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STYLE AND IDIOM IN THE ART OF UPARĀMALA

For some years I have studied a group of temples in India located in the border region of Rajasthan touching Madhya Pradesh that is known as Uparamāla (Upper Mālava). From a study of temples in this region, certain aspects of the relationship between what I call "style" and what I have called "idiom" have become clear. A statement of this relationship as a general precept can stand separate from the technicalities I might need — as an archaeologist — to analyze the group of monuments and sculptures as a whole from which the hypothesis has been derived.[1] I hope this precept can stand here as an appropriate offering to a scholar, guide, and friend whose work has contributed much to my intellectual growth.

Some years ago, at Oleg Grabar's request, I gave a lecture to his class at Harvard on the Qutb Mosque, then located on the outer edge of contemporary New Delhi. In relation to that earliest of dynastic monuments for Islam in northern India, I compared a second mosque, built only a few years later in what became the British imperial enclave of Ajmer. I then wrote an article on this "Two-and-a-Half-Day Mosque" for *Oriental Art* in which I attempted to distinguish — both stylistically and typologically — between Hindu remains reused to fit an Islamic agenda and new material made for the mosque by Hindu craftsmen.[2]

In that early article, I made several statements about process that bear repetition here. It seemed to me then that the material remains in Delhi and Ajmer (I have since extended this search to other early Islamic sites in India[3]) suggested four levels of acquisition: (1) reused material; (2) material made fresh by Indian craftsmen from their own tradition; (3) material made new for Islamic purposes but dependant on local conventions; and (4) material conceptualized newly, drawing on outside Islamic sources. As I wrote then:

> If we can gain evidence from this example for a discussion of cultural interaction, our conclusions might be as follows: Material borrowed by the Islamic rulers from Hindu sources were several. First was material plundered and reused; second, material borrowed and modified, as the ceilings at Ajmer. Other concepts were transferred, as the *torana*['s] arch or the temple['s] moldings; both examples of a sort of empathetic response of local workmen, finding similes between elements in the local tradition and alien demands. Plunder, compromise, and simile modifying the dominant tradition: and finally, Hindu workmen themselves found stimulus from new requirements, bringing to fruition certain trends potential in their own tradition.

The permeability I found in this Islamic margin, it seems to me, set the stage for my later work in Uparamāla; and distinctions I have made in that work between typology, idiom, and style continue to inform my understanding of how "Islamic" buildings were constructed and thought of in India.

Upper Mālava, a region in eastern Rajasthan, has always been a border area; it touches the Aravalli mountains and looks out over the Malwa plateau. Its art has stood between great powers for centuries and between great styles in art-historical terms — those of the Guptas and Vākāṭakas; Kalacuris and Maitrakas; Paramāras, Guhilas, and Kacchapaghātas. In this essay, I wish to write, not of the art of this region as a whole, but of what we can read of the nature of style from monuments in this region, both what style is and how it functions.

In India, art historians have tended to label styles in terms of dynasties and to characterize each by period. Although this has been questioned at times in favor of regional designations, little has been said about the political circumstances within which art was produced or the social structures that made the seemingly continuous fabric of artistic production so striking.[4] Joanna G. Williams has applied the western model of "center" and "periphery" to artistic production in the Gupta period, but we have now only begun to incorporate insights from recent historical models that see early medieval India as still an amalgam of lineage and state societies and as the source of contemporary Hinduism[5]

In upper Malwa, monuments from several centuries can demonstrate the variety and the complexity of monuments in this margin. I have written elsewhere of two dated temples, on the Candrabhaga (ca. A.D. 689) and at Kansuan (A.D. 732), that can show how very different temples in this region could be within the same period.

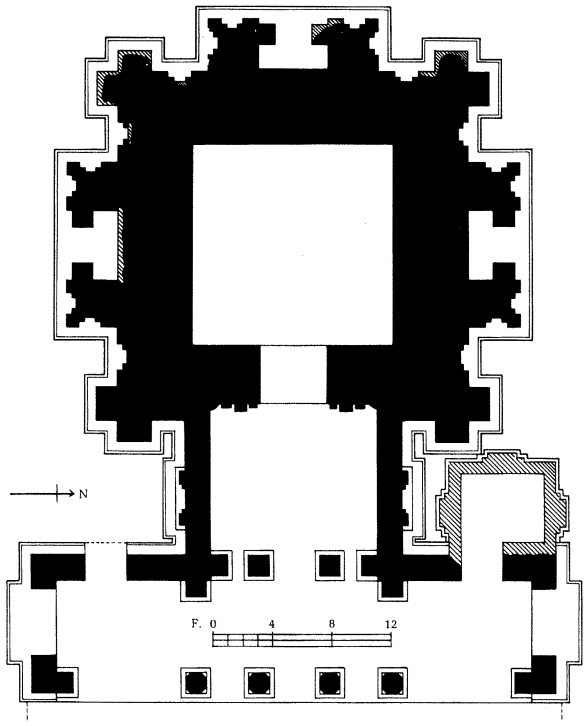

Fig. 1. Chandrabhaga, Jhalawar District, Rajasthan. Śītaleśvara Mahādeva temple, ca. 689. Ground plan.

One — a pilastered *pandāl* frozen in stone (fig. 1) — suggests a wooden tradition using open clusters of pillars (the four-pillared *catuṣkis* of later temple halls). The other is a simple masonry shrine using dressed stone to enclose the sanctum, as if it were a cave.[6]

Early in the eight century A.D., at the site of Menal, between Chittor and Bundi, two shrines (later made into a "triple" shrine by the insertion of an additional sanctum between them) can also demonstrate some of the complexities in seeking a definition of style in this region (fig. 2). Essentially similar in ornament and iconography, these structures show clear differences in how proportions have been applied to their ground plans and in their interpretation of wall moldings. One subshrine pulls in the lowermost lip (*khura*) of these moldings, for example, in order to keep it within the plumbline (fig. 2); by doing so, both this temple and its central offsets, governed by the underlying grid, are slightly broadened.[7]

Two sculptures of Naṭeśa (Śiva as Lord of Dance) that are placed in the central back niches of these shrines also seem to show what some might call archaic and advanced conventions, though both are of the same period

Fig. 2. Menal, Chittor District, Rajasthan. Mahānāleśvara temple, subshrines from south, ca. 700–725.

(figs. 3, 4). Such variant conventions have, in part, regional rather than chronological implications, although they are met with, in this instance, on contemporaneous subshrines that stand side by side. My conclusion, in the essay on what I called "Mālava style" in the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture,* was that "one favours a sculptural style allied to that of Āmrōl or of Ōsiāñ's Sūrya temple no. 1" (fig. 3) and that "the other has sculptures whose grace and dynamism suggest a connection with the few fragments that we have from ancient Ujjayinī and a source for images at Barōlī a century and a half later" (fig. 4).[8]

Two later "medieval" temples in the town of Jhalrapatan, near the Chandrabhaga stream on which the earlier holy spot (*tīrtha*) was located, also reflect the diversity of traditions characterizing the Uparamāla region over a number of centuries. One is a Jaina temple, dated ca.

Fig. 3. Menal. North subshrine (no. 2). West wall, central niche. Image of Naṭeśa.

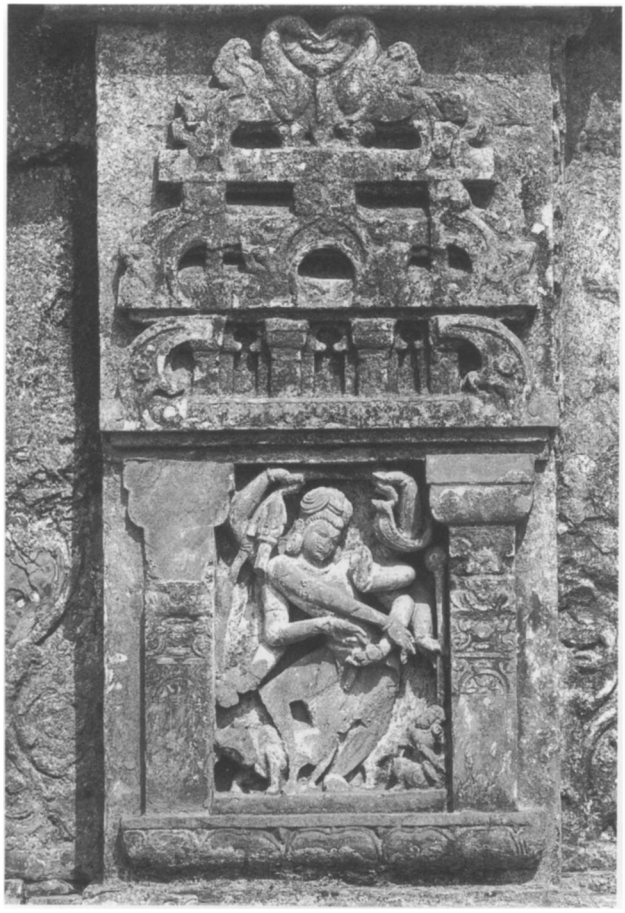

Fig. 4. Menal. South subshrine (no. 1). West wall, central niche. Image of Naṭeśa.

Fig. 5. Jhalrapatan, Jhalawar District, Rajasthan. Jaina temple from south, ca. 1044.

A.D. 1044, that shows an uneasy multi-spired (*anekāṇḍaka*) formula for its superstructure (fig. 5). The second is a Sūrya (Sun) temple from the end of the same century that combines a piled Bhūmija architectural mode for its tower (*śikhara*)[9] — a formula widely patronized by Paramāra kings in Central India — with the leaning half-spires set against the central spines of the superstructure (fig. 6) that typify the Śekhari mode of superstructure common to Solaṅkī-built "Maru-Gurjara" temples in western India as well as Candella-sponsored *anekāṇḍaka* temples at Khajuraho in central India. The local architects have once more experimented by combining modalities that elsewhere might have seemed typical of different styles as well as of different regions.[10]

Modality thus should be a distinction of some importance in a discussion of style. The type of a structure, aspects of its morphology, even systems of proportion and construction, may be transmitted by means separated from their ultimate rendering. Some may have their source in the vicissitudes of political hegemony, others may have been selected for their ritual or symbolic power. Receptivity may define and limit such choices, but only once a repertory of such choices has become available to the craftsmen of a specific region can their rendering become what some scholars have called a local style.[11]

I would like to turn back to the great hill fortress of Chittorgarh for a final introductory example. The Kālikāmātā temple there (founded as a Sūrya shrine in the late seventh century) and the nearby Kumbhaśyāma temple (ca. early eighth century; renamed as a result of its major rebuilding under Rāna Kumbha in the fifteenth century) were both built in the same century, Vikrama Era, probably within a fifty-year span (figs. 7, 8). (Both

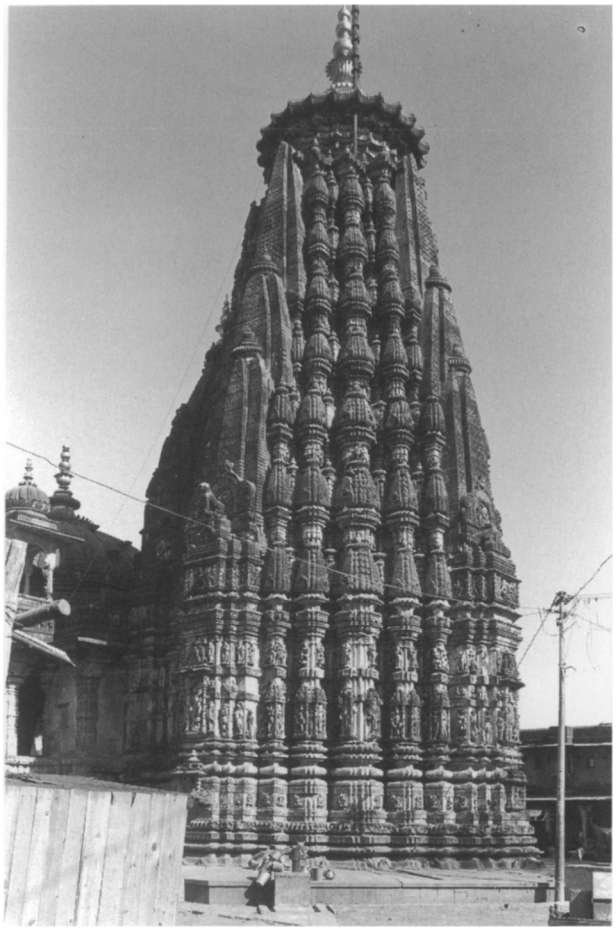

Fig. 6. Jhalrapatan. Sūrya temple from northwest, ca. late eleventh century.

have had their original towers replaced.) In plan and architectural detail, to some degree in iconography, and to a much lesser degree in sculptural typology, these two temples exemplify a distinction made some years ago by M. A. Dhaky between styles in parts of western India to which he gave the geographic names, "Mahā-Maru" and "Mahā-Gurjara."[12]

The Kālikāmātā temple, for example, shows elephant brackets to support seat backs on the balconies, tall rather than short pediments over the niches on the outer walls, lacks a broad recess (*antarapaṭṭa*) in the base moldings (*vedibandha*), and a low *vedika* fence is set between, rather than in front of, the pillars that support the seat slabs. In plan, this ambulatory temple with its fronting hall (*maṇḍapa*) joins together two squares; it does not, however, articulate corners with the offset projections that would indicate the presence of a multi-spired (*anekāṇḍaka*) superstructure (fig. 9). All of these Mahā-Maru features can be distinguished from seemingly Mahā-Gurjara characteristics of the Kumbhaśyāma temple.[13]

Such differences, however, can be taken primarily as ones of architectural affiliation; they need neither be chronological nor purely stylistic. Their presence demonstrates the variety of architectural conventions available to a guild in this region and period; and the shift in modal emphasis from one temple to the other — in this instance from single- to multi-spired, with a series of sympathetic systemic alterations — may as well reflect a change in political patronage as of style.[14] I have, in fact, already proposed what is only an hypothesis, that the Kālikāmātā temple was built for the Mauryas of Chittor while the Kumbhaśyāma temple was completed only after Gurjara-Pratīhāra rulers from Jalor had asserted their authority over the Chittor fortress.[15]

We can, in fact, find sculptures located in comparable positions within the Kālikāmātā temple itself — such as two females in niches that face a pair of pilasters on the south interior of the hall (figs. 10, 11) — that reflect differing perceptions of form as dramatic as those of the two Naṭeśas from Menal already discussed (figs. 3, 4).[16] Of these two figures, that closest to the sanctum is stocky, stable, even archaic in a manner comparable to the images on the Kālikāmātā temple's outer walls (fig. 10). The second, more slender, seems to stand in real space, one leg placed forward, leaning on her attendant (fig. 11). Her posture creates a presence as different from that of her neighbor as does one Menal Naṭeśa from the other (compare figs. 3 and 4). Similarly elegant and well-proportioned figures of the river goddesses, Gaṅgā and Yamunā, appear to either side of the doorway to the Kālikāmātā temple's sanctum.[17]

Between these two figures, however, little suggests that there was a difference in guild; progressive and archaic craftsmen may instead have worked within the same guild in the same period. Such differences may indicate more than a mere generational change, moreover, reflecting also incorporation into a guild's practice of conventions taken from another regional source. At Chittor, figures along the interior ambulatory of both the Kālikāmātā and Kumbhaśyāma temples resemble each other substantially in matters of craft; yet the tendencies that separate the two female figures in the Kālikāmātā temple's *maṇḍapa* to a large extent can also be used to separate the two monuments themselves.

That the proportion, posture, and sense of form of figures on one single monument can differ to such a

Fig. 7. Chittorgarh, Chittorgarh District, Rajasthan. Kālikāmātā temple from southeast, ca. late seventh century.

degree, and that such differences statistically can help differentiate the monuments at one site, may in some instances suggest chronological distinctions as well as the direction and momentum of change. At the site of Osian in western India, for example, such analysis must be the basis for any chronology of its many temples.[18] The separation between the Kālikāmātā and Kumbhaśyāma temples at Chittor, however, was not merely one of age (as I have pointed out in terms of its architecture), but also one of regional and modal affiliation.

If the Kumbhaśyāma temple shows features that suggest its knowledge of what Dhaky called Mahā-Gurjara style, it also shares features found on temples in central India. Both sets of characteristics must be seen to represent variations that were available to craftsmen working within Malwa's local style. As I wrote in the *Encyclopaedia,* "this eclecticism at an early phase in Uparamāla suggests a variety of available sources for architects in this border region."[19] It also can suggest the manner of interaction.

Sculptures on the two monuments differ less in their craftsmanship than in their attitude toward a series of conventions, both proportional and iconographic. The Kālikāmātā temple's image of the wind god. Vāyu, for example, has two arms and a scarf billowing over his shoulders, a common Mahā-Maru iconographic convention.[20] The figure of Vāyu on the Kumbhaśyāma temple, however, has four arms (as do all other of the guardian Dikpāla figures); in one hand he holds a staff and flag, not a scarf.[21] Such an iconographic detail is known from later Mahā-Gurjara temples, as well as from the Candella-sponsored monuments at Khajuraho.[22]

In the eighth century, then, the artisans and architects who built the Kumbhaśyāma temple, in particular, experimented with forms and systems new to the region — iconographic and artistic as well as architectural. Such experimentation helped to shape what could be called the local idiom in the ninth century. It was the *guild* at Chittor that survived, however, more than the Mahā-Gurjara conventions that had helped to indicate one direction of contact in the previous century. In the eighth century we find, instead, a rather uneasy transition from one set of conventions to another, a transition that was never fully implemented at Chittor. (The proportions of sanctum to wall and among wall parts, for example, remain the same for both the Kālikā and Kumbhaśyāma temples; fig. 9).[23]

In the ninth century, the result was a synthesized idiom typical of the Chittor region that utilized features of both Mahā-Maru and Mahā-Gurjara styles. Typified by the small Kṣemaṇkarī shrine set in the tank opposite to

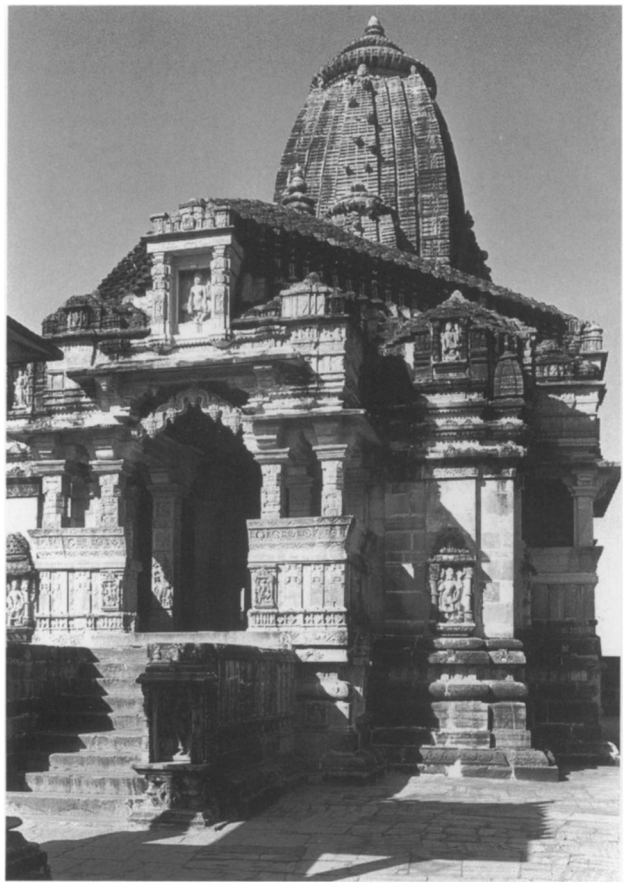

Fig. 8. Chittorgarh. Kumbhaśyāma temple from east, ca. 725–750.

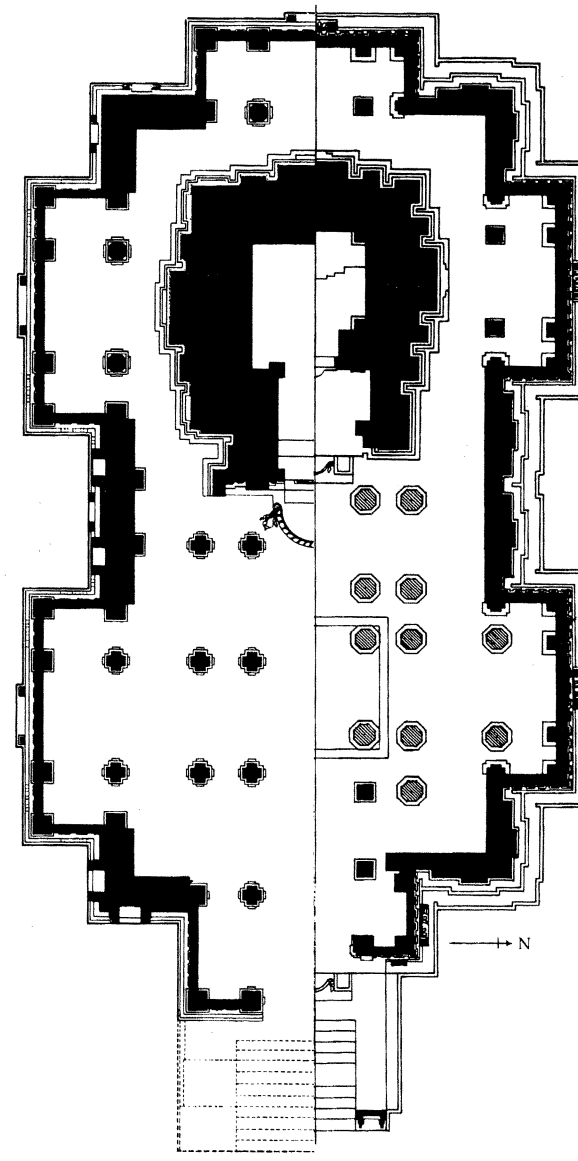

Fig. 9. Chittorgarh. Kālikāmātā (*left*) and Kumbhaśyāma (*right*) temples. Comparison of ground plans. (After the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture,* courtesy American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi)

the Kālikāmātā temple (fig. 12), or by the still smaller and earlier shrine in the *satī* ground north of the Sammidheśvara temple, this idiom grew out of the local guild's experiments of the previous century.[24] Yet it substantially was allied with the hegemonic Mahā-Maru style of the imperial Pratīhāras, who now ruled from Kanauj in the Gangetic plain rather than from Jalor in western India.

Some remnants of the guild's prior Mahā-Gurjara contacts included the use of a socle (*pīṭha,* or rather a *mañca,* as occasionally found in central India),[25] the occasional presence of a broad *antarapaṭṭa* in the *vedibandha,* a *śikhara* springing directly from above a *kaṇṭha* necking, and a few decorative and sculptural ideas. The overwhelming impression, however, remains one of local originality and of continuity of craft within the local guild.

Both the Kālikā and the Kumbhaśyāma temple has used attached half-pillars to mark the wall offsets flanking the sanctum's central (*bhadra*) niches. By early in the ninth century, this simple feature had also been introduced into central India, presumably under Pratīhāra patronage.[26] In the Chittor region, however, these pilasters typically began to show vertical offsetting (*phālanās*) and to stand on their own pillar bases (*kumbhikās*) set above the wall's base moldings.[27] This feature is so dis-

Fig. 10. Chittorgarh. Kālikāmātā temple interior, south *mukhālinda*. Female figure on pilaster.

Fig. 11. Chittorgarh. Kālikāmātā temple interior, south *mukhālinda*. Female figure on pilaster.

tinctive of the Chittor region that its presence on the Naktīmātā temple near Jaipur can act as a test of this local style, in Irene Winter's terms, extended "outside of [its] primary region."[28]

The startling stylistic shift from the Kālikāmātā to the Kumbhaśyāma temple at Chittor early in the eighth century thus seems to show not so much the intrusion of workmen from a different region (although that remains always a possibility), but rather a radical swing from one group of conventions to another within a single craft tradition. This may have been the result of new patronage, perhaps implemented by means of new supervisors.

I have chosen to use the term "idiom" for the phenomenon found at Chittor rather than "local style" for reasons related to the "process" (defined as "a series of actions, changes, or functions that bring about an end or result") that I see at work.[29] This local idiom had developed from earlier experimentation at Chittor by the beginning of the ninth century, shaped, in part, by the bending stylistic winds made possible by past patronage in this periphery. It reflected a response by local craftsmen to the stability provided by the increasing political hegemony of the imperial Pratīhāras, who, by early in the ninth century, ruled North India from Kanauj, no longer from Jalor.[30]

In discussing another marginal temple, that at Bithu in Marwar, I defined style as "an accumulation of general characteristics that reflect a broad cultural grouping."[31] I went on to say:

> "Idiom," by contrast, represents local traditions rooted in the work of local artisans, traditions which endure even as political authority shifts or declines ... [Al]though idioms may absorb the general characteristics of a style, they

remain essentially cumulative and self-defining. I see idiom and style as independent rather than dependent variables, however much they may interact.

A style can be in the eyes of the scholar, or function as a manner actively promoted for hegemonic political ends. That the imposition of an international or imperial mode is not always the road taken, however, can be seen in India by the changing stylistic affiliations of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras themselves, as they opened up new boundaries and shifted centers for their imperial rule.[32]

Winter defined local style as "a product of the same locale in which it is found, as opposed to an 'international' style which crosses geographical and cultural borders." She also regretted that "most work has tended to concentrate upon the extension of the major culture into the provinces, rather than on the effect of that extension on the local tradition."[33] She recognized that "emulation" and "receptivity" could be used to describe interaction in *any* direction, but her sample led to a discussion of interaction based primarily on traditional power relationships and on the model of "great" versus "little' traditions.[34]

Borrowing from Joseph Caldwell, however, she came to a conclusion that can be of real significance to the Indian situation: "As a result [of interaction], the homogeneity of the 'Interaction Sphere' is also increased."[35] In India, the political definition of style was possible, but not given, and greater homogeneity, rather than differentiation, within India's diverse society was often the result.[36]

This analysis leads me to make a general statement about the relationship between idiom and style in India as it has emerged from my field understanding of the temples at Chittor. India's was a culture not so much of center and periphery as of a continuity of habitation and craftsmanship, with local traditions shading from one geographically rooted community to another. Our concept of style in India as we currently apply it seems to me most often an "average"; however we relate it to patterns of patronage and political affiliation. Style can carry with it clear patterns of general conventions; these grade, however, from one area of craft production to another. We talk, therefore, of regional idioms too often as if they were versions of this larger style (and style too often as if it could also be made equivalent to mode).

Idiom, in my experience in India, is site and guild related, rooted in a place or region through a local population and tradition. Thus many idioms make up the basis for styles; gradations are located in the continuum

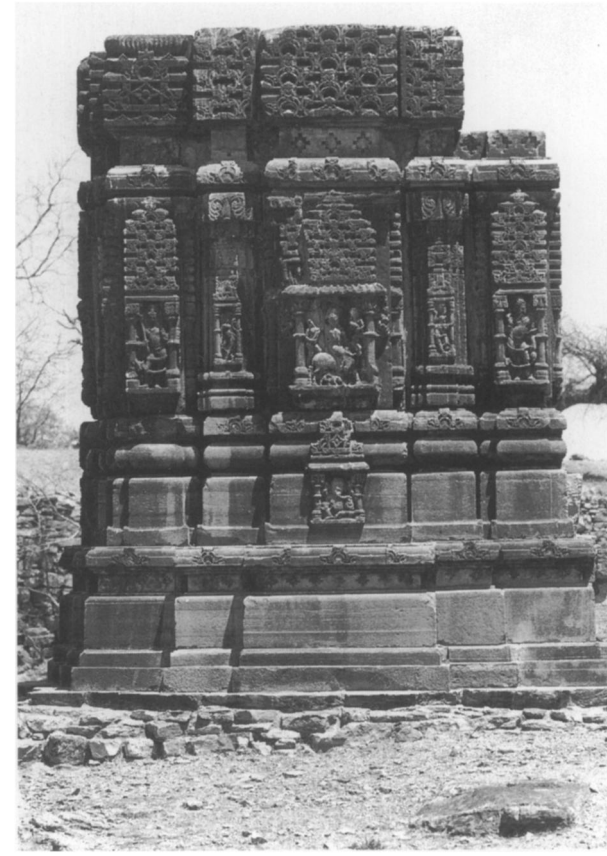

Fig. 12. Chittorgarh, Kṣemaṅkarī temple, ca. 825.

of local idioms. As political hegemony expands, as centers for conventional norms shift under such patronage, local idioms rooted in local craft can sway from affiliation with one style to affiliation with another. Such conceptual edges can best be observed in a marginal region such as Uparamāla.

The modality of a building, on the other hand, may represent either local convention or a shift in stylistic hegemony. It may have a functional or a rhetorical agenda, either consciously applied or unconsciously understood. A newly introduced modality such as the mosque, with its functional and liturgical requirements, could — depending on whether a specific expressive importance had been given to style itself — still be rendered using local idioms.[37] Nowhere was this point more dramatically made than in that liminal realm when Islam first attempted to establish a new architectural typology many centuries later (figs. 13, 14).[38]

I might even go so far as to suggest that the use of eighth-century Hindu materials to build the mosque at

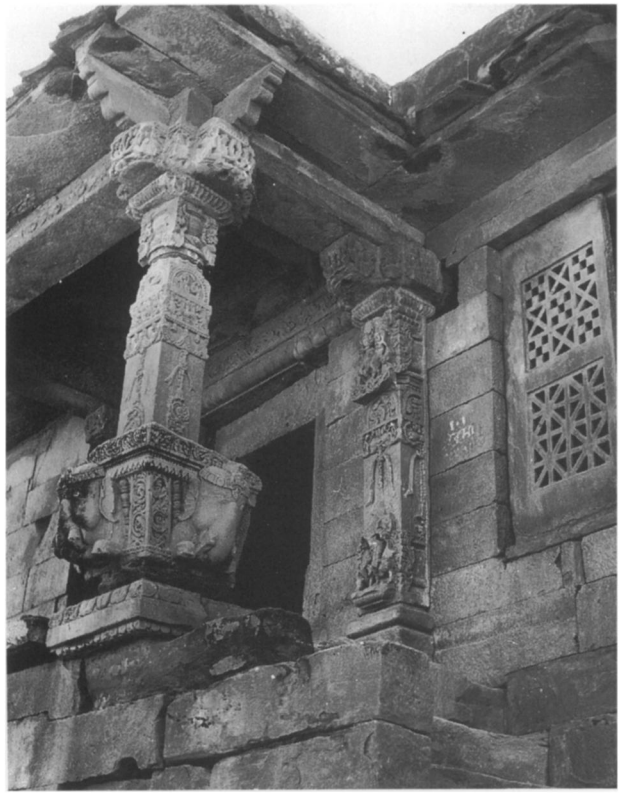

Fig. 13. Kaman, Bharatpur District, Rajasthan. Causaṭh-khambhā Mosque, built ca. 1194. Entrance to king's platform. The mosque was constructed largely of available eighth-century materials. (Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India)

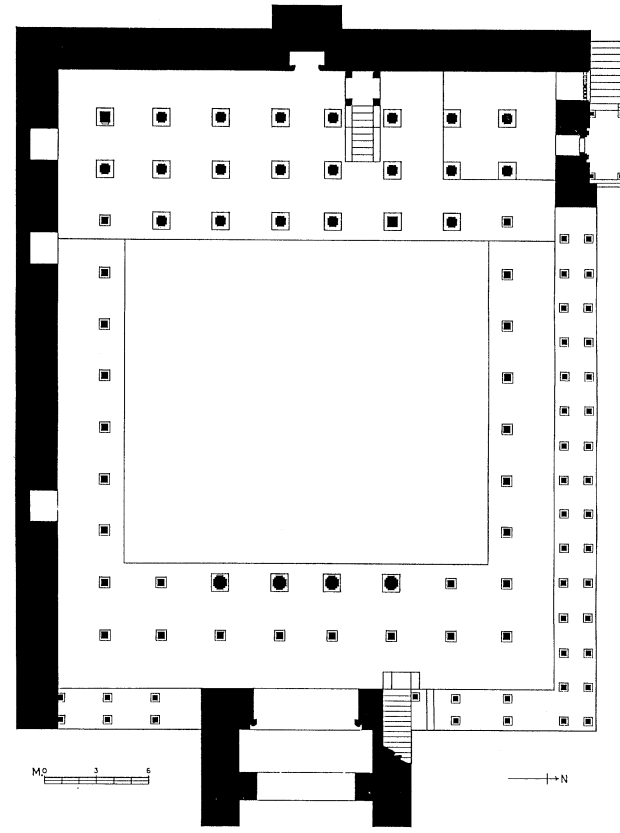

Fig. 14. Kaman, Causaṭh-khambha Mosque, ground plan.

Kaman at the very beginning of Islamic colonization in northern India late in the twelfth century (fig. 13) made the conscious rhetorical point that the community of Islam could be fitted into the Indian context, not merely that it had occupied conquered territory.[39] Islam's political hegemony required accommodation as well as proclamation — the substance of territory as well as the idea of masjid — and this new margin between patrons and craftsmen, between an Islamic modality and the use of local guilds, once again can provide fertile ground for studying the separation of idiom and style.

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NOTES

1. I should like to thank the United States Educational Foundation in India for the support of a Fulbright Senior Research Fellowship in 1976–77 and the American Institute of Indian Studies for a short-term fellowship in 1988. For documentation of early temples at Chittor, see my "Mauryas of Uparamāla and Mēdapāṭa" and "Gurjara-Pratīhāras and Their Maurya Feudatories in Mālava," in *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture,* vol. 2, pt. 2, *North India, Period of Early Maturity,* 2 vols., ed. Michael W. Meister and M. A. Dhaky (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 271–317.

2. Michael W. Meister, "The Two-and-a-Half Mosque," *Oriental Art,* n.s. 18 (1972): 57–63.

3. Michael W. Meister, "Indian Islam's Lotus Throne: Kaman and Khatu Kalan," *Proceedings of the International Seminar on Regional Varieties of Islam in South Asia,* University of Heidelberg (in press).

4. A. Ghosh, "Some Observations on Dynastic Appellations," *Seminar on Indian Art History 1962,* ed. Moti Chandra (New Delhi: Lalit Kalā Akademi, 1962), pp. 9–13; M. A. Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture," in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture,* ed. Pramod Chandra (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1975),

pp. 114–65. See also *Making Things in South Asia: The Role of Artist and Craftsman,* ed. Michael W. Meister (Philadelphia: Department of South Asia Studies, 1988).

5. Joanna Gottfried Williams, *The Art of Gupta India, Empire and Province* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982). See also Romila Thapar, *From Lineage to State* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984); idem, "Society and Historical Consciousness: The Itihāsa-Purāṇa Tradition," in *Situating Indian History,* ed. Sabyasaschi Bhattacharya and Romila Thapar (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 353–83; idem, "Imagined Religious Communities? Ancient History and the Modern Search for a Hindu Identity," *Modern Asian Studies* 23, 2 (1989): 209–31.
6. Michael W. Meister, "Forest and Cave: Temples at Candrabhāgā and Kansuāñ," *Archives of Asian Art* 34 (1981): 56–73; idem, "Symbol and Surface: Masonic and Pillared Wall-Structures in North India," *Artibus Asiae* 46, 1–2 (1985): 129–48. See also *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture,* vol. 2, pt. 1, *North India, Foundations of North Indian Style,* 2 vols., ed. Michael W. Meister, M. A. Dhaky, and Krishna Deva (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 145–48; vol. 2, pt. 2, *Period of Early Maturity,* pp. 275–77.
7. O. Viennot, "Un type rare de temple à trois chapelles au site d'Āmvān (Rājasthān), *Arts Asiatiques* 18 (1968); idem, *Temples de l'Inde central et occidentale* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême Orient, 1976), pls. 133–36; R. C. Agrawala, "Early Mediaeval Chapels at Menal," *Bharatiya Vidya* 22 (1961): 43–44; *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture,* vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 277–83.
8. Ibid., p. 275.
9. Krishna Deva, "Bhūmija Temples," in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture,* pp. 90–113.
10. Krishna Deva, "Bhumijā Temples"; Dhaky, "Genesis and Development." Krishna Deva refers to Bhūmija, somewhat interchangeably, as either a "style," a "mode," or a "class." Of regional differences, he writes that "one can naturally expect a style spread over so wide an area to exhibit regional traits, particularly in tracts at a great distance from its center," p. 91. For Chandrabhaga and Jhalrapatan, see also Michael W. Meister, "Historiography of Temples on the Candrabhāgā, Reconsidered," in *Epigraphy, Its Bearing on the History of Art,* ed. G. S. Gai and Frederick S. Asher (New Delhi: Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., 1985), pp. 121–24.
11. Irene J. Winter, "Perspective on the 'Local Style' of Hasanlu IVB: A Study in Receptivity," in *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 7 (1977): 371–86. Winter uses three premises to distinguish a "local" from an "international" style: "1) a relatively limited spatial distribution of the group; 2) a reasonable explanation for occurrences outside of the primary region; and 3) a recognition that the choices which result in a 'style' are a reflection of cultural attitudes, conscious or unconscious, operating in the artist or craftsman" (p. 372).
12. Dhaky, "Genesis and Development," p. 114, stated that "the medieval Northern Indian temple styles may be classified into four, major ... zonal varieties" and followed A. Ghosh's suggestion (above, n. 2), that dynastic designations be dropped by calling his medieval "Western Indian Style" by the regional designator, "Māru-Gurjara" (Marudeśa and Gurjaradeśa are two regions of western India). He previously had used the dynastic title, "Solaṅki" for this medieval style in "The Chronology of the Solaṅki Temples of Gujarat," *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad* 3 (1961): 1–83.
13. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture,* vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 285–97.
14. This may also be the case in the introduction for Paramāra patrons of the Bhūmija mode for the superstructure of the Sūrya temple in Jhalrapatan (fig. 6); see Krishna Deva, "Bhūmija Temples," passim.
15. See Meister, "Mauryas" and "Gurjara-Pratīhāras." D. C. Sirkar has written that "about the middle of the eighth century A.D., Nāgabhaṭa I, ancestor of the powerful Gurjara-Pratihāra king Vatsāraja..., seems to have subdued the Mauryas and extended Gurjara power over many parts of Malwa and Rajasthan" (*The Gulihas of Kiṣkindhā* [Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1965], p. 54).
16. Another example of differing perceptions expressed on the same monument would be two panels of the Saptamātṛkās (Seven Mother-Goddesses), one on a lintel in the fronting hall of the Kālikāmātā temple, the other over the north *bhadra* niche of the sanctum. One shows the Mātṛkās seated, in the heavy style of early post-Gupta central India, with Śiva at one end; the other shows these figures standing gracefully, with Śiva in the center, in a manner typical of western Indian convention. See Michael W. Meister, "Regional Variations in Mātṛkā Conventions," *Artibus Asiae* 47 (1986): 233–62.
17. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture,* vol. 2, pt. 2, pl. 654.
18. Ibid., pp. 119–215, 247–70.
19. Ibid., p. 275. Sirkar, *Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā,* p. 44, makes the interesting observation that "whether the collapse of Aulikara power and the rise of the Guhila houses in Rajasthan have both to be regarded as the result of Kalacuri expansion in Malwa and its neighborhood cannot be determined without further evidence."
20. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture,* vol. 2, pt. 2, pl. 658.
21. The Śaivite temple at Batesar, near Gwalior, from the second half of the eighth century, also shows the Dikpālas (Guardians of the Quarters) with four arms; otherwise, this convention is not found again until late in the tenth century. I have tended to assume that in these early shrines the use of four arms represented a melding of the Dikpālas with Śiva, indicated by the two extra arms that often hold two of his emblems, snake (*nāga*) and trident (*triśūla*).
22. L. K. Tripathi, "Dikpāla Images on the Khajuraho Temples," *Bhāratī* 9, 2 (1965–66): 118–20.
23. The ratios of flanking to central offset (*pratiratha* to *bhadra*) and of corner to center (*karṇa* to *bhadra*) remain 1:2 and 2:3, making both sanctums *bhadra-vyāsa* (measured across the central projections) rather than *karṇa-vyāsa* (measured at the corner). See Michael W. Meister, "Maṇḍala and Practice in Nāgara Architecture in North India," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99, 2 (1979): 204–19; idem, "Geometry and Measure in Indian Temple Plans: Rectangular Temples," *Artibus Asiae* 44 (1983): 266–96.
24. Meister, "Gurjara-Pratīhāras."
25. For a discussion of these terms, see Michael W. Meister, "Reading Monuments and Seeing Texts," in *Śāstric Traditions in Indian Arts,* ed. A. Dallapiccola, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989), 1: 167–73; 2: 94–108 and pls. 81–88.
26. The first instance of the use of such a pilaster in central India is on the Viṣṇu temple at Batesar; *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture,* vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 23–24 and pls. 48–50.
27. Meister, "Symbol and Surface," figs. 16, 19.
28. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture,* vol. 2, pt. 2,

pp. 242–45 and pl. 554; Winter, "Perspective on the 'Local Style'," p. 372.

29. Michael W. Meister, "Bīṭhū: Individuality and Idiom," *Ars Orientalis* 13 (1983): 169–86; *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language,* New College Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969).
30. Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages* (Bikaner: Rajasthan State Archives, 1966), pp. 120–67.
31. Meister, "Bīṭhū," p. 169.
32. Michael W. Meister, "Art-Regions and Modern Rajasthan," in *The Idea of Rajasthan,* ed. Karine Schomer, Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph, and Joan Erdman (New Delhi, in press).
33. Winter, "Perspective on the 'Local Style,'" pp. 372, 379 n.
34. Ibid., p. 380: "By adopting elements of the more sophisticated culture, the status of the borrower can be increased with respect to the conferring culture, bringing individuals closer to the level of equals in interaction by decreasing the differences and thus the [power] gap between them." The "great" and "little" model is taken from Robert Redford and Milton B. Singer, "The Cultural Role of Cities," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 3 (1954): 53–73.
35. Winter, "Perspective on the 'Local Style'," p. 381. Caldwell is cited by Winter, p. 378, in a reference to Kent V. Flannery, "Evolutionary Trends in Social Change and Interaction," in *Social Exchange and Interaction,* ed. E. N. Wilmsen (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, Anthropological Papers). Winter defines "Interaction Sphere" as "that network of relationships within which diverse cultures engage in the material exchange of finished goods, stylistic concepts and raw materials," p. 378.
36. Meister, "Art-Regions."
37. Ibid.
38. Meister, "Indian Islam's Lotus Throne."
39. See also Michael W. Meister, "Mystifying Monuments," *Seminar* 364 (1989): 24–27.