CHAPTER IV

TEMPLES OF BHUBANESWAR
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From the existing monuments, and the finds of the innumerable architectural and sculptural fragments it appears that the region of Bhubaneswar was an important centre of art in Orissa in the past. Here we find hundreds of temples, big and small, in different stages of preservation and belonging to different stages of the evolution of the temple-architecture. This is the only place where one can study the entire history of the evolution of the Orissan temple-architecture. This is also the place where all three categories of temples - rekha, pīṭha and khākhara are found. From all accounts it appears that the place was a great centre of temple-building activity in the past. All kinds of experiments leading to the perfection as well as excellence of the temple-architecture were conducted in this place. Whatever innovations and improvements experimented from time to time on the temples of Bhubaneswar were subsequently applied into the temples of other parts of Orissa.

1. M. M. Ganguly puts the number of temples of Bhubaneswar as five hundred (M. M. Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p.273).
the State. Therefore the contemporaneity of the temples of Bhubaneswar and elsewhere need not be emphasised merely on the basis of identity of features. Of course the interval of time between the two may not necessarily be too long. It was likely that a school was established in Bhubaneswar where the architects and sculptors had their training. In view of the above importance of Bhubaneswar we consider it most appropriate to discuss the temples now existing there in a separate chapter and then to study their influence on the temples situated in other places.

**Satrughnesvara group of temples**

The Satrughnesvara group of temples represent the earliest extant temples of Orissa. These temples, three in number, are situated in a row inside a compound and from north to south they are locally called the Laksmaneswara (Fig. 1), the Bharatesvara (Fig. 2) and the Satrughnesvara (Fig. 3). All these temples were in complete ruins and

2. These names appear to have been given to the temples after coming into existence of the Ramesvara temple which now stands just in front of them. The Ramesvara temple is a much later temple. It is not known what were the original names of these temples.
have been restored by the State Archaeology Department. Of these the Laksmanesvara is now without its facing stones and the crowning members. The core of the middle one, Bharatesvara has been covered by the plain blocks of stone at the time of restoration. The southernmost one, the Satrughnesvara is comparatively in good state of preservation and this helps us in getting an idea about the architectural peculiarities of this group of temples.

The inscribed astagraha lintel from Satrughnesvara, now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, has been utilised by the scholars for ascertaining the dates of these temples. The lintel, originally attached to the southern niche of the temple, contain images of eight grahas or planets, a characteristic of the temples of the earlier part of our period. Of the inscribed names only four can be read with difficulty and the rest are completely damaged. The four names are those of Soma, Budha, Bhraspati and Sukra. Considering the palaeography of the inscribed letters Dr. Panigrahi assigns the temple to the close of the sixth century A.D. (A.D. 575). On the other hand Dahejia makes


4. Ibid.

this temple contemporaneous with the Parasurāmesvara, i.e., the seventh century A.D.

The astagrahas in the Satrughneśvara temple do not appear in the appointed place, i.e., on the lintel above the door-jambs. The doorway lintel of the Laksmanēśvara is depicted with elephant-frieze and whereas the Satrughneśvara lintel contains a panel depicting a Saivite theme. In the Bharatesvara now a plain lithic architrave takes the place of original lintel. When other two adjacent temples do not have graha lintel in the appointed places the same cannot be expected for the Bharatesvara temple. Therefore it can be said that the practice of depicting grahas on the lintel of the door-frame of the shrine was not followed by that time. With the help of available evidence we can say that the astagrahas appeared for the first time on the Satrughneśvara and that too, what Dr. Panigrahi says, 'attached to its southern niche'. Since Dr. Panigrahi was associated with the work of restoration of these temples we accept his view

5. V. Dahejia, Early Temples of Orissa, pp.88, 170. According to her the Satrughnesvara and the Parasurāmesvara graha labels can be placed together on the basis of their palaeography.

about the place where the graha lintel was originally displayed. At the time of the introduction of the grahas into the temple-sculpture it was perhaps thought necessary to identify them. Thus the identifying labels suggest their first appearance. The names of the eight grahas on the Paraśurāmeśvara temple has also been inscribed and on no other temple the grahas have such identifying labels. Therefore, the Satrughnesvara and the Paraśurāmeśvara belong to a time when the practice of carving grahas on the lintel was first introduced.

The palaeography of the Paraśurāmeśvara inscription belongs to the seventh century A.D. On close examination there does not appear much difference between the letters of the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Satrughnesvara. We do not see any indication in the Satrughnesvara inscription by which it can be placed much before the Paraśurāmeśvara inscription as has been suggested by Dr. Panigrahi. Thus on the basis of the palaeographical evidence the Satrughnesvara and the Paraśurāmeśvara temples can be assigned to the seventh century A.D. Of course, it is too difficult to suggest a

definite date for them. At best it can be said that they belong to the middle of the seventh century A.D. 

In another respect the Satrughnesvara can be placed in the same period to which the Parasurāmesvara belongs. It is the identical treatment of the front rāhā of both the temples. The lower chaitya-arch of the Vajramastaka on the front rāhā of the Satrughneśvara is relieved with the Rāvanānugraha-mūrtti like that of the Parasurāmesvara temple. In this pane, Rāvana is making the supreme effort to uproot the mount Kailāśa upon which are seated Śiva and Pārvatī. The upper chaitya-arch of both the temples contain the figures of Natarāja. The Vajramastaka is crowned by a Kirttimukha. Above the Kirttimukha in both the temples there is the figure of seated Lakulīśa. Since the themes and the treatment are identical in both the temples they cannot be separated from each other by a long interval of time.

The Satrughnesvara temple bears architectural features similar to those of the Parasurāmesvara. Of the two, the

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S. Dahejia's contention that the Parasurāmesvara graha labels are akin to the records of Sailodbhava Mādhavaman and to those of his son Mādhamarāja seems to be more plausible. (V. Dahejia, op. cit., p.168).
Satrughneśvara is shorter in height. But both possess a squattish thick-set gandi which is triratha in plan. The bada is also of triratha design. The base consists of three moulding of which the bottom one is of khura design. The bada consists of three divisions and is separated from the gandi by a recessed kānthi. The treatment of the side niches is also similar to that of the Parasurāmeśvara. So far as the sculptures are concerned we notice the awkward treatment of the limbs of the images, a feature which is also found in the Parasurāmeśvara.

The above discussions point to the near contemporaneity of the two temples. A few years might have elapsed between the construction of the two – the Satrughneśvara being earlier to the Parasurāmeśvara. During the intervening years the process of shifting the position of the graha slab on the body of the temple took place. Once placed above the lintel of the door-frame, as in the Parasurāmeśvara, it became the standard to be followed by all the subsequent temples. Within a period of a few years, say four to five years.

9. In the opinion of Prof. Donaldson the plan is Pancharatha. But the reserved interspaces between the rāhā and kanika pagas do not have deep recesses so as to make them fully developed projections to be called pagas. It seems that Prof. Donaldson, by considering the interspaces as pagas, arrives at the conclusion that the gandi is of Pancharatha design.
years, no major change in the character of the script takes place. Hence we do not notice wide difference in the palaeography of the inscriptions of the two temples as referred to earlier. That the Parasuramesvara is later than Satrughnesvara is evident from the fact that the former is slightly more refined in sculptural detail. 10

The northernmost temple, i.e., the Laksmanesvara has been reduced to its core. Only the door-frame is in its original shape. Therefore it is difficult to form a complete idea about the architectural and sculptural peculiarities of this temple. The Bharatesvara, the middle one, is also in the same condition. These two temples had sikharas which are now bare of their facing stones. So we have the least idea as to their decorative programme. In the bada, the portion above the pabhagas or base in both these temples, has been damaged. Their pabhagas consist of three mouldings indicating their early character. In this state it becomes very difficult to assign a definite date to the Laksmanesvara and the Bharatesvara. Unlike the Satrughnesvara no inscription, which can be assigned to these temples, has

come down to us till now. Even whatever little sculptures are left on their surface they do not help us much in this direction. 11

It has been suggested that the Laksmanesvara and the Bharatesvara are closely analogous, both in architectural design and sculptural treatment, to the Satrughnesvara temple whose date is somewhat known. Therefore the first two temples belong to the time of the last one. 12 But we can say this much that they were earlier to the Satrughnesvara. The criterion for placing them before the Satrughnesvara is the absence of graha slabs on them. Otherwise their unpretending height, the type of base mouldings and the treatment of the side niches make them belong to the very early part of our period.

None of these three temples has a mukhasālā at present. Dr. Panigrahi reports that the Satrughnesvara originally

11. Dr. Panigrahi's contention that these sculptures bear affinities with those of the Dasāvatāra temple at Deogarh (K. C. Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, p. 148) does not seem to be based on proper scrutiny.

12. Both Dr. Panigrahi and Dr. Dahejia put all the three temples together so far as the time is concerned, but Fabri suggests that the southernmost one is later than the Laksmanesvara. (C. L. Fabri, History of the Art of Orissa, p. 121).
had a rectangular mukhaśāla like that of the Parasūrāmesvara. It is evident, what he says, 'by the remains of its rectangular plinth'. He again reports that it was a pillared hall and the fragment of an octagonal pillar which is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum belonged to their mukhaśāla. The Archaeology Department has developed a beautiful lawn infront of these temples and therefore we are not in a position to verify whether there actually exists a plinth. On close examination it is found that the pillar now in the Museum cannot be the pillar to support the roof of the mukhaśāla of a temple like Satrughnesvara. Therefore we do not venture to pronounce the final word in this regard. It is to be noted that some of the important temples of the later period do not possess mukhaśālas.

All the three temples in this group, even in ruins, represent the full-grown Orissan rekhā deula. These temples appear to be the final products of tentative efforts at building temples in the preceding years. Of the three the

15. Ibid., p. 148.
southernmost one, i.e., the Satrughnesvara supply us with a fair degree of data for the study of the architectural and sculptural features of the temples of this group since it is the best preserved of all. It is moderate in height and possesses, as said earlier, a squat and thick-set gandi, like the Parasuramesvara temple. The temple has not been completely decorated. It seems that a comprehensive scheme for the decoration of the walls of the temple had not evolved by the time of its construction. The decorative elements found in this temple have been continued in the subsequent temples.

The recessed kānṭhi, which separates the bāda from the gandi or Śikhara is relieved with panels containing mythological stories. The three central niches of the bāda are now without the Pārśvadevatās. Since they were carved out of the separate blocks of stone they had been easily removed. But the subsidiary niches still contain figures of Saivite character. Of them a figure of Natarāja is the most remarkable. In this example Kārttikeya riding on peacock takes the place of Ganeśa who is normally shown with Natarāja. The divine figures have been shown with haloes behind their heads. Dahejia had noticed several sex-inspiring sculptures including mithunas among the detached blocks dumped inside the compound.¹⁶ The few

¹⁶. V. Dahejia, op. cit., p.35.
navikās found there lack in grace and elegance which characterise the same figures in the later temples.

The door-frames of all the temples are most ornate. The bottom portions of the jambs on either side are carved with the figures of dvārapālas. The figures of the river goddesses, Gaṅgā and Yamunā do not occur in these temples. The carvings on the lintel of the Satrughnesvara deal with the Saivite theme. In the central portion of the lintel are depicted the seated figures of Siva and Pārvatī, with their mounts Nandi and lion below and worshipped by devotees. They are flanked by the navikās. At the two ends of the lintel there are representations of miniature shrines, the one on the left containing a liṅga and the other on the right housing most probably an icon.  

**Parasūrāmesvara**

The Parasūrāmesvara (Fig. 4) is the best preserved of all the temples that belong to earlier part of our period. As it is said earlier that on the evidence of the palaeography

17. According to Debala Mitra it is the anthropomorphic representation of Siva. (D. Mitra, Bhubaneswar, p.34).
of inscribed labels on the astagraha slab the temple can be placed in the seventh century A.D.\textsuperscript{18} We have one sculptural evidence in support of this date.

The lintel above the niche on the central projection on the eastern wall of the shrine contains the scene of Siva's marriage with Pārvatī\textsuperscript{19} (Fig. 5). The most interesting aspect of this marriage scene is the presence of Ganesa who, according to the Hindu mythology, is the eldest son of Siva and Pārvatī. Dr. Panigrahi considers the presence of Ganesa in this scene as an 'anachronism'.\textsuperscript{20}

In the centre of the scene Siva and Pārvatī stand dressed as bridegroom and bride. To the right of Siva Agni is found sitting before a foliated vase or pūrnaghata. Brahmā, with his three faces visible, is seen performing the duties of the priest to the right of Agni. To his right is the standing figure of Sūrya. Pārvatī is accompanied by her two attendants who stand to her left. Four-armed Visnu is found standing to the left of the second female attendant of Pārvatī holding a vase with his two hands and

\textsuperscript{19} The lintel measures 107 cms x 23 cms and contains altogether 13 figures.
\textsuperscript{20} K. C. Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneshwar, p.77.
A conch-shell with the rest. A dwarf carrying a load on the head is seen in between the female attendants and Visnu. It is difficult to identify three other figures in the panel. The miniature figure of Ganeśa is found by the side of the pūrnaghata.

The above scene can be compared with a similar one on the cave temple of Rāmesvara at Ellora. The panel on Rāmesvara temple is divided into three sections of which the middle one depicts the actual marriage scene. In this scene Brahmā is seen performing the work of a priest with the help of a ṛsi. Here Pārvatī is standing to the right of Śiva and their right hands are joined together indicating the marriage. Visnu is standing in between Śiva and Pārvatī with a vase in his hands. Laksmaṇi is visible behind the head of Pārvatī. It appears as if she is presenting the bride to Śiva. Pārvatī is accompanied by two female attendants, one of them is seen carrying a load on her head. Besides, there are two other devas and a gana in the panel. Like the marriage scene of the Parasurāmesvara temple it also contains a miniature figure of Ganeśa along with Kārttikeya. Ganeśa is seen standing

between the legs of Śiva and Pārvatī and Kārttikeya in between those of Śiva and gana.

The main point of interest in both the panels is the presence of Ganesa in the scenes depicting Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī. T. A. Gopinath Rao has tried to explain it by stating that Ganesa along with Kārttikeya were not born by the union of Śiva and Pārvatī. They had existed from an early time, but later on became the sons of Śiva and Pārvatī. But whatever may be the interpretation, the presence of Ganesa establishes the fact that both the sculptures are not far removed from each other in point of time. They belonged to a time when the depiction of Ganesa or Kārttikeya in the scene of Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī was not considered anachronic. In the later period Ganesa as well as Kārttikeya were conspicuous by their absence in the marriage scenes, because, by then they had assumed the status of the sons of Śiva and Pārvatī.

The Rāmesvara cave temple at Ellora has been assigned to the 7th century A.D. On the basis of the similarity sculptures discussed above it can be concluded that the Parasu Rāmesvara temple also belongs to that century.

22. Ibid., p.350.
23. R. C. Majumdar (ed) - The History and Culture of Indian People, Vol.III, pp.494-495.
The Parasurāmesvara has a rectangular mukhasālā with a two-tiered roof (Fig. 9). This mukhasālā is the earliest standing mukhasālā in Orissa. The mukhasālā in the Parasurāmesvara temple was constructed sometime after the construction of the vimāna. This is evident from the imperfect joining between these two structures. We have said earlier that in the beginning the vimāna and the mukhasālā were not conceived as an organic whole; rather treated as separate architectural entities. Therefore they were not constructed simultaneously. First the vimāna was constructed and then the mukhasālā directly against the front wall of the former. This accounts for the imperfect joining between the two in all the earlier temples including the Parasurāmesvara. In the process some portions of the carvings on the front façade including the doorway are covered by the mukhasālā.

That the mukhasālā of the Parasurāmesvara temple is a later addition is evident from the graha lintel itself. The purpose of inscribing the names of the grahas was definitely to introduce them to the visitors. Had the mukhasālā been in the original plan the idea of inscribing the names of the grahas would not have been entertained since the scribe and others responsible for the engraving must have been aware that with its erection the labels would not easily come to the notice of the visitors. Even
now the graha labels of this temple remaining in the dark corner of the mukhasāla, do not catch the notice of the visitors. For this reason the inscribed labels were discovered later even though the graha lintel was known from an early date.²⁴ It appears that considerable time elapsed between the construction of the vimāna and mukhasāla.

The mukhasāla has four windows— one each on the southern and northern walls and two on the western wall— and two doorways— one on the western wall and the other on the southern wall. The placing of the doors and windows have not been systematically done. There is no symmetry in the placing of the windows on the southern and northern walls (see plan 1). Moreover the treatment of the windows is not identical. The northern and southern windows are simple square perforated type whereas the other two are superimposed with the animated figures of dancers and musicians arranged in two rows (Fig. 7). The southern doorway is not centrally placed on the wall like that of the western doorway. Secondly, the carvings on the walls of the mukhasāla have not followed a systematic pattern. Figures of a whole series of gods and Saptamātrikās have

²⁴. V. Dahejia, op. cit., p. 84.
been carved within shallow niches formed by the pilasters on the three walls. Even there is no uniformity in the size of the niches. The spaces left out by the niches are filled up at random by chaitya-arches and that too of different sizes. This disorganised and unplanned carvings on the mukhasāla walls postulate a stage of experimentation. It was very likely that the craftsmen were dealing with a mukhasāla for the first time. They were asked to deal with a mukhasāla at a time when they had no such example before them nor a systematic decorative scheme for it had evolved. From the above discussions it can be concluded that the Parasūrāmesvara mukhasāla is the earliest mukhasāla of its kind.

At this stage it is difficult to say whether there was either a previous mukhasāla or a porch-like structure infront of the Parasūrāmesvara temple which ruined necessitating its replacement by the present one at a later period. In any case the present rectangular mukhasāla appears to be the first mukhasāla of this type. Therefore the suggestion made by some scholars 25 that the Satrughnesvara had a similar

rectangular mukhasāla needs careful re-examination.

Like all the early temples the Parasurāmesvara is of moderate height. The vimāna possesses a squattish heavy-set gandi. The bāda is triratha in plan and has three divisions. The pābhāga consists of three mouldings of which the lowest one is in the shape of khura or hoof. The topmost one is square in section and is relieved with chaitya-arches. The middle one, rounded in section, is wholly underornamented. The lowest one is also underornamented.

The wider central rathas or pagaś are carved in the shape of a miniature rekha deulas which terminate above the first bhūmi of the gandi. The niches on the central rathas are bigger than the subsidiary rathas and cut through the pābhāga mouldings. These niches have housed pārvavadevatās of which Ganesa on the southern side and Kārttikeya on the eastern side still exist, but the northern niche is now empty. It probably housed Pārvatī.

26. According to Dr. Debala Mitra the height of the deula is about 12.30 metres. (D. Mitra, Bhubaneswar, p.27).

27. The gandi appears so due to the large size of the base and its gradual curve from the barandi towards the beki.

28. According to Dr. Panigrahi the central niche on the northern wall housed the image of Mahisamardini.
The Parsvadevatās are of better craftsmanship and this due to the fact that they were carved out of separate blocks of stone and then inserted into the prepared niches on the central rathas. The seated figure of Ganesa in the southern niche has four hands. His trunk touches the cup of laduka (balls of sweetmeat) held in the lower left hand. In his upper left hand he holds a parasu or hatchet. A dish of offerings has been placed below his seat on a tripod which is flanked by lions. His mount mouse is absent like all the Ganesa images belonging to the earlier temples. The eastern central niche contains the image of Karttikeya. He is seated in lalitāsana and his hair is arranged in sikhandaka or kākapakṣa fashion. He holds a long spear in his left hand and a vijapūraka in the right. A parasal is held over his head. His mount peacock is depicted on the pedestal. All the subsidiary niches are empty now. Most probably the niches housed various Saivite images carved out of separate blocks of stone. These niches are crowned by miniature vajramastakas consisting of two superimposed chaitya-medallions.

The bada is separated from the gandī by a recessed kānthis which is relieved with human figures including mithunas separated by jāli panels. The gandī inclines inward in a gradual curve and terminates under the bisamā. The bisamā does not partake of the pada divisions. The
gandi is triratha in plan. The kanika pagas are divided into five bhūmis by bhūmi-amlās and each bhūmi consists of four horizontal mouldings called bhūmi-barandis. The upper two barandis are comparatively thin and joined together by a chaitya-medallions. Each of the lower two barandis are also decorated with chaitya motifs. Only the rāhā pagas of the gandi are aligned with the central projections or rathas of the bāda. The rāhā pagas consist of superimposed horizontal mouldings which terminate under the bisama. These pagas are relieved with vajramastaka motifs, the one on the front rāhā (Fig.6) is more elaborate than the others. Each vajramastaka consists of two superimposed chaitya-medallions, the lower one being broader than the upper one. Both the medallions are separated from each other by a single recess formed by two horizontal mouldings. In the semi-circular portion of the lower medallion on the front rāhā we find the elaborately carved scene of Rāvana making his supreme effort to uproot the mount Kailaśa upon which are seated

29. The interspaces between the rāhā and kanika pagas presage the anuratha pagas in the subsequent pancharatha temples.
Siva and Pārvatī. Siva is seen soothing Pārvatī who is visibly upset by the act of Rāvana. There are others in the scene including Ganesa and Kārttikeya who are ready to fight with the demon king. The treatment of the scene is altogether different from the one noticed in the Kailāsa temple at Ellora.

The circular hole of the upper medallion contains an image of Natarāja. The vairamastaka is topped by a large Kirttimukha, above which is the image of a seated Lakulīsa. The treatment of the vairamastakas on other three sides is different. The lowest medallion on the southern rāhā houses the Bhiksātanāmūrtti of Siva. On the eastern rāhā the figures of Lakulīsa and Siva-Pārvatī occupy the medallions, while Mahisamardini is represented in the lower medallion of the northern rāhā. The vairamastakas serve the purpose of crowning elements of the rekha designs formed on the rāhā pages. The slightly projecting portion

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30. This is one of the anugrahamūrttis of Siva and called Rāvaṅanugrahamūrtti. Here Siva is depicted as a bestower of grace (anugraha) instead of a god of vengeance. He is in the act of bestowing his grace on Rāvana by curbing his pride. (J. N. Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography, pp. 484-485).

31. J. N. Banerjea, op. cit., p. 484, plate XXXVI, Fig.1.
next to the rāhā paga consists of horizontal mouldings superimposed one above the other up to the bisama. Each moulding is relieved with a triple chaitya-motif. The space between the mouldings and kanika paga is decorated with miniature shrines, one for each bhūmi division. Each shrine contains in its niche either the figure of mithuna or a figure of deity.

The mastaka consists of a beki, an āmalaka, khapuri, a linga and āyudha. The four dopichhā-simhas, now placed above the bisama to support the āmalaka, do not seem to be originally belonging to the temple. According to Debala Mitra they found their way into the temple during the time of restoration. The other temples belonging to this period do not have such supporting dopichhā-simhas. The carvings on the temple are in bas-relief. This is, what Dr. Panigrahi says, the reminiscent of their distant ancestors in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves.

32. Linga as a crowning member is not popular with Orissan temples.


The rectangular mukhasāla has been built directly against the front wall of the shrine. The roof consists of two-tiers with the roofs sloping downwards. The upper tier is formed by the placing of the plain and large slabs of undecorated stone and so also the sloping eaves. There is clerestory between the two eaves. Because of the clerestory, two doorways and perforated windows the interior of this mukhasāla is more lighted and airy than later mukhasālās. The roof is supported by six plain square pillars in two rows — each row having three pillars. This is an early mode of construction.

Externally, the lower part of the walls of the mukhasāla on the southern, western and northern sides is divided into shallow niches formed by pilasters carved with pūrnaghatas. The niches contain the figures of whole series of gods and goddesses. These include Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śiva-Pārvatī, Ardhanārisvara, Lakulīśa, dikpālas,35 and Śūrya. Some of the images have been mutilated beyond recognition. On the northern wall we notice the early representation of the Saptamātrkās flanked by Gānesa and Viṣrabhadra. They are

35. We have accepted Dr. Panigrahi's identification of the dikpālas (K. C. Panigrahi, Ibid., pp. 70-71).
all seated and without babies which is a characteristic of the mātrkā images of the later period. Their respective mounts are shown on the pedestals. The lintel of the southern doorway is relieved with the figure of Ganeśa. The motif of Gaja-lakṣmī occupies the centre of the lintel of the western doorway. The figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā are depicted in the usual positions of the door-jambs with their respective vehicles, makara and tortoise. To the left of the lintel there is a panel depicting the scene of elephant capture (Fig.8) and to the right is the liṅga worship. An image of Ganeśa occupies the lintel of the southern doorway. The wig-like hair-dress (the hairs curled in horizontal, parallel waves which bear the appearance of a judge’s wig) of some of the figures on the jambs of the southern doorway is a Gupta survival.36

The mukhasālā also bears sex-inspiring figures, though not in plenty as found in later temples. The figure of mithuna near the doorway is devoid of charm and elegance which characterise of the mithuna figures on the temples belonging to the close of our period. Moreover their

36. Fabri says that this type of hair-dress was totally out of fashion by 700 A.D. (C. L. Fabri, op.cit., p.125).
limbs are most awkwardly treated. In another panel a girl, standing in thrice-bent position, is shown in the act of removing her only lower garment. This panel has a strong sensuous appeal.

There is an inscription just above the southern doorway of the mukhasālā. This inscription records the gift to lord Pārāsēśvara by Prapannacharya. Palaeographically this inscription is later than the graha labels. Dahejia places this inscription around A.D. 850. Pārāsēśvara appears to be the distortion of Parāsāresvara. Therefore the presiding deity of the temple was named after one of the Pāsupata teachers, i.e., Parāśara. Parāsāresvara, in course of time, has become Parasurāmesvara. The donation to the Parāsāresvara by Prapannacharya was perhaps on the occasion of his visit to that place.

Svarṇajālesvara

The Svarṇajālesvara temple (Fig.10) is situated in the close vicinity of the Parasurāmesvara temple. It is

37. C. L. Fabri, Ibid., pp.124-125, plates XC, XCI.
38. V. Dahejia, op.cit., p.168.
almost a duplicate of the latter. Like the Satrughnesvara group of temples it is not fronted by a mukhasāla. 39

Eventhough the Śvārnajālēśvara is similar to the Parasūrāmesvara, both architecturally and sculpturally it was not built simultaneously with or immediately after the latter. The astagraha lintel of the Śvārnajālēśvara does not have inscribed labels like that of the Parasūrāmesvara. It seems, when the Śvārnajālēśvara temple was built people were so well-acquainted with the grahas that there was no necessity of inscribing their names for identification. Therefore some years might have elapsed between the construction of the Parasūrāmesvara and the Śvārnajālēśvara.

The temple was completely dilapidated and over grown with dense vegetation. A few years back it was restored by the Archaeological Department, and at the time of restoration utmost care was taken to maintain its original shape. The temple (height 30') possesses a heavy-set gandi. The pābhāga consists of three mouldings of which the lowest one is in the shape of khurā. The bāda is triratha in plan of which the

39. Till now no evidence has come to light in support of the existence of a mukhasāla. On the basis of its similarity with the vimāna of the Parasūrāmesvara it cannot be supposed as has done by some scholars, that it had a rectangular mukhasāla.
central projections contain bigger \textit{Pārśvadevatā} niches that cut through the \textit{pābhāga} mouldings. The treatment of the sides of the niches is identical with that of the \textit{Parasurāmesvara} temple. The space above the northern niche is relieved with, in horizontal succession, figures of Siva–Pārvatī, and scenes of \textit{liṅga} worship and Siva's marriage. The last one is almost identical with the same scene noticed on the lintel above the eastern niche of the \textit{Parasurāmesvara} temple.

Most of the side niches are now without images. These images as well as the \textit{Pārśvadevatās} are carved out of separate blocks of stone. Of the \textit{Pārśvadevatās} the northern and southern ones are still intact. The awkward treatment of the limbs is also noticed here.

The \textit{bāda} is separated from the \textit{gandī} by a recessed \textit{kānti}. The \textit{kānti} on the southern side is relieved with scenes from the \textit{Rāmāyaṇa} and the \textit{Mahābhārata} (Fig. 12). The depiction of stories from the epics is a feature found only in the temples of the early phase. The scenes include Rāma killing the golden deer, the fight between Vālī and Sugrīva, and the fight between Siva, in the guise of Kirāta, and Arjuna. In some cases the same scene is repeated in order to bring home to the story. For example, the scene of Rāma killing golden deer on the northern wall consists of two panels. In the first panel Rāma is seen discharging arrows at the golden deer and in the second the deer, being struck
by the arrow, assumes his true form, i.e., the demon Mārīchi. On the southern side one panel depicts the scene of elephant-capture.

The gandī is triratha in plan. The front rāhā is wider than the other three rāhās. The lower medallion of the Vajramastaka on the front rāhā houses the seated figures of Siva and Pārvati with their respective mounts below, while the upper medallion contains the usual figure of Natarāja (Fig.11). The Vajramastaka is surmounted by Kīrttimukha and above it is the seated figure of Lakulīsa. The rāhā pagas are treated in the design of rekha deulas of which Vajramastakas form the crowning members. The kāṇika paga is divided into five bhūmis by bhūmi-āmalās and each bhūmi into four barandis of which the upper two are narrower. The treatment of the interspace between the rāhā and kāṇika pagas is similar to that of the Parasūrāmeśvara.

The mastaka consists of a cylindrical beki, an āmalaka, khapuri, linga⁴⁰ and āyudha. The sculptures of the temple are in low relief. Among the sculptures we can notice a few mithuna and nāyikā figures. The pilasters are relieved with

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⁴⁰ The lower part of the linga is octagonal and whereas the cross-section of the upper part is circular. The linga is surmounted by a miniature āmalā.
pūrnaghata design. The continuance of the wig-like hair-
dress is evident from a fragmentary sculpture. 41

New Bhavānī-Saṅkar Temple

This temple was completely buried underground and has
been partially unearthed recently at the time of digging a
drain. Because of its close proximity to the Bhavānī-Saṅkar
temple (situated in the southern side of the Vindusarovara
tank, not far from the Līṅgarāja) the temple is now called
New Bhavānī-Saṅkar temple (Fig.13).

On the wall of the temple are inscribed in two rows
about twenty-seven letters, some of which have been mutilated
beyond recognition. It seems that some more letters have
been completely wiped out with the peeling off the wall
surface. The script of the inscription belongs to the 7th-
8th cen. A.D. 42 On the basis of the palaeography of the
inscription the temple can be assigned to the seventh
century A.D. The temple appears to be posterior to the
Parasurāmeśvara.

41. V. Dahejia, op. cit., p.75.

42. We are immensely indebted to Dr. Satya Narayān
Rajguru, an eminent epigraphist for determining the
palaeography of the inscription.
Since the entire temple has not been unearthed it is not easy to know its full architectural and sculptural details. On the basis of whatever little details available from the exposed portion of its side wall we would suggest that the temple belongs to the Parasurāmesvara type. This suggestion is otherwise supported by the paleographical evidence as referred to earlier. The temple seems to be very small in size and has a rectangular mukhasālā. The pābhaṅga of both the vimāna and the mukhasālā consists of three mouldings. The mukhasālā has been constructed directly against the front wall of the vimāna. Most probably it has a two-tiered roof with sloping eaves. One of the perforated windows is now visible.

The bada of the vimāna is of triratha design. The treatment of the side niches is similar to that of the Parasurāmesvara, but here the major Pārvadevata niche on the rāhā paga does not cut through the pābhaṅga mouldings. In the only exposed Pārvadevata niche we notice seated figures of Siva and Pārvatī (Fig. 14). These images, built of a separate block of stone, do not perfectly fit into the niche. Most probably the block containing the images of Siva and Pārvatī did not originally belong to the niche. It found its way into the niche at a later period. The placing of Siva-Pārvatī image in the Pārvadevata niche is the most unusual feature and we do not have a second example
of it. So the conclusion would be that the original Pārvatī image was removed for the reason unknown to us and then the present one was placed in the empty niche. Most probably the image belonged to this temple.

The treatment of these images is almost similar to the Siva-Pārvatī image depicted on the Parasurāmesvara mukhasālā. In this example Siva is four-armed and is shown with urdhvalinga. In one of the right hands he holds rosary and the other is in varada mudrā. One left hand circles round the waist of Pārvatī who is seated to his left. The left hand of Pārvatī is broken and the right is hidden behind the back of Siva. Their legs are most awkwardly positioned. On the pedestal are carved their respective mounts. The bull Nandi looks back upwards at his master, Siva. The mount of Pārvatī, lion is represented by the head. After its full restoration we will be in a position to determine whether the temple is almost contemporaneous with or earlier to or later than the Parasurāmesvara temple. But it is definite that the temple belongs to the seventh century A.D.

Some minor temples

There are some temples of little importance. These temples bear characteristics similar to those of the temples discussed above. These temples are the Mohini, the Uttaresvara, the Tālesvara, the Paschimesvara (now destroyed),
a ruined temple to the north of the Sisiresvara, a half-burried temple in the midst of bazar (near the Liṅgarāja) and a tiny half-burried temple inside the Yamesvara compound. These temples along with the ones discussed earlier can be grouped together. They constitute the early group of temples of our period.

The Mohini temple (Fig.15) is situated on the southern bank of the Vindusarvarā tank. The presiding deity is a fierce-looking ten-armed dancing Chāmundā. There is no reason to suppose that the temple was built by Mohini Devī, the queen of Sivakara II of the Bhauma-kāra dynasty, as has been done by some scholars. Its rectangular mukhasālā was completely damaged and has been restored with the help of plain blocks of stone.

The gāndī of the vimāna is similar to that of the Parasurāmēsvara. The bāda has three divisions and is of triratha design. The pābhāga consists of three mouldings. The Pārvavadevata niches cut through the pābhāga mouldings. The three Pārvavadevatās are intact. They are not built of separate blocks of stone, rather carved out of the stones

43. K. N. Mohapatra, "Temples of Bhubaneswar", Sidelights on History and Culture of Orissa, p.543.
that form the wall of the temple. The joints of different blocks of stone are clearly visible on the body of the images. This is a feature found in the temples of the next phase. In view of this we can place this temple towards the close of the seventh century A.D. or in the early years of the 8th cent. A.D. A plain recessed kāthi separates the bhāda from the gandī.

There are three vertical projections on the gandī. The anurātha pāga is not fully projected so as to make the plan pancharātha. It is consisted of superimposed barandis with shallow depressions on either side. The kānika pāga is divided into five bhūmis by bhūmi amalās and each bhūmi into four barandis. The front rāha is undecorated. On the whole the temple is without decoration but the outlines of the carvings are still visible. It seems that there was a comprehensive scheme for decorating the surface of the temple, but because of unforeseen reason that could not be worked out. The mukhasālā is built directly against the front wall of the vimāna. There are pillars inside the mukhasālā to support the roof and the pilasters against the side walls.

44. Particularly the temples built during the Bhauma-kāra rule like the Vaitāl, the Śisireśvara, betray this feature.
Another temple is the Uttaresvara (Fig.16), situated on the northern bank of the Vindusarovara tank. The vimāna is not of very great height and is fronted by a rectangular mukhāsāla having a two-tiered roof. The gandī is not heavy set. The temple is heavily plastered and thus the carvings are not visible. The bull, Nandī is placed on a short pillar just infront of the mukhāsāla. The vāhana stambhas are very rare with the early group of temples.

The next is a much ruined temple called Tālesvara (Fig.17) situated at a short distance from the Parasurāmesvara temple. This temple is without a mukhāsāla and there is absolutely no evidence which would suggest its existence before hand. The temple is of very small height. Of all its parts the door-frame is somewhat better preserved. The door-jamb on each side consists of two bands. The lower portion of the inner jambs is relieved with the Savite door-keepers of which the left one is intact now, while on the outer jambs are depicted female figures above the foliated vase capital. The image of Gajalakṣmī occupies the centre of the lintel. On the whole the treatment of the door-frame belongs to the early phase. The architrave above the lintel contains the figures of eight grahas (Fig.18). One of the side niches houses the image of four-armed Ekapāda Śiva. He is shown with his two attendants.
There is another ruined and neglected temple to the north of the Sisireśvara temple (Fig. 19). It is also not fronted by a mukhasāla. The height of the temple is about fifteen feet. Both bada and gandi are of triratha design and they are separated from each other by a recessed kānti. The pābhaga consists of usual three mouldings. The doorstep has been damaged and of the jambs only one band survives on each side. The lower portions of the jambs are relieved with dvārapālas. The graha slab above the lintel is missing. The temple possesses a heavy-set gandi. The front rāhā is relieved with vajramastaka which is not very elaborate as we notice in the Parasurāmesvara and the Svarnajālesvara. The lower medallion is relieved with a floral design while the upper one contains the image of Natarāja. Of the Pārśvadevata niches only one survives which houses an image of eight-armed Mahisamardini.

A few yards to the north of the Liṅgarāj temple stands a small temple (Fig. 20). The temple is buried under earth up to its bada level. The floor of the garbhagrha, which is below the present ground level, is approached by a flight of steps. There is no mukhasāla in front of the vimāna. Architecturally the temple belongs to the Parasurāmesvara type. A recessed kānti runs round the temple separating the gandi from the bada. The gandi is triratha in plan and
bears a heavy set appearance. The kanika is divided into five bhūmi divisions by bhūmi-amalās and each bhūmi into three barandis. The upper two are joined by chaitya-arch and the lowest one is also relieved with a chaitya-arch. The anuratha portion, which is not fully developed, is relieved with interlaced chaitya-arches and this feature was further elaborated in the later Muktesvara temple. The mastaka consists of beki, āmalaka, khapuri and līṅga.

Inside the compound of the later Yamesvara temple there is a very small temple a greater portion of which is buried underground (Fig.21). Only a portion of the Śikhara now visible above the ground. It is without a mukhasālā. The mastaka portion has been completely damaged. The front rāhā paga is relieved with two superimposed chaitya-medallions. In the lower medallion is depicted a standing figure of Pārvatī and the centre of the upper one is carved with a floral design. Its architectural features place it in the Parasurāmesvara group.

Both architecturally and sculpturally all these temples belong to one group. The carvings on these temples are in low relief. They bear decorative motifs peculiar to the earlier temples. Therefore we would like to place these temples in the Parasurāmesvara group and thus they belong to the later part of the seventh century A.D. or early part of the 8th cen. A.D.
The temples discussed so far possess, as we have seen, almost identical architectural and decorative features. In these temples there has been no emphasis on height. They appear bulky because of the size of their base and the gradual curvature of the gandi. The base or pābhāga mouldings are three in number of which the lowest one is in the shape of khurā or hoof. The bāda consists of three divisions and is separated from the gandi by a recessed kānthi. The Pārśvadevatā niches cut through the pābhāga mouldings. The central projections of the bāda, that bear Pārśvadevatā niches, are designed after rekha deula of which the vajramastakas on the rāhā pagas of the gandi form the crowning elements. The Pārśvadevatās and the images in the subsidiary niches are carved, in the most cases, out of separate blocks of stone. The gandi remains triratha in plan. In some of these temples the rectangular mukhasālās have been built directly against the front wall of the vimāna. The mukhasālā is pillared hall which possesses a two-tired roof with sloping eaves.

In the next group of temples attempts at further developments, both at architectural and decorative levels, are clearly discernable. On the architectural side the development relates mainly to the rectification of the
defects noticed in the mukhasālās of the earlier temples. The early part of the Bhauma-kāra rule witnessed the rise of the Mahāyāna Buddhism in Orissa. The local art was greatly influenced by this religion, and the temple art of this period cannot be expected to be an exception. Therefore some of the decorative motifs of these temples bear distinct Buddhist influence.

The basic plan of the temples remains the same. One important development that we notice with the temples of this phase is the inclusion of the mukhasālā in the original plan of the temple. It has not been treated as an architectural entity separate from the vimāna. Therefore the mukhasālā is found more organically joined with the vimāna. It is no more a separate structure built just infront of the shrine or the vimāna. The Mārkandeyesvāra (Fig.22), situated in the south-west corner of the Vindusarovara tank, is the first temple to exhibit such a joining between the two.

The mukhasālā was in a dilapidated condition and has been completely restored with the plain blocks of stone. It

is a rectangular hall having a two-tiered roof with sloping eaves. It has not been built directly against the front wall of the vimāna. The mukhasāla is provided with a back wall and therefore the front wall of the vimāna is no more used for covering its rear portion. The central projection of the front bada containing the doorway opening is more pronounced so that the carvings on either side of the doorway of the vimāna are not covered by the back wall. The niches on either side of the doorway is therefore clearly visible to outside. The doorway is flanked by two massive pillars from which commences the back wall of the mukhasāla. The vajramastaka on the front raha of the vimāna is considerably projected so as to serve the roof of the antarāla between the vimāna and mukhasāla. The second development that we notice is that the mukhasāla is dispensed with the pillars. This technique places the Markandeyesvara mukhasāla later than the mukhasālas having internal pillars to support the roof.

The vimāna is about 9.45 metres in height. The bada is divided into three divisions. The base or pābhāga consists

46. In the restored mukhasāla the original shape of the roof has not been maintained. The provision of vents just below the terraced roof is a modern work.

47. D. Mitra, Bhubaneswar, p.42.
of four mouldings instead of three as found in earlier temples. The lowest moulding is of usual khurā design, but slightly bigger in height compared to khurā moulding of the earlier temples. The other three mouldings are differently treated. The second from the bottom is in the design of pūrnagāhata above which is the an undecorated one. The topmost one consists of a series of levels gradually receding downward. The increase of the number of mouldings is in keeping with the increase in the height of the bāda.\footnote{Prof. Donaldson considers this type of pābhaga moulding is due to the Central Indian influence. (T. Donaldson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 610, FN. 22).} The Pārvatā niches on the central projections on three sides have been carved at a slightly higher level and thus they cut through only the upper two pābhāga mouldings. Above the niches are projecting eaves. The Pārvatā images as well as the images in the subsidiary niches have been carved out of the blocks of stone that form the wall of the vimāna. This technique of carving was popular during the Bhauma-kāra epoch. The subsidiary niches house the images of different forms of Siva. All the niches are flanked by pilasters carved with pūrnagāhata design. The bāda is separated from the gandi by a recessed kānti which is
relieved with mithuna and other figures, and scenes like linga worship and the Brahma paying homage to Siva. The standing figures leaning against their staffs on the kānṭhi are akin to the dvarapālas standing in the similar position carved on the body of the Sisirēsvāra temple and at Lalitāgiri.

Mārkandeyesvara is the first temple where an attempt has been made to ensure an alignment between the projections, other than central ones, of both the bāda and the gandī. This alignment becomes successful in the later temples. The gandī remains triratha in design, the central projections or the rāhā pagas being more pronounced. The kaṅika paga is divided into five bhūmis by bhūmi amalās and each bhūmi into three, not four, barandis. All the barandis are linked together by two superimposed chaitya-medallions. The vajramastaka on the front rāhā, as usual, consists of two superimposed chaitya-medallions topped by a Kṛttimukha. The lower rectangular medallion is now empty while the oral-shaped upper medallion contains the image of dancing Siva (Fig. 23). The vajramastaka is crowned by an amalaka.

The bisama is plain and does not partake of the bhūmi divisions. Dopichha lions have been placed above the bisama on the four corners. The mastaka has the usual elements.
The treatment of the door-frame is slightly different. Each jamb is divided into three vertical compartments. The bottom two compartments on either side of the door contain Saivite dvārapālas. The middle on the left side contains the figure of four-armed Brahmā and on the right side the image is damaged. The upper two contain images of Agni and Varuna respectively. The architrave above the lintel contains eight grahas. On the lintel we notice a seated figure of Pārvatī in the place of the usual figure of Gajalakṣmi.

A change is also noticed in the style of carving of figures. The carvings are in deeper relief and consequently the figures appear more round. There is marked improvement in the treatment of the limbs. The artificial joining of the limbs with the body has been done away with. The temple contains various Buddhist motifs. The above discussions lead us to assign this temple to the early part of the Bhauma-kāra rule in Orissa. Therefore it belongs to the first part of the 8th century A.D.⁴⁹ and with it began another phase in the evolution of the temples of Bhubaneswar.

⁴⁹ Prof. Donaldson suggests A.D. 750 as the date of the temple. (T. Donaldson, op. cit., p. 571). But to us a few years earlier to that date would be more appropriate.
The Sisiresvara (Fig. 24), situated to the west of the Vindusarovara tank, is similar to the Markandeyesvara both in architectural design and sculptural treatment. There is so much in common with the vimānas of the two that one is likely to be confused for the other except that the Sisiresvara is now without its crowning members (Fig. 24). 50

Because of its close similarity with the Markandeyesvara we would like to place both the temples in the same date. The preponderance of the Buddhist influence in the sculptures suggests its construction in the early phase of the Bhauma-kāra rule to which also belongs the Markandeyesvara temple. The Lakulīsa image on the southern wall of the mukhasālā bears a close resemblance with the image of the Buddha in the dharmachakra pravartana mudrā. 51 Lakulīsa is seated on a full-blown lotus in the preaching pose with his lakuta (staff) placed on his right shoulder. He is surrounded by his six disciples, three on each side. The centre of the

50. The uppermost portion of the gandi including the top bhūmi and bisama, and mastaka have been completely damaged and no step has been taken by the Department of Archaeology to restore them.

51. K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 38, Fig. 20.
pedestal along with two extra hands distinguish Lakulīsa from the Buddha. Dr. Panigrahi points out some images carved on the walls of the vimāna and mukhasālā which resemble with Avalokiteśvara, Amoghasiddhi and Jambhāla of the Buddhist pantheon. The figure of a reclining woman on the mukhasālā seems to have drawn its inspiration from the Buddhist theme. Besides, Dr. Panigrahi has also pointed out the similarities in the treatment of some of the images of the Sisiresvara temple and the Buddhist establishment that flourished in the Asia Hills of Cuttack district during the Bhauma-kāra supremacy. All these evidences lead to the conclusion that the Sisiresvara temple belongs to the period when the Buddhism attained supremacy under the patronage of the early Bhauma-kāra rulers.

The mukhasālā (Fig. 25) is rectangular and without internal pillars. It has two-tiered roof having sloping eaves with clerestory in between. Its joining with the vimāna is effected in the same manner as that of the Mārkandeyeśvara. The edges of the upper eave are relieved

52. Ibid., p. 38.
53. Ibid., p. 39.
54. Ibid., pp. 36-37.
with floral designs while in the lower eave we notice scenes from the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata and also from the life of Siva. On the northern side the edge is relieved with bands of elephants and lions.

The mukhasālā has only one doorway and no windows. The usual grill windows have been replaced by large niches to house images. Each of the two large niches, on either side, is flanked by two small niches. The middle large niche slightly projects forward so as to form the triratha design. It was an experiment to effect a triratha plan of the mukhasālā but the experiment did not prove successful in the rectangular hall. The decoration of the mukhasālā has been done in a more organised way. The walls have been divided into compartments by exquisitely carved pilasters for the purpose of decoration. The central niche on the southern side contains a seated figure of four-armed Lakulīsa of which a reference has already been made. This image is remarkable for its sensitive modelling.

The bāda of the vimāna consists of three divisions. It is pancharatha in design even though the intermediary rathas have not been fully articulated. The recessed kānṭhi, separating the bāda from the gandi, is relieved with mithuna figures. The pābhāga consists of four mouldings and treated in the same manner as those of the Markandeyesvara. The
central **पार्श्वदेवता** niches are flanked by elaborately
carved pilasters and have projective eaves over them. All
the **पार्श्वदेवता**s, Ganesa, Kārttikeya and eight-armed
Mahiṣamardini, are intact. The intermediary niches contain
the images of different forms of Siva while the corner ones
the **नायिकास**. The **गण्डी** is similar to that of the **मार्कन्देयेश्वरा**
and so also the treatment of the **राहा** pagas. The **वज्रमास्ताका**
on the front **राहा** consists of two superimposed medallions.
The lower one has a rectangular niche, now empty and the
upper niche, circular not oval, contains an image of eight-
armed Natarāja (Fig.26). One remarkable feature about this
temple is that the **ग्रहा** panel is totally absent in its
usual place, i.e., above the door lintel. It is difficult
to advance any explanation for its absence.

The sculptures of the temple are remarkable for their
fine workmanship. The treatment of the limbs is much better.
The images are full of vigour and strength.

**Vaitāl**

The **Vaitāl** (Fig.27) is situated very close to the
**सिसीरेश्वरा** and both are enclosed by common compound walls.
It is the earliest specimen of the **खाक्हरादेउला** in Orissa.
The temple seems to have derived its name from **Veṭālā** or
spirit who is invoked for propitiation in the Tantricism. There are evidences to suggest that this particular temple was meant for tantric worship. The presiding deity is the Chāmundā who has been shown in the most terrific form. The depiction of human heads as offerings to some deities carved on the inner walls of the vimāna and the erection of a sacrificial post (yupa) infront of the mukhasāla suggest that human sacrifice was the part of the rituals followed in the temple. Human sacrifice was an important ritual performed by the tāntirc kāpālikas. These kāpālikas used to invoke vetālas for the attainment of siddhi. It was because of the invocation of the vetālas that the temple might have acquired the name of Vaitālika, the corrupt form of which is Vaitāl.

The temple bears two inscriptions. One of them is in the Proto-Oriya script and hence it belongs to a much later period, i.e., the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D.

55. The suggestions that the name Vaitāl has been derived from the local words vaitāla-kakhāru, a variety of pumpkin-gourd (D. Mitra, Bhubaneswar, p.19) and Vahitra i.e., a sea-going vessel (M. M. Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, pp.134-135) do not appear to have been based on correct analogies.


57. Ibid., p.32.
The second one is inscribed to the right of the doorway of the mukhasālā. It reads Om Sri Chandra Udah. The palaeography of the inscription, as suggested by Dr. Panigrahi, belongs to the later half of the eighth century A.D. The meaning of this inscription has not yet been correctly ascertained. Therefore this particular inscription does not help much in ascertaining the exact time of the construction of the temple. This much can be said that by the time this inscription was engraved, i.e., later half of the eighth century A.D., the temple was in existence.

On the other hand the Vaitāl bears some features similar to those of the Sisiresvara. Like Sisiresvara it has a rectangular mukhasālā with a two-tiered roof having clerestory in between (Fig. 28). The mukhasālā is also without internal pillars. Its joining with vimāna is in the same fashion as has been done in the Sisiresvara. The vimānas of both the temples possess same type of pābhaga mouldings. The treatment of the front rāhās is also similar. The Natarāja image in the upper circular medallion of the vajramastaka of the

58. Ibid., pp. 32-33.
The rahā of the Vaitāl (Fig. 30) is a replica of the same image depicted in the similar position of the Sisiresvara. Both possess common decorative motifs. The standing position of some figures in both the temples is almost same. That is, they are standing cross-legged with one hand on the staff fixed to the ground and other on the hip. In the Vaitāl temple the graha panel is conspicuous by its absence as is the case with the Sisiresvara. Finally, the influence of the Buddhist art is quite explicit on the Vaitāl temple. In this respect the Vaitāl temple is closely related to the Sisiresvara temple.

At the same time the Vaitāl exhibits certain characteristics which are not found in the latter. These are more advanced in nature. The mukhasāla, though rectangular in design, bears a new feature. Four miniature rekha deulas of triratha design are embedded into the four corners of the mukhasāla (Fig. 29). These miniature temples are solid and do not serve any function. These have been used purely for the decorative purpose. The pabhaga mouldings of the miniature temples are three in number. This is in consistent with the mouldings of the mukhasāla. Only the khapuri and kalasa, the two elements of the mastaka of the corner temples, rise above the roof of the mukhasāla. No other temple in Orissa bears this feature. In view of this, it can be said that

59. The Madhukesvara temple at Mukhalingam in Andhra Pradesh has a similar mukhasāla.
the Vaitāl mukhaśālā represents the last phase in the evolution of the rectangular mukhaśālā. It was the only example of its kind in Bhubaneswar. Since the practice of erecting rectangular mukhaśālā was thereafter abandoned in favour of mukhaśālās of pīdhā type, there had no opportunity of repeating the same design. According to Dahejia, 'the experiment was apparently not popular,' and therefore it was abandoned after the Vaitāl. We do not find any reason why this experiment could not become popular. This is not architecturally unsound. She herself admits that the addition of rekha deulas lends a great deal of elegance to the mukhaśālā. When the experiment was not architecturally unsound and aesthetically repugnant there was absolutely nothing to prevent it from being applied to the mukhaśālās of the subsequent temples. The only plausible reason for its discontinuance was that, as was said earlier, the rectangular mukhaśālās were not built thereafter in Bhubaneswar.

In this case the Vaitāl temple should be placed before the commencement of the mukhaśālās of the pīdhā deula type. The first temple to possess such a mukhaśālā in Bhubaneswar

60. V. Dahejia, op. cit., p.35.

61. Ibid.
is the Muktesvara. There will be occasion when we will discuss
the date of the Muktesvara. Here it is suffice to say that
the Muktesvara belongs to the 9th century A.D. Dr. Panigrahi
tries to ascertain the date of the inscription "Om Sri
Chandra Udah" with the test letter palatal Sa. This letter
along with medial i in Sri also occur in the inscription of
Subhakaradeva I. 62 According to his chronology Subhakaradeva I
ruled from A.D. 790 to 809. 63 So there is no harm in assigning
the Vaital inscription to the early part of the 9th century
A.D. The character of the letters do not show major change
within a period of few years.

In another respect the Vaital can be considered an
improvement upon the Sisireśvara and thus posterior to the
latter. This relates to the sculptures. The sculptures
on the Vaital temple are more developed and restraint. The
figures are remarkable for their elegance. Their bodies
are tall and slender. In this respect the Vaital is nearer
to the Muktesvara. The nāvikās carved on the walls of the
Vaital can be considered elder cousins of the nāvikās of

62. K. C. Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at
Bhubaneswar, p.33.

63. K. C. Panigrahi, History of Orissa, p.75.
the Muktesvara. Similarly the mithunas are carved in a graceful way. Commenting on this Fabri says, "In the loving couples, there is grace, elegance, charm and sophistication". The above considerations lead us to assign the Vaitāl temple to the early part of the 9th century A.D.

The rectangular mukhasālā has at the centre of the side wall perforated windows. Another noteworthy feature of the mukhasālā is that it is devoid of carvings. It seems that the task of embellishing the walls with sculptures was abandoned. In few places we find the outlines of the proposed carvings. At this stage we are not able to assign any reason for the abandonment of the task of carving.

The vimana, as has been said, is of khākharā order. It has a rectangular ground plan. It is of moderate height (11.58 metres high). The bada is separated from the gandi by a recessed kānṭhi relieved with various figures including mithunas. The pabhāga mouldings are same as those of the Sīśirēśvara. Because of the rectangular ground plan the walls on the eastern and western sides are larger than the other two. This had necessitated a different treatment of the bada and also of the sculptural arrangement on them.

64. C. L. Fabri, op. cit., p.135.
On the back wall just above the pābhāga mouldings, there are five elegantly carved flat pilasters (Fig. 31). These are separated from each other by plain recesses. Each pilaster surmounts two carved mouldings over which is placed two lions crouching upon elephants. In each of the pilasters, immediately above the pābhāga mouldings there is a slightly projecting niche, the either side of which is carved in the design of pūrṇaghatas. The niches contain in them an image each. The niche on the central pilaster contains a four-armed Ardhanārīśvara. In four other niches are housed graceful nāvikās engaged in different roles. On the two shorter sides, on the north and the south, the exigency of space has reduced the number of pilasters into four each. The treatment of the corner pilasters is exactly the same as those on the back wall. The nāvikās occupy the niches on these pilasters. The two interior pilasters have usual niches just above the pābhāga mouldings wherein placed mithunas. Above these niches there are square panels containing two meśavyālas (Fig. 33) facing opposite directions and flanking a Kīrttimukha. The vyālas have riders on their backs

and tramples prostrate male figures. Strings of pearls drip down from the mouth of the Kirttimukha as well as from the vyālas. This is a unique motif, not seen in any other temple of Orissa. These two pilasters on each side are not conceived as independent pilasters. Rather they are found supporting the elaborate vajramastakas on the gandi.

In the centre of the each shorter side there is a large niche flanked by the pilasters discussed above. There is a projecting eave above the niche. The niche does not extend into the pābhāga mouldings. In this way the triratha design of the bada has been maintained. The central niche on the southern side contains the image of four-armed Pārvatī. The niche on the northern side contains the image of eight-armed Mahiṣāsuramardīṇī (Fig. 32). The Devī thursts the trident into the neck of the demon by one of her right hands while one of her left hands presses his head down. The demon is in the form of a buffalo.

The gandi is divided into two bhūmi divisions by oblong bhūmi amalās. Each bhūmi consists of three barandis. The gandi has an altogether different type of roof. It consists of two sections with a recess in between. The recess is carved with mithunas and various decorative motifs. The semi-cylindrical lower section, with truncated upper portion, is built up of plain blocks of stone.
lower portion of the back side is bordered with a frieze depicting the scenes of war procession and capture of wild elephants. The upper section is completely semi-cylindrical and also slightly smaller in size. A solid block of stone constitute the upper semi-cylindrical section. It is without any carving. This type of roof is the reminiscent of the rock-cut architecture. The upper ridge of the roof is surmounted by three crowning elements, each consisting of an āmalaka and a kalāsa. The provision of the three crowning elements is fully in keeping with the length of the upper ridge.

The front rāhā is relieved with a vajramastaka of the Sisiresvara type topped by a Kirttimukha. The lower rectangular niche contains an image of Sūrya seated on a chariot drawn by seven horses. Charioter Aruna is seated on the front holding the reins of the horses. Sūrya is flanked by Usā and Pratyusā and they are shown in the position of shooting arrows (Fig.30). The image of Sūrya is remarkable for fine workmanship and sensitive modelling. The upper circular medallion contains an image of Natarāja. The back side is without a vajramastaka. The two shorter sides are also relieved with the vajramastakas. The upper medallion on the southern side contains an image of Lakulīśa with his four disciples while on the northern side it is
Hari-Hara. The image in the lower medallion on the south is damaged beyond recognition. While on the north Durgā is placed in the same place.

The Vaitāl is the only temple where the inner walls of the vimāna are relieved with images. There are altogether fifteen niches, each containing a deity. The presiding deity Chāmunda occupies the largest niche in the centre of the wall. She is shown in association with other six mātrkās, each occupying a niche. All these six mātrkās bear common characteristics. As usual, Vīrabhadra and Ganesa flank the mātrkās. There is a female deity which occupies a niche in between Chāmunda and Ganesa. The pedestal does not show her vāhana or mount as found with other mātrkās. In two of her hands she holds a trident and a flower. She cannot be satisfactorily identified. The association of trident indicates that she is a Saivite deity. On the right wall there is an image of Bhairava. He has been shown in the most terrific form. This image as well as that of the Chāmunda indicate the mastery of the local sculptors in attributing terrific quality into the images. Bhairava is shown with

66 Dr. Panigrahi identifies her with Sivadūti who who is invoked in association with the mātrkās. (K. C. Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, pp.79-80).
urduhva liṅga. Wearing a garland of severed heads, he holds a skull cup in one hand from which emanates flames and a large knife in the other. His skeletal body, hollow eyes, gasping mouth, shrunken belly add to his terrific aspect. He sits with the left knee touching the ground and the right leg raised with bent knee. On the tripod, depicted below, are placed severed human heads and to the right of it is shown a corpse eaten by a jackel.

The other images include a male deity, varāha, another terrific Bhairava resembling the Gaiāśurasamhāra-mūrti, and a male deity seated in yogāsana with a canopy of seven serpent hoods over his head. Dr. Panigrahi identifies the last one with Amoghasiddhi, one of the Dhyāni Buddhas.67

As we have said, the sculptures are more developed and there is considerable maturity in the treatment of limbs of the figures, even though the positioning of the legs is occasionally 'clumsy'. The figures are characterised by delicate modelling and perfect equipoise.

Muktesvara

The temple of Muktesvara68 (Fig. 34) is situated near a tank, not far from the Paraśurāmesvara temple. The temple

67. Ibid., p. 80.
68. According to Dr. Panigrahi the correct name should be Muktisvara. (K. C. Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, p. 87 FN).
is enclosed by a low octagonal compound wall with elaborate carvings on it. With the Muktesvara there begins a new phase in the history of the evolution of the temples in Bhubaneshwar. The temple continues to exhibit majority of the features which characterise the temples built earlier to it. Such features have been further elaborated and perfected. In this way the continuity in the evolution has been maintained. But at the same time certain new features have been successfully introduced into this temple. The experimentation of the new features was so successful and effective that they became standard for all the subsequent temples. Thus the Muktesvara faithfully represents the transition from the earlier phase to a more mature phase of which the Lingarāja temple marks the culmination.

Emphasis on perfection and beautification is the hallmark of this temple. Therefore the entire surface of the temple is so exquisitely carved that it has become the gem of Orissan architecture.69 "It is indisputably", remarks Drs. (Mrs.) Debala Mitra, "one of the most refined and beautiful temples in Orissa on account of its exquisite surface-treatment".70 This aspect has been carried into

70. D. Mitra, op.cit., p.44.
the subsequent temples like the Rājarāni, the Brahmesvara, the Līṅgarāja. In the Muktesvara the process of the secularisation of the sculptures has been further accelerated. This is the first temple where we notice greater display of animal world. Lastly, there is no more preponderance of the Buddhist influence as noticed in the previous Sisüresvara and the Vaitāl temples.

The vimāna of the temple, like the earlier temples, is not of great height (about 10.5 metres). The gandi gradually curves inward from the baranda and in this technique a soaring height cannot be effected. Both the vimāna and the mukhaśālā rest on a low platform. The bāda consists of usual three divisions and is separated from the gandi by a recessed kāntī. A change is marked in the pabhāga mouldings. The pabhāgas of the corner pagas retains the earlier four mouldings whereas in the other pagas the number has increased to five. The lowermost one, which is in the usual khurā shape, is relieved with an elaborate chaitya-arch. All these mouldings are joined together by a strip which is in the shape of an elongated leaf. This five-fold division of the pabhāga is seen in all the later temples. Thus it indicates a more advanced stage in the evolution of the temples. The bāda is of three divisions like the previous temples, but the plan is pancharatha.
The projections on the wall or the paqas have been most successfully articulated and these extend through the pābhāga mouldings as well as the baranda mouldings below the recessed kānṭhi. Because of this the paqas are bearing a prominent appearance. The corner paqa has been treated in the manner of a pilaster on the lower part of which is carved in alto relievo nāyikās (Fig.37), standing in graceful position. Above it is a Kirttimukha with the beads of pearl dripping down from his mouth. Each pilaster is surmounted by yakṣa in the position of lifting a weight within a square frame.

The anuratha paqas are carved in the design of elongated khakharā-mundis. The niches on these paqas are now empty. The rāhā paqas contain the Pārvatīdevatā niches which are also empty.71 These niches project considerably and are flanked by pilasters, two on each side. The treatment of these pilasters are similar to the corner paqas. The outermost pilasters are crowned by kalaśas. The recessed

71. The previous practice of carving the Pārvatīdevatās and the images of the subsidiary niches from the blocks of stone forming the wall surface (as seen in the Vaitāl and the Sisireśvara temples) was abandoned in favour of the practice followed in the Parsuramesvara temple, i.e., carving them out of separate blocks of stone.
kāṇthi is relieved with various motifs which include lions, elephants, nāyikās, scenes of musical performance, etc. Another development that we notice in this temple is the successful adjustment of the central niches and the pābhāga mouldings. Though the niches do not cut through the mouldings they have no separate mouldings at the base as noticed in the Sisireśvara temple. Here the niches are carved just above the pābhāga and the pābhāga mouldings also serve as their base. Just below the recessed kāṇthi are depicted on projected panels emaciated ascetics engaged in the act of teaching.

This temple is remarkable for the introduction of two new decorative elements. The first one is the nāga and nāgini pillars (Fig. 35). These pillars have been used to fill up the recesses between the kanikā and anuratha pagas on the bāda. Depiction of the images of nāga and nāgini on the temples were not unusual. In the Sisireśvara the nāga images are placed on the door-jambs. These are human figures with canopies of serpent hoods over their heads. In the Muktesvara they are not depicted fully in human form. The upper part of the body up to the waist is human and the lower part is in the serpentine form. Each of them has a canopy of five serpent hoods over his or her head. This is a combination of the human and the serpentine forms.
of the semi-divine nāgas. These nāgas and nācinis encircle the pillars in the descending manner with their tails and heads remaining on the front. At the base of the pillars are depicted two lions crouching on two elephants. The second one is the interlaced chaitya-arches. These arches decorate the horizontal mouldings of the khākharā-mundis on the anuratha pagas. On each moulding five such arches are horizontally aligned together. This type of motif is altogether new to the temples of Bhubaneswar.

Like the bada, the gandi has been most successfully and effectively treated. The pagas of the gandi have been properly aligned with those of the bada. This emphasises the vertical thrust of the contour of the body. The anuratha pagas are yet to be well-marked. A careful rounding off the edges and corners of the pagas lends charm to the gandi which was otherwise absent in the earlier temples. As usual the anuratha is consisted of superimposed mouldings and so also the rāhā pagas. But the mouldings of the anuratha and the mouldings of the upper portion of the rāhā are decorated with the interlaced chaitya-arches. There are three such arches on each anuratha moulding as against five on each rāhā moulding. The kanika paga is divided into five bhūmi divisions by bhūmi-analās. Each bhūmi
consists of four bhūmi barandis. Thus there is no change in the treatment of the kanika pagas.

On the rāhā pagas an important change takes place. A new motif replaces the traditional vajramastaka and this becomes standard for the subsequent temples. This motif in later temples is called bho. It consists of a highly ornate chaitya-medallion crowned by a Kīrttimukha. The chaitya-medallion formed by the string of beads issuing from the mouth of the Kīrttimukha, encloses a group of figures. The medallion is flanked by dwarfish figures with curly hairs holding a chain that intersects the chain with a bell hanging down from the mouth of the Kīrttimukha. Within the bigger medallion there is another small chaitya-medallion at the bottom. It is crowned by a miniature Kīrttimukha. This medallion houses a human head. The adoption of this motif seems to have been externally influenced. The Naṭarāja image which normally occupies the upper medallion of the vajramastaka on the previous temples has now been placed above this motif on a projected platform. On the front rāhā also projects a lion above the bho motif.

72 In the later temples we find projecting lions on all the rāhā pagas.
The front rāhā instead of projecting forward, as is the case with the previous temples, is flat and its treatment is identical to other three rāhās. The bho motif eminently fits into the flat rāhā. The recess between kanika and anuratha pagas is filled up with the motifs of nāyika, standing near a half-closed doorway in continuous success up to bisama. Each motif is surmounted by a moulding and then a minor vajramastaka. The bisama partakes of the paqa divisions. The mastaka consists of the usual members, i.e., beki, āmalaka, khapuri, kalasa and āyudha. On the whole the craftsmen had shown enough confidence in decorating the entire surface of the vimāna. Every inch of the surface has been most minutely and delicately carved.

On the graha slab nine instead of eight grahas or planets have been depicted. Thus, chronologically the Muktesvara should be placed after the temples bearing eight grahas. The ninth planet Ketu has a three-hooded snake over his head. In the later temples he is represented as a human figure with the serpentine lower part. In the temples earlier to the Muktesvara Rāhu is represented as a half-bust, but here he is shown by his head only. In the sphere of architecture one change is noticed. That is, the garbhhamuda has been made by stone slabs placed side by side, two ends of the slabs resting on the opposite walls. The slabs are supported from below by iron beams.
The Muktesvara is the earliest temple in Bhubaneswar to possess a mukhasala of the pidha deula type. We have said in the Chapter II that the pidha deula was the ultimate outcome of the continuous experiments carried on with the rectangular mukhasalas. The attempts at increasing the number of tiers of the roof of the rectangular hall was a presage to the pidhas of the former type. The mukhasala of the Patalesvara temple at Paikapada can be taken as the immediate predecessor of the pidha deula. In this mukhasala the roof of the rectangular hall consists of six-tiers gradually receding to the top. With the increase of the number of tiers of the roof the area of the base was reduced which gave rise to a square ground plan. So the Muktesvara mukhasala cannot be considered as an isolated development. It developed out of the earlier rectangular mukhasalas. This new type mukhasala is still in the experimental stage, because it is without the crowning members as found in a full-fledged pidha deula. It consists of twelve pidhas arranged in a gradual receding order and topped by a kalasa. This mukhasala with the pidhas arranged in receding order and shorter in height provides a better contrast to the vimana than the previous rectangular mukhasalas.

For the first time we notice in this temple identical treatment of the walls of the vimana and the mukhasala.
Henceforward the emphasis would be on the identical treatment of the walls of the two structures. In the mukhasālā the nāga and nācini pillars occupy the recesses between the pagas. The central projections of its side walls are laid with latticed windows (Fig. 36) as noticed in the Parasurāmesvara and the Vaitāl. Unlike the windows of the latter these two are ornate. This unmistakably shows an improvement upon the earlier ones. The windows are laid within four exquisitely carved frames. The three inner frames are carved with floral and scroll motifs while the outermost depicts interesting scenes from monkey's life. At the centre of the frames on each side there are little blocks containing various figures such as Laksmi at the top, a male figure at the bottom and flying vidyādharas on two sides. There are projections in the roof just above the central pagas on three sides and on each projection surmounts a figure of lion.

The ground plan of the mukhasālā is square and there are no pillars inside to support the roof. The mukhasālā is remarkable for its internal embellishment. The mukhasālā of one more temple in Bhubaneswar, i.e., the Brahmesvara has such internal embellishment. In point of time the Brahmesvara is posterior to the Muktesvara. The ceiling of the mukhasālā has been elaborately sculpted (Fig. 38). The ceiling is formed by five gradually receding stone courses. The innermost is square, the next three are
octagonal and the outermost one is rectangular. This arrangement has created triangular and trapezoidal panels at the corners. These panels contain relief scenes which are narrative in nature. The innermost course has been carved in the shape of a full-blown eight-petaled lotus. On the petals are carved Virabhadra and the Saptamātrkās. Probably due to the lack of space Gānēśa has not be associated with the mātrkās. The reliefs in the six triangular and trapezoidal panels depict scenes from the Saivite mythology and scenes of musicians and dancers. The mātrkās are seated in lalitāsana on the lotus pedestals. Each mātrkā except the Chāmundā holds a baby in her left arm. On the lowest stone course the images of the Kirttimukhas have been depicted.

According to Walter Smith the ceiling was conceived in terms of a mandala or yantra (meditative instrument) to visualise some of the abstract ideas. This is something to do with the tāntricism. There is no reason as to why such a mandala was thought of for a temple where the object

73. For the description of the panels see Walter Smith, "The Ceiling of the Muktesvara Temple in Bhubaneswar, Artibus Asiae, XLV, I (1984), MCML XXXIV, pp.73-95.

74. Ibid.
of worship is a linga. There is no evidence of esoteric rites being followed in the worship of the deity. Even in the Sākta temples, where such rites were followed, bear no such sculpture. The contemporary Sākta temple of Gaurī, which is also not far from the Muktesvara, is devoid of such a mandala. Nor this is found in any other temple of this period. If at all this temple was associated with the tāntric worship there must have been other visible evidences that we notice in the temples like the Vaitāl at Bhubaneswar or Vārāhi at Chaurośī. Therefore the view expressed by the learned scholar does not hold good. The carvings on the ceiling are meant for the purpose of decoration. There can be no other significance of it. This was the first attempt to decorate the interior of the frontal hall. It was normal to carve the images of the Saptamātrkās along with Vīrabhadra and Gāgāsa on the walls of the mukhasālās of the early temples. They are carved in a row on the northern wall of the rectangular mukhasālā of the Parasurāmesvara temple and around the doorway of the rectangular mukhasālā of the Simhanātha. In view of this the carving of Saptamātrkās in the Muktesvara mukhasālā is not unusual. In the mukhasālā of the pīḍhā deula type where the treatment of the walls is almost similar to those of the vimāna the adjustment of the mātrkā images might have created a problem. So when the idea of decorating the ceiling was given shape the question of their representation received
a favourable consideration. But this practice could not
become popular and even the carving of the ceiling was
abandoned after the Brahmesvara probably because of the
difficulty faced by the craftsmen in doing so.

The Muktesvara is the only temple of our period to have
a torana or gateway in front of the mukhasāla (Fig. 39). It
is remarkable for its masterly design and exquisite carvings.
The arch of the torana rests on two sixteen-sided pillars
standing on square blocks decorated with barrel-vaulted
shrines. On the upper part of the shafts Kṛttimukhas
have been carved and from their mouths hang beaded garlands.
The arch over the pillars has been most perfectly executed.
Its upper ridge presents a sharp outline. Each end of the
arch projects in the form of makaramukha. The decorations
of the arch include exquisitely carved scroll-work, two
beautiful female figures on reclining position and monkeys.
On the top of the arch is placed a kalasa. Thus the decoration
of the torana is fully in keeping with that of the vimāna and
the mukhasāla.

The outer faces of the low octagonal compound wall are
carved with various cult images. Dr. Panigrahi has tried
to identify them in his scholarly work on the temples of
Bhubaneswar. Among them he identifies some Buddhist and

75. K. C. Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at
Bhubaneswar, pp. 92-93.
Jain images such as Avalokitesvara, Dhyani Buddha and Jaina Tirthankaras. His identification of the Tirthankaras, merely on the basis of the kāyotsarga pose of their hands does not seem plausible. Had they been Tirthankaras they would have been invested with other characteristic attributes peculiar to the age. This much we can say that these images bear on them the influence of the Tirthankaras.

The sculptures are much more developed and refined. The carvings are in high relief. The whole body of the temple is embellished with various motifs. Profuse ornamentation is another important feature by which the temple is distinguished from the earlier ones. The images no more appear flat and they have acquired a distinct round shape. The treatment of the limbs and the positioning of the legs are perfect. The most remarkable are the nāyikā figures found in abundance. They are characterised by delicate modelling and sensuous appeal. With their flexible form and graceful facial expression they are found engaged in various feminine pastimes. Iconographically, Ganesa is depicted with his mount mouse and Kārttikeya with cock.

76. Ibid., p.93, Fig.60.
Thus we have seen that the Muktesvara temple retains many achaic features. Its affinity with the previous temples is so strong that it cannot be far removed from them in point of time. At the same time some new elements have been successfully introduced into it such as, navagraha panel, bho motif, nāca and nāginī pillars, interlaced chaitya-arches, the Saptamatkarās with babies on their laps, and association of mouse and cock with Gānesa and Kārttikeya respectively. This is the first temple to possess a pīdhā deula as its mukhasālā which is, as stated earlier evolved out of the previous rectangular mukhasālās. The carvings are in high relief and the sculptures are developed and refined. For the first time there was emphasis on the identical treatment of the walls of the mukhasālā and the vimāna. These features are also noticed in the temples built in the subsequent period.

Scholars have assigned this temple to the tenth century A.D. 77 Dr. Panigrahi refers to the legend according to which the Samavamsī ruler Yayāti Keśarī built this temple in the year, as he calculates, A.D. 966. 78 Credence should

77. Ibid., pp.157-162;
V. Dahejia, op.cit., pp.187-188;

not be given to the legend. There is no specific evidence in favour of the fact that Yayātī built this temple. The legend mentions Yayātī built the temple of Kṛttivāsa which according to Dr. Panigrahi represents present Muktesvara temple. There is no reason to identify Kṛttivāsa with the Muktesvara. We do not find any reason as to why such an important temple, built by a famous ruler like Yayātī Kesari, should change its name from Kṛttivāsa to Muktesvara. Kṛttivāsa of the legend is also identified with Līṅgarāja. The learned scholar also admits that Kṛttivāsa is a general epithet of Śiva and can be applied to any Śiva temple. So Muktesvara cannot be identified with Kṛttivāsa unless otherwise supported by other evidences.

The arguments advanced by him for the identification of the Muktesvara with the so called Kṛttivāsa temple are not convincing. He says that the three temples of Baud have many elements common with the Muktesvara. Since Baud temples are the creations of the Somavamśi rulers, the Muktesvara can be assigned to their rule.79 Against this it can be said that Baud region was not under the early Somavamśi rulers. It was under the Bhanja rulers and subsequently conquered by the Somavamśi rulers. Secondly, the similarities pointed

79. Ibid., pp.157-159.
out by him save the bho motif and navagraha do not strongly support the contemporaneity of the Baud temples and the Muktesvara. The common elements, as pointed out by him, include five-fold division of the pābhāga, sunken panel between bada and gāndi, same type of door-keepers, nāyikās, Kirttimukhas, images of Lakulīsa, dwarfs with uplifted hands. But the Muktesvara also shares these elements with other temples of which some are earlier to it. For example, dwarfs (yaksas) occur in earlier temples though not as regular feature. On the other hand the Muktesvara seems to have been indebted to the Visnu temple at Ranipur-Jharial and twin temples at Gandharādi, both in the upper Mahanadi valley, for the most of the elements that mark the transition into the new phase in Bhubaneswar. The bādas of the Visnu temple at Ranipur-Jharial and the Gandharādi temples are pancharatha in plan and the pagas of the gāndi are aligned with those of the bāda. This feature appears for the first time in these temples. Nāga and nāginī pillars are seen in the Gandharādi as flanking the doorways and windows. At Ranipur-Jharial they appear on the bāda. In the Muktesvara these pillars are standardised for the decoration of the walls. Chaitya-scroll motif appear for the first time

80. V. Dahejia, op.cit., pp.59-60.
in the Gandharādi temples. The horizontal mouldings of the
anuratha pagas and the upper part of the rāhā pagas are
decorated with chaitya-scrolls, each chaitya joined to the
one above it by a bar. On each anuratha moulding three
chaityas are aligned and five on the rāhā. In the Muktesvara
this has become more ornate and intricate.

Though the Navagraha panel appears on the Baud temples
it cannot be said that the Muktesvara, having the similar
panel, was influenced by the former. It is definite that
by the time the Baud temples and the Muktesvara were built
the concept of navagraha had already developed. It is not
known when this concept developed but this much can be said
that by the tenth century A.D., the time of the Baud temples,
it was in vogue. The possibility of its origin at an earlier
date cannot be ruled out. The elaborate bho motif is an
innovation of the Muktesvara.

Thus considering its archaic character as well as
indebtedness to the Visnu temple at Raniour-Jharial and the
twin temples of Gandharādi, all in the 9th century A.D., we
can assign the Muktesvara temple to the later half of the
ninth century A.D.

Tīrthesvara

This temple is situated on the bank of a tank, not far
from the Svārnajāalesvara. Since the mukhasāla has been
completely damaged it is difficult to say whether it was a pīḍhā deula or a rectangular hall. That it was not built directly against the front wall is evident from the existing connecting wall. The pābhāga mouldings are similar to those of the Muktesvara. The three Pārśvadevatās were built of separate blocks of stone and therefore they have been removed from their respective niches. The Śikhara is devoid of carvings. The front rāhā is decorated with a simple vajramastaka crowned by a Kirttimukha and it contains an image of Natarāja. The recesses between the pagaś on the bada are filled up with the nāga pillars like the Muktesvara. Another element common with the Muktesvara is the navagraha panel over the door lintel. Had the mukhasāla been intact the time of the temple could have been fixed on definite basis. A rectangular mukhasāla would have placed the temple before the Muktesvara. The non-decorations of the Śikhara does not necessarily suggest that it is anterior to the Muktesvara. It has been said earlier that the Mohini and a half-burried temple near the Liṅgarāja temple are not fully decorated and for this they would have been placed earlier to the Parasurāmesvara and the Svaṁajālesvara. But their architectural peculiarities do not lead to such a conclusion. In the present temple the only consideration is the vajramastaka on the front rāhā, that too not elaborate like those of the Sisireśvara and the Vaitāl. Therefore it
will be risky to draw a definite conclusion on the basis of the vajramastaka. Tentatively we can say that the Tīrtheśvara is contemporary to the Muktesvara.

**Gaurī**

The Gaurī temple (Fig. 40) is situated near the Muktesvara temple within the compound of Kedāresvara. This Devī temple is of khākhāra order. In respect of decorative details it is akin to the Muktesvara temple. Like the latter it is also profusely ornamented. The nāyikās, found in plenty, are remarkable for their charm and delicate modelling. Of course, most of them have been badly damaged and their modern restoration does not seem to have been perfectly done.

The vimāna rests on a low plinth of triratha design. The lower part of it is carved with Yakṣas. These Yakṣas with their uplifted hands appear as if raising the entire temple structure. The vimāna is not of great height. The ground plan is oblong in conformity with the order to which the temple belongs, i.e., khākhāra. The treatment of the bāda is similar to that of the Muktesvara. It is pancharathā in plan and the paga divisions continue up to the mastaka. The pabhāga consists of five mouldings. Each kanika paga is carved with a nāyikā, scroll-work, Kṛttimukha garland and crowned by a yakṣa. The anuratha pagas contain subsidiary niches and crowned by kalasas. The central or rāhā pagas
project considerably from the body of the temple and contain the Parsvadevata niches flanked by pilasters. The flanking pilasters are treated like that of the kanika pagas. The Parsvadevatās and images in the subsidiary niches were carved out of separate blocks of stone. The recesses between the pagas on the longer sides only are filled with nāga and nāginī pillars of the Muktesvara type.

The gāndi consists of two levels. The kanika pagas are not divided into usual bhūmi divisions by bhūmi-amalās. The kanika as well as the anuratha pagas are carved in the manner of two superimposed khākharā-mundis and topped by kalasas. This design is repeated in the upper level. The rāhā pagas are decorated with two superimposed bhō motifs. The entire body except the mastaka looks red because of the application of paints.

The mastaka is demarcated from the gāndi by a broad moulding (Fig.41). It consists of two khākharās separated by a recess. It partakes of the paga divisions of the gāndi.

81. The mastaka is a modern restoration. Efforts were made to maintain its original shape at the time of restoration. It looks white due to repeated white-washings.
The khākhārās are built of plain blocks of stone. In this way the mastaka differs greatly from the that of the Vaitāl temple. A kalasa crowns the temple.

The present mukhasālā is a modern one. The original one has been damaged. The original mukhasālā was in all probability a pīdhā deula of the Muktesvara type. It had no internal pillars. Because of its close affinity with the Muktesvara it can be said that this temple was a contemporary of the Muktesvara or slightly later.

Rājarāni

This temple (Fig. 42) now stands in the midst of a beautiful lawn prepared by the Archaeological Survey of India by the side of the Taṅkapāṇi Road. The name of the temple seems to be quite unusual. The names of the temples dedicated to Siva normally end in 'Īsvara' and the non-Saivite temples have been named after the presiding deities. In this context the name Rājarāni appears a deviation. Moreover, this name does not stand for any divinity in the Brahmanical pantheon. Therefore Rājarāni cannot be the original name of the presiding deity of the temple. M. M. Ganguly believes that a very fine-grained yellowish sandstone, locally called Rājarāṇī, with which the temple has been built, has given rise to this name. 82

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82. M. M. Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p. 313.
That a particular variety of stone is responsible for naming a temple appears absurd. This variety of stone is not so important and valuable to capture the imagination of the people for which an edifice built of that stone will be remembered in that name.

The temple is now without a deity. There is absolutely no reason to doubt that the temple was consecrated. A temple complete in all respects must have consecrated and worship must have been carried on. Dr. Panigrahi believes that the deity was worshipped in the name of Indresvara and this Indresvara is included in the list of temples provided by the medieval Sanskrit texts which 'profess to deal with the history of Bhubaneswar from the orthodox standpoint'. In the absence of any other evidence suggesting a different name his view should be accepted. But some years later, as it appears, the worship was discontinued causing abandonment of the temple and the removal of the object of worship, i.e., the linga. Most probably the collapse of the mukhasāla blocked the entrance to the cella for which the above


84. The mukhasāla was a heap of ruins at the time of its repair in 1903. (Arnott, Report with photographs of repairs executed to some of the principal temples at Bhubaneswar and caves in the Khandagiri and Udaigiri Hills, Orissa, India, between 1898 and 1903, plate 9).
developments took place. When the worship was stopped leading to the removal of the deity and abandonment of the temple in a ruinous state people began to forget the original name of the temple. By the time the temple was renovated it had already acquired the name of Rājarāni which was no way related to the deity.

The local people point to the two nāga and nāginī figures flanking the entrance way of the mukhaśāla saying that these represent king and queen. The common people, being ignorant of the iconography of the images, believe them a king (Rājā) and a queen (Rānī). It was possible that this misconception gave rise to the name of the Rājarāni. The absence of the deity in the temple has led to the speculation about the cult to which the temple belonged. There is a mass of the evidence on the body of the temple itself which suggest that it was a Saivite temple.85 This temple is remarkable for its elegant carvings and decoration of its body with anga-Sikharas.

The temple stands on a plinth consisting of three mouldings. The temple marks, for the first time, the emphasis

on the increasing height. The vimāna rises to the height of 17.98 metres. The increase in the height has been effected by increasing the heights of the bada and the gandi. The elongation of the bada necessitated its division for effective decoration. So far the first time the bada was divided into two horizontal levels by a bandhana of two mouldings. Thus the bada consists of five divisions instead of three. The pabhaga, like the Muktesvara, consists of five mouldings. The lowest moulding on the central facets has niches containing figures - both human and divine.

The bada is pancharatha in design of which the kanika and anuratha pagas have several facets with carvings of intricate floral designs. The central facets of the anuratha pagas in the upper and lower jāṅghas contain nävikās carved in alto-relievo (Fig.43). The central facets of the kanika pagas in the lower jāṅgha are carved with dikpālas. For the first time the dikpālas are found occupying their appropriate positions on the body of the temple. They are shown standing on lotuses with their respective mounts below and attributes in their hands. The treatment of the dikpālas is superbly artistic. They are tall and slender with charming facial expressions. Their bodies are remarkable for sensitive modelling and show enough of movement (Fig.44). While in the upper jāṅgha the central facets of the kanika pagas contain
mithuna figures. The central pagas contain Pārśvadevatā niches in the lower jāṅgha which are now empty. Each niche is flanked by pilasters and has a projecting eave above. The flanking pilasters are treated in the manner similar to those of the Muktesvara. These niches are superimposed in the upper jāṅgha by a smaller niches having similar treatment. In this temple the nāga pillars no more fill up the recesses between the pagas. In their place we find vāla figures in the lower jāṅgha and human figures, mostly sex-inspiring, in the upper jāṅgha. A new development is marked in the transition between the bada and gandi. In the place of the recessed kānṭhi with mouldings on either side a series of seven mouldings divide the bada and the gandi. By this the demarcation between the bada and the gandi has been narrowed down to a great extent. The Śikhara is thus more effectively integrated into the shrine. The baranda mouldings on the rāhā pagas are laid with stylised chaitya design.

The gandi is pancharatha in design. The pagas of the gandi are perfectly aligned with those of the bada. This accentuates the vertical thrust of the projections of the temple suppressing the demarcation between the bada and the gandi. The temple is remarkable for the miniature rekha deulas decorating the Śikhara or gandi. These miniature rekha deulas or nāga Śikharas are pancharatha in plan, and many
of them possess double amalās in the māstaka. The seven-fold baranda mouldings serve the pābhāga mouldings of the miniature rekha deulas. The rāhā pagas have two broad aṅga-Sikharas, one superimposed on the other. The lower one rises immediately above the upper niche of the bāda of the temple and cover the bāda portion of the upper aṅga-Sikha. At the same time the projection of the lower aṅga-Sikha on the rāhā is more than that of the upper one and thereby these two along with the bisama form a stepped pattern on the rāhā.

The aṅga-Sikharas on the kanika pagas are shorter than those on the rāhā pagas. Each kanika paga is decorated with single aṅga-Sikha and the portion above the aṅga-Sikha up to the bisama is divided into seven bhūmis by bhūmi-amalās. Each bhūmi consists of four barandis. The aṅga-Sikharas on the intermedieary pagas are shorter, both in height and volume, than those on the kanikas and the portion above the aṅga-Sikha on each paga is divided into five bhūmis which form the kanika paga of the upper broad rekha deula or aṅga-Sikha on the rāhā paga. The recesses between the kanika and intermediary pagas have narrow and elongated aṅga-Sikharas which rise above the flanking aṅga-Sikharas on the kanika and anuratha pagas. The front rāhā contains additional aṅga-Sikharas. These aṅga-Sikharas dominate the gandi which is devoid of other decorations. They appear as
off sets on the gandi breaking its gradual contour. This type of arrangement of the aṅga-Sikharas does not add substantially to the overall beauty of the temple.

Scholars generally account the practice of decorating the gandi with the aṅga-Sikharas to the Chandela influence. In the Chandel temples, for example in the Kandariya Mahādeva temple at Khajuraho, the aṅga-Sikharas rise to a greater height of the gandi while in the Rājarāni they decorate only the lower portion of the gandi except on the rāhā pagas.

It is difficult to understand why this particular Chandel feature travelled all the way to Bhubaneswar in the coastal Orissa by passing the upper Mahanadi valley, the seat of early Somavamsī power. As we know the Somavamsīs originally belonged to the Central India, the place of the Chandel temples and with their migration to the western Orissa this particular as well as other Chandel features must have been transported to the new place. But the aṅga-Sikharas do not appear on any of the temples belonging to that part of Orissa and assignable to the Somavamsī period. We find this feature in a few temples of Bhubaneswar. It appears that the scholars working on the temples of Orissa have not taken note of this

fact. On the other hand Dr. Panigrahi believes that the anga-Sikharas are not exotic in character, rather evolved out of the bhūmi divisions of the kanika pagas. 87

Mere similarities of features do not always establish indebtedness of one to the other. The acceptance of this theory would lead to the conclusion that the Orissan temples have no originality of their own because the origin of all their features can be traced to extraneous sources. Before reaching such a conclusion we must take other factors into consideration and also the process of evolution. Miniature ṛekhā deulas occur as decorative designs on the temples earlier to the Rājarāṇī temple. In the temples as early as the Parasurāmesvara the central pilasters of the bāḍa containing the Pārvadevatā niches are designed as miniature ṛekhā deulas. This design is flat and does not project out of the wall surface so as to become conspicuous. In the Vaitāl temple the four corners of the rectangular mukhasālā are embedded with ṛekhā deulas. It is on the Rājarāṇī that they have been used for decorating the lower portion of the gandī. They are no more flat, but carved in round and appear as sharp projections on the body. The next stage in the development is noticed in the Brahmesvara, the Līṅgarāja and other

other temples. In these temples they do not appear as sharp projections, but form part of the wall surface. In the light of the above discussion we would like to conclude that the āṅga-Śikharas are the natural outcome of the process of evolution and not borrowed from any extraveous source. In the later temples the rekha deulas along with khākhara deulas appear as decorative motifs on the bada.

This experiment could not become popular in Orissa and therefore was abandoned soon. Dr. Panigrahi accounts the discontinuance of this feature to the fact that they are liable to breakage or cracks. Apart from this the āṅga-Śikharas, as we have said earlier, do not add substantially to the overall beauty of the temple. The graceful contour of the gandi is destroyed by these projections. Aesthetic considerations might have also prevented the continuance of this type of decoration of the gandi by the āṅga-Śikharas.

The bisama partakes of the paga divisions. The āmalaka is supported by the four beki-bhairavas sitting on the rāhā pagas. The mastaka consists of the usual members except the āyuḍha. The mukhaśāla is a pīḍhā deula of the Muktesvara type. It is pancharathā in plan. The roof consists of twelve receding pīḍhās topped by a kalasa. The projections

88. Ibid.
of the bada are carried over the roof. The three central pagas containing door and windows project from the roof in the form of solid gable above which are placed lions. Unlike the Muktesvara mukhasāla it has two balustraded windows on two sides and this type has been followed in the mukhasālas of all the subsequent temples. The entrance is flanked by two massive nāga and nāgini pillars. The architrave above the entrance contains the navagraha panel. The mukhasāla is severely plain. It seems that the mukhasāla before its collapse had carvings on it. At the time of restoration only plain blocks of stone were used in the place of carved ones.

The vimāna is remarkable for its sculptures. Fabri describes them as 'the most original masterpieces of Indian temple art'. The nāyikās and the dikpālas of this temple are the most outstanding. These figures carved in alto-relievo are tall and slender. With the exquisite smile on the faces, narrow waist, tenderly carved breasts, raised hips, elongated legs and standing in sinuous poses the nāyikās are masterpieces of Indian plastic art (Fig.43).

89. C. L. Fabri, op.cit., p.149.
Except the \emph{anga-Sikharas} and a few other features the Rājarāṇī is akin to the Muktesvara in many respects. The mukhasālā is still in the experimental stage. Therefore it cannot be far removed from the latter. Middle of the tenth century A.D. would be a near approximate date for this temple. Two more temples of Bhubaneswar are decorated with the \emph{anga-Sikharas} in the manner similar to that of the Rājarāṇī. They are the Dakarā-Bhīmesvara (Fig.45), a few yards from the eastern gate of the Liṅgarāja temple and the Ekāmbaresvara temple within the compound of the Liṅgarāja temple. From the architectural and sculptural points of view these two are to be placed in the same time to which the Rājarāṇī has been assigned.

\textbf{Brahmesvara}

The Brahmesvara temple (Fig.46) is situated to the further east of the Rājarāṇī. Like the Muktesvara it is situated within two enclosure walls. It is a \emph{panchāyatana} temple, i.e., apart from the main temple in the centre there are four smaller temples at the four corners of the inner compound. The Brahmesvara represents the Orissan temple in its mature form. It is a \emph{pancharatha} temple with the pagas fully developed and because of this the \emph{vimāna} bears a circular appearance. The height of the \emph{vimāna} is 18.29 metres.
The date of the temple has been determined by an inscription. The inscription, called the Brahmesvara Temple Inscription, is now lost. It is said that the inscription was originally in the temple and sometime before 1837 it was removed to Calcutta along with two other inscriptions of Bhubaneswar. Thereafter the whereabouts of this inscription is not known. According to this inscription Kolāvatīdevī, the mother of the Somavamśī king Udyotakesarī built the temple for lord Brahmesvara along with four chāru(Nātya)sālās at a place known as Siddhatīrtha in Ekāmra. The inscription was recorded in the 18th regnal year of Udyotakesarī which, according to calculation, falls in the year A.D. 1060. Therefore by A.D. 1060 the temple built by Kolāvatīdevī was in existence. The inscription leaves room to doubt whether the present Brahmesvara temple is the same one referred to in the above inscription. It is no doubt that the inscription belonged to Bhubaneswar. The internal evidences also support this

90. JASB, VII (1838), pp.557-562.
fact. The inscription refers to Siddhatīrtha at Ekāmra which is the present Bhubaneswar. But since the inscription is not in its original place we cannot be sure whether it was in the present Brahmaśevara temple. It is recorded that the inscription belonged to Bhubaneswar and was taken to Calcutta from Bhubaneswar.

Secondly, according to the inscription Kolvatīdevī built the temple of Brahmaśevara along with four chaṛusāḷās (according to another reading nāṭyasāḷās). 95 This temple is identified with the present Brahmaśevara temple simply because the latter has four subsidiary temples within its compound. The inscription refers to the main temple as prāsāda. The temple is also referred to prāsāda in the literature, but there is no reason why the subsidiary shrines should be called chaṛusāḷā or nāṭyasāḷā. Chaṛu means beautiful and āḷā denotes hall. Therefore chaṛusāḷā means beautiful hall. If we read the word as nāṭyasāḷā then the meaning will be dancing hall. In no case the word can be said to denote a shrine. The subsidiary shrines are not so lavishly decorated to be called chaṛusāḷās; nor they are dancing

95. Chaṭuramarakulī (chaṛu)sāḷā samēta.
halls. So our submission is that the charusālās of the inscription do not refer to the subsidiary shrines. These refer to halls like mukhasālā which were built along with the temple dedicated to Brahmesvara. On the basis of chaturamarakuli charusālā alone the present Brahmesvara temple cannot be identified with the Brahmesvara temple of the inscription.

The names of the most of the temples survived in the memory of the people in the past. Rarely we find the names of the temples mentioned in the contemporary records. Hence there was the possibility of their names being changed in the course of time. Examples of such changes are not wanting. We have referred to the Rājārāni temple. It is said that the original name of the Mukhtesvara was Siddhesvara. The original name of the celebrated Liṅgarāja was Kṛttivāsa. In view of this the possibility of a similar change in case of the Brahmesvara cannot be ruled out. The change might have occurred after coming into light the contents of the above mentioned inscription.

96. K. C. Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, p.87 FN.
Architecturally the temple cannot be assigned to the reign of Udyotkesarî (A.D. 1040-1065). We will have the occasion to say that the celebrated Liṅgarāja temple belonged to that period. Had they been built in the same time and by the same ruling family they would have been identical. The services of the same group of craftsmen must have been requisitioned. The Liṅgarāja appears to be more developed than the Brahmesvara. The features which bring out the developed character of the Liṅgarāja will be discussed later when we take up that temple. Thus the Liṅgarāja was built sometime after the Brahmesvara which goes contrary to the fact gleaned from the inscription. On the other hand the Brahmesvara is akin to the Rājarāni. Except the aṅga-Sikharas the vimāna of the Rājarāni is similar to that of the Brahmesvara. Of course the mukhaśālā of the Brahmesvara shows an improvement upon that of the Rājarāni. In any case the Brahmesvara cannot be far removed from the Rājarāni. We have said that the Rājarāni belonged to the middle of the tenth century A.D. Hence the Brahmesvara can be assigned to the end of that century or beginning of the next century.

The vimāna and the mukhaśālā do not stand on the plinth. The bada like that of Rājarāni is divided into five divisions. The pābhāga has the usual five mouldings. Unlike the
Rajarani a single broad moulding divides the jāṅgha into upper and lower storeys. The bada is separated from the gandi by a set of three richly carved mouldings. These mouldings do not serve the pāṭhāga mouldings of the āṅga-Sikharas decorating the lower part of the gandi. The corner and intermediary pagas in the lower jāṅgha are relieved with khākharā-mundis. The niches of the khākharā-mundis on the corner pagas contain dikpāla images seated on their respective mounts, while on the intermediary pagas the images of the different forms of Siva occupy the niches. The recesses between the pagas contain vyāla figures. In the upper jāṅgha the corner and the intermediary pagas are relieved with pīḍhā-mundis with their niches containing couples engaged in sexual acts, the nāyikās and divine figures. The recesses between the pagas contain nāyikās standing on lotuses. The central pagas on three sides have pārśvadevatā niches which cover both the jāṅghas and have projective eaves in two tiers above them. Pārśvadevatās have been carved from the separate blocks of stone.

The gandi is pancharatha in design and the pagas are perfectly aligned with those of the bada. The lowest part of the gandi is decorated with āṅga-Sikharas. Here the āṅga-Sikharas do not prominently project out of the wall.
surface so as to break the contour of the gandi like the Rājarāṇī temple. These are flattened and fully integrated into the pagas. Thus these anga-Sikharas appear as the part of the wall surface. The problem of integrating the miniature rekhā deulas into the surface of the gandi appears to have been effectively solved. In this way the Brahmesvara marks an improvement over the Rājarāṇī. The pagas are fully developed and perfectly rounded. The pagas curve inward near the bisama, not from the baranda. This accentuates the soaring height of the Śikharas.

The base of the pagas are decorated with the anga-Sikharas. The anga-Sikharas on the rāhā pagas are flattened and also taller than other anga-Sikharas. These anga-Sikharas spring directly from above the Pārśvadevatā niches and have their own Pārśvadevatā niches which serve as the upper niche of the central pagas of the bada as we find in the Rājarāṇī temple. The rāhā pagas of the anga-Sikharas are carved with the vajramastaka motifs with projecting Kīrttimukha. Above the anga-Sikharas the rāhā pagas are carved with bho motifs surmounted by Kīrttimukhas. Above the Kīrttimukhas project udyata simhas. The front rāhā has in addition a miniature Natarāja, a reminiscent of earlier temples. The kanika is divided into five bhūmis by bhūmi-amalās and each bhūmi into five barandis. There is a vertical band decorated with scroll
work and animal figures in the kanika paga. The kanika paga is wide enough to eliminate the recess next to it. The anuratha paga has a succession of vajra-mundis the mastakas of which are relieved with bho motifs. The vajra-mundis are carved with the mithuna figures.

The bisama partakes of the paga divisions. There are four beki-bhairavas on the bisama to support the amalaka. The mastaka contains all the elements. The mukhasālā is a full-fledged pīṭhā deula. The mastaka consists of beki, ghantā, again beki, āmalaka, khapuri and kalasa. The bāḍa consists of three divisions and is separated from the roof by a single broad moulding relived with figures of animals, birds and battle scenes. The pābhāga consists of five undecorated mouldings. The kanika and anuratha pagas have khākharā-mundis containing seated dikpālas in their niches. The recesses between the pagas are filled up with the vyāla figures, mithunas and nāyikās. The treatment of the central pāga is similar to that of the Rājarāṇī, but the lions are missing from the projections above. Above the balustraded windows on the northern and southern walls there are panels depicting scenes of musical performance and teaching respectively.

The ceiling of the mukhasālā, like that of the Muktesvara, is decorated with sculptures. But the theme of the decoration
differs from the latter. The topmost course, which is at the centre, has been carved in the shape of a full-blown lotus with nāga figures at the corners. Here the petals are not occupied by the mātrkā images like that of the Muktesvara. The carvings on the three lower courses include war procession, teaching, liṅga-worship, etc. The door-frames of the mukhaśālās as well as of the vimāna are ornately carved. Above the lintels there are navagraha panels.

The temple is remarkable for its sculptural decoration. The sculptures betray the characteristics similar to those of the Rājarāṇī. Sculptures of these two temples can be placed in one category. The nāyikās are as beautiful as their sisters on the Rājarāṇī.

Siddhesvara, Kedāresvara and Rāmesvara

The Siddhesvara\(^\text{97}\) (Fig.47) is situated just to the north of the Muktesvara; the Kedāresvara (Fig.48) within the compound of the Gaurī; and the Rāmesvara near the Satrughnesvara group of temples. These three temples bear identical architectural and sculptural features and hence they are contemporaneous. It appears that the Siddhesvara and the Rāmesvara have been built on the sites of the older temples.

\(^{97}\) Locally it is called Muktesvara.
and the materials of the older temples have been used in the new ones. At this stage it cannot be said anything about shape of the earlier temples. Of the three only the Rāmesvāra stands on a high plinth. In spite of their greater height the temples possess heavy-set gandis, i.e., the gandis curve inward right from the barandis. In this respect the temples are earlier to the Brahmesvāra where the gandi curves near the bisama.

The Siddhesvāra has a mukhasālā of the pidha deula type. Like the mukhasālās of the Muktesvāra and the Rājarāni this one is without the crowning members. The receding pidhās are topped by a kalasa only. The mukhasālā is almost identical to those of the Muktesvāra and the Rājarāni. The mukhasālā of the Kedāresvāra is also of pidha deula. The walls are plain and white-washed. The mukhasālā of the Rāmesvāra appears to be a later one. It is situated at a distance from the vimāna. It is a rectangular hall with three eaves in receding order.

These temples are pancharatha in design with the pagas fully developed. The pagas of the gandis are perfectly aligned with those of the bada. The bādas are of three

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98. K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p.87 FN.
divisions and the pabhāgas consist of five mouldings. The bādās are divided into upper and lower jāṅghas by a set of three mouldings. There are pīdha-mundis and khākharā-mundis in the upper and lower jāṅghas respectively with vyālas, mithunas, nāyikās in the recesses. The treatment of their Pārśvadevata niches is identical to that of the Rājarāṇī. A set of mouldings demarcate the bāda from the gāndi. The number of mouldings rises to ten in the Rāmesvara. Like the Brahmesvara and unlike the Rājarāṇī these mouldings do not serve as the pabhāga mouldings of the anga-Sikharas decorating the lowest part of the gāndi.

The temples possess identical gāndis. The treatment of the rāhā, anuratha and kanika pagas of these temples is similar to that of the Brahmesvara and so also the decoration of the anga-Sikharas. The rāhā pagas have projecting lions and in case of the Kedāresvara the projection is greater. The bisama partakes of the paga divisions. Their mastakas consist of all the elements. These temples are devoid of ornamentation. Though they share the architectural features of the Brahmesvara they lack in the grace and elegance of the latter. Moreover, their gāndis are not slender like that of the latter and in this respect they betray an archaic feature. On the basis of the above considerations these three temples can be placed before the Brahmesvara and after the Rājarāṇī.
The Kedārēśvara has two sets of inscriptions incised on the right entrance wall of the mukhasālā. These inscriptions belong to the Rājā Pramādideva, younger brother of the Gauḍa king Anantavarman Chodagaṅgadeva. One of the inscriptions record the donation of the perpetual lamp by Rājā Pramādideva to lord Kedārēśvara in the Saka year 1064 (A.D. 1142). It is evident from this inscription that the temple was in existence and had acquired prominence by A.D. 1142. Except this fact these inscriptions do not help us in determining the date of the construction of the temple. This much is certain that the temple belonged to the Somavamsi period and was in existence when Anantavarman Chodagaṅgadeva conquered Orissa.

**Līṅgarāja**

The Līṅgarāja temple (Fig.49 & 50) marks the culmination of the evolution of the temple-architecture of the period under discussion. The Līṅgarāja faithfully represents the outcome of the experiments carried over the years on the different aspects of the temple-architecture. This is the product of the accumulated experience gathered in the course of evolution. The temple is perfect in all respects. An effective integration between the height and beauty has been

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worked out in this temple. Here the volume is in now way deterrent to the overall ornamentation. Different elements of the temple have been most skilfully treated. This is infact, 'the quintessence of Orissan architecture'.

The Liṅgarāja is remarkable for its soaring height (the vimāna rising to a height of 45.11 metres) and thereby commands the landscape for miles together. Apart from the usual mukhasālā two more structures have been added on the front, i.e., the nāmāmandapa (dancing hall) and the Bhogamandapa (hall of offering). These two appear to be later additions. All the four structures stand in the same axial alignment with descending height. They stand within a spacious courtyard enclosed by massive laterite walls. The walls are pierced by gateways on the east, the south and the north - the eastern gateway being the main entrance to the compound. The courtyard is dotted with shrines, numbering about hundred, of various types and sizes. The Liṅgarāja is akin to the Brahmaśvara in many respects. In fact the Liṅgarāja marks further development of the features noticed in the Brahmaśvara and thus is posterior to the latter.

100. D. Mitra, op.cit., p.58.

There is no direct evidence about the date of this temple. We will see in the subsequent paragraphs that the Liṅgarāja followed the Brahmesvara. Therefore the date of the Brahmesvara is the earliest limit to the time of the Liṅgarāja. The mukhasālā contains an inscription recording the grant of a village for the maintenance of the perpetual lamp donated to lord Kṛttivāsa (the original name of Liṅgarāja) by the Gaṅga king Ananta Ganañman Chodagangadeva. The inscription is dated in the Saka year 1036 (A.D.1114-15). This should be taken as the latest limit. It is also evident from the inscription that the temple belonged to the Somavamśī period. According to the local tradition the temple was built by Yayāti Kesāri and Lalatendu Kesāri. The Mādalāpāṇji assigns the construction of the temple to Yayāti Kesāri, Ananta Kesāri and Lalāta Kesāri. Yayāti Kesāri of the local tradition and the Mādalāpāṇji is Yayāti II (A.D. 1025-1040). Yayāti I had neither time nor opportunity to undertake the construction of such a magnificent edifice. Dr. Panigrahi has pointed out that Ananta Kesāri and Lalāta Kesāri are two other names of Udyota Kesāri, the son and successor of Yayāti II. Therefore

102. EI, XXX (1953-54), pp.29 ff.
104. K. C. Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, pp.165-166.
it should be concluded that Yayati II initiated the construction of the Liṅgarāja temple. Such a gigantic structure could not be completed during his life time and therefore it was Udyota Kesārī who completed the construction. This also fits into the conclusion drawn from the archaeological considerations. Moreover, the decline of the Somavamsī rule started after Udyota Kesārī. His weak successors cannot be credited with the construction of such a magnificent structure.

The plan of the vimāna remains pancharatha, but the pagas present soft outlines on its surface. The alignment of the pagas of the gandi and bāda is so perfect and the demarcation between the two is so subtle that the upward thrust of the body is maintained from the base to the bisama. The pagas appear as continuous outlines extending from the base to the bisama. The pagas are well-rounded and treated in a more delicate manner. By this the vimāna bears a perfect circular appearance supressing the square ground plan. The gandi rises straight to a great level and bends inward suddenly near the bisama, emphasising the soaring height. The experimentation of these features on the Brahmeswara does not appear to be as successful as noticed on the Liṅgarāja. Thus the Lingaraja becomes more graceful and elegant.

The temple rises abruptly from the ground. The bāda of the vimāna is divided into five divisions. But it is more
ornately sculptured. The pabhāga consists of five mouldings. A set of three mouldings divide the bada into the upper and lower storeys. These mouldings are set with rectangular niches on the corner pagas containing mithuna figures. On the intermediary pagas the upper two mouldings are set with panels carved with floral designs. The outer edges of the upper and lower mouldings are relieved with carvings. The corner and intermediary pagas in the lower jāṅghas are relieved with the usual khākhara-mundis while the corresponding ones in the upper jāṅgha with pidhā-mundis, all ornately carved. The niches of the khākhara-mundis on the corner pagas contain figures of seated dikpālas with their mounts below. The subject matter of the niches of the intermediary mundis is of various types. The niches of the pidhā-mundis contain mostly divine images. The recesses between the pagas are filled with vālas of various types in the lower jāṅgha and nāyikās (Fig. 51) and erotic couples in the upper jāṅgha, all placed above raised pedestals carved with creepers. Below the pedestals are two mouldings of which the lower one is thin. All these form the shape of a pilaster filling the recess on the bada, a reminiscent of the nāga and nāgini pillars of the Muktesvara and the Gaurī temples.

The Parsvadevatās, all of chlorite, are remarkable for their large size. They betray the iconographical
peculiarities pertaining to that period. The porches infernt of them are later additions. These porches spoil the beauty of the temple to a great extent. Carvings on a greater portion of the bada are kept out of the vision of the visitors by the presence of these structures. The barandi consists of ten richly carved mouldings and partakes of the paqa divisions, a feature not seen earlier. On the rāhā pagas the mouldings are intercepted by bho motifs crowned by projecting lions. These mouldings are so much integrated into the bhūmi divisions of the gandi that they are hardly distinguished.

The gandi is distinguished by its graceful contour. With the increase of the height the number of bhūmi division has increased to ten. Each bhūmi is divided into five barandis. The bhūmi-amlās are rounded at the corner and rectangular at the sides. The kanika paga extends up to the anuratha paga eliminating the recess between the two. The flat portion at the base of the kanika paga is relieved with miniature bho motifs. Each anuratha paga is formed by the succession of four diminishing aṅga-Sikharas. This feature appears for the first time on the Līṅgarāja. The aṅga-Sikharas are flattened and completely integrated into the pagas instead of appearing as off-set projections. The rāhā pagas, like the kanikas, are devoid of aṅga-Sikharas. Just above the small bho motif on the baranda mouldings there is another
larger bhō motif on the rāhā crowned by Kīrttimukha which support a lion on crouching elephant. The larger bhō motif on the front rāhā appears at a higher level. The presence of the mukhasālā has caused it to be carved at a higher level. The remaining portion of the rāhā above the projecting lion is relieved with a series of chaitya-motifs.

The bisama, which partakes of the pāga divisions, consists of two levels. Four dopichha simhas are placed at its corners whereas above the rāhas are placed four-armed dwarfs. There is a huge āmalaka in the māstaka.

The mukhasālā (height 28.96 metres) has been constructed directly against the vimāna. At this stage we are not in a position to assign any reason to such an imperfect joining. The treatment of the bada is similar to that of vimāna. There are two balustraded windows on the north and the south. There is projecting lintel above the windows supported by two ornate pilasters. The balustraded window on the south has been converted into an entrance into the temple. The necessity of converting it into an entrance arose perhaps at the time of the construction of nātamandapa, because that must have blocked the original entrance on the front. Three replicas of rekha deulas have been carved above the windows on either side. The number of pichās has increased with the increase of the height and therefore
these have been arranged in two groups or potalas—nine in the lower potala and seven in the upper. Each potala has bho motifs crowned by lions above the windows and door. In the lower one these motifs have miniature representations of rekha and pichha deulas on each side. The vertical sides of all the pichhas in the lower potala are relieved with friezes, mostly of war processions. The mastaka has all the elements. That the nātamandapa and bhogamandapa are later additions is evident by the difference of stone used for them and in the sculptures. Their sculptures are more advanced than those on the vimāna and mukhasālā.

The Limalaja is equally notable for its sculptural embellishment. The sculptures are perfectly related to the architecture. This harmonious blending of the architecture and sculpture adds immensely to the beauty and majesty of the temple. The arrangement of the sculptures also emphasises its soaring height. The nāyikās are remarkable for their grace and elegance (Fig.51). They are portrayed in various roles such as, holding a branch of a tree, looking at the mirror, applying vermilion in the parting of the hair, removing the thorne from the foot fondling a bird, removing her anklet, and, so on. These are masterpieces of the plastic art. Commenting on this, Fabri says, there are
"so exquisite that beauty and charm and grace are the dominating factor", 105. In their attributes and treatment the cult images are identical with their counterparts on the Brahmesvara.

The Liṅgarāja marks the end of our period. Another temple, buried under the earth up to the bandhaṇa level of the bāḍa, just behind the Temple Committee Office, is almost similar to the Liṅgarāja from the architectural and sculptural points of view. Hence this temple should be treated as belonging to the date of the Liṅgarāja.

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105. C. L. Fabri, op.cit., p.163.