'Shri Satya Narayan' temple in the 1920s, and had its archaeologically important entry pavilion dismantled in the 1970s.

On the Sacciyāmātā hill, another shrine built in the eighth century survives—the 'Sūrya' temple just to the south of the present Sacciyāmātā temple's sanctum. This shrine had partly collapsed in Bhandarkar's day, was rebuilt by the grandfathers and great-grandfathers of priests and workmen still active at the site today, and is now fully incorporated into the temple's expanding compound. Three additional sub-

shrines for Sacciyāmātā's temple were added in the tenth and eleventh centuries; and the temple to the goddess itself was rebuilt in 1177 by a banker named Gayapāla, the smaller eighth-century temple paired with the present Sūrya shrine replaced by the towering structure still in worship today.

This pattern of replacement, reformulation, and rededication has proved to be part of the process by which these temples have survived, from the eighth to the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries and to today. This has been true of both the Sacciyāmātā and Mahāvīra temples, and of other temples in the past. The Sacciyāmātā compound today is surrounded by nine newly built shrines for the Navadurgās, approached up a stairway sheltered by ten gateways built in the past thirty years, and encumbered with new dormitories for pilgrims. Laws governing temple management and ownership have led to substantial reformulation of the temple; and a rapidly developing interest by a diaspora of Oswal Jains in the healing powers of Sacciyāmātā has poured resources into the hands of the local temple trust. This has in part created a 'new' temple institution, responsive to modern tastes and patronage. Its goddess is local to this place, yet increasingly rediscovered by communities disbursed in India and able more easily to come on holiday for pilgrimage.

At the turn of the last century, the temple was much more self-contained. Bhandarkar was told that the goddess was the tutelary deity primarily of Sāṁkalā Rajputs. Her priests lived in a set of rooms within the temple's fortress-like compound, perhaps configured in the late Mughal period, that Bhandarkar was not able to document in his sketch plan. The growing popularity of this temple during festival periods and for modern constituencies has reoriented this compound's austere façade, made new paths for large crowds to wend their way through on major occasions like Navarātri, and provided 'funding opportunities' outside the temple's original compound for clients to build facilities for pilgrims and additional shrines. As a measure of the scale and rapidity of this change in pilgrimage use of Osiāñ, we came upon an early twentieth-century printed advertisement in the Jain school's library encouraging pilgrims to visit the newly refurbished Mahāvīra temple and the goddess temple at Osiāñ by using the newly built narrow-gage rail line from Jodhpur to Pokaran, which made such an arduous journey much less difficult than before.

The Mahāvīra Temple also has undergone numerous transformations, in the past as well as in the last forty years. The temple had

been left almost abandoned early in the nineteenth century, with no Jains living in Osiāñ itself and nearby Jain communities committed to '*sthānakvāsī*' practices—that is, to not worshiping images in temples. Only the priests of the Sacciyāmātā Temple kept the Jain Temple's compound alive (they still speak of both structures forming one temple today), then as now serving multiple communities with multiple purposes who came to each temple.

The sandstone Mahāvīra Temple that survives was first built late in the eighth century, yet the compound was partly reformulated and rededicated in 956 as reported in a long historical inscription added at the entry (Handa 1984: 216–218). Sub-shrines, gates, pillars, and a large ceiling for the gateway were contributed to the compound in subsequent centuries and the sanctum's superstructure was replaced in the fifteenth century, suggesting a continual process of rebuilding and renewal (which Jains refer to as *jīrṇoddhār*).

Late in the ninteenth century, a Jain sage wandering through Osiāñ, Ratnavijay, 'rediscovered' the Mahāvīra Temple and urged the neighboring Jain community in Phalodi to pay for its restoration and rededication. A non-temple-worshiping sage named Jñānsundar, who attended that rededication ceremony early in the twentieth century, was converted to temple worship by Ratnavijay, who instructed him to found a Jain school to preserve the temple and to return a Jain population to Osiāñ. Jñansundar dedicated the rest of his life trying to reestablish a lineage of sages from Osiāñ, dying only in the 1950s.

In the last thirty years, the Mahāvīra Temple again has undergone reformulation, with funds from the Anandji Kalyanji Trust in Ahmedabad. In order to accommodate the activities of Jain schoolboys and a growing community of pilgrims and tourists, the shallow open porch of the temple was substantially expanded, taking pillars from the two-storeyed entry pavilion built first in the eighth century and previously reformulated in the tenth, twelfth, and nineteenth centuries. This process of reconstruction has of course changed the temple in significant ways. One part of our work at Osiāñ was to retrace this process of recent patronage and renovation at both temples and to recover historical as well as archaeological evidence of both recent and ancient transformations.

The Jain Temple today can also only be fully understood in relation to the Jain school attached to it, doubling its compound early in the century. That institution, built first in 1915 and added to further over

the years, has transformed the temple, redefining the orphaned shrine as part of a larger living community institution. The original school's cool courtyard now acts as an office and as a place for Jain pilgrims and ascetics to stay; new student dormitories and a Government-of-Rajastan supported school have been built nearby. The school's classes have shifted several times into larger facilities, most recently to neighboring Government-built buildings in the 1970s. These have helped reestablish and reassert an ancient relationship between the renewed Jain community and the Sacciyāmātā Temple, a view of which the new school axially frames. This special declaration may in part be the accidental product of old orientations embedded in the site; but in part it is ironic, given the recent power of the Sacciyāmātā Temple Trust. There continues a standoff between the local goddess and Mahāvīra, and between those Jains who worship in Jain temples and those who do not, yet visit the goddess for her miracle cures.

Can archaeology learn from these living temples? Among the temples we studied in Pakistan, only pilgrimage centers at Katās and Pattan Munāra (figs. 5, 113) have had limited continuing ritual histories. The water source at Katās is said to have been "one of the two ponds that filled up with Shiva's tears when his wife Sati died" and an annual fair there attracted thousands of pilgrims before national Independence separated worshipers from the site. In recent years, however, tourist facilities have been inaugurated for a return of pilgrims, as possibilities for travel, tourism, and cross-border agreements have increased ("Brick laid to revive temples in Pakistan," *Indian Express*, June 4, 2005).

At Kāfirkoṭ or Bilot, little of the fine grain of recent transformations that were recoverable at Osiāñ can be reconstructed through archaeology, yet it can show how the relationship between the 'Māri' and Temple C at Kāfirkoṭ changed between first- and second-phase construction. Both 'problems' of platform extensions at Bilot and Kāfirkoṭ and iconographic challenges suggested by the placement of platform sub-shrines or the sculpture found in front of Temple B raise related questions. All these fortresses suggest an ongoing sacrality as well as places of power, with older structures reused or replaced, new ones added, and histories of changing patronage and multiple use impossible to reconstruct.

Has my combination of ethnographic and archaeological projects helped each? Work at Osiāñ unquestionably required archaeological

framing on which ethnographic changes could be mapped. Archaeological phases in Pakistan could also be analyzed better with a knowledge of how temples have functioned and survived. Summarizing our results in Rajasthan, we wrote that "a temple is not a structure of one period or a single community." It moves through time, and must be repositioned constantly to survive. Both temples and the communities they serve continually redefine their pasts and renegotiate the present. Sacciyāmātā stands above Osiāñ today, still a mystery to multiple communities, her presence continually remade.

At Kāfirkoṭ in Pakistan, in order to expose the two trefoil-arched sub-shrines set into the east face of the platform of the seventh-century Temple E, we had to remove parts of a ninth-century limestone extension of the temple's basement that had filled in and hidden those older cellas. A similar extension had hidden niches in the platform of Temple C. Compounds were expanded, new facilities provided, and, in my view, both temples ritually were redefined. Sacrality of the site survived, but the social setting changed, as has repeatedly been the case at Osiāñ.

Yes, I believe ethnographic experience can inform archaeology. That praxis is practice can in part be revealed by the stones. The archaeological layering of a monument that lived once, as at Kāfirkoṭ, can be better understood if one also has experience of still living monuments and knowledge of how they change. The stone sculpture of a transforming sage we found at Kāfirkoṭ, in its foundational iconography, can better be understood by allusion to those living munis and charismatic ascetics that periodically have helped transform the living temples at Osiāñ.

Stein's analysis of the archaeological layerings at Katās (Chapter 1) links only tenuously to the life of this pilgrimage center in the past two centuries, or of attempts to reactivate it today. The faint shadow of multi-community activities at Pattan Munāra in the eighteenth century, recorded by early Gazetteers, leaves no trace today. Only further archaeological explorations will be able to parse the vast foundations in the fortress at Amb.

I share, however, the ecumenical enthusiasm of Kamal Khan Mumtaz 1989: 2, who felt that an appraisal of these "temples of Koh-e-Jud and Thar" required that "a new chapter had to be added to the story of the development of Hindu temple architecture in the sub-continent" and that these structures "represent an invaluable link between the

Ghandara and Sultanate periods, vividly illustrating the derivations, continuities and stages of developments in the architecture of this region." Recent analyses of Ghurid monuments in South Asia also have suggested such an integration of legacies (Flood 2001; Meister 2003; Patel 2004).

Archaeology and Folklore

At Amb, lacking both ethnographic or further archaeological opportunity, Abdur Rehman and I still found the story of Rāja Saiful recorded by the local historian, Ahmad Ghazali 1993, suggestive of the long potency of the site (Meister 2005a). Archaeology may further reveal the early history of this fortress, its use by Kuṣānas, Buddhists, Hindus in Śāhi periods—its many visitors—but not the continuing potency of the site today.

Cunningham 1882: 33 reported that "There are no statues now remaining, but I saw one small female figure 10 1/4 inches in height, of a yellowish grey stone, which was found in the Dhodha Nala, at the foot of the fort, after a landslip had taken place." This is possibly a figure ascribed to Amb on display in the Lahore Museum (Meister 2005a: fig. 17). (The museum's registry gives dimensions of this piece [H749] as 13 in. x 4 in. A second number painted on the piece is 03164/22.9.36.) Wilson 1897 recorded that in "1888 three pieces of sculpture were found near the entrance to one of the temples [that] have been deposited in the Lahore Museum," although these cannot be traced. Daya Ram Sahni ASNC(H)PR 1921: pl. VII, however, published three sculptures discovered from the rubble surrounding the large platform on which Temple B was built. One he called 'Mahādeva'; the others are a plaque with animal figures and an image of Narasiṁha (fig. 146). These are not in one style or of a single period, nor likely part of either of the two standing temples, which they seem to precede. They do provide a symptom of the complexity of peoples using the fort over time, and of fertile schools of carving now lost to us. Filigenzi 2005: 460, n. 2, commented "We are still far from a good knowledge of what we can generically call, for the sake of caution, post-Gandharan art, in which we see different regions involved in an undeniable but complex *koiné*, whose common and original features are not yet fully understood."

Amb Today, The Story of Rāja Saiful

Cunningham 1882: 33–35 described the old town of Amb, "situated inside the Salt Range and quite out of sight of the plains,"

> The Dhodha Nala flows between Amb and Sakesar, and almost isolates the flat-top hill on which stands the old fort of Amb. The town consists of two portions, the upper half being situated on the top of a conical red hill to the south of the fort, and the lower at the foot of the fort hill…in the midst of a wood of green trees with a fine spring of pure water, which alone would have led to the early occupation of this pleasant site in the midst of these salt hills.

On the life of Amb in the nineteenth century, he reported

> [Mian] Elahi Buksh and his relatives claimed to have inherited the village from a long line of ancestors, whose tombs are in the garden just below the spring of water. He urged that the place was taken at an early date by the Muhammadans and made a rent-free tenure; that it was now visited by many Fakirs, whom he was obliged to feed.

Somewhat the same situation seems to continue today. That Amb-Sharif has had great potency in local folklore has been recorded by Ahmad Ghazali 1993, in a story translated by my colleague Abdhur Rehman. Most important to note—even in terms of the archaeology of the site—is the loving relationship by which the astonishing physical landscape of Amb has been woven through the conventional story of Rāja Saiful. I conclude with this story here as an example of what the ongoing life of a site can provide, the need to consider that life, and what archaeology contributes to but alone can rarely recover.

* * *

AMB-SHARIF AND RAJA SAIFUL

> Just after the birth of Saiful, his father Raja Akanfar was informed by his astrologers that the newly born baby was destined to be the last ruler of his line and that, if no care was taken, the boy, having reached adulthood, would fall in love with a girl and that would lead to an instant disaster. They advised him to raise the boy in such a way that his heart was filled with hatred for womenfolk. Akanfar called upon the wise men of his kingdom to advise him on the subject. For full thirty days and nights the subject was discussed but they could not reach a consensus. At last they all advised him: "At the town of Ambiao there live three brothers—Nadu, Madu, and Hadu. If they agree upon any one suggestion it should immediately be adopted. This is the only way out. Send your vizier to them with a view to soliciting their opinion."

Akanfar reached Ambiao in the company of his minister and there he met the three brothers. Having listened to the whole tale, Nadu remarked "excess of everything breeds hatred. The prince should be brought up only among the womenfolk. In the end he will be disgusted with them and will start hating them." Madu suggested that the prince should be kept in the company of men alone. In this way he would not be able to see any woman, and, being unaware of the reality, he would not develop any feeling of love for them. Hadu however differed from his brothers and suggested that the prince should be brought up in the company of ill-tempered women who would always use foul language with him. That would become the source of hatred for them.

On one point however all three agreed. They told the vizier to take the boy to Tarkat where the wise man Babhrak, their teacher, lived. They also advised the vizier how to approach him. He would first of all ask you, they said, "Who are you?" Your reply should be "I am a person who is inextricably stuck up in a problem." The next question would be "Where are you from?" Your reply would be "I come from a place where three people live together but they do not agree among themselves." After that Babhrak would give you permission to speak your mind, they told him.

The vizier instantly made his way to Tarkat. Having reached the place, he did as he was told. He found Babhrak in deep meditation. When he raised his head and saw the vizier he said: "O wise vizier, whatever is not there in destiny one should not aspire for. Tell your king that on top of Mount Ganesh there lives a Deva. Let the prince be handed over to him. A flock of birds also lives there and upon that mountain there he will find no human being who could harm him."

When Akanfar came to know about it, he was both glad as well as sad. Glad because in this way his son would remain alive, and sad because his son would be away from him for a long period of time. At last the courtiers of Akanfar under the leadership of the viziers reached Mount Ganesh and presented gifts from the king and a letter of Babhrak. The Deva welcomed them and told the handsome prince to sit upon his right thigh. After a moment the Deva laughed with such a force that Mount Ganesh began to shake. When the courtiers were seen off, the Deva took the prince to the top of the mountain and named him Saiful.

When the prince, who was being brought up in the company of birds, was eleven, his father died. Having completed the after-death rites, the vizier and the courtiers assembled at Mount Ganesh and jointly requested the Deva to allow the prince to accompany them. The Deva gave them a nightingale named Alsara and allowed the prince to go. On reaching home he was wonderstruck and totally taken aback at the ways human beings dealt with each other, but soon he became fully aware of his surroundings. Saiful began ruling the territories he inherited from his father.

In front of the hill of Raja Saiful was the hill of Raja Amrika, now known as Amb. At the back side of the palaces of Raja Amrika was a

> charming garden having plenty of fig trees. Alsara, the nightingale, used to go there everyday because she liked eating figs. One day the nightingale informed the prince that there lived in the palace of Raja Ambrika a handsome young lady who was so pretty that neither had anybody seen nor heard of such a high standard of beauty. When Saiful, hiding himself behinds rocks, looked towards Amrik's palace with inquisitive eyes, he was able to actually spot a princess surrounded by her slave girls. For the first time he felt happiness in the world of human beings. The beauty of the princess enlightened his heart and every day he quenched his thirst by repeating the same exercise. When the princess came to know about it, she also fell in love with him. The spot where the first rendezvous took place is now marked by a spring of clear running water. Then Saiful caused a cave to be dug by the expert stone cutters of his kingdom. There in the cave the slave girls of Saiful would dance to keep the princess in good humour. One day Raja Amrika passed by the cave by chance and saw the back of his daughter. He was infuriated. Raging in fury he rushed back home to confirm whether it was his daughter whose back he had seen in the cave or somebody else. Saiful tried his best to keep Amrik busy in discussion but with the swiftness of lightening he went up Mount Amb into his palace. But there he was astonished to find that the princess was present. She had in fact made a quick retreat through the cave, but, having reached home, she forgot to change her clothes to those meant particularly for the occasion. On the sight of Ambrik, she began to play with flowers. But Ambrik was so furious that he could not control himself. He was an expert marksman. He took aim at Saiful and, within seconds, the arrow pierced through the prince's chest. Thus the last chapter of the love story ended in the tragic death of Saiful.

* * *

That folklore and a review of orientalist scholarship cannot solve needed archaeology at Amb—nor protect it from looters—is certain, but we remain at this moment persons "inextricably stuck up in a problem." If further archaeology must wait, however, fantasies of the fig gardens of Amb will, as with Saiful, bring us back.

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GLOSSARY OF ARCHITECTURAL TERMS

This glossary of Sanskrit-based architectural terms appropriate to Nāgara temple architecture is based on one provided in the *Encylopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, Meister/Dhaky/Deva 1988. While I have minimized the use of this terminology in this text, I would encourage readers to become familiar with it as a means of understanding the temple's form.

āmalaka	'myrobolan fruit'; crowning member of *latina* Nāgara temples
aṇḍa	'egg'; spire
anekāṇḍaka	'not one-spired'; multi-spired
aṅga	principal vertical or horizontal division of temple structure
antarāla	covered space in front of sanctum door
antarapaṭṭa	recessed band between mouldings
aṣṭamaṅgala	eight auspicious symbols
āyāgapaṭa	decorated Jain altar
bālapañjara	vertical recess between corner and flanking bands of some *latina* superstructures, decorated with *pañjara* niches and pillarets
bhadra	central wall-division; offset
bhadrāvalocana	open or screened balcony used as central offset, usually of a *sāndhāra* temple
bhiṭṭa	plinth course
bhūmi	'earth', level; storey
bhūmi-āmalaka	ribbed stone marking each storey of a Nāgara superstructure
bhūmi-khaṇḍa	platform-segment made up of cornices supporting *bhūmi-āmalaka*
bhūmi-prāsāda	square temple-type with simple storeys of cornices
bodhisattva	Buddha-to-be
caitya	object used as focus of worship; barrel-vaulted hall with *stūpa*; dormer-window decorative motif
cakra	wheel, discus; focus of meditation
candraśālā	dormer-window decorative motif
catuṣkī	unit/bay of four pillars
cippikā	minor cyma moulding
dhotī	wound-cloth lower garment
dvaja	sceptre
dvi-aṅga	having two planes of offset (a triratha wall)
ghaṇṭā	bell-shaped finial
garbha	womb
garbhagṛha	womb-chamber, sanctum
ghaṭapallava	vase-and-foliage motif
gūḍhamaṇḍapa	closed hall
jagatī	plinth; basement platform
jāla	grille; grilled window
jāli	mesh design
jambu	tree, probably Jackfruit
jambu-dvaja	sceptre with Jackfruit pattern; tree at center of human-inhabited southern continent in early cosmography
Jambudvīpa	southern inhabited continent in early cosmography
jīrṇoddhār	sacred rebuilding, replacement
kalaśa	pot-shaped torus moulding; pot-shaped finial

kañjūr	sedimentary tuffa stone
kapota	quarter-round moulding
kapotapālī	cyma-eave cornice
karṇa	corner wall-division
karṇāmalaka	corner *āmalaka* in Nāgara superstructure
karṇa-kūṭa	square corner aedicula of superstructure
khaṇḍa	segment of curved spire; see *bhūmi-khaṇḍa*
khura	bottom 'hoof' moulding of *vedībandha*
kīrttimukha	'face of glory' decorative motif
kumbha	high base moulding with curved shoulder above *khura*
kūṭa	square aedicula
kūṭina	superstructure-type with corner aediculae
latā	'creeper'; vertical band or spine of *śikhara*
latina	superstructure-type with vertical spines
liṅga	'sign'; pillar-like emblem of Śiva
madhalatā	middle band of *śikhara*
maṇḍala	diagram used for planning or meditation
maṇḍapa	pillared hall
maṇḍir	temple
miḥrāb	central niche on the back wall of a mosque marking the direction of Mecca
mela	fair, festival
minār	tower
mūlaprāsāda	central temple in a complex
Nāgara	generic name for temples with a variety of North-Indian spires (primarily *latina* and *śekhari*)
navāṇḍaka	nine spired
pañcāṇḍaka	five spired
pañcaratna	five 'jeweled'; *pañcāṇḍaka*
pañjara	niche pattern resembling front of an apsidal shrine; central band of a *latina* tower; see *bālapañjara*
paṅkti	register supporting lower towers of an *anekāṇḍaka śikhara*
paṇṇa-pacchi	Prakrit: 'full pouch'
phāṁsanā	pyramidal roof-type; wedge-shaped tier of pyramidal roof-type
prāggrīva	walled space in front of sanctum
prāsāda	'palace, mansion'; temple
pratibhadra	sub-offset flanking *bhadra*
pratilatā	band in *latina śikhara* flanking *madhyalatā*
pratiratha	wall-offset between *karṇa* and *bhadra*
pūrṇaghaṭa	vase-of-plenty decorative motif
puṣpa	flower
puṣparatna	floral diamond decorative motif
ratna	'jewel'; later Bangali type of temple
ribāṭ	outpost 'dedicated to the monastic and missionary fighters of the faith'
sāndhāra	having an enclosed ambulatory
śekharī	compacted multi-spired Nāgara superstructure
śikhara	'top-knot'; spire, superstructure; in South India, the domed structure crowning the temple's storeys
skamba	prop, support, pillar; fulcrum of the universe
śṛṅga	spirelet
sthānakvāsī	non-temple-worshiping
sthānu	immovable trunk, stake, post, pillar

stūpa	tumulus; solid hemispherical ritual structure used by Buddhists and other sects
śukhanāsa	fronton or antefix above vestibule in front of the sanctum
śūrasena	pediment made up of a large *candraśālā*-window, usually with lateral half-*candraśālā*s
tālapatra	plam-leaf decorative motif
toraṇa	gateway
tri-aṅga	with three planes of offsets (*pañcaratha*)
triratha	with three projections (*dvi-aṅga*)
udgama	pediment of interconnected caitya-dormers (*candraśālās*)
uraḥśṛṅga	central leaning half spire
valabhī	rectangular superstructure-type with barrel-vault
varaṇḍikā	upper wall-parapet separating frieze from superstructure
vedī	altar
vedībandha	basal wall-mouldings
veṇukośa	'nodes of bamboo', sheath; corner 'cage' of curvilinear spire
yakṣa-gaṇa	dwarfish nature sprite
yoga	meditational system
yogin	yogi, practitioner of *yoga*

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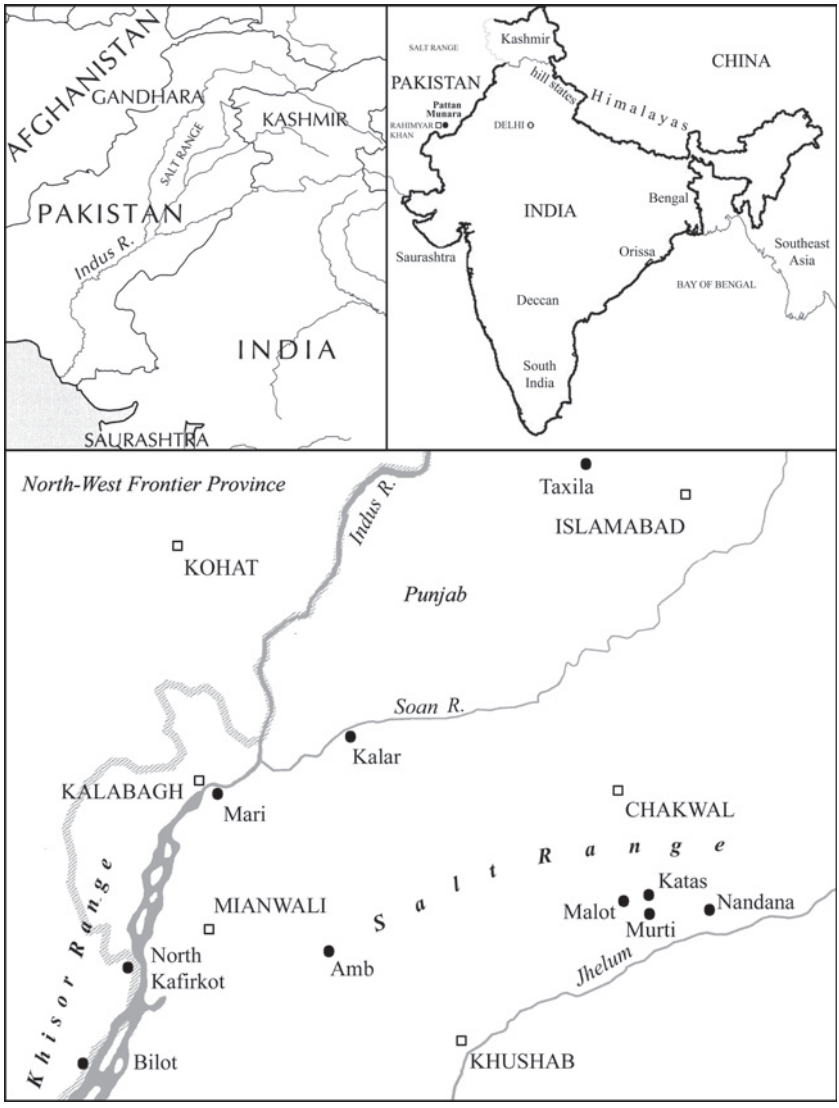
MAP
OF THE
PANJAB.
Scale 64 Miles to 1 Inch.
0
20
40
60
80
100
BAJAWAR
Dhir
Panjkora
Ayaseri
Kunadher
Saddo
SUWÂT
Gumbat
BUNER
Kharkai
Jamâl
Bahai
Shahbaz
YUSUFZAI
Peshâwar
Chind
Attak
Shah-dheri
(TAXILA)
INDUS R.
SUHAN R.
Mânikyâla
Kalar
Mari
Chakowâl
Bhon
Kalar
Kahâr
Mallot
Katas
Murti
Nandana
Jhelam
Mong
Gujarat
Kafir-kot
Amb
Bhera
Bilot
JHELAM R.
P A N J A B
KASHMIR
Kashtwâr
Jambu
Syalkot
Sodra
Bisohli
Chamba
Kangra
Pathankot
Jwalâmukhi
CHENAB R.
Chanyot
Sangala
Asarûr
Bansi
Shahkot
RAVI R.
LAHOR
Amritsar
BIÂS R.
Jâlandhar
Patti
Ludiana
Firozpur
Bawanni
Satgarha
Shorkot
Akbar
Harapa
Debâlpur
Old Bias R.
Tulamba
SATLEJ R.
Ajudhan
Bhatinda
Multân
Abohar
Kehror
GHAGHAR R.
Tohana
Fatehabad
Bhatner
Rânia
Sirsa
Rang Mahal
Bahâwalpur
Mirgarh
Anupgarh
Suratgarh
Badopal
Hisar
Hânsi
Marot
Mojgarh
Dirâwal
Tusham
34°
32°
30°
72°
74°
76°



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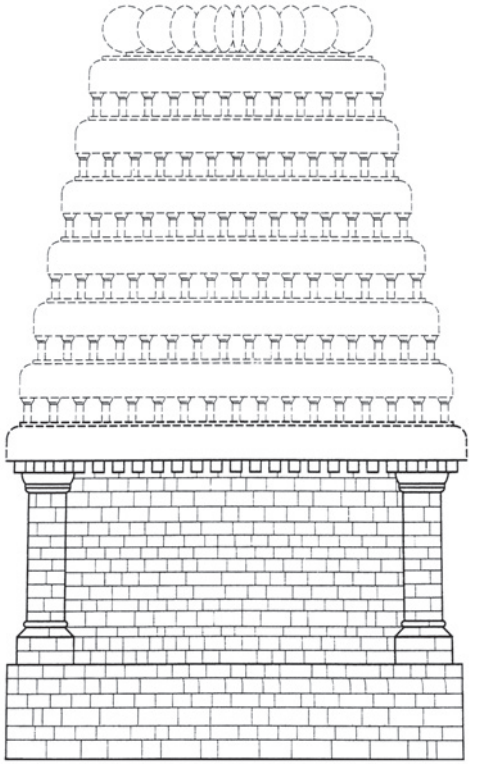

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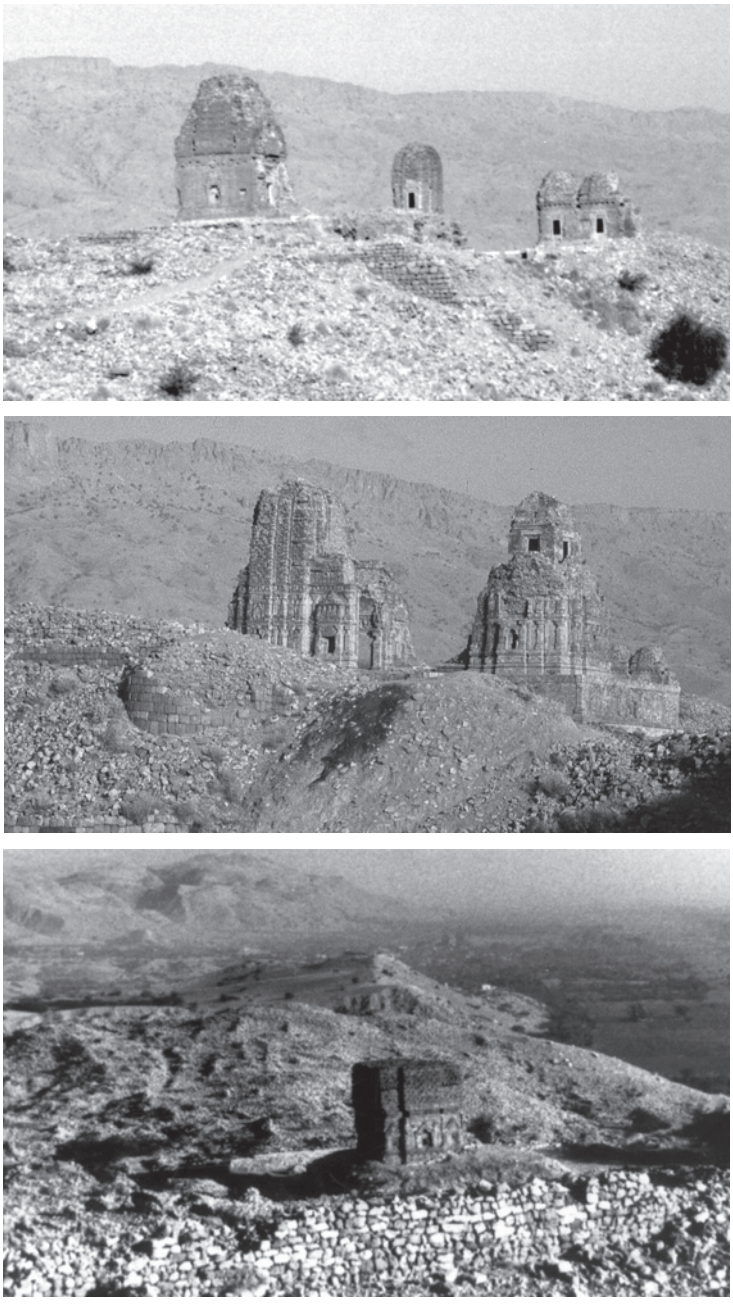

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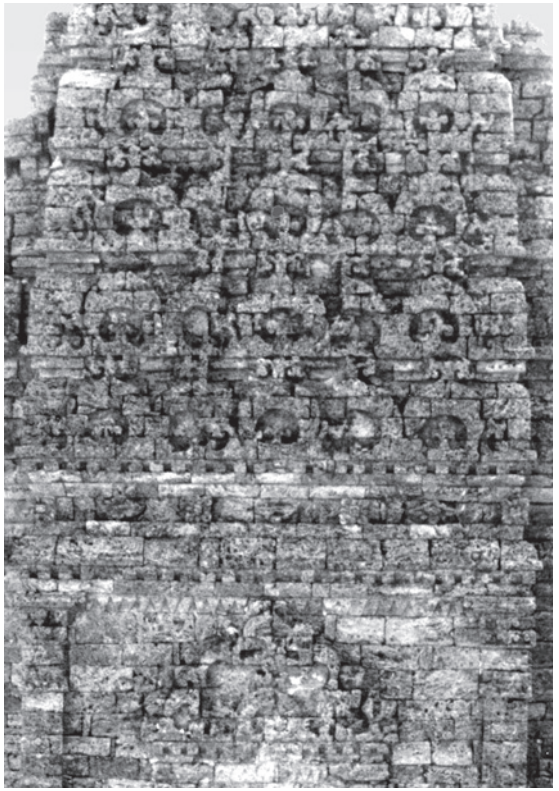

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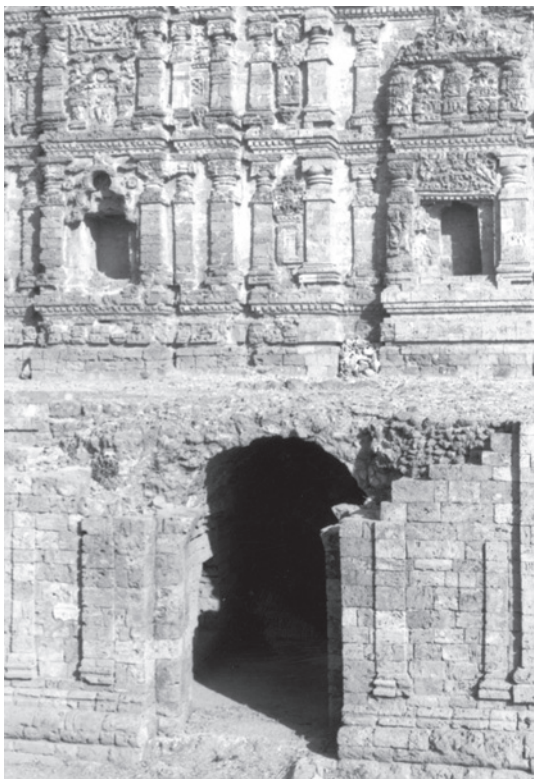

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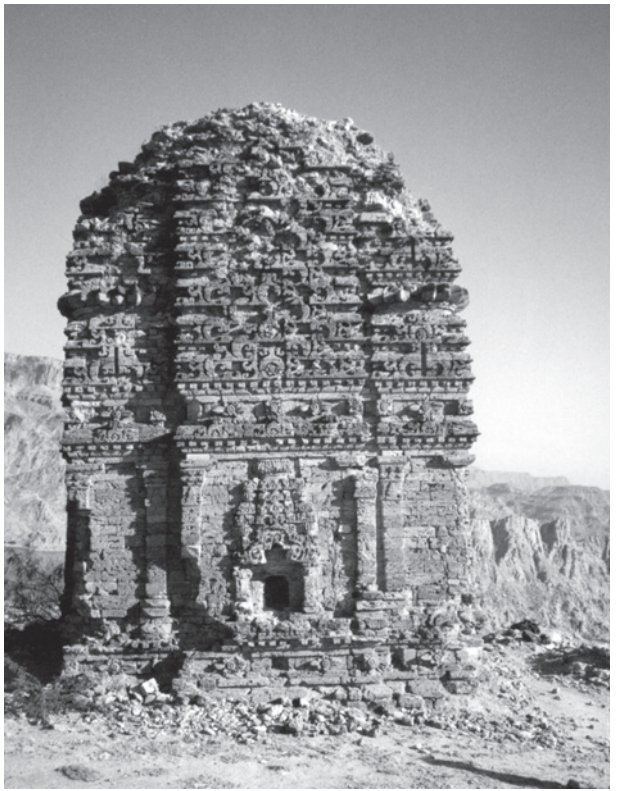

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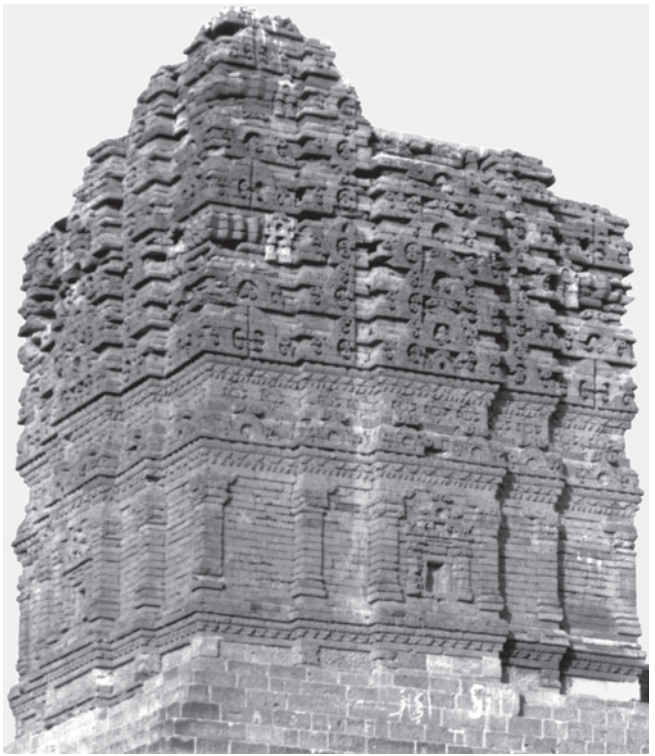

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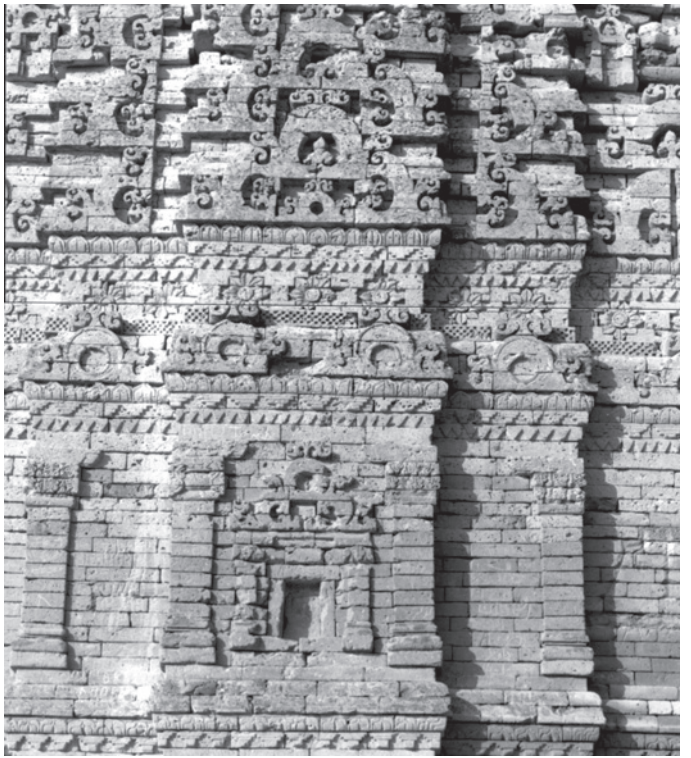

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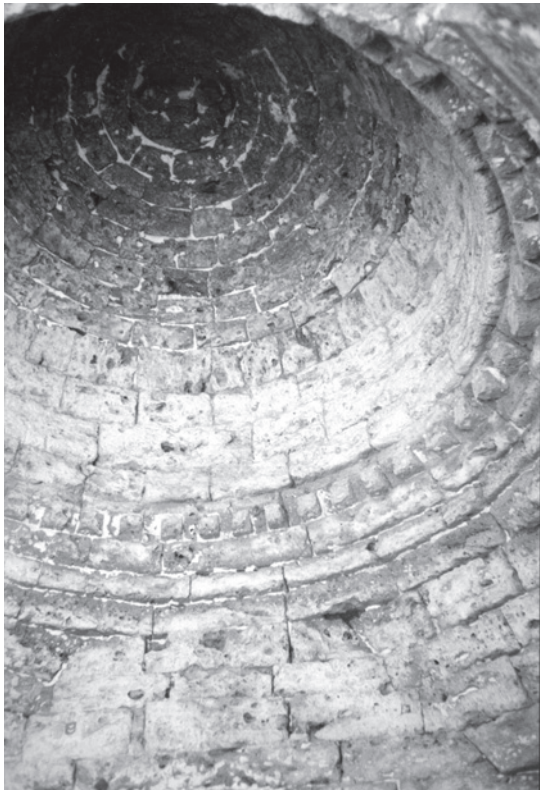

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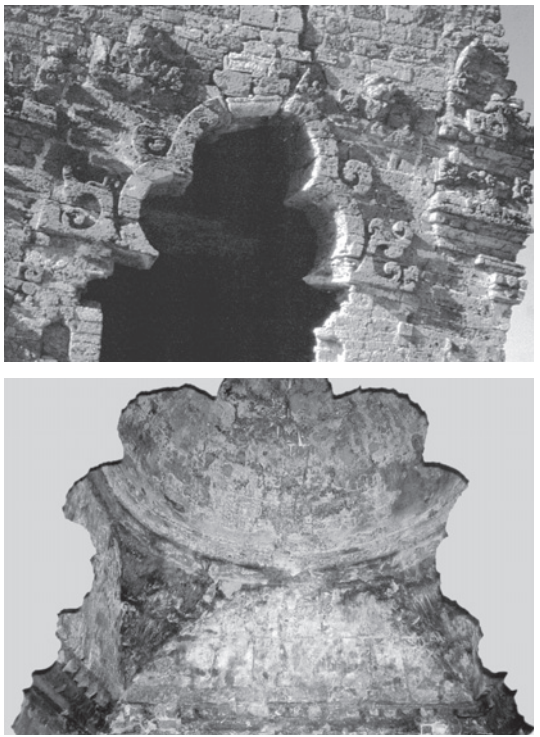

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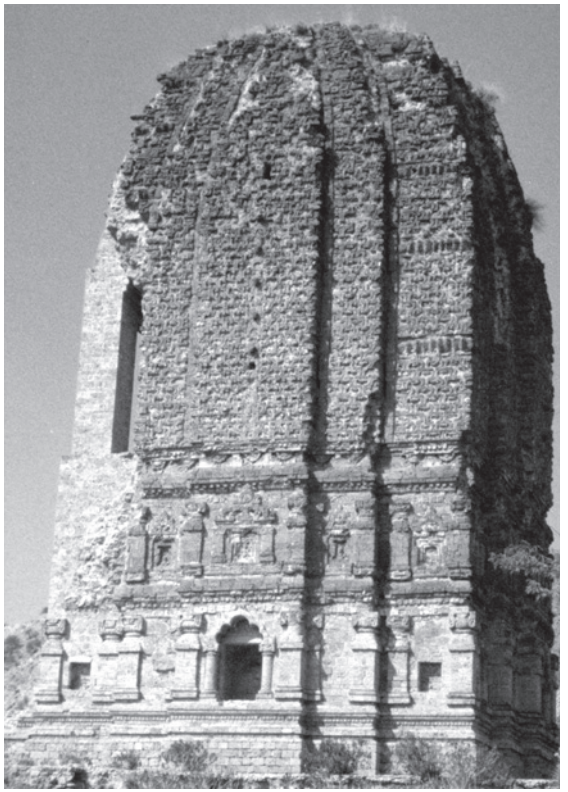

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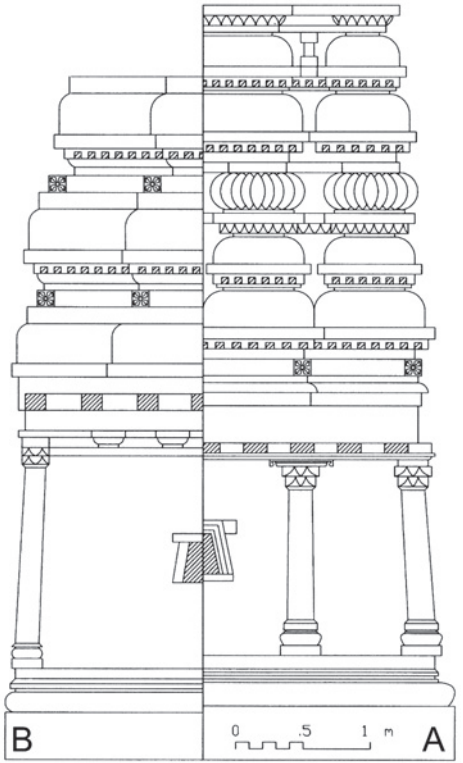

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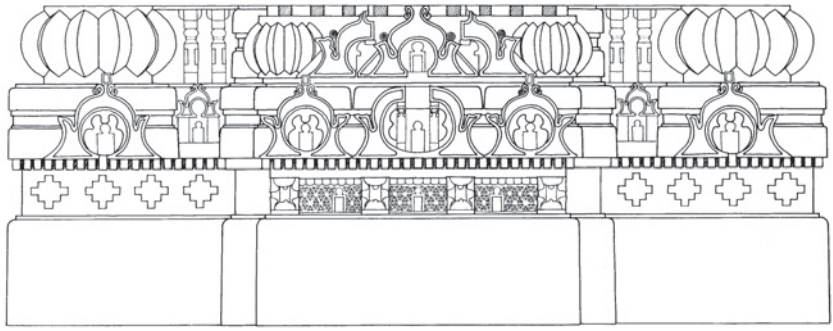

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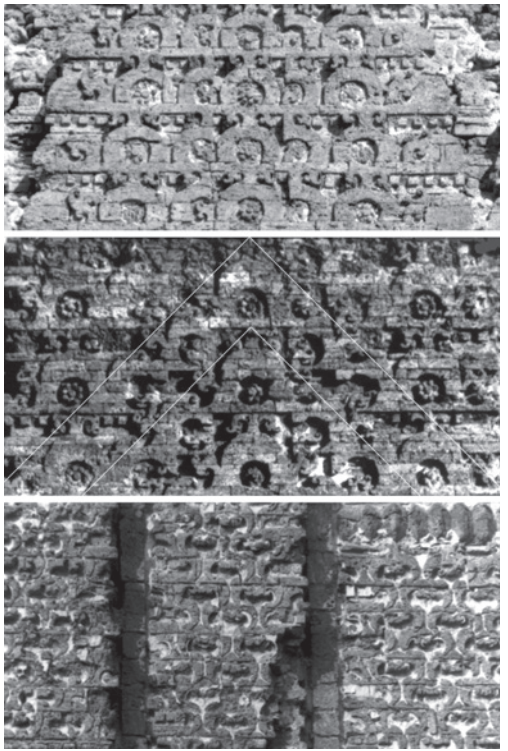

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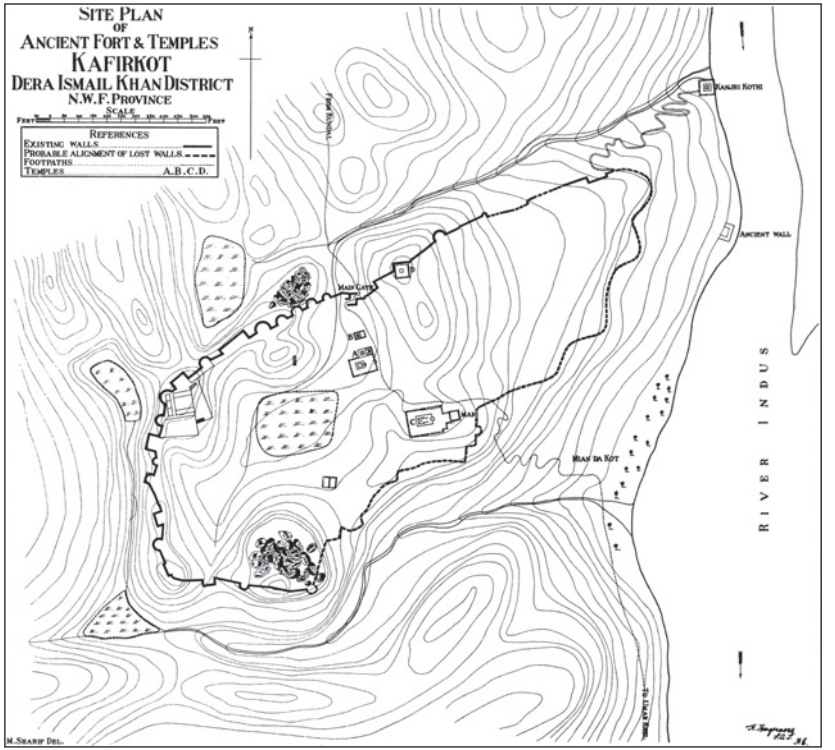

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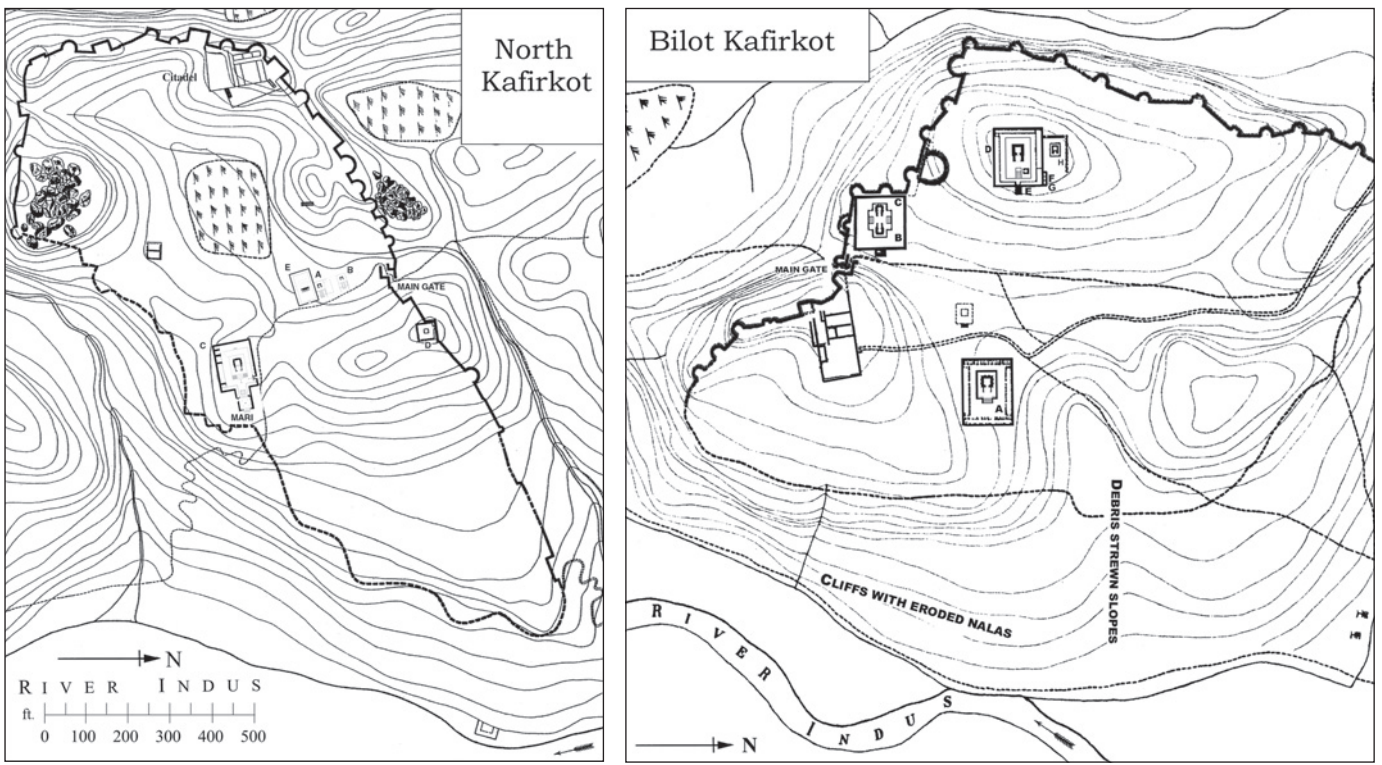

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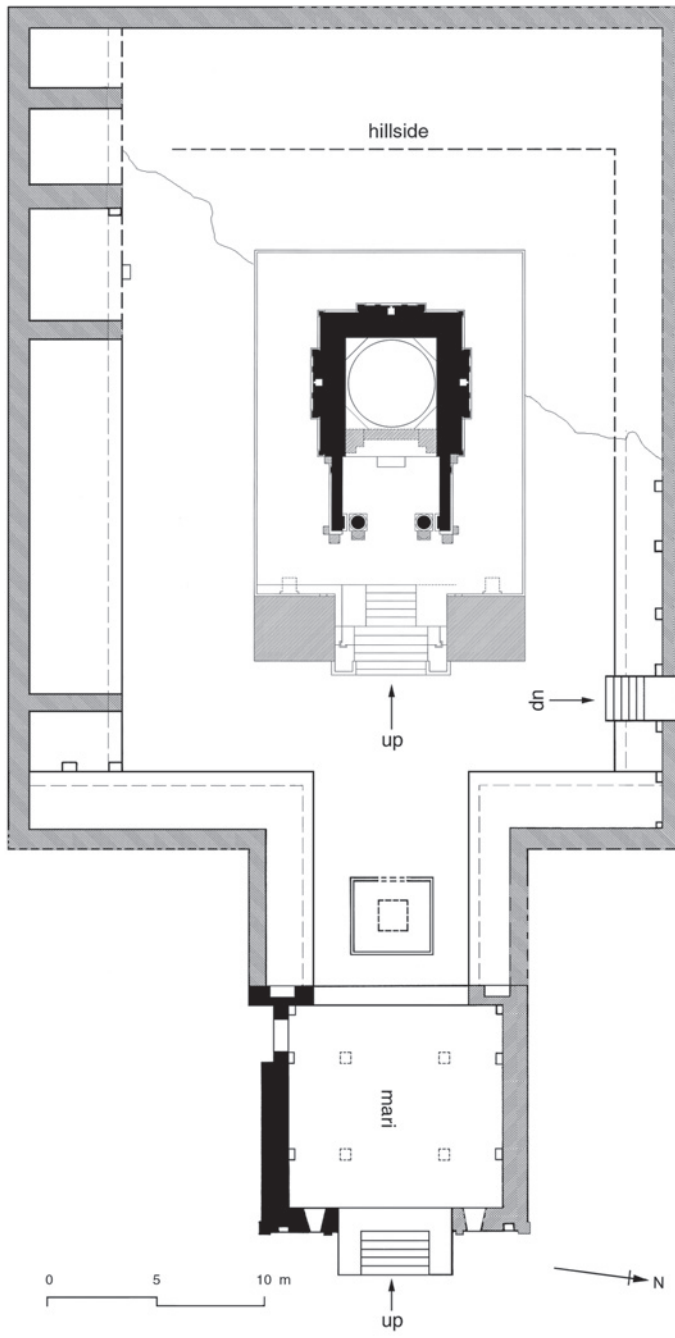

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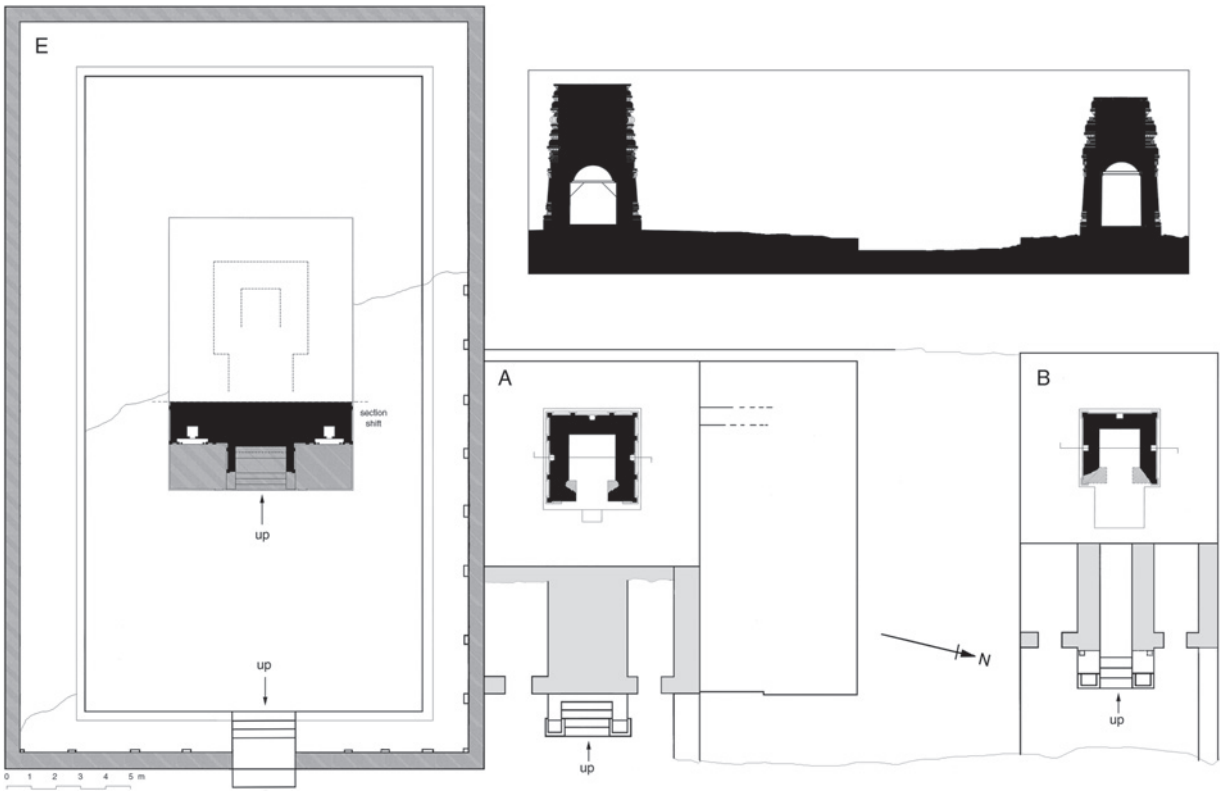

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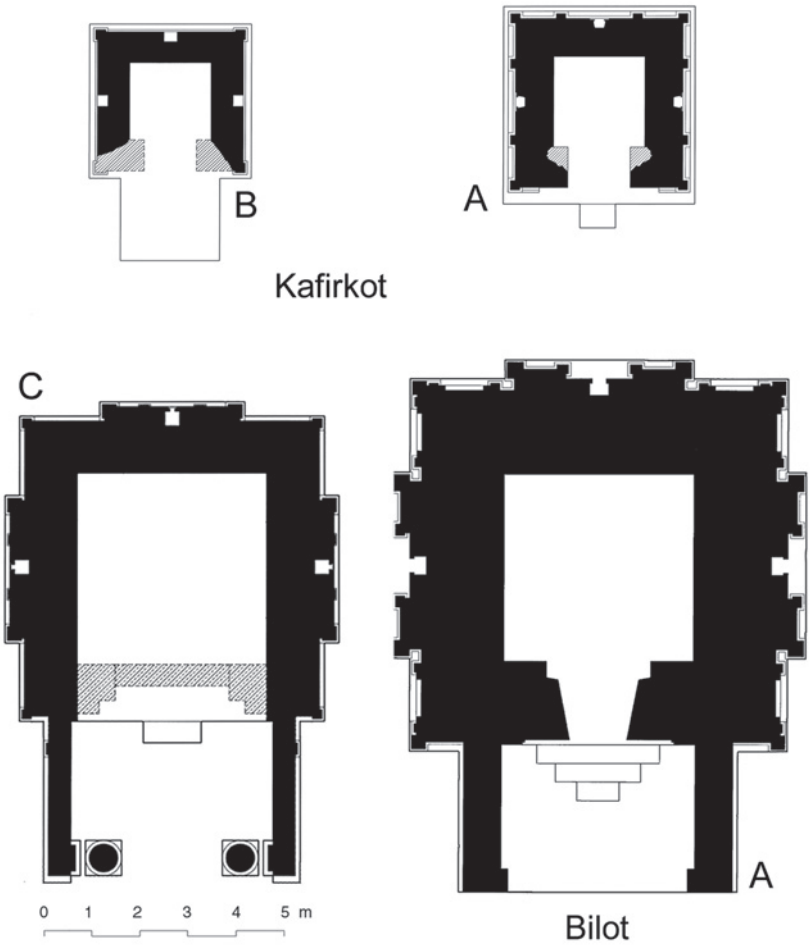

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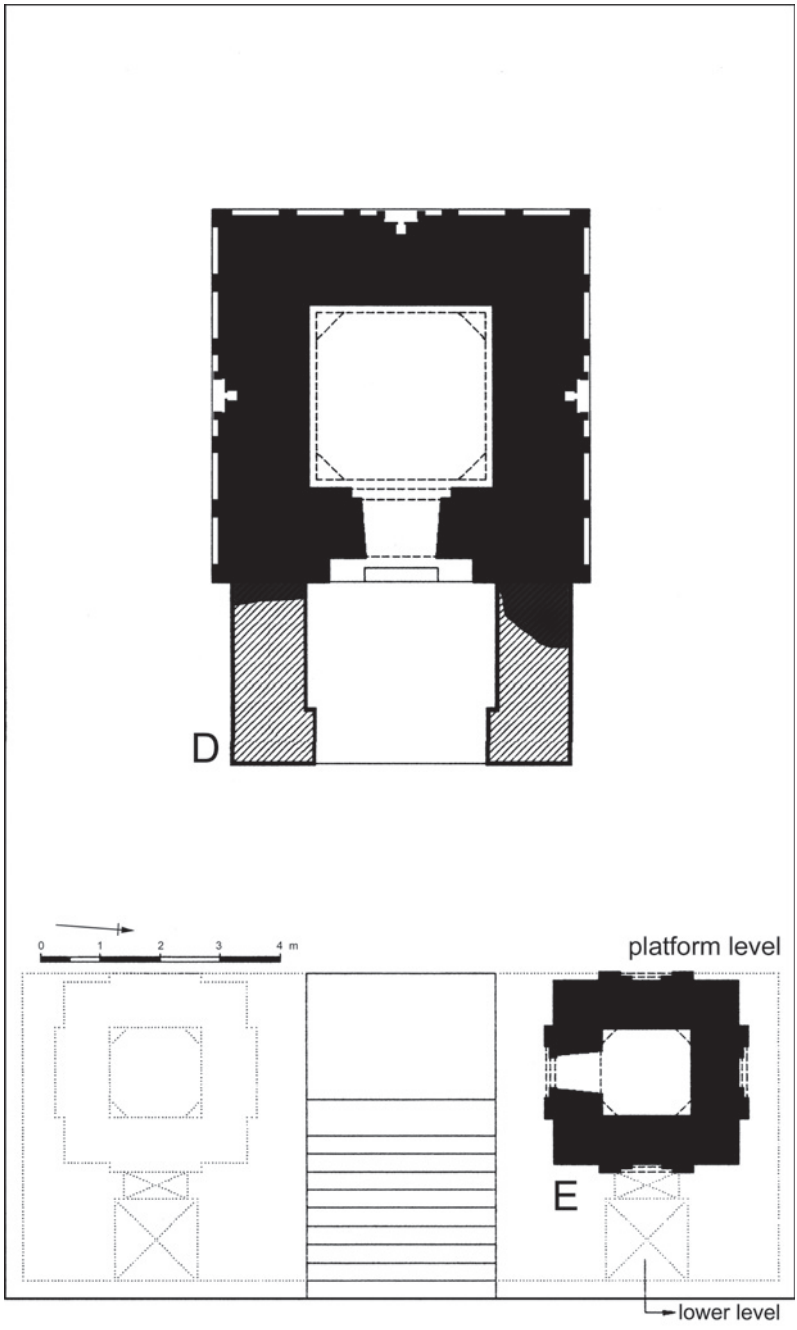

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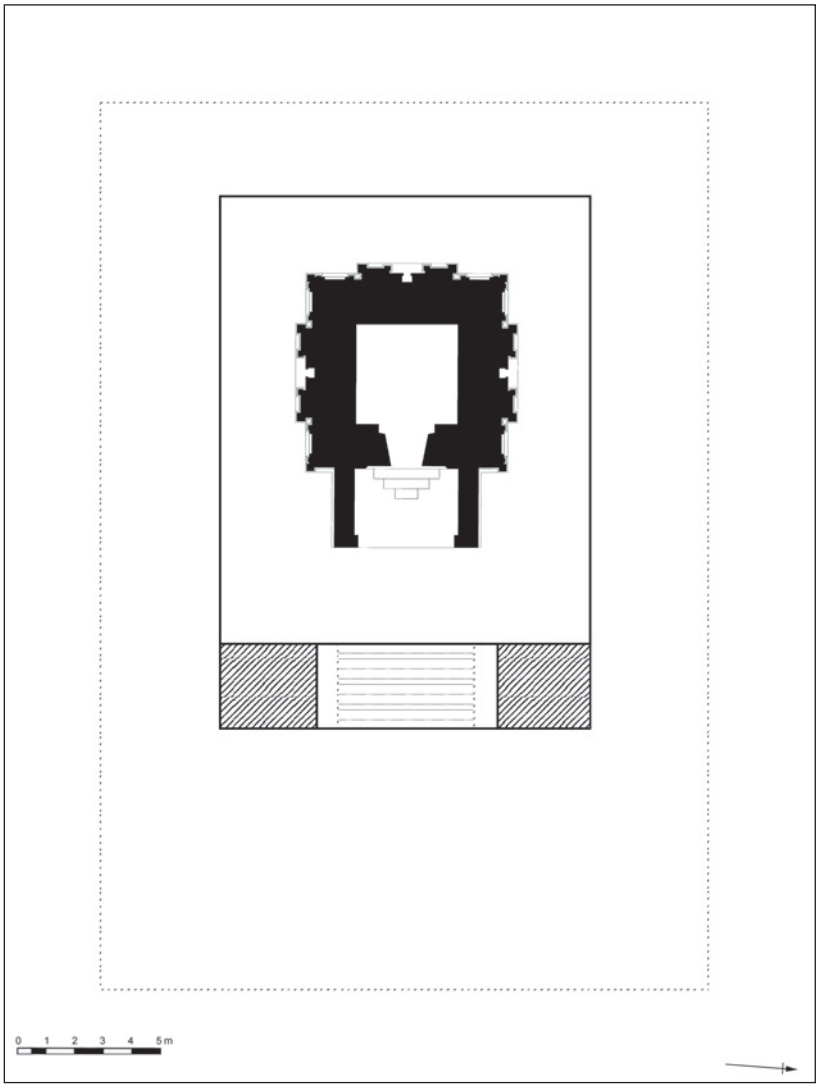

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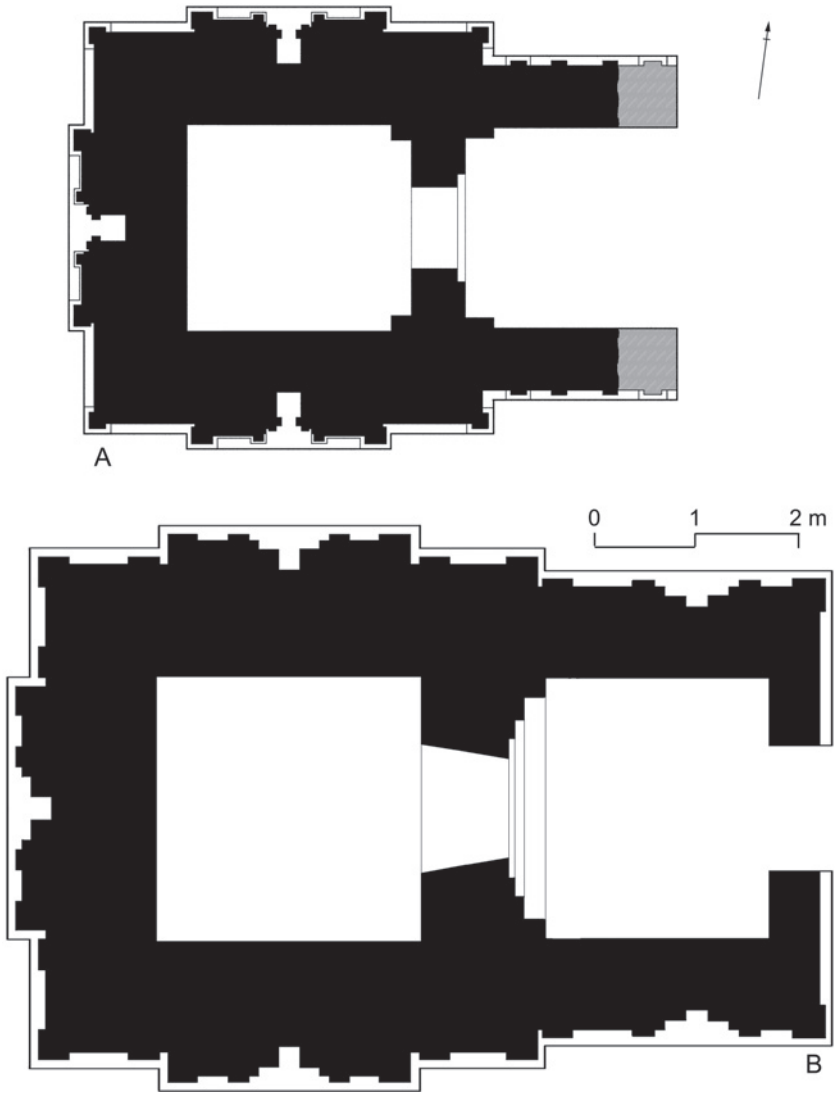

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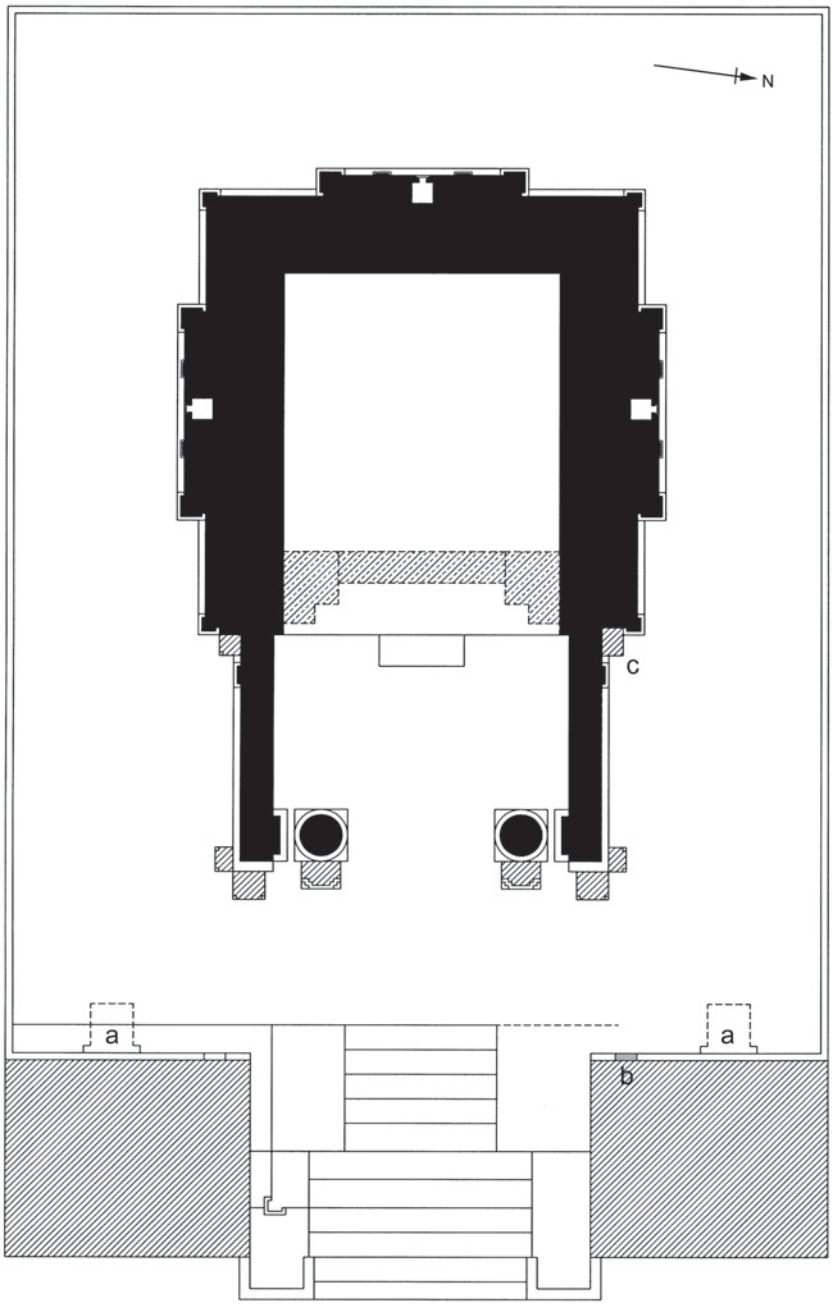

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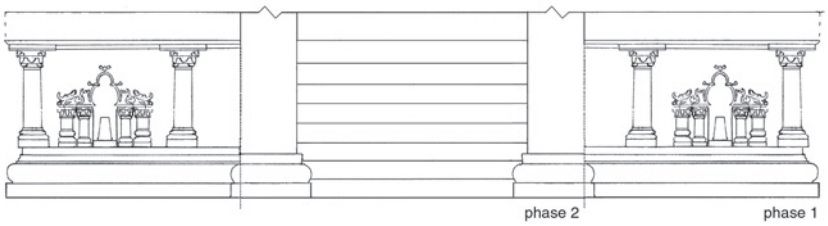

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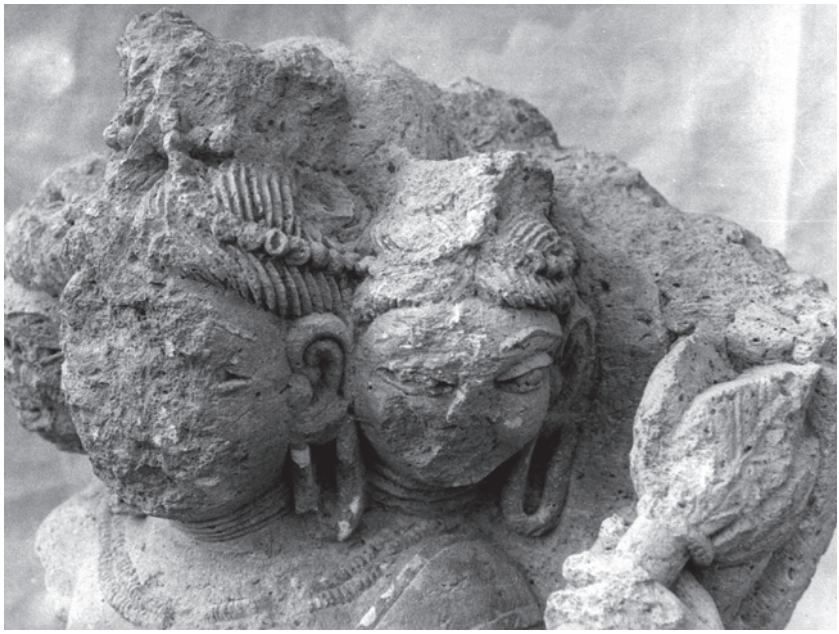

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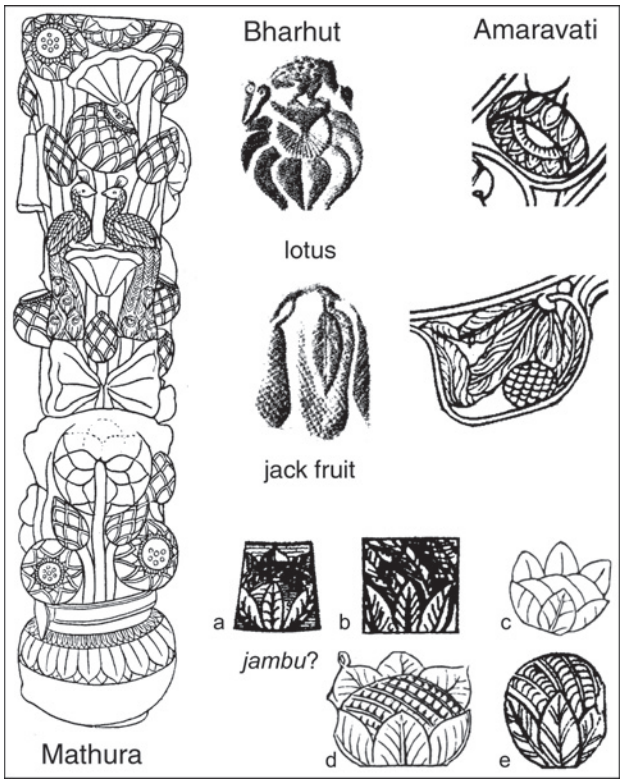

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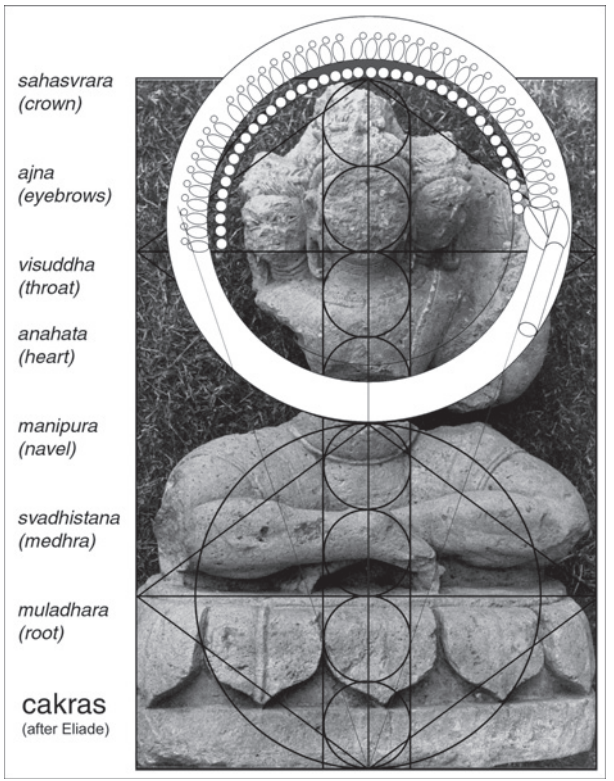

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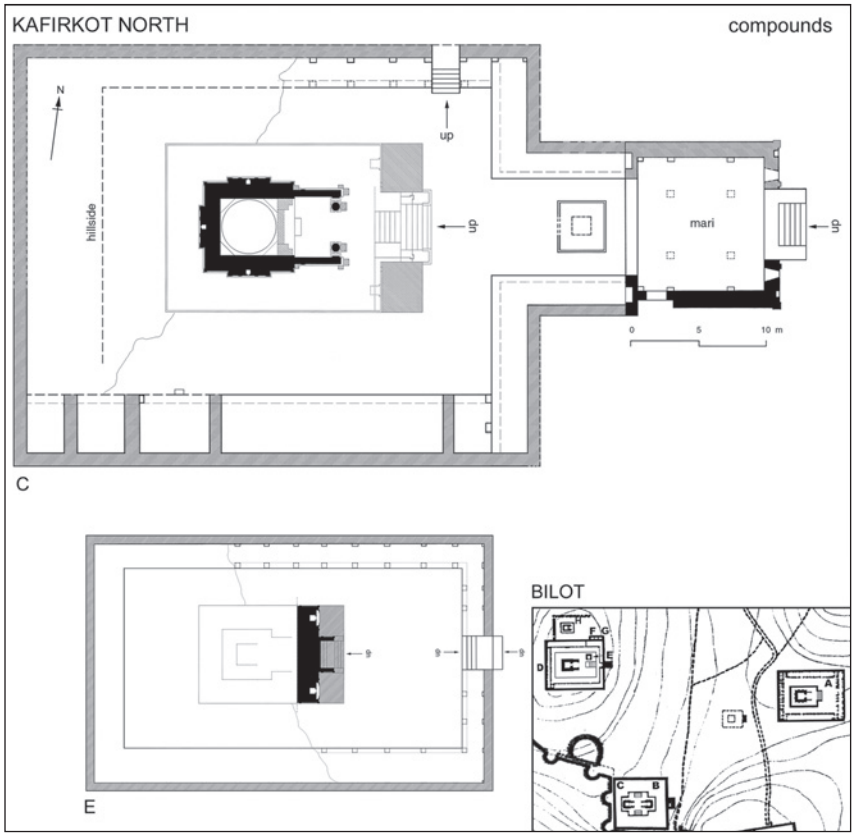

Fig. 97. Compounds: Bilot and Kāfirkoṭ.

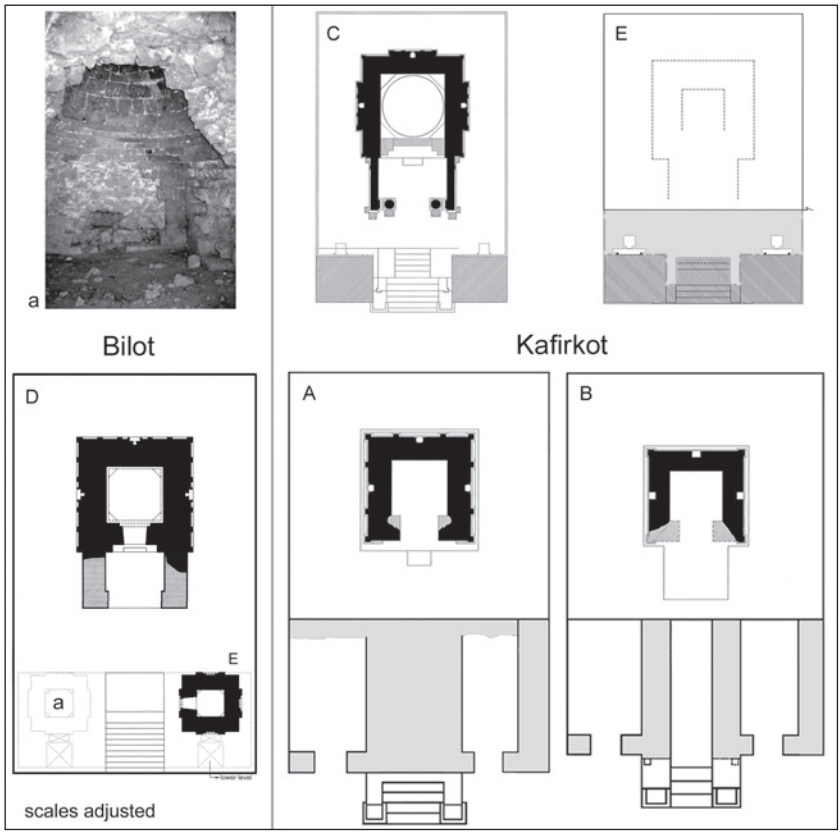

Fig. 98. Platform extensions: Bilot and Kāfirkoṭ (scales adjusted).

Fig. 99. Bilot, Temple H, south.

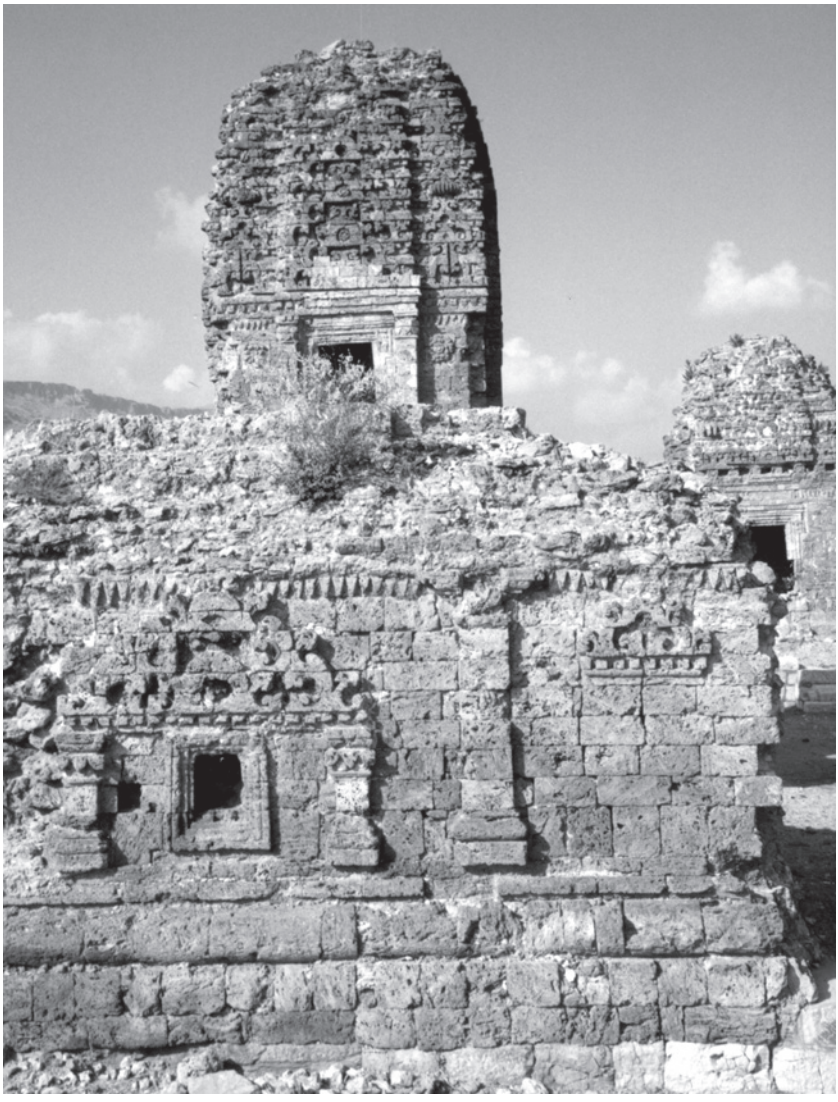

Fig. 100. Bilot, Temple D, platform, SE corner extension and Temple E, south.

Fig. 101. Bilot, Temple D, platform, SE corner with east-facing chamber.

Fig. 102. Bilot, Temple D, platform, SE corner, vaulted entry to domed chamber.

Fig. 103. Bilot, Temples F–G, south.

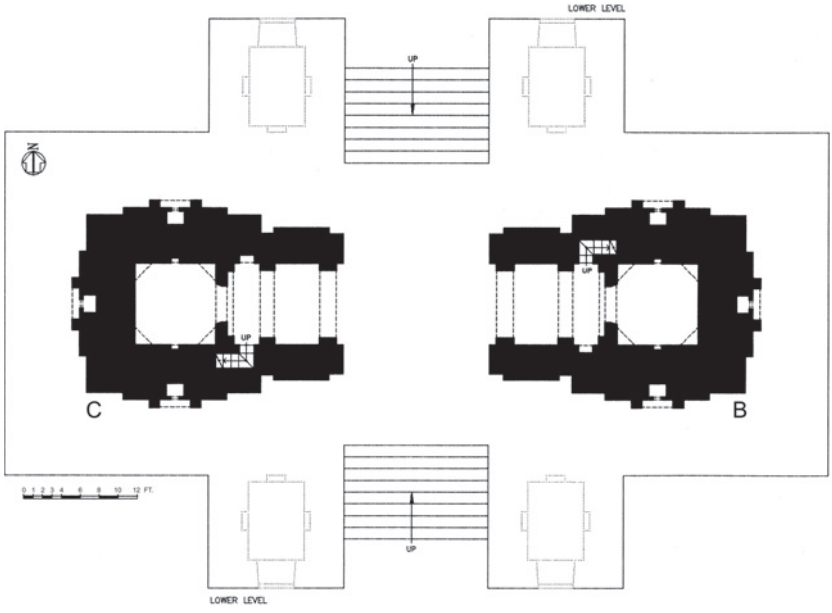

Fig. 104. Bilot, Temples B–C, ground plans.

Fig. 105. Bilot, Temple B, southwest.

Fig. 106. Bilot, Temple C, south wall.

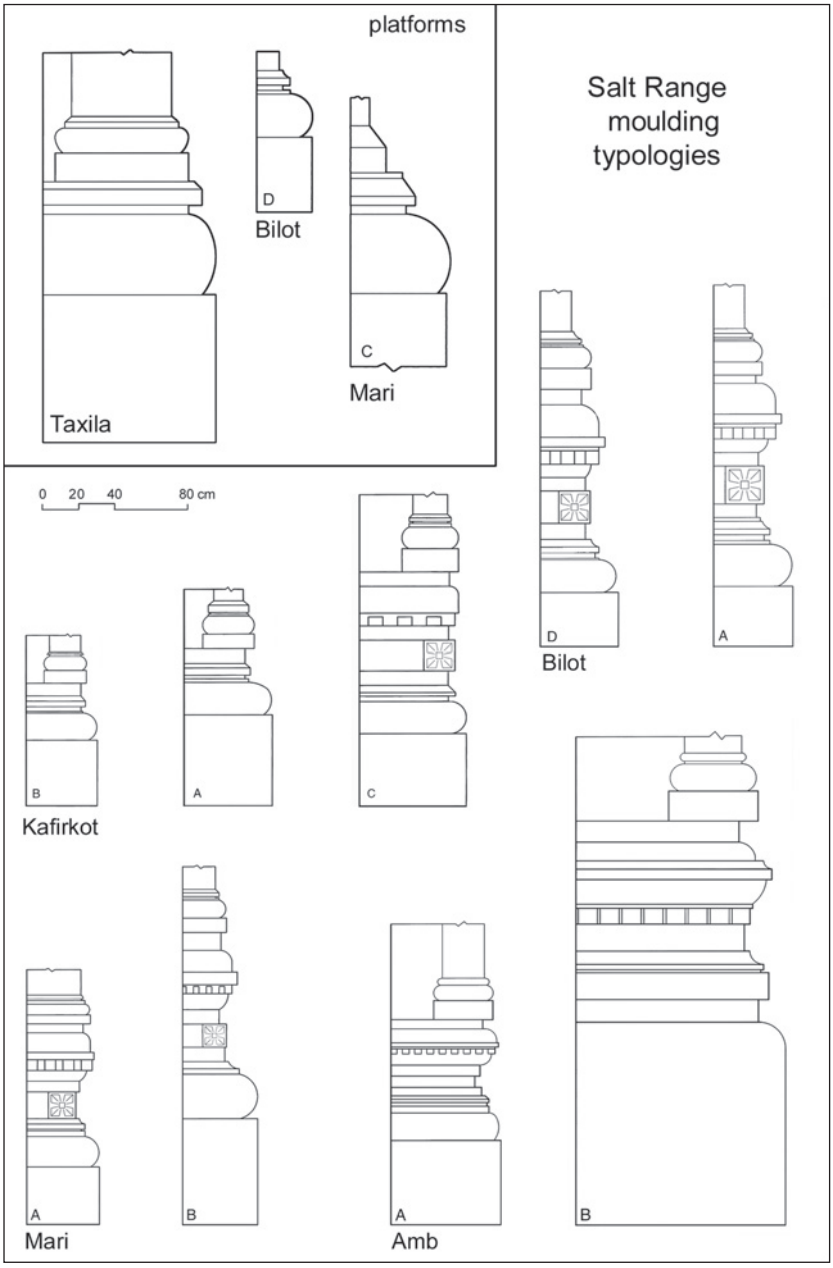

Fig. 107. Salt Range typologies: platform and wall mouldings.

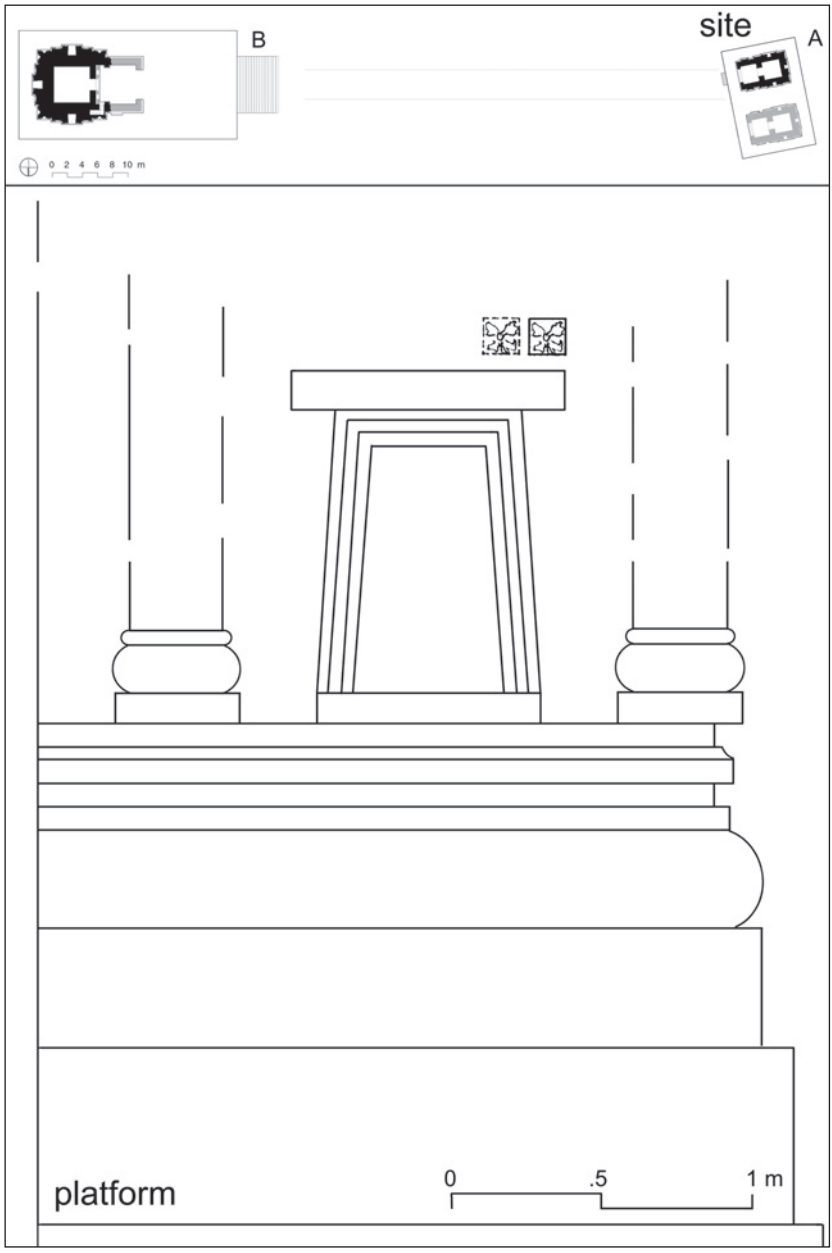

Fig. 108. Amb, Temples A and B, site plan; remains of Temple B's platform.

Fig. 109. Amb, Temples B and A, north.

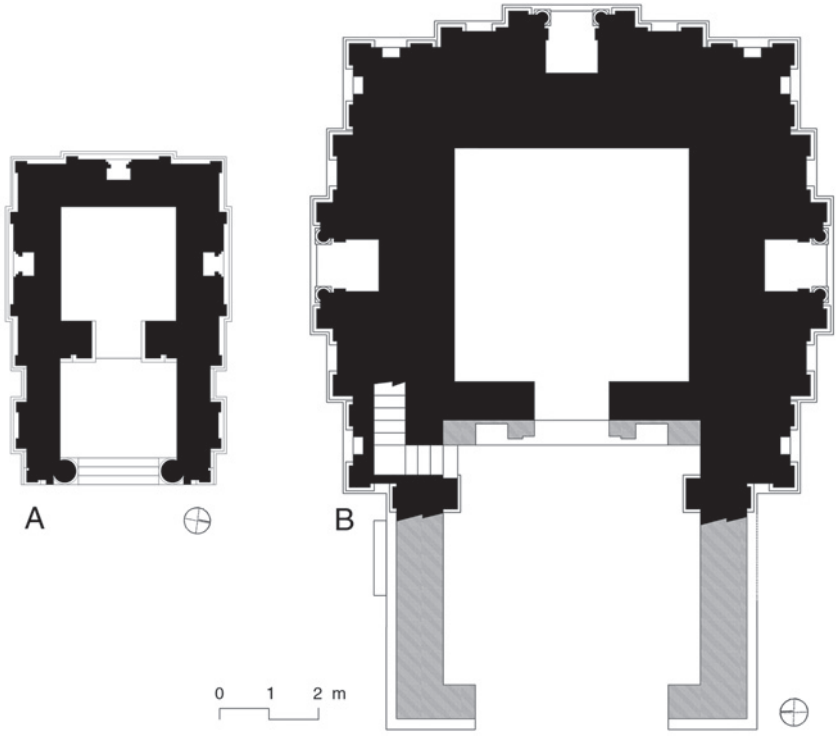

Fig. 110. Amb, Temples A and B, ground plans.

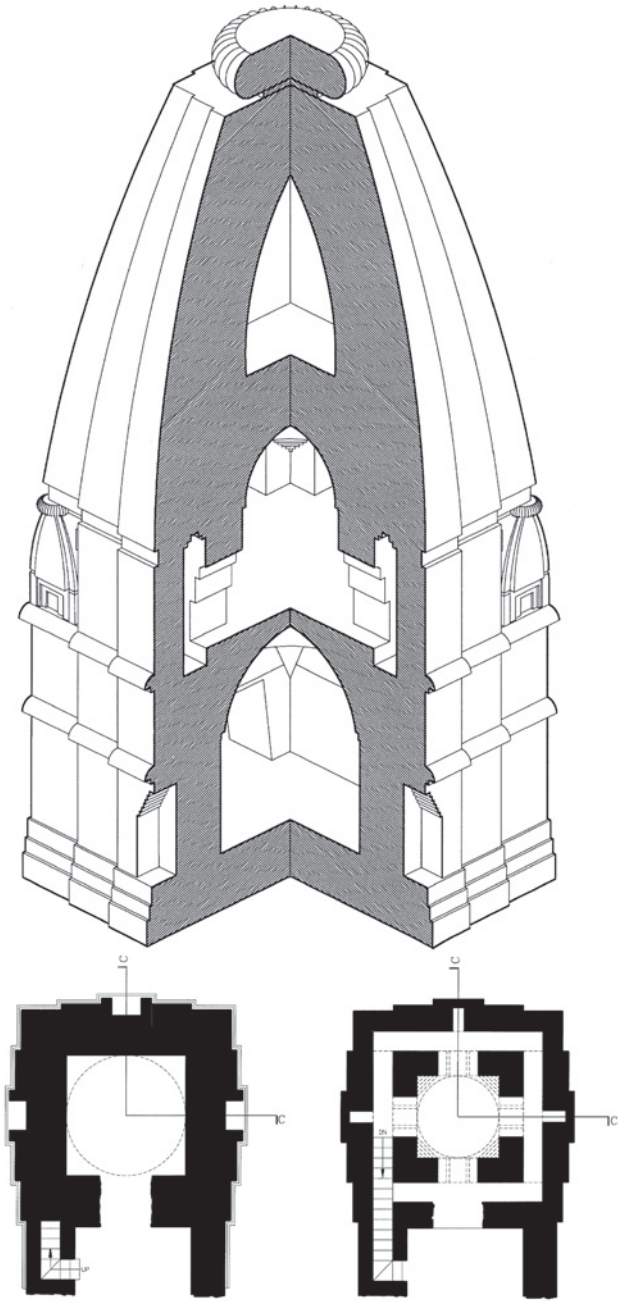

Fig. 111. Nandana, Punjab, Temple A, axonometric section, elevation, and ground- and first-storey ground plans.

Fig. 112. Nandana, site from south.

Fig. 113. Pattan Munāra, Punjab, '*minār*' from south.

Fig. 114. Pattan Munāra, brick temple, south.

Fig. 115. Pattan Munāra, brick temple, sanctum, southwest.

Fig. 116. Māri-Indus, Temple B, entry hall, trefoil arch over doorway, east.

Fig. 117. Pattan Munāra, brick temple, south wall, vaulted niche with trefoil pediment.

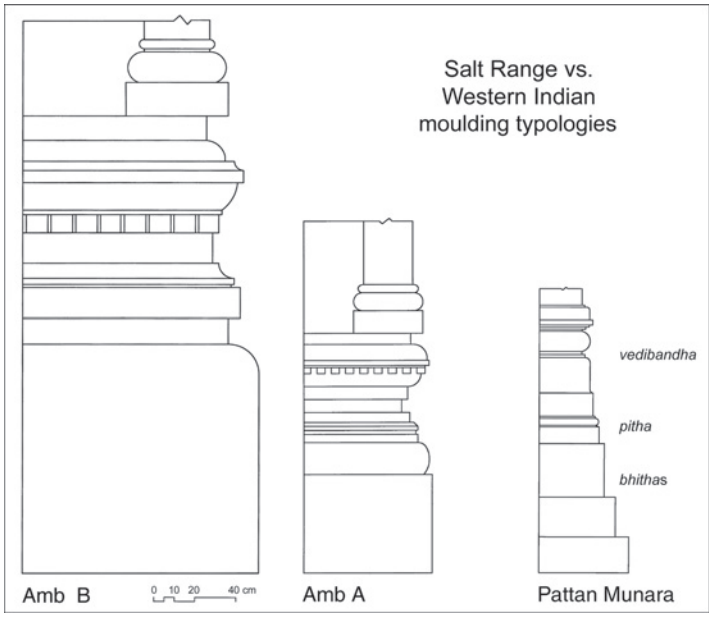

Fig. 118. Salt Range vs. Western Indian moulding typologies.

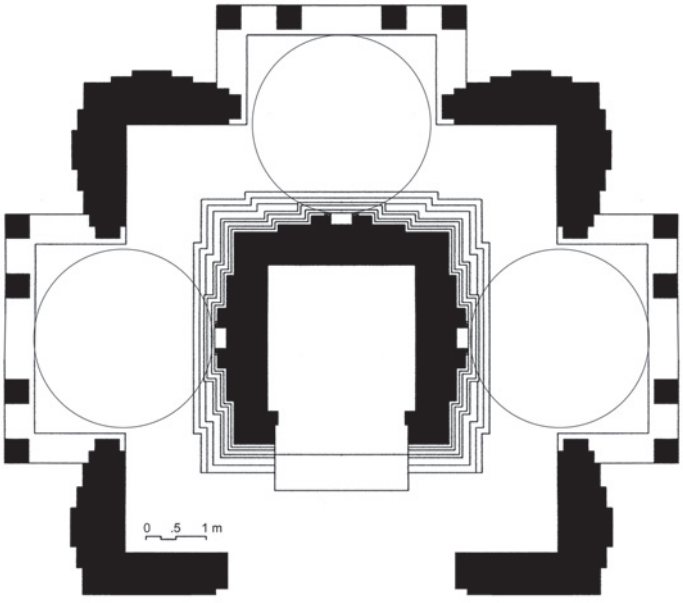

Fig. 119. Pattan Munāra, sanctum, plan reconstructed with balconies and circumambulatory corridor.

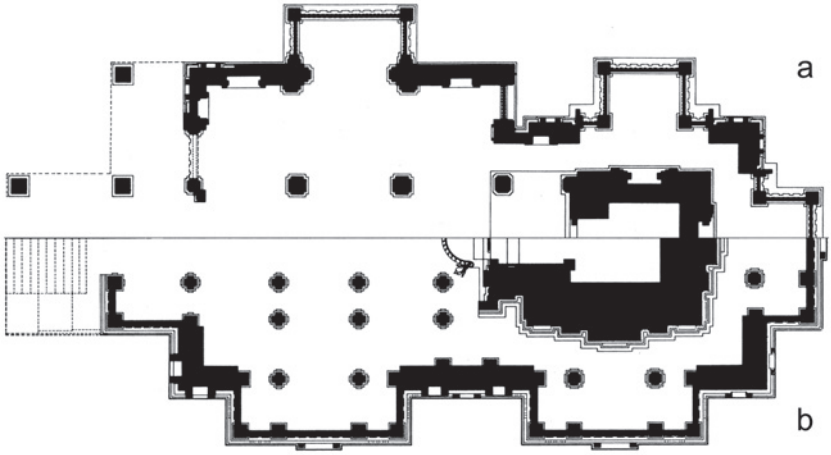

Fig. 120. Ambulatory plans in Western India: a) Osiāñ, Mahāvīra temple; b) Chittor, Kālikāmātā temple.

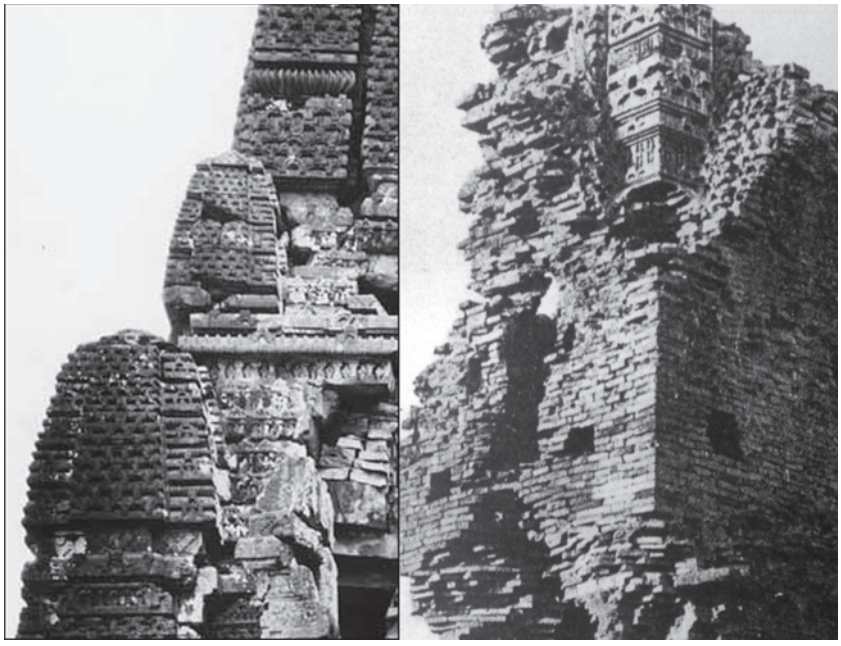

Fig. 121. Pattan Munāra, brick temple (right), detail of damaged tower before conservation; Gyaraspur, Madhya Pradesh, Mālādevī Temple, ca. 950 (left), detail of multi-spired tower.

Fig. 122. Malot temple, south.

Fig. 123. Malot temple, entry, east.

Fig. 124. Malot temple, entry gate.

Fig. 125. Malot temple, sanctum, stepped squinch.

Fig. 126. Malot temple, Nāgara shrine model over south-wall chamber.

Fig. 127. Malot temple, entry gate, peak-roofed shrine model.

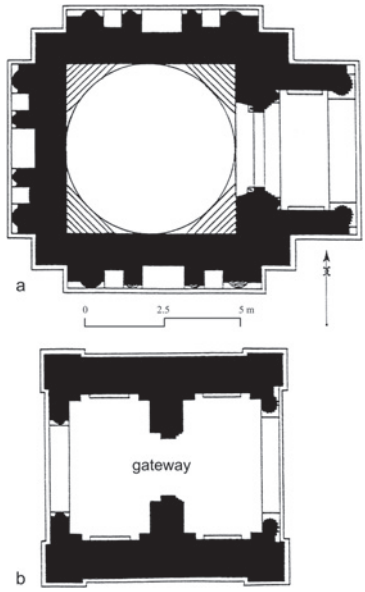

Fig. 128. Malot, ground plans: sanctum and gateway.

Fig. 129. Malot temple, south wall, central monumental chamber.

Fig. 130. Malot temple, north-wall chamber, images over entry.

Fig. 131. Māri-Indus site, Temples A and B looking east.

Fig. 132. Māri-Indus, Temple C, northwest.

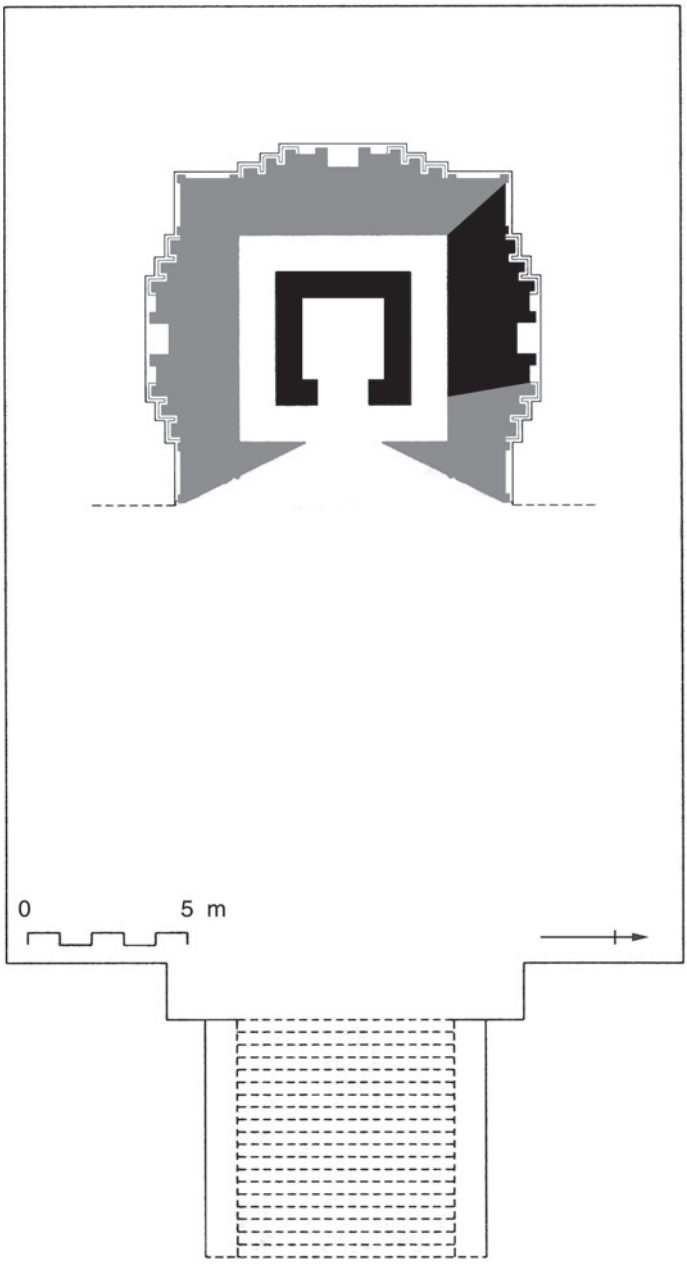

Fig. 133. Māri-Indus, Temple C, reconstruction of ground plan.

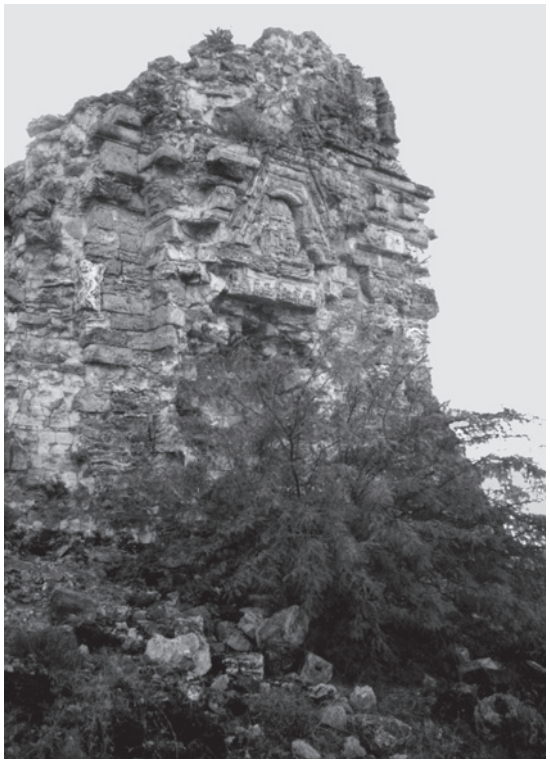

Fig. 134. Māri-Indus, Temple C, north wall.

Fig. 135. Māri-Indus, temple C, north wall, bi-level pediment above trefoil niche.

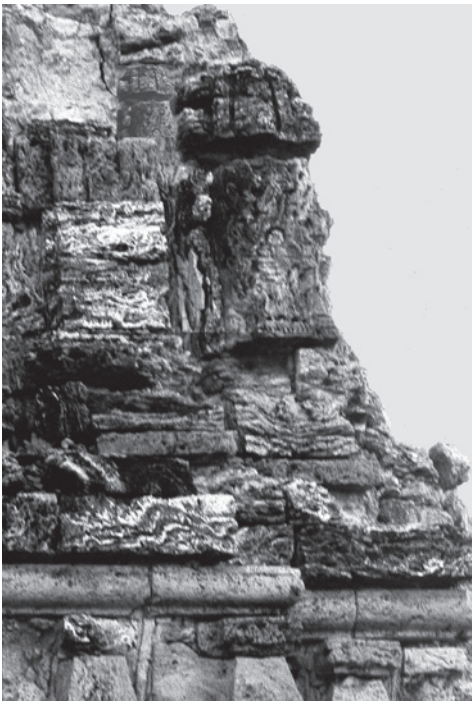

Fig. 136. Māri-Indus, temple C, superstructure, NW corner, pillaret with *latina* model.

Fig. 137. Māri-Indus, temple C, north wall, pediment with Sūrya image.

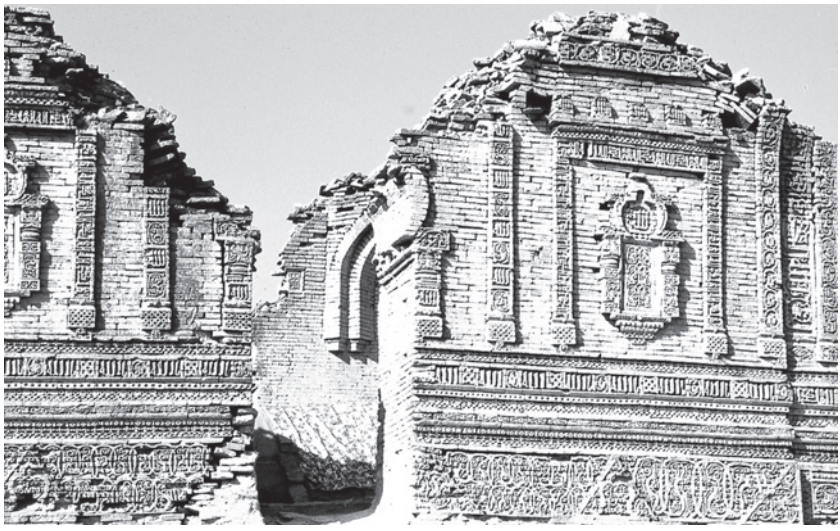

Fig. 138. Saddan (Muzaffargarh), cut-brick tomb of Shaikh Sadan Shahid.

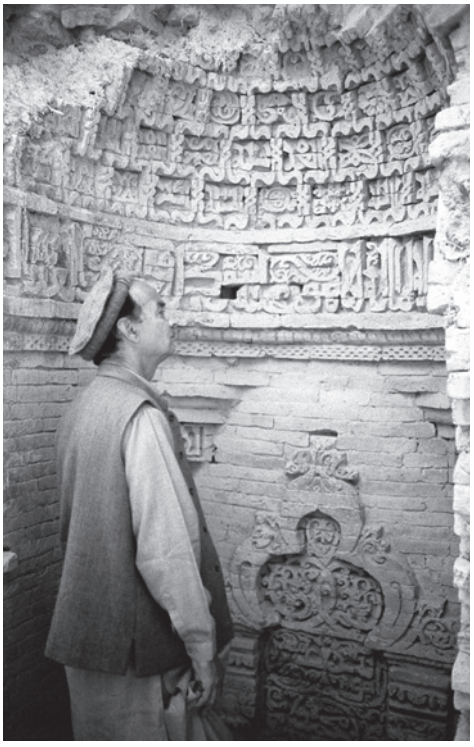

Fig. 139. Khatti Chor, Punjab, *ribāṭ* of Khalid Walid, west corridor, cut-brick *miḥrāb*.

Fig. 140. Gumbat, Swāt, ruined temple (left); Karwān-balasi, near Kuzai Gumbhaz, Afghanistan.

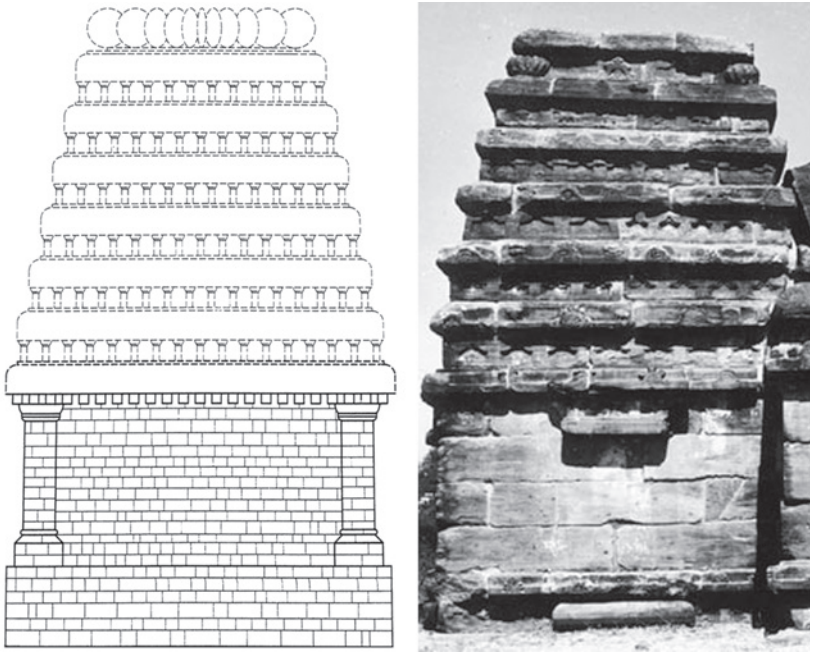

Fig. 141. '*Bhūmi-prāsāda*' storeyed shrines: (left) Katās, Temple B reconstruction; (right) Aihole, Karnataka, Galagnāth Temple, 7th century.

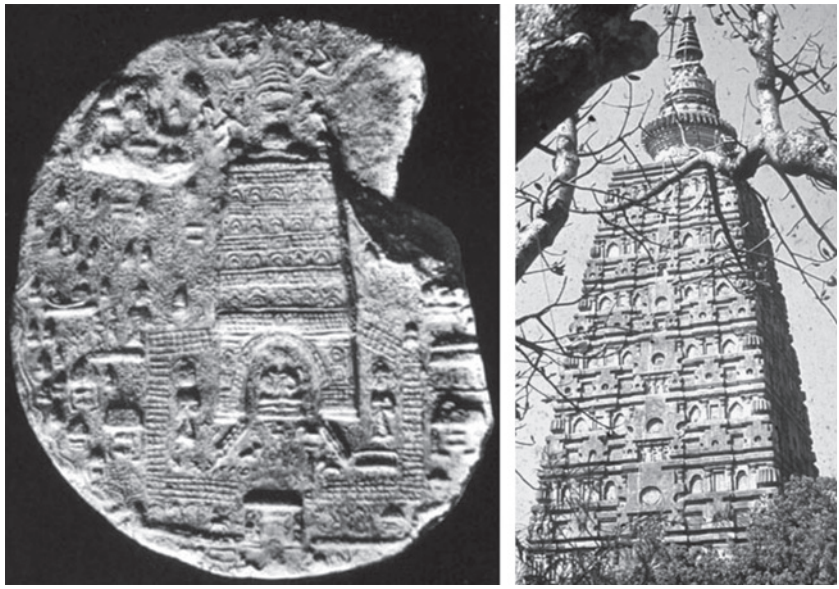

Fig. 142. Bodhgayā, Bihar, brick Mahābodhi Temple: (left) Kumrahār (Patna), terra-cotta plaque, ca. 3rd century; (right) detail of tower after conservation.

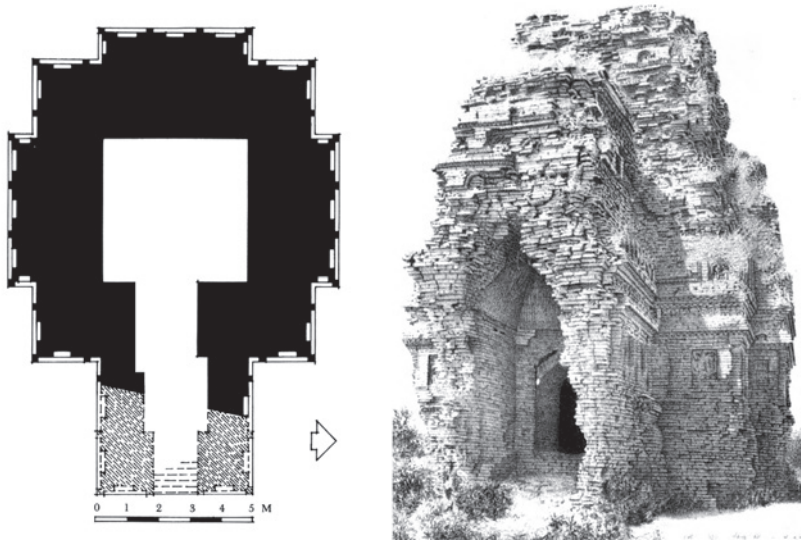

Fig. 143. Bhītargāon, brick temple, ca. 450: (left) ground plan; (right) 19th-century photograph of temple from the northeast.

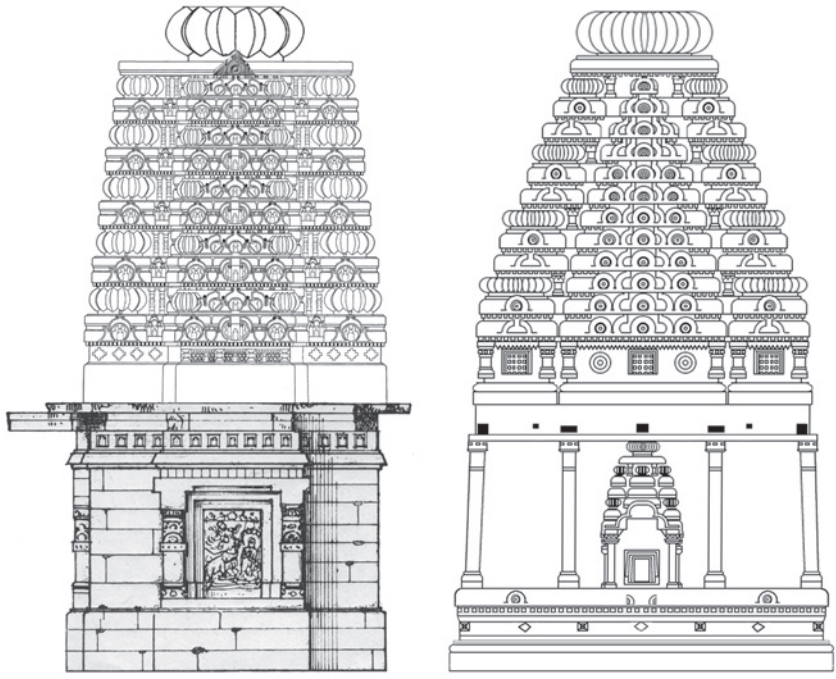

Fig. 144. Reconstructions of 'proto-Nāgara' superstructures: (left) Deogarh, 'Gupta' Temple, ca. 525; (right) Bilot, Temple D, ca. 600.

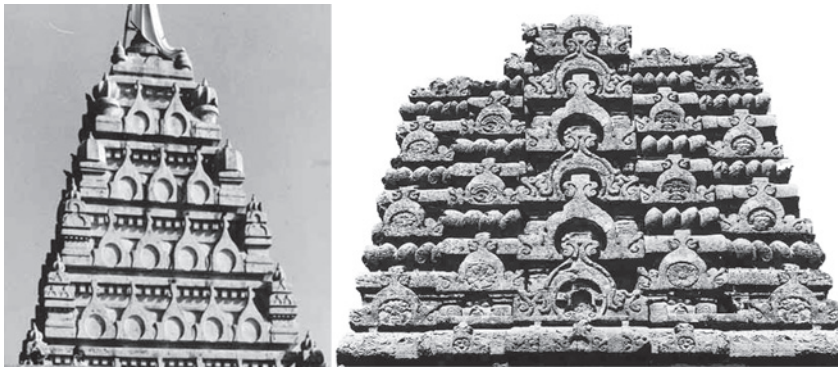

Fig. 145. Saurashtra, Gujarat, Maitraka-period superstructures: (left) Bileśvara, Bilvanātha Temple, ca. 600; Ḍhāṅk, Sun Temple, partial reconstruction of *śikhara*, ca. 700.

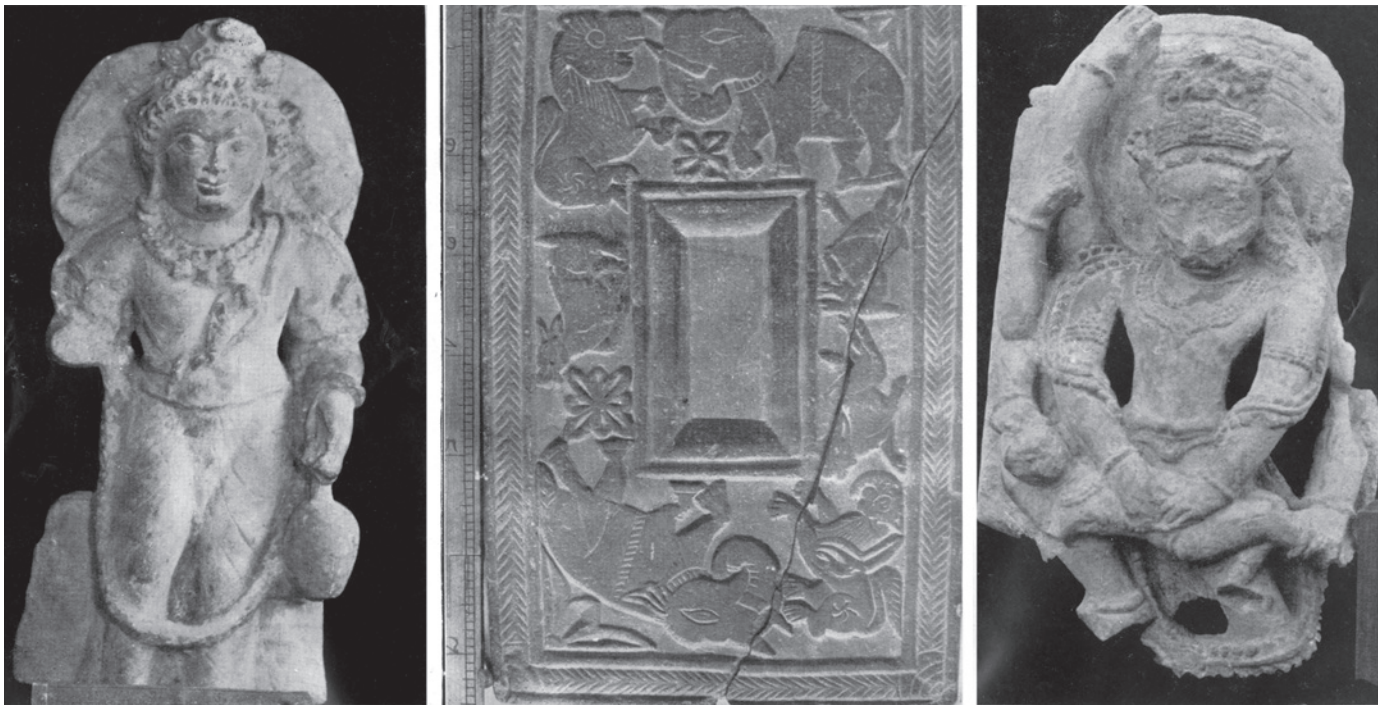

Fig. 146. Amb, three sculptures found by the ASI during clearance of Temple B's plinth, ca. 1920: 'Mahādeva', animal plaque, Narasiṁha.

Fig. 147. Kapiśa (Kabul), Afghanistan, Guldāra *stūpa*, plinth façade.

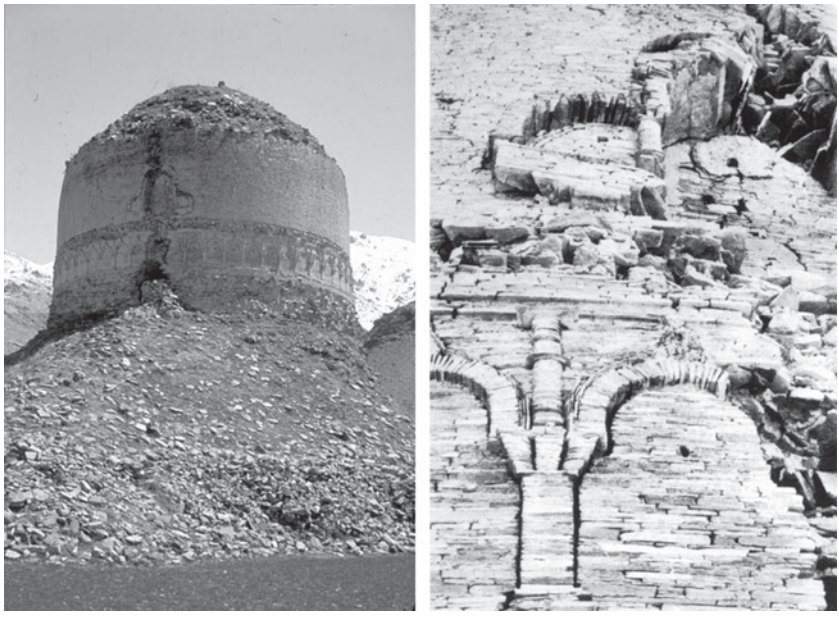

Fig. 148. Kapiśa (Kabul), Topdāra *stūpa*: dome with trefoil chamber.

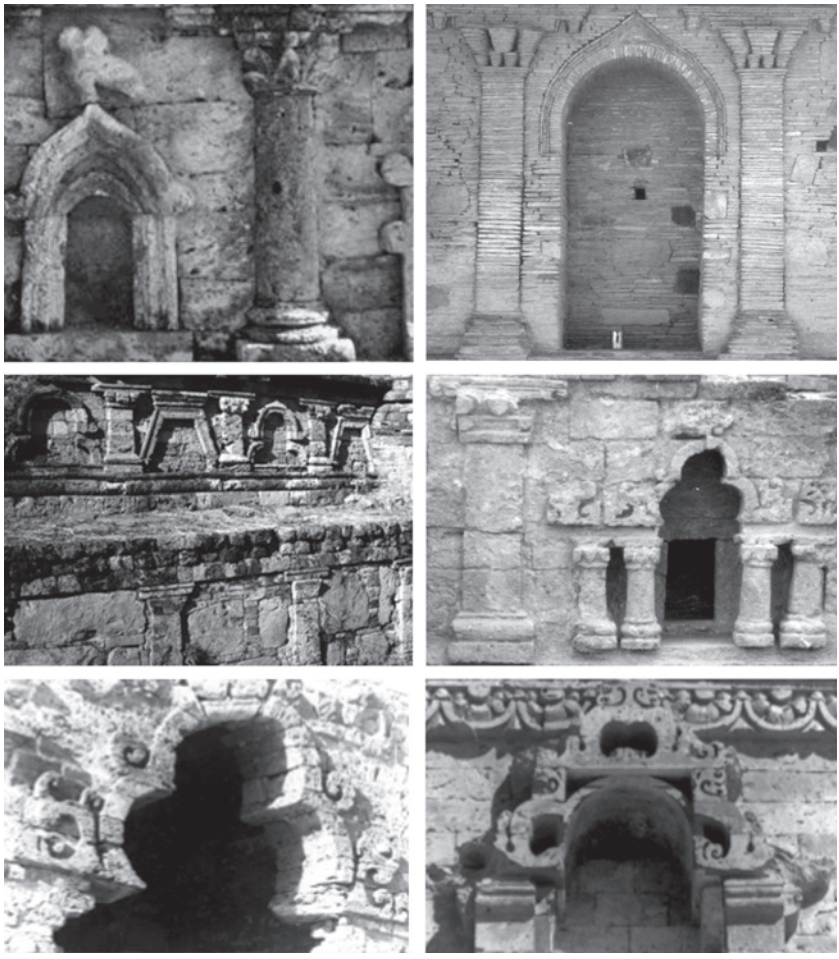

Fig. 149. Sequence of arches in the Northwest (top to bottom): Sirkap (Taxila), shrine of the double-headed eagle; Guldāra *stūpa*; Taxila, Dharmarājikā *stūpa*, outer casing; Kāfirkoṭ, Temple E; Māri-Indus, Temple B; Pattan Munāra, brick temple.