

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE VIṢṆU TEMPLE AT DEOGARH AND THE VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARAPURĀṆA

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IN A RECENT ARTICLE I TRIED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT the prototype of the temple described in great detail in the third *khaṇḍa* of the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa as the “Sarvatobhadra” temple is the famous Gupta temple at Deogarh (in Jhānsi District of U.P.).¹ This temple, also known in the scholarly literature as the Daśāvatāra temple (“the temple of the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu”), was completed in the first half of the sixth century A.D.² and is a masterpiece of the art and architecture of the Gupta age. Its magnificent reliefs and the lavishly adorned doorway have been studied time and again, and photographs of it may be found in every handbook on Gupta art.

In spite of the fame of this temple, its iconographic program is still unknown, and several figures depicted on the reliefs remain unidentified. In the present article I intend to show that the description of the Deogarh temple found in the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa (henceforth, the abbreviation VDh will be used for the third *khaṇḍa* of this text) may help to elucidate some obscure points in the iconography of this temple.

Form of the Sarvatobhadra and Deogarh Temples

The VDh, composed in approximately the seventh century A.D.,³ consists of short treatises on Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar, metrics, poetics, dancing, singing, music, painting, iconography, and architecture. These treatises take the form of a dialogue between the king Vajra, who puts the questions, and the mythical sage Mārkaṇḍeya, who gives the answers and prescriptions. The iconography of the images, the so-called Pratimālakṣaṇa, is dealt with in chapters 44–85. Temple architecture is the subject of three chapters: chapter 86 presents the classification of a hundred temples; chapter 87 describes the Sarvatobhadra temple; and chapter 88 gives general information on temple proportions.

Several indications suggest that in chapter 87 the author described a real temple. The chapter concludes with a lengthy eulogy (87.43–63) to the benefits of building this temple, worshipping gods there, or even merely seeing it. Here are some extracts:

One who builds such a temple in accordance with the prescriptions and always worships all gods is known as Cakravartin [the sovereign of the world] in the beginning of the Tretāyuga; he resides in heaven as long as he wishes, and then he attains communion with Viṣṇu. The man who has once worshipped all gods in this temple with all kinds of offerings will certainly get the benefit of the gift of the three worlds and without any doubt will attain whatever he desires. As soon as the very beautiful temple with its Cakras and Patākas becomes visible, calamities disappear. Undoubtedly, anyone who enters it is not susceptible to disease, sudden death, calamity. Demons have no power over him. . . . The king in whose dominion this temple is built remains in the heaven of Indra and rejoices for a long time. . . . No harm should be done to this divine object. The king or his representative who does this goes to the terrible hell together with his sons, cattle, and relatives, and his position in this world will certainly vanish.⁴

The temple is so precisely described and its merits so eloquently praised as to create the impression that the author had seen the Sarvatobhadra temple himself. The fact that he did not include this temple in the classification of a hundred temples but described it in a separate chapter also points to its special importance for the author of the VDh. He definitely wanted to indicate that the Sarvatobhadra temple is something unique. “This abode of Viṣṇu . . . must be seen because the man who has seen it is released from all sins and attains merit” (87.63).

The form and proportions of the Sarvatobhadra temple are discussed in my previous article.⁵ Here I shall only mention those characteristics of the temple and its shrines that are relevant to its iconography.

The temple stands on a high, square platform surrounded by an enclosure that reaches up to knee level. Four broad staircases (their width is seven-eighths of the width of the temple) lead to the platform; each of the staircases is flanked by two “tusk” temples. Next to the main shrine four additional shrines rise in the corners of the platform. Along the border of the platform are twenty-four small temples with a shrine (six on every side), three to the left and three to the right of every staircase. The platform is adorned by a band of panels with images. Every side of the main temple has a portico supported by two pillars each;

thus, the porticoes have three doors. At the fourth door, behind the portico, is a shrine (probably a niche is meant). Finally, at every corner of the main temple, at the junction of the porticoes, stand temples with two shrines each.

The description of the Sarvatobhadra temple suits the remains of the Viṣṇu temple at Deogarh (see fig. 1 for its ground plan) if we take into account that the superstructure and the platform of the Deogarh temple have been ruined, so that the small temples on the platform and those at the junction of the porticoes are no longer extant. Only a few pillars of the porticoes are left, and these are kept in a godown near the temple.

Orientation of the Temples

The VDh (87.17–18) allows two alternatives for the orientation of the Sarvatobhadra temple:

The image of Vāsudeva should face the east or the west and no other direction. One should consider the direction of Vāsudeva as the east, and the order [of the deities] should be in conformity with this direction.

This seems to mean that the placement of the deities is given in the text as if Vāsudeva faces

the east. If, in reality, Vāsudeva faces the west, the whole scheme should be turned 180 degrees.

The Deogarh temple is oriented to the west, slightly turned toward the south in such a way that the last rays of the setting sun could shine on the image in the main shrine. The orientation to the west was not unusual for temples with a “dark” shrine.⁶ The so-called Varāha temple at Deogarh, which is similar in form to our temple and contains niches with almost identical reliefs,⁷ is facing east. The direction of the niches is also the opposite, but their order during circumambulation by the devotees is the same. Going clockwise from the entrance of the shrine, we first see a relief with Viṣṇu liberating the King of the Elephants (Gajendramokṣa), then a relief with Viṣṇu in the form of the two sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa, and finally a relief with Viṣṇu sleeping on the serpent Ananta (Anantaśayana). The Varāha temple is turned 180 degrees in comparison with the Viṣṇu temple, which is exactly what the VDh prescribes: “One should consider the direction of Vāsudeva as the east, and the order of the other deities should be in conformity with this direction.” There are different opinions concerning the date of the Varāha temple,⁸ but even if it was a late copy of the Viṣṇu temple rather than a prototype, my argument would not be affected.

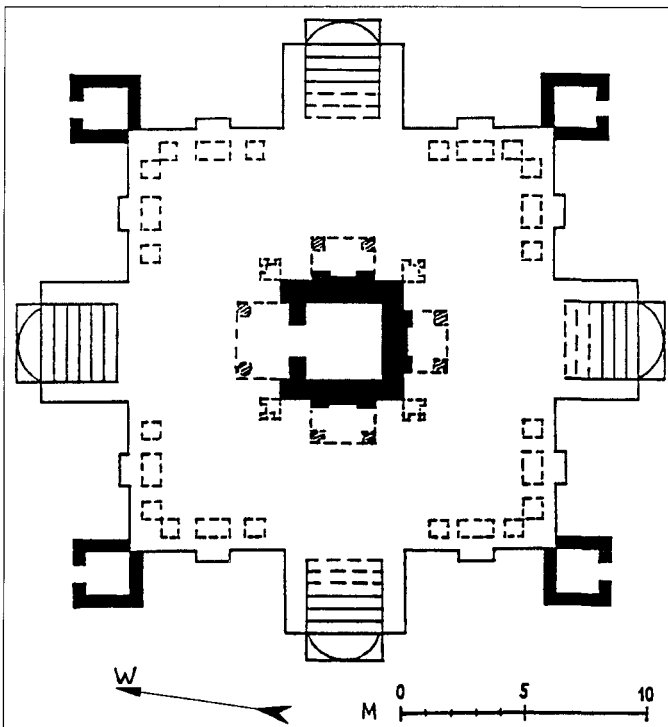


FIG. 1. Ground plan of the Viṣṇu temple at Deogarh. Drawing by Mrs. T. Wezel-Ignatova. Reconstructed portions indicated by dotted lines.

Iconographic Program of the Sarvatobhadra Temple

The VDh announces the iconographic program of the Sarvatobhadra temple in the very first *śloka* of the chapter (87.1):

*prāsādam atha vakṣyāmi sarvatobhadrasamjñitam
caturātmā harir yatra kartavyo jagatīpate*

I shall now tell you about the temple known as Sarvatobhadra, where Hari in his fourfold aspect should be placed, o king.

The term *caturātmā* is used here in the sense of *caturvyūha* (of four aspects, emanations), which refers to the quadripartite divine nature of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, the key notion of the so-called Pāñcarātra school of thought. The principal cult figures of this school are four deified heroes, the kinsmen Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, his elder half-brother Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna the son of Vāsudeva, and Aniruddha the son of Pradyumna.

The VDh (chapters 44, 47, 54, 85) elaborates the *vyūha* doctrine into a coherent iconographic

system of symbols. Each of the four *vyūhas* of Viṣṇu has a particular appearance and banner (*dhvaja*) and is associated with a quality (*guṇa*), attributes, and direction.⁹ All these qualities and attributes relate to the function of the *vyūhas* in the Universe. The following features are relevant for the iconography of their images:

1. Vāsudeva, the most important of the four, has a "gentle" face. He is associated with *bala* (force), holds a mace and a discus, and faces the east; his banner is Tārṅśya (Garuḍa).

2. Saṃkarṣaṇa, the emanation of the destructive force, has the face of Narasiṃha (man-lion). He is associated with *jñāna* (knowledge), holds a pestle and a plough, and faces the south; his banner is the Tāla tree (a fan palm).

3. Pradyumna, the emanation of the preserving force, has the face of Kapila (a sage who preached the Sāṃkhya philosophy, as stated in VDh 78/1.5). He is associated with *aiśvarya* (sovereignty, supremacy), holds a bow and an arrow, and faces the west; his banner is a *makara* (a mythical aquatic animal).

4. Aniruddha, the emanation of the creative force, has the face of a *varāha* (boar). He is asso-

ciated with *śakti* (creative power), holds a leather shield and a sword, and faces the north; his banner is an antelope.

According to Pāñcarātra doctrine, Viṣṇu assumes different aspects in order to save, destroy, preserve, and create the world. At the same time all these *vyūhas* are one and the same god, Viṣṇu. In sculpture this idea of the unity of the four *vyūhas* is reflected in *caturvyūha* images of the Kuṣāṇa period,¹⁰ where Viṣṇu is represented as a multiple deity consisting of four figures. In the Gupta period the iconographic development of the Pāñcarātra doctrine resulted in the image of Viṣṇu Viśvarūpa, an image with many heads and figures representing the whole Universe. An iconographic description of Viṣṇu Viśvarūpa is given in VDh 83, and one unfinished Viśvarūpa image was found in Deogarh.¹¹

The VDh description of the Sarvatobhadra temple attempts to present the unity of the four *vyūhas*, that is, the unity of the Universe, not in one image but in one temple, its four sides being dedicated to the four *vyūhas* and the other shrines to their consorts and attendants, their attributes and banners (see fig. 2).

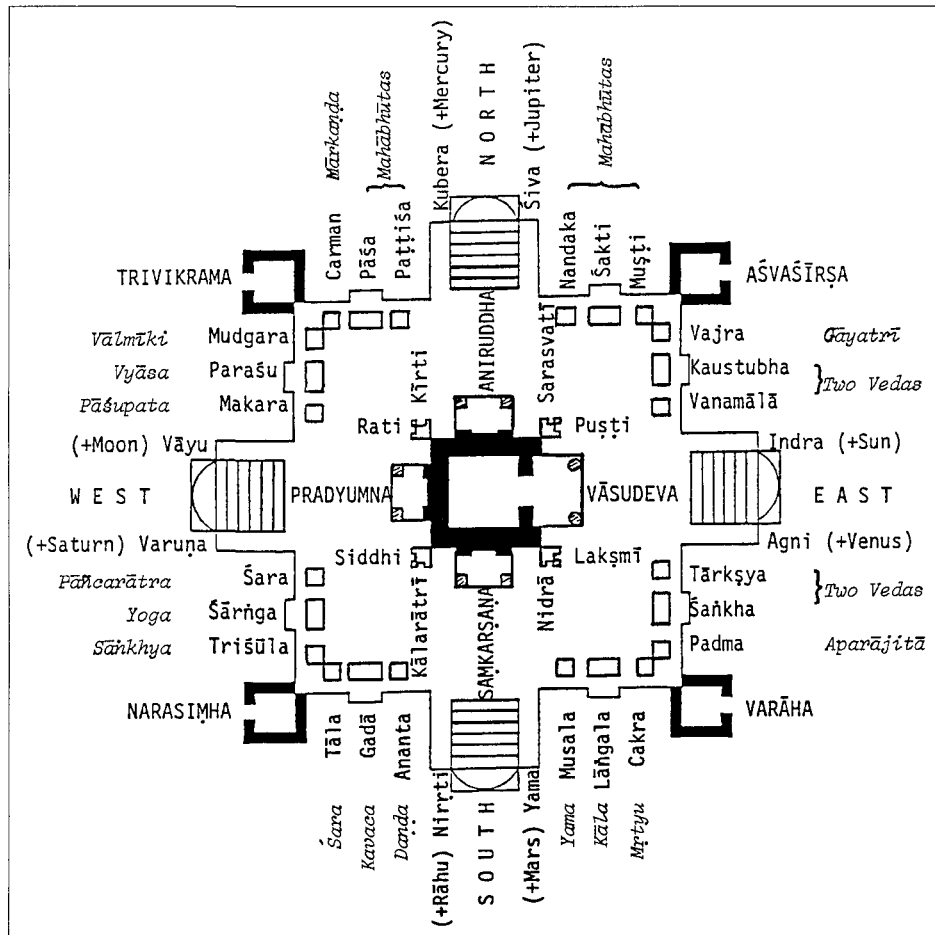


FIG. 2. Iconographic scheme of the Sarvatobhadra temple. Panels around platform indicated in italics.

PLACEMENT OF THE DEITIES

The placement of the deities is given in concentric circles, beginning with the main shrine and then moving further to the periphery. The order of the deities is always *pradakṣiṇa*, or clockwise from the east:

Now listen to the successive placement of the gods in the temple, o king. The image of Vāsudeva should face the east or the west and no other directions. One should consider the direction of Vāsudeva as the east. The order [of the deities] should conform to this direction. Lord Saṃkarṣaṇa should be placed with his face to the south. Then one should place Pradyumna with his face to the west and Aniruddha with his face to the north. (87.17–20)

PLACEMENT OF THE CONSORTS

The eight consorts of the four *vyūhas* are placed at the junction of the porticoes. The scheme is given in the *pradakṣiṇa* order, beginning from Vāsudeva. Note that right and left in the following description are indicated from the point of view of the image, not the viewer.

As to the shrines at the junction of the porticoes, about which I told you, one should put Lakṣmī to the right of the eastern portico. To the left of the southern portico one should place Nidrā, and Kālarātrī to its right. To the left of the western portico one should place Siddhī, and Rati to its right. One should put Kīrti to the left of the northern portico, Sarasvatī to its right, and Puṣṭi to the left of the eastern portico. (87.21–23)

Consequently, according to the prescription of the VDh, the first wife of every *vyūha* stands to his right, the second wife to his left. The position of some of the goddesses corresponds to their description in other parts of the VDh. For instance, Rati is the first wife of Kāmadeva (73.21), who is identified with Pradyumna (52.13); Yama and his consort Dhūmorṇā are identified with Saṃkarṣaṇa and Kālarātrī (51.7,12). Also the position of Nidrā conforms to her description in 73.23–24, which dictates that she be depicted with her left hand on her hip, Saṃkarṣaṇa on her right and Vāsudeva on her left.¹²

CORNER TEMPLES

The corner temples of the platform are dedicated to four manifestations of Viṣṇu:

In the corner temples situated in the northeast and so on, one should put Aśvaśīrṣa [with the head of a horse, northeast], Varāha [boar, southeast], Narasiṃha [man-lion, southwest], and Trivikrama [making three steps, northwest]. (87.24)

Saṃkarṣaṇa has the face of Narasiṃha (see “Iconographic Program of the Sarvatobhadra Temple” above), which explains the position of the Narasiṃha shrine in the southwest (cf. also 78/2.7: “Hari in his Saṃkarṣaṇa form assumes the form of Narasiṃha”).

About Aśvaśīrṣa (= Aśvaśīras, Aśvagrīva, Hayaśīras, Hayagrīva) it is said (80.4–5) that he should be represented with four of his eight hands on the heads of the four personified Vedas because long ago the Vedas had been returned by this god from Rasātala, where they were brought by two demon chiefs. His position in the east thus corresponds to the position of the Vedas at the eastern side on the platform (see “Panels around the Platform” below). On the other hand, his northern orientation contradicts 80.3: “Know that the god having the head of a horse is a part of Saṃkarṣaṇa”; one would rather expect the Aśvaśīrṣa shrine at the southeast.

Likewise, the southern orientation of the Varāha shrine is surprising because Aniruddha (= north) has a Varāha face, and we learn from 79.11 that Varāha is identified with Aniruddha. One would therefore expect Aśvaśīrṣa to stand in the southeastern corner and Varāha in the northeastern corner. Possibly the text is corrupt, and the order of Aśvaśīrṣa and Varāha should be changed. Alternatively, the placement of the gods in the Sarvatobhadra temple may not conform to the later system of identifications.

THE “GIRDLE”

The VDh also indicates the iconography of the “girdle” (the cloister of twenty-four temples on the platform):

The girdle should consist of little connecting temples, dedicated to twenty-four divinities [attributes and companions of Viṣṇu]: Tārṣya [Garuḍa], Śaṅkha [conch], Padma [lotus], Cakra [discus], Lāṅgala [plough], Musala [pestle], Ananta [serpent], Gadā [mace], Tāla [fan palm], Trīśūla [trident], Śārṅga [bow], Śara [arrow], Makara [aquatic animal], Paraśu [axe], Mudgara [hammer], Carman [leather shield], Pāśa [noose],¹³ Paṭṭīśa [spear], Nandaka [sword], Śakti [lance], Muṣṭi [fist], Vajra [club], Kaustubha [jewel], Vanamālā [chaplet]. (87.25–28)

As with the eight consorts of the four *vyūhas*, this list seems to begin to the right of Vāsudeva. We then arrive at a scheme that would match the iconographic program (fig. 2). The three animals mentioned in the list stand directly to the right of the *vyūhas*: Tārksya (Garuḍa), the bird of Vāsudeva to his right, Ananta to the right of Saṃkarṣaṇa, and Makara, the banner of Pradyumna, to his right. The banner of Saṃkarṣaṇa (the Tāla tree) is also situated at his side (south).

As to the attributes of the *vyūhas*, the plough and the pestle, the attributes of Saṃkarṣaṇa, are placed to his left. Likewise, the bow and the arrow, the attributes of Pradyumna, are placed directly to his left. The attributes of Aniruddha, the sword and the shield, are situated at his side (north) but not directly to his left. The position of the attributes of Vāsudeva is unexpected. At his left are his jewel and chaplet but not the discus and the mace, which are situated to the south, the side of Saṃkarṣaṇa.

THE “TUSK” SHRINES

The placement of the deities in the “tusk” shrines at both sides of the staircases is determined by the direction of the staircase. The guardians, the so-called Dikpāla(ka)s, of the east are situated at the eastern staircase, and so on:

Listen now to the order of the [gods in the] tusk shrines, o king. Indra and Agni should be put at the east, at the south Yama and Nirṛti, at the west Varuṇa and Anila [Vāyu], and at the north Dhaneśvara [Kubera] and Maheśvara [Śiva]. Eight planets should be put at the tusk shrines: Āditya [sun] and Śukra [Venus] in the east, Kuja [Mars] and Asura [= Rāhu, who causes the eclipses] in the south, Śanaīścara [Saturn] and Śaśāṅka [moon] in the west, Candraputra [Mercury] and Bṛhaspati [Jupiter] in the north. At the “tusk” shrines of Vāsudeva [that is, at the eastern staircase] should be placed two doorkeepers of Vāsudeva, Subhadra and Vasubhadra, the lords of the three worlds; then Āṣāḍha and Yajñātāta,¹⁴ [the doorkeepers] of Saṃkarṣaṇa, should be made; Jaya and Nijaya, [the doorkeepers] of Pradyumna; Āmoda and Pramoda, [the doorkeepers] of Aniruddha. The placement of the gods and the doorkeepers in the tusk temples that I have described to you is known to be of many merits. This is what one should know about the guardians of the quarters of the world and about the planets. (87.29–37)

PANELS AROUND THE PLATFORM

Finally, the deities depicted in the panels around the platform are enumerated:

Now listen to the [placement of the] deities on the band around the platform in due order: Gāyatrī, the four Vedas, Vaiṣṇavī Aparājitā, Mrtyu, Kāla, Yama, Daṇḍa, Kavaca, Śara, Sāṅkhyā, Yoga, the Pāñcarātra and Pāśupata doctrines, Vyāsa, Vālmiki, Mārkaṇḍa, and the *mahābhūtas* (five great elements), one after the other. (87.37–39)

As in the case of the corner temples, this list of twenty-four deities on the band starts from the northeast, enumerating first the six eastern panels, followed by the six southern panels, and so on. In this way, we have in the east four Vedas, two to the left of the staircase and two to the right, plus Gāyatrī, the personified sacred verse Ṛgveda 3.62.10, “the mother of the Vedas” (VDh 60.4), and Vaiṣṇavī Aparājitā. Gāyatrī is associated with Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, whose face, according to VDh 64.3, 5, represents the Sāvitrī mantra (= Gāyatrī) and whose four hands represent the Vedas. Aparājitā is described in the VDh as a divine mother, one of the wives of the great god Tumburu (chapter 66). She definitely belongs to the realm of death, the southern direction. Consequently, the most northern of the eastern panels is a link with the north, while the most southern one is a link with the south.

In the south we first see three gods of death and destruction—Mrtyu, Kāla, and Yama—and, on the other side of the staircase, their attributes—Daṇḍa (staff), Kavaca (armor), and Śara (arrow). This scheme agrees fully with the destructive character of Saṃkarṣaṇa.

In the west are the philosophical systems Sāṅkhyā and Yoga, then the Pāñcarātra and the Pāśupata systems at both sides of the staircase, then two sages: Vyāsa, the mythical author of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, and Vālmiki, the author of the Rāmāyaṇa. The western side thus underscores the function of Pradyumna as an ascetic and protector of the Universe (VDh 78/1.5).

In the north is situated the sage Mārkaṇḍa (= Mārkaṇḍeya), the mythical author of the VDh, and the *mahābhūtas* (five great elements), which are clearly associated with Śiva, being his five faces (VDh 48.7–8), and consequently with the north, the direction of Śiva.

The iconographic program of the Sarvatobhadra temple can be summarized as follows. Every side of the temple is dedicated to one of the four *vyūhas* of Viṣṇu: east Vāsudeva, south Saṃkarṣaṇa, west Pradyumna, and north Aniruddha. Their consorts are placed in the shrines at their

side, the first wife to their right and the second to their left. Their attributes are situated in six small temples on every side of the platform. The panels around the platform are adorned with different deities, sages, and deified abstract notions, which are associated either with *vyūhas* or with their cardinal point. The corner shrines are occupied by four manifestations of Viṣṇu. In general, this placement scheme conforms to the system of identifications found in the Pratiṃlakṣaṇa, the part of the VDh that describes image-making.

The Deogarh Temple

We may now turn to the iconography of the Deogarh temple, of which only the doorway and three reliefs are still intact. The panels around the platform have become ruins. Only several fragments with scenes from the life of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma are preserved, but these are not mentioned as such by the VDh. The original place of these fragments is generally unknown, so that it seems useless to speculate on their interpretation within the ritual scheme of the VDh. The only means at our disposal to determine the iconographic program of the Deogarh temple is analysis of the reliefs.

Before we proceed with a detailed description of the reliefs of the Deogarh temple, let me state at the outset that the iconographic program of this temple seems to agree with the scheme of the Sarvatobhadra temple, its four sides being dedicated to the four *vyūhas* of Viṣṇu. The relief above the doorway, which depicts Viṣṇu sitting on the serpent Ananta with Lakṣmī and his two manifestations, Narasiṃha and Vāmana, is probably dedicated to Vāsudeva. The northern relief, representing Viṣṇu as a warrior liberating the King of the Elephants (Gajendramokṣa), conforms to the destructive power of Saṃkarṣaṇa. In the east is Viṣṇu in the form of two sages, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, whose ascetic power clearly points to Pradyumna, the preserving aspect of the god. Finally, the relief at the southern side of the temple with Viṣṇu engaged in the act of creation, lying on the serpent Ananta (Anantaśayana), must be dedicated to Aniruddha, the creative aspect of Viṣṇu.

The actual orientation of the reliefs is the opposite of the prescribed orientation of the *vyūhas*, but, as we have seen with respect to orientation, this can be accounted for by the rule given in

VDh 87.17: the direction of Vāsudeva should be considered the east. Doing so yields the following combinations, which conform to the prescriptions: Gajendramokṣa–Saṃkarṣaṇa–south, Naranārāyaṇa–Pradyumna–west, Anantaśayana–Aniruddha–north. The Varāha temple presents an actual example of such an orientation.

The following discussion of the reliefs aims at finding additional evidence for their dedication and at identifying some of the figures. In comparison with previous attempts, we now have two advantages. First, since we assume that the author of the VDh had seen and admired the Deogarh temple, his prescriptions were probably influenced by the iconography of the Deogarh reliefs. The use of iconographic descriptions from the VDh to identify the obscure figures on the Deogarh reliefs thus becomes more legitimate and more valuable than before. Second, we shall compare the reliefs of the Varāha temple with those of Deogarh, which, to my knowledge, has hardly ever been done. The evidence of the Varāha reliefs is especially important when a part of the Deogarh relief is damaged. It is irrelevant which of the temples is the prototype: in both cases the Varāha reliefs provide invaluable information.

THE LALĀTABIMBA

We start with the relief (fig. 3) above the doorway (the so-called Lalātabimba), which depicts Viṣṇu sitting on the serpent Ananta with Lakṣmī caressing his foot. Two manifestations of Viṣṇu—Narasiṃha (man-lion) and Vāmana (dwarf)—appear to his right and left, respectively. The choice of the manifestations seems significant. In the scheme of the Sarvatobhadra temple Narasiṃha and Trivikrama¹⁵ are placed in two corner shrines behind the temple and are invisible to the devotee approaching the main entrance. Now with these two manifestations depicted next to Vāsudeva on the Lalātabimba, all four manifestations are facing the devotee.

The closest parallel to this representation of Vāsudeva is found in VDh 85.49–50, which describes different images of Vāsudeva:

Or he [Vāsudeva] should be represented charming, seated on the coils of Śeṣa [= Ananta]. Surrounded by his hoods, the face of the Mighty one is difficult to look at. When he sits on the coils of Śeṣa, his four hands are empty. Cakra [discus] and Gadā [mace] should be made near him, assuming human forms.

On the Deogarh relief, Cakra and Gadā in human form are missing. Instead, Vāsudeva holds a conch in his lower left hand and a discus in his lower right hand.

Incidentally, the way Vāmana is depicted on the Lalatabimba corresponds to his description in V Dh 85 54–55: “Vamana should be made with short limbs and a fat body, carrying a staff and engaged in study. His color is the green of the

durva-grass, and he wears the skin of a black antelope.” The antelope skin is missing on the relief.

THE GAJENDRAMOKSA RELIEF

Moving around the temple in the *pradaksina* direction, we come to the northern niche. In contradistinction to the other two niches of the Deogarh temple, the scene depicted here is not



FIG. 3 The doorway of the Deogarh temple. Courtesy Kern Institute, Leiden. Coll. Vogel 30/21.

described in the VDh. The relief (fig. 4) shows Viṣṇu as a warrior fighting with two serpents, which have bound the helpless elephant with their coiled bodies. Viṣṇu sits on Garuḍa, holding a mace in his lower right hand and a discus in his upper right hand, ready to throw it. One of his left hands rests on his knee, while the



FIG 4 The Gajendramokṣa relief of the Deogarh temple. Courtesy Kern Institute, Leiden, Coll. Vogel 30/24



FIG 5 The Gajendramokṣa relief of the Varāha temple. Courtesy Kern Institute, Leiden, Coll. Vogel 30/870.

attribute in his other left hand is broken off. From the parallel relief on the Varāha temple (fig. 5), where Viṣṇu holds a conch in this hand, we may conclude that here too he held a conch. The two serpents fold their hands in *añjali* mudrā, admitting their defeat and saluting the victor. The chief serpent is hit by the discus of Viṣṇu, which is visible in the middle of his breast. The elephant offers a lotus flower to Viṣṇu in gratitude. Note that on the relief of the Varāha temple there are three serpents, not two.

Above the head of Viṣṇu, on a separate slab, two couples hold a crown. These deities do not carry any attributes and cannot be positively identified.

“In a semi-circular panel below the capital on each pilaster of this niche is a seated male figure holding [a] flower with a female companion on either side.”¹⁶ Similar scenes are found on one of the pillars that presumably stood in front of this niche. The man and two women depicted on the reliefs of the pillar are drinking wine and are intoxicated.¹⁷ The function and meaning of these scenes have never been explained. It is well known, however, that wine and intoxication are typical for Saṃkarṣaṇa. For instance, VDh 85.73 prescribes that “Bala [= Saṃkarṣaṇa] should be represented with eyes dilated through intoxication.” It is therefore reasonable to assume that the scenes on the pilasters and the pillar are meant to create the atmosphere of Saṃkarṣaṇa, to whom this side of the temple is dedicated.

THE NARANĀRAYANA RELIEF

According to the scheme of the Sarvatobhadra temple, the western side is dedicated to Pradyumna, the preserving aspect of Viṣṇu. VDh 78/1 (verses 1 and 5) states:

Know that Pradyumna is *vairāgya* [indifference to worldly life, asceticism], when he assumes the body of the sage Kapila. He possesses great might through the *vairāgya*, staying in meditation to the highest grade. Thus meditating, the ancient preacher of the Sāṃkhya philosophy is protecting the world.

This explains why the relief (fig. 6) depicting the meditation of Viṣṇu in the form of two sages, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, appears at the Pradyumna side of the temple.

Shastri has already pointed out that the description of Nara and Nārāyaṇa given in chapter 76 of the VDh exactly corresponds to the relief

of Deogarh¹⁸ The only minor discrepancy is that, according to the VDh, Nara and Nārāyana should sit on a chariot, which is not found on the relief

In the center of a separate relief on the top, four-faced Brahmā sits on a lotus cushion The way in which Brahmā has been depicted here is very similar to the image on the Anantaśayana relief Only his clothes are different On the Naranārāyana relief Brahmā wears “a wide sash with plain borders and incised cross-hatching which seems to represent the *yoga-patta* of a *yogin*, that is a band of cloth or other material used in yogic exercises”,¹⁹ on the Anantaśayana relief Brahmā wears an antelope hide As Maxwell surmises, the reason for this variation may be the different symbolic roles that Brahmā plays in these two reliefs On the Anantaśayana relief,

his wearing of the black antelope skin may have been intended to emphasize his omniscient *rsi*-character, since he is in the process of creating the world, whereas, in the other panel, his wearing a piece of the *yogin*'s standard equipment is most suitable in a scene depicting a place of austerity, namely the *asrama* of Nara and Narayana²⁰

Brahmā is flanked by celestial couples, which have not been identified To the right of Brahmā is a male figure holding his garment, “worn

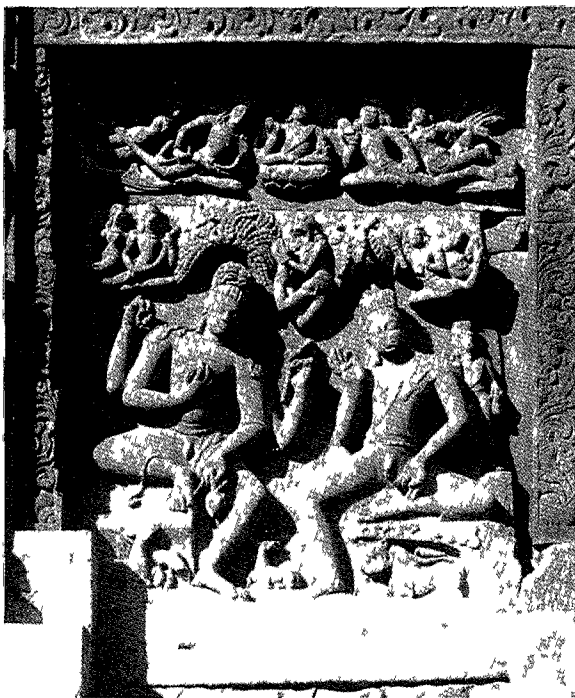


FIG 6 The Naranarayana relief of the Deogarh temple
Courtesy Kern Institute Leiden Coll Vogel 30/25

on the back and tied in front”²¹ A fold of his garment flutters below On his right his wife flies in the air holding her fluttering garment

This god must be Vāyu, who is described in the VDh as follows

Vāyu [wind] has the color of the sky, and the sky should have the appearance of the wind Vayu, made visible, has two arms, and his garment is puffed up with the wind His wife Śivā should be placed at his left, wanting to move (*gamaneccha*) Pavana [= Vayu] should be made holding the ends of his garment with both hands The same applies to the goddess Siva of infinite beauty The face of the god should be turned aside and his hair disheveled As Vayu assumes the smell, color, and so on of everything he touches, he has the color of collyrium because he has touched the sky The sky is also his garment Siva is the motion, Anila [= Vayu] is unobstructed (58 1–5)

The fact that Śivā is depicted to Vāyu's right and not to his left as prescribed by the VDh is insignificant Her position is no doubt dictated by the composition of the relief

The male figure of the other couple holds an object in his right hand that has not yet been identified It seems to be a conch, its opening turned to the viewer The conch of Visnu on the Gajendramoksa relief of the Varaha temple (fig 5) has been depicted in the same fashion The left hand of the deity rests on his thigh His consort sits at his left, her right hand on his back and in her left an upside-down lotus

This celestial couple probably represents Varuna and Gaurī, who are described in the VDh as follows

Varuna, the lord of the sea animals, must be depicted on the chariot yoked with seven geese He wears white garments and resembles a glossy lapis lazuli [in color] He has four arms, a somewhat hanging belly, and is adorned with a pearl necklace and all ornaments At his left side one must make a banner with a *makara* on it and a white umbrella over his head His wife Gaurī, beautiful in all limbs, has two arms and sits on his left lap In her left hand she holds a blue lotus, her right hand is on the back of the god In the right hands of the god there should be a lotus and a noose, and in the left hands a conch and a *ratnapatra* [vessel of jewels] (52 1–5)

There are two major discrepancies between the description of the VDh and the relief there is no chariot yoked with seven geese, and Varuna has two instead of four arms Both discrepancies are of a systematic nature The chariots are

prescribed by the VDh for many gods, but they do not appear on the Deogarh reliefs. The VDh also prescribes four arms and four attributes for all major gods, whereas in Deogarh these gods are generally represented with two arms and only one attribute. Except for a relief of Gaṇeśa on the left pilaster of the Anantaśayana niche, only Viṣṇu appears with four arms. The practice of assigning to a deity two arms instead of four conforms to a prescription found several times in the VDh: a deity who normally has four arms should be depicted with only two arms when appearing near Viṣṇu (e.g., 82.2 about Lakṣmī and 54.5 about Garuḍa). Moreover, in the iconographic descriptions of the VDh, a deity holds his most essential attribute in his left hand, usually in his lower left hand, whereas on the Deogarh reliefs this attribute invariably appears in the deity's right hand. We observe this practice in the case of Varuṇa as well. According to the VDh, he should hold his most characteristic attribute, the conch, in his (lower) left hand, whereas on the relief he carries it in his right hand.

The presence of Vāyu and Varuṇa on this relief is not coincidental. These two gods are Dikpālas, the guardians of the northwest and the west, respectively, and it is in this function that they seem to appear here on the Pradyumna side, which is the western side within the orientation scheme of the temple. The doorkeepers of Pradyumna are identified with Varuṇa and Vāyu

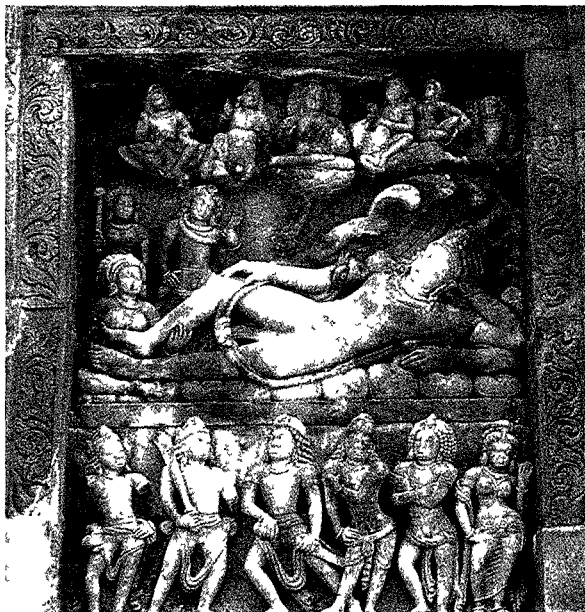


FIG. 7. The Anantaśayana relief of the Deogarh temple
Photo: Professor K. van Kooy.

in VDh 85.37, and Varuṇa is associated with Pradyumna in VDh 52.13.

On the left pilaster of the Naranārāyaṇa niche we find Gaja-Lakṣmī (Lakṣmī with two elephants) depicted in full agreement with a description in VDh 82.3–8. Possibly she is positioned on the Pradyumna side of the temple because in this representation with two elephants she is “the mother of the entire world” (82.1). The right pilaster is rather worn, and it is therefore difficult to identify the figures. It is unlikely, however, that they represent “an amorous couple,” as suggested by Vats,²² since such a scene would destroy the serene atmosphere of the niche.

As all scenes in the medallions of pillar no. 2 take place in a grove or under a tree,²³ thus pointing to the realm of ascetics, this pillar may have stood in front of the Naranārāyaṇa niche.

THE ANANTAŚAYANA RELIEF

On this relief (fig. 7) Viṣṇu lies at ease on the coils of the serpent Ananta (Śeṣa), who represents the primordial waters. This is the moment of the creation of the world, and as Aniruddha is the creative aspect of Viṣṇu, we may assume that this relief is dedicated to him.

There are many correspondences between the Anantaśayana relief and the description of the god Padmanābha (“with a lotus emerging from the navel”) in chapter 81 of the VDh:

Śeṣa in the form of a serpent should be lying amidst the waters. His head is dazzling because of the great jewels adorning his hoods. The god of gods should be made sleeping, with four arms. One foot of the god should rest on the lap of Lakṣmī, the other should lie on the coils of Śeṣa. One hand should be stretched out and rest on his knee, the second should be near the navel, the third should support his head, and the fourth should hold a bunch of Santāna flowers.²⁴ On the lotus, emerging from the pool of his navel and containing the whole earth, should be Brahmā, depicted as above. Madhu and Kaiṭabha [two demons] should be made near the stalk of the lotus. Near the snake there should be the weapons in human form.

The Deogarh relief deviates from this description in two details. First, the stalk of the lotus does not visibly emerge from the navel of Viṣṇu but rises from behind his recumbent figure. The second point concerns the demons and the weapons in human form, the so-called *āyudhapuruṣas*. The two figures standing near the lotus stalk are not the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, as

prescribed by the VDh, but Garuḍa and a woman (probably an attendant of Lakṣmī),²⁵ whereas the six figures below the serpent are four *āyudhapuruṣas* fighting with two demons on the left side.²⁶ The lady to the viewer's right is Gadādevī, the personified mace, and her neighbor is Cakrapuruṣa, the personified discus. Their identity can be established on the basis of their peculiar hairdo: Gadādevī's hair is done in the form of the cogged point of a mace, while above the forehead of Cakrapuruṣa is part of a discus. The practice of distinguishing the *āyudhapuruṣas* in this way is prescribed by the VDh: "One should somehow show the real forms [of the weapons] on the heads of Cakra and the others" (85.27). It is therefore reasonable to assume that the other two *āyudhapuruṣas* are also characterized by an emblem on their head, and not otherwise, as was traditionally assumed (these figures were seen as Dhanuṣ [bow] and Nandaka [sword], the latter because of his sword and the former because he "positions his right leg as if it were a bow").²⁷ Recently Gail has suggested that the headdress of the third figure has the shape of a conch and that, consequently, this must be Śaṅkha; van Kooij identified the fourth figure as Padma because of a lotus in his hair.²⁸

These identifications are tempting but, unfortunately, not without problems. First, as Gail observes,²⁹ the lotus as an attribute of Viṣṇu does not appear in sculpture before the seventh century A.D., so that it is better to stick to the traditional view that the fourth figure is Nandaka, especially as Nandaka often occurs in Sanskrit

literature and drama of the Gupta period. Second, the tiara on the head of the third figure does not take the form of a snail spiral, as Gail assumes.³⁰ The drawing by Vats (fig. 8) shows that the circles of the tiara are rather concentric, so that the headdress has the form of a hide shield.³¹ Considering the form of his tiara and the peculiar (leather?) band around his hips,³² I would venture to suggest that the man is Carman, the personified hide shield. This identification seems further to be confirmed by VDh 85.27, which states that "Cakra, [while] Khaḍga [= Nandaka] should be tall." On the Deogarh relief, Cakra and Carman look very similar; indeed, they wear the same armlets in the shape of a coiled snake and the same necklaces (see fig. 9), while the man with the sword is taller than the other two. Therefore, the third and fourth figures seem to be Carman and Nandaka. These two figures occupy the central position on the relief, possibly because the sword and the shield are the emblems of Anirudha, to whom the niche is dedicated.

Let us now take a closer look at the group of five gods at the top of the Anantaśayana relief. In the center is Brahmā on a lotus, flanked on the left by Śiva with Pārvatī sitting on his usual *vāhana*, the bull, and on the right by Indra on his elephant Airāvata. In his right hand Indra probably holds a *vajra*, which is now broken off both on our relief and on the Anantaśayana relief of the Varāha temple. According to the VDh (50.5), Indra should hold a *vajra* in one of his left hands (presumably his lower left hand, as the



FIG. 8. The hairdo of Carman.
Drawing after M. S. Vats,
The Gupta Temple at Deogarh
(Delhi, 1952).



FIG. 9. Nandaka, Carman, and Cakra on the Anantaśayana relief
of the Deogarh temple. Photo: Professor K. van Kooij.

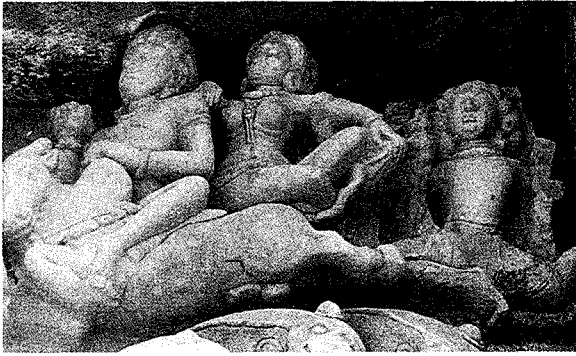


FIG. 10. Śiva and Sūrya on the Anantaśayana relief of the Deogarh temple. Photo: Professor K. van Kooij.

other left hand rests on the back of his consort Śacī). In conformity with the general practice of the Deogarh temple (see “The Naranārāyaṇa Relief” above), Indra has only two arms and holds the attribute in his right hand.

To my knowledge, the attribute in Śiva’s right hand has not been identified. It is a small object, and Śiva is depicted as if looking at it (fig. 10). It seems probable that it is a mirror. From VDh 55.2–3 we learn that “Śiva should be with four hands: in his right hands one should put a rosary and a trident, and in his left hands a mirror and a blue lotus.” Here again, the attribute prescribed

by the VDh for a (lower) left hand appears on the relief in the right hand.

Whereas the identity of the central three figures on the panel—Brahmā, Śiva, and Indra—is beyond any doubt, the identity of the other two deities is still under discussion. The figure to Indra’s right has generally been identified as Kārttikeya (Kumāra, Skanda) because of his *vāhana*, the peacock. This view has recently been challenged by van Kooij, who states (together with Debala Mitra) that the *vāhana* of this god is not a peacock but a goose and that, consequently, this must be Varuṇa.³³ The bird, indeed, lacks any characteristic of the peacock and looks very much like a goose, but this is insufficient to prove that the god is Varuṇa, because, as van Kooij himself has shown,³⁴ geese and peacocks are not always clearly distinguished in the iconography. On our relief the attribute of the god cannot be determined because his right hand is broken off, but on the Anantaśayana relief of the Varāha temple (fig. 11) the god holds a spear (or a long sword) in his right hand. This is a decisive argument against Varuṇa, as the spear is Kārttikeya’s attribute. According to VDh 71.5, Kārttikeya has four arms, with a cock and a bell in his right hands, a banner and a spear in his left hands. Once again the VDh puts the main attribute in

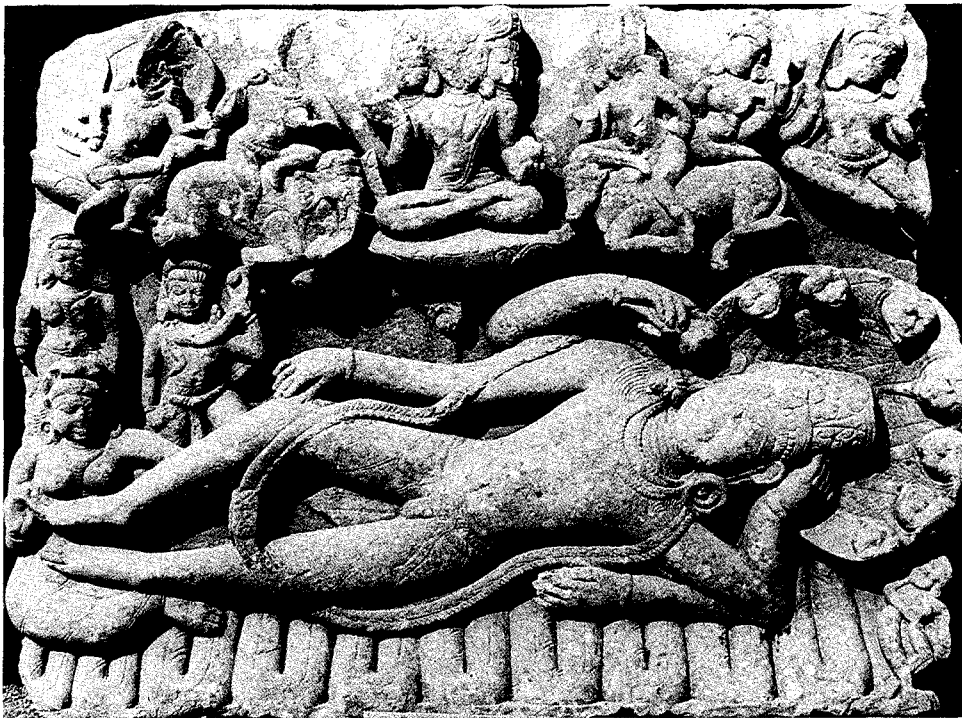


FIG. 11. The Anantaśayana relief of the Varāha temple. Courtesy Kern Institute, Leiden, Coll. Vogel, 30/1004.

the god's left hand, most probably in the lower left hand, as the most appropriate place for the banner is the upper hand.

The figure to Pārvatī's left (fig. 10) has always confused scholars, who either refrained from any identification or called him a Marut, a Vidyādhara, a garland-bearing figure, generally without any elaboration. Only van Kooij has discussed his identity at some length, hesitatingly proposing to identify him as Vāyu:

The only detail which may give some indication is the fluttering piece of cloth in his right hand. . . . In early iconography, from the Kuṣāṇa period onwards . . . , Vāyu's main characteristic is the inflated garment.³⁵

Several indicators, however, render this identification improbable. First, the garland he holds in his right hand is hardly a piece of his garment. Second, the god has a halo around his head, which is clearly visible on the relief of the Varāha temple (fig. 11). Finally, in my opinion, Vāyu is represented on the Naranārāyaṇa relief (see "The Naranārāyaṇa Relief" above), where he has a very different appearance.

I propose to identify this god as Sūrya, whose characteristic features are the raised hands with (mostly double) reigns and a halo. The VDh (67.2–4) describes the image of Sūrya as follows:

The Sun should be made with a beautiful moustache and be of the vermilion color. He should wear the dress of the Northerners, be adorned with all ornaments, and be of good appearance. He should have four hands and be very lustrous. He should be covered by an armor and wear a girdle known as Yāviyāṅga. In his left and right hands he should hold beautiful reigns, which have the form of garland threads going up and are adorned by flowers.

The description of the reigns suits the relief, but Northerners' dress (who used to cover their body)³⁶ is absent. The halo around Sūrya's head is mentioned in Varahamihira's *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* (57.48).

What is the meaning of these gods as a group? According to van Kooij, they represent the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods, Varuṇa being present as the leader of the Ādityas, Śiva as the leader of the Rudras, Vāyu as the leader of the Vasus, and Indra and Brahmā as the foremost representatives of the Thirty-three. This suggestion is in itself plausible and can be supported by several parallels. Unfortunately, it must be

abandoned since the figures that were identified by van Kooij as Varuṇa and Vāyu seem to be Kārttikeya and Sūrya. Kārttikeya is the son of Śiva and leads the army of gods (see VDh 71.7); he probably belongs to the Rudras but is never mentioned as their representative. Sūrya is often seen as the representative of the Ādityas (see VDh 72.7: "the twelve Ādityas should have the form of Sūrya"). Accordingly, the group of Vasus is absent from the relief.

Above the Naranārāyaṇa relief are Vāyu and Varuṇa in the function of Dikpālas, the guardians of the northwest and the west, respectively. It is therefore probable that the gods represented on the Anantaśayana relief are Dikpālas as well. Śiva is known as the guardian of the northeastern direction and Indra as the guardian of the east. Kārttikeya, who is the son of Śiva, also belongs to the northeast, while Sūrya represents the east and is situated, together with Indra, in the eastern tusk shrine of the Sarvatobhadra temple. As we have seen above, the Anantaśayana relief is directed to the north within the orientation scheme of the temple, and the presence of Śiva as the Dikpāla of the northeast is understandable. Note that he is the only god on the relief who is accompanied by his wife, as are Vāyu and Varuṇa on the Naranārāyaṇa relief. It remains unclear, however, why the Dikpālas of the east are represented on the Anantaśayana relief.

The northern orientation of the niche is further accentuated by the reliefs on its pilasters. On the pilasters to the viewer's left is Gaṇeśa, another son of Śiva. On the opposite pilaster sits a male figure with an object in his right hand, which is worn and cannot be positively identified but it looks more like a weapon than flowers, as suggested by Vats.³⁷ The deity looks at a smaller figure to his right, and this fact may help identify him as Nandin, an attendant of Śiva, who is described in VDh 73.15–17 as follows:

Nandin should be made with three eyes and with four long arms. His color is vermilion. He wears a tiger skin. One should make him with two hands holding a trident and a *bhindipāla* [a short javelin]³⁸ with his third hand on his head and with his fourth hand making a threatening gesture. He should be represented as watching people coming from a distance.

From a passage in chapter 86, which deals with the placement of gods in different types of temples, we learn that in the vicinity of Mahādeva (Śiva) one should place Skanda and Vināyaka

(Gaṇeśa), and in the vicinity of Vāsudeva one should place Śeṣa and Tārṅṣya (Garuḍa) (86.139). The triad Śiva-Gaṇeśa-Skanda is also mentioned in 86.35 (*gaṇeśarudraskanda*). This prescription accords with the reliefs of the Deogarh temple.

Conclusion

The “Sarvatobhadra” temple described in the third *khaṇḍa* of the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa is the famous Gupta temple at Deogarh. The author of this text must have been deeply impressed by the beauty and prestige of the Deogarh

temple. He devoted a whole chapter to a thorough description of its iconographic program and incorporated many iconographic elements into the system of identifications that can be found in the Pratiṃālakṣaṇa, the part of the Vdh that describes image-making.

The iconographic program of the Deogarh temple is closely connected with the Pāñcarātra doctrine. This temple is an analogue of the *caturvyūha* images of the Kuṣāṇa period, but this time the unity of the four emanations of Viṣṇu is represented not in one image but in one building, its four sides being dedicated to the four *vyūhas*.

Notes

I am indebted to Prof. Karel van Kooij and Dr. Ellen Raven for commenting upon an earlier version of this paper. I would also like to thank the Friends of the Kern Institute and, again, Karel van Kooij for kind permission to reproduce the photographs.

1. Alexander Lubotsky, "The 'Sarvatobhadra' Temple of the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa and the Viṣṇu Temple at Deogarh," in *Ritual, State and History in South Asia Essays in Honour of J C Heesterman*, ed. A. W. van den Hoek, D. H. A. Kolff, M. S. Oort (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 199–221.
2. See Joanna Gottfried Williams, *The Art of Gupta India Empire and Province* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 132 and n. 98, for a discussion of the date.
3. Lubotsky, "'Sarvatobhadra' Temple," 201f
4. This and subsequent quotations of VDh are translated from *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa, third khanda*, ed. Priyabala Shah, 2 vols., Gaekwad's Oriental Series, nos. 130, 137 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1958, 1961).
5. Lubotsky, "'Sarvatobhadra' Temple "
6. See Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1946), 272.
7. N R Banerjee, "New Light on the Gupta Temples at Deogarh," *Journal of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta)* 5, 1/2 (1963): 37–49.
8. See Lubotsky, "'Sarvatobhadra' Temple," 210f. and n. 15.
9. J. N Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1956), 409, writes that the VDh assigns the north to Pradyumna and the west to Aniruddha, assuming that the faces of Viṣṇu are mentioned in the text in the following order: front = east, right = south, left = north, and back = west. This interpretation is repeated by W. E. Begley, *Viṣṇu's Flaming Wheel The Iconography of the Sudarśana-Cakra* (New York: New York University Press, 1973), 39, n. 182 and 43, n. 202, who follows Banerjea. In reality, the VDh always gives the directions in the *pradakṣiṇa* order, starting from the east: east, south, west, north (see "Placement of the Deities").
10. See T S Maxwell, *Viśvarūpa* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988), 17ff.
11. Maxwell, *Viśvarūpa*, 233ff.
12. In the edition by Priyabala Shah, VDh 73.24cd reads *vāsudevas tathā vāme maikānam ca tathā sutah*. Pāda *d* does not make sense. The reading of the Veṅkateśvara Press edition *maikāneśā tathā* and the reading of ms. B *maikānāśās tathā* suggest that the goddess Ekānaṃśā must be meant here. She is described in VDh 85.72 as standing between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, with her left hand on her hip and a lotus in her right hand (the position of Ekānaṃśā between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa also follows from VDh 86.26). The verse is evidently corrupt (Stella Kramrisch, *The Viṣṇudharmottara [Part III] A Treatise on Indian Painting and Image-Making*, 2nd ed. [Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1928], 97), but the meaning must be "And so also Ekānaṃśā [should be represented]." The corruption must have originated when a scribe erroneously connected *vāma ekānaṃśā* into *vāmaikānaṃśā*
13. Note that in the edition by Priyabala Shah, *carma pāsam* is erroneously written as one word.
14. In spite of the reading of all manuscripts in VDh 85.30, 85.36, and here, Priyabala Shah everywhere writes Yajñātāra.
15. Trivikrama and Vāmana are two forms of the same manifestation of Viṣṇu, reflecting the myth about Viṣṇu in the form of a dwarf, who asked an Asura for a space equal to his three steps. When this request had been granted, the dwarf suddenly began to grow and, assuming gigantic proportions, covered the whole Universe in three steps.
16. M. S. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 70 (Delhi, 1952), 28.
17. Vats, *Gupta Temple*, 28
18. B. Ch. Shastri, "Identification of a Relief Belonging to the Gupta-Temple of Deogarh," *Acta Orientalia* 12 (1934): 116–25. The myth of two brothers Nara and Nārāyaṇa is also given in *khanda* 1, chap. 129, 1–19, and alluded to in *khanda* 3, chap. 35, where the origin of the art of painting is associated with the creation of Urvaśī
19. Maxwell, *Viśvarūpa*, 117.
20. Maxwell, *Viśvarūpa*, 117
21. Vats, *Gupta Temple*, 35.
22. Vats, *Gupta Temple*, 14.

23. Vats, *Gupta Temple*, 29. Orientale dipartimento di studi Asiatici, series minor 12 (Naples, 1985), 683.
24. On the Deogarh relief, Viṣṇu's hand holding the Santāna flowers is broken off, but on the Varāha relief the flowers are still present (see fig. 11). 29. See van Kooij, "Gods and Attendants," 683, n. 4.
25. This figure is generally identified as Bhūdevī (cf Vats, *Gupta Temple*, 15), but note that on the Anantaśayana relief of the Varāha temple (fig. 11), next to the head of Viṣṇu, there is a small female figure on the coils of Śeṣa. She cannot but be the goddess of the earth, so that the figure behind Lakṣmī is probably her attendant. 30. Gail, "Āyudhapuruṣa," 183, n. 11.
26. See Vats, *Gupta Temple*, 15, n. 1, and Susan L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India (Buddhist, Hindu, Jain)* (New York: Weatherhill, 1985), 210. 31. Vats, *Gupta Temple*, pl. XXVII, 11.
27. Huntington, *Ancient India*, 210. 32. See Vats, *Gupta Temple*, pl. XX, 9
28. A. J. Gail, "Āyudhapuruṣa—Die anthropomorphen Waffen Viṣṇus in Literatur und Kunst," *Gedenkschrift L. Sternbach, Indologica Taurinensia* 8–9 (1981): 183, n. 11; K. R. van Kooij, "Gods and Attendants in the Relief of Viṣṇu Anantaśayana at Deogarh," in *South Asian Archaeology 1983*, ed. J. Schotsmans and M. Taddei, Istituto Universitario 33. Van Kooij, "Gods and Attendants," 686ff; Debala Mitra, "Varāha-Cave of Udayagiri—An Iconographic Study," *Journal of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta)* 5, 3/4 (1963): 100, n. 2.
34. "Gods and Attendants," 687
35. Van Kooij, "Gods and Attendants," 698f.
36. See Banerjea, *Hindu Iconography*, 436ff.
37. *Gupta Temple*, 15.
38. See G. Liebert, *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 39.